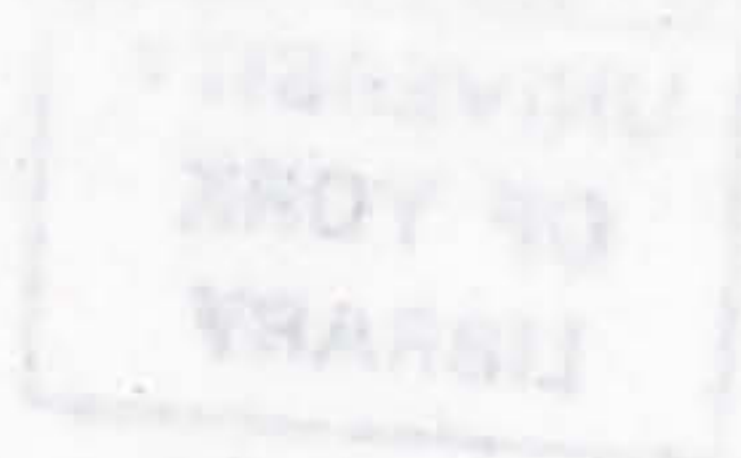


**NINETEENTH-CENTURY SPECULATIVE HOUSING IN LEEDS:
With special reference to the suburb of Headingley, 1838 - 1914**

VOLUME ONE OF THREE VOLUMES



1. SPECULATIVE DEVELOPERS AND BUILDERS
2. HOUSE DESIGN AND THE WORK OF ARCHITECTS
3. ARCHIBALD NEILL: A LEEDS ARCHITECT
4. HOUSE TYPES AND DESIGN SOLUTIONS
5. THE CONSTRUCTION PROCESS
6. CONSTRUCTIONAL CONTROL AND THE PROCESS OF BUILDING INSPECTION
7. ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTER AND THE USE OF DECORATIVE ELEMENTS
8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
9. BIBLIOGRAPHY

**SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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Deposited Plans Used as Illustrations

A large number of illustrations include photocopies of original deposited plans. In most cases the original drawing has simply been reproduced to a reduced scale, however, in some cases (due to the poor condition of the original) some retouching and redrawing of the photocopies has proved necessary in order to increase legibility.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the process by which areas of open fields were developed into peopled streets in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It also considers to what extent the emerging local architectural profession was involved, both in this process and in detailed aspects of speculative housing design.

To achieve these aims, part of a suburb of Leeds was selected as a representative study area. This area contained housing of all types ranging from detached villas to small back-to-back terraces and was typical of suburban areas in many other towns.

The major sources of original and unpublished information comprised deposited estate plans, deposited building plans, and some house deeds, all held by Leeds Corporation.

The basic research method was to examine deposited plans relating to the study area, in order to trace the development of the existing housing stock, and also to carry out site visits to record buildings and their architectural character. The persons and processes involved could then be analysed and compared with the end product. The findings are related to housing development generally in nineteenth-century Leeds and to other relevant studies of the Victorian suburb.

The study area data indicates three major conclusions. Firstly, the tradition that builders of the period erected the majority of speculative houses by using rule of thumb methods and standard pattern-books does not seem tenable when the complexities of building legislation, the type of builder involved and the professional advisers concerned are all examined. Secondly, that areas of speculative terrace housing, although apparently homogeneous in character, were usually carried out on a piecemeal basis with no planning policy attempted to relate them to other adjoining estates. Thirdly, that the involvement of the then architectural profession in the design of ordinary housing of the period was far greater than existing research would suggest.

ABBREVIATIONS

Archives	Leeds Corporation Archives Department
b.b.	back-to-back
c.	circa
cot.	cottage
d.v.	detached villa
D.B.P.	deposited building plan
D.E.P.	deposited estate plan
h.a.s.	house and shop
I.A.A.S.	Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York.
lo.	lodge
L.C.D.	Leeds Corporation deed
Loc. Hist.	Local History Library, Leeds
L.Y.A.S.	Leeds and Yorkshire Architectural Society
L.Y.L.B.I.C.	Leeds and Yorkshire Land, Building and Investment Company.
n.d.	no date known
n.d.a.	no data available
n.n.	no name known
O.S.	Ordnance Survey
R.I.B.A.	Royal Institute of British Architects
s.d.v.	semi-detached villa
Thoresby	Thoresby Society Library, Leeds
t.t.	through terrace

Abbreviations used in the Notes to Chapters

In the notes to chapters full details of published works are given in those notes relating to Chapter 1. In subsequent chapters the following abbreviations are used to refer to works which are frequently cited:

Beresford	M.W. Beresford, 'The Back-to-Back House in Leeds, 1787 - 1937,' in D. Chapman (editor), <u>The History of Working-Class Housing: A Symposium</u> , 1971, p. 95 - 132.
Dyos	H.J. Dyos, <u>Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell</u> , 1966.
Fraser	D. Fraser (editor), <u>A History of Modern Leeds</u> , 1980.
Gauldie	E. Gauldie, <u>Cruel Habitations: A History of Working-Class Housing, 1780 - 1918</u> , 1974.

Linstrum D. Linstrum, West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture, 1978.

Parry Lewis J.P. Lewis, Building Cycles and Britain's Growth, 1965.

Powell C.G. Powell, An Economic History of the British Building Industry, 1815 - 1979, 1980.

Treen C. Treen, 'Building and Estate Development of the Northern Out-Townships of Leeds, 1781 - 1914.' Ph.D. Thesis, University of Leeds, 1977.

Where notes refer to other works by the same authors, the full title is given.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

'Houses, we may say, spring up everywhere in the outskirts of our great towns. A suburb, in these days, is one congeries of crude brick and mortar. It is the most melancholy thing in existence. Streets, squares, crescents, terraces, Albert Villas, Victoria villas, and things of the same inviting character, stand up everywhere against the horizon,.....'

The Builder, Oct., 1848.

1.1 The Growth of Nineteenth - Century Suburbs

The nineteenth century saw important changes in employment patterns in England and Wales as radical restructuring of occupations away from staple trades to heavy industry, unskilled labouring and commerce took place. These changes in employment patterns were coupled with a dramatic rise in the population which meant that the industrial towns in particular had to expand extremely quickly to accommodate the influx of new labour. Thus in 1801 the population of England and Wales was 9 millions and by 1901 it had risen to 32½ millions. In 1801 less than 17 per cent of the population were resident in towns of over 20,000 people. By 1901 there were 9 towns where the population was over 250,000 and Leeds was one of these with a population of 428,968.

It was in the major towns that a typical process of suburban expansion took place in order to house more and more people and also to cater for the changes in social and economic conditions. The process of suburban expansion was for the town to attract workers to the newly opened mills or factories. The first consequence of this was overcrowding in existing town centre houses and then occupation of whatever space was still vacant in inn yards, gardens and orchards lying behind or alongside houses that lined the old core of the town. This typical form of development invariably led to overcrowding in courtyards, which with a lack of proper sanitation and health care, in turn led to outbreaks of disease and epidemics. It was the development of the suburb which acted as a safety valve and relieved the pressure from the overstressed town centre. In this way the tendency to bring people in growing numbers from the country into the towns was eventually replaced by scattering them over a wider area by the creation of the suburbs from green fields. The retreat to the suburbs was often the only solution to the mounting pressure on relatively limited accommodation in the central areas of older towns.

The suburbs have developed in different ways depending upon their position in relation to town centres, the physical continuity between the town and the suburb, the transport developments and the social and economic factors which have shaped them. In many northern industrial towns the exodus began by the movement of the more prosperous upper and middle class forced out of the city centre by the proximity on all sides of industrial nuisances. Some moved only a short distance to villa plots in their search for an environment befitting their status. Others moved further afield in search of clean air, fresh water, and uninterrupted views. The middle class cloth merchant or banker was able to move to the suburbs because starting times at his place of work and provision of transport were not a problem. However, as office hours changed and the provision of transport improved, the owners of villas were to be followed later in the century by the clerk, the cashier and the manager. They too wished to improve their living standards and increased wages coupled with improvements in transport gave them the means to do so. Thus occurred the invasion of the suburbs by what was to be termed the 'brick and mortar crusade' which usually had in the vanguard the terrace houses of the artisan and the lower middle classes. As the carts loaded with building materials rumbled into the lanes and disturbed the peace and quiet of the original villa occupiers, they took heed of the warning and literally began to look for pastures new. They moved to, and took a hand in the creation of, new villa suburbs even further away from the town centre. There they built even bigger and better houses until once again threatened by the encroaching tide of ordinary dwellings. The final solution came for many of the more wealthy citizens when they purchased estates outside the town boundary at around the turn of the century and made the decision to commute long distances to their places of business. The fact remains that many suburbs of industrial towns contain a wide variety of house types depending upon the factors which shaped them during the nineteenth century. Although many contain pockets of detached and semi-detached villas with leafy lanes and large gardens, it is the row upon row of ordinary speculative terrace houses which typifies the victorian suburb in the eyes of most observers.

1.2 The Study of Nineteenth-Century Suburbs

'In some respects we are more familiar with the physical and social structure of Roman Britain than we are with the apparatus of suburban society in Victorian England.'

H.J. Dyos¹

So wrote Dyos in the preface to his study of Camberwell in 1961. Prior to his pioneering work on the suburb, researchers and authors had been generally content to remain topographers or compilers of statistics, particularly relating to the public health, overcrowding or other demographic factors. Other studies included work on the Victorian Suburb but suggested only the broad outlines of typical suburban development.

The importance of the work by Dyos lies in the fact that he took one suburb and scrutinized it, took it apart and minutely described its components. Sir John Summerson described the process as 'To explain one part is to unlock the whole' and also suggested that Dyos was the first to do it.² Dyos' work originated from the suburban development of Greater London, south of the Thames and then later developed into a more detailed study of the suburb of Camberwell.³ In his book Victorian Suburb he examined the suburb of Camberwell from its pre-Victorian beginnings, the conditions of development, the formation of building estates, the business of building the suburb and assessed the character of the end product. In doing so he answered many questions concerning, among other things, the numbers of persons and type of people involved, the role of the speculative developer, the provision of finance and the house types involved. Following the publication of his book Dyos went on to edit and contribute to books or articles on the study of urban history in his position as Professor of Urban History in the University of Leicester. Most notable among these was the publication of The Victorian City in which Dyos and D.A. Reeder combined to write on 'Slums and Suburbs.'⁴

If Dyos was the pioneer others have taken his lead and one of the most recent studies of a London suburb has been a study of the Borough of Hampstead by F.M.L. Thompson in 1974.⁵ Other researchers have studied general estate development and the most relevant of these was a study of 'Housing Estate Development, 1840 - 1918' by S.M. Gaskell in 1974,⁶ and a study of 'The Mid-Victorian Urban Mosaic' by R.S. Passmore in 1975.⁷

The increased interest in the development of the suburb has mainly come from economists, geographers, social scientists and historians. No detailed study of a Victorian suburb or estate development has been found by a trained architect or architectural historian resulting in the fabric being emphasised as of primary importance. In nearly all cases the final built form of the suburbs, the physical fabric of the houses,

has usually been of secondary importance to the writer's main aim of examining demographic, economic or social trends. Dyos did, however, describe the character of the completed dwellings in his study of Camberwell.⁸

1.3 The Study of Nineteenth-Century Suburban Housing

In general terms the housing of Victorian Britain has been well researched but usually from clearly defined and well established viewpoints. Firstly, the large mansions and detached villas of the upper and middle classes have been studied either from the viewpoint of being the home of a historically important person or because the building was designed by a particular architect. Secondly, the homes of the working classes have been examined from the viewpoint of being sociologically important, linked as they were with sanitary reforms and the schemes to produce improved dwellings for the working classes. Studies of Victorian houses tend to fall into these two camps: on the one hand works carried out by mainly architectural historians who, when describing the well documented public and commercial buildings of Victorian towns include the houses of the wealthy, and on the other hand works carried out by a variety of people interested in the housing of the working classes. Often works on Victorian architecture analyse all types of buildings but usually the domestic architecture contained in them covers only country houses and town palaces or terraced houses confined to the homes of the wealthy.

Particularly relevant to this thesis are: The History of Working-class Housing edited by S.D. Chapman, published in 1971, this work covers a symposium held on the subject and has much useful information on the history of working-class houses in northern industrial towns; Cruel Habitations: A History of Working-Class Housing, 1780 - 1918 by E. Gauldie, published in 1974, which clearly illustrates the need for sanitary reforms and has useful chapters on public health and building legislation; Five Per Cent Philanthropy: An Account of Housing in Urban Areas Between 1840 and 1914, by J.N. Tarn, published in 1973, which concentrates on the provision of model dwellings for the working classes.

A most useful work on the architecture of the period which attempts to examine not only the houses of the opulent and the respectable but also those of the middle and working classes is West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture by D. Linstrum, published in 1978.⁹

Also 'House upon House', a comparison of estate development in London and Sheffield by D. Olsen, has detailed information on the house types erected.¹⁰

1.4 Previous Studies on the Suburbs of Victorian Leeds

Professor M. W. Beresford has been to the study of Victorian Leeds what Dyos has been to the study of London. He has published several works on the development of estates and suburbs of Leeds with particular reference to the development of the back-to-back house. In Leeds and Its Region edited by Beresford and Jones and published in 1967, he traces the historical development of Leeds in general and its housing in particular.¹¹ In The History of Working-class Housing he contributed a chapter on the 'Back-to-Back House in Leeds, 1787 - 1937'.¹² Linstrum published his Historic Architecture of Leeds in 1969 which has some references to middle-class housing, especially in Headingley,¹³ however, this has been largely overtaken by his greater work on the whole of West Yorkshire which has many references to the houses of Leeds and will be referred to in later chapters. This source is also important for the contribution it makes towards knowledge of the architectural profession in Leeds in the nineteenth-century.

The most significant piece of work carried out on estate development in Leeds has been the study of 'Building and Estate Development of the Northern Out-townships of Leeds 1781 - 1914', carried out under the supervision of M.W. Beresford by C. Treen and completed in 1977. Treen studied the development of three out-townships of Leeds and his thesis examined the process and decisions that went into the sale of estates, the resale of land for speculation and the construction of different dwelling types. The bulk of Treen's work relates to decisions taken prior to building taking place and in particular to the economics of land sales and estate layout. He does, however, comment on the types of houses finally erected.

The most recent work published on Victorian Leeds in general is A History of Modern Leeds edited by D. Fraser, published in 1980 and comprising eighteen chapters all compiled by people who, to use Fraser's own words: 'have used Leeds as a popular quarry for historians interested in urban development, particularly in the nineteenth century.' The research work carried out by these individuals had remained in university theses, academic monographs and learned articles, remote from the wider public. The main aim

of the book was to bring their scholarly work to a broader audience. M.W. Beresford has contributed a chapter on the development of Leeds concentrating on the development of its housing up to 1914.¹⁴

1.5 The Need for a Study of Nineteenth-Century Speculative Housing

It has already been stated that architectural historians have generally ignored this type of housing concentrating instead upon the mansions and the large detached and semi-detached villas of the period, which were usually designed by well known local architects. Other researchers have studied speculative housing but from an economic, social or public health viewpoint. Even when speculative housing has come within the scope of existing research, much fine detail remains to be filled in concerning the mass of ordinary suburban housing. Linstrum's work covered the whole field of architecture of the West Riding of Yorkshire while Treen reduced the scale to the estate development of three out-townships of Leeds. Although they approach each other from opposite directions, the one on a micro level with the decision to build on a relatively small area of the land, the other on a macro level with the completed buildings over a wide area of land, there remains much middle ground as yet unrecorded.

If typical statistics for building activity are examined for an industrial town of the period it can be seen that by far the greatest effort was put into the rapid expansion of the suburbs. The creation of new houses was a major activity for the building industry in any expanding town after the middle of last century. In Leeds, for example, 66% of all buildings certified as completed and ready for occupation were houses in 1878. This figure was to rise to 75% later in the century.¹⁵ It is true that other buildings could be of greater value in terms of capital outlay, however, in sheer numbers of buildings completed the housing market was the largest. If the types of houses built are examined it will be seen that the majority after 1850 were speculative houses usually built in the form of terraces. Once more taking Leeds as an example, out of 46,506 dwellings erected between 1886 and 1914, only 4% were detached or semi-detached villas. The remaining 96% were built in rows of terraced houses in one form or another.¹⁶ Comparison with similar figures for other industrial towns would show that Leeds is not peculiar in the small number of detached houses built. What the figures do show is that any detailed study of Victorian speculative terrace housing in Leeds would also be an examination of one of the

major areas of building activity occupying the building industry (and possibly associated professions) for over four decades.

The reasons why this major area of building activity has largely been ignored by architectural historians, despite the vast bulk of it, are probably twofold: firstly, the widely held belief that houses of this type were designed and erected by speculative builders using readily available pattern books; secondly, the difficulty in obtaining original source material concerning their design and construction. The stronger the belief in the former, that builders and not architects were responsible for their design and therefore the end product were buildings and not architecture, the less incentive there was for finding the latter, source material.

If the nineteenth-century suburban housing development in Leeds is set against social change, it can be seen that the great majority of building activity took place in two distinct stages. The first was a gradual movement into the suburbs with only a small number of builders and only a few regulations governing the erection of new buildings. The second stage, in the second half of the century, was the mass exodus to the suburbs which involved the erection of by far the greatest number of houses built during a period of ever increasing Bye-Laws and other acts governing their construction. The question must be asked whether the builders used empirical methods when working in the first half of the century but as demand for social change brought about more legislation, did their task of building correctly to conform to the new regulations become increasingly difficult without professional advice?

Whether or not this was the case, vast numbers of speculative terrace houses were built and still comprise a large proportion of the existing housing stock of England and Wales. Terrace and semi-detached houses are by far the largest group of any Victorian building type, and possibly they more than any other determine the character of Victorian cities. They are one of the most characteristic products of Victorian Britain and they remain in sufficient quantities for them still to be a significant element in our urban environment. If they are allowed to outlive their usefulness and they are erased from our towns by the bulldozer, it would appear to be illogical that, when detailed research has been carried out in so many different aspects of Victorian life, this manifestation of so much effort to house the majority should be allowed to pass without

a more detailed recording and examination than has occurred hitherto.

There is a final point to consider in the argument. If, as seems likely, the world economic scales tip more on the side in favour of conservation and rehabilitation of the existing building stock due to the store of expended energy which their bricks and mortar represent, then such buildings as suburban housing would be classed as economic assets which should wherever possible be retained and up-graded. Therefore, there could arise a need for as great an understanding of the processes which created them as the end product. This is particularly the case where materials and methods of construction are concerned, especially if this can be related to original drawings indicating constructional techniques not visible in the completed buildings. For it has been shown by experience that if the existence of a constructional method or technique, such as the early use of iron, concrete or other materials in existing dwellings had been known beforehand, estimates for or the method of carrying out conversion or alteration would have been revised. If a detailed study of the houses in one nineteenth-century suburb can establish a methodology for obtaining original information concerning the construction of the dwellings, it may well be possible to follow similar methods for other suburbs in other towns.

If people continue to live in our inner city suburbs, whether renovated and up-graded or not, they will to all intents and purposes continue to live in an environment created in the last century. Sir John Summerson writing about life in a London suburb in 1961 said:

'What I find perpetually haunting and fascinating is the bare fact of these people living in an environment which they have not made and which was unknowingly prepared for them by the dead skulls and fingerbones in the cemeteries; and of being, in spite of themselves formed or inflected by it.'¹⁷

1.6 Aims and Objectives

The city of Leeds is typical of many industrial towns in the way that it developed in the nineteenth-century. The change from rural-urban fringe development to built up suburbs took place mainly after 1850 and its expansion by means of developing suburbs created areas of housing which can be seen in a similar form in other northern cities such as Bradford, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham and Sheffield.

The broad aim of this thesis is to examine the process by which large areas of open fields in Leeds were developed into peopled streets in the latter half of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century and to establish to what extent architects were involved in the process. The open fields were estates held by a small number of private landowners and the peopled streets usually row upon row of speculative red brick terrace housing.

In order to achieve this aim in a city, which by 1911 contained 102,000 houses, part of a specific suburb, Headingley, was selected to serve as a representative study area.¹⁸ Detailed examination of the development of the study area was then used to produce data which could be related to other suburbs and to the City of Leeds as a whole. The choice of the study area was an important one if the overall aims of the thesis were to be achieved by this method. The study area selected contained housing of all types from large mansions to small back-to-back houses entered directly off the street. Significantly, however, the majority of the dwellings in the area were speculatively built red brick terraces and are therefore typical of the period for the whole of Leeds. The thesis examines not only the various house types and the housing estate layout within a particular suburb, but also by concentrating upon an area where speculative suburban housing predominates, it examines one of the major areas of building activity occupying the building industry in Leeds for over four decades.

Within the broad aims of the thesis were several specific objectives. Achievement of the general aims was seen to be a result of a synthesis of data obtained from the fulfilment of the following objectives:

- (1) to indicate the patterns of growth of part of a suburb which incorporates various house types, the majority of which were built for speculation, and to show the complexities involved in the formation of the existing housing stock.
- (2) to ascertain whether housing estates were largely developed at one time or whether development occurred on a piecemeal basis.
- (3) to study the effects of existing constraints such as restrictive covenants, estate boundaries and geographical features on the development of the suburb.

- (4) to ascertain whether road patterns and housing layouts were confined to the development of individual estates or formed part of some overall planning policy.
- (5) to identify building trends: the number of houses built, the house types and distribution patterns.
- (6) to study the effects of the introduction of building legislation on the design and construction of houses and streets within the study area.
- (7) to describe the housing developers and the role of their professional advisers.
- (8) to describe the architectural profession in Leeds during the period and to ascertain the extent of their involvement in the housing design and estate development processes.
- (9) to describe the construction process, the materials used, and the role of the builders.
- (10) to illustrate the use of standard house plans and their manipulation in order to fit buildings on various shaped plots.
- (11) to assess the character of the completed houses and comment upon the use of architectural decoration in the design process and on completed buildings.

1.7 The Study Area and other Related Research Projects

Having made the basic decision to study Leeds on the grounds of logistics, the writer proceeded to select a suitable study area.. The suburb of Headingley was selected for several reasons. Firstly, it contained a suitable mixture of existing housing stock although other areas of Leeds would have served equally as well. Secondly, two other research projects had been completed concerning the housing stock of Headingley. The one covered the whole of the estate development of Headingley from 1781 - 1914, the other examined the changing role of the existing houses within part of it in the present century and made recommendations on their conversion for use by single young persons. It seemed logical therefore, that a study of the speculative housing in Headingley might be beneficial in linking together these two pieces of work and the end result being three research projects each continuous on the next, each examining the same area of housing and each reducing in scope in terms of the number of buildings involved but increasing in depth of detail.

C. Treen's work on the 'Building and Estate Development of the Northern Out-townships of Leeds 1781 - 1914,' covered three townships: Headingley-cum-Burley, Chapel Allerton and Potternewton and examined the estate development of virtually all the north-western suburbs of Leeds. Treen examined the decision making processes involved in the development of building land for sale, subdivision, and resale including the conditions set for building. He also examined the role of the developers, the builders, their professional advisors and ascertained the involvement of the Local Authority in the laying out of estates prior to building taking place. In short he attempted to establish the roles played by the decision makers especially in the period prior to actual building. His major conclusion was:

'It is suggested that the role played by the developers, rather than the builders was the critical one in determining the built form of the suburbs.'¹⁹

The decision to choose Headingley for the study area meant that just one of the three out-townships covered in Treen's work could be examined in more detail. This decision inevitably meant that there would be a slight overlapping of work especially on estate development, however, wherever possible to avoid duplication of effort, findings from his thesis have been used and due acknowledgement made to the source. In all other respects than estate development, this work is contiguous with and adds to rather than duplicates the work carried out by Treen.

The second research project based on Headingley was carried out by the Research Section of The Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies in the University of York (I.A.A.S.). This project was set up to study the ways in which existing suburban housing stock could be converted in town and cities for use by single young people. Quite independently they selected part of the suburb of Headingley in Leeds to use as a pilot study area.²⁰ Commenting upon the choice of Headingley and the character of the area chosen their report stated:

'The Hyde Park/Headingley area forms an attractive inner residential district.'²¹

and on the housing in the suburb:

'The housing stock, dating from the 1880's to the 1890's was sufficiently varied in size and type for our purposes, and contained many house-types common to inner city residential districts elsewhere.'²²

The whole of the suburb of Headingley covering 3,100 acres and

containing in excess of 10,000 dwellings in 1911, still proved too large an area for detailed study.²³ Therefore in order to preserve continuity of research effort, the suburb of Headingley was originally chosen because it formed part of Treen's work and the actual boundaries of the study area were determined by following as closely as possible those selected by the research team at the I.A.A.S. The final area selected was approximately 250 acres in extent and contained approximately 3000 houses.

It is hoped that future researchers will: be able to see how the whole suburb developed in general terms by consulting Treen's work; be able to examine the development of a small area of the suburb by consulting this thesis; be able to trace some of the changes in use up to the present day by referring to the work of the I.A.A.S.

1.8 Sources of Research Material

Treen used a variety of sources including land registry records, estate records, agricultural estate records, house deeds, solicitors' papers, and local newspaper articles and advertisements. His sources had to cover a large area of Leeds and he made extensive use of the land registry at Wakefield and local newspapers. This research uses similar sources to Treen for general information, however, the writer has avoided land registry and local newspaper sources, preferring instead to accept Treen's findings in this respect.

Use has been made of the following general sources:

- published works, research theses, street directories;
- periodicals, maps, estate plans and related documents;
- Acts of Parliament, census returns;
- obituary notices;
- local business and professional records;
- house deeds held by Leeds Corporation;
- annual reports and minutes of Leeds Committees;
- solicitors' papers and estate agents' particulars;
- sale documents and sale plans;
- records at the R.I.B.A. in London and the L.Y.A.S. in Leeds.

The major source of original and unpublished information for this thesis has been the deposited architects' and surveyors' plans for estate layout and Building Bye-Law approval now in the hands of the Local Authority.²⁴ These drawings have been examined by researchers in the past in order to obtain details of specific buildings of local,

historical or architectural interest. They have not been used as a source of information on the way in which a whole number of buildings have grown up to form an historical grouping in any one particular locality. This is most probably due to the complex indexing system which makes consulting a large number of drawings a very laborious and time consuming process.

The estate plans deposited with the local authority for approval prior to the laying out of streets and building lots date from 1836. The building plans deposited with the local authority for approval prior to the erection of buildings date from 1868. Information has been obtained from both sources concerning estate layout, developers, architects, surveyors, builders, house types, house plans, elevations, sections and constructional details. The deposited building plans have provided a further source of information in the form of the inset location plans required on all drawings after 1870. These location or block plans showed the proposed new development in relation to adjoining streets, existing properties, building lots and works in progress. Comparison of these location plans showed that they overlapped both literally and chronologically, thus providing a unique insight into the building scene in a specific locality at any particular point in time or over a number of years.

1.9 Summary of Conclusions Based on Findings

The findings and conclusions drawn from them are described in Chapter 16 of this thesis, however, the major conclusions can be summarised as follows:

- (1) It is suggested that the estates which created the suburbs were developed in accordance with current market forces and in compliance with current building legislation as enforced. No overall planning policy was attempted by the local Authority or by individual landowners in order to ensure that adjoining estates related satisfactorily in terms of road patterns or housing types.
- (2) The development of an area of speculative terrace housing although apparently homogeneous in character and appearing to have a common style was more often than not carried out on a piecemeal basis with many different people involved in the process.
- (3) The tradition that builders of the period erected the majority of speculative houses by using rule of thumb

methods and standard pattern-books does not seem possible when the complexities of the sites, the building legislation, the type of builder and the professional advisers available, are all examined.

- (4) The involvement of the then architectural profession in the design of ordinary housing of the period was far greater than existing research would suggest.
- (5) The introduction of building legislation, particularly after 1866, not only brought about the typical Bye-Law street but also greatly improved the overall standard of construction of suburban housing due to the system of inspection and penalties imposed on offending builders.

Of all the findings, the major involvement of architects in the design of suburban housing, akin to the involvement of architects in the design of housing this century, is perhaps the most significant. If Leeds proves not to be an exception in this particular and the practice was widespread in other towns, then the role of the nineteenth-century architect needs to be reassessed.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

- 1 H.J. Dyos, Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell, 1966, p.11.
- 2 Ibid., p.9.
- 3 H.J. Dyos, 'The Suburban Development of Greater London South of the River Thames.' Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1952.
- 4 H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff, The Victorian City: Images and Realities, 1973, Vol. II, p.359 - 386.
- 5 F.M.L. Thompson, Hampstead: Building a Borough, 1650 - 1964, 1974.
- 6 S.M. Gaskell, 'Housing Estate Development, 1840 - 1918.' Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sheffield, 1974.
- 7 R.S. Passmore, 'The Mid-Victorian Urban Mosaic.' Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sheffield, 1975.
- 8 H.J. Dyos, Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell, 1966, p. 169 - 192.
- 9 D. Linstrum, West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture, 1978, p. 93 - 150.
- 10 H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff, op.cit., p. 333 - 357.
- 11 M.W. Beresford and G.R.J. Jones (editors), Leeds and Its Region, 1967, p. 186 - 197.
- 12 S.D. Chapman (editor), The History of Working-Class Housing: A Symposium, 1971, p. 95 - 132.
- 13 D. Linstrum, Historic Architecture of Leeds, 1969, p.45, 78 and 79.
- 14 M.W. Beresford, 'The face of Leeds, 1780 - 1914,' in D. Fraser (editor), A History of Modern Leeds, 1980, p. 72 - 112.
- 15 See Table 14, p. 138.
- 16 See Table 15, p. 139.
- 17 H.J. Dyos, Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell, 1966, p.7.
- 18 See Table 6, p. 32.
- 19 C. Treen, 'Building and Estate Development of the Northern Out-townships of Leeds 1781 - 1914.' Ph.D. Thesis, University of Leeds, 1977. See Summary on first page of Treen's thesis.
- 20 A. Chippindale, Housing for Single Young People: A survey of single young people living in multi-occupied houses, Research Paper 11, Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York, 1976.
- 21 Ibid., p.11
- 22 Ibid., p. 7.
- 23 See Table 4 and Table 5, p. 31.
- 24 Leeds City Archives Department at Sheepscar have estate plans from 1836 - 1900 and building plans from 1868 - 1910. Plans relating to the period after these dates are still stored at Leeds Civic Hall.

CHAPTER 2 LEEDS, THE SUBURB OF HEADINGLEY AND THE STUDY AREA

2.1 Leeds

During the middle ages, like most other towns and villages in the district, Leeds was at this time engrossed in the domestic production of woollen goods. This was due mainly to the low agricultural yield of the area. When the town received its first Charter in 1626, it was in the hands of the cloth merchants that both the wealth and the running of the town was entrusted. The position of Leeds was important in making it an entrepot for commerce, situated as it was at the head of a navigable river and forming a centre for the transmission of goods from both east and west. Here the pack-horses and waggons from the dales and uplands brought their goods for export and the agricultural produce of the rich fertile plains to the east came in the reverse direction. The needs of the district were supplied by the large number of Leeds wholesalers that sprang up in the expanding town.

By 1800, Leeds was undergoing a striking transformation. The population in the township rose sharply from 16,380 in 1771 to 30,669 at the first census in 1801.¹ The rising birthrate, large scale immigration, an abundance of capital, new technical processes and the newly opened foreign markets all led to an enormous expansion of industry. The growth of the town itself was promoted by the new organisations concentrating manufacture in factories supplied by steam power. The latter was a technological advance which favoured Leeds because of the readily available coal supplies to the south.

The factory system in woollen textiles was pioneered in the 1790's by Benjamin Gott of Bean Ing Mills, and the machine spinning of flax was developed by John Marshall in the 1830's. By 1830, Leeds industry was widely mechanised employing 133 engines using 110,000 tons of coal a year. Other subsidiary industries flourished, such as brewing, glass making, potteries, tanneries and printing works. By the 1850's Leeds was the country's most important centre for the processing of sheepskins and the second most important for tanning.

Leeds was fast becoming a financial and marketing centre for a large area with banks, two Cloth Halls, markets and a Corn Exchange together with the concentration of solicitors' firms which provided the means for regional finance. Despite its increasing regional importance practically no planning was applied to urban growth. A seventeenth-century system of local government, carried out by the parish vestries

struggled with inadequate powers to cope with the problems raised by rapid expansion. Street lighting, water supply, sewage and refuse clearance were all tackled in a haphazard way. After the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 public opinion began to be disturbed at the worst horrors of unplanned growth.

The population of the borough as a whole grew from 53,276 in 1801 to 172,270 in 1851.² The inhumanity of the conditions experienced by the inhabitants of cellar dwellings and small courtyards had existed since the turn of the century but continuing expansion of population further deteriorated the situation. There were cholera epidemics in 1832 and 1848 and a typhus epidemic in 1847. The continual overcrowding, the factory nuisances and the outbreak of epidemics all acted as spurs to the middle classes to move into the suburbs, particularly to the northern fringes of the inner central area. In 1838-9 the death rate for the Leeds Township was 34.9 per 1,000 and stabilised at around 30 per 1,000 between 1800-75: a figure which was persistently higher than the national average or that of rural areas. It was not until the 1870's that the turning point was reached, both nationally and in Leeds: the death rate at last began to decline.³

The urgent need to improve the health of the inhabitants spurred the corporation into action. In 1842 they promoted the Leeds Improvement Act containing 392 clauses in order to deal with insanitary conditions. Unfortunately further action did not follow the legislation, particularly in regard to housing, and Leeds became synonymous with the evil social effects of the Industrial Revolution.⁴ Building land was usually freehold and bought in small lots by different owners who, at least prior to 1850, appear to have been concerned merely with erecting the maximum amount of property without regard to amenity. Understandably working-class discontent began to emerge and found some expression at least in Chartism.

At this time of awakening social conscience, the reform of the church in Leeds was promoted by Dr. W.F. Hook, vicar of Leeds 1837-1859. There was still only one parish church in the borough in 1837. Hook re-organised the parish, making parish churches in the other townships of the borough and he re-built the Parish Church in order to hold larger congregations. Leeds was criticised for reorganising the religious life of Victorian Leeds while the evil social effects of the Industrial Revolution remained unsolved. The social failures of the nineteenth century have to be viewed, however, against the background

of the enormous problems set by the growth of population. Leeds is not untypical of other boom-towns of the Industrial Revolution: in 1801 the population of the borough was 53,276; in 1851, 172,270 and in 1901, 428,968.⁵

One of the contributing factors to this expansion was immigration. Large scale immigration from the surrounding districts and from further afield, such as Ireland, when workpeople were required for expanding industries, added to the problems throughout the century. Irish labour came into the town in the 1830's and 1840's, particularly into the flax-spinning mills and as labourers on building sites. In the 1880's and 1890's a new wave of immigration took place, this time of Jews from Russia and Eastern Europe. Again they provided a great deal of labour required for the expanding tailoring industry.

The traditional industry of Leeds, woollen manufacture, declined during the nineteenth century as also did the flax trade. The once all powerful cloth merchants ceased to dominate the economy of Leeds. The decline of flax and other textiles left a supply of female labour for the wholesale clothing industry which was destined to become so important to Leeds after the introduction of the sewing machine in 1856. Leeds soon outplaced almost all other centres in England in the production of ready-made clothing. Just as John Marshall had pioneered flax spinning in Leeds, Joseph Hepworth pioneered the system of wholesale manufacturers opening retail shops to sell their own clothing.

If many women were employed in clothing, the major industry for men was engineering which had developed to make the machines which made the textile factories prosper. Flax machinery, locomotives, textile machinery, agricultural engineering and a machine tool industry all grew up together with iron foundries and forges. James Kitson and John Fowler were typical of the men who built up this fund of engineering skills.

An important factor concerning the industry of Leeds during the second half of the last century was its diversity. It ranged from all types of engineering through a wide range of subsidiary industries to clothing, tailoring, printing and consumer industries. All of these taken together provided some measure of protection against a depression in any one trade.

The urgent need, however, to improve the health and social welfare of

the citizen was met only after a long drawn out process. Gas lighting was introduced into the town centre streets in 1819. In 1837 a new waterworks company was formed in order to supply the town with water. In 1843 Eccup Reservoir began to supply the town which had previously depended upon water pumped from the polluted river. The Corporation purchased the waterworks company and in 1862 schemes to bring water from reservoirs in the Washburn Valley north of the town were adopted. Adequate drainage was a much slower process. Before 1850 the only sewers were the private property of those who constructed them for their own houses and as late as 1874 raw sewage was still being discharged into the River Aire. The gas and electricity companies came into public ownership in 1870 and 1898 respectively.

Leeds appointed its first Medical Officer of Health in 1866 when the death rate was 33.9 persons per 1,000 compared with London's 25.2. An article in The Builder stated "The newly appointed Medical Officer of Health has a heavy task before him..."⁶ This observation was probably based on the difficulties experienced by the Leeds doctors Charles Thackrah and Robert Baker to obtain sanitary reforms in earlier years.

Demolition of slum property began as early as 1870 when the Corporation demolished small numbers of insanitary houses in unhealthy areas; but it was not until after 1918 that the Corporation began to build suburban housing estates, in Meanwood, Middleton and elsewhere. The Town Planning Acts from 1909 onwards enabled Leeds to promote clearance schemes and road widening schemes which caused much of the central area street pattern to disappear.

The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 led to a council which had to be elected by the ratepayers. In 1832 the town was given two seats in Parliament; this was raised to three in 1867 and five in 1885. In 1893 the borough became a city with an area of 21,593 acres which was the same area it had been in 1626 when the first charter adopted the ancient parish as the municipal area. From 1912 various adjustments of the boundaries increased the size of the city to 40,619 acres by 1971.

2.2. Population Growth

The increase in population for each decade for the borough of Leeds can be seen in the following table:

Table 1 The population of Leeds, 1801 - 1921⁷

	Leeds in-township	Other townships	Total in ^a borough
1801	30,669	22,607	53,276
1811	35,951	26,714	62,665
1821	48,603	35,340	83,943
1831	71,602	51,946	123,548
1841	88,741	63,313	152,054
1851	101,343	70,927	172,270
1861	117,566	89,599	207,165
1871	139,362	119,850	259,212
1881	160,109	149,010	309,119
1891	177,523	189,982	367,505
1901	177,920	251,048	428,968
1911	163,552	281,998	445,550
1921	n.d.a.	n.d.a.	458,232

a Various boundary changes took place over the years e.g. 1912, which produced slight variations of totals in different sources. When this occurred those given by Morgan have been used.

The increase in population for each decade in percentage terms can be stated as follows for the whole Borough:

Table 2 Increase in Population, 1811 - 1921

1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
18%	34%	47%	23%	13%	20%	25%	19%	19%	17%	4%	3%

If the area of the borough is taken as 21,450 acres in 1831, as 21,572 acres in 1861, as 21,593 acres in 1891; then the rise in population can be expressed in terms of density per acre as follows:⁸

Table 3 Population Density in Persons per Acre.

1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
2.47	2.91	3.90	5.75	7.08	8.03	9.60	12.01	14.32	17.01	19.86	20.63

Thus from Tables 1, 2, and 3 the overall pattern of population growth and increase in density can be seen. The rapid growth in population due to immigration into the town by factory workers can also be seen between 1811 and 1841. Another increase in the rate of expansion was experienced between 1851 and 1871 but not as dramatically as

before. The important overall trend was that from 1801 to 1911 the population had increased eight times. This was matched by a corresponding increase in the number of houses in the borough, for in 1801 there were 11,258 and by 1901 this figure had risen to 101,933, an increase of nine times.⁹ Leeds had been transformed from a county town of about two square miles built around a bridge on a river to a sprawling city taking up fifty-nine square miles.

2.3 Transport Developments

The turnpike network of roads developed around Leeds during the mid eighteenth-century largely because increased demand placed a growing strain on existing transport systems. By 1830 the turnpike network extended from Leeds in all directions from Ripon in the north to York in the east, Sheffield in the South and Halifax in the west. Some roads were simply improved following the lines of the old parish roads, now turnpiked, others were new creations. Thus the road through Kirkstall to Bradford was an improvement of an old road but the Otley Turnpike built in 1841 was a new road erected in order to facilitate traffic going to Kendal. This road took traffic away from the old route through Burley to the south. As roads improved vehicle traffic flourished and coach services between Leeds and other towns such as Sheffield and Manchester were operating daily by 1785. By 1830 half a dozen inns centred on Briggate controlled the coaching business including Leeds to London mail coaches. At this time the newly arrived railways had scarcely affected the coaching and freight networks. However, when change did come it came swiftly. The Leeds-Selby railway line was opened in 1834 and by 1835 it was carrying 3,500 passengers a week during the summer months.¹⁰ The stage coaches still plied their trade, despite competition from the railways, but the opening of further railway links between Leeds and London, York, Newcastle and Manchester rapidly destroyed long-distance coaching. In the 1840's a growing number of road haulage firms transferred to the railways and long-distance road freight services also gradually began to decline. By the mid-nineteenth century Leeds was linked by rail to many of the original turnpike destinations such as Bradford, Dewsbury, Halifax and Thirsk.

As far as the development of the suburbs was concerned the opening up of new railways was not significant. The first railways to penetrate the suburbs did little to make great changes in living patterns. As a rule the earlier railways did not cater specifically

for regular suburban journeys but more for occasional journeys between towns. Later in the century it did allow access to town for wealthy villa owners who built near to the railway halts or stations along the routes outside the Leeds boundary. Merchants, bankers and factory owners did not, however, need to rely upon a daily journey to work and they also owned independent means of transport.

The basic method of transport for the wealthy was the horse or the private carriage; later to be complemented by the introduction of the horse-drawn omnibus. When roads alone provided the main lines of communication the suburbs were reached along avenues of ribbon development, behind the villas and other houses lay market gardens, tea gardens, recreational grounds and farmland catering for the urban population. The suburbs and the expanding out-townships remained in touch with each other with the continuity of the road. This continuity was further enhanced by the horse-drawn omnibus and later by the tramcar. With each successful development or improvement in the tram network there followed an increase in its use and more infilling of houses in those estates left behind by the earlier ribbon development. In the words of Dyos:

'Until the 1860's the daily journey to work was necessarily governed by the available roads and the public transport which used them. Suburban road transport, it has already become clear, had had a long history when the Victorian era opened. Ancient highway, country lane, and turnpike had, in both a figurative and literal sense, already laid down the template of Victorian suburban expansion.'¹¹

As early as 1818 an experiment was started in Leeds to operate horse-drawn buses. By 1839 they ran from Leeds to Far Headingley 5 times each weekday for a through fare of 6d. Soon other services were operating to Chapeltown, Kirkstall and Hunslet. Less frequent services were extended to Whitkirk, Meanwood, Wortley and Roundhay. As the average working man earned less than £1 per week he could not have afforded 1s. per day for transport and as the first tram in the morning was 8.20 a.m., it was clearly a means of transport for the middle classes.¹² The omnibus continued to operate with little change in fares or frequency until 1866 when the Corporation obtained the power to abolish turnpike road tolls within the borough. This development went some way to reducing the fares of the omnibus because the tolls no longer formed part of the running costs.

The opening of tramways in Liverpool and London in 1869-70 set off a spate of similar tramway promotions. In Leeds horse-drawn trams, running on smooth rails set in the road, were started in 1871. The trams developed rapidly from 1871 from horse-drawn, steam powered and finally to electrically operated. The first tram route to open was from the centre of town north west to the 'Oak' public house at Headingley; this route began on September 16, 1871. The Leeds Tramways Act of 1872 not only rapidly developed horse tramway routes to far Headingley, Chapeltown, Hunslet and Kirkstall, but attempted to introduce workmen's trams starting at 7.00 a.m. with cheaper fares. The cheaper fares and regular workmen's trams were not to come for a further twenty years.

In October 1877 the first experiments with mechanical traction to replace horses were carried out from Hunslet to Kirkstall with a Kitson experimental steam tram engine. The 1880's saw huge double deck bogie trailer trams being towed by the smaller steam engines. They not only caused damage to the existing lines but were not liked:

'They were ugly, smelly vehicles, scaring horses and omitting fumes and grit from the chimney.'¹³

The first electric tramway with overhead wires and a trolley system in the country was opened to take passengers from the town centre to Roundhay Park on October 29, 1891. The Leeds tramways were taken over by the Corporation in 1894 and this led to the rapid expansion of routes; cheaper fares and increased services rapidly followed. Services on most routes began at 4.30 a.m. and ended at midnight.¹⁴

Workmen's trams were officially introduced in 1889 and, with the cost reductions that electrification produced, regular urban travel became possible for the working classes. The last horse-drawn tram ran on a scheduled route in October 1901 and in April 1902 the last steam tram ran from Bramley into Leeds. By 1908 the electric tram fleet had swelled to 282 passenger vehicles and all routes operated until 12.30 a.m. and restarted at 4.30 a.m. The electric tram began a public transit revolution in urban areas perhaps no less significant than the railways had revolutionised inter-urban travel earlier in the century.

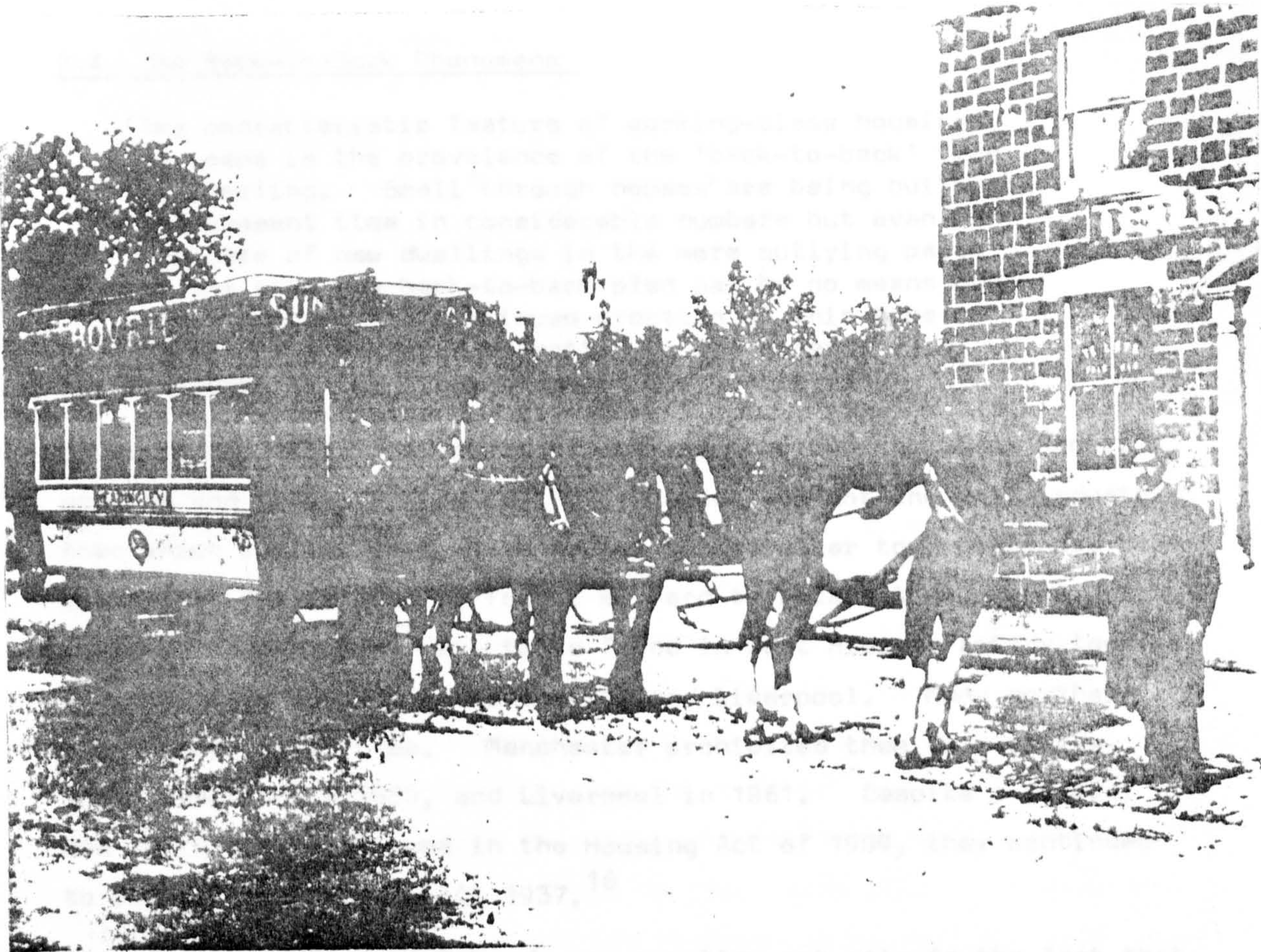


Fig.1 Horse tram outside the Woodman Hotel, Headingley.

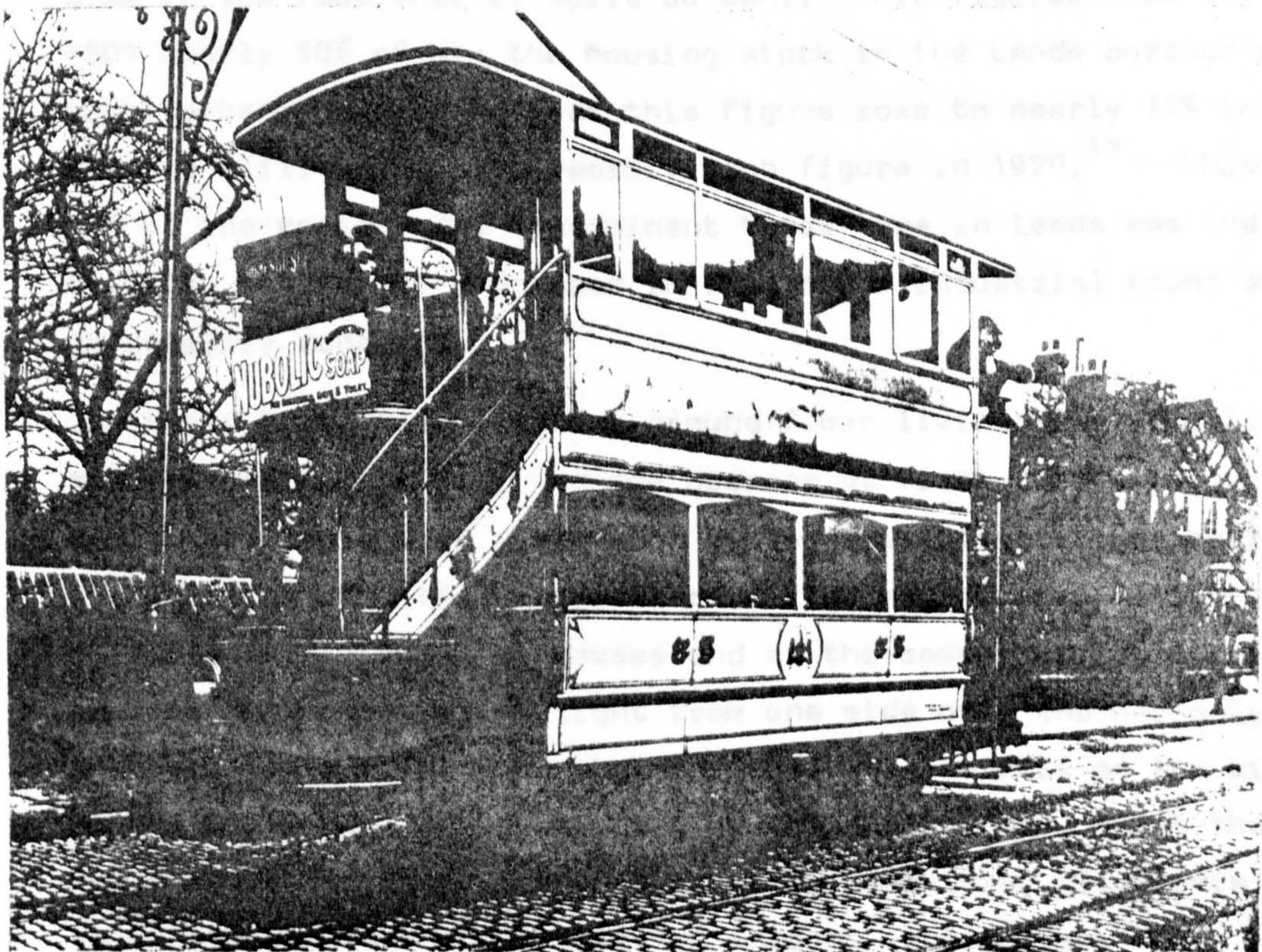


Fig.2 Double decker tram car, Victoria Road, 1905.

2.4 The Back-to-Back Phenomena

'The characteristic feature of working-class housing in Leeds is the prevalence of the 'back-to-back' type of dwelling. Small 'through houses' are being built at the present time in considerable numbers but even in the case of new dwellings in the more outlying parts of the city, the back-to-back plan has by no means been superceded. The continued erection of this type of house forms a marked exception to the general rule followed by the large towns of the country.'¹⁵

So wrote A.W. Fox in a Report of Inquiry into Working Class Rents, Housing and Retail Prices in 1908. Leeds was not the only industrial town which built back-to-back houses but no other town continued to build them for so long or fought so hard to retain them. Few were built in London, many were to be found in West Riding factory towns and they were popular in Manchester and Liverpool. Many northern towns never built them. Manchester prohibited them as early as 1844, Bradford in 1860, and Liverpool in 1861. Despite a general ban on this type of home in the Housing Act of 1909, they continued to be built in Leeds until 1937.¹⁶

Beresford has shown that Leeds was peculiar not only in the fact that it built back-to-backs long after they were condemned elsewhere, but also in the fact that it built so many. His figures show that in 1801 nearly 10% of all the housing stock in the Leeds borough were back-to-back houses and that this figure rose to nearly 71% in 1886 and was still at this incredibly high figure in 1920.¹⁷ Thus by the end of the century the predominant house type in Leeds was the back-to-back, a type not even seen in some other industrial towns and universally condemned.

The basic house comprised one ground floor living room, usually entered off the street, and one bedroom at first floor level. Variations could take place such as two small first floor bedrooms and the addition of attics and cellars. The houses were built in rows or terraces of identical houses and at the same time put back-to-back so that they received daylight from one side only and had only one entrance door. The fact that the rear wall as well as the side walls of the house were built abutting or sharing another, meant that the house had three instead of the usual two adjoining neighbours and this precluded any possibility of through ventilation.

The back-to-back in Leeds was usually referred euphemistically to as a cottage and drawings referred to them as 'estates of cottages.'

So popular were they that many were built without an adjoining owner to the rear, merely a blank windowless wall. These were called blind back-to-backs, half backs or blind cottages and were used to fit in houses against boundaries where insufficient land did not allow a road and a full terrace of houses back-to-back. The blind house was a useful device for the laying out of estates where high density development was required to give maximum rental or dwellings to the acre. The blind back-to-back became an acceptable housing type, so much so that the writer has found examples of blind houses erected on sites with no apparent reason for them to face only one way other than the fact that the house type had become accepted even when there was no longer any need for it.¹⁸

The main reasons why the back-to-back house was criticized by social and sanitary reformers were threefold: firstly, the small size of the early houses often occupying a building plot as small as five yards by five yards; secondly, the way in which the houses were grouped in small courtyards or narrow streets often facing each other across a gap of as little as three to four yards wide; thirdly, the lack of through ventilation and the restriction of daylight into rooms due to the one wall only having windows.

The cholera epidemic in 1832 and the regular occurrence of typhus, which was called the slum illness, were related by such men as Baker to those areas of bad housing with poor drainage and an inadequate supply of water. At the same time medical knowledge began to recognise that airborne diseases were more prevalent in houses and slum property with poor ventilation and that certain deformities could be related to lack of air and daylight.

Beresford suggests that the back-to-back became accepted as a tolerable way of housing for the urban working classes because of the way in which the town of Leeds developed.¹⁹ From 1750 onwards, when extra accommodation was required, a tradition arose for building urban cottages in the vacant spaces still left in inn yards, gardens, orchards, and tenter grounds which still lined the old core of the town. The new housing built to accommodate incomers was built by lining the interior walls of an inn yard or garden with new cottages, and as most plots were long and narrow with a narrow main street frontage, there was only room for one line of dwellings along each wall. Thus the front and only door faced inwards to the yard. The space left unbuilt upon then became a court which could be paved and some form

of archway gave a passage access from the court to the road. Thus from the 1750's onwards, incomers to Leeds were accustomed to living in houses without side or back windows.

Beresford goes on to suggest that when fields were first developed that did not form part of the original burgage plots laid out in the town centre in 1207, it became a logical step to develop them in a similar way particularly if the fields were small, narrow and long.²⁰

The back-to-backs gradually changed in character and became generally more pleasing in design and layout. They grew in size with attic bedrooms and keeping-cellars being added but the most significant change was the increase in width to provide two rooms. This type of back-to-back was usually referred to as a 'scullery house' and its increased width to a double bay together with attics, cellars and the addition of a garden made it more desirable for letting than some of the smaller through terraces. In 1906 they could fetch rentals from 3s. 9d. to 5s. 6d. per week when through houses were rented at 5s. 3d. to 6s.²¹ Older and smaller back-to-backs were cheaper to rent at 2s. 3d. to 3s.²²

In 1866 a partial restriction came into force with the Leeds Improvement Act of that year which restricted the building of back-to-backs to blocks of eight (four front and four back) if the privies were external to the dwellings. This produced a characteristic layout of rows of short blocks broken at regular intervals by open yards containing privies. Another reason why the back-to-back became more pleasing was not only that new regulations demanded wider spacing between blocks of dwellings but also because streets became longer. Their increase in length became possible because of an increase in size of the development unit. By the 1860's very little land which was not developed lay within the in-township and the new building grounds that became available were situated in the rural fields, particularly to the north west, north and north east. Townships such as Potternewton Chapel Allerton and Headingley-cum-Burley had larger fields and larger estates which could be developed.

Leeds fought a long rearguard action to retain its right to build back-to-backs. In 1894 when the Leeds Builder's Exchange met to debate a proposed clause to prohibit back-to-back houses in Leeds; the committee which had previously visited Hull:

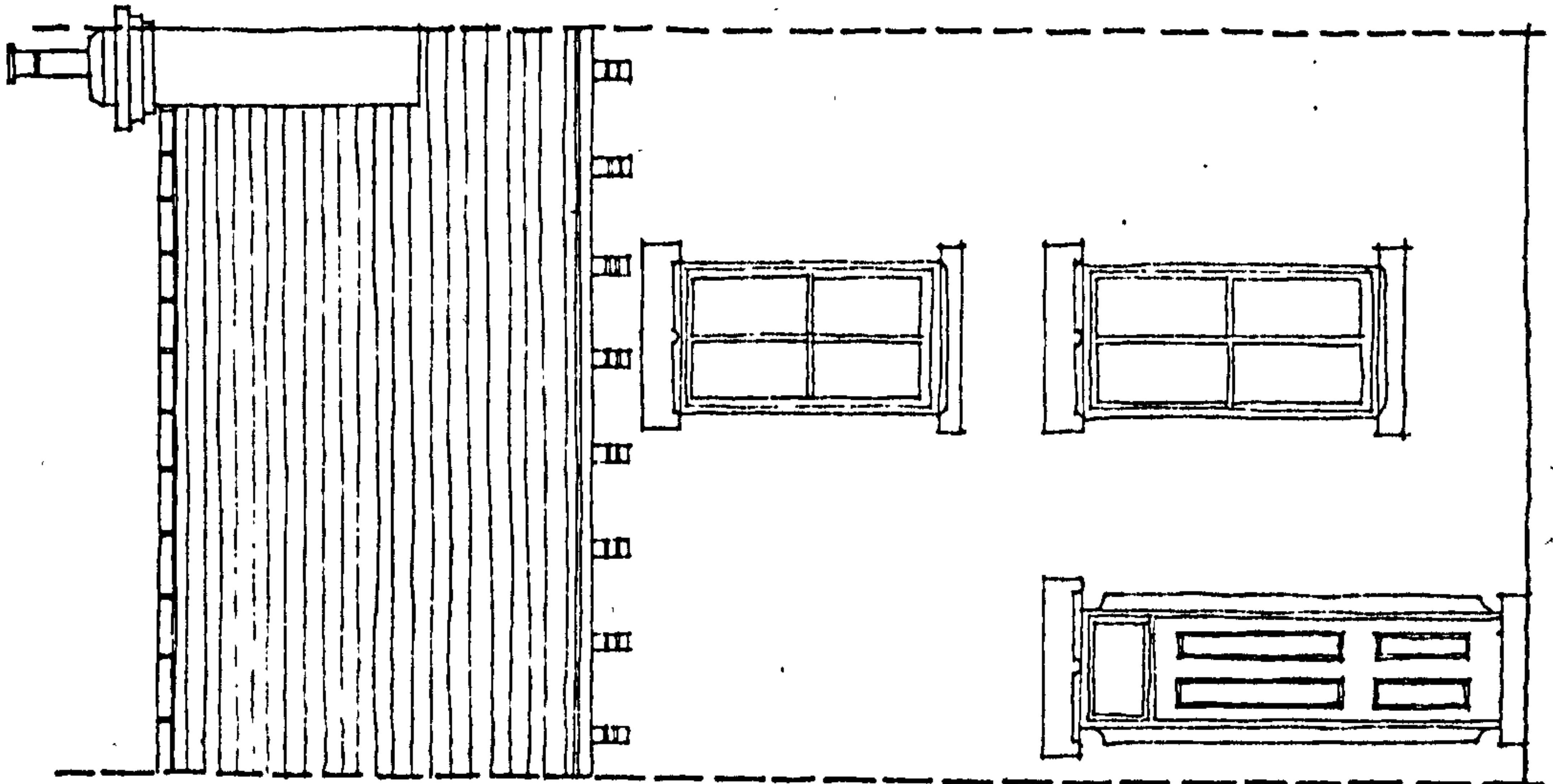


Fig. 3 Typical single fronted back-to-back (based on a drawing by D. Williams).

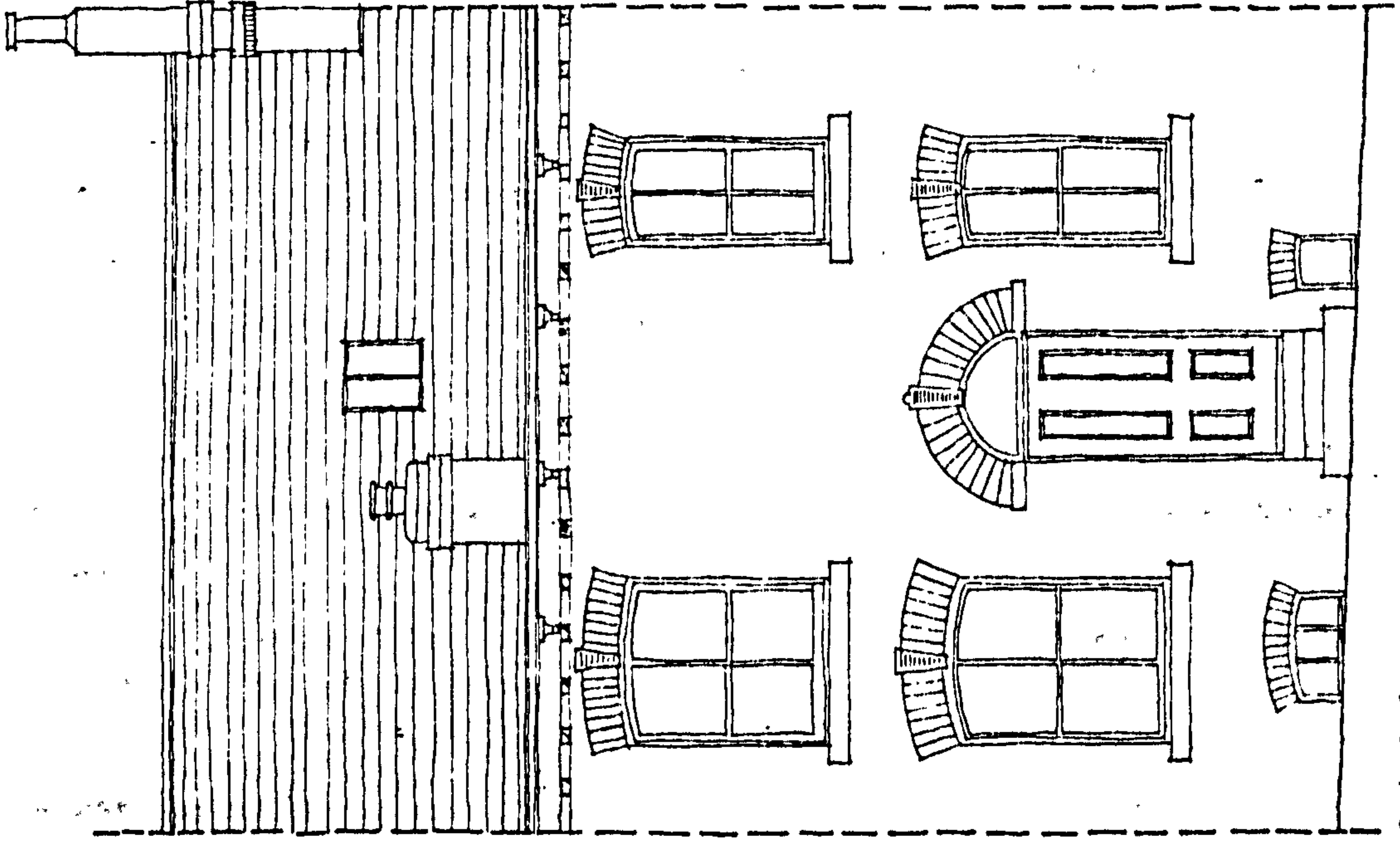


Fig. 4 Typical double fronted back-to-back with scullery (based on a drawing by D. Williams).

'in consequence of the laudation of the through houses for the working classes there, but that their careful inspection of these resulted in a conviction that the system prevailing in Leeds was in every way superior to the houses they saw in Hull.'²³

At the annual meeting of the Incorporated Association of Municipal and County Engineers held at Brighton in 1896, discussions took place following the presentation of a paper on the housing of the working-classes. It was pointed out that a working man could not afford to pay 6s. to 7s. per week for rent especially as labouring men in the north of England earned only 18s. to 20s per week. It was suggested that even the weekly rental of two-storey tenements at 4s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. would be beyond their reach. One Spokesman said:

'the chief difficulty was to get suitable buildings at a rent which could be within the reach of the poorest of the displaced population.'²⁴

He was probably referring to the increased overcrowding that often followed the slum clearance because the persons displaced could not afford the rents of any new housing erected to house them.

A.M. Fowler who was Borough Surveyor at Manchester but had held the same position in Leeds was more specific:

'Mr. A.M. Fowler (Manchester) was of the opinion that the present system of building large barracks six or seven storeys high was a mistake, and expressed a preference for the Leeds system of back-to-back houses in blocks of eight, with a water-closet at the end of the block.'²⁵

In The Builder later the same year (1896) a comment was made that back-to-backs continued to be built in Leeds 'despite the fact that they are considered a danger to health.'²⁶

In 1909 when the Housing, Town Planning Act laid down a countrywide ban on the building of back-to-backs, the Leeds Master Builders Association petitioned against the ban on the grounds that the working population of the city would not be able to afford the rent of through houses.²⁷ Despite the imposition of a national ban, Leeds continued to build back-to-backs because the 1909 Act stated that the ban did not apply to streets where plans had been approved by the council before 1st May 1909. Because of this loophole they continued to be built in Leeds until the 1930's on estates laid out over two decades earlier and back-to-backs were still being built in the years when the older back-to-backs were being cleared for slum-clearance.

Beresford attempted to find a reason why the back-to-back phenomenon existed in Leeds to the extent that it did. He pointed out that they were not just a result of the need for low rentals or peculiar to all industrial areas: they had no industrial function and were not related to the availability of different building materials. Land values were not the key to their popularity because they occurred on both cheap and dear land. They were built usually in brick, but in many areas local stone was used for all external walls. His conclusion was that if economics, use and materials were to be discounted then local 'cultural' factors have to be taken into account and perhaps the people of Leeds actually preferred to live in back-to-backs.²⁸

2.5 Headingley-cum-Burley

Headingley-cum-Burley was one of the eleven out-townships of Leeds during the nineteenth-century and had within its boundaries the old villages of Headingley and Burley. The ancient division of the borough into the in-township and the eleven out-townships and the relative position of Headingley-cum-Burley to the central area can be seen in Fig. 5. Situated to the north-west of the town centre, Headingley was bounded on the east by Chapel Allerton, Potternewton and the in-township of Leeds, and on the south and west by Bramley and Armley.

For many years the in-township dominated all the others; in 1851 58 per cent of the population lived there.²⁹ The in-township's growth was mainly due to the attraction of workers to its expanding industry and commerce. Other townships where industry flourished also began to expand; Holbeck because of the flax trade; Wortley and Bramley because of textile production; Hunslet from 1831 expanded rapidly to become the most populated out-township because of the expansion of the textile and engineering industries.

Because of the hours of work and the fact that there was no public transport, people who relied on walking as the means of getting to work had to live near their places of employment. This meant that the industrial townships also became the main residential areas. In 1851 the industrial townships contained 92 per cent of the population of the borough.³⁰

The agricultural townships such as Farnley, Chapel Allerton and Potternewton experienced only a modest growth in population.

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SCALE OF MILES

MAP

OF THE BOROUGH OF LEEDS.

Published by *Adams & Co. Son.*

1854.

Edinburgh: W. & A. Black, 1854.

Explanation

- Boundary of the Township of Leeds shown thus 
- Boundary of the Out Townships 
- Houses and other Buildings 
- Rivers and Brooks 
- Township Roads 
- Foot Paths 
- Hills and rising Grounds 



Fig. 5 Map of the borough of Leeds in 1834 with the township of Headingley-cum-Burley indicated.

Headingley was different. Its share of the population of the borough remained static at around three per cent from 1801 to 1841 and from then on increased every decade until 1911 (see Table 4). This was due not only to industry at Kirkstall attracting workers but also because Headingley became a popular suburb for the middle classes retreating from the very same industries in the town centre. The river at Kirkstall and the leases offered by Sir Sandford Graham were instrumental in the Kirkstall area of Headingley expanding into a textile and ironfounding centre. These industries attracted workers into Kirkstall and Burley.³¹ The explanation for the other factor in the growth of Headingley, its transformation into a middle class suburb, lies in its geographical location. The village of Headingley was 2½ miles north-west of the town centre and situated on the Leeds and Otley turnpike road. The village of Burley was lower down the hill to the south on the old road to Otley which had been reduced to lesser importance by the new turnpike.

The village of Headingley was above and away from the nuisances of local industry. It boasted a healthy rural environment, visually attractive, clean air and fresh water from springs. By 1840 the in-township and other industrial townships suffered from both air and water pollution. Because of the position of Headingley on the top of a hill and the direction of prevailing winds, it could be readily observed that smoke pollution would not be a problem for the aspiring suburban villa occupier. It also boasted lower taxes than other areas of Leeds at least before 1841, and after that date, the existence of handsome pleasure grounds in the form of the newly opened Zoological and Botanical gardens.³²

In 1837 when the first major estate was put on the market at Headingley for villa development the vendors claimed:

'the beauties of Headingley and its neighbourhood and the salubrity of the air are too well known to require any observation.'³³

The 1861 Census Report described the fact that Headingley had become a middle-class suburb as follows:

'The sanitary position of Headingley with Burley has induced a large portion of the mercantile community of Leeds to reside in the township.'³⁴

The move to Headingley was indicative of social change. After 1851 Leeds became socially segregated with the middle classes escaping

to newly created suburbs and the workers being left to live near their places of employment in the industrial areas. The second half of the century saw the decline of the in-township; by 1891 just under half the borough's population lived there.³⁵ Hunslet, Armley and Wortley all grew in population because of the railways and engineering which were major employers. There was some suburban development in the northern out-townships of Chapel Allerton and Potternewton which caused a modest increase in population. In his chapter on the demographic changes in the Leeds townships Morgan describes Headingley:

'the only true suburb continued to be Headingley, whose role was strengthened by the development of a public transport system of horse buses and trams aimed at middle-class clientele. About 60 per cent of Headingley's growth between 1851 and 1891 was due to in-migration.'³⁶

In 1891 the six industrial townships contained 89 per cent of the borough's population, however, this share gradually declined over the next twenty years. The change came about because of the growth of the suburbs brought about by higher incomes, shorter working hours and the development of trams enabling the artisans and better-off members of the working class to join the middle class on the movement to the suburbs.

The development of the workmen's tram and the reduction in the cost of fares and the extension of new services all aided the process. Chapel Allerton, Beeston, Potternewton and Roundhay all experienced rapid increases in population. The Builder in 1896 reported these developments as follows:

'The development of Roundhay as a residential district for business men is likely to be rapid when once the electric cars commence to run through from and to the centre of the city.'³⁷

Headingley changed in character as its population grew from 1,313 in 1801 to 46,434 in 1911. It lost its select middle-class status as estates of terrace houses built in red brick began to encroach on the large stone villas of the merchants and bankers. Once again Headingley was different to other out-townships, back-to-backs were built before 1850, red-brick terraces had begun to appear in the 1860's and its major expansion took place before the general trend of dispersal from the industrial townships. The largest percentage increase in the number of new houses erected occurred in the decade

1821 to 1831, and the greatest number of houses were built during the period 1881 to 1901.

The pattern of distribution of house types can be clearly seen today with the larger villas of the middle class centering on the crown of what was known as Headingley Hill and to the north of Headingley village. The red-brick terraces occur in many parts of the suburb but are more concentrated in certain areas such as at Burley and adjoining the in-township. Industry is centred around Kirkstall and Burley along the low lying land beside the river Aire forming the boundary with the townships of Bramley and Armley. The rate of growth of population and of the number of houses erected can be illustrated for the whole of Headingley-cum-Burley by the following tables:

Table 4 The Population of Headingley-cum-Burley, 1801 - 1911⁷

	Population	% increase	% of total borough
1801	1,313		2.5
1811	1,670	27	2.7
1821	2,154	53	2.6
1831	3,849	79	3.1
1841	4,768	24	3.1
1851	6,105	28	3.5
1861	9,674	58	4.7
1871	13,942	44	5.4
1881	19,138	37	6.2
1891	29,911 ^a	56	8.1
1901	41,561	39	9.7
1911	46,434 ^b	12	10.4

a. The census report gives 30,894, however, the figure given by Morgan has been used for this table.

b. Some sources give this figure as 48,302; once again the figure given by Morgan has been used.

Table 5 Houses in Headingley-cum-Burley, 1801-1901⁸

	Inhabited houses	% increase of inhabited houses	Uninhabited houses	Houses in course of erection	Persons per inhabited house
1801	256		6	n.d.a.	5.1
1811	337	32	2	3	5.0
1821	390	16	16	4	5.5
1831	664	70	16	4	5.8
1841	922	39	76	24	5.2
1851	1,222	32	35	25	5.0
1861	2,024	66	n.d.a.	n.d.a.	4.8
1871	3,005	48	147	64	4.6
1881	4,026	34	316	50	4.7
1891	6,723	67	231	117	4.4
1901	9,424	40	489	62	4.4

It can be seen from Table 5 that around 1,000 houses were built in the suburb between 1801 and 1851 and around 8,000 houses in the second half of the century. Note also the high proportion of properties uninhabited at various periods (5% in 1871 and 1901, 8% in 1841 and 1881) and the 20% increase in all houses built between 1811 - 1821 housed an increase in population of 53%.

Table 6 Houses in Leeds and Headingley-cum-Burley, 1801 - 1911⁸

	Houses in borough of Leeds	Total number of houses in Headingley-cum-Burley ^a	% of borough
1801	11,258	262	2.3
1811	13,243	339	2.5
1821	17,419	406	2.3
1831	25,456	680	2.7
1841	31,626	998	3.1
1851	36,165	1,257	3.5
1861	44,651	2,105 ^b	4.7
1871	55,827	3,152	5.6
1881	64,981	4,342	6.7
1891	78,077	6,954	8.9
1901	94,760	9,913	10.5
1911	101,933	n.d.a.	

a. Combined total of inhabited and uninhabited houses, excluding those in course of erection.

b. an average figure of 4% has been added for uninhabited houses.

Thus it can be seen from the above tables that Headingley had its greatest percentage increases in population in the decade 1821 - 1831 and that this was followed by large percentage increases in 1851 - 1861 and in 1881 - 1891. The increase in the number of houses built followed a similar pattern.

The area of the township was 2,800 acres from 1831 to 1846, 3,058 acres from 1846 to 1891, and 3,183 acres from 1891 to 1921.³⁸

2.6 The Study Area

The Census Reports of 1911 show that the borough of Leeds contained 101,933 houses and that Headingley was the township in which over 10,000 were situated. As outlined in 1.6 above the whole of the suburb was considered too large an area of housing to study in sufficient depth to avoid generalities. A smaller area was required and the study area selected covered more or less the part of Headingley used by the I.A.A.S. at York.³⁹

The position and boundaries of the study area can be seen in Fig. 6 and Fig. 7. The exact boundaries of the study area followed very closely those of the area of study selected by the I.A.A.S. at York with only a few modifications. The significant change being a reduction in area to the north-west in order to follow a more logical boundary related to the sale of an individual estate. The boundary used by York cut across an area of housing which was developed when Headingley House was sold in 1880. A decision had to be taken to extend the study area to include all this estate or to reduce it in order to exclude it. The latter course of action was adopted.

The boundaries of the study area, starting at the Hyde Park district of Leeds, can be described as follows:

Headingley Lane, North Lane, Kirkstall Lane, The North Eastern Railway line to Thirsk, Royal Park Road and Hyde Park Road.

The study area measured on the 1971 O.S. map, covered 265 acres and contained 3,345 dwellings. It has a fall from 275 ft. above sea level at the extreme north to 175 ft. above sea level at the extreme south with the contours running approximately west to east across the site. Therefore when the first migrations to the suburb occurred, the first building plots in the study area were developed with large villas built on the top of a south facing slope on land which was north-west of the Leeds town centre. The new houses were not polluted by drifting mill chimney smoke which tended to originate from the south and the south-west because of the prevailing westerly wind direction.

The study area had approximately 45 existing houses within its boundaries in 1831 and was a rural area. The first major sale of land for an estate development to house the middle class who wished to move out of the town centre took place in 1837. This also caused the construction of the first new road to be driven into the study area in order to cater specifically for villa plots; Victoria Road constructed in 1838. This thesis therefore takes 1838 as the starting point at which the creation of housing estates out of rural fields began within the study area. By 1914 the majority of houses now existing within the suburb had been completed and approximately 2,752 houses were in existence by that date. Some infilling took place in the 1930's, especially small estates of semi-detached houses which were built on vacant plots of land or in the grounds of larger houses. These brought the total number of houses to approximately

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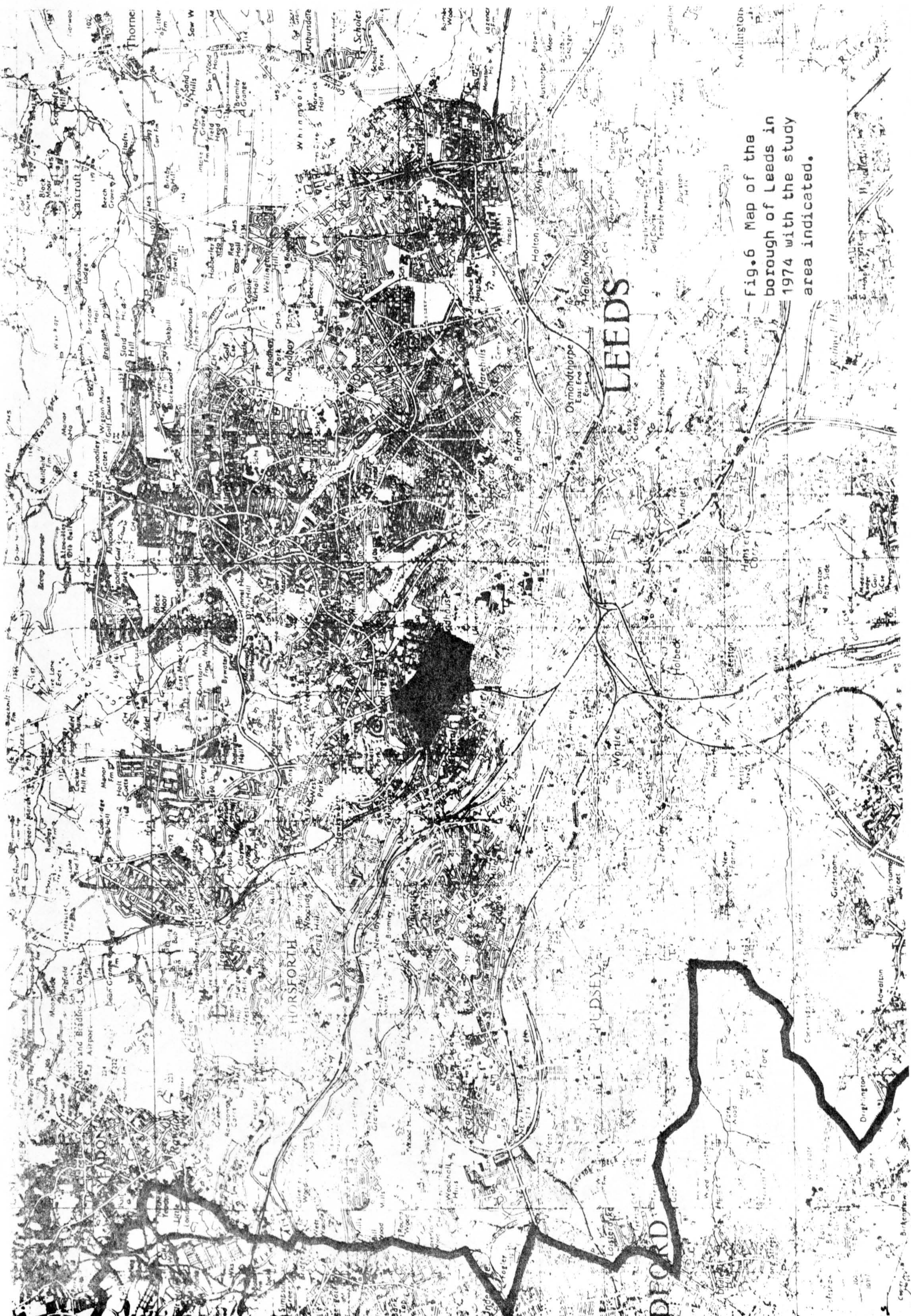


Fig.6 Map of the borough of Leeds in 1974 with the study area indicated.

Swillington

Halton

Osmondthorpe

Horsforth

Burmthorpe

Wortley

Holbeck

Beeston

Wharfedale

Staincliffe

Ilkley

Thorncliffe

Wetherby

Headingley

Roundhay

Chapel Allerton

Clarendon Park

St. James Park

St. James Park

St. James Park

St. James Park

St. James Park

St. James Park

St. James Park

St. James Park

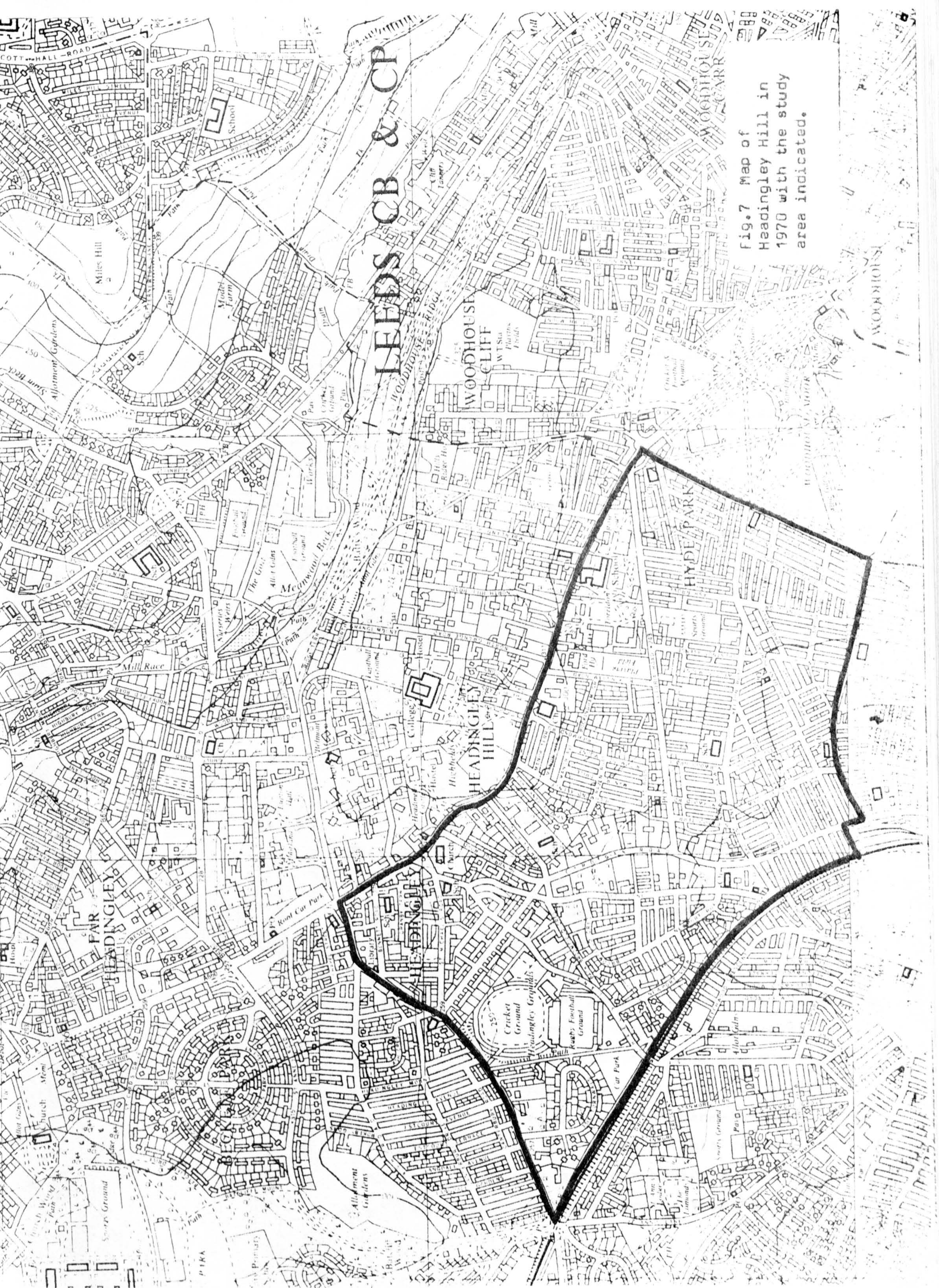


Fig.7 Map of
Headingley Hill in
1970 with the study
area indicated.

3,000, but despite this the major period of housing development was from 1838 to 1914. By the latter date most estates which had been put on the market and offered as building land had been developed. The start of the first world war brought an interruption to house building and when work resumed, new attitudes and house types emerged. Therefore as nearly 82 per cent of the houses existing in 1971 were completed by 1914 it was decided to take the latter date as a termination point for the in-depth study.

The period 1900 to 1914 can not historically be described as the nineteenth century but the majority of houses erected during it plainly were. Estates laid out at the turn of the century were developed along lines laid down and by techniques learnt before the death of Queen Victoria. For this reason the writer feels justified in describing the majority of the houses as nineteenth century although some suffered from what may be termed a 'decade lag' which saw them erected in the early part of the following century.

Table 7 Houses existing within the Study Area, 1831 - 1971⁴⁰

	Approximate number of houses.
1831	45
1846	65
1866	216
1914	2,752
1971	3,345

It has already been stated that Headingley did not develop in a similar pattern to the majority of other out-townships. In the same way the study area which forms a small part of Headingley differs in its housing content from the whole of Leeds. It compares only slightly less favourably with the number of houses built in terraces with that of Leeds (90% compared with 96%) for the period 1868 - 1914. However, it does not contain the same proportion of back-to-back houses. Beresford has shown that out of all the housing stock the number of back-to-backs in the borough was nearly 70% during the period 1886 - 1920. Within the study area the total number of back-to-backs by 1914 represented only 20% of the total. Thus in this respect the study area is not typical of the rest of Leeds having a far higher proportion of through houses than elsewhere in the township and in the borough.⁴¹

NOTES

CHAPTER 2 LEEDS, THE SUBURB OF HEADINGLEY AND THE STUDY AREA

- 1 See Table 1, p.20.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Fraser, p. 63 - 67. (See list of abbreviations for works frequently cited).
- 4 For an insight into the arguments that raged over the insanitary state of Leeds at this time, see The Builder: 1860, Vol. 18, p. 809; 1861, Vol. 19, p. 21; 1866, Vol. 24, p. 57; 1866, Vol. 24, p. 873; 1867, Vol. 25, p. 188; 1874, Vol. 32, p. 844.
- 5 See Table 1, p. 20.
- 6 The Builder, 1866, Vol. 24, p. 535 - 536.
- 7 Sources: Census Reports for Leeds; Leeds street directories; C.J. Morgan 'Demographic change, 1771 - 1911,' in D. Fraser (editor), A History of Modern Leeds, 1980, p. 46 - 71.
- 8 Sources: Census Reports and Leeds street directories.
- 9 See Table 6, p. 32.
- 10 Fraser, p. 136.
- 11 Dyos, p. 63.
- 12 Treen, p. 84 - 85. See also Fraser, p. 138.
- 13 Yorkshire Evening Post, Sept. 13, 1978, p. 10.
- 14 Fraser, p. 138.
- 15 Beresford, p. 95.
- 16 Ibid., p. 96.
- 17 Ibid., Table 3.1, p. 97.
- 18 D.B.P., 39/1st July/1882, Four houses Mariner's Terrace, Hunslet.
- 19 Beresford, p. 98 - 101.
- 20 Ibid., see p. 101 - 104 for a history of the development of Union Street, Leeds.
- 21 F. M. Lupton, Housing Improvement: a Summary of Ten Years' Work in Leeds, 1906, p. 2.
- 22 See Table 24, p. 171.
- 23 The intended clause to prohibit back-to-backs was to form part of the Leeds Consolidation Bill. See The Builder, 1894, Vol. 66, p. 101.
24. The Builder, 1896, Vol. 71, p. 9.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid., p. 170
- 27 For a detailed description of the attempt to prohibit back-to-backs in Leeds, see Beresford p. 110 - 119.
- 28 Ibid., p. 119 - 121. See also The Builder, 1898, Vol. 75, p. 567 and 1899, Vol. 76, p. 99. The Corporation were refused permission by the Local Government Board to erect new back-to-backs on the York Street Insanitary Area. The construction

of through houses and tenements were discussed but they wished to construct 'healthy back-to-back houses, ... at a cost that will permit of them being let at comparatively small rentals' With some foresight they stated that in 1898:

'the majority of the members of the Corporation are strongly opposed to the erection of tenement buildings, believing such a system does not tend to the quietude, comfort, or happiness of home life.'

- 29 Fraser, p. 51 - 53.
- 30 Ibid., p. 54.
- 31 See Treen, p. 66 - 70 and p. 86 - 102, for a description of the development of Kirkstall and Burley during this period.
- 32 Ibid., p. 103. The tax prior to 1841 was 1/10 of a farthing per annum per yard of land held.
- 33 Ibid., p. 104.
- 34 Census Report, 1861, Vol. 1, p. 613.
- 35 Fraser, p. 54.
- 36 Ibid., p. 56.
- 37 The Builder, 1896, Vol. 70, p. 37. In 1912 boundary changes took place and the city increased in area to take in Roundhay, Shadwell, Seacroft and Crossgates.
- 38 Sources: Census Reports; Tithe Map of Headingley, 1846; Leeds street directories.
- 39 See p. 12.
- 40 Sources: approximate figures have been ascertained by counting the number of houses on maps of the study area for the dates given.
- 41 See Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 3 LAND USE, ESTATE BOUNDARIES AND CONSTRAINTS ON BUILDING DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Landowners and Estate Boundaries Prior to 1831

The majority of land in the Headingley and Burley area of Leeds was originally monastic belonging to the monks of the nearby abbey at Kirkstall. They used the land as sheep runs, farms and granges. After the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII, most of the abbey land in Headingley was granted to Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1564 his estates were sold by Elizabeth I to the Savile family. Sir John Savile of Howley Hall, near Morley, was an influential courtier in both the court of James I and Charles I. He was six times M.P. for the county and through his influence the town received its first charter from Charles I in 1626. Sir John was the first Alderman of Leeds and was created Baron Savile of Pontefract in 1628, two years before his death. His son became the first Earl of Sussex and his grandson the second Earl. The second Earl's daughter married Lord Brudenell in 1671 and in this way the Headingley estates passed, along with other estates elsewhere, into the hands of the Brudenell family, later to become the Earls of Cardigan.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century until the sale of their Leeds estates, the Earls of Cardigan were lords of the manor of Headingley. However, they were distant landlords who lived in Northamptonshire and employed local stewards in the area to manage their affairs. The majority of the Cardigan estates were in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire and the holdings in Leeds were small in comparison. Nevertheless, at least fifty per cent of the township was owned by the Cardigans in the eighteenth century. During the period 1671 to 1888 when the Brudenells and Cardigans were lords of the manor, a policy of land sales was adopted. Periodically, small parcels of land were sold at auctions but the major portion did not come on the market until the late nineteenth century. Because of this policy other names can be seen as landowners on maps showing the township prior to 1831.

Three hundred acres of land comprising Headingley Hill was purchased by John Walker from the Brudenell family in 1673, Walker had been a tenant of an adjoining farm to the Brudenell's estate. In 1709 John Walker II was appointed Recorder to the Town Council of Leeds.

A partner in a large firm of Leeds cloth merchants, Thomas Lloyd, purchased the forty-seven acre Hill Top farm from the Earl of Cardigan for which he paid £3,400 in 1785. The farm was situated on a hill top which overlooked Burley and in spite of its proximity to the town, the estate was hidden from the view of the inhabitants by the brow of a hill. Lloyd did not live on the farm but took a lease on Horsforth Hall three miles further north-west and continued to let the farm for agricultural purposes.¹

In 1781 James Graham married the daughter of a local clergyman, heiress to several old established families in the Leeds area. He thus obtained a leasehold estate of two hundred and eighty acres held on a five hundred year lease from the Earls of Cardigan. Leaseholding of land was not popular in the area and was an unusual form of tenure. The lease had been granted in 1652 by Thomas Viscount Savile to one of his tenant farmers.²

Other families obtained estates either by purchase or inheritance. John Beckett, a Leeds banker, purchased an estate which included land in Headingley in 1793. Another landowner was Mrs. Mary Bainbrigge. When John Walker purchased three hundred acres of Headingley Hill, part of his estate passed into the hands of Reverend Richard Bainbrigge. Bainbrigge was a clerk at Chapel Allerton and Mary Bainbrigge, his wife, was one of the sisters and co-heirs of John Walker II. Thus in 1752 most of the original Walker Headingley Hill Estate was owned by the Bainbrigge family and after the death of her husband, by Mary Bainbrigge.

By 1801 there were six major landowners in Headingley-cum-Burley, not including Weetwood and the northern extremities of the township:

- The Earl of Cardigan as lord of the manor.
- George Graham leasing from the Earl.
- Mary Bainbrigge who inherited the Walker Estate.
- The curate of Headingley chapel.
- Thomas Lloyd who owned the Hill Top Estate.
- John Beckett who owned the North Hall Estate and Burley Carr.

The picture emerges of a distant Lord of the Manor who was the major landowner and merchant, banking and business families linked with the clergy all owning moderately sized estates of one hundred to three hundred acres in size in what was a rural area just outside the township of Leeds.³

The lord of the manor was thus allied with other owners who were relative newcomers to the area but who were to exert an ever increasing influence, not only on Headingley where they had their estates, but on the whole of Leeds. The merchants and bankers particularly formed an affluent minority who became the leaders of the civic and social life of the town.⁴ They were treated as more or less equals by the lesser gentry as they increased in affluence and became landowners.

3.2 Physical and Social Changes in the Out-township

Prior to 1620 Headingley had a chapel of ease dedicated to St. Michael which was enlarged in 1620 and entirely re-built in 1630 on a site given by Sir John Savile. It was a chapel of ease to the Leeds Parish Church and was used for both the villages of Headingley and Burley. A lane called Chapel Lane which wound its way up the hill from Burley, connected the two villages. In 1663 there were approximately 200 people living in Headingley and Burley and this number rose to 1,313 people in 1801, however, as Burley was larger and more prosperous at this time, the majority probably lived in Burley.

In 1759 the road from Leeds through Headingley village was improved and made into a turnpike road to Otley. The road beyond Far Headingley was over very steep hills and because of this the main traffic still passed through Burley and Kirkstall to the South. It was not until the new road from Lawnswood to Bramhope was opened in 1841 that Headingley became the major traffic artery to Otley. The road to the north from Leeds to Headingley and Far Headingley crossed the common land of Woodhouse Moor passed through Headingley village and then continued uphill across yet more common land, Headingley Moor. By 1770 a large area of common land on Headingley Moor was enclosed and given to the curate of Headingley Chapel. On part of this land a house built of stone was erected for the curate to replace the original built at Burley.

The village of Headingley comprised a cluster of houses built mainly of stone around a large green, which unlike other villages, was not separately distinguished as an open space but split into several enclosures. There were two inns near the green, The Oak and the Skyrack, both mentioned in a street directory for 1817 but the latter was probably in existence for the longest period.

Burley was a similar collection of stone houses astride the main road to Otley and the ancient Chapel Lane connected the two village greens.

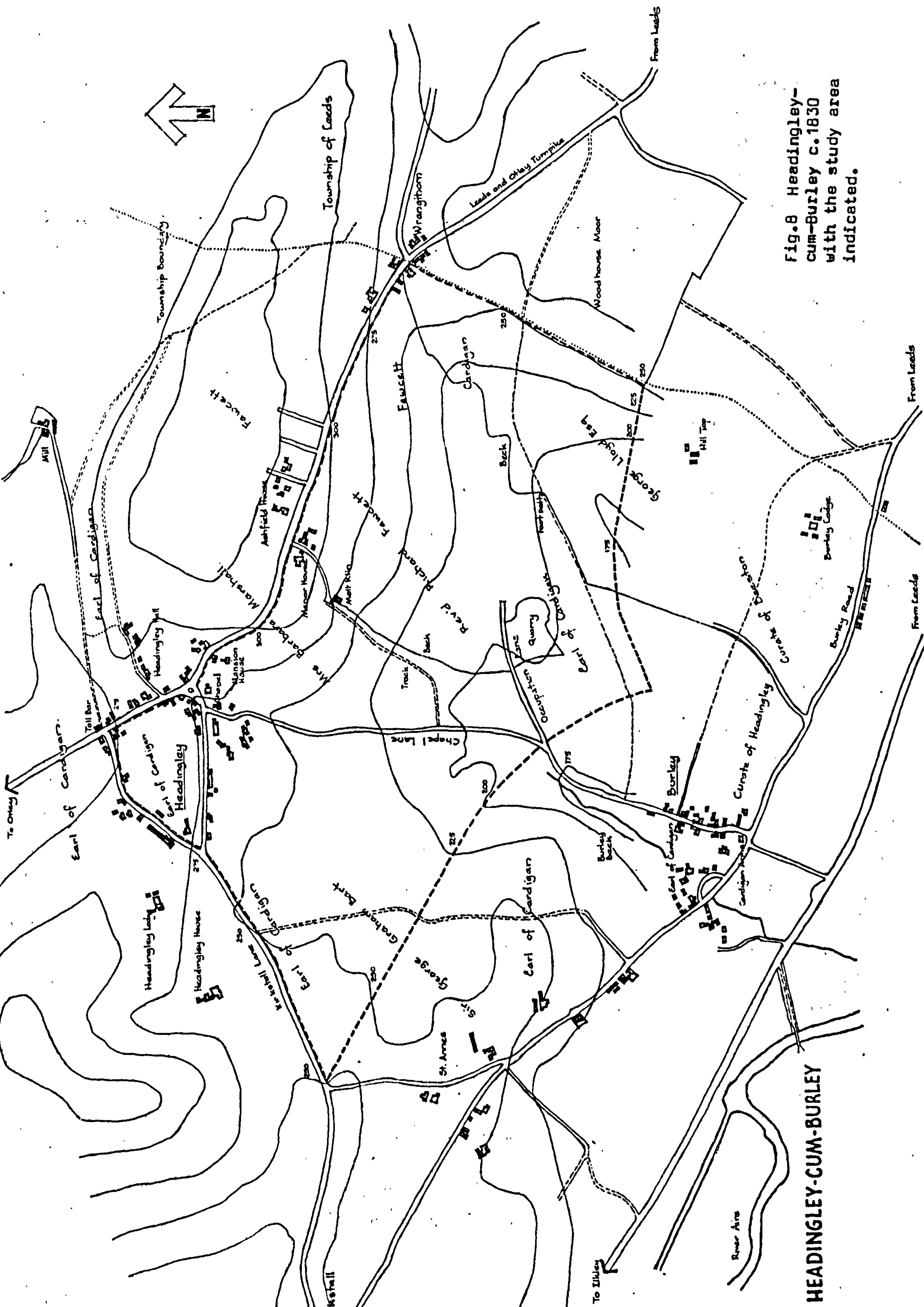


Fig.8 Headingley-
 CUM-BURLEY c.1830
 with the study area
 indicated.

HEADINGLEY-CUM-BURLEY

At the boundary of the township and Woodhouse Moor was a cluster of cottages, later to be named Hyde Park. Elsewhere were individual houses of varying size and age. One such house was the old manor house of Headingley situated on Headingley Hill, midway between the village and Woodhouse Moor. Another was the Hill Top Farm to the south but on a distant ridge of the same hill.

By 1826 the street directories show Headingley to be a farming community with a few newcomers as a small number of elegant villas were being erected for merchants and their families on Headingley Hill. Three years later the remaining common land was surveyed and enclosed. In 1835 the Municipal Corporations Act was passed which required that councillors be elected and Headingley became a ward of Leeds.

In keeping with the increase in population, the chapel of ease was again re-built in 1837 on the same site to accommodate the growing number of people moving into the area. The style was perpendicular gothic and the cost £2,582.⁵ In the same year the first horse buses began to run from Far Headingley to the centre of Leeds, and in 1841 the road through Headingley was much improved, turnpiked through Lawnswood and began to attract the Otley bound traffic which originally passed through nearby Burley. The two villages were further isolated from each other by the building of the Leeds-Thirsk Railway, the permanent way of which was pushed through the township between 1846 and 1848. A station was erected at Headingley just beyond Kirkstall Lane and this offered an alternative means of transport for the inhabitants who could afford to use it.

The provision of churches could not remain unaltered as the century passed. Kirkstall petitioned the Church Commissioners for a church in 1824 and again in 1827 because at the time St. Michaels had accommodation for only two hundred persons. The township had by then over 2,000 inhabitants. Land was eventually given by the Earl of Cardigan and in September 1829, St. Stephens Kirkstall was consecrated. The chapel of St. Michaels was rebuilt in 1837 and nearby a Methodist chapel was erected in 1840 which was to be much enlarged later in the century.

In 1849 after reorganisation of the Leeds churches, St. Michaels became the parish church of Headingley. Burley, now separated by not only a long walk but also a railway line, also petitioned for a

church of their own and in 1854 St. Mathias at Burley was consecrated.⁶ Far Headingley also complained of the distance to the parish church and the new church of St. Chads was built at a cost of £9,000 and consecrated in 1868.

Even the parish church of St. Michaels could not match the growing number of parishioners and in 1869 a new organ chamber and vestry were added and the interior remodelled by the Leeds architect Charles Fowler at a cost of £950. Following the introduction of the first horse drawn trams on the Headingley route from Far Headingley to Leeds in 1871, the population of the township grew even more but not necessarily as a consequence of it. The new service was mainly introduced to serve an already existing middle-class clientele. The population had risen to 19,138 by 1881 and for the second time in the century, St. Michaels was found to be inadequate to meet the needs of the parish to such a degree that total demolition was the only solution. The urgent need was for more places for worshipers and a new building was designed by J.L. Pearson R.A., the London architect and was erected in Horsforth sandstone in 1884. The fact that a new church erected in 1837 had to be enlarged in 1869 and rebuilt in 1884 indicates clearly the dramatic increase in population that took place in the suburb in the second half of the century. It also bears out the words of Dyos:

'To study the suburb is to examine one of the growing points of Victorian society.'⁸

3.3 Field Boundaries and the Inclosure Award of 1831

The common land of Headingley, which was open land for grazing, was enclosed in 1829 under an Act of Parliament and the land was divided up amongst those people who had grazing rights over it.⁹ This particularly affected Headingley Moor and some smaller parcels of land closer to the village on and around the area often referred to as Headingley green.

Examination of the 1831 Inclosure Award Map,¹⁰ shows that several changes in land ownership had taken place since 1801 within the boundaries of the study area. Most of the land was owned at the earlier date by just four owners; Cardigan, Graham, Bainbrigg and Lloyd. Thirty years later land contained within the study area had come into the ownership of nine owners by sale and subdivision of estates.

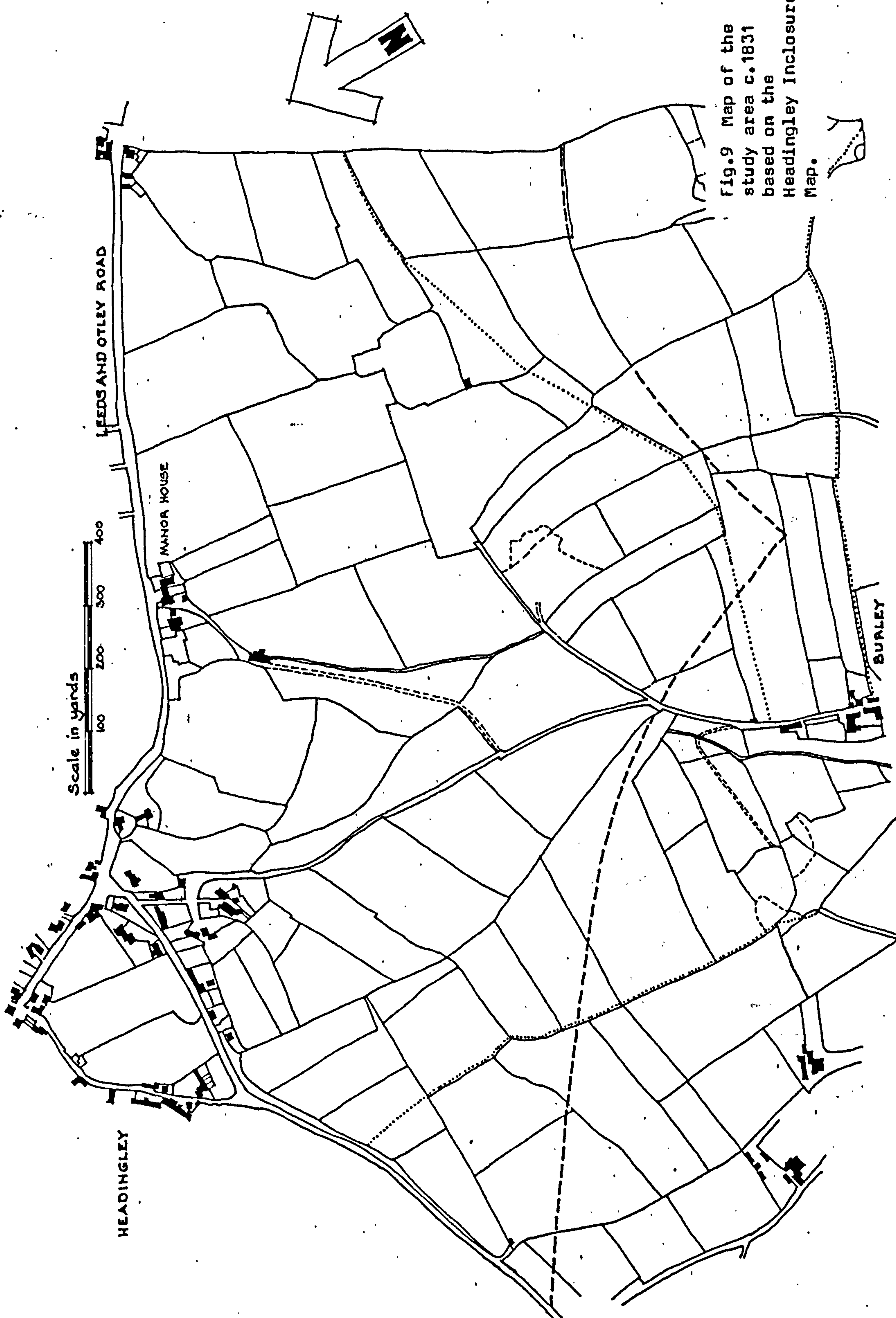


Fig.9 Map of the study area c.1831 based on the Headingley Inclosure Map.



The land to the west of the ancient lane leading from the chapel at Headingley to Burley village had changed little still being mainly owned by Cardigan and Graham. But to the east of the lane there had been subdivision due to the death of Mary Bainbrigge in 1805. Part of the Bainbrigge estates passed to her daughter, Mary Bainbrigge II who was a spinster, and half of this eventually passed to her other daughter Anna Maria who had married the vicar of Leeds, Reverend Richard Fawcett. The land was partitioned between the two daughters, following litigation, by an Act of Parliament in 1827 and thus began the long association between the name of Fawcett and their estate in Headingley.¹¹ The remainder of the original Bainbrigge estates went to the brother of Mary Bainbrigge I and after his death to his daughter Barbara. She married a member of a local family of woollen merchants, John Marshall, and thus the name Mrs. Barbara Marshall appears on land adjoining the Leeds and Otley turnpikes.

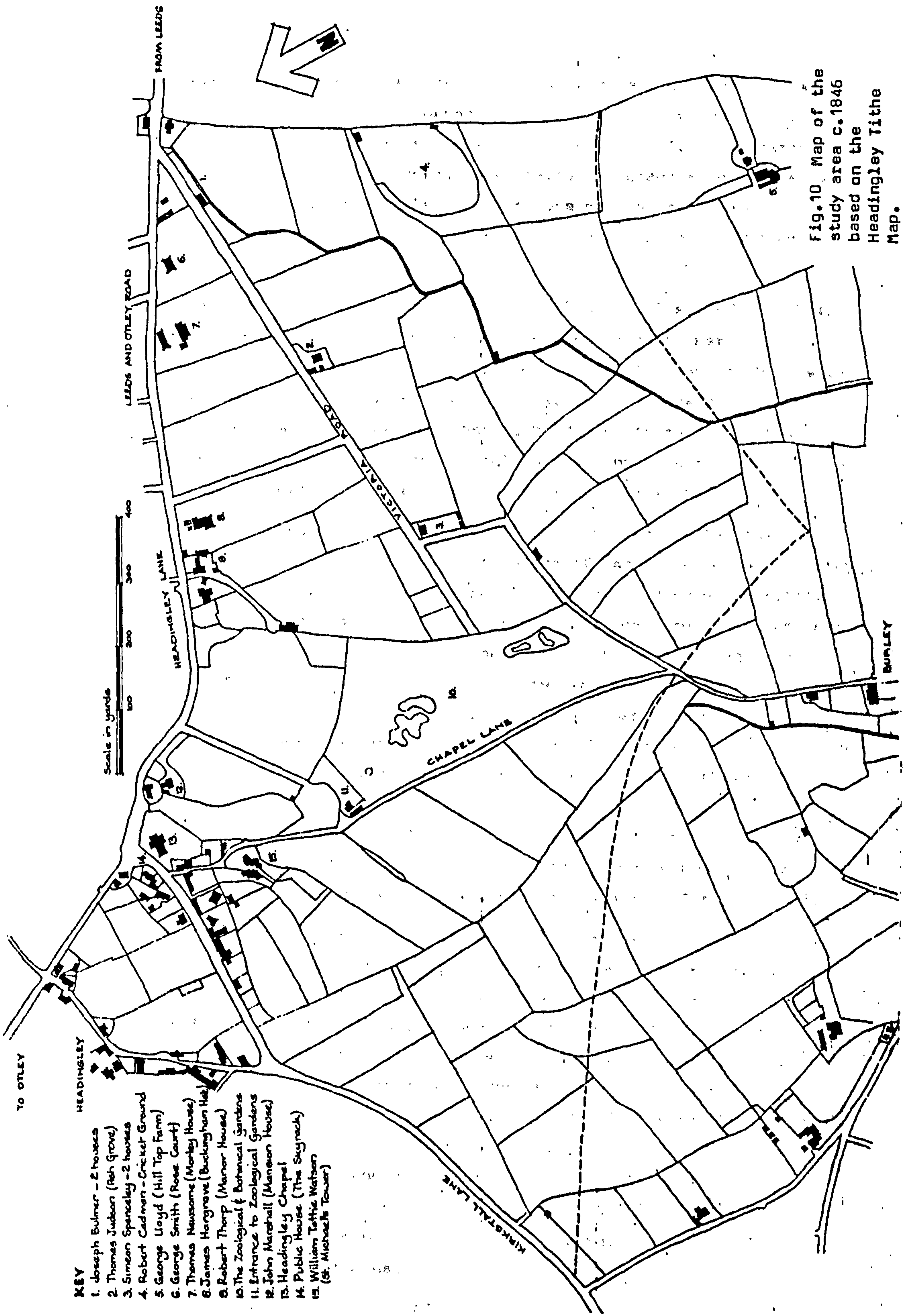
In addition to the above major changes a number of fields adjoining Woodhouse Moor and adjoining the Fawcett estate were sold in 1808. to Jonathon Teal, a land surveyor, and the land passed from him to Henry Teal also a land surveyor. Adjoining smaller fields passed into the ownership of two persons named Myers and Nelson.

In 1824 Mary Bainbrigge II sold land on her estate to Thomas Robinson to build Ashfield House. Later in 1827 she sold a further 27 acres to George Bischoff a Leeds Merchant. These sales began the development of the fields of Headingley Hill as a select area of middle-class villas north of Headingley Lane.¹²

The area was surveyed for the Enclosure Act in 1829 and the Enclosure Map was drawn in 1831. The majority of fields were meadow or pasture and only eight fields within the study area were arable at the time of the survey. The map shows existing roads and field boundaries, footpaths and the distribution of existing houses. From an examination of the Inclosure survey it would appear that there were approximately 45 houses existing within the study area at the time the map was drawn (see Fig. 9).

3.4 Land Use, Owners and Estate Boundaries in 1846

A further survey of the area was undertaken in 1846 in order to ascertain land use and ownership for the payment of tithes. The total township was shown to contain 3,058 acres and this was broken down into 2,044 acres of meadow and pasture land, 659 acres of arable land and 355 acres of woodland.¹³



KEY

1. Joseph Bulmer - 2 houses
2. Thomas Judson (Rah Grove)
3. Simeon Spenceley - 2 houses
4. Robert Cadman - Cricket Ground
5. George Lloyd (Hill Top Farm)
6. George Smiths (Rose Court)
7. Thomas Newsome (Morley House)
8. James Hargrave (Buckingham Hotel)
9. Robert Thorp (Manor House)
10. The Zoological & Botanical Gardens
11. Entrance to Zoological Gardens
12. John Marshall (Manor House)
13. Headingley Chapel
14. Public House (The Skyrack)
15. William Tottis Watson (St. Michael's Tower)

Fig. 10 Map of the study area c.1846 based on the Headingley Tithe Map.

Insofar as estate size, estate boundaries and land use were concerned very little had changed in general terms within the study area over the preceding fifteen years since the survey of 1831. The major changes occurred in the central area following changes in ownership of some of the Bainbrigg land and because of the creation of a pleasure ground in the form of a Botanical and Zoological Garden (see Fig. 10).

On the death of Mary Bainbrigg II in 1832 her will stated that her land in Headingley, below Headingley Lane, was to go to her lifelong friend, Doctor William Disney Thorp, during his life and on his death to her godson Disney Lander Thorp. Mrs. Barbara Marshall also died in 1830 and her land passed to her husband John Marshall. These were simply changes of ownership but the most notable changes involved not only changes of ownership but physical development.

In 1837 the Reverend Richard Fawcett put up his estate for sale, divided up into villa lots, on both sides of Headingley Lane following the precedent set on the Bainbrigg and later the Bischoff estates. A series of roads including Victoria Road were constructed in advance of the erection of the mansions and villas that Fawcett hoped would follow the auction of his land. Another notable development was the Botanical and Zoological Gardens. A company was formed in 1837 and this purchased a number of fields from the Marshall and Bainbrigg families and construction was started on an ambitious scheme that was never completed. The gardens were opened in 1840 and access was achieved by the creation of a private carriage road connecting the main entrance to Headingley Lane. The newly completed Victoria Road ran from Hyde Park and stopped against the boundary of the gardens.

Other changes of ownership can be seen such as on the estate to the west of Chapel Lane which by this date had been purchased by George North Tatham, a Leeds flaxspinner. The land was in his possession when the zoological gardens scheme was started in 1837. Some time after 1846 Edwin Eddison, the Leeds solicitor who had acted on behalf of the Zoological and Botanical Garden Company over their land purchases, obtained for his own use the three fields totalling 16 acres owned earlier by George North Tatham. Over to the east, the two fields adjoining Woodhouse Moor which were in private ownership in 1831, had by this time been purchased by Robert Cadman and these were used as a cricket ground - a second development related to pleasure and recreational purposes.

The enclosure map of 1831 and the tithe map of 1846 are of importance because they not only indicate land use and ownership but the exact field boundaries, some of which were later to coincide with the boundaries of whole estates and even individual plots of land put up for sale as building ground. On some estates the original field boundaries were to play an important role in governing the layout and in some cases even the type of housing built.¹⁴

As the process of further sales of estate and subdivision took place from 1846 onwards, names were given to the various estates to distinguish between them. These names frequently related to the owner or in some cases to the geographical position or physical features on the site. The latter method was often used to distinguish estates which changed hands more frequently than others. Thus the Cardigan Estate, the Fawcett Estate and the Teal Estate followed the ownership pattern, other estates such as the Chapel Lane Estate and the Hill Top Estate referred to land in a known location.

3.5 Ownership and the Subdivision of Estates, 1846 - 1866

Yet more new names began to appear on estate maps from 1850 onwards. A name which was to become well known in the area was one which appeared about this time; that of Thomas Clapham.

When the Zoological Gardens were opened in 1840 they did not prove a commercial success and closed eight years later. They were then reopened with added attractions such as military bands, firework displays and flower shows. The organiser of these Victorian delights was Clapham who had leased the gardens from the owner. He ran the gardens for some years until 1858 when he transferred his activities to a new site elsewhere in the study area adjacent to Woodhouse Moor. The gardens were closed yet again and then in the ownership of H.C. Marshall, of the flax spinning family, they were opened on occasions to the public until 1869 when finally sold for building development.

Clapham purchased the two fields which Robert Cadman had turned into the Victoria Cricket ground adjacent to Woodhouse Moor with the intention of developing these into pleasure grounds on similar lines to those he had left. In order to do this he purchased land off Thomas William Lloyd on the Hill Top Estate, and as his venture prospered, he obtained more land to the west off the Earl of Cardigan to add to his pleasure ground which had become known as the Leeds Royal Park. By 1866 he possessed 43 acres of land adjoining the Leeds in-township, nearly all of which was within the study area.

Another change of ownership occurred on the Thorp Estate which had originally belonged to Mary Bainbrigge II. In 1852 Disney Launder Thorp, who had inherited the land from his father, sold part of his estate in the study area to a local flax spinner named Anthony Titley. A change of ownership which did not involve a change in name could also be seen on the Marshall land contiguous with the Titley estate. By 1866 two sisters, both daughters of John Marshall, had inherited the adjoining estate near the parish church.

During the period from 1838, when Victoria Road was first constructed, to 1866 many owners of large estates sold off land in small plots for the building of mansions, villas and by then terrace housing. The process had continued intermittently throughout the period on the Fawcett Estate and other owners such as the Earl of Cardigan, Thorp, Eddison and Teal all sold off building lots. Some purchasers obtained several lots at these auctions and thus became small estate holders through subdivision of larger estates; for example Henry Ludolf, a Leeds flaxspinner, purchased several portions of the Fawcett estate in 1865. These individual sales and the breakdown of the larger estates into smaller building lots, with subsequent land speculation and building development, will be described in Chapters 4 and 5.

It is important that the position, the boundaries and the ownership of the pre-development land is understood before the subdivision can be examined in detail. Estate names again appear at the time of building development to relate to those features described in 3.4 above. Thus the Thorp Estate became the Titley Estate and when it changed hands yet again later in the century, developers referred to it as the Manor House Estate because it contained the original manor house of Headingley. The land to the west of Chapel Lane which had passed through the hands of Bainbrigge to Tatham and then Eddison became more simply known as the Chapel Lane Estate. The Zoological and Botanical Gardens when finally developed became The Headingley Old Gardens Estate which distinguished it from the new gardens being operated at the Leeds Royal Park by Clapham. The latter when it came to be developed was logically referred to as the Royal Park Estate and the adjacent land facing Woodhouse Moor, the Teal Estate after the name of the owner. Some confusion is caused by the fact that when the land owned by the Misses Marshall came to be developed, probably because of their well known local surname, the Marshall Estate at Headingley was not considered specific enough. Therefore

because of one old house existing on the site which was a contemporary of the old manor house nearby (it certainly existed before 1822), the estate became known as the Mansion House Estate. To have two estates adjacent to each other named respectively, Mansion and Manor, seems confusing to the historian but was not so at the time because one was developed thirty years after the other.

The names given to estates at the time building took place are used in this thesis and by 1866 several of these can be identified even though building development had not yet taken place on many of them.

Table 8 Building Estate Names, 1866

Owners	Estate name used
Earl of Cardigan	Cardigan Estate
Fawcett	Fawcett Estate
Marshall	Mansion House Estate
Bainbrigg/Tatham/Eddison	Chapel Lane Estate
Bainbrigg/Thorp/Titley	Manor House Estate
Bainbrigg/Zoological Gardens/ Marshall	Headingley Old Gardens Estate
Clapham	Royal Park Estate
Lloyd	Hill Top Estate

3.6 The Physical Constraints on Building Development

To the north of the study area ran Headingley Lane, the turnpike road to Otley, and to the south, Burley Road, the old turnpike road passing through Burley to Kirkstall. The two villages were linked together by the old lane named Chapel Lane which gave access up the hill to the chapel for the people of Burley. Headingley was also linked to Kirkstall by a road called Kirkstall Lane and a road from the chapel linked Chapel Lane with Kirkstall Lane, this road (later named St. Michael's Road) formed with the others the southern boundary of the large enclosed village green. Prior to 1830 the only other road within the study area besides Chapel Lane was an occupation lane providing access to fields from Burley and this was later to become the line of Cardigan Lane. A field track joined the malt kiln near the manor house to Chapel Lane and a footpath went from Burley up the hill to Woodhouse Moor. Another footpath went from Burley to Kirkstall Lane (see Fig. 8).

The contours of the site of the study area could be likened to a large amphitheatre with the contours of a hill running around and above an observer standing in the most south-westerly corner. The Manor house at 300 feet above sea level was the highest point on the shoulder but not the top of Headingley Hill. Two becks ran down the hill, the one called Burley Beck running from above the malt kiln to Burley, the other followed a tortuous path down from Hyde Park between fields to Burley skirting the Hill Top Estate on the way.

On the maps of 1831 and 1846 not only were fields indicated but also quarries. Several small quarries were shown close to Burley and one of these was within the study area. It was at the end of the occupation lane and situated in three fields each appropriately named Long Lees with quarry. It appears to have been a medium sized quarry as the three fields together covered over seven acres but various parts were quarried at different times. The quarry was a flag and slate quarry providing large flat slabs for street pavements and footpaths together with some stone for roofing slates. Access to it was from the occupation lane only and its existence was to prove an obstacle for future developers.

In 1837 the Zoological and Botanical Gardens Company was formed and the gardens opened in 1840. After its chequered history it was eventually sold for housing development. The gardens contained a fountain, ornamental lake, ponds, a bear pit and most important of all, mature trees some of which were rare specimens. The whole gardens, surrounded by a high stone wall with entrance lodges, formed a unique area of land when later sold as building lots. When Fawcett put his estate on the market and constructed Victoria Road to give access to his villa lots, a direct connection could not be made with Chapel Lane because of the existence of the gardens and a through route was obtained by connecting Victoria Road to the old occupation Lane.

Between 1840 and 1842 an 18 inch diameter cast iron water conduit was constructed to carry water from Far Headingley to the old reservoir on the town centre side of Woodhouse Moor. Land was purchased by the Leeds Waterworks Company to form an easement, 18 feet wide, down the centre of which ran the conduit. The easement was sited where possible across open fields and not under existing roads. Thus it came into Headingley at the north side of the village green, crossed the green, went diagonally through the Marshall Mansion House Estate, and then traced a long curve through the Thorp Estate to join and

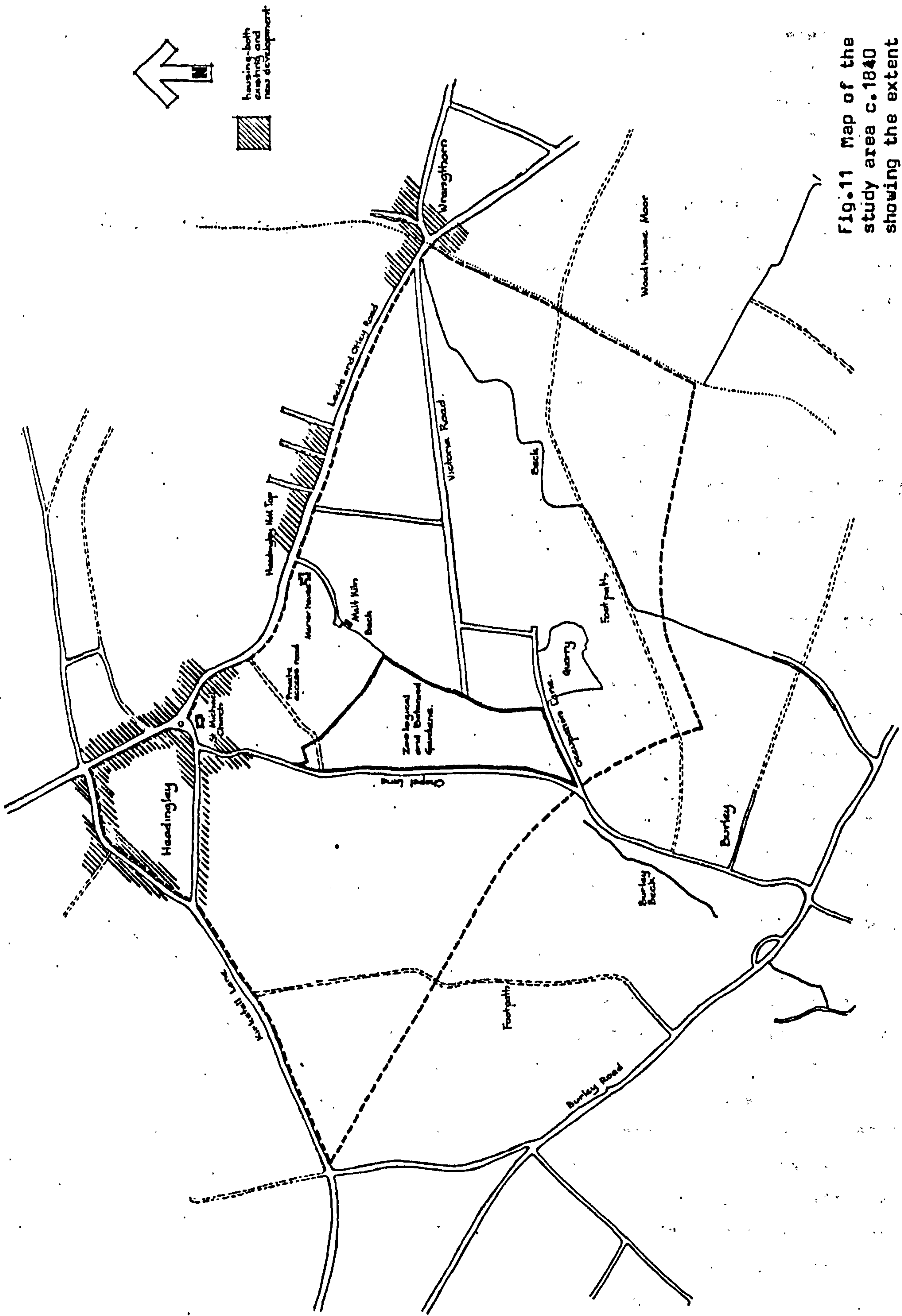


Fig. 11 Map of the study area c.1840 showing the extent of housing development.

travel under the newly formed but perhaps not fully completed Victoria Road. From Hyde Park it travelled across Woodhouse Moor to the reservoir. Because the Zoological Gardens had opened by this time it was decided to avoid routing it through them and disturbing the grounds when open fields existed just to the north. In all subsequent land sales for building development, plots which were near to or actually had the easement within their curtilage were subject to covenants stating that the purchaser gave right of access to the Water Company and that no building would take place within the 18 feet wide strip of land.

In 1844 the Leeds to Thirsk Railway Company held a meeting to decide on the exact route to be adopted for the line as it passed through the Headingley area. The line was planned in 1844 - 1845 and work carried out between 1846 and 1848. Just as the water conduit before it, the new permanent way was pushed through the area attempting to avoid existing houses and roads in the process. Its exact route was determined by political infighting amongst vested interests in the area, especially local landowners, but when finally completed it crossed the low lying land belonging mainly to the Earl of Cardigan. It just missed the Zoological gardens at the southern end but the opening of a railway halt at this point c.1848 gave the opportunity to the more moderately affluent to travel from Leeds to events more easily. The coming of the railway, placed as it was in the gap between Headingley and Burley, created a physical barrier between the two communities which had not been there before. Although alleviated by the provision of a road bridge at Kirkstall Lane, a footbridge and a level crossing at Burley, there was an element of 'above and below the tracks' introduced.¹⁵

A further restraint to future building development was the creation of a brickworks on the land which had originally been owned by Clapham adjacent to his Royal Park. In 1867 the Leeds and Yorkshire Land, Building and Investment Company (L.Y.L.B.I.C.) purchased an area of land on the Hill Top Estate from T. Clapham. Early in the 1870's a quarry and brickworks were opened on the Hill Top Estate by John Smith who was to become the brickworks manager and Joseph Smith, a Leeds contractor. By 1875 the 4 acre site had been developed into a quarry, three brick kilns each capable of holding 37,000 bricks, a brick drying shed reputed to cover 700 square yards, and a 96 foot high chimney. Both the Smiths were probably involved with or members of the L.Y.L.B.I.C.

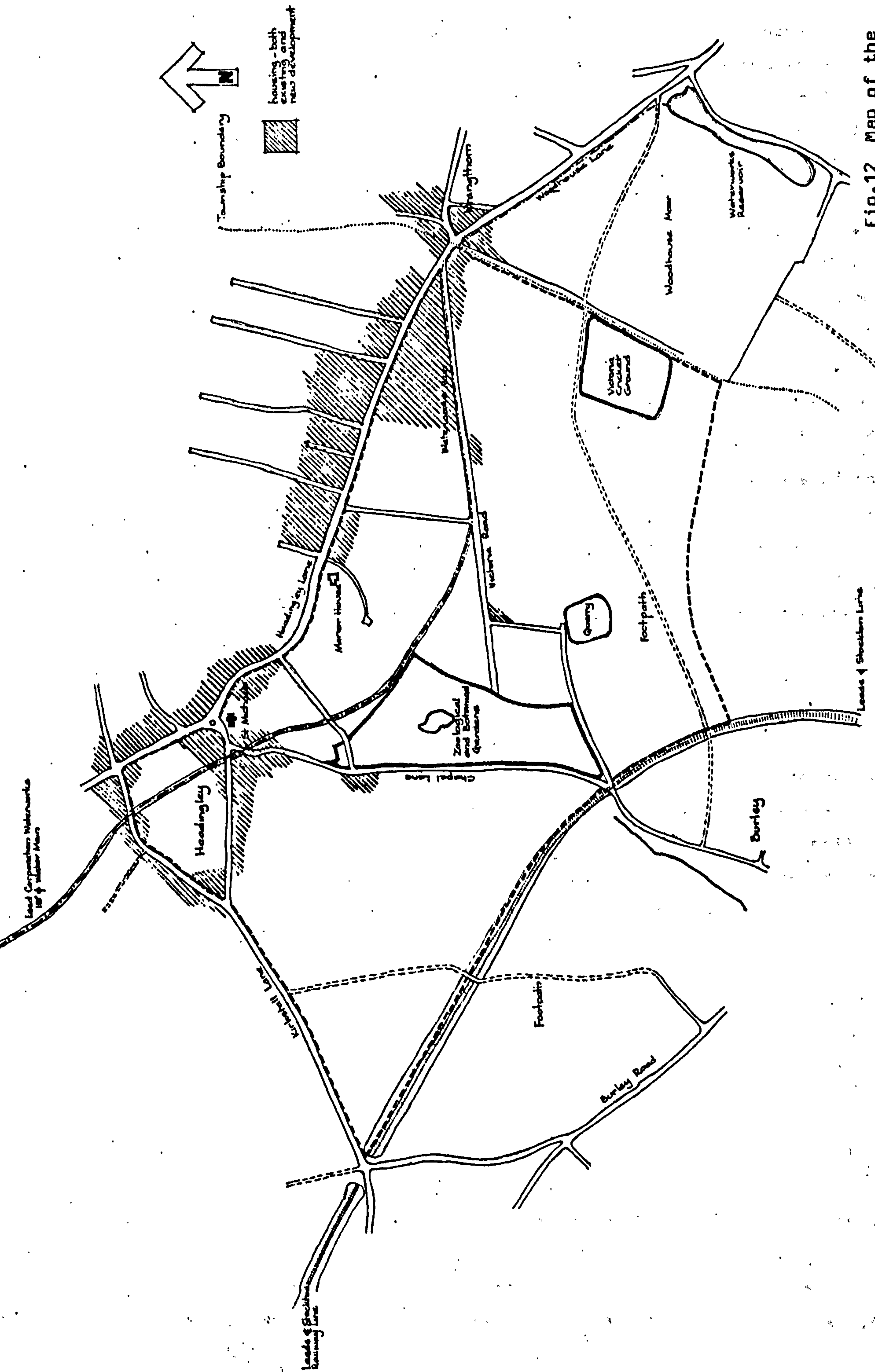


Fig.12 Map of the study area c.1850 showing the extent of housing development.

Stone from the quarry was described as being much in demand for building operations in the neighbourhood.¹⁶ It is not known, however, whether this was used in the form of lintels and cills or flat slabs and slates similar to those obtained from the nearby quarry off Cardigan Lane. Whatever the case, the major output was brickmaking because details of the brickworks were clearly described when put up for sale in 1875. By then there were two steam engines as well as a steam crane and a considerable amount of brick making machinery.¹⁷ The brickworks and quarry covered 9,000 square yards in 1875 but was in financial difficulties. The L.Y.L.B.I.C. went into voluntary liquidation in 1876 and the brickworks were sold soon after. Certainly it was in the hands of new owners by March, 1877 who proceeded to expand it until 1890 when it was sold off for building development.¹⁸

In a similar way to the zoological gardens, the existence of the Leeds Royal Park created an obstacle to building development in the sense that building took place around it and later it formed a specific estate in its own right. T. Clapham sold off land periodically from 1866 onwards. By 1868 a new road named Clapham Road had been constructed through the estate with the Leeds Royal Park to the south of it and other land in Clapham's possession to the north. From 1871 Clapham had fenced off approximately half of his Leeds Royal Park of 23 acres and was offering the remainder for sale as building land. In 1875 Clapham could not meet his debts and a new company was formed which continued to run the 10 acres under the name of the Leeds Horticultural Gardens Company Ltd. It continued as pleasure gardens until 1885 when finally sold for building purposes but by this time it was surrounded on three sides by newly built terraced houses.

3.7 Local Transport Developments

The first attempt at horse-drawn transport in the Headingley area was made in 1818 when a service by a man named Avison was started from Leeds to Kirkstall. But this was not a success because in the words of Treen:

'in 1818 the moderately affluent had not yet arrived in sufficient numbers to fill a horse-drawn omnibus several times per day.'¹⁹

Twenty years later in June 1838 a horse-drawn omnibus service was started from Far Headingley into Leeds. On this service all seats were the same price unlike the stage coaches. This time the new omnibus service was a success due to the new middle-class suburban

incomers who were now scattered along the Otley turnpike route. By 1839 a rival service was in operation run by a J. & W. Atkinson & Co. who provided competition to that provided by John Wood. Wood operated from the Headrow to the Three Horse Shoes at Far Headingley; Atkinson from Spen Lane. Wood charged 6d. between Leeds and Far Headingley and both services started at too late an hour and had too costly a fare to attract working-class travellers. Wood departed from Far Headingley at 8.35 a.m., arrived at the Oak Inn, Headingley at 8.45 a.m., and the Upper Headrow, Leeds at 9.30 a.m. By 1842 Wood was running seven return journeys each way every day instead of the original five per week-day. On Sundays three return journeys were running instead of the previous two.²⁰

The Leeds to Thirsk railway was planned in 1844 and constructed between 1846 and 1848. Henry Cowper Marshall arranged on behalf of several interested land owners for a station to be built and a siding at the point where the line crossed Kirkstall Lane. The Marshalls, Bcketts Edwin Eddison and G.N. Tatham were typical of the local men who supported the building of the new line. The station would allow men like W. Bckett to have his land to the north of the study area connected to Leeds by the new line of communication. The Marshalls and the Bcketts combined forces to keep the railway off their land and pushed it onto the land of the absentee landlord, the Earl of Cardigan. After the line of the railway had finally been settled the Railway Company was required to purchase thirty pieces of the Earls land totalling 27 acres.²¹ Two years after the line was opened the first advertisements for the sale of house property appeared emphasizing the close proximity of the new railway station.

The omnibus service meanwhile altered very little from its beginnings in the 1830s until the arrival of the tram. By 1871 there were still two rival omnibus companies running between Headingley and Leeds. At a meeting of the Leeds Borough Council held on the 28th October, 1870 it was agreed to allow the construction of tramways. Messrs. Busby of Liverpool were to construct a tramway from Boar Lane to Kirkstall terminating at the Cardigan Arms and this route was opened in April 1872. Busby constructed routes to the Three Horse Shoes at Headingley, (opened to the Oak Inn, 16th September 1871) to Chapeltown (opened 11th November 1874) and to Hunslet (opened 2nd March 1874). These were all to be for horse-drawn trams operated by the Leeds Tramways Co., of which William Wharam was manager and Joseph Kincaid C.E.

of London was to be the engineer.²² It can be seen from the above that the first line to be opened in Leeds was through Headingley to the Oak public house in 1871.

In August 1873 plans were submitted to the Corporation for tramsheds and stables at Far Headingley by J. Kincaid of Westminster.²³ The tramsheds and stables were erected and the extended route soon caused a decline in the omnibus traffic. A street directory for 1872 gave timetables of coaches, omnibuses and trams travelling from Headingley. In 1872 there were regular services from 9.15 a.m. in the morning until 6.30 p.m. in the evening provided by omnibuses. Both companies ran at approximately one hour intervals with an 8.15 a.m. start on Saturdays. The trams, however, left Headingley at 8.10 a.m. until 9.55 p.m. and ran every 15 minutes. The return from Leeds started at 8.45 a.m. and the last tram was at 10.30 p.m.²⁴

The decline in omnibus services was rapid; in 1872 there were 21 weekday journeys each way between Leeds and Headingley. This had dropped to only 5 each week-day travelling past the tramsheds and on to Westwood by 1875. The trams introduced earlier starting times and by 1877 the first tram from Far Headingley was leaving at 8.07 a.m. and services were operating every ten minutes in the afternoons. The trams became quicker, cheaper, more frequent, started earlier and finished later when compared with the omnibuses. The latter changed their role and found new uses. They provided a service between the termini of the tram services and distant neighbourhoods such as Adel where the trams did not reach. In 1894 the Corporation takeover of the tramway system led to the rapid expansion of routes, even cheaper fares and earlier and later starting and finishing times. Starting times became 4.30 a.m. on most routes and allowed the working class to use them for daily journeys to work.

There appears to be little evidence within the study area that the sale of estates or large areas of land could be linked directly with transport developments. The sale of estates was a complex process and to state that a particular estate was only a saleable commodity because of nearby rail, omnibus or tramway would not be correct. They all had a part to play in the development of the area and certainly changed the character, the type, and sizes of the houses built. Thus when the Earl of Cardigan sold villa lots in 1859 in Kirkstall Lane, the nearby railway station may well have helped in the sale to the middle-class buyers. It was undoubtedly the case that the middle

class moving into Headingley Hill would have taken note that the omnibus services would give them extra mobility in addition to their own private means of transport.

Perhaps the major development was the introduction of trams which, when they replaced the horse-drawn omnibuses, increased the number of services and reduced prices to become accepted as an invaluable help in the development of the suburb and an improvement in the way of life in the study area.

Other researchers have come to the same conclusions. Treen stated that:

'Suburban growth was not a simple transport led development, but a more complex process involving several stages of decision making commencing with that of the pre-development landowner.'²⁵

Unwin:

'In Leeds there is little evidence (apart perhaps from the area around Dewsbury Road) of suburban transport 'pioneering' the development of an area; rather the omnibus and tram networks followed development and catered for a known or carefully calculated demand.'²⁶

Gaskell:

'In addition to fostering demand and taking advantage of a general rise in income levels among the working class, the Corporation Tramways, with cheap, rapid and convenient services, even on routes as yet undeveloped, opened up new areas for working class estates both private and municipal.'²⁷

Gaskell would appear at first sight to be contradicting Treen and Unwin, however, he was referring to the trams after 1894 when the majority of the housing estates within the study area had been developed. Housing developments after this date were not necessarily related to new estates for the working classes, The Builder referred to a trip to Roundhay in 1896:

'The steam tram, a flourishing institution in Leeds, makes short work of it, but the tram is unfortunately as ugly as the road it runs along...'²⁸ The development of Roundhay as a residential district for businessmen is likely to be rapid once the electric cars commence to run through from end to the centre of the city.'²⁹

Certainly landowners changed the size of lots for sale to take into account changing circumstances. When an estate was first put up for sale they aimed at high quality with large plots intended for villas which relied on good road access. With the subsequent resales for profit and subdivision, the type of estate layout changed from villas to terraced houses of various sizes which could only be sold without stables and coach-houses if alternative means of transport were available.

The introduction of smaller terrace houses took place as services increased and fares reduced but there was no sudden building boom in the study area to match workmen's fares or the Corporation taking over the running of the tramways as Gaskell suggests might have been the case. The last major estate of through houses to be developed in the study area was the Manor House Estate and this started in 1901 long after transport developments had made it possible.

3.8 Important Dates Relating to the Study Area

The following table lists important dates relating to the development of the study area:

Table 9 Important Dates Relating to the Study Area

1829	St. Stephens, Kirkstall consecrated. Inclosure Act for lands in the Manor of Headingley; survey carried out.
1831	Inclosure map printed.
1835	Municipal Corporations Act: Headingley becomes a ward of Leeds.
1837	Chapel at Headingley demolished and rebuilt. Leeds Zoological and Botanical Garden Company formed. Fawcett Estate put up for sale; divided into villa lots. ^a
1838	First new road constructed in study area - Victoria Road. Horse-drawn buses started from Far Headingley to Leeds.
c.1839	Victoria cricket ground opened by Robert Cadman. Line of conduit agreed by Waterworks Company to pass through Headingley.
1840-42	Waterworks Conduit constructed.
1841	Otley turnpike road improved and new road through Lawnswood and Bramhope constructed.
1844	New railway line routed through Headingley.
1846-48	Railway line constructed.
1848	Zoological and Botanical Gardens closed.
1849	St. Michaels becomes Parish Church of Headingley.
1854	St. Mathias Church, Burley consecrated.
1858	Leeds Royal Park started adjacent to Woodhouse Moor.
1866	Turnpike tolls abolished within the borough.
1868	The seventh Earl of Cardigan died; estates managed by trustees. St. Chads, Far Headingley, consecrated.
1869	Brickworks and quarry opened on Hill Top Estate. St. Michaels, Headingley enlarged.
1869	Zoological Gardens site put up for sale.

- 1871 Introduction of horse-drawn trams to Headingley.
Leeds Royal Park reduced in size.
- 1875 Leeds Horticultural Gardens Company Ltd. formed on site
of former Leeds Royal Park.
- 1884 St. Michaels new parish church erected.
- 1885 Horticultural Gardens site put up for sale
- 1888 Cardigan Estates sold; break with lord of the manor.
- 1890 Brickworks and quarry closed on Hill Top Estate.
- 1891 First electric trams routed through Headingley.

a Dates at which each individual estate were first offered on the market for building purposes have not been included. The sale of the first estate belonging to J.H. Fawcett was considered the most significant.

NOTES

CHAPTER 3. LAND USE, ESTATE BOUNDARIES AND CONSTRAINTS ON BUILDING DEVELOPMENT.

- 1 Treen, p.28 - 29.
- 2 For a description of the Graham lease, see Treen, p. 33.
- 3 For details of land holdings, see Treen, p. 21 - 35.
- 4 For a description of the influential role of families such as the Becketts, See Fraser.
- 5 See Appendix 17.
- 6 Designed by the architects Perkin and Backhouse of Leeds.
- 7 Designed by Lord Grimthorpe, See Linstrum, p. 375.
- 8 Dyos, p. 19.
- 9 Inclosure Act passed 1829, 10 Geo. IV, Cap. 17.
- 10 Archives, see DB/M35.
- 11 Act of Partition passed 1827, 7 and 8 Geo. IV, Cap. 55.
- 12 Treen, p. 125 - 127.
- 13 Archives, See DB/M2.
- 14 See Chapter 8.
- 15 For a detailed account of the routing of the railway through Headingley, See Treen, p. 179 - 183.
- 16 Treen, p. 305.
- 17 Archives, see AM130.
- 18 D.B.P., 42/2nd March/1877 (thesis reference 818).
- 19 Treen, p. 84 - 85.
- 20 Ibid., p. 150 - 154.
- 21 Archives, see DB/M227.
- 22 Thoresby Society Publications, Vol. XLVIII, p. 138.
- 23 D.B.P., Book 6A, August, 1873.
- 24 Porter, Directory of Leeds, 1872, p. 32 - 33.
- 25 Treen, p.18.
- 26 R.W. Unwin, 'Leeds becomes a transport centre' in D. Fraser, A History of Modern Leeds, p. 138.
- 27 S.M. Gaskell, 'Housing Estate Development, 1840 - 1918; With Particular Reference to the Pennine Towns,' Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sheffield, p. 263.
- 28 The Builder, 1896, Vol. 71, p. 513.
- 29 Ibid., Vol. 70, p. 37.

4.1 The Bainbrigge Estate

Prior to 1838 a number of individual houses existed within the study area, but building estates had not begun to be developed along similar lines to those which had started to the north on the top of Headingley Hill and to the west at St. Ann's Hill. The development to the north of Headingley Lane comprised villas built on freehold plots and to the west villas built, from 1808 onwards, on land on long leasehold, from James Graham.

In June 1809 Mary Bainbrigge II offered land for sale adjoining Headingley Lane and Woodhouse Moor and this included 17 acres on the top of Headingley Hill. Further attempts were made to sell in 1810, 1811 and 1815 but it was not until 1824 that building development began. The earlier lack of success was despite the fact that the land had the advantages of fine views and low taxes.¹

Mary Bainbrigge II sold just over an acre of land in 1824 to Thomas Robinson, a gentleman of Headingley, who built a villa named Ashfield House directly opposite the manor house she occupied. Three years later she sold a further three fields totalling 17 acres to George Bischoff a Leeds merchant, who proceeded to build Highfield House. He then gradually sold off his holding between 1829 and 1843 to various persons who either also built villas or simply speculated on the land sales. Samuel Glover, a retired chemist and druggist, purchased the majority of his estate.²

The Bainbrigge solicitors drew up covenants on the land which would not allow houses to be built of less rental value than £15 per annum and that no mills, engines and tallow works were to be erected. This was to set a pattern maintained throughout the development of the study area. Whereas leases and freehold sales allowed the erection of mills, steam engines, factories, breweries, inns and shops elsewhere in Burley and Kirkstall, this was not to be the case in the vicinity of Headingley Hill or Village.³

In 1836 Mrs. Barbara Marshall put up her estate east of the Leeds and Otley turnpike for sale in villa lots of approximately 1 acre to 2 acres each. This involved a series of new roads to 17 lots totalling 22 acres.⁴ The whole estate was eventually bought by Thomas England, a confectioner of Park Square Leeds, who retained all the land after building one large mansion, Headingley Castle, in its own grounds.

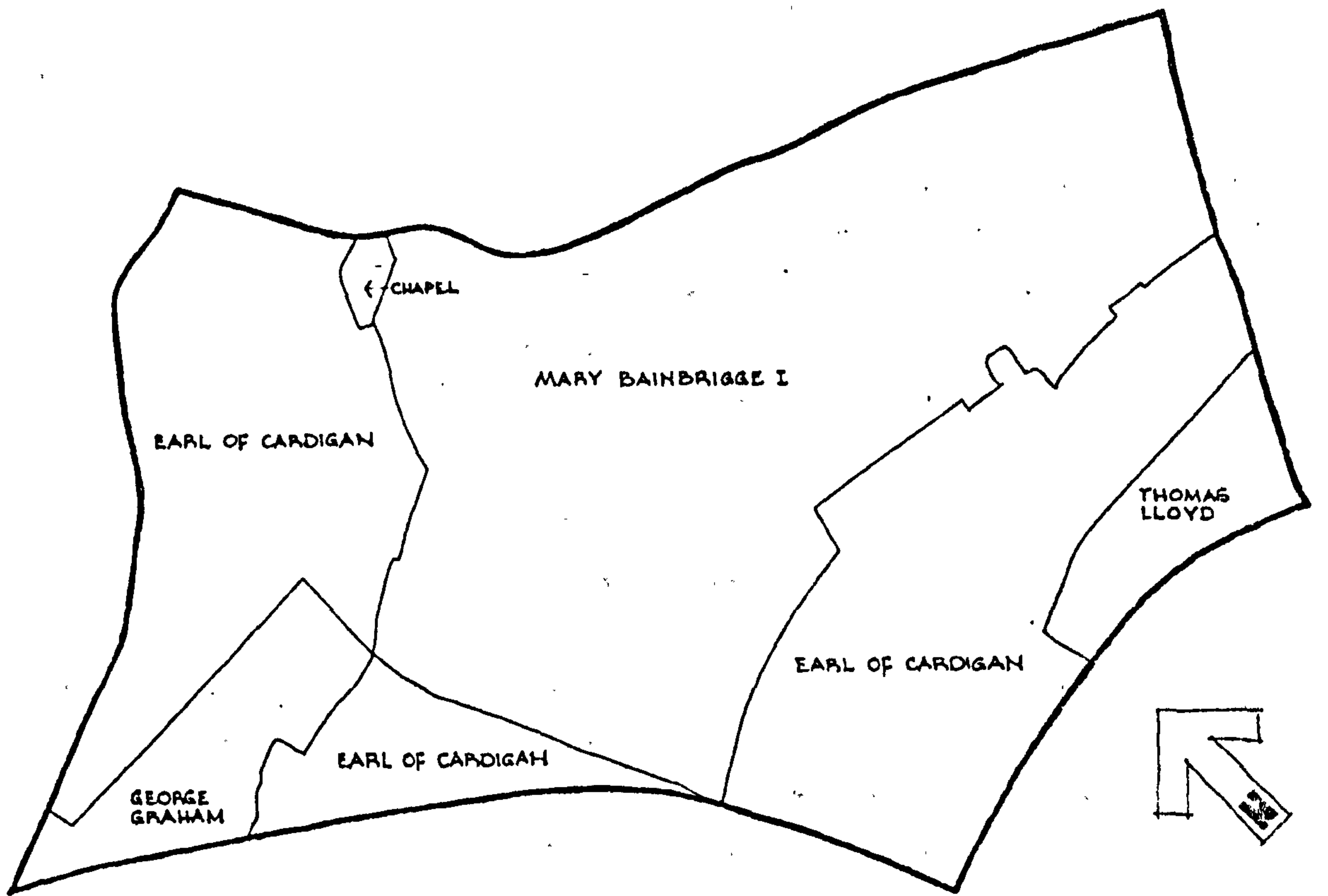


Fig.13 Estate boundaries c.1801.

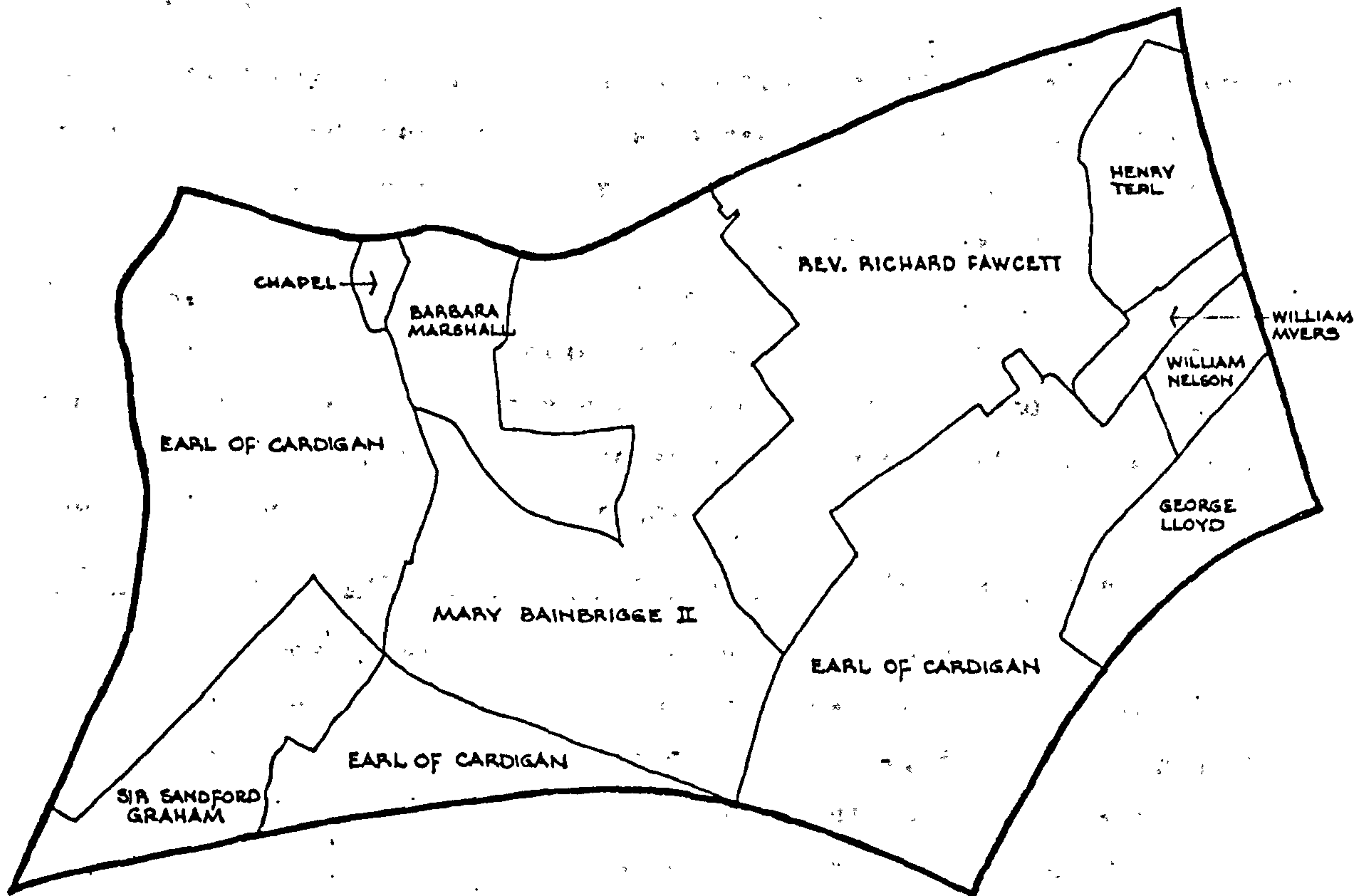


Fig.14 Estate boundaries c.1831.

The other half of the Marshall Estate adjacent to the Bainbrigge Estate to the west of the turnpike road was not sold, it was still in the hands of John Marshall, Barbara's husband, in 1846.

When Mary Bainbrigge I made her will in 1803 she left half of her estate to her daughter, Mary Bainbrigge II, and the other half as a life interest to her other daughter, Anna Maria who had married the vicar of Leeds, Rev. Richard Fawcett. After Anna Maria's death the land was to be used for life by each son of the Fawcett family. There were two sons and seven daughters; the eldest son Walker Richard Fawcett died before his mother in 1833 and John Henry Fawcett, the second son, became tenant for life. Eventually the land passed to his son, Richard Henry Fawcett.

There was some difficulty concerning the will of Mary Bainbrigge I and following legal action an Act for partitioning the estate was passed by order of the High Court of Chancery in 1826. On the death of Mary Bainbrigge II in 1832 she left some 36 acres of the estate granted to her in the Act of partition to the use for life of her friend Robert William Disney Thorp, physician and a mayor of the unreformed Corporation of Leeds in 1830. The will also stated that on Thorp's death the land should pass to Mary's godson, Disney Launder Thorp the youngest son of Robert W.D. Thorp.

Thus by 1838 part of the original Bainbrigge estate above the turnpike had been sold and that below it had passed into the hands of the Thorp and Fawcett families. Dr. Thorp obtained the old Manor House, in which Mary Bainbrigge II had lived, together with approximately 25 acres. The total estate partitioned in 1826 was 77 acres to Mary Bainbrigge II and 81 acres to Anna Maria Fawcett. Dr. Thorp continued to live on the estate residing in the old Manor House until 1845 and letting most of the land as a milk farm to William Duerdon, the former tenant of Mary Bainbrigge II.⁵

4.2 The Fawcett Estate: The First Major Building Development

John Henry Fawcett, son of the former vicar of Leeds, wished to put his land on the market in 1837. He had inherited a life interest in 81 acres on the death of his father that year, following the death of his elder brother four years earlier. Before being able to sell John Henry had to apply to Parliament for the constraints of the 1826 family settlement to be lifted. He claimed in the following hearing that the time was ripe for the estate to be sold for a great

deal of money because of people wishing to erect buildings in the neighbourhood.⁶

In 1834 J.H. Fawcett mortgaged his life interest to men who were to be his trustees for the sale of the estate. However, the financial state of the estate worsened because the trustees for the sale anticipated that permission of Parliament would be granted for the sale and they proceeded to lay out roads on the estate, intending to recoup the costs involved by charging higher plot prices. Grosvenor, Cumberland and Burlington Roads were built on the land above the Otley turnpike; Victoria, Langham, and Buckingham Roads were built below the Otley turnpike and within the study area. The total cost was £2,000 for creating these roads with names reminiscent of London's grandeur. When the Act relating to the estate was passed, Counsel's opinion on the decision to lay out roads in advance of land sales was that the trustees should not be allowed to reclaim the road costs out of monies received from the future sale of land.⁷

'if roads were found necessary for a better sale, the trustees should have made the making of them by the purchasers a condition of sale.'⁸

This raises the question as to why the trustees made the decision to build the roads prior to putting the land on the market? At the time and throughout the rest of the century a simple choice faced pre-development landowners. To sell land in large quantities at a low price per acre and leave the creation of the infrastructure to the new owners or to subdivide into a greater number of smaller plots which were difficult to sell if no thought had been given to roads and sewers. The first course of action reduced land surveyor's fees, legal fees and often produced a quick sale at a lower price per acre; the second course of action, greater fees to professional advisers, a protracted period of sale, but the possibility of a higher return per acre. Even greater costs were involved if the roads were actually constructed prior to the land sales and not, as was more often the case, left to the purchasers to construct to a predetermined and agreed layout as a condition of sale.

Treen found on the Earl Cowper Estates in Potternewton that Cowper's agent (when referring to land sales in 1819) advised that six acres would fetch £1,900 if sold quickly but a gradual sale could produce between £3,890 - £4,670. The higher prices could be obtained by dividing the land up into smaller lots but he pointed out that it

would also take up to six years to dispose of it.⁹ In 1825 a local surveyor named Taylor writing to Cowper's agent stated:

'As a general rule... the less the quantity in each lot the better price it will fetch; a smaller quantity being within reach of a greater number of persons, and consequently commanding greater competition; the more the subdivision, the greater will be the profit to be realised; but this increases trouble and the profit is longer in realizing.'¹⁰

The other consideration which had to be given to the subdivision of fields into small lots and subsequent sales over a long period, was restrictions on the type of development to be allowed. If an outright sale was effected without subdivision, the vendor was only troubled by what was later built if he had adjoining land which in some way was blighted. If small plots were being sold over a considerable period of time it became imperative that the land values of unsold plots should not be reduced or the ability to sell impaired by the type and nature of buildings already erected. The restrictive covenants imposed by pre-development landowners may now appear to have been philanthropic gestures, as if in some way regulating the quality of the environment for the enjoyment of future generations. With some exceptions, this was not usually the case because it was simply sound economic sense to legislate against any nuisance which the landowner considered might be a deterrent to future sales. Thus Taylor also warned Cowper's agent against industry, steam-powered manufactories and dye houses:

'They would thwart the Scheme of erecting Private Houses, and spoil the general appearance of the Estates - One steam engine would affect a large circuit of property.'¹¹

This was sound advice to any landowner wishing to sell land for house building in small lots.

John Henry Fawcett's trustees employed the Leeds surveyor, T. Newsam to draw up an estate plan showing 33 villa lots for sale on both sides of the Otley turnpike road in September 1837. The lots varied in size from $\frac{1}{4}$ acre to 5 acres but the average plot was about 3 acres in extent. The roads which had proved so costly to the estate were indicated and there was a reference to the fact that 'several of the lots will be divided to suit Purchasers.'¹² (see Fig. 15). The estate was put up for sale in 1837 and of the total 81 acres approximately 30 acres were above the Otley Road and 50 acres below it; within the study area were situated lots 11 to 33. The advertisement for the

PLAN OF AN ESTATE

(SITUATE AT)

Headingley near the Town of Leeds,

(BELONGING TO)

John Henry Fawcett Esq.

DIVIDED INTO VILLA-LOTS FOR SALE.

T. NEWSAM, Surveyor LEEDS.

1837

REFERENCE

Several of the Lots will be devoted to such Purposes

EARL CARDIGAN

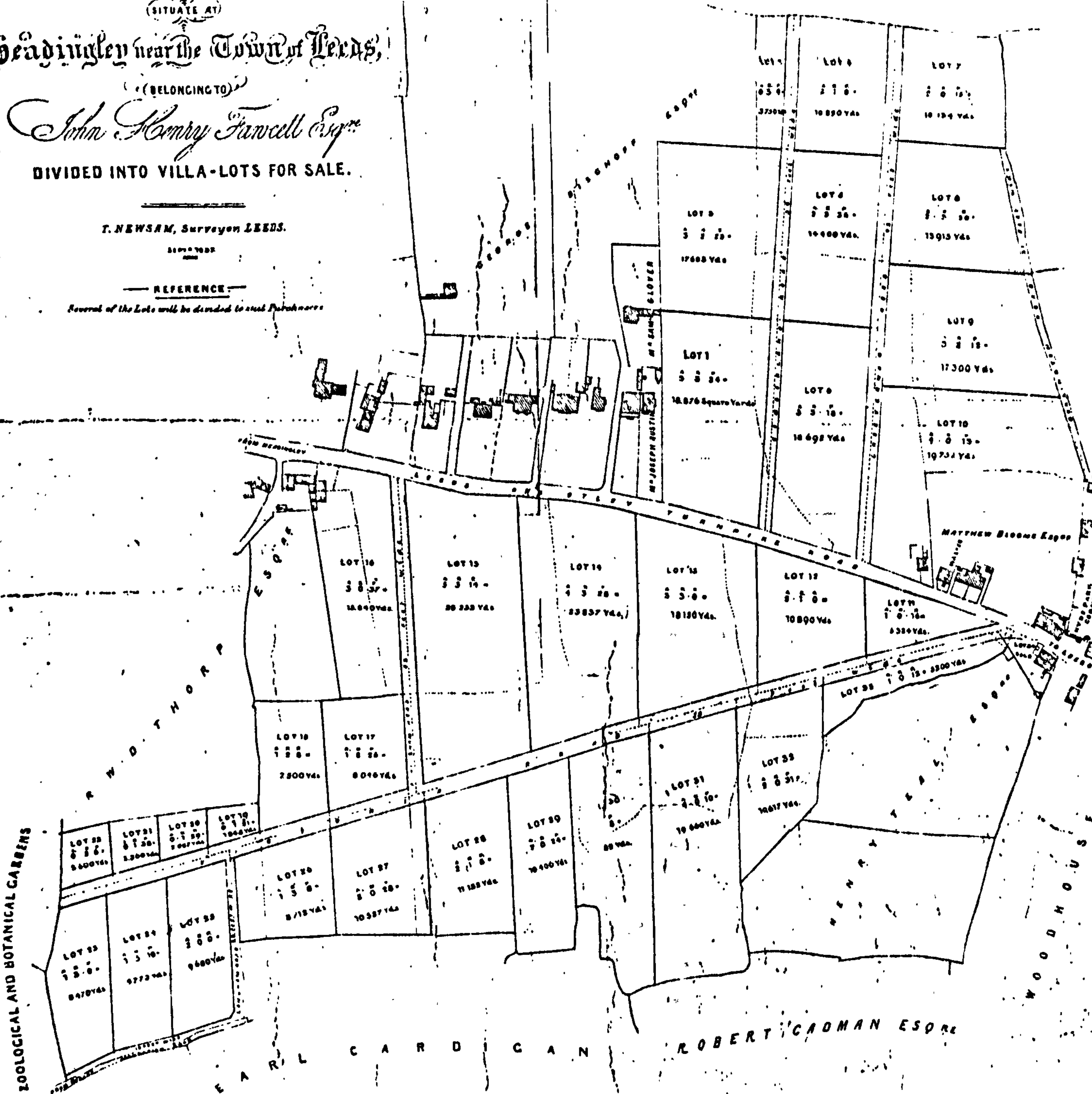


Fig.15 Plan of the Fawcett Estate divided into lots for sale, 1837.

sale stated that there were more than eighty acres suitable for mansions and villas:

'divided into lots adapted for the comfort and convenience of large and small Capitalist and... interspersed with wide commodious roads.'¹³

These, the first new roads pushed into the pastures and meadows of the study area to literally pave the way for building development, are worth further examination. Victoria Road, which left the Otley turnpike at Hyde Park Corner,¹⁴ was 50 feet wide and travelled in a straight line down the hill to terminate at the boundary of the Leeds Zoological and Botanical Gardens. Off this road ran Buckingham Road, 42 feet wide, connecting Victoria Road back to the turnpike and Langham Road, only 24 feet wide, connecting through to Burley via the old occupation lane. The plot boundaries clearly suggest that Buckingham Road was to be extended in a southerly direction to give access to the Earl of Cardigan's land if and when it came on to the market. The advertisement for the sale also made reference to the close proximity of permanent open spaces such as Woodhouse Moor and the Zoological Gardens.

By 1846 the trustees had disposed of 15 acres within the study area and the situation can be summarised by Table 10:

Table 10 Sale of the Fawcett Estate, 1837 - 1846¹⁵

	Date sold	Owner	Development
Lot 11	1841	G. Noble, mechanic	cottage, stable & coachhouse
Lot 12	1840	G. Smith, banker	mansion
Lot 13	1838	T. Newsome, surveyor	mansion
Lot 14	not sold	let for grass	
Lot 15	not sold	let for grass	
Lots 16 & 17	1838	J. Hargreaves, ^a gentleman	mansion
Lot 18	1841	J. Jackson Lee, gentleman	land speculation
Lot 19 & 20	1838	J. Livesey, engraver	building ground
Lot 21	not sold	let for grass	
Lot 22	1840	A. Walker, wine and spirit merchant	land speculation
Lot 23, 24, 25	not sold	let for grass	
Lot 26 (part)	1841	S. Spenceley, farmer	two houses
Lot 26 (part)	not sold	let for grass	

Lot 27 & 28	1841	J. Jackson Lee, gentleman	land speculation
Lot 29	not sold	let for grass	
Lot 30	1838	T. Judson, joiner	house and grounds
Lot 31	1839	R. Cadman, gentleman	
Lot 32	1839	R.D. Greaves, solicitor	
Lot 33 (part)	1841	J. Jackson Lee, gentleman	building ground
Lot 33 (part)	1841	J.J. Lee/J. Bulmer joiner and builder	two houses
Lot 33 (part)	1840	C. Pickard, bricklayer	building ground
Lot 34	1837	J. Atkinson, butcher	sitting tenant

a also spelt Hargrave and Margraves

It is interesting to note that the land surveyor who laid out the estate, T. Newsome, took the opportunity to purchase one 3 acre plot and John Jackson Lee, a gentleman who was related to Thomas Mann Lee the solicitor to the trustees of the sale, also purchased a number of plots on the estate on both sides of the Otley Road. J.J. Lee found subdivision and resale profitable and sold land for speculation. The sale of land to Lee was contested by the trustees and the Lords Justices of Appeal heard the case between 1848 - 1853 and ordered that the unsold land and money be re-exchanged. This took place in 1854 but, as though anticipating the exchange, lots 18, 27, 28 and part of 33 were all shown in the possession of J.H. Fawcett on the 1846 Tithe Map.

The earliest sale was to a sitting tenant John Atkinson who farmed in Woodhouse and occupied a butchers shop and house on lot 34 at Hyde Park Corner. He bought this lot prior to the main sale in 1838. The first new house to be completed was most probably that erected on lot 30 by Thomas Judson who had operated as a builder and joiner in Leeds in 1817 and possibly moved to Headingley to retire. He built a house and outbuildings which he named Ash Grove, and like many others which were to follow him, he orientated it to face down the uninterrupted slope of Headingley Hill and gained access to the rear from Victoria Road. His plot of 3 acres stretched downhill to border the fields of Robert Cadman who later purchased the contiguous plot 31. Judson's house was not in stone but in red brick with a slate hipped roof; it was two storeys high with sash windows and glazing bars and brick arches over the windows. The building was eighteenth

century in appearance and the use of brick suggests that the covenants on the land sales did not insist on the use of stone. This can be illustrated by examining the development of lot 16 to the north of Victoria Road. James Hargreaves purchased from Rev. Thomas Cookson of Leeds and Rev. William Charles Wollaston, who were the trustees, over 5 acres (lot 16) for £2,759 in August 1838. He was to erect 5 ft. 6 ins. high hammer-dressed stone walls to the Victoria Road and Buckingham Road boundary and was not to erect buildings which would cause a nuisance or be connected with trade or manufacture. Only lodges were to be allowed within 40 yards of the north side of Victoria Road. No mention was made of the fact that the house could not be built in brick.¹⁶ Hargreaves erected a stone mansion which he named Buckingham House. This, unlike Judson's house, was a large imposing two-storey mansion, built in ashlar with stone pediments and Ionic columns.

The prices fetched from the Fawcett sale varied between 9d. to 11½d. per square yard or for most plots £200 per acre but some, such as lot 16 described above, were higher (the total value of the 81 acres was given as £370 per year in 1826). The Fawcett trustees had 5 sales by 1838, 20 by 1842 and 24 by 1846, but only 11 plots had been built on by the latter date, 7 of which were within the study area. There were by this time three large mansions all with access from Victoria Road; Buckingham House built c.1839, Rose Court built c.1841 and next to it, Morley House built c.1840. The banker, George Smith, had Rose Court built, probably to the designs of John Clark, the Leeds architect; it is a stone house with a low pitched slate roof and a porte-cochère supported on four Tuscan columns facing Headingley Lane. Next door to it Thomas Newsome, the surveyor for the estate, erected another stone mansion (now demolished) named Morley House; this he let to another George Smith, a Leeds cloth merchant.

Various smaller houses were erected by the buyers of plots, such as a cottage and outbuildings on lot 11 near Hyde Park Corner by G. Noble and the stone-built houses erected on lot 26 by Simeon Spenceley, a farmer who grazed his cattle on nearby fields. The most significant of these smaller developments took place on lot 33. Because of an old field boundary which followed the line of a beck to the south of Victoria Road, the plot was long but extremely shallow in depth from Victoria Road (see Fig. 15). It was virtually impossible for

any purchaser to erect detached residences of any size on the plot as drawn up. For this reason it was further subdivided and by 1844 J. Bulmer a joiner had erected two stone houses which were to form the beginning of a terrace of similar sized houses facing onto Victoria Road with gardens only to the south side. These houses were to be the very first terraced houses erected within the study area in the open fields which did not form part of the old village of Headingley. They were to be the forerunners, albeit in stone, of many rows of terrace houses built over the next 70 years. Unlike all the other houses built prior to them on the Fawcett Estate, they were probably (with the possible exception of Morley House) the first built by a builder for speculation and not custom-built. Thus in 1846 the Fawcett Estate can be seen to be in a fragmented state of transition with some lots built on, some as building ground and the majority let for agricultural purposes. It can also be seen that some of the variety which was to remain with the estate to the present day, had become apparent. Large mansions had cattle grazing in fields at one side and a mechanic's cottage at the other; stone terraced houses, a red brick villa and a farmer's residence were all in existence.¹⁷

The image of Headingley village as a desirable location of high social respectability was set by the mansions built on Headingley Hill, by those at St. Ann's Hill and by the even larger houses further north. In 1831 the New Grange Estate to the north-west of the village was purchased by William Beckett, of the Leeds banking family, who became M.P. for Leeds in 1841, and he changed the name of the house to Kirkstall Grange; it was set in 450 acres. John Marshall, the Leeds flaxspinner and fellow M.P., built himself a residence between the Beckett Estate and Headingley village which was known as Headingley House. He owned and leased over 25 acres and his son, John Marshall II, had a house built adjoining Headingley House named Headingley Lodge.

The further development of housing in and adjacent to the study area followed three main patterns: the larger mansions and grounds which resembled small landed estates when compared with those north of Headingley village, recreational developments for public enjoyment, and the development of smaller houses particularly those close to Hyde Park and Woodhouse Moor where access to the town was made easier. The number and position of houses existing in 1846 can be seen on Fig. 10.

4.3 Recreational Areas

Two fields adjoining Woodhouse Moor, named Twenty Acres and Near Toad Hole, were in the ownership of the Earl of Cardigan in 1831. At some time during the 1830's Robert Cadman purchased these two fields and by 1839 had developed them into a cricket ground.¹⁸ In the same year Cadman purchased lot 31 of the Fawcett Estate to add a further 4 acres to his existing 6 acres. The cricket ground was named as the Victoria Cricket Ground on Fowler's map of 1844 and had access to Hyde Park by a track and to Burley by public footpaths.¹⁹ As the adjacent Woodhouse Moor was marked as a Public Cricket Ground it can be assumed that the Victoria Ground was a private club and more select.

As described in Chapter 3 the Leeds Zoological and Botanical Gardens were begun in 1837. In that year a public meeting was held to raise support for the forming of such a garden in Headingley and by December enough money had been raised to purchase 18 acres from Mary Bainbrigge II and John Marshall. Four fields were involved, Tinker Garth, Thistle Hill, Oddy Garth and Potter Close, all adjoining Chapel Lane; 4 acres came from Marshall and the remainder from Bainbrigge. A further 4 acres were obtained from R.W.D. Thorp to build an access road up to the Otley Road. The total cost of the three purchases was £7,370 and the purchaser was Edwin Eddison, a Leeds Solicitor who acted on behalf of the trustees of the Company. The land surveyor, who drew up plans of the fields purchased, was T. Newsam who also acted for the nearby Fawcett Estate.²⁰ The target for subscriptions had been £20,000 in 1837, however, by 1840 only half this sum had been raised.

The plans for the gardens were very elaborate and were drawn up by William Billington, engineer and architect of Wakefield, who was assisted by Edward Davies, botanist and landscape engineer. The plans were approved by the trustees and it was proposed that they should be erected when a sufficient sum had been subscribed. A copy of the plans survive at the Thoresby Society in Leeds and they show the garden layout and inset elevations of buildings drawn by Billington. The main entrance had a classical portico situated at the centre of curved stone walls and the visitor passing through would have been able to visit orangeries, greenhouses, a fountain, two lakes, a large palm conservatory and a zoological department; the whole to be surrounded by a large stone wall.²¹ Due to a lack of funds only a

reduced scheme was ever built. The access road, the main entrance, entrance lodges, the boundary wall, the fountain, one small lake and a zoological section were completed together with the planting of a great variety of trees and plants. A circular bear pit with castellated observation towers was constructed and remains today but generally the completed scheme was only a pale reflection of the original grandiose design.

The gardens were not a success despite the construction of a railway halt at the southern end in 1848 giving even better access to the public. The reasons for the economic failure were: lack of funds not allowing construction of the total scheme hence it was less of an attraction to visitors; the cost to reach it from the centre of Leeds, a distance of 2½ miles by train or omnibus; a severe depression in the local economy at the time giving little extra income for spending on luxuries by the working population.

In 1846 the trustees unsuccessfully attempted to sell the gardens to the Leeds Borough and in 1848 they were advertised to be sold as building ground. One year later Henry Cowper Marshall, fourth son of the famous flax spinning magnate, purchased the gardens for £6,010 which was less than the original land purchase price. From 1849 to 1853 Marshall used the gardens as a detached extension to the family residence, Headingley House, allowing visitors access to them. For a few years until 1858 the gardens were leased to Thomas Clapham and reopened to the public under the new name of the Leeds Royal Gardens. Clapham introduced a showman's touch with firework displays and military bands and then moved to a showground nearer to the town centre which would be more accessible to visitors.

4.4 The Thorp Estate

Dr. R.W.D. Thorp, probably encouraged by the Fawcett Estate sales, decided to put up for sale 20 acres of his remaining estate which included the old manor-house and malt kiln. A plan was drawn up in 1845 by Martin and Fox, surveyors and land agents of London and Leeds, showing 11 lots for villas with access from Headingley Lane. Proposed roads were to be 40 feet wide, the old manorhouse was to be retained in 2 acres and lot 8, comprising a field called Tinkler Pasture, was not laid out as building ground.²² (see Fig. 16).

The intention was to dispose of the estate in three ways; villa lots, the existing house, and one large field of 10 acres. The villa lots were almost rectangular in shape with the proposed roads set

PLAN OF THE
HEADINGLEY HILL, ESTATE
in the Township of Headingley and Parish of Leeds,
 IN THE WEST RIDING OF THE COUNTY OF YORK
The Property of Mr. G. Thorp, M.D.,
 DIVIDED INTO LOTS FOR SALE, BY
Martin & Fox,

Engineering Surveyors & Land Agents,
 24, Great George St. Westminster, and 16, Albion Street, Leeds.

1845.

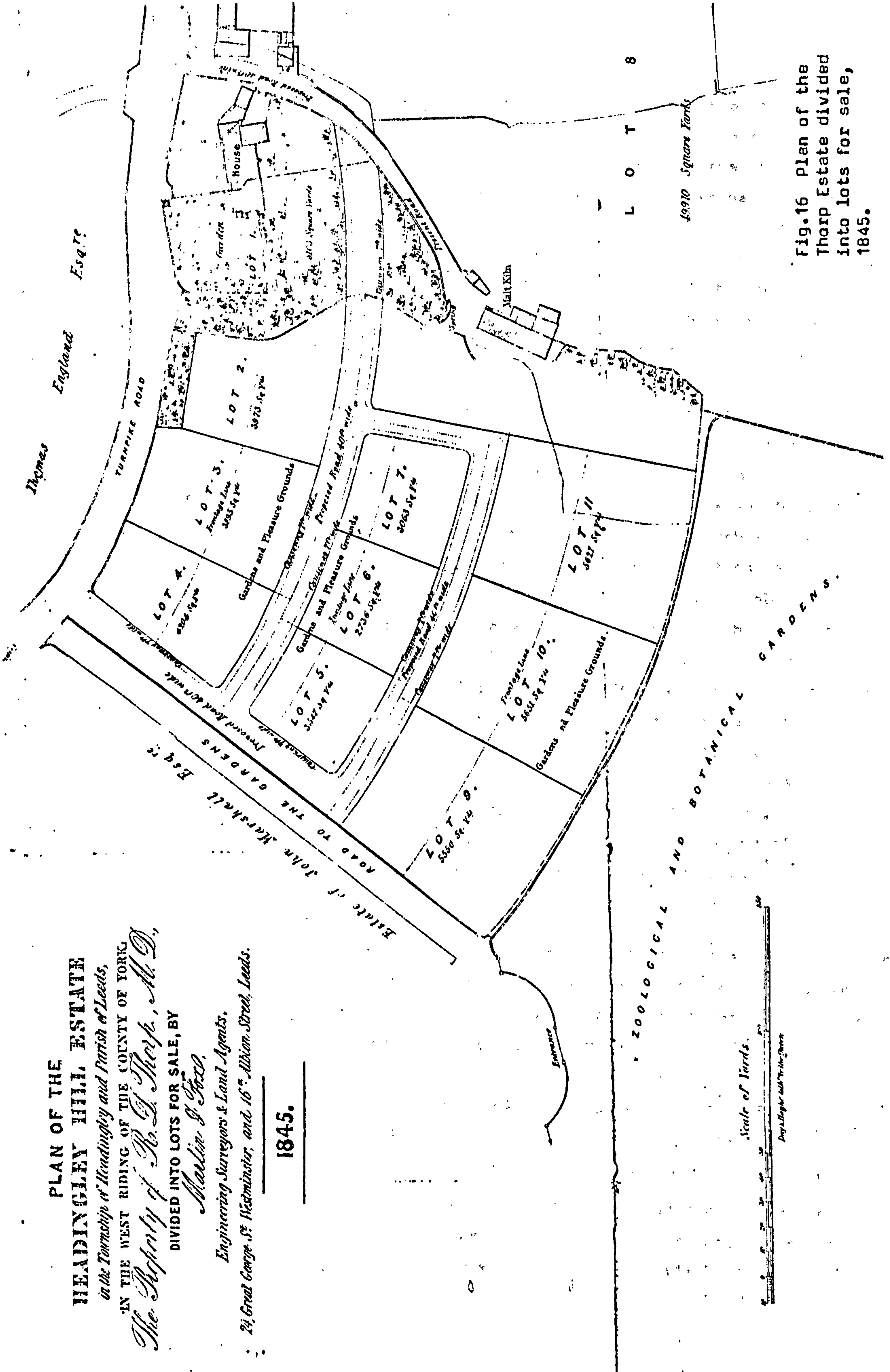


Fig. 16 Plan of the
 Thorp Estate divided
 into lots for sale,
 1845.

out in slight crescents following the curve in the Otley turnpike, but the layout did not attract buyers despite its obvious attractions. The site sloped to the south, adjacent to it were large mansions and it abutted the zoological gardens. These advantages had to be weighed against the fact that there were still unsold lots on the Fawcett Estate with roads already constructed and these too had the same advantages. Thus a nearby estate offered competition. By 1851 the 20 acres had still not been sold and were put up for auction again, once more without success. In 1852 further subdivision took place into smaller lots with villa sites at half an acre from £100 upwards and land for good terrace houses with large gardens at prices from £60 to £80. The two were to be kept apart by means of restrictive covenants and the detached or semi-detached houses were to have an annual rental of at least £30.²³ R.W.D. Thorp died in 1849 and his son D.L. Thorp, also a doctor, moved to live in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire where he was residing in 1856. The estate was disposed of but not as building ground as intended at the sales of 1845 and 1851 - 2. Robert John Ellershaw, an oil merchant, purchased 3 acres alongside the private road to the Zoological gardens in 1856. On this land he erected another stone mansion named Spring Bank. The majority of the estate was sold in 1852 - 59 to Anthony Titley, a Leeds flax spinner, who did not develop the land. At some time after 1859 Titley sold a plot of land to a developer who built Richmond House, a classical stone mansion with an access carriageway to the Otley Road. The two-storey house with a slate roof and central porch is one of the many in Headingley about which early details are unknown.²⁴

4.5 The Teal Estate

Henry Teal, a land surveyor, first attempted to sell his estate between Hyde Park Corner and the Victoria Cricket ground in 1845. The land, comprising two fields of 9 acres, was divided into 4 lots and put up for sale as 2½ acre lots with a proposed new street 36 feet wide to give access from Hyde Park. The new road was parallel to but not on the line of the track existing alongside Woodhouse Moor and by this time the two terrace houses erected by J. Bulmer on Victoria Road were completed. The estate was not sold.²⁵

A few years later Teal decided to try his hand again and this time drew up an estate plan which was submitted to Leeds Corporation to show a network of estate roads with 26 building lots. This plan

Fig.17 Through house on the Teal Estate, Hyde Park Road, erected c.1862.



Fig.18 Houses at the junction of Kensington Terrace and Hyde Park Road, erected c.1860.

Fig.19 Back-to-back houses in Kensington Terrace, erected c.1860.



drawn in 1852 offered plots of only 1,675 square yards including roads and, at one third of an acre each, were not aimed at developers wishing to erect villas of any size. The new roads, later to become Hyde Park Terrace, Midland Road, and Kensington Terrace, were more suited with the smaller plots to receive terraces or small semi-detached houses.²⁶ The site was offered for sale in 1851 for villa residences and by 1853 for villa or 'other' residences. The type of development on the Fawcett Estate adjoining, which by then had several stone terrace houses erected on the small plots just to the north of Teal's land and separated only by a stone wall and a ditch, must have been noticed by Teal and prospective purchasers alike. The pattern had been set and when Teal did sell his plots the new buyers subdivided and resold; this was particularly noticeable on the interior of the estate.

Lots 9 and 10 were sold in 1853 to J.W.H. Richardson, a Leeds solicitor, and in 1854 he resold part of his land comprising lot 9 to Robert Eeles, a Leeds tobacconist, at a profit of 1s. 8½d. a sq. yd. Three terrace houses were erected by Eeles which formed part of a longer terrace of houses facing Woodhouse Moor. J.W.H. Richardson sold lot 10 to another Leeds solicitor who was probably a relation and also named Richardson. Lot 8 was sold to a John Cummins Miller in 1853.

Further development took place throughout the estate but, without access to deeds held in private ownership, details can not be recorded.²⁷ What is known is that in 1859 lot 16 on the original Teal sale plan was put up for sale by Richard Robinson, a chemist and druggist, who had erected houses in a variety of styles in a terrace named Kensington Terrace. These houses had been built along the southern boundary facing the Victoria Cricket Ground and separated from it by the public footpath to Woodhouse Moor. He offered 1 acre for sale at 2s. 6d. a square yard and stated that the street had been recently sewered at considerable expense. Robinson built ten houses in this terrace by 1861.²⁸ Kensington Terrace occupied lots 11, 12, 24, 25 and 26 of the Teal Estate working down from Woodhouse Moor, and an estate plan submitted for the Royal Park Estate in 1858 showed lot 11 belonging to J.W. Richardson the solicitor, lot 12 to George Fletcher, lot 24 to Alice Mann and lots 25 and 26 to Messrs. Botterill and Robinson. The houses erected by Robinson were a mixture of back-to-backs and through houses. The way that both Kensington Terrace

and Road stopped abruptly suggests that they were intended to be extended at a future date no doubt when adjoining land became available to the west.²⁹

Plots were still available in 1866 and one plot which was offered as 1,700 sq. yards in 1865 reappeared in 1866 as seven separate lots. In 1866 W.F. Dean, an accountant, had 1,320 sq. yards for sale in Hyde Park Terrace having decided not to add to the two houses he already owned in the terrace.³⁰

The slow pace of the development illustrates the changes in taste and fashion relating to design, house types and use of materials, together with the gradual decline in quality which took place during the period. The earlier houses facing Woodhouse Moor were in stone or brick with stone dressings and classical stone doorways were common. Within the estate and hidden more from view, smaller through terraces were built in red brick with few stone embellishments. The tortuous planning used to turn corners with the terraces without losing land and the houses still being, in name only, through dwellings, is worthy of a much greater examination than is possible in this thesis. The greatest contrast in design, materials and house type can be seen when the last house in Kensington Terrace facing Woodhouse Moor is compared with those at the opposite end of the same terrace. The former is two storey high with cellars and attics facing the Moor, the latter a group of eight back-to-backs built by 1861, each three storeys high with cellars and no attics, involving curious tunnels through the block to give access to those houses on the opposite side to those facing Kensington Terrace. These plain buildings have flat brick arches to the windows with stone window sills and door surrounds and have a simple Georgian appearance which even the addition of modern outside plumbing cannot disguise.

The whole estate was one of contrasts with some through houses having 35 feet wide cross walls and others only half this width, with stone end terrace houses and brick back-to-backs. What emerges from this variety is a clear indication of things to come; with eventually 112 houses being erected over a 25 year period on 9 acres, giving a density of over 12 to the acre compared with the mansions above Victoria Road which usually had more than an acre of grounds for their own use.

Unfortunately the requirement to deposit plans to the local authority

for building regulation approval was not in force until after 1866 when the majority of the estate was constructed and details of owners and developers cannot be ascertained. The frontage to Woodhouse Moor suggests a series of small scale building ventures. The buildings are principally in brick in a late Georgian style with stone dressings to windows, bays and doorways. There is a general appearance of unity based on a common building line, the red brick and slate roofs and most important of all the predominance of two storey high houses of a nearly uniform height. On closer inspection it can be seen that each house or small groups of houses have decorative elements or features which produce minor modifications to the overall theme. Thus several important changes can be seen to have come about by 1866. The introduction of the first terrace of stone houses in Victoria Road started by J. Bulmer before 1844 and the building of the first red-brick terraces on the Teal Estate, were two of these changes. The terraces when closely examined show variations in both plan and elevation and in some cases in the use of materials, yet they maintain in parts a unified appearance. This was particularly the case on the Woodhouse Moor frontage, but where a great deal of subdivision and a longer building period had occurred, a far from coherent appearance resulted, as evidenced by Kensington Terrace. This terrace also illustrates two other new developments which were a portent of things to come. The end house erected on lot 11 faced onto Woodhouse Moor and was a larger dwelling built at right angles to the overall terrace with gardens and aspect on three sides. Thus the end house became a more expensive and more desirable residence. In contrast at the opposite end of the terrace were the three storey high back-to-back houses built c.1861, the first back-to-backs to be erected within the study area.³¹

4.6 General Developments

The change from stone to brick is not easily related to any one period of time or to any one development on a particular estate. When Fawcett had his first house completed on his estate in 1838 it was by a developer who built in brick in a late Georgian style. After this Fawcett used restrictive covenants to forbid the construction of any but stone fronted houses on certain plots. Fawcett's trustees in 1856 insisted that:

'the outside of every building to be erected thereon fronting Victoria Road should be built of stone.'³²

This was to be relaxed on future sales as the need to sell became more important.

Stone was readily available locally from nearby quarries at Woodhouse, Burley, Meanwood and Potternewton. Sandstone was available from the Scott Hall area and from Woodhouse. Stone was extensively used on houses in the old village of Headingley and when the Zoological Gardens were built in 1840 a fine stone wall was erected to surround it. Fawcett's trustees insisted on hammer-dressed stone walls to the boundaries of his plots even when brick was allowed for the dwellings. Cost and speed were obviously important factors and where a restrictive covenant demanded stone then it would be used but where the developer was building for speculation, which occurred on a large scale for the first time on the Teal estate, best red pressed facing bricks would be both a cheaper and quicker alternative. This was especially the case after bricks had been relieved of their duty in 1850. The latter date roughly coincides with Teal putting up his estate for sale and it is interesting to note that although a surveyor he did not think it fit to ban the use of bricks.

The gradual change in the type of housing development from large mansions and villas in stone to terraces of red brick can be clearly traced, not only in Headingley but in other areas of Leeds. The failure to improve the quality of life in the central townships of Leeds gave impetus to speed up the exodus to the semi-rural seclusion of the out-townships. A number of the social and economic groups who had been confined to the town centre or the industrial townships by long hours and lack of transport found it possible to consider a move to a better suburb from the 1850's onwards. The lower middle classes especially started to move at a time when there was a number of building estates coming on the market.

As the population of the suburbs began to increase the semi-rural nature of the area chosen by the early villa and mansion developers began to be eroded and eventually greatly diminished. The retreat for the wealthy from the centre of town which took place between 1800 and 1850 did not have the same rosy future in the second half of the century. Changes in the amount of land on the market, the types of houses built and the materials used all played a part in this ending of the status quo. Once an estate had been divided up for sale as building lots there was always the possibility of letting unsold plots

to existing house owners or local farmers for grazing^{or} as an extension to gardens. The obvious course of events, however, was to make every effort to sell remaining lots by whatever means until all the estate was disposed of. The subdivision which took place on the Teal estate, where the original 26 lots were to end up with 112 houses built on them, became a common occurrence. It became normal to attempt to sell unsold lots on an estate by offering them in smaller and smaller units, thus bringing them into the reach of the greatest number of possible purchasers. At the same time, with protracted sales, the conditions laid down by the pre-development landowner as to what type of houses could be allowed were often relaxed.

These changes were reflected in the sales of land belonging to the Earl of Cardigan which took place periodically. In 1845 Hawksworth wood, some 210 acres of poor and neglected woodland at Kirkstall, was put up for sale on 99 year leases, however, it did not sell because freehold land was available elsewhere in Headingley. In 1850 the Earl put up a further 70 acres for sale in many different lots in Far Headingley and Burley. The auction held at the Oak Inn fetched low prices with many fetching 11d. to 1s. 6d. per square yard. The unsold lots were put up for auction again in 1851 and 1853, being subdivided in the process to form:

'lots of various sizes, some being eligible for the erection of villa residences and others within the means of persons of small capital.'³³

During the sales of 1850 - 53 it was rumoured that all the Yorkshire Estates of the Earl of Cardigan were to be sold. These were changing times and were to be followed by the death of the Earl's steward in Headingley, George Hayward, and the start of the Crimean War in 1854, a conflict in which the major landowner was to play a leading role. More land was disposed of with a minimum of restrictions at low prices which were attractive to purchasers. In 1859 yet another sale of the Earl's land took place at the Oak Inn, Headingley. The majority of land was on the old Headingley Moor and the total number of lots was 70, in all shapes and sizes. Ten of these were within the study area. Lots 54, 55, 56 and 57 were on the old Headingley Green, each approximately 1 acre, and lots 58 - 63 were adjacent to and south of Kirkstall Lane. The latter varied from 1 acre to 3 acres and these, when eventually sold, began the villa development

opposite Headingley House then in the occupation of James Garth Marshall, the third son of John Marshall.

4.7 The Fawcett Estate, 1846 - 1866

Following the inevitable trend, the trustees to the J.H. Fawcett Estate, who had been careful about the type and size of dwellings which were allowed prior to 1850, relaxed their conditions relating to the types of houses which could be built. This was after the land had still not been fully sold after twelve years on the market and in the face of ever increasing competition. Lots were put on sale at half an acre and less with some at 2 to 4 acres for grander houses.

J.H. Fawcett died in 1856 and his son Richard Henry Fawcett, an infant living in Caernarvon in 1859, inherited the remainder of the estate.³⁴ Land disposal passed from the old trustees to the lawyer looking after the son's affairs, Thomas Mann Lee. The continuing sales over the next ten years were complicated by the increased amount of land available elsewhere. In the 1850's land could be obtained for 1s. a square yard. One of the major purchasers of remaining land within the study area was Henry Ludolf, a flax merchant, who purchased nearly 6 acres in all, including parts of various older lots.

Another purchaser was William Whalley of Leeds who bought part of lots 26 and 27, a third of an acre, in 1859 and it was still in his family's hands until sold in 1876. In the same year Edward Bulmer, a Leeds dyer, purchased part of lots 26 and 27, also comprising a third of an acre, and this too stayed in the Bulmer family until sold in 1874. The last of this late group of purchasers was William Waterhouse who described himself as an agent of Headingley. He purchased $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, being part of lot 27 and held this until 1863 when he resold it to a William Thomas Smith, gentleman of Leeds. By far the biggest sale came in 1860 when William Mawson of Hambleton near Selby, a gentleman, purchased lots 23, 24 and 25, which together formed a separate estate beyond Langham Road and comprised nearly 9 acres. Mawson held onto the land without developing it until selling it in its entirety to Henry Ludolf in 1865.

Ludolf purchased in 1859 lot 32, containing over 2 acres, together with part of lot 28 and all of lot 29, making another 4 acres. Ludolf erected a villa for his own occupation, and then added to his holdings by buying Mawson's land six years later, to end up owning

Fig.20 Ash Grove, Victoria Road, erected c.1840.



Fig.21 Two houses erected by J. Bulmer in Victoria Road c.1846.



Fig.22 Houses erected in Victoria Road c.1846 - 1860.



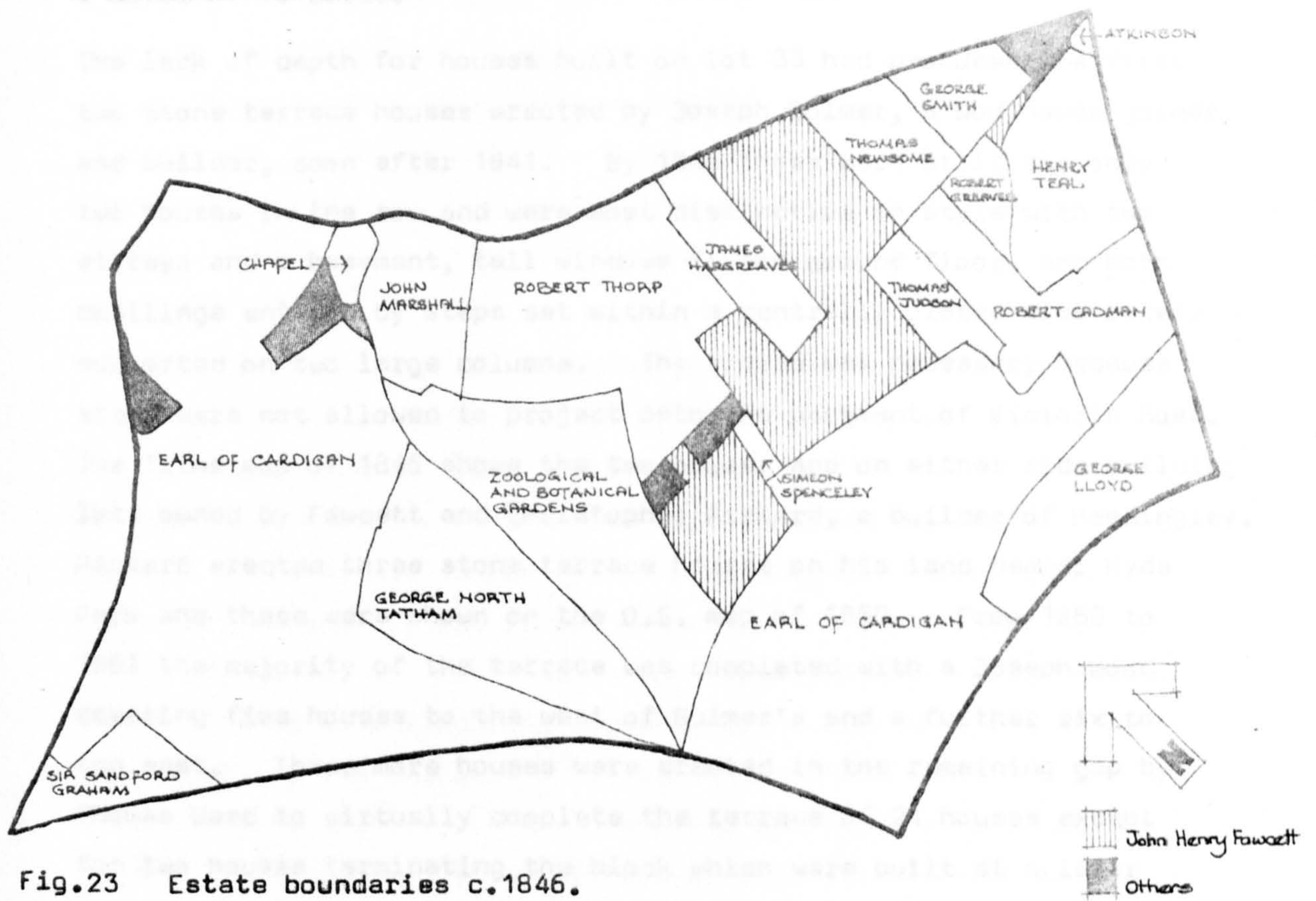


Fig.23 Estate boundaries c.1846.

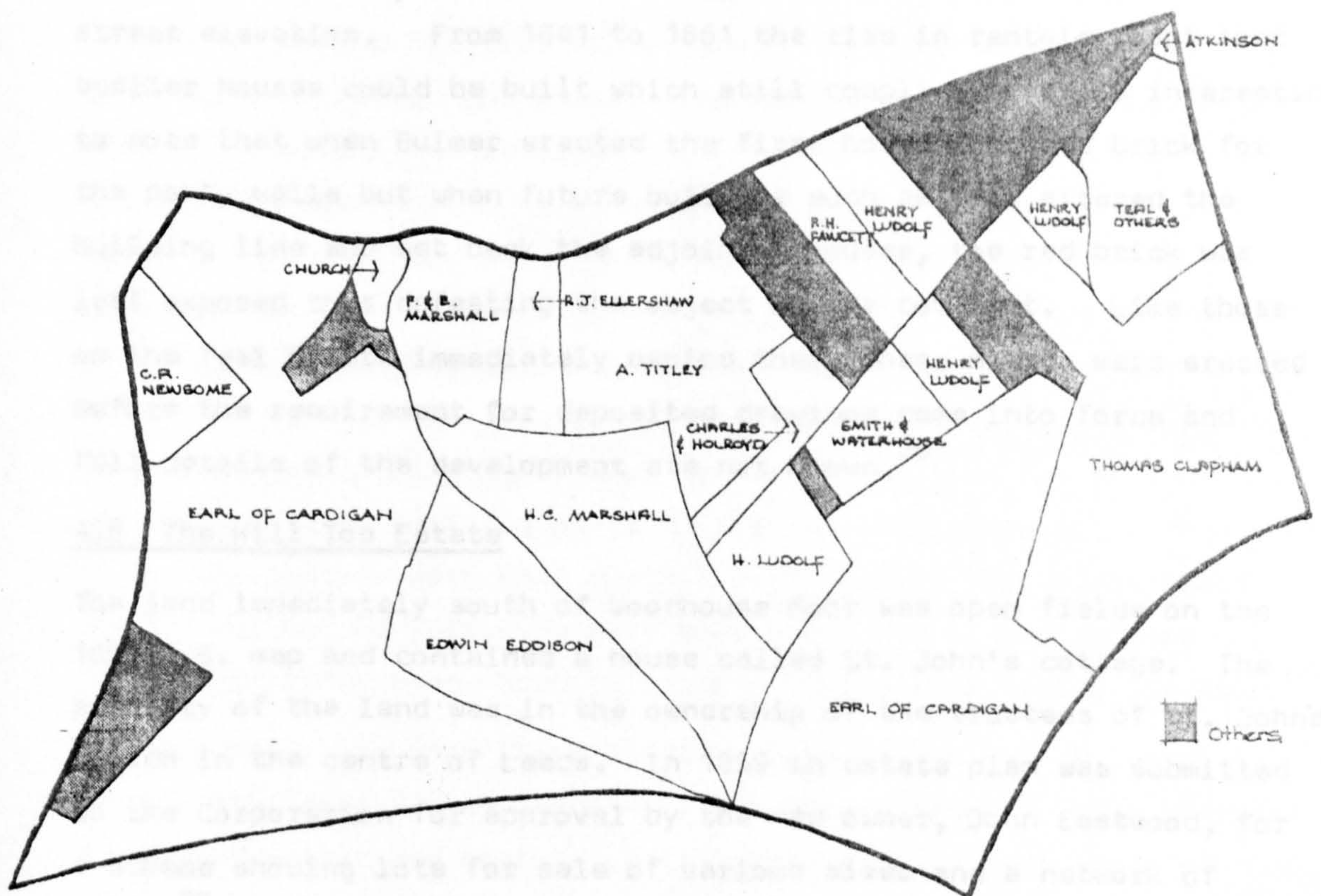


Fig.24 Estate boundaries c.1866.

a total of 15 acres.³⁵

The lack of depth for houses built on lot 33 had produced the first two stone terrace houses erected by Joseph Bulmer, a Woodhouse joiner and builder, soon after 1841. By 1846 these were still the only two houses in the row and were most distinctive in style with two storeys and a basement, tall windows on the ground floor, and both dwellings entered by steps set within a centrally placed wide recess supported on two large columns. The recess was necessary because steps were not allowed to project onto the pavement of Victoria Road. The Tithe map of 1846 shows the two houses and on either side building lots owned by Fawcett and Christopher Pickard, a builder of Headingley. Pickard erected three stone terrace houses on his land nearer Hyde Park and these were shown on the O.S. map of 1850. From 1850 to 1861 the majority of the terrace was completed with a Joseph Wood erecting five houses to the west of Bulmer's and a further six to the east. Three more houses were erected in the remaining gap by Thomas Ward to virtually complete the terrace of 21 houses except for two houses terminating the block which were built at a later date. The Fawcett restrictive covenants at the time required houses to be of at least £15 annual rental and the use of stone for their street elevation. From 1841 to 1861 the rise in rentals meant that smaller houses could be built which still complied. It is interesting to note that when Bulmer erected the first houses he used brick for the party walls but when future builders such as Wood altered the building line and set back the adjoining houses, the red brick was left exposed thus defeating the object of the covenant. Like those on the Teal Estate immediately behind them, these houses were erected before the requirement for deposited drawings came into force and full details of the development are not known.³⁶

4.8 The Hill Top Estate

The land immediately south of Woodhouse Moor was open fields on the 1850 O.S. map and contained a house called St. John's cottage. The majority of the land was in the ownership of the trustees of St. John's Church in the centre of Leeds. In 1859 an estate plan was submitted to the Corporation for approval by the new owner, John Eastwood, for a scheme showing lots for sale of various sizes and a network of roads.³⁷ Over the next two decades the whole of the St. John's estate was developed generally from the north downwards and, as on other

estates, the original large plots intended for villas were made smaller and subdivided to eventually receive rows of terrace houses. As on other estates like the Teal Estate the process took many years and the new houses were in red brick. By 1861 eight large terrace houses had been completed overlooking Woodhouse Moor and another three a little less grand were completed facing the newly formed Belle Vue Road.³⁸

The St. John's Estate was situated within and abutting the western boundary of the intownship of Leeds which also formed the boundary with George Lloyd's Hill Top Estate which was in the township of Headingley-cum-Burley. The Hill Top Estate had passed from father to son. The estate passed from Thomas Lloyd to George Lloyd who died in 1844 and by 1850 it was owned by his son, Thomas William Lloyd of Thirsk, who must have viewed with interest the increasing possibilities of selling his agricultural estate and farm which was rented out. The St. John's Estate was just beginning and the Teal Estate was well under way when he was persuaded that the time was ripe to sell and in 1859 the tenant of White House Farm on the Hill Top was given notice to quit. Accordingly in 1860, Lloyd submitted a plan to the Corporation for the approval of a network of roads and sewers to develop his Hill Top Estate. The plan showed a new road to be pushed through the estate from Burley in the South and rising uphill to connect to the track which ran on the west of Woodhouse Moor. The road was to be named Henrietta Street after T.W. Lloyd's wife. One new road, Edwin Road, was to cut east-west into the heart of the land to be developed for building.³⁹ As in the case of Victoria Road on the Fawcett Estate and Belle Vue Road on Eastwood's St. Johns Estate, the creation of one major road cutting through the fields seemed to be a first step in opening up land for further subdivision into building plots. The new road, however, was intended to extend to Hyde Park Road further north and by this means reach Hyde Park, but by 1861 Hyde Park Road was a sea of mud because not all sections had been paved by persons buying lots facing the Moor.⁴⁰

By 1866 sales had only taken place on lots at the top of the hill facing Henrietta Street despite Lloyd's advertisements which offered: 'elevated meadow and pastureland;' 'containing valuable beds of clay;' 'laid out for sale in building sites;' 'comprising about 25 acres.'⁴¹ Set against these advantages was an abundance of land coming on the market on other estates and steep slopes which required steps in

blocks of houses. Lloyd submitted a new plan for approval to show more details of the interior roads with Alexandra, Princess, Kings, and Queens Road shown. The farm buildings still existed and it is interesting to note that the name Henrietta was crossed out and the name Hyde Park Road written above on the plan approved.⁴² From 1861 to 1866 Lloyd sold to developers who subdivided lots and resold for speculation with little actual building taking place.

T. Grayson, a gentleman from Headingley who was to figure later elsewhere in the study area, purchased over 1 acre and an estate agent named J.S. Mathers purchased 3 acres in 1866. Mathers went on to subdivide and resell, mainly to builders such as George Lax from Hunslet and other small builders.

Facing ever increasing competition the struggle to attract builders to purchase land became even more intense, and in order to dispose of the remainder, Lloyd was reduced to selling off large portions to Thomas Clapham who had already purchased 14½ acres to add to his Victoria Cricket Ground in 1859. Clapham purchased the remaining 18½ acres in 1866, including the farmhouse and out buildings, paying £6,800 which represented 11d. per sq. yd. for the steep slopes, and 2s. 6d. per sq. yd. for the more accessible southern portion.

Another purchaser on the Hill Top Estate was the Leeds and Yorkshire, Land, Building and Investment Company, (L.Y.L.B.I.C.) which became involved when the Company lent money to Clapham with part of his 1866 land purchase as security. In 1867 they terminated the mortgage and took possession of the land in exchange. Involved in the company were two men, John and Joseph Smith, the latter was a Leeds contractor who became manager of the L.Y.L.B.I.C. and in 1869 the two Smiths purchased 4 acres from the Company and opened up a brickworks and quarry in the Queens Road area to exploit the beds of clay which Lloyd had described in earlier land sales. The brickworks and the L.Y.L.B.I.C. ran into financial difficulties in 1875 and the L.Y.L.B.I.C. went into voluntary liquidation in 1876. The Company specialised in the sale of building land in small lots to artisans, clerks and members of the building trades.⁴³

The new houses built on the Hill Top Estate were in red-brick terraces and not in stone. There were many back-to-back cottages in Lower Burley but the majority of the Hill Top Estate was developed with small through houses, intermediate in value between these and the more

spacious and generally grander terraces on the Teal Estate to the north and the St. John's Estate to the east.

4.9 The Royal Park Estate

Thomas Clapham, who had been the manager of the Zoological and Botanical Gardens, purchased the land facing Woodhouse Moor which was owned by Robert Cadman in 1858. This included the Victoria Cricket Ground and lot 31 of the Fawcett Estate. The total area was 10 acres and his main interest was in the cricket ground which was to be the focal point of his new recreational pleasure ground. It already had a reputation for staging both local and representative games of cricket and in 1846 an All England XI met 18 Yorkshiremen there after previous matches at Sheffield and Manchester. Yorkshire lost by 71 runs of which 63 had been given away in 'no balls.'⁴⁴ Horse racing took place on the Moor opposite the ground after the decline of the course at Chapelton. The race track was round the main perimeter with the central high ground being a popular vantage point. The Moor was purchased in 1857 by the Corporation as a public open space for the enjoyment of the town's citizens.⁴⁵

It is clear that Clapham knew how to pick his spot and in 1858 he submitted to the Corporation an estate plan showing his land holdings but no proposed roads or future developments indicated.⁴⁶ Clapham purchased 14½ acres off Lloyd in 1859 and a further 18½ acres in 1866. To do this he relied on a complicated system of mortgages on which he frequently found difficulty in paying the interest. After several similar land deals Clapham expanded his holdings to such an extent that he owed £15,000 to various private individuals on the understanding that the money could not be called in before 1872. The £6,800 purchase from Lloyd in 1866 was financed by a loan from the L.Y.L.B.I.C.

By 1866 Clapham owned 43 acres of land adjoining Woodhouse Moor and he constructed a new road, following the line of the old footpath, this he named Clapham Road and it gave access to the rear of Kensington Terrace. The whole of his land was not an enclosed pleasure ground, only some 20 acres on the site of the original cricket ground which he renamed the Royal Park; the other land was described as additional recreational areas.

Clapham overreached himself financially and after 1866 he began to offer parts of his estate as building land. He offered 13 acres as building land and later in the same year the entire estate was offered

to Leeds Corporation as an extension to Woodhouse Moor to form a large parkland area.⁴⁷ The offer was rejected even though Clapham suggested that land might be obtained from the Earl of Cardigan to straighten out awkward boundaries.

4.10 Existing Housing Stock in 1866

From examination of maps and estate plans, it would appear that there were approximately the following number of dwellings existing within the study area by 1866:

Table 11 Existing Houses within the Study Area, 1866

Estate	House type					Total
Fawcett	12 d.v.	2 s.d.v.	4 lo.	25 t.t.	1 h.a.s.	44
Teal				78 t.t.	6 b.b.	86
Marshall/Mansion	1 d.v.		2 cot.			3
Clapham			1 lo.			1
Chapel Lane	1 d.v.		1 cot.			2
Cardigan/Kirkstall Lane	3 d.v.	4 s.d.v.	3 lo.			10
Headingley Village		various				61
					Total	207

NOTES

CHAPTER 4 BUILDING DEVELOPMENT, 1838 - 1866

- 1 Treen points out during the period 1800 - 1840, land at Headingley-cum-Burley was often advertised for sale as having low parochial rates compared with other adjoining townships. See Treen, p. 103 and 107 - 117.
- 2 Ibid., p. 131.
- 3 Fraser, p. 102 - 103.
- 4 Archives, DB/M 248.
- 5 For full details of the Bainbrigge title, see L.C.D. 5121, 8972, and 9447. For further general information on the Bainbrigge Estate including boundaries and field names, see L.C.D. 6939, 9012, 9046, 10653, 12203, 19824, 21506, 21657, 36323.
- 6 Treen, p. 134.
- 7 1837, 7 Wm. IV and I Vict., Cap. 39.
- 8 Treen, p. 134.
- 9 Ibid., p. 118.
- 10 Ibid., p. 119.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Archives, DB/M 341.
- 13 Treen. p. 134 - 135.
- 14 It is not clear when this name first appeared to describe the junction of Headingley Lane and Woodhouse Street. It was described as such on Fawcett's estate plan of 1837.
- 15 Sources: house deeds, Tithe Map of 1846 and Treen p. 136 - 139.
- 16 L.C.D., 8604.
- 17 For details of early sales on the Fawcett Estate, see L.C.D., 8488, 8604, 9447, 13592, 21152, 36323.
- 18 E. Baines and R. Newsome (publishers), Map of the Borough of Leeds, 1834 and 1839.
- 19 C. Fowler (surveyor), Plan of the town and environs of Leeds, 1844.
- 20 Local History Library, Leeds, ML(1837).
- 21 Thoresby Society Library, Box A contains a drawing of the proposed gardens as intended on completion.
- 22 Archives, DB/M337.
- 23 Treen, p. 195.
- 24 For details of the Thorp Estate, see L.C.D., 5121, 8766, 8861, 8972, 10653, 12203, 38327.
- 25 Archives, DB/M338.
- 26 D.E.P., 1, Appendix 1.
- 27 Only one house on the estate was owned by Leeds Corporation in 1979. See L.C.D., 9322.

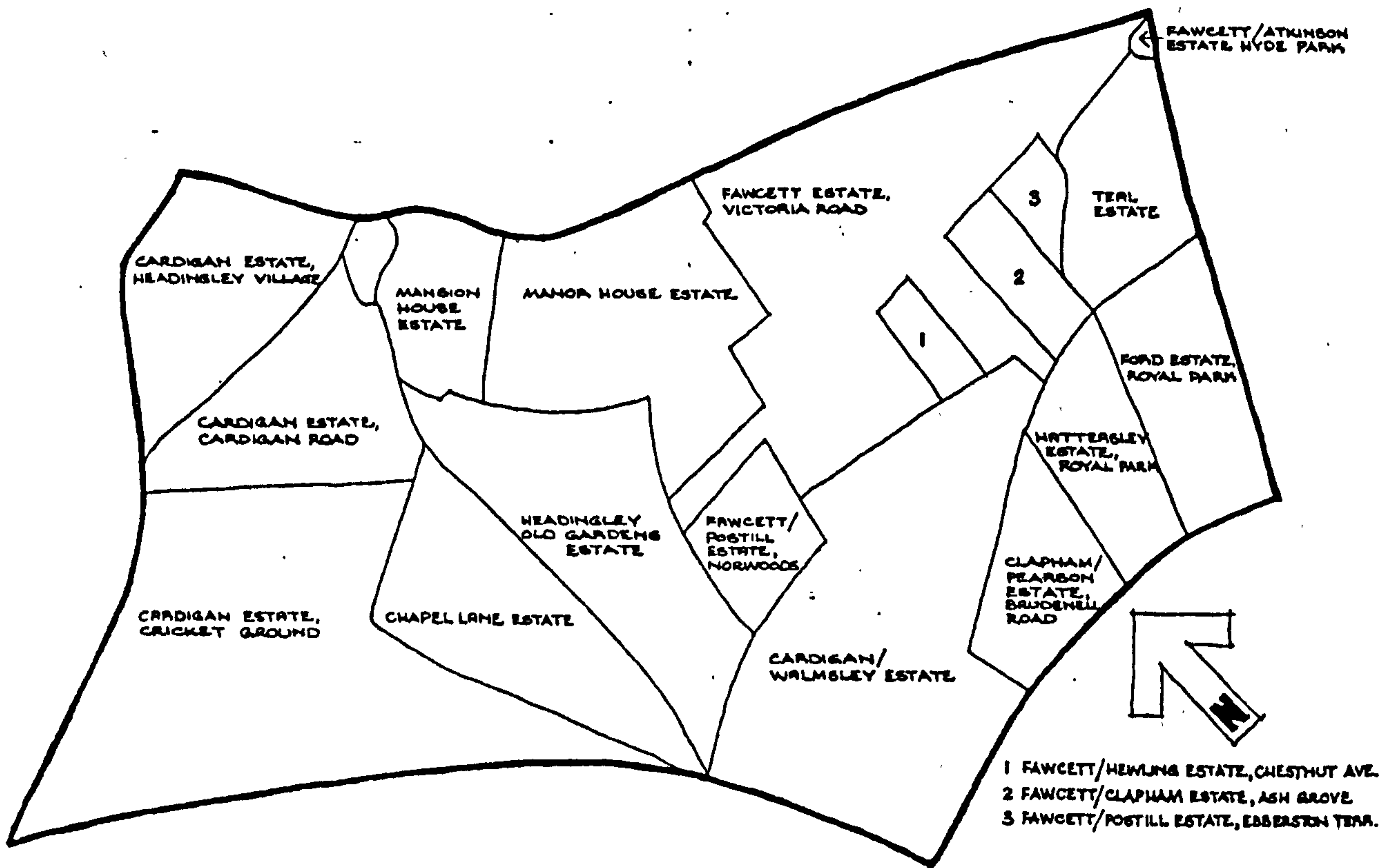
- 28 Treen, p. 207.
- 29 D.E.P., 2, Appendix 1.
- 30 Treen, p. 207.
- 31 The back-to-backs were not in existence in 1857 when street directories list only four houses in Kensington Terrace, numbers 1 - 4.
- 32 L.C.D., 36323.
- 33 Treen, p. 189.
- 34 The Fawcetts had moved from Leeds to a new estate at Thorp Arch and then in the late 1830's to Darley Dale in the Peak District.
- 35 The house named Torrison was a large detached residence erected in 1870 to the designs of the architect S.E. Smith, see D.B.P., 8 (thesis reference)
- 36 For later sales on the Fawcett Estate, see L.C.D., 8489, 8698, 9355, 9423, 9447, 10528, 10695, 13592, 15999, 36323.
- 37 D.E.P., 3, Appendix 1.
- 38 Archives, DB/M 286, 287, 288.
- 39 D.E.P., 4, Appendix 1.
- 40 Treen, p. 221.
- 41 Ibid., p. 270 - 271.
- 42 D.E.P., 6, Appendix 1.
- 43 Treen, p. 306.
- 44 For an account of this historic (for Headingley) and yet hilarious match, see J.B. Place, 'Woodhouse in the Manor of Leeds' in Thoresby Society Publications, Volume II, 1945, p. 363.
- 45 It was the first area to be so acquired as a public recreation ground or park in the growing town.
- 46 D.E.P., 2, Appendix 1.
- 47 D.E.P., 5, Appendix 1.

CHAPTER 5 BUILDING DEVELOPMENT, 1867 - 1914

Preamble

In Chapter 4 the early development of the estates is comparatively straightforward to follow by reference to the maps showing estate boundaries and because land units were large. After 1866 more and more subdivision took place as land was bought and resold and new estates were formed when different owners developed smaller parts of original larger land holdings. For this reason a map of the estates which were developed between 1838 and 1914 is shown in Fig.25, and as the building development on each estate is described in the subsections of this chapter, a small key plan is included to indicate the estate's position within the overall study area.

Fig.25 Major building estate boundaries, 1838 - 1914.



5.1 Deposited Plans

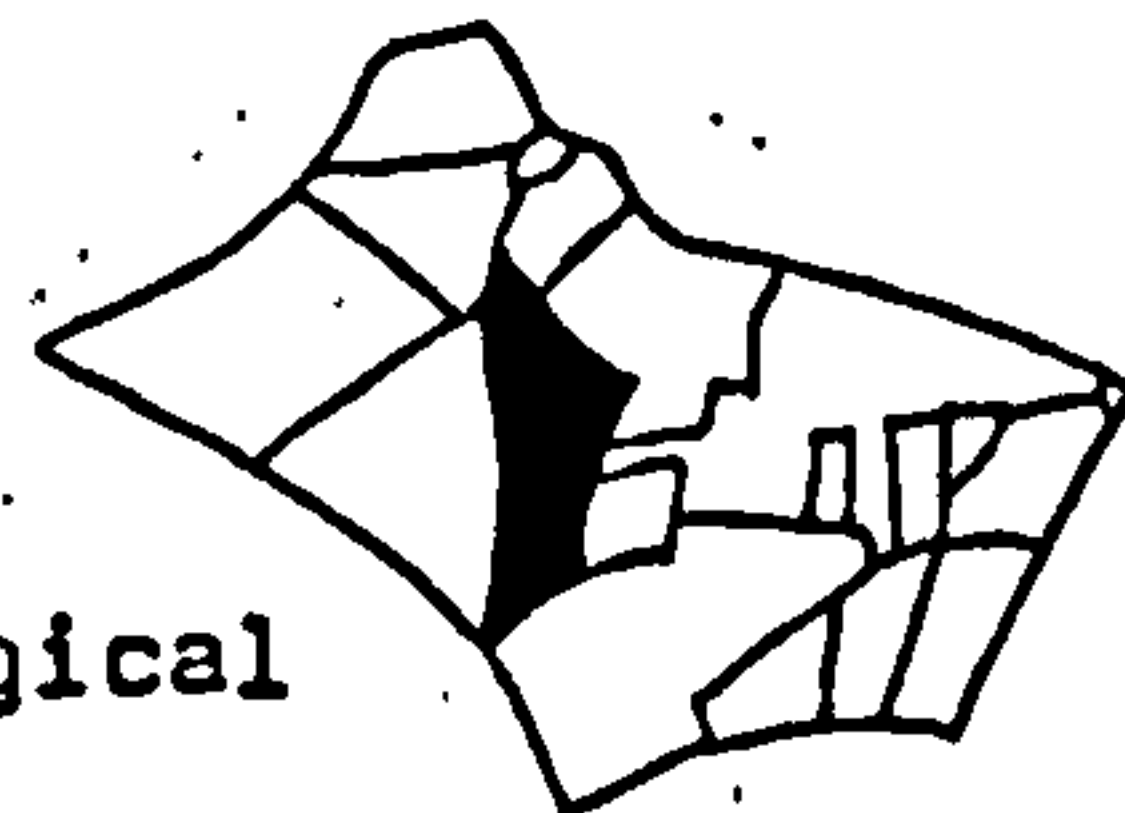
The importance of the date 1866 to this thesis relates to the fact that prior to the Leeds Corporation Improvement Act of that year, plans only had to be submitted for approval to the laying out of estates, roads and sewers. It was not until 1866 that plans and elevations had to be submitted for buildings, and then only for those facing onto streets. The Improvement Act of 1869 consolidated all previous Acts into one new set of Building Regulations called, Bye-Laws with Sections of Acts relating to New Streets, Buildings, Etc., 1870. From the date of the introduction of the new Bye-Laws, plans, elevations and sections were required to be submitted for all new buildings wherever sited. In the description of the building development between 1867 and 1914 which follows, extensive use of the deposited plans for estates and buildings has been made in order to arrive at the overall patterns of house building on estates in the study area.

5.2 The Headingley Old Gardens Estate

After Thomas Clapham relinquished his tenancy of the Zoological and Botanical Gardens in 1858, the owner H.C. Marshall decided to put up the land for sale as building ground. In 1859 the gardens were divided into villa lots and advertised for sale. The site comprised just over 20 acres and was to be sold:

'with the beautiful trees, rhododendrons and other flowering shrubs and plants growing thereon'¹

The sale was not successful and Marshall next attempted to sell in 1863 but this time he obtained the services of the Leeds Surveyors and land agents, Martin and Fenwick.² They laid out a new road, later to be called Cardigan Road, which was to be pushed skilfully through the middle of the gardens to give access to villa lots on either side. Despite the proposed construction of a new road there were still no sales and in 1866 lots of 1,500 square yards and upwards were advertised at moderate prices. In 1868 the installation of sewers to Cardigan Road was completed and Marshall let it be known that he was willing to build one or two villas to let in order to start the development off. This course of action was not carried out and in June 1869 Martin & Fenwick submitted an estate plan to the Corporation of Leeds for approval to the sale of



the Old Gardens in 28 lots. The drawing showed surrounding land-owners, the proposed new road to become later Bainbrigge Road, the existing buildings in the gardens and adjacent existing houses. The two existing houses were St. Michael's Tower, owned by W.T. Watson, and Broomfield House, built off Chapel Lane. The nearby Chapel Lane Estate was shown to belong to the devisees of the late George North Tatham and the plan also indicated that it was intended to link up Victoria Road, which stopped at the garden's boundary, to the newly formed Cardigan Road. The plan was drawn up for the sale of villa residences and stated:

'Cardigan Road is made and sewered throughout, and passes through the middle of the Gardens from Burley to Headingley. These were formerly the public Botanical Gardens of Leeds, and were planted with choice varieties of Trees and Shrubs, which are flourishing in great luxuriance. These will all pass with the land on which they grow without any extra charge.'³

The first sale came soon after and in August 1869 the architect Charles Fowler submitted a design for a detached house, Rawden Lodge, on lot 26 adjacent to the Marshall's Mansion House Estate. The owner was Joseph Hudson, an oil merchant, who was to become, like so many other developers in the Headingley Gardens, an owner-occupier. Charles Fowler was an eminent engineer and surveyor who had worked on many of the turnpike roads in the first half of the century but in later life turned to architectural practice. Although he carried out extensive alterations to Headingley Parish Church in 1869 he appears to have been mainly involved in the design of large detached and semi-detached villas in the area.

Once Hudson had purchased others quickly followed and although Treen states that the first house to be built was Clareville for John Hepper, the Leeds auctioneer, this was not the case as plans for some seven other dwellings had been approved before that particular house.⁴ The erection of Rawden Lodge⁵ was followed by a pair of large semi-detached villas, The Cedars and Merton Villas, most probably designed by C. Fowler and built on lots 7 and 8 for two oil importers and merchants in 1870.⁶ Oak Lodge was certainly designed by C. Fowler and deposited in 1869 for Joseph Stenson, a retired ironmaster, who bought lot 2 for a total of £628, which worked out at 3s. 6½d. per square yard. The brick house with stone dressings was not to be Stenson's home for long for he

sold the house for £3,000 in 1872⁷ (see Fig. 27).

Further large houses followed; Cardigan House was designed by the architect Edward Birchall for J. Poulter Webb, a woollen merchant who was a member of the firm J.D. Birchall and Company. The large stone house with a circular tower capped by a slated conical roof had the original fountain of the Old Gardens in its large grounds (see Fig. 26). Thomas Ambler designed Newport House and Cleveland House in 1870 for Henry Williamson, a woollen manufacturer, and William Sugden, an iron and coke merchant. The design for John Hepper's house, Clareville, followed in the same year submitted by the architect George Corson.

By 1881 ten large detached villas and 2 pairs of large semi-detached villas had been completed. They were mainly built in brick with stone decorative elements to doors and windows but a few like Cardigan House were in stone. Cardigan Lodge was designed by Edward Birchall in 1877, Sunnyside by Thomas Ambler in the same year, and Valley House was built for Jabez Woolley, a builder, contractor and brick manufacturer of Elland Road Leeds. The latter house was built to Woolley's own design and the drawings were submitted by his firm (see Fig. 28). Most of these houses had large gardens and some like Cardigan House and Cleveland House had grounds of $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre in extent. The owners were almost all owner-occupiers although some did sell after living in the houses for a number of years. The gradual decline in the standard and quality of houses being erected on adjoining estates after 1880 probably prompted some owners to do so. A sign of this change came in 1887 when Daniel Dodgson, the architect responsible for so many through terraces in the area, submitted designs for 3 pairs of semi-detached houses on lots, 10, 11 and 12 nearest to Cardigan Lane. These were to be built in red brick with flat roofs covered in asphalt supporting glazed conservatories on top. The developer was Joseph Hepworth of the clothing family, however, probably much to the relief of adjacent owners, these more modern creations were not built.

Further houses were built in the Old Gardens such as those designed by R.P. Oglesby for James Thomas Hollins, a timber merchant, on the plots near Victoria Road between 1890 and 1892, and a very fine pair of semi-detached houses designed by F.W. Bedford for his brother James E. Bedford,

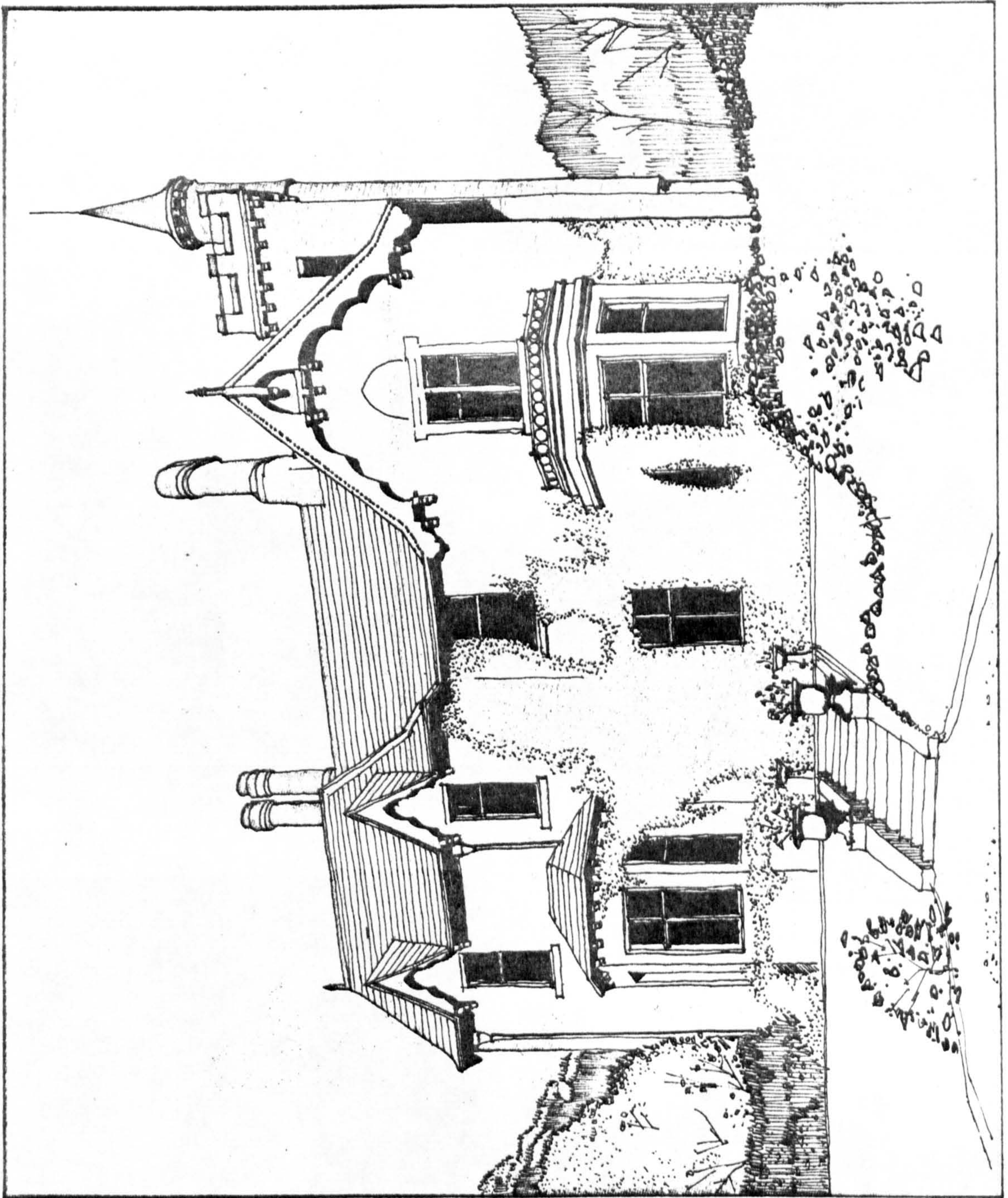


Fig. 26 Cardigan House in the Headingley Old Gardens (E. Birchall 1869)
from a photograph in 1896.

a manufacturing chemist, next to the old bear pit in 1892. The architect Daniel Dodgson designed two identical detached villas, Sandholme and Wallingfen, for the brothers Benjamin and William Walmsley in 1894. These two villas were built to house the two brothers and their families following the success of their building ventures elsewhere in Headingley and Burley (Figs. 29 and 30). The last houses to be completed before 1914 were semi-detached villas on the land which J. Hepworth originally tried to develop. These were built and designed by the local architect William Squires who acted as both designer and developer. If the lodge built on to Oak Lodge in 1903 is taken into account, the whole of the gardens were substantially built on over a thirty-three year period from 1869, but even then certain lots still remained vacant until this century. These included the site to the rear of the bear pit, lot 20 directly opposite the bear pit and lot 12 near Cardigan Lane.⁸

As might be expected some of the best architects in town were used on the rather exclusive development which the Old Gardens represented; Ambler, Birchall, Corson, Oglesby and Bedford all depositing designs, as well as some of the less well known architects of Leeds. A fine pair of semi-detached houses were designed by the Architect T. Anderson for two woollen manufacturers, Thomas and William Ibbitson. These were erected in 1878 on lot 24 of the estate which involved demolition of two older cottages which had formed part of the entrance to the Old Gardens. The two houses, named Woodlawn and Grove Villa, were large imposing residences built in red brick with stone dressings, which had floor areas as extensive as many of the detached dwellings on nearby plots (see Fig. 31). Reference to deeds show that the land on which they were built had originally been purchased by a Leeds woollen merchant, John Labron, who was later to develop a terrace of three houses on the Mansion House Estate just to the north. Labron purchased the land, 2571 square yards, for £762.15s. in 1870 including a cottage almost touching Cardigan Road, another building which was being used as a dwelling and several outbuildings. The restrictive covenants stated that the offending cottages, which no doubt detracted from the image of the gardens as a salubrious suburb, should be demolished within 12 months from the date of

Fig.27 Oak Lodge, Cardigan Road (C. Fowler 1869).



Fig.28 Valley House, Cardigan Road, erected for Jabez Woolley in 1879.

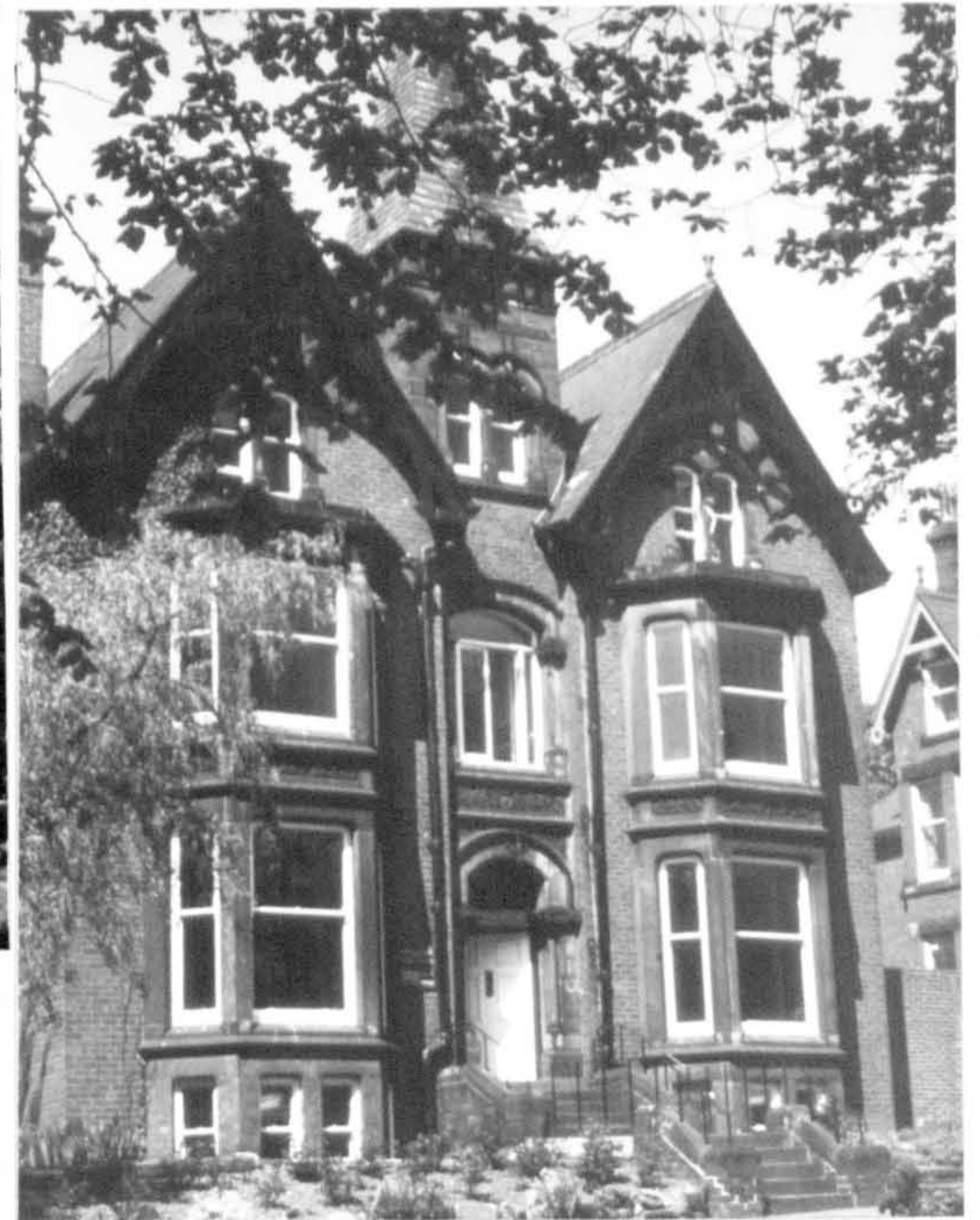


Fig.29 Wallingfen, Cardigan Road (D. Dodgson 1894).



Fig.30 Sandholme, Cardigan Road (D. Dodgson 1894).



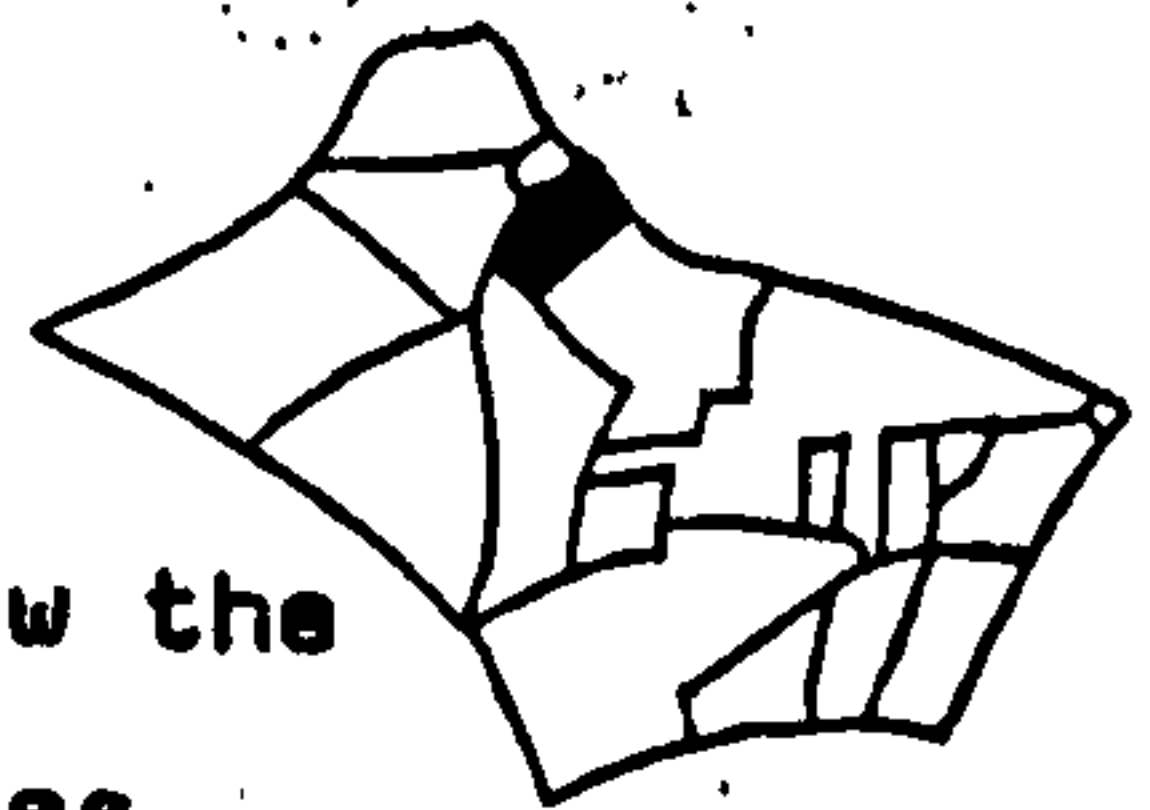
Fig.31 Grove Villa and Woodlawn, Cardigan Road (T. Anderson 1877).

purchase and that a 78 foot building line was to be imposed from Cardigan Road. The latter explains the reason why houses were set so far back from the road throughout the estate and why lodges and stables were placed at the rear of villas in every case. The covenants were even more specific about the dwellings: no house was to be of less annual value than £40 (except for lodges or houses for a manservant) and only one detached or two semi-detached houses with outbuildings were to be erected on the plot. There were also the usual restrictions on trade, public houses, shops, steam-engines and other causes of nuisance.

Labron erected some stables on the site and then sold the two plots to T.D. Ibbitson and W. Ibbitson at a profit in October 1877. What was evident from the deeds was that when Labron sold 1,321 square yards to T.D. Ibbitson for £655, the conveyance clearly stated that this included the land and 'also that dwellinghouse then in the course of erection'. This practice where the landowner allowed a developer to proceed with house building before the conveyance of the land had taken place was found to be a common occurrence in other deeds. In this case the plans for the house were approved in June 1877, the land sold in October 1877 and Ibbitson borrowed £1,500 to finance the venture in the form of a private mortgage from William Thomas Bolland of Hunslet on the 23rd October 1877. Assuming no other capital was involved this gave some £900 towards the building costs.⁹ As on the other estates which were to follow it, the length of time between the first house erected and later building developments allowed a smaller type of house to be erected within the restrictive covenants and as time passed people who required menservants, coachmen and very large houses no longer wished to live so close to Leeds.

5.3 The Mansion House Estate

In 1869 the land to the east of St. Michaels Church and below the Otley turnpike had passed into the hands of the Misses Frances and Elizabeth Marshall, the daughters of John Marshall. It was described at the time as being on the south side of, and adjoining the Leeds and Otley Turnpike Road, lying between Headingley Church and the residence of R.J. Ellershaw Esq., which was the mansion



known as Spring Bank. The estate contained a large house called The Mansion House with stables, coach-houses, outbuildings and coachmans cottage, the tenant being a Mrs. Long. There was also another old cottage named Church Cottage with outbuildings, occupied by a Miss Ann Marshall, a relative of the landowners. On the 3rd November, 1869 the Misses Marshall put up the estate for sale at the Oak Inn Headingley, having divided up the land into 20 lots for villas¹⁰ (see Fig. 32). The surveyor for the estate was H. Clarkson, a land and mineral agent from Wakefield. He opened up the interior of the land with a new 40 feet wide road, to be named Bainbrigge Terrace, running from the newly constructed Cardigan Road, which was also 40 feet wide, up to the Otley Road. Twelve villa lots were to have access from the new road, three from the Otley Road and five from the private carriage road leading to the Old Zoological Gardens. The estate plan was submitted by Clarkson to the Corporation in November 1869, and this stated that Heppers of Leeds were to be the auctioneers for the sale.¹¹

The stone Mansion House, which gave the estate its name, was first shown on maps in 1822 but like the adjacent Manor House it was certainly much older. The plots for sale were generally only $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre in extent with some even smaller and the development was further complicated by an 18 foot building line to the private carriage road (later to be called Spring Road) and a 30 foot building line at either side of Bainbrigge Road. These, coupled with the 18 feet wide easement for the Leeds Waterworks conduit passing through the site, considerably reduced the sizes of several of the lots. In fact six of the twenty lots were affected by both building lines and the easement line, a combination which greatly restricted the area on which building work could take place. The result on lot 9, for example, was that the swathe cut out of it by the easement, together with the building line, left a plot on which little or no development was feasible.

Those lots which were not blighted in this way sold readily and with good access for private carriages together with the close proximity of the Leeds - Headingley omnibus service, the estate began to be developed from the north downwards. In general terms, the houses were detached or semi-detached villas built in stone at

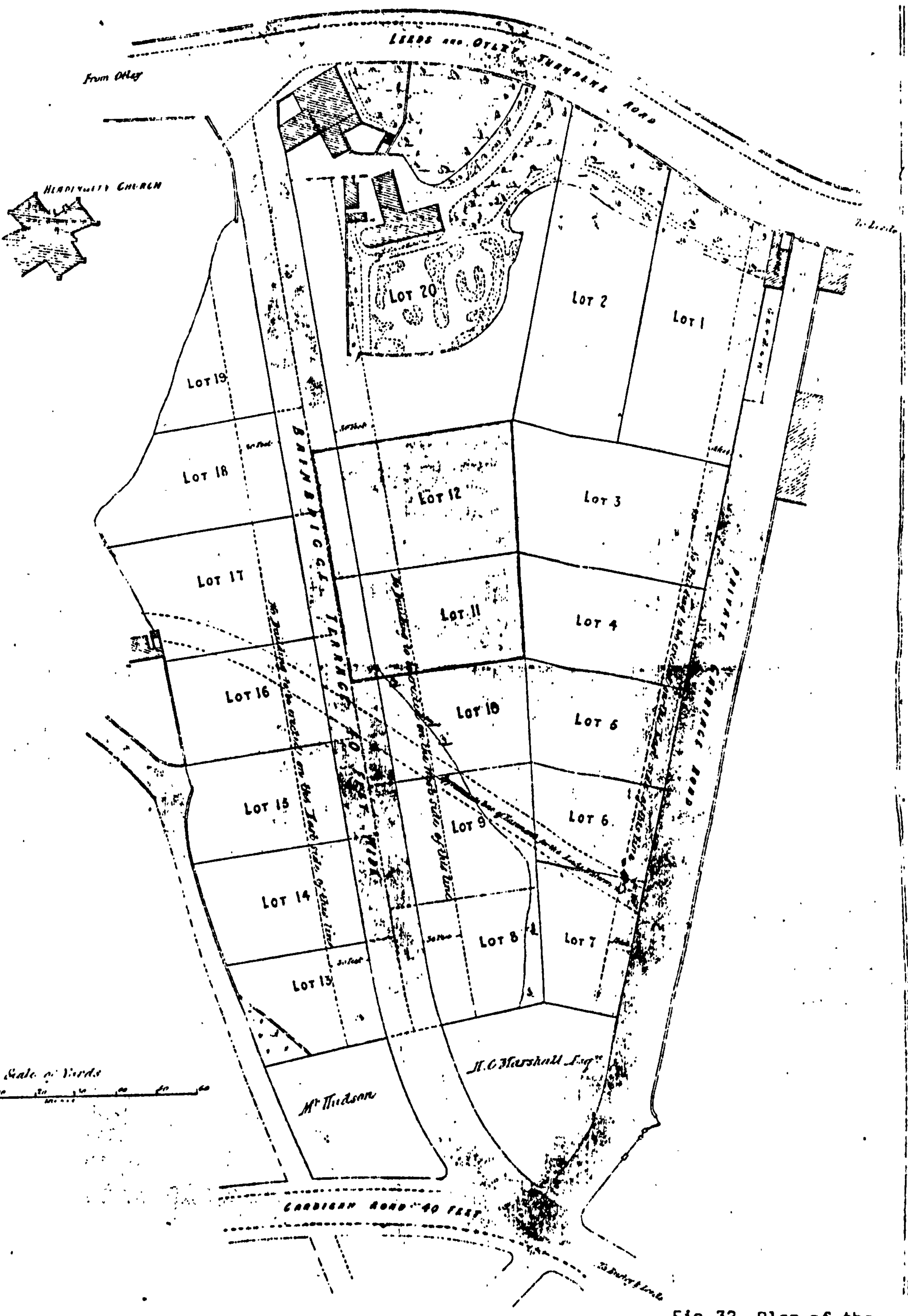


Fig.32 Plan of the Mansion House Estate divided into lots for sale, 1869.

the north nearest to St. Michaels Church with short terraces interspersed among the villas lower down the hill. Besides the semi-detached there were four detached houses, two short terraces of only three houses and a much later terrace of six houses built in red brick.

The first dwellings to be built were two semi-detached villas on lot 4 facing Spring Road which was the name given to the private carriage road to the Old Gardens after it had been widened. These were developed by Godfrey Wood, a confectioner, and designed by the architect T. Ambler. The next to be built were Collina Villas, two semi-detached houses erected on lot 1 also facing Spring Road. These were for a Mr. J. Abbott, a grocer and tea dealer, and designed by Robert Wood the Headingley architect and builder. Gradually other plots were also developed with villas and some red brick terraces but the majority were large semi-detached houses of quite distinct character and appearance. This was because the lots were sold to many different developers who, although sometimes employing the same designer for the preparation of drawings, appear to have exhibited very different architectural tastes. Only G. Wood, the confectioner, built on more than one plot, however, the architect Charles Fowler not only designed four of the houses on the estate but attempted unsuccessfully to develop several others. He did eventually act as a developer for two villas in Bainbrigg Road in 1878.¹²

Robert Wood, who described himself as both a builder and architect, designed the two semi-detached houses in Spring Road, Collina Villas, and the two short rows of terraces; one in Spring Road, and the other in Bainbrigg Road. He did not have an office in Leeds town centre but operated from Reservoir Street, Woodhouse and then later from Hyde Park. He would appear from the evidence to have been more of a builder than an architect. It is most likely that Wood drew up his own plans and then acted as a developer by letting out work to individual building tradesmen. Whatever the case may be in this respect he was certainly very active in designing and developing houses in Headingley and visual examination of his finished buildings clearly demonstrates that his skill as a house designer bears comparison with many other architects who were apparently more suitably qualified to use the professional title. Other work carried out by R. Wood over the next twenty years was also of an equally high standard when compared

with the work of other architects¹³ (see Figs. 33 - 35).

The other depositors of drawings on the Mansion House Estate included Thomas Ambler, who had worked on the nearby Zoological Gardens, Backhouse and Bell, James Wilson, S.E. Smith, Edward Birchall, Tom Anderson, Smith and Tweedale, and Ernest Prince. The houses were built for individuals with occupations such as: grocers, confectioners, family drapers, commission agents, woollen merchants, timber merchants and woollen manufacturers. Some lived elsewhere and built for speculation, others built for owner-occupation. Development of the estate was almost entirely completed by 1885, having taken 15 years, and the length of the process allowed a smaller house of less quality to be erected in latter years without contravening covenants placed on the land in 1869. Thus, as on other estates in the study area, a great contrast in house types could appear within relatively short distances. On lot 2 facing Headingley Lane Edward Birchall, one of the best architects in town, was employed in 1875 by the millionaire recluse, Robert Arthington, to design a large plain stone detached villa set in half an acre of land.¹⁴

At the other extreme, the builder developer James Hutton purchased lots 13 and 14 off J. Hudson, the owner of Rawden Lodge, in 1883 and proceeded to erect 6 through terraces in red brick with carved keystones and other decorative elements that Hutton admired so much. It can be imagined with what alarm the owners of the surrounding larger houses viewed this turn of events.

The restrictions placed on the land in 1869 were: dwarf stone walls with stone copings and iron palisading; no buildings but walls within the building lines to streets; a good flagged pavement to be constructed; the owner to pay a proportional cost of keeping in repair the highway and sewer underneath; no houses to be built of less annual value than £40, except for lodges or servants houses; no burial grounds or buildings to be used for manufacturing, trade, noisy or offensive purposes.¹⁵

Fig.33 Alverthorpe Villas, Spring Road (T. Ambler 1870).

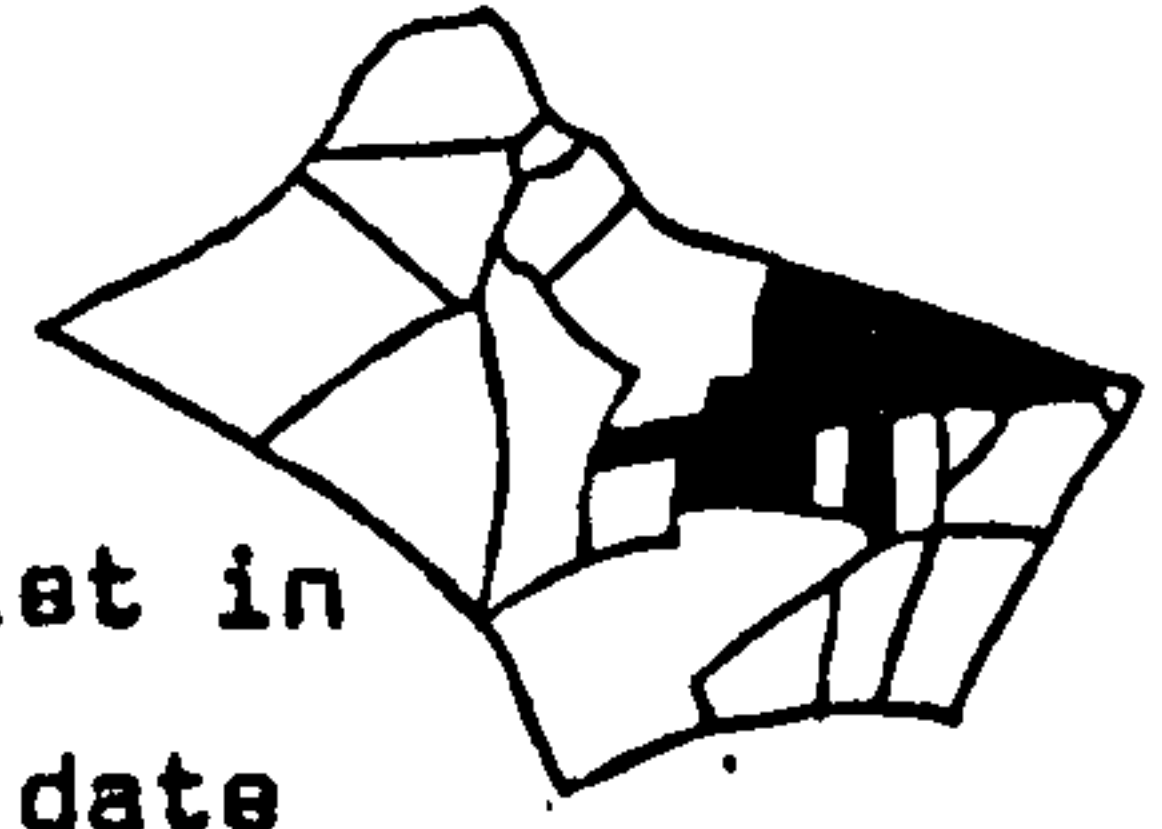


Fig.34 Collina Villas, Spring Road (R. Wood 1870).

Fig.35 A terrace of three houses, Spring Road (R. Wood 1873).



5.4 The Fawcett Estate, Victoria Road



The unsold lots of the Fawcett Estate, first put on the market in 1837, were gradually developed from 1866 onwards. By this date there existed four large mansions north of Victoria Road: Buckingham House, Longfield, Morley House and Rose Court. In 1869 designs were submitted for another large detached house by S.E. Smith, a Leeds architect who was acting on behalf of Henry Ludolf, a flax merchant who had purchased several plots of land on the estate. He built the house in 1870 on part of lot 14 and this included the erection of a lodge at the entrance gates in Victoria Road. A photograph survives which was taken of the house just prior to demolition this century (see Fig.36). The last remaining plot situated between Buckingham Mount and Hyde Park, lot 15, had been reduced in size by Ludolf's purchase and was developed in 1870 when a large pair of stone semi-detached villas, (the largest found in the study area) were built by two brothers, John and Christopher Kirk who were both members of a firm of stovers and cloth dyers. The architect was once again S.E. Smith who was then employed to design the outbuildings, stables, greenhouses and three separate lodges. With the erection of these two houses, to be named Buckingham Villas, the select group of very large villas which were made even more attractive by the later addition of vineries and orchard houses, was virtually complete.¹⁶ It was to remain one of the most select areas of Leeds with clothing magnates like Norris Rhodes Hepworth, who died at Torridon in 1914, and Obadiah Nussey of the woollen manufacturing family, who became mayor of Leeds, being typical examples of those who resided behind its high stone walls. Paradoxically it was this part of the study area which was to change most dramatically after 1914. This was due to the moving on of the wealthy owners and the sale of the houses and extensive grounds for building development.

The first house to be demolished was Morley House, which had been owned by Nussey, when it was sold in 1905 to make way for the new Leeds Girls Grammar School. Plans were submitted by the architects Cannon and Chorley and the school was erected in 1906. The mansion named Rose Court which was probably the finest of the group nearly suffered a similar fate when advertised for sale in 1912. Due to the owner leaving the district an estate came on the market mainly comprising:

Fig.36 Torridon, Headingley Lane (S.E. Smith 1869) now demolished.



Fig.37 Buckingham Villas, Headingley Lane (S.E. Smith 1870).

Fig.38 Rose Court, Headingley Lane, erected c.1842.



'13,000 sq. yards ripe for immediate development'

The advertisement obviously implied demolition but this was averted by the purchase of Rose Court by the school which had probably threatened its existence as a superior private residence.¹⁷

In contrast to the mansions on Headingley Lane which were mainly built for owner-occupiers, the precedent had been set for building smaller speculative houses in the form of through terraces facing onto Victoria Road. This process continued after 1866 but, due to a relaxation in the covenants set by Fawcett's solicitor, brick was allowed and the new terraces were no longer built in stone. Lot 18 and part of lot 17 were developed between 1874 and 1877 by the construction of a road to be named Buckingham Mount. An estate plan was submitted to the Corporation in June 1871 for an estate on little over 1½ acres of land which was drawn up by the architect James Charles and it indicated that the developers who had purchased the land were Charles and a Squire Holroyd. Little is known about Holroyd who also acted as a developer on The Hill Top Estate but he was most likely the same Squire Holroyd who had a hairdressing business in Wellington Street, Leeds in the 1870's. The estate plan showed 27 lots for through terraces, 8 of which faced Victoria Road and the remainder had access to the rear by two back lanes and to the front through a set of gates across Buckingham Mount.¹⁸

The estate was completed with James Charles acting as architect for several developers and, although Charles and Holroyd owned an interest in the land in 1871, they did not act as a developer for any of the houses. Robert Slater, a Headingley plumber and sanitary engineer, was the developer for twelve of the terraced houses. Facing Victoria Road only three houses were built on four plots which provided space for a pair of semi-detached houses designed by J.M. Fawcett for William Blackett, a cloth finisher, and a detached house erected for T. Marshall, an estate agent, land surveyor and architect. Marshall by this time had begun to develop houses on the Thorp Estate immediately to the north.

A similar housing development was carried out on the smaller plots further down the hill but still facing onto and above the line of Victoria Road. These were built between 1869 and 1871 on what once formed lots 19, 20, 21 and 22 and were a mixture of terrace

houses, and detached villas. James Charles designed all of them except for Linton Villa which was the work of Charles Fowler. Squire Holroyd was the developer of the row of terrace houses called Buckingham Terrace and 2 detached houses which were originally meant to be semi-detached but the adjoining half was never built in each case (Oak Villa and Elm Villa). These villas and Buckingham Terrace abutted the boundary of the Zoological and Botanical Gardens which was in the process of becoming a smaller version of the select area of housing already in existence at either side of Headingley Lane on Headingley Hill.

South of Victoria Road a difference occurred, if not in house types, certainly in the face they showed to the road. Most probably the first house which had been built on the south side of the road was Judson's, Ash Grove, which faced southwards down the slope of the hill with its stables facing onto and with access from Victoria Road. The stone terraces nearer Hyde Park which were too small to require stables and carriage access had their principal front onto the road. A number of detached villas and rows of terraces were constructed between Ash Grove and the stone cottages erected by Simeon Spenceley. They all, with the exception of Winstanley Terrace, turned their backs to Victoria Road and faced south down the uninterrupted slope of the hill overlooking the fields and pastures on the Earl of Cardigan's land to the south. The majority of these houses were erected just before the requirement for deposited plans was introduced in 1866, and had names which the writer in The Builder found so inviting in 1848, such as: Victoria Lodge, Albert Villas, Albert House and Alexandra Terrace.¹⁹ In 1868 the architect Charles Fowler submitted a design for 2 semi-detached villas attached to the end of Alexandra Terrace for Francis Carbutt, a Leeds linen merchant, and these were followed by Middleton Villa built in 1875 for Henry Cowbrough, a wine, spirit and cigar merchant. The architect may have been Fowler who deposited the design for the adjoining Woodville, a detached house for John William Hirst a law stationer, in 1876. All of these houses were built for owner-occupation. Winstanley Terrace, built for speculation, had its gable end facing Victoria Road and by means of a short rear access road, the terrace was sited at ninety degrees to all the other existing



Fig.39 Victoria Lodge, Victoria Road, erected prior to 1870 (bay windows by G.F. Danby 1882).



Fig.40 Winstanley Terrace, Victoria Road (W. Wilks 1874).



Fig.41 Through houses, Ebberston Terrace (T. Anderson 1877).



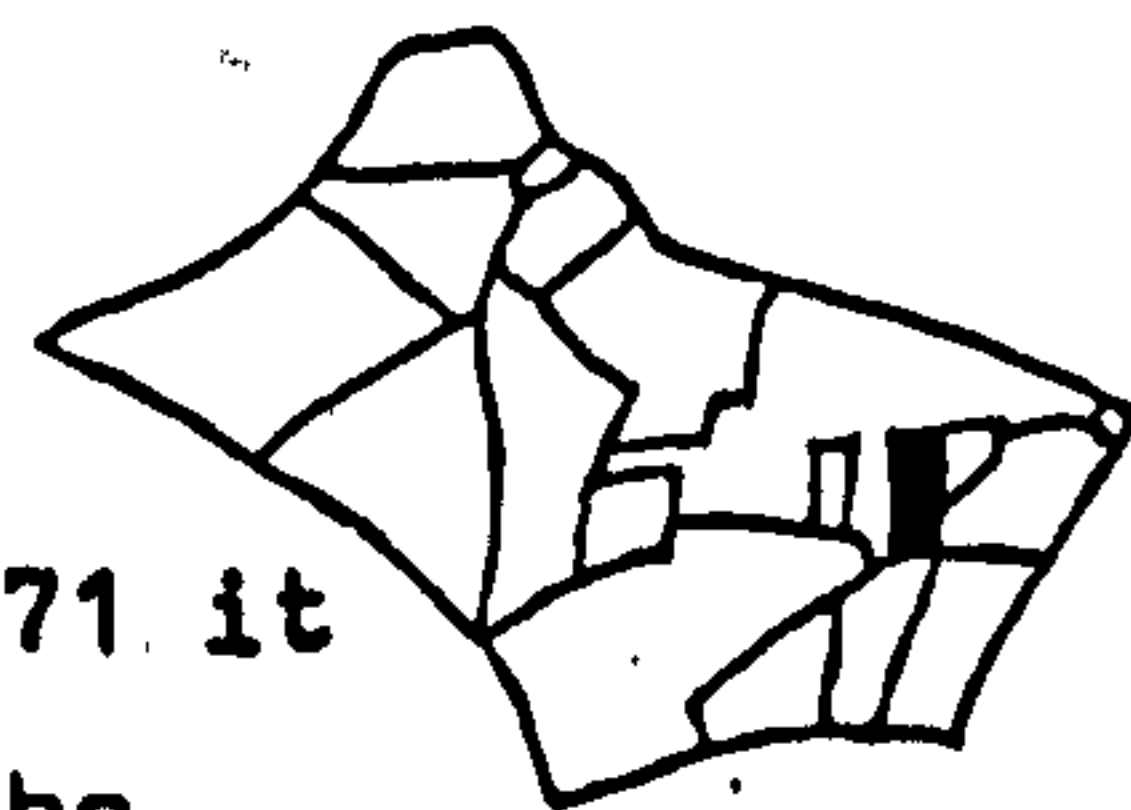
Fig.42 Through houses, Ebberston Terrace (C.H. Thornton 1880) with later additions.

houses on Victoria Road. Tom Anderson, architect, submitted the first design on behalf of Wallis and Ramsden, estate agents of Leeds; a scheme for 9 houses and a shop.²⁰ The design was later resubmitted by the architect W. Wilks for the same developers. The detached houses of Headingley at this time usually drained into septic tanks sited well away from the houses and the drawing for this terrace showed drainage from all nine dwellings discharging into a septic tank situated to the south of the plot, with an outfall into a beck running onto the Cardigan Land below.²¹

The land which was developed south of Victoria Road formed part of lots 26, 27, 28 and 29 on the Fawcett sale plan (see Fig. 15) and the majority of it belonged to Henry Ludolf who in 1859 purchased part of lot 28, and all of lot 29, a total of nearly 4 acres. Alexandra Terrace was built on land which was owned by William Thomas Smith of Hambleton near Selby and William Waterhouse, an agent of Headingley. The latter purchased just over 1½ acres of lot 27, for £389. 6s. in 1859 and in 1863 sold the land to W.T. Smith who developed the terrace houses probably soon after.²² The development of the long row of small stone terrace houses which had begun south of Victoria road before 1850 and stretched up to Hyde Park Corner was terminated in 1886 by the construction of a chapel. This, the second to be built in the study area for the non-conformists (the other was facing Woodhouse Moor), was designed by the architect W.S. Braithwaite on an irregular shaped plot with a hall accommodated beneath the chapel because of the slope and a caretaker's house in the tiny space to the rear of the building.²³

5.5 Fawcett/Clapham Estate, Ash Grove

When the Clapham Estate was put up for sale in September 1871 it was to be sold at auction by Hepper and Sons on behalf of the mortgagees. The land was divided up into 8 lots and lot 7 contained the fields which had originally been bought by R. Cadman from the Fawcett Estate.²⁴ These, comprising just over 4 acres of land, were situated between T. Judson's house, Ash Grove, and land owned by Henry Ludolf. Building lines were indicated on the 1871 sale plan such that new development could only take place near Victoria Road to the north and Clapham Road to the South. Estate plans were



submitted to the Corporation in September 1871 and later in November 1871, the latter indicated that the land was to be divided up into building lots by three roads, Eberston Terrace, Ash Grove and a back access road.²⁵ It would appear a sale was not forthcoming for lot 7 in one large area and therefore in 1872 Clapham's mortgagees had James Fox & Sons submit a new estate plan to the Corporation showing the lot broken down into 24 smaller lots, with 4 of these being large open spaces in the central portion of the land and not to be built upon. The remaining lots were clearly of a size intended for through terraces and not villas.²⁶

The 1872 sale took place in Leeds in August of that year, together with an attempt to sell land elsewhere on the Clapham Estate in similar small lots at either side of a new road, to be named eventually Royal Park Road. The latter was divided into 71 lots of 200 square yards to 300 square yards each, whereas the land near Victoria Road had lots of approximately 300 square yards each. The line of Queens Road was shown on the plan to be extended 36 feet wide in a straight line from the Hill Top Estate through to join with Clapham Road. To help sales the vendors offered the following terms:

'The Estate is situate about one mile from the centre of Leeds, and forms the outlying portion of the Royal Park Estate, and the present sale affords an opportunity to speculators or persons wishing to purchase single plots rarely to be met with. The Purchasers of the Building Land will have the option of paying the purchase money in the usual way, or by easy instalments, extending over ten years.'²⁷

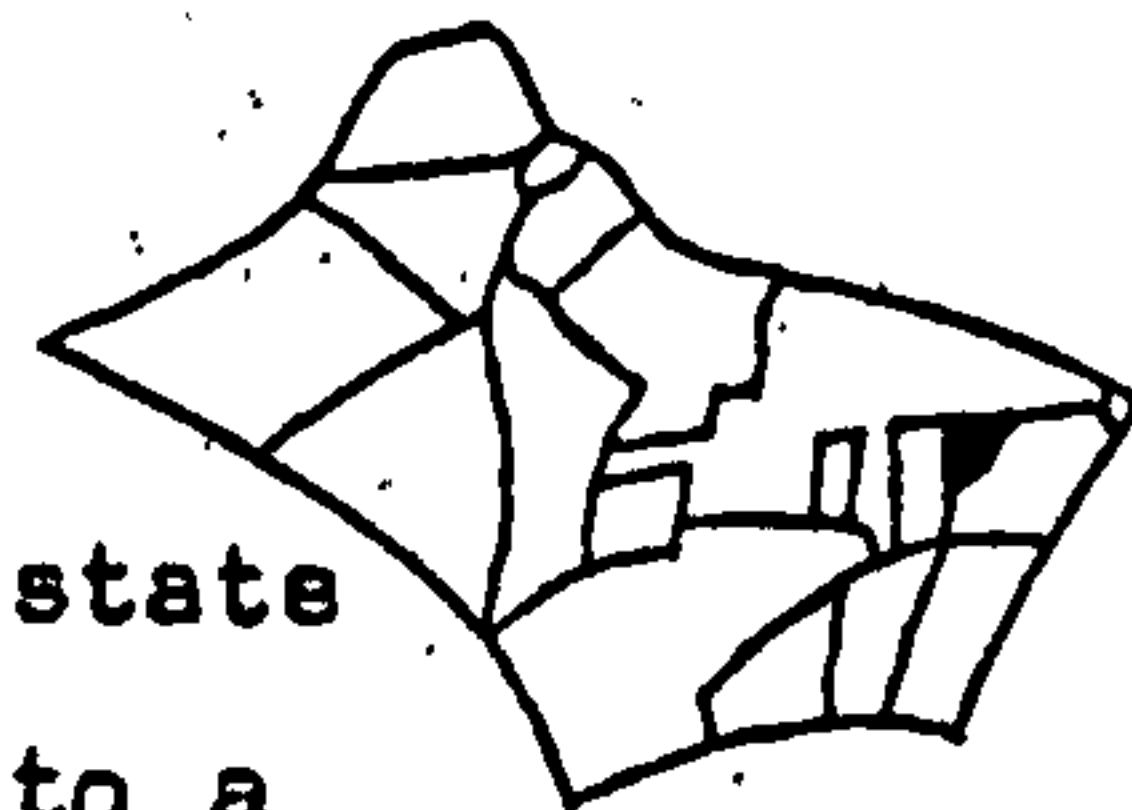
It is not known whether such inducements were immediately successful but a through terrace house was erected on the site near Clapham Road in 1875 by a builder named Thomas Dixon, and this was followed by others at the bottom end of the estate so that three existed by 1876. The architect for these houses was Daniel Dodgson and at the time the road running centrally through the site was intended to be named Prince Arthur's Road. Dodgson, in company with many other architects during the latter half of the century, saw nothing wrong in purchasing land and acting as both architect and developer. In 1876 he acted as the developer for 13 through terraces on both sides of Prince Arthur's Road, these being completed in 1877.

It is not clear whether back-to-back houses as such were banned on the land by restrictive covenants, or simply that the minimum annual rental stipulated precluded their construction.²⁸ What is known is that an ingenious attempt was made to circumvent whatever restrictions were imposed, because in 1877 plans were approved for the erection of two 'interlaced' houses on a plot intended for only one through dwelling. The houses were through houses in name only with simply a passage, a little over 5 feet wide, to give access through to the other side of the terrace (see Chapter 15).²⁹

For one reason or another a lull in the development took place from 1878 until 1885 during which time no houses were built. In 1885 the architect Walter Hobson designed and had erected two houses at the top of Ash Grove and the end house facing Victoria Road was built for his own occupation. Hobson then proceeded to submit plans in 1890 for the development of the interior of the estate with a proposed recreational club and more through terraces for a developer named W.J. Howell, a venetian blind manufacturer of Leeds. The private club was erected in 1891 to Hobson's designs and it contained a bar as well as rooms for card games, snooker and billiards and in the grounds there were bowling greens and tennis courts. Howell then had Hobson prepare designs for a further 8 terrace houses opposite the club, having found a way of building over the central portion of the site which was to have been kept free of development on the original land sales by Clapham's mortgagees. It was not until 1893 that the east side of Ash Grove was complete with what was to be the longest single terrace of houses in the study area (33 houses). The west side was completed in 1893, by the addition of 3 very unusual through terrace houses designed by the architect James B. Fraser and an end terrace house built in 1898 for Charles Longfield, a grocer, to the designs of J. M. Porter.

5.6 Fawcett/Postill Estate, Ebberston Terrace

The 2 acres of land which lay to the east of the Ash Grove Estate passed from Fawcett to Henry Ludolf and later in the 1870's to a

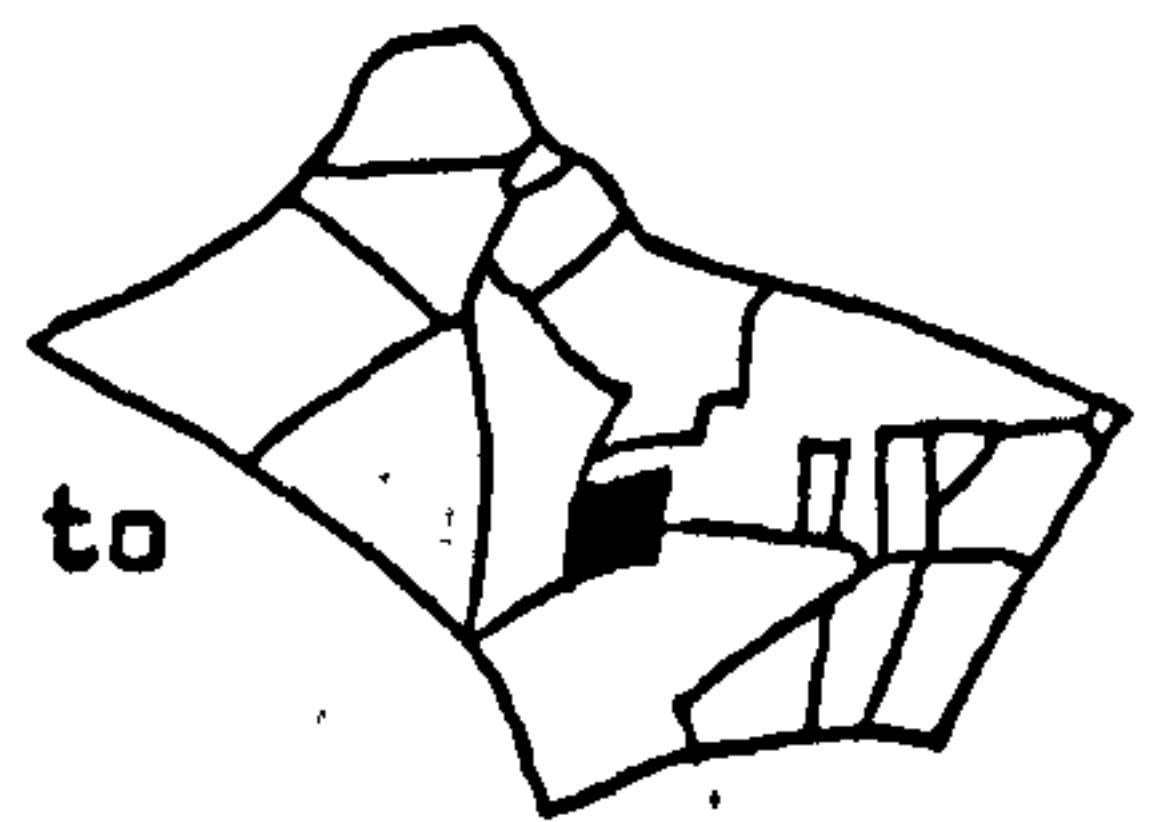


local builder named Francis Postill.³⁰ This builder was also to acquire other land belonging to Ludolf, further down Victoria Road, in 1880. His first purchase was laid out with large building blocks to an estate plan submitted to the Corporation in December 1876. This showed a proposed street, Eberston Terrace, and two narrow back streets at either side to give rear access with the eastern boundary following the line of the old beck running down from Hyde Park which by this time was described as an open drain.³¹ In February 1877 Postill had a plan deposited by the architect Tom Anderson to show 17 proposed through houses in Eberston Terrace with a larger end terrace facing Victoria Road for Postill's own use. Plans for a further 3 through houses were deposited by Anderson in 1878, but later in the year Postill had obviously sold off a large block of his land to another builder, H.D. Nettleton, who proceeded to develop houses on the opposite side of Eberston Terrace using the architect William Horrox to draw up his plans. Postill retained, however, the land on both sides of the back road, Eberston Grove, and continued to develop this using T. Anderson for deposited drawings.

There was a lull in the development between 1878 and 1880 and by that time Postill had sold off land to yet another builder, Benjamin Hewling, who had a wholesale ironmongery business but also described himself as a builder. Hewling built 6 through houses to the designs of the architect C.H. Thornton and the development was completed in 1891 by the erection of 4 houses built on land purchased off the owners of Hyde Park Villas. The villas were a pair of semi-detached houses with large grounds which, with the exception of the nearby Kensington Villa, had the largest gardens of any on the adjacent Teal Estate.

5.7 Fawcett/Postill Estate, The Norwoods.

The builder Francis Postill purchased the estate belonging to Henry Ludolf on the south side of Victoria Road which had remained mainly undeveloped up to the time of Ludolf's death in 1875. The land had formed lots 23, 24 and 25 on the original Fawcett Sale plan and comprised over 5 acres, but the only dwellings on it when sold by Ludolf's executors was a single row of red-brick through houses facing Victoria Road, named Nelson



Terrace. This terrace of five houses, which had originally been planned to contain six, was probably built by Henry Ludolf as an investment.³² Certainly they existed in 1878 and were probably built just prior to this date for an estate plan deposited by the architect T. Anderson for Postill in that year, showed 5 completed and 1 yet to be built.³³

It was not until 1880 that the purchase of the land was completed and Postill's estate began to be built on, and then it was by yet another builder who had purchased building lots from him. The builder was James Hutton, who used in the early stages the architect F.W. Moseley to draw up his house plans, later tracing his own drawings to submit plans based on those which architects had supplied him. Hutton had a great liking for adding architectural decorative features to his houses and these were chosen by him as they do not appear on the deposited drawings for approval (see Chapter 15).

Francis Postill did develop some of the land himself, for example in Norwood Crescent (later re-named Norwood Grove), once more using the services of the architect Tom Anderson. Another builder who purchased building blocks off Postill was Henry D. Nettleton who used the services of a clerk of works called R. Whitaker to prepare his plans. When James Hutton bought new plots on which he could not just erect terrace houses identical to those he had already built, he employed the architect E. Prince to design Norwood Villas facing Victoria Road in 1883. Prince also submitted a scheme for Hutton to build 8 houses in Norwood Terrace but these were not built as the site was taken over by Nettleton who completed most of the houses built on the estate between 1885 and 1890. By this time Nettleton had taken to using the services of a local architect, Walter Hobson, who literally lived just up the road at the time. Deposited plans from 1885 onwards show that Postill had died and his affairs were in the hands of executors. The last houses to be built on the estate were completed facing Victoria Road in 1893, nearly twenty years after Nelson Terrace also facing Victoria Road was begun.

Inspection of deeds for the estate show that Postill did not complete the purchase of the land until September 1880 and borrowed money from John Dunning Kay, a gentleman of Leeds, to finance the transaction; the amount involved was £4,400. The covenants on the

land stated that Postill, among other things would:

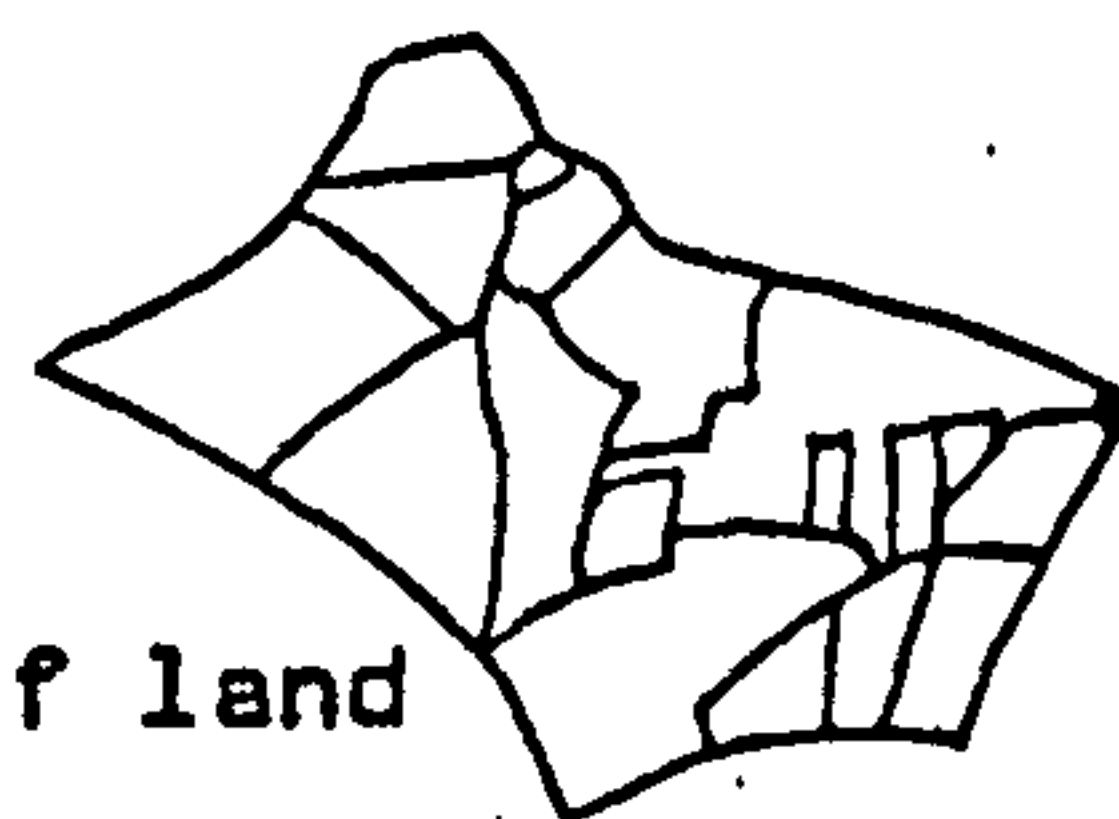
'pay one half of so much of the cost thereof as should by the Town Council of the Boro of Leeds be charged against the owner or owners of the said parcel of land for the portion of road and sewer which shall be co-extensive with such houses'

The covenants also banned back-to-backs by insisting that no houses other than through houses should be built, a restriction which other builders such as Hutton and Nettleton also had to comply with. Nettleton bought some of his land in 1889 borrowing money from a widow in Methley near Leeds and J. Hutley, a gentleman of Shadwell, in the form of a private mortgage.³⁴

5.8 Fawcett/Atkinson Estate, Hyde Park

Under the will of the first Mary Bainbrigg, the small plot of land at Hyde Park which contained farm buildings and later a butchers shop were bequeathed to the tenant John Atkinson, a farmer of Woodhouse.³⁵ John Atkinson who described himself as a butcher and farmer of Hyde Park Corner, Headingley, died in 1863 and his son Edward Atkinson carried on the family business. Some years later the surrounding housing developments must have suggested to Edward that the time was ripe for sale. Accordingly in 1878 his father's trustees had the architects Wilson and Bailey draw up an estate plan for submission to the Corporation to show a new rear access road to be built between Victoria Road and Hyde Park Terrace.³⁶ The intention was to sell off lots for the building of shops as by that time Hyde Park was becoming an intermediate shopping centre between Leeds and Headingley village. At the public auction all 6 lots were sold but these did not include his father's stone farm buildings and shop on the corner of Hyde Park Road.³⁷

Joseph Poulter Webb, a Leeds woollen manufacturer, was the highest bidder for lot 6, for which he paid £674, and on which he then proceeded to erect a four storey corner shopping development with 2 dwellings over 2 ground floor shops. Webb employed the Leeds architect Edward Birchall to design the buildings and his finely rendered drawings were submitted for approval in 1879. This was followed soon after by a design for a 5 storey house and shop by Tom Anderson for S. Bottomley, a butcher, and other drawings soon followed for various developers. James Charles and Walter Hobson



were architects who designed houses and shops in this small commercial rather than residential development. Meanwhile, Edward Atkinson continued to carry on business in his shop and outbuildings on the corner of the site facing Hyde Park Road, and whereas he banned the erection of slaughterhouses and other similar nuisances on lots sold, he proceeded to build a new slaughterhouse for his own use in 1883.

By 1905 Atkinson's premises had been purchased by a J. Pickersgill who demolished the old butchers shop and farm buildings and erected what was to be the largest building on the site: comprising 4 ground floor shops, commercial offices on upper floors, and a top floor flat. The scheme was designed by Thomas Winn and Sons, architects, but the occupation of Pickersgill is not known.³⁸

5.9 Fawcett/Hewling Estate, Chestnut Avenue

The plot of land which was situated between the house named Ash Grove and the villas built later on the Fawcett estate to the west was owned by Henry Ludolf who in 1859 purchased part of lot 28 and all of lot 29 on the original sale plan. The covenants enforced by Fawcett allowed houses to be built of stone or best pressed bricks and a minimum annual rental of £15. After the death of Henry Ludolf the land, which contained a footpath running south between two rows of chestnut trees, was purchased by the Leeds ironmonger turned builder, Benjamin Hewling, who financed the purchase with a private mortgage in 1885. Hewling began to develop the land by constructing a new road, to be named appropriately Chestnut Avenue, running down the centre of the plot from Victoria Road. The road was 36 feet in width but ended at the gates to the avenue of chestnuts until the development further south took place in 1896. The estate plan for the top half of the estate was submitted to Leeds Corporation in January 1886 by the architect Thomas Winn on behalf of Benjamin Hewling. It showed the new central spine road and short branch roads running off it to both sides, each to this day a cul-de-sac due to the land at both sides remaining in separate ownership. The drainage for the houses was simple and crude for all houses were to drain to a sewer running beneath the road and thence to a large sump constructed 12 feet deep in the garden lower down the hill. The overflow from the

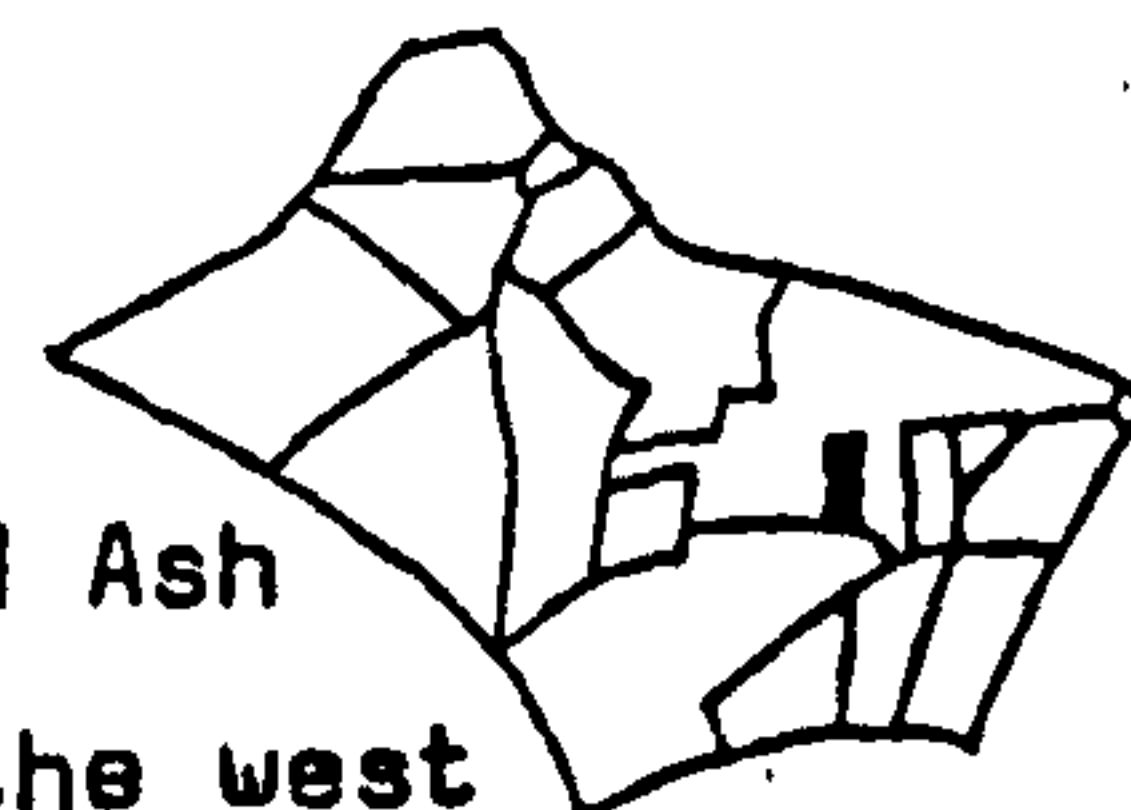




Fig.43 Through houses, Norwood Road, erected by the builder James Hutton in 1882.



Fig.45 Through houses in the interior of the Teal Estate, Hyde Park Terrace, erected c.1866.

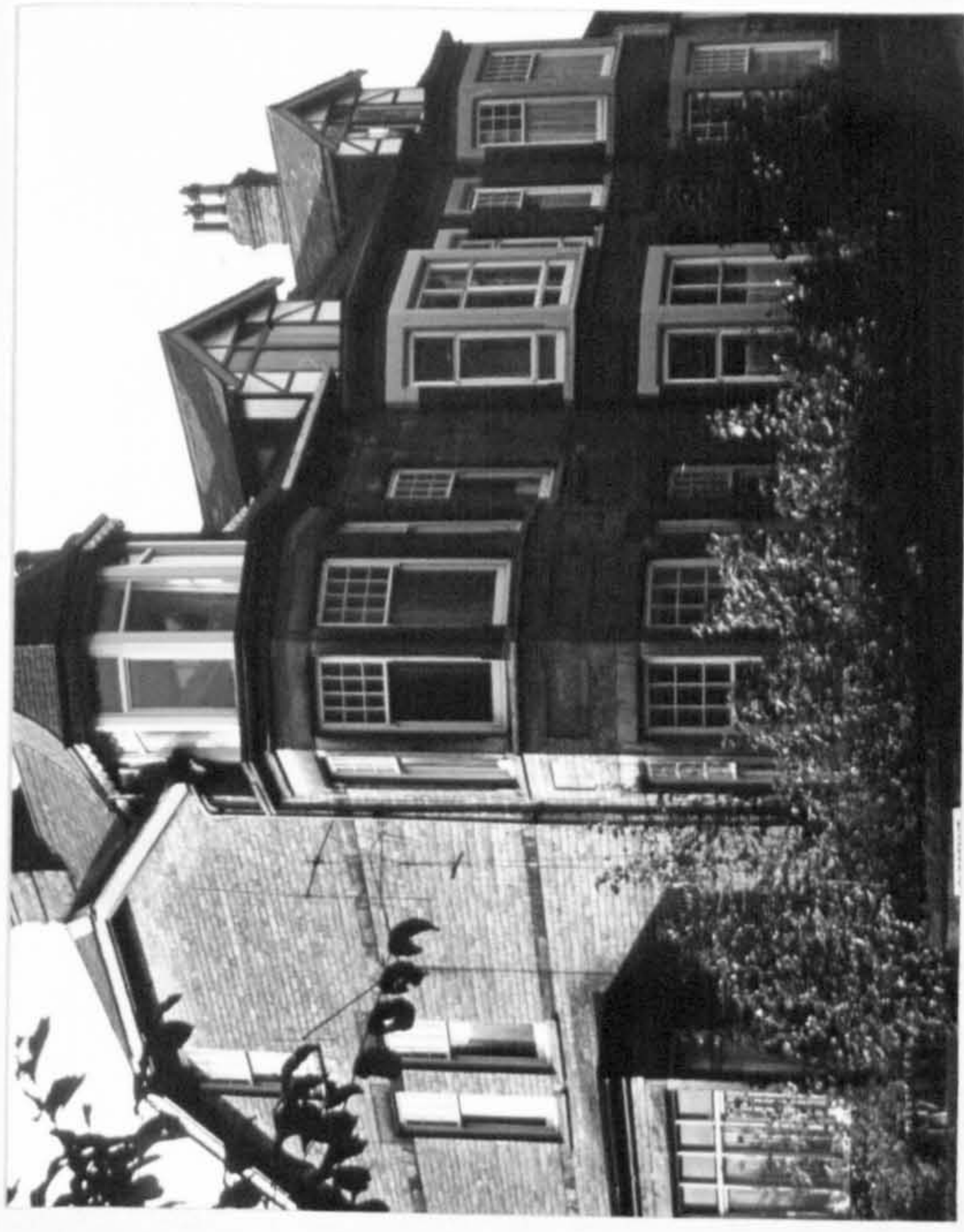


Fig.44 Semi-detached villas, Chestnut Avenue (T. Winn 1886).



Fig.46 Through houses, Kensington Terrace (T. Shaw & Son 1868).

sump presumably seeped downhill into the fields below and, as 15 new houses were to be eventually connected to it, so too would the contents unless emptied at appropriate intervals.³⁹

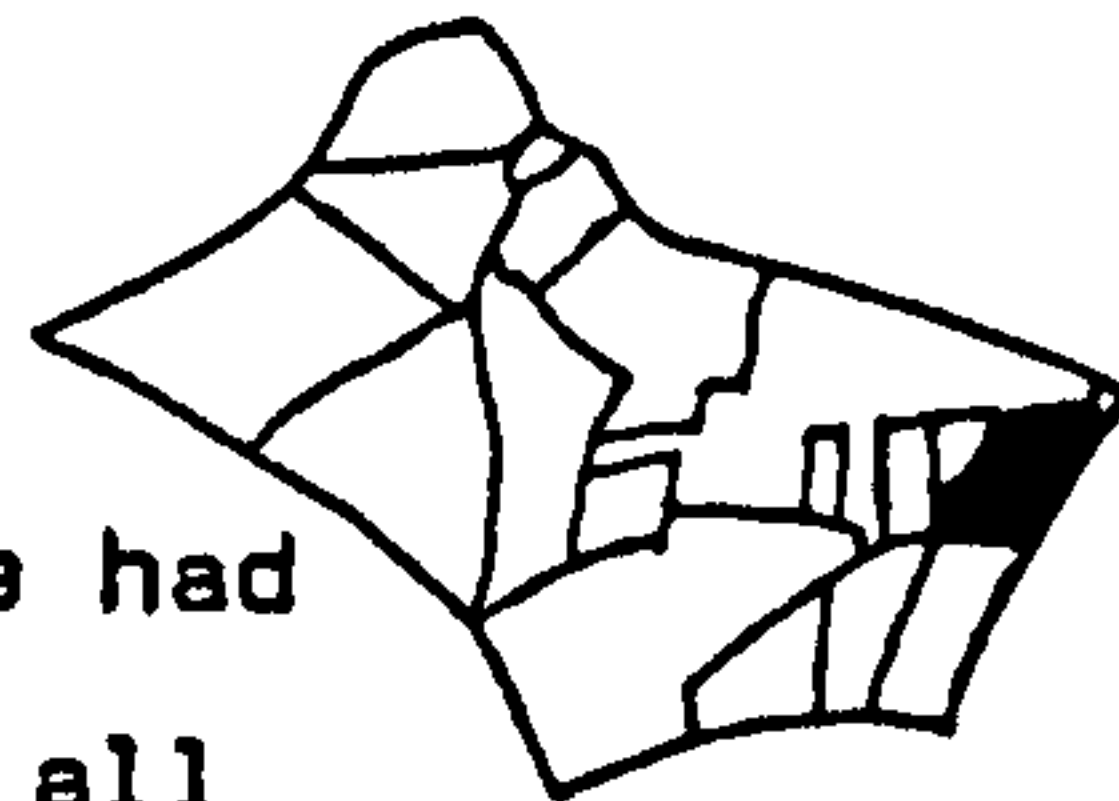
The first houses on the estate were deposited for B. Hewling by the architect Thomas Winn and comprised three terrace houses facing Victoria Road. These were built in 1887 and soon after completion Hewling took out a private mortgage to finance further developments by using the completed houses as security for a loan of £1,400 at 4½ percent interest from a Josiah Crathorne, a corn miller from Beverley.⁴⁰ Hewling and Winn combined to develop 8 more dwellings which included Chestnut Villas in 1887, and then Hewling sold off some of the remaining undeveloped portions of his estate. Henry Atkinson, a builder of Leeds, developed 1 detached villa facing Victoria Road in 1889 and the architect Walter Hobson designed two more semi-detached villas for a F.S. Jenkinson in the same year.

In July 1888 Benjamin Hewling had a design prepared and approved for one large detached house to be situated in the centre of the lower half of his Chestnut Avenue estate. The drawings were carried out by the architect John Evers and the house, which was most probably for Hewling's own occupation, was very old fashioned in both internal planning and appearance. Hewling never built the house but sold off the land instead for terrace housing and by 1891 he was living in Tadcaster.⁴¹

The land below Chestnut Grove was developed with small through terraces which were in marked contrast with the villas above it. Presumably the passage of time from 1859 to 1895 had allowed such houses to be built and still command an annual rental of £15. Two terraces were completed between 1896 and 1902 with John T. Pawson, a blacksmith, and the builder Arthur Meldrum being the major developers. Pawson used the services of C.H. Gough for his designs and Meldrum those of J.M. Porter.

5.10 The Teal Estate

The majority of houses which were erected on the Teal Estate had already been completed by the time it became compulsory for all houses facing roads to have plans approved. There were, however, still some gaps in the terraces and these were filled in from 1867



onwards when plans are available for inspection.

The earliest were a row of 5 through houses, which were to figure in future sales of the Royal Park Estate, and these were built by Thomas Clapham in 1869. He used the local architect, Thomas Shaw, who designed these the last houses in Kensington Terrace to face Clapham Road and not Kensington Terrace. He thus created the situation that, whereas all the earlier houses faced Kensington Terrace because access was originally from Kensington Terrace only, the last houses in the row had their rear yards facing onto what was once the principal street. In the same year the architect J.B. Fraser prepared a design for a fine stone church, St. Augustines, to replace the temporary iron church which had provided a place of worship for some years on the Teal Estate. Work was started on the church in 1870 but the completed building had an attenuated tower which it was planned to extend at a later date when funds were available (see Appendix 17).

Almost all of the later houses on the estate were built at the bottom and to the north side of Kensington Terrace. Hyde Park Villas were erected in 1873, for a Thomas Foster, with very long gardens laid out on an open plan basis without fences dividing them up. Because of these gardens, when the adjacent Postill Estate was developed a few years later Eberston Terrace became a cul-de-sac and Back Eberston Terrace reduced in width half way along its length. These villas were followed by houses in Kensington Terrace built from 1873 onwards with the Woodhouse builder, Charles Myers, being active as a developer. Plans submitted for building approval from 1873 onwards suggest that a large number of the houses in Kensington Terrace, especially near the western end, were owned by Richard Robinson, a chemist and druggist, who had premises in Vicar Lane, Leeds. He was wealthy enough to have built what was virtually the only detached residence on the Teal Estate in its own grounds, Kensington Villa. The building of this detached house in 1875, to the designs of an unknown depositer, meant that not only could Robinson move up the social scale from a through terrace in Kensington Terrace where he lived previously, but also that one side of his extensive garden faced onto the only back-to-backs to be built in the study area before 1870. It would appear that Robinson saw no problem in this

mixture of social classes and certainly the large back-to-backs of Kensington Terrace in 1875 bore little resemblance in either appearance or in the type of occupant to those courtyard back-to-backs so universally condemned earlier in the century.

From 1873 to 1878 plans were deposited for houses in Kensington Terrace with T. Anderson, G.F. Danby and W.S. Braithwaite being some of the architects involved as well as other depositors who did not claim to be architects. The developers were varied but included the builder Charles Myers; David Hall, a stone merchant; and J.T. Simpson, a hop merchant. As on the adjoining estates there was a lull in building operations between 1880 and 1888 when the last two houses were erected on the estate; this was undoubtedly due to the slump in house building which occurred in Leeds from 1881 to 1886. The estate, like many others in the study area, was a long time in building with the first houses being erected in the late 1850's and the last some thirty years later.

5.11 The Hill Top Estate

After 1866 the L.Y.L.B.I.C. specialised in the sale of building land in small lots to artisans, clerks and members of the building trades. Treen stated that between 1867 and 1878, 66 plots of land were sold off and over one third were less than 250 square yards in area. The most active purchaser was George Lax, a Leeds builder and joiner, who by 1878 was also the proprietor of the Providence Brick Works in Meanwood Road, Leeds.⁴²

The estate was laid out as a series of parallel streets between Queens Road and Kings Road, which were wider roads, and all the parallel streets were named First Avenue, Second Avenue etc., until later renamed. The first houses on the estate, which were described as through houses, were advertised as for sale in 1871 and in 1873 typical houses on the estate were just under £10 annual rental with one house in Ninth Avenue to let at £14 per annum in 1875.⁴³ Architects who were active preparing drawings for houses on the estate included Charles Fowler and Thomas Ambler the former being architect to the Company. In 1873 Hepper and Sons auctioned 5 lots of land each approximately 800 square yards in area and situated in Third and Fourth Avenues. The sale particulars stated:

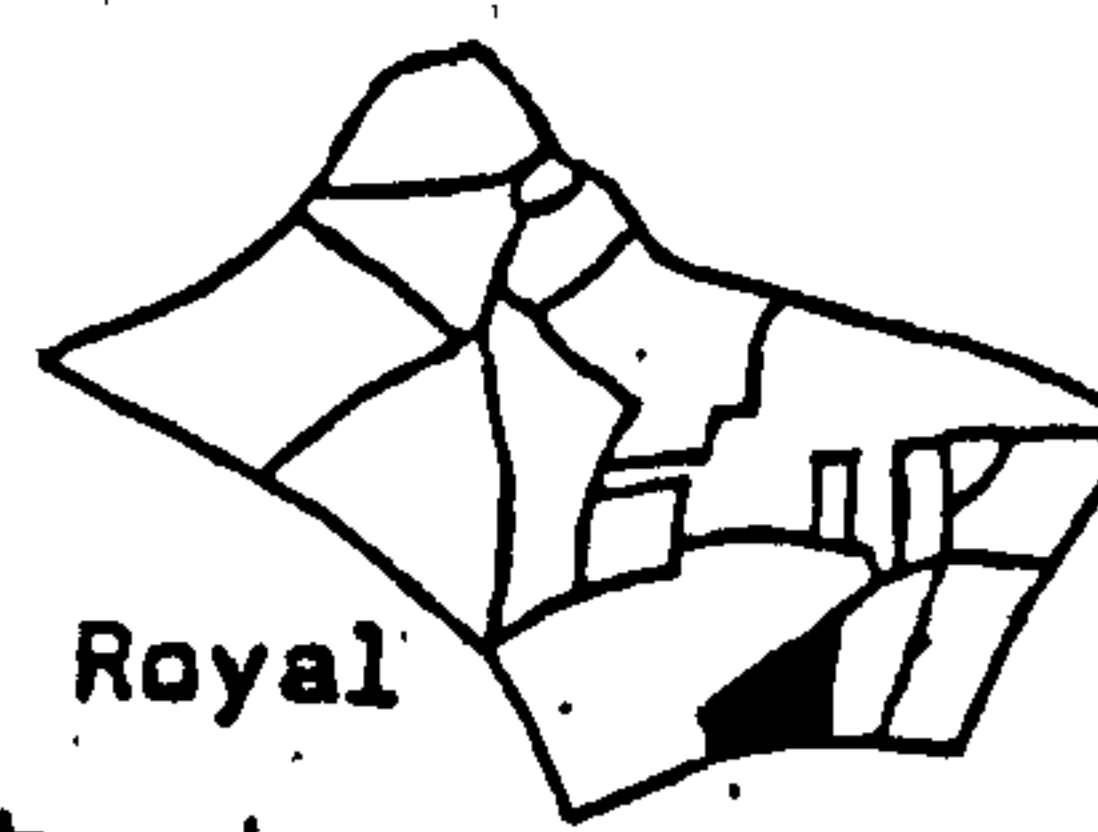
'The great demand for cottages of a superior kind in this healthy and rapidly increasing part of the town is so well known, that builders and others desiring land for the erection of this class of property will find the present a very desirable opportunity for acquiring the necessary sites for the purpose.'⁴⁴

Two brothers, Benjamin and William Walmsley, who had moved to Leeds from East Yorkshire and lived nearby, probably made the step from tradesmen to house builders in their own right on the Hill Top Estate. In 1879 they purchased a building block of 2,352 square yards paying 4s. 2d. a square yard. They were to go on to develop other plots of land until eventually becoming the largest builders and developers in the area purchasing extensive sections of the Cardigan Estates in Headingley and Burley between 1880 and 1892. This success was to bring them the wealth to build detached houses on the Headingley Old Gardens Estate where a near but not close neighbour, Thomas Ibbotson, had his home. Ibbotson, a woollen manufacturer, also acted as a developer for 14 terrace houses on the Hill Top Estate.

When the L.Y.L.B.I.C. went into liquidation the liquidators sold off land and completed buildings on the Hill Top Estate as well as at New Leeds, New Wortley and Ilkley. The sale of the Burley holdings took place in 1879 and had 22 building lots which included 27 back-to-back and 7 through terraces. The land fetched between 1s. 4d. to 3s. 3d. per square yard.⁴⁵ From this sale onwards the remaining undeveloped land and a number of houses passed into a variety of hands. Two deposited Estate plans exist: the first, probably approved in 1869 but filed in 1870, by the L.Y.L.B.I.C. showing the complete network of parallel streets on the estate and the second, also dated 1870, for a number of houses off Hyde Park Road drawn by the architects Wilson and Bailey for the builder George Lax.⁴⁶

5.12 Clapham/Pearson Estate

After the break up of the Clapham Estate centering around the Royal Park in 1871, part of the land which was sold passed into the hands of a Captain Grimston. He purchased the whole of lot 8, which included land adjacent to the Hill Top Estate which was to be developed by means of the construction of a new road (later to be named Royal Park Road), together with the land to the west of Queens



Road which Clapham had obtained from the Earl of Cardigan. The former was a thin strip of land which was sandwiched between the pleasure grounds of the Royal Park and the Hill Top Estate, and formed a buffer zone of open space between the rows of new artisan houses and the noise of brass band concerts and firework displays held on the Park. The latter was an area of open fields to the south used as an extension to the pleasure grounds. Grimston's trustees submitted an estate plan for approval in March 1876 to show the thin strip of land developed by a further 7 short streets, each cul-de-sacs stopping against the stone wall of the Hill Top/Royal Park Estate boundary. The building plots created were to be the sites of terraced houses which did not relate in any way in terms of site layout with those at the other side of the wall.⁴⁷ By 1877 work had started on the construction of the top part of Royal Park Road and it appears that Grimston's trustees simply sold off building blocks to speculators and builders. Squire Holroyd, who developed land with the architect James Charles off Victoria Road, purchased the land on which two rows of terrace houses were built facing Hyde Park Road and Ebor Street. The surveyor for the estate plan was William Wheater and it is interesting to note that two interlaced terrace houses were built by a developer in the block facing Hyde Park Road. These were the only other examples found besides those in Ash Grove in or near the study area.⁴⁸ Other purchasers changed the layout of the estate and made 3 rows of terraces further down the hill line up with rows on the Hill Top Estate thus making Ebor Place, Ebor Mount, Ebor Grove and Kings Road continuous streets. The houses were back-to-backs and some of them at least were built by the Carlton brothers, who were builders, to the designs of W.H. Beevers, architect. The last remaining plots were purchased by the Leeds School Board to erect a new school, Queens Road County Primary, in 1890.⁴⁹

The other land which Clapham had obtained from the Earl of Cardigan was separated from the Hill Top Estate by the brickworks owned by John Smith and Joseph Smith. After the brickworks had been sold in 1875 the new owners were two partners called Johnson and Wroe, the former owning the Castleton Foundry in Leeds. They extended the quarry and improved the manufacturing capacity by purchasing some of Clapham's original estate beyond the stone wall marking

his Royal Park boundary. The works were extended northwards to the west of Queens Road and a new kiln and engine-house were erected in this area in 1877. The business at the time was described as a brick and stone works. In 1885 William Johnson added a further kiln and on the site were two large quarries and a masons shed. It would appear that the source material began to run out for in 1890 parts of the land facing Queens Road were being sold for the erection of timber stables and cartsheds for small traders and businessmen. The sites were on filled ground or close to it and that is probably the reason why simple timber or iron buildings (many of which occupy the site today) were erected. Deposited building plans in 1890 describe one quarry as an 'old stone quarry and clay pit now in course of being filled up belonging to Mr. Johnson'.⁵⁰

This process of small shops, sheds and storage buildings being erected all along the Queens Road frontage continued throughout the 1890's, however, the clay for bricks must still have been sufficient for Johnson to erect a large 8 chamber semi-continuous brick kiln straight opposite the end of Royal Park Road in 1893 (now the site of the Royal Park Hotel). The clay pit remained in use feeding the new kiln until at least 1899 when the hole was 30 feet deep, but in 1901 the business had closed down with the arches of the semi-continuous kiln being converted into temporary stables for a cab proprietor and by 1902 the brickworks were described as 'disused'. The site to this day is generally covered with small shops, storage and industrial buildings together with lock-up garages and, due to the filled ground, was never used for house building.

The remaining portion of the estate had a chequered pre-development history. In 1868 Clapham obtained just over 7 acres, to add to his Royal Park, off the Earl of Cardigan and he took out a private mortgage off O.J.A. Grimston and R.V.S. Grimston in the same year. The land was held by Clapham on a yearly rental of £54.14s in 1868 and this was discharged in 1887. The mortgage transactions were extremely complicated with O.J.A. Grimston living in Bitterne, near Southampton, and still retaining an interest in nearly 4 acres of the land when it was sold in 1893 to the builder, John Ellis Pearson of Leeds. Pearson obtained a mortgage in order to buy

Fig.47 Shops and industrial buildings on the site of the former quarry, Queens Road.



Fig.48 Back-to-back houses, Pearson Terrace (A.E. Braithwaite 1895).

Fig.49 Back-to-back houses, John Street (A.E. Braithwaite 1893).

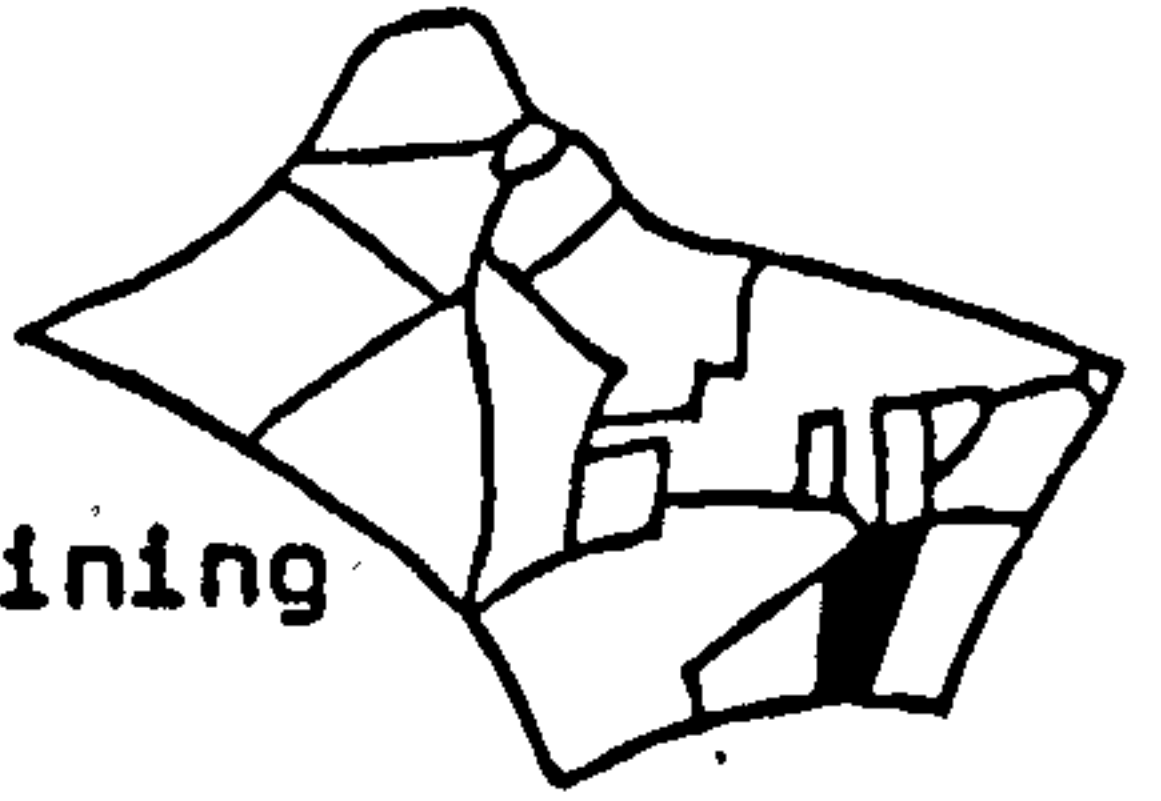


the land from the Leeds bankers, J.W. Oxley and T. Harrison, and a local cloth manufacturer, Robert Dixon Marshall. The other half of the 7 acres passed to Thomas Hattersley, a Leeds machinist, who made textile spindles and had been a mortgagee of Clapham. His land to the east of Queens Road formed the lower half of the Leeds Royal Park. The Leeds builder, Pearson, obtained just over 3 acres in 1893 off the Cardigan Trustees and O.J.A. Grimston by buying out the perpetual yearly rent charge for £1,119 and also paying £2,100 to Grimston. Pearson used several persons to obtain private mortgages for his purchase including prominent bankers, Thomas Nussey, a gentleman from Thorner, and a widow in Leeds.⁵¹

In 1874 the Messrs Grimston had an estate plan approved for 44 building lots and two roads running off Queens Road which was drawn up by James Fox and Sons, surveyors. These streets, to be named after the later estate owner (Pearson Grove and Pearson Terrace), were clearly meant to contain terrace houses.⁵² Pearson began to have plans submitted for approval for this part of the estate in October 1892 in advance of his purchase of the land from that year onwards, he deposited and built houses using the services of architects such as J.M. Porter, A.E. Braithwaite and Edwin Hill. He built good quality terraces on the periphery of the site and small back-to-back cottages in the interior. The last row of through terraces being completed by him in 1902 and the whole site being developed by him and only one other developer, William Gibson another builder who purchased one building block off Pearson. The roads when named bore Pearson's name and probably John Street, William Street and Elizabeth Street were those of his children.⁵³

The last building to be erected prior to 1914 was the second recreational club within the study area. This time, unlike the one built previously in Ash Grove, there were no outside gardens because the site was situated at the junction of Queens Road and Brudenell Road and had originally been intended for a larger end terrace house. The private club built by a Henry Child to the designs of the architect Thomas Winn, was completed in 1908 and had billiard rooms, meeting rooms, a card room and reading room together with a flat on the top floor. During the first World War the club was turned into the Hyde Park picture house which it remains to this day.

5.13 Hattersley Estate, Royal Park



Thomas Clapham owned over 43 acres of land by 1866 all adjoining the Leeds in-township boundary, and 20 acres of this was the pleasure grounds called the Royal Park. As the interest alone on his mortgages reached £1,000 per year at one stage, he had to sell off land and reduce his financial commitments. Gradually from 1866 to 1870 he attempted and succeeded in selling off various pieces of land which did not include the Royal Park. In 1870 Clapham tried to set up a company to be called The Leeds Royal Park Estates Building and Investment Company Ltd. to be run on similar lines to the nearby L.Y.L.B.I.C., but the company never got off the ground because of the weight of debts Clapham was attempting to shoulder.

From 1870 onwards the Royal Park was losing money and Heaps and Robinson, two Leeds ironmongers, took Clapham to court to recover monies owing to them. These two individuals had acted as mortgagees to Clapham and they foreclosed putting up all Clapham's remaining land for sale by auction in September 1871.⁵⁴ The park with its skating rink, greenhouses and other attractions was not sold as a going concern and this and the outer parts were again offered for sale in 1872 and 1873. The park was finally sold in February 1874 for £16,500 and other parts of the estate were disposed of to various buyers as described in 5.12 above.

The purchasers of the park, comprising 20 acres of land between Queens Road and Hyde Park Road, were a group of men who had been mortgagees of Clapham; these were Richard Robinson, a Leeds linen merchant; Thomas Hattersley, a Leeds spindle maker; and William Ingham, a Leeds upholsterer. After holding the land jointly for a year Hattersley agreed to purchase the whole title by payment of £3,333 to both Ingham and Robinson in 1875. As the original price was £16,500 for the land and a further £413 for the fittings, Hattersley had property which had cost £16,913 originally. He then proceeded to lay out the lower half of his estate for housing and to sell off the top 10 acres as a park.

Hattersley sold the 10 acre park and its buildings to a new company named the Leeds Horticultural Gardens Company for £13,000 in 1875, thereby nearly raising most of his outlay on half of the land. He

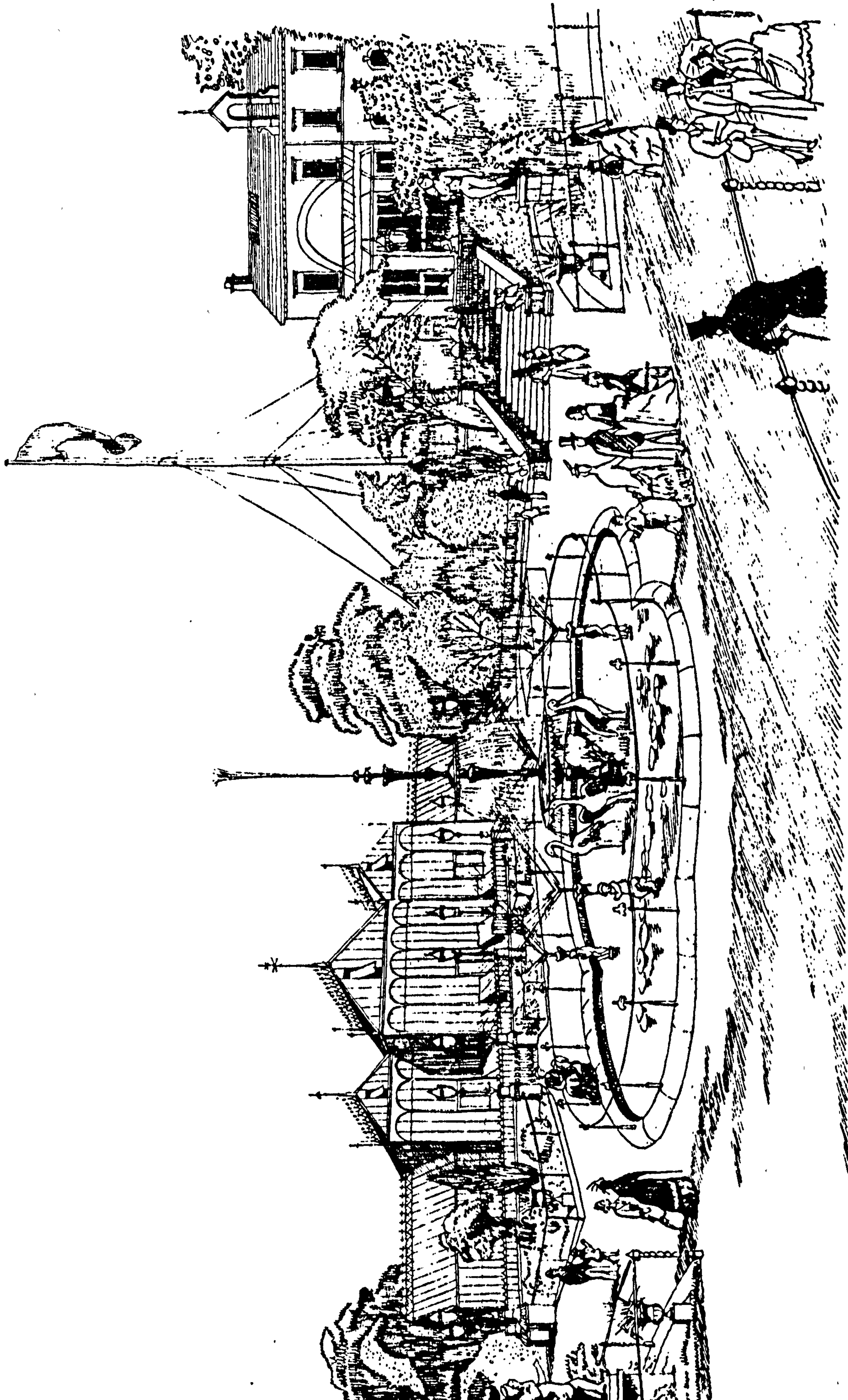


Fig.50 The Royal Park showing the main entrance, conservatory and fountains (from a drawing in 1873).

then had the Leeds architect, Thomas Ambler, draw up an estate plan for the remaining half and submit this for approval in April 1875. The plan showed a network of streets to receive small terraces mainly parallel to Queens Road, which had not been sewered or paved by that time, and a number of plots to receive a better class of houses facing Brudenell Road. (The original name of Clapham Road was dropped about this time as the Victorians appeared not to like streets named after businessmen who were failures). It is interesting that Charles Fowler should have been involved in work on the Hill Top Estate and another well known architect, Thomas Ambler, employed to lay out this new estate nearby.⁵⁵

Hattersley put up the estate for sale at the Queens Hotel in Leeds in May 1875 using an estate plan drawn up by Ambler showing 32 lots of large building blocks each about 1,000 square yards and many of these were marked for 'through houses'. The largest lots faced Brudenell Road and lot 14 was nearly an acre in extent. A series of short cul-de-sacs were run up to meet and end against the stone wall but left the purchaser's options open. Most streets were 36 feet wide with 15 feet wide back access streets to the rear of the proposed dwellings.⁵⁶

The first houses to be approved on the estate were a terrace of 5 large through houses including one superior end house facing Clapham Road in 1876. The depositors name is not known but the developer was Thomas Hattersley and this may have been an example of the developer 'starting the ball rolling' to encourage reluctant buyers. Certainly after these first few Hattersley did not develop any more on his land. After the completion of these the first houses in 1877 no more followed until 1879 when Thomas Ambler was employed to deposit plans for two small through houses on lot 25 for James Newby, a mason and builder. This was the first example of a well known Leeds Architect becoming involved in small red brick terrace houses in the study area. Ambler was already active by this time depositing drawings for similar types of houses on the nearby Hill Top Estate. From then on the estate was gradually developed on a piecemeal basis with many plans being submitted and approved but the dwelling were not always erected.

Generally the houses were of three types: large terrace houses

Fig.51 Through houses on the Hattersley Estate, Brudenell Grove (T.E. Farmery 1880).



Fig.52 Back-to-back houses on the Ford Estate, Royal Park Grove, erected by Bilborough and Palframan in 1887.

Fig.53 Through houses on the Royal Park, Ford Estate, Hyde Park Road (G. Hutton 1889).



facing Brudenell Road (due to the restrictive covenant on annual rental prohibiting the erection of smaller dwellings on plots facing the road); medium sized through terraces on the lower half of the estate situated between Queens Road and Brudenell Grove; large back-to-backs with gardens built in the cul-de-sacs between Brudenell Grove and the boundary wall of the Horticultural Gardens.

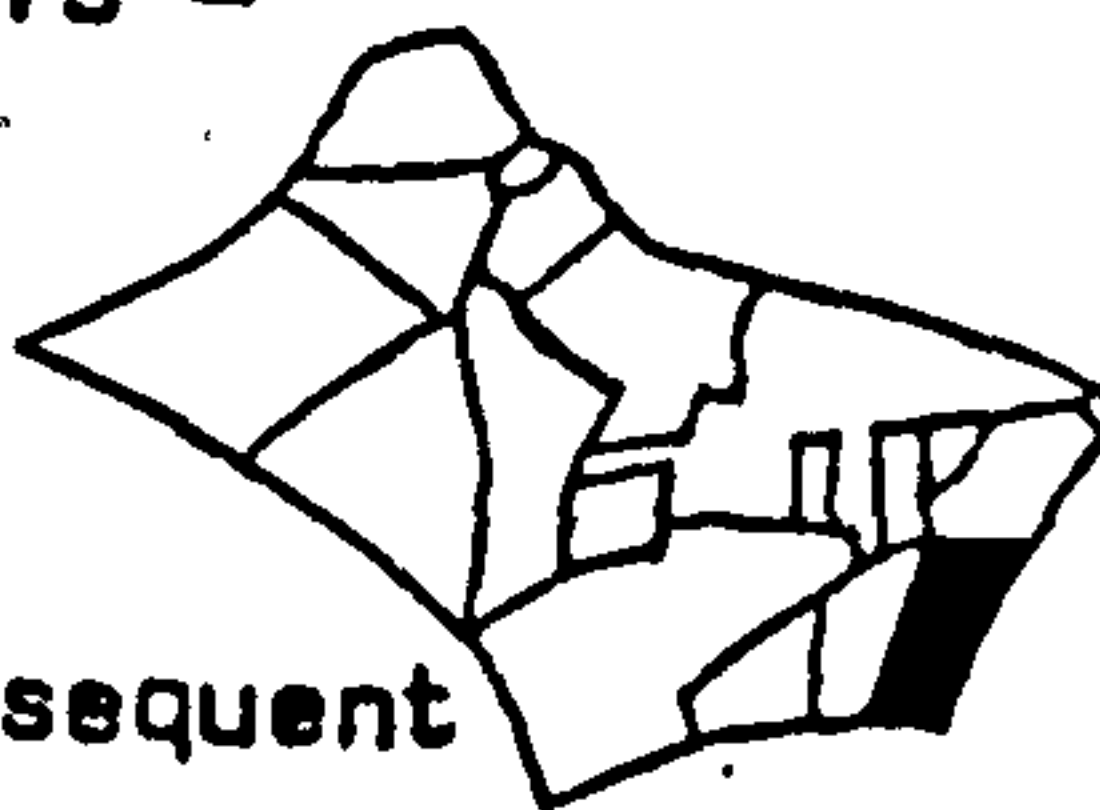
It was not until 1899 that the last houses in the estate were completed and many different building developers and depositors of plans were involved in the twenty-year process. The developers were mainly small speculators especially builders and building tradesmen. The depositors included such men as C.H. Thornton, J.P. Kay, W. Richardson, C.F. Wilkinson, W. Horrox, G.F. Danby, J.W. Thackray, F.W. Rhodes, W.A. Hobson to name but a few who described themselves as architects and there were others who did not. The major developers included the builders Benjamin Hewling, Arthur Meldrum and John Ellis Pearson all who purchased small building blocks and individual lots. Unlike other estates such as the Norwoods or the Clapham/Pearson estate one or a small number of builders did not predominate, instead this estate, like the Horticultural Gardens to follow it, was completed by a great number of different developers of all kinds of trades and callings.

In 1885 Thomas Hattersley died at Harrogate and the land passed to his son, Thomas Kilvington Hattersley, who was the vendor for a further sale by auction of unsold lots of the estate held in April 1888.

It would appear that the son became involved in some financial difficulty having taken over his fathers spindle making business, for in 1893 the High Court ordered that lots 7, 8 and 9 still remaining as unsold from the 1888 sale should be sold off and the price realised was 6s. per square yard. The deeds examined clearly show that a restrictive covenant of a minimum letting value of £15 per annum was applied to the new houses erected throughout the period 1875 - 1914.⁵⁷

5. 14 Ford Estate, Royal Park

After the collapse of Clapham's Royal Park venture and the subsequent purchase by Robinson, Ingham and Hattersley, the top half of the estate of just over 10 acres was eventually purchased off Hattersley by a group of men who had formed a new company named the Leeds



Horticultural Gardens Company Ltd. The directors included: Joseph Conyers, a Leeds tanner; Richard Buckton, a Leeds manufacturer; Titus Bennett Stead, a Leeds druggist; and John Eddison, a well known Leeds land surveyor. The company purchased the park and fittings in 1875 for £13,000 and took out a mortgage from a Leeds solicitor, John Rawlinson Ford, to finance the purchase; they then attempted to restore The Royal Park Gardens as a place of recreation.

Just prior to the sale from Hattersley to the Company a plan was submitted by a Leeds surveyor, J. Neill and Son, to extend and alter the entrance lodge and make a new dwelling out of the single-storey part of the existing building. At the same time it was agreed that a plot of land at the junction of Hyde Park Road and Clapham Road should be sold off for a new Wesleyan Chapel and plans for the lodge alterations and the chapel were approved in 1874. The architect for the chapel was C.O. Ellison of Liverpool, and it was built in 1874 - 5 of stone in the Geometric style with a lecture hall beneath and a caretaker's house added at the rear some years later (see Appendix 17). The new Company attempted to attract visitors by new facilities such as an ice rink approved in 1876 and built in the same year that the first houses were being erected by Hattersley immediately over the boundary wall to the south.

Charles Fowler was employed to design a new orchestra stand in 1879 and by this date a stone wall, with entrance gates and one major entrance lodge in Hyde Park Road, surrounded the 10 acres of horticultural gardens.

The gardens continued to remain open to visitors throughout the period that house building continued on the lower half of the site and in 1885 the Leeds architect G.F. Danby added a stone chapel-keeper's house to the rear of the Wesleyan Chapel. The death knell of the gardens came in 1886 when a new wall was erected breaking up the 10 acres into two halves and the southern half was laid out for terrace housing. In the same year plans were submitted for approval to build houses on this part of the gardens site. From 1886 onwards the sale of lots was rapid, and unlike the Hattersley Estate which had begun some ten years earlier and was protracted in its building, the plants of the gardens were soon uprooted and the soil covered with bricks and mortar, the whole process only taking six years to cover the same area as Hattersley's Estate.

Robert Lawson Ford acted as mortgagee to the company for the sum of £11,000 and he was a member of a Leeds law firm called Ford and Warren. On his death in 1878 the mortgage was transferred to his sons John Rawlinson Ford, also a solicitor, and Thomas Benson Pease Ford, a silk spinner. The gardens were put up for sale by auction by order of the directors of the company in October 1884. The plan showed a skating rink, bowling green, gymnasium, cricket ground, lawn, conservatory, vinery, brewery, refreshment rooms, concert hall and ballroom together with the main entrance including the manager's house and a board room. Heppers bought in without the reserve price being made known after the bidding began at 2s. 6d. per square yard but did not rise above 4s. 10d. per square yard.⁵⁸ In December 1885 the Horticultural Gardens Company, like Clapham before them, found that they could not meet the debts involved with the Royal Park and J.R. Ford agreed to purchase the land and fixtures. The fixtures and fittings included among other things 28 statues and busts for which Ford paid £1,300 and the land was purchased by the extinguishing of the £11,000 mortgage. This figure was less than the highest bid at the 1884 auction. The ten acre site then passed into the hands of Ford who proceeded to have plans drawn up to build terrace houses on the gardens following a similar pattern to those set on the lower 10 acres already developing. Ford sold 6 acres in 1888 to his legal partner W. Warren and J. Franks, a surveyor; he then sold his remaining 4 acres in 1892. Ford never attempted to act as a housing developer and the only drawings found with his name on were for the conversion of the old entrance lodge to form 2 houses and a first floor restaurant. Ford was in the very favourable position of being able to help prospective purchasers to obtain mortgages through his business contacts and could introduce would be developers to potential investors. At the same time he organised loans to builders and speculative developers, not only from other people but also from his own personal means, the latter being the source of loans at 4½% to 5% interest to such local builders as John Hall Thorp, W.J. Carlton, James Hutton and the stone merchant, David Hall.⁵⁹

The earliest houses erected on the estate were by two builders, Albert Palframan and James Bilbrough, who built over 50 back-to-back houses between 1886 and 1892, all of which were the better

class scullery houses with small gardens. The depositors of drawings ranged from builders like Albert Palframan to architects which included G. Danby, T. Butler Wilson, C.F. Wilkinson, R.A. Bullivant, T. Winn, W.A. Hobson and J.M. Porter. The developers were mainly builders or building trade workers although several architects acted as both depositors and developers. These included C.F. Wilkinson, W.A. Hobson, J.M. Porter and the architect builder George Hutton who developed several large terraced houses facing Woodhouse Moor but did not become involved in the development of smaller houses in the interior of the estate.

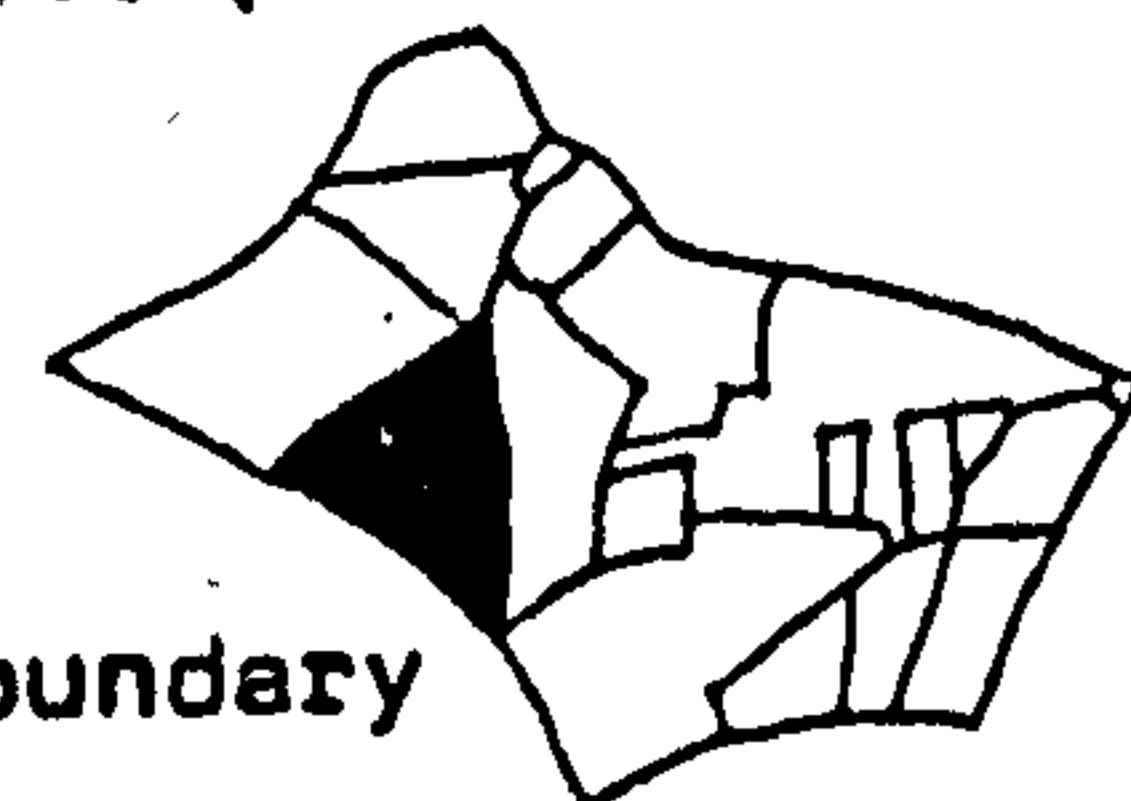
Deposited estate plans were found for all the major estates in the study area in the search through approved plans submitted prior to 1889 with the exception of this area of the Royal Park. Only one small section of the estate plan for Ford's estate was found and this was for the portion nearest Royal Park Road which was approved in July 1886. The plan showed 4 major building blocks, one of which was lot 28 on Ford's sale plan, but a copy of this sale plan has not been found among solicitor's or estate agent's papers.⁶⁰ Block plans on drawings of houses deposited for approval clearly show the roads laid out and lot numbers from the missing Ford sale plan are referred to in house deeds.

In 1892 the Leeds Industrial Cooperative Society erected 3 through houses and a group of shops including a grocer's and a butcher's shop facing Brudenell Grove. These shops, designed by W.A. Hobson, were the first to be built as purpose-built shops in the study area which were not at Hyde Park, Headingley Village or corner shops in long terraces.

Just as Ford did not act as a developer so too Franks and Warren simply sold off their holdings as speculators. Inspection of deeds show that land speculation was common on the estate during its short time of building. John Franks was a surveyor who went into partnership with William Warren, the legal partner of J.R. Ford, and together they purchased various lots on the Ford sale plan. In some instances, e.g. lots 113 - 118, they were quoted as subvendors on deeds where J.R. Ford had contracted to sell but not actually sold to them. Warren also sold some of his land to Franks who became sole owner. The architect Walter Hobson purchased lots 165 - 173, comprising nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, in 1892 and he erected houses on some plots

and sold off others as well as acting as a developer on the Hattersley Estate. Another architect, C.F. Wilkinson, bought several lots from 1888 onwards.⁶¹

5.15 Chapel Lane Estate



In the same way that land close to the Leeds in-township boundary began to be developed in the 1870's so too did land closer to the old village of Headingley as exemplified by the Mansion House and Headingley Old Gardens Estates. Further to the west of the latter estate were a number of fields which had been originally owned by George North Tatham but had passed into the hands of the Eddison family. The estate was generally known as the Chapel Lane Estate and the first attempt to put it on the market for building purposes came soon after building had started in the Old Gardens on the east side of the boundary formed by Chapel Lane.

In 1872 John Eddison, the Leeds Surveyor who was to become a director of the Leeds Horticultural Garden Company based on the Leeds Royal Park, submitted an estate plan to the Corporation for approval showing three fields broken up into building blocks. The area to the west was left as large parcels of land with few roads and that nearest to Chapel Lane was shown with a greater number of roads and smaller plots. There existed by this time one large house on the site, named Broomfield House, which had been built at some time between 1846 and 1850 and was occupied by John Hall Thorp, a local builder of some distinction. It was clear on the plan that to help sales Eddison intended to widen Chapel Lane and to put drainage beneath it as well as paving the old surface.⁶²

Later that year a second estate plan was approved and the owners were shown to be the executors of Mrs. H.M. Eddison who had decided to put the land on the market following her death. The plan stated that Chapel Lane had by then been widened and that:

'The Road is made and formed to the width of thirty six feet with two ashed causeways... The Roadway is formed as shown on the Cross Section with broken stone 8" thick in the centre 5" thick at the sides'⁶³

This estate plan can also be seen in Leeds Archives Department and it was used at an auction held in August 1872. It shows 47 lots with access obtained by a central spine road 36 feet wide and a

series of branch roads running off it to Chapel Lane. The majority of lots were 1,000 square yards in area with a few at 2,000 square yards and one at 3,134 square yards adjacent to Broomfield House. It would appear that these small lots were not a success and there were no sales.

In 1874 the surveyor John Eddison drew up another estate plan to obtain approval to the construction of a new road linking Chapel Lane to Cardigan Road, thereby connecting the two estates together and providing better communications with the land for sale which lay to the rear and out of sight behind the Headingley Old Gardens. The owner of the Chapel Lane Estate at this time was shown as a Dr. Eddison, one of the trustees for the sale, and the new road was to become Newport Road.⁶⁴

The trustees had a new estate plan approved in 1875 and a second attempt was made to sell the land at an auction held in July of that year.⁶⁵ As before, the sale took place at the Oak Inn, Headingley and Heppers were the estate agents. A comparison, however, between the plan for the 1872 sale and that for the 1875 sale shows a major change in the size of unit offered nearest to the large villas already existing on the Old Gardens. Those lots to the west were still small being only 1,100 square yards but the main spine road was now aligned with the new road connecting through to Cardigan Road and the number of roads connecting to Chapel Lane were reduced and plot sizes were increased on the west side of the estate. The plan which was used at the sale also showed a proposed second connection through the Old Gardens to Cardigan Road and this, like Newport Road, involved Eddison purchasing land off H.C. Marshall. Also indicated were lots of nearer 2,000 square yards facing Chapel Lane and the sale plan clearly shows the large villas completed in the Old Gardens together with all the luxurious trees and planting to act as an added attraction to would-be purchasers.⁶⁶

Eddison had come to some agreement with H.C. Marshall or had even purchased some of the unsold parts of the Old Gardens. Lots 1 to 5 on Eddison's sale plan of 1875 were villa sites situated within the Old Gardens, totalling 3 acres and including the small triangular plot of land to the north known today by local inhabitants as Sparrow Park. These plots had a restrictive covenant on the annual value of houses to be erected which was £40 for lots 1 and 2,

£35 for lots 3, 4 and 5, whereas all other lots on the Chapel Lane Estate were £15. This suggests that the trustees had terraces or small semi-detached villas in mind for the bulk of the estate. The sale of 1875 was successful and it attracted purchasers for the first time. As sales were completed the trustees had further estate plans approved by dividing the land into three sections and starting at the north, they had 3 sets of detailed drawings of the road construction and sewers approved. Only two of these plans have survived. The first was submitted by the trustees and the second, relating to the middle portion of the site, was submitted by the new owners, Messrs. Richardson and Watson, estate agents of Leeds. Each plan added more roads and subdivided the land into smaller plots when compared with the approved plan of 1875.⁶⁷

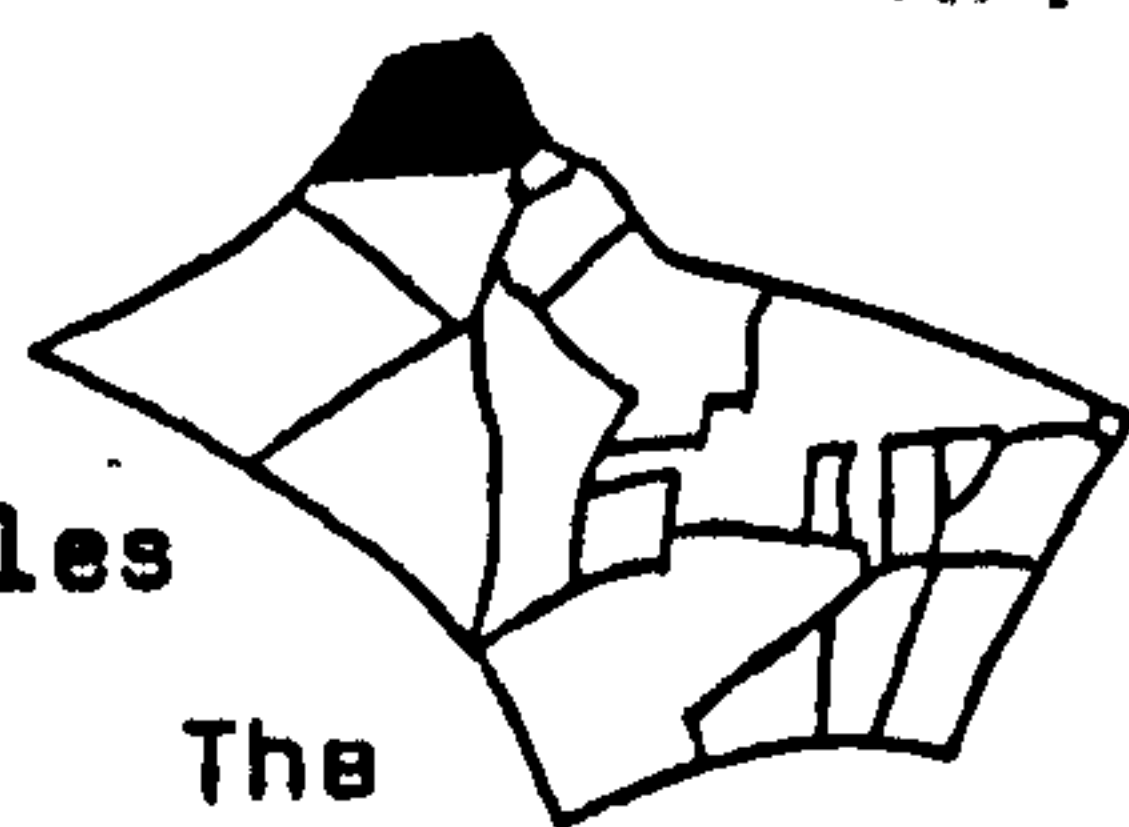
The only house existing on the estate in 1876 was Broomfield House, a stone villa with outbuildings and a cottage. The house set in large grounds faced due south with views looking downhill over the open fields which were soon to be built on. In May 1871 a new stone boundary wall was built to the house as part of the road widening of Chapel Lane prior to the unsuccessful sale of 1872. After the sale of 1875 the first house erected on the estate was a terraced house (although detached when first built) facing Chapel Lane, built on lot 7 by a William Yates Fearnley the assistant overseer for the township of Headingley, and the house was built to the design of Wilson and Bailey, architects of Leeds. This was soon followed by the only example found of a large number of houses being approved in one deposit of building plan drawings. The estate agents, Richardson and Watson who had purchased the central portion of the estate, had plans approved for 47 houses to be built in stone in 6 long terraces. The architect for the designs was Daniel Dodgson and it is clear from the evidence that the owners intended to erect all the houses as a speculative venture rather than sell off small plots with house plans approved for others to build. These houses were all built in stone but elsewhere on the estate brick predominates. They were unusual in other respects, particularly those facing Broomfield Place, these had very wide frontages of 26 feet in width but shallow depths from front to back involving the use of back additions to contain sculleries and water closets.

Gradually the estate was built on in a strange mixture of terraces, semi-detached and detached houses. The latter being accomplished by mainly owner-occupiers purchasing several smaller lots. A typical example was Robert Slater, a Headingley plumber and sanitary engineer, who also acted as a speculative developer elsewhere in the study area and who built himself a detached house next to Broomfield House in 1878. Slater's new home was designed by the architect W.H. Thorp. From 1876 to 1904 plots were slowly developed with the smaller through terraces and even some back-to-back houses being built to the south of the estate and the larger terraces and detached houses sited nearer to Broomfield House in the north.

The major developers for most of the terrace houses were Richardson and Watson and Alfred Beaumont, a whitesmith, who was a major developer of houses for speculation. The major depositors of drawings were the architects Daniel Dodgson and Herbert Preston. Few houses were built on the west side of Newport Road and the majority of these plots remained undeveloped until covered by inter-war semi-detached houses. One developer was the builder William Boddy Pearson who erected the only back-to-backs on the estate. He borrowed £800 off a spinster in Headingley in 1892 and, having purchased a building block off John E. Eddison and Octavious Eddison, he then proceeded to erect the houses for letting which were still in his ownership on his death in 1908.⁶⁸

5.16 Cardigan Estate, Headingley Village

The Earl of Cardigan carried out a policy of gradual land sales throughout the nineteenth century as described in Chapter 4. The area of land which he owned centering on the old village of Headingley was commonly known as the 'green', around which the stone cottages, farm buildings, inns, shops and church were clustered. A map of 1832 drawn by George Hayward, the Earl's steward in Headingley, clearly shows the green and the buildings which were built on and around it.⁶⁹ In the sale of 1850 the western half of the village green was sold in four large lots. The purchaser of one of the lots was the Leeds Waterworks Company who proceeded to erect a cottage and pumping station which was greatly enlarged in 1879.



There was approximately 17 buildings on the green indicated on the

O.S. map of 1850 including the elegant pair of stone houses (now numbers 76 and 78 St. Michael's Road) which would appear to be the work of an architect of some standing. The other buildings, the majority of which were built in stone, included cottages, shops and an inn. One detached house was built near the centre of the green (later to be named Bleak House) and its garden occupied a substantial area to the east of the lots sold by the Earl in 1850.

The 7th Earl of Cardigan died in 1868 owing £174,000 secured on his Yorkshire estates. The Trustees had the power to sell the Leeds estates if necessary with the permission of the surviving Countess. It was to be ten years before this decision was finally reached, for in 1887 the Countess gave her permission for the land in Leeds to be sold and in 1888 the unsold portions of the Cardigan Estates were put on the market. Thus the link between the Brudenell family and Headingley, which had lasted for 200 years, was finally severed.

The date of the Cardigan Estate sale in 1888 was significant because in May of the same year the Marshall family also put their Headingley House Estate, adjacent to Headingley Green, up for sale with the particulars suggesting that the land was suitable for housing development. The Marshall estate was to be sold in 3 lots; the house and park comprising over 31 acres, an area of building land to the north of 5 acres, and a small cottage and garden. The Marshalls had been given approval to a new road (later to be named Ash Road) to be pushed into the estate to give access to the building land to the north.⁷⁰ The house was purchased by Joseph Hepworth, the local head of the ready-made clothing firm, who used it as a family residence until 1900 when it was finally sold for housing development. This event coincided with the first sales of the large detached houses on Victoria Road such as Morley House, which was sold for building development in 1902.

The infilling of the open spaces on Headingley Green was a gradual process which was different to other estates in the study area in the sense that it consisted of developers building in closes, folds and gardens of existing buildings as an infill process rather than new buildings in open fields. This meant that the usual network of parallel roads was not required to give access

due to the existing perimeter roads which already surrounded the potential sites. One major new road named Bennett Road was approved in 1878 to bisect the green from east to west and this road, named after one of the Earl's trustees, opened up the interior of the green to would-be developers.⁷¹ Short branch roads were constructed after 1878, such as Grunberg Road and Cross Granby Street, to give access to the north and south of the central road and in 1886 a small estate involving roads to be named Granby Road, Grove etc. was approved with access off St. Michael's Road.⁷²

From 1870 onwards, when deposited plans can be inspected, the infilling of new shops facing the Otley turnpike can be seen as the population of the suburb steadily increased. Older cottages were either converted or occasionally demolished to make way for these new shops which were to eventually form an external outward facing wall to three sides of the green. Architects such as Charles Fowler, W. Hobson, J.W. Baxendale, T. Butler Wilson and James Charles were typical of the architects who deposited designs for the grocers, butchers and fishmongers who either expanded their existing premises or developed new ones.

Housing within the green took many forms; houses over shops, small cottages built for tradesmen who had erected workshops or stables, back-to-backs, through terraces and one of the last developments was a pleasant little estate of semi-detached houses rich in architectural decoration. The first back-to-backs were developed by Isaac Earnshaw and James Peat from 1879 onwards on a small estate off North Lane. The houses, entered off the street, were the smallest in floor area found in the study area and the developers, an engineer and millwright who had joined forces with a partner whose occupation is not known, employed the architect Fred Worsnop to design the dwellings.⁷³ James B. Fraser deposited plans for 10 larger through terraces in 1880 for three developers who united in the cause of speculation; Robert Lyall, a publishers agent, James Minikin, a clerk, and Alfred Walker, an architectural model maker. The houses they developed were in Bennett Road and adjacent to the 18 feet wide easement for the Waterworks Company main that passed diagonally across the site causing problems for developers of building lots.

In 1881 Bennett Road Board School was erected to the designs of

Robert L. Adams, architect to the Board, and this was followed in 1884 by the Bennett Road Parish Institute designed by the architect George Corson. Two years later the estate of houses to be named the Granby's was begun, a mixture of back-to-backs in blocks of eight and through terraces built to the designs of the architect James Charles who, with other members of his family, acted as the developer for part of the development. Later as the housing got under way James Charles produced designs for other developers and speculative builders such as Arthur Meldrum and the Ellis brothers. In order to use the land left between Granby Terrace and the new Board School, Charles erected two rows of blind back-to-backs with projecting houses at each end to form terminating wings in the best classical tradition. Another block had through houses where several houses tapered on plan in order to fit them onto land truncated by the passing water main.

From 1890 onwards the owner of the large detached house, by then named Bleak House, had realised that there was capital to be made in either selling off some of his large garden to speculators or acting as one in his own right. He took both courses of action selling land to the north for a new curatage for St. Michael's Church, erected in 1892 to the designs of Chorley and Cannon architects, and developing terrace houses on his land which was added to Granby Grove and Place in the 1890's.

The development of the green with houses was also augmented by the erection of sheds for carriages, small workshops, studios and stables, together with cottages in yards connected with these business uses. This was particularly the case with the area around the Skyrack Inn.

The last estate of houses to be completed was a group of semi-detached houses started in 1897 by a builder named William Bower and the architect was C.F. Wilkinson. These houses were mainly completed within the short period of only 12 months.

Inspection of deeds shows that the western part of the green between Bleak House and North Lane, an area of just over 2 acres, was originally owned by Reid Newsome, a Leeds bookseller and stationer. He obtained the land from the Earl of Cardigan from 1845 - 1851 and he left the land to his wife and then to his son Charles Reid Newsome. The land was mortgaged several times after 1860 but

Fig.54 Back-to-back houses,
Granby Grove, Headingley village
(J. Charles 1886).



Fig.55 Blind back-to-back houses,
Granby Terrace, Headingley village
(J. Charles 1888).

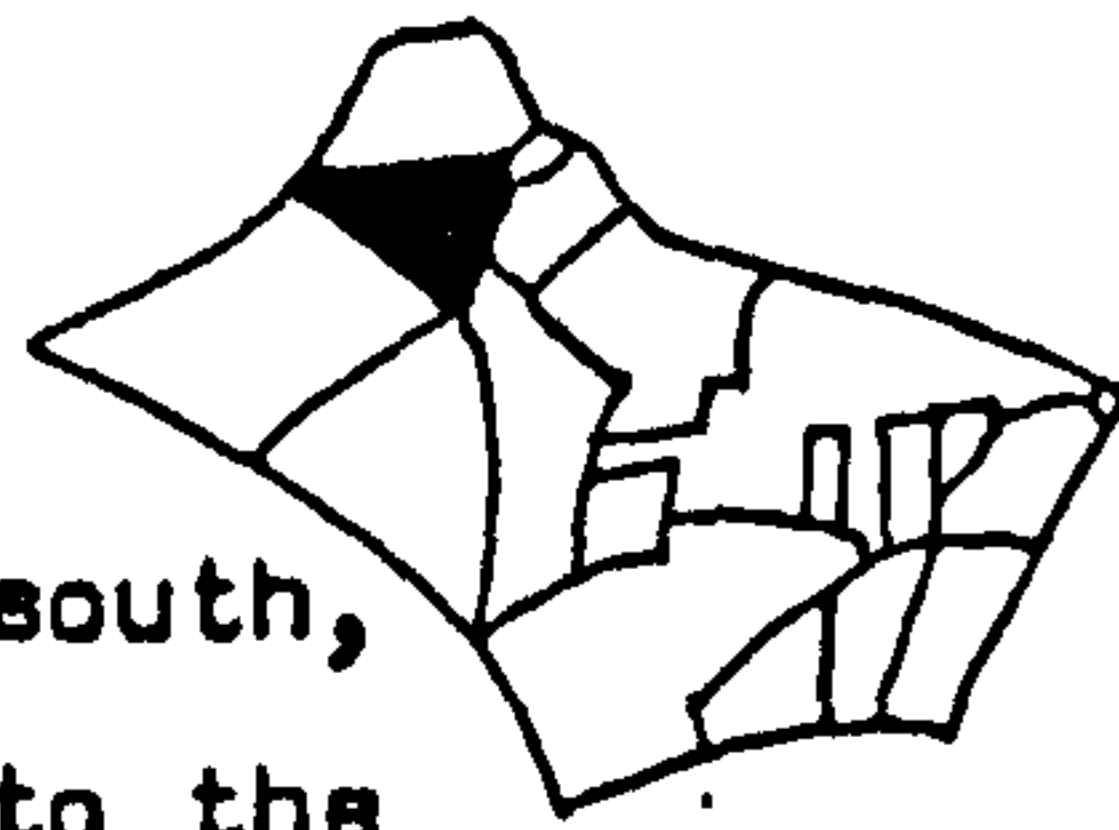
Fig.56 South View Terrace,
Bennett Road (J.B. Fraser 1880).



by 1890 it was owned by John Brownhill, a gentleman residing in Bridlington but who had been a jeweller for some time in Leeds and a mortgagee of C.R. Newsome in 1882. In 1894 Brownhill had mortgaged the land and buildings to the London and Midland Bank and in order to clear his debt he sold the land in 1895 to William Bower, a Leeds builder, for £5,000.⁷⁴ House deeds also show that when the Cardigan Trustees sold land off Bennett Road in 1880 to the developer Robert Lyall, a restriction was placed on the value of all new houses to be erected of a minimum annual rental value of £19.^{75,76}

5.17 Cardigan Estate, Cardigan Road.

The land situated between the Headingley Old Gardens to the south, the Mansion House Estate to the east, and the village green to the north, was opened up for development by the construction of Cardigan Road in 1868. With ready made access from the new road, plots of land were sold by the Cardigan trustees from 1870 onwards and a number of stone semi-detached villas were erected on the north side of the road. Architects such as Robert Wood, Charles Fowler, William Wilks and W. Wynn were involved in the designs for a number of different developers. Short blocks of terraces in both brick and stone were erected, the stone ones designed by Robert Wood and the first brick terraces by T. Anderson for a draper and grocer of Headingley. Robert Wood also acted as a developer including designing and building a pair of semi-detached villas, one of which was to be his own home.



South of St. Michael's Road terraces were built by such developers as B. Paley, a carter, and W. Cawthorne, a publican and Leeds Town Councillor. Close by was the Headingley National School which was extended several times by the architects Chorley and Cannon between 1888 and 1902.

The Earl's trustees submitted an estate plan in 1876 for approval to a proposed new road to run parallel to Cardigan Road but to the south of it with the intention of selling off lots to speculators.⁷⁷ The road was not constructed and the trustees submitted a further estate plan in 1878 indicating the same proposed road relegated to only a back passage to the rear of the plots.⁷⁸

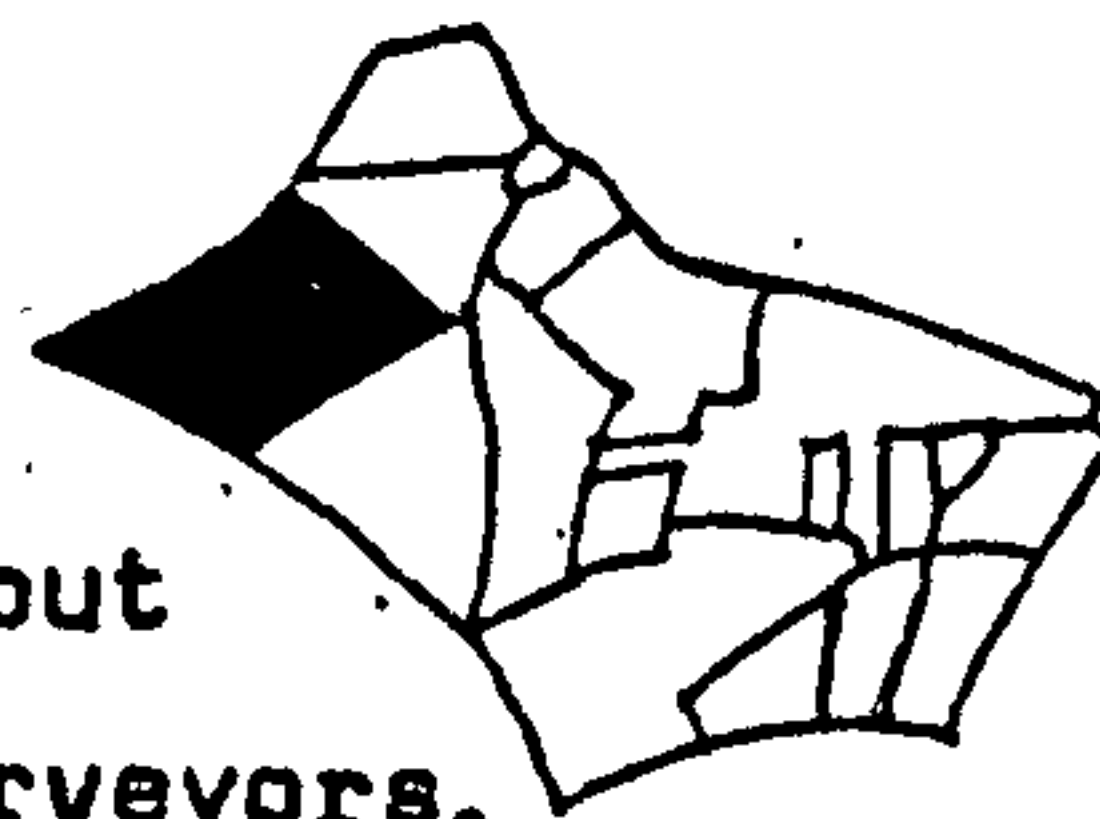
Eventually the whole of the land south of Cardigan Road was purchased by a group of men wishing to establish a permanent home

for cricket and rugby football in Leeds and it was they who eventually acquired lots 17 and lots 17A of the Cardigan Estate sale of 1888. Following this the newly formed Leeds Cricket, Football and Athletic Co. Ltd. had a sale plan drawn up for 11 lots on the south side of Cardigan Road, each to receive a pair of semi-detached villas, by the Leeds architects Smith and Tweedale.⁷⁹ Plots were for sale from 1891 onwards and the first houses were erected by the architect builder George Hutton. From 1892 to 1906 a number of houses, which were very individualistic in style, were built with Ambler and Bowman, T. Butler Wilson, Walker and Collinson and Buttery and Birds all being involved in the designs.

The last major development on the estate was one of the few infill schemes where a large house was demolished within the study area prior to 1914 in order to make way for smaller houses built within its grounds. Thomas Wade Appleyard, a Leeds tanner, obtained land from the Earl of Cardigan's trustees in 1873 when he agreed to pay a perpetual yearly rental charge of £85 per annum. Following this he occupied a large mansion named St. Michael's Tower set in 1½ acres between the National School and Cardigan Road. The house was put up for sale in 1898 and was advertised as a desirable residence for a 'gentleman of good social position'.⁸⁰ The house was not sold and was put on the market again in 1900 and, at this sale or some time after, the architect builder Robert Wood bought the site and proceeded to demolish the old house with its tall stone tower which afforded 'extensive view of Headingley and Leeds' and he laid out the land to receive semi-detached villas and a long curved terrace. The semi-detached houses faced onto Cardigan Road and the terrace onto a new road to be named St. Michael's Crescent. Robert Wood used the services of his architect son Joseph J. Wood to carry out the designs between 1904 and 1906.

5.18 Cardigan Estate, Cricket Ground.

Efforts were made to dispose of the Cardigan Estates throughout the 1880's and in 1883 an estate plan was drawn up by the surveyors, Martin and Fenwick, on behalf of the Trustees to obtain approval to the laying out of streets and building lots on the open fields at the junction of Kirkstall Lane and Cardigan Road.⁸¹ When the remaining estates of the Earl of Cardigan were auctioned between



1888 and 1891, Lot 17A comprising just over 17 acres at the junction of Kirkstall Lane and Cardigan Road, was withdrawn after the highest bid had been £11,000. The plot was advertised for housing as follows:

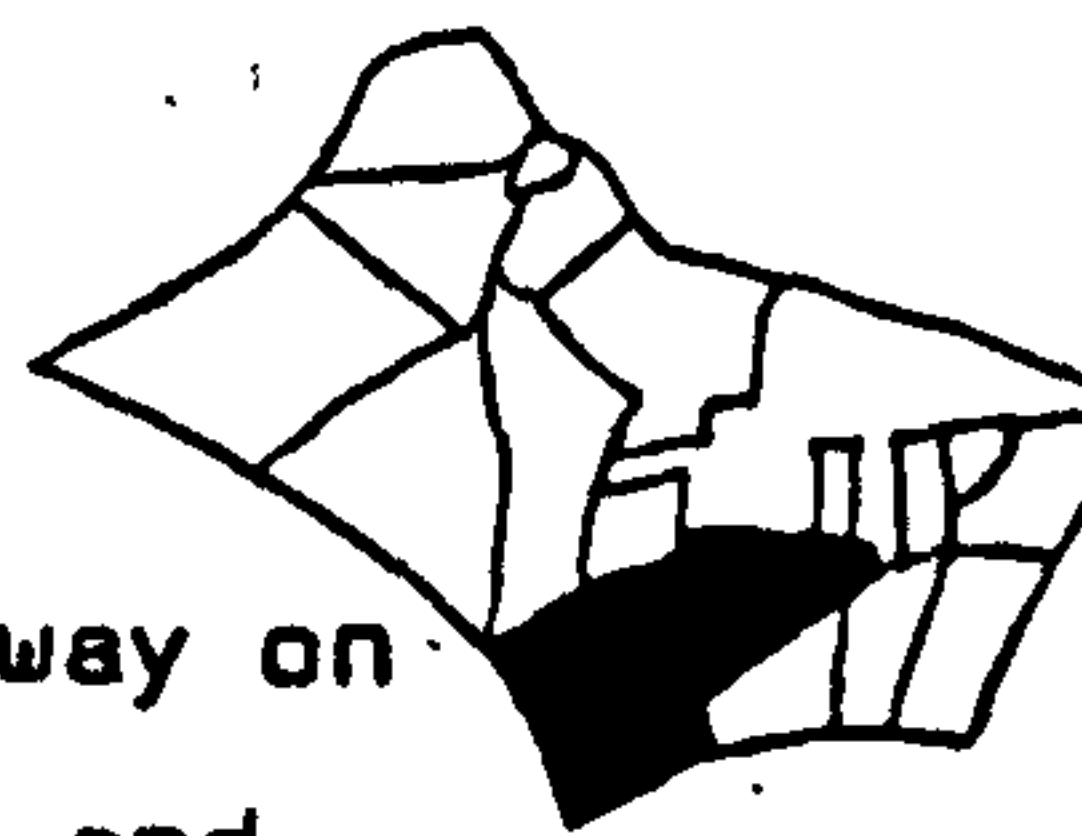
'Immediately ripe for development, and admirably adapted for building superior Villa Residences, such as are now erected on the adjoining Properties.'⁸²

It also advertised the fact that the land overlooked the 'park-like grounds of Headingley House Estate.' Some time after 1888 the lot was purchased by George Bray, a gas lighting engineer who lived at Belmont, Headingley and had made a fortune from his invention of the patented Bray gas burner. Bray, a wealthy man who was a sporting enthusiast and wanted to see a permanent home created for cricket and rugby in Leeds, proceeded to sell the prime building land that he had purchased for £14,750 (at a cost of 4s. 8½d. per square yard) to the newly formed Leeds Cricket, Football and Athletic Co. Ltd. for only 1s. 1½d. per square yard in order that his ambition should be achieved.⁸³ In 1891 the Company sold off land facing Cardigan Road for semi-detached villas and the profit no doubt helped to pay for the new stands, boundary walls, turnstiles and playing grounds which were built during 1890. The Company used the architects Smith and Tweedale for the majority of the new buildings, starting with the boundary walls and fences approved on building plans in 1889. In later years architects such as Thomas Winn and Fred Mitchell were also employed.⁸⁴

5.19 Cardigan/Walmsley Estate

The two Walmsley brothers who had begun to build in a modest way on the Hill Top Estate in the 1870's prospered in their business and, relying on private mortgages, they were operating on a large enough scale to emerge from the Cardigan Estate Sales of 1888 - 1891 with over 46 acres of land in Headingley and Burley. The price that they paid averaged out at only 2s. per square yard.⁸⁵

Between 1889 and 1892, B. and W. Walmsley purchased 3 large portions of the Cardigan Estate situated close to Brudenell Road and within the study area as well as further portions to the west and south in Burley. The three areas were: 16 acres purchased for £7,543.17s.6d. in 1889, 12 acres purchased for £6,588.3s.6d. in 1890 and a further



10 acres purchased in 1892. Added to this was another 4 acres purchased privately off the Cardigan Trustees in 1887 and these were situated between Cardigan Road and the North Eastern Railway. They emerged from the Cardigan Sales owning almost all the available land unbuilt upon which was situated close to the in-township boundary. The total outlay by the two men was at least £22,000 which was all secured on private mortgages at usually 5% interest per annum. This, like Thomas Clapham in earlier years, committed them to finding over £1,000 per year in interest charges alone. As Clapham had discovered one way to pay such large sums of interest was to resell at a profit and the Walmsley brothers were just as active as land speculators as they were in building houses. They laid out large areas of fields with new streets in parallel rows and sold off building blocks to other developers making them pay proportional costs towards or to be wholly responsible for the cost of roads, footpaths and sewers.

From 1891 to 1893 the Walmsleys were receiving between 6s. 3d. and 7s. 9d. per square yard for small building blocks of 1,210 square yards but at the height of the building boom in 1901 they were charging 10s. a square yard for blocks in the Hessles off Brudenell Road.⁸⁶ Their greatest success, however, came in the 1890's when they sold nearly 13 acres of land at Burley to the Leeds Corporation at 7s. per square yard. This land was to be used as a recreational park for the residents of the newly erected terraces that were beginning to surround it and it was sold at building land prices. It fetched £21,656, just a few hundred pounds short of all the major purchases made by the Walmsleys from the Cardigan Estates.⁸⁷

The land which the Walmsleys purchased within the study area had an estate plan submitted by the Cardigan trustees and approved by Leeds Corporation in 1883 and this related to fields to the west of Cardigan Road and north of Brudenell Road. It showed 6 building blocks and 5 parallel roads to become the Mayvilles.⁸⁸ This was followed by several very large estate plans, which were probably prepared by the surveyors Martin and Fenwick, whereby the Cardigan trustees had estate plans approved for an extensive area of land; stretching from Thornville Road in Burley to the south, across both sides of Brudenell Road up to the Norwood/Postill Estate above

Cardigan Lane in the north, and from the North eastern Railway in the west to the Royal Park Estates in the east. The plans showed existing roads but few new roads were indicated, however, all existing field boundaries and the quarries near Cardigan Lane were all clearly shown.⁸⁹

The Walmsley's developed their land in the study area and in Burley by the two methods of speculative land sales and by building for themselves. Demand for the building sites from others was considerable especially after 1890 and many houses were built by other developers. Those houses built by the Walmsleys were not immediately sold but generally were retained and let as a speculation bringing both a yearly income and providing a source of security for private mortgages. B. and W. Walmsley were to become the most prolific house builders and developers within the study area as well as two of the major landowners.

The land nearest the in-township boundary tended to be developed first, particularly the area to be covered by the Thornvilles and the Harolds. These were erected to the designs of Daniel Dodgson who until his death was the architect used by the two builders for all their housing developments. After Dodgson's death in 1903 the architect who replaced him was Fred Mitchell who continued to design the various red-brick terraces and semi-detached villas the Walmsleys erected. The Thornvilles were developed from 1891 and the Beamsleys in 1893, just to the north of these was an estate of semi-detached villas facing Brudenell Road with smaller terraces behind which were built by the Walmsleys between 1893 and 1907.

The land between the North Eastern Railway and Cardigan Road was a mixture of speculation and development. The Walmsleys sold building blocks to such builders as C. Howson and J. Ledgard who in turn used the architects T. Howdill and F. Worsnop to prepare house designs. This group of houses named the Ashvilles was completed between 1888 and 1899.

Gradually the land north of Brudenell Road stretching up to the bottom of the gardens of the larger houses on the south of Victoria Road was built on but the construction of these houses which were to form the Hessles, the Waltons and the Mayvilles, was not completed either before the death of the Walmsley Brothers or the outbreak of the Great War. Once again The Walmsleys carried out a process of

Fig.57 Through houses on the Walmsley Estate, Hessle Place (D. Dodgson 1900).



Fig.58 Through houses on the Walmsley Estate, Ashville View (D. Dodgson 1898).

Fig.59 Through houses on the Walmsley Estate, Hessle Avenue (F. Mitchell 1905).



subdivision and resale with the builder James Pick building on many building blocks to the north of Welton Road. Pick preferred to use the services of the architect Percy Robinson to prepare his house plans. The first houses erected on this part of the estate were off Welton Road in 1896 and generally the area to the north of Brudenell Road was developed from the east downhill to Cardigan Road in the west. In 1897 Welton Road Board School was erected on land purchased off the Walmsley brothers to the design of W.S. Braithwaite, architect to the Board. The stone and flag quarry which existed in the centre of the site was gradually filled in but not built on before 1914 and eventually developed with semi-detached inter-war semis with gardens and a tennis court covering the deepest part of the quarry fill. Houses continued to be built after 1918 to the original estate layout including large back-to-backs following the loophole that the 1909 Housing Town Planning Act had left open to allow their continued erection.⁹⁰

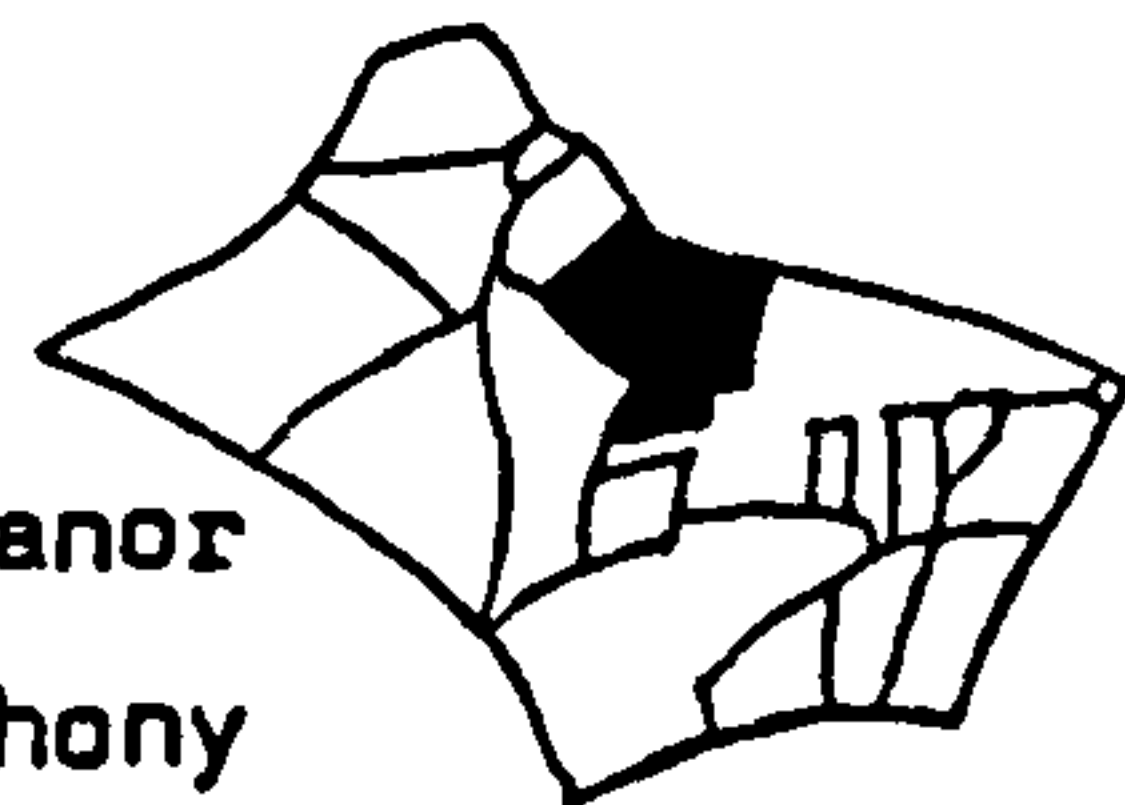
As the two Walmsley brothers were non-conformists they made sure that no public houses, inns or shops selling alcohol were erected on their land but at the same time attempted to provide for the spiritual and welfare needs of the people who were moving into the locality. Some time after purchasing the land south of Brudenell Road they arranged for a site to be set aside for a Methodist Church at the junction with Thornville Road and a weather-boarded mission chapel was erected in a style which, if it were painted white, is reminiscent of the small churches in American east coast towns. The church did not exist on the O.S. map of 1889 but was shown on plans in 1892 and was probably designed by the architect Daniel Dodgson for the two Walmsleys who added the timber Sunday School in that year. In 1893 the brothers built the Walmsley Orphan Home which they not only paid for and maintained but also gave the land for which, together with that of the Church and Sunday School, would have accommodated 6 semi-detached houses and a row of 16 small through houses.

The dominant role played by the Walmsleys as the major house developers and landowners brought about a major change in the way that houses were designed and constructed in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Prior to this on other estates in the

study area the rows of houses had been piecemeal with many different developers building just one short terrace. Few houses were approved on any one application for Building Regulations or Bye-Law approval and the builders and developers built only a small number of houses per year because of the way that building operations were financed. As large landowners and successful builders the Walmsleys changed this method of working and had plans approved for whole terraces of identical houses, often 16 or 17 dwellings in total, and then proceeded to erect them within six months. Figures are not available to show how many houses they erected in any one year but between 1880 and 1903, together they erected 277 houses averaging 12 a year for the study area alone. Thus inspection of their completed terraces gives the impression that one designer and one developer was involved in their creation, a false illusion often created on earlier estates, but a matter of fact where they were concerned.⁹¹

5.20 The Manor House Estate

The Thorp Estate, which contained the original Headingley Manor House, was purchased privately between 1852 and 1859 by Anthony Titley J.P. a flax spinner and town councillor of Leeds, who for some years lived in the manor. Three major housing developments took place between 1852 and 1870. In 1856 R.J. Ellershaw purchased 3 acres off Thorp to build the mansion called Spring Bank which had its main access from the Otley turnpike adjacent to the Mansion House Estate. At some time after 1859 Titley sold a plot of land to an unknown developer who built Richmond House, another stone mansion with a carriage drive down from the Otley turnpike but with the house situated nearer Victoria Road in the south. This carriageway was eventually to become Richmond Road. The improvement of the track running from the old manor house to a malt kiln and down to Richmond House to form a 36 feet wide road may have occurred when Richmond House was built but more likely when Titley built himself a new manor house to replace the old one. This house which was to be called the Manor House, the earlier being then referred to as The Old Manor House, was erected at some time after 1860 and was a large building with double bay windows facing down the uninterrupted slopes to Victoria Road below it and in size was only a little smaller than Spring Bank two fields away. The house



had greenhouses, a carriage drive to the side entrance, a stable block built in the form of a courtyard, and an entrance lodge on Richmond Road. The grounds which included a lake were the most extensive of any found in the study area, being 5 acres in extent after excluding the grounds of the old manor house.⁹²

The existence of three mansions close to the Otley Turnpike road named The Mansion House, The Manor House and the Old Manor House calls for the greatest caution when historians are investigating the building of estates in the area. A. Titley died in 1883 and the terms of his will offered the new Manor House to each of his three sons, but all declined to live in it. By this time The Old Manor House had been let off and divided into two smaller dwellings, and no doubt its extreme age and condition had led to the decision to build a new one befitting Titley's wealth and status.⁹³ Just as the early details of Richmond House are unknown, few details of the new Manor House are known apart from the fact that it was built for Titley.

Titley not only widened the old track which was to become Richmond Road for his own use but also to give access to development land to the east and south of the new Road. The fact that the road is 36 feet wide would suggest that it was constructed around 1870 in keeping with the new bye-laws relating to the laying out of new streets. Certainly in that year plans for a terrace of 12 houses were approved facing Richmond Road, the architect was Thomas Marshall who described himself variously as a land agent, estate agent and architect. The 4 large mansions and this short terrace of houses remained the only housing development on the estate for many years even after the death of Titley in 1883.

In 1898 Charles Stott, a retired builder who had already made extensive purchases off the Cardigan Estate in the sales of 1888 - 1891, added to his holdings by purchasing the Manor House Estate from Thomas and Francis Addison Titley. Stott came from Armley and, like the Walmsley brothers, he too emerged from the Cardigan sales as the owner of over 40 acres of prime building land. With the addition of the 14 acres of the Manor House Estate and other purchases he owned 89 acres in Headingley-cum-Burley by 1903, for which he paid around £60,575.⁹⁴

Stott's contribution to the rise in value of his land was to

lay it out with a basic street pattern before reselling. He did not live to carry out this process on the Manor House Estate because he died in 1902 and the development of all his later purchases was carried on in a similar manner by his trustees. Generally he purchased land on a vast scale, subdivided and resold for speculators to carry out further subdivision rather than acting as a building developer in his own right.

The first estate plan to be approved for the Manor House Estate after it had left the ownership of Dr. Thorp was submitted at some time in early 1900 and a copy of this survives in sale particulars. The freehold estate was sold by auction in June 1900 in 23 lots of various sizes ranging from under 1,000 sq. yards to one plot of over 1 acre. The estate had access from Headingley Lane at the north and the plan showed a street pattern of 4 roads and 4 building blocks parallel to Headingley Lane and then a change of axis to 4 roads at right angles and parallel to the existing Richmond Road which also contained 4 building blocks. The lots were designed to receive terrace housing and as they passed straight over both the new and the old manor house it was obvious that, as this was the last major estate to come on the market at the closing of both the nineteenth century and Victoria's reign, the era of the manor house set in leafy suburbia had also come to an end.⁹⁵

Access out of the lower end of the estate was needed to avoid having a series of cul-de-sacs at the end of a number of new roads. To avoid this Stott negotiated with the existing house owners living on the north side of Victoria Road and eventually purchased part of the garden of Oakland House off a Mrs. Heap. At the opposite end of the estate Stott indicated that shops might be built on the building block facing Headingley Lane:

'The above Lots 22 and 23 afford excellent sites for shops fronting to Headingley Lane.'⁹⁶

Building on the estate was further complicated by the water easement granted in August 1839 for the cast iron main which passed diagonally across the site. Stott allowed the purchasers of the existing buildings, which included two large houses, outbuildings greenhouses and an entrance lodge with stables, to leave these standing providing no part of them was situated on new roads or footpaths. As new roads passed through some part of every one

this virtually sealed their fate.

The Manor House was the last major estate to come onto the market for building development within the study area prior to 1914. Because of the comparatively late date at which house building commenced on the majority of the land, the estate is also noteworthy for the experimentation that took place in both the use of new materials and the attempt to change the external appearance of the red-brick terraces. A number of different designers were employed who deposited plans which experimented with a variety of different house types, styles and materials and the Leeds Waterworks main cutting through the site caused many problems resulting in 'one off' house designs produced to fit irregular shaped plots.

The depositors of house plans were such architects as W. Hobson, J.W. Thackray, E. Hill, W.H. Lister, F. & J.A. Wright, A.E. Braithwaite and H. Preston. The major developers were Harry Boston, a Leeds plumber, John Newton Sharp, a Leeds builder, and James Pick, another Leeds builder. Together they erected through terraces or semi-detached houses all faced in best red pressed brick and, like the Walmsley Estate, the houses were still being built when the outbreak of war occurred.

The deeds inspected show that the architect Walter Hobson, who purchased land on the Royal Park Estate and acted as a developer, also became involved in land speculation on the Manor House Estate. Together with his two partners, Charles Clement Chadwick and William Watson, Hobson purchased $2\frac{3}{4}$ acres from Stott in 1901 out of the 14 acres that Stott had put on sale. In 1902 Hobson and his partners sold off plots to builders who had started to erect houses and the unsold portions of the land were sold by the two partners to Hobson who became the sole owner. Hobson proceeded to let builders such as William Flint erect houses on lots and then sold the completed houses and the land on which they stood to them.

Another landowner who purchased from Sarah Jane Stott, the daughter and heiress of Charles Stott, was John Newton Sharp. Sharp was a builder who undertook the development of land as a long term project and he acquired a large portion of the unsold section of the Manor House Estate in 1902 and by this time he also owned land in Potternewton near to where he had his home at Newton Lodge. He formed a company called Newton Sharp Estates Ltd. and on his death

in 1933 he was described as:

'one of the biggest single owners of artisan dwellings in the city.'⁹⁷

Sharp used the Bradford architects F. & J.A. Wright and they produced designs for houses with unusual fenestration patterns and with low pitched roofs covered with boarding and asphalt, which was an early example of the use of this material for standard terrace houses in Leeds. He then changed to the services of the architect Edwin Hill who produced designs for through terraces to a similar pattern to those Sharp had begun to erect as well as for a small group of semi-detached houses. The latter were built in the garden of and literally almost to the front door of the mansion, Richmond House. The owner at the time, a Mr. Hebblethwaite, no doubt dismayed by the small artisan dwellings being built all around him sold the home and grounds to Sharp in 1905. The house was converted by Sharp into two dwellings and several semi-detached houses were built in the garden and it exists today still exhibiting some of its former elegance-a reminder in stone of a bygone age.

The majority of the estate was completed by 1914, however, a few rows of terraces near to Headingley Lane were completed after 1918. The open field which lay between the mansion Spring Bank and the site of the new Manor House remained unbuilt until developed into an estate of inter-war semi-detached houses.⁹⁸

The way in which the housing in the study area developed from 1876 to 1908 can be seen by examination of Figs. 60, 61 and the maps contained in the pocket at the back of this volume.

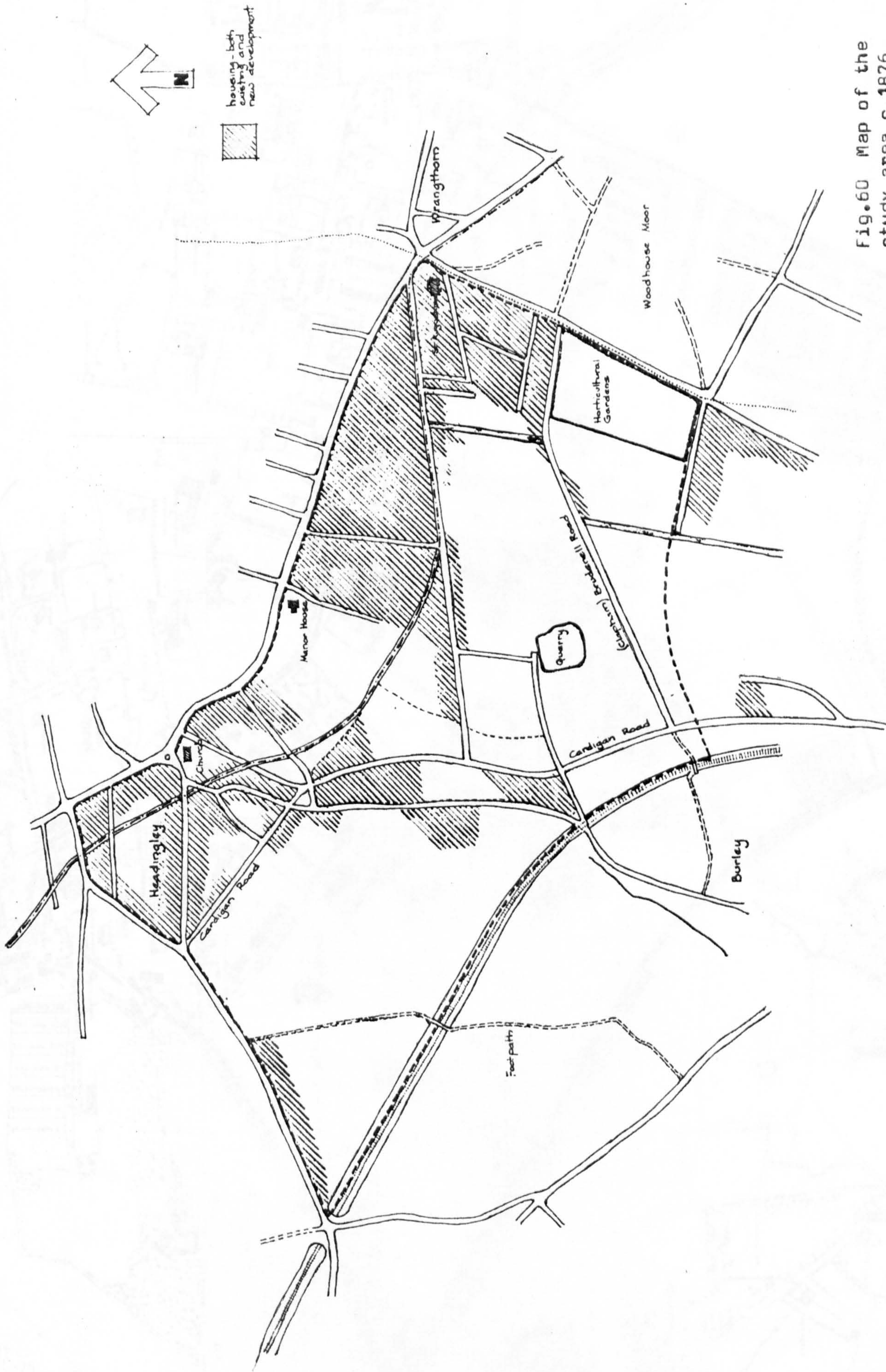


Fig.60 Map of the study area c.1876 showing the extent of housing development.

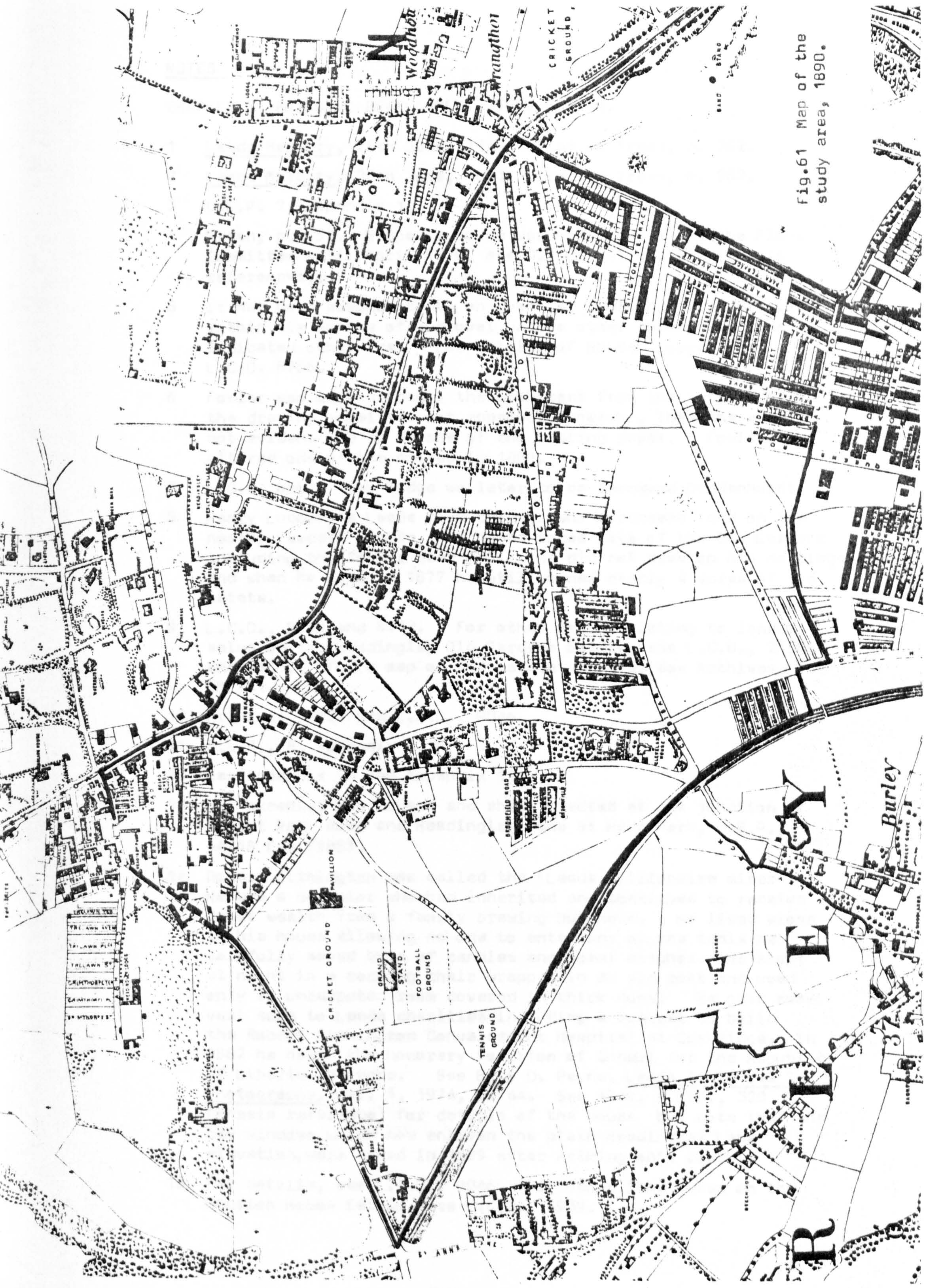


Fig.61 Map of the study area, 1890.

NOTES

CHAPTER 5 BUILDING DEVELOPMENT, 1867 - 1914.

- 1 Leeds Mercury, 25th June, 1859, cited in Treen, p. 262.
- 2 Leeds Mercury, 20th June, 1863, cited in Treen, p. 262.
- 3 D.E.P. 7, Appendix 1.
- 4 Treen, p. 263. Hepper's house was not approved by the Plans Committee until April 1870, see D.B.P. 241 and 244 (thesis references).
- 5 It has been assumed that, on average, dwellings were erected within six months of approval unless other deposited plans indicated otherwise. For details of Rawden Lodge, see L.C.D. 8766.
- 6 Fowler was most probably the architect from the 'style' of the drawing submitted for approval, however, the name was not evident due to damage of the tracing paper. Fowler altered one of the houses in 1881.
- 7 L.C.D. 8861. Oak Lodge was later to be re-named Gardenhurst.
- 8 Henry Ludolf, a Leeds flax spinner who purchased land on the nearby Fawcett Estate, purchased three lots of the Old Gardens including the former bear pit. He did not develop his holdings and when he died in 1877 he still owned nearly 4 acres of the estate.
- 9 L.C.D., 8854 and 8972. For other deeds relating to land sales on the Headingley Old Gardens Estate, see L.C.D., 21506 and 8861. For a map of the estate in 1875, see Archives, AM 131.
- 10 Archives, AM37 and L.C.D., 9046.
- 11 D.E.P., 8, Appendix 1.
- 12 See Appendix 10 and Appendix 11.
- 13 For example, see houses and shops erected at the junction of Regent Park Road and Headingley Lane at Hyde Park, D.B.P., 44/18 Feb./1887.
- 14 Robert Arthington was called the 'Leeds millionaire miser'. He was a bachelor who had inherited and continued to receive great wealth from a family brewing business. He lived alone in his house allowing no one to enter and on the table he carefully saved bits of candles and spent matches. He slept at night in a rocking chair wrapped in an old coat and used only an uncarpeted room covered in thick dust. He gave away vast sums to Leeds charities including a bequest to build the Robert Arthington Convalescent Hospital at Cookridge. In 1882 he held the honorary position of Consul for the Republic of Liberia in Leeds. See B. & D. Payne, Leeds As it Was In Photographs, Vol. 1, 1974, p. 44. See also, D.B.P., 320 (thesis reference) for details of the house but note that the bay windows, which now enliven the plain Headingley Lane elevation, were added in 1899 after Arthington's death.
- 15 For details, see L.C.D., 9046. For other land sales on the Mansion House Estate, see L.C.D., 6939.

- 16 The large areas of glass covering greenhouses, conservatories, vineries and orchard houses can be clearly seen on the 1:500 O.S. maps of the area surveyed in 1889. See Fig. 151
- 17 Archives, AM 85. See also Appendix 17.
- 18 D.E.P., 11, Appendix 1. See also Fig. 152.
- 19 See p. 1.
- 20 The first shop in the study area not situated in the shopping areas of Hyde Park Corner and Headingley Village.
- 21 Where an estate had sewers constructed under the roads, such as the Headingley Old Gardens, septic tanks were not used but the houses put on main drainage.
- 22 L.C.D., 9355 and 10528.
- 23 For further details of land sales on the Fawcett Estate, Victoria Road, See L.C.D., 8489, 9423 and 9477.
- 24 These fields comprised lot 31 of the original Fawcett sales in 1837.
- 25 D.E.P., 12 and 13, Appendix 1. See also Archives, AM 54 and Hepper Sale Plan, 7.
- 26 D.E.P., 14, Appendix 1.
- 27 Archives, AM 63.
- 28 The only deed relating to the estate does not give this information, see L.C.D., 21152.
- 29 These 'interlaced terrace houses are described in more detail in J. J. Raggett, A series of Plans of Labourers Cottages with Quantities for Estimating Their Approximate Cost, 1904, Plate 1. Two other 'interlaced' houses were erected in Hyde Park Road on the Hill Top Estate - postal numbers 149 and 150. This type of house was common in other towns but the two houses in Ash Grove were the only ones found in the study area and no others were noticed in an examination of deposited plans for the whole of Leeds which included some 7,000 houses approved over a 30 year period. See Appendix 19.
- 30 The land formed lot 32 on the original Fawcett sale plan.
- 31 D.E.P., 25, Appendix 1.
- 32 Treen, p. 193 - 195. Treen gives the date of Ludolf's death as 1877 but he died in July 1875.
- 33 D.E.P., 34, Appendix 1.
- 34 L.C.D., 12583. See also L.C.D., 15999 and 36564.
- 35 The Fawcett sale plan gave this plot a number but stated that it had been sold prior to the sale.
- 36 D.E.P., 33, Appendix 1.
- 37 L.C.D., 19824.
- 38 All of the buildings facing Headingley Lane were demolished in the 1970's. See Appendix 18.
- 39 D.E.P., 41, Appendix 1.
- 40 L.C.D., 13592.
- 41 D.B.P., 57/6th July/1888 (thesis reference 196).

- 42 Treen, p. 306 - 308.
- 43 Ibid., p. 309.
- 44 Archives, Hepper Sale Plan, 79.
- 45 Archives, Hepper Sale Plan, 250.
- 46 D.E.P., 9 and 10, Appendix 1.
- 47 D.E.P., 21, Appendix 1.
- 48 D.E.P., 28, Appendix 1.
- 49 To be historically accurate in terms of estate boundaries the study area boundary should have been moved southwards from the centre line of Royal Park Road to the boundary of the Hill Top Estate. This would have included those houses described and the school. The thesis had progressed too far to make this change when the fact became evident.
- 50 D.B.P., 36/17 Oct/1890 (thesis reference 822).
- 51 See Appendix 14.
- 52 D.E.P., 17, Appendix 1 and Thoresby Society, Map Collection, Box B.
- 53 For deed relating to the estate, see L.C.D., 10703, 10963, 15673, 38739, and 40243.
- 54 D.E.P., 13, Appendix 1.
- 55 D.E.P., 19 Appendix 1.
- 56 Archives, AM 121.
- 57 For typical details of the numerous land transactions involving the sale of individual building lots on the estate, see L.C.D., 10882 and 40220.
- 58 See Archives, AM 379 for a plan of the gardens and a description of the buildings and fittings at this sale.
- 59 This practice of the Ford family acting as mortgagees was started by his father as early as the 1850's and was common among solicitors in Leeds at the time. See Appendix 14.
- 60 D.E.P., 44, Appendix 1.
- 61 For details of land sales, see L.C.D., 8601, 9200, 12166, 12579, 12696, 15362, 15653, 15861, 15896, 18150, 18254, 18337, 18752, 18977, 21610, 21819, 38157, 38768, 38796, 40227.
- 62 D.E.P., 15, Appendix 1, and Archives, AM 66.
- 63 D.E.P., 16 Appendix 1.
- 64 D.E.P., 18, Appendix 1.
- 65 D.E.P., 20, Appendix 1.
- 66 Archives, AM 131.
- 67 D.E.P., 22, and 23, Appendix 1.
- 68 For details of land sales, see L.C.D., 9012 and 39047.
- 69 Archives, DB/M 393.
- 70 Archives, AM 548 and D.E.P., 36, Appendix 1.
- 71 D.E.P., 32, Appendix 1.
- 72 D.E.P., 43, Appendix 1.

- 73 It is possible that Isaac Earnshaw was a messenger for the Royal Insurance Buildings in Park Row.
- 74 For details, see L.C.D., 6944.
- 75 L.C.D., 21882.
- 76 For details of land sales, see L.C.D., 9146, 21068, 21656, 21657, 29828, 38391.
- 77 D.E.P., 24 and 26, Appendix 1.
- 78 D.E.P., 31, Appendix 1.
- 79 Archives, Hepper Sale Plan, 39.
- 80 A house appears to have existed on the site prior to 1873 and was shown on the 1850 O.S. For details of St. Michael's Tower, see Archives, Hepper Sale Plan, 178 and AM 650.
- 81 D.E.P., 40, Appendix 1.
- 82 Archives, Hepper Sale Plan, 14.
- 83 Treen, p. 333 and 444. There appears to be some confusion over the area bought by Bray. Treen states that he purchased lots 17 and 17A, a total of nearly 13 acres for £14,750 (4s. 8½d. per sq. yd.), whereas the Hepper Sale particulars stated that lot 17 was nearly 13 acres and lot 17A nearly 18 acres. The cricket and football ground was eventually sited on Lot 17A only.
- 84 See Appendix 17.
- 85 Treen, p. 444.
- 86 L.C.D., 9450, 18602, 18756.
- 87 Treen p. 329. The land is now called Burley Park.
- 88 D.E.P., 39, Appendix 1.
- 89 D.E.P., 42, Appendix 1.
- 90 See Chapter 2.
- 91 For details of land sales see L.C.D., 8488, 8609, 9450, 10667, 10742, 12550, 18074, 18582, 36298, 36394, 36536 and 36570.
- 92 See O.S. Map 1889.
- 93 John Gordon Junior was living in the Old Manor House in the 1890's.
- 94 Treen, p. 322 - 324.
- 95 Archives, AM 631.
- 96 Ibid., p. 4.
- 97 See Appendix 11.
- 98 For details of land sales, see L.C.D., 8698, 10653, 10903, 12372, 12534, 21159, 38741.

CHAPTER 6 BUILDING TRENDS, HOUSING STATISTICS AND PATTERNS
OF DISTRIBUTION

6.1 House-Building in Leeds

There are several sets of figures which have been examined concerning house building in Leeds:

- The number of houses which existed at any one point in time
- The number of houses which were approved on submitted plans
- The number of houses actually built and certified for habitation.

Professor Rimmer estimated that, on average, 150 new houses were built annually in Leeds during the period 1774 - 1815; with 200 per annum for the period 1790 - 1795 and 900 per annum from 1800 - 1805¹. These figures can be related to the total number of houses in the borough of Leeds taken from the Census Reports:

Table 12 Houses in the Borough of Leeds, 1801 - 1911²

	Inhabited houses	Uninhabited houses	Houses in course of erection	Persons per inhabited house
1801	11,258	341	n.d.a.	4.73
1811	13,243	536	75	4.73
1821	17,419	1,165	114	4.82
1831	25,456	1,793	246	4.85
1841	31,626	2,276	366	4.81
1851	36,165	1,646	259	4.76
1861	44,651	1,204	319	4.64
1871	55,827	2,476	557	4.64
1881	64,981	4,597	428	4.76
1891	78,077	2,204	872	4.71
1901	94,760	6,300	1,155	4.53
1911	101,933	9,008	133	4.73

It can be seen from Table 12 that the figures show the position on the day that the census was taken, at ten year intervals, and do not indicate the number of houses actually built each year. They do show, however, that on average from 1801 - 1901, some 835 houses were completed each year and that for the same period the average number of persons per dwelling stayed fairly constant at around 4.72 compared with the national average for the century of 5.45.³

Statistics relating to the number of houses approved by various committees of Leeds Corporation prior to erection and certified after erection but prior to occupation are only available from

1866 onwards; even then there are large gaps in this information for the period prior to 1886. This can be compared with the situation in Bradford where detailed statistics relating to houses and other buildings are available from 1854 onwards together with annual reports of the Building and Improvements Committee.⁴

The figures for Leeds prior to 1870 are not comparable with those after because it was not until 1870 that the new Bye-laws demanded plans to be approved for all buildings. Those plans approved between 1866 and 1870 only related to houses which fronted onto public roads, a system which would have included the majority but not all of those proposed to be erected.

The word house also requires some further clarification when related to statistics of house building in Leeds. Detached and semi-detached houses were usually described as 'villas' in statistics and reports prepared by various committees of the Corporation, and the size of the dwelling was not indicated. The fact that the villas were detached or semi-detached was defined.⁵ The rather vague term of 'mansion' was not used when describing detached villas even if they clearly qualified for this title. Likewise the statistics did not refer to terrace houses but always 'through houses' or 'back-to-back houses'. In this case annual reports did qualify these in terms of size by referring to 'small through houses' and 'large through houses, but small back-to-backs were called 'cottages' and larger back-to-backs 'scullery houses'. Fine distinctions between less common house types such as dwellings built over parades of shops, gardeners' or coachmen's cottages, and entrance lodges were not defined. These were lumped together with through houses, detached villas or semi-detached villas whatever the case may have been. Finally, the reports included figures for other buildings such as shops, warehouses, factories and public buildings, all of which were described as 'other or miscellaneous' buildings.

The major problem which J. Parry Lewis found when attempting to estimate the number of houses erected annually in various towns during the nineteenth century was that of differentiating between statistics for those approved and those actually erected. This task was further complicated by the fact that there was also a time lag between the date of approval of the drawings and completion of

the buildings. Thus houses approved in December of one year could be completed in the following year and it was also possible for the developer to only erect a certain number of the houses approved or even abandon the scheme entirely.

Parry Lewis attempted to relate the number of houses approved in any town to those actually erected by taking into account both the time lag and the possibility of a certain number of abandoned schemes. This was essential, for if the number of houses on approved plans only are considered the amount of building activity will be overstated. Where records existed giving all the relevant details of approvals and completions, he found that when a number of houses were approved on one set of plans few were all completed within 6 months and to complete all the houses on some large schemes took up to 2 years. Using the data on some 50 different towns Parry Lewis converted 'plans approved' into 'erections' by multiplying by 0.85 and then lagging by 6 months. This meant that if n_1 house plans were approved in year 1, and n_2 in year 2, then the estimated number of houses built in year 2 was given by the formula $0.85 (n_1 + n_2)/2$. The 0.85 being a figure to reduce the total based on his estimate of the percentage of houses never built.⁶

Two sets of figures have been compiled by the writer of this thesis for the borough of Leeds. The first relate to house plans approved between 1868 - 1915 and the second to those completed and certified as fit for human habitation between 1876 - 1915.

Table 13 House Plans Approved, Borough of Leeds 1868 - 1915⁷

	Number of plans approved	Number of houses	House types				Number of houses per plan
			d.v.	s.d.v.	t.t.	b.b.	
1868 ^a	n.d.a.	1,234		n.d.a.			n.d.a.
1869	n.d.a.	1,337		n.d.a.			n.d.a.
1870	n.d.a.	1,428		n.d.a.			n.d.a.
1871		n.d.a.					
1872		n.d.a.					
1873		n.d.a.					
1874		n.d.a.					
1875	n.d.a.	2,074		n.d.a.			n.d.a.
1876	n.d.a.	2,800		n.d.a.			n.d.a.
1877	557	2,812		n.d.a.			5.0
1878	437	1,903		n.d.a.			4.3

1879	325	1,249		n.d.a.				3.8
1880	342	1,393		n.d.a.				4.1
1881	393	2,266		n.d.a.				5.8
1882	273	1,708		n.d.a.				6.2
1883	272	1,722		n.d.a.				6.3
1884	282	1,422		n.d.a.				5.0
1885 ^b	303	1,453		n.d.a.				4.8
1886	291	1,596	13	10	441	1,132		5.5
1887	323	1,847	18	16	693	1,120		5.7
1888	363	2,058	14	8	620	1,416		5.7
1889	388	2,010	13	12	605	1,380		5.2
1890	372	1,990	18	26	689	1,257		5.3
1891 ^c	n.d.a.	1,845		n.d.a.				n.d.a.
1892	385	2,097	15	35	664	1,383		5.4
1893	447	2,527	19	36	854	1,618		5.6
1894	351	2,017	9	30	586	1,392		5.7
1895	344	1,794	21	28	391	1,354		5.2
1896	406	2,242	12	42	578	1,670		5.5
1897	413	2,350	21	54	747	1,528		5.7
1898	563	3,318	21	84	1,033	2,180		5.9
1899	n.d.a.	4,596	21	132	1,124	3,319		n.d.a.
1900	n.d.a.	3,549	19	133	1,097	2,300		n.d.a.
1901	n.d.a.	2,947	19	88	812	2,028		n.d.a.
1902	n.d.a.	2,635	18	140	728	1,749		n.d.a.
1903	n.d.a.	3,529	38	177	912	2,402		n.d.a.
1904	n.d.a.	3,144	54	134	1,291	1,665		n.d.a.
1905	458	2,559	21	133	1,403	1,002		5.6
1906 ^d	328	1,553	30	105	735	683		4.7
1907	267	1,290	33	102	580	575		4.8
1908	201	1,074	22	87	439	526		5.3
1909	181	724	19	67	332	306		4.0
1910	200	903	28	87	411	377		4.5
1911	128	441	25	78	264	74		3.4
1912	111	363	37	43	221	62		3.3
1913	89	276	22	56	134	64		3.1
1914	118	356	32	71	196	57		3.0
1915	110	240	34	109	83	14		2.2

a Year ending 31st October, 1868 - 1884

b Year ending 31st August, 1885 - 1890

c Year ending 25th March, 1891 - 1905

d Year ending 31st March, 1906 - 1915

The above table shows that a total of 76,350 houses were approved during the period 1876 - 1914 with an average of 1,958 approved each year. The highest numbers were approved in 1899 and the lowest in 1879 and from 1908 onwards. Based on the figures available, the average number of dwellings approved on each deposited plan was lower than might have been expected at 4.9, thus indicating the small scale of building operations that were undertaken at any one time even though developers in some cases owned large areas of land ripe for development.

It should be noted that these statistics come from the minutes and annual reports of various committees over a period of nearly 50 years and during this time the point at which the statistics were compiled (i.e. the year ending) changed at least four times. This means that the overall trends and total numbers are accurate but some caution should be exercised when comparing figures for individual years containing a different number of months, for example 1890 and 1891.

**Table 14 Buildings Completed and Certified, Borough of Leeds
1876 - 1915^B**

	Number of houses completed	House types			Other buildings completed	
		d.v.	s.d.v.	t.t.		b.b.
1876 ^a	1,244		n.d.a.		n.d.a.	
1877	1,903		n.d.a.		n.d.a.	
1878	2,228		n.d.a.		1,148	
1879	1,721		n.d.a.		886	
1880	1,318		n.d.a.		847	
1881	1,012		n.d.a.		905	
1882	1,067		n.d.a.		968	
1883	1,007		n.d.a.		1,245	
1884	1,030		n.d.a.		1,101	
1885 ^b	1,229		n.d.a.		1,301	
1886	1,103	3	3	378	719	711
1887	1,208	10	2	413	783	672
1888	1,723	6	13	620	1,084	586
1889	1,571	10	4	378	1,179	781
1890	1,728	9	7	518	1,194	1,069
1891 ^c	998 ^e		n.d.a.			n.d.a.
1892	1,876	10	10	644	1,212	708
1893	1,915	6	19	632	1,258	768
1894	1,949	11	7	623	1,308	729
1895	1,707	11	10	552	1,134	964
1896	1,681	17	6	429	1,229	918
1897	1,932	10	24	502	1,396	1,053
1898	2,399	6	31	729	1,633	1,289
1899	2,903	10	62	797	2,034	1,266
1900	3,059	16	59	841	2,143	1,423
1901	3,030	14	74	907	2,035	1,591
1902	2,201	17	55	771	1,358	2,020
1903	2,572	18	99	892	1,563	1,809
1904	2,923	29	93	1,050	1,751	1,515
1905	2,442	31	94	1,147	1,170	1,493
1906 ^d	1,748	28	88	867	765	1,593
1907	1,135	25	67	539	504	1,546
1908	919	19	69	421	410	1,260
1909	836	16	55	354	411	1,390
1910	584	21	63	274	226	1,007
1911	505	22	67	294	122	856
1912	350	18	60	162	110	829

1913	220	24	37	127	32	784
1914	287	27	68	166	26	832
1915	228	23	53	119	33	617

- a Year ending 31st October, 1868 - 1884
b Year ending 31st August, 1885 - 1890
c Year ending 25th March, 1891 - 1905
d Year ending 31st March, 1906 - 1915
e No figures exist for the year 1891 which was reduced to only 7 months because of c above. An estimate has been made based on a comparison of those houses approved and those erected for the period 1885 - 1895. Beresford estimated the figure to be 812.

The above table shows that a total of 61,263 houses were erected during 1876 - 1914 with an average of 1,571 erected each year.

The highest numbers were completed in 1900 and the lowest in 1883 and from 1908 onwards (if the distorted figure for 1891 is omitted). Comparison with Table 13 shows that 76,358 houses were approved between 1876 - 1914 and 60,247 completed during the period 1877 - 1915. Thus, if the assumption is made that houses erected were completed within 12 months of approval, some 79% of all houses approved were actually erected. This figure is slightly lower than Parry Lewis's estimate which suggested that 85% of all houses approved were erected in the 50 towns he investigated.

Based on the figures available for house types it can be seen that for the period 1886 - 1914 the following houses were erected:

Table 15 House Types Completed and Certified, 1886 - 1914

	Number completed	% of total
detached villas	444	.95
semi-detached villas	1,246	2.79
through terraces	16,027	34.46
back-to-backs	28,789	61.90
	46,506 ^a	100.00%

a omitting the figure for the year 1891.

The above table shows that houses in terraces represented 96% of the total number of houses erected. If all buildings are considered by combining houses and other buildings, terraced houses represented 57% of all construction work in Leeds from 1886 - 1914 which involved new works ranging from small sheds to large public buildings.⁹

6.2 Building Cycles

Building economists have shown that the building industry in Britain has for long been subject to booms and depressions with graphs of activity against time clearly showing sine curve peaks and troughs. The typical cycle of building activity in the nineteenth century can be described as follows. After several years of high activity, a period of time may follow with industry in general at a low ebb, possibly due to over-production in earlier years. Low levels of real wages and little investment may also follow with savings invested safely in Government stocks. This state of affairs could be terminated either by a foreign country increasing its demand for our exports or a good harvest increasing domestic spending power and reducing the need to import corn. Thus incomes begin to rise and the economy is stimulated with industry increasing production to meet demand, and with it, a demand being created for new households. Further factors in the equation are the attraction to investors to put money into building compared with placing their investment in other ventures, especially abroad, and the effects which followed the outbreak of war and declarations of peace on exports, imports and the economy as a whole.

House building also followed general building cycles and was particularly affected by the long period of time from conception to completion, the sluggishness of the industry to respond to national economic developments, and the rise and fall of house rents. For these reasons it was possible for a temporary recession in general trade to have little effect on the building of houses because of the long term investment involved and the long period of time between planning to completion. If a depression started labour and other costs may have been cheaper and rather than leave dwellings half completed the developer could take advantage of the conditions and carry on building, considering it more profitable to embark on further building at a time of low costs rather than wait until materials and labour were scarce. To do this the builder or developer must have considered the recession to be short-lived in order to offset what he might lose in loss of rental due to houses standing empty against the cheaper costs of erection. Rents for existing tenants were usually fixed by earlier contracts

whereas the builder of the new houses would hope that he could charge at least existing rents and eventually higher ones. Factors such as these may have allowed house builders to overcome a minor but not a major recession.

When a rise in demand caused a boom in the building industry the picture for house builders was a very different one. As the houses were completed so the attractions to investors became apparent and profits to be made out of speculative building and selling attracted more and more people to become involved. In the large towns tradesmen and craftsmen set up as builders employing their own men and a great number of merchants, manufacturers, lawyers and professional men initiated speculative house building projects in the hope of profit and on the assumption that the general state of the economy would lead to a high demand for new houses. The first to build would succeed and their profits encourage others, until eventually the bubble would burst abruptly when the point was reached that supply exceeded demand in any one locality. Houses would stand empty for a while and then for long periods with rents ceasing to rise, remaining static, and eventually even beginning to fall in some areas. Further speculation in house building was no longer an attractive proposition and, as so many builders worked on borrowed money for land purchase and credit for material supply, the inability to either sell or let houses inevitably led to bankruptcies. When severe over-production of housing supply took place the number of bankruptcies were high and the thought that speculation in house building was associated with financial ruin put off future speculators and builders for many years. This loss of confidence often prolonged a depression in house building for some years after trade in general and elsewhere in the building industry had begun to pick up.¹⁰

Nationally there was a general building boom in the early 1830's and full employment was coupled with an increased amount of building and construction activity. In 1839 there was a depression when employment fell and by 1841 there was severe distress in many parts of northern England. 1843 saw signs of improvement with a good harvest and credit once again easier to obtain. In the same year a great railway boom began and in 1843 five Railway Acts were passed for the building of new lines, to be followed in 1844 by a further 26 being passed

together with 22 others to extend existing lines. A plentiful supply of funds became available to industry in general and there was an accompanying expansion of exports.¹¹

A depression which occurred in the late 1840's was general throughout England and Wales and resulted in high unemployment. This was followed by a considerable increase in building activity between 1848 and 1853, when railway building in particular rose to an all time peak. The turn of this tide of expansion came with the outbreak of the Crimean War which lasted from 1854 - 1856; a war in which the Lord of the Manor of Headingley, the Earl of Cardigan, played one of the leading roles. In 1853 there were bad harvests and the threat of the impending war drove the bank rate up to 5%, making investment less attractive. The Crimean War affected house building, producing a depressing effect by putting off would-be developers and investors who saw greater risks to their capital during troubled times. The end of the war saw the bank rate fall and by 1858 it had fallen as low as 2½%. This favoured expansion and led to a new cycle in which investment was accelerated and the new low rate of interest brought about a building boom exceeding that of 1850 - 1854. However, the situation did not last and as ever the building industry followed a cyclical path and a further depression followed with the bank rate rising from 3% in 1860 to 8% in 1861.

The American Civil War from 1861 - 1865 did not affect the whole of Britain by causing widespread depression but was rather more local and selective, for example, the spinning and weaving towns of Lancashire and the cotton towns of the north were badly hit by the disruption of overseas trade.

Within any region of the country both local and national forces were at work. A good harvest would be a national influence where corn would be cheaper and the general increase in prosperity stimulated building activity. Whereas a decline or expansion in overseas trade would have its principle impact in those regions producing goods that were in high demand for export. The effect of war could be varied, for those regions with heavy industries geared to war needs could be stimulated (e.g. the engineering industries of Leeds) whereas other regions could run out of raw material (such as the cotton industry in Lancashire). War also

had an effect on the credit situation and the bank rate. Credit for house building was raised largely on a local basis but the national picture and such factors as the level of bank rate had their influence. So too did the fact that if high profits could be made by investing abroad or with the government, then less money was available for speculation in house building.

J. Parry Lewis described the regional differences in building cycles as follows:

'Thus even national or international events had differing consequences in different regions. The local factors were even more divergent. Different industries had different histories and characteristics. Their production periods differed and their inventory cycles were quite special to them. Labour disputes, upsetting both production and incomes were often confined to a particular region, while innovations were introduced at different times. Briefly, the outcome of the interaction of these forces may be summarised in the statement that when the demand for a region's product increased so that new labour was needed, or when the prosperity of existing workers increased so that they could live under better conditions, a local housing boom would set in provided that materials and credit were available at reasonable prices. The boom would cease in one of two ways. On the one hand the local demand might become exhausted because of a cessation of immigration, a wage-reduction or over-building leading to empty houses. On the other hand the combination of house and industrial investment coinciding in their upward swings in many regions might, after perhaps quite a long time, so strain the structure of credit that some exogenous event would lead to a credit crisis, and the reduction of building almost everywhere.'¹²

A common observation by historians of the nineteenth century is that building activity rose to a peak in the mid 1870's, a few years after other industries had begun to enter a recession, and then it too descended into a trough of depression from which it did not emerge until the 1890's. This event has generally been termed the Great Victorian Depression by economic historians to distinguish it from the Great Depression of the 1930's.

The end of the American Civil War saw a boom in home and export trade with the bank rate coming down to 3% in 1865, after being as high as 9% in 1864. However, new wars on the continent of Europe led to a further decline in trade from 1870 to 1873 and this was particularly influenced by the Franco-Prussian War of 1869.

After 1873 there was a great expansion in the economy with a resulting boom in the building industry. This rise in the early 1870's has been attributed to many factors including transport developments such as the expansion of omnibus routes and the introduction of trams. This coupled with a great increase in the number of speculative house builders led to over building and the outstripping of demand. An increasing amount of property stood empty in the late 1870's and by the early 1880's house production had been so overdone that the suburbs were glutted with new but tenantless houses.¹³ Rents were lowered to attract tenants, often to no avail, and in Leeds nearly 4,600 houses were unoccupied in 1881, representing some 6% of the houses in the borough. In Birmingham in 1884 there were 5,000 empty houses.¹⁴

The Great Victorian Depression was to last in the building industry until the early 1890's when a gradual improvement took place but even then there were further setbacks. In 1892 the Liberator Building Society, started by the M.P. J.S. Balfour, crashed and when there was some stir in house building activity between 1893 - 5, the role played by Building Societies was less than it should have been because of the Liberator Society failure. From 1895 to 1900 there was a general rise in home investment arrested by the onset of the Boer War. A decline started in 1900 and this was attributed in general terms to dear money and the effect of the war on money supply. These factors once again had an impact on building investment.

When the Boer War was over in 1903, there followed a slight upswing in house building but the whole world was calling for capital investment and men to work on new projects. From 1905 onwards fortunes could be made abroad at a time when there was more or less stationary rents and rising costs at home. A decline in house building occurred in most large towns in the country from 1905 onwards.

6.3 House-Building Cycles in Leeds

From various sources such as newspaper articles, magazines, professional associations and written works on nineteenth-century Leeds it is possible to draw up a rough picture of the booms, depressions, peaks and troughs associated with house building in the town during the period. The assumption has been made

that house building followed in the fortunes of the building industry in general in Leeds and that comments made about one would apply to the other.¹⁵

Building activity in Leeds can be summarised in broad terms as follows:

Table 16 Building Activity in Leeds, 1825 - 1914^a

Rise from	To peak at	To fall to low at
	1825	1832
1832	1837	1843
1843	1848	1850
1850	1854	n.d.a.
n.d.a.	n.d.a.	1868
1868	1876	1879
1879	1882	1886
1886	1890	1894
1894	1901	1902
1902	1904	1914

a The table is based on brick duty charged in Leeds up to 1850, and on comments made on the state of the industry in Leeds from 1850 to 1914.¹⁶

Comments made on the state of the industry were graphic:

'The bricklayers are full of orders and are unable to satisfactorily cope with demand' - The Builder 1876.¹⁷

'It is with great regret your Committee report a continuance of the long existing depression in the state of the building trades, and consequently the decreased demand for the services of our profession.' L.Y.A.S. Report, 1885¹⁸

'State of building trade in Leeds - not very bright' The Builder, 1895¹⁹

'things were quieter than they had been for some time' - The Builder 1897²⁰

It is possible to relate information concerning house building to the overall state of the building trade in Leeds, at least for the latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. Some indication of the situation before 1870 can be deduced from the number of unoccupied houses given in Table 12; these were 3% in 1801, 4% in 1811, 6.5% in 1821, 7% in 1831, 7% in 1841, 4.5% in 1857, 2.5% in 1861 and 4.5% in 1871.

If comments found in other works relating specifically to house

building in Leeds are coupled with the statistics in Tables 13 and 14, it would appear that house building activity in Leeds can be summarised in broad terms as follows:

Table 17 House-Building Activity in Leeds, 1872 - 1914

Rise from	To peak at	To fall to low at
1872	1878	1883
1883	1885	1886
1886	1888	1889
1889	1894	1896
1896	1900	1902
1902	1904	1914 ^a

a Continuing to fall in 1915

Compared with building activity as a whole, Table 17 shows that peaks in house building did not always coincide but followed very similar curve patterns. Generally, there was a depression in 1868 followed by a high level of building activity and a high demand for building land. There was a peak in house building in 1878, followed by a steep depression which stopped at 1881 but remained at this low level for 4 years, and it was not until 1885 that things began to improve. There was a slight upturn in 1885, but the real recovery in activity did not come until two years later with a peak in 1888 almost as great as ten years earlier. The situation remained fairly static until 1892 when a boom began with a high demand for house building, culminating in a peak in 1900 when over 3000 houses were erected in Leeds for the first time. The 1890's were years of massive expansion in suburban housing with a slight setback in 1895 and 1896. In 1902 there was a decline followed by a rise again in 1904. This proved to be the last fling before the meteoric decline from that year onwards which resulted in fewer than 250 houses being completed in 1913. The number of unoccupied houses given in Table 12 shows that there were 7% in 1881, 3% in 1891, 6.5% in 1901 and 9% in 1911. These figures can be compared with those for London where the number of empty houses seldom fell below 4% of the total for London as a whole between 1875 and 1900.²¹

The situation in Leeds in 1912 was summed up in the Annual Report

of the Plans Committee:

'The decline in the erection of houses during the last few years is pronounced; the fact that during the last decade the number of houses erected has been 14,014 and the increase in the population 16,600 being almost one house per person for the increase, must have had a deterring effect with the speculative builders.²²

The report went on to say that there were over 7,000 empty houses in 1911 and 6,223 in 1912.²³

Finally a comparison has been made between figures produced by J. Parry Lewis on house-building activity for the whole country and those for Leeds. The former is in the form of a national index of all towns for which statistics have been compiled covering the period 1850 - 1913, with the year 1906 having a base of 100.1 (this has been represented graphically in Fig. 62). Drawn on the same illustration is a graph of the number of houses erected in Leeds for the period 1876 - 1915. The abscissa is common to both graphs and shows time but the ordinate differs, however, a comparison of peaks and troughs can be made to show the regional differences from national trends.²⁴

It is clear from the two graphs that the Great Victorian Depression hit housing nationally in 1876, but not Leeds until two years later. The decline nationally was gradual and lasted until 1890, but by 1885 an upturn in demand had already taken place in Leeds. The steep rise to a national all time peak started in 1890, but did not begin until two years later in Leeds. Both graphs exhibit the twin peaks at the turn of the century and the steep decline after 1904. The peaks occurred within a year of each other in each case.

6.4 House-Building in the Study Area

From detailed examination of the deposited plans for the study area it was possible to draw up a detailed analysis of the way that houses were erected in a small area which only covered 265 acres within one suburb, and at the same time to analyse the house types and their patterns of distribution.

Taking into account the fact that some schemes were approved on plans and then abandoned, either wholly or partially, and that certain building lots had several plans approved for the same

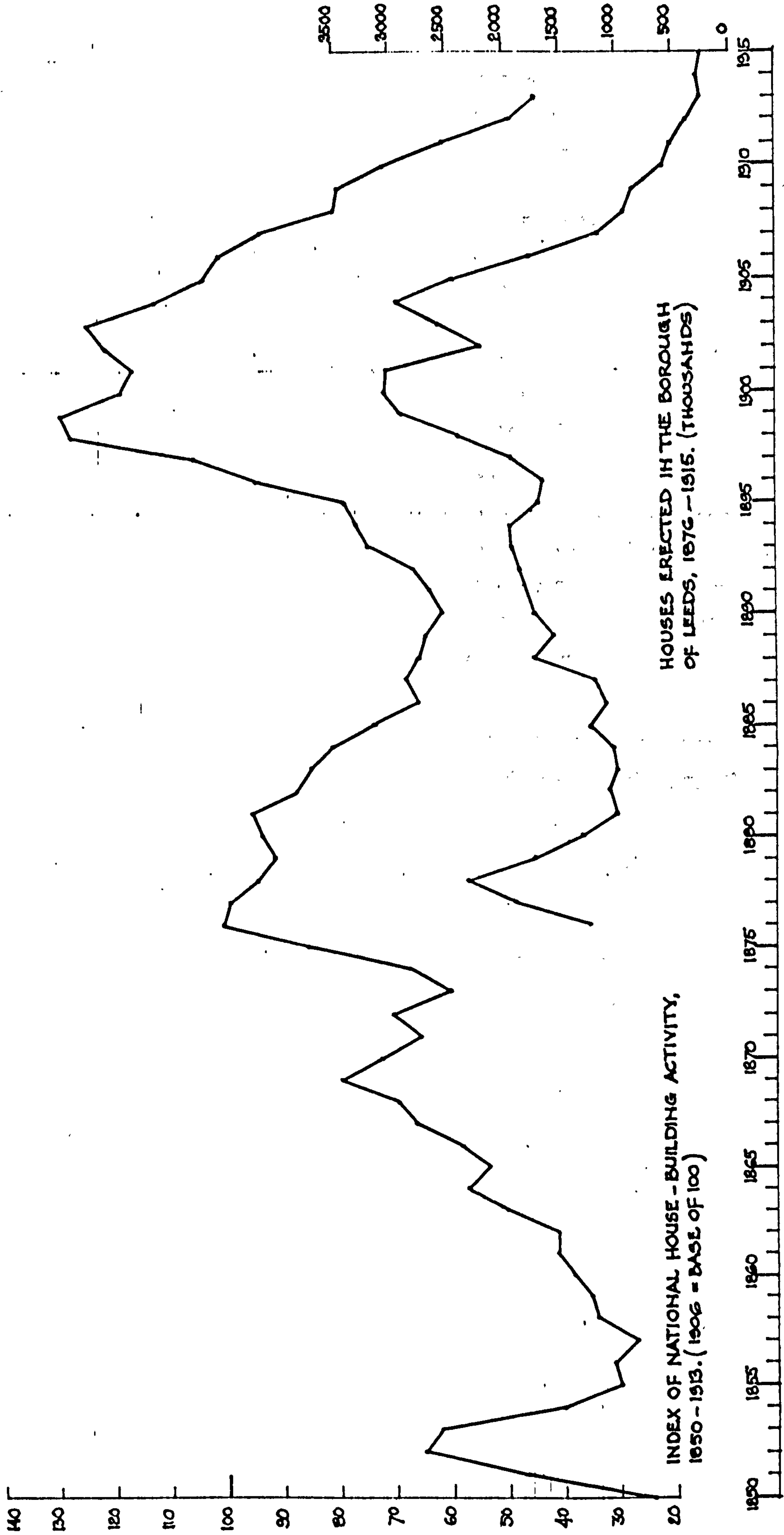


Fig.62 Graphs showing national house-building activity compared with houses erected in the borough of Leeds.

site, the following overall picture emerged:

- (a) The total number of houses found on approved plans for the study area between 1868 and 1914, came to 2447.
- (b) The number of houses found on approved plans for the study area between 1868 and 1914 which were actually erected, came to 2197.
- (c) The number of houses which were approved and erected in the study area, but the plans for which were missing from the archives, came to 103.
- (d) The number of houses found on approved plans for the study area and not erected, came to 250.

Examination of O.S. maps and block plans on drawings showed which of the houses were finally completed and for the study area it would appear that 90% of the houses on approved plans were actually built, compared with 80% for all Leeds (see p. 139).²⁵ From the statistics obtained it was possible to draw up a series of tables showing the number and types of houses approved and those erected for each year within the study area:

Table 18 Houses on Plans Approved and Inspected, 1868 - 1914²⁶

Year of deposit	House types						Total	
	cot.	lo.	h.a.s.	d.v.	s.d.v.	t.t.		b.b.
1868				1	4	5	10	
1869		1		7	5		13	
1870				3	12	12	27	
1871	1	5	3	1			10	
1872					2	5	7	
1873					7	8	15	
1874		1		2	6	15	24	
1875	3			1	9	10	23	
1876				3	8	73	84	
1877				4	2	32	38	
1878	1			1	8	16	26	
1879			5		4	4	16	29
1880		1	1			58	6	66
1881					4	31		35
1882						66		66
1883				1	2	37		40
1884						16	18	34
1885	2		1			36		39
1886					2	18	50	70
1887	1				6	46	102	155
1888			1	2	3	65	61	132
1889		1	3			48	21	73

1890		1	4	1		35	36	77
1891	1		1		4	118	16	140
1892	1			2	18	73	9	103
1893					2	47	36	85
1894				2	2	27	54	85
1895			2		2	44	10	58
1896					12	31		43
1897					24	32		56
1898					4	67		71
1899						83		83
1900			7		2	59		68
1901			1		6	45		52
1902		1				113	10	124
1903					2	86		88
1904			2	2	14	1		19
1905		1	1	1	12	65		80
1906		1		2	4	58		65
1907			1			45		46
1908						6		6
1909			3				22	25
1910				1		7	22	30
1911						8		8
1912						6		6
1913						4		4
1914						9		9
Grand totals	10	13	36	37	192	1,670	489	2,447
Percentage	.41	.53	1.47	1.51	7.85	68.25	19.98	

It can be seen from Table 18 that the most number of houses were approved in 1887 when drawings for 155 dwellings were submitted to the council for sites in the study area. Other boom periods for plans approved were in 1891 and 1902. It is also interesting to note that, on average, 52 houses were approved for the study area every year for a 47 year period. The lowest number being 4 in 1913. Once again comparison with figures for house plans approved for all Leeds shows that, on average, there were 4.9 dwellings approved per application whereas for the study area this was slightly lower at 4.6 dwellings per plan. These figures clearly indicate that in Leeds and the study area it was not common practice to obtain approval for the erection of large numbers of dwellings at any one time. Even if a developer intended to develop many houses in terraces the plans were usually deposited in stages, a process which not only allowed for slight variations in design but could also be related to the financial and building climate and especially to the number of unsold or

unlet dwellings in the area. Often the depositer of the drawings changed from one stage of development to another and this occurred even when the developer remained the same.

The total number of different developers responsible for the 2447 approved houses was 197, representing an average of 12.4 dwellings per developer. Some 65 developers had only one house approved, many of these being for owner-occupation. If these are removed from the total, the average number of houses approved per developer rises to 18. The maximum number of houses were approved for the builders B. & W. Walmsley, who had 421 approved on the large areas of Cardigan land which they purchased for building development.

The depositors of building plans who signed, stamped or wrote their names on them, and presumably were either the persons who drew the drawings or were responsible for their production to the building developer, could be separated into two distinct categories. There were 74 depositors of plans who described themselves on drawings as architects and 21 other depositors who did not use this style or title on any of the drawings inspected.²⁷ Those depositors calling themselves architects were responsible for 2281 approved houses and the non-architects, the majority of whom were builders, were responsible for 166. The maximum number of houses approved by one depositer was 364 by the architect Daniel Dodgson, who was responsible for most of the house designs used by B. & W. Walmsley. Some 17 depositors had plans approved for only 1 house.

The number of houses approved within the study area which were actually erected can be summarised as follows:

Table 19 Houses Erected from Approved plans Inspected, 1868 - 1914²⁶

Year of erection ^a	House types						Total
	cot.	lo.	h.a.s.	d.v.	s.d.v.	t.t.	
1868					2		2
1869				2		5	7
1870		1		7	17	12	37
1871		2	1	3			6
1872		3	2		2		7
1873					3	5	8
1874					4	14	18
1875	1	1		3	7	15	27
1876	2			1	6	44	53
1877				3	2	39	44

1878	1			3	4	26		34
1879			4	1	2	4		11
1880		1	1			16	14	32
1881			1			55		56
1882					4	24		28
1883				1	2	56		59
1884						24	10	34
1885	1		1			26	8	36
1886	1				2	22		25
1887						18	90	108
1888	1			1	3	82	64	151
1889						37	48	85
1890		1	3	1		37	10	52
1891		1	5		4	83	44	137
1892	2			2	10	73	9	96
1893					8	44	22	74
1894				2	2	34	30	68
1895			2		2	25	40	69
1896						40		40
1897					16	34		50
1898					20	33		53
1899					2	98		100
1900			7		2	48		57
1901			1		6	53		60
1902						100		100
1903		1				83	10	94
1904					10	28		38
1905		1	1	1	8	39		50
1906		1	1		12	40		54
1907			1	1		52		54
1908						29		29
1909								0
1910			3	1		4		8
1911						3	22	25
1912						8		8
1913						4		4
1914						9		9

Grand totals	9	13	34	33	162	1,525	421	2,197
Percentage	.40	.59	1.55	1.50	7.37	69.41	19.16	

a A basic assumption has been made that the dwellings were completed, on average, within 6 months of the date of approval. Plans approved between January and June were taken to be built in the same year but those approved from July to December, in the year following.²⁸

A comparison between Table 18 and Table 19 shows that, where houses were approved but not erected, the types involved ranged across the full housing spectrum. The percentage figures for house types approved and those for house types actually erected are remarkably similar, thus indicating that the houses abandoned

before work started on site were not confined to any one type or social class; the detached villa and the small back-to-back were equally at risk to the speculative nature of the development process. The tables also indicate that there were 250 dwellings which were approved and not erected but this figure does not include statistics relating to a number of plans missing from the archives. What is known is that 103 dwellings were completed to plans which have been misplaced or are not to be found in the Leeds archives. Based on the deposited plans inspected it would appear that there would have been a further 113 dwellings approved of which 103 were erected.²⁹

The number of houses erected within the study area to plans which were not inspected can be summarised as follows:

Table 20 Houses Erected from Approved Plans not Inspected, 1868 - 1914

Approximate year of erection	House types					Total		
	cot.	lo.	h.a.s.	d.v.	s.d.v.		t.t.	b.b.
1871					1		1	
1874						1	1	
1875					4	7	11	
1877						8	8	
1879						2	3	5
1880						3		3
1881						4		4
1885						8		8
1886						8	6	14
1889						1		1
1898					4	35		39
1902						6		6
1903						2		2
Totals					9	85	9	103

The above table is significant only in so far as it shows that the house types most frequently built were naturally those most likely to have plans misplaced or lost.

There is little to be gained from comparing the graph showing the number of houses erected in all Leeds (see Fig. 62) and similar figures for the study area, for the latter covers too small an area to make any meaningful comparisons.³⁰ The peaks and troughs for the study area related to not only national economic trends but also to local conditions and above all to

when individual estates came on the market. In general terms 1870, 1876, 1881, 1883, 1888, 1891, 1899 and 1902 were the peak years for the study area house builders with the most number of houses being erected in 1888. When compared with all Leeds it can be seen that the twin peaks of the study area, which were in 1888 and 1891, occurred when Leeds was still recovering from and on the way out of the Great Victorian Depression. This, as well as other discrepancies between the study area and all Leeds, can be explained by the number of estates which were building at any one time. Fig. 63 shows the various estates within the study area and illustrates the dates on which major housing development started and finished. It does not take into account individual houses or terraces built spasmodically over many years before major development began or isolated houses or alterations completed after it had finished. The estates were not all the same size and did not contain an equal number of houses when finished but the number of estates on which building was taking place at any one time indicates the general level of building activity. The peak periods for house building in any one suburb was not only dependent on general economic trends but also on the right land coming on the market at the right price and the right time. Thus the 1888 peak occurred as large areas of the Cardigan land were coming on the market coupled with a general upward swing in the house-building market.

The total number of major estates in the study area was 17 and the following table shows the number of estates that were building in the peak years for house completions:

Table 21 House-Building and Estates being Developed

	Houses erected	Estates building
1870	37	4
1876	53	9
1881	56	13
1883	59	13
1888	151	14
1891	137	11
1899	100	8
1902	100	8

The fact that fewer estates produced more houses after 1888 than before, was because of the types of estates that were started.

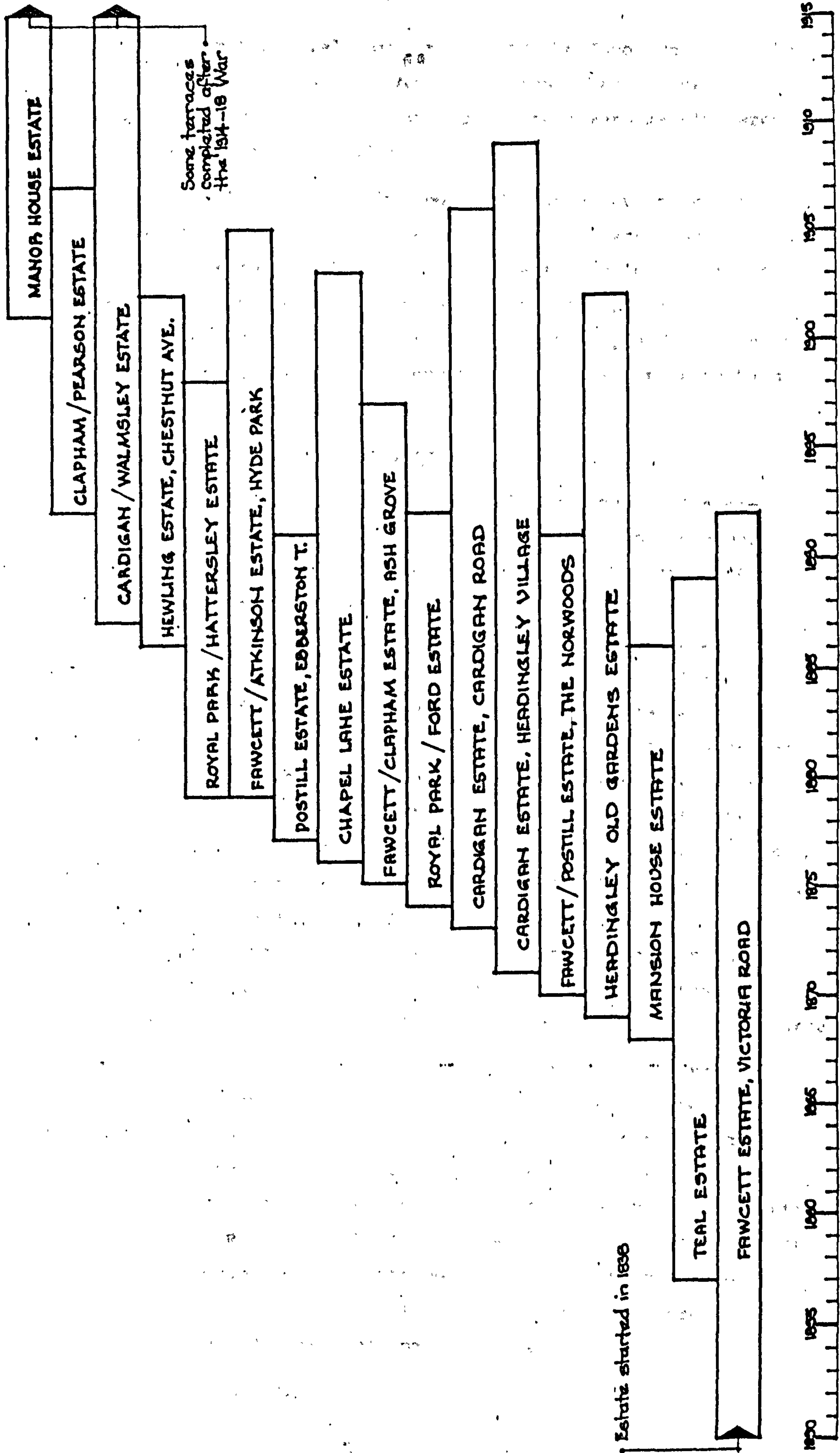


Fig.63 Bar-chart indicating the major building periods for estates in the study area.

For example, both the Royal Park Estate and the Manor House Estate had many small terrace houses erected on them, whereas the Headingley Old Gardens and Mansion House Estate were mainly large detached or semi-detached villas.

What is clear is that peaks and troughs do not always coincide in the study area with those for all Leeds. However, the assumption can be made that when building was at a low ebb in the study area it may not have been elsewhere in Leeds. A reverse pattern could occur at peak house-building periods, and taken over the whole of Leeds, these variations between one suburb and others would create the general trends shown in Fig. 62.

6.5 Housing Types and Distribution

Reference to Tables 19 and 20 shows that 33 detached, 171 semi-detached, 1,610 through terraces, 430 back-to-back and 56 other dwellings were erected in the study area between 1868 and 1914. Only 1½% were detached villas, 7% were semi-detached and nearly 90% were in the form of terraces containing through or back-to-back houses. These figures can be compared with those for all Leeds which were 1%, 3% and 96% respectively. The major differences between the housing in the study area and all Leeds was the slightly higher number of detached houses, the considerable increase in the number of semi-detached houses and the different mix of through and back-to-back terrace houses. In Leeds between 1886 and 1914, back-to-backs represented 62% of all houses erected. In the study area this figure was only 19%. Similarly, in Leeds 34% of all houses erected were through terraces whereas in the study area this figure was 69%. Therefore the mix of these two types was almost but not quite totally reversed within the study area.

The distribution of the various house types and the numbers built of at least one, the back-to-back, can be shown to be directly related to the restrictive covenants imposed by successive land-owners. These covenants influenced the type of house erected in four ways: by restricting the size of the house by annual rental, by restricting the size of the house by value, by the total banning of particular house types, by the restricting of the number of houses built on any one plot. The first two of these produced areas of detached and semi-detached villas where high annual

rentals or overall values were demanded. The houses built in the Headingley Old Gardens was a typical result of this type of covenant. The restricting of house numbers can be seen along Cardigan Road where the Leeds Cricket, Football & Athletic Club Ltd. allowed no more than two houses per plot and a long row of semi-detached houses was the result. The banning of specific houses, usually back-to-backs, took place on several estates such as Postill's Norwood Estate where that particular house type was specifically proscribed.

Back-to-back houses were built only on those estates where their erection was allowed. Even if not actually banned, often they could not be built because the annual rental they attracted did not reach the minimum figure quoted in covenants. In some cases they were built on land which was mainly developed with through terraces but, as the development process was a lengthy one, the passage of time reduced the value of the minimum annual rental in real terms to such an extent that back-to-backs fell within its limits. Thus as the building time scale allowed red-brick terraced houses to be built on the Mansion House Estate, so too could back-to-backs be erected on the Walmsley Estate after 1900. There were two factors at work here, the fact that the minimum rental fixed in covenants was not regularly increased to keep pace with inflation and the increased standards of the better class back-to-back, which after 1880 had additional rooms and a small garden and could attract a weekly rental slightly greater than smaller or older through terraces.

A general assumption has often been made that where a developer had a choice of any method of laying out streets for houses he would choose a street pattern to receive back-to-back houses, because by crowding on as many houses as possible on each acre of land the greatest profit would ensue. From the distribution patterns of back-to-back houses within the study area, adjacent to the study area, and examination of deposited plans for other areas of Leeds, it would appear that this is an over-simplification of the case.

Beresford states that the back-to-back house became common in Leeds because of cultural factors and that it became a standard housing unit just like the through terrace, the semi-detached or

the detached villa. He also suggests that they were not built in the second half of the nineteenth century as a resort by unscrupulous builders to produce below standard dwellings (when given the opportunity to do so) in order to make a greater profit.³¹ They were to be found on cheap land and on dear land; if they were intended to provide cheap labourer's cottages other industrial areas did not build them. If the purpose of back-to-backs was to provide housing for those working persons who could only afford the cheapest rents, a distribution pattern would be expected which showed the majority of back-to-backs built either close to the mills and factories providing employment or close to cheap forms of transport giving easy access to such employment. In the study area this hypothesis would suggest that the industrial working classes were housed in back-to-backs which were built as near as possible to the mills and factories in Burley and Kirkstall or in close proximity to the Otley turnpike which carried the omnibus and later the tram.

The distribution of back-to-backs in the study area is spasmodic. There were only 8 built on the Teal estate, a terrace of 17 on the Chapel Lane Estate, several terraces on the Clapham/Pearson Estate and on the Cardigan/Walmsley Estate. However, the largest concentrations were on the Royal Park/Ford Estate and on the Cardigan land which was known as Headingley Village Green (see Fig. 64). There would appear to be no clear connection between the siting of the houses and the location of industry or the roads acting as routes for public transport. What is clear is that if the estates just outside the study area boundary are examined the back-to-backs in the study area are situated near to similar estates outside it. There are concentrations of back-to-back houses to the immediate south on the Hill Top Estate and on Cardigan Land in Burley which was developed to become the Harolds. Similar concentrations occur to the west of the North Eastern Railway line in Burley where the Beechwoods contain a high proportion of this type of dwelling. Generally they were popular in Burley to the south and west, especially in the Burley Lodge Area of the Autumns and the Kelsalls. When the Headingley House Estate was sold for housing development in 1902 a few back-to-back terraces were built off Ash Road close to Headingley Village Green.

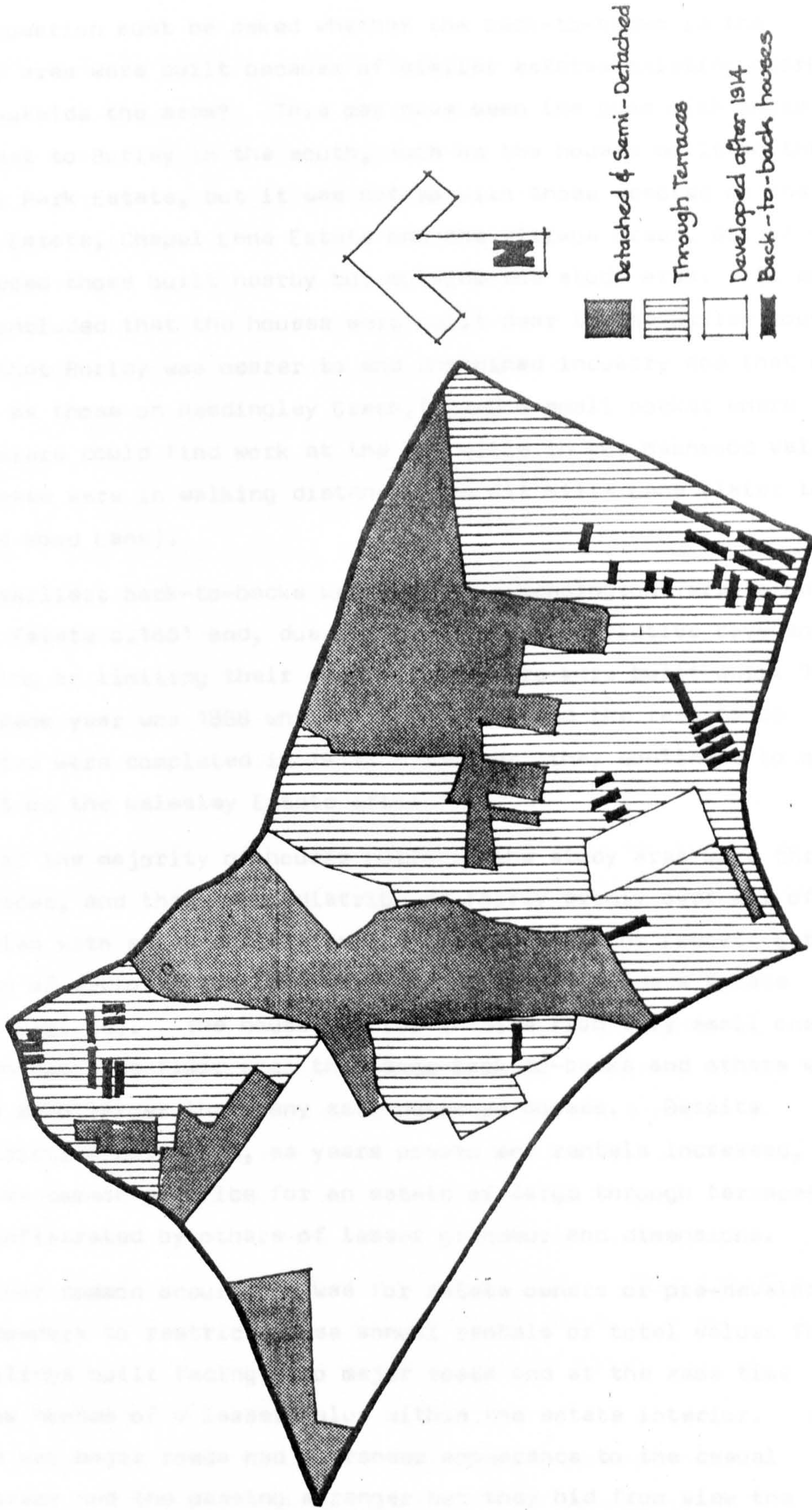


Fig.64 Distribution of house types in the study area, 1838 - 1914.

The question must be asked whether the back-to-backs in the study area were built because of similar estates existing nearby but outside the area? This may have been the case with those nearest to Burley in the south, such as the houses built on the Royal Park Estate, but it was not so with those erected on the Teal Estate, Chapel Lane Estate and the Village Green, all of which preceded those built nearby but outside the study area. It could be concluded that the houses were built near to the Burley boundary and that Burley was nearer to and contained industry and that others, such as those on Headingley Green, formed a small pocket where the occupiers could find work at the oil mills in the Meanwood valley as these were in walking distance down Oil Mills Lane (later to be named Wood Lane).

The earliest back-to-backs were built in Kensington Terrace on the Teal Estate c.1861 and, due to the various restrictive covenants banning or limiting their erection, no more were built until 1880. The peak year was 1888 when 64 were built and the last to be erected were completed in 1911. However, they continued to be built on the Walmsley Estate after 1918.³²

By far the majority of houses built in the study area were through terraces, and these were distributed fairly evenly over all of the estates with a few notable exceptions, such as the Fawcett Estate north of Victoria Road and the Headingley Old Gardens Estate (see Fig. 64). The houses varied in size from very small ones which had less floor area than some back-to-backs and others which were much larger than many semi-detached houses. Despite restrictive covenants, as years passed and rentals increased, it became common practice for an estate of large through terraces to be infiltrated by others of lesser grandeur and dimensions.

Another common occurrence was for estate owners or pre-development landowners to restrict house annual rentals or total values for dwellings built facing onto major roads and at the same time allow houses of a lesser value within the estate interior. In this way major roads had a grander appearance to the casual observer and the passing stranger but they hid from view the average sized dwelling and the narrower streets. This effect was heightened by the fact that there was no point in stipulating larger better-class dwellings in specific positions without

allowing sufficiently sized plot sizes to accommodate them.

Through terraces were built in the study area almost continuously throughout the period from 1868 - 1914. None were erected in 1868, 1871 and 1872 during a depression in house-building in Leeds. The only other year that none were built was in 1909, also during a period of severe recession. The peak years were 1899 and 1902 with 98 and 100 being built in each year when house building activity was at its greatest heights.

The semi-detached houses were interspersed in small estates within estates throughout different parts of the study area, however, there were both major and minor developments. Typical major ones were to be found on the Mansion House Estate and the Headingley Old Gardens Estate. The former was developed with mainly stone-built semi-detached villas and the latter with a few even larger brick-built semi-detached villas. Less grand dwellings were built on Cardigan Road, adjacent to the Cricket Ground, and on the Mansion House Estate in the grounds of Richmond House. The semi-detached house was a popular house type in the study area throughout the period that house plans were inspected with a few built most years. The largest number to be erected were 20 in 1898 and the last were a small group of neat little houses developed by the builder, William Bower, off St. Michaels Road between 1896 and 1907.

The detached houses were built on those estates where high annual rentals in covenants allowed no others and on other estates where the purchasers of plots were in the social and economic position to build what they wished. The houses were usually for owner-occupation and, although concentrated on the Fawcett Estate and the Headingley Old Gardens Estate, they represented less than 1% of all the houses built between 1868 - 1914. This remarkably low figure was in spite of the fact that Headingley was considered to be one of the best middle-class suburbs and the better half of the Headingley-cum-Burley combination.

It is possible that there were far more detached houses built generally throughout Leeds before 1870 in comparison with other types. This was certainly the case in Headingley on Headingley Hill, and in the study area a number of large detached houses were completed between 1838 and 1868, such as Rose Court,

Buckingham House, Spring Bank, Broomfield House and Richmond House. In 1870 seven smaller detached houses were completed, a figure not to be achieved in any following years.

6.6 Rentals, Wages and Other Factors

Housing costs and rentals during the nineteenth century are difficult subjects to analyse, mainly because large variations occurred between different parts of the country and also because of the different types of accommodation to which the same rental could apply. Thus few absolute standards can be applied and only general trends can be noted for the country as a whole and specific trends have to be restricted to a given locality. One certain fact is that house rents for working people showed an almost undisturbed upward trend throughout the century:

'However great the variation in annual increase the trend is steadily upwards, very steep rises in rents occurring during boom conditions with only very slight, if any, falls during depressions.'³³

As there was a gradual but definite improvement in the quality and size of the average house during the period 1838 - 1914, it follows that this in itself would contribute towards an upward trend in house rents. Although rents showed a firm long term rise, rents were static or 'sticky' at certain times. Rents followed a course alternating between long periods of stability and relatively steady advance with few fluctuations other than in the rate of growth. Declines in rent were never sustained for longer than a year or two at the most and this absence of major decline over long periods may be attributed to the powerful upward trend which was associated with the increasing size and improving quality of the standard of houses built. This was a tendency which helped to offset any downward force which resulted from market conditions and the building cycle.³⁴

The relationship between rents and the building cycle is a complex one but in general terms rents rose when building was on the increase and remained stable when building was on the decline. Occasionally rents continued to expand for some years after a turndown in building activity. Nationally rents remained stable while house-building was depressed during the early 1880's and the early 1890's and from the middle of the 1890's to approximately 1902 rents rose while house-building boomed. In the same way

rents again stayed stable during the period 1903 - 1914 while house-building slumped. The biggest national annual increase in house rents occurred in 1865 - 1867.³⁵

Rents were different for houses in towns and country areas or if newly built houses were compared with existing houses. The newly erected row of houses could have first time rents immediately adjusted to prevailing market conditions whereas existing houses were only gradually pulled up or forced down by the same conditions. As differences in rents could be attributed to the location and to the age of the property so too size played an important part, so much so that many rentals were calculated on the number of rooms within a dwelling ranging from the single room cellar dwelling to large mansions.

The rents for ^{some} houses in London in 1840 varied between 1s. and 1s.6d. per week and such was the differences between regions that houses in Wiltshire, Bristol and Exeter were still available at these rents in 1885.³⁶ The change, however, for the agricultural worker who was attracted to the towns by higher wages in the factories was a dramatic one. Not only did he leave behind his rural cottage for a house in the town (which might be called a cottage by name, and have two storeys but there the similarity ended), but also he left behind the free or low rent of the tied cottage and the extra food which a small garden and back-yard animals provided. His rent may have been between 30s. and £3. 3s. per year in the country and he moved to a town with rents of at least 52s. a year with no extras to augment the family income.

Rents in northern towns can be seen in the following tables:

Table 22 Rents, Working-Class Housing, Nottingham, 1825 - 1850³⁷

	Weekly rental		
	Two-storey houses	Three-storey houses	Houses of 'better sort'
1825		2s. 6d.	
1829	1s. 6d.		
1833	2s. 3d.		3s. 6d.
1845	1s. 6d.	2s. 2d.	3s. 0d.
1850	1s. 9d.	2s. 2d.	

Table 23 House Rents, Liverpool, 1840 - 1913³⁸

	Houses erected	Annual rental				
		Under £12	£12-18	£18-25	£25-35	£35 and over
1840	1,576	623		760	131	62
1845	3,728	1,212		2,007	332	177
1850	420	41		297	41	41
1855	1,355	63		1,144	99	49
1860	1,549	161		1,129	163	96
1865	1,496	-		1,185	170	141
1896 ^a	1,199	7		944	204	44
1900	1,573	-	436	602	402	133
1905	2,186	78	394	872	638	204
1910	1,710	-	119	1,279	168	144
1913	767	68	92	537	43	27

a. No data available for the period 1867 - 1895

The tables are by no means representative of the whole country or of all house types but do give some indication of the levels of rents which were being paid during the periods they cover. Often the rental was based on the number of rooms, for example, in 1865 rents in London were calculated at the rate of £5 per annum per room. Hence an 8 roomed house fetched £40 per annum, which worked out at 1s. 11d. per room per week.³⁹ This can be compared with the basic back-to-back house built in Leeds in 1865 which had two rooms, one up and one down, and commanded a rent of £6 per annum, or in other words, 1s. 2d. per room per week.⁴⁰

When workers moved from rural areas to the suburbs in search of work their first houses were usually situated in the town centres in lodgings, later moving to rooms of their own and, if families were involved, into larger but crowded accommodation in the central core of the town. The prime importance was for the accommodation to be within walking distance of a place of work, however, if for some reason this was not possible or if the worker chose to live in better surroundings not near a place of work but at some distance from it, he had to find money for train, omnibus or tram fares. This, the cost of fares, was a new necessity for town dwellers and money had to be found for a new purpose which did not exist before. Fares tended to be a factor of more importance in the latter part of the century as in earlier years industry was more centralised and the transport systems did not exist for the working man to use regularly.

For a great number of people who earned the lowest wages and could

be termed the poorest of the working-classes, there existed a continuing problem which was never really solved throughout the nineteenth century. The fact was that builders or speculators or even the well meaning philanthropic organisations could not afford to build new houses, especially as building costs rose, which could be let to poorer working people at low rentals:

'The great difficulty lay in the discrepancy between the very low sum of 1s to 1s 6d a week, at which level there was clearly a demand for rooms for families, and the lowest sum at which builders of new houses could afford to let them. One was in fact at least double the other.'⁴¹

(the poor)'cannot afford to pay more than a rental of from 1s to 2s per week, for their dwellings, of whatever size and construction, and wheresoever situate... but no practical plan has yet been devised by which dwellings can be built... which can be let at these low rentals and prove remunerative to builders.'⁴²

Builders of large numbers of new houses intended for the working classes told the 1885 Commissioners that they could not profit by letting at less than 2s. - 3s. weekly.⁴³ Even the Peabody Charitable Trust and other philanthropic ventures could not provide homes for less than 2s. per week. The great variation in rentals was not between one town and another or the type of builder who erected the houses, the real variation lay in the number of rooms rented. The price from London to the northern towns for the rental of a single room varied very little assuming a similar sized room. Indeed the poorest person often paid slightly more per week for one room than the better off tenant. In areas where one-roomed dwellings were available they let readily to the poor. The demand for one-roomed houses could be seen in inhabited cellar dwellings in towns like Leeds, until banned by Bye-Laws, and in the one room tenements built in Glasgow. The latter fetched rents of 1s. 6d. per week in 1866, 1s. 9d. in 1876, 2s. in 1891, 2s. 5d. in 1901, and a brand new one-roomed tenement house fetched 2s. 6d. per week minimum in 1902.⁴⁴

For the working man the step from one room to two was a major one involving at least double his usual outlay on rent, assuming that the move did not also involve fares to work. When hard times came in his particular trade he often returned to one room to reduce his outgoings. In Leeds a move from a cellar dwelling

to the smallest back-to-back involved a change to two rooms for they were not built as one room dwellings. In 1865 this would have meant a rent of 2s. 4d. per week. The Royal Commission on Housing in 1885 were told in evidence that no houses could be found in late nineteenth-century cities at weekly rents of less than 5s. This comprehensive investigation also found that over 85% of the working classes paid over $\frac{1}{5}$ of their income on rent and almost 50% paid between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$. In central London in 1850, 2s. 6d. would rent a single room for a week and by 1880 this had risen to 4s. 9d. with two rooms fetching 7s. 6d. to 10s., a sum which was often beyond even a semi-skilled artisan. In 1900 the rent in London for a single room was 5s., two rooms 6s. 6d., three rooms 8s. 6d., and four rooms 10s. 6d. per week.⁴⁵

Despite the findings of the Royal Commission many working people paid rents of 1s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. a week all over the country. This did not mean, however, that cheap accommodation large enough for a family was available which was clean and in good repair. The 1s. 6d. per week secured one room probably with no sink or firegrate. The 2s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. might secure two rooms with an attic and shared water tap. The 5s. would give a larger back-to-back in Leeds of the scullery type with basic amenities and a shared privy in a yard at the end of the block. The same rent would obtain a tenancy of two rooms in a model dwelling with all the comfort and respectability that implied, or one of the larger back-to-back houses in other provincial towns. The rents in model dwellings were 5s. 6d. per week for two rooms in a Peabody Building. In Sheffield cheaper rents existed because a 4 roomed back-to-back could be got for between 3s. and 4s. per week in 1890.

How did the rentals charged compare with the incomes of those hoping to rent them? Incomes varied throughout the century but by the time of the Royal Commission in 1885 vast numbers of working-class men were earning under 21s. per week and skilled tradesmen earned more than £1 per week. In 1901, Rowntree classified four types of working class groups related to income: Group A with under 18s. per week, B with 18s. - 21s. per week, C with 21s. - 30s. per week and D with 30s. or above per week. Only those in group D could afford to pay rent adequate for the

housing of a family of four to six persons i.e. those on £83 per year income.⁴⁶

Throughout the nineteenth century the working-class in Britain expended on average 16% of their income on rent, this worked out at slightly less than a sixth. Thus a man on £1 per week would pay no more than 4s. per week and those persons who could only afford a rent of 2s. per week had an income of around 10s. per week. There were variations in different localities depending on local conditions, for example, working class families spent 13% on rent and rates in Sheffield and 18% in Dundee. In comparison, however, middle-class families spent on average only 8% to 9% of their incomes on rent.⁴⁷

If poor families who earned less than 21s. a week could not afford houses, speculators would seem to have had a market with those who earned over this figure. If these expended 16% of their income on rent this meant they spent at least 3s. 3d. per week on rent and more if on a higher income. Those builders who provided new houses in the 3s. - 5s. a week bracket could make satisfactory profits by letting to the poorer tenants, but as costs rose and covenants restricted the minimum annual rental to £13 per annum or above the builder or speculator was looking for tenants who were earning £2 - £3 per week to pay the weekly rent of a through house at nearly 6s. per week. If the Rowntree figures for 1901 are examined then it can be seen that these houses were not aimed at the lower working class but at the lower and middle classes. In Leeds for example, in the last twenty five years of the nineteenth century there was large scale building of low cost houses for the working classes in the form of back-to-backs of varying sizes with rentals which overlapped with those for through terraces which were also built in large numbers to cater for the more affluent artisans and the middle classes.

The logic behind house-building during the period would appear to be simple when viewed from the point of view of the outsiders to the process. The house builder could be a builder or tradesman in his own right or a speculator paying tradesmen for materials and labour. When builders were involved in house-building they did not usually set about building houses with the intention of

letting them but of getting them off their hands as quickly as possible, usually selling them either individually or in blocks to local businessmen, merchants, widows etc. who in turn let them off as an investment. House-building depended upon the builders' estimate of how rent levels would affect the selling price of houses and on the investors estimate of how profits from rents would move in relation to other investments.

The building industry was not one based on sound logic when house-building was concerned. It was notorious for small under-capitalised builders who were tempted during boom conditions to begin speculative building enterprises, often without calculating accurately the risks involved. The smaller firms had to sell quickly because they were in a position where the sale of houses was necessary to pay for the materials obtained on credit. Often the rise in rents went hand-in-hand with a rise in building costs as more and more people chose to build in boom periods. Unfortunately a large number of houses to let at high rentals could also mean that the demand for the product may not have existed when the scheme was completed although it had done so at the beginning.

Rent, rates, building costs, tenants' wages, land costs and taxation all had a part to play in the complicated equation which would lead to success or failure. In mid-century the tax situation encouraged the purchase of land rather than the building of houses for house property tax was set at 10½% and land tax at 3%.⁴⁸ The price of land varied widely across the country and played an important part in building costs. In Liverpool in the 1860's land was 1s. per square yard yearly ground rent or 16s. per square yard freehold. At the same time freehold land was available in Leeds from 2s. 6d. to 5s. per square yard. In 1885 the cheapest land in Liverpool was reported to be £1 per square yard.

Rents and the price of land rose in growing nineteenth-century towns but house rents rose the most during periods of prosperity when more people flocked to towns for employment. Land values on the contrary, very often controlled by speculators, rose in periods of depressions. Land values increased throughout the century, tending to rise most during periods of depression, the rise being due to the attraction of land when rents were depressed. Lower building costs in times of depression did not bring about a

proportionate fall in house rents, profit could be made from the owning of house property and land values accordingly increased.

For builders and investors the complexities of the housing market made the choosing of the right moment to build very difficult. Building activity was affected by the condition of the capital market but the peaks and troughs of the general business cycle did not coincide with those of the building cycle. House builders often chose to build in the earliest phase of recovery from the low point of the business cycle, usually because interest rates were low and before prices of materials had begun to rise due to the general increase in prosperity. In contrast, the price of land had less of an affect on the decision to build but more on the quality and type of buildings erected.

Often house-building peaked and the numbers erected began to fall because of the high cost of credit, materials and wages, but the demand for houses continued and the result was that the shortage of houses pressed up rents. The Royal Commission on Housing found in 1885 that a peak in house building had occurred in 1876 but after it not enough houses were built to tide over the period 1876 to 1890 when very little building took place. Before the next period of high activity which followed a general depression, a severe housing shortage resulted in high rents at a time when working people could least afford them.

Building costs remained comparatively steady throughout the century showing neither great reductions nor very steep rises until 1914 from which point costs rose up to 1920. The cost of materials took a very high jump in 1852 - 3, but even then costs of materials were still higher in 1846. Material prices fell from 1853 onwards until 1872, when another large increase took place. There was another steady fall until 1889 and a slight rise in 1890. Slight fluctuations followed until another steep rise came in 1900. A fall from 1900 to 1910 was followed by a rise up to 1920 and once again a steady fall until 1936. The price of materials in 1846 was passed only on two occasions in 1873 - 4 and after 1915.⁴⁹

The total cost of building was dependent more upon labour costs than on the prices of materials. If material costs remained remarkably steady during the nineteenth century building worker's wages showed a general but steady increase with only a few

fluctuations. Thus falling prices of materials often coincided with periods when building operatives were receiving increases in wages. The way that the building workers steadily improved their position throughout the century combined with fluctuations in material prices helped to keep total building costs steady. Building wages gradually increased and only fell for a short period in 1883 then to start rising again in 1889, a rise which continued until 1921. The rise in wages was not only absolute but the building workers improved their position in society in relation to other trades in general (see Chapter 13).

The biggest problem for the investor and the builder was the long time-lag between the decision to build, acquiring land, erecting the houses and having them on the market. What may have seemed a propitious time to begin operations could be seen to be entirely wrong twelve months or even two years later. Falling prices of materials could tempt investors or speculators to undertake building work which involved little capital to start operations. In this situation with the building cycle operating, it was possible for houses to be put on the market at a time when building costs were lower than when their construction had been begun. There was no way that builders could profit from low material prices because it was virtually impossible for small builders to purchase and store large stocks of bricks and floorboards etc. in readiness for future building operations.

The difference between the national trends of the building cycle and local or regional variations were often related to the necessity of adequate supplies of short-term credit. Building costs, the levels of rent, the amount of empty property, the housing standards imposed by the local Town Hall, the availability of land, labour and capital are all factors which had an effect on the building cycle in a given area. Later in the century the rapid expansion and extension to the suburban transport systems could also have an effect on house-building. Thus in Leeds the index of house-building had three peaks in 1878, 1901, and 1904 with a major depression in 1881 to 1883. If compared with national trends it can be seen that the depression came earlier to Leeds than the rest of the country and the peaks are close but do not coincide (see Fig. 62).

Whether considered nationally or locally the rent which could be obtained was not the only measure of income from owning houses. There was always the possibility of capital gain through holding onto them and then selling at an inflated price. Rent rises encouraged private speculation in house-building but in the 1890's such rises were often an indication of increased costs. Property taxes were also rising, and after 1908, rose even further as a result of Lloyd George's budgets. Repairs and improvements were enforced on landlords by stricter municipal bye-laws and, with increased wages being paid to the building trades, maintenance costs in general also rose. It became less profitable to own houses for rent after 1910 compared with the preceding century and Parry Lewis indicated this fact in his index of the profitability of house ownership. The index shows a steady rise in profitability from 1870 to 1895 with a few 'sticky' periods in between, followed by a decline to 1900, another rise to 1905 followed by another fall, a short upsurge in 1909, and then a continuation in the general decline.⁵⁰

6.7 House Rentals in Leeds

If a comparison is made between Leeds and Liverpool, in 1838 the building trade in the latter town was largely preoccupied with the construction of dwellings for the middle classes which could be let at rents of between £25 and £35 per annum. In 1848 houses for the working man in Liverpool let at an annual rental of under £12 per annum with cellar dwellings fetching 1s. per week. The only answer therefore was for more than one family to move into one house in order to make the step from the cheaper accommodation. This practice may have been common elsewhere when there was no intermediate accommodation between the one room and the through house.⁵¹ Leeds, however, had its back-to-backs which often acted as a bridge for the poorer workers between overcrowded and squalid conditions and somewhat better housing.

Hole suggested that the demand for low rental back-to-backs held firm because of the lack of any alternatives and because the retreat from back-to-backs back to single room cellar dwellings became difficult after 1860 because of the legislative campaign in Leeds against them.⁵² Beresford suggested that builders chose to erect back-to-back cottages because it was a more

profitable investment.

By 1861 new model through houses built in Leeds for the working classes which cost £150 to erect including land and building were for sale at 4s. 6d. per week and £25 deposit. In 1863 similar dwellings costing £180 - £190 were for sale at £40 deposit and 5s. to 5s. 6d. per week.⁵³ These costs can be compared with those for superior back-to-backs which Hole described as fetching £20 per annum rental in 1865. From 1872 - 1876 there was an exceptionally high level of building activity in Leeds and the period 1874 - 1877 saw the peak demand for house-building prior to 1885.

The principal building types for speculative builders were the back-to-back cottages and the small through house. The construction of the larger and more expensive custom-built houses tended to be a separate activity. From 1877 onwards houses were standing empty and rents were being reduced but the Leeds Mercury stated that in 1883 many houses worth above £20 per year were standing empty while new cottages and small houses were letting as soon as they were completed. The situation changed in 1884 when houses in the £20 - £60 per annum range which had been empty since 1880 were gradually being let. These events took place between 1880 and 1887 when very little house-building was taking place in Leeds. From then on house-building steadily increased to 1894 and a slump in 1895 - 6 saw houses costing £800 to build only fetching a rental of £30 per annum.⁵⁴ From 1896 house-building once again rose steadily until 1901. Apart from a short upsurge in 1904 the numbers of houses erected fell dramatically and, due to the over provision of houses after 1905, many were hard to let and thousands of houses stood empty.

When figures were given for back-to-back cottages and through houses at a weekly rental, this would include rates paid by the landlord. When rentals were given as a figure per annum, rates would usually be paid by the tenant. Treen estimated this to be a further on-cost of 30% per annum.⁵⁵

Lupton described the process of speculative house-building in Leeds in 1906 as follows:

'Leeds probably differs from some of the large Cities, where the land is in the hands of large ground landlords unwilling to sell, and where the supply is in consequence restricted.

Here the great number of owners has enabled the building of cottages to keep up with the demand, large areas being constantly developed by the speculative or "Jerry" builder, on all sides of the City, within easy reach of the centre, and in the neighbourhood of the works, whilst the access from every side is quicker and cheaper than in almost any other town, owing to the very efficient service of trams run by the municipality at minimum fares.

By the aid of Building Societies large numbers of respectable and provident working men own the houses in which they live, and have, in many cases, invested their savings also in other cottage property.

These houses are, as a whole, of two classes:-

First, through houses, consisting of kitchen, sitting room, and two or three bedrooms, facing a front street 36 feet wide, or by the new regulations, 42 feet wide. These are built in rows, and between each pair of front streets is a back street of 15 feet, separating the back yards from those of the next row of houses. These are substantially according to Plan No.1 and let at rentals of from 5s. 3d. to 6s.

The Second class of houses are built back to back and consist of either a living room and a large and small bedroom, or of what are now more usual, the modern scullery houses, which contain a living room on one side of the door and a scullery on the other, a bedroom over each and usually a third attic bedroom with dormer window. These are built in blocks of eight, and with rentals 3s. 9d. to 5s. 6d.,⁵⁶

In 1909 the Leeds Master Builders Association petitioned against legislation which might ban the erection of back-to-backs. Their argument was that they should continue to be erected because rents for through houses were beyond the reach of the working-classes. The medical officer of health had reported that he believed the rise in rent for a through house of equivalent size would have to be about 20% if a landlord were to have the same return on his capital. However, rents in general were not high in Leeds compared with other towns. The Board of Trade's survey of wages and prices in 1908 had showed that Leeds ranked 32 out of 73 large towns in England and Wales in respect of its rent index and Leeds ranked 15 among 73 local price indexes.

Rents based on figures given in various written works such as

Beresford, Hole, Lupton, Treen, and those found in deeds, solicitor's papers and sale particulars have been drawn together to indicate the ranges of rents which were common in Leeds during the period:

Table 24 Typical Annual Rents in Leeds, 1827 - 1914

	<u>House types</u>					
	Small b.b.	Large b.b.	t.t.	Large t.t.	s.d.v.	d.v.
1827						£15
1841					£15	
1861	£4	£7 - £9	£10			
1863			£13			
1865	£5-£8	£10	£12			£35 - £40
1870	£6-£8					£40
1872						£45
1874			£10-£19			
1877		£11 - £12				
1880			£15-£19	£30-£45		
1883				£43		
1884						£20 - £60
1889	£5	£9 - £10	£15-£20			
1893		£13		£30		
1895						£40
1896			£13-£18			
1899						£40
1900				£26		
1901			£16			
1904			£15	£32		
1905		£11-£19		£27	£13-£33	£30 - £100
1906	£5-£8	£10-£14	£13-£16			
1907		£11-£19	£15	£27-£28	£13-£33	£30 - £100
1908	£7-£9					
1909		£13-£20	£17	£27-£28	£16-£33	£30 - £100
1911			£22-£23			
1912					£30	
1913			£18-£19			
1914		£13-£20	£17	£27	£16-£33	£30 - £100

- a No attempt has been made to indicate whether rates were included in the yearly rentals.
- b Where figures were given as a weekly rental they have been changed to yearly figures for ease of comparison.
- c No attempt has been made to distinguish between the age of different properties or the size of detached villas. Older properties let for a lower figure than newly built ones and large mansions attracted higher rents than those in the table, e.g. in 1883 the Manor House, Headingley was to be let at £150 per annum.
- d The table clearly shows the overlap between rents of the larger back-to-back houses built in the latter part of the century with through houses of the same period.

NOTES

CHAPTER 6 BUILDING TRENDS, HOUSING STATISTICS AND PATTERNS OF DISTRIBUTION.

- 1 Source, Beresford, p. 104.
- 2 Source, Census Reports.
- 3 E. Gauldie, Cruel Habitations, A History of Working-Class Housing 1780 - 1918, Appendix 2.
- 4 J. Parry Lewis, Building Cycles and Britain's Growth, p. 319 - 325.
- 5 On sale particulars, estate agents simply used the word villa without qualifying the degree of detachment.
- 6 Parry Lewis, p. 302 - 303.
- 7 Source, Annual Reports and minutes of Streets and Sewerage Committee, 1869 - 1900; Building Clauses Committee, 1869 - 1894; Sub-Building Clauses Committee, 1869 - 1874; Building Sub-Clauses Committee, 1894 - 1899; Sub-Improvements (Building Plans) Committee, 1849 - 1904; Plans Committee, 1904 - 1910. See also similar figures given in Beresford, p. 117 - 118.
- 8 Source, as note 7 above. See also similar figures in Beresford, p. 117 - 118. Parry Lewis stated that 60,070 houses were erected in Leeds between 1877 - 1914; this compares with the writer's figure of 60,019 for the same period. Parry Lewis based his figures on information given to him by the Town Clerk of Leeds for calendar years. See J. Parry Lewis, Table 1, Appendix 4, p. 307 - 312.
- 9 'Other buildings' could include anything approved on plans from wooden lock-up shops, sheds and greenhouses to factories, commercial buildings or large civic, educational or religious edifices.
- 10 For a general discussion on factors affecting building cycles, see J. Parry Lewis, Chapter 3, p. 42 - 60.
- 11 Ibid., p. 82.
- 12 Ibid., p. 101 - 102.
- 13 Dyos, p. 82.
- 14 See Table 12, and Parry Lewis, p. 137.
- 15 Most sources prior to 1876 refer to general building activity in Leeds and do not differentiate between various building types in the course of erection. After that date more detailed records were kept by the Corporation.
- 16 For an insight into the state of the building trade in Leeds at various times, see Parry Lewis, p. 62 and M.W. Beresford & G.R.J. Jones (editors), Leeds and Its Region, p. 187.
- 17 The Builder, 1876, Vol. 34, p. 536.
- 18 See Annual Report of the L.Y.A.S. for 1885, p. 12, R.I.B.A. Regional Office, Leeds.
- 19 The Builder, 1895, Vol. 68, p. 14.
- 20 The Builder, 1897, Vol. 73, p. 227.
- 21 Dyos, p. 81.

- 22 Annual Report of the Plans Committee, Leeds Corporation, for the year ending 31st March 1912.
- 23 These figures differ widely from the 9,008 unoccupied houses given in the 1911 Census Report. See Table 12.
- 24 The majority of data used by Parry Lewis related to houses erected and only part of it to approved plans, see Parry Lewis, Appendix 4, p. 316 - 317. The graph for Leeds is based on Table 14 of this thesis listing houses erected in the borough.
- 25 The figure of 90% is obtained by dividing (b) by (a) and converting to a percentage.
- 26 Source, deposited building plans.
- 27 These figures do not include the names of depositors of plans for other works such as shops, churches, extensions and alterations etc.
- 28 Few examples were found of houses being built a long time after the approval of plans without a further set of drawings being submitted by new developers or the original landowners who wished to make some amendments to the scheme.
- 29 This figure is based on the percentage of approved dwellings not erected for inspected plans - 10%. If 103 houses were erected to missing plans, it is probable that a further 10 houses were originally deposited but not built thus making a grand total of 2,560 houses approved for the study area of which 2,300 were actually erected.
- 30 The study area totalled 265 acres and the borough of Leeds was 21,500 acres, on average, during the period.
- 31 See Chapter 2, p. 25-28.
- 32 Back-to-back houses were built off Welton Road as late as 1933.
- 33 Gauldie, p. 157.
- 34 See Parry Lewis, p. 156 - 157. Lewis quotes Singer who's index of rents stood at approximately 85 per cent higher in 1910 than it stood in 1845, whereas neither wholesale prices or building costs were significantly higher just before the outbreak of World War I than they were in the late 1840's.
- 35 Ibid., p. 157 - 158.
- 36 Gauldie, p. 159.
- 37 Source, S.D. Chapman (editor), The History of Working-Class Housing: A Symposium, p. 155.
- 38 Source, Parry Lewis, Appendix 8, p. 334 - 336.
- 39 The Builder, 1865, Vol. 23, p. 195.
- 40 See Table 24.
- 41 Gauldie, p. 161.
- 42 Ibid., Gauldie was quoting from The Builder, 1884.
- 43 First Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Class, 1885.
- 44 Gauldie, p. 161.
- 45 S. D. Chapman (editor), The History of Working-Class Housing: A Symposium, p. 26.

- 46 Gaudie, p. 164.
- 47 Ibid., p. 164 - 165.
- 48 Ibid., p. 171.
- 49 Ibid., p. 174.
- 50 See Parry Lewis, p. 160. The index was based on property prices, rental income, and the return at current interest rates obtained by investing an amount equal to the current cost of building.
- 51 This was suggested as being a common practice by Dr. Stefan Methesius at a symposium on Nineteenth-Century Speculative Housing held in May 1981 at the Polytechnic of the South Bank, London.
- 52 J. Hole, The Homes of the Working Classes with Suggestions for their Improvement, p. 22 - 23.
- 53 The Builder, 1861, Vol. 19, p. 289 and 1863, Vol. 21, p. 284. The weekly payment was to last $13\frac{1}{2}$ years in each case.
- 54 Treen, p. 377.
- 55 Ibid., p. 429. Other documents consulted referred to rents marked 'net' when the tenants paid the rates and marked 'gross' when the landlord paid the rates.
- 56 F.M. Lupton. Housing Improvement, a Summary of Ten Years' Work in Leeds, p. 2 - 3.

CHAPTER 7 BUILDING REGULATIONS

7.1 Legislation Relating to the Laying Out of Streets and Housing Estates.

The Industrial Revolution changed Leeds and its neighbourhood from a rural area to a great industrial town. In 1775 Leeds Corporation set about improving the condition of the paving and lighting of the town streets. The special Act of Parliament the Corporation obtained in that year was requested on the grounds that robberies took place because of bad lighting and bad street conditions. Oil lamps were rigged up in the town centre streets in 1791 and were replaced by gas lights in 1819. Communications between the town and other centres of commerce were also improved. Poor parishes outside Leeds found it impossible to maintain the stretches of roads within their boundaries and therefore in the mid-eighteenth century a network of turnpike roads was developed around Leeds. These roads were improved and extended during the period 1770 to 1840 to form the major routes for freight transport and local land carriage.

Practically no planning was applied to the urban growth of the town prior to 1835. A seventeenth century system of local government was carried out by the parish vestries under the supervision of the borough magistrates. These struggled with inadequate powers and machinery to cope with the problems raised by the massive increase in population. Such matters as street paving and maintenance, lighting, water supply, and refuse clearance, were tackled in a haphazard and superficial manner. It was not until the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 that the problems of unplanned growth could be tackled in a more meaningful way.

The inhumanity of the conditions in which the working population lived had existed to some extent since the turn of the century, but further deterioration was caused by the rapid population growth. The middle class revolt against these conditions was prompted by the cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1848 and the typhus epidemic in 1847. Led by local doctors, with Robert Baker prominent among them, a campaign to improve the sewerage, drainage and housing was started. Baker writing in 1833 spoke of:

'three parallel streets, which are neither sewered, drained, paved or cleansed,.. occupied entirely by cottage dwellings, with cellar dwellings to boot, for.

a population ... of 386 persons, there are but two simple privies, and these in such a state as to be totally unavailable!¹

Appalling overcrowding was a major problem and the notorious Boot and Shoe Yard off Kirkgate had seventy cart loads of manure removed from it in 1832 and still contained 341 people, living in 57 rooms, in 1839.

Dr. Williamson, another social reformer from Leeds, gave evidence to a Factory Commission in 1833:

'the greater part of cottage streets formed within the last fifteen years in most of the manufacturing towns are unpaved or very partially paved and sewered!'²

The problem was that the framework of existing legislation had been designed for a very different distribution of population. Conflicts of interest arose; councils could order that water courses should be kept clean but manufacturing industry could not function without polluting them. Where towns had a small number of existing sewers, councils attempted to restrict connections to them in order to avoid overloading. Dung and human refuse in some towns was a source of income if sold, therefore it was economic to leave it to accumulate until it grew into profitable cart loads.

Following epidemics of cholera and typhoid in 1837 and 1838 in different parts of the country the Poor Law Commissioners were requested by the government to investigate the condition of towns throughout the country. A Select Committee was also set up by the government in 1840 'to inquire into the circumstances affecting the health of the inhabitants of large towns, with a view to improving sanitary arrangements for their benefits.' The secretary of the Poor Law Board was Edwin Chadwick, who carried on his investigation despite the Select Committee producing its Report before him in July, 1840. This recommended a General Building Act, a Sewerage Act and that certain large towns should have boards of health with inspectors to enforce sanitary regulations.³ Following these recommendations three new Bills were hurriedly brought before Parliament. They were the Bill for the improvement of certain burghs, the Bill for the better drainage of large towns and villages, and the Bill for regulating buildings in large towns. The House of Lords passed

all three and sent them to the Commons in May 1841. During May to August 1841 Select Committees were set up to consider the three Bills and these were petitioned by landowners and others with a vested interest in property. The Bills were stopped at their second reading and the Drainage Bill was lost altogether. The Building Regulations topic had yet another Select Committee appointed in March 1842, which reported in June of that year. Once again the Committee had heard witnesses, the majority of whom were horrified at the idea of limiting the freedom of builders and developers. In July 1842 the Poor Law Board's Report was finally published, an epoch making document which was mainly the work of Chadwick and entitled the 'Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population and on the Means of its Improvement' It contained a wealth of detailed information based on questionnaires and totally eclipsed the work of the Select Committee which preceded it.

The unsuccessful Building Regulations Bill of 1841, contained a clause banning back-to-backs:

'it shall not be lawful to build any house, except corner houses, on any new foundation unless there shall be a clear space of at least Twenty Feet wide between the back wall of such house and the back wall of any opposite house;'

The marginal rubric was even more to the point, adding 'Houses Not To Be Built Back-to-Back'⁴

When the question of whether or not back-to-back dwellings, cellar dwellings and enclosed courtyards should be banned, evidence was given by Dr. James Williamson of Leeds to a Select Committee:

'The working classes are now exposed to the evils arising from cupidity and defective arrangements of many of their landlords, and they appear to me to require the protection of some general enactment'⁵

A Royal Commission on the Health of Towns was appointed in 1843 and its first report on the 'State of Large Towns and Populous Districts' was published in 1844; the second a year later. Despite these and other enquiries into the state of affairs the majority of public opinion operated against interference with the status quo. Where a particular town felt that it needed wider powers it could apply for a local Act of Parliament to suit its own individual needs. Liverpool in 1825, and again in 1842,

passed Building Acts which laid down rules for the provision of space around new buildings, the construction of walls, and the height of rooms. Britol's Act of 1842, made regulations concerning building materials. London's Building Act was in some ways inferior to those in force in other towns and as the Building Regulation Bill took London's Act as a model, this simply added to the number of reasons for it running into difficulties.

It was against this background of national events and attempts at coming to grips with the problem in other towns that Leeds Corporation promoted the Leeds Improvement Act of 1842. At a time when the annual death rate had reached 30 per 1000 in the central Leeds Township, the new Act, containing 392 clauses, provided all the powers necessary to make a marked improvement on existing conditions. Unfortunately action did not follow the legislation, and particularly in regard to housing, Leeds became synonymous with the evil social effects of the Industrial Revolution. Cellar dwellings still existed until late in the nineteenth century and the change to housing estates which gave a layout with adequate ventilation, drainage and water supply was a slow process. Enclosed courtyards with rows of houses whose fronts faced the blank walls of others only a few feet away, continued to be built.

The reason why the Improvement Act of 1842 did not eradicate many of the evil social effects that come with industrial expansion was the lack of enforcement by the Corporation of the powers it had been given. When James Hole wrote his prize-winning essay in 1865 entitled The Working Classes of Leeds, he was allowed to hold a public reading before the mayor in Leeds Town Hall and this, followed by its subsequent publication in 1866, sparked off a long debate in the local press over Hole's criticism of the efforts in Leeds to carry out housing reform. Although written in 1866 his comments reflected the lack of action following the 1842 Improvement Act:

'But if the cottage speculator chooses to disregard such regulations, he may do so with impunity. No summons has been issued for many years for any breach of building regulations... The Council is applying for new powers, but the most extensive powers are valueless unless enforced'⁶

'If the new Act is not to share the fate of its predecessor, sanitary regulations must not be left to the caprices of a changing committee, but the machinery must be so arranged that they shall be carried out.'⁷

The conditions in Leeds in 1842 were clearly described by Robert Baker, the medical officer to the Poor Law Guardians. He produced reports in 1833, 1838, 1839, 1840 and 1842, the latter stating:

'To build the largest number of cottages on the smallest allowable space seems to have been the original view of the speculators, ^{and the} having the houses up and tenanted the new 'ne plus ultra' of their desires.'⁸

'The land has been disposed of in so many small lots to petty proprietors who have subsequently built at pleasure.'⁹

'Courts and cul de sac exist everywhere. The building of houses back-to-back occasions this in ^agreat measure. It is in fact part of the economy of buildings that are to pay a good percentage.'¹⁰

Hole referred to Baker's report in 1866 and pointed out that 'many of the evils there depicted still remain' and that:

'A large proportion of these houses still exists, all the worse for twenty-five years additional wear and tear. Some of the worst streets at the present day were at that time rather respectable. The houses now erecting are, in general, no better in character. Hundreds of them are being run up by mere building speculators, who build them not for permanent investment, but for immediate sale, and hence put as little material and labour into them as they can. No effectual control or inspection exists to check such proceedings.'¹¹

The local Act of 1842 endowed the council with major powers to improve public health conditions and was described at the time as, 'one of the most comprehensive and complete which had been obtained by local authorities! Yet the power to enforce at least minimum standards in the construction of new streets and houses did not result in action until the creation 20 years later of the Building Clauses Committee in 1863. Hole stated that regulations could be ignored with impunity and there would appear to be only 3 recorded instances of the sanctions of the 1842 Act being invoked.¹² The reason for this reluctance to enforce the Act was that the penalty for erecting buildings which contravened the regulations was to order demolition. The clauses of the 1842 Act could have been amended to alter this situation but it was not until the Improvement Act of 1866 that the enforcement of building regulations became more feasible. During the intervening period amendments were made to the 1842 Act in 1847 and 1856, and a further 13,000 houses were added to the stock of the borough, an increase of over a third.

No doubt a small number of these, as can be seen in Headingley, were well-built mansions and detached houses for the wealthy, but by far the majority were the result of speculative builders whose motives for building and the consequences of whose action differed little from those of earlier generations who built prior to 1842.

The sanitary condition of Leeds between 1842 and 1866 began to cause considerable disquiet not only in the town but in the country at large. Reports and articles appeared in national magazines such as The Builder and local newspapers such as the Leeds Mercury took up the challenge.¹³

In 1858, 1865, 1870 and 1874 the town was the subject of a visit by officers of the Medical Department of the Privy Council. Their findings led to the following declaration:

'in proportion to the importance of the town may perhaps be deemed the worst that has ever come to the knowledge of this department!'¹⁴

The criticism by the officers singled out four aspects of municipal policy which were at fault: The sewerage system, refuse disposal, water supply, and building regulations. The comments made by the Medical Officer of Health to the Privy Council in 1859 are illuminating:

'The streets of Leeds have in fact been laid out, and the houses erected according to the interest or caprice of their owners, without reference to the health, comfort and convenience of their inhabitants.'¹⁵

'The principal streets are fewer than is common in other great towns, and the interspaces between these principal roads are occupied by dense and often complicated congeries of ill-kept streets and courts, which have but seldom been adopted as highways by the municipal authority, and are often in a very foul state.'¹⁶

It is apparant from contemporary writings that almost throughout the nineteenth century the Corporation waged a constant battle with developers of housing estates to make them not only lay out new streets but to actually pave and sewer them. Many references can be found to the fact that rows of new houses had been completed and occupied, but the drainage was totally inadequate or the street giving access to them was a sea of mud at various seasons of the year. The construction of a sewerage system was started in the centre of Leeds in 1850 and continued until 1862. In 1854 the

the Streets and Sewerage Committee noted that the contractor carrying out the work was receiving few applications for house drains to be installed. The inspection sub-committee noted with regret in 1857 'the very large number of streets either wholly or inefficiently drained'. Despite providing main sewers in roads, landlords refused to connect (or more accurately to pay for) connecting their houses to the outlet sewer which had been provided. After 1857 the Streets Committee decided only to provide sewers in streets where two thirds of the house owners had made prior financial arrangements for connections. The majority of the population, and especially those in the expanding suburbs, relied on the privy-and-ashpit as a means of both human and household refuse disposal.

The use of cellars as dwellings was forbidden in those boroughs which had adopted the Public Health Act, 1848 or had made their own local regulations against them. They were by no means universally forbidden until the Housing, Town Planning Act of 1909. In 1858 Parliament amended the Public Health Act of 1848 to make further provision for the local government of towns and populous districts. Once again for those boroughs which adopted the Act there was a provision contained within it forbidding the building of new back-to-back houses. Although Sheffield waited until 1854 to adopt the provision against back-to-back houses by introducing a bye-law forbidding their construction, other towns like Leeds who found arguments to defend them, could choose to ignore it. The state of Leeds was described in 1860 as:

'Leeds, speaking broadly, is a filthy and ill-contrived town.'¹⁷

'Leeds is a surprising sight, bringing to remembrance the condition of many English towns of twenty years ago.'¹⁸

'Few towns are so advantageously situate as Leeds for securing the health and comfort of a large population, and in few localities are these advantages so sacrificed.'¹⁹

'There exists no power to control the laying out of streets, except the often neglected one, that the levels must be satisfactory, and that the street must not be less than 10 yards wide. In other respects they may be laid out in every imaginable way, of any length, at any angle. The result is the greatest confusion and ugliness. There have not been a dozen straight streets of any length laid out within the last 30 years.'²⁰

It was against this background that the Leeds Improvement Act of 1866 was passed which included regulations to more carefully control the laying out of streets and the erection of buildings, and to close some of the loopholes which existed under previous legislation. For example, The Act of 1842, Section 150, gave the Corporation the powers to demand that the owner or occupier of any building abutting any street should cause to be paved a footpath or causeway along the whole length of the property at least six feet wide. Sections 157 and 158 of the same Act stated that no house was to be built on a site until a proper drain had been constructed and connected to a common sewer, watercourse or cesspool and that the drains so constructed were to be placed in the street at a lower level than the cellar or lowest floor of the house. All of these requirements were repeated in the 1866 Act, but as little action had followed their inclusion in previous years, it was intended to enforce them in the future.

The Act of 1866 showed that the council was not prepared to interfere with established practices in two important respects. Although the Act contained a more detailed code of building regulations and generally tightened up on those that had been in force earlier, the building of back-to-back houses and the use of the midden, the cesspool and the privy-and-ashpit were all to be allowed to continue. If the latter, the sanitary arrangements are examined, it appears that the council had a prejudice against what they considered to be the water-wasting water-closet. Under the 1866 Act they could order an existing ashpit or privy to be removed and replaced by a water-closet but still allowed both to be used for new dwellings. In the same way, although the regulations described how drainage should be connected to sewers, cesspools were still allowed provided they were constructed in accordance with the specification given. In the 1870's the Sanitary Committee began a systematic campaign against the midden and the cesspool, which with the rise in the standard of new houses, led to a considerable increase in the number of water-closets by the end of the 1880's.

The question of regulating back-to-backs aroused even greater feelings due to their universal popularity among builders and the working-classes. In some respects the council ducked the issue and introduced a slight departure from existing practice by enacting that they were to be built in blocks of no more than four pairs, with

each block separated by an open space which should contain privies. No copy of the 1866 set of regulations have been found but Beresford cites the clause as:

'In no case shall dwelling houses be erected in blocks so that any block contain more than eight dwelling houses:' Building byelaw no 11 of 1866. ²¹

Later legislation improved the ventilation and open space around the houses and the Bye-Laws of 1870 restricted the number of half or blind back-to-backs to four in a row. The standards laid down in the 1866 Act remained essentially the same for the building of back-to-backs for the next 40 years. What is not so readily appreciated, however, is that the limiting of blocks to eight dwellings was necessary not to give them more open space or ventilation, but to contain the outside privies and ash pits. As the sewerage system was gradually extended to cover the whole borough from the late 1860's onwards, those builders who wished to install water-closets could build as many back-to-backs in a terrace as road layouts permitted.

The Local Government Board wanted to see an end to the building of back-to-backs in the 1860's and the privy-and-ashpit system for new houses in the 1870's. Attempts to get the bye-laws amended in accordance with the Public Health Act of 1875 failed and, whilst the Sanitary Committee was abolishing privies in the poorer quarters of the town, houses were being built in the suburbs provided only with privy facilities. It was not until 1899 and yet another Improvement Act that the council obtained for itself the power to demand that all new buildings should have water-closets.

During the period 1877 to 1900 £600,000 had been spent on sewerage and drainage and the drainage network stretched out to many of the suburbs including Armley, Wortley, Headingley and Chapel Allerton.

The 1866 Act attempted to further regulate against the worst evils of courtyard dwellings by insisting that courtyards containing dwellings should be at least 24 feet wide and 24 feet long, and that the passage or entrance to the court should be 12 feet wide and open and uncovered for the whole length of such Passage or Entrance!²² This requirement, insisting on an uncovered entrance to the courtyard, was an attempt to ban the infilling of open spaces behind houses, inns and shops which lined existing streets by not allowing the use of an existing carriage entrance archway or the construction of

a simple pedestrian tunnel. Back-to-backs may not have been banned but this, and other regulations relating to the space about buildings and the minimum width of streets, made sure that from 1870 onwards the type of back-to-backs erected were to change for the better.

It can be assumed that plans in some form or another had to be deposited for approval to the laying out of streets and sewers. This is evident from the fact that the Local Authority have deposited plans in Leeds Archives Department dating from 1836 onwards. These show proposed estates, building lots, roads, footpaths and sewers. From inspection of these, it would appear that the streets had to have the footpaths, land boundaries, and widths indicated and that sections had to be furnished along the roads to indicate levels, gradients and the sewers beneath. The 1866 Act took this requirement a stage further by requiring plans to be submitted for not only roads, footpaths, and sewers, but for new buildings; Section 31 stated:

'All Buildings or Parts of Buildings to be erected upon the Site of any Buildings or Land which, in consequence of any Improvement made by the Corporation, will become Front Land, or upon the Site of any other Land which may have been or may be purchased or taken by the Corporation, shall be erected according to such Plan for the Outside or Front Elevation thereof as the Corporation shall approve; Provided always, that in case the Corporation shall for the Space of Two Months after such Plan shall have been submitted to them neglect to notify their Determination in Writing with reference thereto, then the Corporation shall be deemed to have approved such Plan!'²³

The Improvement Act of 1866 was amended in 1869 to read 'a Design of such Building shall be submitted to the Corporation for their approval', referring once again to buildings on front lands. In this context the term 'Front Lands' used in both the 1866 and 1869 Acts, referred to sites which faced on to streets which had been or were to be adopted by the council. This meant that should a new building be sited in a position not facing a street, such as in a yard or on private land, in a nursery garden or field etc., plans and elevations were not required to be deposited. The Act of 1869 required that before any building facing or fronting onto front lands was commenced:

'a Design of such Building shall be submitted to the Corporation for their approval, and the said Building shall be erected of such Height and according to such design as to the Elevations thereof as the Corporation shall require!'²⁴

The corporation also had powers under the 1869 Act to prescribe the line to which buildings fronting on or towards streets should be erected. This meant that the council could decide how close to the back edge of pavement new building could take place and also allow for future road-widening schemes. On housing estates involving the laying out of rows of terrace houses, a line could be fixed by them, and this building line would ensure that the distance between facing parallel blocks was kept to an acceptable minimum.²⁵

The Leeds Improvement Act, 1869 was followed by the Leeds Corporation Gas and Improvements, Etc., Act, 1870, and in August of that year the council met to approve and make a set of Bye-Laws, which would supercede and replace all the existing sections of the various earlier Improvement Acts relating to new streets and buildings. These, the first comprehensive set of Building Regulations divorced from other regulations were called, 'Bye-Laws With Sections of Acts relating to New Street, Buildings, etc. 20th October 1870.' They included the relevant sections of the earlier Acts which were to remain in force and in addition many new regulations. The new Bye-Laws consolidated in one document all the relevant sections of the previous Improvement Acts of 1842, 1847, 1856, 1866, 1869 and 1870; 'With the view of shewing the whole of the Law in one place relating to matters of a like nature.' These, the first Bye-Laws solely relating to streets and buildings, were wide ranging and contained many new regulations. Although it is not easy to separate those relating to streets and those to buildings because many had an impact on both, the following comments are made on those most affecting housing estate layouts.

Hole suggested in 1865 that the regulations to control the layout of streets required that levels had to be satisfactory and that streets had to be at least 30 feet wide (see page 181). The new Bye-Laws defined the width of a street to mean:

'the whole space dedicated or intended to be dedicated to the public, exclusive of any steps, projections, or open areas, and measuring at right angles to the course or direction of such Street.'

The minimum width was to be increased to 36 feet when it was intended to erect dwellings with the principal doors opening or facing the street. Narrower back streets to the rear of dwellings were to be allowed, but where the back of houses in one street were

to be built opposite the back of houses in a parallel street, the back passage was to be at least 12 feet wide between the yards of the dwellings. To regulate further the amount of open space to dwellings, the Bye-Laws required that the back passage be open and uncovered throughout its length and also the minimum width between the rear faces of parallel rows of houses, including the yards and passage, was to be at least 36 feet as required at the front or principal Street. Restrictions were then placed on the amount of building that could take place in the open space at the rear of dwellings in the form of back additions.²⁶

As to the laying out of streets, Bye-law 3 stated:

'Every Street shall be laid out so as to afford the easiest practicable gradients, and so as to form an easy and convenient communication with the other Streets or intended Streets with which it may be, or may become, in any way connected. No Street shall be laid out of more than one hundred and fifty yards in length without a Street intersecting it.'²⁷

'In every new Street there shall be on each side of such Street, a good and sufficient footway, each of the width of not less than six inches for every yard of the entire width of the Street, and in the same proportion for every fractional part of a yard.'²⁸

With the new regulations came new powers of enforcement and, whereas under earlier legislation standards were ignored with impunity, builders were to be forced by the inspection and legal processes at least to conform to the minimum standards laid down. The process had been begun to some extent by the introduction of the 1866 Improvement Act, but streets of houses based on minimum standards really began with the 1870 Bye-Laws. Rows of parallel streets each conforming to the space standards but not allowing a single yard to be wasted to go beyond them, became known to generations of future historians as 'Bye-Law Housing'. The requirements of Bye-Law 3 and 4 set the parameters for this type of housing in Leeds, measurements which were to be seen on thousands of drawings submitted to the council from then on; 'Principal street to be twelve yards wide', 'Back passage to be twelve feet wide', were all to become standard notes on block plans for proposed housing schemes.

The 1870 Bye-Laws also changed the length of streets and made it more difficult than before to build in small courtyards. In the case of the former, long streets of terrace houses running endlessly

onwards towards the skyline were to become a thing of the past because, if 5 yards was allocated to every house, the new regulations required a road to intersect at right angles every 30 houses. In the case of courtyard housing the majority of open spaces of this nature had already been built on in the inner township and the new regulations made it not worthwhile to attempt developments in the expanding suburbs based on a series of courtyards. To begin with, back-to-backs had to be built in blocks of eight after the 1866 Act, and the 1870 regulations limited the number of blind or half back-to-backs to four. This meant that the house types most often used to line the walls of courtyards were restricted in number and the space within the courtyard was made more generous. In 1866 all courtyards had to be at least 24 feet wide at all points and to be provided with an open and uncovered entrance passage 12 feet wide. These dimensions were altered in 1870, the courtyard was to be 25 feet wide at all points, but more significantly the court had to be open at each end 'for the full width thereof' and open into a public street. The reason for this change was given that the Act of 1866 was not adequate:

'those Provisions have been found insufficient for remedying the evils by this Act proposed to be removed.'²⁹

These changes sounded the death knell for new courtyard dwellings in Leeds. The administrative headache which could follow a submission for a new street laid out, not 36 feet wide, but 25 feet wide, which the developer described as a courtyard open at both ends can only be imagined, for this eventuality does not appear to have been catered for in the regulations.

Space about new buildings was an important aspect of the new Bye-Laws. This was to secure 'a free circulation of air' and to provide ventilation to the buildings:

'every building to be erected and used as a dwelling-house shall have at the back, or at the side thereof an open space exclusively belonging thereto, to the extent of not less than one hundred and fifty square feet, free from any erection thereon above the level of the ground, excepting privies. And the distance across such open space between every such building and the opposite property at the back or side shall be not less than fifteen feet at all points.'³⁰

Such a regulation should have procluded the erection of back-to-backs but a proviso was made that these were excepted under Bye-Law 3. Special requirements had to be met for houses on irregular shaped

plots, especially end terrace houses, to determine which was the back or the side of the property. The ventilation of back-to-backs by means of open space (the lack of which was a crucial point in the arguments used by sanitary reformers to have them banned) was left nicely to the discretion of the council:

'in no case shall dwelling-houses be erected in blocks so that any block shall contain more than eight dwelling-houses when built back to back, and four dwelling-houses, not being through houses, when built in a single row; and in case any dwelling-houses shall be formed or erected containing more than four, and any number not exceeding eight dwelling-houses, such means of ventilation shall be provided for each dwelling-house as shall be satisfactory to the Council.'³¹

The council intended the open space to dwellings to remain open and as they actually adopted the space given over to roads, restrictions had to be imposed to stop building on the open space on private land to the rear of houses.

'When the sanction of the Council has been obtained for erection of any building the open space belonging to such building shall never afterwards be built upon without the approval of the Council.'³²

Just as proposed new buildings had to be shown on deposited plans to be approved by the council, so too had proposed new streets, courtyards and sewers. This requirement, unlike that for new buildings, had existed since the 1842 Act, but the exact conditions imposed on would-be developers is not known other than the fact that road widths, levels and the method of drainage had to be approved. The Bye-Laws of 1870 were quite specific:

'One month at least before any new Street or Court is laid out, written notice of the intention to lay out the same, specifying the materials proposed to be used in the completion thereof, and of the sewer to be made therein, shall be given to the Corporation, and such notice shall be accompanied by a plan and longitudinal section, referring to the Ordnance Datum, laid down to a scale of forty-four feet to an inch horizontal, and twenty feet to an inch vertical, which horizontal scale shall correspond with the plan, shewing the intended situation, boundaries, length, level and width of such new Street or Court, and how much of such Street or Court is proposed to be laid out as a footway, and the level, and size, and form at and of which the sewer is proposed to be made in such Street, or Court, or connected therewith.'³³

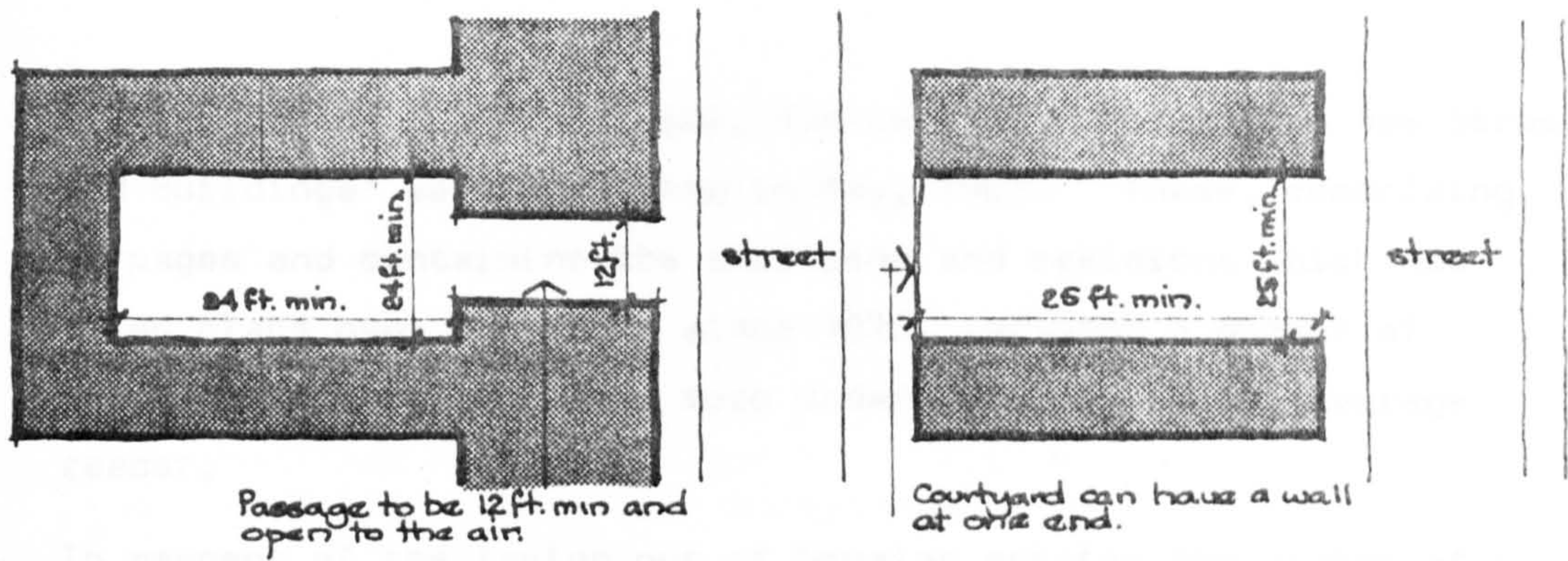
The Corporation also had the power to vary or alter the position or direction of an intended new street in order to make it communicate in a direct line with any other street adjoining or leading to it. This provision could be applied to both plan and section, but it is not clear to what extent the council exercised these powers. When plans were approved work had to be commenced within 2 years otherwise the permission was deemed to have lapsed, and the person executing the works had to give 7 days notice in writing to the Surveyor before the actual commencement of the work in order that the inspection procedures could be set in motion.

The critical dimensions relating to the laying out of new streets, courtyards and space about buildings following the introduction of the Bye-Laws in 1870 are shown on Figs. 65 - 67.

Following the Bye-Laws of 1870 there were further new Acts and amendments to existing Acts, which affected both the laying out of new streets and the erection of buildings. Improvement Acts were passed in 1872, 1877, 1893 and 1899. Where applicable new clauses were incorporated into the Building Bye-Laws and entirely new editions of the Bye-Laws were produced in 1874, 1878 and 1902. National legislation also had an influence on these changing regulations and this was especially the case with the Public Health Acts of 1875 and 1890. The Leeds Bye-Laws were amended in the light of both of these general Acts and following the publication of the Code of Model ByeLaws on 25th July, 1877. The Local Government Board, which strenuously attempted to persuade Leeds to give up both the erection of back-to-back houses and the use of the privy-and-ashpit system for new houses, asked the council to adopt the 'model' clauses being prepared for bye-laws following the Public Health Act, 1875. The council pressed ahead with its own clauses asserting its right to make bye-laws under its local Acts, and was:

'so alarmed at the suggestion that their position as
as ancient Corporation should be made subservient to a
Central Authority'³⁴

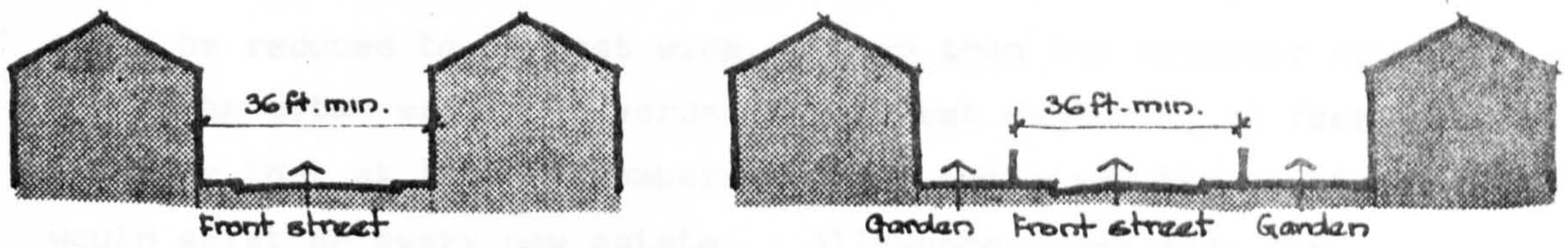
The revised version of the Bye-Laws which emerged in 1878 may have taken heed of the 'model' Bye-Laws but were definitely suited specifically to the prevailing attitudes in Leeds at the time. In 1893 the borough of Leeds became a city and in 1899 the Leeds Corporation Act was passed. It was under this more grandiose



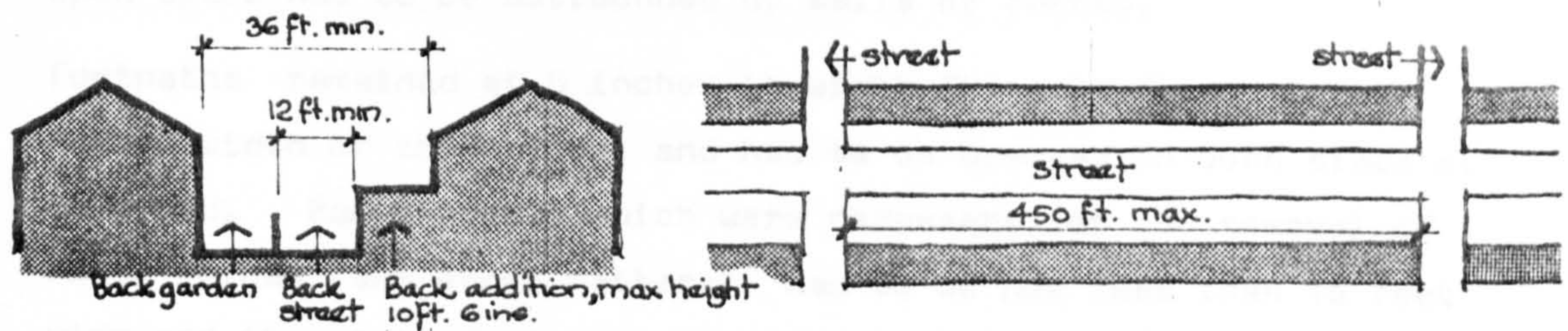
Courtyards - 1866 Improvement Act

Courtyards - 1870 Bye-Laws

Fig.65 Regulations relating to the laying out of courtyards.

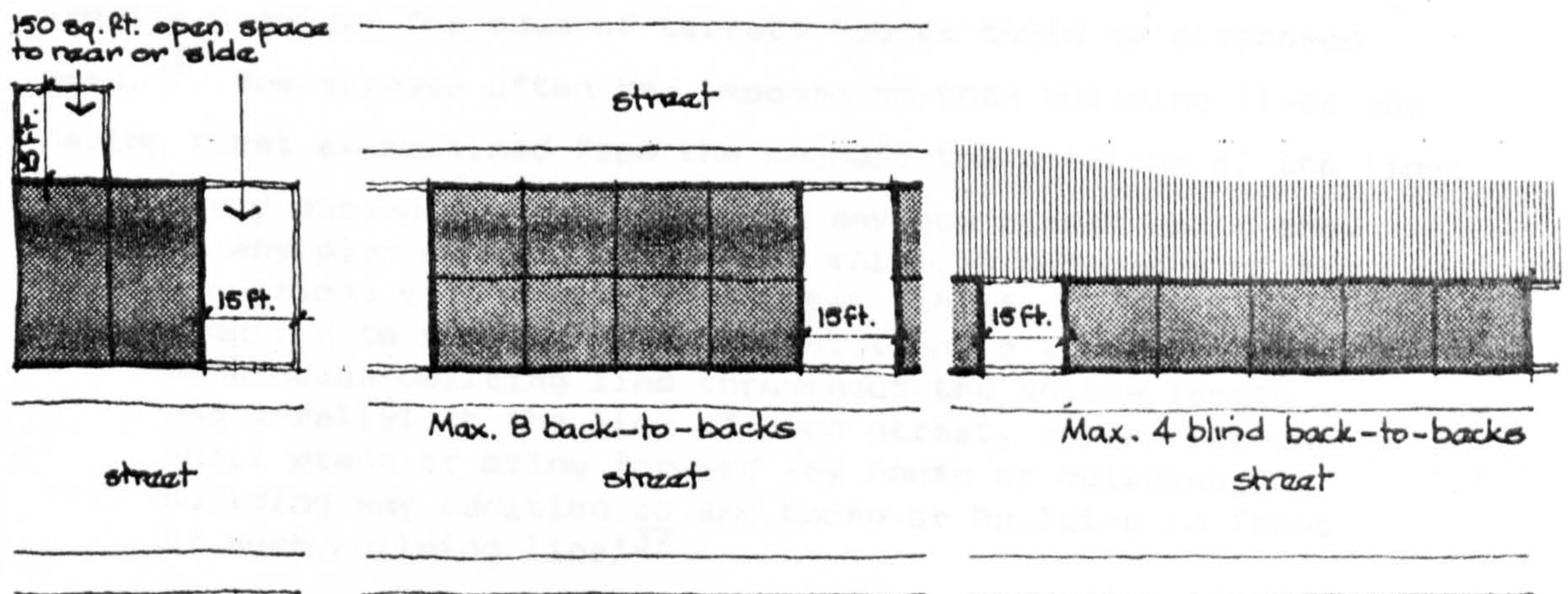


Laying out streets - 1870 Bye-Laws



Laying out streets - 1870 Bye-Laws

Fig.66 Regulations relating to the laying out of streets, 1870.



Space around houses - 1870 Bye-Laws

Fig.67 Regulations relating to the provision of space around houses, 1870.

title that the 'City of Leeds, Bye-Laws With Respect to New Streets and Buildings' were published in May, 1902. These, comprising 96 pages and containing the additions and revisions which had taken place over the years since 1870, included a number of illustrations to make them more understandable to the average reader.

In respect of the laying out of housing estates, the widths of new streets and the space about new dwellings were amended, with the result that it became more difficult to build to the densities previously achieved. Bye-Law No. 4 stated that: streets which were not defined as back streets should be at least 42 feet wide between houses, including pavements. However, if an open space such as a garden was provided at least 6 feet wide on both sides, the street could be reduced to 36 feet wide. Even then the narrower street had to be sited within 75 yards of a street measuring 42 feet wide in order that at least a number of these principal thoroughfares would exist on every new estate. Allowances were made for projecting bay windows and porches but gardens forming part of the open space had to be surrounded by walls or fences.³⁵

Footpaths remained at 6 inches in width for every yard of the entire width of the street, and had to be erected on both sides of the road. Back streets which were necessary for the removal of house refuse 'and other matters' had to be not less than 15 feet wide and the distance from a house receptacle for refuse to a communicating street had to be no more than 75 yards. If an alternative means of access were provided around the side of the house or passages through to the rear, the back street which was usually provided for rows of terrace houses could be dispensed with.³⁶ New streets often had imposed on them building lines and having first ascertained from the council the position of the line:

'Every person who shall lay out any new street shall shew on any plan of such new street which, in pursuance of the provisions of the Bye-Law in that behalf, he may be required to submit to the Corporation, a straight and continuous building line throughout the entire length and parallel to the line of such street, and no person shall erect or bring forward any house or building, or building any addition to any house or building in front of such building line.'³⁷

Space about domestic buildings was considered in detail in the 1902 Bye-Laws only when the total width of a new street was less

than 50 feet. The regulation was concerned with keeping a balance between building height and the space separating the dwellings:

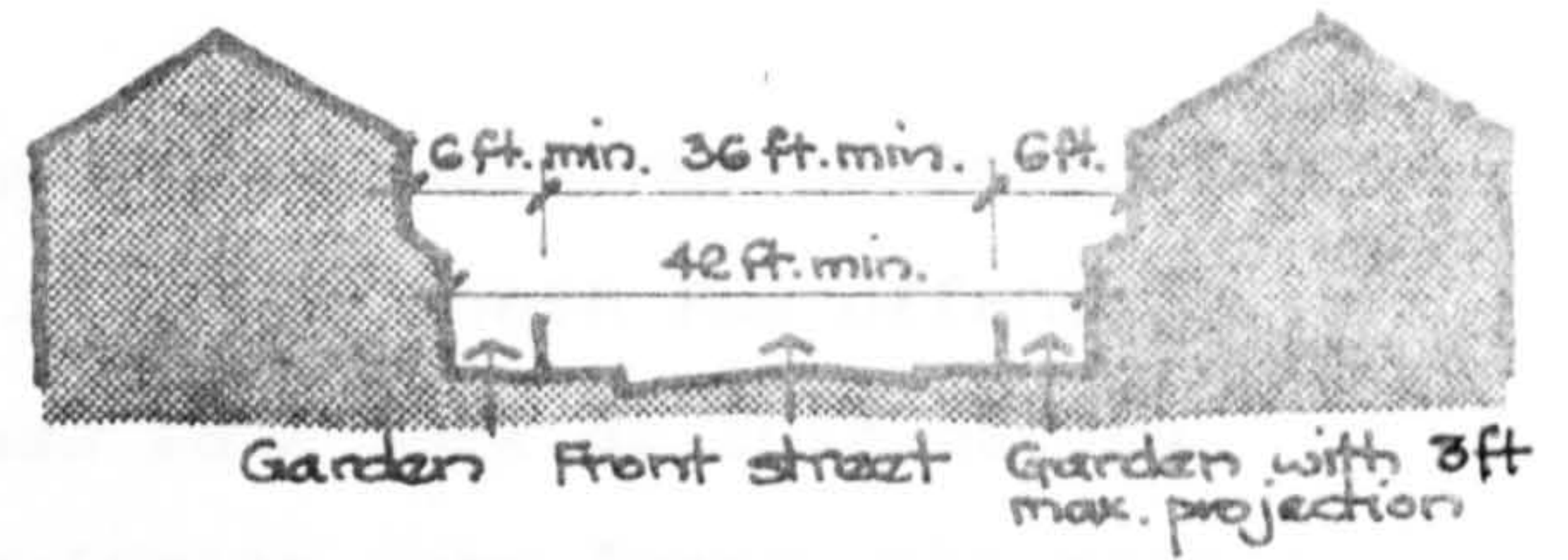
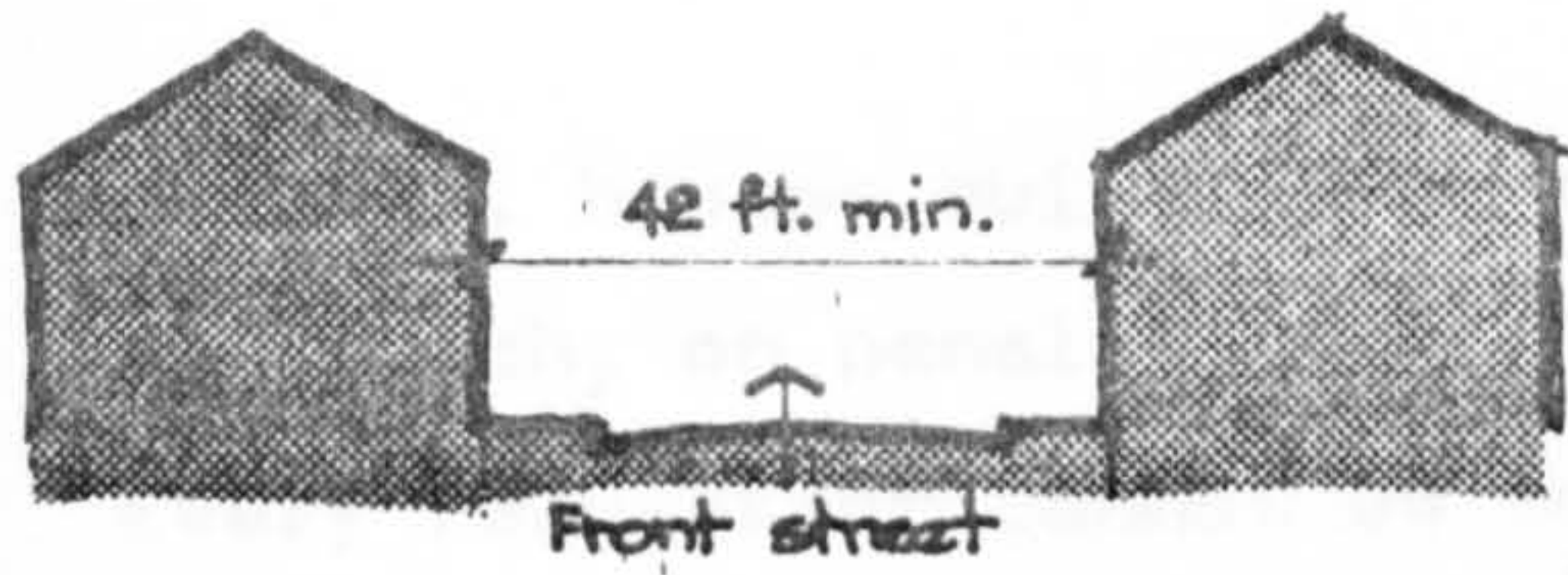
'Every person who shall erect a new domestic building in any street of a less width than fifty feet shall erect such buildings so that the height of such building shall not exceed the measure of the distance between the front wall of such building and the opposite side of the street.'³⁸

Notice of intention to lay out streets had to be given in a similar manner to that required under previous legislation. Notice in writing had to be sent to the Surveyor's Office together with a plan and sections of the intended street. The drawings were to be submitted in duplicate in ink on tracing cloth to a scale of not less than 1" to 41.66 feet horizontal and 1" to 10 feet vertical. The plans had to indicate: the name of the landowners involved, intended levels, width of the street, points of the compass, mode of construction, intended name, position relative to adjoining streets, the size, number and description of intended building lots, intended frontage lines, the siting, nature, height and class of buildings to be erected, and the types of fences or walls to be built. The plan had to be then signed by the persons intending to lay out the street or his duly authorised agent. The section had to indicate the levels of the present ground and the intended levels of the new street related to ordnance datum, together with gradients, intersecting streets, the lowest floor levels of intended buildings and the depth, form, size and falls of sewers, manholes and road gulleys.³⁹ The critical dimensions relating to the laying out of new streets and space about buildings following the introduction of the Bye-Laws in 1902 are shown in Fig. 68.

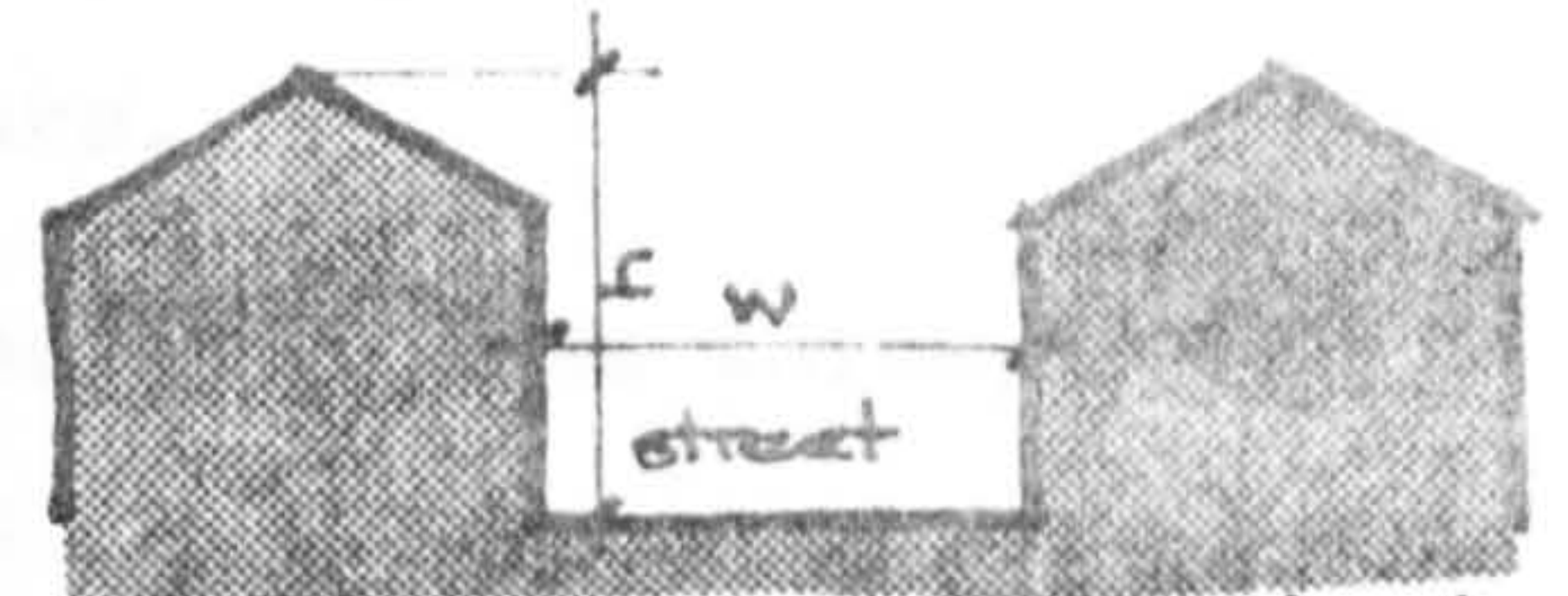
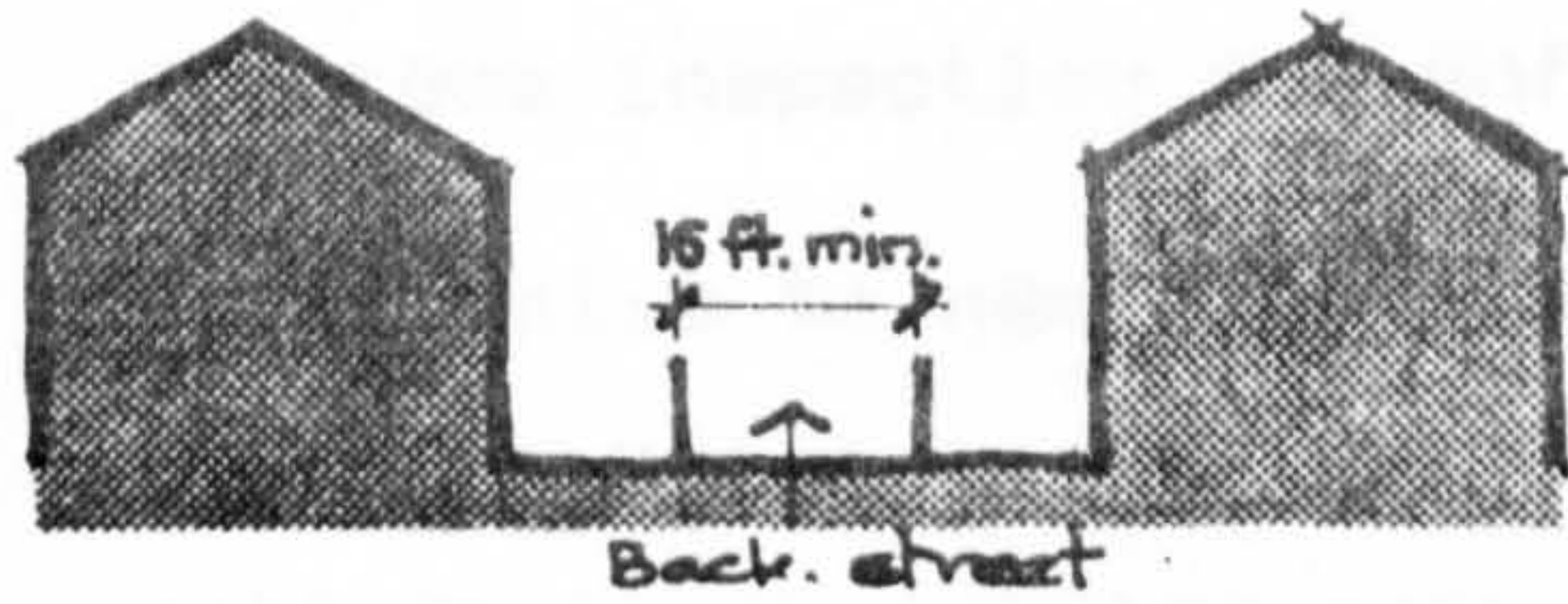
7.2 Legislation Relating to the Construction of Domestic Buildings

Several aspects of the legislation discussed in 7.1 above related directly to buildings and not just to the laying out of streets and housing estates. The following attempts to highlight particular sections of the Bye-Laws of 1870 and 1902 specifically relating to the construction of houses.

The Bye-Laws of 1870 not only introduced new regulations relating to the construction of domestic buildings but stated which of the earlier sections of Acts were still in force. Thus, under the Act



Laying out streets - 1902 Bye-Laws



Laying out streets - 1902 Bye-Laws

Fig.68 Regulations relating to the laying out of streets, 1902.

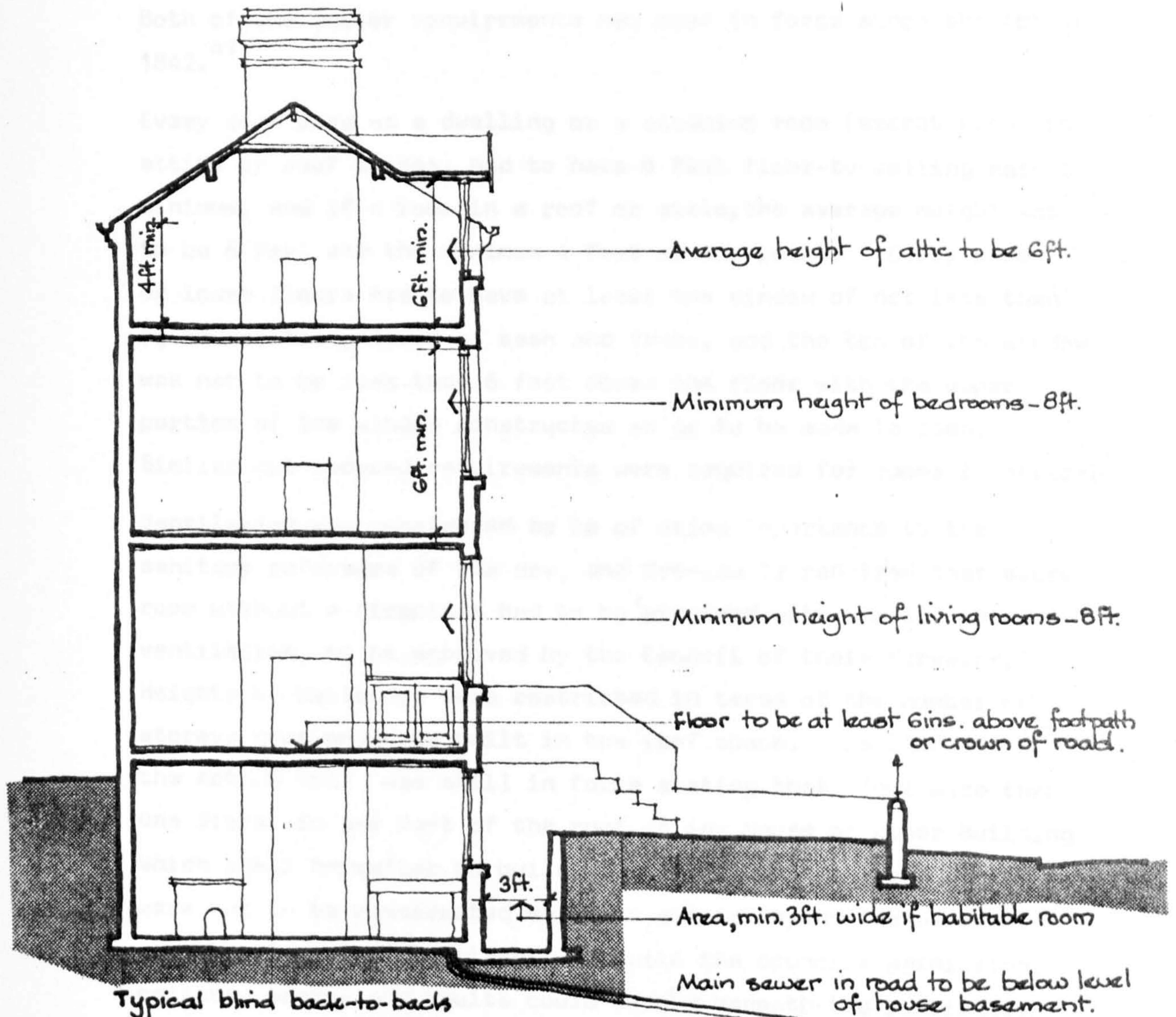


Fig.69 Regulations relating to house building, 1870 Bye-Laws.

of 1842, houses built in or near any street were not to be roofed in thatch, on penalty of a fine of 40s. per month for offenders. Every regulation cannot be summarised in a work of this nature but the speculative builders of Headingley were faced with meeting new requirements from 1870 onwards, and even where older regulations were simply reiterated, they had to contend with a new and much more vigorous inspection and enforcement procedure.

Party walls to new houses were to be at least 9 inches thick, if built in brick, and 12 inches thick, if built in stone, in order to satisfactorily divide each tenement.⁴⁰ Houses were not to be built below ground level without areas to provide ventilation, the area was to be open and not less than 3 feet wide extending the full width of the house. Ground floors of new dwellings were to be at least 6 inches above the level of the footpath adjoining the house. Both of the latter requirements had been in force since the Act of 1842.⁴¹

Every room used as a dwelling or a sleeping room (except rooms in attics or roof spaces) had to have 8 feet floor-to-ceiling height minimum, and if a room in a roof or attic, the average height was to be 6 feet and the minimum 4 feet at any point. Every room on lower floors had to have at least one window of not less than 6½ square feet, clear of sash and frame, and the top of the window was not to be less than 6 feet above the floor with the upper portion of the window constructed so as to be made to open. Similar but reduced requirements were required for rooms in attics.⁴²

Ventilation was considered to be of prime importance to the sanitary reformers of the day, and Bye-Law 12 required that every room without a fireplace had to be 'provided with special means of ventilation, to be approved by the Council of their Surveyor.' Heights of buildings were restricted in terms of the number of storeys that could be built in the roof space. Section 189 of the Act of 1842 was still in force stating that 'not more than One Storey in any Part of the roof of any House or Other Building which shall hereafter be built...'⁴³ Cellars and vaults were not to be constructed so as to extend beyond the pavement and thus be below the street, but with the council's permission, cellars, arches and vaults could extend beneath the publically owned footpath.⁴⁴

Every new house was required to have drains to carry off water from the roof and waste water from within. The drains had to be to the satisfaction of the council and constructed of socket earthenware pipes of at least 6 inches diameter interior measurement, and connected to the nearest sewer. Cesspools were still to be allowed but only when an outlet sewer was more than 100 feet from the dwelling. Under the 1866 Act the Corporation had the power to insist on the provision of a water-closet if it considered this necessary, however, the Bye-Laws simply stated that:

'Every two dwelling-houses shall have, at the least, one water-closet or privy.'⁴⁵

The privies had to be placed outside the dwellings and the receptacle for the soil had to be at least 3 feet away from the wall of the house. The size of privies and ash pits and the ventilation to be provided to privies and water-closets was strictly laid down.

Under Bye-Law 17 the increased control of the council to limit poorly built houses for the working classes was clearly demonstrated. From 1870 onwards no dwelling under the rateable value of £20 was to be occupied until, after completion, it had been certified by the Corporation as being fit for human habitation and being in accordance with the Bye-Laws in force at the time.⁴⁶ The Corporation could also prohibit any building under the rateable value of £20 being occupied as a dwelling until the drainage had been made and completed to their satisfaction.⁴⁷

The roofs of new houses were specifically mentioned in terms of the materials which would be allowed. This does not appear to be the case for walls or windows which were left for normal practice to prevail. Thatch was not to be allowed under the Act of 1842, but under the same Act flat roofs, gutters and pitched roofs, including turrets, dormers and lantern lights, had to be constructed in or covered with some incombustible material. (except for the woodwork necessary for doors and window frames or used in the construction of dormers or turrets).⁴⁸

The requirements concerning the deposit and approval of building plans were those in force under the Acts of 1866 and 1869 and quoted on p. 184. The Bye-Laws of 1870 took these a stage further by requiring that any person intending to erect a new building or alter any existing building or rebuild any building which had been pulled down or burnt down had to give the Corporation 21 days notice

in writing. This notice was required on housing estates 21 days before commencing to dig out foundations. The notice had to state the name and place of business or residence of the owner of the land and building, a description of the development, its intended use, mode of drainage and water supply and the situation of the land. Deposited with the notice were to be plans and sections:

'and shall with such notice deposit plans and sections, showing, by reference to some fixed point, adjacent to the said building or drain, the depth and level of the proposed foundations of such intended new or altered building, the heights of the rooms, the lines of the flues, the size and position of the windows, and the size, depth, and level of the proposed drain, and also a block plan showing the proposed lines of drainage, their size, depth, and inclination, and the means of ventilation of such drains, and the materials of which such drains are to be made. A general ground plan and a plan showing the arrangement of each floor, and a longitudinal and transverse section of the building, showing the size and thickness of the walls and situation of the yard, and of the water-closet or privy, cesspool, well, and ashpit, and all other appurtenances belonging to, or to be constructed for such building; and such sections and plans shall be drawn to a scale of not less than one-eighth of an inch to the foot, and showing the lines of adjoining property, and such plans and tracings thereof shall be deposited and remain with the said Borough Surveyor, the plans to be returned to the Owner when approved or disapproved of, but the tracings to remain with the Borough Surveyor and become the property of the Corporation. And a plan shall be left at the same time showing the position of the buildings, and appurtenances of the properties immediately adjoining, the width and level of the Street upon which the said buildings or the premises appurtenant thereto, are intended to abut, the level of the lowest floor of the intended building, and of the yard or ground belonging thereto.'

As the developer had to provide a plan of the estate drawn to a scale of 44 feet to 1 inch for approval to roads and sewers, this was the scale adopted by most depositors for the small inset block plan showing the location of the buildings in question.

When plans were approved the work had to be commenced within two years from the date of the notice given to the Corporation and a refusal of permission had to be given in writing within 21 days. The person intending to carry out the work was required to give 7 days notice in writing before actual commencement of the work and a number of Bye-Laws were introduced to cover the inspection procedure to be carried out by the surveyors employed by the council.

The penalties for breaches or non observance of any or part of the Bye-Laws was set at a sum not to exceed £5, and for continuing offences, at any sum not to exceed 40 shillings per day that the offence continued.⁵⁰ The inspection of procedures and the imposition of penalties are discussed in Chapter 13 of this thesis. Some of the critical dimensions relating to the construction of dwellings according to the 1870 Bye-Laws are shown in Fig. 69.

Inspection of the Bye-Laws of 1902 show that the number and complexity of regulations relating to the building of houses had greatly increased. A general synopsis of the major changes brought about by this new edition of the Bye-Laws was given in The Builder:

'Many of the old bye-laws have been retained, a considerable number have been materially modified, and there are some new regulations.'⁵¹

The Builder pointed out some of the major changes, listing the following: main thoroughfares to be not less than 42 feet wide; dwelling houses erected in damp situations to have a layer of concrete 6 inches thick or a covering of asphalt; every new building to have a damp course inserted at a height of not less than 3 inches above the surface of the ground; no old bricks to be used in the erection of new dwellings; the quality of materials to be specified such as mortar to consist of $\frac{1}{3}$ good lime and $\frac{2}{3}$ sand; strengths of timbers supporting roofs, floor joists, beams and girders to be specified; provision of ventilation to all buildings and not just to dwelling houses; efforts to secure more efficient sewerage, and to provide ventilation to drains.⁵²

The 1870 Bye-Laws contained 29 pages and 30 Bye-Laws, the 1902 edition contained 96 pages and 130 Bye-Laws. These figures clearly show the increase in complexity of building legislation during the thirty year period after the publication of the first set of Bye-Laws; a process which has continued up to the present day. In terms of house building the following changes are noteworthy. All new domestic buildings were to be built on a ground surface which had been covered with a layer of concrete 6 inches thick or a layer of asphalt.⁵³ Walls to new houses were to be erected in brick 9 inches thick or stone 12 inches thick and this was to apply to both external and party walls. Half-timbered walls were to be allowed but only if infilled and backed by brickwork at

least $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. Hollow cavity walls could also be constructed provided that both leaves were at least $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, the cavity was no more than 3 inches maximum and galvanised iron, tarred and sanded iron, or glazed stoneware ties were inserted.⁵⁴ All openings in external walls were to be bridged over by a head, arch or some other form of incombustible lintel.⁵⁵

In the case of premises such as houses and shops where people were habitually employed or in dwelling houses exceeding 35 feet in height, the party wall was to be carried up to at least 15 inches above the roof, whether flat or pitched.⁵⁶ In other cases of dwellings of a less height, the party wall was to be carried up to the underside of the slates and no woodwork of any description was to extend across any party wall.⁵⁷ Staircases inside dwellings were to be constructed with a minimum finished width of 2 feet 6 inches and windows had to be provided of sufficient number and in such a manner and position that 'each of such windows shall afford effectual means of ventilation by communication with the external air.'⁵⁸

The need for ventilation was expressed in easily understood language, every habitable room in a new dwelling was to have at least one window equal to $\frac{1}{10}$ of the floor area of the room and at least $\frac{1}{2}$ of this was to open. If a room had no fireplace an adequate means of permanent ventilation had to be provided by means of an air shaft of sectional area equal to 100 square inches.⁵⁹

The construction of privies was still to be allowed provided they were at least 6 feet away from any wall of a dwelling house and, if water-closets were built with access from outside the house and under flights of steps, the ceiling of the water-closet had to be at least 3 feet above ground level.⁶⁰ Cesspools could also still be used provided they were sited at least 50 feet away from houses and not within 80 feet of any means of water supply.⁶¹ Plans which were submitted for approval had to be considered and a decision given by the council within one month from the date of the notice of intention to lay out a street or erect a building.⁶²

Houses had to be certified before being occupied:

'A person shall not let or occupy any new dwelling-house until the drainage thereof shall have been made and completed, or until such dwelling-houses shall, after examination, have been certified by an officer of the Corporation, authorised to give such certificate, to be, in his opinion, in every respect fit for human habitation.'⁶³

Fig.70 Through houses erected on the Teal Estate prior to the 1870 Bye-Laws.



Fig.71 Through houses erected in St. Michael's Road after the introduction of Bye-Laws (G.F. Bowman & E. Wilson 1887 - 1893).

Fig.72 Through houses erected on the Manor House Estate after the Bye-Laws of 1902 had come into force (F. & J.A. Wright 1903).



7.3 The Continuing Effects of Legislation

The Leeds Improvement Acts of 1866, 1869, 1870 and 1872, gradually transferred control of building development to Leeds Corporation. The Act of 1866 gave the Corporation the right to vet elevations of all buildings overlooking roads to be adopted by them. It also transferred the Highway Surveyor's responsibilities to the Corporation and one highway rate was to be levied throughout the borough. The turnpike tolls had been removed entirely from within the borough boundary and the Corporation and not local townships was in future to have sole control over the making, sewerage and maintaining of streets. The Act of 1869 allowed the Corporation to levy a main sewer rate and increased the upper level of the highway rate. By 1870 the Borough Surveyor and a Sub-Committee of the Town Council were responsible for the examination and the passing or rejecting of all plans for new buildings and proposed streets within the borough. The introduction of the Bye-Laws increased the powers of the Corporation, backed up as they were by a far more efficient inspection and enforcement procedure. From 1870 onwards the power to really control future suburban development passed from townships like Headingley to the Corporation of Leeds.

Although the Bye-Laws were amended in 1902 there was no active policy of town planning or local authority house-building carried out in Leeds in the latter part of the nineteenth century other than a number of slum clearance schemes. The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1885, allowed local authorities to erect houses or cottages for the labouring classes and attempted to initiate improvement schemes in slum areas. Fears were expressed at the time that competition in house-building would put private builders out of business, but in fact very little of the sort happened, for local authorities did not rush to begin building houses. Improvement schemes and clearance of inner areas in towns like Leeds continued in the same muddled way as they had done before. The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, went further than the 1885 Act and paved the way for the more progressive local authorities to begin development schemes in their areas in order to bring about a change in housing policy. The Act did not envisage the continuing ownership of the completed houses by local authorities but assumed that after erection they should be sold or disposed of to private owners within ten years.

The crucial piece of legislation as far as most towns and cities were concerned was the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909 which contained one clause which was to become important for the history of housing in Britain.

'it shall not be obligatory upon any local authority to sell or dispose of any lands or dwellings acquired or constructed by them.'⁶⁴

Following this Act there was a very marked increase in the number of local authorities who responded to the pressure to undertake housing schemes. After the 1914 - 1918 war the country:

'found itself firmly set upon the way to council house dwelling as an ordinary rather than an exceptional way of life for working people... Awareness of the sacrifice of lives and health of young men in the trenches led to an enthusiastic if not very practical campaign for Homes for Heroes.'⁶⁵

Leeds Corporation carried out slum clearance schemes under the Improvement Act of 1870. In 1871 houses were demolished in the area of the Old Post Office Yard, near Kirkgate Market and work was completed by 1874. A second scheme in the Union Street area, and a third in Meadow Lane, Holbeck, completed the schemes undertaken before 1885. The tentative manner in which the council approached the problem of slum clearance changed after the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, and a much greater programme was put into effect. These culminated in two major clearance schemes, the York Street insanitary area, and the Quarry Hill insanitary area. Purchasing began in 1902 and eventually the council owned nearly 67 acres of the worst slums in the city. The problem of how to rehouse persons displaced by slum clearance had not been solved in the earlier schemes carried out in the 1870's and now loomed large because of the scale of demolition involved. In 1897 it was the intention to build 50 houses to plans approved by the Local Government Board and then this was amended to sell the land by auction to builders who were prepared to build to the agreed specifications. The arguments raged as to whether the Corporation should compete with private builders by using public money to do so, and the problem of the rents being too high for those persons who were to be displaced could not be ignored. It was at this stage in the proceedings that in 1898 a deputation went to the Local Government Board to attempt to persuade it to allow the erection of new back-to-back houses on the York Street site when it was cleared. Permission was refused.

By 1900 the council had rehoused few of the displaced persons from the York Street area but had provided alternative accommodation intended for but beyond the means of them. Some 906 houses and 2 blocks of tenements were erected, not by the authority but by private builders on their behalf. A similar pattern followed in the Quarry Hill area and it was not until after 1914 that Leeds Corporation came to provide alternative accommodation through subsidised municipal housing with the Corporation remaining the landlord.⁶⁶

In Leeds there was little or no municipal housing policy before 1919, but under the Housing and Town Planning Act of that year several cottage estates were built in Meanwood, Middleton and elsewhere. Town Planning as such to create new housing schemes was late in coming to the city but a report by the 1912 Plans Committee suggested that the over-building that took place up to the year 1901 had meant that town planning had not been required as early in Leeds as in other towns. But new forces were at work and some landowners wished to take advantage of the new legislation to throw the not inconsiderable burden of having the layout of an estate drawn up and approved entirely on the shoulders of the Corporation:

'In consequence of the over-building during the past decade, Leeds has not been obliged to move in the matter of Town Planning as rapidly as some other towns, but there are indications that considerable areas will shortly have to be dealt with under the powers of the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909, as the owners of estates appear to be anxious to avoid some of the obligations thrown upon them by the present bye-laws for laying out estates, and this Act furnishes the opportunity for so doing if the proposals are approved by the Local Government Board.

In the case of the Buckingham House Estate, off Headingley Lane, the owners and the Corporation have agreed, and plans were prepared for the application to the Local Government Board for the laying out of the Estate and relaxation of the existing bye-laws. The proposal will allow for the widening of Headingley Lane without purchase of the necessary land by the Corporation. In this instance, as no doubt in other cases, the owners and the Corporation will benefit financially by the adoption of the Act.⁶⁷

Thus one of the earliest town planning schemes carried out in the city was in the study area at Headingley and it proposed the demolition of Buckingham House and covering the site with a network

of roads and semi-detached houses. Plans of the scheme can be seen in deeds and it was the subject of further comments in annual reports:⁶⁸

'An enquiry was held by Mr. Thomas Adams, on behalf of the local Government Board on the 11th March, 1913, with respect to the application of the Corporation for authority to prepare a scheme for the Buckingham House Estate'.⁶⁹

'TOWN PLANNING

No.1 Scheme

BUCKINGHAM HOUSE - Authority was given by the Local Government Board on the 26th May 1913, to prepare a Town Planning Scheme in connection with this Estate.⁷⁰

By 1914 at least four other town planning schemes were being prepared and these were at Harehills, Osmondthorpe, Gledhow and Temple Newsam. In 1915 a rough draft scheme was submitted to the Local Government Board for the Buckingham House Scheme and, after several amendments and alterations, the estate of houses and a new church were built in the inter-war period.⁷¹

7.4. A Summary of Legislation Affecting Estates and House-Building

Several Acts, both local and national, have been quoted in the preceding sections of this chapter. These have all been brought together in one place in the form of tables for ease of reference. The tables indicate those Acts passed by Parliament which related to Leeds only and also those national Acts which had an influence on the way that estates were laid out or houses erected within the town. No attempt has been made to include all the Acts which were passed during the period which were numerous and often of only marginal significance. The following would appear to have been the most relevant for the purposes of this thesis:

Table 25 Regulations Directly Influencing New Streets and Buildings in Leeds, 1842 - 1902

Act or Regulation	Date
Leeds Improvement Act	1842
Leeds Improvement Amendment Act	1847
Leeds Improvement Amendment Act	1856
Leeds Improvement Act	1866
Leeds Improvement Act	1869
Leeds Corporation Gas and Improvements Etc. Act	1870
Borough of Leeds Bye-Laws ^a	1870
Leeds Improvement Act	1872
Borough of Leeds Bye-Laws	1874

Leeds Improvement Act	1877
Borough of Leeds Bye-Laws	1878
Leeds Improvement Act	1893
Leeds Corporation Act	1899
City of Leeds Bye-Laws	1902

a Where Bye-Laws are listed in the table they refer to those laws relating to new streets and buildings.

Table 26 National Regulations Indirectly Influencing New Streets and Buildings in Leeds, 1835 - 1919

Act or Regulation ^a	Date
The Municipal Corporations Act	1835
Town Improvement Clauses Act	1847
Public Health Act	1848
Common Lodging Houses Act	1851
Lodging Houses Act	1851
Common Lodging Houses Act	1853
Labourers Dwellings Act	1855
Labouring Classes Dwelling Houses Act	1866
Sanitary Act	1866
Labouring Classes Dwellings Act	1867
Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act	1868
Public Health Act	1872
Building Societies Act	1874
Working Men's Dwellings Act	1874
Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act	1875
Public Health Act	1875
Artisans' Dwellings Act ^b	1882
Code of Model Bye-Laws	1877
Housing of the Working Classes Act	1885
Local Government Act	1888
Working Classes Dwellings Act	1890
Public Health Amendments Act	1890
Settled Land Act	1890
Housing of the Working Classes Act	1890
Housing of the Working Classes Act	1900
Housing of the Working Classes Act	1903
Housing and Town Planning Act	1909
Housing Act	1914
Housing and Town Planning Act	1919

a There were many other Acts which applied only to Scotland or London as well as a series of Amendment Acts to those listed. ⁷²

b Not officially an Act or law but included for reasons of completeness.

7.5. The Need For Professional Advisors

Throughout the nineteenth century the laying out of estates and the erection of new houses came under the control of an ever increasing number of pieces of legislation and inevitably the process became more and more complex with the passage of time. The important

point that historians like Dyos have noted is that many of the housing developers were amateurs and not builders, and therefore changing circumstances, such as the power to control future suburban development passing from the hands of the often slipshod township officials to the Corporation of Leeds, meant that an increase in the number of Professional advisors became inevitable. Professional advisors had been used since the beginning of the century but as the legislation grew and the number of houses built increased, men with different skills were necessary in order that the requirements of the Corporation were to be met.

The pre-development landowner, the land speculator and the developer all used the services of land surveyors, lawyers, estate agents and auctioneers. The land surveyors measured the estates and advised the landowner on the best method of drawing up an estate plan with road layouts and building plots. The lawyers were not only necessary to draw up the legal documents for land sales, but due to their position at the interface of buyers and sellers, were usually able to give advice on and arrange finance in order that purchasers could borrow the money to finalise deals. The estate agents and auctioneers were another group of advisors who would comment on estate layout and especially on plot sizes in relation to the land or housing market at the time of sale.

The introduction of building regulations demanding the submission of and the approval of not only roads and sewers, but buildings, called for either a knowledge of the new regulations and the ability to put this in the form of scale drawings by the developer or by one of his existing professional advisors. The builder was not immune from this change; for even those that due to their training and experience could produce scale drawings and sketch out house plans, elevations and details of the fixtures and fittings to go into a new dwelling, were faced with an ever increasing number of new Acts and Bye-Laws with which they had to conform. Inspection of the deposited plans for the study area shows that after 1866 a new advisor had entered the scene and was involved in the process of the erection of even the smallest of back-to-back cottages - the architect.

Many of the deposited plans were drawn up by architects who were also surveyors and fulfilled the dual role of estate or land surveyor and depositer of building plans. Gradually, however, more and more

plans were submitted by architects as a separate process from the drawing up of the roads and building lots. The requirement to deposit plans of proposed roads, footpaths, sewers and building lots dated back to at least the Improvement Act of 1842, but it was not until the Act of 1866 that elevations of buildings on front lands were required and the Act of 1869 that plans and elevations of buildings on front lands had to be submitted. Bye-Law 21 of 1870 brought these separate requirements together to insist on proper scale drawings, including plans and sections of all new buildings wherever sited. The 1870 Bye-Laws also required a block plan, drawn to a smaller scale, indicating the new building and its relationship to other buildings and roads, both existing and proposed. Identification of earlier drawings prepared before 1870 is extremely difficult because often the exact position of a particular building can not be pinpointed in a road or on an estate from plans and elevations only.

Prior to 1866 it was common practice to submit a notice to the Council 14 days before work commenced on any house. With this notice was an accompanying plan showing not the whole building but the level at which the foundations were proposed to be constructed. Attached to, but not forming part of a deposited plan for the period 1866 - 1870, the writer found a pre-printed notice which had probably been used as a piece of scrap paper by one of the surveyors or clerks; the contents were as follows:

'Dated the _____ day of ____ 186

To the Council of the Borough of Leeds

And to

Mr. Alfred Mountain Fowler, the Surveyor of the said Borough.

I, the undersigned, residing at No _____ street, in the Township of _____ within the Borough of Leeds, Hereby Give You Notice, that after the expiration of fourteen days from the date hereof, I intend to build _____ Dwelling House, in _____ in the Township of _____ within the said Borough, and a Plan accompanies this Notice, shewing the level at which the Foundation of such House is proposed to be laid, etc. in accordance with the 38th Section of the "Towns Improvement Clauses Act, 1847."

_____ signed, 73

No examples of these early deposited plans showing foundations have been found but several examples of foundation plans showing basements

and work below ground have been found for houses submitted for approval after 1870. This was particularly the case on the Norwood Estate off Victoria Road, but a more detailed plan always followed within a few weeks to conform with the new Bye-Laws. The plans were usually marked 'basement plan only of proposed houses.'⁷⁴ The majority of deposited plans at Leeds Archives Department for the period 1867 to 1914 were deposited by architects and the question must be asked to what extent were architects used as professional advisors by house developers prior to 1866? There is little doubt that large mansions and detached villas were designed by the more well known architects in the town, but the possibility must be faced that less well known architects or certain builders were employed to draw up at least deposited foundation plans during the period 1847 to 1866. Certainly some knowledge of building and the current building legislation was necessary, and for middle-class or working-class housing, this may not have been available from land or estate surveyors. It would have presented no problem to the architect designing the custom-built house and could have been part of his normal service.

Plans submitted under the 1902 Bye-Laws were similar in terms of the information required for houses under the 1870 Bye-Laws. What was different was the number of regulations in force which the depositer had to understand before submission if a refusal was to be avoided. Bye-Law 116 stated that complete plans and sections of every floor of a new building were required in duplicate in ink on tracing cloth, to a scale of not less than 8 feet to 1 inch. Also required was a description in writing of the materials of which it was intended to construct the building and the mode of drainage and means of water supply. The written information had to be furnished on a set of forms which accompanied the plans. Block plans were also to be in duplicate in ink or tracing cloth, to a scale of not less than 1" to 41.66 feet.

The drainage of houses, the ventilation of rooms, daylighting, correct provision of flues, the size of beams and the space about buildings were all carefully checked and the work in progress regularly inspected. But by this time the role of architects as professional advisors had become firmly established in order to guide the developer through at least the plans approval if not the construction process.

NOTES

CHAPTER 7 BUILDING REGULATIONS

- 1 Robert Baker, Report to the Leeds Board of Health, 1833, quoted in Leeds City Libraries, Leeds: A Brief History, p.10.
- 2 Evidence of Dr. Williamson, Second Report of Factory Commission, P.P. 1833, XXI, p. 112.
- 3 J. N. Tarn, Five Per Cent Philanthropy, p. 1.
- 4 Quoted by Beresford in The History of Working-Class Housing : A Symposium, p. 111.
- 5 Report of the Select Committee on the Health of Towns, P.P. 1840, XI, p. 100-101.
- 6 James Hole, The Working Classes of Leeds, a prize-winning essay of January 1865, reprinted as an appendix to his Homes of the Working Classes with Suggestions for their Improvement, 1866, p.129.
- 7 Ibid., p. 144. He was referring to the proposed Leeds Improvement Act of 1866.
- 8 Robert Baker, 'On the State and Condition of the Town of Leeds,' Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population, Local Reports, P.P., 1842, XXVII, p. 351. Robert Baker was a Leeds Councillor who later became one of Her Majesty's Inspector of Factories. His sanitary reports to the council played a very important role in obtaining of the Leeds Improvement Act of 1842.
- 9 Ibid., p.352.
- 10 Ibid., p.353.
- 11 James Hole, op. cit., p. 125.
- 12 B.J. Barber, 'Aspects of municipal government, 1835 - 1914' in D. Frazer (editor), A History of Modern Leeds, Chapter XII, p. 305.
- 13 For a series of articles discussing the sanitary state of Leeds at the time, see The Builder, 1860, Vol. 18, p. 809; 1866, Vol. 24, p. 57; 1866 Vol. 24, p. 873.
- 14 B.J. Barber, op. cit., p. 302.
- 15 Second Report of the Medical Officer of H. to the Privy Council for 1859, P.P. XXIX of 1860, p. 134.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 The Builder, 1860, Vol. 18, p. 809.
- 18 Eighth Report of the Medical Officer of H. to the Privy Council for 1865, P.P. XXXIII of 1866, p.648.
- 19 James Hole, op. cit., p. 123.
- 20 Ibid., p. 142.
- 21 Beresford, Note 61, p. 125 - 126.
- 22 Section 57, Leeds Improvement Act of 1866.
- 23 Section 31, Leeds Improvement Act of 1866.
- 24 Section 20, Leeds Improvement Act of 1869.
- 25 Ibid., Section 21.
- 26 Bye-Laws with Sections of Acts Relating to New Streets, Buildings etc., 1870, Bye-Law 3, p. 5.

- 27 Ibid., Bye-Law 3, p. 5 - 6.
- 28 Ibid., Bye-Law 4, p. 6.
- 29 Ibid., Bye-Law 12, p. 12.
- 30 Ibid., Bye-Law 8, p. 9.
- 31 Ibid., Bye-Law 8, p. 9 - 10.
- 32 Ibid., Bye-Law 9, p. 10.
- 33 Ibid., Bye-Law 20, p. 20 - 21.
- 34 Fraser, p. 306.
- 35 Bye-Laws With Respect to New Streets & Buildings, 1902, Bye-Law 4, p. 10.
- 36 Ibid., Bye-Laws 5 and 6, p. 11.
- 37 Ibid., Bye-Law 7, p. 12.
- 38 Ibid., Bye-Law 69, p. 49.
- 39 Ibid., Bye-Law 115, p. 73 - 74.
- 40 Bye-Laws with Section of Acts Relating to New Streets, Buildings etc., 1870, Bye-Law 6, p. 6.
- 41 Ibid., Bye-Law 10, p. 10.
- 42 Ibid., Bye-Law 11, p. 10.
- 43 Ibid., Bye-Law 12, p. 11.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid., Bye-Laws 15 and 16, p. 13.
- 46 Ibid., Bye-Law 17, p. 14.
- 47 Ibid., Bye-Law 18, p. 17.
- 48 Ibid., Bye-Law 27, p. 27 - 28.
- 49 Ibid., Bye-Law 21, p. 21 - 22.
- 50 Ibid., Bye-Law 30, p. 28.
- 51 The Builder, 1897, Vol. 73, p. 407.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Bye-Laws with Respect to New Streets and Buildings, 1902, Bye-Law 8, p. 12. No mention was made of this applying only to certain damp sites as suggested by the article in The Builder.
- 54 Ibid., Bye-Law 10, p. 13 - 14.
- 55 Ibid., Bye-Law 11, p. 15.
- 56 Ibid., Bye-Law 25, p. 24 - 25.
- 57 Ibid., Bye-Laws 26 and 27, p. 25 - 26.
- 58 Ibid., Bye-Laws 66 and 70, p. 48 and 50.
- 59 Ibid., Bye-Laws 71 and 72, p. 50.
- 60 Ibid., Bye-Laws 92 and 99, p. 64 and 67.
- 61 Ibid., Bye-Laws 109 and 110, p. 69 and 70.
- 62 Ibid., Bye-Laws 117, p. 75.
- 63 Ibid., Bye-Laws 122, p. 77.

- 64 Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909, cited in Gauldie, p. 305.
- 65 Gauldie, p. 307.
- 66 Fraser, p. 308 - 316, See also F.M. Lupton, Housing Improvement: A Summary of Ten Years' Work in Leeds.
- 67 Annual Report of the Leeds Plans Committee, 1912.
- 68 L.C.D. 8604. The site was to be covered with semi-detached houses, a school and church. The scheme was carried out in an amended form but Buckingham House was retained.
- 69 Annual Report of the Leeds Plans Committee, 1913.
- 70 Ibid., 1914.
- 71 See Appendix 18.
- 72 For a more comprehensive list of statutes on housing with regnal years, see Gauldie, p. 13 - 14.
- 73 Pre-printed Council Notice found attached to deposited plans in Leeds Archives Department. The sheet was loose and had no page reference.
- 74 See D.B.P., 146 and 147 (thesis references).

CHAPTER 8 ESTATE LAYOUT AND THE CREATION OF THE SUBURBAN MOSAIC

8.1 Land Costs

The average price of an acre of agricultural land in England and Wales between 1820 and 1829 was £31. This meant that it fetched 1½ pence per square yard. Agricultural land which was ripe for building upon could be worth up to five or six times its agricultural value and even higher prices could be obtained depending upon the amount of preparation carried out to fit it for its new purpose. The price which could be obtained by pre-development landowners who put up large areas of land for sale did not compare with small plots sold to builders or developers after roads and sewers had been approved or constructed. Because of this, the owners of large estates had to choose between a quick sale by disposing of large areas to others, who were usually land speculators, or to become involved themselves in the preparation of the land in order to attempt to dispose of it in smaller lots.

The prices that land which was put on the market could fetch during the nineteenth century depended upon the way in which it was offered for sale and these can be broken down into four major categories:

- (a) Agricultural land used for crops or grazing.
- (b) Large parcels of land ripe for building but with no road pattern established.
- (c) Building land with a road and sewer pattern established and divided into lots for sale, all in accordance with a plan approved by the local authority.
- (d) Building land as (c) above but with some part or all of the sewers, roads and footpaths already constructed before the sale.

As far as the land speculator was concerned, the intention was to make a profit on the deal and his profit was the difference between the selling price per square yard and the purchase price per square yard plus expenditure on preparation. Thus the profit could be easily calculated for land in categories (a) and (b) but the costs of professional services, such as fees to surveyors, had to be taken into account in categories (c) and (d) and the latter had the additional expense of physical preparation of the land.

Other factors could affect the price of land generally, such as an economic depression or a recession in house-building. One of these influencing factors was the availability or otherwise of suitable

building plots on adjacent estates. Too much building land coming onto the market at any one time tended to reduce the price per square yard which could be realised. The amount of frontage a building plot had onto roads, including side roads and back streets, was also important in relation to the asking price. The normal practice was that building lots were measured to the centre lines of such roads and the purchaser had to pay a sum towards the cost of making up of the roads, sewers and footpaths in direct relation to the amount of road frontage the plot contained. The actual plot of land sold could have a large road frontage, especially in the case of detached villas or houses on corner plots such as end terrace houses. This would mean that in such cases land prices would be reduced if the road had not been made up and greatly increased if the work had already been carried out. The great attraction of the small terrace house was that, with 5 yards frontage, the total area of a typical plot given over to roads was approximately 40 square yards for a through dwelling and 60 square yards for two houses built back-to-back.

Treen discusses at length the prices which land fetched in Headingley at various times during the nineteenth century, these with other examples found by the writer in deeds and in sale particulars are worth describing in order to illustrate the great price variation that was involved.

In 1826 all the land on the Bainbrigge Estate comprising 81 acres had an annual value of £370 per annum and therefore produced an income of £4. 10s. per acre per year.¹ When sold for villas in 1827, just 25 acres of this land on Headingley Hill fetched £205 per acre.² When the Leeds Zoological Gardens Company purchased 17 acres of the Bainbrigge estate in 1837 they paid £5000 or 1s. 3d. per square yard.³ The sale of the Fawcett Estates between 1838 and 1847 fetched prices from 9d. to 11½d. per square yard for large lots and 1s. 10½d. to 2s. 2½d. for smaller lots. The Fawcett sales in the 1850's realised £242 per acre or 1s. per square yard.⁴

The 1850's saw increased competition in Headingley due to large areas of land being put on the market at the same time producing low prices throughout the decade. The auction of the Earl of Cardigan's land, which came about due to the enclosure of Headingley Moor in 1850, fetched low prices ranging from 11d. to 1s. 6d. per

square yard. Land sold at further auctions held in 1854 and 1855 fetched 4½d. to 8d. per square yard.⁵ Further Fawcett Estate sales held between 1851 and 1860 fetched prices ranging from 6d. per square yard to 2s. 3d., the cheapest price being for one sale of nearly 9 acres.⁶

Land on the Hill Top Estate was for sale by Lloyd for 2s. to 2s. 6d. per square yard in 1854 and by 1861 it was re-selling at 2s. 6d. per square yard.⁷ In 1866 Hole stated that freehold land could be obtained for 2s. 6d. to 5s. per square yard in Leeds,⁸ these prices can be compared with plots for sale on the Headingley Old Gardens Estate where lots for detached villas fetched 4s. 6d. to 6s. per square yard in 1869.⁹ Plots were still being sold on the Hill Top Estate for 2s. per square yard in 1866 when T. Clapham sold lots on the steep slopes to the north for 11d. per yard and charged 2s. 6d. for the best sites on the southerly portion. When in the same year Clapham attempted to sell off more land to clear his debts, one of his mortgagees T. Styring, insisted that no sales should take place for less than 2s. 6d. per square yard.¹⁰

In 1869 the Leeds and Yorkshire Land, Building and Investment Company, who had purchased large areas of the Hill Top Estate, sold part of their land for 3s. 0½d. per square yard and by 1879 were obtaining 4s. 2d.¹¹ The Headingley Glebe land sales held in 1874 realised the low sum of 1s. 3½d. per square yard for some plots at a time when the Leeds School Board regularly paid 6s. 6d. for school sites.¹² The Corporation continued to pay top prices for land required for educational or recreational purposes, paying 7s. a yard for land to form Burley Park in the 1890's, 10s. a square yard for land to complete Victoria Road, Headingley in 1877 and 8s. 6d. a square yard for a site for a school on the Hill Top Estate in 1889.¹³

During the 1880's and the 1890's somewhat lower general prices prevailed for land sold on residential estates in Leeds. In London land in the suburbs could fetch £500 per acre in areas like Hendon and Hampstead in 1881,¹⁴ however, this was probably for large areas and cannot be compared with the £900 per acre that small lots were fetching in Headingley where land on the Fawcett Estate was being sold to builders at 4s. to 5s. 2½d. per yard in 1875. Whenever large estates and not small building plots were offered,

they still only attracted low prices due to the added expense necessary to carry out physical preparation before reselling. Thus the major sales of the Cardigan land in Headingley-cum-Burley between 1884 and 1893 disposed of 211 acres for £92,429, realising £438 per acres or 1s. 10d. per square yard.¹⁵ Agricultural land, which was not ripe for building development due to its location, still fetched small sums. In 1890 three Cardigan Estate farms on the outer fringe of the Headingley township were sold for £69 to £79 per acre including Spen Lane Farm.¹⁶ This was only twice the average price for agricultural land in 1830.

When the builders B. & W. Walmsley emerged from the Cardigan sales in 1891 with 224,182 square yards of Cardigan land, they had paid an average price of 1s. 11½d. per square yard for 46 acres and benefited by buying in bulk. Little preparation of the land had been carried out by the Earl's trustees prior to the sale other than the creation of a few major roads.¹⁷ By creating the infrastructure and selling off in small lots, the Walmsley brothers made a considerable profit from the deal. In 1891 and 1893 they received 6s. 3d. to 7s. 9d. a square yard for building blocks of 1,200 square yards and by 1901 they were charging 10s. a square yard for similar lots in Hesse Terrace.¹⁸

Another purchaser of land at the Cardigan sales was Charles Stott who bought 40 acres at auction in 1888 for 10½d. per square yard and resold it at 1s. 7d. to 2s. per square yard after laying out a pattern of streets on a plan which was approved by Leeds Corporation. Stott purchased the Manor House Estate in 1898 and his most expensive purchase was the Marshall Headingley House Estate, costing £33,000 or 4s. 4½d. per square yard in 1900.¹⁹ By 1901 large areas of the Manor House Estate were for sale at 6s. 6d. per square yard after Stott had paid only around 3s. 4d. per square yard in order to purchase it.²⁰ The Royal Park Estate followed a similar pattern when J.R. Ford took over the Horticultural Gardens for 4s. 5d. a square yard in 1885 but sold building blocks at 7s. a square yard after laying out a street pattern in 1888.²¹

Despite the high prices that the Walmsley brothers were charging for small lots, the prevailing cost of building land was 7s. 6d. per square yard by 1900. The profit which could be obtained by simply laying out a street pattern and having it approved by the Corporation before reselling was in the order of 1s. per square

yard. In this case the costs of the making up of the streets would be payable by the purchaser. If plots had a long road frontage with correspondingly high road, sewer and footpath charges, land could change hands in 1900 for as little as 3s. 6d. per square yard.

During the nineteenth century land development in Leeds was carried out almost entirely upon the basis of freehold tenure. In this respect Leeds was like Liverpool and Bradford, whereas Manchester had perpetual chief rents and Sheffield, Birmingham and London operated primarily on leasehold tenure. Leeds people who were involved in estate development did not like land to be bought and sold on building leases and there was a strong prejudice against them. In 1845, when 210 acres of Hawksworth Wood at Kirkstall were put on the market by the Earl of Cardigan, there were no persons willing to purchase the 99 year building leases because freehold land was available elsewhere in Headingley and Burley. John Hepper, of the local firm of auctioneers and estate agents, summed up the situation in 1900:

'The city is almost entirely freehold, and the instances of copyhold and leasehold and of freehold ground rents are so infrequent that we are sometimes in danger of overlooking them, and so unpopular are they that building societies and mortgagees are chary of lending money upon them and buyers discount them.'²²

It is important to ascertain the role of the landowner prior to the building land being put on the market. His preparation of the land and the amount of road frontage which resulted had an important effect on the price which could be achieved.

8.2. The Role of the Landowners

The owners of agricultural estates in Headingley and in the other expanding suburbs of Leeds were faced with the primary decision of when to put their land on the market and offer it for sale as building ground. This was the first but perhaps the more straightforward decision to be taken. It would be based on calculations of what the land produced in annual income from letting related to what the total sale price would be worth as a lump sum and what income that sum could earn per year if invested elsewhere. The second and perhaps more crucial decision was in what form should the land be offered for sale? Chapter 6 discusses many factors which affected both of these decisions. Market trends, the amount of land available elsewhere, the building cycle, local land

values, the number and type of houses erected, the amount of empty property and transport developments all influenced the owner in his decision when to sell and the way in which he sold land for building.

The Fawcett estate was first put on the market in 1838 and lots were still being sold over 20 years later. This followed careful preparation of the site, including the construction of new roads, but resulted in a very protracted time period for the actual sale. Cardigan land was sold off in small lots throughout the nineteenth century culminating in the sale of major holdings in 1888. Dr. Thorp attempted to sell his estate for the erection of villas as early as 1845 but with the Fawcett land not selling, even with roads erected, his timing was premature.

As the change from rural urban fringe conditions to built-up suburbs gradually took place matters became more complicated as more and more landowners decided to sell at a time when stricter regulations were being introduced affecting the laying out of estates. From 1866 onwards local Acts controlled more closely the street widths and the open space between new buildings, these in turn dictated to some extent the maximum number of houses which could be erected on a given estate. The introduction of Bye-Laws in 1870 took this a stage further by allowing greater control by the local authority over the buildings erected in terms of construction, materials, ventilation and sanitation.

The general parameters were set therefore for the eventual builders of the housing stock by two interacting agencies, firstly, the pre-development landowner who put up the land for sale in the form of building lots, and secondly, the local council who enforced national and local legislation relating to the finished buildings and also dictated to some extent the layout of the estate prior to building.

The landowners had to pass through various stages between deciding to put their land on the market and actually disposing of it. Not least of these was to select the overall tone of the proposed development. This had to be done with the right balance between the type of housing they desired to see erected and the type of housing which a prospective purchaser would wish to erect, bearing in mind the price paid per square yard. In order to select the quality and type of houses which would be allowed

the landowner would rely heavily on his professional advisors. A decision to allow only detached villas meant that plot sizes had to be large enough to receive the dwellings and still leave sufficient space for gardens and roads which had to be designed to give carriage access to every dwelling.

In most cases the first estates put on the market within the study area were divided up into large plots intended to receive detached villas of varying sizes. After attempts had been made to sell with the upper middle classes, wealthy merchants and manufacturers in mind, estate layouts were often changed to accommodate smaller plots and less grand houses. The attempt to sell in large villa lots first was a logical one because this reduced the number of legal transactions by selling land in the largest lots possible and also reduced the number of roads which had to be approved and eventually constructed. The process of gradually increasing the number of plots and the number of roads to give at least some form of carriage access to the garden gate, if no longer to the front door, was on some occasions a deliberate policy of the landowner and in other cases a natural result of land speculation. Where large lots were purchased and subdivided for resale, some land speculators simply resold in smaller lots without considering access, whereas others submitted and had approved plans for minor access roads in order that the subdivided land would more readily sell.

The Fawcett Estate when put on the market in 1838 offered large villa lots for sale and the houses such as Rose Court, Buckingham House, Morley House and Longfield were typical of those that were first erected (see Figs. 36 - 38). Gradually, however, as sales became protracted the Fawcett family or its trustees allowed plots to be subdivided or purchasers carried out their own subdivision. By 1850 terrace houses were being built on the Fawcett Estate. In the same way the Teal Estate was first put on the market in 1845 for sale as large villa lots, but after an apparent lack of interest by would-be purchasers and because terrace houses had begun to be built on the nearby Fawcett land, it was re-offered in 1853 as sites for terrace housing.

Nearer to Headingley Village Dr. Thorp attempted to sell all his estate in 1845 as small villa lots with a pattern of roads in the

shape of crescents. After he too had been unsuccessful he did not subdivide into smaller lots but sold his entire estate to A. Titley. It was not until 1902 that his land was to be covered with terrace housing. The Mansion House Estate when first offered for sale in 1869 was quite clearly intended to receive small detached or semi-detached villas, however, in later years purchasers of more than one plot erected short terraces.

It could be said that the tone of the housing set by pre-development landowners gradually decreased on the estates within the study area from the 1860's onwards. This can be judged by the quality of the houses which landowners hoped to see erected on land that they first put on the market. When the major portion of the Cardigan land came onto the market for the first time in 1888 it was quite clear the vendors did not expect to see anything but terrace housing erected in one form or another.

This gradual lowering of the tone of the houses expected and actually erected, from large mansions and detached villas in the early years, to rows of small terrace houses by the end of the century, meant that the overall standard of construction and habitability of the dwellings remained high. This was because the developers of the custom-built villas employed local architects to design their houses and a high standard of workmanship and materials was generally expected and achieved. The smaller semi-detached villas and terrace housing that followed came late enough in the century to fall under the sphere of influence of greatly increased building legislation. Only on the Teal Estate were a large number of terrace houses erected which fell between the influence of either wealthy individual developers building one-off houses or the hawk-like eye of the local building inspector.

For some estate owners setting the tone of the intended development was important in so far as they had a reputation to live up to in the local community. The reasons for setting high standards for proposed housing developments were not entirely altruistic, families like the Fawcetts, the Bainbrigges, the Thorps and the Marshalls had a vested interest in seeing that this was the case, for poorer quality houses once erected would detract from the value of other land still in their possession. Once one owner or his heirs allowed the erection of smaller terrace houses or back-to-backs,

others followed the lead set, because they could no longer attract the villa developers. This could not come about, however, without transport developments allowing the lower middle classes to move out of the town centre and into the new suburbs.

Once a decision was taken to sell, the normal procedure was to agree a road pattern, for lack of easy access to building sites simply rendered the land suitable for agricultural purposes. After having an estate plan approved by the local authority, the purchaser would be restricted in what he could build by the plot size in relation to adjoining roads and by building lines. A plot bought for one villa residence would be measured and sold as a number of square yards but could have a considerable area given over to the making up of roads and footpaths. It could also have a proportion of the land in front of a building line and behind the footpath; on corner plots this could mean that 50% of the land bought was not available for building on. These sort of considerations demanded great skill by the land surveyors or architects who drew up the estate plans, otherwise the plot would not attract the intended purchaser because its size had been insufficient in the first instance.

It is not known whether building lines were enforced before the Improvement Act of 1869 which stated that 'The Corporation of Leeds could prescribe the line of Building.'²³ Certainly the estate plan approved for the Mansion House Estate in November 1869 had building lines agreed prior to sales by the owners and the Corporation.²⁴

There was one device which could be used by the landowner to set the tone of the building development even when subsequent resales were involved - the use of restrictive covenants.

8.3. The Use of Restrictive Covenants

Restrictive Covenants could be introduced into the sale of a whole estate or the sale of a few square yards of land. They were binding agreements between the vendor and the purchaser and intended to have two main functions, to set the overall tone of the estate and to protect the value of the remaining unsold plots or adjacent

land not yet ripe for development. As it was normal practice for the vendor's solicitors to arrange for the prospective purchasers to sign an agreement, not only to the effect that they would abide by the restrictions imposed, but also build in the same restrictions into any subsequent resales, a crude form of town planning or development control came into existence. The local authority were not the instigators of the system and what was or was not allowed was left entirely at the discretion of the landowners or in most cases their professional advisors.

The covenants fell into three main categories: those relating to what could be built, those relating to the materials or appearance of the completed buildings, and those banning other forms of development. The first category generally spelled out the type of new development envisaged by the vendor, often the type of houses to be allowed were specified or alternatively specific types banned:

- 'only dwelling houses to be erected'
- 'houses to be detached or semi-detached'
- 'Not more than one dwelling or two semi-detached'
- 'No more than two buildings on any lot'
- 'through houses only'
- 'no back-to-back houses shall be erected'

Another alternative to stating in writing what type of dwellings were to be erected, was to allow any kind of dwelling provided that those erected were of a specified total value:

- 'No house to be of less value than £350'

Alternatively, and far more common, was to restrict house types by specifying the minimum annual rental that houses should be let for on the completed buildings lots. A figure was given which was usually exclusive of rates:

- 'no house to be of less value than £40 per annum'

The most common method of restricting what could be built in the way of new housing in the study area was the use of minimum annual rentals. The following table gives some indication of the minimum annual rentals fixed by landowners in the study area:

Table 27 Minimum Annual Rentals Given in Restrictive Covenants for the Study Area^a

	Estate	Minimum annual rental
1838	Fawcett Estate	£15
1852	Thorp Estate	£30
1856	Fawcett Estate	£15
1859	Fawcett Estate	£15
1868	Cardigan Estate	£15 ^b
1869	Headingley Old Gardens Estate	£35 ^b
1870	Headingley Old Gardens Estate	£40 ^b
1870	Mansion House Estate	£40
1872	Chapel Lane Estate	£45
1875	Chapel Lane Estate	£15
1875	Hattersley, Royal Park Estate	£10 - £15 ^b
1875	Headingley Old Gardens Estate	£35 - £40 ^b
1880	Cardigan Estate	£19
1880	Fawcett/Postill Estate	£15
1891	Cardigan Estate	£45
1888	Ford, Royal Park Estate	£15
1889	Hattersley, Royal Park Estate	£15
1890	Hattersley, Royal Park Estate	£15
1891	Cardigan Estate	£45
1891	Cardigan/Walmsley Estate	£20
1893	Cardigan/Pearson Estate	£13
1893	Hattersley, Royal Park Estate	£15
1895	Mansion House Estate	£40
1901	Cardigan/Walmsley Estate	£16
1912	Fawcett Estate	£30
1913	Cardigan/Walmsley Estate	£18. 4s.
1931	Cardigan/Walmsley Estate	£22. 10s.

a Source, the deeds of properties owned by Leeds Corporation in the study area.

b Two other dwellings were allowed of less value if provided for servants, gardeners or coachmen etc.

The above table clearly indicates that, in general terms, houses which would comply with the restrictive covenants were not intended for the working classes. The figures quoted were minimum annual rentals, not including rates, and would have been beyond the means of those with lesser incomes than the skilled artisans and lower middle classes prior to 1914.

There was nothing to stop a land speculator from increasing the amount specified, provided he maintained the minimum figure. Thus when the owners of Buckingham House put land on the market in 1912, they increased the figure of £15 set in 1838 by the Fawcett owners, to £30.²⁵ This, however, was not generally the case because, as the years passed and more land came on the market, it became increasingly more difficult to dispose of land which had high annual rentals fixed

if surrounded by other land available with a lower figure stipulated. The significant point is, that given the passage of time, a high figure of £15 set in 1838 was still being insisted upon on parts of the Fawcett Estate in 1880, when £15 would allow much smaller dwellings to be erected and still comply with the legal requirements. As land was bought and sold several times after the first sale and subdivided into smaller lots, the original covenant restricting a developer to a detached or semi-detached villa would allow a large through terrace by 1841, a small through terrace by 1873, and a large back-to-back by 1905 (see Table 24).

An estate which was developed over a long period of time with subdivision and resales could have been begun with large detached villas and end with small through houses in terraces being erected if in the intervening years owners simply passed on the covenant without increasing the amount stated. Apart from the Buckingham House Sale in 1912, few other examples of the annual rental being moved up market were found in the deeds inspected. One of the last was on the land purchased by the Walmsley brothers off Brudenell Road on which the Mayvilles were developed; here the original figure was increased from £18. 4s. to £22. 10s. between 1913 and 1931. An article in the Leeds Mercury in 1862 stated that land:

'sells best when it is subject to no restrictions
as to the style of house to be built, and when it can
be disposed of in small lots '26

The restrictions which were placed by vendors on the actual materials to be used and on the appearance of elevations of the intended houses, are described in Chapter 13.

Further restrictions were necessary to prohibit development which could create a nuisance to existing houses and to safeguard future plot sales. All of the house deeds inspected included this type of covenant even when all others were omitted. Generally they prohibited all manufacturing premises, including dye works, glue works, tanneries and mills, as well as other buildings likely to cause nuisance such as inns, taverns, ale houses and in several cases shops were also considered to be in the same category. A great fear was that a purchaser would install a steam engine with its coal-fired boiler and smoking chimney. Many merchants had moved to Headingley from more central sites because of the nuisance caused by smoke from factory chimneys and had no wish to buy land to simply repeat the experience.

Some landowners placed restrictions on the materials that could be excavated from the land they sold. The digging of clay, sand or gravel as well as the opening up of quarries or the making of bricks were forbidden. Cemeteries or burial grounds were equally unpopular. The problems facing an estate agent or auctioneer attempting to draw up an advertisement to sell attractive villa lots adjacent to a brickworks or quarry can be imagined.

When J.W.H. Richardson bought plots numbers 9 and 10 on the Teal Estate in 1853, he agreed to the following covenant on the land:

'J.H. Richardson his heirs or assigns would not permit any buildings erected upon the said land to be used for a mill, manufactory, Weaving Shop, Tavern, Steam or Fire Engine, Dyehouse, Alehouse, Slaughterhouse, Glasshouse or Distillery, nor for a place for melting tallow, making candles, boiling soap, burning blood, making or refining sugar, or making glue or for a shop for blacksmith, whitesmith, Tanner, Skinner or Farrier, or for exercising any other noisome or dangerous trade.'²⁷

On the Fawcett Estate in 1859 when H. Ludolf was buying plots, he had to agree to covenants banning all quarries for slate or stone or for making bricks (other than for the houses being erected) and no 'Inn, Tavern, Common Beerhouse, Slaughterhouse, Soap Boiling, Tallow Candle or Glue Manufactory' was to be built and also 'no trade or business or calling which could be deemed a nuisance' was to be allowed.²⁸

When J.R. Ford conveyed 445 square yards to Cornelius Frederick Wilkinson, a Leeds architect in 1888, Wilkinson agreed to covenant that, except with the special consent in writing of the vendor his heirs or assigns, no building would be used as a public house, beerhouse or for any purpose other than a dwellinghouse. The manufacture of woollen or cotton goods, leather and melting tallow, boiling soap, burning blood, baking or refining sugar or making glue were all prohibited together with any other 'noisy, noisome or offensive trade or calling' and the digging of clay, making of bricks or burning of bricks on the land was prohibited.

The widespread effects of these and similar covenants, drawn up by major landowners in the first instance, and then perpetuated in future sales should not be underestimated. Often the same lawyers who drew up the legal conveyances acted for different landowners and and degree of uniformity in the wording of what should be prohibited

is apparent in deeds. If just one example is taken, that of the prohibiting of public houses which was a covenant built into most conveyances: nearly 150 years after the first estate was put on the market for housing, there is only one public house within the study area boundary which contains some 260 acres of suburban housing. In Headingley village The Skyrack was in existence prior to the development of the estates and The Oak and The Hyde Park Hotel are close to but just outside the boundary and were both probably in existence prior to 1838.²⁹ The only new public house is the Royal Park Hotel, built after 1918 and also just outside the boundary.

Further restrictions on the amount of building rather than the type of building were imposed by the owner who indicated on conveyancing documents the area of land which could be built on. Building lines, the amount of land to be devoted entirely to roads, and to footpaths, the parts of a plot to remain as gardens, both at the front and often the rear of dwellings, all reduced the size of the plot as far as the future developer was concerned. Such restrictions tended to be few in the case of large villas and mansions when one large house was to be built, but they were considered very necessary when subdivision of plots was taking place and developers were attempting to get as many houses as possible on the land they considered they had so dearly purchased.

The purchaser of a plot intending to erect typical speculative terraces had to sign a covenant that he would at all times leave open and unbuilt upon the land set apart for the purpose of forming roads, footpaths and gardens. These would be indicated on the sale plan and deeds, often by means of various coloured washes with a colour key. Usually exceptions were made in the case of fences, boundary walls, porches and bay windows of limited size. The covenants relating to gardens stated that no building should be erected on the portion of land marked or coloured to indicate gardens, except bay windows, and no building should be erected on the portion of land marked or coloured to indicate yards, except conveniences, without the written consent of the vendor his heirs or trustees. Often the same colour code was used; land to be made into streets, roads, back streets and footpaths - coloured brown, land to be used for front gardens or rear yards - coloured green, land to be used for buildings - coloured pink (see Fig. 73).

The responsibility for, or the costs of, making up the roads, sewers and footpaths could be passed on to the purchasers of plots in a variety of ways. It was probably this lack of a standard method of procedure that caused Leeds to be so heavily criticised for the way in which streets were occupied as soon as houses were built but footpaths and roads remained only completed in parts or not at all.

The simplest method by which costs could be distributed was for the pre-development landowner to construct all the sewers and make up the roads and footpaths to the satisfaction of the Corporation. When a plot was sold the amount of road frontage was measured and the purchaser would be charged a total sum which would include the costs of roads, sewers and footpaths contiguous with his plot. This is what happened on the early sales of the Fawcett Estate and on the Headingley Old Gardens Estate.

Another method which involved the landowner in far less preparation costs and less financial risk was to agree the road layout with the Corporation and insist that each purchaser was responsible for the making up of the roads and footpaths to the satisfaction of the Corporation. This meant that a purchaser had to ensure that half the width of any street was completed only for the length of his particular piece of road frontage. The confusion that could arise where some carried this out and several neighbours did not, resulting in a chequerboard pattern of made and un-made road can be imagined. Another alternative was for the purchaser to sign an agreement to the effect that the landowner carried out or caused the work to be carried out for whole sections of a street as plots were sold and half the cost was charged to the purchasers related to their lengths of road frontage.

Whichever method was adopted, it made sound common sense to ask the Corporation to carry out the work either for the landowner, a group of purchasers or an individual, as they could do large sections of a street at a time and the work would be correctly carried out. However, if others did the work there was no objection provided it was done to the correct specification and to a satisfactory standard. If this was not the case the Corporation would refuse to adopt it and take over the future maintenance and repairs. This in fact happened in many cases and some streets in Leeds remain unadopted to this day. The way that streetworks were carried out

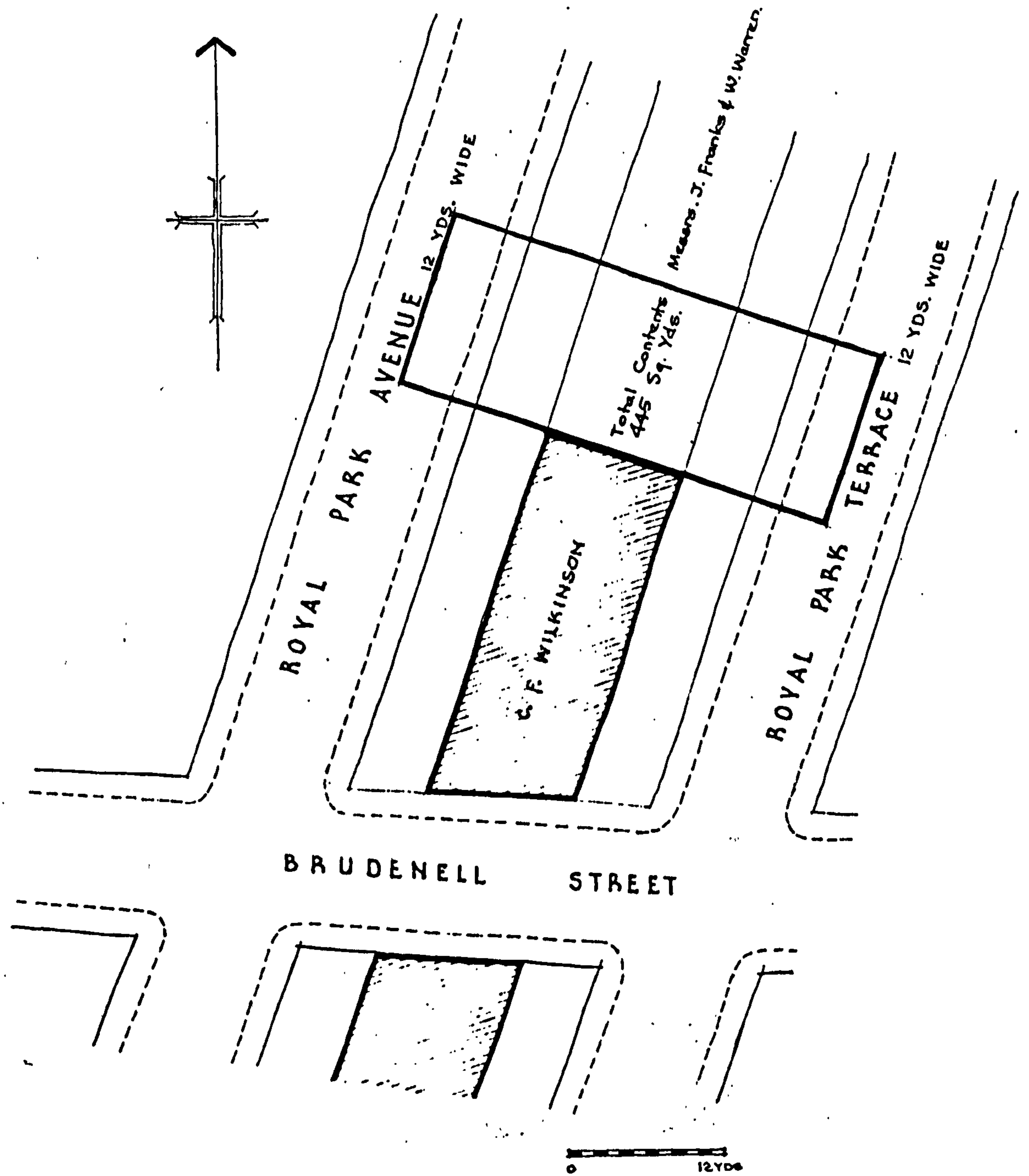


Fig.73 Drawing based on the plan used for the indenture of sale between J.R. Ford and the architect C.F. Wilkinson, Royal Park Estate, 1888.

in Leeds was discussed in The Builder in 1876:

'When houses are built, and new streets laid out by the owners of the land, these are paved and flagged at the expense of these owners. They may do the work themselves, if they please, provided it be done under the direction, and according to the rules, of the Corporation; but as they cannot in general do the work for less money than the Corporation can do it for under their periodical contracts, the custom is that, in general, the Corporation pave and flag the new streets, and charge the expenses to the owners. It is usual to allow the greater number of houses intended to be built in a new street to be built before the paving or flagging is done, but in as much as, without some guide, the levels of the several door-sills would not be at all uniform, the ground is roughly levelled, and the curbstones set from end to end of the intended street, from which, opposite to them, the levels of the several door-sills are fixed!'³⁰

The inherent problems of plots sold at various times to a number of different owners, each attempting to carry out the work themselves to only the centre line of the road, are obvious. To have large sections carried out at one time was necessary if levels were to line through correctly, and a few lots still remaining unsold, involving half the road, created difficulties. The above quotation would suggest that the normal practice was for the Corporation to carry out the work on behalf of the landowner who then passed on half of the cost to each developer in proportion to the road frontage involved. Even then, when a street took many years to complete the Corporation could wait until enough plots had been sold, after carrying out the rough levelling process, before completing the work. Some indication of the length of time that streets remained unpaved can still be seen today by the number of houses, especially the smaller back-to-backs entered straight off the street, which have footscrapers built into the outside wall.

How a new sewer could be carried out down the centre line of an intended street by a group of purchasers getting together and agreeing to construct it when plots remained unsold is not clear. The most sensible solution was for the landowner or vendor to do the work first, even if he did no work on the roads or footpaths, and then charge an apportioned cost to purchasers. However, this meant that fees would have to be paid by the vendor for supervision of the work, as well as paying for the cost of construction, and the sewers had to be maintained until passed on to the Corporation or

to the owners of lots that were sold. As land often went on the market several times without being sold this, even if less costly than constructing all the roads prior to sales, could mean financial loss.

The chairman of the Streets and Sewerage Committee reported that from 1874 to 1876, 25 miles, 4 furlongs and 148 yards of sewers had been laid and 'over 5 miles of branch pipes from the sewers towards the houses', the branches ended at the curbstones of the footpaths. This clearly shows how much sewerage work was carried out by the Corporation as £29,390 was spent on sewers, branches and road gullies in two years. Flagging and kerbing amounted to £34,310 for the same period of which £32,450 was charged to owners.

When Henry Teal, a surveyor by profession, sold land opposite Woodhouse Moor in 1854 he constructed Hyde Park Road, carrying out the paving of the footpath and then made each purchaser pay towards its upkeep. Robert Eeles, a tobacconist of Leeds, agreed:

'to pay to the said Henry Teale 1/26 part of the expense of for ever therein keeping in good repair and condition the said street or road and the causeway thereof then lately made and formed over part of Woodhouse Moor.'³¹

Plots were sold on the Headingley Old Gardens site from 1869 onwards after a new road named Cardigan Road had been pushed through the estate by the owner to open it up for building. The road was sewered and paved and plots were sold not to the centre line of the road, but to the back edge of pavement. Nevertheless, when Henry Williamson purchased lot 17 from H.C. Marshall he agreed to:

'lay down a good causeway nine feet wide on the West side of Cardigan Road'³²

The footpath was to be constructed to the satisfaction of the Leeds Borough Surveyor although Williamson had not purchased the land on which it was to be formed. In comparison, when James Hutton, a builder, purchased a building block comprising 1,123 square yards of the Fawcett/Postill Estate in 1880, he agreed to:

'form and macadamise or flag, pave and lay and afterwards keep such parts of the said parcel of land as were intended to be set apart for Norwood Road, Enmoor View and Norwood Place and the sewers thereunder in good repair in such manner and with such materials as should be approved of by the Corporation of Leeds.'

The choice was given to Hutton for him to pay the vendors to do the work for him if he so wished. It is also interesting that Hutton agreed not to remove subsoil from foundations but place it elsewhere

on the site for the vendors to use in the construction of roads.³³

In 1888 when J.R. Ford sold a plot of the Royal Park Estate to the architect C.F. Wilkinson, he agreed to:

'And also shd whenever reqd by the Vdor his hrs or assns so to do make form & complete accordg to the plans lines and levels to be provided by & to the satisfon of the Vdor his hrs or assns or his or their Surveyor & of the Corporon of the Boro' of Leeds such portions of the streets shewn on the plan throu endorsed & of the sewers intd to be made thrunder as were comprised in the lands thrby conv'd & shd for ever thrar until the same shd be taken over by the Corporon of Leeds, maintain the same in good repair & condon.'

There was the alternative option agreed to, that if Ford chose to he could construct and afterwards repair and clean the streets and sewers until the Corporation took them over and then charge such proportion of the expense incurred by him as fixed by a surveyor (Fords), with a 5% per annum rate of interest for unpaid bills.³⁴

The situation had not changed much by 1913, for a purchaser wishing to buy a plot in Mayville Place on the Walmsley Estate was required to agree to the following:

'that the Purchasers their heirs and assigns should leave open and unbuilt upon and at their own expense set out so much of the said plot of land... to form the halves in width of Mayville Place and Back Mayville Place aforesaid coloured brown ... so far as such streets respectively co-extensive with the said plot of land ... and should also at their own expense when required by the said Wm Walmsley and the Trustees and to the satisfaction of their Surveyor form flag pave or macadamise and thereafter keep in good repair such portion of the said streets and also bear and pay one half of the expense of cleaning and repairing the sewers down so much of the said streets as were contiguous to and included in the said plot of land'³⁵

The above clause in the deeds would suggest that the sewers had already been provided and the purchaser would only have to pay towards their upkeep.

Before 1866 it was common practice for a developer to wait until several adjacent lots of his estate had been sold before either instructing the Corporation or a contractor to carry out works to roads and footpaths. This meant that the bulk of the expense could be passed on directly to the new occupiers. Where plots were sold spasmodically or when roads were made up by groups of purchasers,

streets could remain unmade for many years. Often the Corporation had to serve enforcement notices for sewerage and paving to remedy the situation. After 1866 it became more difficult for an owner to wait until he had completed a large number of sales because the 1866 Improvement Act required the passing of plans, and the Corporation could defer the approval of buildings facing streets where the developers were refusing to make up roads. Many deposited plans from 1866 onwards refer to the 'street made up' or 'street made up and footpath paved', thus indicating the state of the roads adjacent to the development.

From 1876 onwards the Corporation rigorously enforced paving, flagging and levelling orders and by 1898 controls were further tightened, for by then it was necessary for the complete length of a street to be kerbed and sewerage all in one operation and not merely in parts adjoining plots which had been sold. Because of this, developers of housing on estates attempted to transfer the collecting of the costs of roads constructed by the Corporation to each plot purchaser; but in 1906 the Town Clerk of Leeds ruled that it was the developer's duty to collect the expense of making roads and sewers from their purchasers.³⁶

8.4 Professional Advisors on Estate Layout

The pre-development landowner required the services of at least three groups of professional advisors: land surveyors, estate agents and auctioneers, and lawyers. The land surveyor would measure the land, draw up an estate plan and be used to draw up revised plans showing plots subdivided or new roads if and when required (The speculative nature of the sale of estates often involved alterations or amendments to an overall estate plan previously approved). The same land surveyors could draw up plans for use in sets of sale particulars and for individual plots to be shown in legal conveyancing.

The estate agents and auctioneers were another group of advisors who would comment on estate layout and could advise on the type of development that would sell. Based on their knowledge of the land and housing market, they could suggest whether to aim for the sale of large villa lots with few roads or smaller lots and a corresponding increase in the number of roads to provide access. They might also suggest to owners when the time was right to lay

out an estate for detached villas and when to lay it out for through terraces, a crucial decision often related to other estates on the market in the vicinity or about to come on the market. There are many examples of estates being withdrawn from sale because the reserve price was not reached mainly because the house type aimed at was not suited to the housing market at the time. As a general rule when an estate was put on the market several times, the house type aimed at was frequently changed to make it more attractive to would-be purchasers.

The family lawyers probably gave financial advice to the landowner as to the risks involved in the different types of schemes possible, and especially regarding the point in time when a larger income could be achieved by selling rather than maintaining an agricultural holding. Lawyers had other roles including carrying out the legal transactions involved in the sales and also in arranging means of finance for prospective purchasers of either land or buildings. The network of lawyers who corresponded with one another across the country, many with clients wishing to invest and others with clients wishing to borrow, is an area of nineteenth-century business life which needs far greater investigation. The deeds of houses situated in the study area are full of references to this financial dealing which put builders in Leeds in touch with widows in Cork or clerics in Gloucester (see Appendix 14).

The major role prior to land sales was carried out by the professional land surveyors. Their work consisted of two specific stages, to measure the agricultural land to be sold or developed and to lay out a pattern of streets, building lots, building lines and gardens. The first stage involved taking existing levels, plotting geographical features such as watercourses, hedges, buildings etc. and the boundary positions. These were then used as the basis for plans showing existing buildings, roads, fields and land boundaries. When estate plans were prepared to show not only the existing features but the proposed development, this involved getting approval for the scheme from the Corporation. The Corporation required details of the construction of the roads including proposed levels, the pavements, the sewers, and the position of manholes. Sometimes several estate plans were prepared for the same land, the Chapel Lane Estate had at least five different estate plans submitted to the Corporation between 1872 - 1876 with some

amending the whole estate and others only small parts of it. There is no doubt that certain land surveyors obtained further work when a large portion of an original estate was sold to one purchaser who then had plans drawn up to subdivide his holding into a number of smaller building lots requiring additional roads to those already approved.

Examination of the estate plans for Headingley would suggest that, although various regulations were introduced demanding minimum widths of roads and space about buildings, the complexity of drawing up a typical plan for approval changed little between 1850 and 1914. The information requested and the manner it was presented showed remarkably little change between early estate plans and those of later years. Thus the majority of roads on the Fawcett Estate Plan, drawn in 1837, were at least 36 feet wide and the estate plan would have complied with the regulations in force 50 years later (see Fig. 15).

Some landowners used local architects to draw up estate plans, but they were using their expertise as surveyors rather than as architects. Many architects described themselves as architects and surveyors and throughout the nineteenth century there was considerable overlapping of the two activities. There was also an overlapping of the activities of architects, land surveyors, building surveyors, quantity surveyors, estate agents and civil engineers. Estate agents drew up estate plans, engineers designed buildings, architects surveyed land and only the solicitors seemed to refrain from becoming involved in fields of activity other than the financial and legal advice which was generally expected of them. Even then a few solicitors became housing developers or land speculators, but this was purely for personal financial gain and was not an advertised service for other people.

Many architects who prepared estate plans and deposited building plans described themselves as architects and surveyors: T. Ambler, W. Beevers, F. Bowman, D. Dodgson, W. Hobson, T. Howdill, F. Mitchell, P. Robinson, and C.F. Wilkinson were among those who advertised their services as surveyors as well as architects. William Billingham, who designed the layout for the new Zoological and Botanical Gardens in Headingley, described himself as an architect and civil engineer, Charles Fowler and his son Charles John Fowler were both trained civil engineers but their practice in Leeds became

well known for its architectural work, especially for large detached and semi-detached villas. Fox and Sons of Albion Street, Leeds, described themselves as civil and sanitary engineers, architects land agents and valuers. W.N. Wynn described himself as a civil and consulting engineer, building and quantity surveyor.

The land surveyors, who were not architect surveyors, used by landowners varied in size and expertise from one man offices to large concerns such as Martin and Fenwick who were civil engineers, surveyors and land agents. John Henry Fawcett employed T. Newsam, surveyor of Leeds, in 1837³⁷ and R.D. Thorp used Martin & Fox, surveyors, with offices in Leeds and London to draw up his estate plan in 1845³⁸. The Teal Estate fronting Woodhouse Moor was laid out by Joseph Thompson, surveyor, in 1852 although Teal was himself a land surveyor.³⁹ The St. John's Hill Estate was laid out to a plan prepared by S. D. Martin (later Martin & Fenwick) in 1866⁴⁰ and Martin & Fenwick were employed on the Zoological Gardens by H.C. Marshall in 1869 to develop the gardens for housing by constructing Cardigan Road through the middle of the estate.⁴¹ Later estates such as the Clapham and Hattersley Estates used James Fox & Sons but the Chapel Lane Estate was drawn up by a relation of the owners, J. Eddison, surveyor of Leeds. The Cardigan Estate regularly used Martin & Fenwick of Park Lane, Leeds and Westminster, London, however, the major sale of the Cardigan Land held in 1888 was handled by Messrs. Chinnock, Galsworthy & Chinnock, land agents and surveyors of Pall Mall, London. The last estate plan to be drawn up in the study area for a whole estate was prepared in 1900 for the Manor House Estate by Newsam & Gott, land agents & surveyors of East Parade, Leeds.⁴²

The involvement of local architects in the drawing up of estate plans can be seen in the following table which refers only to estates situated within or adjacent to the study area boundary.

Table 28 Architects Who Acted as Estate Surveyors in or Adjacent to the Study Area^a

Name	Estate	Year
Wilson and Bailey	Hill Top Estate	1870
James Charles	Fawcett Estate, Victoria Road	1871
Thomas Ambler	Royal Park/Hattersley Estate	1875
Tom Anderson	Fawcett/Postill Estate, Ebberston Terr.	1876 - 79
Daniel Dodgson	Regent Park Estate	1877
William Wheeler	Royal Park Estate	1877

Wilson and Bailey	Fawcett/Atkinson Estate	1878
Thomas Winn	Cardigan Estate, Headingley Village	1882
John Porter	Royal Park/Ford Estate	1884
Thomas Winn	Fawcett/Hewling Estate	1886
James Charles	Cardigan Estate, Headingley Village	1886
Smith and Tweedale	Cardigan Estate, Cardigan Road	1891
G.W. Atkinson	Manor House Estate	1900

a Source, deposited estate plans (see Appendix 1), and sale particulars.

In almost every case where architects were used to draw up estate plans subdivision had taken place after the original estate plan had been drawn up by a land surveyor and the architect surveyor was used for only a small portion of what had been a larger holding. This explains why architects names do not appear on estate plans drawn prior to 1870.

The skill of the surveyor was to divide up the land into lots which would accommodate house types of a size and quality that the prospective purchaser wished to erect. At the same time adequate road access was required which would conform to the regulations in force without giving too much road frontage to building plots which would make them difficult to sell. The costs of making up roads and sewers were passed on to the purchasers and the relationship between plot size and road frontage could be a critical one and cause great difficulty with corner plots on road junctions.

If the estate was small or intended to have a few very large plots, one central spine road was an obvious solution which provided access and reduced road frontage. The house type intended to be built (or allowed to be built) dictated how many roads were required, large semi-detached villas could manage with only a few major roads, large through terrace with one to the front of every block, but back-to-backs required major road to both sides of every block. The direction of the streets, once the number and widths of each had been ascertained, would depend upon the topography of land and, as many of the estates in Headingley were constructed on hillsides where rows of terraces were to be built, the topography and not the amount of daylight settled the orientation of the dwellings. The normal practice was to construct straight roads parallel to the contours of slopes when laying out building blocks to receive terraces, however, Bye-laws requiring roads intersecting at right angles at regular intervals, often resulted

in steep and dangerous slopes being constructed similar to Royal Park Road on the Royal Park Estate.

As a general rule the width of road frontage or total length of road frontage was related directly to the annual rental that houses could realise. The estate surveyor worked on the principal that the narrowest road frontage was required for the cheapest end of the market and it is significant that the larger scullery back-to-backs with a frontage of 19 feet could be let for more than smaller through terraces with a frontage of 15 feet or less. Similarly semi-detached villas usually fetched more rental than through terraces but they in turn required access at the side and had wider road frontages.

Just who could be considered responsible for the final street pattern and mixture of house types of the completed estates is a difficult question to answer. So often well meaning intentions when the land was first put on the market were thwarted by the passage of time, which negated restrictive covenants relating to minimum annual rentals, and by subdivision and resales which introduced new roads and smaller building lots into the original design concept. A writer in The Builder was quite sure who was to blame for the lack of order in the completed estates:

'Three people seemed to be responsible for the production and arrangement of suburban towns, viz., the land speculator, the financial agent, and the estate agent. These three personages determined what should be the character of a suburb, and no one else appeared to be approached in the matter. Consequently all manner of shapelessness resulted from the formation of roads in order that more frontage and more money could be obtained.⁴³

8.5 The Subdivision of Estates and the Results of Spasmodic Development

That there was a lack of order in completed estates is not in question, whether it is detrimental to the estates today is more doubtful. The key factor was the time scale of the development process. Where estates such as the Mansion House Estate, the Royal Park Ford Estate and the Manor House Estate were developed over a relatively short period of time (related to other estates in the area) streets and houses were constructed, all be it by many different developers, basically as the pre-development landowner intended. On other estates such as the Fawcett Estate and the

Cardigan Estate, Headingley Village, the time scale of development was much longer and subdivision of the land occurred with smaller estates being created within the original larger ones.⁴⁴ The degree to which an estate lacks cohesion today is often in direct relation to the time scale of building and the degree to which subdivision took place with subsequent land resales.

Even if an estate simply took a long time to build with little or no subdivision there was usually a lack of continuity in the size and shape of the housing stock erected, simply caused by the passage of time. What could be built and realise a profit by selling or letting in one decade may not have been the case ten years later. The situation, however, was compounded when a long time scale was combined with subdivision and subsequent resale of land offered in a different form to that which the developer purchased. When this happened it was common to see plots offered for sale at auction on a miniature estate, complete with its own network of roads, footpaths, and sewers, set within a larger estate with no relationship to it other than road access at one particular point. If the purchaser complied with the restrictive covenants that went with the land, especially relating to what could or could not be built, there was little that the original estate owner could do to stop this happening. Certainly the Corporation of Leeds did not consider it to be undesirable or if they did they did not attempt to curtail it. The developer who created miniature estates still had to comply with all the legislation currently in force when obtaining approval for his proposals.

The submission to the Corporation of an estate plan for approval relating to a miniature estate within a larger one was commonplace. The reaction of the Town Hall officials was to ensure that the new estate complied with the regulations relating to the setting out of sewers, roads, footpaths, building lines and space about buildings. The fact that the plots were obviously intended to receive through terrace houses in an area predominantly built up with semi-detached or detached villas was beyond their jurisdiction. If the passage of time had allowed smaller houses to attract the same minimum annual rental as those first built on adjacent plots, the developer was perfectly within his rights. In the same way, if road and building layouts were correct when current legislation was applied to them, the fact that roads ended in cul-de-sacs because

adjoining plots were occupied by large villas or were part of an estate which was used for grazing and not for sale was something which had to be tolerated in an age when town planning legislation did not exist.⁴⁵

The character of the suburb of Headingley is very much influenced by the subdivision of estates and spasmodic building development resulting in areas of a diverse nature within the same suburb. In this respect the study area is no exception. The results of subdivision and the length of time involved between the start of building operations and the completion of estates no doubt dismayed the first occupiers of the large villas and mansions built on Headingley Hill. Nevertheless the integration of smaller dwellings, literally over the garden wall from the houses of the wealthy, created a social mix which many town planners wish they could emulate today. The bankers, the manufacturers and the merchants who occupied houses such as Buckingham House, Longfield, Morley House and Rose Court looked down on vacant plots to the south and saw red-brick terraces being erected from the 1870's onwards. Despite this it was not until after 1900 that some of them considered that the area had changed sufficiently to sell up and leave.

The effects of spasmodic building development combined with land changing hands several times and often being subdivided can be seen more clearly in the Fawcett Estate than on any other in the study area. Other estates have similar characteristics but none were so long in the building from first being put on the market.

8.6 Estate Plans and Building Plots

The estate plans for Headingley in general and the study area in particular comprise three main types. Those estate plans which have been deposited for approval, those which were prepared for auctions and sales, and those plans which were incorporated into deeds or legal conveyancing documents. From these three sources a comprehensive picture of the estate development of the suburb can be reconstructed. Each of the three sources usually used the same basic plan prepared by a surveyor and in some cases an identical plan was used for obtaining approval from the Corporation, for sale particulars and for legal documents. Coloured washes were added to tracings of the original estate plan to indicate roads and gardens and red lines delineated boundaries of plots or land for sale or

the subject of conveyances.

The following descriptions of estate plans are included to illustrate typical examples of those found for the study area and adjacent to it. However, because they are difficult to describe in words, illustrations of several different selected examples have been included with only a few comments to highlight the salient points or unusual features.

The earliest estate plan shows the land belonging to Mrs. Barbara Marshall to the north of the Otley turnpike road. It was prepared for her by the land surveyor Nathaniel Sharpe in 1836 and the lots which were intended for villas varied in size from 1 to 2 acres in extent. The layout was extravagant in so far as 9 new roads, including a central spine road, were proposed to provide access to only 17 plots. The scheme was not carried out and remains in part open fields to this day (see Fig. 74).

The most significant estate plan as far as the study area is concerned was that prepared for John Henry Fawcett by the surveyor T. Newsam in 1837. Like Mrs. Barbara Marshall, Fawcett put his land on the market for sale as villa lots but his family trustees constructed the roads prior to the sale. Note the width of Victoria Road which at 50 feet wide was meant to be a grand main access road and also lot 33, which because of land boundaries to the south, was offered for sale as a villa lot but patently was not of sufficient depth to accommodate one. The largest lot was over 5 acres but the sale plan stated that several lots would be divided to suit prospective purchasers (see Fig. 15).

In 1845 Robert Disney Thorp M.D. had Martin & Fox, engineering surveyors, draw up an estate plan for his land adjoining that of J.H. Fawcett. This, the first attempt to sell the Manor House Estate, proposed two gently curving crescents off access roads from the turnpike to the north. The lots were approximately 1 acre each and part of the estate was to be sold as fields not laid out for houses. An important point to note is that gardens were indicated and a building line, called a 'Frontage Line' on the plan, indicated which part of individual plots could be utilised for the erection of dwellings. This new feature on an estate plan may have been due to a clause in the Leeds Improvement Act of 1842 giving the Corporation the right to impose a building line, or simply

something agreed between Thorp and his advisors. Whatever the case the plots did not sell and the scheme was not carried out (see Fig. 16).

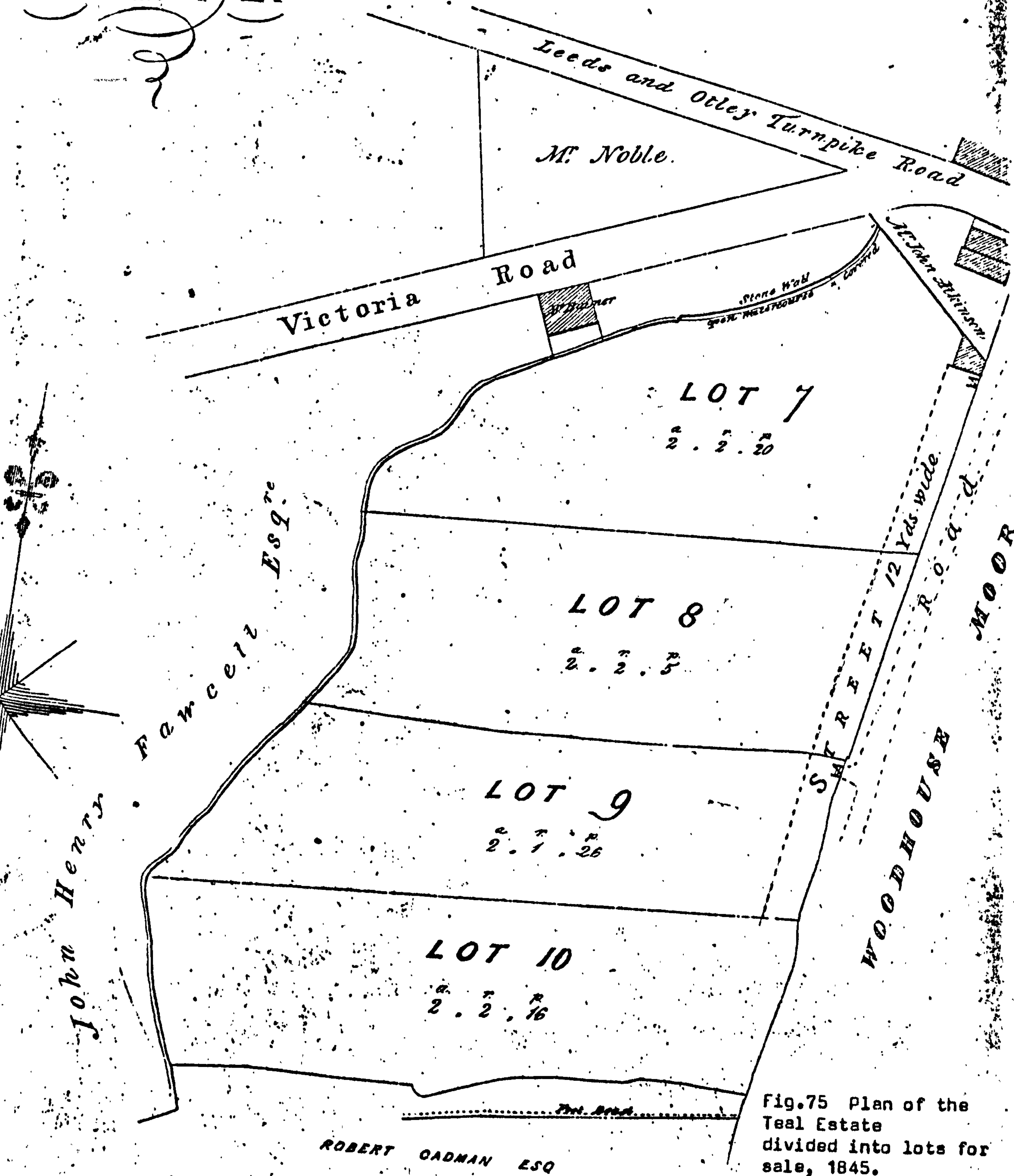
Henry Teal, a land surveyor, owned several fields adjoining the estate of J.H. Fawcett and Woodhouse Moor. He also considered the time ripe to develop his land and in 1845 he drew up an estate plan to sell it in 4 large villa lots of 2 acres each. By this time 2 stone terrace houses had been built on the Fawcett Estate adjoining his northern boundary. The lots did not sell and in 1852 he had a new estate plan drawn up to divide the land into 26 lots and by 1853 it was being offered for villa or other residences⁴⁶ (see Fig. 75).

In 1869 an estate plan was drawn up for the Mansion House Estate, the property of the Misses Francis and Elizabeth Marshall. The plan was prepared by H. Clarkson, a land and mineral agent, and proposed only one new major road to give access to the site and 20 villa lots. Several lots were affected by the Leeds Waterwork's easement crossing the site (an 18 feet wide strip which could not be built upon) and all but lot 2 affected by proposed building lines (see Fig. 32).

When the Chapel Lane Estate was put on the market in 1872 the land surveyor J. Eddison drew up a plan for the owners showing over 47 lots, all quite small in area, and a number of roads. The fact that back streets 12 feet in width were indicated suggest that, as this was a minimum requirement under the 1870 Bye-Laws, the plots were intended to receive terrace housing. The scheme in an amended form was eventually carried out and the majority of the completed dwellings were through terraces (see Fig. 76).

The gradual deterioration in the width of major roads can be directly attributed to the fact that when laying out estates for villas a few wide roads were acceptable, but when terrace houses were envisaged, this necessitated a greater number of access roads and if some could be reduced to the minimum of 12 feet wide it allowed larger areas to be devoted to the building plots and reduced road costs. The principal road on the Fawcett Estate was 50 feet wide in 1837 and other roads were 42 feet wide. All roads on the Thorp Estate were 40 feet wide. Bainbrigge Road on the Mansion House Estate was also 40 feet wide but the maximum width

HEADINGLEY
ESTATE.



ROBERT CADMAN ESQ

Fig.75 Plan of the Teal Estate divided into lots for sale, 1845.

of any roads on the Chapel Lane Estate was 36 feet wide. A pattern had been set based on the 1870 Bye-Laws.

Thomas Clapham, the proprietor of the Royal Park, was ordered to sell his land holdings by his mortgagees in 1871, and after one unsuccessful sale, another attempt was made in 1872. The 1871 estate plan showed 8 various sized lots with two new proposed access roads and lot 7 comprised just over 4 acres situated between Victoria Road and Clapham Road. Lots on the Royal Park were described at the time as:

'They are situate about one mile from the centre of Leeds, in the best locality, and the land unbuilt on is admirably adapted for the sites of residences of a superior class. A very extensive and beautiful view can be obtained from nearly every part of the estate.'⁴⁷

In 1872 a second estate plan was drawn up by the surveyor James Fox and it divided up the original lot 7 comprising 4.4 acres off Victoria Road into 24 lots for terrace houses. Access was to be by a central road 36 feet wide and by back streets 12 feet wide. The description of the lots had changed somewhat:

'the present sale affords an opportunity to speculators or persons wishing to purchase single plots rarely to be met with.'⁴⁸

Plots were around 310 square yards in area and intended for terrace housing, but the central portion of the estate was not to be built upon and was on offer as 4 large lots of $\frac{2}{3}$ of an acre each (see Fig.77). It is interesting to note that this miniature estate was originally an entire lot (lot 31) on the Fawcett Estate Plan of 1837. It was intended to accommodate one large villa but was destined to become a central street lined on both sides with through terraces and a recreational club some 50 years after being put on the market.

A similar course of events occurred with lot 18 on the Fawcett Estate. In 1871 the architect James Charles and Squire Holroyd, a Leeds Hairdresser, went in to partnership to purchase and develop a miniature estate to the north of Victoria Road. They submitted an estate plan to the Corporation showing 27 lots with road access off Victoria Road. What is interesting is that three roads on the estate all terminated abruptly against the northern boundary and Buckingham Mount was gated in front of two proposed building blocks to make it into a private carriageway. No attempt was made to make this road communicate with any other existing on Thomas Marshall's land already developed to the north.⁴⁹

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L I

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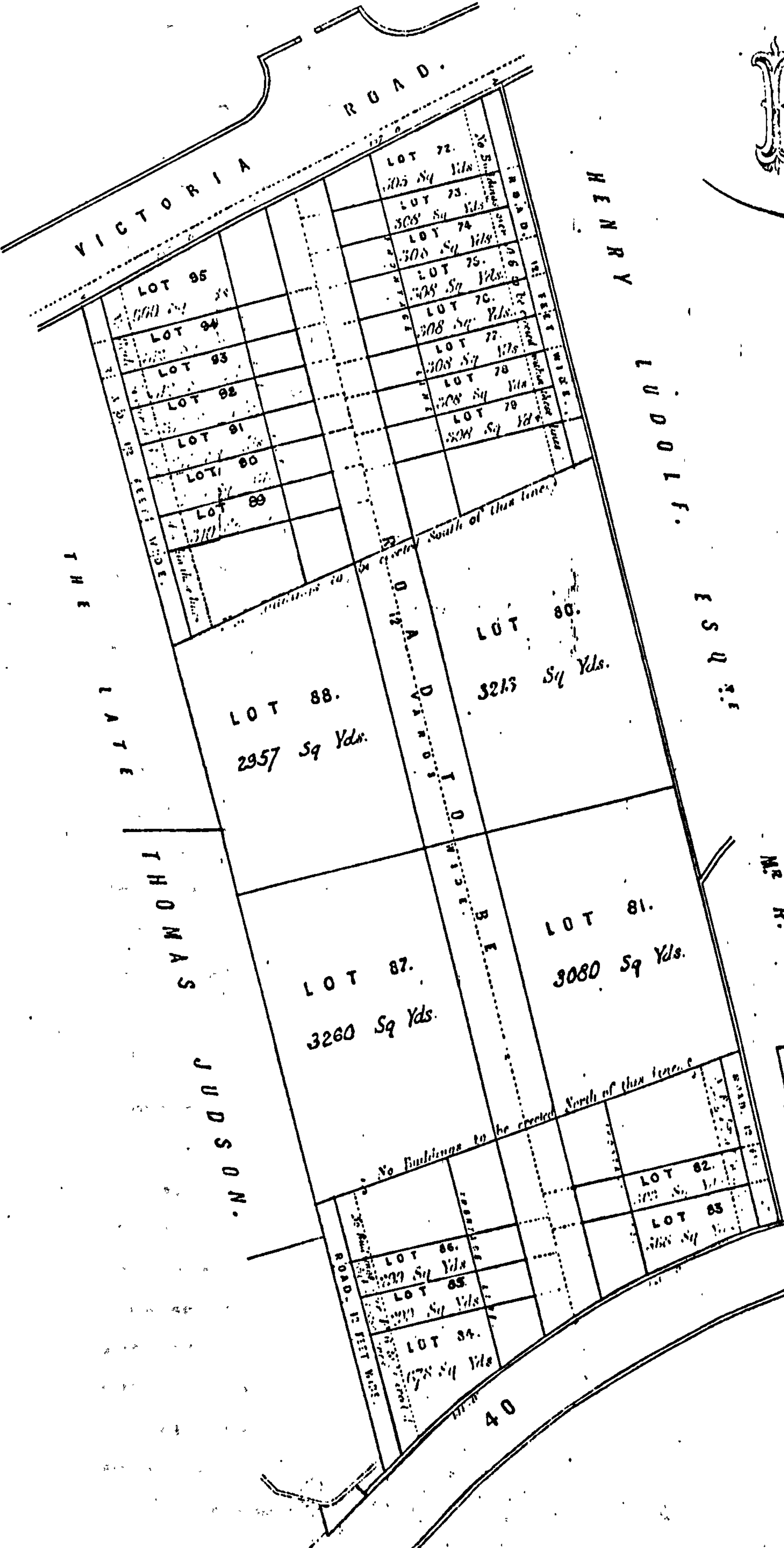


Fig.77 Plan of the Fawcett/Clapham Estate, Ash Grove divided into lots for sale, 1872.

After the sale of some of Clapham's land below the Royal Park, the new owners were the Messrs. Grimston and they laid out their estate in 1874 to receive terrace houses. James Fox and Sons were the surveyors and the plots were generally 403 square yards when facing Clapham Road (later Brudenell Road) and 270 square yards in the interior portion. There were 44 lots in total and, as the back roads as well as the front roads were shown as 36 feet wide, it is probable that the vendors wished to leave the developer the option of building either through houses or back-to-backs. Note that gardens were only indicated on one side of the dwellings (see Fig. 78).

A different approach was adopted by Thomas Hattersley the purchaser of the lower half of the Royal Park from Clapham's mortgagees. He had the architect Thomas Ambler draw up an estate plan in 1875 with lots quite obviously intended to receive terrace housing with major roads 36 feet wide and back roads 15 feet wide, but instead of selling individual building lots these were divided up into building blocks. The blocks were not the complete length of a street but around 1,000 square yards each. Lots facing Clapham road were large and intended to accommodate larger dwellings, the interior of the site was marked up to show that each building block was designed for 'Through Houses' and the lots which abutted the Leeds Horticultural Gardens (which had been formed out of the top half of the Royal Park) were intended to receive back-to-backs. In the latter case every street was 36 feet wide and no note was added referring to through houses (see Fig. 79).

Another attempt was made to sell the Chapel Lane Estate in 1875 when a new estate plan was prepared by J. Eddison. The original attempt to lay out lots was amended to cut down the number of major roads 36 feet wide, and because of this, lots were generally larger than before at around 1,400 square yards each. This was an unusual trend because in all other examples of estate plans inspected, the pattern was that successive estate plans increased the number of roads and generally added extra plots and reduced existing ones in size. The vendors were to construct one short length of road to provide access and:

'The remainder of the several proposed roads shown upon the Vendors' Sale Plan, and the proposed sewers or drains thereunder, are intended to be constructed and completed as and when the several Lots adjoining such roads are sold,⁵⁰ ...

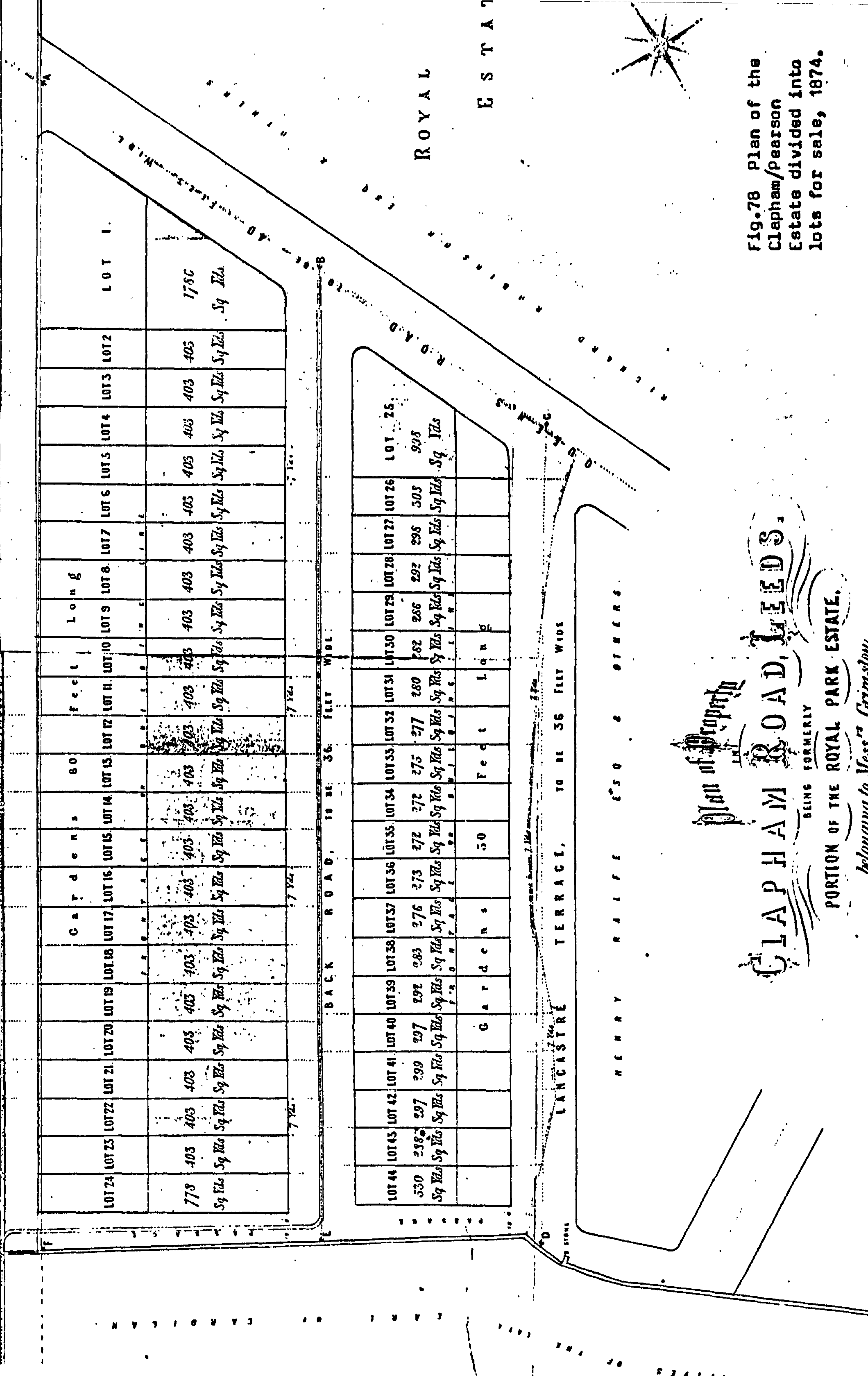


Fig. 78 Plan of the Clapham/Pearson Estate divided into lots for sale, 1874.

Plan of Property IN CLAPHAM ROAD, LEEDS.
 BEING FORMERLY
 PORTION OF THE ROYAL PARK ESTATE.
 belonging to Messrs Grimston

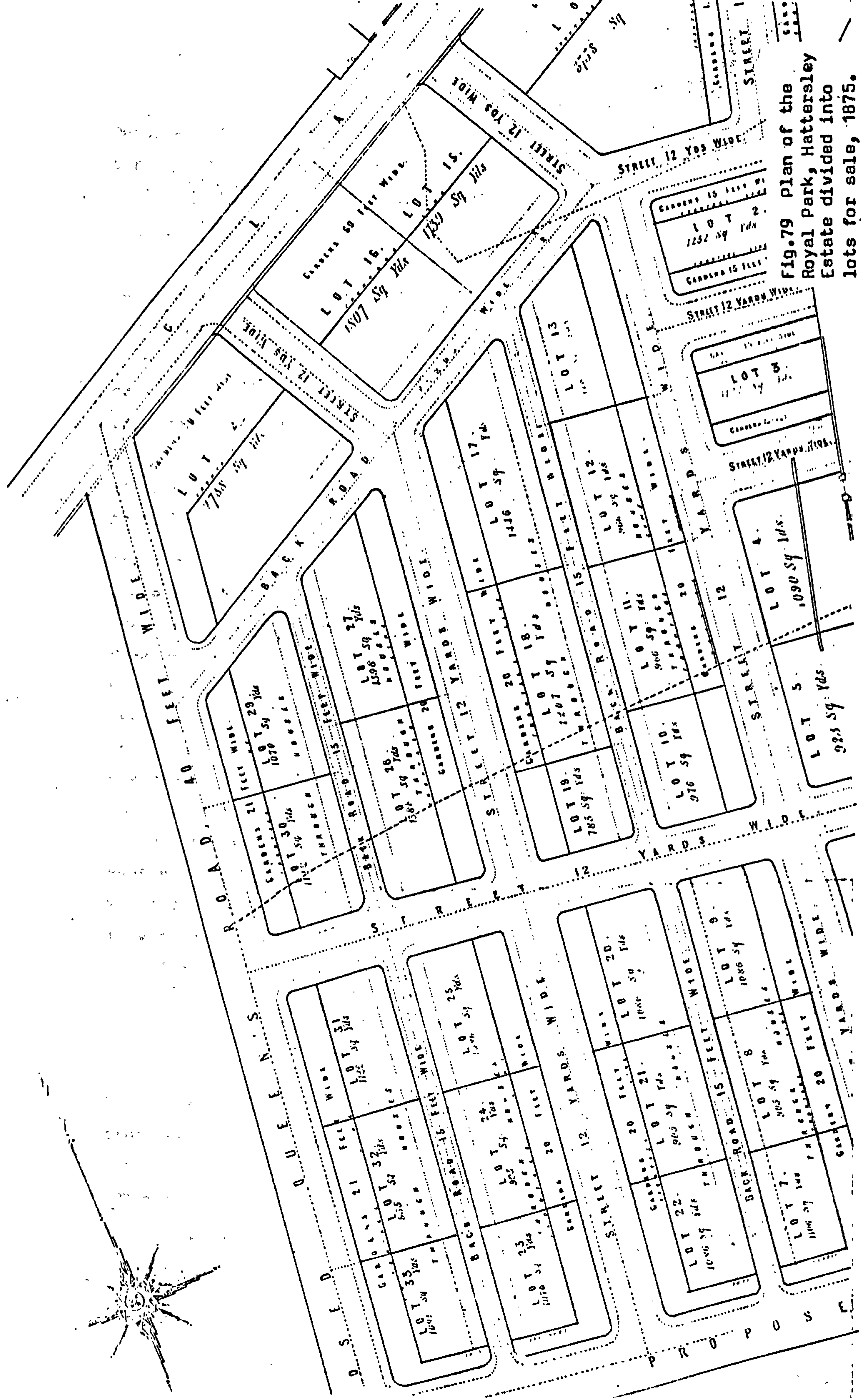
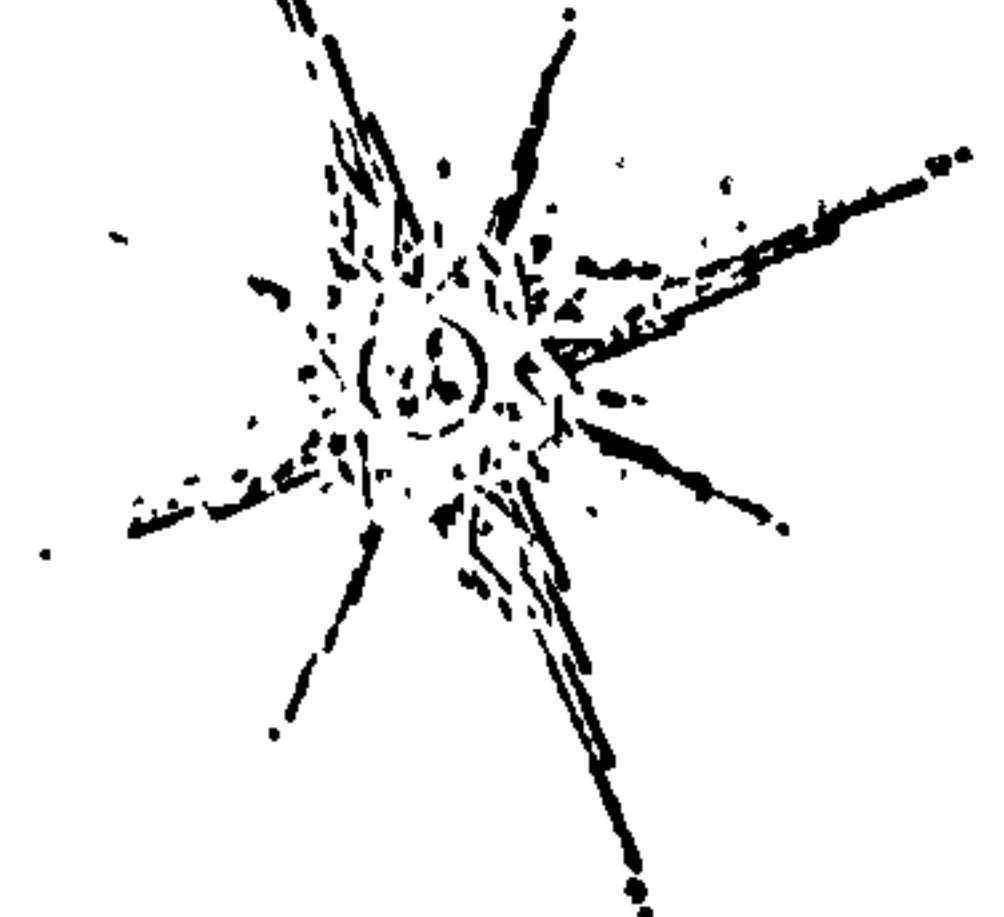


Fig. 79 Plan of the Royal Park, Hattersley Estate divided into lots for sale, 1875.

Despite the large plots the estate was eventually covered by mainly through terrace houses with only a few detached or semi-detached villas.⁵¹

The Leeds Cricket, Football and Athletic Co. Ltd. purchased Lots 17 and 17A of the Cardigan Estates in 1888 and, after laying out cricket and football grounds, they had Smith and Tweedale, architects and surveyors, draw up a small estate of semi-detached houses which were to be erected on land surplus to their requirements. The plan drawn in 1891 shows 11 lots each approximately 1,300 square yards with shared access roads 12 feet wide between each pair of dwellings. The sale particulars stated that no more than two houses were to be erected on each plot and the minimum annual rental of each was to be £45⁵² (see Fig. 80).

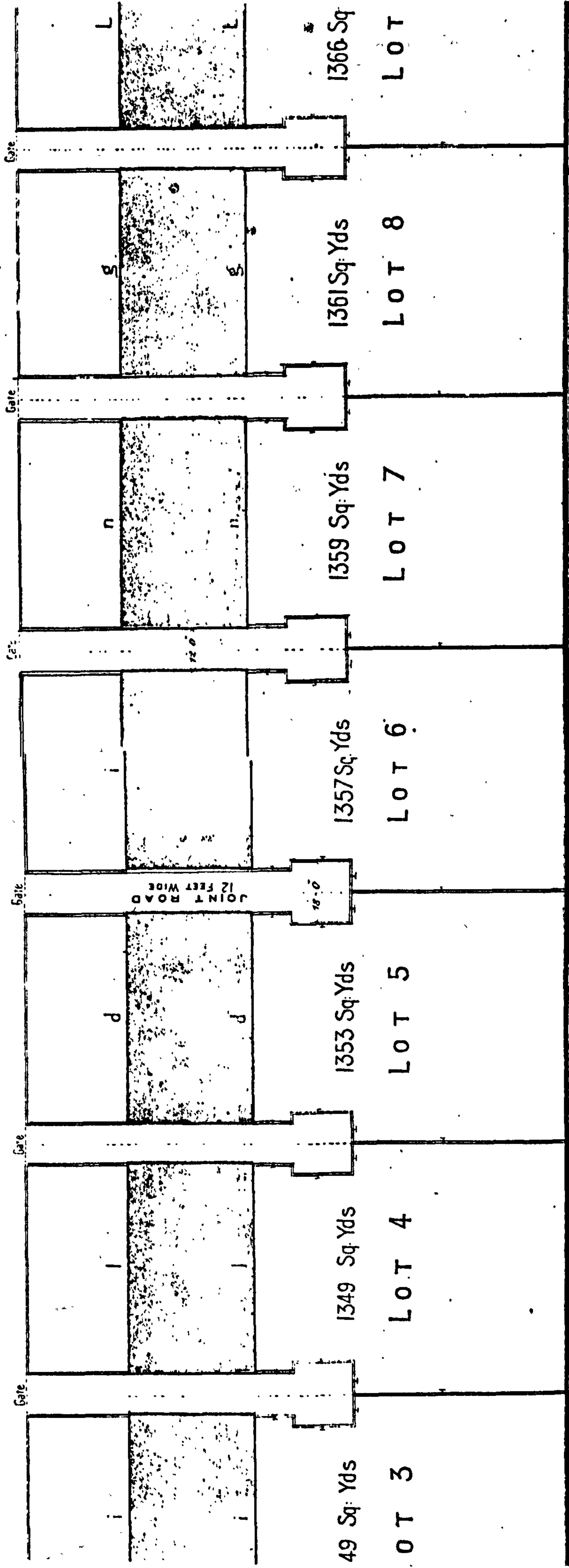
The last estate to be developed in the study area was the Manor House Estate which had first been put on the market by Thorp in 1845 (see Fig. 81). The owner was Charles Stott a retired builder from Armley and he had Newsam & Gott, surveyors, draw up an estate plan in 1900 with all major roads 36 feet wide and back roads 15 feet wide. Like the Mansion House Estate further down the Otley Road, several plots were affected by the 18 feet wide easement which was granted to the Leeds Waterworks Co. in order to gain access to their main crossing the site. The 23 Lots were intended to receive terrace houses but were sold off in large building blocks of 1,500 square yards to 5,000 square yards in area. What Stott envisaged would be erected on his land was more clearly spelt out than on many other estate sale particulars:

'Lots 22 and 23 afford excellent sites for shops fronting to Headingley Lane. Lots 20 and 21 are available for the erection of through houses. All other lots are laid out on the plan approved by the Corporation as sites for the erection of back-to-back houses, with gardens of the width of 15 feet and upwards.'⁵³

Stott did not stipulate a minimum annual rental which may have precluded the erection of back-to-backs but despite this the estate when developed was completed entirely with through houses or small semi-detached villas. No back-to-backs were erected.

All the above examples relate to whole estates, however, most house deeds had plans attached showing not only whole estates but also plans of lots which were the subject of individual sales. A few examples have been included to indicate the sizes of typical plots and how they were illustrated on conveyancing documents or sale plans.

CARDIGAN ROAD



Boundary Wall to be erected by the Vendors.

LEEDS CRICKET FOOTBALL & ATHLETIC CO LIMITED
(CRICKET GROUND)

Scale of Feet



Fig. 80 Plan of the Cardigan Estate, Cardigan Road, divided into lots for sale, 1891.

MANOR HOUSE ESTATE

HEADINGLEY

JUNE, 1900.

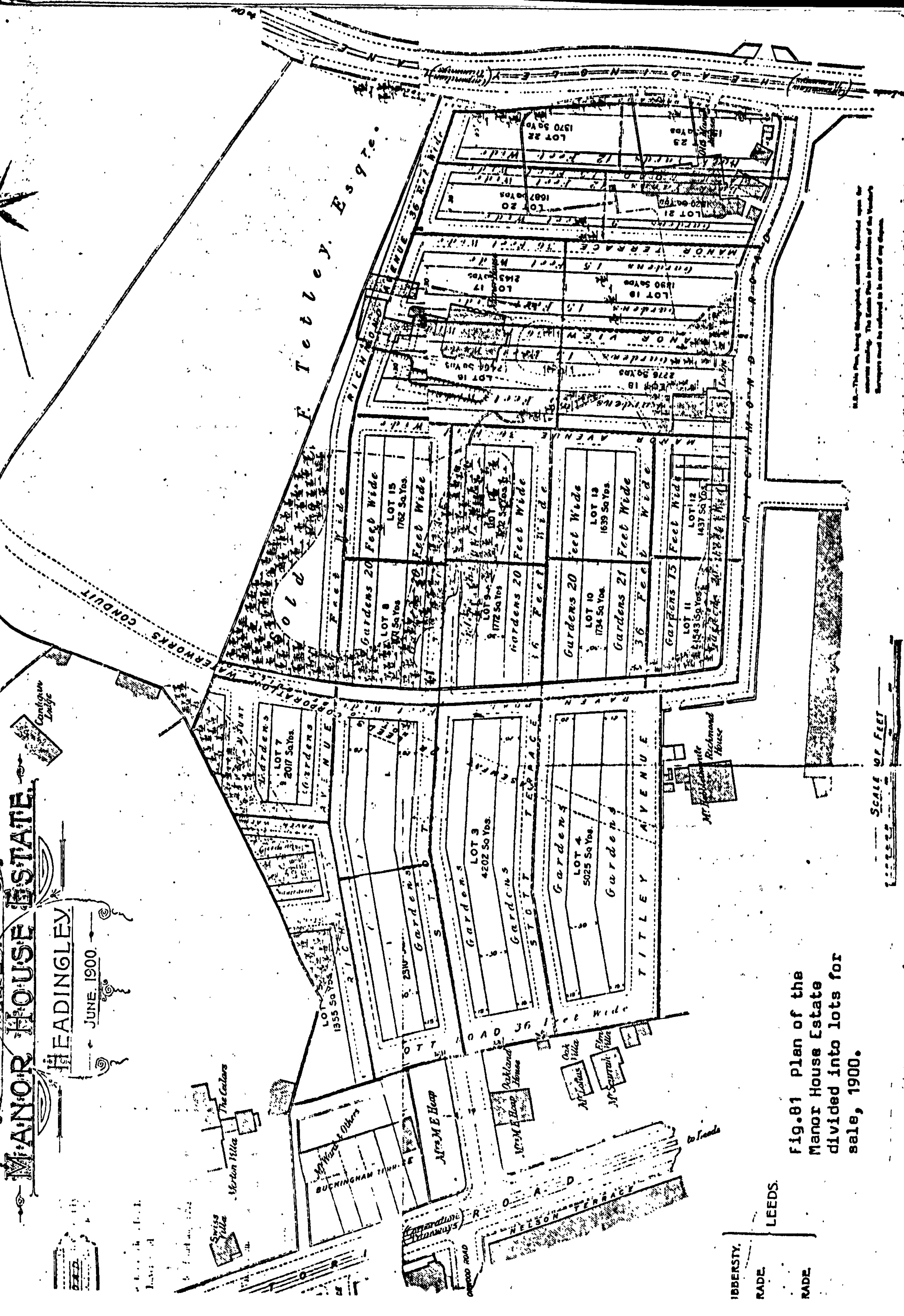


Fig.81 Plan of the Manor House Estate divided into lots for sale, 1900.

U.S.—This Plan, being lithographed, cannot be deposited upon the Statute making. The Estate Plan is possession of the Vendor. Surveyors must be referred to in case of any dispute.

SCALE OF FEET

Part of lot 27 on the Fawcett Estate was sold in 1859 with its boundary extending to the centre line of Victoria Road and a building line which prohibited building on the southern half of the site (see Fig. 82). Lot 24 on the Headingley Old Gardens Estate was sold in 1870 with the boundary stopping at the back edge of footpath as the surrounding roads had already been constructed. It too had a building line which virtually cut the site in half (see Fig. 83). In 1875 lot 15 was a building block for sale on the Royal Park, Hattersley Estate coloured to indicate the area to be used for houses and the land to be given over to roads and footpaths (see Fig. 84). When T. Hattersley died and his property was to be sold in 1893, his family still owned the parts of his estate which had not been sold for building development. Lot 6 was a corner site at the junction of Brudenell Road and Brudenell Grove. It was offered for sale and the area of land which extended to the centre line of three roads had only a small proportion of the total which could be developed for housing (see Fig. 85).

8.7 Housing Densities

With the exception of the Teal Estate, there does not appear to have been restrictive covenants applied to land sales with the express purpose of limiting the heights of new buildings. The normal practice was to build dwellings with a maximum of four storeys, usually comprising a cellar floor, two major living floors and an attic in the roofspace. Some houses were built on the Teal Estate and elsewhere with four storeys but without a basement, whereas others had either no attics or basements reducing the number of storeys to three, or in some cases to two if both were omitted. Teal, a land surveyor, was more concerned to achieve a minimum height of 21 feet from ground level to the eaves than he was in regulating maximum heights.⁵⁴ The fact that developers did not attempt to build multi-storey tenements or houses of five or six storeys in height requires some explanation.

The height of domestic buildings was not governed by regulations until the introduction of Bye-Law 69 in the 1902 edition of the Leeds Bye-Laws with respect to New Streets and Buildings. This stated that: in streets of less width than 50 feet, domestic buildings had to be of a height which did not exceed the distance between the front wall and the opposite side of the street. Prior to this regulation, the governing factor on heights of domestic

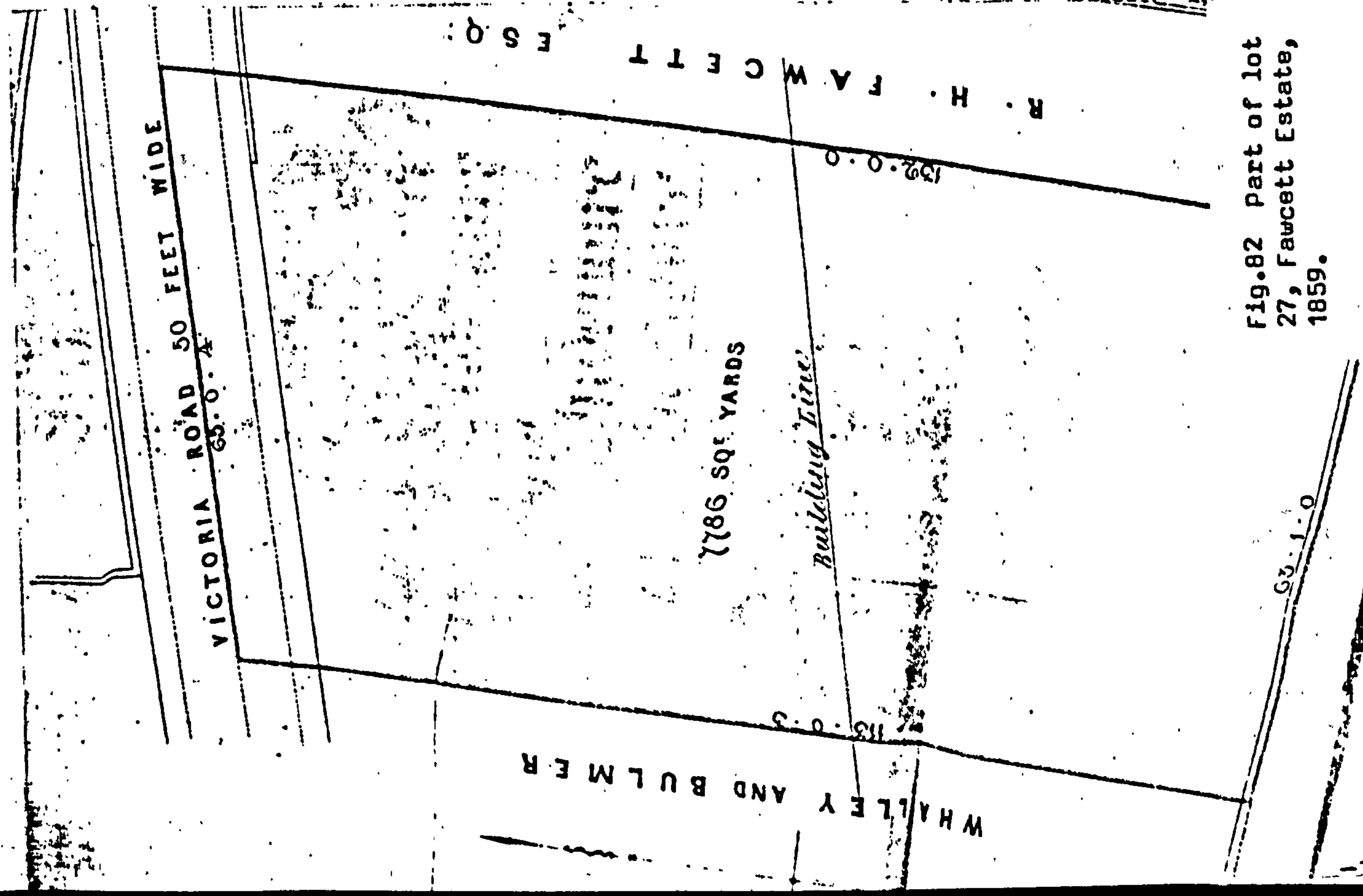


Fig.82 Part of lot 27, Fawcett Estate, 1859.

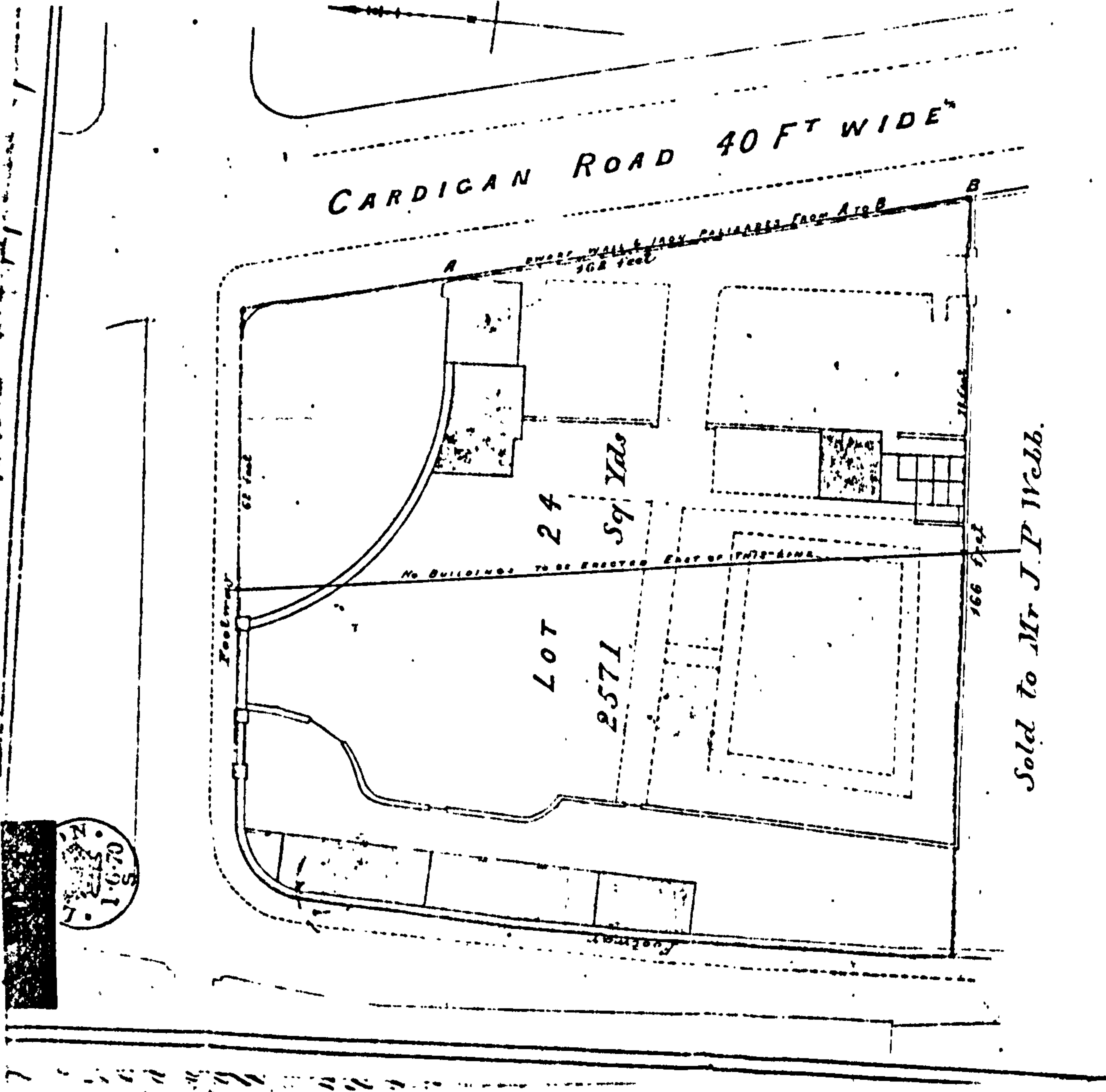


Fig.83 Lot 24, Headingley Old Gardens Estate, 1870.

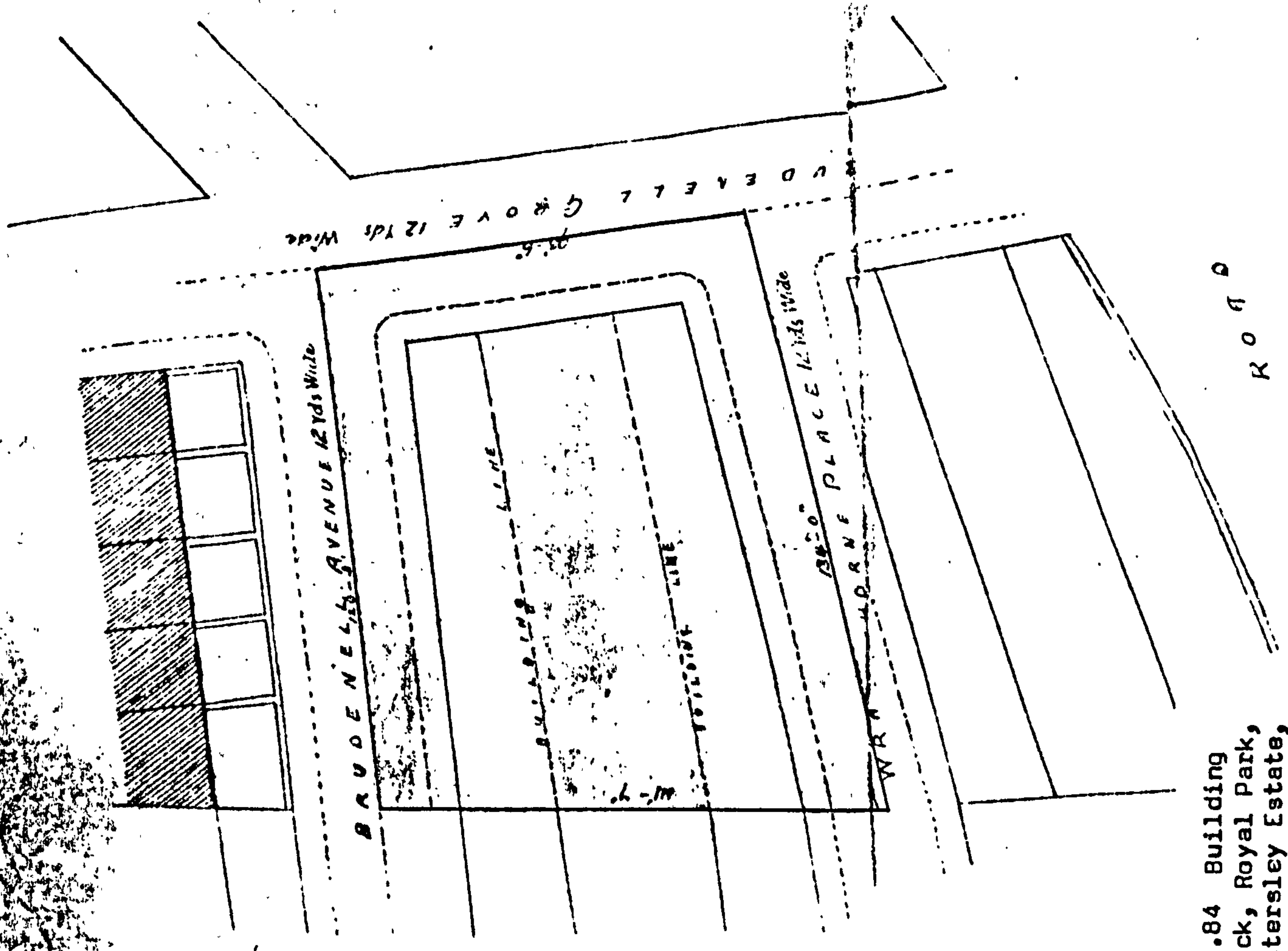


Fig. 84 Building block, Royal Park, Hattersley Estate, 1891.

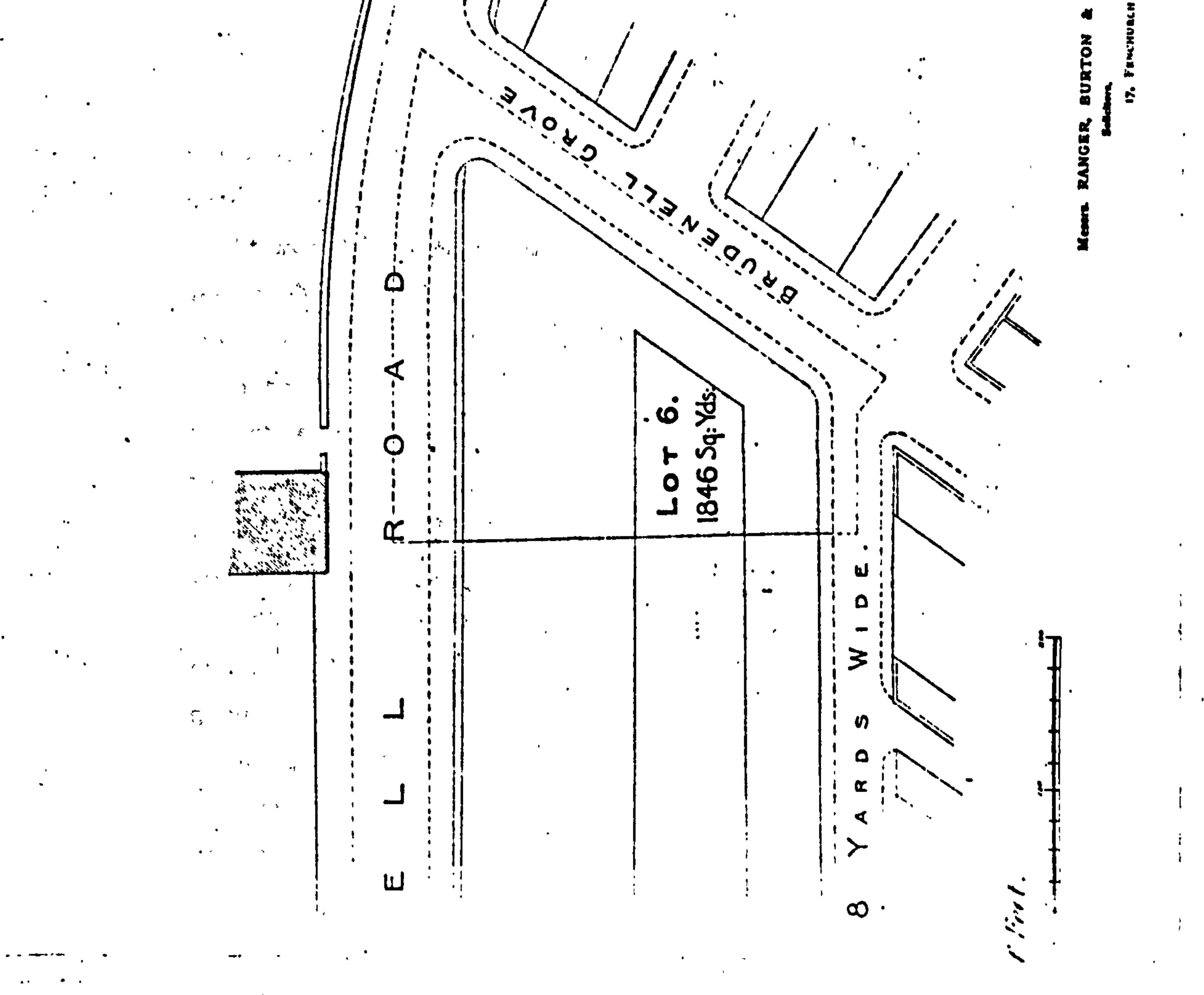


Fig. 85 Lot 6, Royal Park, Hattersley Estate, 1893.

Messrs. RANGER, BURTON & SOLOMONS, 17, FENCHURCH

buildings appears to have been local custom.⁵⁵ Unlike office accommodation in the town centre, it would appear that if a developer built more floors than were customary in a specific house type he would have great difficulty in letting it at a higher annual rental when similar properties which covered the same ground floor area were to let nearby at a lower figure. Higher rentals could only be achieved if the building was let as more than one dwelling, and because of the abundant supply of back-to-back dwellings at various rents all situated on the ground, demand for flats or tenements in Leeds was almost nil (see Chapter 6). If a more spacious house was required by an owner-occupier or by a developer wishing to charge a higher rental, the standard practice was to increase the ground floor area rather than expanding upwards. In terrace housing, both through and back-to-back, this was achieved by increasing the width between party walls rather than by increasing the depth from front to back.

Densities of the existing housing stock measured in dwellings per acre can be related to the way in which early plots on an estate were developed for large villas and subsequent subdivision and land resale allowed smaller house types to be erected with a corresponding increase in persons per acre. A series of density calculations have been carried out by the writer by measuring land areas to the centre line of roads and counting the number and types of dwellings erected either on individual plots, complete building blocks, parts of estates involving several blocks and whole estates. Areas of housing erected since 1914 have been omitted from the calculations by only considering parts of estates or whole estates which were completed before this date. Figures indicating densities were produced which could be related to specific house types wherever situated or to parts of estates containing a mixture of different house types.

The large mansions built in the first half of the century off Victoria Road were generally built at a density of .4 to .6 dwellings per acre. Mansions such as Spring Bank and Buckingham House were set in 3.3 and 7 acres respectively giving very low densities. The density quoted includes lodges and cottages erected for butlers, gardeners and coachmen. The whole of the Headingley Old Gardens Estate, containing a mixture of various sized detached and semi-detached villas, produced a figure of 1.8 dwellings per acre, whereas the nearby Mansion House Estate, which contained

generally smaller semi-detached and some terraced housing, had a density of 6.6 dwellings per acre. Smaller semi-detached houses, especially when built in miniature estates situated on larger estates, were built at various densities depending upon the size of the dwellings. On the Cardigan Road Estate they were large and at 8.2 per acre, on the Walmsley Estate off Brudenell Road they were constricted 15.5 to the acre and a small estate off St. Michael's Lane built after 1900 produced 17.6 to the acre.

There was a wide variation in through terraces because the ground floor area, the width of roads and back streets, the number of roads and the size of gardens all influenced individual plot sizes and the ultimate density per acre. The first through terraces built in stone off Victoria Road in the period 1840 to 1870 had road access to one side only and rear gardens of varying lengths. They were built at 8.7 - 21.5 dwellings per acre. Further down Victoria Road the whole of the Norwood Estate was completed to give an estate of through houses at a density of 25.1 dwellings per acre. The highest density was achieved on a building block in School View on the Walmsley Estate where small through houses were erected with front entrances off the street and very small rear gardens giving a density of 43.6 dwellings per acre.

Back-to-back dwellings had a reputation for being the most desirable house type to use when high densities were required. This was not always the case in the study area because often the minimum annual rental stipulated in restrictive covenants forced the developer into building the better quality scullery back-to-backs, especially on the Royal Park, Ford Estate. On that particular estate the streets were laid out with a road 36 feet wide on both sides of building blocks together with gardens to front and rear. This meant that developers could choose whether to develop a single plot with one through dwelling or two back-to-backs each with a garden. The back-to-backs erected on the Royal Park Ford Estate produced a density of 34.4 dwellings per acre.

Some estates of back-to-backs, especially those which did not contain scullery houses, produced a greater density than those achieved on estates in the study area. On estates in Burley covered with streets named the Harolds and the Thornvilles, where all the blocks were entered directly off the street with no gardens, densities of 50 dwellings per acre were commonly achieved. This figure was only

achieved on one small part of an estate in the study area, that covered by John Street, Elizabeth Street and William Street on the Clapham/Pearson Estate. Here just four rows of back-to-backs with privies in yards were laid out at 50 dwellings per acres.

Different densities are achieved depending on the area of land taken as a measuring point. A single building block 15 houses in length will produce a different figure to several similar blocks, a mixture of different house types tends to reduce the density and figures for a whole estate reduce the density even further. To illustrate this the following example can be used. Through terrace houses could vary in density from 15 to 44 dwellings per acre depending upon the size of building plots and on the Royal Park Estate they varied from 15 to 40 per acre from the perimeter to the interior of the site. If the whole of the Royal Park Estate, including the top half owned by Ford and the bottom by Hattersley (some 20.76 acres), is examined, it can be seen to have been developed at a density of 23.5 dwellings per acre. This figure includes a number of back-to-back houses and a Methodist church on the Ford part of the estate. If large open areas such as school playing fields, public parks or private open spaces are included in calculations, densities are considerably reduced. In the study area this only occurred where the Headingley Cricket and Football Grounds were created on the Cardigan Estate because other large open spaces such as Woodhouse Moor and Burley Park were outside the boundary.

By multiplying the number of dwellings per acre by the average number of persons per dwelling for a given decade (obtainable from census returns), an approximate estimate can be made of the density in persons per acre for any given point in time. In a similar way to housing densities, the greater the land area measured in a suburb the lower the density in persons per acre resulted. Where whole wards were concerned the Harehills Ward of Leeds had the dubious distinction of having the highest density figure for the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1961 at sixty-eight persons per acre.⁵⁶ If small parts of estates are considered in isolation for the study area, considerably higher figures than this were achieved but these have been based on individual building blocks or single streets and the actual number of persons living in the dwellings may have been less than the average for all Leeds.

Whatever may have been the case in reality there is little doubt

that the study area contains areas of great contrast, between large mansions and small back-to-backs, between lodge gates set in high walls and parlours entered directly off the public footpath, of sweeping drives with the crunch of coach wheels on gravel, and the long walk home from town and the scraping of muddy shoes on the footscrapers outside. There can be no greater contrast, given the economic circumstances which precluded the very poor from occupying the area, than mansions like Buckingham House with one dwelling every 2 acres and only a little way down the hill from them the small through terraces of School View with 88 dwellings on a similar two acres.

To give an indication of the range of densities found in the study area the following table has been included.

Table 29 Densities of Selected Parts of the Study Area in 1914

House Types	Location	Dwellings per Acre ^a	Persons per Acre ^b
Detached villa and servants lodges	Buckingham House	.42	2
Detached villa and servants lodges	Torridon	.57	3
Detached villa and servants lodges	Spring Bank	.59	3
Detached and semi-detached villas and servants lodges	<u>Headingley Old Gardens^c</u>	<u>1.83</u>	<u>9</u>
Detached and semi-detached villas with some through terraces	<u>Mansion House Estate</u>	<u>6.68</u>	<u>32</u>
Semi-detached villas	Cardigan Road	8.16	38
Semi-detached villas	Brudenell Road	15.55	73
Semi-detached villas	St. Michael's Lane	17.61	83
Through terraces	Hyde Park Road (Teal estate)	8.73	41
Through terraces	Hyde Park Road (Ford estate)	14.97	70
Through terraces	Victoria Road	21.50	101
Through Terraces	The Ashvilles	23.82	112
Through Terraces	Queens Road	24.80	116
Through Terraces	<u>Fawcett/Postill Estate,</u> <u>The Norwoods^c</u>	<u>25.13</u>	<u>118</u>
Through Terraces	The Manors	28.62	134
Through Terraces	The Hessles	31.09	146
Through Terraces	Meadow View	35.63	167
Through Terraces	Royal Park Road	39.71	187
Through Terraces	School View	43.62	205

Back-to-back houses	Hyde Park Road Brudenell Grove Brudenell Street	34.45	162
Back-to-back terraces	The Beechwoods ^d	38.50	181
Back-to-back terraces	The Thornvilles ^d	49.87	234
Back-to-back terraces	The Harolds ^d	49.87	234
Back-to-back terraces	John Street, Elizabeth Street, William Street	50.00	235
Through terraces and 8 back-to-backs	<u>Teal Estate^c</u>	<u>12.85</u>	<u>60</u>
Through terraces and back-to-backs	Royal Park Estate	23.50	110
Through terraces and back-to-backs	The Granbys	36.41	171

a The dwellings existing on the ground in 1914 were used for calculation purposes.

b The figure 4.7 persons per dwelling as calculated from the 1911 census returns for Leeds has been used.

c Those locations and figures underlined represent the density of a whole estate.

d Areas of housing just outside the study area boundary in Burley but included for comparative purposes.

NOTES

CHAPTER 8 ESTATE LAYOUT AND THE CREATION OF THE SUBURBAN MOSAIC

- 1 L.C.D., 5121.
- 2 Treen, p. 400 - 402.
- 3 L.C.D., 9012.
- 4 Treen, p. 407.
- 5 Ibid., p. 190.
- 6 Ibid., p. 191.
- 7 Ibid., p. 235 and p. 271
- 8 J. Hole, The Homes of the Working Classes, p.212-213.
- 9 L.C.D., 8766, 8972, 21506.
- 10 Treen, p. 275.
- 11 Ibid., p. 309.
- 12 The Builder, 1873, Vol. 31, p. 531. See also Treen, p. 448.
- 13 Treen, p. 288 and p. 329.
- 14 The Builder, 1881, Vol. 40, p. 110.
- 15 Treen, p. 444 - 445.
- 16 Ibid., p. 402.
- 17 Ibid., p. 328. See also D.E.P., 42, Appendix 1.
- 18 L.C.D., 9450.
- 19 Treen, p. 324.
- 20 L.C.D., 12372.
- 21 L.C.D., 9200, 12696, 18973.
- 22 The Builder, 1900, Vol. 78, p. 442.
- 23 Borough of Leeds, Bye-Laws Relating to New Streets, Buildings Etc., 1870, p. 19.
- 24 D.E.P., 8, Appendix 1.
- 25 L.C.D., 8604.
- 26 Quoted by Treen, see p. 209. See Leeds Mercury, 30th Dec., 1862.
- 27 L.C.D., 9322.
- 28 L.C.D., 10695.
- 29 The Oak existed on the present site before 1838. The Hyde Park Hotel was originally called The Red Lion and was shown on estate plans as existing in 1852.
- 30 The Builder, 1876, Vol. 34, p. 1261.
- 31 L.C.D., 9322.
- 32 L.C.D., 21506.
- 33 L.C.D., 15999
- 34 L.C.D., 15362.
- 35 L.C.D., 10742.

- 36 Treen, p. 405.
- 37 See Fig. 15.
- 38 See Fig. 16.
- 39 D.E.P., 1, Appendix 1.
- 40 D.E.P., 3, Appendix 1.
- 41 D.E.P., 7, Appendix 1.
- 42 See Fig. 81.
- 43 The Builder, 1901, Vol. 80, p. 345.
- 44 See Fig. 63, Chapter 6 showing the building periods for the estates in the study area.
- 45 The Bye-Laws of 1870 allowed the Corporation to vary or alter the intended position or direction of a street to make it line up with an existing or another intended street. It is not known how often these powers were exercised. See Bye-Laws Relating to New Streets, Buildings Etc., 1870, p. 21.
- 46 D.E.P., 1, Appendix 1.
- 47 Leeds Archives Department, Hepper Sale Plan 7.
- 48 Leeds Archives Department, AM 63.
- 49 D.E.P., 11, Appendix 1.
- 50 Leeds Archives Department, AM 731.
- 51 Leeds Archives Department, AM 121.
- 52 Leeds Archives Department, Hepper Sale Plan 39.
- 53 Leeds Archives Department, AM 631.
- 54 L.C.D., 9322.
- 55 Under Section 189 of the Improvement Act of 1842, Leeds prohibited more than one room being built in a roofspace of dwellings but did not limit the total building height.
- 56 M.W. Beresford, Leeds and Its Region, p. 176.