

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

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## CHAPTER 9 SPECULATIVE DEVELOPERS AND BUILDERS

### 9.1 Pre-development Landowners

Dyos stated that:

'Ancient highway, country lane, and turnpike had, in both a figurative and literal sense, already laid down the template of Victorian suburban expansion'<sup>1</sup>

This was an apt description for the suburb of Headingley where the ancient Chapel Lane wending its way up the hill from Burley was followed by the creation of the Otley turnpike, the construction of a waterworks main and a railway, combining together to create a template within which future building developers had to work. It was left to the pre-development landowners to largely determine the way in which the remaining land which fitted into the template was divided up into housing estates, but not without some difficulty in controlling the end result.

In almost every case, the open fields which lay between roads, footpaths and railway were changed into peopled streets by the process of the laying out of estates, land sales and subdivision. The end product, the housing stock in its built form, is remarkable in the way that very different areas of housing have been created in the same suburb, in the same estate and even in the same street. This came about not only as a direct result of the complex nature of the development process, particularly the way that large areas of land were disposed of in a piecemeal manner over a considerable period of time, but also as a result of the number of different developers who became involved in developing large areas of estates and small building blocks.

Few pre-development landowners went on to become housing developers of their own land in the study area. Two examples were found of landowners who were willing to erect a few houses in order to start off a development when buyers of plots were not forthcoming. H.C. Marshall was about to do this on the Headingley Old Gardens Estate in 1869 but in the end found it was not necessary and Thomas Hattersley had to carry out this policy in order to start things moving on the estate he purchased off Clapham's mortgagees. Hattersley built five through houses facing Clapham Road in 1876 for speculation and still owned these when he died in 1885. Two pre-development landowners erected houses for speculation which appear not have been intended to attract buyers of vacant plots to the area, but in each case the land had been put on the market by one estate owner and the houses built

by a new owner in advance of general building operations. Henry Ludolf built a row of five through houses in Victoria Road, named Nelson Terrace, as an investment in the late 1860's. They were erected on a plot Ludolf had purchased off the Fawcett Estate. Thomas Clapham, the manager of the Leeds Royal Park, also built five through houses in Clapham Road in 1868 on land he had purchased off the Teal Estate.

The major landowners knew that profit could be made from developing but they appear to have concentrated their efforts on selling development land for others. They were also aware that buyers would make a profit by subdividing and creating an infrastructure, but refrained from becoming involved themselves in doing this, particularly after the unfortunate experience of the Fawcett Trustees. The latter actually erected several roads including Victoria Road, Cumberland Road and Grosvenor Road in advance of sales, whereas other landowners much preferred to construct central spine roads only to give access. Thus the trustees of the Countess of Cardigan had constructed Cardigan Road and Brudenell Road prior to the major land sales of 1888 but had created no infrastructure of minor roads.

To take this a stage further and not only construct roads but to begin erecting houses was a major step and it is interesting to speculate as to the reasons why Hattersley, Ludolf, and Clapham all stopped after completing five houses each. Perhaps the experience clearly showed them that the financial rewards were poor compared with dealing in land and that this was a venture best left to small builders and tradesmen who worked on credit and could not afford large land purchases. Another possible explanation is that they were advised that five houses was a minimum number which would show the confidence the landowner had in the investment in order to attract others to purchase building plots. Whatever the case may have been it was a well known fact that existing houses already let helped in the letting of newly completed dwellings on an estate that was in its early stages of development. The relatively few examples of pre-development landowners, or of major landowners who purchased lots on estates after they had been put on the market but before building development took place, becoming involved in housing development would suggest that the profits to be made out of land sales was more attractive than the more precarious business of actually building.



## 9.2 Speculative Developers

If the pre-development landowners did not usually become involved in housing development then who were the people who either built the houses or paid others to erect them? This question is more easily answered if the complexities of land sales are understood and the point at which the developers of houses started building operations has been examined. Three examples will suffice to describe the inter-relationship between landowners and ultimate developers.

The original owner of what was destined to become the Manor House Estate was Mary Bainbrigge II, a spinster who died in 1832. She left land containing the old Manor House of Headingley to Dr. R.W.D. Thorp and the land passed to his son Dr. D.L. Thorp who attempted to sell the land as an estate for villas between 1845 and 1851. The estate was sold mainly undeveloped to Anthony Titley, a flax spinner in 1852. Some 14 acres of the estate was sold by Titley's heirs to Charles Stott, a retired builder in 1898, and he subdivided it into building blocks some 53 years after it first came on the market for building development. Stott, however, did not act as a developer preferring instead to sell to others who included Hobson, Chadwick and Watson, three Leeds architects who were partners in practice. They purchased 3 acres of the land laid out in building blocks and Stott's widow sold the remaining part of the estate to a builder named John Newton Sharp in 1902. Hobson eventually purchased half an acre off his partner's and sold this to William Flint, a Leeds builder who built houses for speculation on the land. John Newton Sharp erected many houses also for speculation on his part of the estate. Sharp and Flint were the major building developers but others were involved on other plots elsewhere on the estate and these included Harry Boston, James B. Johnson, Charles Wilson, J. Carr, W. Gibson and W. Airey.

The Leeds Royal Park belonged to Robert Cadman who was the pre-development landowner. He sold fields to Thomas Clapham in 1859 to develop into a public recreation ground. The land passed into the hands of Clapham's mortgagees in 1871 and 10 acres were sold to the Leeds Horticultural Gardens Co. in 1875, R.L. Ford a solicitor acting as mortgagee to the Company. In 1885 J.R. Ford the son of R.L. Ford relinquished the mortgage but took possession of the land. He had an estate plan drawn up to show small building lots intended to receive terrace housing and Ford's partner in his law practice, William Warren,<sup>2</sup>

joined forces with a local surveyor, John Franks, and purchased 6 acres of the new estate in 1888. Franks and Warren sold nearly 1,000 square yards to William Farndale a joiner, and half an acre to Walter A. Hobson a Leeds architect, both of whom acted as speculative developers and erected houses. They were not the only developers as many others were involved on the remainder of the estate. W.A. Hobson owned building blocks on the Manor House Estate, acted as a developer on the Royal Park Estate, and was involved as a building designer on both, submitting drawings for his own houses and for other developers.

The Fawcett/Postill Estate, which was to become an estate of through houses with streets named Norwood, was originally owned by J. H. Fawcett who put the land up for sale in 1837 for villa lots. In 1859 Henry Ludolf, a flax merchant, purchased nearly 6 acres of the Fawcett Estate on both sides of Victoria Road. He erected a large mansion and an entrance lodge in 1869 for his own use and a row of 5 terrace houses for speculation which was to be the first building development on the Norwood Estate. In 1880 five acres of this estate were sold to Francis Postill, a Leeds builder who laid out an estate plan and erected houses as well as selling off building lots. He sold  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre to James Hutton, a builder of Burley, who erected houses and in 1889 Postill sold nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre to H.D. Nettleton, another Leeds builder who also erected houses.

From just these three examples it would appear, at first sight, that the ultimate responsibility and indeed the financial risk of building in the hope of selling or letting on completion was left to small builders and in at least one case to a professional man in the form of a Leeds architect. A similar examination has been carried out of all the houses erected in the study area and the names and occupations of the developers have been recorded. Analysis of this information clearly shows that although the majority of the developers were builders some others came from a wide variety of backgrounds and occupations. This was not unusual because the District Surveyor of North Battersea in London described an identical situation in 1877:

'"The speculative builder"... is frequently or generally no builder at all. He may be a bricklayer, carpenter, or labourer, a mechanic or a tradesman, a butler or a retired publican. I know them from every class and grade of society.'<sup>3</sup>

Treen stated that the developers who were responsible for erecting houses in the three out-townships he studied included terminating building clubs;

land, building and investment companies; partnerships and individuals. He describes the activities of the Oakfield Terrace and the Springhill Terrace Building Clubs as examples of terminating societies<sup>4</sup>, and the Leeds and Yorkshire Land, Building and Investment Company which was active as a developer on the Hill Top Estate.<sup>5</sup> He concluded that when combined the terminating societies and land companies only contributed a very small proportion of the houses built in Headingley-cum-Burley during the period 1871 - 1914. From 1870 onwards he states that it was individuals and partnerships of two or three people who were responsible for the majority of houses on building estates.<sup>6</sup>

The writer found that the activities of the Leeds and Yorkshire land, Building and Investment Company took place on the Hill Top Estate, adjacent to but outside the study area boundary, and no examples of terminating societies were found on deposited drawings. Several examples were found, however, of plans being deposited for terminating building clubs or societies in the sample of deposited building plans for all Leeds but all were for sites outside the study area (see Appendix 19).

There were four major occupational groups of housing developers in the study area:

- |                  |                                   |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Builders      | a. singly                         |
|                  | b. in partnership                 |
|                  | c. tradesmen                      |
| 2. Entrepreneurs | a. gentlemen of independent means |
|                  | b. manufacturers                  |
|                  | c. merchants                      |
|                  | d. miscellaneous                  |
| 3. Professions   | a. land/estate agents             |
|                  | b. architects/surveyors           |
|                  | c. lawyers/solicitors             |
| 4. Others        | a. organisations                  |
|                  | b. occupations not stated.        |

During the period 1868 - 1914 a total of 2,447 houses were shown on approved plans of which 2,197 were actually erected. Ignoring those houses approved and not erected the following table indicates the number of houses which were erected by the four major occupational groups of speculative developers:



**Table 30 Numbers of Houses Erected in the Study Area  
Broken Down into Occupations of Developers, 1868 - 1914<sup>a</sup>**

Occupational group	Dwellings erected	% of total	Number of developers	Average number of houses per developer <sup>b</sup>
<b>1 Builders</b>				
a. singly	1005	45.7%	38	26
b. in partnership	397	18.1%	8	50
c. tradesmen	43	1.9%	8	5
sub-total	<u>1445</u>	<u>65.7%</u>		
<b>2 Entrepreneurs</b>				
a. gentlemen/ladies of independant means	32	1.5%	12	3
b. manufacturers	199	9.1%	24	8
c. merchants	52	2.4%	24	2
d. miscellaneous	136	6.2%	39	3
sub-total	<u>419</u>	<u>19.2%</u>		
<b>3 Professions</b>				
a. land/estate agents	63	2.9%	4	16
b. architects/surveyors	244	11.1%	12	20
c. lawyers/solicitors	6	0.3%	3	2
sub-total	<u>313</u>	<u>14.3%</u>		
<b>4 Others</b>				
a. organisations	10	0.4%	7	1
b. occupations not stated	10	0.4%	8	1
sub-total	<u>20</u>	<u>0.8%</u>		
<b>Grand total</b>	<b>2,197</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>11.7</b>

a Source, deposited building plans

b Rounded up or down to the nearest whole number

From the above table it can be seen that the most numerous category of developers were builders who were responsible for 66% of the total houses erected. Entrepreneurs and the profession were responsible for a similar number at 19% and 14% respectively. Organisations such as societies and clubs, together with those persons who did not give an occupation were responsible for less than 1%.

If each of the categories are examined in turn, the names and occupations of individuals or group of individuals throws more light on the persons

who actually erected the houses or were willing to risk their capital for tradesmen to erect them on their behalf. The evidence would suggest that tradesmen worked on the erection of houses for developers and at some stage a number of them took a step up the occupational ladder, rather than their accustomed wooden one, by borrowing enough capital to join forces in twos and threes to build a few houses for speculation. If unsuccessful they returned to being tradesmen, if the venture realised a profit they repeated the exercise and some graduated to becoming employers of their own tradesmen and hence builders in their own right. Most of the persons operating in the study area who described themselves as builders, working either singly or in partnership, graduated from the tools in this way.

The major builders in the study area who acted as housing developers were two brothers Benjamin and William Walmsley who, either working in partnership and later as individuals, were responsible for the erection of 369 houses, which represented nearly 17% of the total. These two builders were exceptional in that they built houses over a large area, elsewhere in Burley, in the Kelsall Road area of Leeds, and as far away as Scarborough. They began as tradesmen in the 1870's working in Burley and both died wealthy men. Other builders who played a major role as housing developers were John Ellis Pearson, James Pick, Benjamin Hewling and John Newton Sharp. Hewling was an ironmonger who turned to house building as a speculative venture. Sharp purchased large areas of land throughout Leeds, including 16 acres at Headingley between 1871 and 1914. In the case of the less well-known builders who erected only a few houses in the study area, it has not been established whether or not they were active as developers elsewhere in Leeds. The builders who acted singly to develop houses in the study area are listed in the following table:

Table 31 Category 1a (Builders Working Singly)  
Housing Developers in the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Name	Occupation	Number of dwellings erected.
AIREY W.	Builder	16
BINNS J.E.	Builder	1 own. occ.
BOOTH W.B.	Builder	2
BOWER W.	Builder and contractor	29
CARR J.	Builder	16
DAVIS J.H.	Builder and contractor	1
FARNDALE T.	Builder	12
FARNDALE W.	Builder	12
FLINT W.	Builder	17





into Royal Park Road; Henry Dowsland Nettleton lived in Norwood Terrace in 1893; James Newby lived in Brudenell Road; James Pick lived in Chestnut Avenue; Francis Postill lived in Eberston Terrace in an end-house he built for his own use; John Hall Thorp lived at Broomfield House, Chapel Lane, Headingley; John Wade moved from Woodhouse to set up the family business that still exists in Kensington Terrace; The Walmsley brothers lived in almost identical houses they erected for themselves in Cardigan Road.

The builders who acted in partnership to develop houses in the study area are listed in the following table:

Table 32 Category 1b (Builders in Partnership) Housing Developers in the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Name	Occupation	Numbers of Dwellings Erected
Bilbrough J. & ) Palframan A. )	Builders and contractors	50
Ellis G. F. & Ellis J.W.	Builders	18
Fenton J. & Fenton J.	Builders	24
Hargreaves A. & ) Hargreaves W. )	Builders	16
Johnson H. & Johnson T.	Builders and contractors	9
Walmsley B. & Walmsley W.	Builders	277
Wilson E. & Wilson G.	Builders	1
Wray W. & Gott W.	Builders and masons	2
<b>Total</b>		<b>397</b>

The above table shows that 8 building partnerships erected 397 houses, averaging 50 dwellings each. If, however, the large number of houses erected by B. & W. Walmsley are omitted (because unlike the others they operated on a very large scale) 120 houses were erected by 7 partnerships averaging 17 dwellings each, which is similar to the average for builders working singly in the study area. Bilbrough and Palframan built 50 back-to-back houses on the Royal Park, Ford Estate but dissolved their partnership in 1892 with Palframan retiring to live in Whitby and Bilbrough continuing to work as a builder in Leeds. Little information is known about the Ellis or Hargreaves partnerships but the Fenton Brothers came from Chapel Allerton and the Johnson brothers came from Woodhouse. In a similar way to the builders working singly some of those who formed partnerships also decided to live in the study area. Hedley Johnson lived in Royal Park Road by 1910; Edward and George Wilson lived in Chapel Terrace,

Headingley just outside the study area boundary; William Wray lived in Brudenell Road in 1913.

The building tradesmen who acted singly to develop houses in the study area are listed in the following table:

Table 33 Category 1c (Building Tradesmen) Housing Developers in the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Name	Occupation	Number of dwellings erected
BELL C.	Painter	4
BOSTON H.	Plumber	14
HOLDSWORTH W.	Joiner	2
KIRTLAN W.	Plasterer	2
MOUNTAIN J.	Joiner and cabinet-maker	2
SLATER H.	Sanitary engineer	2
SLATER R.	Sanitary engineer	14
TILLOTSON W.R.	Painter	3
Total		43

The above table shows that 8 building tradesmen erected 43 dwellings, averaging 5 dwellings each. The two major developers were both plumbers. Harry Boston had premises in Woodhouse but lived in Brudenell Mount in 1898 and had moved to a larger house in Hyde Park Road by 1904. Robert Slater was a gas fitter and plumber with premises at Hyde Park Corner but by 1902 the firm was Slater and Son, Sanitary engineers of Headingley Lane and Robert lived in the Chapel Lane Estate in the study area.

Other developers were not builders but entrepreneurs in the sense that they had other occupations from which they obtained their main source of income and speculated in house-building for profit. They were a mixed group of people from a wide range of backgrounds but all had one thing in common, they were willing to risk their capital in speculative housing in order to attempt to gain higher returns on their investment than could have been assured by investing it in a more secure place. There were three ways of investing money in nineteenth-century speculative developments in the expanding suburbs. Firstly, to act as a mortgagee and lend money to others to buy land or build. This was the most secure method for deeds of land were held as security against loans and it produced a half-yearly income with 4% to 5% interest. (see Appendix 14 ). The second method was to buy land and resell it for speculation with or without increasing

its value by creating an infrastructure and subdividing it. This was more of a financial risk than just lending money but at least the land was a valuable commodity even if the profits expected did not materialise. The last method was to put up money for houses to be erected which would be sold or rented off after completion. The most risk was involved in the latter because if the housing market was in decline on completion empty houses needed to be insured and maintained while at the same time producing no income.

If a builder acted as a developer and paid individual tradesmen to erect his houses for him then it could be argued that a woollen merchant who also paid tradesmen to build houses in a similar manner was a builder. The difference between the two was mainly that the builder would order all his own materials and supervise the work, whereas the merchant or manufacturer would have plans drawn up and approved and then simply put up the money for tradesmen to erect the houses and he would not have the necessary knowledge to order material or supervise the building operations. Because of this, it is natural that the majority of housing developers were builders or building tradesmen, but even so, many who did not come from building backgrounds took the step of becoming housing developers and accepted the financial risk that speculative building operations involved in the hope of making a reasonable profit. Often they were referred to as house-builders but this implies that they earned their living as builders which was not the case. Some may have begun as shopkeepers or clerks and, after a small but successful venture into housing speculation, undertaken larger schemes until they gave up their original occupations to act as building developers as a full time occupation. They would then be known as house-builders but without having come from a building or tradesman's background:

'There were speculative builders, therefore, who were not builders at all but recruited from the most unlikely sources. Labourers and mechanics, servants and publicans, shopkeepers and merchants, lawyers and clergymen were all to be numbered among this invidious collection of speculative house-builders.'<sup>7</sup>

A few had speculation thrust upon them by bad debts, especially persons who supplied building materials such as timber merchants. Others were involuntary speculators who as providers of capital sometimes found themselves engaged in building up half-completed houses on land which they obtained through having to foreclose. Others simply launched into speculation to give an outlet for their savings



or as alternative to gambling in the money market. There is clear evidence that entrepreneurs let out work, often with the help of their professional advisors, to tradesmen in order that the houses approved should be erected, but no evidence to suggest that builders who purchased land and erected houses for themselves regularly did the contracting work for other developers.<sup>8</sup>

There is some confusion as to whether a person should be described as a builder or developer. If the latter term is taken to mean that the person only provided finance for the building operations and on completion sold or let the dwellings, the distinction becomes purely academic because in reality many large builders did exactly the same thing by providing capital for tradesmen to do the work and in this way acted as entrepreneurs. It is more accurate to ascertain whether building operations provided the only or main source of income for the individual concerned.

The entrepreneurs who described themselves as gentlemen, ladies or widows are listed in the following table:

Table 34 Category 2a (Gentlemen/Ladies of Independent Means)  
Housing Developers in the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Name	Occupation	Number of dwellings erected
ARTHINGTON R.	Gentleman	1 own. occ.
BRAMHAM M.E. Mrs.	Widow	2
CHILD H. Mrs.	n.d.a.	1
DIXON A. Mrs.	n.d.a.	1
GOUGH E. Mrs.	n.d.a.	2
GRAYSON G.	Gentleman	15
HOBSON S. Mrs.	Relation of W.A. Hobson, architect	2
NEWSOME J. Mrs.	Wife of Headingley bookseller	2
STENSON J.	Gentleman	1 own. occ.
TAYLOR E. Mrs.	n.d.a.	2
WALKER H.	Gentleman	1 own. occ.
WOOD W.	Gentleman	2 own. occ.

Total 32

own. occ. denotes owner-occupier

The above table shows that 12 persons in this category developed 32 houses, averaging 3 dwellings each. In at least four cases where only one house was erected it was custom-built for owner-occupation and not a speculative venture. Joseph Stenson and Robert Arthington built large detached villas for their own use. The most active

speculative developer was George Grayson who was described as a gentleman living in a detached house on the Chapel Lane Estate where he developed 15 through terraces between 1881 and 1890. It is possible that the same George Grayson was the proprietor of a brickyard in Burley in 1865.

A number of the persons in Table 34 were persons who had retired from business or the professions and, having the income from private means, were simply referred to as gentlemen. They were listed not under occupation but in the court section of the street directories. Some wealthy widows, spinsters or wives and mothers of other entrepreneurs were persuaded to risk their capital in building but not as far as can be seen beyond the extent of two houses. In their cases it would appear that the houses were built for investment purposes as they simply provided the working capital and then left all other considerations to their professional advisors. Some, like Mrs. Susan Hobson and Mrs. Jane Newsome, were married and were probably being provided with a personal form of private income from the house rentals by their husbands.

The entrepreneurs who were manufacturers are listed in the following table:

Table 35 Category 2b (Manufacturers) Housing Developers in the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Name	Occupation	Number of dwellings erected
BEAUMONT A.	Whitesmith and engineer	80
BEDFORD James	Manufacturing chemist	2
BEDFORD Joseph	Engineer and millwright	1
BLACKETT W.	Cloth finisher	2
BROOK J.A.	Woollen manufacturer	22
CRAVEN T.E.	Engineer and patent agent	1
DEWSBURY T.	Consulting engineer	11
EARNSHAW I. & )	n.d.a.	14
PEAT J. )	Engineer	
FOSTER T.	Shoemaker	2
HATTERSLEY T.	Spindle manufacturer	5
HEPWORTH J.	Wholesale clothier	1
HEPWORTH N.R.	Wholesale clothier	1
HOWELL W.J.	Venetian blind manufacturer	24
IBBITSON T. & W.	Woollen manufacturers	2
KITSON J. Junior	Ironmaster	1
LABRON J.	Woollen manufacturer	3
LEIGHTON C.	Ironplate worker	1
DATES S.T.	Whitesmith	1
PAWSON J.T.	Blacksmith	13
RAWLINSON W.	Engineer and millwright	1



RHODES S.	Woollen manufacturer	2
SINGLETON W.	Dyer	4
TAYLOR G.	Ironmaster	2
WEBB J.P.	Woollen manufacturer	3

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Total 199

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The above table shows that 24 persons in this category developed 199 houses, averaging 24 dwellings each. The most active was Alfred Beaumont, a whitesmith and engineer who had offices in Bond Street, Leeds and by 1902 was living in Chapel Lane, Headingley. The other major developers were William J. Howell, a venetian blind manufacturer with an office in Albion Street, Leeds who lived in Blackman Lane, Woodhouse and John A. Brooke, a woollen manufacturer who had offices in Park Place and woollen mills at Morley, near Leeds. By 1917 Brooke was living with his wife at Grasmere in the Lake District. Only three other developers erected more than 10 houses. Isaac Earnshaw in partnership with James Peat erected 14 houses. Peat was an engineer and millwright but nothing is known concerning his partner. John T. Pawson was a blacksmith with a shop in St. Marks Road, Woodhouse and Thomas Dewsbury lived at Bleak House on Headingley Green. Dewsbury was a consulting marine engineer domicile some distance from the sea who developed houses in the grounds of his home.

The entrepreneurs who were merchants are listed in the following table:

Table 36 Category 2c (Merchants) Housing Developers in the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Name	Occupation	Number of dwellings erected.
ASQUITH W.	Cloth merchant	2
ATKINSON H.G.	Plaster & lime merchant	1 own. occ.
CARBUTT F.	Linen merchant	2
COWBROUGH H.	Wine & Spirit merchant	1 own. occ.
FEARNSIDE W.H. & )	Oil merchants	2 own. occ.
DAVIES J.		
HALL D.	Stone merchant	2
HARRISON E. & J.	Wine and Spirit merchants	1
HUDSON J.	Oil merchant	1 own. occ.
HUMBLE T.	Oil merchant	1 own. occ.
LUDOLF H.	Flax & wool merchant	2 own. occ.
MARSLAND J.	Mungo merchant	1 own. occ.
PICKARD D.	Wholesale draper	1 own. occ.
QUAMBUSK W.	Wool merchant	2
REDSHAW J.	Woollen draper	1 own. occ.
RHODES F.G.	Wholesale clothier	8

SMITH B.	Cotton merchant	1	own. occ.
SMITH J.W.	Ironmonger	4	
STEEL G. & )	Timber merchants	2	own. occ
BUCKTON R. )			
SUGDEN W.	Iron merchant	2	
HARDING T.R.	Card, comb & steel pin merchant	1	
HOLLINGS J.T.	Timber merchant	5	
MITCHELL & )	n.d.a.	6	
RHODES F.G. )			
SIMPSON J.T.	Wholesale clothier	2	
WILLIAMSON H.	Hop merchant	1	own. occ.
	Woollen merchant	1	own. occ.
Total		52	

own. occ. denotes owner-occupier.

It can be seen from the above table that 24 persons in this category developed 52 houses, averaging 2 dwellings each. The low number is indicative of the fact that many of the persons listed were building one-off houses for owner-occupation. The major developers were F.G. Rhodes and J.T. Hollins. Frederick George Rhodes was a wholesale clothing manufacturer who lived at Thorner near Leeds and built on his own and in partnership with a Mr. Mitchell. It is possible that the latter gentleman was Frederick Mitchell, the Leeds architect, but no evidence has been found to substantiate this assumption. James Thomas Hollins was a timber merchant who lived in Victoria Road in 1893. Many of the remaining were woollen, cloth, oil, flax, and cotton merchants who erected less than 5 houses each. H.G. Atkinson and H. Cowbrough were typical of those who erected only one house for owner-occupation having purchased plots facing Victoria Road on the Fawcett Estate.

The entrepreneurs who came from a wide variety of occupations other than manufacturers and merchants are listed in the following table:

Table 37 Category 2d (Miscellaneous Occupations) Housing Developers in the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Name	Occupation	Number of dwellings erected
ABBOTT J.	Grocer and tea dealer	2
BLACKBURN J.H.	Music printer	1 own. occ.
BOTTOMLEY S.	Butcher	1
BROWN E.O.	Chemist and druggist	1
CAWTHORNE W.	Publican	10
CLAPHAM T.	Manager of showground	5
DEMAIN T.	Commercial traveller	6
DICKINSON T.D.	Tobacconist	1



DIXON W.J.	Income Tax assessor	2	
DOBSON J.	Jeweller's assistant	6	
EXLEY A.E.	Manager	3	
FEARNLEY W.Y.	Poor Rate collector	1	own. occ.
FOSTER A.W.	Newsagent	21	
FOSTER G.	Grocer and draper	5	
GLOVER W.B.	Shopkeeper	2	
HARDISTY J.	Cashier	1	
HEPPER J.	Auctioneer	1	own. occ.
HIRST J.W.	Law stationer	1	own. occ.
HOLROYD S.	Hairdresser	8	
HUDSON B.C.	Cashier	3	
HUTCHINSON J.B.	Butcher	3	
ISLES G.E.	Manager	2	
KIRK C. & J.	Stovers and dyers	5	own. occ.
LONGFIELD C.	Grocer	1	own. occ.
LYALL R. & )	Publishers agent	) 10	
MINIKIN J. & )	Clerk		
WALKER A. )	Model-maker		
MOORE W.	Clerk	1	
PALEY B.	Carter	4	
PARKE R.	Drill instructor	1	
RAYTON J.	Fishmonger	3	
ROBINSON R.	Chemist and druggist	1	
SIMPSON R.	Chemist and druggist	1	
STOTT S.	Wool buyer	1	own. occ.
VOLLANS E.R.	Grocer	2	
WALKER A.	Architectural model-maker	4	
WELLS E.A.	Auditor	8	
WHITFIELD H.	Publican	2	
WOOD F.J.	Curate	1	
WOOD G.	Confectioner	4	
WORSNOP J.	Commission Agent	1	own. occ.
Total		136	

own. occ. denotes owner-occupier

The above table shows that 136 dwellings were erected by 38 persons, averaging 3 dwellings each. As in the case of the developers who were merchants, the low figure is a result of the large number who were building for owner-occupation. Despite this fact, those who erected several dwellings have occupations which reflect the findings of Dyos when he referred to speculative builders who were labourers, mechanics, servants and publicans. In the case of the study area there was a publican, commercial traveller, jeweller's assistant, hairdresser, cashier, butcher and clerk, to name but a few. The major developers were: William Cawthorne, a publican, owner of the Legs of Man Inn in the Calls, Leeds who erected 10 houses; a partnership of three men who combined forces to also erect 10 houses, Robert Lyall, a publisher's agent, James Minikin, a clerk, and Alfred Walker, an architectural model-maker; Albert William Foster who was the most active developer was also a

newsagent and lived in Chapeltown.

A rather shadowy figure appears in the list of developers, he was Squire Holroyd who began acting as a developer on the Fawcett Estate north of Victoria Road prior to 1866 when deposited plans were not necessary. He usually worked in partnership with the architect James Charles when purchasing land and laying out small estates but after Charles had designed the houses Holroyd was responsible for their erection. He developed houses on the Hill Top Estate just outside the study area boundary and his main source of income was a hairdressing business in Wellington Street. Other developers varied in their background and in the number of houses they erected. Ernest Arthur Wells was a public accountant and auditor and had an office in Albion Street, Leeds and erected 8 houses.

The amount of capital required to develop houses depended upon the size of the dwellings and the numbers involved. The source of the income was in many cases the businesses that several of the developers had established ranging from small shops to large concerns. Several developers owned a shop and as business expanded found themselves in the position where they could expand and build new premises or even additional premises to let for speculation. Others simply built for owner-occupation. John and Christopher Kirk were wealthy members of a firm that dyed cloth and they developed a plot on the Fawcett Estate to build two semi-detached villas named Buckingham Villas which had floor areas greater than many detached villas in Headingley. They then proceeded to build stables, coach-houses and three lodges in the grounds for gardeners and grooms. In contrast Jesse Dobson was a jeweller's assistant who lived in Eberston Terrace close by to the Kirk brothers in 1888. He was the developer of 6 semi-detached houses in Cardigan Road in 1892. The venture allowed him to move into 41 St. Michael's Road in 1893 but he did not occupy any of the houses he erected. How a jeweller's assistant had the spare capital to speculate is a matter for conjecture. Dobson does illustrate the point that some developers were not builders and in the words of Dyos 'recruited from the most unlikely sources'<sup>9</sup>

The entrepreneurs who were members of professions and described themselves as land or estate agents are listed in the following table:



Table 38 Category 3a (Land/Estate Agents) Housing Developers in the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Name	Occupation	Number of dwellings erected
MARSHALL T.	Land and estate agent	7
RICHARDSON & Co.	Estate agents	11
RICHARDSON & ) WATSON )	Estate agents	36
WALLIS & RAMSDEN	Estate agents	9
<b>Total</b>		<b>63</b>

Table 38 shows that 4 persons or firms developed 63 houses, averaging 16 dwellings each. The major developers were Richardson and Watson, estate agents who were unusual in that they had plans prepared for 47 through terraces on the Chapel Lane Estate in 1876. This proved to be the biggest single deposit of houses on one set of drawings for the whole of the study area between 1866 and 1914.<sup>10</sup> The houses were mainly built in stone and on completion 36 had been erected and one row of 11 houses, although approved, were not erected. It is probable that the Richardson of Richardson and Co. was the same Richardson of Richardson and Watson but there is no evidence to suggest whether they were acting entirely on their own behalf or as agents on behalf of some other investor or group of investors who did not wish to be named on the drawings. The same uncertainty exists concerning the activities of Wallis & Ramsden but this is not the case with Thomas Marshall who, although describing himself as a land and estate agent, was later to call himself an architect. He purchased land off A. Titley on the Manor House Estate and erected 7 through terraces between 1870 and 1873.

The entrepreneurs who were members of professions and described themselves as architects or surveyors are listed in the following table:

Table 39 Category 3b (Architects/Surveyors) Housing Developers in The Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Name	Occupation	Number of dwellings erected
BULLIVANT R.A.	Architect	4
CHARLES J. & Sons	Architect and surveyors	83
DODGSON D. & Co.	Architects and surveyors	13
DRURY D.	Architect	1
FOWLER C.	Architect and surveyor	2

HOBSON W.A.	Architect and surveyor	55
HUTTON G.	Architect and builder	34
PORTER J.M.	Architect and surveyor	2
SQUIRES W.	Architect	2
WILKINSON C.F.	Architect and surveyor	12
WILSON J.	Architect	4
WOOD R.	Architect and builder	32

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Total

244

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Table 39 shows that the architects and surveyors who were often heavily involved in preparing estate and building plans were the members of the professions who were most active in developing houses for speculation. Twelve persons developed 244 houses, averaging 20 dwellings each. They were all in an ideal position to ascertain the state of the land and property market and to take the opportunity when it arose to speculate in either land or houses as and when their personal means allowed. Thus Hobson, Chadwick and Watson were all partners in an architectural practice and together they took the opportunity to speculate in land sales on both the Royal Park and Manor House Estates. Only Hobson, however, took the speculation a stage further by actually erecting houses.

The entrepreneurs as a group developed 19% of all the houses whereas the professions were only responsible for 14%, of these some 11% were the result of speculation by architects. The important factor which has to be taken into account is that, whereas several entrepreneurs built just to become owner-occupiers, this was rarely the case with the architects and other members of the professions. The role of architects as the developers of nineteenth-century speculative houses would appear to have been a major one, second only to that of the builders, if the findings from the study area are indicative of what happened in other suburbs of Leeds. In the case of the study area only 12 individuals or practices built 244 houses, a considerable number when compared with the manufacturers, merchants and other entrepreneurs, where 99 persons erected 419 dwellings.

The most active architects were James Charles and sons, who between them erected 83 dwellings which were mainly terraced houses but included all types of dwellings from back-to-back to detached villas. Charles acted as an architect, surveyor, estate agent and valuer from Albion Street, Leeds and his home was at 55 Woodsley Road on the St. John's Estate. He had two sons, James Harry and John William, who



both worked in the practice and the former acted as a developer with his father for many of the houses. Walter Hobson, another architect and surveyor, erected 55 dwellings which were mainly terrace houses on the Royal Park Estate but also included his own house in Victoria Road.

Two persons who described themselves as architects were rather more enigmatic figures because they were active as both architects and building contractors. These two men, George Hutton and Robert Wood, referred to themselves as architects and builders but no evidence has been found of them carrying out building work other than speculative housing.

George Hutton was the least complicated character of the two. He had an office in Albion Street, Leeds and described himself as an architect and builder, but examination of the drawings he deposited with the council would suggest that he employed others to do his drawing work for him. Herbert Preston was employed in his office for some years and many of the drawings bearing Hutton's rubber stamp are his handiwork (see Appendix 7). In 1881 Hutton was listed in street directories as an architect, builder and contractor living at Sholebroke Avenue in Potternewton, his office was at 58 Albion Street from 1888 - 1892 and at 74 Albion Street from 1892 onwards. He purchased individual building lots on estates such as the Royal Park, Ford Estate and on the Headingley House Estate and deposited plans for individual rather than groups of houses. He did not purchase and develop large building blocks and preferred to erect medium to large-sized through houses and semi-detached villas, leaving the bottom end of the market to others. All his houses were substantial and well built with robust and striking architectural decoration. Hutton or his draughtsmen had a particular predilection for decorative brickwork to the jambs of door and window openings and the use of bricks with hemispherical projections became almost a Hutton trademark (see Chapter 15).

If George Hutton was a builder who offered an architectural service from his office in the town, Robert Wood in contrast was more akin to an architect who offered a building service. Hutton, whose father had been a builder, erected houses in Woodhouse, Headingley, Burley, Chapelton, Roundhay and Harehills. Wood probably came from some form of architectural background and turned his hand to purchasing

land and developing houses. In 1881 he was listed in the court section of street directories as residing at 15 Bainbrigge Road on the Mansion House Estate and in that year he was an auditor for the local architectural society. In 1875 his address was given as 13 Reservoir Street, Woodhouse where he remained until 1881 when he moved to Bainbrigge Road (see Appendix 7).

In 1884 Wood purchased part of the Headingley Glebe land at the sale held that year and he described himself as a builder, but only four years later when he purchased lot 11 of the Cardigan Estate at the sales held in 1888 he described himself as an architect and surveyor of Headingley.<sup>11</sup> Prior to 1889 he deposited drawings of houses for which he was to be the developer, including several semi-detached villas in Cardigan Road, and he simply described himself as R. Wood of Cardigan Road. This followed another change of address when he erected a semi-detached villa at 27 Cardigan Road which he and his family occupied.

By 1902 Wood had an office in Bank Buildings at Hyde Park Corner and still lived at 27 Cardigan Road. From 1889 until 1897 he described himself as an architect on drawings he submitted to the Corporation but he was listed in street directories as a builder in 1902 and 1905. He was joined in his office at Hyde Park by his architect son Joseph John Wood, A.R.I.B.A. for a short period from 1904 until the latter set up his own office in 1906. Robert Wood prepared designs for many houses in various parts of Headingley and Far Headingley and examination of the drawings show an above average standard of design and detailing. His houses were substantially built, robust in character and stand comparison with the work of many of the architects who never referred to themselves as builders. Wood, like Hutton, rarely became involved in the design or construction of back-to-back houses even though many other quite well-known architects did so.

Robert Wood deposited plans for houses in Cardigan Road, Burley, for a development of shops and houses at Hyde Park on the Regents Park Estate,<sup>and</sup> on the Headingley Glebe Estate for houses at Far Headingley opposite the present St. Chad's School<sup>12</sup> (see Appendix 11 ). He acted as both depositer and developer for the majority of these schemes, the drawings stating that the owner of the land was Robert Wood. He remains an enigma, a person hard to categorise because of the way in which he straddled the rather ill-defined line between architect and



builder. Where other architects were willing to develop houses for speculation they probably left the building of them to others. Wood appears to have not just paid for this to be done but organised the building operations. He was also unusual in that generally builders who set up offices and became architects were usually only too pleased to raise themselves to the professional ranks and leave both the mundane details and the description of builder behind them.<sup>13</sup>

Only two other architects developed more than 10 houses, Daniel Dodgson and Cornelius Wilkinson. Dodgson, who was the most prolific housing designer and depositer in the study area, was only a minor developer compared with Charles or Hobson.

The entrepreneurs who were members of the legal profession are listed in the following table:

Table 40 Category 3c (Lawyers/Solicitors) Housing Developers in the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Name	Occupation	Number of dwellings erected
CLARKE A.W.	Solicitor	2
FORD J.R.	Solicitor	2
PULLEYNE B.C.	Solicitor	2
Total		6

Table 40 shows clearly how few solicitors became involved in speculative house-building. Three solicitors were responsible for only 2 houses each. Why so few members of the legal profession were willing to act as developers is an interesting question. Certainly the opportunity was not lacking because they above all others were at the interface of persons wishing to sell development land and of those with money to invest in building operations. Perhaps the commissions they received from bringing together interested parties, drawing up legal documents for land conveyancing and for mortgages, together with property conveyances on completion of the houses was sufficient. When they did have an excess of income over expenditure and had capital to invest they speculated in land purchase and resales and frequently lent money to builders on private mortgages. The security for these transactions was always the deeds for land purchased and to the legal mind this was perhaps a more secure way of investing capital than getting involved in the greater risk of funding building

operations where profits could be greater but so too could the financial losses if completed houses were not let or sold quickly.

The dwellings which were developed by organisations, clubs, churches etc., are listed in the following table. These included entrance lodges and caretakers' houses:

Table 41 Category 4a (Organisations) Housing Developers in the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Name	Number of dwellings erected <sup>a</sup>
LEEDS BOWLING CLUB	1
LEEDS CRICKET, FOOTBALL & ATHLETIC CLUB LTD.	2
LEEDS GIRLS GRAMMAR SCHOOL	1
LEEDS HORTICULTURAL GARDENS Co. Ltd.	1
LEEDS INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVE SOCIETY Ltd.	3
METHODIST FREE CHURCH	1
WESLEYAN CHAPEL	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>

a this list does not include dwellings or flats which were constructed inside non-residential buildings such as the Hyde Park Recreational Club.

Finally there were a similar number of houses developed by persons who did not give an occupation on drawings that were submitted. They are listed in the following table:

Table 42 Category 4b (Occupation Not Stated) Housing Developers in the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

FOWLER S.J. <sup>a</sup>		2
HOLMES R.A.	n.d.a.	1
HORROX W.	of Levenhulme, Manchester	1
JENKINSON F.S.	n.d.a.	2
KITSON F.C.	The Towers, Whingate	1
PICKERSGILL J.	n.d.a.	1
TEEL S.	n.d.a.	1
WARD B.	16 Regent Park Avenue	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>10</b>

a Relation of the architect Charles Fowler

### 9.3 Architect and Builder Developers

All of the tables numbered 30 to 42 relate to findings in the study area. What is not clear, however, is to what extent developers who built houses in the study area were active as developers elsewhere in Leeds. Only similar detailed studies of other suburbs, including careful



examination of deposited drawings, would answer this question. In a similar way information is lacking concerning the way in which developers who were not builders caused the dwellings to be constructed. Did a woollen merchant or a shopkeeper buy plots of land to build a number of houses and then simply pay a builder to erect them or did he engage his own tradesmen such as bricklayers or plasterers? If the developer had no knowledge of building, was he capable of employing the correct tradesmen and supervising the work by referring to the many books which were produced to guide both builders and developers through the construction process? As nearly all the developers employed local architects to design their houses and deposit drawings of them for approval by the Corporation, did the architects also let out work to tradesmen, organise the labour and sort out the details of work on site when the developer had little building knowledge? An oil merchant building only three houses for speculation would need someone who could supervise the work and see that it was built to a good standard, in accordance with the plans, and to the satisfaction of the building inspector.

One of the above questions can be answered to a limited extent, that of the involvement of developers in house-building in other areas of Leeds. A sample of deposited house plans was examined for the whole of Leeds for the period 1877 - 1910 in order to ascertain the extent to which architects deposited designs for houses elsewhere in Leeds other than in the study area (The details of and reasons for taking the sample are given in Chapter 10 and Appendix 19). No such exhaustive study has been carried out to obtain similar information concerning developers, but by noting the names of architects and builders who acted as developers on those drawings which caught the eye in passing, some indication can be given of the degree to which both architects and builders were active as developers elsewhere in Leeds. The following table indicates the findings in relation to architects:

**Table 43 Houses Developed by Architects from the Sample of Deposited House Plans for all Leeds, 1877 - 1910<sup>a</sup>**

Name	Development	Houses approved
AMBLER T.	Back-to-back houses, Whingate	12
ANDERSON T.	Through houses, Camp Road	4
BULLIVANT R.A.	Through houses, Burley	7
CHARLES J. & Sons	Back-to-back and through houses, Woodsley Road, Armley, Roundhay and Wortley	51
CORSON G.	Semi-detached villas, Shire Oak Road, Headingley	2
DODGSON D.	Back-to-back houses, South Accommodation Road	6
HOBSON W.	Back-to-back and through houses at Woodhouse; semi-detached villas at Horsforth Lane, Headingley	26
PRESTON H.	Through houses, Chapel Allerton	5
PRESTON J.E.	Through houses, Chapel Allerton	14
TWEEDALE J.	Semi-detached villas, Otley Road, Far Headingley	2
WOOD R.	Through houses, Cardigan Lane, Burley, Monkbridge Road, Headingley, Far Headingley; detached villa, Weetwood	22

a The houses included in the table are in addition to those developed by the persons named which were erected within the study area.

The above table indicates the numbers of houses approved, however, the information was not systematically recorded but simply noted at random from schemes which had been <sup>sub</sup>mitted where the developer's name caught the writer's eye.

It is probable that if all the drawings examined had had the name and address of the developer recorded, the involvement of architects as developers would have been greater than indicated. Architects not only developed dwellings but also speculated in land which in some cases they resold at a profit and in others they retained in order to erect speculative developments. It is interesting to note that a well known architect such as Thomas Ambler acted as a developer of villa properties at Far Headingley in the 1870's,<sup>14</sup> he purchased lot 3, comprising 16,093 square yards of the Headingley Glebe Estate in 1874<sup>15</sup> and he erected 12 back-to-backs at Whingate in 1879.<sup>16</sup> The latter were found in the sample of all Leeds and Ambler was the developer named on the drawings. Richard A. Bullivant was a minor developer in the study area but developed at least 32 through terraces in the Burley Lodge area of Burley between 1877 - 90. James Charles together with other members of his family were major developers in



other suburbs of Leeds and outside the study area. For example, he purchased 2 acres of the St. John's Hill Estate and developed houses on the land near to where he lived at 55 Woodsley Road.

Some of the best architects in town followed a pattern in the 1870's and 1880's which had been set earlier. John Child acted as a developer of houses on Headingley Hill in the 1840's and George Corson acted as a developer in Headingley in the late 1860's when he purchased land from the Earl of Cardigan, and in 1885 he laid out a new street to be called Shire Oak Road and was willing to build houses for the purchasers of  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre lots according to his own designs.<sup>17</sup> William Hill designed and built two large detached villas, Oak Lea and Burton Grange, in Burton Crescent on the Glebe Estate after he had purchased 4,835 square yards of the estate in 1874.<sup>18</sup>

Walter Hobson purchased land with his two partners, Charles Clement Chadwick and William Watson, but only Hobson seems to have developed houses in the study area and elsewhere in Leeds. He developed terrace houses in Woodhouse and semi-detached Villas in Headingley.<sup>19</sup>

In the same way that architects names were noticed in passing when examining drawings in the sample of deposited plans for all Leeds, so too were the names of some builder developers. Some indication of the degree to which builders who were developers in the study area were active as developers elsewhere in Leeds is given by the following table:

Table 44 Houses Developed by Builders from the Sample of Deposited House Plans for all Leeds, 1877 - 1910<sup>a</sup>

Name	Development	Houses approved
CARLTON Bros.	Back-to-back houses, Armley and Kirkstall	14
BILBROUGH & ) PALFRAMAN )	Back-to-back houses, Armley and Holbeck	18
FARNDALE T.	Back-to-back houses, Hunslet and New Wortley	30
FARNDALE W.	Back-to-back houses, Kirkstall	8
FENTON BROS.	Through houses, Armley and Chapeltown	16
FRANKS J.	Through houses, Woodhouse	9
HEWLING B.	Back-to-back and through houses, Burley	32
HUTTON G.	Back-to-back, through houses, semi-detached and detached villas various parts of Leeds including Hunslet, Chapeltown, Moortown and Woodhouse	31
HUTTON J.	Back-to-back houses, Kirkstall	14
LAX G.	Back-to-back and through houses, semi-detached villas, Camp Road, Chapeltown Harehills, Meanwood and other areas of Leeds	96



MYERS C.	Through houses, Headingley	4
NETTLETON H.D.	Through houses, Woodhouse	11
SHARP J.N.	Back-to-back, through houses and detached villa, Burley and Pontefract Lane.	37
THACKRAY W.	Through house and semi-detached villas, Woodhouse	5
WALMSLEY B. & W.	Back-to-back and through houses, Burley	85
WILSON E. & G.	Through houses Headingley	4

a The houses included in the table are in addition to those developed by the persons named which were erected within the study area.

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As in the case of the architect developers, the above is only a representative sample of speculative developments carried out by builder developers outside the study area.<sup>20</sup> The information contained in Table 43 and Table 44 does show that at least some of the major developers who erected houses in the study area were active as developers in other areas of Leeds. Only a more exhaustive study would indicate the scale of housing development undertaken by all of the study area developers (see Appendix 11).

#### 9.4 The Arrangement of Finance

Two distinct operations were involved in the arrangement of finance for speculative housing development. The purchase of land and the cost of financing the actual building operations. The former usually involved mortgage repayments and the latter relied heavily on credit.

The small builder could be a builder and contractor or a grouping or combination of a small number of different tradesmen. Evidence from the deposited plans show that joiners and plumbers or masons and bricklayers combined forces to build only one or two houses and, if the venture proved a success, they gradually made the change to calling themselves builders. Eventually they would build an even greater number of houses over a wider area depending upon the plots they managed to purchase. Most of the larger housing contractors working in the study area developed to this somewhat standard pattern. Some remained small and others failed and went bankrupt, but as the builder developer expanded, the arrangement of finance became easier because he was in a better position to obtain mortgages and credit, especially if he already owned land and completed dwellings.

The purchase of land was usually carried out by means of a mortgage secured against the deeds of the land to be purchased. In most cases the purchaser agreed to pay back the loan within a fixed term of years

and in the meanwhile pay interest half yearly on the balance outstanding. In return the mortgagee would agree not to call in the loan before a fixed date provided the interest due was paid regularly. Inspection of house deeds indicates clearly how universal this method was for purchasing land in the nineteenth century. The mortgagees would lend money to anyone who wished to purchase land whether or not they intended to develop it for housing. Thus a land speculator borrowed money on exactly the same terms and in exactly the same way as the building developer.

Mortgages for land purchase came from four major sources:

1. The pre-development landowner
2. The solicitors, surveyors and architects who were involved in land surveys and sales
3. Private individuals who had spare capital to invest
4. Building Societies

The landowners were often forced into offering loan facilities when land was difficult to sell or they chose to do so in boom periods because high interest rates offered them a good return on capital. The solicitors were obviously in a good position to invest in the right development when they were dealing with land they were familiar with and with borrowers whose financial circumstances were known to them. They were in a unique position to spot a good opportunity when it came along because they handled so many similar transactions for others. Solicitors like R.L. Ford in Leeds kept accounts of the money which he invested for others in the form of mortgages and of the money which he and members of his family lent to local builders. He invested money when he was acting as an executor of estates and typical of the loans were those made to the builder James Hutton who owed £1,700 in December 1886 which was the amount outstanding on a loan made at 4½% interest in May 1883. The security was 8 houses on the Norwood Estate. In November 1886 he paid back £1,510. 9. 10d. to Ford in repayment of a £1,300 loan taken out in 1882 at 4½% interest. In this case 3 houses in Victoria Road were used as security.<sup>21</sup>

The architects and land surveyors were in a similar position as the solicitors in terms of having the opportunity to lend money as mortgagees but, unlike the solicitors, tended to speculate and more often than not ended up as borrowers in order to purchase land. A few, however, did also lend money.

The major source of finance for the speculative house-builder in Leeds



during the period was the private mortgage arranged through an old boy network of solicitors throughout, not only Yorkshire, but the entire country. The private mortgagees included merchants, manufacturers, bankers, coal owners, clergymen, army officers, farmers, and widows. All of whom had spare capital to invest. The situation where a retired cleric or a widow living in Gloucester approached their local solicitor in order to enquire whether he knew of other solicitors working in the industrial towns with suitable investment opportunities would not have been an uncommon occurrence. There was always an element of risk in so far as, if default from the borrower occurred and the land was sold it might not realise the sum owing, but nevertheless, building land tended not to go down in value even if it was difficult at times to sell. Examples of mortgage transactions described in the deeds for houses now in the ownership of Leeds Corporation and situated in the study area are given in Appendix 14. These show that the rates of interest on mortgages changed very little for over half a century, being 4% in 1853 and only 5% in 1915.

The Building Societies such as the Leeds Permanent Building Society, founded in 1848, and others such as the West Riding Benefit Building Society and the Halifax Permanent Benefit Building Society, originally had been unable to finance building and primarily lent money for the purchase of land. They were a source used by borrowers wishing to buy and sell land for speculation and some Societies actually purchased land themselves at one price and resold it to members of the Society at a profit. Following the Act of Parliament in 1874, Building Societies were forbidden to hold land and from then on did not lend money for land purchases. Their future role was to finance the erection of or the purchase of completed buildings.<sup>22</sup>

The pre-development landowners often gave some form of loan facilities as an inducement to prospective land purchasers or building developers. John Rawlinson Ford, whose father lent money to builders, owned the Royal Park Ford Estate and offered loan facilities to prospective purchasers of building lots on his estate in 1885. He advertised special help to investors or speculative builders when he first put his land on the market to start the development off. Robert Wood who was an architect-builder and a developer offered a complete service to the small builder who wished to purchase land that he held as a speculator and developer. In 1886 he advertised land for sale in the Leeds Mercury:



'The Highbury Estate off Monkbridge Road, Headingley; the remaining lots only 100 yards from Shaw Lane and nearest to the best part of this favourite suburb, where few cottages have been built for a long time. Those built at the lower portion of this estate immediately let at good rents. Land for scullery houses, nineteen feet frontage, with gardens, fifteen feet long, including sewerage, kerbing, free conveyance and plans, drawing and passing by the Corporation, only £22 per house; for through houses fifteen feet frontage £29. To a purchaser of land for eight cottages, upon paying 10% deposit, money would be advanced until ready for occupation. Apply R. Wood, 27 Cardigan Road near Headingley Church.'<sup>23</sup>

There are many examples of developers who at the same time as building houses were offering land for semi-detached villas, through houses, scullery houses etc. for sale in the advertisement columns of the Leeds Mercury. Many advertisements were placed in the paper by estate agents on behalf of others but almost every week in the period 1870 - 1880 there were advertisements placed by local architects. In some cases they relate to land known to be in the possession of architects from other sources and had been purchased for speculation. Daniel Dodgson, Thomas Ambler, John Hall and James Neill were all in this category, whereas it is possible that the architects Wilson and Bailey were simply acting as estate agents for other land and building owners:

'SPLENDID BUILDING PLOTS FOR SALE in Roundhay-road. Apply D. Dodgson, Architect 18 Park Row.'<sup>24</sup>

'For Sale Four well built HOUSES at New Wortley, Rent £30. Price £440. D. Dodgson, Architect 18 Park Row.'<sup>25</sup>

'To be SOLD several valuable SITES for Villa Residences of about £40 to £50 rental, pleasantly situated in Hollin Lane, Far Headingley and overlooking the beautiful scenery, of Westwood, Meanwood etc. Apply T. Ambler, Architect, 9 Park Place, Leeds.'<sup>26</sup>

'LAND ON SALE - A large quantity of BUILDING LAND on the Potternewton Hall Estate, Chapelton-road. Suitable for either terrace or detached houses and in lots to suit purchasers. Apply to J. Neill and Sons, Surveyors, 21 Cookridge Street, Leeds.'<sup>27</sup>

'To be SOLD by Private Contract several lots of valuable BUILDING LAND and several blocks of COTTAGES including a beerhouse... all in Leeds... For prices apply to Wilson and Bailey, Architects, Central Markets Buildings, Leeds.'<sup>28</sup>

When a developer wished to purchase plots which were on offer at auctions, or advertised for sale by private treaty as indicated by the above examples, the normal method was for major builders or

developers who were already established to borrow money by private mortgages. The Walmsley Brothers, James Hutton, and George Hutton were all in this category, but the combination of two tradesmen or a very small builder attempting to build for the first time required special financial help as he had little to convince others that he could keep up mortgage repayments. There are several examples in the house deeds examined of pre-development landowners lending money for land purchase or extending some kind of credit facilities so that small builders need not pay for the land until the houses were either partly built, roofed or ready for occupation. Thus on the Manor House Estate, Joseph Carr a builder from Burley, purchased a plot of 704 square yards from the owners Hobson, Chadwick and Watson architects, for £268. 8. 0d. in 1902. The deeds referred to the land being not only 704 square yards in area but also 'all those 4 dwellinghouses erected or in course of erection by the purchaser on the said land hereby conveyed'. Obviously Carr had been allowed to commence erecting houses on land he had not yet purchased and payment had not been requested for the land until 4 houses were almost completed.<sup>29</sup>

Where larger builders and developers were concerned they took out private mortgages and often these were for very large amounts if they purchased whole sections of estates rather than individual house lots or building blocks. B. and W. Walmsley took mortgages from William Bower of Meanwood Park, Leeds a coal owner, for example they obtained £4,300 in 1890 and £5,500 from him in 1892. The outstanding debts of the Walmsley brothers to Bower were transferred on the latter's death in 1917 to a relative, John Arthur Brooke of Grasmere. It was normal practice for mortgages to be transferred to others on death but also not uncommon for a mortgage to be transferred between individuals during their lifetimes. Henry Dowsland Nettleton, the builder obtained £1,200 from M.L. Goodwin, a widow of Methley near Leeds in 1889, whereas William Boddy Pearson borrowed £800 from a Miss A.C. Young of Hollin Lane, Leeds in 1892. Another builder, William Bower, obtained £4,000 from F.L. Booth, a solicitor's wife of Ilkley in 1905 (see Appendix 14).

Architects acted as both mortgagees and mortgagors, lending and borrowing depending upon whether they were acting in their role of land speculators or developers or just as any other private individual with income which was available for investment purposes. C.F. Wilkinson, architect obtained a loan from Joseph S. Lawson, a solicitor,



for £150 in 1889, whereas Alfred Aldred, an iron merchant of Headingley, obtained a mortgage from John Tweedale, a Leeds architect who was a relative of John Tweedale the Leeds solicitor. Aldred obtained £1,400 in 1893. The go-between was probably Tweedale the solicitor, as in so many cases of private mortgages. If a connection is sought between a mortgagee residing in southern England or in Yorkshire with a housing development in Leeds, the only link appears to be that of the legal profession. Another example illustrates this legal connection. In 1888 John Ellis Pearson the Leeds builder took a mortgage from a widow, Sarah Postlethwaite of St. Bees in Cumberland; the loan was £800 at 5% interest paid half yearly. In 1889 Pearson took a further mortgage of £1,213 from William Postlethwaite a solicitor of Leeds; thus the legal connection is revealed between a widow in Cumberland and a speculative house-builder in Leeds. In the same way it is probable that when builders such as Bilbrough and Palframan obtained mortgages to erect back-to-back houses on the Royal Park, Ford Estate from a vicar in Devon and from a vicar in Hertfordshire, further investigations would reveal some legal connection.

Only one case was found in the deeds inspected of a loan to buy land being financed by a bank as compared with individuals who were bankers. J. Brownhill, a jeweller of Headingley, purchased land in Headingley Village with a loan of £2,100 from the Birmingham and Midland Bank taken out in 1891 and from the London and Midland Bank taken out in 1895.<sup>30</sup>

When the deeds of land were used as security for loans, it was usual for the mortgagee to agree not to call in the loan before a specified time (5 years was a popular period) provided that the interest was paid regularly. The capital could be paid off at any time in advance if funds allowed the borrower to do this, but on the other hand, failure to pay interest or, as was more often the case, failure to repay the capital when required resulted in the sale of land and any buildings erected to clear the debt. If the mortgagee died and the family did not wish to continue the arrangement or if a mortgagee required his capital before the due date, it was normal for solicitors to find someone else who was willing to take on the loan for the remaining period it had to run and transfer the mortgage. In this way a developer in Leeds might find he owed money to someone he had never met living in Newcastle, but this was preferable to the loan being called in and his property being sold. Thomas Marshall, a



land and estate agent of Leeds, purchased land from A. Titley on the Manor House Estate in 1870. He had obtained a mortgage of £3000 and with part of this money he purchased  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an acre for £762. However, after 5 years had elapsed the capital was called in and the mortgagees, William Wilson, a commission agent from Ulverston in Lancashire and Edward Butler, a gentleman from Leeds, exercised their right of sale. The land and one through house that Marshall had erected were sold for £870 in 1875 in order to clear part of the debt.<sup>31</sup>

When money was advanced to finance building operations rather than for the purchase of land, it was usually paid in instalments as the work proceeded. The small builder or combination of tradesmen could arrange to pay for the land after buildings had been nearly completed, they could obtain building materials on credit and after completing a few dwellings the sale of one or more would allow them to start paying off their debts. The builder who wished to erect more than just a few dwellings would find it more difficult to operate in this way due to the higher costs of land and building operations. They would obtain a private mortgage to purchase the land, obtain building materials on credit and obtain, if possible, further loans to pay for labour costs which had to be paid for on a weekly basis if tradesmen were employed. The precarious process of making the change from an employed tradesman to a self-employed tradesman, to eventually becoming a builder employing tradesmen, relied heavily on the skill of the individuals concerned to borrow money and obtain credit without over-reaching themselves.

When loans were required to finance building operations, a private mortgage could be used for this purpose provided the title deeds of some land of equivalent value were available and not mortgaged. The alternative was to obtain money from a Building Society. In this case, amounts were handed over gradually as work progressed sufficient for progress to be maintained throughout the building season. The builder or developer could borrow money to buy land and finance building operations from the same source or he could take out a second mortgage. In 1889 the architect C.F. Wilkinson obtained a loan of £592 from the Leeds Provincial Building Society; John Franks, surveyor and developer, obtained £1820 from the Leeds Permanent Benefit Building Society in 1890; T. & H. Johnson, builders, borrowed £465 from the Halifax Permanent Benefit Building Society in 1913.<sup>32</sup> In each case the money was most likely used to finance building operations but the deeds do not make this clear.

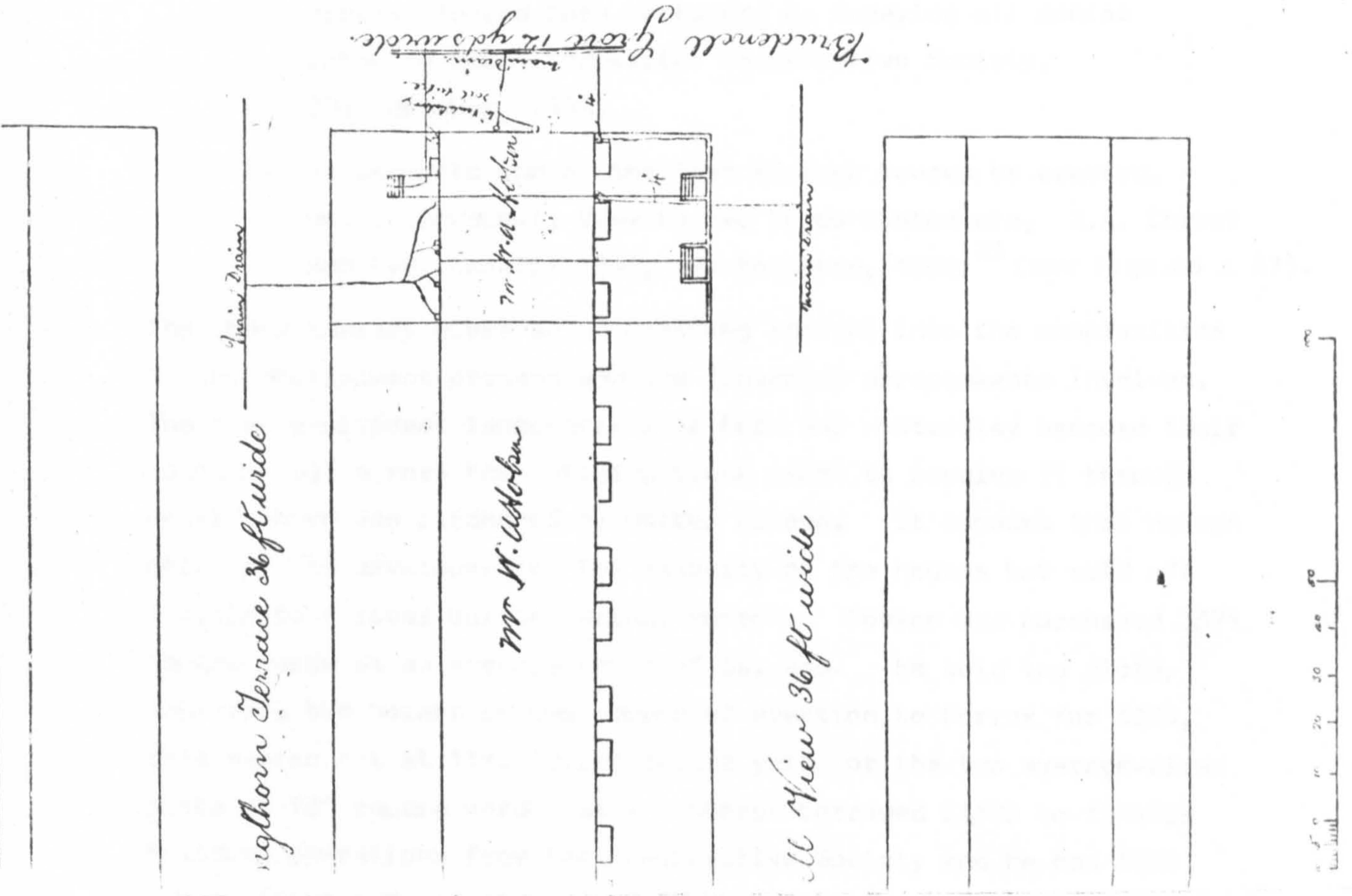
One unusual example was found of a builder borrowing money from an Industrial Co-operative Society where the loan was in the form of a mortgage to be used to finance building operations. The transactions which involved pre-development landowners, a land speculator and building developer can be summarised as follows:

- (a) Walter A. Hobson, architect of Leeds, purchased a building block laid out to receive 17 through houses on the Royal Park Estate. He purchased 2455 square yards off John R. Ford, J. Franks and William Warren for £848. 7. 6d., 27th January, 1892. He also purchased 1,116 square yards off T.K. Hattersley for £348. 15s. to complete the building block, 30th June 1892.
- (b) Hobson had already begun erecting 6 houses on the land purchased on the Ford Estate prior to the land sale taking place in January 1892.
- (c) Drawings were approved by Leeds Corporation on 4th March 1892 for the erection of 2 through houses on plots numbered 13 and 14 down from Royal Park Grove. Plans were submitted by Hobson for Hobson as developer.
- (d) Drawings were approved by Leeds Corporation on 24th June 1892 for the erection of 3 through houses on plots numbered 15, 16 and 17 down from Royal Park Grove. Plans submitted by Hobson for Hobson as developer (see Fig. 88).
- (e) Arthur Horrox, builder of Kirkstall, obtained mortgage from Leeds Industrial Co-operative Society for £550 to finance building operations, 30th June, 1892.
- (f) Horrox purchased building plots numbered 13 and 14 down from Royal Park Grove, 358 square yards for £200 including the two through houses in the course of erection by Horrox, 1st July, 1892.
- (g) Horrox obtained further mortgage from Leeds Industrial Co-operative Society for £550 to finance building operations, 18th July, 1892.
- (h) Horrox purchased building plots number 15, 16 and 17 down from Royal Park Grove, 805 square yards, date and price not known.





Figs. 86, 87 & 88 Block plan, front elevation and rear elevation of three through houses, Brudenell View (W. Hobson 1892).





- (i) Horrox cleared both mortgages by repaying all monies owing to Leeds Industrial Co-operative Society, 31st October, 1892.
- (j) Horrox sold one of the five through houses he erected, No. 10 Brudenell View to two Leeds bootmakers, J.A. Corker and C.H. Lee, for £345, 1st November, 1892.<sup>33</sup> (see Figs.86 & 87).

The above summary gives an interesting insight into the complexities of the development process and the financial arrangements involved. The pre-development landowners were Ford and Hattersley because their boundary cut across the building block meant to receive 17 through houses which was purchased by Walter Hobson. It appears that Hobson acted as the developer for the majority of the houses but sold off 5 plots to a local builder, Arthur Horrox. Hobson had purchased 3571 square yards at an average price of 6s. 8½d. He sold two plots, including two houses in the course of erection, to Horrox for £200, this worked out at 11s. 2d. per square yard for the two average-sized plots of 180 square yards each. Horrox borrowed £1,100 to finance building operations from the Co-operative Society and he had £550 for 4 months and a further £550 for 3½ months. If calculated on a figure of 5%, the total interest would have been £17, but this assumes he had the amounts in full at the beginning and not as was the case in stage payments. His land purchase would have cost him approximately £500 for the 1,163 square yards for five houses. If he managed to sell all the houses at an average of £350 his income would have been £1,750 and expenditure £1,617, leaving £143 - a profit of around 9% on capital invested. This figure is arrived at only after making several assumptions, such as the fact that he sold all 5 houses around the same time (which was probably not the case) and estimating the total land costs. The interest charged on money to buy land and an extended sale period would both have reduced his profit margin.

The above calculations can only be a rough guide to the situation because information in deeds is only given to indicate the way that the title changed for one or two particular houses and not for a whole street or building block. This is especially the case in the later years just before houses were erected. Unfortunately Leeds Corporation do not as yet own the deeds of whole streets of houses in the study area and account books or financial records of the builders concerned have not survived.<sup>34</sup>

The profit which might have been realised by Horrox can be compared with the findings of Treen when he stated that Henry Hodgson, a Leeds mason and builder, borrowed £700 in two instalments and the money was handed over gradually as the work progressed. He borrowed the money in May 1856 at 5% interest and sold 13 houses and a shop he had erected with the money in December 1856. Treen calculated that he probably paid £22 interest and was left with a profit of 12½% for an outlay of £722 over an 8 month period. But, as in the case of Horrox on the Royal Park Estate, this does not take into account the interest paid to purchase land, but the date of the sale for all the houses was known.<sup>35</sup> A writer in The Builder discussed the profit or loss to be made in speculative house-building in 1877:

'Nor do private individuals, who know little or nothing about the ways of building speculation, but who employ wisely enough architects and bona fide contractors, seem often desirous of showing, either by deed or speech, that money spent in erecting houses, to sell or let, is either a profitable speculation or a good investment. You may perhaps get five per cent. interest for your money sunk, - that is if you are lucky enough to obtain tenants; and, for seventy or eighty years, your investment may, provided you are lucky, return that rate of interest. But then the anxiety, the risk, the trouble! You can obtain, without any of these concomitant evils, a little more than three per cent. as inevitably certain as quarter day, for ever. Ah! but who builds except in the sure hope of realising at least ten per cent interest? - a hope sometimes honoured, we admit, but very rarely; and only on condition that the investor has understood the neighbourhood in which his house is placed, the sort of people to accommodate, and the accommodation to offer them.'<sup>36</sup>

The builder faced the problem of buying land and financing building operations whereas the land speculator often made greater profits if he could afford the mortgages involved. Walter Hobson purchased the land for the 5 houses that Horrox erected for £366, if he sold it to Horrox for £500 he made a profit of 37% on an outlay of £366 in just a few weeks. From this he would have to pay the Corporation of Leeds the amounts owing for sewerage and kerbing of three streets together with any paving costs. Nevertheless he still probably exceeded Horrox's profit in a shorter period of time.

If a builder commenced operations on a loan which was to be paid in instalments, the Building or other Society lending the money stated that the advance was a building mortgage only. In the case of Horrox he received £300 as an advance to obtain materials and employ men on the 1st July 1892 and then received the balance of the money:



'in such proportions as the Surveyor of the said Society may from time to time certify to be payable as the buildings proceed and the final balance when certified by him to have been completed ready for occupation.'<sup>37</sup>

When a builder commenced building operations by obtaining his materials on credit, which was customary for both small and large builders alike, he always ran the risk of his suppliers suddenly requiring payment for reasons beyond their control. In 1873 John Hall Thorp, a successful builder who had begun life as a joiner, was brought down by just such an occurrence. He had carried out alterations at Harewood House and was much respected in the building industry in Leeds and in 1872 had purchased the large stone detached villa called Broomfield House at Headingley for £1,382. The manager of the Timber Trade Association foreclosed and demanded payment of a large account for timber obtained on credit. The firm John Hall Thorp and Son, Builders and Contractors were made bankrupt. Thorp lost his land, stock in trade workshops, machinery and had to hand over the deeds of his house to a bank as security against the payment of the debt. The land and house were sold by the bank to John Archbold, a boot manufacturer in 1899, for £2,000. Thorp never recovered and died in virtual retirement in Far Headingley in 1904.<sup>38</sup> This shows that even established builders were at risk when trading on credit for materials and, although smaller builders and tradesmen would have smaller debts, they had even less assets behind them if called upon to pay.

The building industry in Leeds, like the rest of the country, was subject to cyclical depressions and booms and when a depression hit the industry a builder would find it difficult to attract purchasers for his completed dwellings. In this case his survival depended upon the strength of his credit arrangements. Another step towards insolvency was to take out a second mortgage which usually carried at least one extra per cent rate of interest than a first mortgage based on the same security.

#### 9.5. The Builder as Housing Designer

Dyos in his study of Camberwell and Kingsford in his work on Builders and Building Workers examined the building process in the suburbs of Victorian London.<sup>39</sup> They described the creation of speculative houses for the less well-off but still fairly comfortable and respectable middle and lower middle classes, the teachers, foremen, cashiers and skilled mechanics. Both authors examined the way that builders and developers built on open fields in Camberwell, Acton,



Ilford and Kensington and commented on the fact that in the majority of cases small builders were responsible for the erection of the houses. Dyos stated that in the period 1878 - 80 over half of the house builders working in Camberwell built only one or two houses a year.<sup>40</sup> In the study area at Headingley the statistics of house-building shows that, if the larger builders like the Walmsley's are excluded, the smaller builders erected no more than 6 houses a year, but this figure relates to Headingley only and they could have been building elsewhere in Leeds.

Kingsford and Dyos suggest that the change from being a tradesman employed by others to becoming a small builder was a process that was assisted by the publication of technical literature. They also suggested that a person who was not in building but wished to obtain knowledge to become a developer of speculative houses could obtain the necessary knowledge from the same sources:

'Moreover, what knowledge such builders needed in order to be on terms with those they employed, or in order to strengthen the slight competence they possessed could be got from a growing variety of technical literature which was some substitute for experience.'<sup>41</sup>

'Things were made easy for the speculative builder who had no building knowledge by the numerous books, textbooks and manuals which were best sellers.'<sup>42</sup>

It is quite conceivable that a tradesman or a builder wishing to gain practical knowledge, especially concerning pricing or other trades than his own, could do so in this way, however, it is more difficult to accept that developers became sufficiently knowledgeable to design the houses and have them approved by the local authority. Nevertheless this assumption appears to have been made by several historians who have investigated the suburbs of our Victorian towns and cities. The fact that the builder was the designer of the houses and the completed housing stock is the result of the builders activity alone, tempered by restrictive covenants and building legislation, is usually implied rather than clearly stated.

D. A. Reeder writing about the suburb of West Kensington in London stated:

'For the most part the Hammersmith developers built houses to sell quickly by meeting the demands of the 'respectable' lower middle class for solid but moderately priced homes.'<sup>43</sup>

Reeder went on to describe the process further by quoting from the Illustrated London News for August 1884:

'Where speculative builders had money or credit; the tall houses, detached or semi-detached, or in closed lines improperly called "terraces" which ultimately became the sides of streets, rose up in a few months, roofed and windowed and calling for tenants!'<sup>44</sup>

Reeder considered that:

'West Kensington was literally a builder's invention!'<sup>45</sup>

The houses were built by the firm Gibbs and Flew Ltd., the largest building firm in terms of housing output operating in west London during the long upsurge of building, 1876 - 1881. They built houses that sold well because they contained all the latest fittings such as hot and cold water, bathrooms, electric bells, encaustic tiles, stained glass and marble fenders which when considered together gave them 'an attractive appearance not often to be found in houses of this class'<sup>46</sup>

The inference is that the end-product was entirely the result of the efforts of the speculative builders from the layout of the street patterns to the choice of tiles and the inclusion of electric bells. Dyos, Kingsford and Reeder all imply that professional advice was not sought by the speculative builders concerning any aspect of the housing design, but without actually stating that this was the case. The suggestion is made by many historians of the period that prior to 1860 builders had sufficient experience to design and to erect working and middle-class houses without the need of architects and that they simply applied this knowledge to build on a much larger scale in the second half of the century. For those builders operating in the first half of the century there were a number of architectural pattern-books giving designs for cottages, villas, mansions and even farm labourers' or factory workers' dwellings. When required to build houses on a bigger scale in the expanding suburbs of towns, the urban historians such as Dyos have pointed out that there were even more pattern-books, textbooks and manuals published from which the builder or speculator who knew little or nothing about building could obtain guidance. Using such sources they suggest that the builder or speculator could have been the sole arbiter of taste in the design of the mass-produced dwellings and, having once purchased or leased his plots, only approved estate plans and restrictive covenants influenced the appearance of the end-product.

The belief that the builders alone were responsible for the planning, external appearance and the construction of the ordinary mass housing



of the Victorian suburbs built after 1860 has relied heavily on two major assumptions. The first assumption is that the design process was a simple exercise because many estates had estate plans approved by local authorities and restrictive covenants placed on the land by landowners, which together with building lines, created a strait-jacket for designers leaving little room for originality, individuality or freedom of expression. This, coupled with the comparatively low budgets available when compared with the houses of the rich, meant that simple repetitive designs were all that were required and builders could obtain these by reference to architectural pattern-books similar to those published earlier in the century. The second assumption is that architects were too busy designing public, educational and religious buildings together with houses for the wealthy to bother with the houses of the middle or working classes and even during slack periods they considered such work was beneath them.

When questioned about these two assumptions Professor H. J. Dyos stated that in his opinion the middle class and working-class houses built in Victorian suburbs was not the work of architects but the result of local builders using readily available pattern-books to both design and build. He also stated that architects would only have been employed to design the large mansions and detached villas of the wealthier merchants, manufacturers and professional classes and that these opinions were shared by many other urban historians.<sup>47</sup>

The way that these two assumptions have become so widely accepted is a matter which is worthy of further investigation. It relies on the fact that the pattern-books could supply the necessary information for those that wished to acquire the skills necessary to design various house types as well as construct them and largely ignores the fact that the housing designer had to contend with an ever increasing number of building regulations introduced from the 1860's onwards. If the books which were available are examined, the hypothesis can be tested that it was books such as architectural pattern-books, artisans text books and builders' technical manuals which enabled the tradesmen or the small builder to raise himself up to the position where he was a speculative builder not only responsible for the erection of new dwellings but also in charge of the ordinance of the whole works from drawing board to completion.

Books and manuals which could be counted in this category are held at The British Architectural Library at the R.I.B.A. and the writer examined many of these in order to ascertain their contents.



The titles of the books involved and detailed comments on their contents are described in Chapter 12 but the general impression that they give is that the majority of designs shown in architectural pattern-books were applicable to country estates and to the erection of mansions, detached villas, lodges, cottages and labourer's dwellings. The only book which could have been used as a basis for house plans applicable to typical rows of terrace housing for the middle classes was published in 1904 and used mainly existing house plans and street patterns as illustrated examples.<sup>48</sup> There were also a number of books which concentrated on the design and construction of homes for the working classes, especially cheap labourers' cottages or tenement blocks. Other works gave cost advice for those involved in house-building. These included estimating the work in terms of a price per cubic foot for different house types and indicated what the cost of purchase was for various materials or in terms of measured rates.

Finally, by far the most useful books published after 1850 for the prospective house builders who wished to increase their existing knowledge were the excellent series of technical manuals and textbooks on the art of building. Manuals on brick production, masonry work, tiling etc. and it would appear that these guides which described the workings of almost every building trade, together with the quantities of materials involved, were the growing variety of technical literature that Dyos referred to and were those used by builders 'in order to strengthen the slight competence they possessed' or in order to be on terms with those they employed. John Weale who published the best selling series of technical guides stated in the preface of his The Builders Comprehensive Director that it was aimed at:

'every one connected with or concerned in building, whether for profit or private purposes'<sup>49</sup>

The importance of building regulations in relation to whether builders were responsible for the design of ordinary housing of the period cannot be ignored. Chapter 7 of this thesis indicates the growing complexity of legislation in a town like Leeds after 1860, regulations which after 1870 had a diligent inspectorate to see that builders complied with the local Bye-Laws. The architectural pattern-books concentrate upon plan forms and different architectural styles arguing the case for Gothic, Classical or Italianette façades but pay scant regard to regulations in force. Later technical manuals refer to regulations but could not encompass all the regional variations and

therefore described the requirements to be met in London. If a local tradesman in the 1870's was to raise himself from working with the tools to become a speculative builder the inference has been drawn that he did so by obtaining information he lacked from published sources. The assumption has also been made that builders acquired the knowledge to prepare scale drawings and design the houses, that they obtained the necessary knowledge to work on a drawing board and sketch out designs for clients (or for themselves if they were the developers) and submit the designs to the local authority for approval. This may have been the situation prior to 1860 when the number of houses built in towns were fewer and when the type of builder employed was very different to the speculative builders working in the latter part of the century. The earlier craftsmen builders usually had drawing to scale and sketching as part of their training (see Chapter 13) they did not have to build in accordance with an ever increasing number of Bye-Laws and drawings did not have to be prepared for submission to local authorities.

The second major assumption, that architects were not responsible for the designs of ordinary houses because of their other commitments to major works, has led to mass housing being omitted from works on the architectural history of the nineteenth century. Unlike the rows of Georgian houses in Bath, Bristol, Cheltenham and London the serried ranks of Victorian terraces have been classed as building - the product of builders and not architecture - the product of architects.

If articles written in The Builder magazine are a guide to the situation, a confused picture emerges. Some references criticise the standard of the design of the houses produced by architects, others state that the poor quality of speculative houses was due to the fact that architects did not feel inclined to become involved with them. Other references are made to the fact that architects were involved, but due to the mundane nature of the work, they could only be considered as estate agents or surveyors calling themselves architect and not properly qualified members of the profession. An article in 1858 discussed architecture and London house-building:

'Considering that in the last ten or twelve years, marked improvement has taken place in our profession... it is regretted that the growth of London continues to afford opportunities for the manifestation of art and taste, which in number are out of fair proportion to the quantity of the building - work always going on. Some kind of assistance in preparation of drawings is obtained, perhaps



in a majority of cases, by the speculative builder; or the supervision of a contractor by an architect exists, or is provided for, though to a certain limited and rather ideal extent, In truth, the sort of talent enlisted in these cases, must be of a very different order to that, for example, with which we ourselves in the course of our literary duties are chiefly brought into contact; or otherwise the supervision is comprised in the nominal connection of a 'surveyor', with the work or some branch of duty relative to it. ....It seems necessary, then ever and anon, to call the attention, as well of the profession as of the public, to this large amount of building-work in London and its outskirts, which is going forward; and with which - whilst the number of architects largely increases - the profession has no connection, or withal no opportunity of conferring or deriving benefit of any kind. ....The present generation of architects cannot but feel interested in themselves supplying those wants. Or are architects prepared to admit that the objects can be attained on the supposition of superior qualifications to be acquired and exercised by builders, in that event to be regarded as designers, or in short artist - architects? Failing this, will architects be satisfied to see the extension of a class of builders' assistants doing in some fashion their work without the educational qualifications?'<sup>50</sup>

The article went on to ask whether the remuneration at 5% of buildings erected at small cost was insufficient to attract architects or was it that the public required to be better informed as to the value of using a properly qualified person? The fact that a fee could be paid for one design and then a builder repeat this many times without the designer being rewarded was also considered a problem:

'can anything of the nature of copyright .....secure to the author of a design, from many works, what he could not derive from one? At present, we know, any architect's designs for one house are purloined unhesitatingly - as for the next adjoining it;'<sup>51</sup>

The writer elaborated his argument further by suggesting that the public would be better served if first class architects turned their attentions to housing design:

'Can they, the architects, devise means by which they may supply the want, and by which the public may receive the real thing, rather than the counterfeit .....Let those who are architects of the first class, bring their attention to the fact that there are at present engaged on duties for which they are or ought to be qualified - and sometimes to their very exclusion - men not eligible at the Institute calling themselves "surveyors", "engineers", "builders", "land-agents and house-agents", or "decorators"; and that the public go to these men on the matured belief that they get better served,'<sup>52</sup>

The writer went on to suggest that the purpose of the article was to draw attention to and mainly related to:

'the design and building of houses, and to those of very ordinary dimensions and cost.'<sup>53</sup>

A comparison was made with houses erected in the eighteenth century:

'No unprejudiced architect, we think, could look at the houses we are speaking of ... without feeling that the ordinary builders of that day were a higher class of men than the speculative builders of our time. If the former had few books - though, indeed, there were several that have been passed out of date, but may yet be looked at with advantage - they knew how to get from them many good features, '<sup>54</sup>

The writer concluded:

'But do qualified architects intend always to have little influence over public taste, and to hold for ever aloof from what must be building, and might, with some little help of theirs, just as well be architecture? '<sup>55</sup>

The situation in Leeds can be compared with that of London at a similar time, articles in The Builder referred to architects and their involvement in housing design. In 1861 when a 'committee of gentlemen well known for their interest in the working classes' erected a block of ten houses in Leeds for the working classes, the architect was Thomas Ambler who designed three-bedroomed terraces which were to be sold at £150 each. The newly formed Society for the Erection of Improved Dwellings for the Working Classes went on to build a number of similar schemes from 1861 - 1866 in suburbs such as Beeston, Wortley and Burley. Architects such as W.H. Crosland and Elisha Backhouse were employed to carry out the designs. In 1867 the architects Adams and Kelly were commissioned to design a block of dwellings for the Leeds Industrial Dwellings Company.<sup>56</sup>

If architects were employed to design new model dwellings the situation regarding the expanding suburbs of middle-class housing was more confused. The Builder in 1862 discussed at length the situation in Leeds in an article on house architecture of the provinces:

'In many of our provincial towns, meanness and ugliness prevail, and houses are run up with utter disregard of beauty, sanitary requirements, or healthful situation ..... In that town, (Leeds) the most brainless new buildings of a Domestic character that can be conceived have been set up. Expensive houses are being erected in every direction, - perfect abortions. The increase in population has led to a brick-and-mortar crusade which is defiling every green spot near the town. Some of the sites are magnificent; and are being spoilt by the erection of houses only fit for grooms and railway porters..... If, in the erection of



the first few villa residences on the site of the new streets towards Burley, men of means, who have the taste and public spirit, determine to build really good houses, architecturally speaking, it will give the key-note to the character of the whole neighbourhood. One fine example of Domestic architecture in or very near to Leeds, would revolutionize the house-building of the town. And I would again impress upon those who pay for the building of houses, that it is their own fault and their own punishment, when they furnish the means to an architect to build them good and substantial houses, if they also allow their architect to build ugly houses'<sup>57</sup>

The above clearly shows that villas being erected in the Burley Area of Leeds (principally on the Cardigan Estate) were designed by architects and the criticism was of the standard of the completed designs. The article went on to compare the care and attention that local architects devoted to the design of public buildings compared to that given to designing 'blocks of private houses':

'I presume it is unquestionable that the taste and skill exhibited by architects in designing houses are infinitely beneath the standard displayed by the same men in public buildings. If you take, as illustrations, a block of private houses and a public building designed by any one architect in Leeds, it will be seen that, whereas the latter in many cases has many decided claims to originality, and traces of thought and care in the design; the former will be a reproduction of former ugliness, and have the effect of being made to order, by the dozen or the gross'<sup>58</sup>

Here the article writer appears not to be simply referring to large individual mansions or detached villas of the wealthy but the phrase 'made to order, by the dozen or the gross' would imply that he was referring to the blocks of terraces or smaller houses that were designed by local architects. This impression is reinforced by the earlier reference to a brick and mortar crusade. The article went on to criticise the local architects, not for staying out of housing design but for not putting in sufficient of their design skills into the design process:

'This leads me to the belief that architects regard the designing of houses as beneath them, except in a few special instances, and that, though they have art power, they think it is not worth putting out in the design for a mere house - when the proprietor knows nothing of good taste and will be very well content with the "usual thing!"'<sup>59</sup>

Thus The Builder article in 1862 clearly implies that architects were responsible for at least a number of the new houses spreading into the suburb of Headingley-cum-Burley. Had the article writer considered that the housing was simply the result of local builders

using standard pattern-books he would most probably have been advocating the use of architects to better the situation rather than asking architects to exercise more skill in design.

The profitability of a speculative house building was discussed in The Builder in 1877 and it referred to the situation in central London:

'Nor do private individuals, who know little or nothing about the ways of building speculation, but employ wisely enough architects and bona fide contractors,'<sup>60</sup>

Here the implication is that the speculative developer who was not a builder usually invested the money and relied on architects for designs and contractors to erect the buildings. Where the developer was a builder and had some knowledge of the construction process the involvement of architects was once again discussed in The Builder under the heading of speculative house manufacture in 1878. The article generally criticises the bad design, bad drainage, ventilation and dishonest building of many speculative houses. At various points the role of architects are referred to and a confused picture emerges with references to the fact that the best architects were not involved, to the fact that lesser architects supplied inferior designs, and to the fact that no architect was employed but the builder was responsible for the designs!

'But the most successful practitioner does not, as a rule, build the small leasehold dwelling-houses of our towns. They are the work of speculative builders, who employ architects to give them a design, the result of which is a kind of wholesale house - manufacture in the place of honest house-building..... As long as a great demand for houses exists, it is probable that the public will continue to complain, and with justice, of the "knocked-up" houses in our midst, and architects will continue to supply inferior designs, to the detriment of their profession in the eyes of the public ..... It is scarcely fair, however, to blame the architect for the ordinary middle-class houses. In the majority of instances no architect has been consulted; the speculating builder supplies his own plans, gratifies the taste of vain householders, and disposes of his labour as fast as he builds at the highest profit.....The speculating builder must be au courant, and architectural dwellings are built without an architect'<sup>61</sup>

Just this one article could be used by the architectural historian to prove, by quoting just selected lines, either side of the argument as to whether architects were employed to design middle-class houses or that they were the result of speculative builders' designs. Of course the speculative builder was always ready and able to copy an



existing design prepared by an architect especially if he could gain access to tracings of the drawings:

'The great drawback to architects designing houses for the middle classes was the cost. An architect might design a house which would cost £1,200, but in an adjoining street a similar house could be built by the speculative builder for £900 or £1,000.'<sup>62</sup>

What conclusions can be drawn from the confused picture drawn by the quotations? In Leeds the number of houses erected annually rose dramatically from 1,244 in 1876 to 3,059 in 1900. At the same time there was an ever increasing number of pieces of building legislation passed from the first Improvement Act in 1842 to the Bye-laws in 1902. These two factors meant that, although there was no requirement to submit drawings to the Corporation prior to 1866, plans were required more quickly than ever before during the boom periods after 1870 because of demand and at the same time the requirements and complexities which the plans had to meet or comply with became more onerous with each decade that passed. The wealthy employed local architects to design their mansions and villas whether approved drawings were necessary or not and to some extent local architects became involved in the design of the middle-class houses erected in the suburbs after 1860.

The articles in The Builder suggest that few first class architects became involved in middle-class housing designs and the confusion about those architects that did mainly arose because magazines like The Builder often meant by the term architect, well known practitioners and particularly members of the Royal Institute of British Architects. The impression that the articles give is that there was a second string of architects who did not fit into the category of the best architects in town but nevertheless called themselves architects and were willing to prepare designs for builders of speculative houses. The speculator who had little or no building knowledge would use text books and manuals to increase his understanding of the building process and still employ architects to prepare designs and builders to erect the dwellings. The speculative builder or tradesman would employ the same architects but was not averse to tracing architects' drawings or producing his own designs for repetitive houses in standard situations whenever the opportunity afforded itself. He would use the technical literature available to increase his knowledge of the building trades and the costings involved but did not obtain his house plans or designs from the same sources. But was this impression correct? In the next chapter the role of the architect is examined in more detail.

## NOTES

### CHAPTER 9 SPECULATIVE DEVELOPERS AND BUILDERS

- 1 Dyos, p. 63.
- 2 The firm was known as Ford and Warren of Albion Street, Leeds.
- 3 The Builder, 1877, Vol. 35, p. 42.
- 4 Treen, p. 310 - 319.
- 5 Ibid., p. 303 - 310.
- 6 Ibid., p. 319 - 320.
- 7 Dyos, p. 123.
- 8 In this respect the findings are similar to those of Treen, see Treen, p. 240.
- 9 Dyos, p. 123.
- 10 This submission of drawings to Leeds Corporation was most singular in that one set was submitted for the approval of 47 Dwellings. No other examples were found of large numbers of through dwellings on one submission either elsewhere in the study area or in the sample of all Leeds. See D.B.P., 527 (thesis reference).
- 11 Treen, p. 445.
- 12 D.B.P., 44/6th Dec/1889.
- 13 Obituary notices would throw more light on the activities of both Hutton and Wood but none have been found.
- 14 Treen, p. 341.
- 15 Ibid., p. 448.
- 16 D.B.P., 9/5th Sept./1879.
- 17 D.B.P., 14/29th April/1887.
- 18 Treen, p. 447.
- 19 For biographical details and further details of land purchases and housing developments by architects, see Appendix 7 and Appendix 11.
- 20 For biographical details and further details of land purchases and housing developments of builders, see Appendix 11.
- 21 Leeds Archives Department, Cash Book Ledger and Executorship Accounts of R.L. Ford, Ref. F.W. 182 (unlisted solicitor's papers).
- 22 Gauldie, p. 186 - 213 for a history of Building and Freehold Land Societies.
- 23 Leeds Mercury, 23rd Oct., 1886.
- 24 Ibid., 27th June, 1874.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid. See also Chapter 11 for further attempts to sell this land.
- 28 Leeds Mercury, 27th June, 1874.
- 29 L.C.D., 8698.
- 30 L.C.D., 21657.



- 31 L.C.D., 12203.
- 32 Sources, Leeds Corporation Deeds. See Appendix 14.
- 33 L.C.D., 18973.
- 34 Dyos was able to obtain access to the account books and records of the builder Edward Yates in his study of Camberwell. It is rumoured that a surviving relative of the largest builders in the study area, B. and W. Walmsley, made a bonfire of their business records in the 1960's. However, as no relative of the family has replied to letters, this has not been confirmed or denied.
- 35 Treen, p. 242.
- 36 This article would suggest that in London at least 10% clear profit was unusual in 1877. The 3% referred to was presumably in such things as banks and government stocks. Private mortgages to land purchasers realised 4% to 5% but with somewhat greater risks involved. See The Builder 1877, Vol. 35, p. 366 - 8.
- 37 Copy of Building Agreement between Arthur Horrox and The L.I.C.S., 1st July, 1892. See L.C.D., 18973.
- 38 L.C.D., 9012.
- 39 Dyos, Victorian Suburb and P.W. Kingsford, Builders and Building Workers.
- 40 Dyos, p. 124 - 125.
- 41 Ibid., p. 123.
- 42 P. W. Kingsford, Builders and Builder Workers, p. 98.
- 43 D.A. Reeder, 'A Theatre of Suburbs: Some Patterns of Development in West London, 1801 - 1911,' in H.J. Dyos (editor), The Study of Urban History, p. 269.
- 44 Ibid., The quotation was taken from Illustrated London News, 23 Aug. 1884.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Replies to questions put by the writer to Professor H.J. Dyos at a seminar held at the University of Leicester, 27th April 1978.
- 48 J. J. Raggett, A Series of Plans of Labourers Cottages with Quantities for Estimating their Approximate Cost, 1904.
- 49 J. Weale, Rudimentary Treatise on the Erection of Dwelling Houses; or The Builders Comprehensive Director, 1860 p. XI.
- 50 The Builder, 1858, Vol. 16, p. 629.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Ibid., p. 630.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 The Builder, 1867, Vol. 25, p. 62.
- 57 The Builder, 1862, Vol. 20, p. 623.

- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 The Builder, 1877, Vol. 35, p. 366.
- 61 The Builder, 1878, Vol. 36, p. 283.
- 62 The Builder, 1901, Vol. 80, p. 345. The prices quoted refer to London.



## CHAPTER 10 HOUSING DESIGN AND THE INVOLVEMENT OF ARCHITECTS

### 10.1 The Use of the Style Architect

The association of barristers, the Inns of Court, date from the fifteenth century, the Royal College of Physicians was founded in 1578 and the College of Apothecaries in 1617. The Veterinary College dates from 1791 and the Institution of Civil Engineers from 1818.

Architects were the Johnny-come-lately of the professional world when it came to forming an association, this despite the fact that there have been people who performed the function of an architect throughout history. The formation of an association for architects did not occur until the late eighteenth century with the formation of an Architects' Club in London in 1791, which resolved 'to dine on the first Thursday of every month at 5 o'clock precisely.' In 1792 Sir John Soane noted that their dinner topic was to 'define the profession and qualifications of an architect.'<sup>1</sup>

The London Architectural Society was formed in 1806 and the Architects' and Antiquaries' Club in 1819. The most important new society was the Architectural Society formed in 1831 to provide library and club facilities for those who had studied the profession of architecture in an architect's office for five years. This merged in 1842 with the Institute of British Architects. The latter was an association, started in January 1834 in London, 'of such persons who have been educated for and are practising solely the profession of architect and surveyor.'<sup>2</sup> Some members present objected to the inclusion of surveyors and decided to form a society restricted to architects and excluding surveyors. The breakaway group became the Society of British Architects founded in 1834 with members to be disqualified for:

'measuring and valuing works on behalf of builders, except those executed from the members own design or directions; having any interest or participation in any trade or contract connected with building.'<sup>3</sup>

In June 1834 this society became the Institute of British Architects. The Institute received the final recognition of a royal charter of incorporation in 1837 but it was not until 1866 that the Institute added the epithet 'Royal' to its title.

Throughout the nineteenth century it was notoriously difficult to know just which of the persons who described themselves on documents as architects were architects in the accepted sense of the word. This was because so many persons were architects and properly trained but

practised without ever becoming a member of the Royal Institute of British Architects (R.I.B.A.). The passing of the Architects (Registration) Acts 1931 - 1938 restricting by law the use of the title or style architect to suitably qualified persons came too late to sort out the confusion which exists for the historian today. Examination of the census returns for 1841 indicates the problem quite clearly: according to the census 1,675 persons in England and Wales described themselves as architects when the R.I.B.A. had only 153 members in that year. It is impossible to determine how many persons calling themselves architects were builders who turned their hand to designs. Colvin writing about architects practising before 1840 stated:

'there were few of them who had no connection with the building trade in one or other of its forms,'<sup>4</sup>

The fact that builders acted as designers of buildings in the first half of the century was also illustrated by a lecturer in 1867 who, referring to London in the 1830's and 1840's, said:

'The speculative builder superceded the accomplished architect and erected, for the nobility and gentry, rows of square boxes of brick or stucco houses as mansions, without any pretensions to effective decoration or distinguished aspect.'<sup>5</sup>

Further examination of the census reports sheds more light on the situation in the second half of the century. From 1801 to 1831 occupational classification did not include architects but figures are available from 1841 onwards:

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Table 45 Architects in England and Wales, 1841 - 1931<sup>6</sup>

1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
1,675	2,971	3,832	5,692	6,898	7,842	10,781	8,921	9,412	9,246

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The above figures show how many persons called themselves architects but it is difficult to establish which were builders or surveyors. In the 1851 census a note is made to the effect that 'Many of the 2,971 architects are undoubtedly builders'<sup>7</sup> There was also considerable confusion in the first half of the century between the allied professions of architect and surveyor, many men practising as both. Street directories of the period quite often listed persons in both sections of the trade directories. By 1881 the distinction between the two professions had become well established and was more clear cut.



If the membership of the R.I.B.A. is examined the following numbers were recorded:

**Table 46 Membership of the R.I.B.A., 1835 - 1945<sup>8</sup>**

1835	1840	1845	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870	1875	1880
82	159	213	216	253	312	412	522	584	719
1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930
1,106	1,287	1,523	1,633	1,859	2,305	4,587	4,353	5,720	6,034
1935	1940	1945							
7,419	8,827	9,655							

If figures from the census reports are compared with the R.I.B.A. figures, an estimate of the number of persons who called themselves architects who were also members of the R.I.B.A. can be obtained.

**Table 47 R.I.B.A. Membership as a Percentage of All Architects, 1841 - 1931<sup>9</sup>**

	R.I.B.A. membership	Total profession <sup>a</sup>	Percentage
1841	153	1,675	9
1851	224	2,971	8
1861	338	3,843	9
1871	519	5,692	9
1881	787	6,898	11
1891	1,344	7,842	18
1901	1,649	10,781	15
1911	2,371	8,921	27
1921	4,538	9,412	48
1931	6,591	9,246	71

<sup>a</sup> taken from Census Reports

It can be seen from Table 47 that as a criteria for judging the professional standing of an architect, membership of the R.I.B.A. was not one that could be applied to a large proportion of the profession prior to 1921. The Institute had two classes of membership; Fellows and Associates, from 1835 to 1910 and then a third class of Licentiate was introduced.

## 10.2 Provincial Architectural Societies

The formation of provincial societies of architects took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In 1874 the Bradford

Society of Architects and Surveyors was founded and the first meeting of the Leeds Architectural Association was held in January 1877. The main purpose of these societies were professional consolidation, to promote personal acquaintance between members and to afford mutual assistance. The membership was often varied, accepting surveyors, borough engineers, engineers to railway companies and canals, as well as architects who formed the bulk of the members. Sheffield as well as Bradford was styled a Society of Architects and Surveyors.

Gradually, however, the influence of the R.I.B.A. spread and in 1875 a recommendation was made by an R.I.B.A. committee that the Presidents of the provincial architectural associations and societies should sit on the R.I.B.A. Council. The more important societies had already been invited to send delegates to the General Conferences and in 1885 a resolution was submitted to the Council that all the provincial societies should be amalgamated with the R.I.B.A. Many London architects did not favour amalgamation, especially in view of the less strict conditions of entry into many provincial societies. Therefore in 1889 a bye-law was passed enabling the R.I.B.A. to enter into alliance with other architectural societies in the United Kingdom by allowing the Council to nominate annually 9 members in the persons of the Presidents of the Allied Societies - provided that they were members of the Royal Institute.

This reform had the ultimate effect of changing the whole character, functions and influence of the R.I.B.A. by converting it from a select club of metropolitan architects into a professional parliament. In 1893 the United Kingdom was divided into geographical areas of administration with a provincial society at the centre of each to be responsible for the professional administration and furthermore for the architectural education in its area.

### 10.3 Architectural Education and Training

The reputation of any profession depends upon the education, training and standard of competence of its members. The traditional system of training architects had been that of pupilage, where a young man would start work in an office between the ages of fourteen to sixteen and would be taught the art of architecture by the principal of the practice. This process often took in excess of five years and was augmented by attendance at an evening or day school for classes in construction, drawing and other subjects in those towns where this



facility was offered. The number of classes where a pupil could add to the knowledge gained in the office were few in the provinces prior to 1870. From this date onwards the number of classes gradually increased until eventually full-time courses in architecture were introduced.

The R.I.B.A. had two functions to fulfill as a professional association, those of guaranteeing integrity and of competence; prior to 1880 the R.I.B.A. concerned itself exclusively with the former. From its formation it saw the break with builder architects as being of prime importance. Powell writing of this aim said:

'From the 1820's architects gradually divorced themselves from direct involvement in building, seeking instead to represent and protect sponsors' interests, in addition to maintaining design responsibility. More and more they were employed to provide detailed drawings, specifications and tender documents required for contractors to base their tenders upon. The foundation of the Institute of British Architects in 1834 enhanced professional standing and was associated with the drive to discourage older style builder architects.'<sup>10</sup>

The links with the building trades, despite efforts over many years, lingered on even though more tenuous and were not severed entirely for members of the R.I.B.A. until 1887.

Despite the prestige with which most members of the profession were held in the 1870's, attention was turned from the link with builders to bettering of educational standards. The lack of progress in architectural training outside of offices can only be understood in the 1870's and 1880's in the light of the powerful opposition to any new measures that might endanger the pupilage system in the profession. The large premiums demanded by the leading architects and the important part that premiums played in some architects earnings meant that anything that threatened them was immediately faced with strong opposition.

The demand for proper training and education also had another motive, to restrict entry to the profession. The question of restricting and confining architectural practice to suitably qualified persons occurred on and off throughout the latter half of the century.

J.T. Micklethwaite writing in 1874 stated:

'Any man worth a brass plate and a door to put it on may dub himself an architect, and a very large number of surveyors, auctioneers, house-agents, upholsterers, etc., with a sprinkling of bankrupt builders and retired clerks of works, find it in their interest to do so.'<sup>11</sup>

The concerns of the rising profession were public approval, movement towards legalized closure to non-professional outsiders, and a plea for a code of ethics. The matter came to a head in 1884 when a conflict arose relating to the function of the R.I.B.A. The older members saw in its membership a valuable opportunity for professional intercourse, and a sense of public prestige. Whereas the younger elements were advocating the adoption of an open policy of registration by which they hoped to confine architectural practice to qualified persons by introducing an Act of Parliament. Voting was confined to Fellows, and because the younger element saw no way of furthering their aims within the Institute, a body of Associates left in 1884 to form the Society of Architects.

The Society of Architects adopted a policy of registration of all architects as their main objective and this they pursued until their amalgamation with the R.I.B.A. in 1925. By 1884 the Society of Architects had 200 members and it petitioned a Bill in Parliament in 1886 in favour of restrictive registration. This Bill included the proposed registration of civil engineers and surveyors as well as architects. A new Bill omitting the other professions was introduced but the R.I.B.A. opposed it and it was defeated at its second reading. By 1914 the Society of Architects had 1,400 members compared with 4,600 in the R.I.B.A. and it also had a nine part Code of Professional Ethics to guide its members with many similar clauses to those in force today.<sup>12</sup>

As many architects also styled themselves as surveyors and some were members of the Sanitary Institute, these institutions are worth examining. The Surveyors Institution was founded in 1868 and was Incorporated in 1881:

'to secure the advancement and facilitate the acquisition of that knowledge which constitutes the profession of a surveyor,'<sup>13</sup>

The Royal Sanitary Institute, originally The Sanitary Institute of Great Britain, was founded in 1876. In 1888 the title was simplified to the Sanitary Institute and the prefix Royal was added in 1904. The Institute was a composite body representative of all professions connected with sanitation and public health and its membership included medical men, engineers, architects, and other workers or administrators interested in hygiene. The membership in 1914 exceeded 4,000.<sup>14</sup>

The R.I.B.A. absorbed the Society of Architects in 1925, the year



in which the Incorporated Association of Architects and Surveyors and the Faculty of Architects and Surveyors were founded by those remaining outside the R.I.B.A. The Architects (Registration) Act of 1933, strengthened seven years later by a further Act, established a register of architects and protected their title thereby closing the profession.

#### 10.4 The Architectural Profession in Leeds, 1838 - 1914.

The early nineteenth-century urban expansion of Leeds created a need for public buildings, factories, churches and villas. This encouraged a number of architects to set up practice and in 1822 there were five in Leeds. At this time it was not uncommon for architects to act as estate agents, surveyors and even become involved in building operations. Robert Dennis Chantrell had trained in John Soane's Office and arrived in Leeds in 1819. Thomas Taylor first worked for a London builder and in J. Wyatt's office before setting up practice in Leeds. John Clark arrived in Leeds from Edinburgh in the 1820's. Taylor, Chantrell and Clark became, in effect, local West Yorkshire architects and Linstrum points out that it was unusual during the period 1820 - 1850 for architects to be employed who were from outside the area.<sup>15</sup>

By 1853 the number of architectural practices had increased considerably, there being 23 in Leeds by that date. A few practices had been passed on to younger generations such as John Chantrell who had taken over from his father but the majority were newly established.

Two important new practices were started in the area. The first was Lockwood and Mawson of Bradford who set up in practice there in 1849 and dominated the town's architecture for the following quarter of a century by carrying out designs for many of the important municipal and commercial buildings in the town. The second was Cuthbert Brodrick, a pupil and assistant of Lockwood who won the competition for the design of Leeds Town Hall in 1853 and who opened an office in Leeds. His public buildings in Leeds won him much public acclaim and he became well known outside Leeds.

The other practices which had sprung up in the Leeds area were little known outside the town or its region but were a great influence upon its architecture because they:

'largely shaped the local architecture for the rest of the century by training articled pupils and later taking them into partnership so that several firms maintained a sense of continuity for a number of generations.'<sup>16</sup>

New names were added during the 1860's to the Leeds practices: William Reid Corson and his younger brother George Corson; Perkin and Backhouse, Thomas Ambler, Adams and Kelly and Charles R. Chorley all became well known in the town.<sup>17</sup>

In the second half of the century it became more common for local men to be set aside in favour of outsiders, especially leading architects from London. As time went by this happened more often but the architects were less well known and they came from other towns such as Hull, Liverpool and Bath. George Gilbert Scott was employed to design several buildings in Leeds including Beckett's Bank, Park Row in 1863 and the General Infirmary in the same year. The Methodists used L. Wright, an architect from Hull, to design Belle Vue Primitive Methodist Church in 1870; C.O. Ellison of Liverpool to design Woodhouse Moor Wesleyan Chapel in 1874 and Wilson and Wilcox of Bath to design the Wesley College, Headingley in 1867.

The rise in the number of architects practising in Leeds can be seen by examination of the number of architects listed in Leeds street directories for various years:

**Table 48 Architectural Practices in Leeds, 1839 - 1938<sup>18</sup>**

	Architects	Architects & Surveyors <sup>a</sup>
1839	8	
1841	10	
1847	12	
1851	23	
1856	30	
1861	20	
1863	—	28
1864	28	
1866	30	
1870	34	
1872	—	75
1875	48	
1876	—	77
1878	—	88
1881	61	
1881	—	73
1883	62	
1886	70	
1887	—	71
1888	71	
1890	—	60
1891	—	76
1892	—	81
1893	78	
1897	90 <sup>b</sup>	
1901	78	
1907	77	
1910	75	



1914	73
1920	67
1938	56

- a The directories were produced by different publishers such as Kelly and Slater and some listed only architects, others architects and surveyors, and many had separate surveyors' sections which included architects.
- b This figure is inflated because the Kelly directory of that year included architects from as far away from Leeds as Ilkley and Keighley.

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It can be seen from Table 48 that the number of architectural practices rose steadily in the period 1840 to 1870 with the number increasing fourfold in thirty years. This was followed by the number of practices doubling in the next 16 years, from 1870 to 1886, to peak at around the turn of the century. After 1914 the number of practices fell, not only because of a decline in work load due to the war, but also because the nature of practice changed. Offices became fewer, employing a greater number of staff and the total numbers employed are not known. The picture also becomes more complicated by the advent of architects in public service after that date.

Some attempt can be made to see if the rise in the number of architectural practices was simply in direct correlation to the town's continued expansion as more and more new buildings were erected, or whether other factors such as the introduction of building legislation had an effect. Dramatic increases occurred in the number of practices between 1847 and 1856 which was partly explained by Linstrum as being a result of newcomers such as Corson coming to Leeds. There was a fall from 1856 to 1861 which can be related to a slump in the building industry generally. From 1870 to 1875 there was another dramatic rise which may well have been related to the introduction of Bye-Laws in 1870 requiring building plans to be submitted for approval to the Corporation for all buildings. The figures obtained from street directories can be used in graph form to plot the rise in practices against the introduction of building legislation (see Fig. 89).

The steep rise in the graph for architects and surveyors from 1863 to 1872 would appear to be more than coincidence, however, the way in which street directories varied in the manner information was compiled, makes the figures on which the graph is based too inaccurate to draw any firm conclusions. All figures relating to architects in the nineteenth century need to be treated with similar caution whatever the source. So often civil engineers, surveyors, estate agents and

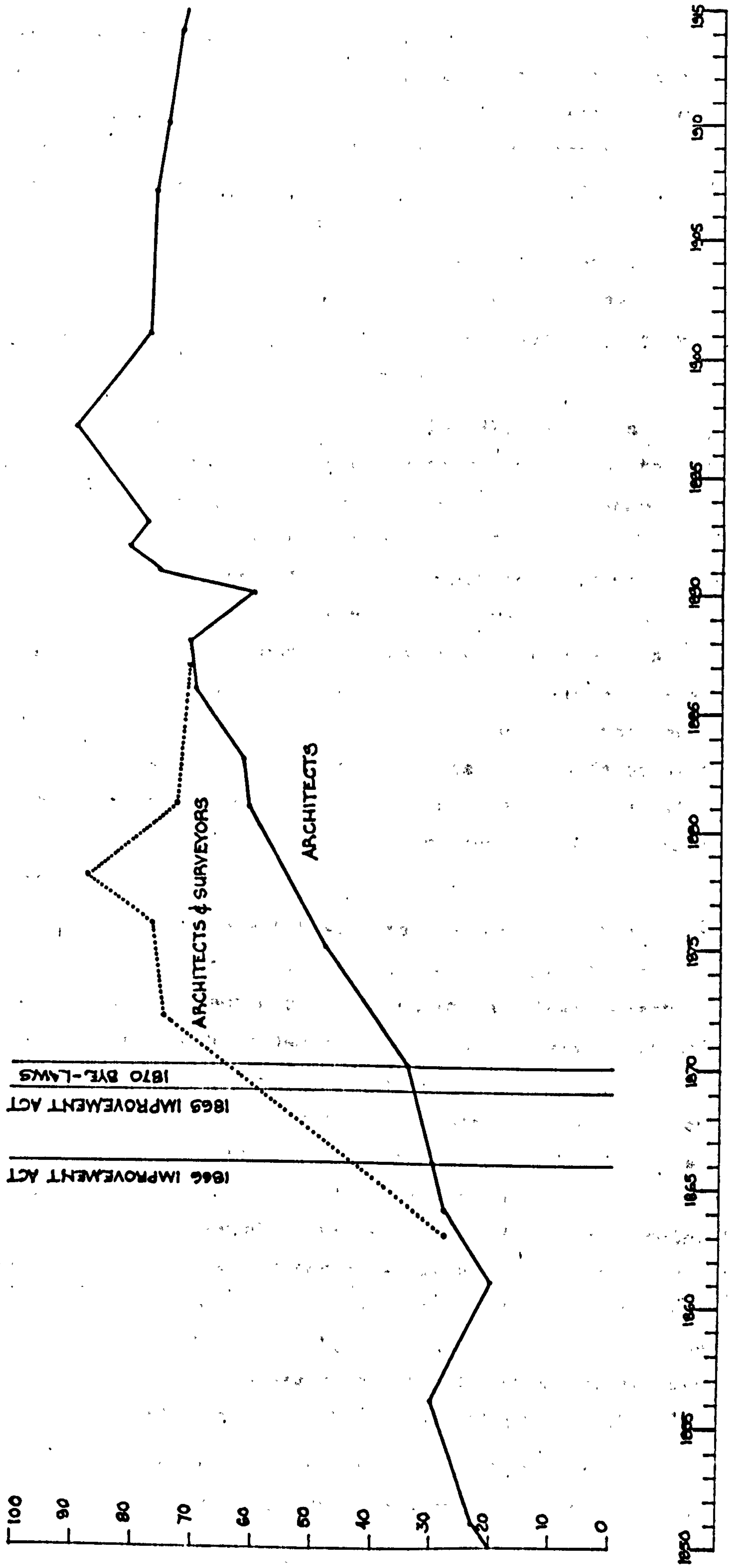


Fig.89 Graph showing the number of architectural practices listed in street directories for Leeds, 1850 - 1915.



men in official positions at Borough Surveyor's offices were included in their number. This was not a deliberate attempt to mislead but a result of the fact that the boundaries between these various activities was much more blurred than it is today and the transition from architect to surveyor or builder to architect could be made and made successfully. A large number of the architects who had appeared on the Leeds scene after 1860 had come from a building or surveying background. Some had fathers who were builders and having started to follow in their father's footsteps, changed course and took up the more glamorous profession of architecture.

Thomas Ambler who died at the age of 82 in 1920 is typical of this breed of men. His father intended him to be brought up to the building trade and articted him to a builder, but the young Ambler aspired to something higher and entered the office of George Smith where he had an opportunity of learning about architecture. The knowledge gained was supplemented by attendance at classes at the Leeds School of Art. Ultimately he devoted himself entirely to the designing of buildings and the drawing of plans. When he was 23 he set up his own practice in 1861. His obituary notice records a typical career of a successful nineteenth-century Leeds architect who designed many buildings in the town, was never in the R.I.B.A. and had a reputation which did not stretch much beyond the town boundaries.<sup>19</sup>

James Wilson who learnt his father's trade of ornamental plasterer succeeded him in the family business. On coming of age he went to London for a few years and during his employment there spent some time on the construction work at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight. He was successful as a plasterer in Leeds and became the Secretary of the Yorkshire Master Builders Association and also gave evidence on a Royal Commission on Trade Unions. Earlier in life he was one of the first students of the Leeds School of Design and he joined the Mechanics Institute. He also furthered his education by going through a course in political economy and obtained a certificate from the University of Cambridge. James Wilson reached middle age before he began to practice as an architect, no doubt following his attendance at evening classes. He became an architect and valuer and was eventually succeeded by his son, T. Butler Wilson F.R.I.B.A.<sup>20</sup>

Thomas Winn, another Leeds architect, died at Headingley in 1908. He was the son of a Woodhouse builder and started life as a bricklayer

intending to follow in his father's footsteps. He obviously aspired for something higher and through evening classes trained to be an architect. His obituary stated:

'The son of a Woodhouse builder, he started his business life in the humble capacity of a bricklayer, and in order to attain the honourable professional position in the city he occupied at the time of his death, he had a strenuous struggle.'<sup>21</sup>

He attended classes in building construction at the Woodhouse Mechanics Institute and then went in for a lengthy course of instruction of all aspects of architecture. After setting up his own office he, like many others, became much respected as a valuer and also became involved in arbitration work.

Examination of obituary files and Linstrum's work shows a number of architects who practised in Leeds in the second half of the century and who were the sons of fathers in building or allied trades and professions.<sup>22</sup> The following table gives a number of typical examples:

Table 49 Architects and Parental Occupations

Father	Occupation	Son
J.E. Braithwaite	Builder	Walter Samuel Braithwaite, architect
Francis Danby	Cabinet-maker	George Francis Danby, architect.
John Hutton	Builder	George Hutton, builder and architect.
James Neill	Surveyor	Archibald Neill, architect.
William Perkin	Mastermason	William Belton Perkin, architect.
J. Prince	Stonemason	Ernest Prince, architect.
William Thackray	Builder	John William Thackray, architect.
John Hall Thorp	Builder	William Henry Thorp, architect.
James Wilson	Plasterer	James Wilson, plasterer and architect.
James Wilson	Plasterer/architect	T. Butler Wilson, architect.
Winn	Builder	Thomas Winn, architect.
Robert Wood	Builder/architect	Joseph John Wood, architect.



Table 49 indicates the links between the builders and architects and shows how the boundary line between was often crossed. There were also engineers who described themselves as architects. Charles Fowler and his son Charles John Fowler both carried on a practice in Leeds as engineers and architects. The former designed many large villas in Headingley as well as improving and enlarging the parish church there. The latter produced 'designs which were on several occasions awarded the premier place in open competition.'<sup>23</sup>

The professional standing, reputation and competence of the majority of the new architects who appeared after 1860 is difficult to assess. Clearly only a few ever reached the top of the profession and achieved a national reputation. In Victorian Architecture by Dixon and Muthesius, published in 1978, there is listed at the back a section of 'some of the more important Victorian architects.' Contained in this list are only eight from Leeds; Bowman, Brodrick, Chantrell, Corson, Crowther, Grimethorpe, Hill and Perkin.<sup>24</sup> For those who did not achieve such pinnacles of fame there was the consolation of being well known for their works within the narrower confines of the town in which they worked. Architects such as Ambler, Birchall, Chorley, Howdill, Smith and Thorp were typical examples.

For those who were lower still down the order, especially near the boundary between the builder and the designer, their professional standing was open to question. Linstrum refers to this when he quotes a letter sent by a resident to The Architect in 1870 about the state of the profession in Leeds. The letter referred to the fact that there were nearly 50 architects in the town (compare with Table 48 which suggests surveyors were included in this figure) and:

'The majority have received no liberal education or professional training of any sort, but have been brought up, in the first instance, to some building trade, or have assumed the title of architect solely on the strength of a smattering obtained at one of the local schools of science and art. Few of them ever travel beyond the confines of their own borough, sketching is almost entirely neglected, and for literature the professional weekly journals usually suffice. Into the hands of these gentlemen most of the work drifts, partly from the inability of the public to distinguish between false and genuine art, and in great measure owing to the unscrupulous lengths to which many resort for the purpose of gaining practice.'<sup>25</sup>

What form of training did exist in Leeds at the time has already been partially explained in the description of the careers of men like Ambler, Wilson and Wina. There was the pupilage system throughout

the nineteenth century and to supplement this the Leeds School of Art had held classes in building construction and architectural design since 1846. There was a modelling class for carvers and architectural students and it was possible to attend a mechanical or architectural class on two evenings a week for a fee of four shillings a quarter. In 1865 the new Mechanics Institute designed by Brodrick was opened and this enabled classes to be extended and by 1899 there were 33 pupils as students and their syllabus included three main subjects; Architecture, Architectural Design and Building Construction, and Drawing. Classes were held at the Yorkshire College in such subjects as fine art, civil engineering and water supply; at the Leeds School of Art in drawing, building construction and architectural design; at the Leeds School of Science and Technology in physics, mechanics and plumbing. In 1902 the Leeds and Yorkshire Architectural Society agreed to collaborate in these part-time classes. It was not until 1915 that the courses and examinations were recognised by the R.I.B.A. for exemption from its Intermediate examinations.<sup>26</sup>

#### 10.5 The Leeds and West Yorkshire Architectural Society

In December 1876 an inaugural meeting was held in the Philosophical Hall, Leeds to discuss the formation of a Leeds Architectural Association. George Corson was chosen as the first President and took the chair of the first general meeting in January 1877, when some 80 persons attended.

Early meetings were held in the Mechanics Institute. The name was changed in 1881 to the Leeds Architectural Society and in 1883 the Society became the Leeds and Yorkshire Architectural Society (L.Y.A.S.).<sup>27</sup> These changes of name are more than just of academic interest because with them went slight but often significant changes in membership entry requirements. The L.Y.A.S. was Incorporated in 1885 under the Companies Act and in 1914 became the Leeds and West Yorkshire Architectural Society.<sup>28</sup>

The objects of the Association when it was set up in 1876 were:

- 'To afford facilities for the study of Civil Architecture.
- To advance the professional interests of the members.
- To serve as a medium of a friendly communication between the members and others interested in the progress of the art.'

Members were to be those persons who were engaged professionally in the study or practice of architecture and civil engineering. Also with the sanction of the Committee:



'gentlemen interested in the arts or sciences associated with architecture and civil engineering may also become members'

The fees were 5s. on entrance and 10s. 6d. per annum and the office of President and Vice-President was not to be held by any member for more than two consecutive years.<sup>29</sup>

In 1881 the change of name occasioned a change in rules and objects of The Leeds Architectural Society. The objects remained basically the same but it wished to afford facilities for the study of architecture and no longer civil architecture. Entry was a different matter and in future the requirements for membership were to be restricted, so much so, that the rule is worth quoting verbatim:

'RULE 5. - The Society shall consist of three classes of members, viz., Members, Associates, and Honorary members. Members shall be elected from the body of the associates and each one before being eligible shall have been at least two years in actual practice as an architect or civil engineer. Associates to be professional assistants, pupils or those in practice who have not been elected members. Honorary members to consist of gentlemen interested in the arts or sciences associated with architecture.'

The entrance fee remained at 5s. but the annual subscription was to be £1. 1s. for Members and 10s. 6d. for Associates. The meetings were to be held on alternate Thursday evenings between 7.0 and 9.30 p.m. as before. The Society attempted to meet its objects by carrying out or arranging for: papers and discussions upon subjects of professional interest, setting up an architectural library, providing classes for the study of specific subjects, awarding prizes for study, visiting works and buildings, and registering members requiring either employment or assistants.<sup>30</sup>

In 1894 the Society was described in the R.I.B.A. Kalendar and the chief objects of the society were given as:

- '(1) To afford facilities for the study of architecture
- (2) To advance and protect the professional character, status, and interest of architects, to promote honourable practice, to settle disputed points of practice in which architects practising in the County of York are concerned.'

The classes of members and entry requirements remained the same as in 1881.<sup>31</sup>

The membership figures for the L.Y.A.S. are given in the following table:

**Table 50 Membership of the Leeds and Yorkshire Architectural Society, 1877 - 1915<sup>32</sup>**

Session	Hon.Members	Members	Associates	Members in R.I.B.A.	% <sup>a</sup>
1877 - 78		85		7	8
1878 - 79		84		7	8
1879 - 80		87		7	8
1880 - 81	1	77		5	6
1881 - 82	11	40	33	11	15
1882 - 83	10	32	31	10	16
1883 - 84	26	35	37	9	13
1884 - 85	31	36	40	10	13
1885 - 86	31	36	40	10	13
1886 - 87	49	33	38	9	13
1887 - 88	47	35	36	9	13
1888 - 89			n.d.a.		
1889 - 90			n.d.a.		
1890 - 91			n.d.a.		
1891 - 92	41	48	31	16	20
1892 - 93	n.d.a.	48	32	20	25
1893 - 94	n.d.a.	49	38	26	30
1894 - 95	n.d.a.	47	38	27	32
1895 - 96	n.d.a.	46	38	28	33
1896 - 97	24	46	39	29	34
1897 - 98	n.d.a.	51	40	31	34
1898 - 99	n.d.a.	56	37	32	34
1899 - 1900	n.d.a.	59	38	36	37
1900 - 1901	n.d.a.	58	33	34	37
1901 - 1902	22	63	39	39	38
1902 - 1903	28	62	47	37	34
1903 - 1904	32	66	54	35	29
1904 - 1905	34	70	57	36	28
1905 - 1906	29	75	74	41	27
1906 - 1907	28	74	63	40	29
1907 - 1908	32	68	66	48	36
1908 - 1909	34	66	55	51	39
1909 - 1910	32	65	70	55	41
1910 - 1911	32	72	78	60	40
1911 - 1912	32	73	70	60	42
1912 - 1913	29	75	75	68	45
1913 - 1914	30	92	56	68	46
1914 - 1915	29	87	54	69	49

<sup>a</sup> This column represents the percentage of L.Y.A.S. members who were also members of the R.I.B.A. but excludes Honorary Members of the Society.

It is interesting to note that it was not until 1895 that one-third of the membership were also members of the R.I.B.A. This came about mainly because of the number of young men who, because of their training and education, entered the Institute. This is illustrated by the fact that in 1895, ten Associate Members were also members of the R.I.B.A., whereas there was only one in 1887. Many older established architects were not members of the R.I.B.A. despite being well known



in the town and influential in the Leeds Society. Such men as Ambler, Bowman, Corson, T. Howdill, Nelson and Thornton were typical examples.

It is also possible by using the membership figures for the Leeds Society to compare the number of architects who were members of it with the number listed in street directories for the same period. The comparison is only a rough guide to the situation at the time but from 1876 - 1897 it does show a remarkable degree of consistency. In the same way that many architects were not in the R.I.B.A., a few for one reason or another never joined the L.Y.A.S., E. Backhouse, C. Brodrick, C. Fowler and T. Winn were examples. Others like J.W. Simpson were only members for a short period of time, especially in its formative years.

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**Table 51 A Comparison of the Membership of the L.Y.A.S. with Architects Listed in Leeds Street Directories, 1878 - 1914**

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	L.Y.A.S. <sup>a</sup>	Directories <sup>b</sup>
1876	85	88 architects and surveyors
1881	77	61 architects
1883	63	62 architects
1886	76	70 architects
1887	71	71 architects and surveyors
1888	71	71 architects
1892	79	81 architects and surveyors
1893	80	78 architects
1897	85	90 architects
1901 <sup>c</sup>	91	78 architects
1907	137	77 architects
1910	135	75 architects
1914	148	73 architects

a Not including Hon.Members.

b The L.Y.A.S. list individuals, but street directories list practices which included partnerships and sons working in the same practice.

c It is not accurate to compare figures after 1900 as the L.Y.A.S. began to draw on a much wider area of West Yorkshire.

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#### 10.6 Architects Named on Deposited Plans

A systematic search through the deposited building plans for the whole of the study area has shown that each drawing whether for a small alteration, a large extension or for an entirely new building, was deposited by a named person.<sup>33</sup> The title of each drawing stated: what the development was, its location and who was the owner of the land or proposed building works. The drawings were then signed (later rubber-stamped) or in some way titled to indicate the name of

the persons who prepared them. The person or persons who drew up the plans for submission to the Corporation for approval could be described as the building designer, however, the possibility has to be faced that one individual drew up the plans and that another, such as a local architect, merely signed or stamped them. For this reason this thesis refers to the person who deposited the plans as the 'depositer' and not the designer although the evidence suggests that they were invariably one and the same.

From examination of the study area drawings in particular and plans for all Leeds in general, the majority of plans submitted for houses during the period 1868 - 1914 were deposited by, and signed by, persons calling themselves 'architects'. As previous evidence suggests, careful scrutiny of these individuals was necessary to establish if they were architects with practices in Leeds or builders, clerks of works, or draughtsmen simply assuming a professional status to which they were not entitled.

There were, however, a number of plans submitted for houses which were signed by individuals who did not describe themselves as architects. These described themselves as builders, agents or often simply gave a name and address. As to the question of whether the person signing the drawings also designed the buildings shown on them, there is no evidence that has been found to suggest this was not the case but a great deal of evidence to support the view that the name shown represented the person responsible for the design even though a young pupil often actually traced or drew the drawing. This evidence is examined later in this and the following Chapter.

Before statistics relating to depositors and houses within the study area are examined the difficulty that was experienced in obtaining accurate figures should be clearly understood. In Chapter 6 three important sets of figures were arrived at for the period 1868 - 1914, namely:

- (a) The total number of dwellings approved, 2447
- (b) The total number of dwellings approved and erected, 2197
- (c) The total number of dwellings approved and erected where the building plans were missing from the archives, 103.

In some cases the situation was clear and straightforward. A group of houses or one house were shown on a plan, deposited once, approved and then erected within 6 to 12 months. The name of the owner and the depositer was not in dispute. A complication arose when a later



drawing was submitted altering the original proposal. If the scheme was only slightly amended the design was attributed to the original depositer even if a second name appeared on the re-submission. If, however, the new drawings were for a totally revised scheme, the name of the second depositer was used in the statistics. The next complication occurred when the dwellings shown were not built soon after approval and a new proposal was submitted for the site some years later; this may have been by the same owner and depositer or by new persons entirely. The final problem, which was often the most difficult to record without the most careful scrutiny of every plan for the area, was when a group of say four terrace houses was approved and then the developer only erected two of them. This, to the casual observer, would present an incorrect picture of what actually happened in the development of a long terrace. A good method of illustrating the statistical minefield that the development of speculative houses of the period represents is to take two typical streets where such complications occurred.

Brudenell Mount on the Royal Park/Hattersley Estate had within it a row of 19 terrace houses which took from 1882 until 1893 to complete. This was not unusual in Leeds as Beresford pointed out in his study of Prosperity Street.<sup>34</sup> The bare facts established from the deposited plans would suggest that the following development took place as shown in the table below:

**Table 52 The Development of Houses in Brudenell Mount, 1882 - 1893**

	Houses approved	Depositer	Developer
1882	4	C.F. Wilkinson	B. Hewling
1892	4	J.M. Porter	A.N. Meldrum
1892	2	W.A. Hobson	W.B. Booth
1892	2	W.A. Hobson	J. Newsome
1892	2	W.A. Hobson	Mrs. S. Hobson
1892	2	J.M. Porter	A. Hargreaves
1893	2	J.M. Porter	A. Hargreaves
1893	2	J.M. Porter	A.N. Meldrum
1893	2	J.M. Porter	A. Hargreaves
1893	3	Swale & Mitchell	A.N. Meldrum

A brief inspection would therefore suggest that 25 dwellings were approved and built by 6 different developers who used 5 different depositors of designs. Only careful scrutiny of each deposited plan, especially the block plans they contained, and examination of buildings existing today can sort out the tangle. The latter course of action not only establishes how many houses were actually erected but joints

in external walls indicate where building work stopped and started. In reality only 19 dwellings were erected by the 6 developers involving only 4 of the depositors' designs. This means that 6 of the dwellings were abandoned with work not proceeding beyond the approval of drawings (see Figs. 90 - 93).

Royal Park Road is another example where detailed investigation showed a more complicated picture than would appear at first sight and was typical of many other examples. In October 1886 twelve back-to-back houses in a terrace were deposited by the engineer-architect W.N. Wynn for the builder George Lax who had been active in building on the nearby Hill Top Estate (see Fig. 94). They were not built as shown and in January 1887 the architect Thomas Winn deposited a plan for 6 back-to-back houses on the same site to a similar design for the developer A.N. Meldrum. In February of the same year a B. Wright of Scholes near Leeds submitted yet another plan for a further 6 back-to-back houses which were almost identical in appearance to those already submitted. These houses which completed the other half of the row of 12 were for another developer named Thomas Demain. Thus it can be seen that to attribute the row of 12 back-to-backs which exists today can only be done after careful cross-checking of every plan submitted for the site over a considerable number of years.

#### 10.7 Depositors of Plans for the Study Area

The names of all the depositors of plans for drawings inspected in the study area were analysed and the findings can be summarised as follows:

- (a) 113 persons or partnerships used the style or title architect, depositing drawings for dwellings, other buildings (such as churches and industrial buildings), alterations and extensions.
- (b) Of these 72 persons or partnerships used the style or title architect on deposited drawings for houses which were actually erected.
- (c) 25 persons or partnerships did not use the style or title architect, depositing drawings for dwellings, other buildings (such as churches and industrial buildings) alterations and extensions.
- (d) Of these 19 persons or partnerships did not use the style or title architect on deposited drawings for houses which were actually erected.



Fig.90 Through houses, Brudenell Mount (C.F. Wilkinson 1882).



Fig.91 Through houses, Brudenell Mount (J.M. Porter 1892).



Fig.92 Through houses, Brudenell Mount (Swale & Mitchell 1893) based on an earlier design by J.M. Porter.



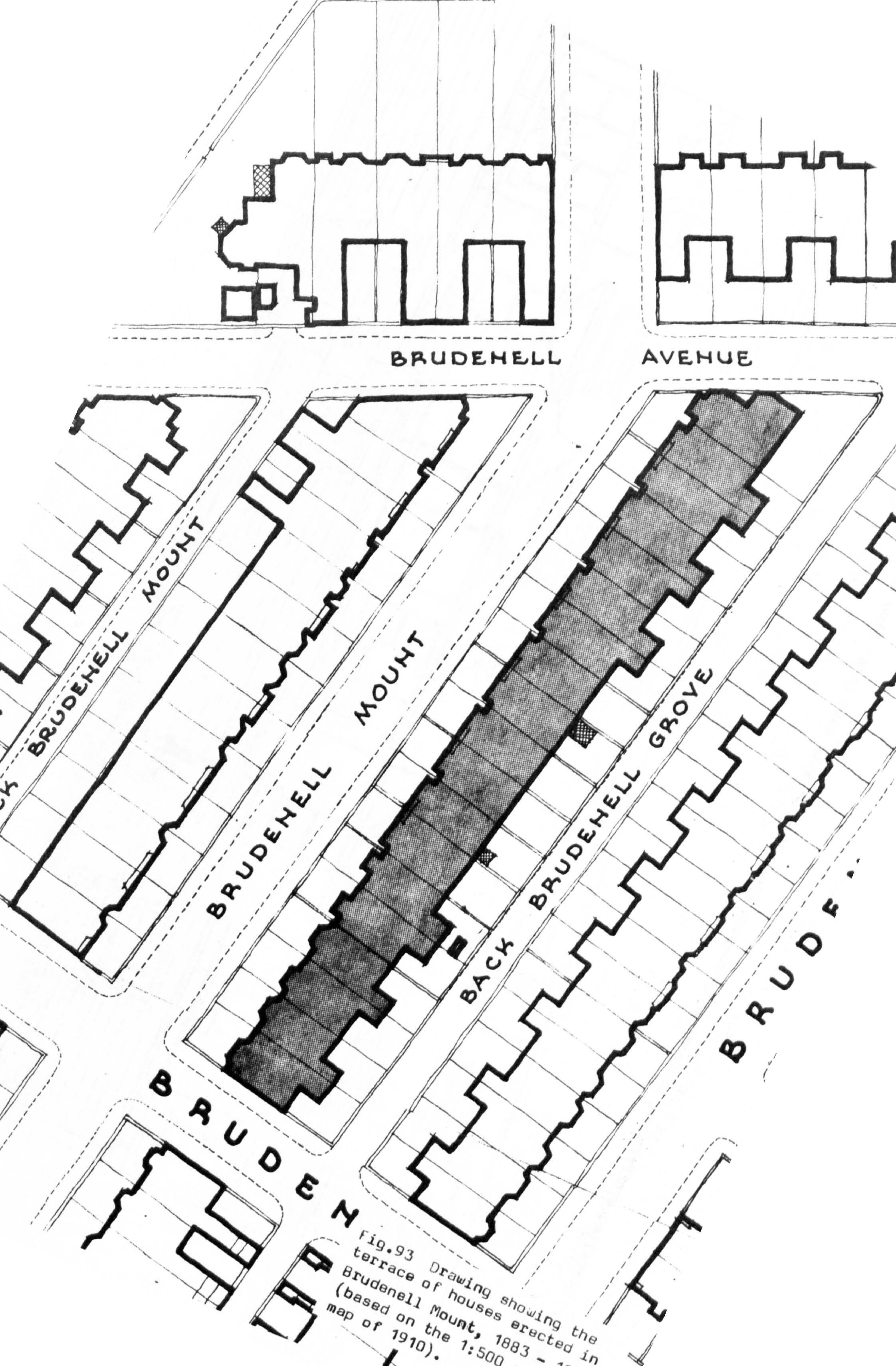


**BEST COPY**

**AVAILABLE**

Variable print quality





BRUDENELL

AVENUE

BRUDENELL MOUNT

BRUDENELL MOUNT

BACK BRUDENELL GROVE

BRUDENELL

BRUDENELL

Fig. 93 Drawing showing the terrace of houses erected in Brudenell Mount, 1883 - 1884 (based on the 1:500 map of 1910).



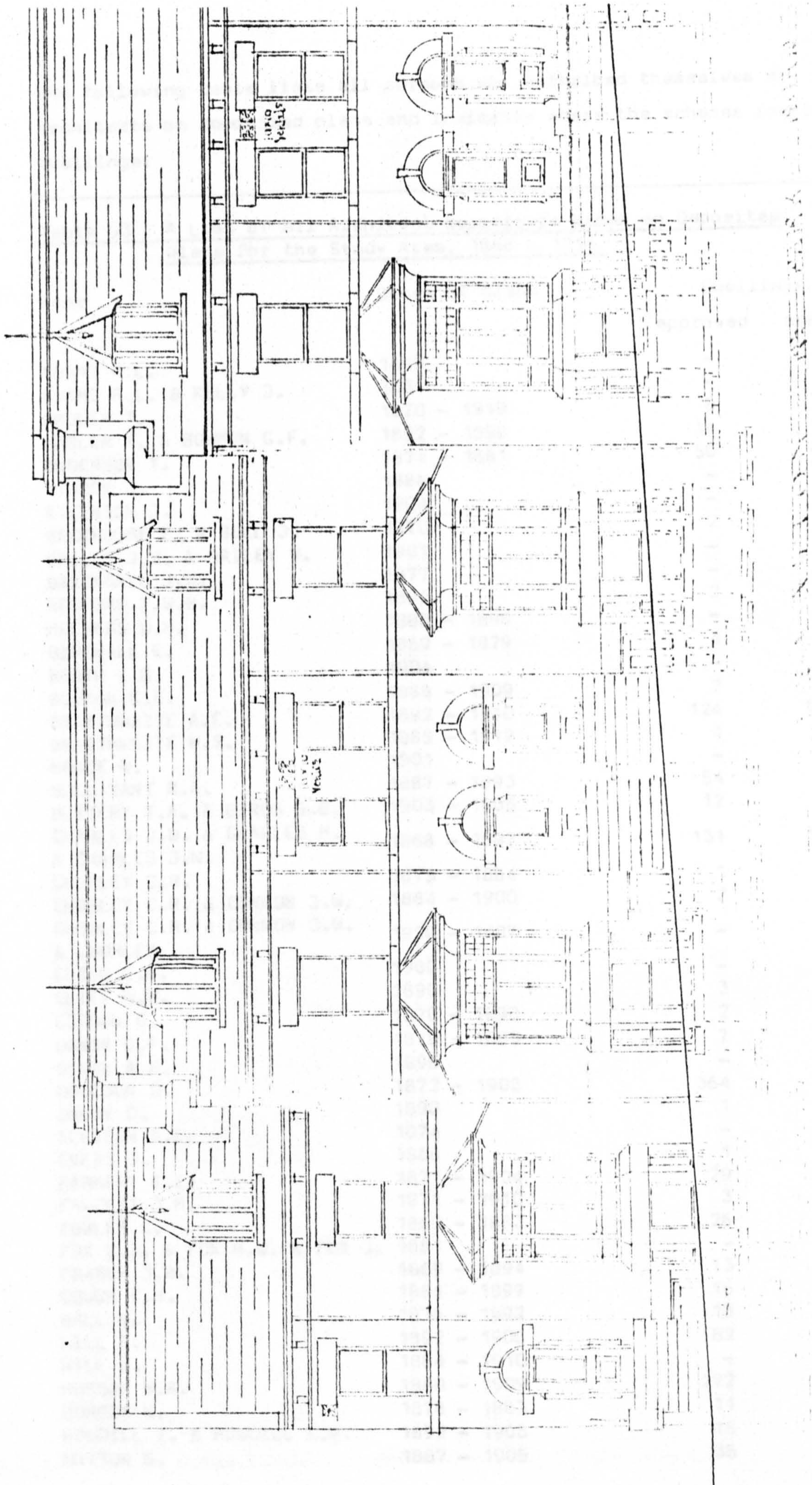


Fig.94 Deposited elevation of proposed back-to-back houses, Royal Park Road (W.N. Wynn 1886).



The following table lists all persons who described themselves as architects on deposited plans and indicates where the schemes involved dwellings:

Table 53 A List of all Architect Depositors Named on Deposited Plans for the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Name	Dates of plans	Dwellings	
		approved	erected
ADAMS R.L.	1880	-	-
ADAMS R.L. & KELLY J.	1881	-	-
AMBLER T.	1870 - 1910	8	8
AMBLER T. & BOWMAN G.F.	1892 - 1898	14	14
ANDERSON T.	1874 - 1881	50	42
ATHRON J.	1886	-	-
ATKINSON J.	1904	-	-
BACKHOUSE E. & BELL J.	1870	2	2
BAILEY J.B. & BAILEY W.	1901	-	-
BAXENDALL J.W.	1877	-	-
BEDFORD F.W.B.	1892	2	2
BEEVERS W.H.	1888 - 1896	-	-
BIRCHALL E.	1869 - 1879	4	4
BOOTH L.G.	1904	-	-
BOWMAN G.F.	1888 - 1909	2	2
BRAITHWAITE A.E.	1892 - 1910	124	103
BRAITHWAITE W.S.	1885 - 1912	4	4
BRUCE W.	1901	-	-
BULLIVANT R.A.	1887 - 1893	54	44
BUTTERY T.A. & BIRDS S.B.	1903 - 1905	12	11
CHARLES J.W. & CHARLES H. & CHARLES J.W.	1868 - 1897	131	127
CHORLEY C.R.	1875 - 1884	1	1
CHORLEY C.R. & CONNON J.W.	1884 - 1900	2	2
CHORLEY C.R. & CONNON J.W. & CHORLEY	1900 - 1907	-	-
CLEGG G.B.	1900	-	-
CLIFF W.H.	1890	3	-
CORSON G.	1870 - 1890	2	2
DANBY G.F.	1879 - 1885	7	6
DIXON A.E.	1896	-	-
DODGSON D.	1872 - 1903	364	332
DRURY D.	1890	1	1
ELLISON C.D.	1874	-	-
EVERS J.	1888	1	-
FARMERY T.E.	1877 - 1904	29	25
FAWCETT J.M.	1871 - 1910	3	3
FOWLER C.	1869 - 1883	26	17
FOX C.J. & FOX H.W. & FOX J.	1881	-	-
FRASER J.B.	1869 - 1894	13	13
GOUGH C.H.	1881 - 1899	16	16
HALL W.	1878 - 1892	18	18
HILL E.	1892 - 1908	62	60
HILL W.	1884 - 1910	-	-
HOBSON W.A.	1880 - 1909	272	257
HORROX W.	1878 - 1883	11	11
HOWDILL T. & HOWDILL C.B.	1892 - 1905	15	15
HUTTON G.	1887 - 1905	35	35

JONES A.	1894 - 1898	1	1
KAY J.P.	1881	5	5
KAYE A.D.	1896	-	-
KIRK A.E.	1894 - 1902	-	-
KITSON S.D.	1907	-	-
LANDLESS W.	1890	-	-
LAWTON J.W.	1889 - 1899	-	-
LISTER J.M.	1902 - 1905	12	12
LISTER W.H.	1903 - 1904	6	6
McCULLOCH W.	1896	-	-
MARSHALL A.	1886	-	-
MITCHELL F.	1902 - 1914	204	161
MOSELEY F.W.	1880	35	28
NEILL J.	1874 - 1901	1	1
NORMANTON T.G.	1906	-	-
OGLESBY R.P.	1890 - 1892	9	7
PEARSON J.L.	1884 - 1889	-	-
PERKIN H. & BULMER G.B.	1884	-	-
PORTER J.M.	1888 - 1901	122	108
PRESTON H.	1910	62	62
PRESTON J.E.	1891 - 1901	18	18
PRINCE E.	1883 - 1884	17	9
RAWLINSON N.	1892	1	1
RAWNSLEY W.H.	1890	4	4
RHODES F.W.	1886 - 1906	14	14
RHODES J.	1893	-	-
RICHARDSON W.	1882 - 1885	25	25
ROBINSON P.	1896 - 1901	63	62
SHAW H.	1871	-	-
SHAW T. & SON	1868	5	5
SIMPSON G.T.	1913	-	-
SIMPSON J.W.	1876 - 1888	1	1
SMITH E.B.	1897	-	-
SMITH J.	1881 - 1897	-	-
SMITH S.E.	1869 - 1876	9	9
SMITH S.E. & TWEEDALE J.	1881 - 1892	3	3
SQUIRES W.	1898 - 1901	8	8
SWALE C.D. & MITCHELL F.	1888 - 1899	22	22
TAYLOR C.E. & GARTHWAITE	1871	1	1
THACKRAY J.W.	1884 - 1903	24	24
THORNTON C.H.	1880 - 1890	13	13
THORP W.H.	1877 - 1885	3	3
TOMLINSON C.W.	1907	-	-
TYAS F.C.	1887 - 1888	-	-
WALKER H. & ATHRON J.	1896	-	-
WALKER & COLLINSON	1894 - 1896	4	4
WARD G.F.	1908	-	-
WATSON W.	1889 - 1894	-	-
WHEATER W.	1877 - 1879	-	-
WILKINSON C.F.	1882 - 1910	86	78
WILKINSON H.	1894 - 1895	-	-
WILKINSON J.F.	1876 - 1893	1	1
WILKS W.	1874 - 1875	11	11
WILLIAMSON A.	1880 - 1890	-	-
WILSON J.	1872 - 1881	4	4
WILSON G. & BAILEY C.	1876	1	1
WILSON T.B.	1887 - 1899	7	7
WILSON T.B. & OGLESBY R.P.	1899 - 1904	-	-
WINN T.	1882 - 1907	31	31



WOOD J.J.	1904 - 1906	28	26
WOOD R.	1870 - 1898	14	14
WORSNOP F.	1877 - 1888	46	42
WRIGHT J.B.	1884 - 1887	10	6
WRIGHT F. & WRIGHT J.A.	1903 - 1905	30	17
WRIGHT T.T.	1880 - 1881	-	-
WYNN W.N.	1875 - 1887	20	6

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Totals	2269	2038
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For references to the deposited plans and for works on the drawings see Appendix 3. Note that C. Fowler had only 17 of the 26 houses deposited actually erected and F. Mitchell had 161 out of 204. There are other examples of large differences between the number of dwellings approved and dwellings erected.

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It is possible to examine in detail the figures for those depositors who described themselves as architects and deposited plans for dwellings which were actually erected in the study area.

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**Table 54 A list of Architects who Deposited Plans for Dwellings Erected in the Study Area, 1868 - 1914**

Name	House types	Total
AMBLER T.	1 cot. 3 d.v. 2 s.d.v. 2 t.t.	8
AMBLER T. & BOWMAN G.F.	6 s.d.v. 8 b.b.	14
ANDERSON T.	1 h.a.s. <sup>a</sup> 1 d.v. 4 s.d.v. 36 t.t.	42
BACKHOUSE E. & BELL J.	2 s.d.v.	2
BEDFORD F.W.B.	2 s.d.v.	2
BIRCHALL E.	2 h.a.s. 2 d.v.	4
BOWMAN G.F.	2 t.t.	2
BRAITHWAITE A.E.	45 t.t. 58 b.b.	103
BRAITHWAITE W.S.	2 lo. 2 t.t.	4
BULLIVANT	8 t.t. 36 b.b.	44
BUTTER T.A. & BIRDS S.B.	1 d.v. 10 s.d.v.	11
CHARLES J.W. & CHARLES H. & CHARLES J.W.	4 h.a.s. 1 d.v. 1 s.d.v. 53 t.t. 68 b.b.	127
CHORLEY C.R.	1 cot.	1
CHORLEY C.R. & CONNOR J.W.	1 lo. 1 t.t.	2
CORSON G.	1 lo. 1 d.v.	2
DANBY G.F.	1 lo. 5 t.t.	6
DODGSON D.	2 d.v. 16 s.d.v. 304 t.t. 10 b.b.	332
DRURY D.	1 t.t.	1
FARMERY T.E.	13 t.t. 12 b.b.	25
FAWCETT J.M.	1 d.v. 2 s.d.v.	3
FOWLER C.	2 h.a.s. 1 lo. 5 d.v. 8 s.d.v.	17
FRASER J.B.	13 t.t.	13
GOUGH C.H.	16 t.t.	16
HALL W.	1 t.t. 17 b.b.	18
HILL E.	3 d.v. 2 s.d.v. 55 t.t.	60
HOBSON W.A.	4 h.a.s. 2 s.d.v. 251 t.t.	257

HORROX W.			11 t.t.		11
HOWDILL T. & HOWDILL C.B.	1 d.v.		14 t.t.		15
HUTTON G.		5 s.d.v.	29 t.t.		35
JONES A.			1 t.t.		1
KAY J.P.			5 t.t.		5
LISTER J.M.			12 t.t.		12
LISTER W.H.			6 t.t.		6
MITCHELL F.	3 h.a.s. 1 lo.		135 t.t.	22 b.b.	161
MOSELEY F.W.			28 t.t.		28
NEILL J.	1 lo.				1
OGLESBY R.P.	1 d.v.	6 s.d.v.			7
PORTER J.M.			48 t.t.	60 b.b.	108
PRESTON H.			62 t.t.		62
PRESTON J.E.	1 d.v.		17 t.t.		18
PRINCE E.			9 t.t.		9
RAWLINSON W.	1 d.v.				1
RAWNSLEY W.H.			4 t.t.		4
RHODES F.W.			14 t.t.		14
RICHARDSON W.			25 t.t.		25
ROBINSON P.			62 t.t.		62
SHAW T. & SON			5 t.t.		5
SIMPSON J.W.			1 t.t.		1
SMITH SE.	1 lo. 1 d.v.	4 s.d.v.			9
SMITH S.E. & TWEEDALE	2 lo. 1 d.v.				3
SQUIRES W.		4 s.d.v.	4 t.t.		8
SWALE C.D. & MITCHELL F.			16 t.t.	6 b.b.	22
TAYLOR C.E. & GARTHWAITE	1 lo.				1
THACKRAY J.W.			16 t.t.	8 b.b.	24
THORNTON C.H.			13 t.t.		13
THORP W.H.	1 d.v.	2 s.d.v.			3
WALKER & COLLINSON		4 s.d.v.			4
WILKINSON C.F.		31 s.d.v.	17 t.t.	30 b.b.	78
WILKINSON J.F.			1 t.t.		1
WILKS W.		2 s.d.v.	9 t.t.		11
WILSON J.		4 s.d.v.			4
WILSON G. & BAILEY C.	1 d.v.				1
WILSON T.B.	3 h.a.s.	2 s.d.v.	2 t.t.		7
WINN T.	2 h.a.s.	2 s.d.v.	21 t.t.	6 b.b.	31
WOOD J.J.		10 s.d.v.	16 t.t.		26
WOOD R.	1 d.v.	4 s.d.v.	7 t.t.	2 b.b.	14
WORSNOP F.			28 t.t.	14 b.b.	42
WRIGHT J.B.				6 b.b.	6
WRIGHT F. & WRIGHT J.A.		2 s.d.v.	15 t.t.		17
WYNN W.N.		6 s.d.v.			6

Total number of dwellings 2,038

a The abbreviation stands for house and shop and is only used where a house and shop were involved. Corner shops included in long terraces were not distinguished from back-to-backs or through terraces if they formed part of a larger development of houses. See list of abbreviations, Volume 1.



It can be seen from table 54 that the breakdown of dwelling types clearly shows that many architects were involved in the design of back-to-back or through terraces. It is also evident that certain well known architects like Birchall and Corson were not involved in the design of this type of dwelling, whereas other architects such as A.E. Braithwaite, J.W. Charles, D. Dodgson, W. Hobson and J.M. Porter relied heavily on this class of work.

The following table lists all persons who did not describe themselves as architects and deposited plans for dwellings which were actually erected in the study area;

Table 55 A List of all Non-architects who deposited Plans for Dwellings Erected in The Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Name	House types	Total
ATKINSON H. & SON	1 d.v.	1
BROOK C.	8 t.t.	8
CLARK J.	1 t.t.	1
DAVIS J.H.	1 t.t.	1
GRAYSON T.	2 s.d.v. 13 t.t.	15
HALL D.	2 t.t.	2
HUTTON J.	20 t.t.	20
IRWIN W.	1 lo.	1
MYERS C.	2 t.t.	2
OWSTON J.	6 t.t.	6
PALFRAMAN A.	50 b.b.	50
RAWNSLEY M.N.	2 t.t.	2
TAYLOR B.B.	2 s.d.v.	2
THORNTON H.N.	4 s.d.v.	4
WALKER G.	1 t.t.	1
WHITAKER R.	1 d.v. 1 s.d.v. 20 t.t.	22
WILSON A.	2 t.t.	2
WILSON E.	1 cot. 6 b.b.	12
WOOLLEY B. & SON	1 d.v.	1
THACKRAY W.	1 d.v.	1
Total number of dwellings		154

The above table show that depositors who did not call themselves architects were involved in a wide range of housing developments. The majority deposited plans for through terraces but back-to-backs were confined to just two depositors.

Approximately 37 dwellings were submitted on plans where the name of the depositor was not clear.<sup>35</sup> However, because of further amended drawings for the same scheme or by careful comparisons of draughtsmanship, 32 of these were finally attributed to specific

depositors. This left only 5 completed dwellings with the name of the drawing depositor not known.

Details of the house types approved but not erected due to the schemes being abandoned for one reason or another are given in Appendix 7.

#### 10.8 The Professional Standing of the House Plan Depositors

The thirty year period from 1838 - 1867 saw several large villas and mansions erected on the Fawcett Estate and a number of terrace houses of various sizes erected on the Teal Estate. No deposited plans are available until 1867 and, because of the poor state of the early plans, no really clear information can be obtained from them until the year 1868.<sup>36</sup> Information on the designers of these early houses within the study area and elsewhere in Headingley is extremely difficult to come by. For this reason the architects for the original Manor House, The Mansion House and many villas are not known. Such houses as Buckingham House, Richmond House, Morley House, Headingley House, St. Michael's Tower and Broomfield House all remain labelled as 'by an unknown designer.' Even Rose Court on Victoria Road has only been attributed to the Leeds architect John Clark.<sup>37</sup> If this is the case with the large villas it is even more difficult to attribute the terraces of the Teal Estate (erected from 1861 onwards) to any particular depositors or designers.

The situation prior to 1868 relating to the involvement of architects in the design of ordinary houses within the study area remains obscure. Not only is it difficult to attribute buildings to designers but also to ascertain the professional standing of lesser known architects during that period. After the introduction of legislation requiring deposited plans both tasks became easier, especially after the formation of the L.Y.A.S. in 1876. The following attempts to assess the professional standing of those persons who called themselves architects on the deposited drawings during the period 1868 - 1914.

Tables 53 - 55 show many different persons who deposited plans, but from the names alone there was no clear method of ascertaining which persons practised as architects, which were builders, engineers, surveyors and so on. Some rough hierarchy was achieved by finding those persons who were listed under the trade or profession of architect or architects and surveyors in street directories, likewise builders could be distinguished in this way. This process eliminated those persons who were pupils or clerks of works, the draughtsmen working



from home, and indicated who were builders or building tradesmen.

The task of breaking down the group who called themselves architects into some form of rank order was more complicated. There were a number of criteria against which the persons competence could be measured:

- (a) membership of the R.I.B.A.
- (b) other qualifications
- (c) membership of provincial architectural societies
- (d) listing in street directories
- (e) having an office in the town centre
- (f) having an office in the suburbs
- (g) having an office in another town
- (h) working from home
- (i) quality of design of the buildings drawn
- (j) quality of draughtsmanship

All of the above were used to draw up a profile of the persons who deposited drawings and called themselves architects. Membership of the R.I.B.A. had to be judged in the light of the figures given in Table 4.7 where it can be seen that only 15% of all persons calling themselves architects were members in 1901. Membership of provincial societies, namely Leeds, was no indicator prior to 1876 and even then a few well known architects who had been in practice earlier in the century never became members. This was especially the case with men nearing retiring age. Other qualifications were some guide such as membership of the Society of Architects. The street directories did show the architects who had offices and their location together with those men working from home or other towns.

The question of quality of draughtsmanship displayed on drawings was the most difficult criteria to use. When a principal in a practice drew an original drawing prior to the advent of blueprinting, all copies were traced off the original. This invariably was a task given to a pupil and in his formative years usually resulted in poor draughtsmanship. In the same way examination of the quality of designs displayed on drawings and the quality of the design of the finished buildings in order to measure this for comparative purposes proved virtually impossible. This was for two reasons, firstly so much of the work was terraced housing where freedom of the individual designer to place his own individual stamp on the quality of the end product was greatly restricted by other factors, especially

when the houses were speculative. Secondly, because of the lack of any absolute standard against which to measure the aesthetic qualities of the housing designs either when drawn or constructed.

One basic criteria was used to classify the architects who deposited drawings and then other factors were taken into account in order to push them higher or lower within the hierarchy. The basic criteria was whether or not they had an office in the town centre, took commissions for building designs and were recognised by being listed in the appropriate section of street directories. For the purposes of this thesis, this established that they were acting as architects at the time and it has been assumed that if they had been incompetent to carry out the work with which they were entrusted they would have received fewer and fewer commissions until eventually going out of business. To say that an architect who stayed in business without being a member of a professional society was only a competent technician and therefore could not really have practised as an architect is to avoid the realities of the situation. It was not until the 1930's and the coming of the Architects Registration Act that practice was restricted to only those persons who had adequate training in, among other things, architectural design.

Basically four types of architects emerged from this exercise in classification:

1. Well known Leeds architects whose work was recognised not only in Leeds but in the region around it. These were often important members of the L.Y.A.S.
2. Those whose work was mainly confined to Leeds but had extensive practices in the town. They tended to be members of the L.Y.A.S.
3. Men who had town centre practices but did not seem to become involved in major works, restricting their practices to housing, industrial buildings and the occasional non-conformist chapel or Sunday-school.
4. Those persons who were only involved in housing, minor alterations and extensions. These included pupils, draughtsmen and builders with some experience in drawing.

These broad categories did not distinguish those persons who were architects from other towns or those who called themselves architects but in reality were builders. Nor did it include those persons who



did not use the title architect. For these reasons it was found necessary to classify all individuals who deposited plans into 8 different categories. A1 - A6 referring to those persons who called themselves architects. B1 - B2 referring to those persons who did not call themselves architects, the majority of which were connected with building or building trades. The categories used to classify depositors who deposited plans for houses in the study area between 1868 - 1914, are given below:

- A1 Category Leeds architects with a practice which was well known in the town and region and who rose to high office in the L.Y.A.S.
- A2 Category Lesser known architects with Leeds town centre practices who were usually members of the L.Y.A.S.
- A3 Category Architects listed in street directories for Leeds but practising from home or the suburbs.
- A4 Category Architects listed in Bradford street directories.
- A5 Category Persons listed in street directories as builders but calling themselves architects.
- A6 Category Persons not listed in street directories as architects or builders but calling themselves architects.
- B1 Category Persons who were listed in street directories as builders.
- B2 Category Others

These categories were then tabulated in list form to indicate membership of the R.I.B.A., the L.Y.A.S. other qualifications and the number of houses erected.

**Table 56 A1 Category of House Plan Depositors, 1868 - 1914<sup>a</sup>**

Name	L.Y.A.S. <sup>b</sup>	R.I.B.A. <sup>c</sup>	Other qualifications <sup>d</sup>	Dwellings erected
AMBLER T.	V.P.			8
AMBLER T. &	V.P.			14
BOWMAN G.F.	P.			2
BEDFORD F.W.B.	S.	F.		4
BIRCHALL E.	P.	F.		2
BOWMAN G.F.	P.			4
BRAITHWAITE W.S.	V.P.		M.S.A.	1
CHORLEY C.R.	P.	F.		2
CHORLEY C.R. &	P.	F.		2
CONNON J.W.	P.			2
CORSON G.	P.			6
DANBY G.F.	V.P.			

FRASER J.B.	P.	F.	13
HOBSON W.A.	V.P.		257
HOWDILL T. &	M.		15
HOWDILL C.B.	V.P.	A.	7
OGLESBY R.P.	V.P.	L.	62
ROBINSON P.	P.	F.	9
SMITH S.E.	V.P.	F.	3
SMITH S.E. &	V.P.	F.	13
TWEEDALE J.	V.P.	F.	3
THORNTON C.H.	V.P.		7
THORP W.H.	P.	F.	
WILSON T.B.	P.	F.	

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Total 434

- a A1 Category - Leeds architects with a practice which was well known in the town and region and who rose to high office in the L.Y.A.S.
- b Denotes membership at some time during the period, 1876 - 1914.  
P. - President, V.P. - Vice-President, S. - Secretary  
M. - Member.
- c Denotes membership at some time during the period 1868 - 1914.  
F. - Fellow, A. - Associate, L. - Licentiate.
- d M.S.A. - Member of Society of Architects.
- 

It is possible for an architect in the A1 category to have designed and deposited a number of houses early in his career and then become the Vice-President of the L.Y.A.S. or a member of the R.I.B.A. at a much later date. It would thus be significant if a pupil deposited plans for a great many houses and had not set up his own practice until some years later or had come to a position of importance in the profession much later in life. If civic buildings or major works, which were few in number, were the subject of this detailed examination, it would be possible to ascertain the age, qualifications and experience of the architect at the time design work was carried out. This was patently impossible when a great number of houses spread over many years were involved. The qualifications and experience of the designer could only be related in general terms to the majority of deposited drawings.

Walter Hobson deposited the most number of house designs out of the A1 category architects. During the period 1880 - 1909 he deposited plans for 272 houses. He was an Associate Member of the L.Y.A.S. from 1881 - 1885, during which time he was articled to and worked with Edward Birchall in Leeds. He set up in practice on his own at Park Place, Leeds in 1884 and two years later became a full Member of the L.Y.A.S., becoming the Vice-President in 1896 - 1898. The



first drawing on which his name appeared within the study area was deposited in October 1880 and this was a design for a shop and house on the Atkinson Estate at Hyde Park Corner. The address given on the drawing was his home address (see Fig. 95). When his name next appeared on drawings as a depositor it was on a design for 4 terraced houses on the Postill/Norwood Estate in April 1885 after he had left Birchall's office and had his own practice (see Fig. 96). Thus he was an Associate Member of the L.Y.A.S. for part of the period he deposited house plans (with the exception of 1 house and shop) and a full Member for the majority of the period. It is possible to obtain a clearer picture of the standing of W. Hobson in Leeds by quoting from his obituary written in 1916:

'Mr. Walter Hobson of Leeds.

The death occurred during the weekend at Bridlington of Mr. Walter Hobson, a well known architect of Leeds. He broke down in health about three months ago, since when he has resided continually at Bridlington. His home was at Grosvenor Road Headingley, and his offices were in Albion Street.

Mr. Hobson, who was 60 years of age, was a striking personality in Leeds and was recognised in the profession as a clever and successful architect. Articled in early life to the late Mr. Edward Birchall, he in due course took over a considerable share of Mr. Birchall's work. When later Mr. Birchall was joined in the partnership by Mr. Kelly, Mr. Hobson started business on his own account, devoting himself principally to commercial and domestic architecture. He carried out some of the Infirmary extensions and also designed the St. Chad's Home at Far Headingley, and the Canon Jackson memorial wing at Cookridge Hospital. In 1900, he was joined in partnership by Mr. C.C. Chadwick and Mr. W. Watson. This arrangement continued for seven years. Mr. Hobson thereafter carried on the business alone.

Since 1899 he had been a director of the Leeds Permanent Benefit Building Society, and he was for many years a member of the Fidelity Lodge of Freemasons. About fifteen years ago he stood as a Conservative candidate for the North West Ward but was not successful. He was for many years associated with the Blenheim Baptist Chapel filling the offices of deacon and trustee. He was twice married and leaves a widow and two children - a son and daughter.'<sup>38</sup>

If cross reference is made between Table 54 and Table 56 it will be seen that there is a general spread of house types which formed part of the work of the practices listed. The A1 Category of architects were responsible for:

9 h.a.s., 2 cot., 11 lo. 11 d.v., 26 s.d.v., 367 t.t.  
and 8 b.b.

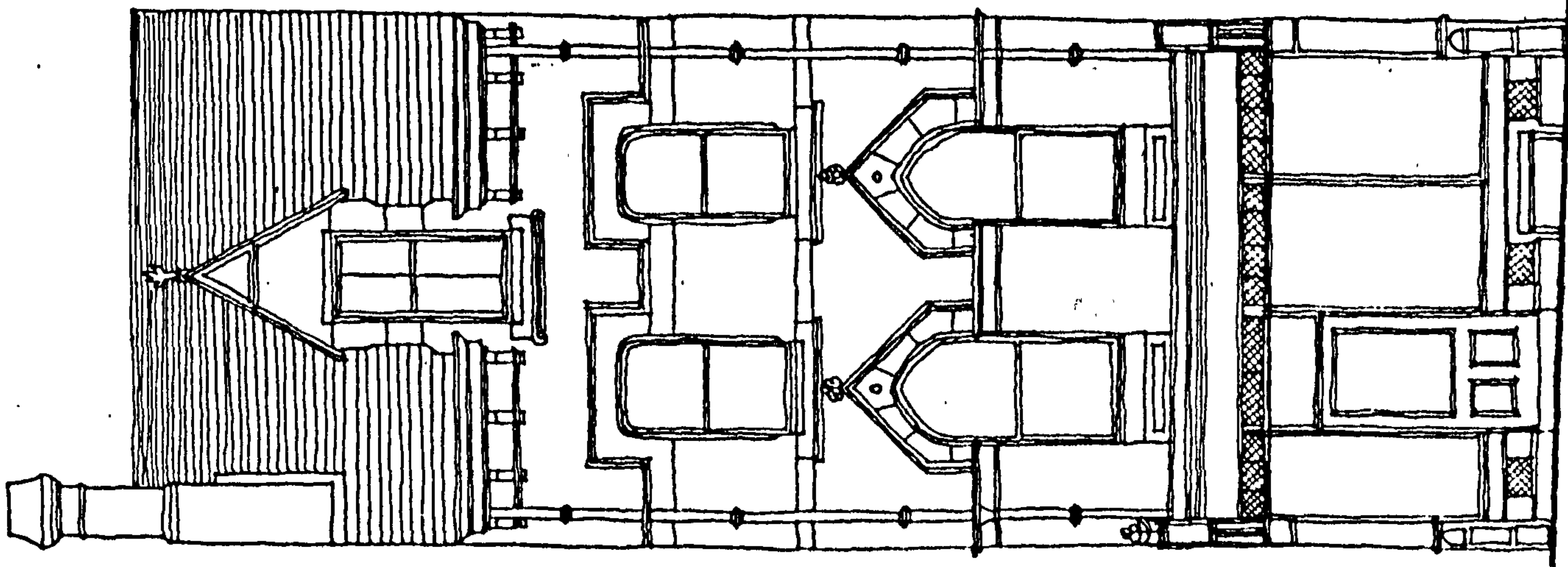


Fig.95 House and shop, Hyde Park (W.A. Hobson 1880).

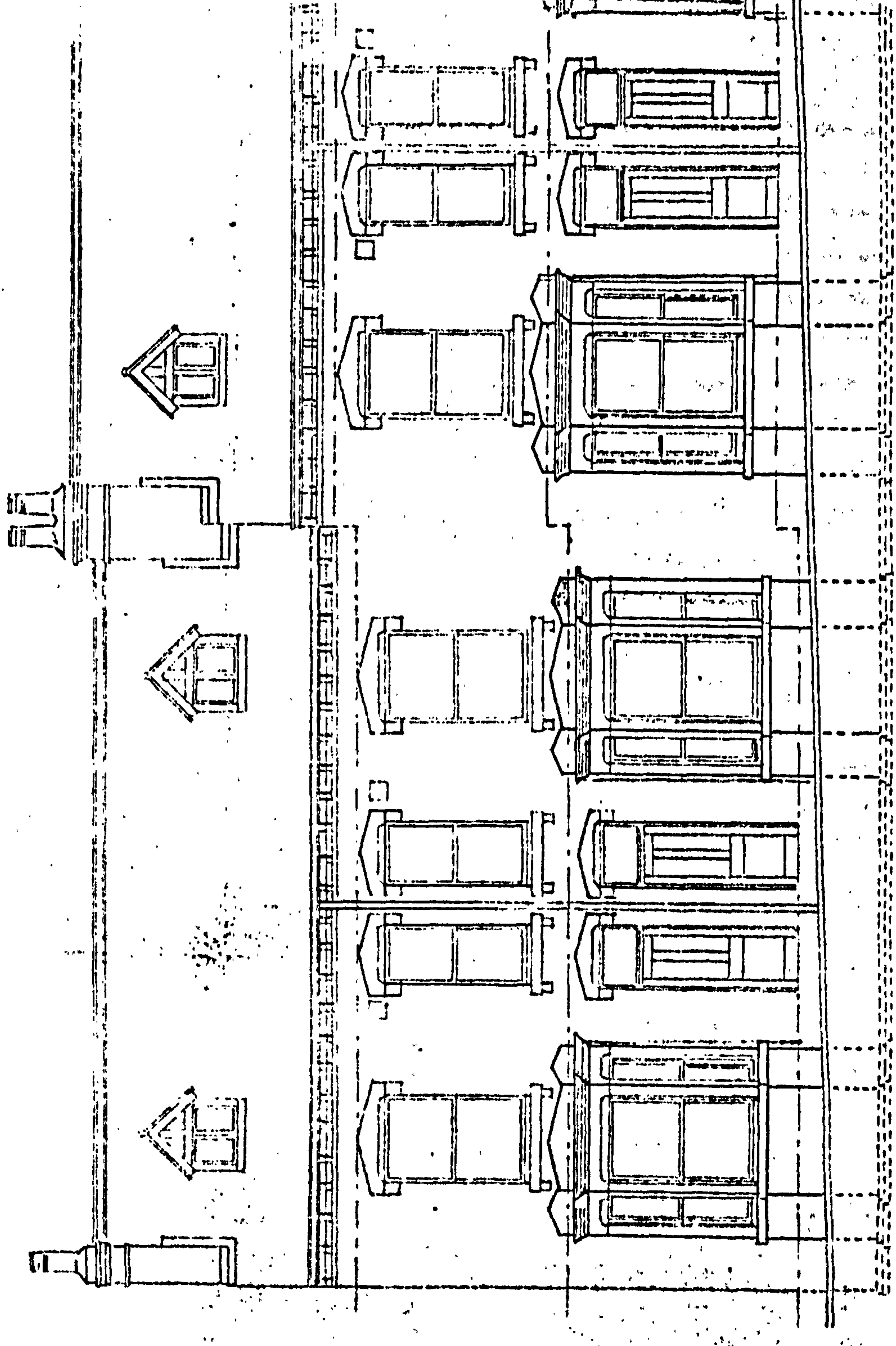


Fig.96 Deposited elevation of through houses, Norwood Terrace (W.A. Hobson 1885).



Few A1 category architects were responsible for back-to-back houses with the exception of Ambler and Bowman. This was not an unusual state of affairs because Ambler designed many back-to-back houses elsewhere in Leeds.<sup>39</sup> If the entry for W.A. Hobson were to be omitted there would still be evidence of some involvement of this type of architect depositing designs for terrace houses. P. Robinson, Howdill & Howdill, J.B. Fraser and C.H. Thornton were typical examples. Some of the A1 Category of architects such as F.W. Bedford, E. Birchall, C.R. Chorley, G. Corson and S.E. Smith only deposited plans for middle-class villas and the lodges or cottages belonging to them. This situation could be expected considering the nature of the practices concerned.

**Table 57 A2 Category of House Plan Depositors, 1868 - 1914<sup>a</sup>**

Name	L.Y.A.S. <sup>b</sup>	R.I.B.A. <sup>c</sup>	Other qualifications <sup>d</sup>	Dwellings erected
ANDERSON T.	M.			42
BACKHOUSE E. & BELL J.				2
BRAITHWAITE A.E.				103
BULLIVANT R.A.	M.			44
BUTTERY A. & BIRDS S.B.	M.	L.		11
CHARLES J. & CHARLES H. & CHARLES J.W.	M.			127
DODGSON D.	M.	L.	M.S.A.	332
DRURY D.				1
FARMERY T.E.				25
FAWCETT J.M.				3
FOWLER C.			A.M.I.C.E.	17
HILL E.				60
HORROX W.				11
KAY J.P.				5
MITCHELL F.	A.			161
MOSELEY F.W.				28
NEILL J.	M.			1
PORTER J.M.	M.			108
PRESTON J.E.	A.			18
RAUNSLEY W.H.	M.			4
RICHARDSON W.	A.			25
SHAW T. & SHAW H.				5
SIMPSON J.W.	M.			1
SQUIRES W.				8
SWALE C.D. & MITCHELL F.	M.			22
THACKRAY J.W.			A.S.I.	24
WILKINSON C.F.				78
WILKINSON J.F.				1
WILKS W.				11
WILSON G. & BAILEY C.	M.			1

WILSON J.				4
WINN T.			F.S.I.	31
WOOD J.J.	M.	A.		26
WRIGHT F. & WRIGHT J.A.				17
WYNN W.N.			C.E.	6
Total				1363

- a A2 Category - Lesser known architects with Leeds Town centre practices, who were usually members of the L.Y.A.S.
- b As for Table 56 but A. - Associate.
- c As for Table 56 but A. - Associate, L. - Licentiate.
- d As for Table 56 but A.M.I.C.E. - Associate Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers, A.S.I. - Associate of the Sanitary Institute, F.S.I. - Fellow of the Sanitary Institute, C.E. - Civil Engineer.

The most significant architect in the A.2 Category of architects was Daniel Dodgson who deposited designs for more houses in the study area than any other person. During the period 1875 - 1902 he deposited plans for 364 houses. He was a Member of the L.Y.A.S. from 1877 - 1885 and a Committee Member from 1877 - 1879. His practice was at Park Row where he was already established when he submitted the designs for his first houses in the study area. In 1890 he moved his office to Albion Street and died in 1903.

As in the case of W. Hobson, who was the most prolific house designer in the A1 Category architects, it is possible to obtain a clearer picture of the standing of Daniel Dodgson, the most prolific house designer in the A2 Category architects by quoting from his obituary written in 1903:

'Mr. Daniel Dogson

After several months' illness Mr. Daniel Dodgson, architect died at his residence in Roundhay Road on Thursday. Having qualified under Mr. Ambler, Mr. Dodgson had a large local practice one of the latest designs being a number of shops in Vicar Lane. He had contemplated retiring and going to live in the south of England.'<sup>40</sup>

Frederick Mitchell deposited plans for 204 houses during the period 1902 - 1914. He was an assistant with T. Howdill of Leeds and J. Kirk and Sons of Huddersfield. He had been articled to C.D. Swale of Leeds and partly trained with W. Hoffman Wood, quantity surveyor, and W. Wheeler, civil engineer. Mitchell went into partnership with C.D. Swale in 1887 and opened an office on his own from 1897. As a student he won a national silver medal as a scholar at the Leeds School of Art and the silver medal for the L.Y.A.S. in 1886 as well



as other prizes for design. He was responsible for the design of many buildings in Leeds and elsewhere including: St. Oswalds Church, Schools and Institute; the Abbey Picture House, Kirkstall and houses in Leeds, Horsforth, Rawdon, Boston Spa, Nottingham and Scarborough. Despite this impressive educational record and the fact that he had his own practice, it would appear that Mitchell was only an Associate Member of the L.Y.A.S. from 1885 - 1887 when he went into partnership with C.D. Swale.<sup>41</sup> He was in an established town centre practice, however, throughout the period he submitted house designs in the study area.

If cross reference is made between Tables 54 and Tables 57 it will be seen that A2 Category architects were responsible for:

13 h.a.s. 3 lo. 17 d.v. 106 s.d.v. 917 t.t. 320 b.b.

The predominant house type, as in the case of A1 Category architects, was the through terrace. Some architects such as Charles Fowler did not deposit drawings for terrace houses being mainly concerned with villas, lodges and house of higher quality. Fowler was an engineer turned architect who never became a member of the L.Y.A.S. although he was responsible with his son for the designs of many fine houses in Headingley and Far Headingley. His completed buildings stand comparison with those produced by some of the best architects in town. For example see Oak Lodge in the Headingley Old Gardens Estate (Now Gardenhurst). Some of the A2 Category architects did become involved in the design of back-to-back houses and R.A. Bullivant, F. Mitchell and Swale & Mitchell, are typical examples.

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**Table 58 A3 Category of House Plan Depositors, 1868 - 1914.<sup>a</sup>**

Name	L.Y.A.S. <sup>b</sup>	R.I.B.A.	Other qualifications <sup>c</sup>	Dwellings erected
GOUGH C.H.	A.			16
HALL W.				18
PRINCE E.	M.			9
RHODES F.W.	M.		M.S.A.	14
WORSNOP F.				42
			Total	99

a A3 Category - Architects listed in street directories for Leeds but practising from home or the suburbs.

b As for Table 56

c As for Table 56

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When biographical details concerning the A3 Category of architects were examined the following facts emerged. C.H. Gough worked for G. Smith & Son of Leeds and carried out housing work from his own home in Woodhouse and was an Associate of the L.Y.A.S. from 1882 - 1883. W. Hall worked from his own home in Woodhouse and later from Harrogate Road, Leeds and was never a member of the L.Y.A.S. E. Prince was articled to G. Smith & Son of Leeds and was an Associate Member of the L.Y.A.S. in 1879 - 1880, he carried out housing work from his own home in Meanwood. F. Worsnop carried on a practice from his own home at Burley and then later from Roundhay, he was never a member of the L.Y.A.S.

Frederick William Rhodes, architect and surveyor, was a very different character and was only included in this category because his practice was in the suburbs and not in the town centre. He had an office at 131 Upper Wortley Road in Wortley and lived in Armley. He had been a pupil at Leeds School of Art where he obtained several Queen's prizes for designs and measured work. He commenced practice on his own in 1880 and his works included mills, warehouses, schools, picture theatres and he was reputed to have designed over 2,500 houses in Leeds.<sup>42</sup>

If cross referenced with Table 54 it can be seen that the A3 Category architects were not involved in any detached dwellings, villas, lodges etc. but only with terrace houses either through or back-to-back. The A3 Category of architects were responsible for:

68 t.t. and 31 b.b.

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**Table 59 A4 Category of House Plan Depositors, 1868 - 1914<sup>a</sup>**

Name	L.Y.A.S.	R.I.B.A.	Other qualifications	Dwellings erected
TAYLOR C.E. & GARTHWAITE				1
WALKER & COLLINSON				4
Total :				5

<sup>a</sup> A4 Category - Architects listed in Bradford street directories.

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The two practices in the A4 Category were both listed in Bradford street directories and together they were responsible for:

1 lo. 4 s.d.v.



It is interesting to note how few of the architects who deposited house plans in the study area came from outside Leeds.

**Table 60 A5 Category of House Plan Depositors, 1868 - 1914<sup>a</sup>**

Name	L.Y.A.S.	R.I.B.A.	Other qualifications	Dwellings erected
HUTTON G.				35
WOOD R.				14
Total				49

a A5 Category - Persons listed in street directories as builders but calling themselves architects.

George Hutton described himself as both an architect and a builder but was only listed as an architect in street directories. He did however, carry out building work, especially speculative housing. Robert Wood was a builder and housing developer who after 1899 began to call himself an architect. Unlike Hutton, he was not listed as having a practice under the profession, architect, in street directories.<sup>43</sup> Reference to Table 54 shows that these two men were responsible for:

1 d.v. 10 s.d.v. 36 t.t. 1 b.b.

Hutton was responsible for the designs of several large semi-detached villas in Cardigan Road.

**Table 61 A6 Category of House Plan Depositors, 1868 - 1914<sup>a</sup>**

Name	L.Y.A.S.	R.I.B.A.	Other qualifications	Dwellings erected
JONES A.				1
LISTER J.M.				12
LISTER W.H.				6
PRESTON H.				62
RAWLINSON W.				1
WRIGHT J.B.				6
Total				88

a A6 Category - Persons not listed in street directories as architects or builders but calling themselves architects.

All of the A6 Category of depositors described themselves as architects on drawings but were not listed as such in any street directories or as Members of the L.Y.A.S. Together they were responsible for:

1 d.v. 81 t.t. 6 b.b.

**Table 62 B1 Category of House Plan Depositors, 1868 - 1914<sup>a</sup>**

Name	L.Y.A.S. <sup>b</sup>	Dwellings erected
ATKINSON H. & SON	Hon. M.	1
DAVIES J.H.		1
GRAYSON T.		15
HUTTON J.		20
IRWIN W.	Hon. M.	1
MYERS C.		2
OWSTON J.		6
PALFRAMAN A.		50
THACKRAY W.		1
WILSON E.	Hon. M.	12
WOOLLEY B. & SON		1
<b>Total</b>		<b>110</b>

a B1 Category - Persons who were listed in street directories as builders.

b Hon. M. Honorary Member

The B1 Category depositors did not call themselves architects but described themselves as builders either on drawings or were listed as such in street directories. Together they were responsible for:

1 cot. 1 lo. 3 d.v. 2 s.d.v. 47 t.t. 56 b.b.

Note the high proportion of back-to-backs to other dwellings.

**Table 63 B2 Category of House Plan Depositors, 1868 - 1914<sup>a</sup>**

Name	Dwellings erected	
BROOKE C.H.	8	
CLARK J.	1	
HALL D.	2	
RAWNSLEY M.N.	2	
TAYLOR B.	2	
THORNTON H.N.	4	
WALKER G.	1	
WHITAKER R.	22	
WILSON A.	2	
<b>Total</b>		<b>44</b>

a B2 Category - Others.

Little is known about some of the B2 Category depositors who did not call themselves architects and were not builders. R. Whitaker was a clerk of works who also prepared building plans and may have been typical of others in the table. Together they were responsible for:

1 d.v. 7 s.d.v. 36 t.t.



Note the high proportion of villas in this category of house depositors.

A breakdown of the completed dwellings into numbers according to the category of depositors, can be summarised as follows:

Table 64 Dwellings Erected Related to Various Categories of Depositors

		Dwellings erected <sup>a</sup>	% of total
A1 Category (well known architects)	20 practices	434	19.8
A2 Category (less well known architects)	35 practices	1,363	62.2
A3 Category (architects practising from the suburbs)	5 practices	99	4.5
A4 Category (architects from Bradford)	2 practices	5	.2
A5 Category (builders calling themselves architects)	2 persons	49	2.3
A6 Category (architects not listed as architects or builders)	6 persons	88	4.0
B1 Category (builders)	11 persons	110	5.0
B2 Category (others)	9 persons	44	2.0
Total		2,192	

a These figures are for dwellings erected.

Table 65 Dwellings Erected Related to Qualifications and Occupations of Depositors

		Dwellings <sup>a</sup>	% of total
Architect depositors in the R.I.B.A.		165	7
Architect depositors in the L.Y.A.S.	Members	1205	55 <sup>b</sup>
	Associates	223	10 <sup>b</sup>
Architect depositors who were M.S.A.		145	7
Depositors who were builders		159	7

a These figures are for dwellings erected.

b Includes some members of the R.I.B.A. and Society of Architects.

Taking the figures in Table 64 an attempt was made to quantify how many of the total number of houses erected in the study area between 1868 and 1914 could be described as having been deposited by architects

and not simply by persons assuming the title. To do this it was decided to omit Categories A5, A6, B1, and B2 leaving only those architects with town centre practices, practices in the suburbs and practices in Bradford (see p.78 for a definition of Categories).

If architects in categories A1 and A2 were considered alone, 1,797 dwellings were erected from their deposited plans, equal to 82% of the total.

If architects in categories A1, A2, A3, and A4 were considered, 1,901 dwellings were erected from their deposited plans, equal to 87% of the total.

If architects in category A3 were split up so that only the houses deposited by F.W. Rhodes were included, dismissing those architects working from home, then A1, A2, A4, and part of A3 gave perhaps the most accurate figure with 1,816 dwellings erected from their deposited plans, equal to 83% of the total.

Whatever the case in reality, there proved to be little difference between 82% and 83% because statistics obtained in this manner can only be a rough guide to the situation. It would be more accurate to state that: approximately 80% of the plans for houses which were erected in the study area between 1868 and 1914 were deposited by architects who at the very least could boast a town centre practice at some time during the period.<sup>44</sup> What is clear from Tables 64 and 65 is that the majority of houses in the study area were deposited by architects in the true sense of the word and not as might have been expected by builders who deposited comparatively few house designs. The expectation might have been that the builders and quasi-architects would have deposited drawings for the smaller through terraces and back-to-back houses and, that as the professional standing of the depositor rose, so there would have been a correlation with the quality of house types deposited. It has been demonstrated that, although this was usually the case with the very large mansions and detached stone villas, quite well known architects drew up plans for back-to-backs and builder-architects like G. Hutton and R. Wood prepared plans for detached and semi-detached villas.

Other findings emerged from inspection of the deposited drawings which are not appreciated if completed dwellings only are considered. The introduction of building Bye-Laws in 1870 meant that plans had to be submitted for approval of not only all new buildings but also



alterations and extensions to buildings. Plans were therefore inspected for all kinds of alterations, conversions, extensions, as well as amended drawings for previously approved schemes. These drawings included a large range of minor works such as outbuildings, stables, garden sheds, water-closets, greenhouses and porches. A check list used when plans were inspected meant that the names of depositors and developers were entered up even for small alterations and extensions.<sup>45</sup> The striking thing was that architects were usually employed to submit these drawings even when they were for very small works. The A2 Category architects were frequently employed to prepare plans for approval for porches, stables, wooden sheds, greenhouses and after 1900 for motor sheds for private cars. Therefore if a commission for the addition of a new bakehouse to the rear of a corner shop in Headingley was not beneath the dignity of town centre practices the argument that the same architects would not accept work involving a row of terrace houses would not seem to hold true. If the opportunities for new work are examined for architects working in the second half of the century, work in the expanding suburbs, with each small piecemeal development requiring its own drawings, was an obvious source of 'bread and butter' income while waiting for or working on more prestigious projects.

There was another finding which concerned the deposited plans for the very best mansions and villas. The owners of these buildings employed mainly A1 Category architects for both the building of them and any subsequent alterations and extensions. This can be seen in such examples as Torricon, designed by S.E. Smith and built in 1870; Buckingham Villas, designed by S.E. Smith and built in 1871; Clareville, designed by G. Corson and built in 1871; Cardigan House and Cardigan lodge both designed by E. Birchall and built in 1870 and 1877 respectively. When the owners of these large houses and others built earlier in the century decided to extend or alter them they usually used the best architects in town. Thus Longfield on Victoria Road had a billiard room added by William Hill, its outbuildings and stables extended by T. Ambler and its lodge altered by C.R. Chorley. Similarly when Spring Bank had alterations and extensions, C.R. Chorley and W.H. Thorp were employed. The same architects were usually given the commissions involving new entrance lodges, coachmen's or butlers' cottages and servants' dwellings connected with the larger houses. This can be illustrated by the new entrance lodge to T.R. Harding's House in Kirkstall Lane which was designed by G. Corson in 1880.

Only T. Ambler of the A1 Category architects spanned the whole spectrum of housing design; large detached villas, extensions to mansions, semi-detached villas, red-brick terraces, and back-to-back artisan cottages.<sup>46</sup>

#### 10.9 The Sample of Deposited House Plans for All Leeds.

If some of the findings for the study area were in any way to be related to other suburbs of Leeds it was thought necessary to establish to what extent the involvement of architects in the study area was typical of Leeds as a whole. It was felt particularly relevant to ascertain, for example, whether a depositor who prepared plans for back-to-back houses in the study area was heavily involved in their design elsewhere. Similarly, A1 Category architects may have only carried out designs for villas in the study area but for many through terraces in other parts of Leeds. There was also the question of not only the house types but the degree of involvement. This was clearly illustrated by F.W. Rhodes who only had plans approved for 14 houses in the study area but his obituary stated that he erected over 2,500 houses in Leeds. Similarly an architect may have deposited drawings only for alterations in the study area but this may not reflect his involvement in housing design as a whole and builders could have been much more active in the design process in other areas compared with Headingley.

In order to ascertain the involvement of house plan depositors elsewhere in Leeds, a sample number of approved plans for the whole of Leeds borough were examined and information noted concerning the number of houses approved, the location, the house types and the name of the depositor. Information was not collected concerning the various developers due to the size of the task involved. The sample covered the years 1877 to 1910 inclusive, compared with the study area plans which dated from 1868 - 1914 inclusive. The reason for the different dates was that access was greatly restricted to plans prior to 1877 because of their poor condition and after 1910 because of their location. However, the time scale of the sample overlapped that of the study area sufficiently for meaningful comparisons to be made.<sup>47</sup>

Building plans were approved by a committee which met twice each month throughout the year and only drawings which were approved are still retained at Leeds Archives Department. The sample of all Leeds was carried out by selecting three meetings each year for 34 years and



examining all the drawings approved. A check was made as the sampling proceeded to make sure that all the months of the years from January to December were represented and that a similar number of meetings for each month had been examined. In total, bundles of drawings for 102 building plan committee meetings were selected with each month appearing on average 8 to 9 times over the 34 year period. It can be seen that 816 meetings were held from 1877 to 1910 and that this meant that a 12.5% sample was taken of all the deposited drawings for Leeds.<sup>48</sup>

The information taken from drawings was recorded in the following manner. Each drawing approved by a meeting was examined and plans or sets of plans which related to housing were extracted. Those drawings which were applications for approval for alterations, extensions or amendments to previously submitted schemes were then discarded. Plans which showed houses to be built on sites for which previously approved housing schemes had been abandoned could not be easily distinguished and no attempt was made to ascertain how many of the houses approved were actually built. Finally, if any plans were found relating to the study area these were simply omitted from the data being compiled from the sample. Therefore, whereas the study area analysis produced two sets of figures, the total number of houses approved and the total number of houses actually erected, the sample of all Leeds only produced figures concerning houses which were approved and the involvement of depositors in their submission.

In total, plans were inspected for 7,717 houses proposed to be erected and approved by the committee. Reference to Table 13 shows that, for the whole of Leeds, 72,122 houses were approved for the period 1877 to 1910<sup>49</sup> and this means that although 12.5% of the drawings were examined in the sample they contained only 10.7% of all the houses approved.<sup>50</sup>

The types of houses were compared with the study area as follows:

**Table 66 House Types found in the Sample of All Leeds Compared with the Study Area**

House type	Number of dwellings		All Leeds sample	% of total
	Study area	% of total		
House and shop	36	1.4	17	0.2
Lodges and cottages	23	0.9	11	0.1
Detached Villa	37	1.5	89	1.2
Semi-detached villa	192	7.8	226	2.9
Through terrace	1,670	63.3	2,390	31.0
Back-to-back	489	20.0	4,984	64.6
	Total 2,447 <sup>a</sup>		Total 7,717 <sup>a</sup>	

a Total number of dwellings approved.

From Table 66 observations were made as to how representative the study area was of the rest of Leeds. In terms of the proportion of detached villas it compared quite favourably but the proportion of houses over shops, lodges and cottages was somewhat higher and the proportion of semi-detached villas was considerably higher. The ratio of back-to-back and through terraces was almost completely reversed; there being approximately twice the number of back-to-backs to through terraces approved in the sample of all Leeds. What was significant was the high proportion of houses built in terraces, 83% for the study area and almost 96% for all Leeds.

Further comparisons were then made to assess the involvement of architects and other depositors of house plans for the whole of Leeds. The findings can be summarised in the following table:

**Table 67 Depositors of House Plans in the Sample of All Leeds Compared with the Study Area<sup>51</sup>**

Depositors	Dwellings approved study area	% of total <sup>a</sup>	Dwellings approved Leeds sample	% of total <sup>b</sup>
Persons describing themselves as architects	2,269	93	6,612	87
Architects with town centre practices	2,009	83	4,935	65
Architects with town centre practices including F.W. Rhodes <sup>c</sup>	2,023	83	5,386	71
Architects from outside the Leeds boundary	11	0.4	103	1



Persons describing themselves as builders	163	7 <sup>d</sup>	469	6
Persons where the occupation is not known	52	2	536	7
Name of depositer missing	16	0.6 <sup>e</sup>	112	1.4 <sup>e</sup>

- a The total number of dwellings approved in the study area was 2,447 but this figure was reduced to 2,431 to omit those without a depositers name for percentage calculations.
- b The total number of dwellings approved in the sample of all Leeds was 7,717 but this was reduced to 7,605 to omit those without a depositers name for percentage calculations.
- c Rhodes submitted designs for 14 dwellings in the study area and for 403 dwellings in the sample of all Leeds. For the reasons for his inclusion see page 84.
- d Includes two architects who also described themselves as builders.
- e Out of the grand total which included those without a name for the depositer.

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The above table indicates some similarities between the study area and the rest of Leeds but certain factors should be noted. If those houses deposited in the study area by F. & J.A. Wright, architects, who had their major office in Bradford and only a small office for a short period of time in Leeds, were included as architects from outside the boundary of Leeds, the percentage of the total would rise to just over 1%, similar to the rest of Leeds. Also it should be borne in mind that to carefully examine the occupations, qualifications, businesses and similar details concerning all the depositers found in the sample of all Leeds was just not possible. For this reason an architect was included as having a town centre practice because either he worked in the study area or because he gave an office address on the sample drawings. There will undoubtedly be some who signed drawings 'architect Leeds' after their name and may well have had a town centre practice. This partly explains the lower figure of 65% of depositers being architects with town centre practices in all Leeds compared with 83% in Headingley. The middle-class quality of Headingley compared with other areas of Leeds was also responsible for the higher figure. The lack of detailed information concerning the depositers for the sample of all Leeds also explains the high number of depositers where the occupation is not known. Many of these will have been tradesmen or builders and even if all of them were found at a later date to have been builders, the total number

of houses deposited by builders would still only be 13% of the total. Because of this lack of detail concerning the depositors for all Leeds it was decided to examine the most active depositors in terms of house numbers and then place these into categories A1 to A6 and B1 - B2 using the same criteria as those used for the study area.<sup>52</sup> A table was drawn up of the 25 most prolific house depositors for both the study area and the sample of all Leeds in order to see which type of depositors were involved:

Table 68 A Comparison of the Most Prolific House Plan Depositors in the Study Area and In the Sample of All Leeds<sup>53</sup>

Study area		Sample of all Leeds	
Depositer	Dwellings approved	Depositer	Dwellings approved
(A2) <sup>a</sup> <u>D. Dodgson</u> , architect	364	(A2) <sup>a</sup> <u>D. Dodgson</u> , architect	617
(A1) <u>W.A. Hobson</u> , architect	272	(A2) <u>C.F. Wilkinson</u> , architect	503
(A2) <u>F. Mitchell</u> , architect	204	(A2) <u>J.W. Thackray</u> , architect	416
(A2) <u>J. Charles &amp; Sons</u> , architects	131	(A3) <u>F.W. Rhodes</u> , architect	403
(A2) <u>A.E. Braithwaite</u> , architect	124	(A2) <u>E. Hill</u> , architect	338
(A2) <u>J.M. Porter</u> , architect	122	(A3) <u>J.E. Leak</u> , architect	347
(A2) <u>C.F. Wilkinson</u> , architect.	86	(A2) <u>J. Charles &amp; Sons</u> , architects	332
(A1) <u>P. Robinson</u> , architect	63	(A2) <u>L. Harris</u> , architect	156
(A2) <u>E. Hill</u> , architect	62	(A6) <u>W.H. Lister</u> , architect	136
(A6) <u>H. Preston</u> , architect	62	(B1) <u>G. Lax</u> , builder	134
(A2) <u>R.A. Bullivant</u> , architect	54	(A6) <u>C.E. Dobson</u> , architect	132
(A2) <u>T. Anderson</u> , architect	52	(A2) <u>F. Mitchell</u> , architect	117
(B1) <u>A. Palfreman</u> , builder	50	(A2) <u>J. Evers</u> , architect	115
(A3) <u>F. Worsnop</u> , architect	46	(A3) <u>C. Berry</u> , architect	114
(A5) <u>G. Hutton</u> , architect	35	(A1) <u>W.A. Hobson</u> , architect	110
(A2) <u>F.W. Moseley</u> , architect	35	(A2) <u>G.W. Atkinson</u> , architect	90
(A2) <u>T. Winn</u> , architect	31	(A2) <u>T. Wright</u> , architect	110
(B2) <u>R. Whitaker</u> , clerk of works	30	(A1) <u>R. Wood</u> , architect	88
(A2) <u>F. Wright &amp; J.A. Wright</u> , architects	30	(A2) <u>T.E. Farmery</u> , architect	84
(A2) <u>T.E. Farmery</u> , architect	29	(A2) <u>J.M. Fawcett</u> , architect	83
(A2) <u>J.J. Wood</u> , architect	28	(A2) <u>J.E. Preston</u> , architect	77
(A2) <u>W. Richardson</u> , architect	25	(A2) <u>A. Neill</u> , architect	76



(A2) <u>J.W. Thackray</u> , architect	24	(A3) <u>F. Worsnop</u> , architect	69
(B1) J. Hutton, builder	24	(A2) <u>T. Anderson</u> , architect	68
(A2) Swale & Mitchell, architects	22	(A1) <u>P. Robinson</u> , architect	68

a . The categories as defined on page 78 are shown in brackets. Those persons who appear in both lists are underlined.

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The most active plan depositer was Daniel Dodgson the architect who deposited 15% of the houses approved in the study area and 8% of the houses approved in the sample of all Leeds. Taken together these mean that out of all the houses on deposited plans inspected, Dodgson was responsible for 10%. This raises the question which still remains unanswered, how many was he responsible throughout his career if all the houses approved in Leeds were taken into account? The second highest number of dwellings were on plans deposited by C.F. Wilkinson who was obviously working more in other suburbs than in Headingley. This was also the case with J.W. Thackray.

Although it was not possible to ascertain the professional standing of all the plan depositers found in the sample of all Leeds, this process was carried out for those names appearing in Table 68. It then proved possible to place each of the plan depositers into the categories used for the study area. It can be seen that, if the top 25 most prolific house plan depositers only are considered, the majority were A2 Category architects and few were in the B1 or B2 Categories. The close similarities between the two sets of categories relative to frequency are self-evident. The position of the lower category depositers tends to be higher in terms of the number of houses deposited in the sample of all Leeds. This is particularly the case with G. Lax, builder, in tenth position. What is clear is that the major depositers of house plans in the study area do represent and are representative of the larger group of depositers working in Leeds; 11 names occur in both lists and many more individuals connected with the study area deposited houses in the Leeds sample. The raw data from which these tables have been produced are clearly set out in the Appendices so that readers who object to the above manipulations may perform their own.

Appendix 7 of this thesis contains biographical information on all architects or other persons who deposited building plans for approval within the study area or who were major depositers of house plans in the sample for all Leeds.

## 10.10 Depositer or Designer?

The involvement of the architectural profession in Leeds in the creation of the suburban housing stock during the latter half of the nineteenth century has been clearly demonstrated. The extent of that involvement needs to be qualified in more detail. The fact that architects put their names, titles, rubber-stamps, and even personal signatures on drawings is evident just from examination of the deposited plans. The possibility has to be faced that a draughtsman who worked for builders and developers drew up the plans and then simply took them to architects in order for these to rubber-stamp them or sign them and thus give them an air of professional respectability. This may have been worthwhile even if a small fee was involved because after submission for approval, the addition of an architects name would help their passage through the Town Hall and its legislative processes. If such a procedure was carried out it would probably have been on the basis that the architect checked the drawing for any obvious errors which might result in the plans being refused and it had the advantage of the client not having to pay him fees for the whole of the design and drawing up stages. This, if it were the case, could explain why architects with town centre practices became involved in the submission of drawings for new fat fryers for fish and chip shops, garden sheds, water-closets and greenhouses.

It was decided therefore to check the evidence to see if such a theory could be proved from the drawings submitted and from any records of the day-to-day workings of an architect during the period. The first method, that of examining the original drawings, showed that drawings which purported to emanate from the same architects office did indeed have a very identifiable drawing style with similarities in draughtsmanship. The thickness of line, the lettering, which in some cases was very decorative and in others very plain, the coloured washes, north points etc., meant that many drawings could be readily picked out as emanating from particular offices. For example, some architects purchased rubber-stamps to avoid having to write the words plan, elevation etc. and these were used on all their drawings after a given date. W.A. Hobson, D. Dodgson, F. Mitchell, J. Charles, C. Fowler and P. Robinson were all architects who submitted drawings in styles which were easily recognisable. This is not to say that all drawings submitted by architects were examples of fine draughtsmanship and those by builders or non-architects poorly drawn. Often the architect passed on the job of tracing to a young pupil



and simply lettered or titled the drawing himself. Similarly some builders or persons who were not architects produced drawings of a reasonable standard, for example, G. Hutton the architect-builder, H. Preston and A. Hird.

Further evidence which helps to dismiss the theory of 'rubber-stamping' by architects of other persons' drawings was found through examination of architects drawings for other buildings in Leeds. This was done as a secondary task while carrying out the sample of deposited plans for all Leeds. Drawings submitted for churches, chapels, banks, shops, industrial buildings and so on were examined with those submitted for houses and the general style of drawing compared. It was felt that the offices that prepared these drawings also prepared those for housing, including alterations and small works. It would also be likely that if the 'rubber-stamping' theory were correct, those persons who did not call themselves architects but submitted drawings for approval would be found to be the persons responsible for many drawings not in their name. No evidence of similarity of 'drawing style' was found between their work and work produced by architect's offices.

The reason why a builder or developer's draughtsman should use an architect's office as an agency for deposit should be questioned. To avoid having the plans refused due to them not complying with regulations was certainly one, but it is clear that depositors could be called in to the Town Hall to make amendments to drawings in order that this should be avoided.<sup>54</sup> There was certainly no compulsion to go through architects as is the case today in countries like Malaysia or France. The introduction of the Improvement Acts of 1866 and 1869 followed by the first Bye-Laws in 1870 did not require architects to be employed.

As for the role played by the principal of an architect's office in the design and construction of suburban houses, this is more difficult to assess. Did he take instructions from the client, either builder or developer, measure the site, prepare designs and have copies traced by a pupil for submission and for the clients use? After submission and approval, did he prepare specifications, bills of quantities, further details, obtain tenders and supervise the erection? Was the architects involvement a full service to the client in some cases and a partial one in others or did his work always stop once the drawings

had been stamped 'approved'? In order to answer these questions and to attempt to answer the basic question whether or not the architects were the house designers or simply plan depositors, the work of one architect in Leeds is examined in more detail in the following chapter.



## NOTES

### CHAPTER 10 HOUSING DESIGN AND THE INVOLVEMENT OF ARCHITECTS

- 1 See H. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1660 - 1840, p. 35. See also Building Design, 1980, 3 Oct., p.15.
- 2 Building Design, 1980, 3 Oct., p. 15.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 H. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600 - 1840, p. 40.
- 5 T.L. Donaldson, R.I.B.A. Transactions, 1867, XVIII, p. 2.
- 6 B. Kaye, The Development of the Architectural Profession In Britain: A Sociological Study, 1960, p. 173.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid., p. 174.
- 9 Ibid., p. 175.
- 10 Powell, p. 28.
- 11 Ibid., p. 69. Powell quotes from J.T. Micklethwaite, Modern Parish Churches, 1874, p. 236.
- 12 Who's Who in Architecture, 1914, p. 293.
- 13 Ibid., p. 294.
- 14 Ibid., p. 322 - 324.
- 15 Linstrum, p. 33 - 34.
- 16 Ibid., p. 36.
- 17 For further details of the works of these architects, see Linstrum, p. 34 - 45 and p. 369 - 386. See also Appendix 7 of this thesis.
- 18 Source, various Leeds street directories - Trades Sections.
- 19 See obituary, Yorkshire Post, 14 Jan. 1920. See also Appendix 7, p. 57 - 58.
- 20 See Appendix 7, p. 115 - 116.
- 21 See obituary, Yorkshire Evening Post, 17 Sept. 1908. See also Appendix 7, p. 117 - 118.
- 22 See Linstrum, p. 369 - 386 and Appendix 7 of this thesis.
- 23 Appendix 7, p. 76 - 81.
- 24 R. Dixon and S. Muthesius, Victorian Architecture, 1978, p. 252 - 270.
- 25 The Architect, 1870, lv, p. 337, quoted in Linstrum, p. 43 - 44.
- 26 Linstrum, p. 44. For a full list of the classes and names of lecturers, see R.I.B.A. Kalendar for the years 1890- 1914.
- 27 For the early history of the Society, see the Society Reports, 1876 - 1914, held in the R.I.B.A. Regional Office, Woodhouse Square, Leeds. See also the Green Book, 1936, p. 8 - 11 and p. 26 - 27 (The Diamond Jubilee Edition).
- 28 In 1928 the Society became the West Yorkshire Society of Architects and in 1968 it became part of the Yorkshire Region of the R.I.B.A.

- 29 See the Leeds Architectural Association Rules, 1877, R.I.B.A., Leeds.
- 30 See the Leeds Architectural Society Rules, 1881, R.I.B.A., Leeds.
- 31 R.I.B.A. Kalendar, 1894 - 95, p. 186.
- 32 Source, Annual Reports of the Society, R.I.B.A., Leeds.
- 33 There were some drawings where the name had been torn off or was missing due to damage and others where the name was obscure or unreadable. It has to be remembered that many of the drawings were 100 years old.
- 34 M.W. Beresford, 'Prosperity Street and Others: An Essay in Visible Urban History, in M.W. Beresford & G.R.J. Jones (editors), Leeds and Its Region, 1967, Chapter XVI, p. 186 - 197.
- 35 See note 33 above.
- 36 See Appendix 3.
- 37 D. Linstrum, Historic Architecture of Leeds, 1969, p. 32.
- 38 See obituary, Yorkshire Post, 28 Nov. 1916. See also Appendix 7, p. 84 - 85.
- 39 See Appendix 7, p. 57 - 58.
- 40 See obituary, Yorkshire Post, 28 Nov. 1903. See also Appendix 7, p. 73 - 74.
- 41 L.Y.A.S. membership records are missing for the years 1888, 1889 and 1890.
- 42 See Appendix 7, p. 103 - 104.
- 43 See Appendix 7, p. 87 - 89.
- 44 Readers who object to the manipulation of figures may perform their own by reference to the tables and the biographical details of each depositer in Appendix 7.
- 45 See Appendix 24.
- 46 The architect Charles Fowler designed many large villas in Headingley and yet was architect to the L.Y.L.B.I.C. on the Hill Top Estate. This position involved preparing designs for rows of small through terrace houses for artisans.
- 47 See Appendix 19.
- 48 For further details of the sample, see Appendix 19.
- 49 See Table 13.
- 50 This figure of 10.7% would have been slightly greater if those houses relating to the study area found on plans in the sample had been included.
- 51 The comparison is made for different dates, the study area from 1868 - 1914 and all Leeds for 1877 - 1910.
- 52 See p. 78.
- 53 The list of depositors relating to the sample of all Leeds can be seen in an extended form in Appendix 19.
- 54 This was particularly the case with the provision of drainage and ventilation which was often amended in freehand on submitted drawings just prior to being stamped 'approved'.



## CHAPTER 11 ARCHIBALD NEILL: A LEEDS ARCHITECT

### 11.1 Biographical Details

James Neill senior was born in 1819 and originated from Bradford before setting up an office at 11 Cookridge Street, Leeds, in the 1860's, where he offered his services as a building and quantity surveyor. He appears to have specialised in taking off quantities for buildings designed by local architects but frequently prepared plans and drawings for building and general surveying work. James was a member of the L.Y.A.S. for the years 1877 - 1880 and by this time had been joined in the practice by his eldest son, James Neill junior. The firm became known as James Neill & Son, building and quantity surveyors, at 11 and later 21 Cookridge Street, and like his father the younger James was a member of the L.Y.A.S. from 1877 - 1880. The partnership only lasted from 1874 until 1881 when James junior appears to have left Leeds to work in the Manchester area where he died suddenly at Stockport in 1886.

The second and younger son of James Neill was called Archibald Neill, he was born in 1856 and became a successful Leeds architect. He received his architectural training by being articled to one of the best architects in town, William Hill of Park Square, Leeds, and while a pupil in his office became a member of the L.Y.A.S.<sup>1</sup> Archibald Neill set up in practice on his own in 1878 at Lincoln Chambers, Park Row, and was a member of the L.Y.A.S. from 1877 but he appears to have only remained at Park Row until 1880. At some time in 1881 he either joined or took over his father's office at 21 Cookridge Street, at about the same time that his brother left the area. By 1881 only Archibald was listed as a member of the L.Y.A.S., his address was given as 21 Cookridge Street, and he described himself as an architect and not a surveyor. James Neill senior entered into semi-retirement about this time although street directories still listed the firm as James Neill and Son, but under the heading of architects. In December 1882 Archibald made a complete break with his father and let it be known that, although still occupying the same office, the practice was to be known as Archibald Neill, architect. Despite this his father, although then aged 61, came into the office in busy periods and carried out the taking off of quantities for buildings designed by his son and some of his architect friends.

Archibald Neill set up his own practice at the age of 26 and was a spasmodic rather than a continuous member of the L.Y.A.S. He was a member from 1877 - 1894 and from 1905 - 1914, being elected Auditor in 1881 and a Committee Member in 1885 and 1892, as well as serving as Honorary Librarian in 1887. Although never an Associate he was elected F.R.I.B.A. in 1905 and his office remained in Cookridge Street, Leeds for a number of his years in practice. In 1884 he moved to 19 East Parade where he was until 1893, when he once again returned to 16 Cookridge Street. By 1904 he in turn was joined in the practice by his two sons, the eldest James Neill was to become a Fellow of the Sanitary Institute and went on to teach on evening courses in architecture at Leeds School of Art. James Neill, the third of that name, lectured in theoretical construction, which included stresses, strength of materials, drainage and water supply. He also lectured in applied construction to students on the final course for Associates of the R.I.B.A.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that Archibald wanted him to become a better qualified architect, however, despite working with and being articled to his father and lecturing, he only became an L.R.I.B.A. in 1914. The practice was Archibald Neill & Sons, architects, of 38 Park Row in 1904, although little is known of his second and younger son. By 1914 the practice was Archibald Neill and James Neill at 38 Park Row, and the second son was no longer in the firm. Archibald carried out a busy architectural practice executing works both in Leeds and in other towns. From 1908 he was the valuer to the Leeds Overseers and then made Chief Valuation Officer to the city of Leeds Corporation in 1915, under the Rating and Valuation Act of that year. He held the position of Chief Valuation Officer until 1929 when he retired and was succeeded in the post by his son James Neill. In order to become the Chief Valuation Officer, Archibald had to give up all architectural practice because the new post was a full-time one and in the same way his son James closed the practice in order to follow in his father's footsteps. Archibald Neill was a well known Freemason in Leeds for over 50 years, being superintendent of works for Yorkshire and chairman of the Leeds Masonic Hall Co. Ltd., at his death. He died at the aged of 77 at his residence, Claremont Villas, Clarendon Road, Leeds. On his death he left an estate valued at £12,156 gross and £11,957 net.<sup>3</sup>



The sources of information concerning the life, times and works, of Archibald Neill are his biographical record at the R.I.B.A.; the obituary notice in the Yorkshire Post of the 24th. April 1933; deposited building plans at Leeds Archives; and his hand written day books which have survived for the period 1880 - 1887. The latter are of great importance because they appear to be the only surviving business records describing the day-to-day running of an architectural practice in nineteenth-century Leeds. They comprise two hand-written diaries, which although called day books are really notes jotted down at the end of each day's work in the office by Archibald Neill. Some days have full notes and others only brief ones, and although mainly concerned with the office and its work, Neill added many personal notes concerning his family, friends, and social functions or events such as holidays. These present delightful little cameos of Victorian life with notes on the hiring of a servant, renting houses, holidaying in Morecambe, having tired eyes and going home with a cold, interspersed between others on business commitments, work on the drawing board and the training of young pupils. The books cover the periods, October 19th, 1880 to August 31st, 1883 and September 1st, 1883 to January 12th, 1887.<sup>4</sup>

The books cover the early years when Archibald was in practice on his own, working for a short period with his father and once again on his own after his father's retirement. Neill's neat but very small notes paint a picture of what life must have been like in the office and in Leeds during the period and also give an interesting insight into specific aspects of importance to this thesis. The use of pupils to trace work, the preparation of drawings for clients, obtaining approval from the council of Leeds, site supervision, the type of work carried out, and above all, the involvement of an architect in housing design are all recorded. Having found a reference to work being carried out to prepare drawings for submission for approval, it has been possible to examine these drawings or the completed buildings if they have not been demolished. Some examples of Neill's work were found simply by chance in the sample of house plans of all Leeds, but unlike his father he did not carry out any work within the study area.

What is clear from the day books is that Neill aspired to higher things and while earning his living carrying out the works he had on the drawing board, he sent away for details of, and entered, as many

architectural competitions as possible. In fact the number he entered single-handed between 1880 and 1887 was quite remarkable and ranged from local competitions, such as the Leeds Art Gallery in 1886, to Elgin Town Hall in 1883, and Lincoln School of Art in 1884.<sup>5</sup> Although asked if his work, especially his rendered elevations, could be retained for display purposes on some occasions he was not successful in any that he entered. So much so that he decided to give them up for a short period in a fit of depression over his lack of success.

His membership of the L.Y.A.S. throughout the period 1878 - 1914 is also an interesting one. Despite the fact that Neill was elected F.R.I.B.A. in 1905 and went on to build up a practice which was responsible for such buildings as the Standard Assurance Buildings, City Square, the Millgarth Street Police Station, and the Yorkshire Evening News Printing Works, he never rose to high office in the L.Y.A.S. and for periods of several years was not even a member. For example, during the period 1900 - 1905, when he must have been well known in architectural circles in Leeds, he was not a member of the local architectural society. This clearly indicates that membership can prove a certain professional standing because of the entry qualifications, but equally that even competent architects were not members for all or certain periods of the time they were in practice. Thus if the sample of all Leeds is examined, it can be seen that an architect named Archibald Neill deposited plans for 8 back-to-back houses in Wortley, Leeds in 1896. Reference to the membership list of the L.Y.A.S. would show him as not being a member and because of this, despite the title architect after his name, the more casual researcher could assume him to have been a builder or 'plan drawer'.

#### 11.2 The Works of Archibald Neill on Deposited Plans

The first works on deposited plans relating to Neill were carried out by his father James. In 1874 James Neill and James his son extended and altered the entrance lodge to the Royal Park Estate to make a single-storey building into a two-storey house. The clients were the Leeds Horticultural Gardens Co. Ltd. and Neill described himself as J. Neill & Son, surveyors.<sup>6</sup> Two years later James designed and sent for approval a new ice rink building to add to the attractions at the Horticultural Gardens.<sup>7</sup>



Archibald Neill did not deposit any drawings for buildings in the study area but several were found in the sample of Leeds. After leaving the office of William Hill he deposited plans for 24 back-to-back houses on a site in Hunslet in 1878 and some indication of the involvement of Archibald in the design of ordinary houses can be seen from the sample of all Leeds by the following table:

Table 69 Deposited House Plans by A. Neill, 1878 - 1910<sup>a</sup>

	Location	House types
1878	Hunslet	24 b.b.
1889	Kirkstall Road	8 b.b.
1890	Dewsbury Road	13 b.b.
1890	Dewsbury Road	6 b.b.
1890	Dewsbury Road	1 t.t.
1891	Meanwood Road	3 t.t.
1891	Dewsbury Road	2 b.b.
1894	Monkbridge Road, Headingley	7 b.b.
1896	Wortley	8 b.b.
1897	Wortley	6 b.b.
1898	Hunslet	6 b.b.
	Totals	<u>4 t.t. 80 b.b.</u>

a Source, the sample of deposited plans for all Leeds<sup>8</sup>

It can be seen from the above Table that Neill was involved mainly in the design of back-to-back houses and in the case of those built off Dewsbury Road, these were all on one estate. It is interesting to note that an architect who spent many hours every week on national competitions and who designed and supervised the erection of banks, churches and commercial buildings did not appear to design detached or semi-detached villas, based on the evidence of those drawings found in the sample. This does not mean that on other drawings, not inspected, Neill could not have designed some of these better quality houses, but it would suggest that if this were the case and he relied heavily on this type of work the sample would have indicated the fact or some mention would have been made of it in his day books.

At first sight it would appear that he readily took on commissions to draw up house plans for approval and, as some 95 per cent of houses erected were terrace houses, it follows that the majority of the houses he designed would be of this type. It is clear that the regular income obtained from this type of 'bread and butter' work kept the office rent paid and allowed Neill the time to look for,

or attempt to gain, larger and more prestigious commissions. The extent to which he became involved in ordinary houses of the period as well as in small works and larger buildings is made clear from his day books.

### 11.3 Extracts From the Day Books

Entries in the day books show quite clearly how varied was the work carried out in the office and Archibald Neill was constantly changing from one job to another as each required his attention. The mixture of work varied from banks and churches to farm buildings, houses and small works such as toilet blocks for factories or minor extensions. Neill and his father drew up street plans for housing estates and at the same time, because James Neill senior had purchased land in the Sholebroke area of Potternewton, they, like many other architects in the study area and elsewhere in Headingley, became involved in attempts to act as land speculators and later housing developers. Thus a picture emerges of a typical small office carrying out a wide range of work which included housing but also with the principal attempting to act as a developer as well as the designer of houses on the new estates in the expanding suburbs. When Archibald set up practice on his own account he made arrangements to obtain the services of a pupil and when he left a second young man had already been taken on. It would appear that Neill drew up the designs in terms of plans, elevations and sections, and after a period of training, the pupil was required to make several copies of the original by tracing overlays. In busy periods or until a new pupil could be entrusted with the work, an assistant named 'John' was brought into the office to carry out this work. The process of producing drawings in architects' offices is an important one and worthy of a more detailed explanation, because it is often the work of the pupil or 'tracer' which now remains and the original penmanship of the architects' designs has long been discarded for all but the most important buildings.

The earliest drawings submitted to Leeds Corporation date from 1866, after the Improvement Act of that year. Many are on tracing paper but there are a few examples, especially for the period 1866 - 1870, of the originals being retained by the Council and presumably the tracings returned to the depositor. These original drawings are usually in pen and ink on cartridge paper or similar hard opaque



white drawing paper. From the standard of draughtsmanship it is evident that these were typical of the master copies produced by the office principals. The process was for this original to be carefully drawn up to scale by the architect and then copies made by a pupil or assistant. Before the introduction of tracing paper a further copy was made, also on paper, by the painstaking method of pinpricks through the original to mark out the drawing onto a second sheet. Tracing paper speeded up the process by allowing the pupil or assistant to simply overlay tracing paper on the original and, in either ink or pencil, produce a fair copy. With the latter system the original could be kept in the office and multiple copies could be made for sending to the council for approval, to the client, to builders or estate agents and solicitors. The 1870 Bye-Laws referred to plans and to tracings of plans:

'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'<sup>9</sup>

There are examples of deposited plans in the Leeds Archives which were in black ink on Whatman paper even after 1870, such as those submitted by the architect, Edwin Hill, for a group of houses in March 1904, but normally the original would be returned and tracings retained. At what point it became normal practice for the original to be retained in the office and both sets of plans submitted to the corporation to become merely tracings is not clear. From January 1888 all deposited plans which were to be retained by the Corporation had to be drawn in ink on linen tracing cloth. This change was brought about because tracing paper tore easily and was difficult to store without damage because it became brittle with age. It is logical that the set of plans returned to the depositor would have also been tracings but drawn on the less expensive tracing paper. From 1904 onwards, the first sets of plans began to be deposited in the form of blueprints and thus began the gradual change from depositing tracings to prints off tracings in one form or another.

The fact remains that the basic method of reproducing drawings from 1866 to 1914 was the tracing overlay and this tiresome procedure had to be used even when several copies were required off the original. The drawings available for inspection at the Leeds

Archives Department of housing schemes and other buildings are mainly the work of the tracer. The standard of these drawings varies considerably from highly competent ones, probably done by the architect or a senior assistant, to very poor ones done by new pupils. Often lines do not meet in the corners of window or door openings, and the difference in the standard of freehand lettering between originals and traced copies is quite considerable. This above all else indicates when an architect like Archibald Neill had worked on a drawing and not just simply signed his name to it (see Figs. 97 - 98).

The first few entries in the day books makes it almost certain that, in partnership with his father, Neill designed and supervised the erection of the Leatham, Tew and Co. Bank premises (now Barclays) in Wood Street, Wakefield in 1880. In the same year work was progressing on the construction of the Dispensary, Pontefract and it is probable that Archibald joined his father because of or in order to work on these two buildings. Whether the clients original approach was to the father or the son is not known, but Mr. Tew was to give Archibald many more commissions on his farms and agricultural holdings near York after the completion of the bank. What is probably the case from information given in the day books, is that Archibald designed the buildings and the father, an experienced surveyor, gave his less experienced son advice on practical building matters and looked after the material quantities and costs involved.<sup>10</sup>

When Neill required perspectives to be drawn for his buildings he passed these on to W.S. Braithwaite who, presumably for a fee, carried out the work. How common this practice was during the period cannot be ascertained from the day books but by quoting a series of extracts and by adding explanatory notes the man, his work, his office and his involvement in housing design can be illustrated in the form of brief cameos:

- 'Dispensary getting on very well' 19 Oct. 1880<sup>11</sup>
- 'Made tracings myself for Perspective, Pontefract T.H. Competition and took them up to Braithwaite in morning' 20 Oct. 1880
- 'Farm Building getting on well' 21 Oct. 1880
- 'Got 3 photos of bank from Braithwaite. Printed them & took one of them to frame!' 23 Nov. 1880
- 'Father and I at Pontefract all day - Grand day, Dispensary opened by the mayor - Presented him with photograph etc. Everything went off with the greatest ellan - Mr. Tew Delighted!' 8 Dec. 1880



During this period Neill also worked on several jobs for Mr. Tew on his farm at Rawcliffe near York and on a new billiard room for his house at Carleton.<sup>12</sup>

'I took house off Lax, No.58 Samuel St. Just in time! 11 Jan. 1881  
This was a house which Neill rented off one of the Lax brothers who were builders and it was situated in a street which ran from Camp Road to Meanwood Road.

'Dogson called gave stables to re-pass Corporation for houses in Sholebroke for 30/-, Drawing them in afternoon' 11 Jan. 1881

'Got Tinsdales plans in Town Hall for stables' 14 Jan. 1881

'Got Tinsdales plans out and he paid me 30/-. Think I can sell him a bit of land - Hope so.' 22 Jan. 1881

On the 31st January 1881 Neill moved his residence from 37 Crawford Street, Sheepscar to 58 Samuel Street, off Camp Road and on 25 January he put an advertisement in the Leeds Mercury for a servant. During this time he was mainly working on the drawings of the bank at Wakefield and he designed and drew up details of the marble chimney-pieces, office chairs and candle holders.

'Roundhay park lodge came in Quantities' 22 April 1881

'Taking off Roundhay Lodges for Corporation, got on very well today.' 28 April 1881

Neill produced designs for two Dutch Barns and a 'model little cottage' for Mr. Tew in April 1881.

'Got estimate for Rawcliffe Cottage, £250 + £10 for quantities!' 3 May 1881

'Town Hall Fire Brigade New Station Quantities came in!' 8 Jul. 1881

'Tom Anderson brought houses & shops (Arthington) for Quantities & I commenced taking them off. Saw him with Fire Brigade reduction (came to 4200).'<sup>13</sup> 8 Aug. 1881

'Finished taking off quantities Tom Andersons houses and made sketches' 11 Aug. 1881

That summer Neill went on holiday to Morecambe but left his wife in lodgings for her to continue the holiday while he returned to Leeds and his office. It is interesting that he carried out the quantity surveying work both for Leeds Corporation and another Leeds architect, Tom Anderson, who also designed the fire brigade headquarters building referred to.

'Mr. Birchall & Mr. Smith called and asked me with W.S. to audit Architectural accs. at Birchalls!' 10 Oct. 1881

- 'Finished pencelling front of seven houses in Sholebroke for Father, and they look remarkably well.'<sup>14</sup> 19 Nov. 1881
- 'Sketching a little for 7 houses again. More talk about Speculations with Father but to no purpose. All seems at standstill.' 22 Nov. 1881
- 'Sketching No.2 front for 7 through houses' 23 Nov. 1881
- 'Sketching front of 7 houses' 24 Nov. 1881

These extracts illustrate that Neill was quite willing to spend time and trouble drawing up the elevations of through houses. He had at this time some assistance from a person named 'John' but it is not clear whether he was an assistant.<sup>15</sup> It is clear, however, that Neill drew out plans in pencil on paper and, when satisfied, inked these in, and then produced copies by tracing. The tracings to be sent to the Town Hall or to clients could also be coloured by washes and Neill makes many references such as 'sketched out and traced', 'drew out and traced', 'designing and tracing', 'colouring and finishing', 'inking in', 'made tracing', 'coloured tracing'. During this period he worked on the Sheffield Board School Competition and a Masonic Boys School Competition and at the same time he designed and had erected new offices for the Hunslet Engine Co., Leeds.

- 'Altered perspective line for Braithwaite' 8 Jul. 1882
- 'Saw perspective at Braithwaite's, it really is charming' 15 Jul. 1882
- 'Made several plans for Kirkstall Road estate laying out & sent them to Watson!' 20 Oct. 1882

Watson, like Tew, was to be a regular client for Neill; he was an estate agent in Leeds and passed on clients wishing to develop houses and requiring the services of an architect.<sup>16</sup>

- 'Eyes not at all well' 30 Oct. 1882
- 'Took offices from today in my own name, - with congratulations'. 1 Dec. 1882
- 'Saw Mr. Watson about a pupil' 3 Jan. 1883
- 'Letter from Savings Bank to compete with Dogson & Danby for alterations in North Street. 12 Jan. 1883
- 'Made out price of drawings for Johnson land for Mr. Watson, Sundry working in office!' 10 Feb. 1883
- 'Arranged to meet Johnson in morning to pass 6 houses thro Town Hall £6 - 6.' 12 Feb. 1883
- 'Measuring Johnson's land taking levels. Laid down plans for 6 houses (Beech Grove Estate)' 13 Feb. 1883
- 'Plans, 6 houses for Mr. Johnson which he came in and approved' 14 Feb. 1883



'Note to say Dodgshun got Savings Bank. Went on with Danby to see drawings, another swindle!' 16 Feb. 1883

'Inking in elevations & section, Six houses for Mr. Johnson - He called.' 19 Feb. 1883

'Finished inking elevations & section for Mr. Johnsons houses & pencilled in plans for do.' 20 Feb. 1883

'Inked in & finished plans for six through houses, Mr. Johnston' 21 Feb. 1883

'Finished all Johnstons plans & had them all traced ready for Town Hall in morning' 22 Feb. 1883

'Sent in Johnsons' plans' 23 Feb. 1883

'Got Johnsons Plans out to alter, terrible lot of alterations. Beastly humbug Got em in again by 4.30!' 26 Feb. 1883

'Johnstons plans passed Wrote him to call on Monday' 3 Mar. 1883

'Johnston wants me to get tenders in for 6 houses, labor only.' 5 Mar. 1883

'Gave Johnson his drawings & spec etc. lowest brick tender £145 - plumber £89.10' 16 Mar. 1883

The above extracts shed a great deal of light on the way that plans for ordinary houses were drawn up and handled in a typical architect's office (see Fig. 97 ). For a fee of 6 guineas Neill measured and took levels on the site, drew up the plans and elevations which the client approved, submitted them for approval to the Town Hall (which involved a re-submission to comply with the Bye-Laws) and produced a specification. Whether Neill received an extra fee for obtaining the estimates for the bricklayer's and plumber's work is not stated or whether this was part of the normal service. The above fee of 1 guinea per house was typical of the fee charged by Neill for the approval of houses on building estates which was usually around £1 per dwelling. The income they produced can be compared with Neill's expenses, such as £14 per annum for office rent and £15 per annum for the house that he rented.

'Ordered pocket case of instruments of Halder & Co for White £4. 4. 0.' 23 Feb. 1883

'Paid office rent £7' 1 Mar. 1883

'Paid £1. 1. sub. L.A.S.' 2 Mar. 1883

'White at School examination' 19 Mar. 1883

Mr. William White was mainly involved in tracing the originals produced by Neill. He was the pupil who entered the office on January 1st 1883. During this period Neill entered the Elgin Town Hall Competition and carried out more work for Mr. Tew on the Manor Farm at Rawcliffe.

ROUGH HOUSES IN 14<sup>TH</sup>, 15<sup>TH</sup>, AND 16<sup>TH</sup> AVENUES  
TONG ROAD, LEEDS, FOR M<sup>R</sup> JAS. JOHNSTON

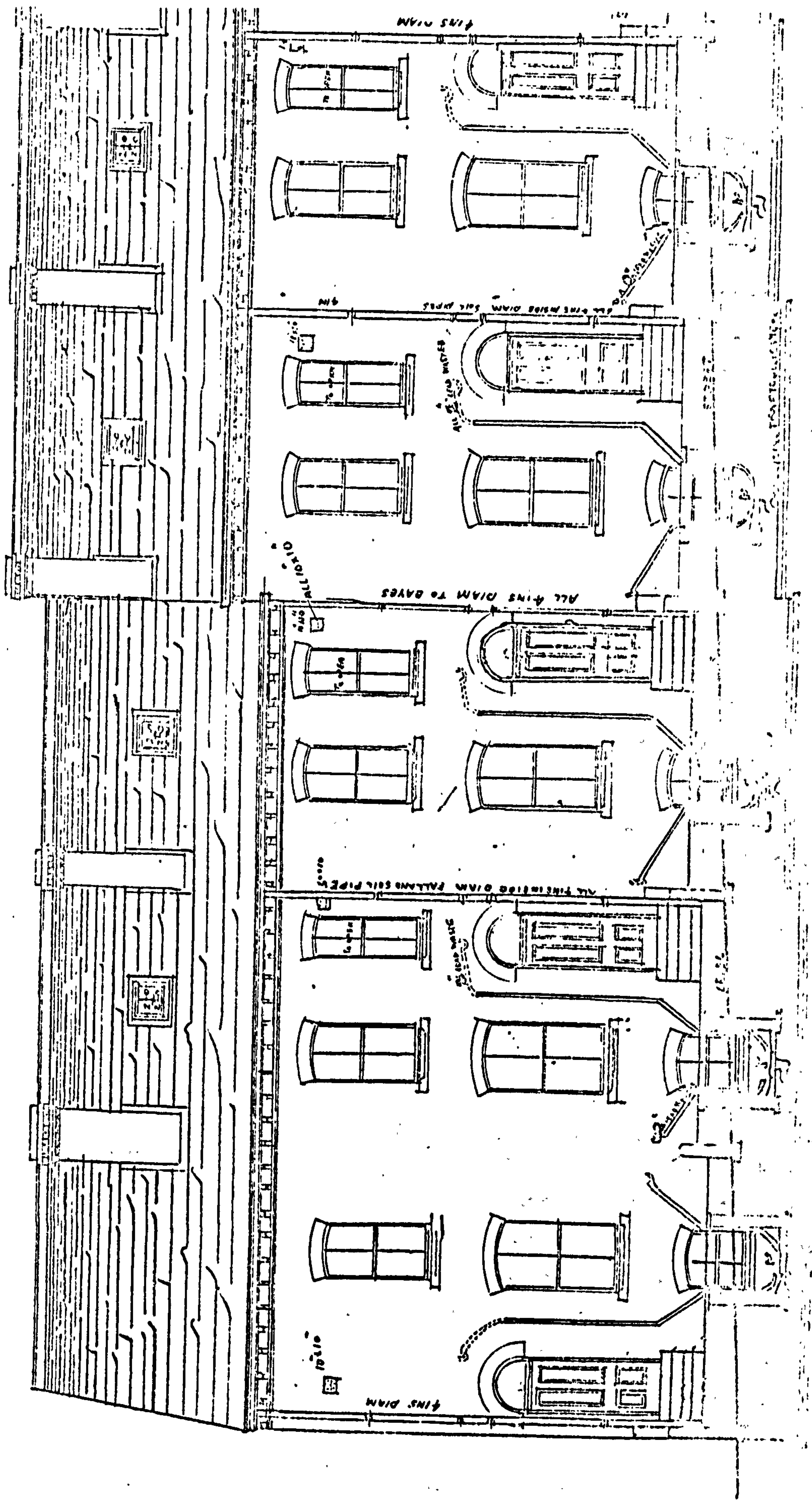


Fig. 97. Deposited elevation of houses in Tong Road, Wortley (A. Neill 1883).

CONSTRUCTION TO 16<sup>TH</sup> AVENUE



'Elected Member of Alfred Lodge No. 306' 1 June 1883

'Finished Contractor tracings for new workshops' 24 June 1883

The latter referred to a new block of workshops which Neill designed for the Hunslet Engine Co. and shows how a set of drawings for use by the contractor had to be laboriously traced off the originals. That summer Neill once more holidayed at Morecambe.

'Tracing on cloth new closets for Hunslet Engine Co. 25 Aug. 1883

'Work in office very black just now but hope before long to have it brisk again and may the next book be as full of good work as this!' 31 Aug. 1883

The above was the last entry in Book 1 of the day books.

'Studying Geometry, scales, elliptics etc. all day from Nicholsons' Encyclopaedia!' 3 Sept. 1883

'Talk about putting Sholebroke land up for sale end of month. Took tram on to Kirkstall at noon & had look round land!' 9 Oct. 1883

'Talking about Sholebroke ect. with Father & Jim Watson & Father saw Mr. Hall & price reduced to 5/6' 16 Oct. 1883

'Drew plans of 14 cottages (sketch) in morning for Mr. Watson took them in!' 18 Oct. 1883

'Drawing, inking in & colouring & tracing & finishing plan of wash house for Listers Arms Hotel, Ilkley.' 22 Oct. 1883

'Pencilling plans for block of 8 & 6 for Messrs. Johnson' 30 Oct. 1883

'Pencilling & inking 14 cottage in' 31 Oct. 1883

'Removing from 58 Samuel Street to 8 Queens Place today, my 27th Birthday!' 31 Oct. 1883

'Inking in plans & elevations for Messrs. Johnson' 1 Nov. 1883

'Got Johnsons plans in' 2 Nov. 1883

'Got Johnsons plans out to alter - all day in altering them and the wash house plans for Ilkley' 5 Nov. 1883

'and tracing Johnsons Section in afternoon' 15 Nov. 1883

The above extracts indicate how plans submitted for Bye-Law approval were checked almost at once and the architect informed of changes or additional work required in order to make them comply with the regulations. A system which still operates in most local authorities 100 years later, although the process takes somewhat longer.

'Marshall called (Manchester) with plans of 16 cottages & 7 houses for me to pass for £15' 16 Nov. 1883

This would suggest that his fee was £1 per unit for 7 through houses but where 16 back-to-backs were involved these counted as 8 through dwellings, thus 15 at £1 produced a fee of £15.

- 'Got some plans to re-pass for Johnson Bros.' 27 Nov. 1883
- 'John tracing cottages for Johnstons re-pass' 29 Nov. 1883
- 'Got J.H. & J.A. Johnstons plans in to Town Hall -  
Paid John 17/6 for tracing!' 30 Nov. 1883

Throughout the two day books Neill refers to a 'John' helping with the work; the two pupils who worked in the office between 1883 and 1887 were called William White and Robert Hinds. 'John' was paid the high sum of 17s. 6d. out of a total fee of £2.10s for his services. John's or Neill's handiwork can be seen in Fig. 98.

- 'Got Johnstons plans out to alter, Sent them in again by noon!' 3 Dec. 1883
- 'Got Johnstons plans out and he called & paid me £2.10.0d. for them. Sent them to his house'.<sup>18</sup> 8 Dec. 1883

Neill worked on a competition for some shops in Leicester and built a new porch to the National School, Chapel Allerton in January 1884.

- 'Arranged to alter offices, taking in little room & continuing table under all three windows - messy work - John helping - Two joiners'. 14 Jan. 1884
- 'Mr. Wm. Beanland sent me £5 Christmas Box - All at Grand at night'.<sup>19</sup> 14 Jan. 1884
- 'White and John tracing & writing for porch' 17 Jan. 1884
- 'Robert Hinds came as pupil No. 2 today - Set him tracing Ikley block plan. At Hunslet measuring land for Watson & made six tracings & sent them down - Competition elevation' 21 Jan. 1884

Neill entered many competitions around this time and his day books describe how he spent many hours working up plans and elevations in various architectural styles and this must have occupied his time for many days each month. Meanwhile his two pupils and John carried out the more mundane tasks. When engrossed in competition drawings he frequently praised his own work with comments such as 'drawings look very well', 'they look very well', 'design looks exceedingly well', 'coming out very well' etc.

- 'Inking in 2nd design for Leicester Shops - Jolly Queen Anne' 29 Jan. 1884
- 'Eyes rather sore' 12 Feb. 1884
- 'Talk with Appleyard about house building - Talk with Dinsdale about Sholebroke land offered him it at 6/9 clear yard s.' 19 Feb. 1884
- 'Paid office rent - Pencilling side elevations etc. Scarbro Chapel - and all look very well indeed - nothing fresh in as yet - Slow work' 1 Mar. 1884
- 'Showed Hinds & White how to get points on pencill' 3 Mar. 1884



no approved August 4<sup>th</sup> 1882. for Mr. S. J. Snowles

7 053 1883

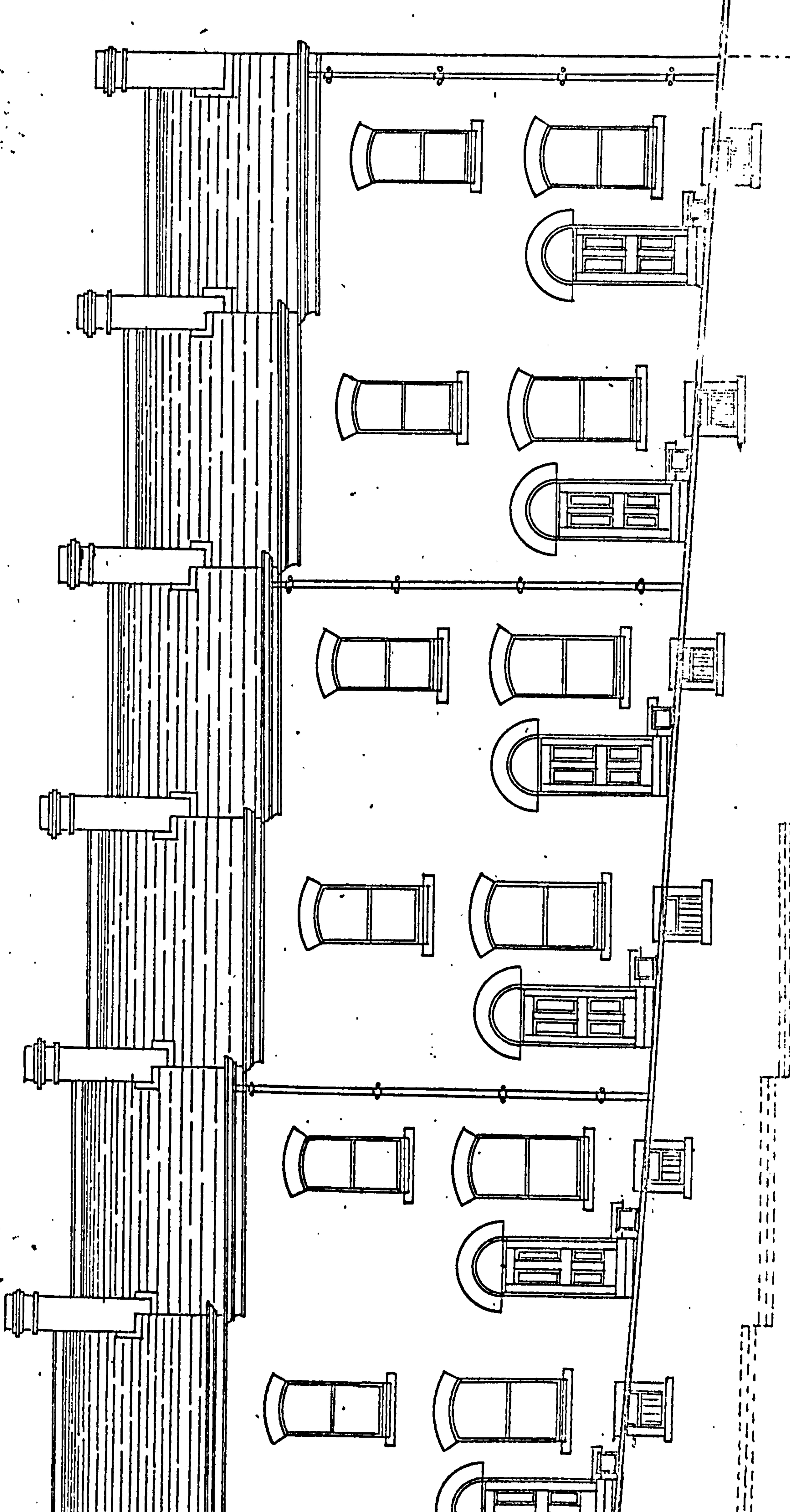


Fig. 98 Deposited elevation of houses in Rowland Terrace, Hunslet (A. Neill 1883).

*Front Elevation*

'Finished all competition drawings for Scarbro Chapel (Wesleyan). Hinds printing all nicely in German text - dinner in office.' 25 Mar. 1884

'Putting plan on deed for Johnston Bros. in afternoon and took it finished into Mr. Watsons' 1 Apl. 1884

Neill worked on more farm buildings for Mr. Tew and a new porch for Warrington Parish Church in April.

'Beckwith called about his plan for Barbers Shop in Sheepscar.' 23 Apl. 1884

'Paid Sholebroke Interest on paving etc. (£5) 24 Apl. 1884

'Morley got Scarbro Chapel - Swindle I believe' 25 Apl. 1884

'Mr. Taylor called with job of new house & alterations to old Crimble Street, Gave John remainder of Edwins quantities' 5 May 1884

Edwin was Edwin Hill an architect in practice in Leeds, and together with George Danby, a personal friend of Archibald Neill.

'Called & got instructions from Mr. Taylor about Crimble St. houses.' 6 May 1884

'Pencilling Mr. Taylors plans - called on him in morning.' 7 May 1884

Neill worked on alterations to Coopers warehouse in Greek Street, Leeds in May for a Mr. Potter

'Pencilling plans for Mr. Taylor' 8 May 1884

'Taylor plans ready for inking in - Hinds & White tracing for Coopers alterations' 9 May 1884

'Inking in Taylors fronts & section' 12 May 1884

'Finished inking Taylors drawing - Hinds & White printing & tracing.' 13 May 1884

'Hinds & White tracing Taylors houses' 14 May 1884

'Colouring Taylors houses, Crimble St, Hinds tracing & colouring' 15 May 1884

'Finished Taylors drawings & got them into Town Hall with great effort by 10 to 4. - Look very well. Hope they all pass.' 16 May 1884

'Made block plan for Mr. Taylors houses for Town Hall' 22 May 1884

'Taylors plans rejected. Sent for Mr. Binns (Chairman of Committee) and he said they would pass next time' 24 May 1884

'Letter from Town Hall about Taylors plans, all rubbish, pass'em yet' 27 May 1884

After altering the drawings for re-submission the plans were again rejected and A. Neill went before the Committee. After his appearance they were once again rejected (see Chapter 13). The day books record how Neill was not paid his fee because the plans



were rejected despite all his efforts:

- 'Sundry work altering Taylors houses a little for re-submission at Town Hall' 28 May 1884
- 'Took Taylors plans in and had dust with Hainsworth - Saw Taylor and afterwards saw Mr. Buckley about right to drain into Tomlinson Street which he says we have' 30 May 1884
- 'Wrote Hainsworth I would appear before Committee' 4 Jun. 1884
- 'Getting information for meeting Committee tomorrow' 5 Jun. 1884
- 'Went before Committee about Taylors houses and plans again rejected'. 6 June 1884
- 'Saw Taylor about houses' 7 June 1884
- 'Went to see Taylor. Crimbles with new sketch plan for two houses - not in' 20 June 1884
- 'Saw Taylor in morning but he declined to go on with two houses' 24 June 1884
- 'Taylor called in morning & shuffled out of paying for his plans on ground they were not passed!' 24 July 1884
- 'Nothing in office - Hinds drawing a stable for somebody or other - Found no new offices as yet suitable' 11 Jun 1884

This would suggest that, during a slack period, Hinds the pupil was working on a job of his own in Neill's office.

- 'Finished sketching front No. 2 for Lincoln Schools (Queen Anne, No. 1 Italian Renaissance). Both looking remarkably well.' 19 June 1884

Neill and his family went on holiday to Morecambe in July and on 28th July the pupil William White left the office.

- 'Finished Greek St. drawings ready for quantities. Father came at night to take them off.' 24 July 1884
- 'Inking Lincoln Sections - Messrs. Esh came up & wanted to increase office rent to £32 if I liked to stay - went out & saw beautiful offices 19 East Parade £15 - made offer for them to Hindle.' 26 July 1884
- 'Removed from 21 Cookridge St. to No. 19 East Parade' 28 Aug. 1884

Thus Neill, who charged around £1 per through house for the passing of plans, paid £15 per annum for his house and £15 per annum for his office premises; he only had to prepare drawings for 30 through dwellings to recover these outgoing expenses.

- 'Finished w.c. plan for Bennett & Son, Aire Street' 4 Sept. 1884
- 'Making plans for T.W. Tew Esq. of different Homesteads on Rawcliffe Estate' 16 Sept. 1884
- 'Took plan of privies etc. at Chapelton in morning with Burton (Mr. Cousins property) and laid same down & completed plan during day - To go into "Sanitary Committee".' 20 Nov. 1884

These extracts indicate quite clearly that the deposited plans for small alterations such as a single w.c. added to a house, wooden sheds, stables, fat fryers and ovens to bakehouses which were deposited by architects were not unusual. Certainly Neill carried out many similar small works, often dealing with them personally in the early stages and, instead of considering them beneath his dignity, he treated them as just another job in the office.

'Went with Mr. Watson to Kirkgate Market, & offered Sholebroke ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ) at 6/8 to Henry Hall.'	20 Jan. 1885
'Paid Town Hall £2 on a/c Sholebroke paving'	26 Jan. 1885
'Sent for keys to look at house in Nassau Place - from Broadlands Albion St. rent £15'	4 Feb. 1885
'Shewing Hind how to draw animals figures etc.'	16 Feb. 1885
'Tracing on Cloth two bank elevations just to fill in time'	10 Mar. 1885
'Nothing fresh as yet in office'	21 Mar. 1885
'nothing fresh turned up this month'	31 Mar. 1885
'Nothing fresh whatever'	8 Apl. 1885
'nothing fresh this week'	30 May 1885

Neill complained of the lack of new work coming into the office in August 1883, June 1884, March 1885, April 1885, May 1885, June 1885, July 1885 and August 1885. If Fig. 62 Chapter 6, is referred to it can be seen that Neill was caught in the Great Victorian Depression which affected the building industry nationally from 1881 to 1890 and it was not until 1886 that house-building at least began to pick up in Leeds. Meanwhile, the number of competitions referred to suggests that he had time on his hands to indulge in speculative work and he entered several during this period, including ones for Cheltenham Grammar School and the the Bristol School Board.<sup>20</sup> The position in August 1885 grew worse and George Danby, his architect friend, talked of leaving the architectural profession and Neill grew tired of entering competitions with no success to show for the effort involved.

'Got Standard Life Insurance books, appointed agent by Messrs. Watson'	28 Jul. 1885
'Appointed agent for Norwich Fire office today'	31 Jul. 1885

The generally accepted theory that architects who became involved in work as surveyors, valuers, rent collectors or estate agents could not be properly qualified architects or were not really architects in the true sense of the word needs re-examining in the light of the above evidence. Because the day books do not go beyond



1887 the question remains unanswered as to whether Neill carried on his insurance activities after 1905 when he was F.R.I.B.A.<sup>21</sup>

'nothing fresh in office as yet' 5 Aug. 1885

'Attended Architects Committee meeting in afternoon. Not in it with Bristol Competition!' 7 Aug. 1885

'Nothing fresh in office as yet - 'Dairy Farmers Association' instructions down - not going in for it tho' - Getting tired of Competitions... Danby said he was giving up architecture & going into his fathers business' 8 Aug. 1885

'Letter from T.W. Tew Esq. informing me Goole Bank to go on' 11 Aug. 1885

This large job and also being asked to build additions to Dixon Marshall's house at Headingley in the same month must have considerably improved the work load in the office. Later in the year a Mr. Beanland's estimate for work on the bank at Goole was accepted and the sum involved was £3377. Beanland gave Neill a £5 Christmas box in 1884!

'Mr. Watson sent for me to make plans for five shops in Dewsbury Road for Mr. John Tomlinson joiner, South Mount St. Beeston Hill & cottages for Mr. Ed Whiteman, Bricklayer, 4 Ebenezer Street Holbeck' 11 Jan. 1886

'Mr. Wright called in afternoon with orders to make plans for six shops in Kirkstall Road' 12 Jan. 1886

'Finished cottage drawings for Whiteman & commenced plans of six Kirkstall Road Shops for Mr. Wright - All here till 10 p.m.' 13 Jan. 1886

'Got drawings out of Town Hall again for both sets of shops to re alter as chimney breast supports' 20 Jan. 1886

'Got Wrights Shops out of Town Hall passed but not stamped' 27 Jan. 1886

'Wright called & paid £5 for his plans 6 shops in Kirkstall Road.' 28 Jan. 1886

'Mr. Watson sent for me to draw plans on Wortley Estate for Mr. John Mayson' 20 Feb. 1886

'On with cottage plans for Mayson' 23 Feb. 1886

'Pencilling Mayson plans in morning!' 24 Feb. 1886

'Inking in Maysons cottage & shop plans. There till 8 p.m - Hinds much later' 25 Feb. 1886

'Got all Maysons plans finished & traced and taken into Town Hall before four o'clock' 26 Feb. 1886

'Got plans out & altered & put in again for Mayson Houses' 1 Mar. 1886

'Maysons plans passed, stayed in afternoon, got glasses' 6 Mar. 1886

'Sent Mayson word no time to get plans in this week' 26 Mar. 1886

'Pencilling Wrights plans elevations & section & block plan for six Thro houses in Kirkstall Road (next to shops)' 19 May 1886

'Finished inking all drawings for Wrights six thro houses in Kirkstall Road. Hind tracing' 20 May 1886

'Got Wrightsdrawing for six houses in in afternoon' 21 May 1886

'Wright's plans passed when kerbs laid' 29 May 1886

The above entries illustrate quite clearly the speculative housing process. A bricklayer and a joiner had joined forces to develop back-to-back houses in Beeston and having approached Watson, the estate agent, they were passed on to Neill to draw up the plans for them. Neill was asked to design six shops with houses over in Kirkstall Road and a group of houses in Wortley. Inspection of the deposited plans at Leeds Archives Department shows that these plans still exist. The latter comprised 14 houses and 2 shops in Second Avenue and Upper Third Avenue, New Wortley, near Leeds for Mr. John Mayson of Beeston Hill, Leeds. The drawings show 2 blocks of 8 back-to-backs and two corner shops. The drawings look as though they were all prepared as tracings by the pupil Hinds. The six houses and shops in Kirkstall Road, Leeds were built for Mr. J.A. Wright who also lived at Beeston Hill, Leeds. Unfortunately both schemes have now been demolished.<sup>22</sup>

The entries for 1886 have many references to Neill's personal and family life. He became an active Freemason and joined with his family in worship at Newton Park Union Chapel, Potternewton, where Neill was appointed architect for the rebuilding of the church premises.

'Sketching Newton Chapel plans all day - In Office to dinner - Hinds tracing chapel plan' 17 Mar. 1886

At the same time he was still trying to either build houses for speculation on the family land at Sholebroke or to sell land with plans approved for the buildings lots.

'Sketching plans & elevations to go on Sholebroke land & got very nice & cheap arrangement out' 15 Mar. 1886

'Changed spectacles again' 2 Apl. 1886

'Sholebroke land to be sold in May' 5 Apl. 1886

'At Sholebroke in morning with Hinds & took plan of land ... laid it on paper in afternoon & took it up home with me.' 6 Apl. 1886

'Took Sholebroke plans to Mr. Snowden' 15 Apl. 1886

'Advt in papers for Sholebroke land' 24 Apl. 1886

'Sholebroke sale - withdrawn at 4/3' 12 May 1886



The attempt to sell the land at a reasonable profit was once again a failure. He went on holiday to Welshpool at Easter and the work on the bank at Goole progressed and also the design for Newton Chapel. When the latter had been erected in 1887 Neill referred to it as 'my little cathedral' (see Appendix 21 and Fig.99 - 100). Large commissions of this nature did not stop Neill taking on minor works or aspiring to even higher things:

'Pencilling Dr. Nevitts plan in morning (for passing wood shed).' 7 Apl. 1886

'Traced and finished on cloth plan for Dr. Nevitts Wood shed and stable 8 Apl. 1886

'Dr. Nevitts plan approved' 17 Apl. 1886

'Sketching Beanlands patent chimney brick all day - Got one into something like working order - His idea would not work.' 30 Apl. 1886

'Wrote Lord Conway with regard his mansion (burnt down) if wanting an architect. (Did not send it).' 1 May 1886

In May 1886 when Neill was asked to prepare a scheme for 6 houses and shops for Mr. Wright of Beeston, he first measured the building plots:

'Went down to Kirkstall Road & took dimensions of Wrights land for his shops - Pencilling them in afternoon.' 17 May 1886

'Pencilling Wright's plans elevations & section & block plan for six thro houses in Kirkstall Road (next to Shops).' 19 May 1886

After submission to the Corporation Neill was informed that:

'Wright's plans passed when kerbs laid' 29 May 1886

Here we see Leeds Corporation stating that approval would be given when the kerbing had been carried out, this was to overcome problems experienced with developers in getting roads made up and paved before the houses were occupied.

Neill received the commission to design and erect a new clock tower in Bangor, North Wales but if this was as a result of a competition, no reference is made in the day books to the fact. He sent off all details and working drawings to the mayor of Bangor on 21st October 1886 (see Fig.101). At the same time the new bank at Goole was completed.

'Report in Mercury of New Bank at Goole' 3 Nov. 1886

The second day book finishes with Neill visiting the clock tower at Bangor while work was in progress, designing the schoolrooms at Newton Park Chapel, sketching plans of houses for Mr. Beanland at Bradford and entering the competition for Bolton Library.







#### 11.4 Archibald Neill and Speculative Housing

Archibald Neill built up his practice through the difficult period of the Great Victorian Depression and by 1905 he was F.R.I.B.A. and his son James had joined him in the office. He carried out the designs for such buildings as the banks for Mr. Tew at Wakefield and Goole, the Dispensary at Pontefract, the Standard Assurance Buildings in City Square Leeds, the Market Hall & Shops, Bury, the Corporation Abattoir Bury, Millgarth Street Police Station Leeds, and The Yorkshire Evening News Printing Works and Offices at Leeds. He became involved in public, commercial, industrial and domestic work. The latter is worthy of further investigation in relation to the objectives of this thesis.

The earliest example of Neill designing houses was found in the sample of all Leeds when he submitted drawings for 24 back-to-back houses in Hunslet in November 1878, the same year that he opened his own office. It is possible he submitted other schemes before that date which were not found in the sample. It could be argued, however, that an architect starting in practice would begin with mundane commissions, such as back-to-back houses, and then as his practice grew and his contacts and clients increased, he would progress on to better things such as detached villas or mansions. In the case of Archibald Neill few examples or references have been found to his work on large houses. He altered houses such as Mr. Tew's house at Carleton and D. Marshall's house at Headingley and also carried out designs for Western Manor Otley. Neill did not, however, graduate from back-to-backs to leave them behind in order to carry on this class of work, for in 1898 he was still preparing designs for back-to-backs - 20 years after starting in practice. The evidence of the way that architects were prepared to work on drawings for back-to-back houses in Leeds clearly indicates that the stigma associated with this type of housing was not recognised, or was ignored, by those persons involved in their production.

From 1878 to 1898 the total number of houses designed by Neill for which the deposited plans have been inspected, or reference was made to in his day books, can be summarised as follows: 2 farm cottages, 1 model cottage, 37 through terraces and 124 back-to-backs. Some other schemes were referred to briefly and described as cottages or houses but no evidence was given to suggest they were large dwellings. The clients

for the houses Neill designed were developers and in at least one case building tradesmen. The latter did not deal with Neill directly but through an intermediary, J. Watson the estate agent.

The notes from the day books quite clearly describe the process. A client approached Neill either directly or through Watson in order to obtain designs for houses which could be approved under the Bye-Laws. Neill inspected the site and one reference refers to him measuring land prior to designs being prepared. He then drew up plans, elevations, sections and a block plan and this could involve taking at least a few spot levels on the site. When satisfied, he then had the requisite number of copies produced by having the originals traced. Copies would be required for submission to the Town Hall and for the clients own use; the originals were kept by the architect. The pupil usually did the tracings, and inspection of drawings submitted to the council by Neill gives a fair indication which were drawn by him or the assistant 'John' and which were the efforts of his pupils (compare Figs. 97 and 98).

There is no evidence to suggest that developers, whether entrepreneurs, builders or tradesmen, drew up their own plans and brought them to Neill for rubber-stamping and submission. Also there is no mention in the day books of Neill preparing constructional details for ordinary houses beyond that which was necessary for Bye-Law approval. In an age when the details of wooden sash windows, pitched roofs, bay windows, timber floors and brick arches were well understood by the trademen who had to carry them out, there was no need for working drawings which included such details for ordinary terrace housing. Even in the case of the smaller detached and semi-detached villas of the period, it is probable that they were erected from no more than the basic Bye-Law approval drawings with the various tradesmen carrying out and interpreting details in the spirit of, rather than to the letter of, the drawings.

Neill describes in his day books how working drawings or details were prepared for furniture, fittings and fixtures as well as for specific items of construction on his larger works such as banks and churches. This was particularly the case with the banks at Wakefield and Goole. He also prepared 'contractors drawings' for his industrial buildings such as the offices for the Hunslet Engine Co. When it came to housing schemes and small works the drawings



for approval only were completed and no reference is made to contractors drawings.<sup>23</sup>

House plans were drawn out in pencil first by Neill and then inked in on white paper before tracing could commence. Although the pupil usually did the tracing work Neill himself often became involved in this tedious task. Once the plans had been approved there was no further work carried out by the architect and he then requested payment of fees. Negotiations with the local authority in order to obtain approval were considered part of the normal service and often drawings had to be taken out of the Town Hall and altered. At least one client refused to pay the fees because Neill had failed to obtain approval for the scheme as proposed.

The drawings for houses were not simply 'dashed out' by using older tracings and making slight alterations to them, in several cases Neill describes drawing alternative elevations or plans until the scheme 'worked out well'. On large jobs he was asked to obtain tenders for either labour only or for labour and materials for the various trades involved but this was not usually the case with his housing schemes. Only one example was found of him obtaining labour only prices for housing. In this case it probably involved writing a specification of the work to be done and the standards of workmanship to be achieved as was the case on larger jobs.

Typical fees that housing work earned for Neill were as follows:

6 through houses	£6. 6s.	in	1883
16 back-to-back and 7 through houses	£15	in	1883
6 through houses and shops	£5	in	1886

This would suggest that during the period of depression he slightly reduced his fees from 1 guinea per dwelling to £1 per dwelling to eventually a figure slightly less than £1 (this assumes that two back-to-backs equalled one through dwelling as far as his time was concerned). These figures cannot be compared with larger works where a percentage fee of 5% to 6% of the total contract sum was usually charged. They can be compared with fees charged by the architect-builder Robert Wood who advertised in the Leeds Mercury on 23rd October 1886. Robert Wood described himself as an architect but was also actually engaged as a housing developer and land speculator as well as being listed in trade directories as a builder. In 1886 Wood offered a complete service for the small builder wishing to purchase land on the Highbury Estate:

'Land for scullery houses, nineteen feet frontage, with gardens, fifteen feet long including sewerage, kerbing, free conveyance and plans, drawing and passing by the Corporation, only £22 per house; for through houses fifteen feet frontage £29.<sup>24</sup>

This advertisement appeared in 1886 when Leeds was just beginning to emerge from the Great Victorian Depression, but house-building as such did not really begin to pick up until after 1887. If an approximate figure is assumed for the land at around 4s. 3d. per square yard, including sewerage and kerbing, a typical plot totalling 125 square yards for the houses of 15 feet frontage would fetch £26. 10s. This left £2. 10s. per dwelling for conveyancing and approval of plans. In the case of the back-to-back scullery houses, land for one dwelling would be around 92 square yards and, based on the same figures, would fetch £19. 10s. This would also leave £2. 10s. per dwelling for conveyancing and approval of plans. What is not known is the charge made by solicitors for the conveyancing work or what price per square yard Wood was willing to accept.



## NOTES

### CHAPTER 11 ARCHIBALD NEILL : A LEEDS ARCHITECT

- 1 It is most likely that James Neill Senior, James Neill Junior, and Archibald Neill were able to become members of the L.Y.A.S., although two were surveyors and the other an articled pupil, because of the general nature of the Society at the time. Once classes of membership and more stringent entry requirements were brought in after 1881, persons in their position often had to leave or accept Associate Membership.
- 2 See W.Y.S.A., Green Book for the year 1910 - 1911, p. 32, R.I.B.A. Yorkshire Region Office, Leeds.
- 3 See Appendix 7, p. 96. - 98 and Obituary notice for Archibald Neill, Yorkshire Post, 24 April 1933.
- 4 Leeds Archives Department, Accession No. GA/Z XXIIIa.
- 5 For a full list of the competitions he entered, see Appendix 21.
- 6 D.B.P., 676 (thesis reference).
- 7 D.B.P., 678 (thesis reference).
- 8 One other example of work relating to Neill was found in the sample of all Leeds. In 1901, James Neill the eldest son of Archibald, deposited the designs for a new drill hall for the Boys Rifle Brigade in Queens Road, Burley. At the time James was living at 43 College Road, Leeds and had not joined his father in practice.
- 9 Leeds Bye-Laws Relating to New Streets, Buildings, Etc., 1870, Bye-Law 20, p. 22.
- 10 Linstrum suggests that Neill was the designer of both the bank at Wakefield and the Dispensary, Pontefract. See Linstrum, p. 382.
- 11 All extracts are taken from the day books (see note 4 above), however, except in a few cases they are not complete entries for each day. Instead individual sentences or short phrases have been selected when they refer to specific jobs or incidents. Often Neill mixed several different kinds of information in one entry and space does not permit full entries always to be quoted. A typical example of a complete entry is as follows:  

'Arranged to alter offices, taking in little room & continuing table under all three windows - messy work - John helping - Two joiners. Father at Laisterdyke all day - Mr. Wm. Beanland sent me £5 Christmas box - All at Grand at night' 14 January 1884.

The spelling, punctuation, use of hyphens, brackets, abbreviations and capital letters are quoted in each case, just as Neill wrote them.
- 12 Neill worked on many designs for farm buildings at Rawcliffe near York for Mr. Tew. It is not known where Tew lived but his house was referred to as being at Carleton. This was probably the Carleton near Skipton but if it had been spelt Carlton it could have been any one of 6 places in Yorkshire. In 1885 Neill designed a branch bank in Goole for Mr. Tew; a few miles to the west of Goole are the villages of Carlton and Rawcliffe!

- 13 The bracket in this and all subsequent extracts are Neill's.
- 14 The land owned by the Neill family was part of the Shelebroke Estate off Chapeltown Road.
- 15 'John' was not a pupil and on occasions was paid lump sums for specific tasks.
- 16 Watson J. & J. were estate & mortgage brokers and district agents for the Norwich Union Fire Office. They had premises at 7 Cookridge Street, Leeds near Neill's own office. James Watson lived in Chapeltown and Neill was to seek his advice about business matters as his practice expanded.
- 17 Neill obviously could not decide whether his client was called Johnson or Johnston. See D.B.P., 35/2 March/1883.
- 18 D.B.P., 21/7 December/1883.
- 19 See Note 11 above for full entry in day book for 14. Jan. 1884.
- 20 For a complete list of the competitions which Neill entered during the period 1880 - 1887, see Appendix 21.
- 21 See also the biographical notes in Appendix 7 on architects like, T. Ambler, J. Charles and T. Winn who all became involved in either valuation, rent collecting or building society activities.
- 22 See D.B.P., 57/5 March/1886 for the houses at New Wortley and D.B.P., 42/22 January/1886 for the houses and shops at Kirkstall.
- 23 No working drawings, other than the deposited Bye-Law drawings, have been found by the writer for any houses in Leeds for the period. This was despite circulating all architectural offices in Leeds with a request to inspect surviving drawings in their possession. In the case of a set of drawings and bill of quantities found for a group of four houses at Idle near Bradford, it is apparent that they were mainly built without the help of further constructional details (see Appendix 23).
- 24 Leeds Mercury, 23 Oct. 1886. The Highbury Estate was situated in Headingley off Monk Bridge Road.



## CHAPTER 12 HOUSE TYPES AND DESIGN SOLUTIONS

### 12.1 Restrictive Covenants Related to Housing Design

Chapter 8 of this thesis describes the way in which restrictive covenants were used as a form of crude town planning by pre-development landowners. These covenants had a major influence on the type of housing which could be erected on the estates when they were originally put on the market and when subsequent subdivision and resales of smaller lots took place. The restriction could be simply just one of specifying a minimum annual rental or in some cases to specifically ban or exclude certain house types. Thus in 1880 land sold on the Fawcett/Postill Estate (which was being developed into the Norwoods) had a restriction in the sale particulars stating that the minimum annual rental was to be £15 and that no other than through houses were to be erected.<sup>1</sup> Similarly when Ford and Warren sold land to John Franks on the Royal Park Estate in 1890 a clause was inserted requiring:

'that no back to back houses shall be erected on the land hereby conveyed'<sup>2</sup>

This was an unusual covenant for land sold by J.R. Ford because a great number of back-to-backs were allowed to be erected elsewhere on his estate.

The design of the houses could be further restricted by covenants specifying which materials should be used and that house plans and elevations had to be approved before erection. Many landowners stated that the designs of the houses to be erected were to be approved by themselves, their agents or heirs before building work was to commence. It is likely that the agent in most cases would be a solicitor or surveyor who would not be too concerned about the finer points of aesthetic control but rather that the general appearance and the types of materials used should be in keeping with normal practice so as not to detract from further land sales. Generally, just as there was a gradual decline in the size and type of houses which could be erected due to fixed minimum rentals reducing in value with inflation, so too were landowners willing to relax the requirements they made about external materials. When Fawcett first put his land on the market in 1838 he required stone to be used for all new dwellings and the boundary walls facing roads. Later best pressed facing bricks were allowed and by 1900 even selected common bricks were acceptable on the nearby Manor House Estate.

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

Fawcett sale, 1856<sup>3</sup>

'substantial hammer dressed wall with copings to be not  
less than 6 feet high to Victoria Road' Fawcett sale, 1859<sup>4</sup>

'that the outside of every building to be erected on the  
said several plots or parcels of land & hereditis should  
be build (sic) of Stone or the best pressed Bricks'

Fawcett sale, 1859<sup>5</sup>

Here we see red brick being allowed for buildings but the same land conveyance insisted upon a hammer dressed stone wall to Victoria Road 6 feet high. When the Teal Estate had begun to be developed the first houses were built in stone in the early 1860's but gradually the use of best pressed facing bricks became the accepted material for external walls. Teal, a land surveyor, was obviously knowledgeable about the development process and added a set of specific conditions to his land sales. The purchaser of one of his lots in 1859 had to agree to:

'enclose so much of the said land as should not form part of said 3 streets with a stone wall 7 feet high above the ground level except in front, adjoining said streets on East and South sides of said land where he would erect an iron palisade 4 feet in height of a uniform pattern on a stone foundation 2' 6" high finished with a stone coping... Every dwelling house erected on said land should not be built in advance of the line marked on said plan "building line" and should be built of a height not less than 21 feet from the ground floor to the eaves of the roof and not less than 2 feet from the ground to the level of the ground floor. That the height of the rooms on the ground floor should not be less than 10 feet 6 inches in the clear. That every such dwelling house should have a lawn or ornamental garden in front which should for ever thereafter be kept open and unbuilt upon. That no stable Coach House, Wash house or other out office should be erected on or towards the fronts of said streets on the east and south sides of said land'

Teal sale, 1859<sup>6</sup>

Curiously, although Teal was so specific about room heights and garden walls, he did not demand the use of stone for the exterior of the intended houses. It is also interesting that Teal did not specify a minimum annual rental.

Gradually red pressed facing bricks began to be the normal material used for the elevations of the rows of terrace houses being erected although some were built on the Teal estate in bricks of cream and other colours:

'And also that all dwghses to be ered on any of the sd lands shd be faced with the best pressed bricks & shd be constructed of such materials & in such mre & the elevations throf shd be of such design as shd be first approved by the Vdor his hrs or assns before the erection was begun'

Ford Sale, 1888<sup>7</sup>



Even this restriction was relaxed with time and the housing developers were required to use best pressed bricks only on elevations facing roads:

'no other than pressed bricks for the face of all buildings and the gable end of all buildings flanking onto any roads adjoining'

Walmsley sale, 1901<sup>8</sup>

'Houses fronting on to Manor Drive should be of stone or the best pressed bricks ... but those facing buildings fronting to Back Manor Drive afsd might be selected common bricks'

Hobson sale, 1902<sup>9</sup>

The land sold by Hobson was being sold by an architect to a local builder and Hobson allowed the use of common bricks facing back streets. When J.E. Pearson, another Leeds builder, sold off development land near Brudenell Road, he was also specific about the use of external materials:

'all steps, bays and sills should be of stone and not concrete or wood ... that all dwghses which might be so erected shld be faced with the best pressed bricks and shld be constructed of such materials and in such manner and the elevations throf shld be of such design as shld be approved by the said J.E. Pearson'

Pearson sale, 1893<sup>10</sup>

Here Pearson was using a covenant to require that elevations be approved and the need to obtain the vendors approval to not only elevations but also plans became common practice:

'And that before any building should be executed on the said parcel of land fronting to the sd prcl of land fronting to the sd intended new road the sd Thos. Clapham his h or ass shd submit the plans & elevations thereof to the sd Earl his h or ass or his Agent for approval & that no such buildings shd be erected until a Certificate of Approval should have been first obtained from his or them'

Cardigan Sale, 1868<sup>11</sup>

The above condition was imposed by the Earl of Cardigan on Thomas Clapham who entered into an agreement to lease the land comprising nearly 7 acres on perpetual yearly rental of £54. 14.0d. Other landowners also insisted on approving designs:

'All dwghes to be erected on the said plot of land should be faced with the best pressed bricks and should be constructed of such materials and in such manner and the elevations thereof should be of such design as should be first approved by the Vdor his hrs or assns before erection was begun'

Ford sale, 1888<sup>12</sup>

'And lastly that the plans & elevations of all buildings to be erected on the sd plot of land conveyed or any pt thereof should be subject to the previous approval in writing of the vendor his hrs or assns or his or their agent for the time being'

Hattersley sale, 1889<sup>13</sup>

Other covenants could vary from specifying what could or could not be built in front of the building line to the fact that the person who owned the completed houses would keep them in good repair.

'To uphold & maintain all dwelling houses & bldgs erected on the sd land with all manner of necy painting amendments & repairs.

Cardigan sale, 1868<sup>14</sup>

'dwarf stone wall against side of the said street with stone coping & iron palisade & gates to a pattern approved by Messrs Marshall or their surveyor.'

Marshall sale, 1869<sup>15</sup>

'No privy or privies should be erected upon the said plot of land but that all dwg houses should have water closets'

Cardigan sale, 1887<sup>16</sup>

'And to the furr intent that the areas between the bldg frontage lines shewn on the plan thron endorsed & the strts shd for ever thrar be kept open & unbuilt upon (except for bay windows not more than 3'6" deep steps sills & cornices) & that such of the sd areas as are marked "Gardens" on the sd plan shd be used as gdens or pleasure ground only except that the usual convenes & ashpits might be ered on such areas'

Ford sale, 1888<sup>17</sup>

'and keep fenced off the sd plot of land with good and sufficient walls of brick or stone any such wall thereafter erected between the building frontage line and Brudenell Rd afs to be a dwarf wall with stone copings not exceeding 3 feet high and iron palisade thereon not exceeding 2'6" or substantial iron fencing not exceeding 5' 6" in height'

Hattersley sale, 1889<sup>18</sup>

'areas as are marked "Gardens" on the said plan shall be used as gardens or pleasure grounds only and that such of the same area as are marked "back yards" shall be used as back yards only except that a kitchen with a bedroom over and a scullery with a bathroom over and the usual convenience and ashpit may be erected in the back yard of each lot heraby conveyed'.

Ford sale, 1890<sup>19</sup>

## 12.2 House Types Classified by Size

The plans of houses inspected in the study area were classified into basic house types, namely: detached villas, semi-detached villas, lodges, cottages, houses and shops, through terraces and back-to-backs. An attempt was also made to classify each house type according to its size.

As far as the developer was concerned the size of the houses he erected was directly related to the size of the building plots purchased and even the custom-built mansion had a size which was in direct relationship to the ground floor area it occupied. This was



due to the convention or local custom of only building houses to a maximum of four storeys in Leeds, normally achieved by the provision of a basement, two main floors and an attic. Houses of three storeys were erected by omitting either the basement or attic and lodges or cottages were often only single or two storeys high. Similarly, where shops were included at ground floor level, some rows of dwellings were completed with a total of five storeys. Nevertheless, the average height for houses built for owner-occupation and for speculation was four storeys based on the deposited plans inspected.

For the purposes of this thesis house size has been categorised by measuring the ground floor area inside external walls and indicating the total number of storeys. Thus 1,000 sq. ft./3 would represent a house having a ground floor area of 1,000 square feet and three storeys in height. This does not mean that all floors were 1,000 square feet in area, producing a total area of 3,000 square feet, because basement storeys were often only under part of the house, ground floors had scullery or outhouses without rooms above and attic rooms were often only over part of the house. What is clear is that 1,000 sq. ft./3 would represent a house that could not be bigger than 3,000 sq. ft. as it was most unlikely that floors above or below the ground floor projected much beyond the ground floor perimeter.

Dyos found in Camberwell that houses with three storeys above ground level but without attic floors were quite common, however, this type of house was unusual in Leeds during the same period.

### Detached Villas

In nineteenth-century England the term villa usually meant a detached suburban house smaller than a mansion but larger than a cottage or lodge. The only houses which could have been described as mansions in the study area were situated on Headingley Hill and near to Headingley village and these were erected prior to 1866. Such houses as Buckingham House, Spring Bank, and St. Michael's Tower were typical examples. The dividing line between a mansion and a detached villa was an obscure one and ill-defined. Houses built on the Fawcett estate, north of Victoria Road varied in size and some were mansions and others large villas. Thus when plans for a house were deposited by the architect S.E. Smith in 1869 for Henry Ludolf, it was described as a villa residence to be built in Victoria Road. The house was named Ludolf House (later to be named Torrison) and had a ground floor area of 2,957 sq. ft. and was 4 storeys in height.<sup>20</sup> Longfield,

Morley House and Rose Court were all large detached houses built on adjoining sites between 1840 and 1850 and were of a similar size. As the years passed, houses on the estate became smaller. The last villa to be erected was built for a Mr. S.T. Oates near Hyde Park Corner in 1892 and this was 1,890 sq. ft./4 in comparison.

The Headingley Old Gardens was another area developed with detached villas which were not quite large enough to be considered as mansions. The first house to be erected, Rawden Lodge built in 1869 to the designs of Charles Fowler for J. Hudson, was 926 sq. ft./4. Oak Lodge, also designed by Fowler, was 1,788 sq. ft./3 and one of the largest, Cardigan House designed by Edward Birchall, was 2,590 sq. ft./2 (not including the tower). Newport House, designed by Thomas Ambler, was deposited in 1870 and was 1,180 sq. ft./4 and its neighbour, Cleveland House, also by Ambler, was 1,608 sq. ft./4. Gradually the size of the houses became smaller; Red House, designed by J.M. Fawcett in 1871, was 1,286 sq. ft./3 and Sunnyside, designed by Ambler in 1877, was 1,535 sq. ft./4. Despite the general reduction in size as the estate was developed, restrictive covenants made sure that a minimum standard was maintained. The size of the plot and building lines had a market effect on what could be built but the tendency was for houses to have smaller ground floor areas as the decades passed after 1870. When Jabez Woolley the brickmaker had his house built in 1878 it was 2,562 sq. ft./3, whereas in contrast Swiss Villa, which was built at the bottom of Victoria Road in 1890 to the designs of R.P. Oglesby, was only 840 sq. ft./4. Daniel Dodgson designed two almost identical houses, Sandholme and Wallingfen, for the Walmsley brothers in 1894 and these were 1,784 sq. ft./4 and 1,643 sq. ft./4 respectively.

On the nearby Mansion House Estate a number of detached houses were erected which were generally smaller than those on the Headingley Old Gardens. When the wealthy recluse Robert Arthington employed the architect Edward Birchall to design his new home in 1875 he was content with a size of 1,805 sq. ft./4. Adjacent to it was a house designed by Robert Wood for a Daniel Pickard in 1877 which was 1,381 sq. ft./4 and Fir Dene, the home of Joseph Worsnop in Bainbrigg Road, was designed in 1879 at 1,292 sq. ft./4. In 1883 the architects Smith and Tweedale designed a detached villa for B. Ward Esq. and this was even smaller at 1,074 sq. ft./4.



Thus it can be seen from the above that if the large mansions which were built before 1866 are omitted, the detached villas shown on deposited plans varied in size from 3000 sq. ft. ground floor area for the largest dwellings to 850 sq. ft. for the smallest.

#### Semi-detached Villas

There were two basic types of semi-detached villas. The first type were those where plots were bought on estates laid out primarily for detached houses and a single plot was subdivided to accommodate a pair of semi-detached villas. The second type was generally much smaller and erected on estates or parts of estates which had been intended from the outset to receive semi-detached villas. A good example of the former was Buckingham Villas erected on the Fawcett Estate and examples of the latter can be seen in Cardigan Road adjacent to the Cricket Ground and in St. Michael's Terrace.

It was often the case that the larger semi-detached villas had a greater ground floor area than some of the nearby detached villas. Buckingham Villas, built in 1870 to the designs of S.E. Smith, were each 2477 sq. ft./4 and, although now owned by Leeds Girls High School and one building, they were originally two semi-detached houses in the grand style. The Cedars and Merton Villa on the Headingley Old Gardens Estate were probably designed by Charles Fowler in 1869 and at 1,345 sq. ft./4 were more typical of this type of house which was built on a plot intended for a detached dwelling. As in the case of the detached villas, the semi-detached became smaller with the passage of time as land was bought and sold and plot sizes reduced in area. This was clearly demonstrated by drawings submitted for the Headingley Old Gardens. When W. and T. Ibbitson had their two villas, Woodlawn and Groveville, designed for them in 1877 by Thomas Anderson, the size was only 1,618 sq. ft./4. In 1891 the architect R.P. Oglesby designed semi-detached villas on plots to the south of Victoria Road and facing Cardigan Road at 1,102 sq. ft./4. and F.W. Bedford designed a pair of houses for his father in 1892 which were 1,152 sq. ft./3 and 1,079 sq. ft./3 respectively. The semi-detached villas erected on the Mansion House Estate were of a similar size ranging from 842 sq. ft./4 to 1,332 sq. ft./4.

The smaller semi-detached villas, such as those erected in St. Michael's Terrace which were designed by the architect C. F. Wilkinson for the builder William Bower in 1896, were on plots intended to receive this type of dwelling and were therefore somewhat smaller in floor area.

In the case of St. Michael's Terrace, early designs were 700 sq. ft./4 and later ones were smaller still at 510 sq. ft./4. Two other similar areas of semi-detached villas were those built on the Cardigan Road Estate adjacent to the Headingley Cricket Ground and those built at the bottom end of Brudenell Road. The former were built on a strip of land which had been laid out to accommodate semi-detached villas (see Fig. 80) in 1891 and sale particulars stated that no more than two dwellings were to be allowed to be erected on each lot. The villas were built in pairs by various developers using different architects and they were, on average, 956 sq. ft./4. The latter houses in Brudenell Road were built in direct consequence of a restrictive covenant imposed by the professional advisors of the Countess of Cardigan in 1889:

'Also that no house or shop should be erected fronting or abutting on Cardigan Road of a less value than £400 and that no house should be erected fronting or abutting on Brudenell Road of a less value than £350'<sup>21</sup>

Whereas further up Brudenell Road larger than average through houses were erected in compliance with this covenant, small semi-detached villas were erected by B. & W. Walmsley near the junction with Cardigan Road with typical sizes of 786 sq. ft./4.

The latest semi-detached houses to be built in the study area prior to 1914 were erected on the Manor House Estate in 1904. They were designed for the builder J.N. Sharp by the architects F. & J.A. Wright and these varied from 484 sq. ft./4 to 809 Sq. ft./4.

#### Lodges and Cottages

Entrance lodges and small cottages were usually small single storey or two-storey buildings erected at the entrance gates to mansions and villas or in the grounds of larger dwellings. They were meant to house servants, butlers, gardeners and coachmen who were in the employ of the house owners. A lodge designed for H. Ludolf by S.E. Smith in 1869 was erected at the entrance gates to Ludolf House in Victoria Road and was 462 sq. ft./2. Smith designed three lodges for the owners of Buckingham Villas in 1871 and these were 304 sq. ft./2, 330 sq. ft./2 and 403 sq. ft./2. The lodge designed by W.S. Braithwaite for N.R. Hepworth was deposited in 1892 and erected soon after at the entrance to the villa named Longfield in Victoria Road, the size was 472 sq. ft./3. In 1880 George Corson designed the entrance lodge to St. Ann's Tower, the home of T.R. Harding J.P. in Kirkstall Lane, and this was somewhat smaller in that it was only single storey and 731 sq. ft./1.



### Houses Over Shops

In the same way that there were two major types of semi-detached houses, there were also two distinct types of houses built over shops. Some were built in rows to form a concentration of shopping facilities in specific areas, such as at Hyde Park Corner and in Headingley Village, others were the smaller corner shops which were either built into a row of terrace houses or terminated a row in the form of a larger end-terrace house. The buildings originally designed as shops should not be confused with those terrace houses which were converted at a later date by the paving over of front gardens and inserting shop fronts into living rooms. There are many examples of this type of conversion which generally took place from 1900 onwards to provide shopping facilities to cater for the rising population of the suburb. The best examples of conversion can be found in Brudenell Grove on the Royal Park Estate where the first terrace house was converted into a shop in 1886 and the process continued gradually until 13 dwellings had become shops by 1898 and continues today to such an extent that nearly half of the west side of the street has lost its bay windows and gardens to be replaced by shop fronts.

By far the most prestigious shopping development took place at Hyde Park Corner on the Fawcett/Atkinson Estate. The site was originally occupied by John Atkinson, a provision merchant, who put up for sale the small estate which had originally been purchased off J.H. Fawcett by his father. The estate was offered as six lots in 1879 and between 1879 and 1908 ten shops were built with dwellings nearly all facing onto Headingley Lane. The premises usually comprised a shop with some living accommodation at the rear on the ground floor, the main living accommodation at first floor level and bedrooms at second floor level. Attics and basements beneath the shops meant that some of the shop units were 5 storeys high and hence the tallest domestic accommodation built in the study area (see Fig. 95). Typical sizes of the units were 446 sq. ft./5 and 488 sq. ft./5 including the area given over to retailing. The shops formed a striking group of buildings when completed. The various developers involved used a number of different local architects such as Edward Birchall, Tom Anderson, James Charles, Walter Hobson and Thomas Winn.<sup>22</sup>

In Headingley village many shops were created by altering existing houses to form shop premises on the ground floor with living accommodation above. This was particularly the case with stone-built cottages

facing onto Otley Road and North Lane. Demolition of older property did, however, take place and the sites created were filled with new shop premises. In the same way gardens and open spaces were infilled and the ground floor area of the new buildings were directly related to the size of the sites to be developed. Thus in 1871 Charles Fowler designed new shop premises in Otley Road, Headingley which measured 940 sq. ft./4 and in the same year the same architect designed two shops with dwellings over at the junction of Otley Road and North Lane, each of which was 596 sq. ft./4. In both cases the ground floor areas included the shops and these were typical sizes for the new retail premises of Headingley village.<sup>23</sup>

The best example of a parade of shops being designed and constructed as a complete entity, other than those erected at Hyde Park, is still to be found on the Cardigan/Walmsley Estate in Brudenell Road. Designed in 1900 for the Walmsley brothers by Daniel Dodgson and erected in 1901, the scheme comprised nine shops with eight dwellings above. The block terminated in one irregular shaped shop with a conical tower over the entrance door and typical sizes were 554 sq. ft./4 (see Fig. 102).

#### Through Terrace Houses

The majority of houses erected within the Study area between 1838 and 1914 were through houses built in the form of terraces. These, together with the back-to-back terraces which were built in lesser numbers in the study area and far greater numbers elsewhere, typify the general image of the expanding suburbs of Leeds in the last quarter of the nineteenth century more than any other house type.

In theory at least the ground floor area of through terraces was not restricted in that, if land and finance was available, dwellings could be constructed of a comparable size to the semi-detached and smaller detached villas. Despite this fact and although large terrace houses continued to be built in various parts of Leeds from 1870 - 1914, a standard size for the ground floor of 30 feet by 15 feet became generally accepted in Leeds. This standard size was often adopted as a starting point for the drawing up of a street pattern and the laying out of building blocks because the minimum desirable ground floor area of back-to-back houses was 15 feet by 15 feet. This meant that if streets were laid out to the correct widths (usually 36 feet wide to both sides of a building block) single lots could be sold such that the purchaser was left with the option of being able



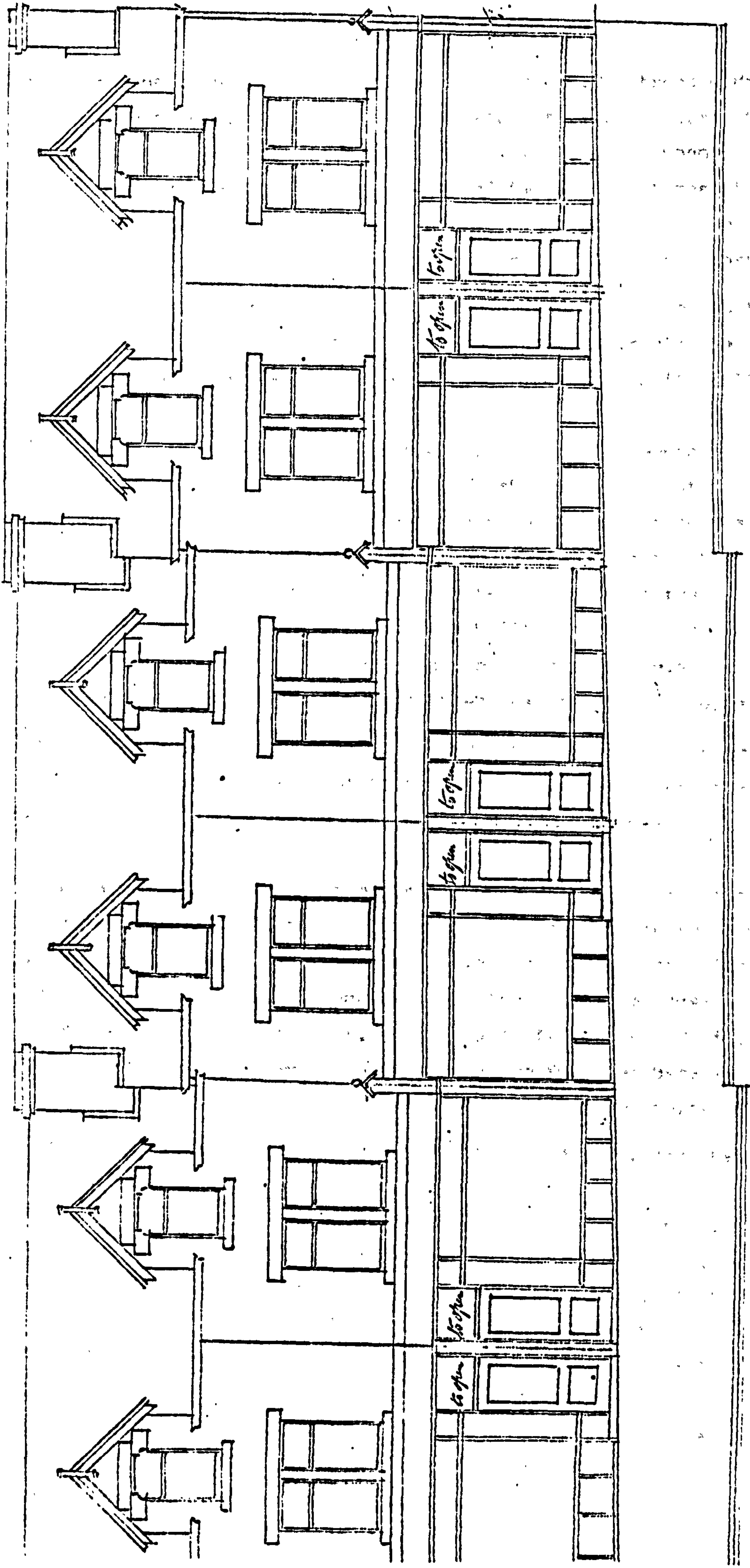


Fig. 102 Deposited elevation of houses and shops, Brudenell Road (D. Dodgson 1900).

FRONT ELEVATION

to erect one through house or two back-to-backs. Street widths had to be in accordance with the bye-laws and restrictive covenants had to be framed to allow this degree of flexibility. Even when these conditions were not met, the purchaser of two plots intended to receive back-to-backs could nearly always erect a through house if he so desired, providing the ground floor area of both house types was compatible.

A decision had to be taken by the surveyor drawing up an estate plan for a landowner as to whether back-to-back houses were to be catered for in street patterns at the outset. If lots were difficult to sell or a purchaser wished to erect back-to-backs at a later stage, estate plans had to be re-submitted to the Corporation for approval to amended road patterns and widths. The Royal Park, Hattersley Estate was laid out with building blocks meant to receive through houses to the west of Brudenell Grove and to receive back-to-backs to the east. When J.R. Ford sold his adjoining estate he had the streets laid out so that either dwelling type could be built. This can be seen in Royal Park Avenue and Royal Park Terrace which were developed with a mixture of through houses and back-to-backs in the same terraces.

The average depth of the through houses found on deposited drawings was 30 ft. 9 ins. from front to back, measured inside external 9 in. walls, where back-to-backs were built on adjoining or nearby plots. As back-to-backs gradually became larger by the addition of scullery rooms and extra bedrooms, the width between cross walls increased from 15 feet to 20 feet. Because of this, plots intended to receive either dwelling type also increased in width to accommodate this changing role of the smaller dwelling. As the cross-wall centres increased from a basic 15 ft. 9 ins. to 18 ft. or even 20 ft., a slight reduction in depth from front to back often followed because this still allowed a reasonably sized back-to-back to be inserted.

The smallest back-to-back house erected in the study area had only a clear depth of 13 feet from front to back but the average was 14 ft. 6 ins. It follows therefore, that plots laid out to receive either through or back-to-back houses would have had to be 29 ft. 9 ins. clear depth to cater for this average. Where through houses only were to be erected and restrictive covenants prohibited the erection of back-to-backs, the size of the building plots were remarkably similar to those already described. The main difference was not in the depth which remained around the 31 ft. mark but in the width which could vary from 13 ft. to 40 ft. depending upon the type of purchaser the landowner wished to attract.

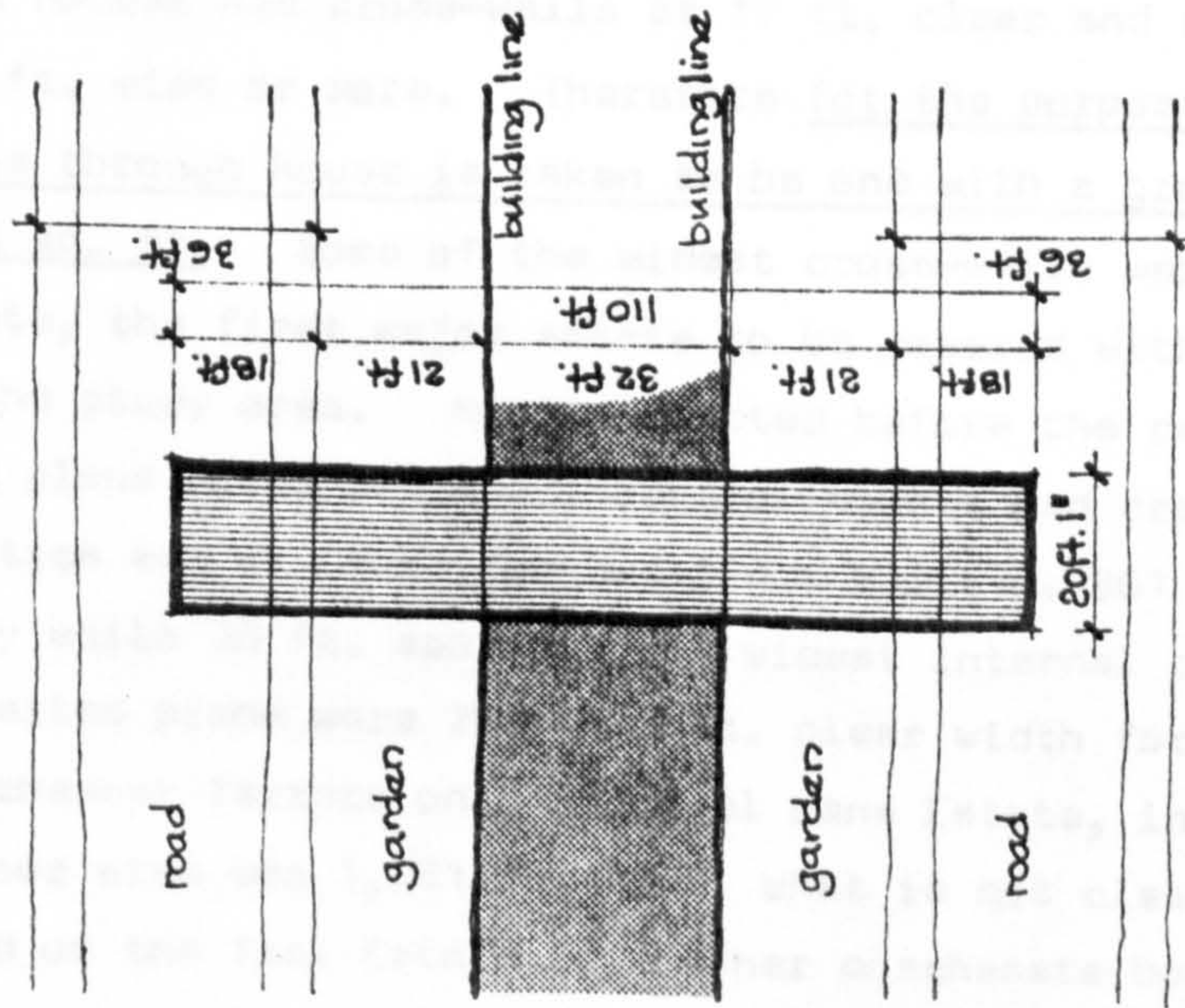


A typical plan of a lot from the deed plans of J.R. Ford for the Royal Park Estate can be seen in Fig. 103. The total area of the lot was 245 sq. yds. measured to the centre line of adjoining roads and land was designated for gardens to both the front and the rear of building lines.<sup>24</sup> The external dimensions of any house or pair of houses which could be erected were 32 ft. deep by 20 ft. 1 in. wide and if 9 in. thick walls were used, a maximum internal ground floor area of 30 ft. 6 ins. x 19 ft. 4 ins. would be left for a through house or 14 ft. 10½ ins. x 19 ft. 4 ins. for each of two back-to-back houses. Bay windows, porches, garden walls and external toilets could be built beyond the building lines and the choice of dwelling type was left open to purchasers by the provision of 36 ft. wide roads to both sides of the lot. If a whole street was developed with similar sized lots this layout would give 19 dwellings per acre when through houses were erected or 38 dwellings per acre if back-to-backs were preferred.

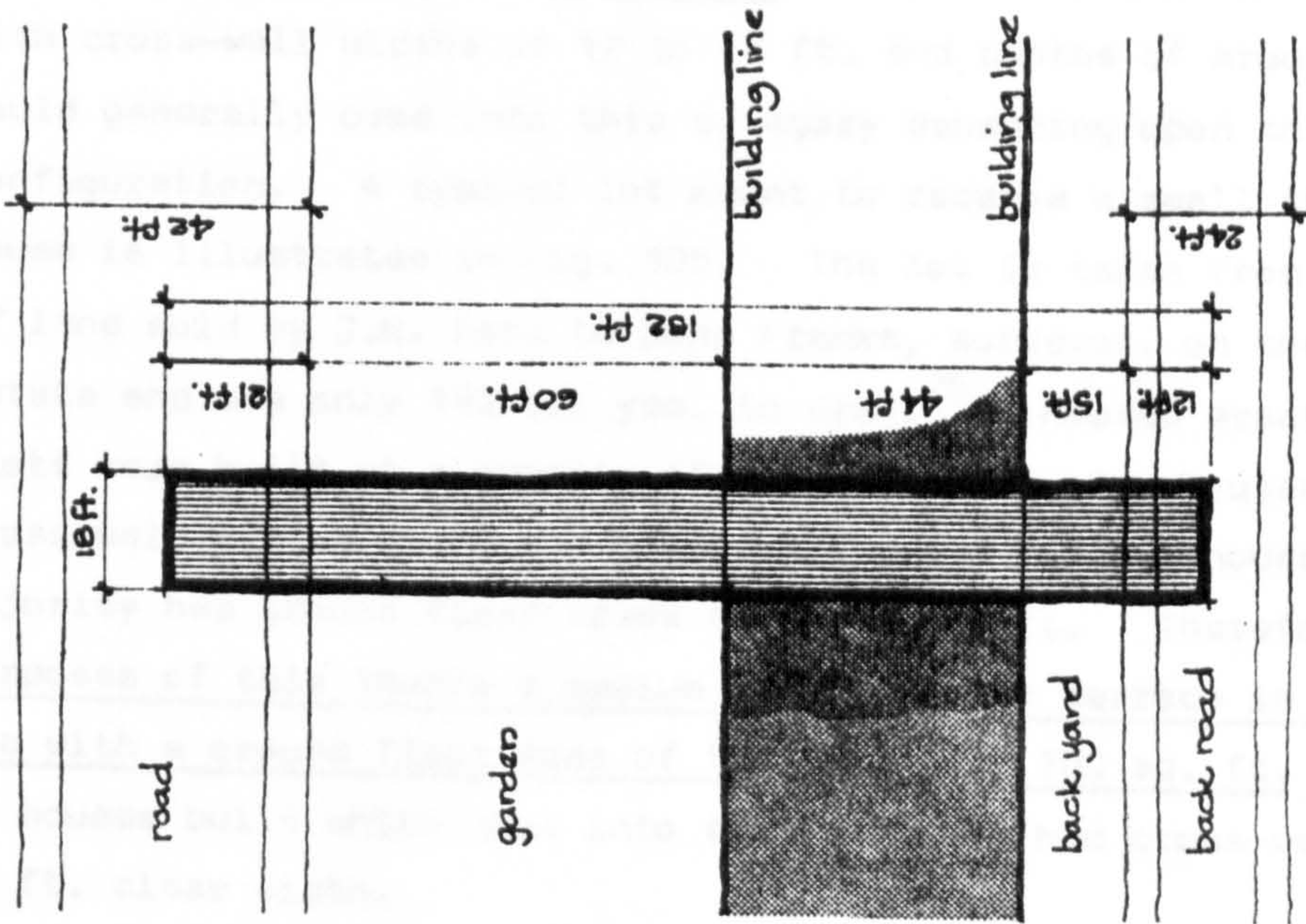
In some cases the landowner allowed more flexibility by having only one building line and thus permitting the erection of 'back additions' to houses. Sculleries, water closets, bathrooms and even extra bedrooms could be provided in the form of single or two-storey projections built in the space normally reserved for rear gardens. A typical example of a lot of this type taken from the deed plans of T. K. Hattersley for the Royal Park Estate can be seen in Fig. 104. This part of the estate was laid out with a front and back road to both sides of the lots but only through houses were allowed to be built. A front garden and small back yard only were indicated, leaving the developer to erect as great an area of building to the rear as he wished or the building lines would allow. The lot size overall was 152 ft. 0 ins. in depth and 18 ft. wide giving an overall area to the centre line of adjoining roads of 304 sq. yds.<sup>25</sup> The houses which were finally erected on these plots belonging to Hattersley were through dwellings with two-storey extensions in the form of back additions containing sculleries with bathrooms at first floor level. The houses were built at a density of 16 dwellings per acre.

The average width of plots for through houses found on deposited plans for the study area was 17 ft. However, in the case of some lots on the Ford estate the width was increased to allow for the erection of wider

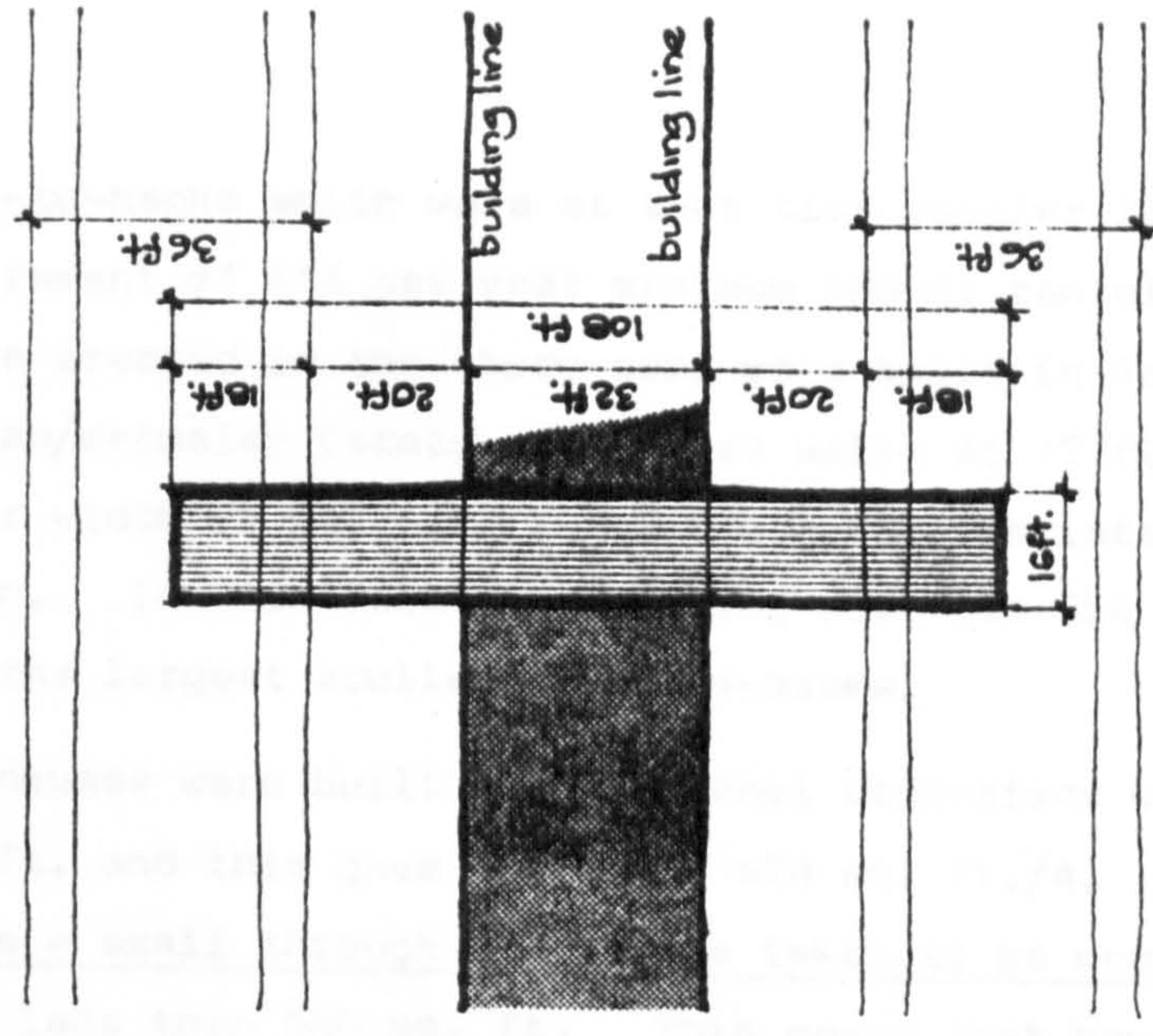




LOT 100 - 245 1/2 SQ. YDS.



LOT - 304 SQ. YDS.



LOT - 192 SQ. YDS.

Fig. 103 - 105 Drawings of typical lots for sale on the Royal Park, Hattersley and Ford Estates, 1888 - 1891.



scullery back-to-backs which were at that time popular in Leeds and met the requirement of £15 per year minimum annual rental. The smallest through houses erected in the study area were built in Ashville Avenue on the Cardigan/Walmsley Estate with cross walls at 12 ft. 9 in. centres, giving a clear width of only 12 ft. together with an internal depth of 29 ft. 6 in. In this case the dwelling size was 354 sq. ft./4, smaller than the largest scullery back-to-backs.

Many through houses were built with internal dimensions of around 14 ft. by 30 ft. and this gave a size of 420 sq. ft./4. For the purposes of this thesis a small through terrace is taken to be one with a ground floor area of less than 500 sq. ft. This means that houses erected with cross-wall widths of 12 to 15 ft. and depths of around 30 ft. would generally come into this category depending upon the plan configuration. A typical lot meant to receive a small through house is illustrated in Fig. 105. The lot is taken from the deed plans of land sold by J.R. Ford to John Franks, surveyor, on the Royal Park Estate and was only 192 sq. yds. in area.<sup>26</sup> Houses erected on these plots were built at a density of 25 per acre. Few houses built with cross-wall widths of 16 ft. clear were small through houses and the majority had ground floor areas over 500 sq. ft. Therefore for the purposes of this thesis a medium sized through terrace is taken to be one with a ground floor area of 500 sq. ft. - 700 sq. ft. The majority of houses built which came into this category had cross-walls at 17 ft. clear width.

Large through houses had cross-walls at 17 ft. clear and above and some were 20 ft. wide or more. Therefore for the purposes of this thesis a large through house is taken to be one with a ground floor area over 700 sq. ft. Some of the widest cross-walls were found on the Teal Estate, the first major estate to be covered with through terraces in the study area. Mainly erected before the requirement for deposited plans to be approved, several houses had cross-walls at 25 ft. centres and at least two dwellings built c.1861 were built with the party walls 30 ft. apart. The widest internal cross-walls found on deposited plans were 28 ft. 9 in. clear width for a house erected in Rochester Terrace on the Chapel Lane Estate, in this case the ground floor area was 1,081 sq. ft. What is not clear in the examples found on the Teal Estate is whether purchasers bought two smaller lots and erected only one house on the site.

There was no reason why a purchaser of several lots or a whole building

block laid out for through houses should not increase or decrease the number of houses he actually erected when compared with the approved sale plan. A block intended to receive 12 houses could produce a row of 14 or only 10 houses through adjustment of the cross-wall centres. Changes of this sort were only possible if the restrictive covenants and building bye-laws were complied with. On a smaller scale, three lots could be bought and only two larger dwellings erected and similarly, two plots could be used to accommodate one large double fronted house. Generally it was easier to decrease the number of houses and increase the dwelling size because this lifted the annual rental they attracted. Increasing the number of dwellings in a row and decreasing the dwelling size was more difficult because this reduced the annual rental value of each house. A reduction of this sort was possible if a protracted time period had occurred since the estate was first offered for sale.

One example was found on deposited plans of a developer who purchased two identical lots and then proceeded to erect one double fronted through house. Mr. Thomas Humble, an oil merchant, erected his house in Kensington Terrace in 1875 with an internal cross-wall width of 31 ft. and a floor area of 1,184 sq. ft./3. If bay windows and back additions which formed sculleries and bathrooms are excluded, the greatest depth from front to rear found on deposited plans for through houses was the 38ft.6 ins., which was the dimension used by Thomas Clapham when he erected five houses in Clapham Road in 1868.

When laying out building blocks to receive through terraces it became customary practice to terminate rows of houses with plots which, because they could receive daylight from three sides, were reserved for better quality dwellings than those in the rest of the block. Often the road layout meant that a road at right angles to the principal roads created a termination to a building block, and if the intersecting road was at an angle to the principal roads, the end plots tended to be splayed on at least one boundary. This meant that the estate surveyor had a simple choice before him, to stop short with his building lots and allow for a larger end terrace or to continue right up to the back edge of pavement and create space for what often turned out to be an irregular shaped and smaller end terrace (see Fig. 106). In the first case the larger end terrace was usually erected with its principal rooms facing at right angles and away from the rest of the houses in the row, in the latter case the smaller end house, which was



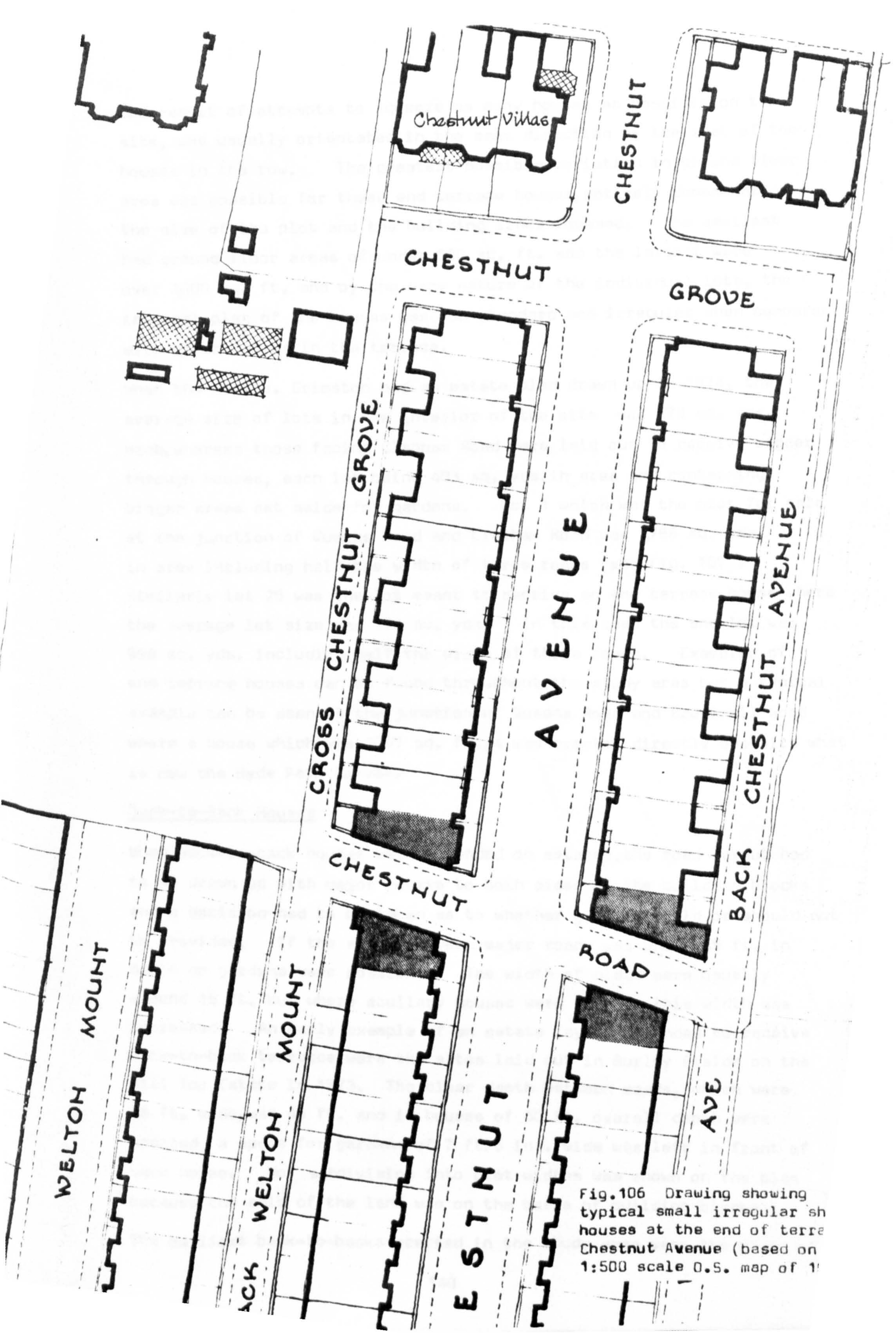


Fig. 106 Drawing showing typical small irregular sh houses at the end of terre Chestnut Avenue (based on 1:500 scale O.S. map of 1



the result of attempts to squeeze as many houses as possible on the site, was usually orientated in the same direction as the rest of the houses in the row. The greatest possible variation in ground floor area was possible for these end terrace houses, entirely dependent on the size of the plot and the building lines imposed. The smallest had ground floor areas of under 500 sq. ft. and the largest were over 1,000 sq. ft. and by the very nature of the individual lots, the internal plan of the houses was non-standard and irregular when compared with other houses in the terrace.

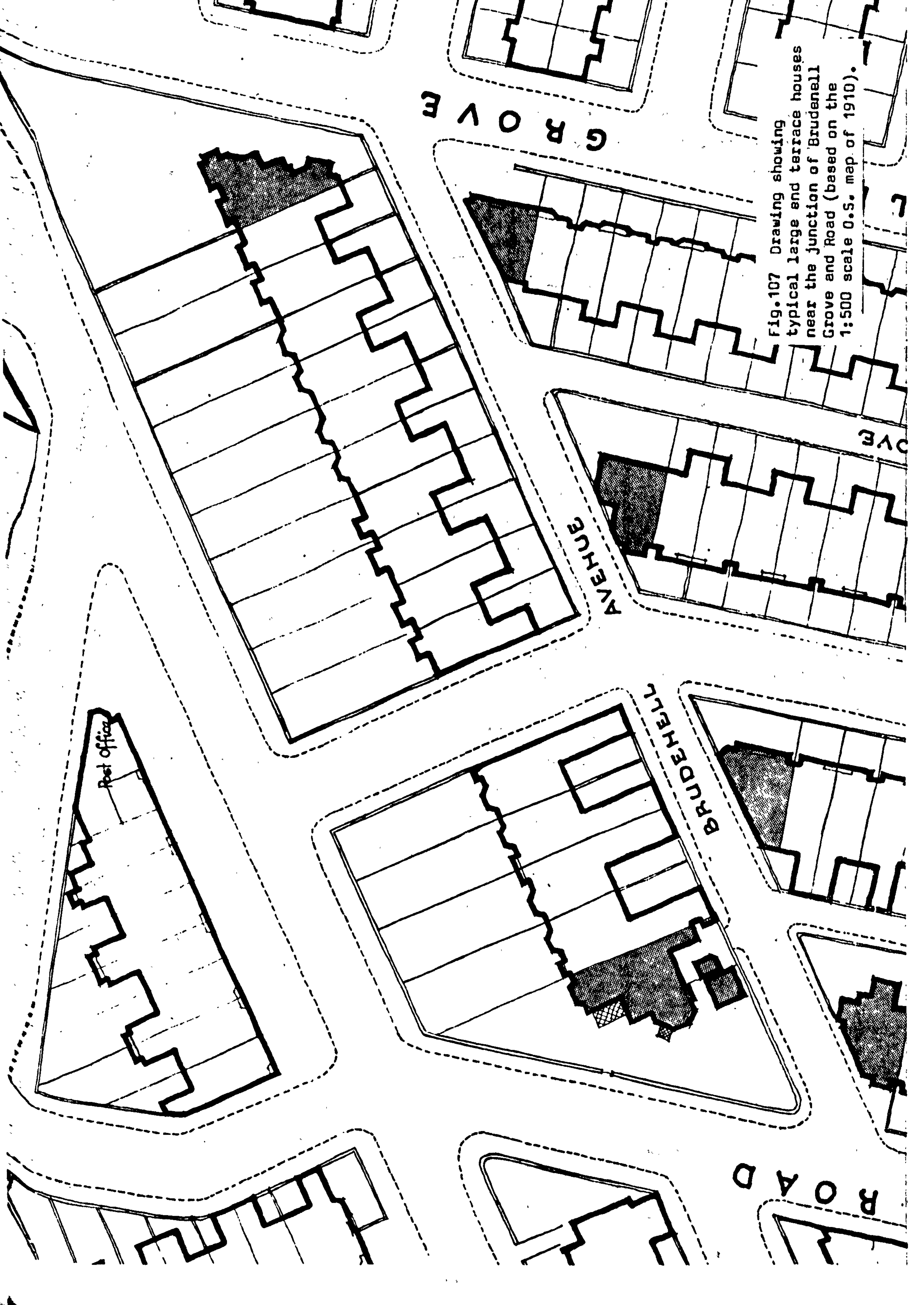
When the Messrs. Grimston had an estate plan drawn up in 1874, the average size of lots in the interior of the site was 278 sq. yds. each, whereas those facing Clapham Road were laid out to receive bigger through houses, each lot being 403 sq. yds. in area and containing bigger areas set aside for gardens. Lot 1 which was the plot for sale at the junction of Queens Road and Clapham Road was 1,786 sq. yds. in area including half the width of three roads (see Fig. 107). Similarly lot 25 was the lot meant to receive an end terrace house where the average lot size was 278 sq. yds. In this case the end lot was 998 sq. yds. including half the width of three roads. Examples of end terrace houses can be found throughout the study area but a typical example can be seen at the junction of Queens Road and Brudenell Road where a house which was 1,007 sq. ft./4 was erected directly opposite what is now the Hyde Park Cinema.

#### Back-to-Back Houses

When back-to-back houses were intended on estates, the road layout had to be drawn up with major access to both sides of the building blocks and a decision had to be taken as to whether gardens should or should not be provided. If the space between major roads was under 35 ft. in depth no gardens were possible. The width of plots were usually around 15 ft. but where scullery houses were erected, this width was increased. An early example of an estate layout intended to receive back-to-back terraces were the sites laid out in Burley Fields on the Hill Top Estate in 1873. The clear depth between roads, which were 36 ft. wide, was 45 ft. and if houses of 30 ft. overall depth were erected, a space for gardens of 7 ft. 6 ins. wide was left in front of each house. No subdivision into plot widths was shown on the plan because the sale of the land was on the basis of building blocks.

The earliest back-to-backs erected in the study area were the block of





GROVE AVENUE

AVENUE

BRUDENELL AVENUE

ROAD D

Post Office

Fig. 107 Drawing showing typical large and terrace houses near the junction of Brudenell Grove and Road (based on the 1:500 scale O.S. map of 1910).

8 dwellings built in Kensington Terrace on the Teal Estate c.1861 - 65. These were unusual in that they were 4 storeys in height without attics. The plans have not survived but the overall size of the dwellings were 24 ft. wide by 15 ft. deep and originally the dwellings had earth closets in the gardens. From then on other back-to-backs were built in four main areas: The Royal Park, Ford Estate; Headingley village; the Clapham/Pearson Estate and the Cardigan/Walmsley Estate. The smallest back-to-backs were built in 1880 in Grunberg Street and Place, close to the centre of Headingley village. These were developed by Messrs. Earnshaw and Peat and deposited by the architect Fred Worsnop. The average size was only 221 sq. ft./3 but end houses designed to fit on the building block produced a smaller and larger dwelling. The smaller houses had no sculleries and the single ground floor room measured only 13 ft. 6 ins. by 13 ft. The smallest house was 175 sq.ft/3 and the largest was 247 sq. ft./3. In all cases the houses had no attics and the dwellings were entered straight off the street (see Figs.108 - 109).

The more normal sized back-to-backs were built in blocks of 8 with spaces between for external privies and can be seen in the Granby Road area of Headingley. These were erected between 1886 - 1890 and, although entered off the street and without gardens, typical sizes were 266 sq. ft./4, with end houses as large as 392 sq. ft./4. The houses were scullery houses built on lots 18ft. 9 ins.wide and totalling 136 sq. yds.in area. Another estate where back-to-backs were erected in blocks of 8 with privies in yards was the Clapham/Pearson Estate. In John Street and Elizabeth Street they averaged 273 sq. ft./4 in 1893 when entered off the street, and a year later in 1894, back-to-backs were erected in nearby Pearson Grove with a water-closet in the garden to each house. These houses average 276 sq. ft./4.

On the Royal Park, Ford Estate all the back-to-backs erected had gardens and water-closets because the estate had been laid out by his surveyor to accommodate through terraces. The back-to-backs on this estate varied from 261 sq. ft./4 to 400 sq. ft./4 in the case of the larger end terrace houses and the average sized dwelling was 300 sq. ft./4. The majority of this type of house were built by the two Leeds builders, Bilbrough and Palframan, working in partnership and the clear internal depth varied from 13 ft. 6 ins.to 15 ft. 6ins. and was combined with a variety of cross-wall widths.

In 1902 back-to-backs were developed by B. & W. Walmsley in Hesse Walk and Hesse Street, each with gardens and water-closets. The





Fig.108 Deposited elevation of back-to-back houses, Grunberg Street and Place, Headingley village (F. Worsnop 1879).



Fig.109 Blind back-to-back houses, Grunberg Grove, taken just prior to demolition.



houses varied in size from 252 sq. ft. to 441 sq. ft. The last block of back-to-backs was built on the same estate in 1910 for John Brook, 22 houses in one row each with gardens and averaging 302 sq. ft./4. They were the last to be built before the Great War but not the last to be built in the study area.<sup>27</sup>

From the above figures the houses built in the study area can be classified by size based on the ground floor plan area as follows:

Table 70 House Types Classified by Ground Floor Area for the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

House Type	Ground floor area <sup>a</sup>
Detached villas	850 sq. ft. - 3000 sq.ft.
Semi-detached villas	500 sq. ft. - 2500 sq.ft.
Lodges and cottages	300 sq. ft. - 500 sq.ft.
Houses over shops	450 sq. ft. - 1000 sq.ft.
Small through terraces	350 sq. ft. - 500 sq.ft.
Medium through terraces	500 sq. ft. - 700 sq.ft.
Large through terraces	700 sq. ft. - 1200 sq.ft.
Back-to-backs	175 sq. ft. - 450 sq.ft.

a Source, deposited building plans. The areas have been rounded up or down slightly to simplify the table.

### 12.3 Standard Planning Solutions for Various House Types

Examination of deposited building plans shows that the internal planning for the various house types listed in 12.2 above can be said to fall into two distinct categories. Those where some form of standard plan could be used and repeated with only slight variations to suit a particular site or estate layout, and those where the internal planning was a one-off design. Rows of terraces including back-to-back, through houses and houses over shops when built in rows, all came into the first category and where possible a developer used standard plans. The common factor was that these dwellings were built in terraces of varying lengths and this meant that they were subject to the straitjacket of the estate layout which set out a norm for plot sizes. Only in the case of end terraces or where two plots were purchased to be developed with one house did a considerable degree of change take place in the internal planning. The second category, one-off designs, were used to satisfy the predilections of the owner or developer and to fit a dwelling onto an irregular shaped plot at the end of a terrace or on sites where the area on which buildings could be erected was greatly reduced.



The detached villas, the larger semi-detached villas, lodges and cottages were all one-off designs and, as they were usually custom-built, no discernible pattern of standardisation of plan is apparent. The smaller semi-detached villas, however, had a foot in both camps because at least one plan was usually the mirror image of another and often identical pairs were built in rows, albeit with gaps in between, in a similar way to terrace houses. The largest semi-detached villas were like the large detached villas, individualistic in design and a mirror repeat was not evident in some adjoining pairs of dwellings. As the ground floor area reduced in size, the developer produced identical pairs until eventually a standardised design could be repeated either in an identical form or with minor variations. Some developers, as on housing estates today, preferred to keep the plan the same and introduce minor variations to the elevations or vice versa.

A distinction has to be made between the situation where it could be said that a standard plan had been used and where a similar plan had been used. The findings from the houses erected in the study area was that in the case of terrace housing especially, what at first sight appeared to be a unified whole on closer inspection was often a development with major unifying elements but containing many smaller details producing minor themes of variation. The problem for the casual observer is that the row of red-brick terraced houses appear to have been erected by the same builders or developers at one point in time and to a standardised design. This impression is usually a result of the number of unifying elements which bind together houses which now stand in rows but which were often built in a piecemeal fashion by several different developers over a long period of time. A walk up Ash Grove on the Fawcett/Clapham Estate with the observer facing the terrace on the east side clearly illustrates this point as it comprises property built over a period of 16 years.<sup>28</sup>

The unifying elements which made it difficult to distinguish between rows built at the same time with identical plans and others which were not can be summarised as follows: the use of the same external materials for walls, roofs and windows; the building lines defining gardens, dwellings and back yards; the height of the buildings often being, to some degree at least, uniform because annual rental was determined by the number of rooms in a dwelling and local custom did not favour houses over 4 storeys; the positioning of windows in only two external walls in a similar pattern which would suggest that the plans were identical even if this were not the case.

## Detached Villas

The large detached houses could have a variety of plan shapes depending upon the particular designer and the requirements of the owner. Nevertheless, a certain number of basic elements would be combined in the planning which can be seen repeated in various permutations in the villas of the study area. A main entrance, hall and staircase, major rooms such as dining, breakfast and drawing room together with a kitchen and rear entrance on the ground floor. A wine cellar and coal cellar would be placed beneath the house, major bedrooms on the first floor and servant's quarters in the attic. The gardens would contain a coach-house, stables, hay loft, coachman's or gardener's cottages, a conservatory attached to the house and in many cases extensive greenhouses or vineries with a large kitchen garden. The ground floor of the house was usually raised on a grassy pedestal even when the site was flat in order to give a more impressive effect.

Typical examples of this type of villa can be seen on the Fawcett Estate and on the Headingley Old Gardens Estate. Ludolf House, the villa built in 1870 for Henry Ludolf in Victoria Road, was one of these and had seven bedrooms and three attic rooms, the architect was S.E. Smith. In later years when the house was re-named Torridon and occupied by the clothier Norris R. Hepworth, the vineries were greatly expanded and a single-storey billiard room was added in 1892 by the architect, W.S. Braithwaite. Cardigan Lodge, built in Cardigan Road in 1878 to the designs of the architect Edward Birchall for J. Poulter Webb, was described in sale particulars when put on the market in 1893:

### 'CARDIGAN LODGE,

One of the most complete Houses in the suburb of Headingley, Leeds in every way singularly adapted to the requirements of a business or professional man of position.

#### THE RESIDENCE

was built about 15 years ago to the designs of Edward Birchall, Esq., and under the direct supervision of the owner, J.P. Webb Esq., the site selected being one of the choicest which at that time could be secured on the celebrated Old Gardens Estate. Not only were the plans most carefully designed with special regard to securing complete arrangement combined with an unusual degree of domestic accommodation, but the utmost care was exercised as to build and internal decoration, and whilst the former will be found to be perfect in every respect, the latter, without being too ornate, is elaborate in detail and in the best possible taste.



The three reception-rooms are very beautifully proportioned, the drawing-room being 20 feet by 18 feet, the dining room 21½ feet by 17 feet, and library 15 feet by 16 feet; a handsome entrance hall, tiled lobby, lavatory, cloak-room, large kitchen, scullery, butler's pantry, and store-room complete the ground-floor accommodation.

There are nine sleeping apartments on the upper floors besides a dressing-room, two box-rooms, housemaids' closet, bath-room, and a well-lighted billiard room, 24 feet by 18 feet.

The basement contains ample cellerage.

The fittings throughout the house are more numerous than even an occupying owner might be expected to introduce; they are quite modern and most costly in character.

The same careful consideration which has been bestowed upon everything connected with the house itself, has been extended to the laying out and arrangement of the

#### GROUNDS AND OUTBUILDINGS.

The former are exceedingly charming and are of course seen at this season of the year to the best advantage; the latter comprise stabling for three horses, coach-house, harness room, and hay chamber, wash-house, and other outbuildings.

Special mention should be made of the fine fruit wall, and of the valuable vinery, which contains six choice vines, all of which are healthy and in good bearing order.

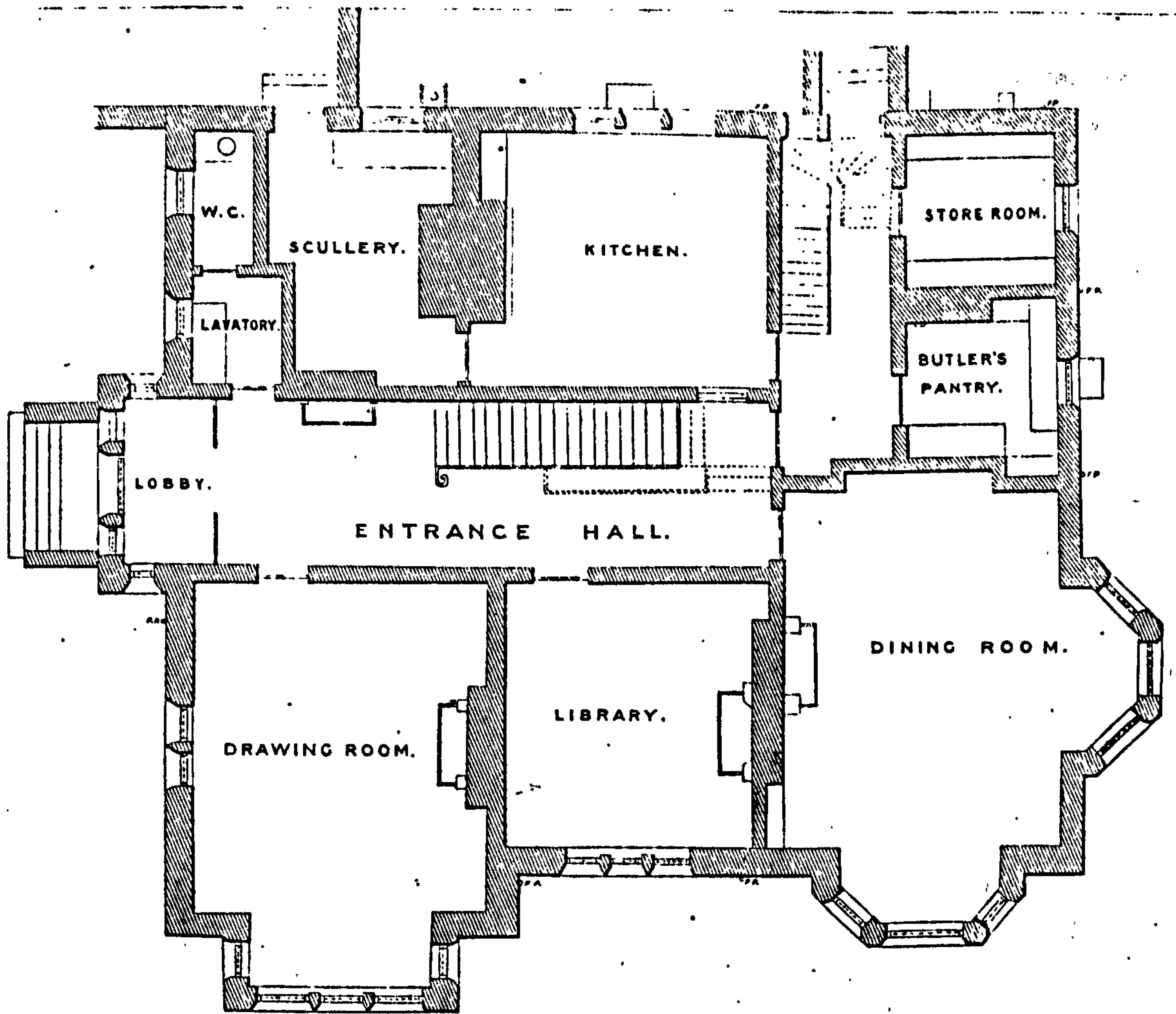
The Estate is well drained, indeed the establishment may be described as in perfect order and ready for immediate occupation.<sup>29</sup> (See Fig. 110).

After eliminating several phrases which have been inserted by the estate agents in order to enhance the property, the description can be taken as fairly typical of a detached gentleman's residence of the period. It was built on a grassy pedestal as can be seen on Fig. 111 but was unusual in so far as the billiard room was on the first floor when most houses of this class had them at ground floor level and often in the form of a single-storey extension.

An example of a smaller detached house can be seen in Victoria Road at the junction with Chestnut Avenue on the Fawcett Estate.

Designed by a builder Henry Atkinson in 1888 for a plaster and lime merchant named Henry G. Atkinson, it is probable that it was originally intended to form one half of a pair of semi-detached villas. However, the other half was never built and the house remains detached to this day. Originally it had a basement with a wash cellar, coals and pantry, a kitchen, dining room and drawing room on the ground floor, three bedrooms and a bathroom on the first floor and two attic bedrooms. In contrast a small detached villa was erected in





*Ford & Warren,*  
SOLICITORS,  
Albion Street, Leeds

*Scale 8 Feet to an Inch.*

*Newsam & Golt,*  
LAND AGENTS & SURVEYORS,  
East Parade, Leeds

MARRERS, LTD., LEEDS



Fig.110 & 111 Plan and elevation of Cardigan Lodge in the Headingley Old Gardens Estate, from sale particulars in 1893 (E. Birchall 1877).



1884 in Bainbrigg Terrace and in this case the house was intended to stand alone from the outset. The architects were Smith & Tweedale and the owner Benjamin Ward Esq. The plan comprised two major reception rooms on the ground floor, three bedrooms on the first floor and servants' bedrooms on the second floor. It also had a wine cellar, a coal cellar and a wash kitchen in the basement (see Fig. 112).

### Semi-detached Villas

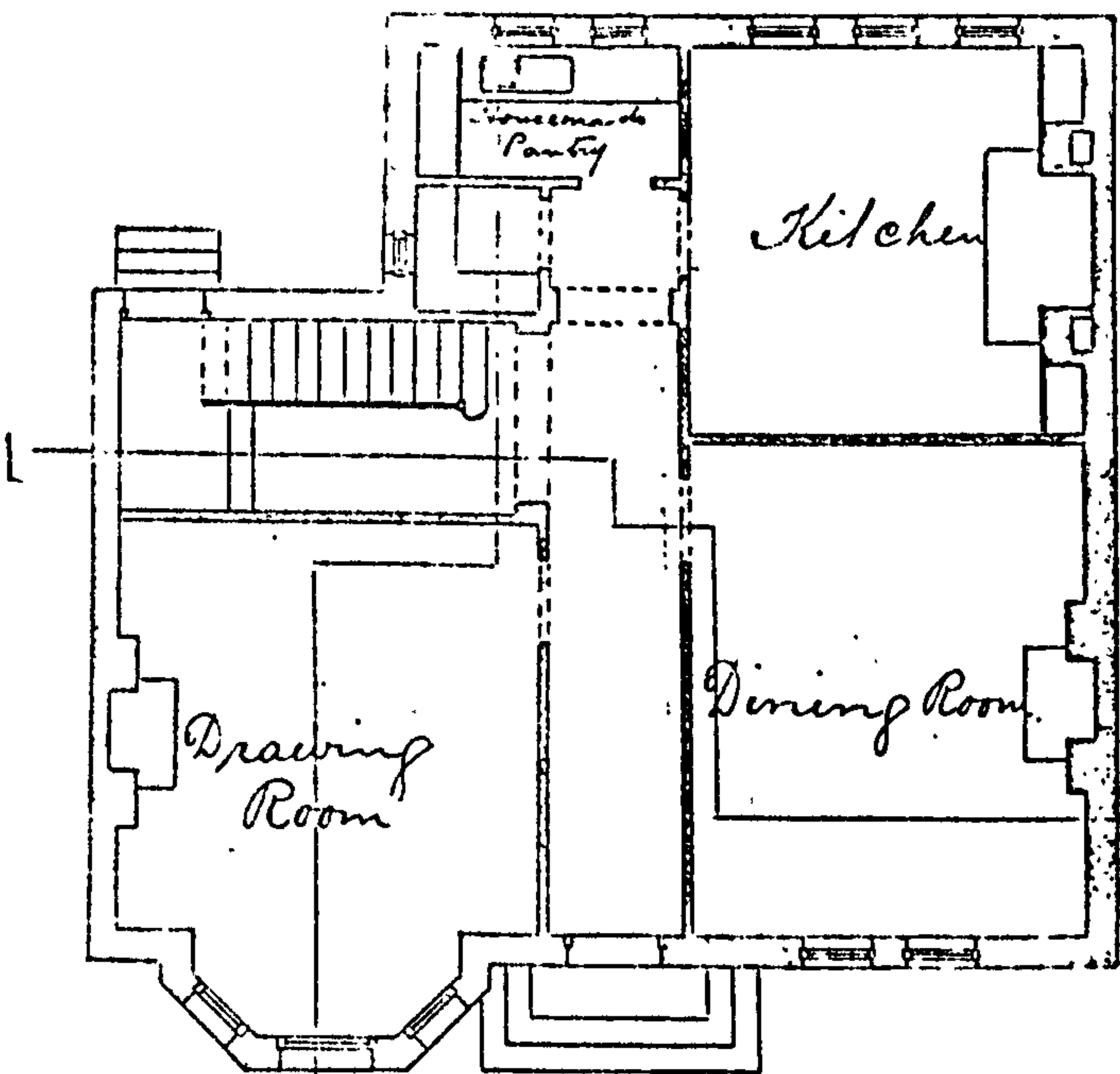
The very large semi-detached villas differed very little in the accommodation they provided to the large detached villas. Buckingham Villas on the Fawcett Estate each had reception rooms on the ground floor, seven bedrooms on the first floor, five attic bedrooms, a basement, lodges for servants, coach-house, stables and vineries in the grand manner. In contrast, the semi-detached villas built along Cardigan Road adjacent to the Cricket Ground are somewhat similar in external appearance and massing but were developed by a number of different developers. A typical example was the pair designed by the architects Buttery and Birds for Edward Walker and erected in 1904 (see Fig. 113).

The semi-detached villas built lower down Cardigan Road on the site of the house which had been called St. Michael's Tower were designed by the architect Joseph John Wood. The houses were erected in 1905 for the developer Robert Wood and had only three bedrooms at first floor level, the plans are illustrated in Fig. 114.

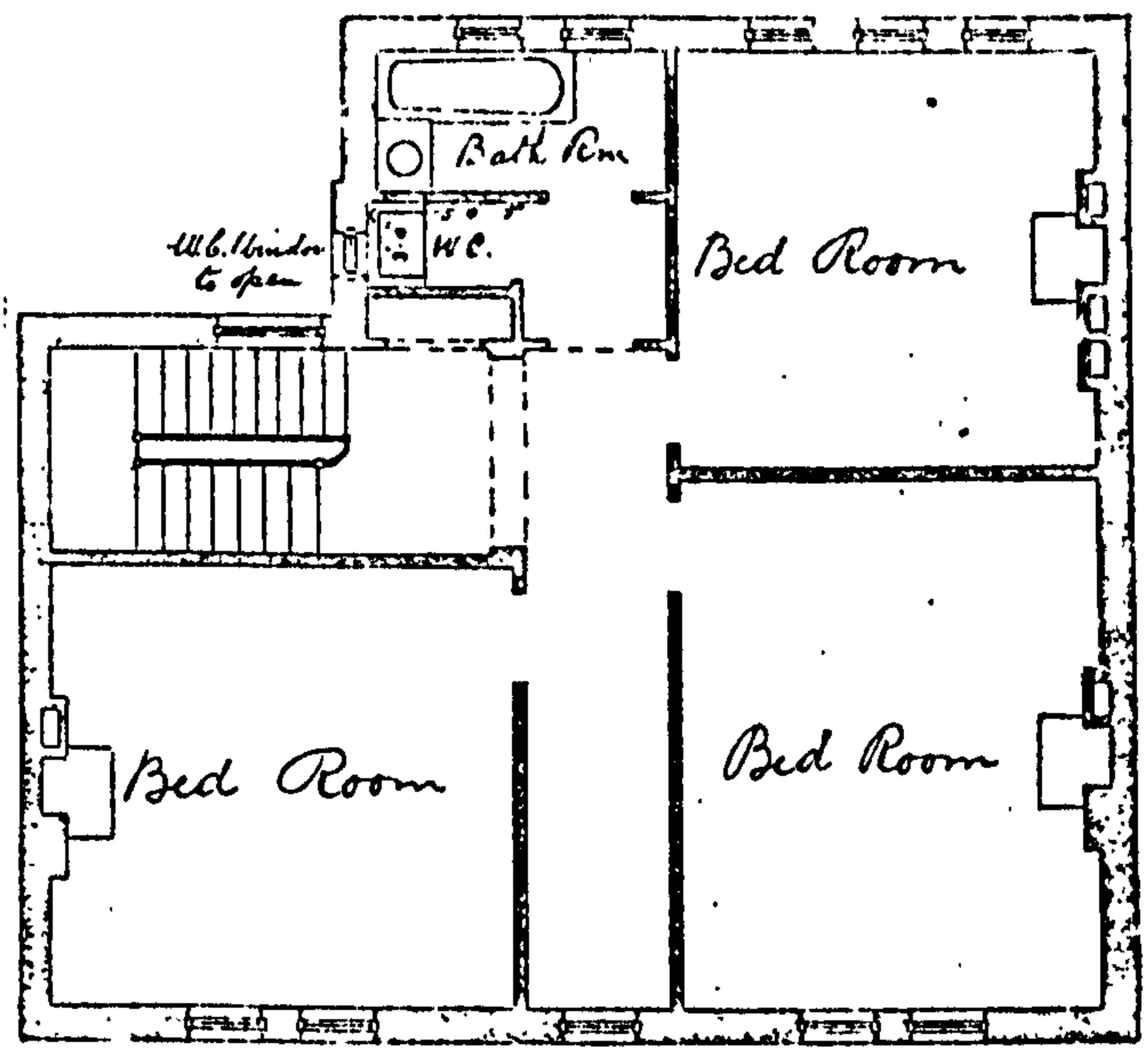
In comparison a genteel little estate of semi-detached houses was erected in St. Michael's Terrace by the builder William Bower. The houses were designed by the architect C.F. Wilkinson who, unlike Wood who preferred to vary the external appearance by having different elevations to a standard plan, produced a number of identical houses with common plans, elevations and interesting external details. These, like so many others in the study area, had their entrance doors and staircases adjoining each other in order to provide a buffer zone to cut down the transmission of noise between the major rooms.

The most unusual plans found on deposited drawings which related to an estate of semi-detached houses were those approved for the Manor House Estate and erected close to and in the grounds of Richmond House. Designed by F. & J.A. Wright, they were unusual in so far as the plan was identical to others used for through terraces with the simple addition of side windows. The centrally positioned staircase and the

Q



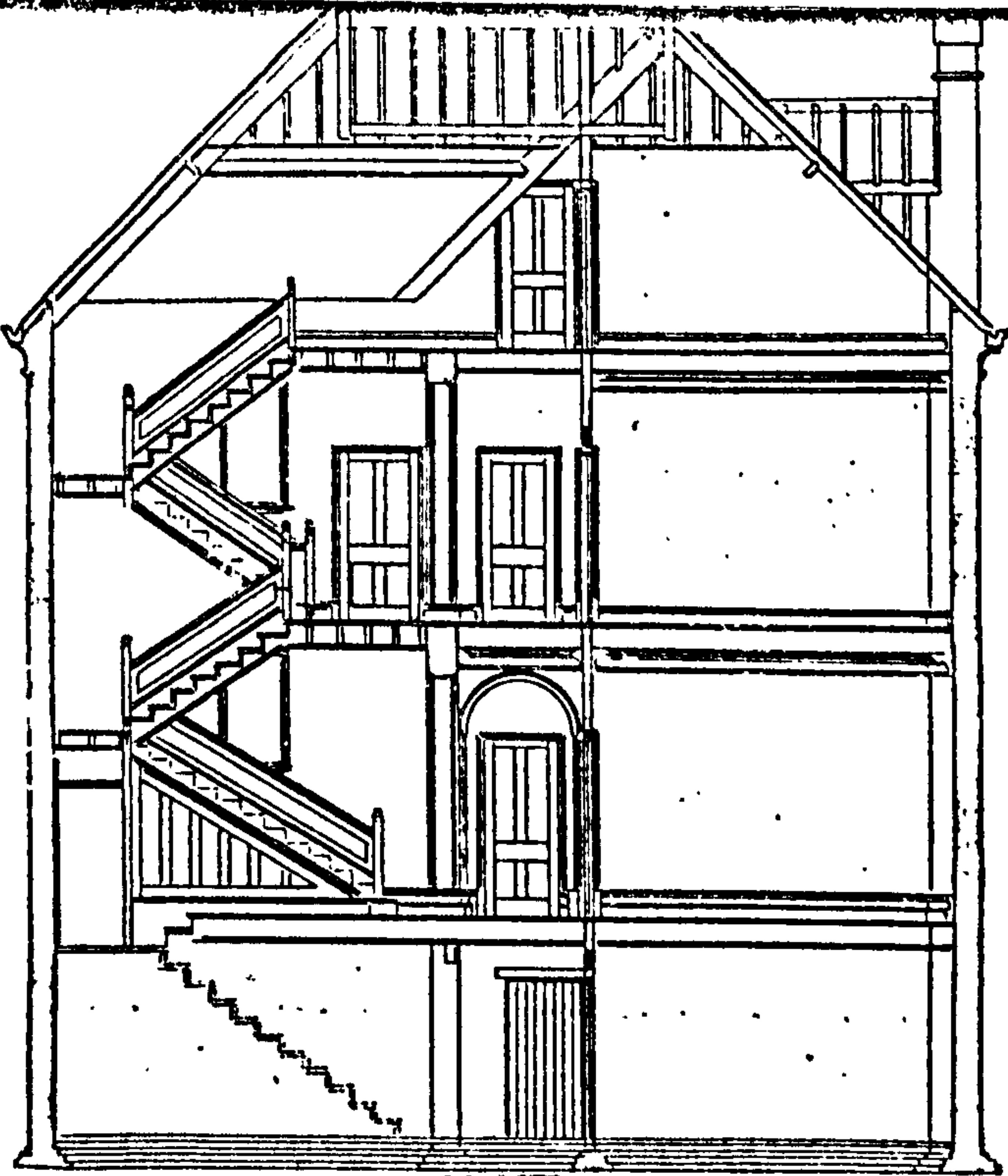
Ground Floor Plan



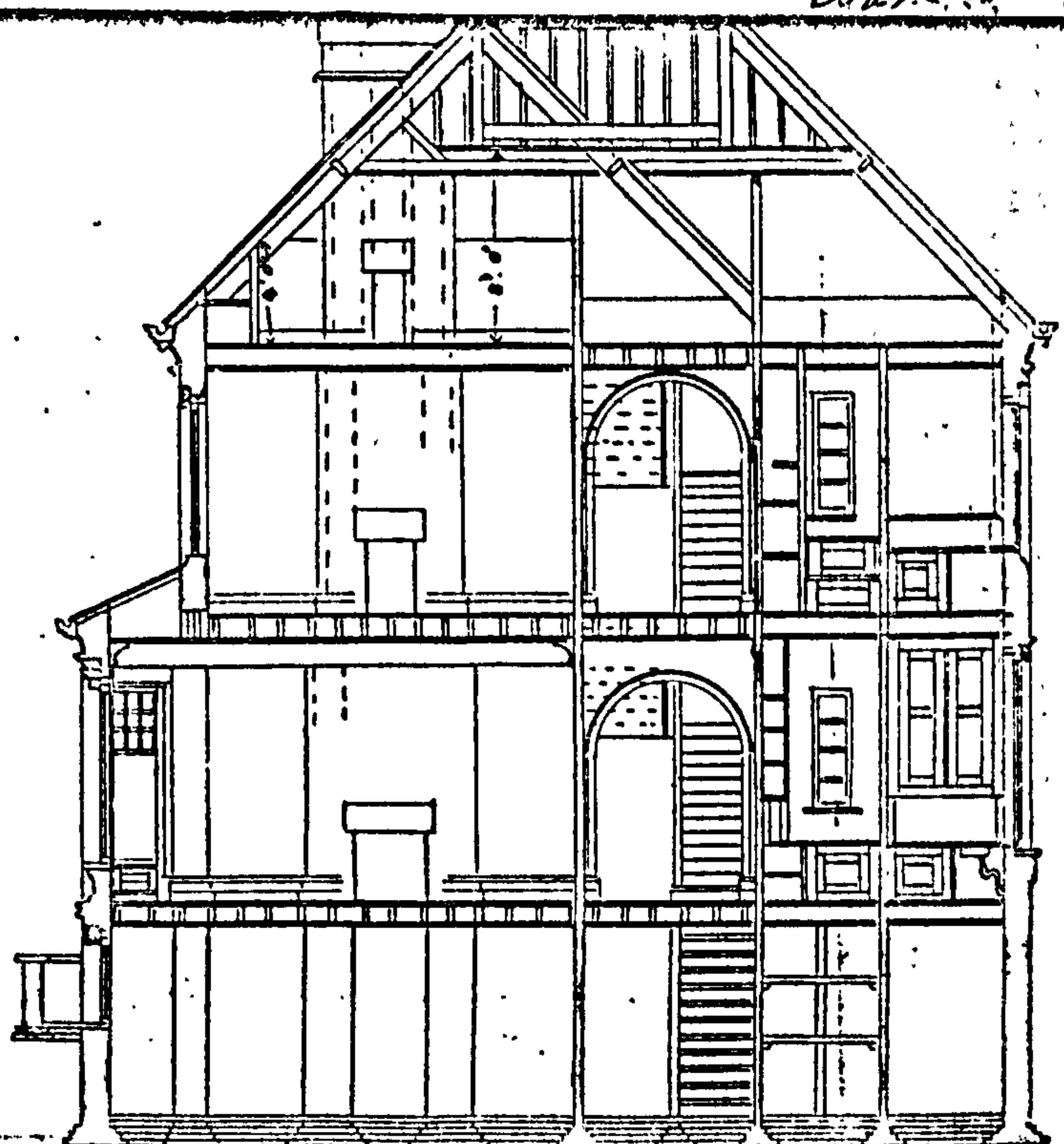
First Floor Plan

Smith & Tweedale  
Architects  
Nov. 22/83

0 10 20 30 40 50 feet



Section on A-B



Section on C-D

Fig. 112 Deposited plans and sections of detached villa, Bainbrigg Terrace (Smith & Tweedale 1883).



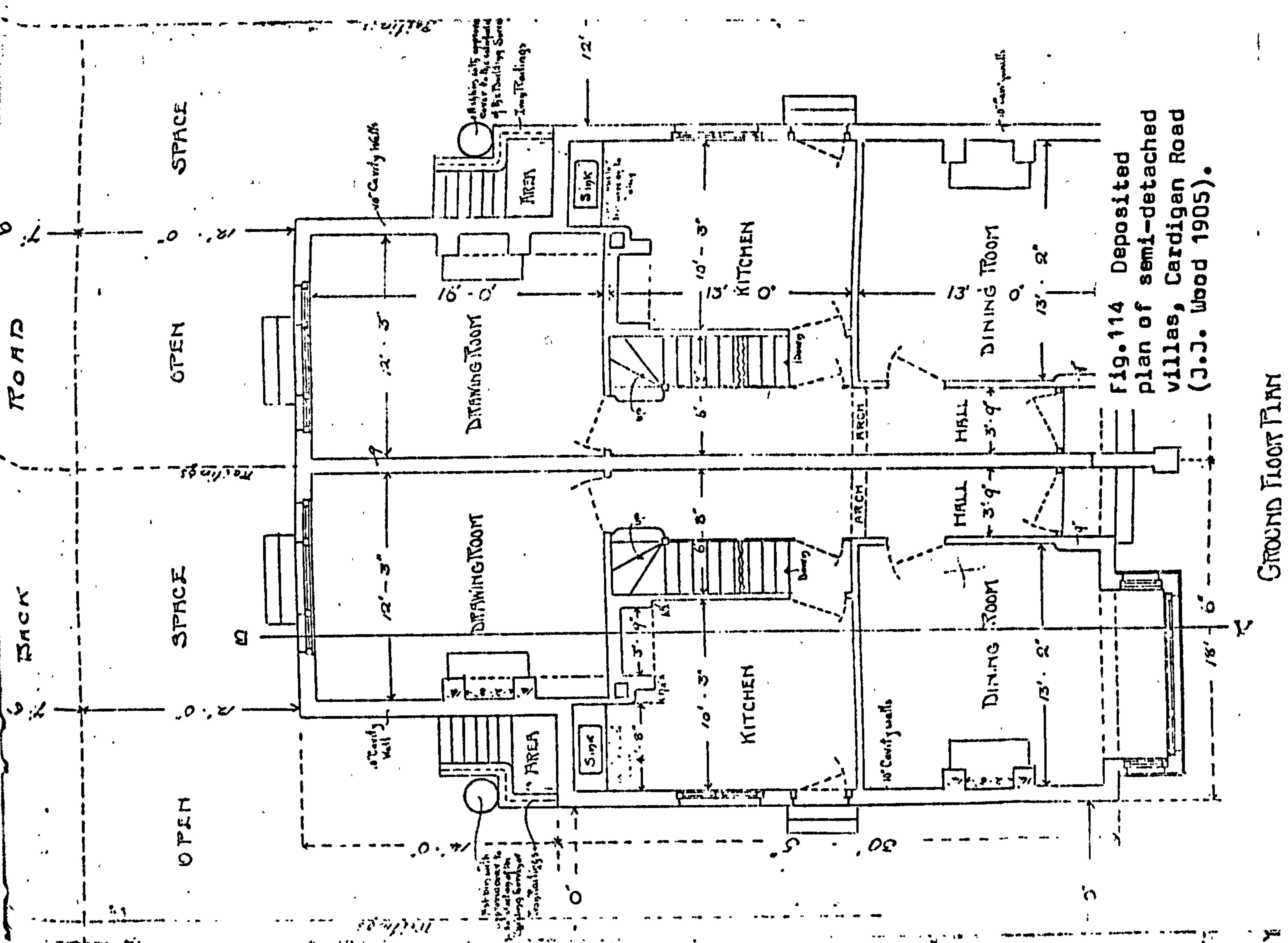


Fig. 114 Deposited plan of semi-detached villas, Cardigan Road (J.J. Wood 1905).

GROUND FLOOR PLAN

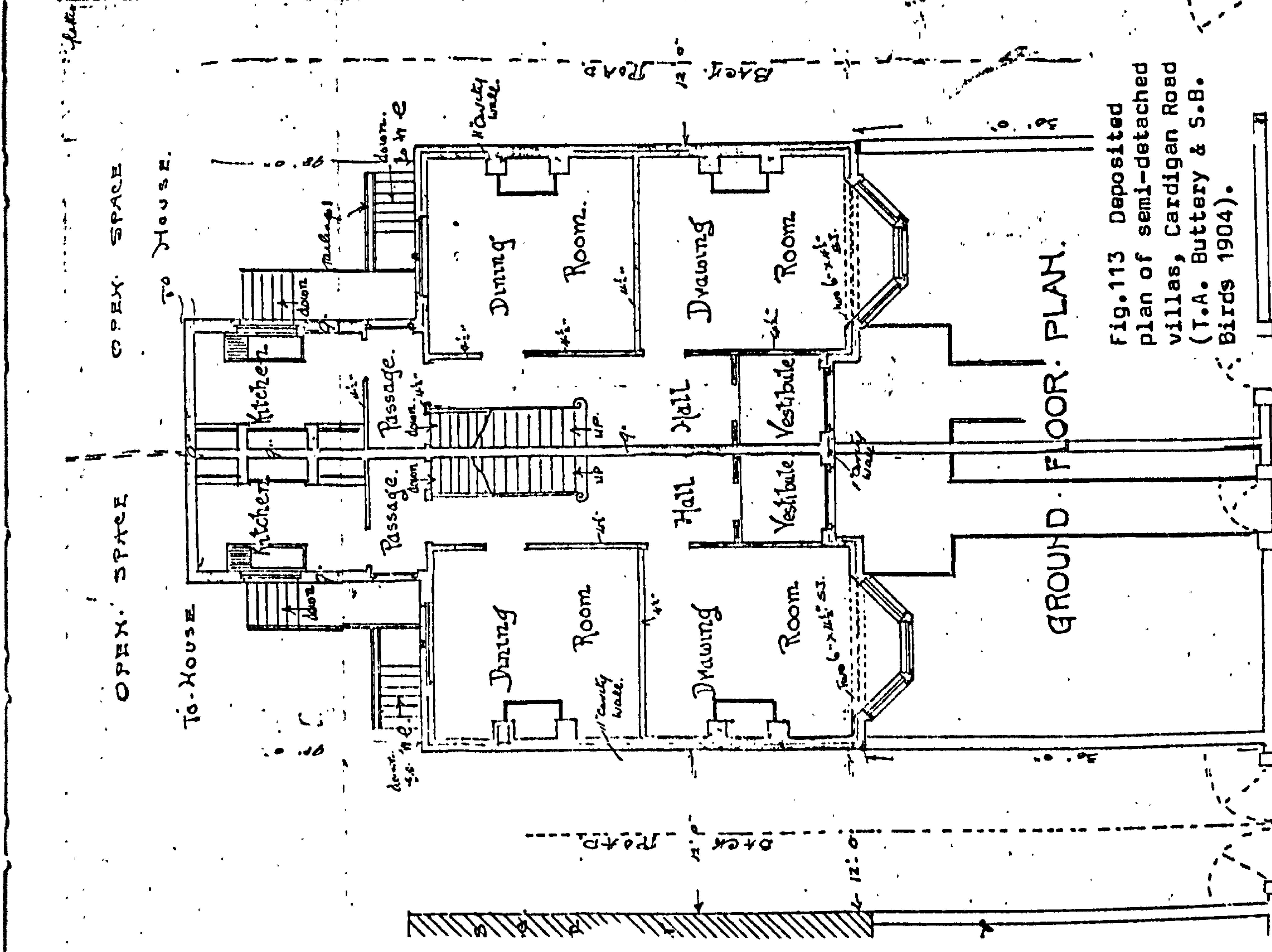


Fig. 113 Deposited plan of semi-detached villas, Cardigan Road (T.A. Buttery & S.B. Birds 1904).

GROUND FLOOR PLAN

Cardigan Road

= one inch

overall clear width of only 12 ft can be compared with plans for small through houses discussed later in this chapter (see Fig. 115).

#### Lodges and Cottages

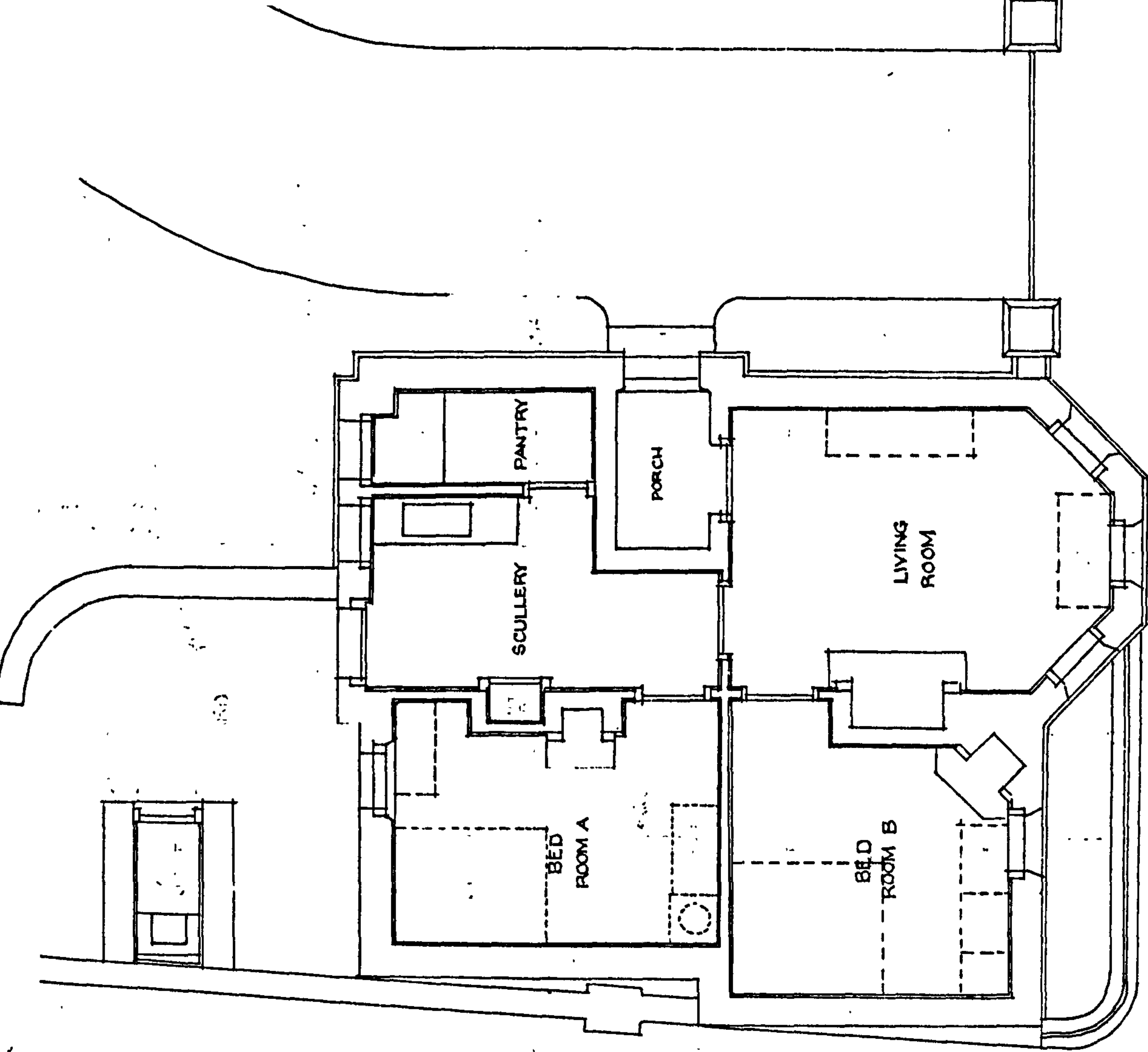
Lodges and cottages were usually erected at the entrance to or in the grounds of large villas but in some cases small cottages were built in conjunction with other developments such as cab proprietor's yards or nurseries. Some were single storey, others two storey and a few were dwellings incorporated into out-buildings such as stables, coach-houses and garages. The number that were erected in the study area were so few that conclusions can not be accurately drawn from the drawings inspected. It would appear, however, that each one was designed to meet a particular purpose and to conform with the amount to be expended on them. Generally entrance lodges were small when first built with few amenities and most of those that still remain have been extended and altered considerably (a process which began before 1914). A typical example of an entrance lodge can be seen at St. Ann's Tower, Headingley. Designed by the architect G. Corson for T.R. Harding J.P., it was erected in 1880 and had a scullery, living room, two bedrooms and an external earth closet (see Fig. 116).

#### Houses over Shops

There were two types of shops with dwellings over, the corner shop and the parade of shops. The former were often built at the end of a row of terraced houses where the last house or pair of houses were made larger so that in many cases an extra room could be accommodated on the ground floor for selling purposes. The latter were those built in continuous rows to provide a concentration of shopping facilities.

If the corner shop is examined first, it can be seen that they were built into either rows of through or back-to-back terraces. The designers and developers usually provided two rooms on the ground floor with one used for living and the other for selling, the basement provided convenient storage for merchandise and had some form of external trapdoor entrance for deliveries. Occasionally all of the ground floor was taken up by selling space leaving only a staircase to give access to the living accommodation on the first floor and the bedrooms on a second or attic floor. The corner shop was often introduced into a building block when a street layout would not allow an exact number of houses to fit onto a site without reducing the cross-wall centres to unacceptable limits. Similarly,





PLAN

Fig.116 Deposited plan of entrance lodge, Kirkstall Lane (G. Corson 1880).

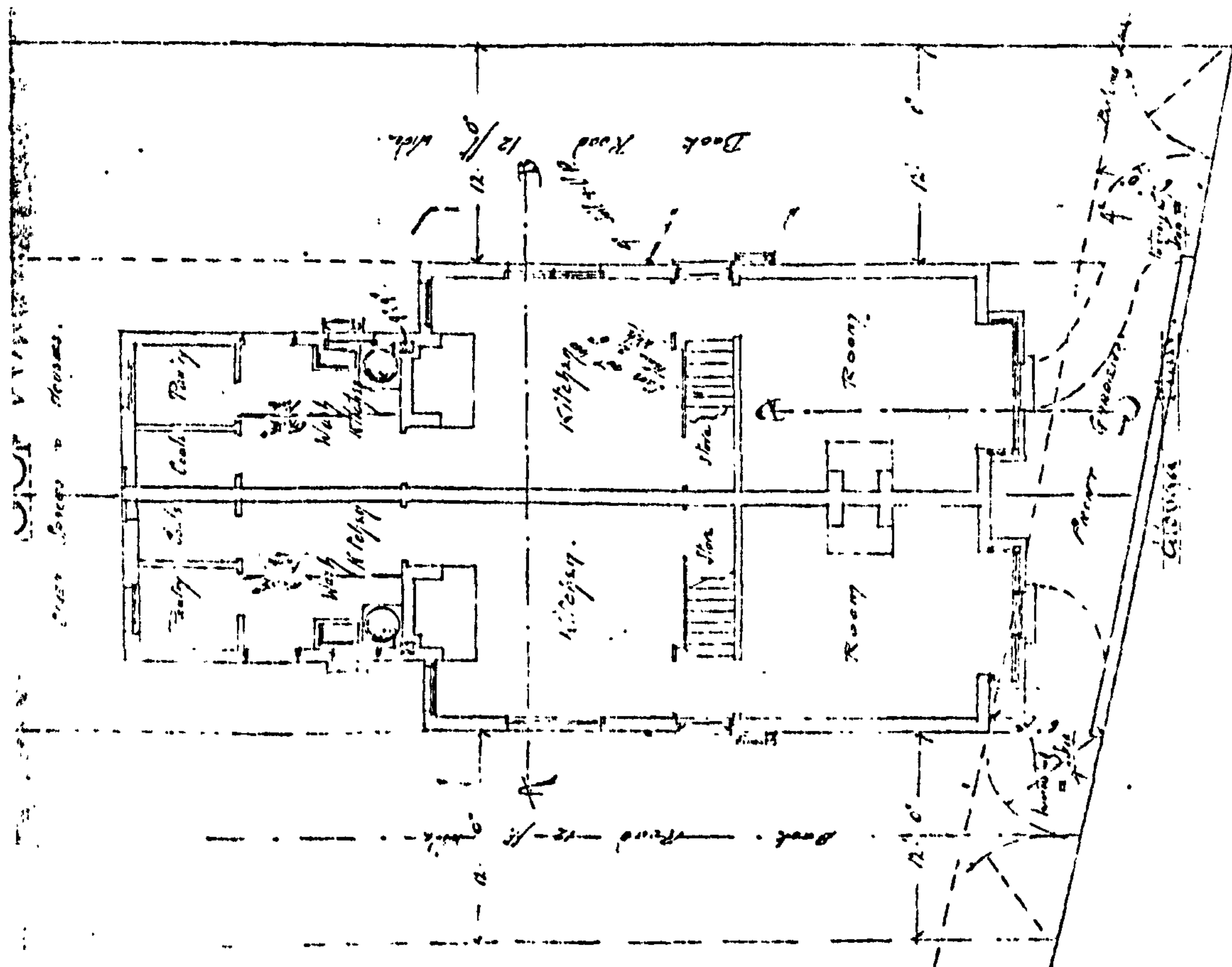


Fig.115 Deposited plans of semi-detached villas, Manor House Estate (F. & J.A. Wright 1904).

if restrictive covenants demanded a larger dwelling with an increased annual rental or total value to face a major road at the end of a block, an alternative to a larger end-terrace house was a house and shop premises. This method of overcoming the requirements of a restrictive covenant can be seen on the north side of Brudenell Road where several rows of houses terminate in a house and shop, such as Brudenell Road Post Office. The corner shop will be discussed in more detail under the heading of non-standard planning solutions.

At Hyde Park Corner, the Atkinson Estate was put up for sale and developed into shops with dwellings over from 1879 onwards. A typical example can be illustrated by considering the design submitted by Walter Hobson for the chemist Edward O. Brown at the centre of the development. The premises which were designed in 1880 were five storeys high and described on the drawings as a house and shop (see Fig. 9.5 ). The plan was too fragile to be copied but showed a cellar storage area, a ground floor shop with staircase and office at the rear, a first floor front sitting room and a kitchen and pantry at the rear, a w.c. and two bedrooms at second floor level, and two bedrooms in the attic.<sup>30</sup> The cross-walls were not parallel but at an angle to each other and because of the unusual shape of each of the ten plots and the curved frontage line facing Headingley Lane, any kind of standard plan was impossible. Even a design for the adjoining plot had a different plan. In this case the architect was Tom Anderson and the owner was S. Bottomley. The cellar had a storage room and a wash kitchen, the ground floor a rear kitchen separated by a central staircase from the shop, a bedroom and sitting room was provided at first floor, three bedrooms at second floor and two bedrooms in the attic.<sup>31</sup>

In contrast to the Atkinson Development, a parade of shops with houses over was completed in Brudenell Road between 1900 and 1902 comprising nine shops with living accommodation over. The development was designed by Daniel Dodgson for B. & W. Walmsley with five shops which could be said to have a standard plan and three shops were non-standard being designed to fit the triangular shaped plots of land at each end of the row (see Fig. 102 ).

In Headingley village many new shops were formed by altering existing houses or extending existing shop premises. Some new developments did take place and a typical example was the three shops with dwellings



over built by John Rayton in Otley Road on a site between Bennett Road and North Lane. In 1887 Rayton had the architect T. Butler Wilson alter Cardigan Lodge, a detached house in its own garden in Otley Road, so that the lodge remained a house but had two shops added onto its front to bring it out to the Otley Road pavement. Rayton then lived in the converted lodge using one of the shops as his fishmongers business and letting the other. In 1889 he commissioned T. Butler Wilson to design a shopping development on the open space at the side of Cardigan Lodge with three houses and shops.

### Through Terrace Houses

Because of the greater number of fixed parameters relating to the setting out and construction of terrace housing, it would be natural to assume that through houses could be developed using a standard repetitive plan. In order for this to be possible a number of variables also had to be taken into account and in many cases any one variable factor could singularly or in combination with others make the use of standard plans difficult or even impossible. This does not mean that standard plans were not found on deposited drawings, but several conditions had to be met if at least some amendments to plans already used for completed houses were not to prove necessary.

The fixed parameters can be summarised as follows:

- 1 Part of an estate or building block could be laid out to receive only through houses.
- 2 Building lines meant that walls of adjoining properties were in line with each other even if only on the principal frontage.
- 3 The depth from front to back did not vary much between 28 ft. and 33 ft. clear and could be fixed for a whole building block somewhere between these figures if back additions were ignored.
- 4 The number of storey heights would often be fixed by custom at either three or four for a whole terrace.
- 5 The materials used for the houses in any one period tended to remain common no matter who was building them.
- 6 The method of construction used to erect the substructure, superstructure and finishes was generally the same even on adjoining houses erected by different developers.

The variable factors can be summarised as follows:

- 1 Many streets were developed by a number of various developers who employed different professional advisors.
- 2 There was often a considerable time lag between the first and last house being completed and what was a suitable design solution at one point in time may not have been acceptable to a developer some 10 or 15 years later.

- 3 The width between cross-walls could vary not only from one building block to another but also within the same terrace and between adjoining houses.
- 4 Although the maximum number of storey heights for through houses did not normally exceed four, if annual rentals could be maintained this could be reduced part way along a row of houses if a developer wished to omit either attic or basement floors.
- 5 In many cases the rear facade of terraces had back additions built on to provide accommodation for sculleries, bathrooms and bedrooms. In contrast, other dwellings could have flush faces to both front and rear.
- 6 Terrace housing was often built on sloping land which required variations to plans especially at basement level to accommodate falls.
- 7 Plots situated at the end of building blocks, adjacent to roads or site boundaries were often irregular shaped and required non-standard design solutions.

From the above it can be seen that the most likely situation where a standard house plan could be utilised would be when a whole building block was being developed at one time by the same developer or builder. If the same developer could then purchase an almost identical building block where the fixed parameters were the same, a design solution could be used repetitively on more than one row of houses. This meant that only those developers who could afford to buy complete building blocks and finance the cost of building a number of houses in one operation were in a position to reduce the number of variables which could occur in order to standardise the procedure. Where a small builder purchased only two lots in a row of twelve houses and the remaining lots were developed by other owners at different times, the chances of a standard plan being used for his houses which was identical to others being erected were slim unless all concerned could gain access to drawings or to a published set of plans which were in general use.

In the study area the evidence would suggest that only one or two builder developers were operating on a large enough scale to develop whole building blocks on a repetitive basis and there is no evidence of standard plans being available for those operating on a smaller scale. Only B. & W. Walmsley were able to purchase large areas of land and were in a position to develop several building blocks. Other builders such as Stott purchased large areas of land but did not develop it and the majority of developers built on a piecemeal basis. The great number of different developers involved in building



houses in the study area made the use of standard house plans very difficult because, taking not only through houses into consideration but all house types, each developer only erected an average of 12 houses each between 1868 - 1914. If the largest developers, the Walmsley's, are omitted from the calculations, the remaining developers only built an average of 10 houses each in the same period.

The above calculations are based on a long time scale of over 40 years and the number of houses built by any one developer in a year would have been considerably less. What is not known, however, is the total number of houses a developer erected in Leeds as a whole as builders' business records have not been found and figures are only available for the study area. Dyos found that in Camberwell, of the developers who were builders, some 50% erected no more than 6 houses in a three year period and 75% of them built no more than 12 in the same period.<sup>32</sup> There are no comparable figures for the study area, but taking all house types into consideration, an estimate of the average number of houses built per year by the major developers in the study area is shown in the following table:

Table 71 Estimated Average Number of Houses Built Per Year by the Major Developers in the Study Area, 1868 - 1914

Developer	Houses erected	Time period in years	Average per year
BEAUMONT A.	whitesmith 80	14	6
BILBROUGH J.)	builders 50	3	17
PALFRAMAN A.)			
HEWLING B.	builder 92	13	7
HOBSON W.	architect 55	11	5
HUTTON J.	builder 50	8	6
MELDRUM A.N.	builder 52	11	5
PEARSON J.E.	builder 160	16	10
PICK J.	builder 110	15	7
SHARP J.N.	builder 62	6	10
WALMSLEY B.	builder 32	5	6
WALMSLEY W.	builder 60	8	8
WALMSLEY B. & W.	builders 277	24	12

The estimated figures shown for the study area are only for those relating to the major developers, the majority of developers built far fewer houses per year. Notwithstanding this fact, the highest figures in terms of houses built per year are those for B. & W. Walmsley working in partnership. Those built by Bilbrough and Palframan were all back-to-backs and had they included a mixture

of house types, as was the case with all other developers, the average figure per year would have been lower. Other builders such as Hutton and Meldrum built in similar number. It would appear therefore that those developers who were builders and erected the most number of houses per year would be most likely to use a standard plan on a repetitive basis for both through houses and back-to-backs. Both B. & W. Walmsley and J. N. Sharp built extensively in other areas of Leeds and were therefore in the best possible position to do so.

Deposited plans for through houses approved for the study area illustrate the wide variation of plan types used. In general terms the Walmsley brothers took a basic plan and repeated it several times in a row on those occasions when they developed whole building blocks. This can be seen in such streets as Ashville Grove and Hesse Mount.<sup>33</sup>

In situations like these they could standardise on cross-wall widths, storey heights and other variables such as the use of back additions so that the same plan could be used wherever possible. Even then the 17 houses in Hesse Mount used two different cross-wall widths.

Other developers used one of several basic plans depending upon the cross-wall width, the number of storeys and whether or not back additions were incorporated into the design. Even so variations on basic themes occurred, particularly in the positioning of the staircase. What is not known, however, is whether a design for only a few houses in a terrace in the study area which differs in arrangement to those of its neighbours, was identical in plan layout to several others built by the same developer elsewhere in Leeds. For this to have been the case the site, the restrictive covenants and all other factors which were often variable would have had to be identical if at least some modification to the plan was to be avoided (see Figs. 117 - 119).

Appendix 15 contains a number of illustrations of typical plans for through terraces found on deposited drawings and the order is based on ascending size of cross-wall width. The smallest clear width between cross-walls for a through house in the study area was 12 ft. and this can be compared with 11 ft. 6 ins. found in the sample of house plans for all Leeds for a scheme in York Road where the houses had a ground floor area of only 239 sq. ft.<sup>34</sup> The examples chosen to use as



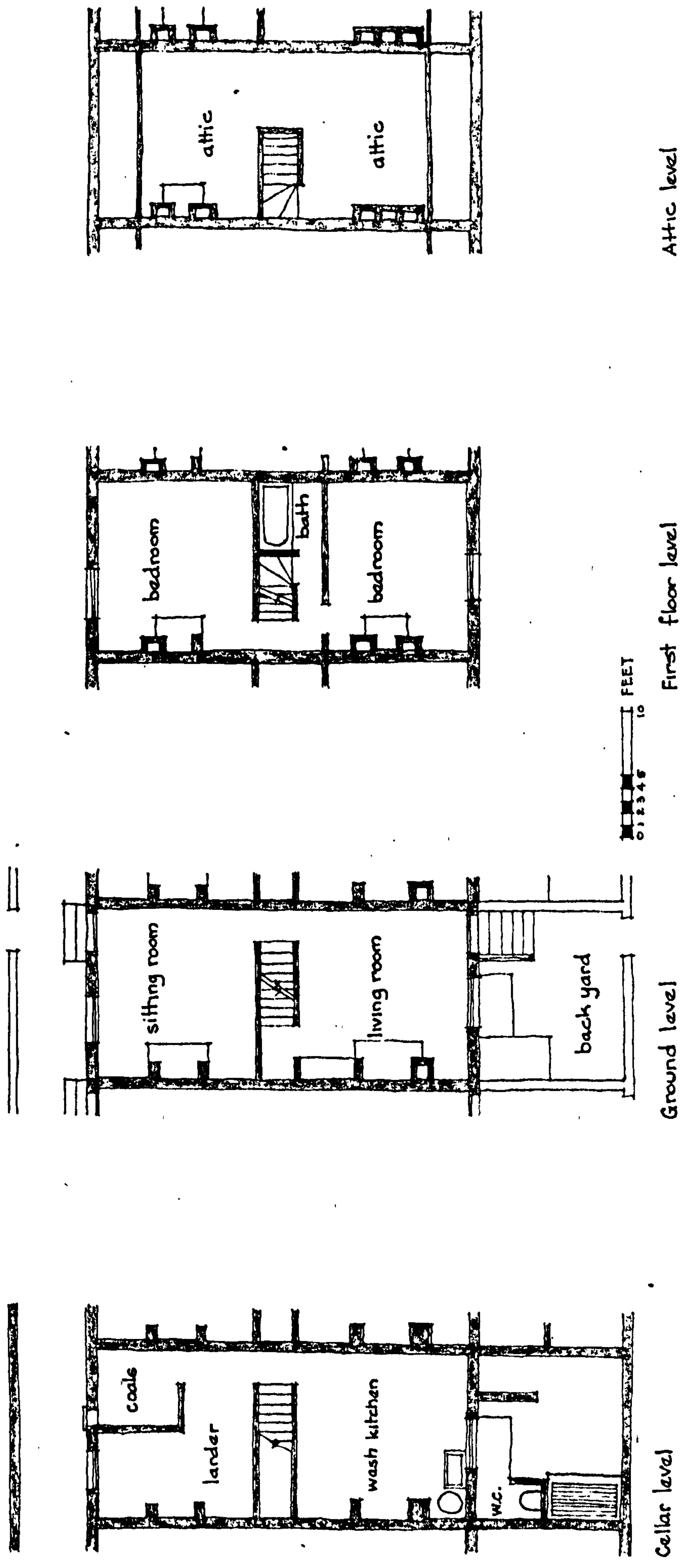


Fig.117 Floor plans of a typical small through dwelling erected in the study area (E. Wilson 1894).

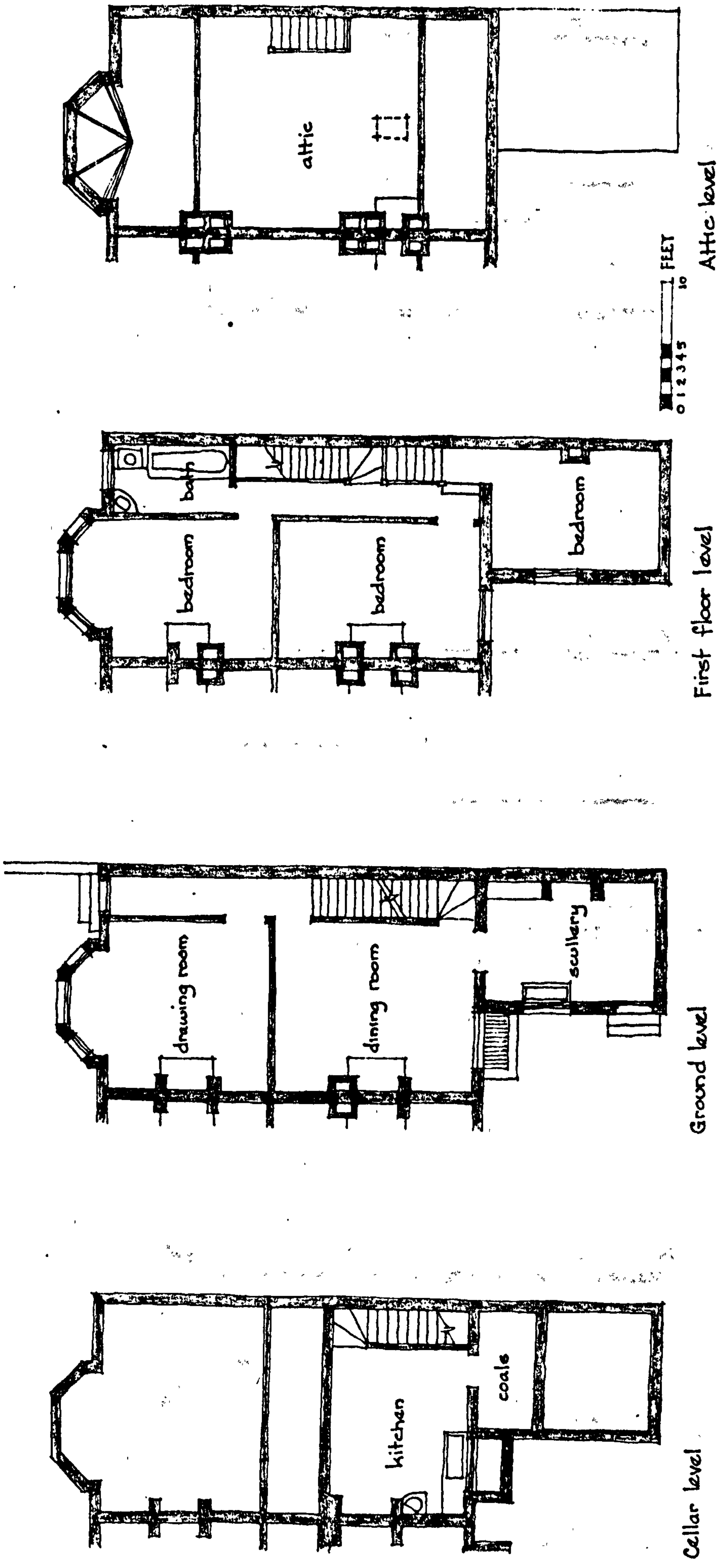
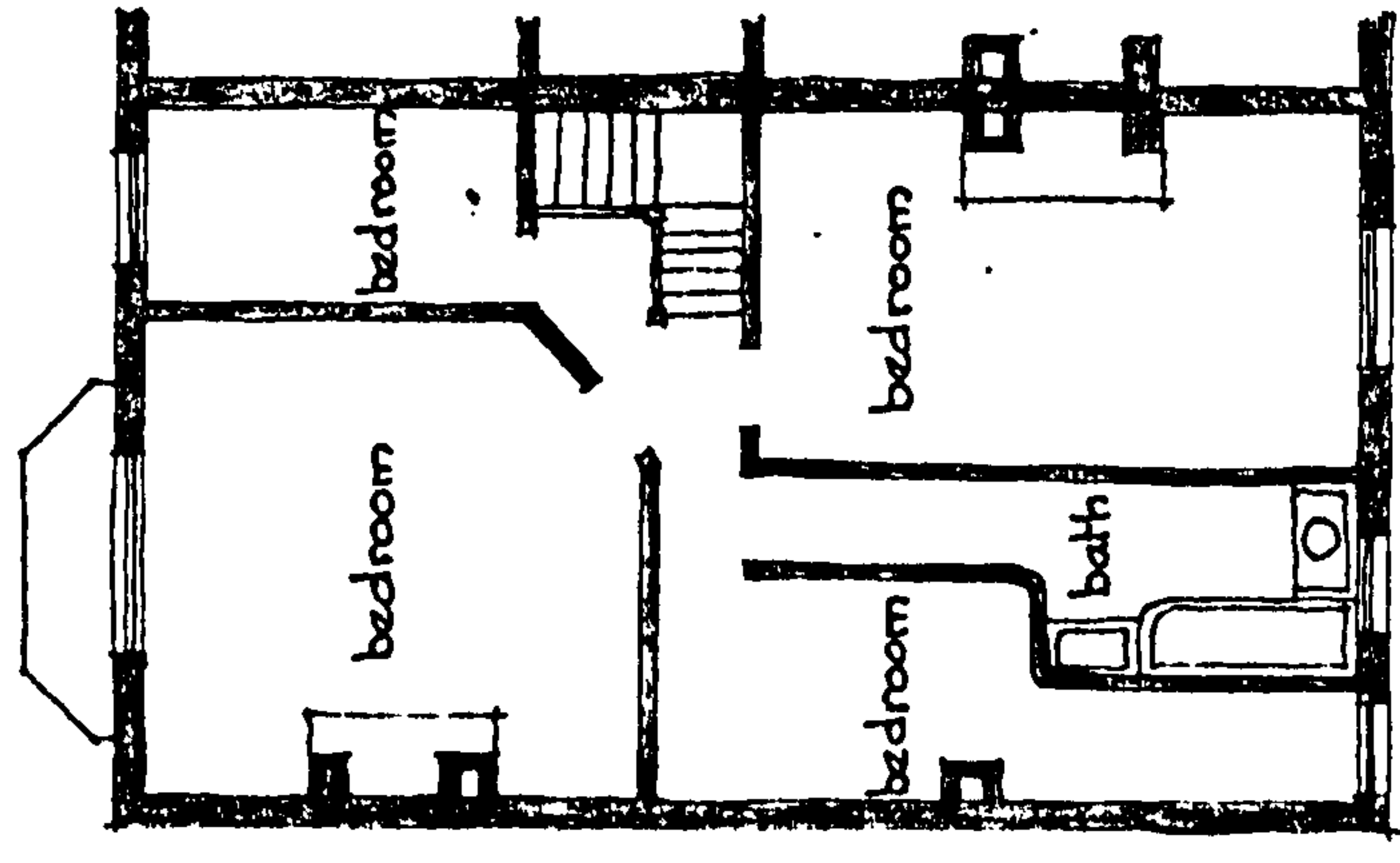
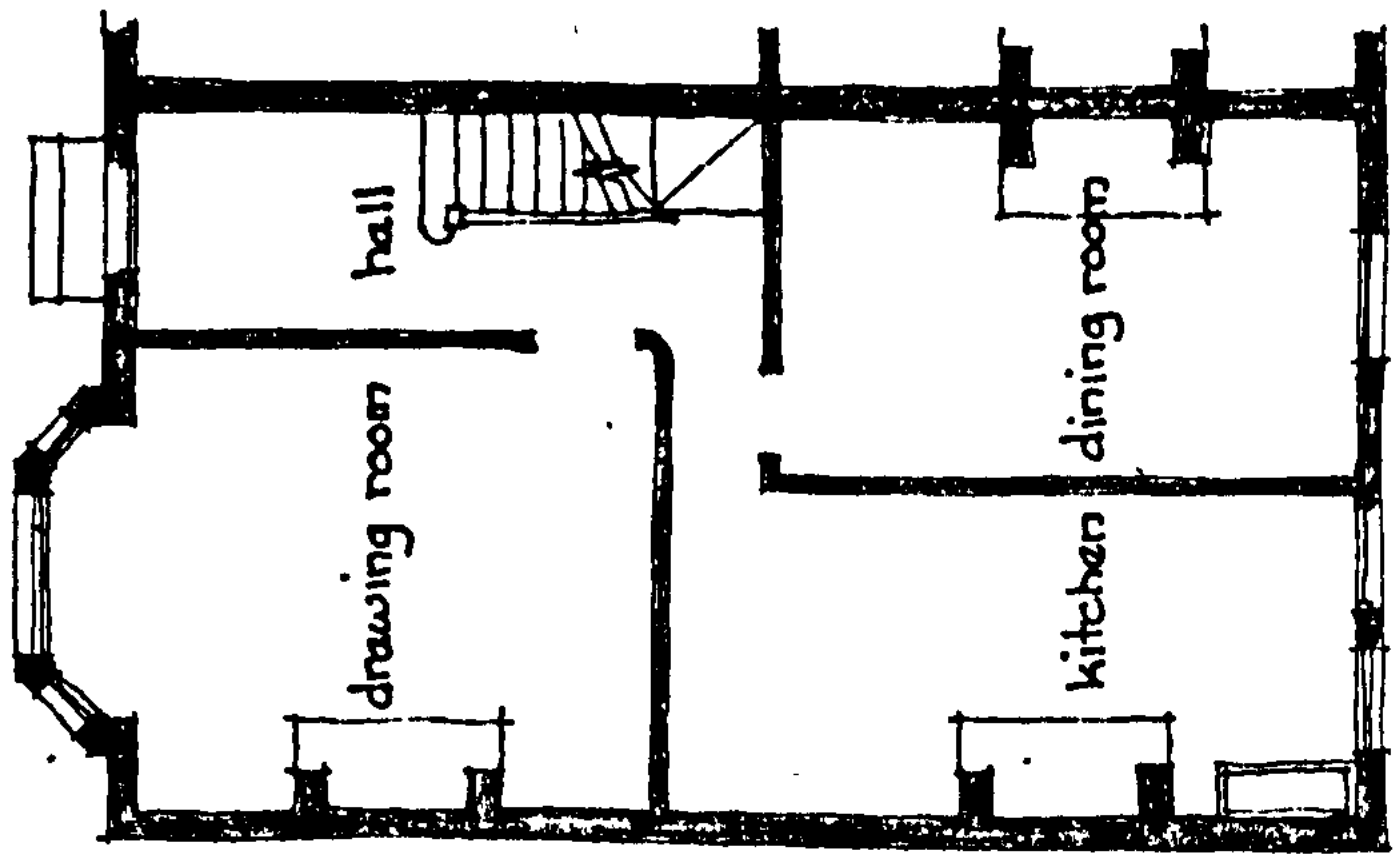


Fig. 118 Floor plans of a typical medium-sized dwelling erected in the study area (J. Owston 1889).

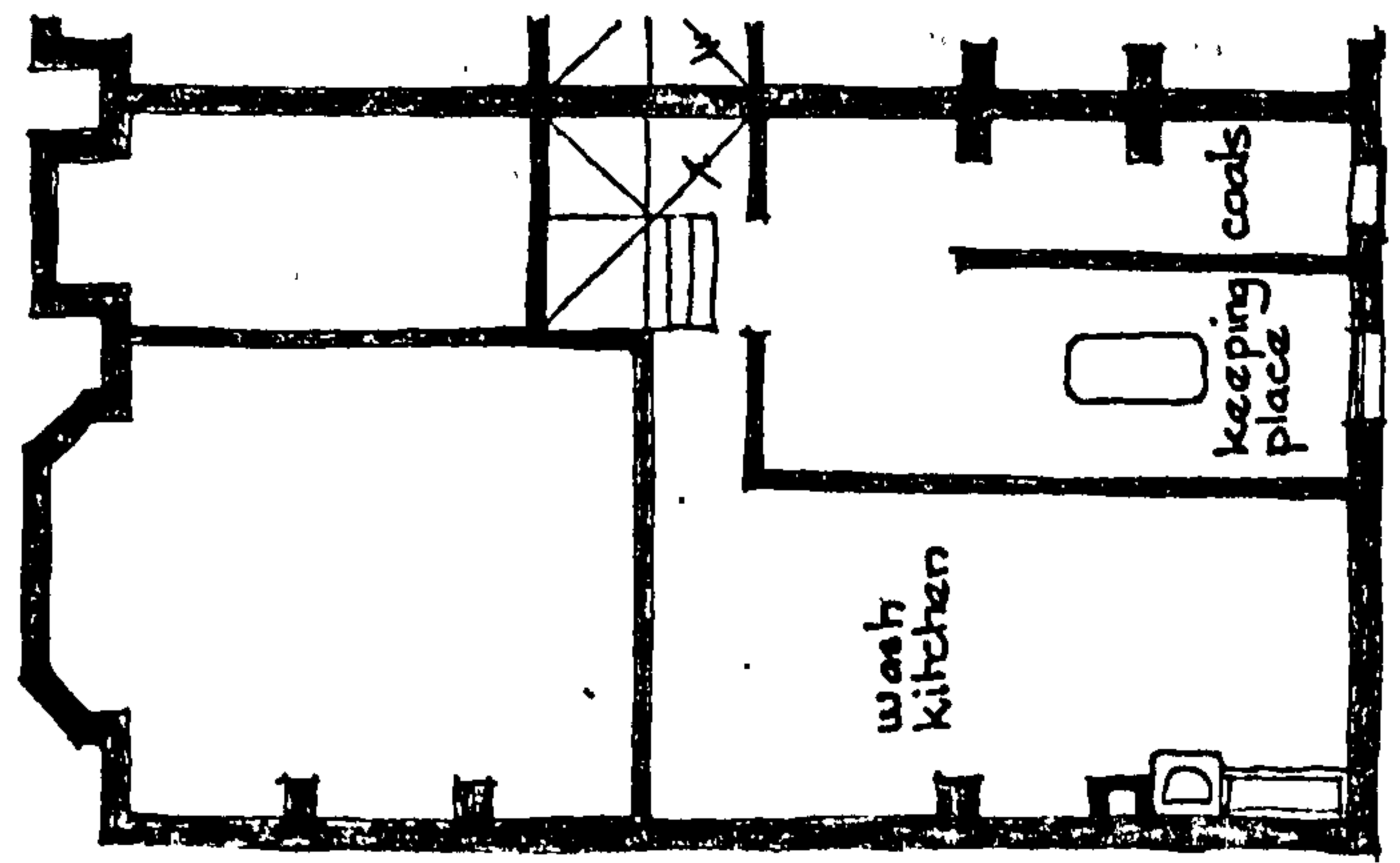




First floor level



Ground level



Cellar level

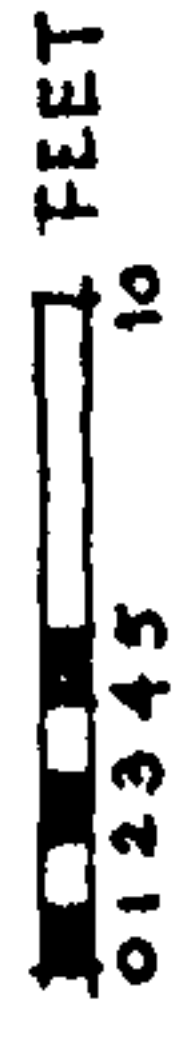


Fig. 119 Floor plans of a typical large through dwelling erected in the study area (G. Hutton 1891).

illustrations are all for houses approved after 1876 because the condition of drawings for earlier dates did not allow copies to be obtained (see Figs. A21 - A27).

If plans of through houses in terraces are compared with back-to-back houses, it can be seen that there was a much greater variety in the configuration of the plan in the through dwelling. This was basically due to the varying cross-wall widths together with the use of back additions. The cross-wall width was undoubtedly the prime generator of this degree of plan variation. A wide span between cross-walls allowed for bathrooms and sculleries to be sited within the basic rectangular plan, a narrower cross-wall width forced this type of accommodation into the cellar, the attic or into a rear extension. Houses could be erected with wide cross-wall widths such as one example in Fig. 120 which was 28 ft. 9 ins. and erected in 1898 but these were few in number and, although wide cross-wall widths were more common prior to 1870, the overall trend was to build a greater number of through houses which had cross-wall widths less than 17 ft. wide in the latter part of the century.

The clear cross-wall width rarely allowed two rooms side by side on the ground floor. Usually the front door led into an entrance hall leading to the staircase and a front parlour. At the rear would be the kitchen and on the first floor three bedrooms could be provided only if the house width was over 17 ft. The narrow frontage of through houses was one of the worst features of the houses being erected in Victorian towns and cities. In many parts of the country where four storey houses were not normally built, the frontage of sites for terrace houses was generally between 14 ft. and 17 ft. wide. This did not allow two rooms in width even at first floor level and the third bedroom had to be squashed out at the back over the scullery or kitchen, thus forming a narrow court between the houses in each pair and restricting the view and the light at the back. Many houses of this type which had no attics or cellars were built in northern towns such as Hull.

In Leeds in general and in the study area in particular, the average number of storeys was usually four. The cellar afforded extra rooms for keeping food, washing clothes, storing fuel and in many cases kitchens, sculleries and water-closets were placed at this level.



The attic provided extra bedrooms for larger families and servants as well as extra space to accommodate a bath if this was not possible at first floor level. The obvious advantage of the attic floor was that if a plot was narrow and only two bedrooms could be sited at first floor level, a third good sized bedroom at least could be added on the floor above. If this was lit by a dormer window instead of the more normal metal and glass skylight, the bedroom at this level was in many ways no meaner than the principal bedrooms. Where the normal practice was to increase floor area on narrow plots by extending to the rear the 'back addition' as it was termed caused certain problems. These were described in 1905 by G.A. Middleton when he described terrace houses without basements:

'At one time it was almost invariable to put some of the rooms in a basement, but this involves so much trouble in the service of the house that it has had to be abandoned, and a basement except for coals and perhaps for a larder is now rarely found, in small houses at any rate. The tendency with these is to build them with as few different floors as possible, so as to make them easy to work with a small staff of servants, or with none. This, of course, means that the houses must be extended over a considerable area of ground, and, as the frontage is usually strictly limited, this large area is only obtainable by extending the plan towards the back by means of what is called a back addition. Unfortunately this entails the formation of a narrow yard between the back addition of one house and the back addition of another, which is again cut in half by the fence dividing the two properties; and such a yard, unless very well kept, is little better than a slum. At all times it contains stagnant air, and in many instances is never penetrated by sunlight. Still, it seems to be unavoidable with small houses of limited frontage for which a type of plan has been developed which it is difficult to depart from.'<sup>35</sup>

It is interesting to note the reasons given by Middleton for the lack of cellars and attics. He suggests that in 1905 rooms at attic or second floor level made a house more difficult to run and keep clean with the declining number of servants available. He also suggests that services such as drainage became more costly if cellar floors were constructed. This was undoubtedly true in the study area for in Eberston Terrace, to cite a typical example, kitchens were placed in basements and water-closets at the same level. Because of this the drainage went from below the lowest cellar floor level to a main sewer running down the centre of the road which, as it ran downhill towards Brudenell Road, was in excess of 15 ft. deep below the crown of road level.

Within the study area most through houses had cellars and attics.

Attic floors tended to cover the whole of the bedroom floor below and depending upon the roof pitch, storey heights and whether or not dormer windows were introduced, a varying degree of headroom was achieved. In the case of cellars, these ranged from very small coal and wood cellars only 6 ft high, through keeping cellars for food, to the full ground plan area containing habitable rooms. However, the majority only covered some 50% of the ground plan area. The average clear cross-wall width for houses in the study area was 17 ft. and the average clear internal depth was 30 ft. 3 ins. not including back additions.

Middleton went on to discuss the role of the architect in attempting to draw up a plan for the typical through terrace:

'There is much less scope for originality and diversity of plan in small town houses than in those erected in the country. The limiting conditions are very severe,..... It is obvious that in terraces it is difficult to consider aspect at all, or prospect either. These have been laid down in advance by the formation of the roads along lines determined by other considerations. All that the architect can do is to light his rooms from front and back, it being almost impossible to open windows at the side unless they overlook similar windows in the neighbouring houses at a short distance away.'<sup>36</sup>

Certain patterns emerge from the house plans which were clearly based on the cross-wall width, the position of the stairs and whether or not back additions formed part of the plan. The staircase could be a straight flight or dogleg and placed against a party wall or alternatively it could be placed centrally between the front and back rooms. The latter position was favoured for narrow cross-wall widths (see Fig. 120). Back additions could be single or two storey in height and once again were more common on the narrower width dwellings. The normal practice was to have an entrance hall and parlour within the width of the ground floor plan and attempt to introduce two bedrooms on the first floor where the width would allow this to be done. The narrowest houses had to dispense with an entrance hall and be entered direct from the garden in a similar manner to back-to-backs and only the very widest of dwellings managed to achieve two rooms and an entrance hall on the ground floor. The position of water-closets varied considerably but generally attempts were made to include these at first floor level where possible and baths were usually placed on the same floor or in an attic room. All of the examples illustrated were from drawings for houses to be erected during the



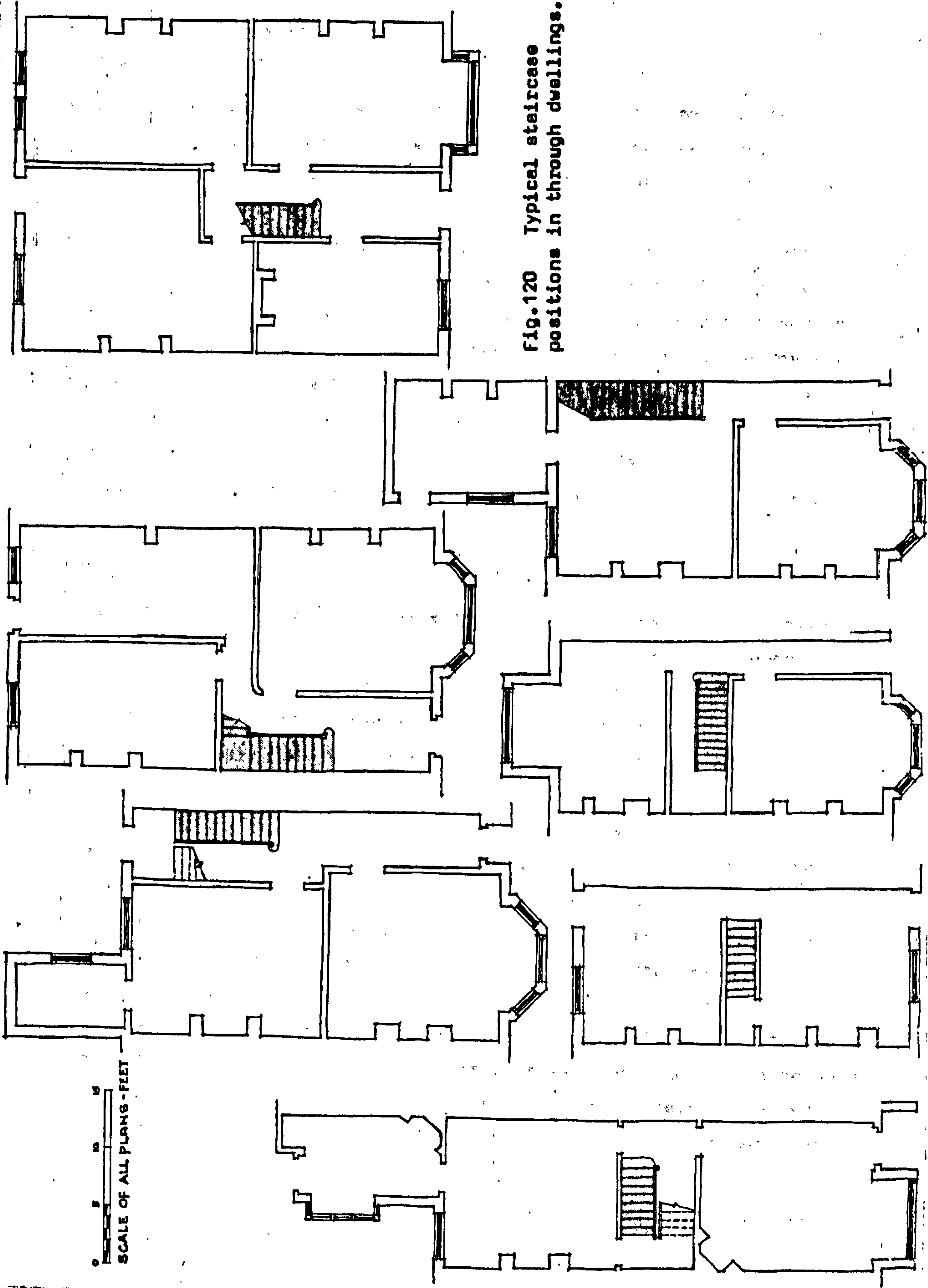


Fig. 120 Typical staircase positions in through dwellings.

period when it had become customary to provide a water-closet inside through dwellings.

Floor to ceiling heights were remarkably similar for most of the houses inspected and minimum heights were laid down in the Bye-Laws. However, if the number of storeys remained the same, the overriding factor governing the plan layout was the clear cross-wall width. Unlike the back-to-backs where earlier dwellings had narrow cross-wall widths and gradually in the latter half of the nineteenth century this was increased to allow two rooms in width, the overall trend in through houses was for cross-wall widths to gradually become smaller and thus allow more dwellings to be built per acre. The average cross-wall width was 17 ft. for the period 1868 - 1914 but houses built before this period, such as those on the Fawcett Estate on the south side of Victoria Road and on the Teal Estate, had cross-wall widths which were usually 20 ft. or more.

#### Back-to-Back Houses

Generally, many of the fixed parameters and the variables which have been described relating to the design of house plans for through houses were similar for the design of house plans for back-to-backs, as both were built in terraces and in some cases within the same building block. The back-to-back could have cellars or attics in addition to the two principal floors but, due to their very nature, could not have back additions. Although some back-to-backs, especially on the Royal Park Ford Estate, had small front additions, the major differences between dwellings was the inclusion or otherwise of a scullery as well as a parlour. In this respect the back-to-back was similar to the through house in that the cross-wall width was the prime generator of the plan form. As the internal depth of back-to-backs varied very little between 13 ft. 9 ins. and 15 ft. (when bay windows and front additions were excluded) and as there were only two basic positions for the staircase, there appears to have been far less variation of plan permutations possible when compared with the through dwellings (see Figs. 121 - 123).

Appendix 15 contains a number of illustrations of typical plans for back-to-back houses found on deposited drawings. The order is based on ascending size of cross-wall width.



Fig. 121 Floor plans of typical small back-to-back dwellings erected in the study area (F. Worsnop 1879).

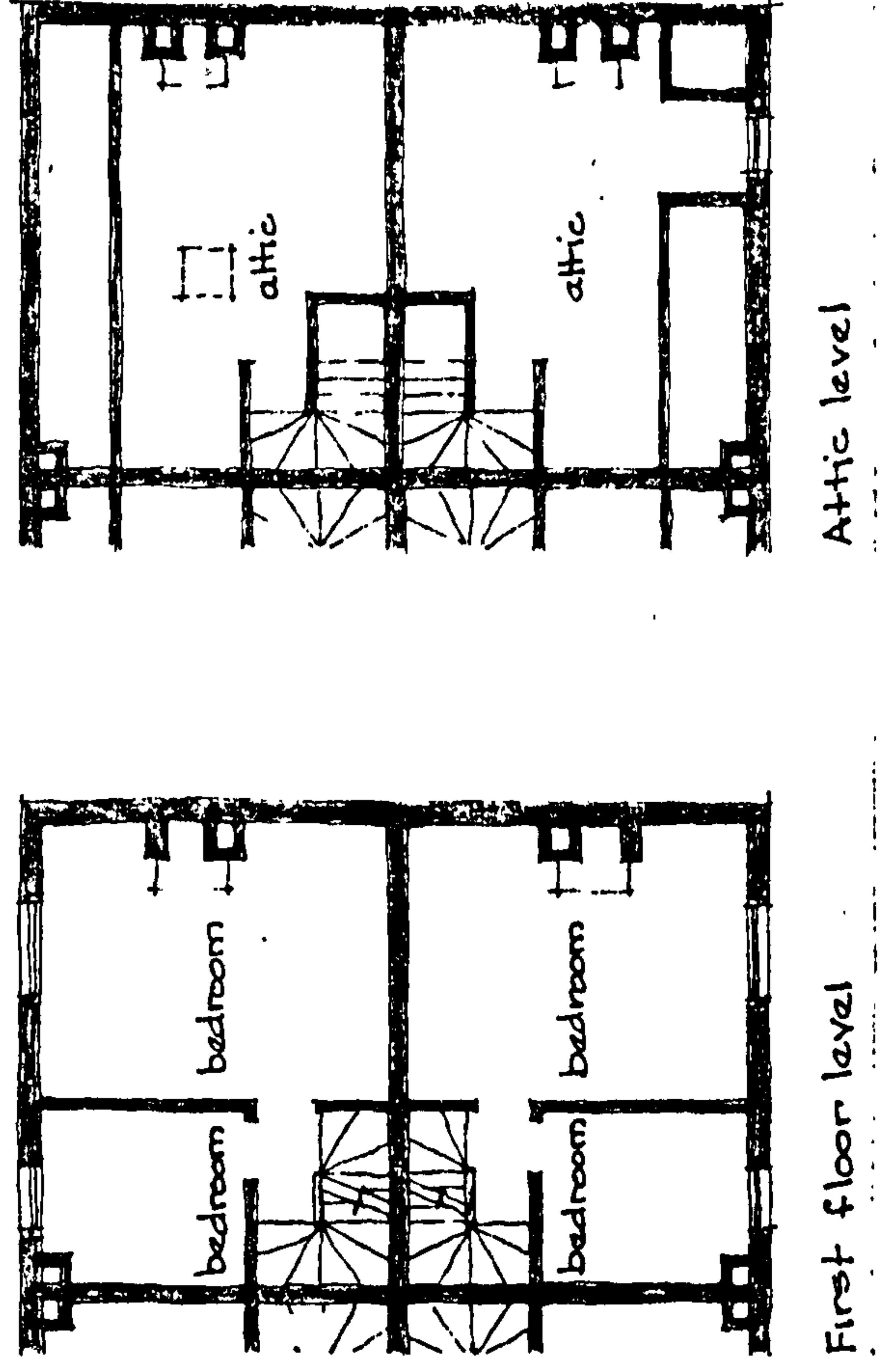
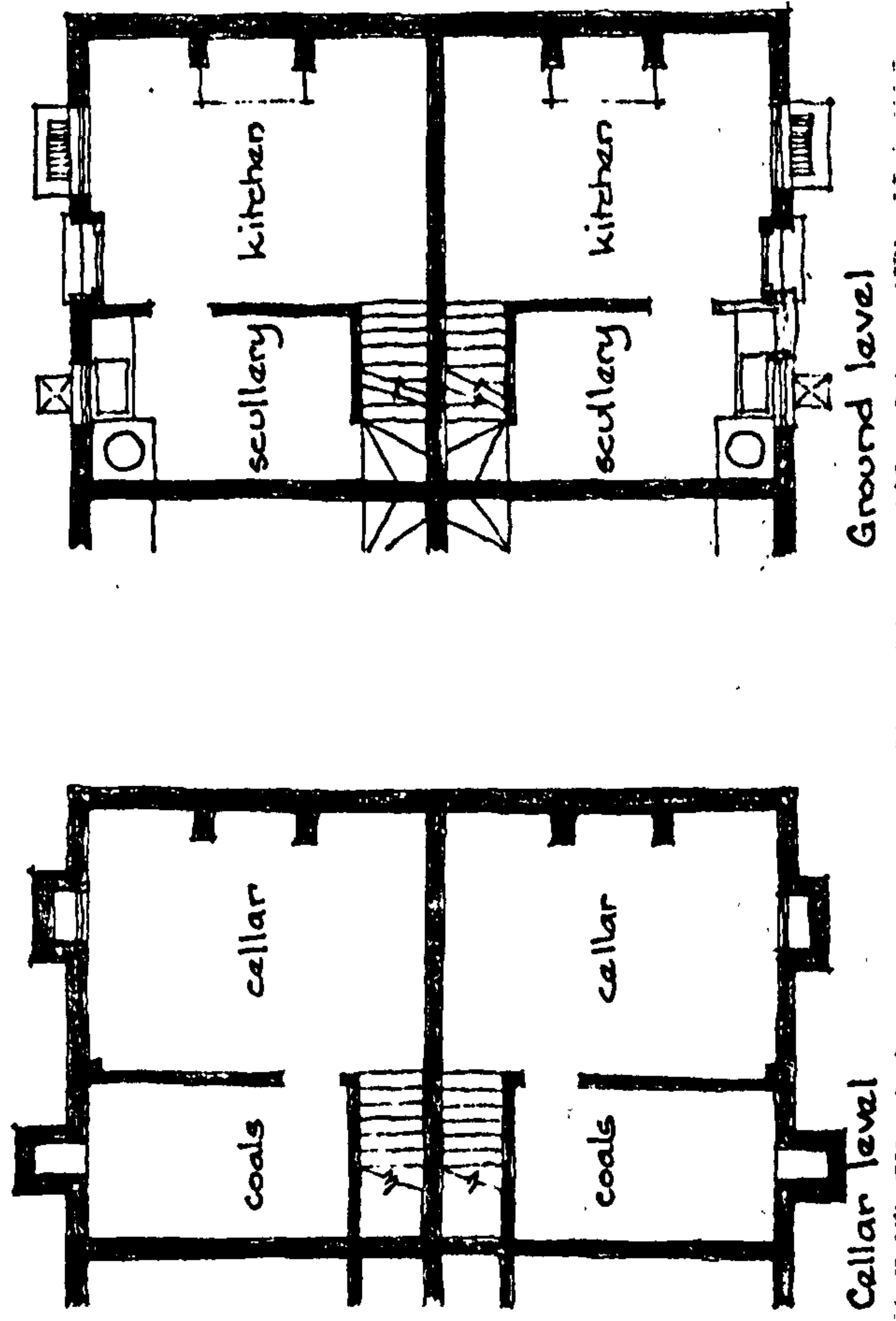
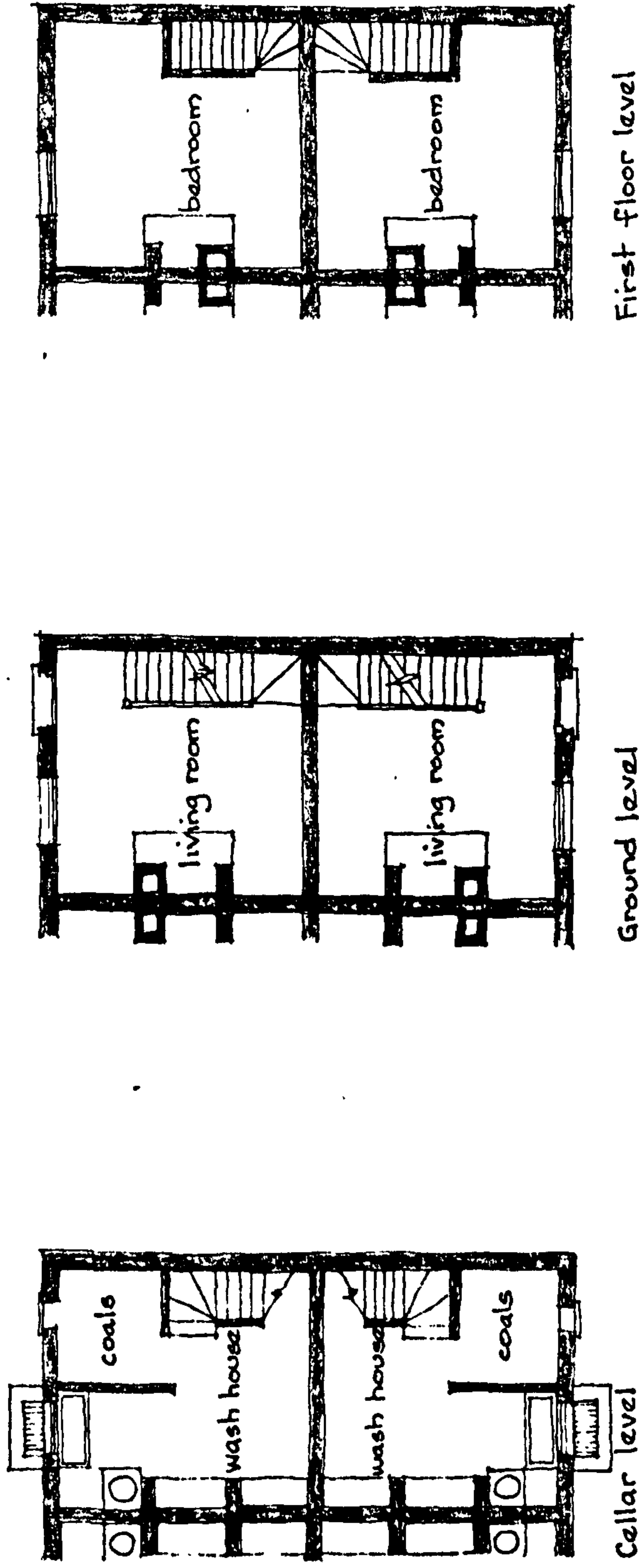


Fig. 122 Floor plans of typical scullery back-to-back dwellings erected in the study area (A.E. Braithwaite 1894).

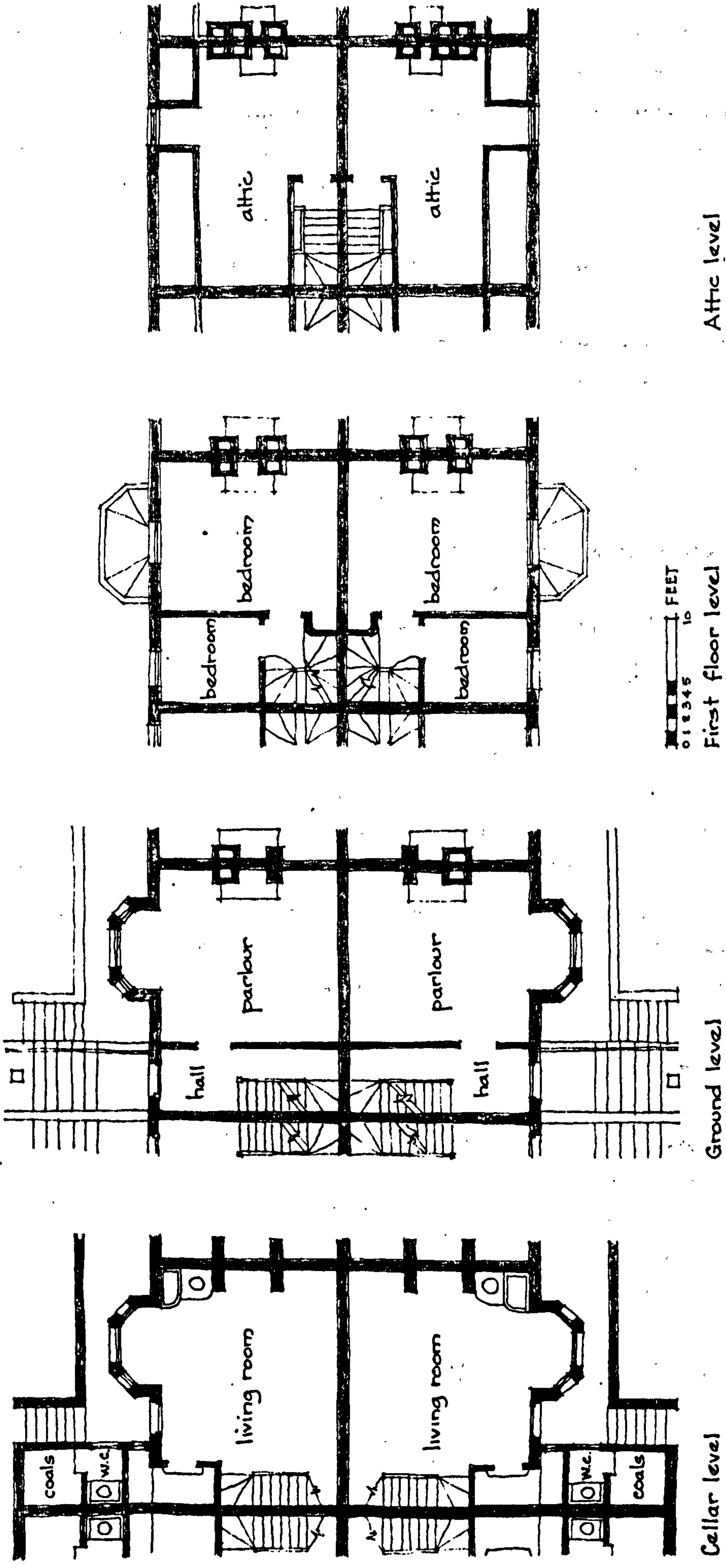


Fig.123 Floor plans of scullery back-to-back dwellings approved but not erected in the study area (W.N. Wynn 1886).



The patterns that emerge from the back-to-back house plans illustrated are fairly clear. The majority of the houses tend to be the later scullery type house which could attract almost as much rental as some through dwellings and the variation in plan types is much less than those for through dwellings. The cross-wall clear width varied between 13 ft. 6 ins. in 1879 to 19 ft. 6 ins. in 1909 but the average was slightly larger than that for through houses at 18 ft. 6 ins. It should be noted, however, that houses prior to 1879 have not been illustrated because the condition of the drawings did not allow photocopies to be obtained. Some of these had narrower cross-wall widths (see Figs. A28 - A30).

If a cross-wall width was selected over 15 ft., the extra space could be used to accommodate an entrance hall and staircase and thus avoid entry directly into the living room. Alternatively a separate scullery could be provided which necessitated a staircase off the living room and direct entry from outside without an entrance hall.

The clear depth from front to back varied for back-to-backs in the study area from 13 ft. to 16 ft. The number of storeys literally above and below the basic two meant that extra amenities could be provided in the additional spaces. Wash cellars and even kitchens could be placed in cellars and extra bedrooms and baths could be placed in attics. Most of the examples illustrated had attics but this was not always the case in the study area as a whole. Similarly, the majority had cellars making the normal height 4 storeys. If, as has been suggested, some landowners such as J.R. Ford wished to offer the option to developers of building either back-to-backs or through terraces, the average number of storeys and the actual storey heights had to be compatible for both house types. Of all the back-to-backs for which deposited plans were inspected between 1868 - 1914, none were 2 storeys high, 4% were 3 storeys high and 96% were 4 storeys high. The comparable figures for through terraces were 2%, 4% and 94% respectively. Floor to ceiling heights for back-to-backs ranged from 6 ft. - 9 ft. at cellar level, 9 ft. - 10 ft. 6 ins at ground floor level, 8 ft. 6 ins - 9 ft. 6 ins at bedroom level and 8 ft. - 9 ft. maximum height in attics. These figures can be compared with those for through terrace which were 6 ft. - 8 ft. 6 ins. for cellars, 8 ft. - 10 ft. 6 ins for ground floors, 8 ft. - 10 ft. for bedrooms and 8 ft. - 9 ft. maximum height for attics.

#### 12.4 Non-Standard Terrace House Plans

The reason why a house plan should be non-standard in the sense that it was totally different to those in the same row of houses, were threefold: To fit a house onto an irregular shaped plot, to introduce a corner shop, and to provide a larger dwelling which was more desirable and attracted a greater rental or selling price. These factors were not considered in isolation and some degree of cause and effect or interaction took place between them. Thus an irregular shaped plot at the end of a building block could prompt the developer into providing a corner shop to fill the space left. Often a choice could be made between constructing two dwellings on a corner plot, one of standard width and the other irregular shaped and smaller than usual, or erecting one large end house that covered the same ground area.

If large estates were developed in a piecemeal manner, boundaries of land ownership often cut across intended streets and rows of houses. Boundaries which followed old field boundaries or even the straight lines of the estate surveyor did not always align well with blocks of houses. Situations where this occurred were commonly found at one end and sometimes at both ends of the building blocks. Where streets were laid out on the American grid-iron principal irregular shaped plots could be eliminated, but for the reasons stated in Chapter 8, irregular shaped plots were commonplace on nineteenth-century housing estates.

Whatever the configuration of the plots which abutted either land boundaries or streets at the ends of terraces, it would appear that developers were adept at fitting in a number of standard sized houses in the centre of the terrace and 'taking up the slack' by adding irregular shaped end houses.

The most common cause of irregular shaped lots was the laying out of parallel streets which were not at right angles to major roads or transverse roads crossing the site. This practice invariably left a tapered plot at one end which was narrower than was normally acceptable and another plot at the opposite end which was somewhat wider. The developers art and the designers skill were combined to produce plans that could work in these circumstances. Presumably where the plot narrowed in some cases to as little as 7 ft. wide,<sup>37</sup> the distorted plan and the smaller house that resulted from building on it would attract a lower rental than the other houses in the row. Despite



this the developer considered developing it to be economical compared with leaving the ground unbuilt on to act as a garden to three sides of a standard size house (see Fig. 106).

An alternative approach was to increase the size of the last house in a row to provide more accommodation and hence attract a higher rental. In the case of back-to-backs, a scullery could be added just to the pair of end houses in a row of non-scullery houses. Similarly a house and shop could be designed to take up the extra space and in this way the corner shop was often created, not as a result of the developer meeting the need for shopping facilities, but as an indirect result of providing a unit which would give a return on the capital invested in purchasing the land. When larger houses were inserted at the ends of rows of back-to-back dwellings, the principal orientation of the plan remained the same for the whole row. Where a larger dwelling was inserted at the end of a row of through houses, it became common practice to face the house at right angles to the row and, as windows were provided on three sides, the principal rooms and entrance were positioned on what would in normal circumstances have been a gable end. Back-to-back dwellings had a major advantage for the developer over the through house. If a building block had irregular shaped plots at each end where tapered dwellings would result, the two rows of houses could be slid along each other so that party walls were out of phase with each other about the central spine wall and this meant that each row of houses would project at opposite ends of the block and could be more easily designed to fit into the extra space available.

The much larger and more desirable end terrace house which terminated rows of terraces were often erected out of economic necessity. In the first place a restrictive covenant such as that applied in Brudenell Road (see p. 133) could mean that a more expensive house had to be built and also end plots usually had considerably more road frontage than those in mid-terrace. As the purchaser of each plot sold was usually responsible for the costs of sewerage, kerbing and paving of roads and footpaths in direct relationship to the amount of road frontage, the construction costs would often be greater for end plots and could only be met by spreading the sum involved over the total housing costs or increasing the income from sale or rental of the end house. The larger end house could attract this higher income because it had the advantage of larger or a greater number of rooms, windows facing

three sides and hence better orientation, and usually but not always, a larger garden surrounding the house on three sides (see Figs. 124 - 125).

If the larger unit could be employed to fill an irregular shaped plot at the end of a row of houses it could be equally successful in taking up the slack on similar plots at the end of rows of shops with dwellings over. The corner or end shop in a row of shops was often used as a focal point in the design with a tower or spire acting as a terminating feature to the whole parade and a triangular or other irregular shaped plan demanded great ingenuity by the designer.

Appendix 15 contains a number of illustrations of typical plans for houses which were found on deposited plans. In each case the plot shape is irregular and all show the ingenuity and on occasions contortions that the building designer had to exercise in order to arrive at a workable plan. The plans are for houses which were erected on irregular shaped plots and include those that were larger than adjoining properties and some that were smaller (see Figs. A31 - A38).

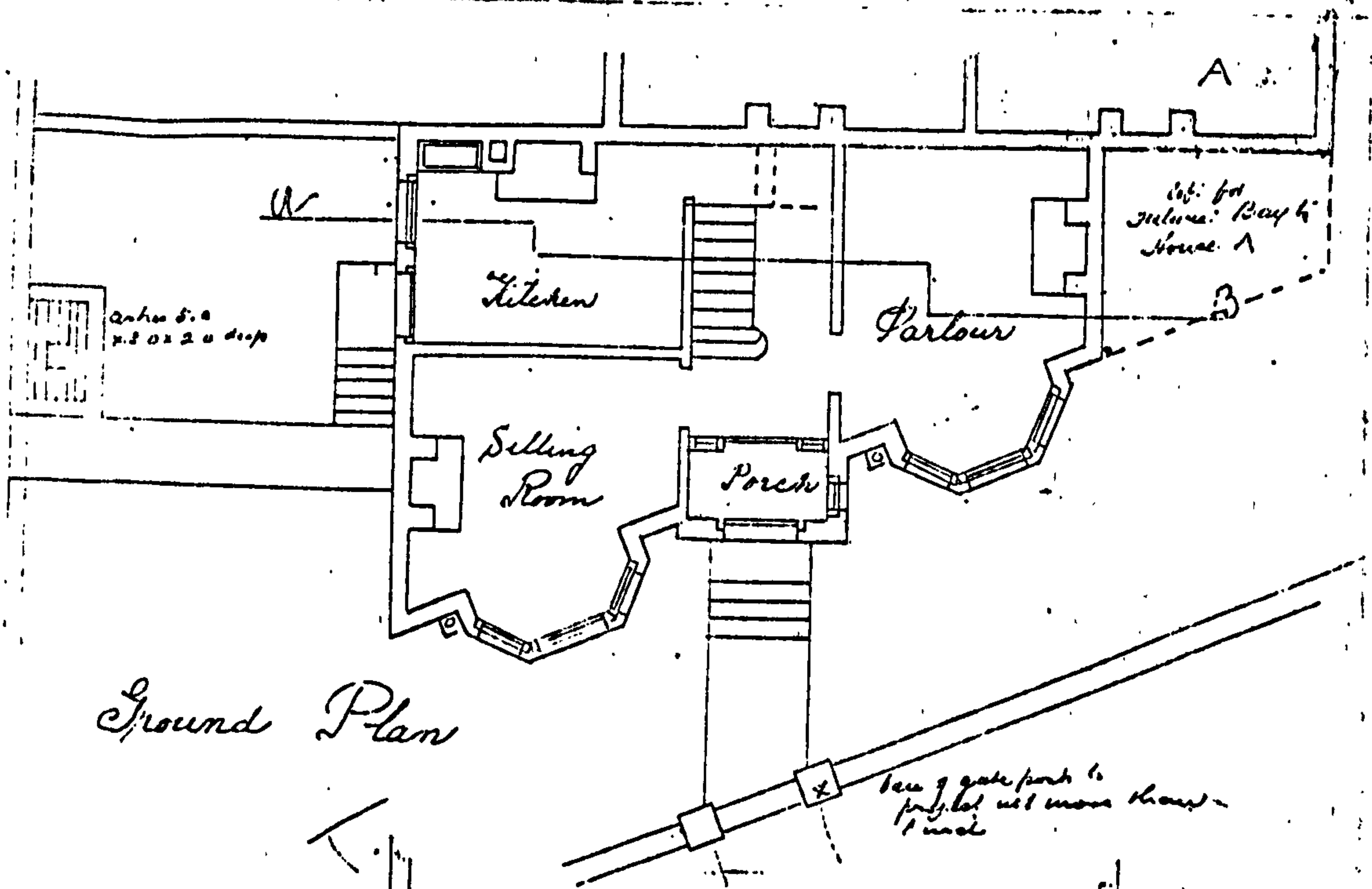
Appendix 15 also contains examples of house plans which were deposited for dwellings to be built on irregular shaped plots caused by the line of the easement for the large water main which passed through the study area and other parts of Headingley. Under the terms of the easement which was granted to the Leeds Waterworks Co., no building was to take place (other than garden walls, fences, roads or footpaths) within a distance of 9 ft. at either side of the centre line of the main. Therefore an 18 ft. wide strip of land formed a swath which could not be built on across such estates as the Manor House Estate and non-standard plans were used to allow the developers to erect houses on the irregular shaped plots which resulted (see Figs. A34 - A36).

Figs. A32, 37 & 38 illustrate a number of different plan solutions for the design of houses and shops. Some were corner shops built on the end of rows of ordinary houses and others were larger units in the form of a large end house and shop. Quite often the party wall was completed for the last house in a row and the end site left vacant with deposited plans referring to the vacant site as a 'site for a large house' or 'land reserved for house and shop.' This was particularly the case with end houses facing both Brudenell Road and Cardigan Road as the houses were developed in the streets running at right angles to both roads. One other type of non-standard house plan was found in the study area

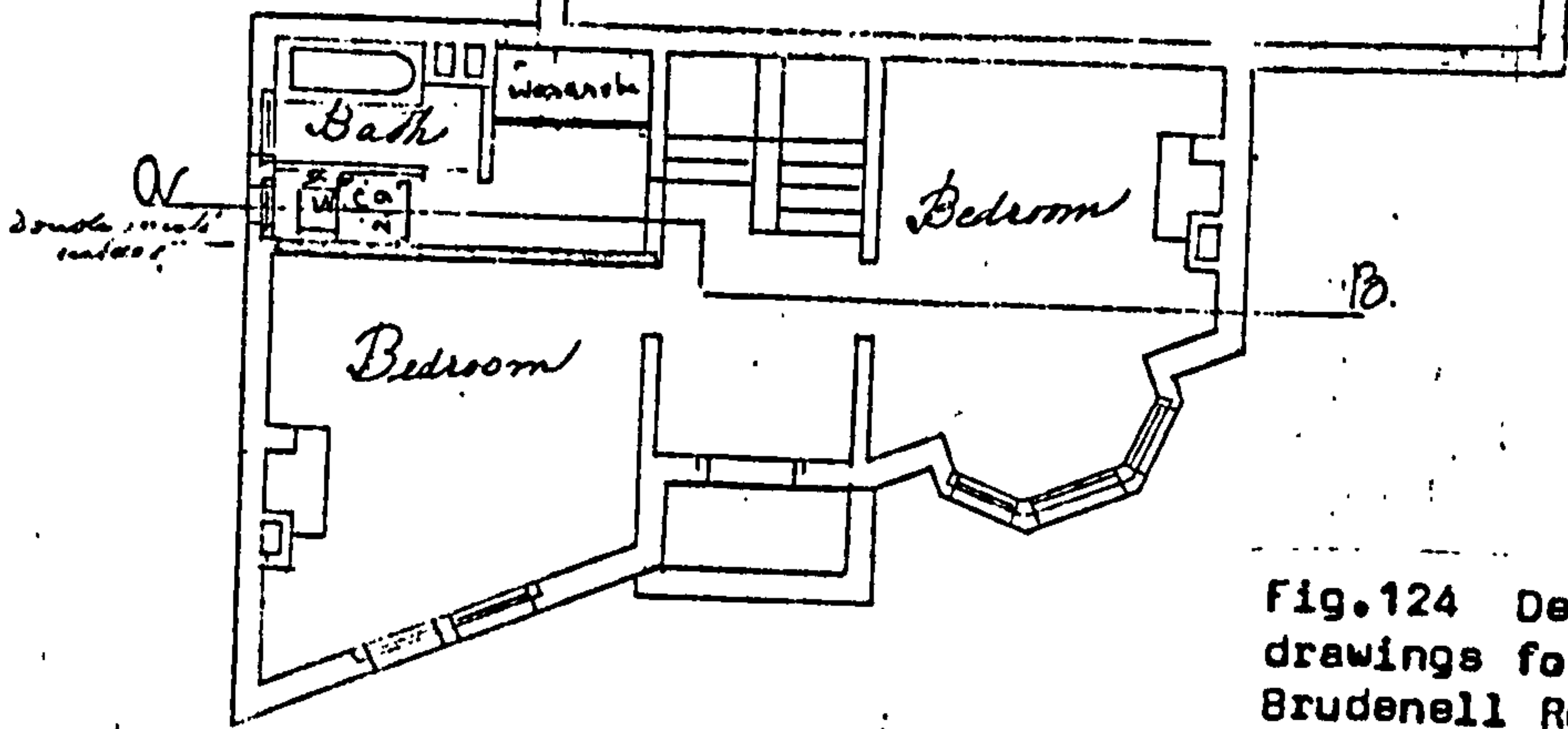




*Elevation to Brudenell Road*

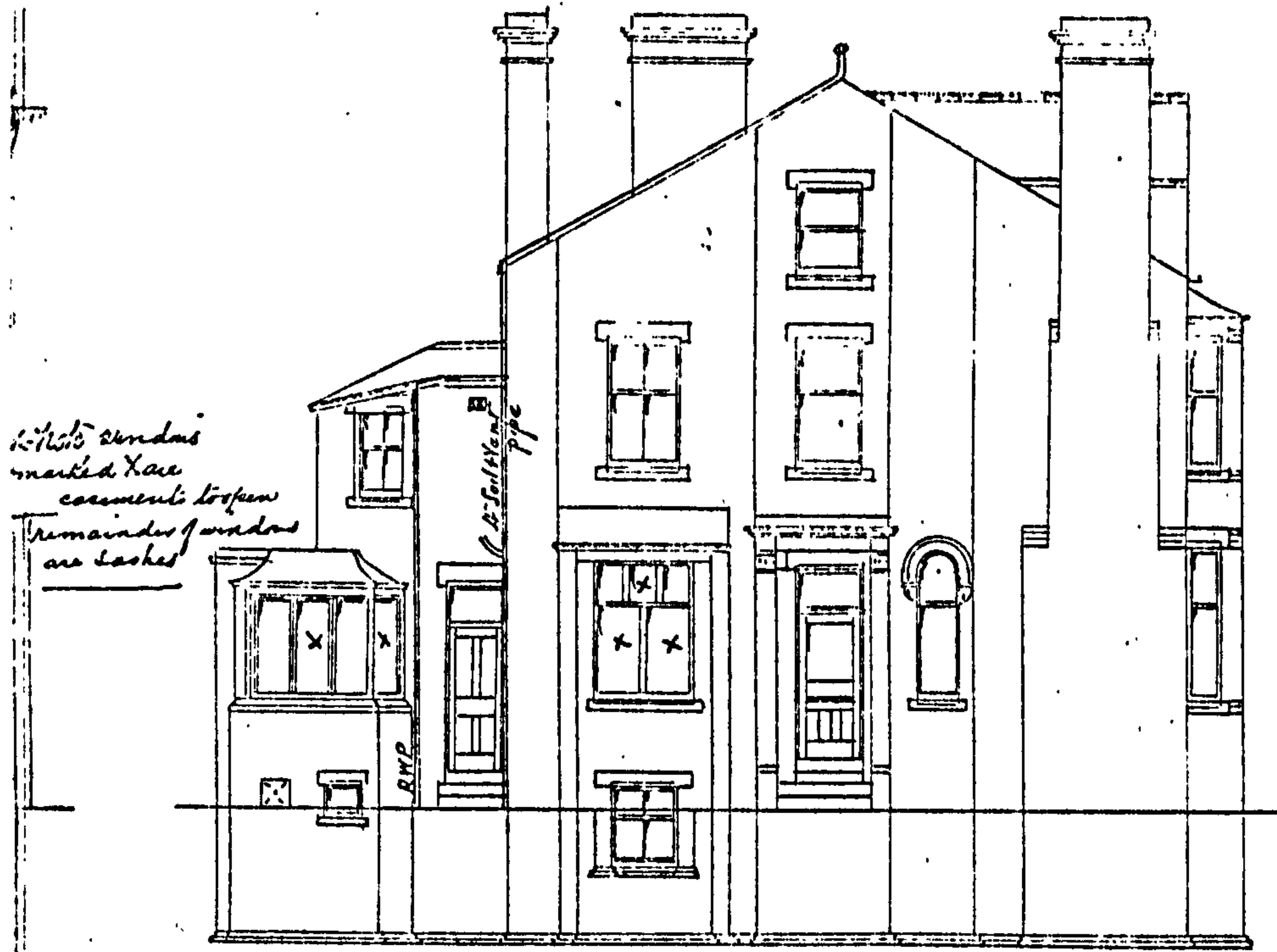


*Ground Plan*



*Chamber Plan*

Fig. 124 Deposited drawings for end house, Brudenell Road (J.M. Porter 1897).



*Elevation to Brudenell Cr. Grove.*

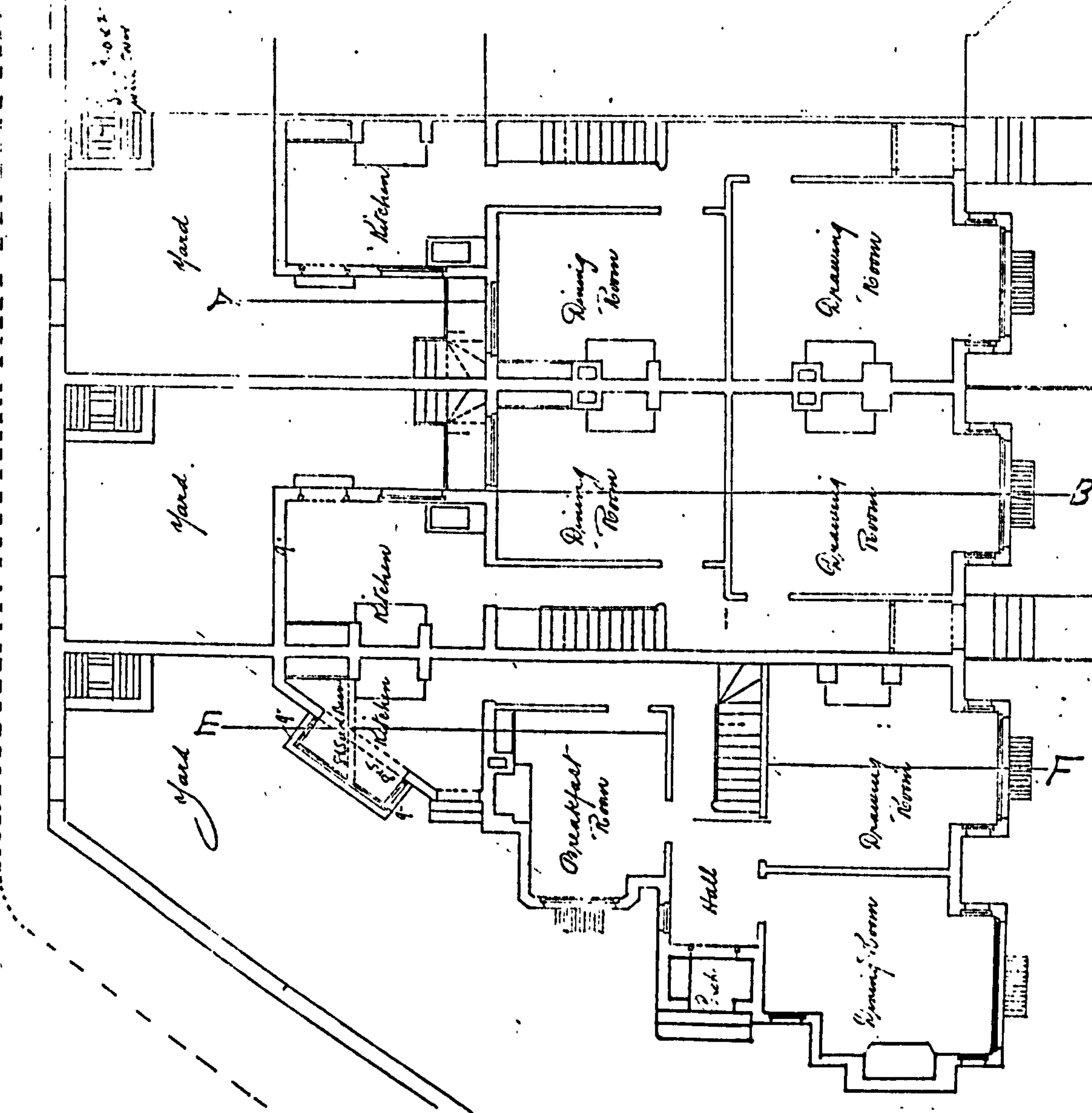


Fig.125 Deposited drawings for end terrace house, Brudenell Grove (A.E. Braithwaite 1896).



and this was where the party wall between dwellings was set forward or backward at some point along its length. Therefore, as the two party walls were parallel to each other but not an equal distance apart throughout their length, a variation in the plan form was necessary. Several examples of this irregularity in cross-wall construction was found, especially on the Teal Estate where detailed plans are not available for inspection. At least one case occurred on the Royal Park, Ford Estate where one through dwelling was inserted into a row of back-to-backs.<sup>38</sup> What was unusual however, was to find an example of the cross-wall being displaced so much out of line that two houses could be erected on a plot intended for one.

In June 1877 Andrew Wilson submitted drawings and had them approved for the erection of two such interlocking houses for one plot on the east side of Ash Grove on the Fawcett/Clapham Estate. The first houses, in what was to become the longest terrace in the study area, had been deposited in 1876 and the obvious intention was to develop the whole block with through houses. Wilson proposed the division of a single plot intended for one through house to form two dwellings which were to be through houses in little more than name only. The developer was a William Wood of Clapham Road and the completed dwellings had a 5 ft. 6 ins wide passage connecting what otherwise would have been back-to-back dwellings with the opposite side of the terrace. One house was only 304 sq. ft. in ground floor area and the other 373 sq. ft., both on a plot only 31 ft. 6 ins. clear depth and 20 ft. clear width (see Figs. 126 - 127).

Assuming that there were restrictive covenants banning the erection of back-to-backs on the land, this type of housing which was described as 'interlaced housing' and was popular in other towns was a way of getting round the legal restrictions in order to erect two dwellings per plot.<sup>39</sup> No other examples of this type of housing were found either in the study area or in the sample of house plans for all Leeds. Whether or not the Leeds public were in favour of interlaced houses or were critical of them is not known as no other reference to them has been found. To the writer's knowledge at least two more were erected in Hyde Park Road on the Hill Top Estate and no doubt other examples exist or existed elsewhere in Leeds.<sup>40</sup>

#### 12.5 Architectural Pattern-Books and Technical Publications

It has been suggested in Chapter 9 that the hypothesis that builders and developers used published works in order to obtain designs for



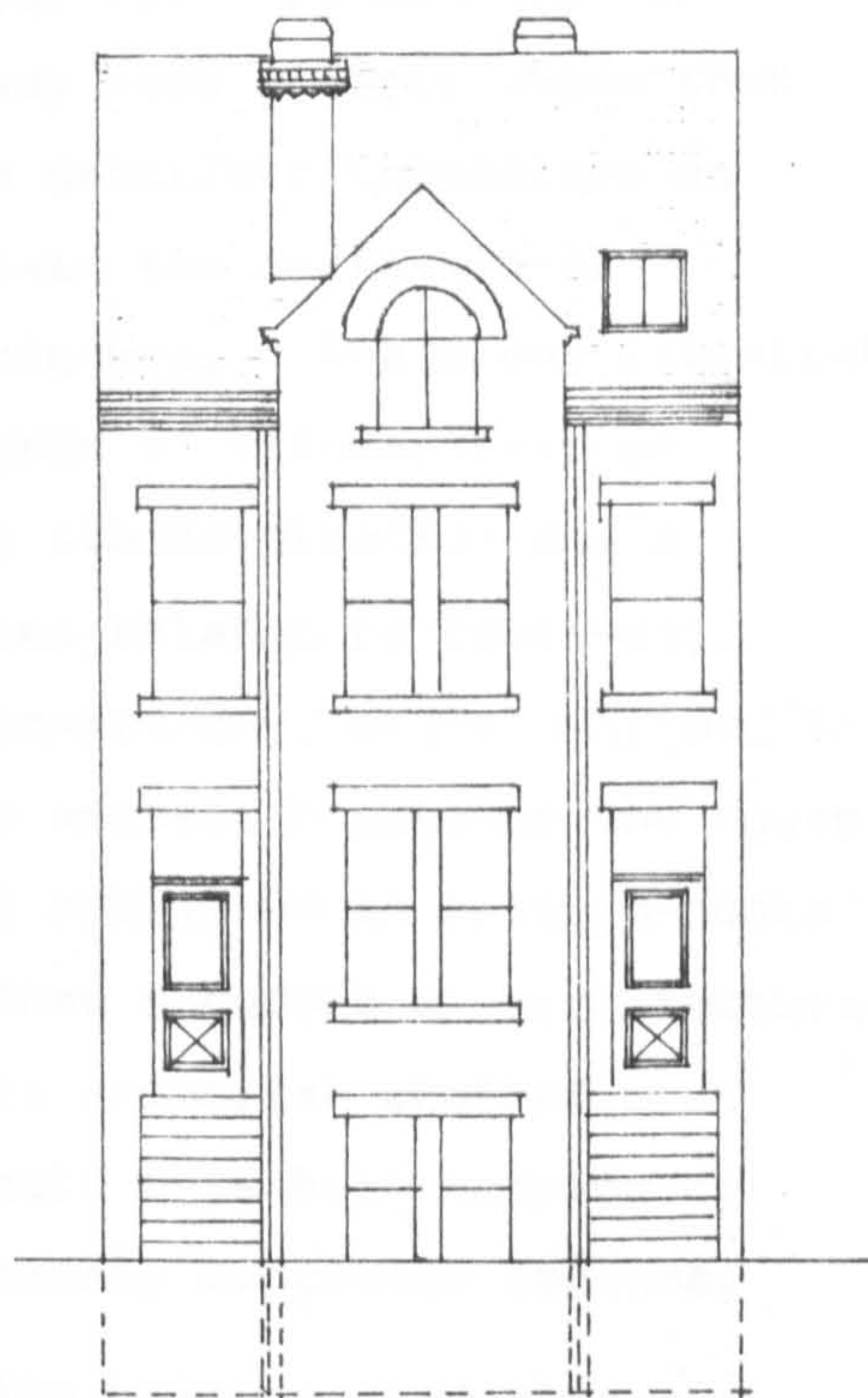
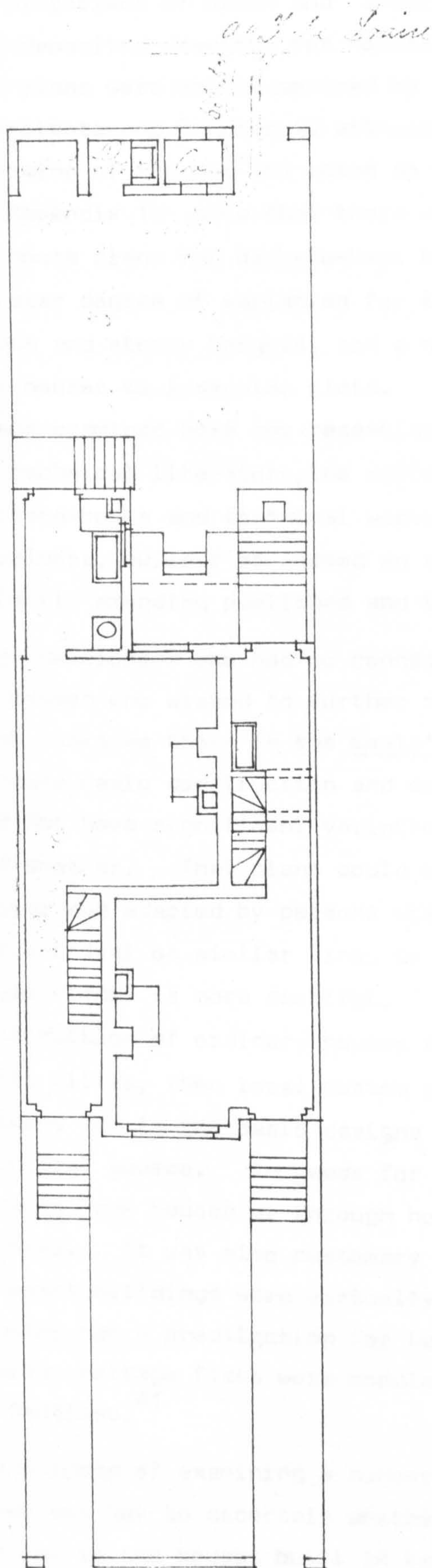


Fig.126 Deposited plan and elevation of two interlaced houses, Ash Grove (A. Wilson 1877).



Fig.127 Interlaced houses, Ash Grove.



ordinary houses in the nineteenth century has generally been accepted by historians of urban and architectural history. Examination of the deposited drawings for houses in the study area clearly shows that the plans were mainly prepared by persons who described themselves as architects and Chapter 10 attempts to ascertain the professional standing of the men who acted as housing designers. The plans illustrated in Appendix 15 show that there was some degree of standardisation of house plans for back-to-back houses, less standardisation and a greater degree of variation for through houses related to cross-wall width and storey heights, and a number of non-standard plans designed to fit houses to irregular plots. In order to ascertain whether the house plans examined bore any resemblance to those published in pattern-books or technical literature, the writer has examined a number of architectural pattern-books and technical works in order to establish whether a developer, builder or indeed an architect could have been copying or slightly amending published and therefore readily available designs.

That developers who had no connection with the building industry and tradesmen who wished to further their building knowledge referred to such books as those in the Weale's Rudimentary Series is not in question because basic construction and crafts connected with the building trades did not have significant variations between one region of the country and another. That plans could be published nationally which were then copied and adapted by persons wishing to submit plans to a local council for approval on similar lines to the present day 'Daily Mail Book of House Plans' is more doubtful. If the plans were to be used for the construction of ordinary houses in the suburbs and not just for custom-built villas, then local custom and regional variations had to be catered for in the basic designs or patterns which were produced from a central source. In Leeds for example, the preference was to build back-to-back houses or through houses with cross-walls at around 17 ft. centres. It was also customary to build cellars and attics and tenement buildings were virtually unknown. Other parts of the country had a predilection for two-storey houses with back additions, whereas cottage flats were popular in the north-east and especially in Scotland.<sup>41</sup>

The purpose of examining a number of so called architectural pattern-books was not to ascertain whether any one contained a plan or design similar to the houses built in Leeds, because with something which was mass-produced on the scale of suburban housing and given the constraints

involved, plans were often of a similar nature. What was being sought was a book or books which produced designs, plans and advice that the ordinary speculative builder of the day could refer to and understand. The books sought were those which Dyos referred to as being readily available to builders of the period and from which they could obtain designs for ordinary run of the mill housing so that the services of local architects were not required.

The following table contains a wide variety of titles and authors of books which are typical of the books published and available to speculative house builders of the period:

Table 72 Typical Examples of Architectural Pattern-Books Available to Speculative House Builders, 1833 - 1919.

Title	Author	First published
<u>Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture</u>	J. C. Loudon	1833
<u>The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion</u>	J. C. Loudon	1838
<u>Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture</u>	S. H. Brooks	1839
<u>Designs and Examples of Cottages, Villas and Country Houses Etc.</u>	J. Weale	1857
<u>On Cottage Construction and Design</u>	C. W. Strickland	1864
<u>Picturesque Designs for Mansions, Villas, Lodges etc.</u>	C. J. Richardson	1870
<u>Examples of Labourers' Cottages</u>	J. Birch	1871
<u>Model Houses for the Industrial Classes</u>	B. Fletcher	1871
<u>The Englishman's House</u>	C. J. Richardson	1896
<u>The Handy Book of Villa Architecture</u>	C. Wickes	1898
<u>The Housing Handbook: The Housing of the Working Classes</u>	W. Thompson	1903
<u>A Series of Plans of Labourers Cottages...</u>	J. J. Raggett	1904
<u>The Cheap Cottage and Small House</u>	G. Allen	1919

To add technical information to the works which were mainly concerned with housing design, an important number of books were published on the art of building. John Weale who published Weale's Rudimentary Series wrote some books himself and employed other authors to write books to be included in his series, many of which became best sellers:

Table 73 Examples of Books from Weale's Rudimentary Series, 1849 - 1888.

Title	Author	First published
<u>Rudiments of the Art of Building</u>	E. Dobson	1849
<u>A Rudimentary Treatise on the Manufacture of Bricks and Tiles etc.</u>	E. Dobson	1850
<u>Rudimentary Treatise on The Erection of Dwelling Houses: or The Builder's Comprehensive Director</u>	S. H. Brooks	1860
<u>Rudiments of the Art of Building</u>	E. Dobson	1884
<u>Brickwork: A Practical Treatise</u>	F. Walker	1885



<u>The Practical Brick and Tile Book</u>	E. Dobson	1886
<u>The Rudiments of Practical Bricklaying</u>	A. Hammond	1887
<u>A Rudimentary Treatise on Masonry and Stonecutting</u>	E. Dobson	1888

Other books gave specific information on such aspects as the economics of house-building and estate layout:

Table 74 Examples of Books Relating to the Economics of House-Building 1881 - 1910

Title	Author	First published
<u>The House-Owners Estimator</u>	J. D. Simon	1881
<u>Housing Up-to-Date: With Quantities for Estimating Their Approximate Cost</u>	W. Thompson	1907
<u>The Development of Building Estates</u>	T. Bright	1910

The writer examined the above books among others at the British Architectural Library in London and several conclusions were drawn concerning their contents. Many gave detailed plans, elevations and even estimates of costs of houses and indeed could have been used as pattern-books by both builders and architects alike. The houses in nearly all cases were mansions, villas, lodges and homes for agricultural or factory workers. The middle-class houses of the suburbs, especially terrace housing hardly appeared in these works prior to 1900. The authors often inferred that their designs would be useful to other architects and wealthy patrons rather than builders. The most comprehensive plans for suburban housing were in books published after 1900 when the majority of building had taken place and often drew upon completed examples rather than setting examples to be drawn upon.

It would appear that the earlier works published before 1870 may have been used to obtain patterns for or ideas concerning the designs to be used for dwellings in various parts of the country including the study area. In the case of the latter, however, by the very nature of the houses being built, this could only hold true for villas, mansions and servants' lodges or cottages. When C. G. Powell referred to pattern-books in his work on the economic history of the British building industry in the following manner: 'a parsonage costing £670 which appeared in a builder's pattern book of mid-century',<sup>42</sup> he is describing a typical example of the sort of use to which pattern-books were probably put to at the time.

J. C. Loudon's Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture included many designs for cottages in various styles such as cottage ornee as well as labourers' homes and farmworkers' dwellings. Designs

were illustrated for detached and semi-detached villas and in its 1,317 pages many different houses were illustrated. The detail in the book is remarkable including as it does costings for the various schemes. Thus a labourer's cottage is shown costing £182, farmworkers' cottages from £35 - £70 and Book III is solely concerned with the design of large villas and mansions. For those involved in the 'Battle of the Styles', he gives examples to suit both camps including a Grecian villa costing £6,174 without stables and outbuildings etc. and a Pointed style villa at £5,828.<sup>43</sup> No doubt if careful comparisons were made between Loudon's designs and the large villas built between 1830 and 1870 on Headingley Hill or in other areas of Leeds, some similarities could be found. The influence of pattern-books on the houses erected on Headingley Hill has been suggested by Linstrum when he referred to the Fawcett Estate:

'Headingley Hill House was erected for William or James Hargreaves c.1836 as a symmetrical Greek villa in the manner of Francis Goodwin's published designs: all the details of planning and decoration are worked out with precision, and it is obvious an architect was in control.'<sup>44</sup>

The book Linstrum referred to was Domestic Architecture ... a Series of Designs ... in the Grecian, Italian and Old English Styles published in 1833/4 and written by F. Goodwin. He also suggests that the designer of North Hill House built on Headingley Hill in 1846 had been referring to A.C. Pugin's Specimens of Gothic Architecture.<sup>45</sup>

When it comes to the rows of red-brick terraces which began to be erected in the study area from 1860 onwards, the picture is somewhat different. Loudon made little or no reference to them and when he did it was to advocate against rows of terraces at least in rural areas:

'The objections to placing these cottages in contact in rows are that it lessens the privacy of each dwelling, and in many cases would prevent the sun from shining on every side of them. It is a great source of independence and comfort for a cottager, to be completely surrounded by his own garden. It is not pleasant, when walking or working in our garden, to be over-looked by our neighbour; or when sitting quietly in the house to hear the sounds of his children through the party-walls. It is a great mistake to suppose that this feeling is confined to the educated part of society; it exists among all classes, and certainly much more strongly among persons accustomed to a comparatively solitary life in the country, like agriculturists, than among mechanics accustomed to live in streets'<sup>46</sup>

Other authors followed Loudon's example and omitted the houses which were suitable for the lower middle classes or the skilled artisans and jumped from semi-detached villas to labourers' cottages. In 1857



John Weale in his book Designs and Examples of Cottages, Villas and Country Houses Etc. concentrated mainly on plans, elevations and specifications of detached or semi-detached villas and many of the designs illustrated were simply descriptions of schemes already completed as examples to others. He describes and illustrates houses such as three terrace houses erected at Paddington at a total cost of £800 and a pair of semi-detached houses erected at Dalston near London to the designs of Thomas Tatlock, architect.

C. W. Strickland in his book On Cottage Construction and Design, published in 1864, illustrated many designs for labourers' and farmworkers' cottages in the country. He gave typical plans, elevations and specifications of cottages for the poorer classes, which included out-buildings, coalhouses, privies and pigsties. On the need for a higher standard of design of cottages for the labouring classes he said:

'It has arisen chiefly from what I conceive to be a very pernicious state of things - from a very large proportion of the cottages that are provided for workmen, being built, not by the employers of labour or the large landowners, but by small builders and speculators, who have no interest in the tenants of their cottages except from the rent they pay, and who, therefore, must necessarily look principally to building at so low a cost as to receive a good return for their outlay.'<sup>47</sup>

One book which might have been used as a pattern-book for the design of terrace houses in various parts of the country and where the designs illustrated could have been applied or adapted was Rudimentary Treatise on the Erection of Dwellinghouses by the architect S. H. Brooks, published in 1860. In this work were plans and details of the construction of a pair of semi-detached houses at a cost of £400 - £800 each depending upon specification. The pair of houses illustrated on the plans had no windows in side walls and therefore could have acted as a model for through terrace houses as well as semi-detached villas. The plans showed a basement floor comprising breakfast room, kitchen and scullery all lit by areas, a ground floor with front dining room and rear parlour, a chamber floor with a dressing room, two bedrooms and a w.c. and an attic floor with two further bedrooms lit by dormer windows. Following the plans was a detailed set of specification clauses to describe the materials used and the construction for the various trades involved.<sup>48</sup>

This book published just before the great increase in the number of architects in Leeds would no doubt have found its way onto the shelves of aspiring northern architects and speculative builders alike. As

to the then involvement of architects in the design process Brooks wrote:

'The importance of domestic architecture must be held in a very different estimation to what it has been, by any one who hopes to assist in the revival of all architecture dead since the sixteenth century in our country... From the streets of our cities and manufacturing towns, our wealth and power proceed. Let these become the stepping-stones to our temples.'<sup>49</sup>

These were hardly the sentiments of an author who perceived his work to be a pattern-book to be used solely by speculative builders to produce competent designs without professional help or guidance. Nevertheless he did suggest that his work should be referred to and used by any persons who were 'students in the Building art' or 'the workman or pupil in the workshop of the builder.'<sup>50</sup>

C. F. Richardson's book Picturesque Designs for Mansions, Villas, Lodges Etc., published in 1870, was a useful source of designs for the semi-detached suburban villas, entrance lodges and gardeners' cottages which were in the process of construction in many parts of the country. In a similar way to the books produced by J. Birch and Bannister Fletcher in 1871, it gave useful advice to the builder of labourers' cottages and model houses for the industrial classes. In 1881 James D. Simon A.R.I.B.A., an architect and surveyor, wrote The House-Owners Estimator or What Will it cost To Build, Alter or Repair. For any developer who wished to employ others to work under him or in combination with him to either build or develop speculative houses, this publication would have been invaluable. Its great value to the builder, and indeed the architect, was its detailed cost breakdowns and specification clauses for many different types of houses being built at the time. Simon divided terrace housing into classes and gave London prices as well as typical ground floor plans. Full plans for each house were not shown. As in so many cases of the books inspected, the prices were quoted as London prices and were based on the Metropolitan Building Acts. Each class of house was given a full specification from excavation clauses right through to final decoration.

The houses illustrated were:

- Class I terrace house, costing £860 for 5 storeys with a ground floor area of 780 sq. ft.
- Class II terrace house, costing £470 for 4 storeys with a ground floor area of 572 sq. ft.
- Class III terrace house, costing £290 for 3 storeys with a ground floor area of 448 sq. ft.
- Class IV terrace house, costing £150 for 2 storeys with a ground floor area of 408 sq. ft.



The above examples were all typical of London and especially in the way that floor area was increased by additional storeys. As was the case with most other published works, no mention was made of back-to-backs, interlaced houses or cottage flats, which were variants on the through terrace house used in other parts of the country.

Only one book was found that could be said to represent a pattern-book of designs for terrace housing which were not meant for the labouring classes housed near mills or factories, for agricultural workers or for model dwellings to be erected by philanthropic societies. The book filled the wide gap that existed in so many other publications between designs for detached and semi-detached villas, cottages in the country and model labourers' dwellings. In 1904 John James Raggett, an architect and quantity surveyor from Birmingham, wrote A Series of Plans of Labourers' Cottages with Quantities for Estimating Their Approximate Costs. This work was a very detailed and comprehensive study of housing schemes throughout England and not confined to London and the Home Counties. Furthermore it was illustrated by a series of excellent plates, each plate being double page in size, showing estate layout (including roads and housing densities), house plans, setting out dimensions, calculations of the amount of land required and of the sunshine each house would receive depending upon the layout and orientation chosen. The following lists the contents of the major plate in the book:

- Plate 1: back-to-back houses and interlaced houses varying from 65 - 94 houses per acre.
- Plate 2: back-to-back layouts in various older parts of towns with courtyard layouts in the order of 154 - 183 houses per acre.
- Plate 3: terraced through houses from 46 - 61 houses per acre.
- Plate 4: larger through terrace houses from 42 - 73 houses per acre.
- Plate 5: terrace housing layout not fronting onto streets.
- Plate 6: terrace housing layout not fronting onto streets.
- Plate 7: a guide to the laying out of estates for through houses.
- Plate 8: a layout for the infilling of areas behind houses facing roads together with a table of income and expenditure for developers of typical terrace housing.<sup>52</sup>

Raggett's work was too late to be a pioneering work to set patterns which others could merely copy, it was more a collection of schemes that had been already carried out in several towns such as Leeds, Nottingham and Birmingham. What his work does do is to show how regional variations had occurred to overcome local conditions. When referring to

back-to-backs he compared the older courtyard housing with the newly built and larger back-to-backs being erected in Leeds:

'Example of Back to Back Houses in Leeds, having a small Garden with Street Frontage to both Elevations, they are of a very superior class, facing about E. & W. consequently would have an average of about 6 hours sunshine per day.'<sup>53</sup>

In conclusion, no evidence has been found in documents of whatever source of Leeds builders or developers obtaining designs for speculative housing from pattern-books. Urban historians such as Dyos have stated publically that this was the method by which the speculative builder obtained his designs. The deposited plans for houses erected in Leeds between 1868 and 1914 show a variety of house plans which are not readily recognisable in or identical to those published in architectural pattern-books and text books. One book which could have been used as a major source of housing estate layouts and house plans for speculative houses rather than for custom built villas, mansions, lodges and cottages, was published after the great house-building boom had taken place and was on the decline. Raggett's book did include regional variations and a great deal of detail but it was based on what had already taken place and, with the decline in house-building in towns like Leeds from 1905 onwards, was only of limited use because so few houses were being erected. In contrast, the deposited plans for the houses approved to be built in Leeds from 1868 - 1914 show overwhelming evidence that the speculative builders did not become aspiring house designers, but used local architects to draw up designs and have them approved on their behalf.



## NOTES

### CHAPTER 12 HOUSE TYPES AND PLAN SOLUTIONS

- 1 L.C.D., 12583.
- 2 L.C.D., 9200.
- 3 L.C.D., 36323.
- 4 L.C.D., 9447.
- 5 L.C.D., 10695.
- 6 L.C.D., 9322.
- 7 L.C.D., 15362.
- 8 L.C.D., 9450.
- 9 L.C.D., 10653.
- 10 L.C.D., 40243.
- 11 L.C.D., 38739.
- 12 L.C.D., 15653.
- 13 L.C.D., 10882.
- 14 L.C.D., 38739.
- 15 L.C.D., 9046.
- 16 L.C.D., 18074.
- 17 L.C.D., 15362.
- 18 L.C.D., 10882.
- 19 L.C.D., 9200.
- 20 D.B.P., page 3/Book 2/3 Dec./1869.
- 21 L.C.D., 18922. The houses facing onto streets bearing the family name were to be of a higher total value than those built on the interior of the site.
- 22 The whole development was demolished c.1970, probably to make way for road improvements which have not yet taken place.
- 23 D.B.P., page 63/Book 3A/14 Aprl./1871 and page 27/Book 4/ 4 Jul./1871.
- 24 L.C.D., 2160.
- 25 L.C.D., 10882.
- 26 L.C.D., 9200.
- 27 The last back-to-backs were built in Hessele Walk, Road and Avenue from 1933 - 1935 on the same estate.
- 28 The houses on the east side of Ash Grove were developed between 1876 and 1892, a period of 16 years.
- 29 Leeds Archives Department, Hepper Sale Plan 80.
- 30 D.B.P., 36/29 Oct./1880.
- 31 D.B.P., 24/21 Mar. 1879.
- 32 Dyos, p. 124.
- 33 D.B.P., 17/12 Dec./1887 (13 houses) and 9/17 Mar./1899 (17 houses).
- 34 D.B.P., 42/8 Jul./1892.

- 35 G.A. Middleton, Modern Buildings Their Planning Construction and Equipment, Vol. 2, p.1.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 The writer has visited a row of through houses built off Meanwood Road, Leeds and not situated in the study area. The last house was of apparently normal width on one side but not much more than 7 ft. wide at the rear. Such tortured planning was not uncommon in Leeds.
- 38 D.B.P., 11/6 Dec./1889.
- 39 No deeds have been inspected for the houses in Ash Grove to ascertain whether back-to-backs were specifically banned. All relevant deeds are still in private hands.
- 40 See J. J. Raggett, A Series of Plans of Labourers Cottages, Plate 1, for a description and an estate layout of interlaced houses.
- 41 J.N. Tarn, Five Per Cent Philanthropy, p. 64 - 65.
- 42 C.G. Powell, An Economic History of the British Building Industry, 1815 - 1979, p. 12.
- 43 J.C. Loudon, Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture, p. 822 and 924.
- 44 Linstrum p. 107.
45. Ibid., p. 108.
- 46 Loudon, op. cit., p. 1139.
- 47 C.W. Strickland, On Cottage Construction and Design, p. 5.
- 48 S. H. Brooks, Rudimentary Treatise on The Erection of Dwelling Houses, p. 104 - 180 and especially p. 155 - 162.
- 49 Ibid., p. VII.
- 50 Ibid., p. IV and VII.
- 51 J.D. Simon, The House-Owners Estimator, p. 62 - 91.
- 52 J. J. Raggett, op. cit., Plates 1 - 8.
- 53 Ibid., Plate 2.



## CHAPTER 13 THE CONSTRUCTION PROCESS

### 13.1 The Builders and Building Workers

Two distinct types of buildings can be seen to have been created in the nineteenth century. Those at the upper end of the market erected by the more respectable part of the industry with clients generally erecting high quality and relatively high cost buildings, and in contrast to these, a great mass of ordinary cheap buildings created by speculative builders.

The two types of building can be differentiated by referring to them as custom building and speculative building. Thus when a building was erected for a client or sponsor for owner-occupation on completion, the modern term custom building can be applied.<sup>1</sup> The widely favoured alternative for many suburban housing schemes in the nineteenth century was to build in advance of demand for disposal on the open market. This was widely known at the time as speculative building. Usually the custom-built buildings were erected after the demand for a particular building became evident and the result was buildings which were generally of a higher quality and tailored closely to the specialized requirements of the clients or sponsors who were paying for them.

In the speculative venture, the landowner could act as the builder by employing his own labour, or alternatively, employing a builder under contract. In the study area the pre-development landowner rarely took either course of action, preferring instead to sell land to a developer, thus relieving himself of the financial risks involved in building operations. The developer could develop the land himself, resell at a profit (usually after subdividing it into smaller lots) or build by subcontracting work to others. The developers who were usually middle-class men such as merchants, manufacturers and members of the professions together with a large number of builders all had one thing in common, they possessed capital or at least had access to credit. As a group they were attracted to development in advance of demand by the potentially higher profits that could be expected when compared with investment elsewhere.

Whether a landowner erected a custom-built building or whether a developer built for speculation, money had eventually to pass from the financial backer to the builder and the building workers. The builder needed money to pay for materials, labour and, if the builder

was acting as a developer, he also had to repay loans with interest taken out to purchase land. Even when builders were simply acting as contractors for other developers, money had to be found at irregular intervals to pay for materials delivered and at regular weekly or daily intervals to pay workmen on site. This often meant a precarious hand-to-mouth existence under the anxious eyes of private creditors, particularly those of builders merchants who usually provided materials on credit.

The builder like the architect, estate agent and surveyor was a person that was not clearly defined in the nineteenth century. This was in part due to the practice of individuals combining roles such as builder and ironmonger or architect and surveyor. The divisions tended to be more clear cut where custom building was concerned and far more ill-defined in the case of speculative housing. Some builders were general ones capable of carrying out entire projects and others were specialists capable of only completing the work of one or two trades. Even then it was common practice on custom-built buildings to find that the general contractor was a stonemason or bricklayer by trade and that he had accepted, on behalf of the client, quotations for other trades to be carried out by men not in his employ.

In these circumstances the client requiring a new building looked for ways to protect himself from both sharp practice and incompetence. One way was to arrange for tradesmen and builders to submit detailed estimates for proposed work in advance of carrying it out. The estimate could take the form of rates for specific building tasks, such as plaster to walls only, or a lump sum for the whole trade could be asked for. Either system allowed for competitive prices to be submitted, compared and the cheapest selected. Much building work had been done in the earlier part of the century on the basis of measure and value, whereby money was advanced to separate tradesmen as the work proceeded or on small contracts at the end so that the work done in terms of labour and materials was paid for at current rates plus a percentage to cover for profit. This system relied on accurate measurement of the work completed and arguments arose as to the area, extent or volume of work handed over and therefore clients began to employ surveyors to measure work on their behalf. In this way the role of the quantity surveyor was created.



By the 1830's an alternative and superior method of pricing work was favoured to that of measure and value, the competitive tender. On smaller and simple buildings the tender was for the whole of the work involved in one trade and on larger more prestigious jobs competitive tenders for the contract in gross was preferred. In the latter case one builder agreed to erect the whole project at a predetermined price. Even if the builder did not employ all the trades involved, it would be his responsibility to bring in other tradesmen to do the work for him.

By 1850 contracting in gross prevailed widely in the construction of larger custom-built buildings. It had the advantage for the client that he knew his total financial commitment before work started and that he entered into a contractual relationship with only one builder instead of with a number of less co-ordinated independent tradesmen. However, the developments in competitive tendering applied mainly to the more respectable part of the contracting industry. A great mass of cheaper building such as suburban housing was created by speculative builders who continued to be individual or combinations of tradesmen who moved on to competitive tendering but often only for the trade in which they were involved.

In the hierarchy of builders and building firms engaged in speculative house-building, the simplest unit was the individual master craftsman whose trade might be a bricklayer, carpenter and joiner, mason, pasterer, plumber, slater, glazier or painter. They confined themselves to work in their own trade only and often employed a few journeymen, apprentices and labourers. A development of these small master craftsmens' businesses were those masters who contracted to build whole buildings for others or even speculated and did so on their own account. They employed only workmen in their own trade and contracted with other masters that they knew for the remainder of the work in the other trades. A logical step was for two different masters to enter into partnership to build for speculation, thereby having at least two different trades directly under their control. In the study area a combination of bricklayer and joiner was common and in such partnerships as Bilbrough and Palframan and Wray and Gott the coming together of individual tradesmen is evident.

There were also to be found builders who acted in the same way as the single trade contractors but they did not have a building trade or

skill of their own as such. They operated by making subcontracts with the individual master craftsmen for each trade and contributed financial and managerial expertise. Estate agents, architects, lawyers, builders merchants and speculative developers who had entered building from a merchant or retail background could be builders of this type.

The most advanced business in the hierarchy were those master builders who erected whole buildings and employed more or less permanently most of the necessary tradesmen and other labour. Termed general contractors, they confined subcontracting to minor specialised trades for which continuity of work between projects was not possible. One of the earliest of these general contractors was Alexander Copeland, who was paid over £1.3m. for building barracks between 1796 and 1806 and who at one time employed over 700 men.<sup>2</sup>

More well known was Thomas Cubbitt (1788 - 1855) who was born near Norwich and who had served an apprenticeship as a carpenter before becoming a master carpenter in London. He began building houses for the growing middle classes, especially on the Bedford and Portland Estates, before becoming a developer in his own right. Cubbitt became a speculative builder who eventually broke away from the traditional way of organising building operations and became a general contractor. He had found that under the old system when he obtained a contract to build he had to subcontract with other tradesmen, such as bricklayers and painters, for those parts of the job which he could not carry out. Cubbitt found that when he was faced with penalty clauses for non-completion on time, he was at the mercy of tradesmen over whom he had little control. He therefore engaged all the tradesmen he needed on the basis of regular payment of wages: gangs of carpenters, smiths, plumbers, glaziers, bricklayers, painters etc. with foremen for each trade. With a great number of new employees covering a wide variety of trades, he then proceeded to erect new workshops to accommodate them. He insisted on regularly monthly payments from clients to pay his men and, in order to keep them all employed, he was continually involved in speculative building in his own right. When he died in 1855 he was worth over a million pounds.<sup>3</sup>

On a more local level in south London, Dyos described the builders of Camberwell. He stated that a large number of speculative builders were involved in house building in the suburb between 1878



and 1880. Some 416 different firms or individual builders were involved in the building of some 5,670 houses and it is significant that many had only small businesses, building not more than 2 houses per year. That is not to say that there were no large builders for some 15 firms built over 20 houses per year.<sup>4</sup> One of these builders was Edward Yates who Dyos described as:

'easily the largest builder at work in South London at the beginning of the 1880's'<sup>5</sup>

Yates came to London from the north of England about 1850 with little money and began digging foundations for army barracks at Aldershot. He began as a builder in Lambeth in 1867 erecting houses and then developed into a major house builder, borrowing money from Building Societies and later from connections he had made with London solicitors. He built over 70 houses in Camberwell prior to 1875 using his earlier unsold houses or unlet houses to secure loans for further development. By 1907 he had built a further 742 houses. Yates was in the words of Dyos a 'first class manager and organiser' and he made sure access to site for deliveries was good, he sub-contracted out roads and sewers and paid his tradesmen on piece rates. When he died in 1907, like Cubbitt before him, he too was a millionaire and had built over 2500 houses in South London.<sup>6</sup>

Another example of the large builder at work in London was the firm of Gibbs and Flew who were the largest builders of speculative houses in West London in 1884. The partnership started in 1876 and it became a limited company in 1882 with a capital of £100,000 and this was increased to £250,000 in 1883. The profits that the firm made were obtained from three sources. It bought freehold land, made roads and sold or leased it as improved building lots. It also built houses to high standards of workmanship for sale and to let.<sup>7</sup>

The suburbs in most expanding towns in the nineteenth century were for the most part the work of small builders and for every firm like Yates or Gibbs and Flew there were hundreds and probably thousands of much smaller firms. The situation was not static and as one firm advanced and grew larger others lost men and decreased in size. What is clear is that by the end of the nineteenth century there was an increased number of larger house builders operating in the suburbs and it was firms like these which could survive depressions in trade much better than their smaller competitors.

The natural progression might appear to be straightforward. A tradesman or a partnership of two tradesmen could proceed from small beginnings to accumulate enough capital to become firms of some size. However, in towns like Leeds this was the exception rather than the rule and the small firm predominated.

Total output was increased in the building industry by the proliferation of a large number of small firms who continued to use traditional methods of working, unlike other industries where new forms or sizes of older business or industrial units coupled with the introduction of new technology increased output. Many speculative builders started from small beginnings at tradesmen level, passed through the master builder stage, and eventually became established firms which ceased to exist when the proprietor retired or died. The formation of companies, either limited or otherwise, was not usual in the nineteenth-century building industry and therefore valuable experience and capital was not passed on unless it was a family concern where sons continued in their fathers' footsteps.

The outlook for many builders was a conservative one, the pre-occupation being mere survival in times when they lived on the strength of their credit, when trade fluctuations were regular and often extreme and competition for both work and to sell or let houses was often fierce. House builders usually did not venture to build houses a long way from their builders' yards, for to do so meant problems with carting materials and supervision of the work. The number of men employed by the builders can be judged by the situation in London where the census of 1851 showed that: 9 firms employed more than 200 men, 57 firms employed 50 or more men, 700 firms employed less than 10 men and by far the greatest number were the older one-trade master craftsmen, most of whom employed about 6 men each.<sup>8</sup>

If a few firms in London were very large and prestigious, the majority of building firms in towns were very small and the speculative house builders were usually at the lower end of the industry. These builders earned a reputation for poor workmanship, sharp practice, shoddy houses and the term jerry building was universally applied to a great deal of their handiwork. The relative ease with which builders were able to enter and leave the industry was in contrast to many other industries which required much greater capital for buying machinery, plant and factory premises and did much to spread the image of unreliability. Firms could be



quickly established when business was booming by men of little capital and there was an inevitable high number of bankruptcies often caused by the foreclosing of mortgages or by merchants stopping credit facilities. As a result a large number of houses were left standing in various stages of completion.

By no means were all speculative builders unreliable and only some gained notoriety by erecting jerry-built dwellings. Many were master craftsmen who took a pride in their work and proceeded to erect well built substantial houses, the majority of which are standing and still occupied today over a century later as a testament to their skills. Powell referred to the small builder:

'no one of the time had anything good to say about the speculative builders, who were themselves generally too busy building (as well as too poorly educated) to speak for themselves.'<sup>9</sup>

From the mid century the building industry in general showed many signs of change. Some in organisation but more in the magnitude of the operations carried out and the total number of men employed in the industry. Despite continuing cycles of boom and slump of activity the numbers of persons employed in the industry continued to grow. In 1851 the building workforce was 487,000 and this had risen to 1,219,000 by 1901 and despite the depression that came after 1901 which brought the numbers down to 1,145,000 in 1911, it is clear that building had become a key part of the overall economy in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

The average size of building firms became larger as the century passed although very many still remained small. New specialists emerged to carry out specific tasks in response to greater technical complexity; such men as specialists in the building of shop fronts or in gas and electrical installation. Most high quality custom building was carried out by the general contractors and it followed that they were the most respected firms in the industry. They had supplanted the master builders and their workforce included all the main trades although they still called on sub-contractors as and when required. The emergence of large general contractors appears to have been more common in London and the south of England. Below the general contractors in the public esteem were the builders who were wholly engaged in speculative building, these greatly outnumbered the general contractors especially in the north of England where general contractors:

'appear not to have occupied so dominant a position and the practice persisted of tendering separately for each trade.'<sup>11</sup>

In 1878 the National Association of Master Builders of Great Britain was formed and in 1899 the National Federation of Building Trade Employers.

### 13.2 Labour, Wages and the Unions

The men who were employed in the building industry during the nineteenth century represented a range of ability and experience stretching from master craftsmen to unskilled labourers. This wide range of skill and training was matched by a hierarchy of status and wages, with skilled craftsmen who were specialists in particular trades and with a great amount of experience at the top of those employed. Beneath them came the journeymen, then came the apprentices who assisted and learnt from the journeymen, and finally the great mass of semi-skilled and unskilled labourers who provided all the manpower for the carrying out of heavy and menial tasks. They formed a pool of labour which was both in a figurative and literal sense the backbone of the industry and was made up of men in the same mould as the canal and railway navvies: casual workers who were used to the rough life of six days a week hard manual labour, digging out foundations, moving heavy materials, unloading waggons and generally fetching and carrying for the apprentices, journeymen and craftsmen above them. In an industry which introduced little or no mechanisation before 1914, the number of labourers required even on simple housing schemes meant that it was a form of employment which attracted migrants such as the Irish who arrived in this country seeking work.

Even among the skilled craftsmen a hierarchy of status and wages existed, for not all craftsmen were paid the same rate per hour. In the early part of the century the masons were eminent above the other tradesmen and their skill was in the greatest demand on high quality work, especially prestigious public and religious buildings. Below them came the stonecutters and the bricklayers, whereas carpenters and joiners were held in only slightly less esteem than the masons, especially when employed on high quality work. Bricklayers appear to have had a slightly lower standing than the carpenters and joiners and this may have been because of their heavy involvement in cheap building such as speculative housing.



Plasterers came lower down the scale than bricklayers and this was probably because of the higher proportion of less skilled men who undertook the work when compared with other trades. Plumbers, slaters, painters, glaziers and paviors all jockeyed for position in the league table of wages paid. Over a period of time the mason lost his top place and slid down the table and by the mid 1880's the highest London day rates were being paid to decorators with new trades such as gasfitters being paid more than bricklayers.

The growing practice of drawing full details of buildings in advance of construction in order to aid in the estimating process had far reaching consequences. One of these was the gradual reduction of the craftsmens' skills on site as more decisions were moved to the workshops and the designer's office. Prior to this, craftsmen decided for themselves the details of a sash window, chimney or staircase, but for more and more custom-built buildings this freedom was taken away and responsibility for such decisions was placed with the professional designer. In speculative house-building the tendency was for architects to be employed but, as in earlier days, they limited themselves to providing overall designs and still left the fine details of both construction of standard items and ornament to the skill of the builder and the craftsmen he employed. There was obviously more scope for the craftsmen to exercise these skills in the better class villas and larger houses as the smaller terrace houses were subject to more severe financial constraints.

From 1851 to 1901 the contemporary accounts would suggest that life on building sites was arduous and years of hard work produced little financial reward for the average worker. A graphic description of the life and times of building workers of the period can be seen in Robert Tressell's The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists, who according to Tressell's narrative, spent most of the lives handing over to unscrupulous employers the one thing they could ill afford to give away cheaply, their labour. Skilled men were lucky if they could keep in regular work and at best they often worked intermittently with someone else waiting to step into their shoes if they vacated the job due to unsuitability, sickness or family problems.

The largest trade in the 1861 census was the carpenters and joiners being some 177,000 strong and rising to 270,000 by 1901.<sup>12</sup> There are many examples to be found of the young carpenter or joiner leaving his village in the country to find work with a speculative builder.

operating in the suburbs of a nearby town. His main hope in making such a move, often involving a distance of many miles, was to better himself and as foremen were often recruited from his trade, he could hope to become a foreman or if he was lucky a builder in his own right. By 1871 bricklayers displaced masons as the second largest trade, growing from 79,000 in 1861 to 213,000 in 1901 and with the number of masons remaining at around 86,000 during the period 1861 - 1901, this reflected the change in material away from stone to brick for all kinds of building work. In 1881 there were 100,000 painters and glaziers combined, 37,000 plumbers and 7,000 slaters and tilers.<sup>13</sup>

Certain important factors have to be taken into account before wages can be discussed. Firstly building workers did not work every week but often on an irregular basis and secondly there were wide variations in the wages paid in different parts of the country, especially between rural and urban areas. Variations also took place from time to time and from place to place depending upon the local labour market and work load. Building wages of operatives steadily improved from 1800 to 1900. Wages rose fairly steadily until 1883 when there was a slight fall until 1889 and then a steady rise until 1921. Between 1826 and 1847 there was a gradual but sustained rise in building workers' wages and based on a 10 hour working day, the average pay for the major trades was about 5s. per day or 30s. for a 60 hour week. In 1847 the working week was reduced to 58½ hours and by then the hourly rate for craftsmen was about 5½d. to 6d. per hour. Unemployment due to bad weather, slack trade, illness etc. would reduce the earnings of an individual to below average wage levels. In 1850 a London journalist, Henry Mayhew, reported on the life and work of carpenters, one of whom told him:

'I have known the London trade between twenty and thirty years. I came up from Lancashire, where I served an apprenticeship. I have worked all that time entirely at carpentering..... I have always had 5s. a day, and in busy times and long days have made 33s. and 35s. a week, by working overtime. I have always been able to keep my family, my wife and two children, comfortably, and without my wife's having to do anything but the housework and washing..... I am better off now than ever I was, because I earn the same, and all my expenses, except rent, are lower. I have a trifle in the savings bank. But then, you'll understand, sir, I'm a sort of exception, because I've had regular work, twelve months in the year, for these ten or twelve years, and never less than nine months before that.'<sup>14</sup>



The variation in wages between different areas was very marked with labourers in London earning, on average, 3s. per day prior to 1850 while similar men working in depressed rural areas only received 1s. 9d. per day. In general terms, when a full wage was earned regularly, building compared reasonably well with other industries and skilled tradesmen were classed as 'respectable skilled workers'. In the 1840's Manchester engineering iron moulders earned 34s. - 36s. per week and semi-skilled building labourers earned 16s. per week. In comparison agricultural labourers could expect around 10s. per week which was a clear incentive to forsake the land for a new life in the towns.

The trend of building wages was generally upwards with a slow rise from 1850 until 1875 and then they levelled off during the Great Victorian Depression until the boom of the 1890's which took wages to a peak to be followed by a period of stagnation until just before the outbreak of war. From 1914 there was a steady rise until 1921. In 1859 the skilled building workers were paid less than skilled agricultural, shipyard and engineering workers but by 1883 they had drawn level with the engineers and in 1884 passed the agricultural workers. In the 1850's a typical wage for building craftsmen for a ten hour day was 54d. and labourers 34d. By 1867, when the hours worked had been reduced to 56½ in order to give a shorter day on Saturday, craftsmen were earning 7½d. - 8d. per hour in London, 5½d. - 8d. per hour in Yorkshire and 4½d. - 5d. per hour in Norfolk.<sup>15</sup> The national average in 1867 was 7d. per hour with craftsmen earning between 30s. - 32s. per week and labourers 12s. - 25s. From these wages amounts had to be taken into account which were deductions from the weekly total. Deductions for hours not worked and for tool money, which in 1867 could amount to £1 down and 5s. per year for bricklayers and up to £20 and £1. 15s. per year for joiners.<sup>16</sup>

In many respects the building trade worker in Victorian England was at an advantage when compared with other workers such as the skilled cabinet-maker. The introduction of machine-made furniture was not the sort of problem faced by the building workers who did not have to compete with mass production. In 1878 craftsmen earned 7s. 6d. for a ten hour day and labourers received 4s. 9½d. in London but the national average for the period 1873 - 1892 was more like 6s. per day for skilled men and 4s. for labourers. At the outbreak of war in 1914 labourers had doubled their rate of pay since 1847 with

some earning 6s. per day and the average being 5s. per day. Craftsmen did not double their pay until after the war as plumbers were receiving 9s. per day in 1914 in London, other trades 8s. 7½d. and workers in other areas receiving 7s. 1d. In terms of yearly incomes the building craftsman's wage in London rose from £75 per year in 1847 to nearly £100 per year in 1906 and on the basis of annual earnings, building workers earned slightly more than the average for all skilled manual workers.<sup>17</sup> According to Powell, in 1906 carpenters were said to generally earn £98 per year, bricklayers £96 per year, railway engine drivers £119 per year, engineering fitters £90 per year and bakers £75.<sup>18</sup>

Care must be exercised when examining or quoting wages of building workers because of the large regional variations in rates for the same job and if an hourly or daily rate was given, weekly or annual wages can not be accurately calculated without knowing the hours worked. Because of these factors the above figures can only be taken as an approximate guide to the situation, however, almost every issue of The Builder magazine made some reference to building wages and referred to rates in specific parts of the country. From this source it can be seen that in 1851 a mason working on the railways in Belfast could earn 21s.- 30s. a week whereas in 1861 a mason working in Leeds received 4s. 6d. per day or 27s. for a 50 hour week. In 1866 painters received 20s. per week in Ipswich, plasterers' labourers received 20s. per week in Leeds, joiners in Manchester received 30s. per week and master joiners and cabinet-makers in Carlisle received 5d. per hour or 24s. for a 58 hour week. Also in 1866 joiners in North Wales earned 4s. 6d. per day whereas plasterers earned 4s. 3d, bricklayers earned 5s. per day or 30s. per week in Hull and painters in London received 5s. 10d. for a 10 hour day. In 1867 carpenters and joiners earned 30s. per week in Chester and masons received 32s. per week, in Cardiff carpenters could expect 4s. 6d. per day or 27s. per week. In 1873 plasterers in London received 8½d. per hour and in the following year labourers received 4¾d. per hour in Birmingham and stonemasons 8d. The difference in wage structure based on ability is clearly demonstrated by the fact that painters received 20s. - 28s. per week in 1874 depending upon their skill, whereas other trades such as stonemasons regularly earned 30s. per week. Regional differences and the state of the trade is also indicated by the fact that the majority of building trade workers in Sheffield only received 5½d. per hour in 1891.<sup>19</sup>



The formation of unions in the building trades was hampered by the fragmentation of the industry into numerous, mostly small firms offering mainly short-term employment on dispersed sites. Different trades and districts could not unite to form a united front with one identity of common interest and indeed some trades fought to keep their established supremacy over others. Disputes between building workers and employers usually remained narrowly confined to one trade and often to one locality.

Some skilled workers combined to form effective trade unions, notably the stonemasons who were the only building operatives with a good union prior to 1860, The Operative Stonemasons Society. Building unions in the 1860's were mainly for the most skilled men in regular employment who could afford the relatively high contributions in exchange for the benefits received. The aim of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners was to reduce the hours worked and to resist employers who wished to pay workers by the hour and not as had been the custom by the day. These issues were central to the great London lock-out by the builders in 1859 - 60 and the subsequent issuing of the Document, attempting to ban union members from obtaining work, which had eventually to be withdrawn. The average number of hours worked between 1834 - 1861 was 60 hours, but after the lock-out this was reduced to 56½ hours in many areas and to even less in London. Payment by the hour was accepted with only one hour's notice of dismissal but the shorter hours which had been agreed did not become accepted fully until the early 1870's when a 9 hour day and a short Saturday meant that building workers were on a 51 hour week.

From 1870 onwards the employers were faced with the increasing power of the unions, the stonemasons in unions rose from 9000 in 1860 to 26,330 in 1876, joiners and carpenters from 618 to 16038 in the same period. With the Great Victorian Depression from 1876 onwards the number of stonemasons in unions fell drastically until 1890.

Although a similar set-back occurred for the carpenters and joiners it was not as drastic as that affecting masons. In 1885 there was said to be 100,000 union members which represented only 1/8 of the total building workforce. This was due to the depression causing a slack in trade but the return of prosperity and increase in building activity of the 1890's saw union membership return to around 1 in 5 of all craftsmen.

The major issues for the unions in the latter decades of the century and the period before the war were pay, hours, piecework and apprenticeships. Piecework was opposed on the grounds that it depressed pay and standards of craftsmanship. The new century brought economic adversity and a further decline in building trade such that wages were stationary and prices rising. In 1909 there was 12% unemployment among carpenters and jobs were being threatened in all trades by new technology and changing materials. Joinery work became more and more mechanised, less stone was used, lead began to be replaced by asphalt and gas by electricity.

### 13.3 House Builders of Leeds and Headingley

It would appear that when a client wished to erect a custom-built house for owner-occupation in Leeds he would obtain tenders by means of his architect. The builder would probably have been a master craftsman who employed some of his own men, especially in his trade, and who subcontracted work out to other skilled craftsmen. Later in the century it is possible that some of the newer general contractors tendered for such work, especially if it was of a large size.

In contrast, when speculative housing was to be erected by a client who was acting as a housing developer in Leeds, several alternatives were possible. Prices could be obtained for each trade from the large number of single craft tradesmen who would supply their own labourers and could give a price for labour only or for materials and labour. Another alternative was to ask a master builder to price for building all of the work and, as in the case of the detached villas or larger houses, it would be his responsibility to lay off the work in certain trades to other craftsmen. The speculative developer may have been a builder in his own right or an entrepreneur. In the latter case at least two examples have been found of an architect being asked to obtain prices for the various trades involved in the construction.<sup>20</sup>

Although references have been found to builders in deeds, on drawings, in diaries and in periodicals or newspapers, no business records have been found relating to the builders who erected speculative houses either in the study area or in Leeds as a whole. Records exist of builders working on public buildings and churches etc. but not as far as the writer is aware, on suburban housing. Unlike Dyos



who found the business records of a builder like Edward Yates who worked in Camberwell, the ledgers, accounts, invoices, letters and other minutiae concerned with the building operations of the persons who erected the acres upon acres of Leeds suburban housing in the nineteenth century, have it appears been consigned to the tip, the grate or the garden bonfire.

Of the house builders who operated in Headingley and the other northern out-townships of Leeds in the last century a few still remain in business and some were still in existence in the late 1950's. However, despite this continuity spreading in some cases over nearly a hundred years, the records have quite understandably not been retained. What is unfortunate is that no firm or surviving relative considered depositing any of these records in archives or libraries when they were no longer required.

Four firms that were involved in house building for others in the study area rather than as developers in their own right still survive as building firms. Henry Lax Ltd. of Roundhay Road, William Irwin & Co. of Horsforth, G.L. & E. Wilson of Headingley and John Wade & Son also of Headingley. The oldest of these firms was the latter which was established in 1868 when John Wade set up as a mason and builder at Cliff Road, Woodhouse. He was joined later by his son John Wade junior who was a bricklayer. They were typical of the men who originally worked as skilled building operatives employed by others until able to offer their services as builders in their own particular trade. By 1888 the firm was known as the Wade brothers, builders of 4 Cliff Road, Woodhouse and these were the sons of the founder. In 1900 the name of the business was once again John Wade & Son as yet another generation joined the family business. Although all early records have been destroyed, discussions with the present owners, who occupy premises in Kensington Terrace on the Teal Estate, would suggest that their forefathers worked on the construction of many of the speculative terrace houses erected in Headingley, Burley and Woodhouse.

Other tradesmen such as William Airey of Woodhouse and the Johnson Brothers, also of Woodhouse, together with the Walmsley Brothers of Burley, all founded firms which were still in operation in some form by the late 1950's but have since ceased trading. Business records of firms like that founded by the Walmsley brothers, who operated in Headingley on a similar scale to Yates in Camberwell, would prove

invaluable to the housing historian. If they exist at all they are still in private hands and remain to be located.

Leeds Archives Department have some of the business accounts of one Leeds builder for the period. These are the day books, accounts, sketch books and other similar documents for George Nettleton, builder of Roundhay for the period 1830 - 86.<sup>21</sup> The ledgers include time sheets for work carried out but unfortunately do not include letters and some of the sketches and notebooks were obviously the work and property of George's son John Nettleton. The sketch books in particular would suggest that in the 1830's and 1840's, George Nettleton not only acted as a builder but also designed a number of the smaller buildings he was asked to erect. He prepared plans and elevations for complete buildings, especially small houses, as well as scale drawings of internal and external constructional details. These drawings are in notebooks and include plans and elevations of a Toll Bar on the Otley Turnpike Road 1848, a lodge at Roundhay, details for gate piers at Seacroft Church as well as chimney-pieces, Gothic windows and roof trusses (see Figs. 128 - 133).

John Nettleton would appear to have been interested in monumental masonry and spent many hours drawing monuments in churches and graveyards. The firm became involved in building the New National School at Addingham in 1844 which was designed by the architects Perkin and Backhouse as well as working on the construction of Moor Allerton Church in 1853. They were also involved in the construction of custom-built houses for many years, a typical example being two cottages they built at Shadwell for William Crowther at an estimated cost of £110 c. 1845. They do not appear, however, to have worked on speculative houses.

The various time sheets and records written up in the ledgers record how many men worked for the firm and the jobs which were undertaken. The latter ranged from large buildings to small jobbing and repair work. From the time sheets it would appear that Nettleton was a builder of some quality and much in demand for the better class of work. He carried out work for such clients as James Kitson of Elmete Hall, Roundhay under the supervision of the architect, C.R. Chorley as well as for various members of the Lupton family at Potternewton, Chapel Allerton and Roundhay. Many of his quotations only included prices for carrying out masonry and brickwork which were the trades in which the firm had special expertise. For example in



*Plan and Elevation of two Cottages for  
Mr. Anslay Roundhay.*

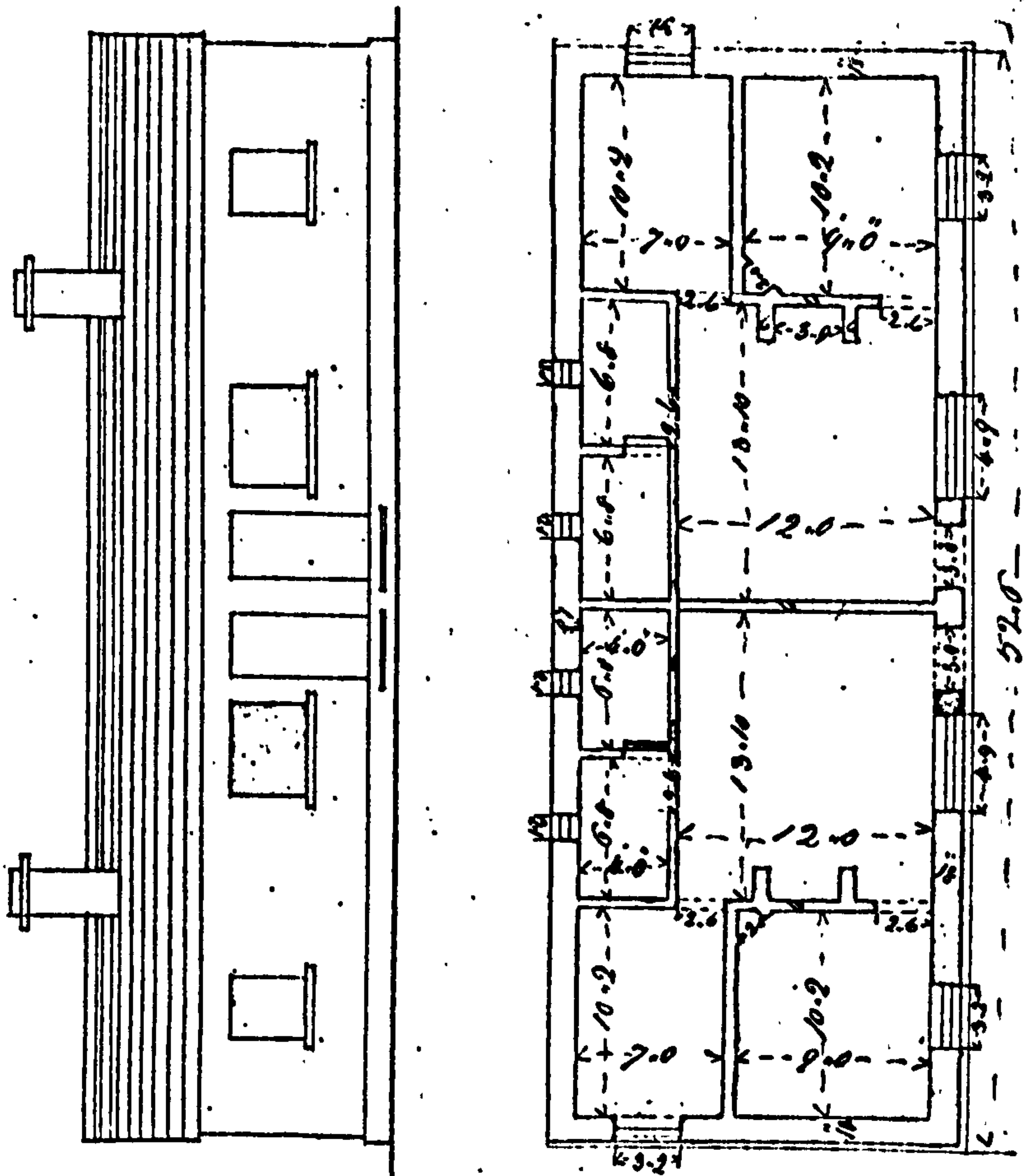


Fig. 128 Drawing of two cottages at Roundhay, from the notebooks of George Nettleton.

*Plan & Elevation of a Lodge at Roundhay  
for Mr. Anslay. Both works by George Nettleton.*

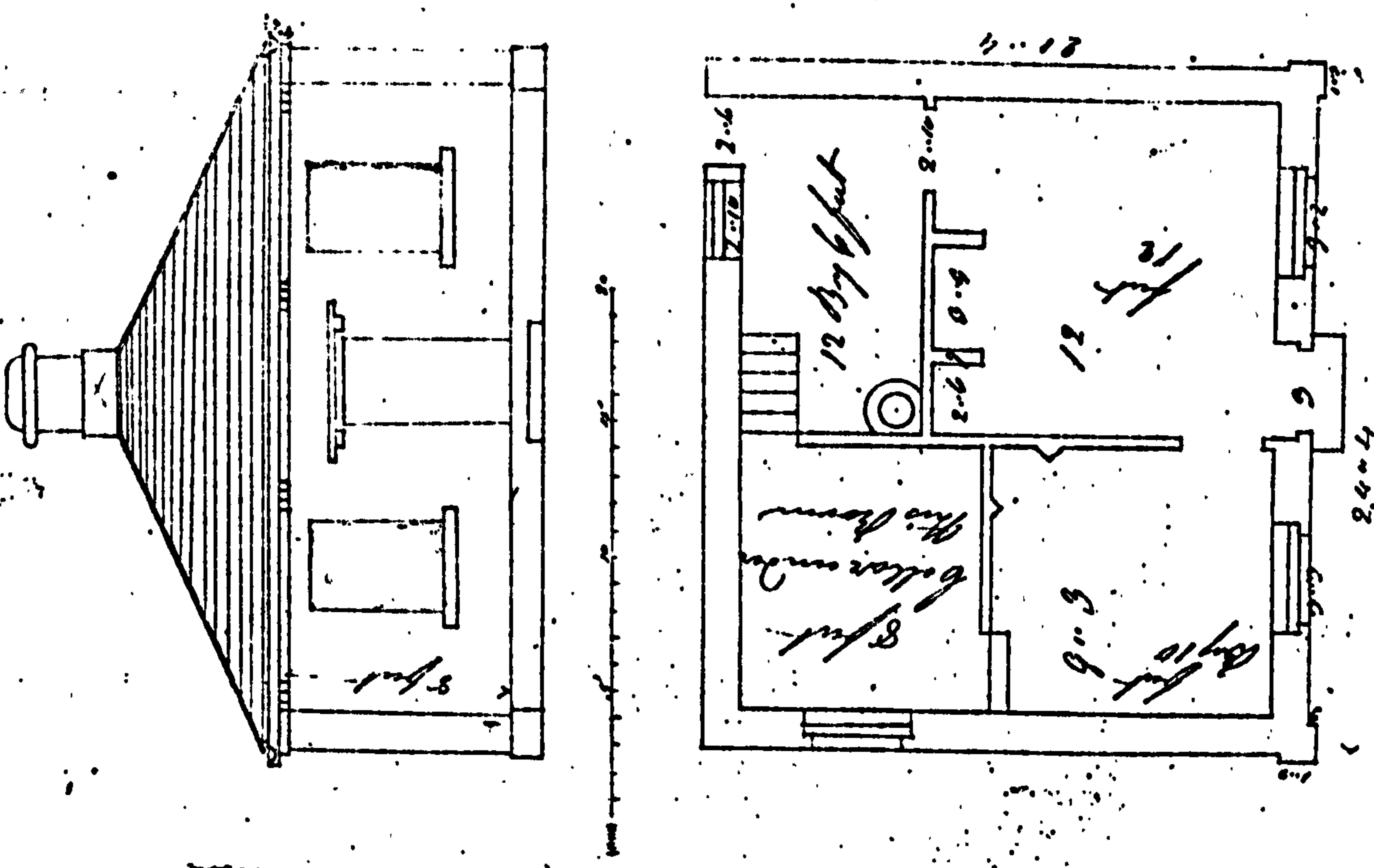


Fig. 129 Drawing of a lodge at Roundhay, from the notebooks of George Nettleton.





*Elevation of Vestry Chimney piece  
at Rauden Chapel.*

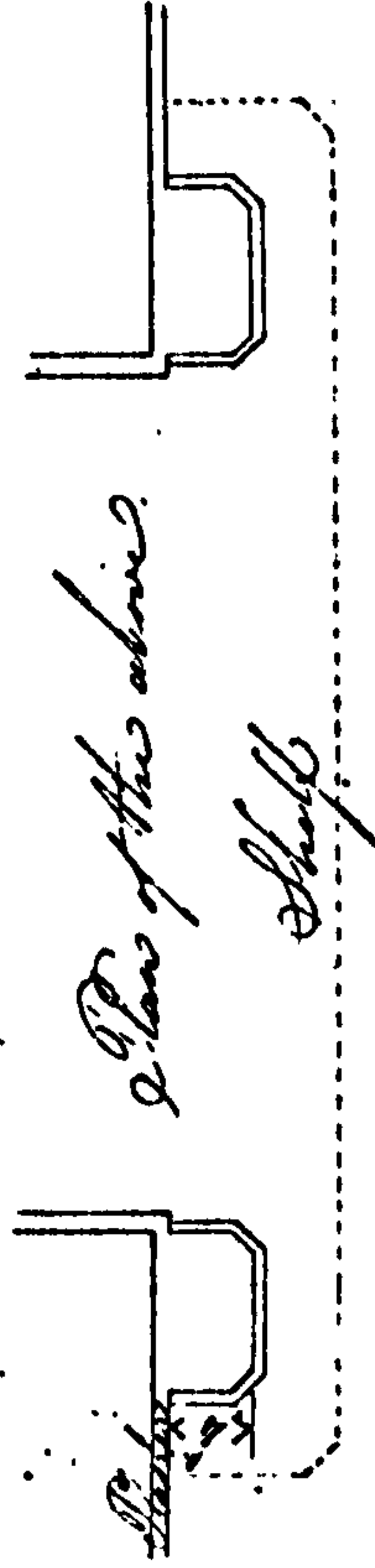
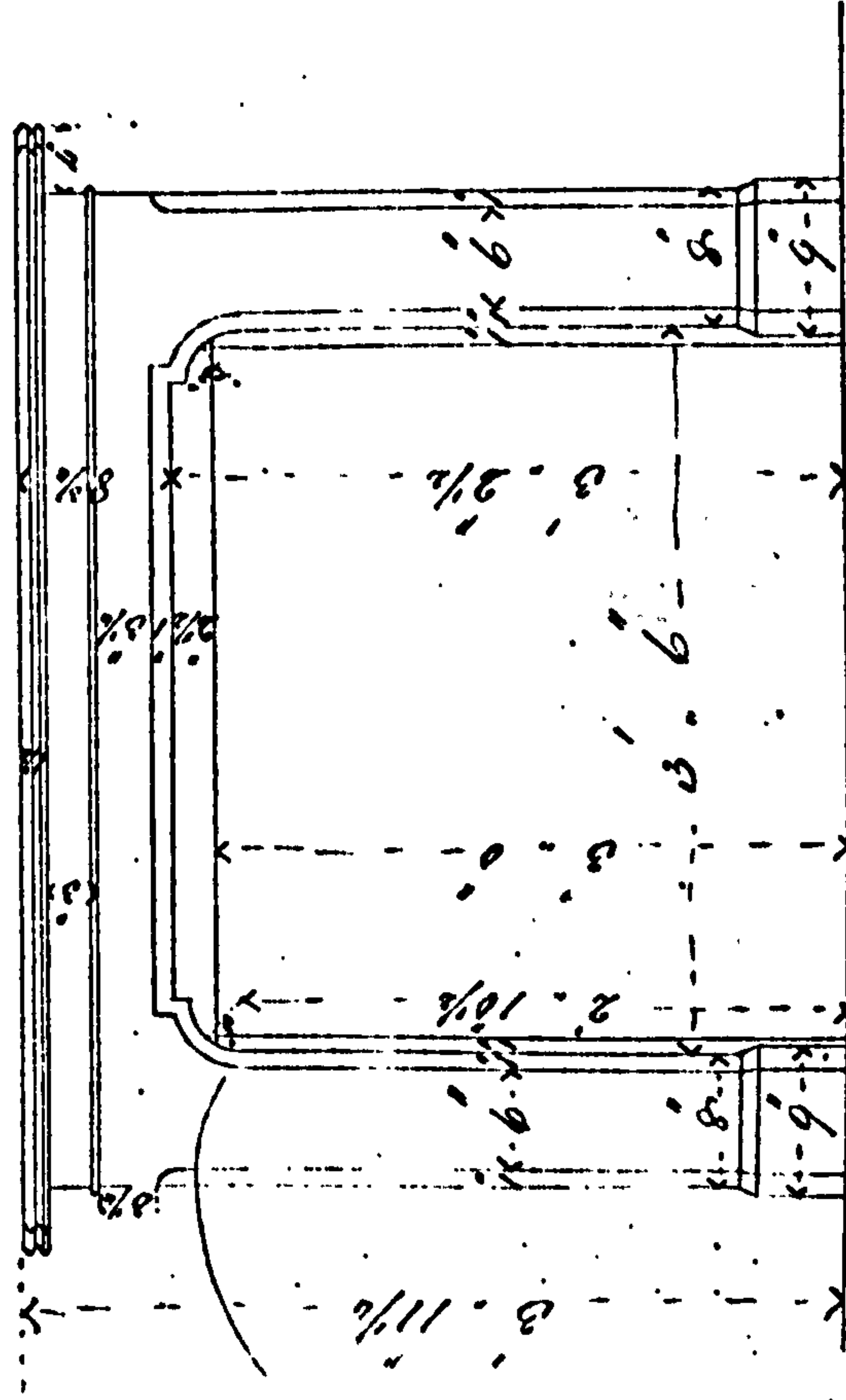
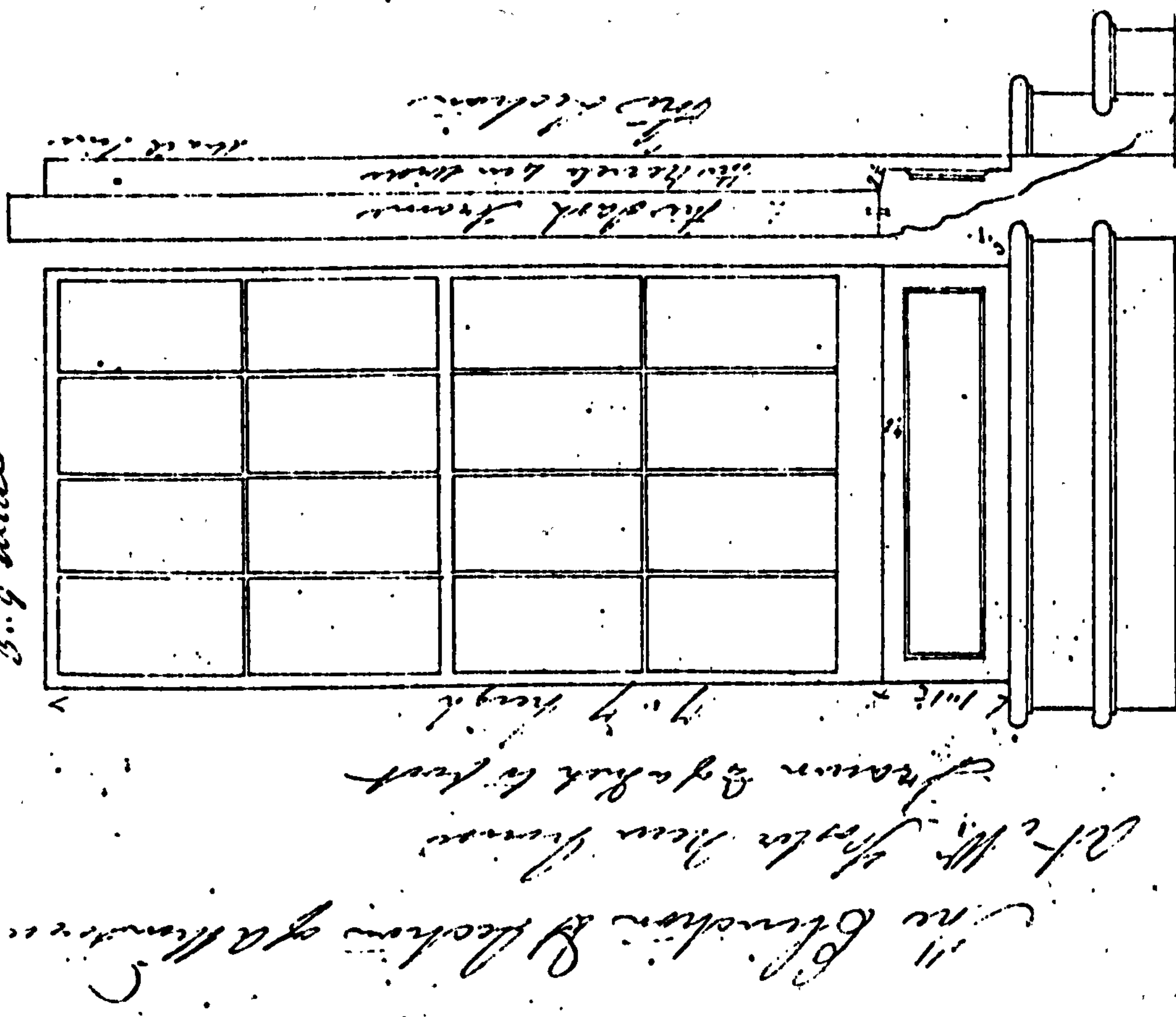


Fig. 132 Chimney piece detail for Rauden Chapel, from the notebooks of George Nettleton.



*3'-9 inches*

*The window frame  
The door frame  
The door handle  
7'-7 inches  
1'-11 1/2 inches*

Fig. 133 Window detail for house, from the notebooks of George Nettleton.

1883 they did much of the stonework on the Primitive Methodist Sunday School in Cardigan Road just outside the study area.

Examination of the day sheets indicates the number of men employed by Nettleton and it would appear to have varied with the number of jobs undertaken and the state of the trade. During the period 1854 - 58 he regularly employed 11 - 19 men, this fell to 7 - 10 men for the period 1872 - 1876 and then as the Great Depression began to bite, this declined further to 5 - 6 men from 1876 - 1878. As trade began to pick up his numbers increased and by 1880 he was back to employing 20 men. These presumably included young boys or apprentices, labourers, journeymen and tradesmen and among their ranks were characters who were distinguished by such colourful names as 'Old Jim' 'Jim Lad' 'The Scotchman' and 'Irish Jim' thus reflecting the itinerate nature of the industry. The need to feed horses used for transport was also reflected by the entry for one week in 1883 when the firm's cart driver was employed for several days 'mowing our grass' 'in our field' or 'making our hay'.

Sadly detail is lacking in all too many cases which could have related to housing or the study area. 'Jim at North Lane, 4 hours' does not describe the trade or the job concerned. The documents relating to Nettleton do give some insight into the building trade in Leeds in general, for example, tucked into one ledger were the agreed rates of pay and hours to be worked for bricklayers and for stonemasons. (see Figs. 134 - 135).

The extent to which building and the building trade was a major employer in Leeds can be seen in the following table:

Table 75 Building Workers in Leeds, 1841 - 1911<sup>22</sup>

	Numbers employed	Percentage of all workers
1841	3,148	5.3
1851	4,179	5.0
1861	5,665	5.8
1871	6,768	7.4
1881	9,138	6.7
1891	10,525	6.2
1901	14,725	7.4
1911	10,189	4.7

What is known about the builders who operated in the study area is mainly biographical details and factual information concerning the



# Leeds Master Builders' Association.

THE FOLLOWING

## TIME SHEET FOR BRICKLAYERS AND LABOURERS

FOR THE PRESENT WINTER

Was adopted at a Meeting of Employers and Bricklayers, held at the  
Nag's Head Inn, Upperhead Row, *September 11th, 1876.*

And it was agreed that if any Employer considered to allow his  
Workmen to work longer hours than stated in this Sheet, it would  
have the approval of the Committee.

1876.

Week commencing Saturday.	Time to commence work.		Time to leave work.		No. of hours per day.	Total hours per week.
	A.M.		P.M.			
October ... .. 28						
November ... .. 4	7	0	5	15	8½	48½
.. .. . 11	7	0	5	0	8½	47½
.. .. . 18	7	0	4	45	8½	46½
.. .. . 25	7	0	4	45	8½	46½

### BREAKFAST HALF-HOUR CEASES.

December... .. 2	7	0	4	45	8½	48½
.. .. . 9	7	15	4	30	8½	46½
.. .. . 16	7	30	4	30	8	45
.. .. . 23	7	30	4	30	8	45
.. .. . 30	7	30	4	30	8	45

1877.

January ... .. 6	7	30	4	45	8½	46½
.. .. . 13	7	30	5	0	8½	47½
.. .. . 20	7	15	5	15	9	50½
.. .. . 27	7	15	5	15	9	50½

### BREAKFAST HALF-HOUR COMMENCES.

February... .. 3	7	0	5	30	9	50
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THOMAS WINN, *Secretary.*

Fig.134 Hours of work for bricklayers and labourers in Leeds, 1876.

LEEDS MASTER-BUILDERS' ASSOCIATION.

MASONS'

WINTER WORKING TIME SHEET,

FOR 1883 AND 1884.

The following Working Time Sheet for MASONS for the Ensuing Winter, has been agreed upon between the Employers and Operatives.

Week Commencing Saturday.	Time to Commence Work.	Time to Leave Work.	No. of Hours per Week.	Rate.	Amount.		
	A. M.	P. M.		d.	£	s.	d.
1883.							
NOVEMBER 3	7 0	5 15	48½	8	1	12	6
" 10	7 0	5 0	47½	"	1	11	8
" 17	7 0	4 45	46½	"	1	10	10
" 24	7 15	4 30	43½	"	1	9	0
DECEMBER 1	7 15	4 30	43½	"	1	9	0
" 8	7 30	4 30	42	"	1	8	0
" 15	7 30	4 30	42	"	1	8	0
" 22	7 30	4 30	42	"	1	8	0
" 29	7 30	4 30	42	"	1	8	0
1884.							
JANUARY 5	7 30	4 45	43½	"	1	8	10
" 12	7 30	5 0	44½	"	1	9	5
" 19	7 15	5 15	47½	"	1	11	6
" 26	7 15	5 15	47½	"	1	11	6
					19	6	3

at an average wage of £1 9s. 8½d.

JOHN CARTER, Secretary.

Fig.135 Hours of work for masons in Leeds, 1883 - 84.



land, streets, houses and other buildings with which they became involved. From various sources such as deposited drawings, deeds, street directories and obituaries, profiles of the individuals and their firms can be drawn up with varying degrees of completeness. The extent of involvement of an individual builder or firm in housing development and land purchase can be ascertained from these sources but, without detailed business records, the extent of involvement in building for others, the financial arrangements, building costs and the time or number of men it took to complete a scheme can not. The questions posed by Treen when he studied the northern out-township of Leeds still remain partially unanswered. Did builders just build on purchased areas or build as well for other purchasers on the estate? Did the purchaser let out work to plasterers, plumbers, joiners etc. or to builders building for speculation?<sup>23</sup>

From the day books of the architect Archibald Neill an answer can be found to at least one of these questions. Neill describes one example of a developer of speculative houses obtaining prices for material and labour in order to let out the work to different single craft tradesmen.<sup>24</sup> Even as late as 1899 a similar practice still prevailed, for when 4 through houses were to be erected at Idle near Bradford, the specification and quantities were broken down into separate documents with each one written in such a way that individual tradesmen could price their section of the work. Although some distance away from Leeds there is no reason to believe that this practice was uncommon.<sup>25</sup>

There was little evidence found in the study area to suggest that builders who were developers in their own right built for other housing developers but this may have been the case with the smaller firms. Certainly there was no evidence to suggest that major developers such as B. & W. Walmsley erected houses for other developers. There was evidence, however, that individual tradesmen, single trade, and master builders were willing to erect houses for developers who were not members of the building trade. Thus the small builder, William Horrox erected houses on the Royal Park Estate where the architect Walter Hobson was the developer.

The picture that emerges from the study area is one of builders who began life as tradesmen undertaking work for other builders for an hourly or daily rate until they reached the stage of undertaking all the work in their trade on a fixed price and subcontract basis.

They then tendered for work direct and progressed to employing other tradesmen or labourers to become master builders in their own right. Often a partnership of trades gave advantages, especially a combination of bricklayer and joiner, in that more work could be carried out on a specific contract. These partnerships could be undertaken for work on single jobs and then terminated or strengthened until firms were established around them. For the small builder or building partnership, the ultimate step after erecting houses for others was to buy a small block or plot of land on which to erect houses for speculation and if the firm or individual prospered, to buy land in sufficient quantity to speculate in land also. Large profits could be made from land subdivision and resales to other master builders and the purchasers could still retain some plots to build houses on their own behalf. Thus if money was borrowed wisely, if land was sold to others at a profit and houses were erected at the right time in advance of demand, firms could and did prosper.

The way in which builders grew from humble beginnings to become wealthy and successful men can be illustrated by describing some of the builders who operated in the study area. Equally the way in which small tradesmen or craftsmen became involved in speculative housing can be demonstrated by using information from the same source.

The builders who purchased more land and erected more houses than any other developer in the study area were Benjamin and William Walmsley. These two brothers were natives of Newport, a village near Howden in the East Riding of Yorkshire. They came to Leeds c.1870 and in the early 1870's Benjamin Walmsley was described as a joiner and cabinet-maker living in Hyde Park Road, Headingley. By 1876 Benjamin and William were in partnership as builders at 13 Hyde Park Road. They probably worked in the building trade as paid employees until c.1876 when they had set up on their own and had purchased 382 sq. yds. of building land on the Hill Top Estate. In 1882 they had established business premises for plant and materials in Burley Road and William moved his home to an address in Woodsley Road on the nearby St. John's Estate. Throughout their building career the firm's business premises and office was at 80 Burley Road.

The way in which the brothers prospered was directly linked to their ability to borrow money, buy land wisely and speculate not only in house-building but in land. In 1879 their earlier venture into



land purchase, when they bought only a few lots, had obviously proved successful, because in that year they proceeded to obtain a whole building block of 2,352 sq. yds. laid out for terrace houses on the Hill Top Estate. Little is known about their land purchases in the early 1880's but they built up a system of private mortgages which enabled them to bridge the gap between buying only single building blocks to being able to purchase large areas of land on the Cardigan Estate during the period 1887 - 1892. Some of their purchases were by private treaty and others at the sales of the estate but all told they emerged in 1892 having obtained 58 acres of some of the most prime building land near to the in-township of Leeds. Their first purchase was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres in 1887, which was later to be developed with the Ashvilles, this was followed by three further purchases of 16, 17 and 12 acres between 1888 and 1890 and finally a further purchase of 10 acres in 1892. The total sum paid out by the brothers for the land was in excess of £29,000.<sup>26</sup>

The financial success of the Walmsley brothers can be directly attributed to their astuteness in buying open fields and after carrying out some improvements to the land, selling it at a profit. They did develop large areas of speculative houses on their own behalf as well as building a church, orphanage and shops, but the profit made by land resales, especially to smaller builders, helped to finance these operations. On one occasion they sold off a large area of land in one lot, some 13 acres in Burley which the Corporation of Leeds wished to develop into a public recreational park. Burley Park as it is now known, was bought off the Walmsleys at building land prices and the amount they received, £21,656 in the 1890's, was nearly 75 per cent of their outlay to purchase their original 58 acres.<sup>27</sup>

The Walmsley brothers had street layouts approved on their estates and by 1893 they were receiving 7s. a sq. yd. for small lots on land they had purchased at nearer 2s. a sq. yd. In 1901 at the height of the building boom they were charging up to 10s. per sq. yd. The main source of their loans in the form of private mortgages were men such as Robert William Bower of Meanwood Park, a local coal owner who lent them considerable sums to purchase the Cardigan land.<sup>28</sup> Their success enabled them to pay back these huge sums together with the interest although some private mortgages were still in force at the time of their deaths. Both men became prosperous enough to

commission the architect Daniel Dodgson, who prepared many of their housing designs, to design two almost identical detached houses on the Headingley Old Gardens Estate in 1894. Wallingfen was built for Benjamin and was his home until his death in 1910 and Sandholme for William where he died in 1914 (see Figs. 29 - 30).

The obituary notices for both men and the sample of house plans for all Leeds clearly show that the Walmsley brothers built extensively in other parts of Leeds outside the study area boundary and in at least one other town. They developed land in Burley which was covered with streets bearing the name Harold or Thornville and they also purchased the park belonging to Alderman Kelsall and developed the streets now named Kelsall. The Walmsley brothers were:

'the pioneer builders of through dwelling-houses in Westfield Road, Burley Fields and adjoining thoroughfares. They were also extensively engaged in the building trade at Scarborough, where many streets were opened up near the North Bay.'<sup>29</sup>

The two brothers became local benefactors and philanthropists, giving the land and paying for the erection of the Brudenell Road Mission Hall and the orphanage adjoining which was to bear their name. William was a staunch Primitive Methodist and in this respect was similar to many other builders active in the study area who were often described as non-conformist regular church or chapel attenders. In Benjamin's obituary notice he was described as:

'a staunch temperance advocate and strongly opposed the sale of intoxicants on any property belonging to him'<sup>30</sup>

Benjamin Walmsley also had interests in the large Clayton Wood Quarries at Horsforth near Leeds and in 1904 was described as a quarry owner. In the same year the brothers stopped developing houses in partnership and began to divide up land holdings and develop houses as separate individuals. Whether there was a rift between them or this was an amicable arrangement is not known, but nevertheless, they both died wealthy men. Benjamin left £139,730 gross estate and William £169,559. The latter also left two sons who carried on their father's building business.<sup>31</sup>

John Newton Sharp was, like the Walmsley brothers, a builder of houses on a grand scale. He too purchased large areas of land ripe for development and then proceeded to lay it out and develop the major part on his own account as well as selling off plots to smaller builders. He was described as a builder in 1882 living in Leopold



Street, Sheepscar but details of his earlier life are not known. By 1893 he was living in Rock Terrace and later as he prospered he moved to Newton Lodge, Potternewton. Sharp purchased land on the Manor House Estate in the study area where he proceeded to erect 62 houses and he also developed houses on estates elsewhere in Headingley and Potternewton.

Whereas other smaller builders tended to sell off houses on completion Sharp adopted a policy of retaining them and his company became the landlords of a large number of houses throughout Leeds. He died in 1933 having established a company called Newton Sharp Estates Ltd. and as late as 1951 the company still owned many houses in the Cardigan Mount, Avenue and Terrace areas off Kirkstall Road as well as 75 houses on the Manor House Estate.<sup>32</sup> On Sharp's death he was described as follows:

'a well known figure in the building trade of the city. His activity in the business was mostly confined to the erection of small and medium-sized houses for the artisan population. On those lines he developed two or three large estates, notably in the Kirkstall Road and Cardigan Road districts and his continued enterprise made him in the end one of the biggest single owners of artisan dwellings in the city.'<sup>33</sup>

Other builders came some way between the large operators such as the Walmsleys and Sharp and the small single trade craftsmen who perhaps built only one or two houses. One such person was John Ellis Pearson who was described as a joiner in 1882 but had undertaken and was engaged in building work. He lived in Regent Terrace on the Hill Top Estate and proceeded to buy individual lots or small blocks of building land. On these he developed 160 houses on the Royal Park, Hattersley and Ford Estates between 1887 and 1902. He apparently also had business premises which were described as his works at Kirkstall Hill in 1893.<sup>34</sup>

Pearson was typical of many other builders who were active in the study area, the joiners, bricklayers and masons who turned to housing development and as they called themselves builders presumably were willing to carry out housing work for others as well as general jobbing or repair work. Chapman Howson, a bricklayer turned builder who developed 18 houses, William Boddy Pearson, a joiner and cabinet-maker who developed 17 houses and Joshua Ledgard, a joiner turned builder who developed 14 houses, were all men from a similar mould. The latter was described as a joiner and builder in 1876 when he

lived in Poplar Street, Burley and had business premises at Ventnor Street. During the period 1878 - 79 he was engaged in building houses for Knowles & Co., a firm of estate agents from Bradford who had purchased a whole building block on the Hill Top Estate. The houses were back-to-back dwellings which he erected in Harold Place and Terrace. By 1892 Ledgard was building houses on his own behalf on the Walmsley Estate and in 1898 his son who was also a joiner entered his father's business.<sup>35</sup>

Some craftsmen combined trades and hence their skills to form partnerships to erect houses either for others or as speculators in their own right. Some were brothers who combined their efforts and offered their services as builders. For example, the three Fenton brothers from Roundhay who, operating from a yard in Gledhow, developed 24 houses on the Royal Park Estate and the two Johnson brothers who had a building firm in Woodhouse in 1907. Hedley and Thomas Johnson erected 9 through houses on the Walmsley Estate and built up a firm of general builders which was still in existence in the late 1950's in Woodhouse. Similarly William and Arthur Hargreaves were bricklayers who combined to build 16 houses on the Royal Park Estate in the 1890's.

Some partnerships were long lasting and led to the foundation of firms, others were short lived. For example James Bilbrough was a bricklayer who went into partnership with Albert Palframan who was most probably a joiner. They built a number of houses over a short period of time including 50 back-to-backs on the Royal Park, Ford Estate. In October 1892 they dissolved their partnership after having completed a number of successful ventures in speculation and Palframan left Leeds to retire to Whitby. William Wray a joiner combined in partnership with William Gott who was also a joiner and they developed two houses in Brudenell Road for owner-occupation. They left some of the land they had purchased for the erection of a joiner's shop and this was extended in 1891. By 1893 Wray described himself as a builder and William Gott went on to found the firm Messrs. Gott and Sons, Contractors of Hunslet Mills, Leeds although he had not been a housing developer as such in the study area. Other firms developed where the founders had begun as humble tradesmen and work on speculative housing was the starting point for bigger things. Thus William Airey was a stonemason from Woodhouse in 1882 but from 1898 he was calling himself a builder. He developed 16 houses on the Manor House Estate between 1902 and 1903 and went on to develop



his business into one of the most well known and best established firms in Leeds. By 1923 the head of the company was Sir Edwin Airey and the 'Airey House' that the firm developed using pre-cast concrete units was built in many parts of the country.

As an epitaph to these men of pith who graduated from the apprentice to the tools and from journeymen to masters, the obituary of George Wells Carlton will suffice. The three Carlton brothers of Roundhay began their building career erecting houses and developed into general builders and property owners. Among others they developed houses on the Hill Top Estate in the Ebors off Hyde Park Road and their work was described as follows:

'They built a large number of houses for the superior artisan class of citizen and, being practical men with a love for good workmanship they built to last'<sup>36</sup>

The houses in the Ebors are still occupied today nearly a century later.

#### 13.4 House-building Costs, Sales and Rentals

Many examples have been found of the rentals received when houses were let or prices realised when houses were sold in the study area. These can be cited to indicate the sort of return a developer of speculative houses could expect on completion of a scheme, however, as no builders' records for this type of work have survived, ascertaining the actual building costs is more difficult. All that can be done is to establish typical costs for houses of a similar type built during the period but these do not take into consideration the state of the housing market in Leeds at any given period of time or local fluctuations in the prices of materials and labour. In the same way house-building activity rose and fell in a complicated manner directly related to estimated profits:

'There is a logic which ought to dictate the activity of the building industry. House-building depends on both the builder's estimate of how rent levels will affect the selling price of houses and on the investor's estimate of how profits from rents will move in relation to other investments.'<sup>37</sup>

Between the builder and the tenant there was normally to be found a buyer of the houses who would become the landlord. In the study area two major builder developers, the Walmsley brothers and John Newton Sharp, held on to many of the houses they built to become landlords but most smaller builders and many other developers sold off property to landlords soon after completion. The landlord had

to be prepared to invest in low cost housing in expectation of a good return from rents they might receive. The builders did not usually set about building houses with the intention of letting them but of getting them off their hands as quickly as possible. This was especially the case with small firms, partnerships or individual single-craft builders who very often were in the position of needing to sell the house quickly to pay off loans and to pay for the materials they had obtained on credit. Investors who wished to become landlords by building on a speculative basis could not obtain loans from large financial institutions and had to rely on long term private mortgages, whereas builders relied on short term credit facilities to obtain materials which were paid for as the houses were partially completed. The cost of building was usually something which could be accurately forecast because it was not subject to violent fluctuations:

'Building costs remained remarkably steady throughout the century, showing neither great reductions nor very steep rises until the First World War from which point costs rose very markedly up to 1920'<sup>38</sup>

The price of materials was high in 1846, fell until 1852, rose in 1853 and then fell again until 1872. It rose once again until 1873 to be followed by a steady fall during the depression period until 1889 and a slight rise in 1890. A fairly steep rise took place approaching 1900 and thereafter a fall until 1910 with again a steep rise until 1920. The total cost of building was in fact, more dependent upon labour costs which rose as wages of operatives steadily improved from 1800 - 1900. For example in 1876 and 1879 there were large wage increases which raised total building costs to the point where further house building was discouraged.<sup>39</sup>

Average costs which follow are only of limited usefulness because of the great regional differences and purely local fluctuations but are some guide where detailed figures are not available. In 1846 Loudon gave estimated building prices. He quoted 3d. - 6d. per ft. cube for cottages with homes for the very humblest of classes costing 2d. per ft. cube. In contrast he suggested that mansions and very large villas would cost 9d. per ft. cube with 6 d. per ft. cube for stables and out-buildings. A villa in the Pointed Style was more expensive at 10d. per ft. cube.<sup>40</sup>

Other sources of general house-building costs give estimated prices in pence per cubic ft., pence per sq. ft., pounds per room or a figure



for the total house. In 1896 the cost of building houses which bridged the vast gulf in quality between labourers' cottages and the mansions of the very rich, the houses of the artisans and middle classes, was 5½d. per ft. cube for a typical through terrace house costing £252 if land costs were ignored. In comparison the detached villa for the middle-class occupier cost 8d. per ft. cube in 1901. By 1913 the estimated cost of villas lay between 8d. and 10d. per ft. cube and the most expensive houses built for letting could cost from 1s. - 1s. 3d. Mansions occupied by the owner and his family cost between 10d. and 1s. 6d. per ft. cube with servants' quarters at only 7d. - 9d. per ft. cube. In the same year workmens' cottages could still be built for 4d. to 6½d. per ft. cube. Similar figures for regional variants such as back-to-backs have not been found but where charitable organisations were set up to provide houses for the poorer classes detailed costings are available.<sup>41</sup>

Leeds defended the back-to-backs as they made a contribution to the sheltering of the poor at low cost and the council constantly pointed out that they fed the need for small dwellings. Although the preference for small dwellings was not entirely based on economic grounds, for many it meant being king of a castle, however small, and satisfied the hankering for a rural cottage which lingered in the minds of many Englishmen whose forefathers had made the move from rural to urban surroundings. The charitable housing trusts had found:

'that the only way to build cheaply enough for the poor was to build in high density blocks and even then they had found resistance to the idea of living in such barrack-like buildings.'<sup>42</sup>

Thus in 1896 two-storey tenements could be built for 6½d. per ft. cube. Whereas the large L.C.C. Boundary Street Scheme of 1893 - 1900 cost 9d. per ft. cube and by 1913 the estimated cost of large tenement buildings was 8d. to 9½d. per ft. cube in London. In the case of the latter land costs were reduced and as the small-house system used up too much land, a higher figure per cubic foot could still prove the most economical solution.

When houses built for artisans and the poorer classes were referred to in contemporary accounts, prices were often related to housing schemes in other areas by quoting the cost to build one room. Thus in 1884 the average cost of building one room in Liverpool was £37,

in Newcastle it was £62 and in Glasgow it was £72.<sup>43</sup> In 1857 four and six-room houses were costing up to £50 for each room, therefore a house with a basement kitchen and scullery, two ground-floor rooms and two bedrooms could cost £300. Higher quality houses were usually more expensive per room, a ten-room house was more likely to cost in the order of £800 - £1000 in 1860.<sup>44</sup> In comparison, municipal cottages erected in Birmingham with four main rooms, an attic and a water-closet cost £175 to build in 1890 which was between £40 and £50 per room. Artisan multi-storey tenement blocks were more expensive to build than houses, six storey blocks built for the Improved Industrial Dwellings Co. erected in London in 1870 cost £54 per room and other schemes of a similar nature built in London cost from £83 - £138 per room. For example, the Boundary Street Scheme built by the L.C.C. from 1893 - 1900, cost £107 per room. By 1913 the estimated cost of tenement buildings was from £65 - £100 per room in London and £60 - £90 per room elsewhere.<sup>45</sup>

Yet another method of giving the cost of building for various house types was simply to state the total cost per unit and this was the most commonly used. In the 1870's three-roomed cottages with cellars cost £80 - £110 to build and low cost houses were likely to be built for less than £100 between 1850 and 1875. In the 1860's enlightened opinion was that £100 represented the lower limit for a decent cottage house in a town although cheaper and inferior dwellings were erected in towns all over the country. However, as the century progressed into the 1870's and beyond, the quality of the cheaper houses gradually improved because of higher incomes, greater expectations of tenants and above all as a result of legislation. The smaller artisan and cottage type dwellings in towns began to resemble in quality (even if smaller in size) the villas and semi-detached villas of the wealthier classes. The higher quality was reflected in the floor areas, volume, number of rooms, baths, water-closets and the provision of sewers for drainage, all of which gradually raised the average cost of new houses. By 1913 the cost of workmens' cottages in towns was said to range from about £150 to £240, indicating the general increase in prices which had taken place.<sup>46</sup>

From the above figures and information in house deeds it can be seen that during the period 1850 - 1870, when the first large estates of artisan and middle-class terrace houses were being erected in the



study area, the following typical costs prevailed. Based on an average cost of £50 per room, the small back-to-back of two rooms probably cost around £100 to build and larger through terraces of at least four rooms nearer £200. Based on a figure per cubic foot, the houses probably cost around 5d. per ft. cube and therefore a 4 storey back-to-back of 7,000 cubic ft. would have cost £145 and a 4 storey through terrace of 13,400 cubic ft. would have cost £280.

Detailed figures for Leeds as a whole and the study area in particular are only available relating to the prices the completed dwellings realised when sold and then not always immediately after completion. The difficulty in comparing the final selling price with the cost of building is that the high cost of land has to be taken into account in the selling price. Indeed not only land costs but also work in paving and constructing roads was passed on to the eventual customer. Usually figures quoted for building costs such as a price per ft. cube or per room did not include the cost of land purchase.

Taking the smaller house first, back-to-backs in Leeds in 1842 cost £65 - £70 each to build or about £80 including the cost of land when the house size was 5 yds. by 4 yds. By 1877 back-to-backs were sold on the Hill Top Estate on the liquidation of the L.Y.L.B.I.C. for £172 each including land. However, during further sales held in 1879 the average fetching price was only £127 per house.<sup>47</sup> Back-to-backs built on the Royal Park Estate sold for £200 in 1889 but these were the scullery type with small gardens and they sold for more than the scullery type without gardens in William Street on the Clapham/Pearson Estate which fetched only £180 each in 1896. Back-to-backs on the Royal Park Estate were being sold for £250 by the turn of the century and for £350 by 1912. In comparison the less desirable houses in William Street fetched £140 each in 1912 and one realised £265 in 1926 (see Appendix 16).

Small through houses of the model type with a typical frontage of 15 ft. 2 in. were built in Leeds by the Society for the Erection of Improved Dwellings for the Working Classes from 1861 - 1863 at Beeston, Burley and Wortley. They cost (including land) £150 per house in Beeston, £160 at Burley and £142 at Wortley. Houses to be built at Hunslet for £180 - £190 each were described as:

'intended for a numerous class of men whose occupations render it impossible that they can reside in the suburbs of the town!'

and the houses were to be provided with:

'every convenience usually found in the best  
"through" houses'<sup>48</sup>

In 1879 the L.Y.L.B.I.C. liquidation sales saw small through houses on the Hill Top Estate fetching £215 - £250 each and by 1898 houses such as those built in Brudenell Avenue on the Royal Park Estate were fetching £325. In 1902 typical small through houses on the Walmsley and Manor House Estates realised £365 - £420 and prices for this type of house rose from around £300 in 1912 to £550 in 1920 depending upon size (see Appendix 16).

Larger through houses fetched correspondingly larger prices when sold depending upon the number of rooms and the size of the plot of land involved. In 1864 when a scheme was drawn up by the architects Wilson and Bailey of Leeds to indicate what could be erected in the way of through houses on the St. John's Hill Estate, six houses were shown each with 315 sq. yds. of land at an estimated cost of £340 each or £403 each including land.<sup>49</sup> Between 1874 and 1889 large through houses fetched a wide range of prices from the houses built in Oakfield Terrace, Headingley which cost £500 each to build including land costs, to houses in nearby Monkbridge Road selling for £1,144 each. Typical of these houses were 11, 13 & 15 Bainbrigg Terrace in the study area, which were sold in 1884 for £667 each. Prices rose steadily after 1890 and houses facing Brudenell Road fetched £530 in 1894 and in 1921 just one of the houses sold in Bainbrigg Terrace in 1884 for £667 fetched £1,175. (see Appendix 16)

Semi-detached villas could also fetch high prices, thus in 1876 two villas in Monkbridge Road, Headingley fetched £1,025 each, but the more moderately sized dwellings fetched between £500 to £650 each in the 1870's. By 1897 even small semi-detached villas were realising this figure as houses built in St. Michael's Terrace in the study area sold on completion for £550 to £600 (see Appendix 16).

Detached villas had the greatest range of prices as they varied so greatly in size and conveniences. In 1842 G.N. Tatham's detached house in Headingley Lane was insured for £1,200 whereas the large nearby mansion of Spring Bank was sold in 1870 for £7,100. The majority of large detached houses in the Headingley Old Gardens Estate and in other areas of Headingley which were sold between 1872 and 1893 fetched typical prices of between £1,300 and £3000 (see Appendix 16).



No examples of tenement buildings are to be found in Headingley erected before 1914 but when Leeds Housing Committee did propose such structures elsewhere in Leeds they were considered a necessary step because of the lower costs involved. In 1906 a proposal was put forward to erect a block containing sixty 2 room flats and twelve 3 roomed flats which would house 312 persons at an estimated cost of only £160 per dwelling.<sup>50</sup>

Where dwellings were bought by an investor who wished to use the rentals from the houses as a source of income or indeed when builders or developers erected houses and retained possession of them with the same purpose in mind, the rentals that various sized houses could realise was an important factor in the decisions of what to purchase or to build. References to annual rentals like the purchase prices of houses have to be treated with some caution because some included rates and others did not. Rentals were often calculated on the number of rooms in a house and two houses adjacent to each other in a terrace could therefore attract different rentals.

Rents in general were discussed in Chapter 6, however, some specific examples of rents actually achieved at various times were found for houses erected within the study area. Thus in 1880 through houses on the Teal Estate situated in Midland Road fetched £35, £45, £45 and £30 for numbers 2, 4, 6 and 8 respectively. In nearby Ebberston Terrace number 20, a typical through house with two cellar rooms, two ground floor, two bedrooms and attics, was advertised to let in 1886 for £19 1s. per annum.<sup>51</sup> Higher rentals were being asked for similar through terrace houses on the Norwood Estate when the rental asked was £24 per annum in the same year.<sup>52</sup>

By 1879 numbers 14 - 28 Chestnut Avenue were let at £19 19s. per annum and higher rentals were asked for larger semi-detached villas at the top of Chestnut Avenue where a rental of £28 was typical in 1899. Numbers 66 and 68 Brudenell Mount were also let for £19 19s. in 1899 and this seemed the going rate for an average sized through house for the period 1885 - 1890. Even as late as 1911 the rental of a through house such as 15 Manor Drive had only risen to £22 10s. per year thereby indicating how stable rents were for many years.

Much higher rents were achieved for the large villas and semi-detached villas, for example in 1901 St. Edmunds, one half of a large pair of semi-detached villas in Cardigan Road, was let for £95 per annum.<sup>53</sup>

Returns on capital invested for builders and developers of speculative houses are difficult to estimate without detailed cost breakdowns for all the transactions involved from land purchase to the ultimate sale or letting. A simple comparison between building costs and rentals gives some indication of the annual return on capital invested that could be expected. Through houses in the 1890's brought in rentals of 5s. 3d. - 7s. per week or £13.10s - £18 4s. per year. If the houses cost £250 - £300 to build, this represented an annual return of 5.4% - 6% on capital invested. By 1899 houses costing around £300 in Brudenell Avenue were letting for £19. 19s. per annum and if the tenants paid the rates, this meant an annual return of 6.7% on capital invested. Similarly back-to-back houses in the study area in 1905 fetched rentals of 4s. 3d. - 7s. 6d. per week for scullery type houses. Their cost to build ranged from £175 - £300 and with a yearly rental of £11 - £19 this represented a return of 6.3% on capital invested but often the landlord paid the rates on the smaller dwellings let weekly.

The economic fact that those who wished to become landlords had to face was that they may get 5% interest per annum clear for the money tied up but they could also receive less. Whereas 3½% interest could be achieved without any risk by investment in government stock or the major financial institutions. The profit or loss equation was centred around the amount received in rent and the deductions to be made for expenses. The latter were often pivotal to the success of the venture. If an average figure of 6% is used as the expected gross return for capital invested, the crucial question was what amount of the income was to be expended on rates (if not paid by the tenant), insurance and maintenance? Treen estimated this to be 30% for a town like Leeds, whereas Ragget suggests that this figure would be as high as 48% for London where ground rent had to be added.<sup>54</sup> This meant that if Treen's figure is used, the 6% annual return would drop to 4.2%. This can be compared with the 4% to 5% normally achieved by lending money on private mortgages and when the gross annual return fell below 6%, the comparison would be even more unfavourable.

### 13.5 Building Materials

Restrictive covenants often stated what materials could be used for the external walls of houses erected in the study area and building regulations prohibited the use of certain other materials such as



thatch for roofing. The earliest houses to be erected in the study area, such as those on the Fawcett Estate, were built with stone external walls and slate roofs at a time when a number of stone houses with thin stone slabs used as roofing material already existed in Headingley Village and at Wrangthorn.

Restrictive covenants in the early part of the century required stone to be used for both buildings and garden walls but later covenants were less restrictive and allowed brick to be used at first on side and rear elevations and eventually as landowners wished to attract buyers, brick was permissible on front elevations also.

There was an abundant supply of stone from quarries at Woodhouse, Meanwood and Potternewton together with smaller quarries dotted about Headingley and Burley for local use but with limited supplies. Elsewhere there were quarries that specialised in flat slabs for use on roofs and for paving. On the Cardigan Estate several small quarries existed in 1831, especially in the area that was to later become Cardigan Lane, and on Sir Sandford Graham's land just north of Burley Village. However, by 1846 these quarries had reduced in number and after 1860 only a quarry specialising in the stone slabs for paving was still operating.<sup>55</sup>

Increased use of inland waterways, which could bring down transport rates, had an important effect in reducing local price differences of materials and railways accentuated the same trend. The use of local sandstone and millstone grit as wall and roofing materials was common between 1800 and 1850, however, after that date their use declined in the face of intensified competition from other materials. The rival to local stone was brick from an ever increasing number of local brickyards and for roofs, North Wales slate could be transported economically the long distances to the northern towns.

At the beginning of the century and well into the 1860's the better quality houses of Headingley were of well cut ashlar with cheaper houses still using stone which was less accurately squared rather than rubble walls. The houses built on the Fawcett Estate from 1838 onwards were large villas or mansions built in ashlar with one exception. Ash Grove, a detached house built in Victoria Road, was constructed in red brick with a slate hipped roof, gauged bricks arches over windows and with sashes and glazing bars that combine to give it a distinctly late eighteenth-century appearance (see Fig. 22).

This was the first brick dwelling to be erected in the study area and it was built by Thomas Judson, a retired joiner and builder, soon after he purchased his plot of land off Fawcett in 1838.

When the first terrace houses were built on the Fawcett Estate they were faced in ashlar. These houses were built fronting onto Victoria Road between 1846 and 1860, and in using stone, followed a pattern already set by their grander neighbours in Headingley Terrace which was completed on the Fawcett Estate in the 1840's but outside the study area boundary (see Figs. 20 - 21).

When the first houses were built on the Teal Estate in 1857 they too were in ashlar and four houses were erected in stone at the junction of Kensington Terrace and Hyde Park Road. Teal, who was meticulous in his restrictions on the heights of rooms and garden walls etc. did not proscribe the use of brick. His estate became the first in the study area to mainly comprise brick built houses as all those constructed after 1860 were in this material. Once Teal allowed brick, other landowners soon followed and gradually a conformity in the use of external materials could be seen to develop from 1870 onwards. Red brick with stone lintels and sills to openings and slate roofs became the accepted norm but variations did occur, particularly in the amount of stone decorative elements to openings, especially door openings. Some of the earlier houses had flat brick arches to window heads while some later houses were designed by architects who preferred to use segmental or round arches.

As a general rule best pressed red brick became the universal material for the new estates of middle-class houses but stone was still used on some better class villas and for public buildings such as new churches. St. Augustines 1869, Victoria Road Methodist 1885 and Woodhouse Moor Methodist 1874, were all typical examples built in stone and within the study area.

The location of the new houses built in stone and situated in the study area can be seen to relate to earlier groups of stone buildings which existed prior to 1838. The collection of buildings at Wrangthorn (now Hyde Park Corner) and Headingley village were the two main focal points. The existing premises now belonging to Foyle and Kirk Ltd., Painting Contractors are typical of the collection of stone cottages and farm buildings that existed at Wrangthorn when the Fawcett and Teal Estates were first developed.



Similarly the village of Headingley was a collection of old stone buildings, many with stone roofing slabs. The existing Skyrack Inn and adjoining shops are typical surviving examples.

Just as the first houses to be erected near to Wrangthorn were built in stone on the Fawcett Estate, so too were the majority of houses built on the Mansion House Estate near to St. Michael's Church. Gradually the change to brick took place when the nearby Headingley Old Gardens was developed as the first houses built on that estate, Rawden Lodge and Clareville, were both in brick. A number of large brick houses were built in the Old Gardens but unlike the simple Georgian facades of those built in Leeds earlier in the century, they had a considerable amount of stone decorative elements added to break up the facades.

The first red-brick terraces to be built on the Fawcett Estate, were developed by Henry Ludolf, the flax merchant. He erected five through houses, Nelson Terrace, as an investment c. 1869 after the change of material had become established on the nearby Teal Estate. On the Chapel Lane Estate near Headingley village, the first deposited plan in 1876 was for 47 through houses which were all to be erected in stone. The architect was Daniel Dodgson who was at the time involved as a depositor and a developer of red-brick terraces on the Fawcett Estate. The tradition for building in stone near Headingley village obviously died hard and the developers who were estate agents were probably reluctant to make the change to brick with its overtones of poorer quality buildings.

The decline of stone and the rise of slate exemplified a more general trend in the use of materials. Early in the century typical roofs in Leeds were finished with variably sized stone units of considerable weight and thickness. By the mid 1850's typical roofs had regular sized units usually in slate with a higher degree of precision and what is more important weighing considerably less than earlier types of roofing material, thus reducing the cost of roof timbers. Similar or sometimes a better performance was being achieved with less material on site, less site labour and using goods carried long distances from their place of origin. The growing use of brick for walling was an example of a similar trend but in the case of northern towns the source of supply was local to the building sites. Brick generally offered the advantage over many types of stone of regularity in shape

and size, quicker progress on site and a reduction of the amount of surplus material at the end of building operations. In Headingley local stone had flat bedding planes and buildings were not erected with rubble walling, therefore some of the immediate advantages of brick were lost and this may account for the continued use of stone well into the 1870's.

Brick was a cheaper alternative to stone only if local supplies of clay and fuel for kilns were available. In Burley some estates were actually put up for sale with the advertised attraction of beds of clay in the ground from which bricks could be made for new housing developments.<sup>56</sup> The practice of digging clay on site in order to make bricks for new building development cannot have been uncommon in the early part of the nineteenth century. Beresford refers to clay being dug on site when terrace houses were built in Blundell Place and Preston Place, Woodhouse c.1821. A coal-fuelled kiln was used to bake the bricks and surplus bricks were sold to other builders.<sup>57</sup> Restrictive covenants relating to estates in the study area referred to this practice and either banned it entirely or allowed only the making of bricks sufficient for the dwellings to be built on the land being conveyed:

'and that no quarry shall be opened in or upon the said plot of land for the sale of stone tiles or bricks, and that no bricks shall be burnt at any time on the said plot of land.'<sup>58</sup>

Although brick making rose from an annual production of 841 million between 1815 and 1820 to 1,749 million between 1845 and 1850, stone continued to be used in many areas for housing projects. Although brick was popular for civil engineering structures it was subject to a tax which was 5s. per 1000 bricks in 1803 rising to 5s. 10d. per 1000 from 1833.<sup>59</sup> The duty payable was a sizeable proportion of the prime cost of purchase and was not repealed until 1850. From then on brick became more competitive with stone in areas where stone was still the locally available building material. The number of brickworks was large and the average size small. Brickmaking activities were invariably local and technically simple with clay dug direct from the building site where possible. Alternatively the contractor leased a nearby field where clay was available and could be fired or, as owners began to forbid this practice, he had to buy from small independent brickmakers who would supply to site by horsedrawn waggons. Small manufacturers such as Johnson & Wroe,



Brickmakers of Queens Road, Leeds sprang up in northern towns and the number of men employed in brickmaking in Leeds rose steadily from 885 in 1841 to 1,630 in 1851 and to 3,507 by 1901.<sup>60</sup> Brickmakers found that they had a generally expanding market after 1850 but they were limited by transport costs and traditional methods of production. Attempts were made to mechanise brickmaking from the 1830's but it was not until 1856 that brick making machinery was successfully introduced.

Other products such as timber were not easily susceptible to substitution by alternative materials. The applications were numerous, roof structures, suspended floors, doors, cupboards, linings, skirtings, architraves and fittings. Other uses included stairs, windows and stud walling. Most of the timber used was imported and the best quality fir was European but trans-Atlantic imports grew after 1850, especially from Canada. Timber was perhaps one of the only materials to be regularly used in speculative housing developments which was imported into the country. Most timber continued to be worked laboriously by hand but some technical innovations appeared such as cheap machine-made nails in the 1830's and a machine for mass production of floor-boards in 1836.

Traditional lime mortar began to be replaced on a small scale where conditions were onerous, especially in civil engineering structures, by stronger hydraulic Roman cement and later, Portland cement. However, in Leeds lime mortar was universally used for housing and the builders John Wade & Son, who built in the study area, still used slaked lime for mortar as late as the 1950's. Cement was not widely adopted in Leeds other than for foundations. The Bye-laws framed in 1897 stated that mortar for external walls should be  $\frac{1}{3}$  lime and  $\frac{2}{3}$  sand.<sup>61</sup> Internal walls of houses were plastered and usually decorated with wallpaper, ceilings were lath and plaster painted.

Glass saw great changes as improvements in methods of production took place. Leading firms who developed the technology forced out of business the smaller crown glass makers. From 1845 when the duty on glass was repealed, the making of glass was concentrated into the hands of a number of larger firms. Crown glass was gradually superseded by the production of unpolished, polished plate and later sheet glass.

Other materials which were used in various parts of the country were applied to housing in Leeds depending upon the specific application

and the quality of the houses concerned. Clay roof tiles became popular in Headingley on housing schemes towards the turn of the century but in the form of plain rather than pantiles. Lead was used for flat roofs to porches, bay windows and dormer windows as well as for flashings, pipework and early cisterns. Copper and zinc were used as cost saving substitutes in later years wherever possible. Cast iron was used for balustrades and for structural columns or beams although the latter application was better suited to the more costly wrought iron which became available. In the last decade of the century the first steel beams began to appear in housing schemes. Mastic asphalt was introduced into this country as early as 1837 but it was not until the 1880's that houses in Leeds began to utilise its properties for waterproofing flat roofs.

Generally construction costs for speculative houses were not greatly affected by changes in manufacturing methods. There were regional differences where cheap labour persisted and, for example, hand-made bricks continued to be used until late in the century. Joiners quickly adopted machinery for the production of long lengths of timber planking and the mass production of standard sized window and door frames, floor-boards and roof timbers. However, in general terms most other trades carried on the traditional methods of working.

There was an ever broadening range of goods for house-building which were fed into an expanding market after 1850. The new products were made available by cheaper transport as communications improved, particularly rail transport. By 1914 virtually all communities of any size were connected to the railway network. Coastal and inland waterways such as the canals were a slower means of transport but became important for the transport of bulky goods such as lime, bricks and slates. After 1900 a new competitor to the older forms of transport emerged, the goods road vehicle. When brickmakers added lorries to their horses and traction engines, many local quarries soon went out of business.

On a more local level small builders and those engaged on house-building operated quite happily with a minimum number of hand tools, ladders and odd scraps of timber for use as scaffolding. In order to move goods from suppliers or builders merchants, the builder would usually own at least one horse and cart and a number of hand carts which were pulled by men. If a horse and cart was not owned it was possible to hire one by the hour or by the day. Apart from



simple equipment like tools, ladders and wheelbarrows, other plant would include simple lifting pulleys attached to wooden scaffold poles and possibly a mortar mill. Elaborate plant had little influence on small scale building operations but as firms expanded and erected their own joiner's shops after the 1880's, moulding and planing machines together with lathes and morticing machines were often introduced.

When Charles Myers, the Woodhouse builder, erected new premises in Rampart Road, Woodhouse in 1877, he surrounded a central builder's yard with two-storey buildings. On the ground floor were stables for four horses, a large cart shed, and a carriage house, on the first floor level were a hay chamber, large stores for tools and an office. The office had an open fire, as did one of the tool stores, and as the latter was connected to the ground by a separate staircase, it was probably used as a joiner's or plumber's shop.<sup>62</sup> The main builder's yard and business premises of B. & W. Walmsley at Burley were probably very similar to those of Charles Myers although larger in size.

One set of deposited drawings shows a temporary builder's yard that the Walmsley brothers erected in 1905 as a base from which to operate on their estate off Brudenell Road. The yard was situated at the junction of Hesse Avenue and Welton Road opposite Welton Road Board School. It comprised a large yard for storing materials, a stable block with a double cart shed, corn store, harness room, two stalls, a loose box and a first floor hay loft. In the enclosed yard was a covered engine shed driving a mortar pan mixer. The site of the yard was on land which had been laid out to receive houses and if it was the intention to demolish it when work was completed, this was never carried out as the builder's yard still exists today under new ownership and with the horses replaced by the internal combustion engine.<sup>63</sup>

Powell sums up the situation by suggesting that in the building industry of Victorian England the small scale organisation of most of the employers and the militancy of the workers at certain periods combined to produce a tendency to cling to traditional working methods with little demand for technological advancement. Even when large contracting firms were set up the changes were in scale and not in method:

'The hundreds employed by McAlpine used for the most part the same tools and the same methods and worked at the same pace as the handful employed by the proverbial little man round the corner'<sup>64</sup>

The proportion of cost that the different trades such as slating, plastering and brickwork represented in house-building did not change significantly during the period 1850 - 1914. Brickwork, for example, was often in the region of 50% of the total cost and masonry even higher. Carpentry and joinery usually amounted to between 25% and 33% of the total building costs and slate roof finishes could account for 5% - 10%. Plastering could vary between 5% and 8% and decorating was around 2% - 4%. Only plumbing seemed to vary widely between different schemes, especially between the small speculative and the large custom-built house. There was usually a reduced amount spent on plumbing on smaller houses because the number and standard of fittings were less but nevertheless the percentage of the whole building costs gradually rose as the demand for such items as water-closets and baths grew in even smaller houses from 1870 onwards.

Examination of published tenders in The Builder for 1896 indicate the typical breakdown of costs for various sizes and types of dwellings then being erected. A villa at Bradford in stone costing £1,366 13s. had a cost breakdown of: masonry 51%, joinery 23%, plumbing 13%, slating 4%, plastering 7%, painting 2%.<sup>65</sup> A detached house at Gledhow, Leeds in brick costing £605 3s. 3d. had a cost breakdown of: bricklaying 44%, joinery 32%, plumbing 8%, slating 6%, plastering 8%, painting 2%.<sup>66</sup> A house at Roundhay, Leeds which was probably constructed in brick with stone dressing, costing £586 2s. 6d. had a cost breakdown of: bricklaying & masonry 51%, carpentry & joinery 25%, plumbing 9%, slating 6%, plastering 6%, painting 3%.<sup>67</sup> Four terrace houses at Bradford in stone costing £192 each had a cost breakdown of: masonry 63%, joinery 22%, slating 5%, plumbing 4%, plastering 5%, painting 2%.<sup>68</sup> The above examples show typical trends in the way the costs of the various trades and materials were distributed and illustrate the tendency to spend less in proportion on plumbing on small terrace houses.

No comparable figures have been found for typical red-brick terraces built in the study area, however, in February 1883 the architect Archibald Neill was asked to obtain labour only prices for 6 through



houses he had deposited for approval. The lowest prices he obtained for his client meant that the labour only cost of the bricklaying amounted to £24 per dwelling and for plumbing to £15.<sup>69</sup>

### 13. 6. Services

Nowhere in the field of housing was the rate of change more marked than in the field of building services. Early in the century glazed earthenware pipes replaced wooden pipes in the ground and lead pipes were gradually replaced by cast iron. Internally water-closets were a rarity and an expensive luxury prior to 1850 but became more common in wealthier houses after that date and a fixture in middle-class houses as the century passed. All kinds of pipes, cisterns, tanks, fittings and wires began to be introduced into the houses being built. Gradually the proportion of the total building cost spent on services increased such that by 1901 it exceeded both plastering and decorating combined in larger dwellings, and was equal to the plastering costs in cheaper dwellings. This was mainly due to the introduction of new regulations which were concerned with public health, especially water supply and waste disposal. It was also as a result of growing expectations of convenience and comfort by the purchasers or tenants renting the completed dwellings. New inventions such as gas lighting, telephones, electric lighting and central heating were all added to the more basic demand for water-closets, cookers, ceramic sinks and baths. Householders who used chamber pots and an earth closet wished to have the convenience of a water-closet not only in the garden but in later years on the same floor level as the bedrooms.

Cheaper dwellings had simpler services, piped cold water to a sink, a copper for boiling clothes and open fireplaces. As amenities were gradually improved, fireplaces were placed in all bedrooms including attics, water was supplied to not only kitchen sinks but to wash basins, baths and water-closets and back-fire boilers were installed to give constant hot water. Even then many householders in Leeds had to wait until after 1875 to receive the luxury of a water-closet. The number of water-closets in Leeds rose from 1005 in 1856 to 3221 in 1865, 6348 in 1870, 20,281 in 1884 and 27,990 in 1889. By 1902 only 15% of tenants of cottages and houses had no w.c.<sup>70</sup> The really massive increase in the number of water-closets came from 1875 onwards.

Leeds was supplied with gas by two companies, the Leeds Gas Light Company, dating from 1818, and the Leeds New Gas Company of 1835. The council were empowered to manufacture gas under the 1842 Improvement Act, however, under threat from the existing companies nothing was done. Further attempts were made in council meetings to set up a municipal gas works but it was not until 1868 that purchase of the existing companies was considered again. This followed the taking over of the absolute control over highways by buying out the bridge and turnpike trusts. In 1869 the council took control of both gas companies at a cost of £763,245:

'Leeds has now been added to the list of corporate towns that have undertaken the manufacture and supply of gas to their inhabitants'<sup>71</sup>

The council made considerable losses in 1873 and 1874 but by careful selection of cheap coal, the new venture became financially sound and produced cheap gas. The price charged per 1,000 cubic feet reduced from around 4s. before 1870 to 1s. 10d. in 1881.<sup>72</sup>

The advent of electrical supplies for houses was a much later event. It was not until the 1890's that electric lighting began to compete with gas in the towns and it was not until after 1900 that electricity supplies began to be distributed into the suburbs. Nationally about 2% of all homes were connected to the mains by 1910. During the 1880's there was a national boom in the promotion of electric lighting companies and in August 1882 Leeds council was asked to support a private application to the Board of Trade to obtain a provisional order under the Electric Lighting Act of 1882, to authorise a firm to begin business in the town centre. In May 1883 a company was allowed to begin experimental lighting. By 1889 the company felt sufficiently confident to recommend to the council that it should be allowed to obtain plant and equipment to light town centre properties as a beginning. In April 1891 the council gave its assent to a Board of Trade order in favour of the Yorkshire House-to-House Electricity Company:

'Additional plant is now being laid down in the Yorkshire House-to-House Electricity Company's Station, Whitehall-road, Leeds, to meet the increased demand for the electric light in that city,'<sup>73</sup>

The council decided not to set up its own company to form a municipal supply but by 1897 this short-sighted attitude was being questioned and the issue of public ownership was once more raised. The council therefore purchased the company and paid compensation amounting to



£217,420. By 1914 the number of consumers was slightly less than 2% of the total population of Leeds.<sup>74</sup>

In Headingley one large house owner did not wait for the mains supply to be carried out of the town centre and to the suburbs. Norris Rhodes Hepworth, a member of the clothing family who owned the house he named Torriden in Headingley Lane, purchased a generator and had special outbuildings erected to contain it. In February 1892 the architect W.S. Braithwaite was appointed to design a new billiard room together with the building to hold a gas engine to supply the house with electric lighting. It was reputed to be the first example of electric lighting being installed in a house outside the central area of Leeds.<sup>75</sup>

Generally the increase in services in houses followed a fairly standard course. Adoption by the wealthy few, acceptance by the middle class and finally use in the mass market. The time scale for some of the changes which affected the mass market was often a long one. The replacement of the portable bath with a fixed bath in a specific bathroom was common in wealthy homes after 1850 but in smaller homes they were fitted in kitchens, sculleries and attics, usually being covered by a wooden lid for concealment. It was not until the end of the century that purpose-built bathrooms were accepted as the norm in the smaller through houses and rarely at all in the back-to-backs. In the same way earth closets only slowly lost ground to water-closets as the latter became more reliable and acceptable inside the dwellings and as piped water supply became more widespread.

## NOTES

### CHAPTER 13 THE CONSTRUCTION PROCESS

- 1 C.G. Powell, An Economic History of the British Building Industry, 1815 - 1979, p. 43.
- 2 Ibid., p. 30.
- 3 P.W. Kingsford, Builders and Building Workers, p. 13 - 20.
- 4 Dyos, p. 124 - 125.
- 5 Ibid., p. 128.
- 6 Ibid., p. 127 - 137.
- 7 P.W. Kingsford, op.cit., p. 99.
- 8 Powell, p. 31.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid., p. 68.
- 11 Ibid., p. 71.
- 12 Ibid., p. 75.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 P.W. Kingsford, op.cit., p. 66 - 67.
- 15 Powell, p. 75 - 76.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 For a general description of builders' wages during the period, see Gauldie p. 177 - 178. Gauldie's figures are generally higher than those quoted by Powell for the same period.
- 18 Powell, p. 76.
- 19 The source of the figures quoted for wages in various parts of the country was The Builder for the years, 1851, 1861, 1862, 1866, 1867, 1873, 1874 and 1891.
- 20 See Chapter 11 and Appendix 21.
- 21 Leeds Archives Department, Nettleton (Roundhay) - accounts, estimates etc., 1830 - 86, Acc. 1339.
- 22 Source, Fraser, p. 156 - 157.
- 23 Treen, p. 240.
- 24 See Chapter 11.
- 25 See Appendix 23.
- 26 The purchases made by the Walmsley brothers are described in deeds such as L.C.D., 8488 among others.
- 27 Treen, p. 329.
- 28 See Appendix 14.
- 29 Obituary, Yorkshire Post, 14 Jan. 1914, for William Walmsley.
- 30 Ibid., 17 Dec. 1910, for Benjamin Walmsley. The effects of his attitude concerning intoxicants can be seen today as no public houses or off-licence premises are to be found on what was Walmsley land in the study area.
- 31 For further details on both Benjamin and William Walmsley, see Appendix 11.



- 32 For a complete list of the houses owned by J.N. Sharp and his company together with details of the way he obtained loans to finance building, see L.C.D. 12534 and 32741.
- 33 Obituary, Yorkshire Post, 1 Dec. 1933. See also Appendix 11.
- 34 L.C.D., 10703.
- 35 D.B.P., 1/10 May/1878 and 48/5 Sept/1879.
- 36 Obituary, Yorkshire Evening Post, 10 Mar. 1922.
- 37 Gauldie, p. 169.
- 38 Ibid., p. 174
- 39 For indices of materials, wages and total building costs, see Parry Lewis, p. 150.
- 40 J.C. Loudon, Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture, p. 920 - 924.
- 41 For a general discussion on housing costs, see Powell, p. 49 - 52.
- 42 Gauldie p. 180.
- 43 Ibid., p. 179.
- 44 Powell, p. 52.
- 45 Ibid., p. 50.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Leeds Archives Department, AM 250 (first series).
- 48 The Builder, 1861, Vol. 19, p. 289 and 1863, Vol. 21, p. 284.
- 49 Leeds Archives Department, A Plan of Houses (Particulars Annexed) showing what may be built at a cost of £403.0.0d. Each at St. John's Hill, The Property of D. & J. Eastwood, (AM papers).
- 50 Linstrum, p. 147.
- 51 Leeds Mercury, 23 Oct., 1886.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 All rentals quoted were obtained from the advertisements in the Leeds Mercury as in note 51 above or from estate agents' and solicitors' papers. Where rents were marked 'net' in the original sources the tenants paid the rates and those marked 'gross' meant that the landlord paid the rates. The usual practice for Leeds was to give net annual rentals and gross weekly rentals.
- 54 Treen p. 429. See also J.J. Raggett, A Series of Plans of Labourers' Cottages, Plate 8.
- 55 This quarry was still being worked until the 1880's when the land was eventually bought by the Walmsley brothers for housing development.
- 56 See Chapter 5.
- 57 M.W. Beresford, 'Walks Round Red Brick' in Reporter, Leeds University, article 10.
- 58 L.C.D., 12583.
- 59 Powell, p. 38.
- 60 Fraser, p. 156 - 157. The figures included those engaged in making glass and pottery.

- 61 See City of Leeds Bye-Laws With Respect to New Streets & Buildings, 1902, p. 13.
- 62 D.B.P. 50/13 Nov./1877.
- 63 D.B.P., 16/20 Jan./1905. The Walmsley brothers' business address was at 80 Burley Road, however, they also owned a builder's yard with workshops in Cardigan Road opposite the junction with Thornville Road.
- 64 Gauldie, p. 177.
- 65 The house was a stone villa to be built at Bradford to the designs of the architects Fairbank and Wall. See The Builder, 1896, Vol. 70, p. 151.
- 66 The house was a brick detached house to be built at Gledhow to the designs of the architect W. Carby Hall. See The Builder, 1896, Vol. 70, p. 152.
- 67 The house was to be built at Roundhay to the designs of the architect W. Carby Hall. See The Builder, 1896, Vol. 70, p. 151.
- 68 The houses were to be built at Bradford to the designs of the architect G.C. Gamble. See The Builder, 1896, Vol. 70, p. 151.
- 69 See Chapter 11.
- 70 Fraser, p. 304.
- 71 The Building News and Engineering Journal, 1872, Vol. 22, p. 327.
- 72 Fraser, p. 319 - 320.
- 73 The Builder, 1894, Vol. 67, p. 248.
- 74 Fraser, p. 323.
- 75 D.B.P., 1/19 Feb./1892.



CHAPTER 14 CONSTRUCTIONAL DETAILS, WORKMANSHIP AND THE PROCESS OF BUILDING INSPECTION.

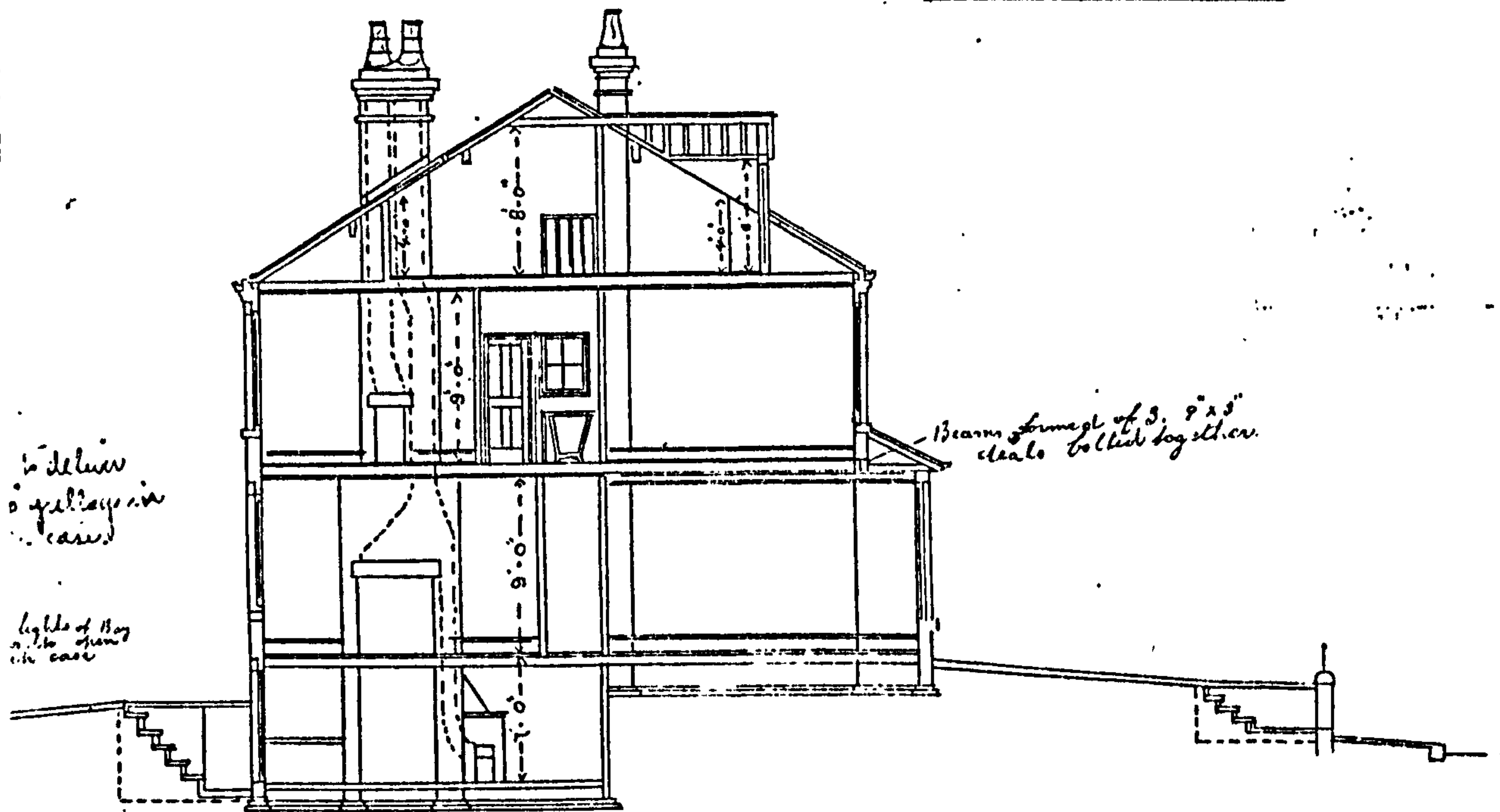
14.1 Constructional Details

The majority of drawings deposited for approval for schemes involving speculative houses and houses built for owner-occupation in the study area and in the sample of all Leeds contained very few notes describing their construction. The scale drawings generally gave a site plan, floor plans, sections and elevations and on these foundations, walls, floors, roofs, rooms, fixtures and fittings were indicated but in comparison with today, few notes were added relating to the construction. It was as if the depositer of the drawings and those persons examining them had a tacit understanding that a brick wall would be 9 in. thick unless an alternative thickness was given, that floor joists would be adequate and at the correct centres, ceiling rafters would be fixed to purlins of the correct strength and so on. Only in the case of floor to ceiling heights and matters relating to sanitation and ventilation were detailed notes added to the drawings. Air grates, opening lights to windows, vent pipes soil stacks, sink wastes and drainage were not only clearly shown but often given great importance by being drawn in thicker lines. Special attention was also given to those areas where the construction was unusual and could result in a refusal of the plans under the legislation in force.

If tracings of the drawings used for submission to the council were used by clients to carry out building operations on site, and the diary of Archibald Neill would suggest that they were, then the architect or person producing the drawings must have relied on the sound practical knowledge of the builder. Party walls, fireplaces, external walls, roof construction and openings for windows and doors were indicated in terms of position and size but not described in terms of construction. Wall thicknesses, floor joist sizes and purlin sizes were not stated even on irregular shaped plans. The choice of the correct thickness of a solid wall for a specific height or the correct floor joist size for various spans was left to the craftsmen and builders on site. Only where construction was out of the ordinary were notes added to indicate the unusual construction. Where brick walls had to be carried over a wide opening, such as across a bay window, or where iron joists were embedded in concrete to form flat roofs, were typical examples (see Figs. 136 - 137).

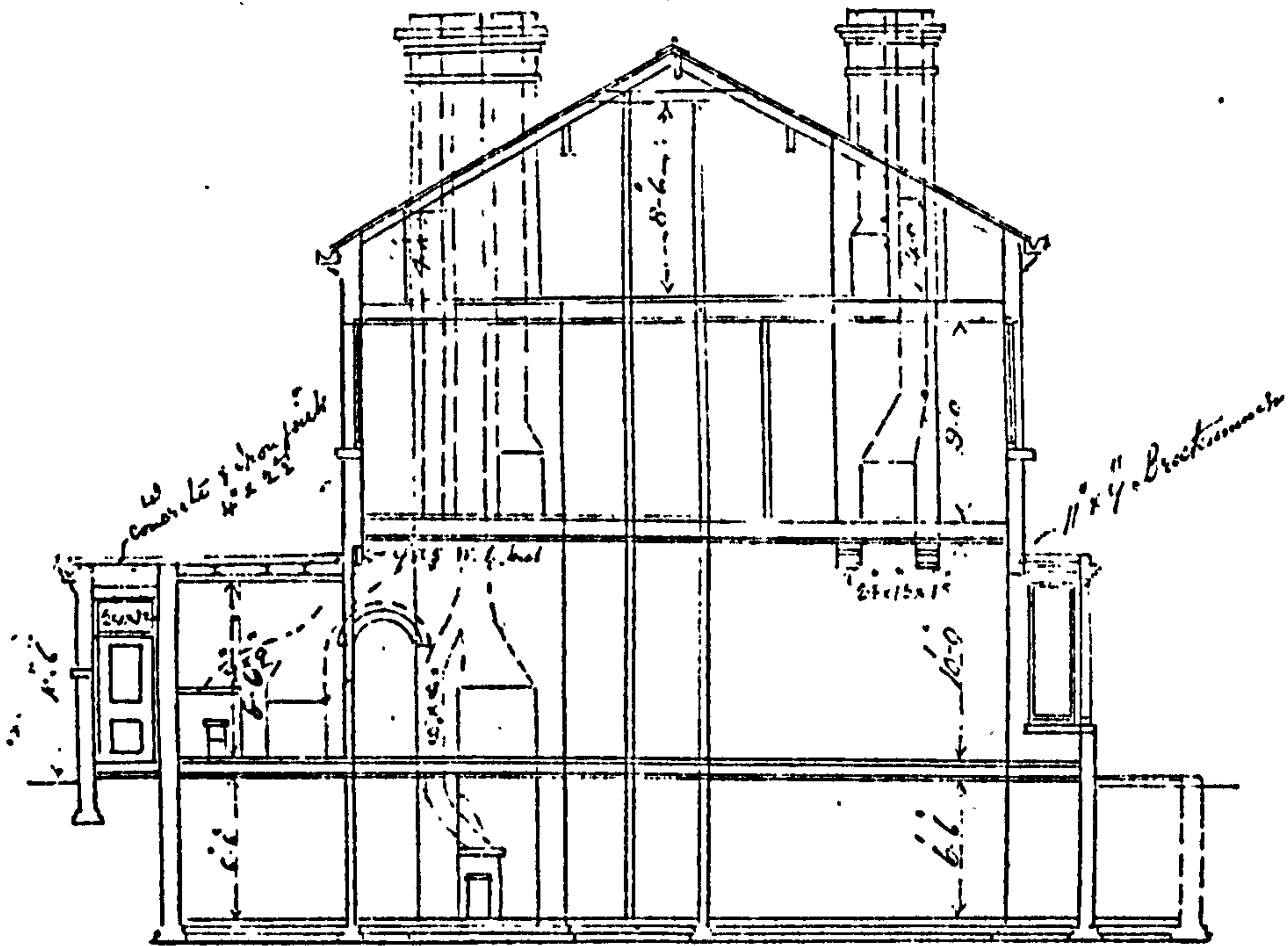
Service. Bradingley, Leeds for W.A. Hobson Esq.

Scale 1 inch = 8 feet



Section A-B

Fig.136 Section, through houses, Brudenell View (W.A. Hobson 1892).



SECTION A--B

Fig.137 Section, house and shop, Cardigan Road (F. Worsnop 1888).



It is possible that the architect or building designer drew up a separate written specification or bill of quantities to accompany the drawings and in this document the information lacking on drawings would be given. The only example found of a bill of quantities for terrace houses was for four houses at Bradford which were approved in 1899. The architects were Kendall and Bakes and the specification clauses in the bill of quantities did give further information such as foundation and wall thicknesses.<sup>1</sup>

It is not possible to describe all the variations in constructional details of every house erected in the study area but the deposited drawings from 1868 - 1914 do indicate general trends. By the latter decades of the nineteenth century the houses of the middle-classes were built in a fairly standard way with variations only taking place because of specific sites, to meet new regulations and on one-off houses such as the larger detached and semi-detached villas. In general terms: The stone slabs which had earlier been used for footings were replaced with concrete by 1870. Cellar floors were stone paving slabs, external walls were built in 9 in. thick solid brickwork and party walls could be two separate leaves 4½ in. thick built independently or 9 in. solid. Walls internally were usually 4½ in. thick brickwork and all but cellar walls were plastered. Chimneys and flues were in brick with open fireplaces in most rooms, often including attics, and kitchens had cast-iron ranges. Suspended floors were of timber joists with tongue and grooved floor boards finished on the underside with lath and plaster. Roofs were of slate fixed on battens on rafters fixed to purlins carried on load bearing walls. Attics had lath and plaster ceilings and 3ft. by 2 ft. cast iron glazed skylights or dormer windows of varying sizes.

Through houses were commonly built with the ground floor at a half level above the garden and stone steps were erected up to entrance doors. Whereas internal staircases to upper levels were usually built in timber, those down to cellars were frequently constructed in stone. Daylight was admitted to cellar windows by means of rectangular open areas which were drained and constructed with slightly battered brick retaining walls. Externally, garden walls were usually in 9 in. thick brick often capped with iron railings. Houses with water-closets had ash pits constructed with brick walls and wooden lids which were situated in gardens. Those houses such as back-to-backs which had external privies combined the disposal of

ashes with the toilet facilities. Drainage in the ground was formed with 6 in. diameter earthenware pipes for all main drains and branches even when serving only one house.

The external elevations were remarkable for their consistency in the use of materials if not for their detailing. Timber sliding sash windows, stone lintels and sills, brick arches, stone dressings to the openings of better class housing and wood-panelled doors with glazed fan lights over. Pitched roofs were invariably in slate but lead flats were constructed over bay windows.

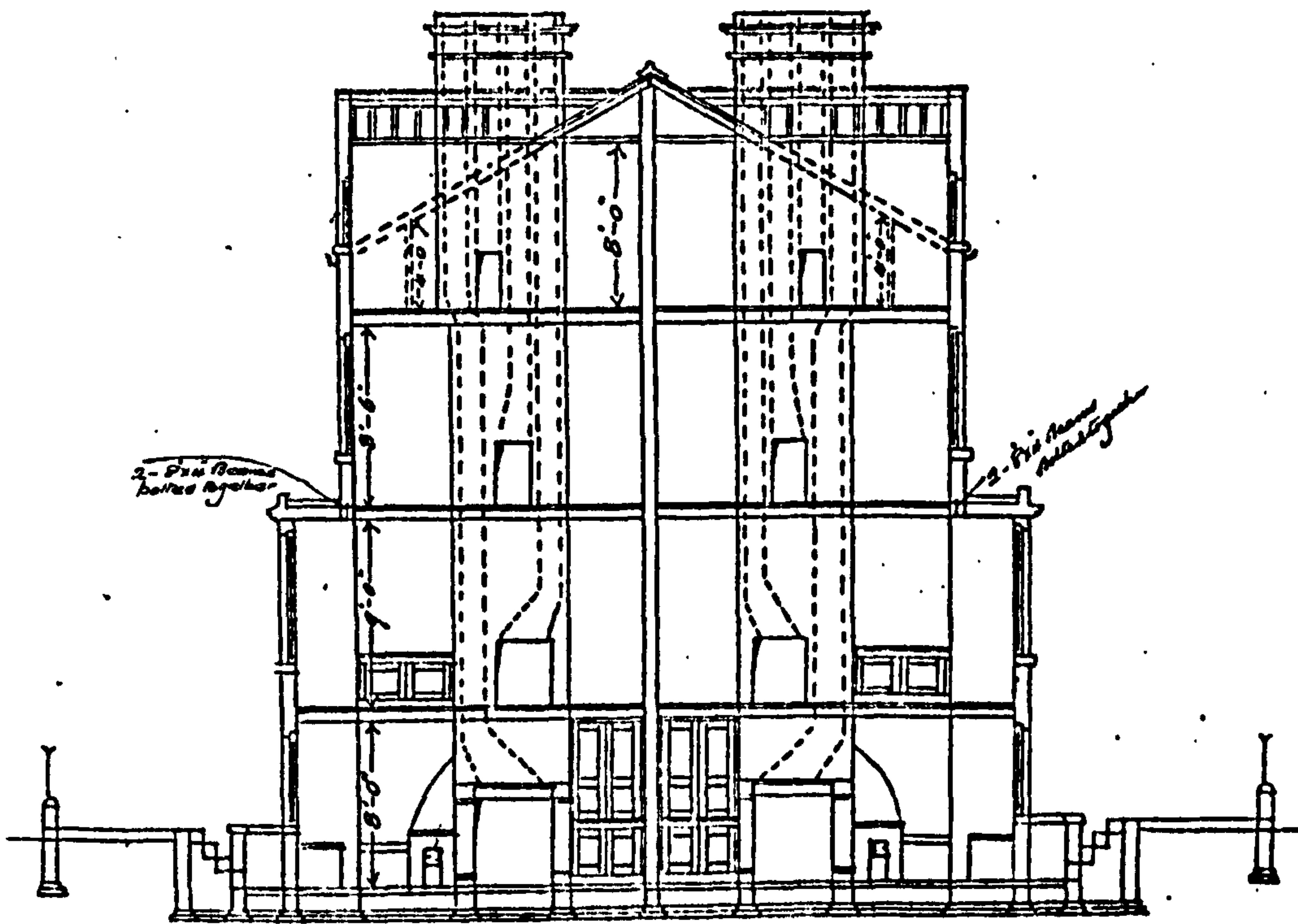
Examination of the deposited drawings does indicate, however, a number of minor variations to the general method of construction which were related to the size and type of house in question and the introduction of new materials by the designer.

#### Back-to-back houses

Back-to-back houses had dormer windows built into rooms in the roof space as they became larger in the 1880's. Often open fires were added to these attic rooms involving the construction of four chimney flues. Similarly, bay windows were added to the larger scullery houses and this meant that a beam was required to carry the external wall over a wide opening. The method of providing a Bressemer, as the beam was called, was usually to bolt three timber members together. Alternatively a wide brick arch could be used and by 1888 iron joists were specified in this position on some houses. In this way three 9 in. by 3 in. timber beams would be replaced by a single 9 in. by 6 in. iron beam (see Figs. 138 - 139).

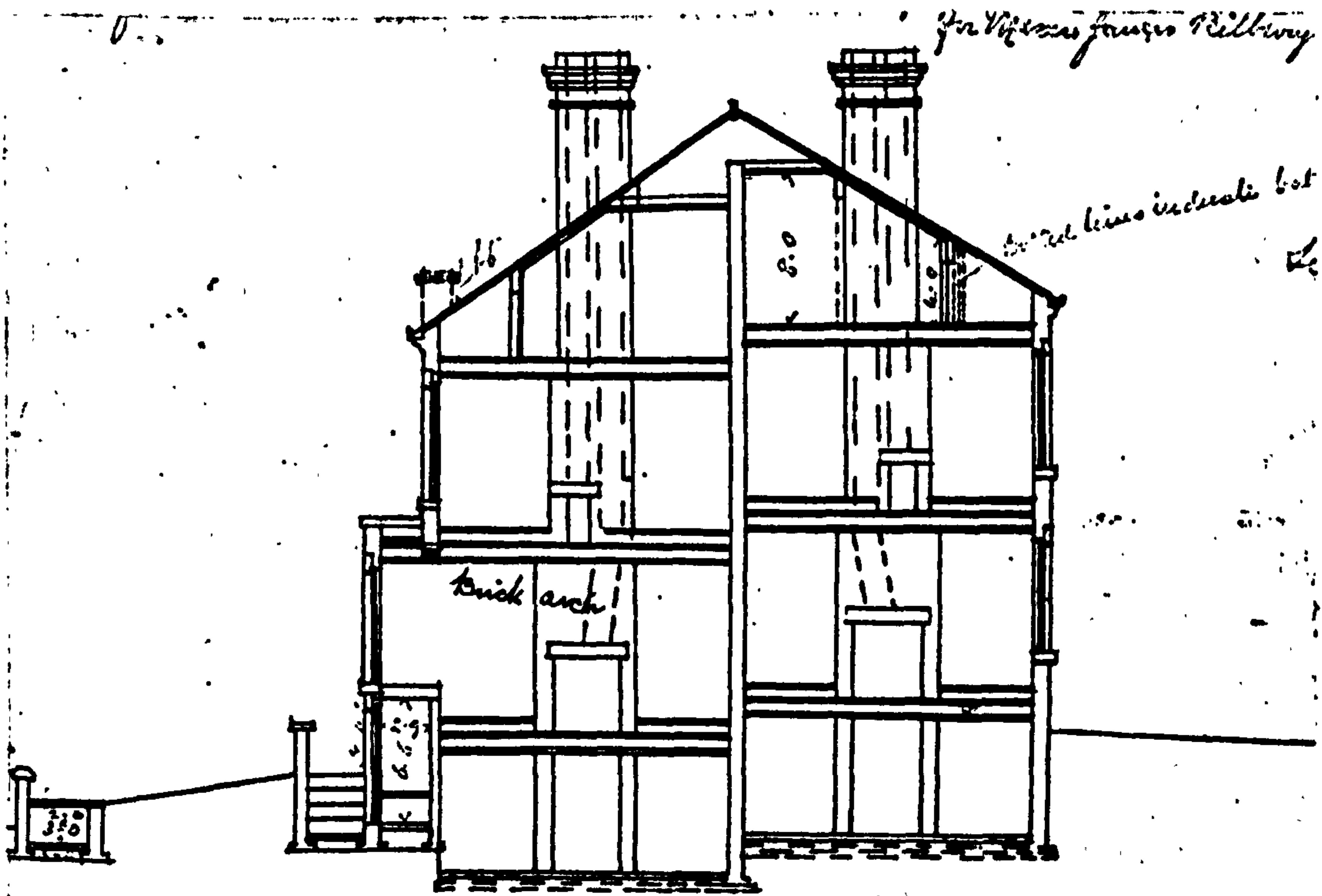
The construction of many parts of back-to-back houses and through houses was very similar but usually the number of sanitary fittings were reduced in the smaller back-to-back. A basement kitchen with a sink and a copper for boiling water was the minimum standard often provided. Where water-closets were installed they were often positioned outside the house and under the stone entrance steps (see Figs. 140-141). As the houses became larger fixed baths were installed, often in attics which were the only rooms large enough to receive them. Lead waste pipes were 2 in. diameter to sinks and baths and these fed the waste water into 6 in. pipes in the ground, showing that the tendency was to err on the side of oversizing rather than undersizing pipe diameters. Rainwater, soil pipes and vent pipes were constructed in cast iron. Coal cellars were built into many





*Section AB.*

**Fig.138 Section, back-to-back houses, Pearson Grove and Terrace (A.E. Braithwaite 1895).**



*Section on line A/B*

**Fig.139 Section, back-to-back houses, Royal Park Avenue and Grove (A. Palframan 1886).**



back-to-back and the wall from wall. This  
 is done by a chimney wall which  
 runs up a 3 in. thick chimney with  
 be placed by a chimney wall that  
 externally the red brick walls were  
 usually with stone sills and bricks  
 separated brick arches with small  
 arches over chimney spaces. The  
 to provide protection for the  
 brick chimney walls and  
 the lower part of the wall.

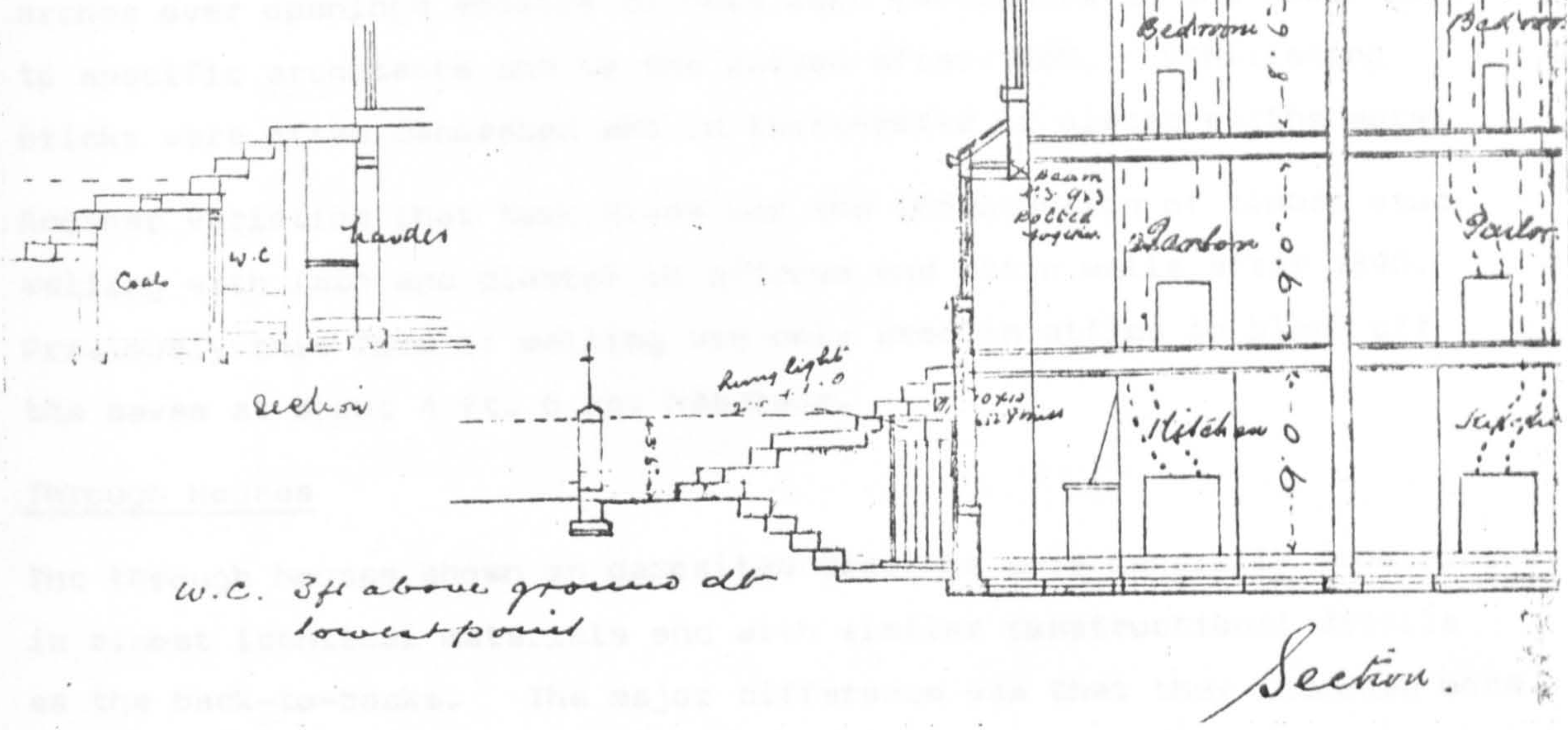


Fig.140 Section, back-to-back houses, showing water-closet positioned below entrance steps (W. Porrill 1888).

Fig.141 Water-closet below entrance steps to back-to-back house, Pearson Terrace.





back-to-backs and the cast iron coal chute in the wall became a common sight in Leeds. Alternatively coal could be stored under the entrance steps and a 6 in. thick sandstone slab called a Bradford Landing would be pierced by a circular cast iron cover.

Externally the red brick walls were pierced by window and door openings usually with stone sills and lintels although some had semi-circular or segmental brick arches with decorated keystones. The use of brick arches over openings appears to have been restricted in the study area to specific architects and to the period after 1880. Ventilating bricks were often decorated and in terra-cotta or glazed earthenware.

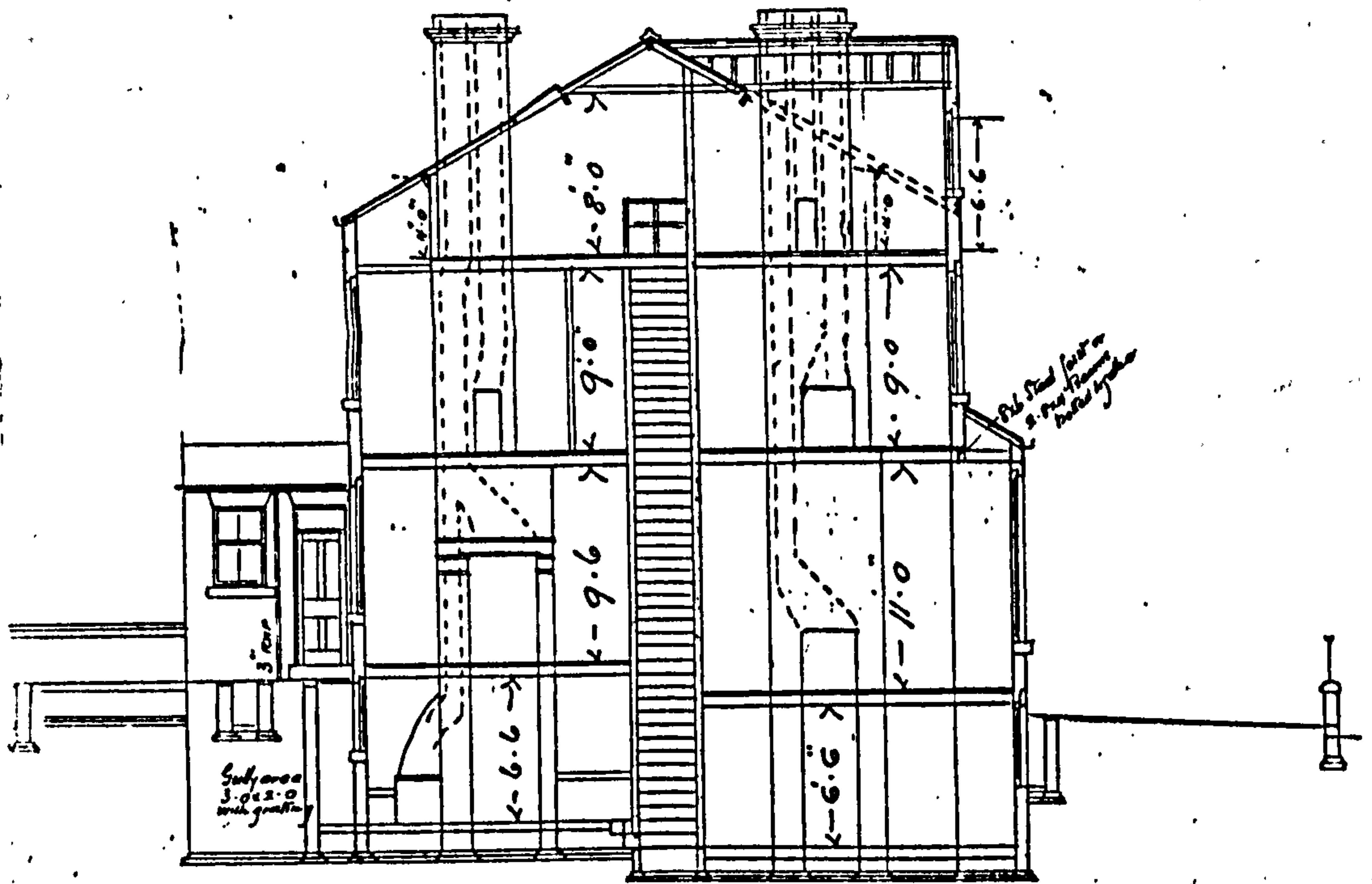
Another variation that took place was the introduction of timber stud walling with lath and plaster to bedroom and attic walls after 1890. Previously this form of walling was only used in attics to blank off the eaves at about 4 ft. 6 in. headroom.

### Through Houses

The through houses shown on deposited drawings were generally constructed in almost identical materials and with similar constructional details as the back-to-backs. The major difference was that they included more rooms, better facilities and often the designers were willing and had more opportunity to experiment with new materials and constructional techniques. For example, the bressumers used to support walls over bay windows were usually in timber but by 1891 rolled iron was being used and by 1897 one set of drawings specified two 8 in. by 4 in. timber beams or one 8 in. by 6 in. steel joist (see Fig. 142).

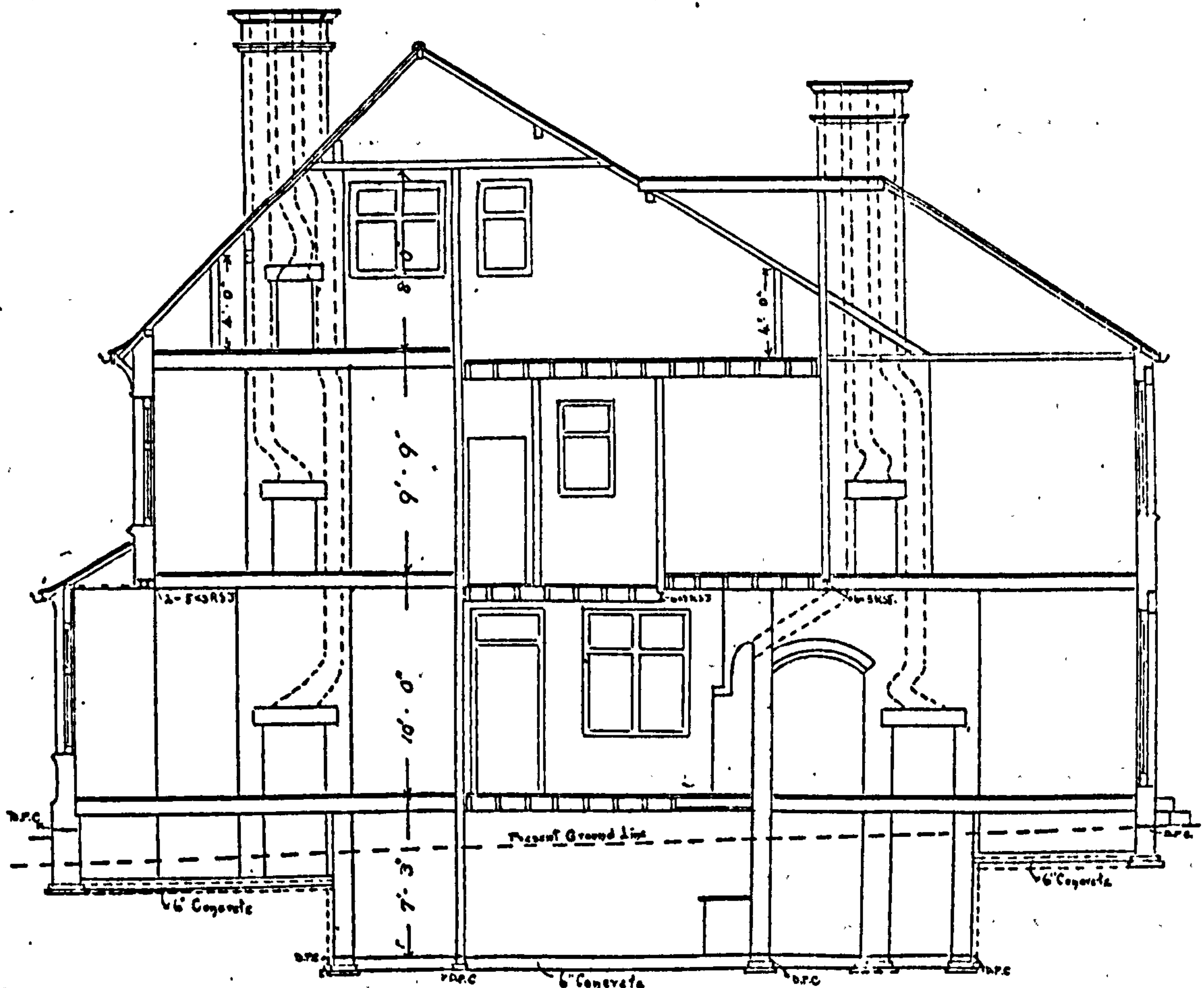
The increased number of rooms in through houses allowed bathrooms to be inserted on the bedroom floor level but as the change took place from building all internal walls in 4½ in thick brick to stud and plaster, the inclusion of water-closets resulted in a mixture of walling materials. This was because the building bye-laws still required water-closets to be separated from other rooms with solid construction. By 1891 some through houses had ground floor walls which were also in stud construction. In this case iron joists or timber beams had to be incorporated at first floor level to support brick walls constructed round bathrooms containing water-closets at bedroom level (see Fig. 143).

Through houses, like the back-to-backs, usually had traditional roofs with pitches around 30°. Purlin sizes were rarely stated on drawings but 9 in. by 3 in. was a typical size used. Where purlins ran into chimney breasts, they had to be supported on stone corbels built out from the brickwork in order to avoid the problem of the timber overheating.



ELEVATION AND SECTION E-F

Fig.142 Section, through houses, Queens Road (A.E. Braithwaite 1897).



:- 6" Concrete all over site

SECTION N.S.

Joseph J. Wood

Fig.143 Section, semi-detached house, Cardigan Road (J.J. Wood 1905).



In most cases purlins were designed to span the clear width between 9 in. thick brick cross-walls but some internal support was required when spans approached 15 ft.

For sculleries and other back additions pitched roofs were normal but by 1886 flat roofs were shown on drawings. The architect Walter Hobson was a pioneer of the use of flat concrete roofs on commonplace housing schemes. Based on the evidence of his drawings, Hobson was always willing to experiment with new materials and techniques. By 1888 he was designing flat roofs for sculleries which were made up of 4 in. by 2½ in. iron joists at 2 ft. centres with concrete placed between the joists. Tongue and grooved wooden boards 1 in. thick were used as permanent shuttering and also as an internal lining and asphalt was added to the top surface to provide waterproofing. As an alternative, Hobson was designing flat roofs for sculleries in 1889 comprising unreinforced concrete 4 in. thick on 1 in. thick boards supported on 4 in by 4 in. timber joists at 1 ft. 6 in. centres. Lath and plaster provided an underdrawing but asphalt was not added to the top surface. In 1891 Hobson regularly used rolled iron joists to support walls at first floor level or over bay window openings (see Fig. 144).

Similar experimentation took place with pitched roofs especially by replacing the covering material of slate with rock asphalt. The architects F. & J.A. Wright designed roofs made up of 1½ ins. tongued and grooved boards at 12½° pitch supported on timber purlins each 8 ins. by 3 ins. at 4 ft. centres. Roofs of this types were erected on the Manor House Estate on several terraces between 1903 and 1907 (see Fig. 145).

Other changes came about because of changing regulations. Plans after 1900 show that the whole of the sites beneath houses were covered with 6 in. of concrete and damp courses were indicated to all walls. By 1908 rolled steel joists of various sizes were specified to span openings where beams were concealed and ash pits were replaced by galvanised metal dustbins, which in 1910 were new-fangled appliances and referred to on drawings as 'sanitary dustbins'.

As late as 1890 a beam over a bay window opening could be described as a 10 in. by 10 in. pitch pine beam or the roof to external water-closets and coal sheds could still be roofed with large overlapping stone slabs. Examples like these indicate that technological innovation was slow in coming for many architects and builders alike.<sup>2</sup> But despite a general tendency to cling to traditional methods by builders who





would appear to have not sought technological advance, the persons who drew up the Leeds Building Bye-Laws of 1902 recognised that some advancements were taking place. Foremost among these for housing and inspired by architects was the introduction of cavity walls to replace solid external walls.

Cavity walling was not a new phenomena which was developed in the 1890's like the rolled steel joist to replace iron for beams and columns. On the contrary, cavity walls had been used in southern England for external walls of buildings since the early part of the nineteenth century. S.H. Brooks, an architect writing in 1839, suggested that joists at first floor level in houses could be supported on iron girders instead of internal load-bearing walls. He also explained the method of constructing cavity walls where the outer  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. brick leaf and the inner  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. brick leaf were bonded together by 14 in. stretcher bricks across a 5 in. cavity. He went on to advocate heating the cavity by passing warm air through it from hot plates behind open fires.<sup>3</sup>

In 1864 C.W. Strickland writing in his book On Cottage Construction and Design showed typical examples of cavity walls which had 14 in. solid walls up to plinth level and 14 in. cavity walls above with bonded stretchers to tie together the two  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. leaves of brickwork. He stated that hollow walls of this type used only one sixth more bricks than 9 in. solid walls but were better for keeping out the rain. He also referred to a new method of building cavity walls without the use of brick stretchers to act as ties to the two leaves of the wall:

'I find a very peculiar mode of building hollow walls mentioned in some specifications from Southampton, as having been used in that neighbourhood, with success. Two half-brick walls a few inches apart are tied together with bent irons two feet apart every sixth course..... I know nothing myself of the merits of such walls, but can hardly think that they are much to be recommended.'<sup>4</sup>

Strickland was obviously a bad forecaster of future trends for the 1902 Bye-Laws in Leeds allowed just such walls to be constructed because they were being used by local architects in the 1890's.<sup>5</sup> In the study area the first cavity walls appeared on drawings submitted for approval in 1893. Three through houses were designed by the architect James B. Fraser and these were approved to be erected at the bottom end of Ash Grove. The drawings were unusual in that they were fully dimensioned and this may have been because

the unusual plan configuration required very narrow cross-wall widths. Cavity walls were shown with iron bonds to be approved by the Building Inspector and the cavity was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide (see Fig. 146). Other instances of cavity walls followed this early example, especially on better quality semi-detached houses, although at least one example was found of a through house in 1896 having cavity walls to the basement only to overcome the perennial problem of damp penetrating 14 in. thick solid basement walls.

In 1903 the architect Walter Hobson requested that the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. brick walls between bathrooms and bedrooms on houses he was erecting on the Manor House Estate be changed to a proprietary brand of light-weight expanded metal partition, but it is not known whether the council acceded to his request (see Fig. 148).

#### Semi-detached Houses

The better quality semi-detached houses passed through a similar pattern of gradual change in constructional details to that of through houses. When architects like Charles Fowler drew up plans for submission, there were very few notes to explain the construction other than for drainage, beams or unusual materials or details. There was, however, a tendency to introduce variations in the window opening types to replace vertical sliding sashes and by 1896 small centre-pivot windows were used for toilets or bathrooms.

The changes that can be seen on through terraces obviously occurred in the semi-detached houses; iron beams replaced timber beams and steel replaced iron after 1895. The same low-pitched boarded roofs covered with rock asphalt which were developed on the Manor House Estate were also used for a number of small semi-detached houses. In this case purlin sizes were actually given as 11 in. x 3 in. at 4 ft. 6 in. centres or 7 in. by 3 in. at 4 ft. 6 in. centres depending upon the span. The whole of the site under houses was covered with 6 in. of concrete and damp proof courses were shown in accordance with the requirements of the Bye-Laws from 1905 onwards.

The first semi-detached houses to be built in the study area with cavity walls were designed in 1894 and erected that year in Cardigan Road. The architects were Walker and Collinson of Bradford and the drawings specified a  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in cavity with galvanised iron wall ties 3 ft. apart horizontally and 3 ft. apart vertically. (see also Fig. 113).



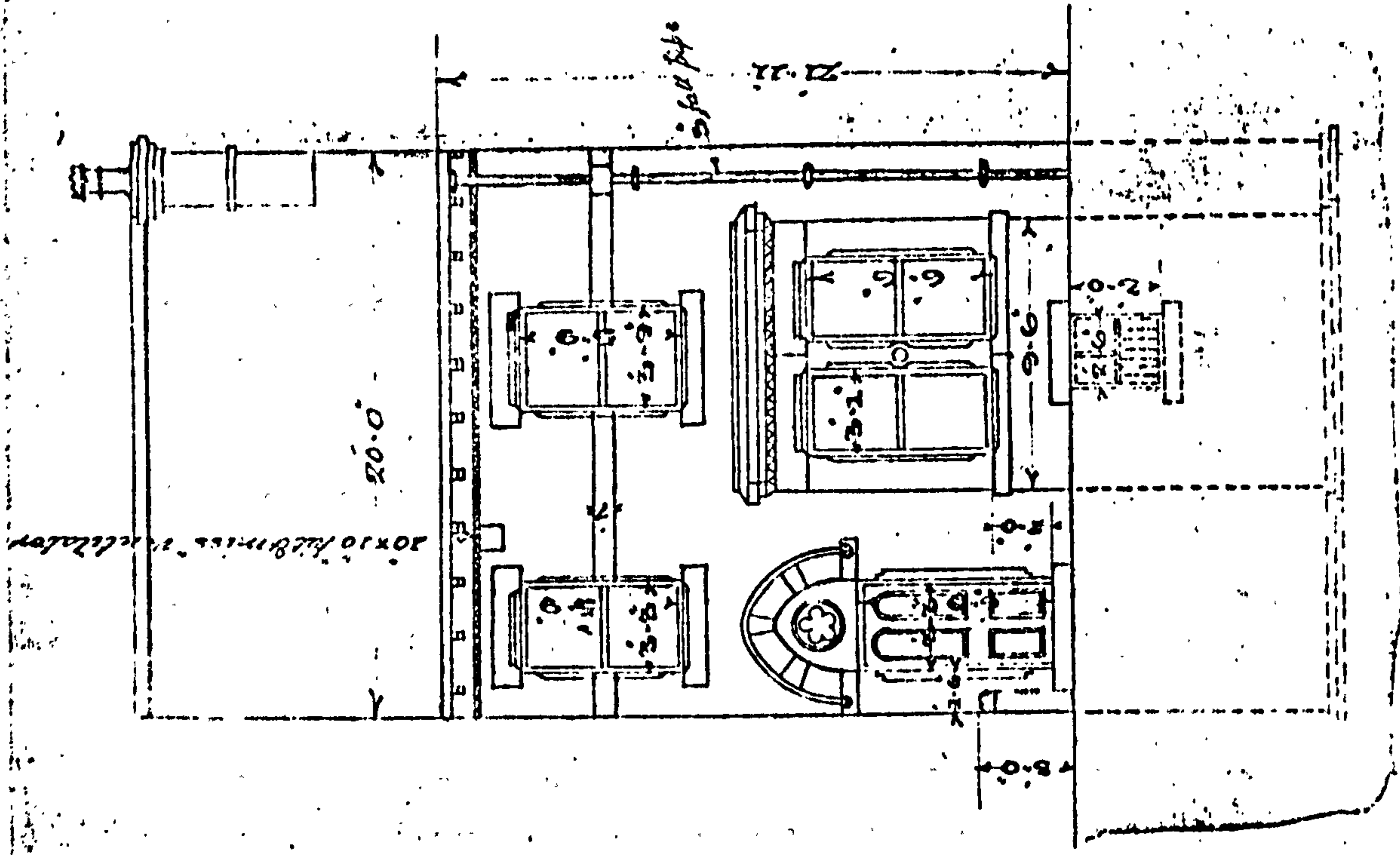
By 1904 flat roofs using concrete construction were shown to be reinforced by steel instead of iron joists and the architect J. J. Wood was using 4 in. diameter drains instead of the earlier 6 in. Some semi-detached houses had 9 in. thick outside walls covered with stucco at first floor level from 1905 onwards.

### Detached Houses

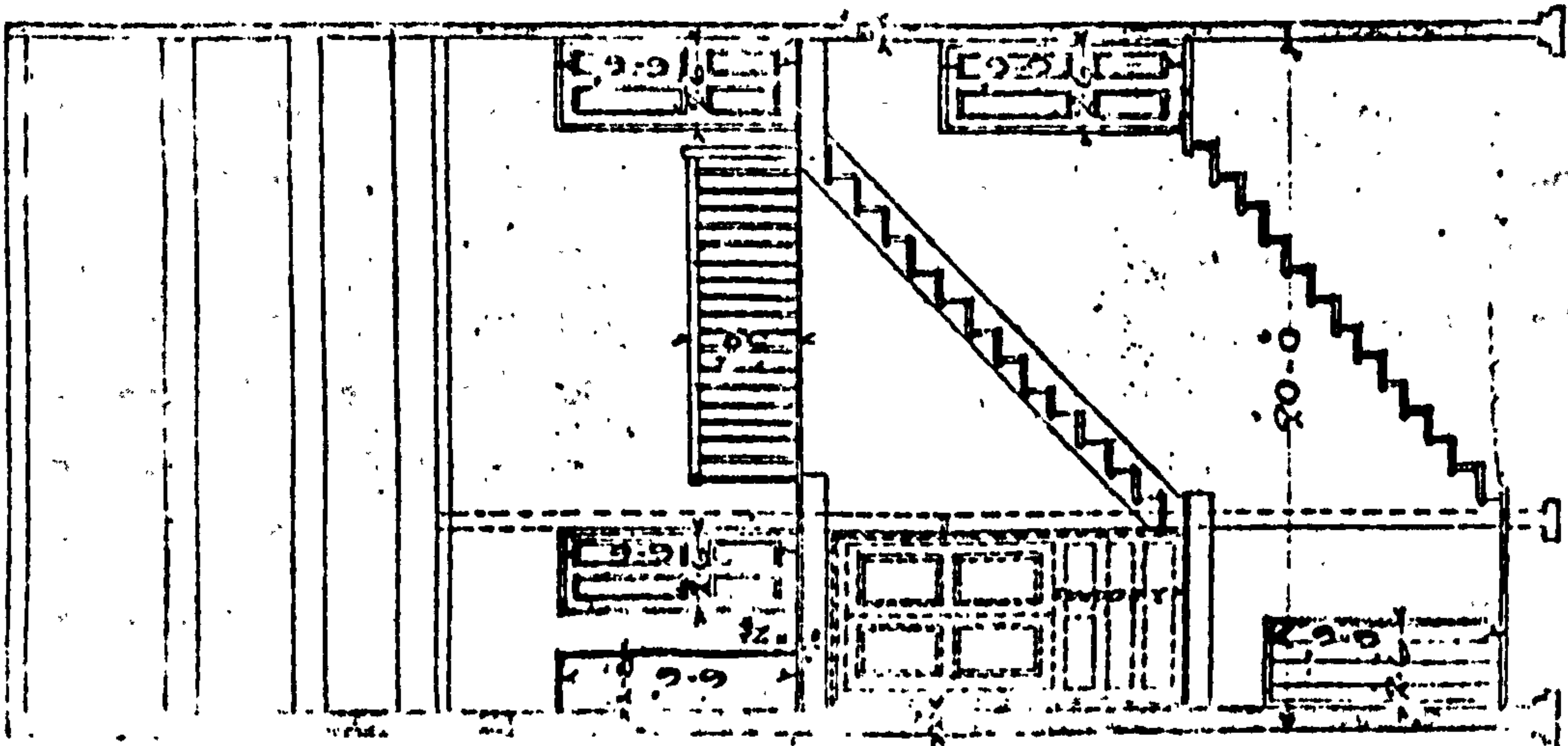
One significant variation in constructional technique was found in a few detached houses. In some cases suspended floors at either ground or bedroom level were constructed in reinforced concrete in a similar manner to the flat roofs over back additions. Iron joists embedded in concrete formed a suspended floor which, when plastered beneath and covered with floor boards above, would be indistinguishable from ordinary suspended timber floors. The concrete did not cover the whole floor area but was used in part only to avoid the need for load-bearing walls beneath in specific locations. In this way a trap lies waiting for the present day renovator, builder or architect wishing to amend or alter these older houses if they do not carry out a very searching building survey! One example of this type of construction can be seen on the drawings for a detached house approved in 1888.<sup>6</sup>

Even the drawings for a large detached house did not have many notes on the tracings prepared for approval. Few dimensions were given on the plans and the majority of notes referred to ventilation of rooms, sanitation and drainage. A typical example was a detached villa erected in Bainbrigge Road and designed by the architects Smith & Tweedale in 1883. Walls were drawn at 1 ft. 1½ in. thick, plaster coves were shown to the ceilings of rooms together with such items as panelled doors to rooms and cupboards. The floor to ceiling heights were only indicated in attic rooms. In fact, detailed information was so lacking that it is most probable that a separate bill of quantities or at least a written specification accompanied the drawings that were sent out for tenders or to the tradesmen on site (see Fig. 112).

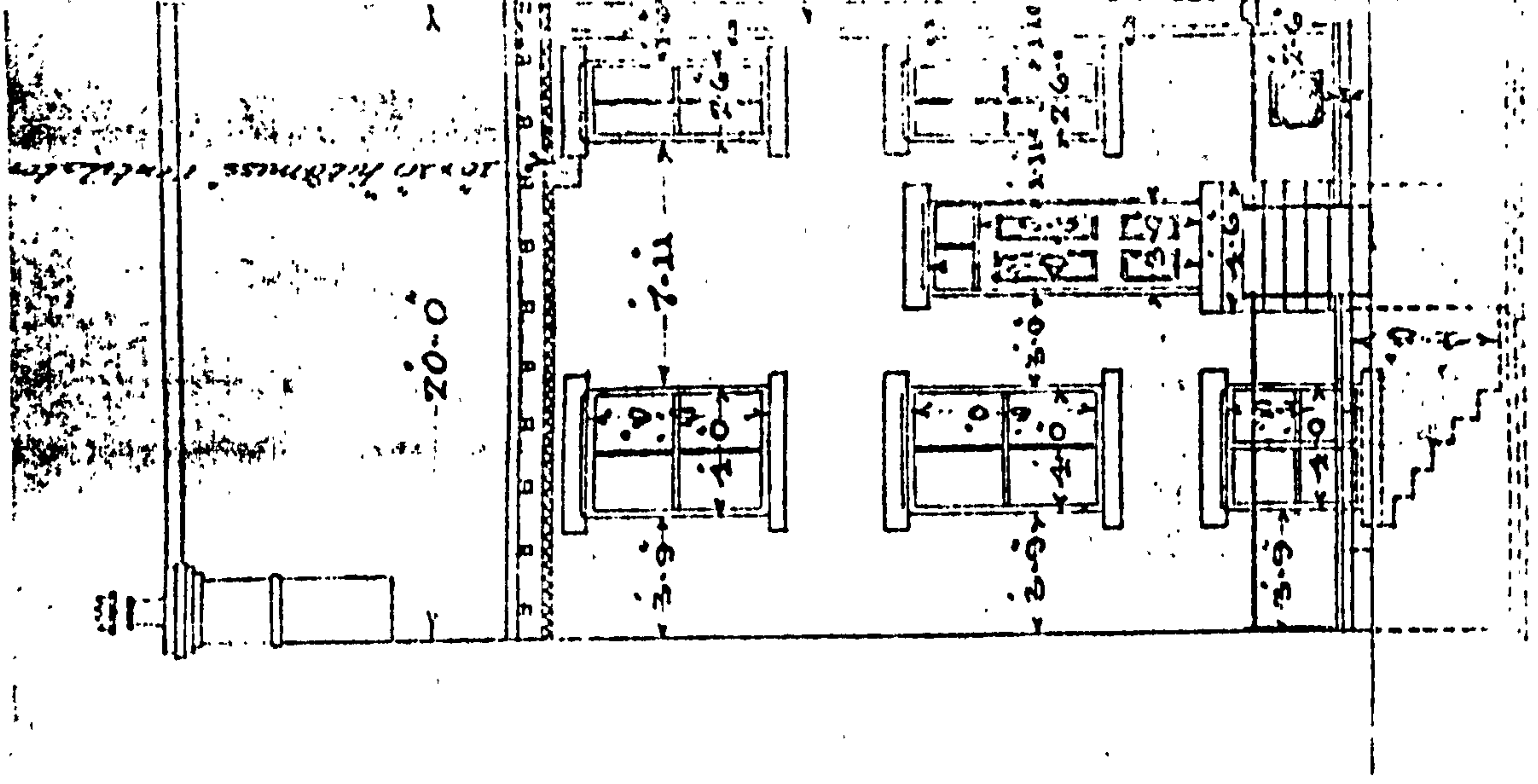
One of the best examples of a set of dimensioned plans for a through house was found in the sample of house plans for all Leeds. In 1880 a drawing was approved for one house to be built in Lady Pit Lane, Beeston where the depositor was one Arthur Hird who did not describe himself as an architect. The drawings, like so many others, contained few notes but were well drawn and fully dimensioned (see Fig. 147).



Front Elevation



Longitudinal Section through Staircase



Back Elevation

Fig. 147 Deposited drawings of house, Lady Pit Lane, Beeston (A. Hird 1880).



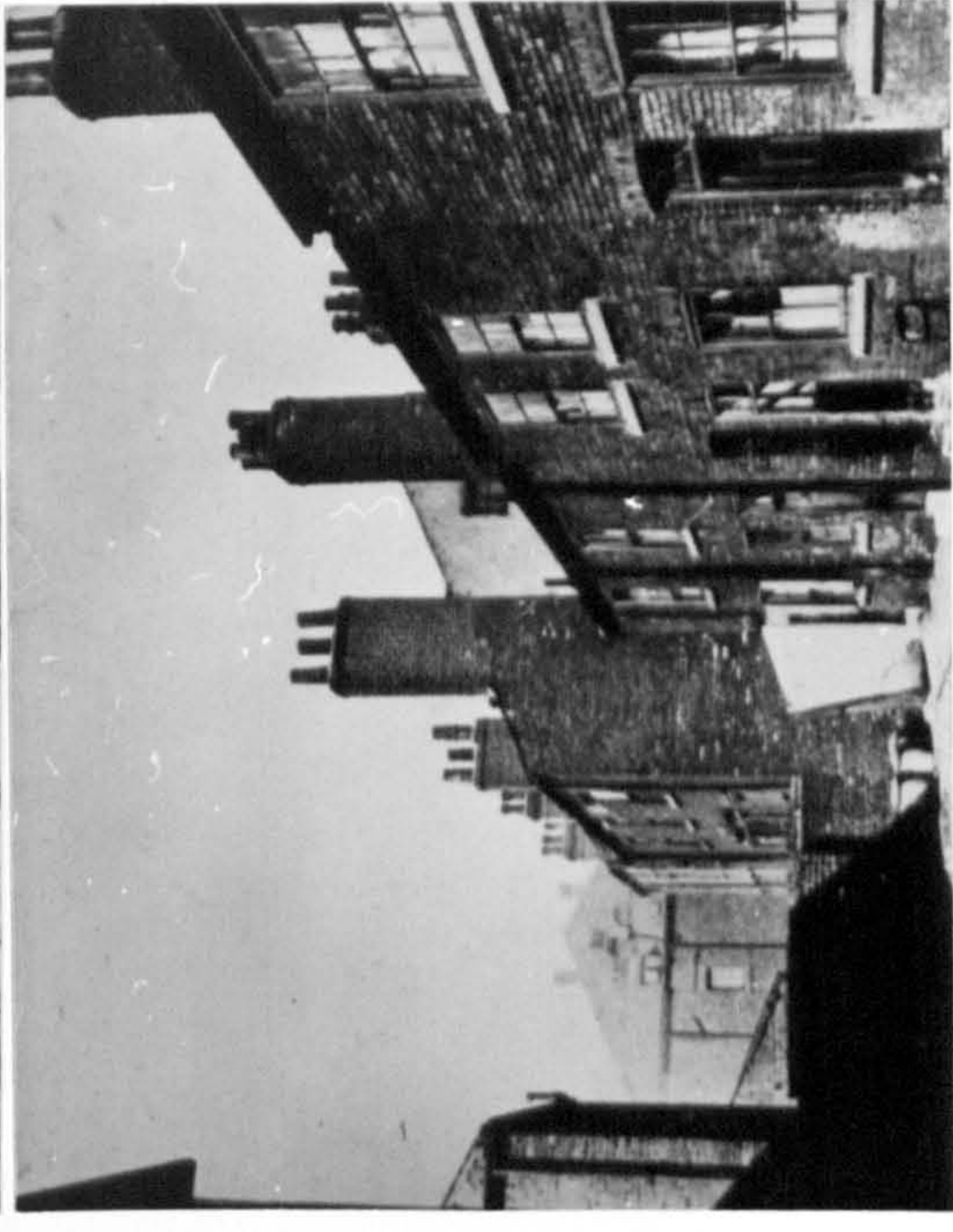
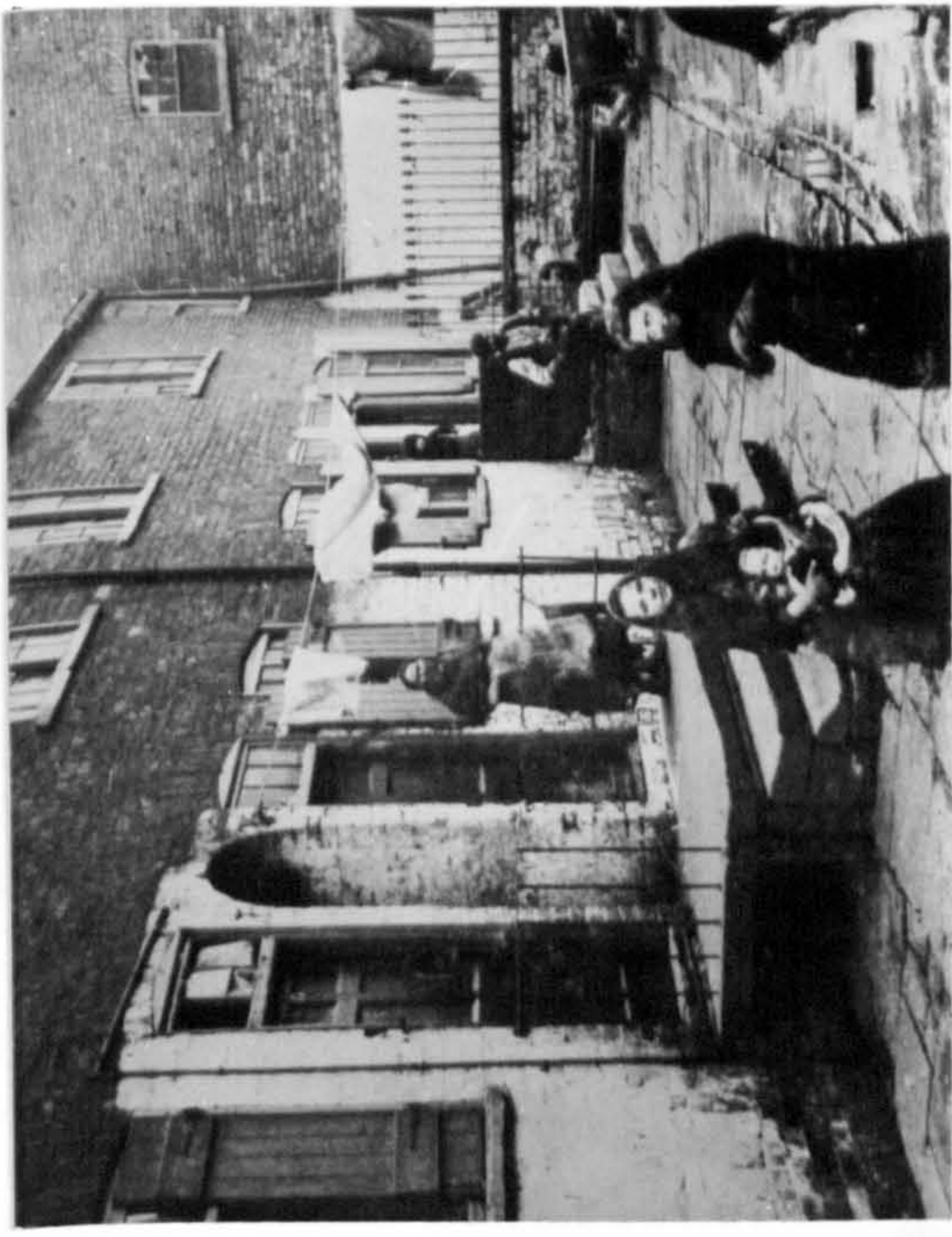
#### 14. 2 Standards of Workmanship

Even a cursory glance at early photographs of houses built in the first half of the nineteenth century which accommodated the working population compared with those of houses built in the latter part of the century will show that the general standards of construction had improved. The teeming courtyards housing poor families are familiar scenes depicted in histories of towns like Leeds. Similarly, the squalor and poor environment that the hastily built houses in badly lit, poorly ventilated and rarely cleaned narrow streets and back alleys produced is evident from any of the photographs of older parts of Leeds which were recorded by the City Engineers Department just prior to demolition. Even allowing for the passage of time and the lack of maintenance of the dwellings, the general appearance is one of shoddily built houses which in many cases appear to have been 'thrown up' with the poorest quality of materials and with little concern for the comfort or happiness of the luckless inhabitants. Stone slabs used as a roofing material, few windows with a consequent lack of daylight and ventilation, roughly laid brickwork, rooms built below ground level together with a lack of basic amenities such as water supply or sanitation are all evident from contemporary photographs (see Figs. 149 - 150).

That scamping and jerry-building took place not only before 1860 but for many years after is a well known fact and well documented by historical evidence. Writers such as Gauldie refer to the fact that as late as the 1880's some Building Societies became less popular than they had been in the 1860's in areas like Manchester because of the greed of middle-men and the jerry-builders employed by the societies. This was also the case with some Freehold Land Societies who became involved in shoddy buildings by using jerry-builders.<sup>7</sup>

The introduction of successive Improvement Acts and eventually Building Bye-Laws in towns like Leeds gradually reduced, or at least set limits on, the amount of jerry-building and scamping of materials that could take place. This was mainly as an indirect result rather than as a direct result of the legislation which was passed first and foremost to provide conditions whereby the housing occupier could attain a comfortable living standard in wholesome surroundings according to his means. The outlawing of a specific method of construction or use of a material, such as thatch for roofs or timber for party walls, was only undertaken with the health and safety of people in





Figs. 149 & 150 Examples from Leeds City Engineers Department photographs of unhealthy areas.

*Carlton Chambers*

*22, Allonby Street  
Leeds, 23. Jun. 1903.*

WALTER A. HOBSON & CO.  
ARCHITECTS, SURVEYORS & PAINTERS.  
WALTER A. HOBSON  
SCIENTIFIC CHAIRMAN  
WILLIAM WATSON

Re. Manor House Estate.

Dear Sir,  
We should be exceedingly obliged, if you would give us permission to alter the 1 1/2' walling between bathroom, & back-bedroom in the side houses for Mr. W. Gibson, into expanded metal partition, as we find it would be a great improvement to the bedroom.

Yours very truly,  
*Walter A. Hobson*

*W. Towers. Esq.*

Fig. 148 Letter from the architect W.A. Hobson to the Borough Surveyor of Leeds, 1903.



in mind rather than to see improvements in building construction in its own right.

The quality of building and standards of workmanship are not easy to determine in isolation of other factors. They have to be considered in relation to the date of erection, the materials normally available, the regulations in force, current building practice in a given locality, and for whom the end product was intended. Thus to describe a row of terrance houses as being poor quality buildings because they had no piped water supply when it was not common practice to provide it at the time, is a case in point. To describe houses as being so badly constructed that the term jerry-built could be applied is somewhat different because this implies that materials and workmanship were not up to even the minimum standards normally expected.

The introduction of building regulations in whatever form was frequently blamed by builders for keeping costs up, reducing profits and acting as a disincentive to investment. In Liverpool, for instance, the mere discussions of new regulations resulted in a rush of building speculation as builders attempted to make high profits from inferior building before regulations could come into force prior to 1846. When legislation was first introduced, extra expenditure was forced on builders and developers to meet the new requirements of space around buildings and to provide more accommodation when such things as courtyards and cellar dwellings were banned. By insisting on piped water to each house, sinks, lavatory provision, even if only in the form of shared privies in a yard, all raised costs by introducing items which had not been provided in earlier low-cost housing. This meant that new building materials had to be introduced to meet the increased expectations on the part of tenants.

The origin of the term jerry-building was discussed at length in The Builder magazine in 1901. It was in use by 1869 and one writer suggested that its origin came from a firm of builders of doubtful repute working in Liverpool in the early nineteenth century. The firm was owned by two brothers named Jerry and to be Jerry built was a term synonymous with poor workmanship and shoddy materials.<sup>8</sup>

There is little doubt, as the photographs of earlier buildings suggest, that poor quality workmanship and scamping on materials occurred in Leeds before 1860, however, the term jerry-building came into general use as the great suburban expansion of many towns took place after that date. As the greatest number of buildings erected in the

expanding suburbs were houses, the term became almost exclusively applied to them but it must have been applicable to factories and other buildings. How widespread it was is impossible to quantify but a constant battle was waged to stamp it out or at least reduce the extent to which it was practised. It was attacked in The Builder and from time to time was pilloried in Punch and it is clear from these sources that it could and did occur higher up the social scale than the working man's home.<sup>9</sup>

Dyos refers to building leases in Camberwell where agreements were made for 80 year leases in 1851 with building specifications which banned the use of place-bricks or rubble in walls and earth or rubbish being mixed in mortar.<sup>10</sup> In 1862 the writer of an article in The Builder referred to the more unscrupulous house-builder as a 'Duffing Builder' and hints were given on what the countryman settling in London should look out for in relation to materials and workmanship:

'Being a daily witness of the scamping manner houses burdened with ninety years repairing leases and heavy ground-rents are run up by the 'duffing builder, merely for sale, to dupe the unwary, who invest a life's toil oftentimes in property daily needing repairs and rebuilding, likely at any time to fall (a very common occurrence of late), I would warn and caution against "sale houses". I can point out "villas", not four years old, where you can see cracked window arches, bulging walls, sinking soil, and the most rapid decay;'<sup>11</sup>

In 1862 the discussion in The Builder continued and reference was made to:

'the infamous materials and brickwork of houses now running up ... As many of these houses have plate-glass parlour-windows, and look well, when finished, to the unskilled eyes of poor bank clerks, widows, and retired tradesmen; pray warn them against being defrauded of their money'<sup>12</sup>

The need for regulations which not only were in force but were effectively enforced was considered to be the only solution to the problem in The Builder in 1878:

'The only check that we can see for this state of things is the restrictive power of building regulations to compel a rigid performance of necessaries, and a certificate from a local authority certifying that the house is in a habitable condition, well-drained, and substantially built.'<sup>13</sup>

Kingsford refers to examples of builders being prosecuted for building inferior houses in Edmonton, a northern suburb of London in 1880.

A builder named W. Cole was prosecuted for erecting houses with walls not properly bonded together with mortar or cement and evidence



was given that the walls of the houses were of inferior materials, small pieces of brick with an excessive amount of mortar being used. Cole was ordered to pay a fine of £2. 10s. and costs. Another builder named W. Grimson was charged with eight summonses for similar offences in connection with walls and because his walls did not rest on solid ground, concrete or other sound foundations as required by the bye-laws. He too was fined £2. 10s. and costs. A further summons against Grimson caused some laughter in the court when evidence was given that a house of his was so badly built that the occupier when poking his own fire could also poke that of his neighbour at the same time!

#### 14. 3 The Process of Building Inspection

In Leeds builders could be prosecuted for offences under the various Improvement Acts passed before 1870 but Hole had pointed out that in 1866 no summons had been issued for many years for any breach of the building regulations.<sup>14</sup> It was not until the Bye-Laws which were introduced in 1870 that Leeds appears to have had not only penalties that could be imposed for building contrary to legislation and for poor workmanship, but more importantly, the machinery to enforce them. This was achieved by the recruitment and sending out into the field of a number of building inspectors who could report back to the building surveyor any breaches of regulations.

Some towns applied bye-laws diligently and instituted an efficient inspection procedure, others employed officials who turned a blind eye to what went on, took bribes or were simply incompetent. Section 22 of the new Leeds Building Bye-Laws required that if a building 'be made or begun' without or not in accordance with the consent of the Corporation then a complaint could be made before a Justice and a summons would be issued for the owner or occupier to appear. Whether the person appeared or not, if the complaint was proved the Justice could make an order in writing directing the demolition of the building with costs to be paid by the persons summoned.

In order that work once started continued to be erected in accordance with the building regulations, a system of inspection was clearly laid down in the 1870 Leeds Bye-Laws. Section 26 stated that a Corporation Surveyor would be allowed to inspect the works or buildings in progress of construction at any reasonable time that he thought fit or when required to do so by the council. Section 206 of the

Improvement Act of 1842 was still in force in 1870:

'And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Council to cause any House or Building, Chimney or Furnace, which shall hereafter be built or rebuilt or erected contrary to the Provisions of this Act, to be taken down, rebuilt, or altered, according to the Provisions of this Act; and the expenses of and attending the same shall be repaid to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses by the Owner of such House or Building, Chimney or Furnace.'<sup>15</sup>

Section 27 of the 1870 Bye-Laws stated that if a surveyor saw work being carried out or omitted contrary to the regulations or if he suspected work was being covered up which was contrary to the regulations, he could issue a notice in writing to the builder or persons erecting the building to make good the work or to open it up for inspection within 48 hours. If on subsequent examination the work had been correctly carried out, the council would pay the cost of reinstatement. Section 30 of the 1870 Bye-Laws stated the penalties which were in force for breaches of all or parts of the regulations; a maximum sum of £5 together with 40s. per day for every day that the offence continued.

What evidence is there that the new Bye-Laws relating to the construction of streets and the erection of buildings were any better enforced than the Improvement Acts that preceded them? Examination of the annual reports of the various committees dealing with the enforcement of building regulations in Leeds does throw some light on this question. The Building Clauses Committee, 1869 - 1894; The Building Sub-Clauses Committee, 1894 - 1899; the Sub-Improvements (Building Plans Committee), 1899 - 1904 and the Plans Committee, 1904 - 1910 all dealt with the day to day administration of the regulations. The minutes of the committee meetings are available for inspection together with annual reports for a number but not all the years the committees met. The annual report for 1878 stated:

'during the present year, 16 informations have been laid before Stipendiary Magistrates for infringements of the Laws, of which 13 convictions have been obtained, including 3 orders of demolition with costs and fines amounting to £29. 10s.'<sup>16</sup>

The above report was signed by David Hainsworth the Inspector of Buildings.

The annual reports of committees can be used as a source of information concerning the frequency and extent of the convictions obtained by Leeds council against persons who contravened building regulations:



**Table 76 Convictions and Fines Imposed on Persons Contravening Building Regulations in Leeds, 1878 - 1909**

	Informations	Convictions	Demolitions	Total Fines
1878	16	13	3	£29. 10s.
1879	12	10	1	£15. 11s.
1880	14	10	1	£2
1881	8	5	1	£8
1882	6	1	0	£5. 10s.
1883	9	4	2	£2. 11s. 6d.
1884	1	1	0	£5
1885 - 6	n.d.a.	n.d.a.	n.d.a.	
1887	2	2	1	£2 5s.
1888	2	2	0	£3
1889	4	4	0	£1
1890	6	4	1	£6
1891	n.d.a.	n.d.a.	n.d.a.	
1892	1	1	0	£1
1893	4	4	0	£22
1894	7	3	0	£9 10s.
1895	6	2	0	15s.
1896	10	3	0	£8 1s.
1897	1	0	0	0
1898	3	2	0	£2
1899 - 1904	n.d.a.	n.d.a.	n.d.a.	
1905	5	4	0	£1 15s.
1906	0	0	0	0
1907	3	n.d.a.	n.d.a.	£8
1908	n.d.a.	n.d.a.	n.d.a.	n.d.a.
1909	2	1	0	£3 2s.

The above table records how many informations were laid before a stipendiary magistrate but it does not indicate how many other notices were served on owners for breaches of regulations where the matter was put right without recourse to law. For example, in 1914 the annual report of the Plans Committee stated that 638 notices had been served on owners for deviations from approved plans and other breaches of the Bye-Laws and regulations. The table also does not show how many of the offences and convictions related solely to housing.

What Table 76 does indicate is that there was a high number of convictions in the early years and then a gradual tailing off from then on, rather like the schoolmaster instilling harsh discipline in the early lessons in order that the pupils understand how things are to be run. The situation between 1870, when the Bye-Laws were first introduced, and 1878 is not clear but it is possible that the regulations were not rigidly enforced for some years until an efficient inspection procedure had been established. Certainly in 1879 the annual report of the Committee referred to the introduction

of a new set of Bye-Laws which had been published in 1878:

'During the present year the new Bye-Laws have come into full operation, and have entailed a large amount of additional work upon the Committee:- 4121 notices have been received in pursuance with the Bye-Laws, for examination of various works, and 2506 connections to the main sewer have been inspected, which is also new work to the Committee.'

More often than not faulty work was simply amended to the satisfaction of the surveyor and legal action was only taken as a last resort. To ascertain how much work was carried out contrary to the regulations would require detailed figures of the number of notices served each year on offending builders. These numbers would then have to be viewed in relation to the cyclical nature of house building and to what extent they applied to non-residential buildings. It is probable that the most number of offences occurred at boom building periods and it is also possible that some concerned only trivial matters relating to such things as ash pits or privies. Houses represented around 50 - 60% of the total number of buildings that were completed and certified fit for occupation by the committee between 1878 and 1905. This figure dropped below 50% to around 25% in 1914 following the slump in house-building but in one year alone, 1888, 75% of all buildings inspected and certified as completed were houses.<sup>18</sup>

The minutes of committees that administered the building regulations show how individual cases were dealt with and annual reports give an overall picture of the workload they handled. They had presented to them for approval sets of plans for estate layout, roads, drainage and buildings. At the end of the year these were summarised and categorised. For example, in the year 1885 the Building Clauses Committee had 363 plans for houses submitted of which 303 were approved and 60 rejected. There were 1,682 houses on the plans submitted of which 1,453 were approved. Similarly 80 street plans were submitted of which 53 were approved.<sup>19</sup>

In the minutes of individual meetings are recorded the names of owners and developers of plans approved and also those rejected. Before a decision was reached some plans were discussed at great length and it is quite evident that developers, builders or their architects could attend committee meetings by prior arrangement to put their case.



'Mr. Chapman Howson Builder attended the Committee and stated that he had made the kitchen at the back of the house recently erected by him for Mr. John Hammond in Osborne Street, Leeds 2 feet above the height shown on the plans approved of but he had done so by mistake and requested the Committee to allow the same to remain unaltered! 17 Oct. 1873.<sup>20</sup>

Here it is clear that the inspecting surveyor had spotted the error and reported it to the committee. It would suggest a more diligent attitude by the council than had ascertained in 1866 when Hole wrote his essay. It is difficult to imagine jerry-building such as party walls not being bonded to front walls or earth being mixed with mortar going entirely unnoticed under these circumstances.

In the case of Howson, the committee granted his request for the work to remain as built. Other offences were equally trivial:

'That Mr. John Crowther be informed that legal proceedings will be taken against him unless he at once submit a plan of the privy recently erected by him in Carlisle Terrace, Leeds'. 17 Oct. 1873.

This suggests that if a single privy could be the cause of legal action, wholesale or widespread scamping and jerry-building must have been on the way to being eradicated or at least greatly reduced as early as 1873, only three years after the Bye-Laws had been introduced.

Plans for all developments wherever situated and regardless of size were required to be submitted and approved after 1870:

'A letter was read from Mr. John Barran stating that he was unaware plans had not been laid before the Committee for the warehouse in course of erection by him in Vine Street Leeds his architect having informed him that they were submitted' 14 Nov. 1873.

Once plans had been approved variations to the scheme were only allowed if the committee felt that they were not detrimental:

'Mr. George Dowson attended the Committee and stated that he had formed the back passage to the 4 houses recently erected by him in Ella Street Leeds less than the required width of 12 feet and requested the committee to allow it to remain so.' 12 Dec. 1873.

In the case of Mr. George Dowson the committee refused permission for the street to remain unaltered. Other architects, and builders found themselves in a similar position and after hearing of the decision accepted it or requested another hearing where they attended in person to put their point of view:

'Mr. A. Neill Architect attended and requested the Committee to re-consider their decision with reference to the plans of Mr. William Taylor for the alteration of one house into two houses in Crimble Street, Leeds and which had been rejected by the Committee.

Resolved

'That the resolution rejecting the plans be adhered to.'  
6 June 1884.<sup>21</sup>

'Mr. W.S. Braithwaite, Architect attended and requested the Committee to reconsider their decision with regard to the plans of Mr. Robert Bradley for additions and alterations to premises in Lansdale Yard, Lowerhead Row' 22 Jan. 1886

'Mr. Thomas Winn, Architect waited upon the Committee with respect to the plans of Mr. Benjamin Hewling for 3 houses in Victoria Road, Headingley and requested that the plans should be approved as submitted.

Resolved

'That the resolution rejecting the plans be rescinded and that the buildings be allowed to be erected as proposed.' 5 Feb. 1886.

Not only were plans the subject of committee meetings but actual details of construction were brought to their attention by the inspectors. John Newton Sharp, the builder who later erected many houses on the Manor House Estate, was informed after the committee meeting held on the 5th March 1886 that floors he had built in eight houses using 3 in. by 1½ in. iron joists were thought to be not safe by the Borough Engineer. He was given seven days to remove them but on the 19th March 1886 he attended the committee meeting and stated that if the floor could remain 'he would build no more like it' - permission was refused.

Plans were often simply approved without comment and others were rejected with the reasons given in writing to the depositor which were also recorded in the minutes. In this way it is possible to trace the passage of plans for the study area through the committee stage and having located an existing plan in the archives refer to the committee meeting that approved it. Thus on 12 Nov. 1886; 7 through houses were approved, deposited by the builder H.D. Nettleton, to be erected in Norwood Terrace;<sup>22</sup> 12 houses were approved to be erected in Granby Terrace and Place, deposited by the architect John William Charles<sup>23</sup> and a further 12 houses were approved to be erected in Granby Place and Grove, deposited by the same architect.<sup>24</sup>

Whereas plans were usually passed without comment,<sup>25</sup> included in the plans that were not approved 'on account of the objections here-in-after



stated' for 6th January 1888 was the following example:

'Mr. Benjamin Hewling 6 houses, Chestnut Avenue  
Victoria Road, Headingley. The backs of 3 of the  
houses are shown less than 12 yards from the opposite  
property, the backs of 2 of the houses are shown less  
than 18 feet from the boundary of the property at  
the back, no back road is provided for one block, the  
houses are not shown in accordance with the street  
plan approved, no drainage is shown, no ashpit shown  
to one block and the plans are incomplete.' 6 Jan. 1888

In this case there would appear to have been little that was correct  
on the plans that the builder Benjamin Hewling submitted.

## NOTES

### CHAPTER 14 CONSTRUCTIONAL DETAILS, WORKMANSHIP AND THE PROCESS OF BUILDING INSPECTION.

- 1 See Appendix 23.
- 2 George Corson designed the lodge to St. Ann's Tower in Kirkstall Lane in 1880. It had solid stone walls 17 in. thick, no bath and an earth closet in the yard, D.B.P.54/19 Mar./1880.
- 3 S.H. Brooks, Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture, 1839, plates LII, LXII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV.
- 4 C.W. Strickland, On Cottage Construction and Design, 1864, p. 41 - 42.
- 5 City of Leeds, Bye-Laws With Respect to New Street & Buildings, 1902, p. 14 - 15.
- 6 The house was built at the junction of Chestnut Avenue and Victoria Road. See D.B.P., 40/2 Mar./1888.
- 7 Gauldie, p. 199 and 208.
- 8 The Builder, 1901, Vol. 80, p. 407.
- 9 Punch, LIX (21 Oct. 1871), p. 172 and LXX (19 Feb. 1876), p. 64.
- 10 Dyos p. 93.
- 11 The Builder, 1862, Vol. 20, p. 625.
- 12 Ibid., 1862, Vol. 20, p. 357.
- 13 Ibid., 1878, Vol. 36 p. 283.
- 14 See Chapter 7.
- 15 Bye-Laws Relating to New Streets, Buildings Etc., 1870, p. 23.
- 16 Annual Report of The Building Clauses Committee, 1878, Leeds Civic Hall.
- 17 Ibid., 1879, Leeds Civic Hall.
- 18 Sources, annual reports of committees dealing with the passing of plans, 1878 - 1915, Leeds Civic Hall. The complete figures were:  
1878 66%, 1879 66%, 1880 61%, 1881 53%, 1882 52%, 1883 45%, 1884 48%,  
1885 49%, 1886 61%, 1887 64%, 1888 75%, 1889 67%, 1890 62%, 1891 n.d.a.  
1892 73%, 1893 71%, 1894 73%, 1895 64%, 1896 65%, 1897 63%, 1898 65%,  
1899 - 1904 n.d.a., 1905 62%, 1906 52%, 1907 42%, 1908 42%, 1909 38%,  
1910 27%, 1911 37%, 1912 30%, 1913 22%, 1914 26%, 1915 27%.
- 19 Annual Report of the Building Clauses Committee, 1885, Leeds Civic Hall.
- 20 The quotation and those that follow are all taken from the recorded minutes of the Building Clauses Committee, Leeds Civic Hall. Note that the minute suggests that Chapman Howson, who was a builder and developer of houses in the study area, was building a house for another developer elsewhere in Leeds.
- 21 See Chapter 11, p. 114 - 115 for Neill's own personal account of his attempt to get the plans approved.
- 22 D.B.P., 39/ 12 Nov./1886.
- 23 D.B.P., 4/12 Nov./1886.
- 24 D.B.P., 38/12 Nov./1886.
- 25 Plans which were submitted were quickly checked for basic errors by the officials and depositors were allowed to withdraw them for alteration before they went to the committee. See Chapter 11.



15.1 The General Character of the Suburb

The visitor who strolls around the study area today would gain an impression of the great variety in surroundings which have been created within a relatively small part of a much larger suburb. In an area of 265 acres, the contrasts between different types of housing, gardens, street widths, open space, hard landscape and public buildings remain sharp although blurred somewhat by the passage of time since they were first created. The infilling of small estates of semi-detached houses has been instrumental in softening the hard edges of contrast between the houses of the wealthy and the rows of artisan dwellings, but nevertheless, many parts of the study area look much as they did in 1914.

On the shoulder of Headingley Hill stand large stone mansions such as Buckingham House and Spring Bank, encircled by high stone walls with elaborate entrance gates and gateposts that overlook the wide expanse of Victoria Road with its trees and Methodist church spire. The abrupt change of the terraces from stone to brick part way down the hill from Hyde Park illustrates a change in house type, style of living and use of materials. The Manor House Estate, consisting of tightly packed houses all in red brick, lies hidden behind the wings of a concealed entrance from Victoria Road and only shows its face to the outside world in the form of a short terrace on Headingley Lane. This estate, which caused the downfall of two manor houses, an old and a new, once formed an enclave of artisan housing surrounded on all sides by the dwellings of the wealthy and influential members of Leeds society.

To the west of the Manor House Estate, with its mixture of terraces and small semi-detached houses, is yet another change in housing environment. Large plots of land are studded with houses which are less grand than the mansions of Headingley Hill but gain from the fact that Cardigan Road is built on a curve and there are fine specimens of trees left over from the former Botanical and Zoological Gardens. The road leaves the Old Gardens Estate and passes through a mixture of rock-faced ashlar and richly decorated brick semi-detached houses before passing on into the old village of Headingley, with its imposing church and surrounding stone cottages which over the years have been infiltrated by rows of red-brick terraces.

The area around St. Michael's Parish Church has been developed with stone villas of modest proportions which stretch down both sides of Bainbrigge Road and one side of Spring Road. Beyond these and to the south lies Chapel Lane which gives its name to an estate which is a mixture of detached brick houses, stone terraces, red-brick terraces and modern semi-detached dwellings.

On the Walmsley Estate some sense of unity and continuity appears from not only one street to the next, but from one building estate to another. From the Ashvilles in the west up Brudenell Road past the Hessles and the Pearsons to the Royal Park Estate in the east, a general conformity of house size, street pattern and construction is evident. Gone are the leafy lanes and the secluded gardens with French windows and rhododendrons, instead, the observer enters the world of bye-law housing - row upon row of red-brick houses, like ranks of soldiers presenting a uniform front. Closer examination does reveal the differences in detail, in materials, in house type, in street alignment and road patterns, but at first sight the general impression is one of uniformity and a high degree of monotony.

One of the major differences between areas like the Royal Park Estate and the Walmsley Estate, when compared with the better class area of the suburb, is not only the different types of houses erected, but also the lack of open space resulting from the much higher density of development. What open space exists is covered with hard landscape such as roads and footpaths and there are few grassed areas or gardens large enough to support mature trees. Even in these high density areas there are still some visual contrasts to be found; the brickworks and quarry site off Queens Road having been developed with small garages and industrial units, which presents a change in building scale if not a pleasant view to the beholder, is a typical example.

If the general impression created by the study area today is one of visual contrasts this must have been even more noticeable prior to 1914. Then there were more stately mansions and detached villas on Headingley Hill still occupied by wealthy bankers, merchants and manufacturers, who could leave in their carriages and pass through their gates to come face to face with the middle-class occupants of the red-brick terraces situated on the other side of the road. The contrasts in estate layout between large villas and mansions, semi-detached villas, through terraces and back-to-backs can be readily appreciated by examination of Figs. 151 - 153 which are based on the Ordnance Survey



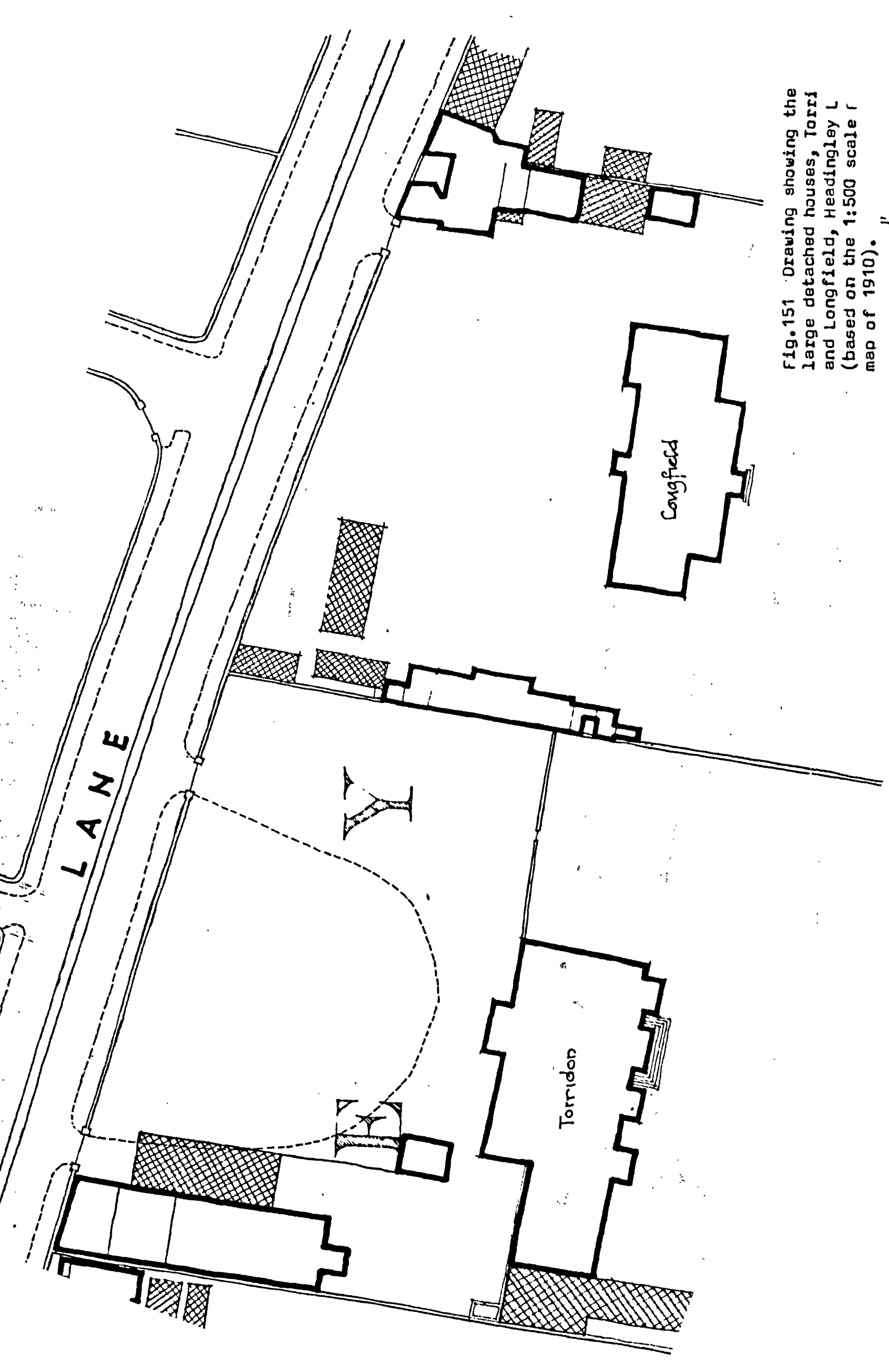


Fig. 151 Drawing showing the large detached houses, Torrion and Longfield, Headingley L (based on the 1:500 scale r map of 1910).

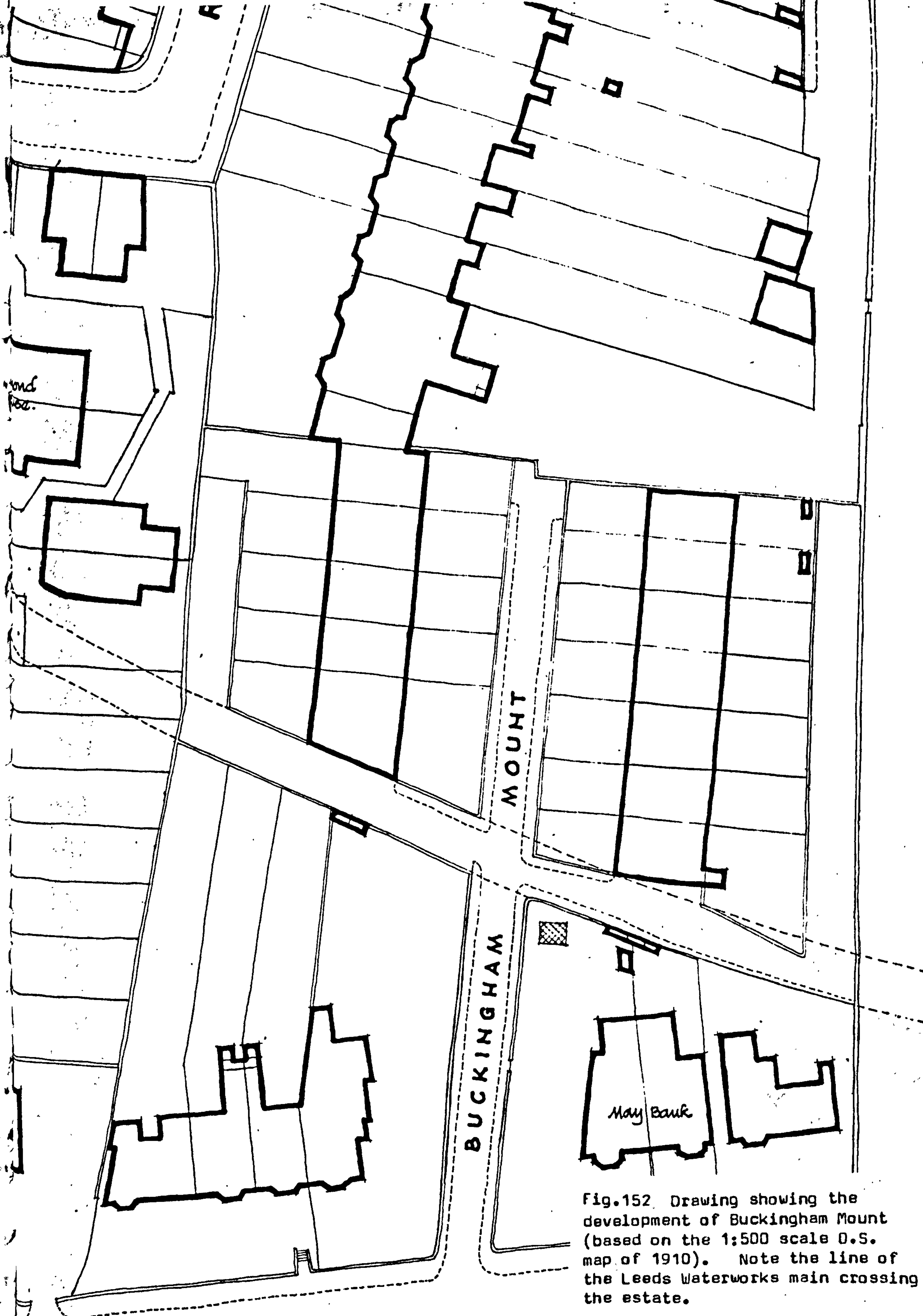


Fig.152 Drawing showing the development of Buckingham Mount (based on the 1:500 scale D.S. map of 1910). Note the line of the Leeds Waterworks main crossing the estate.



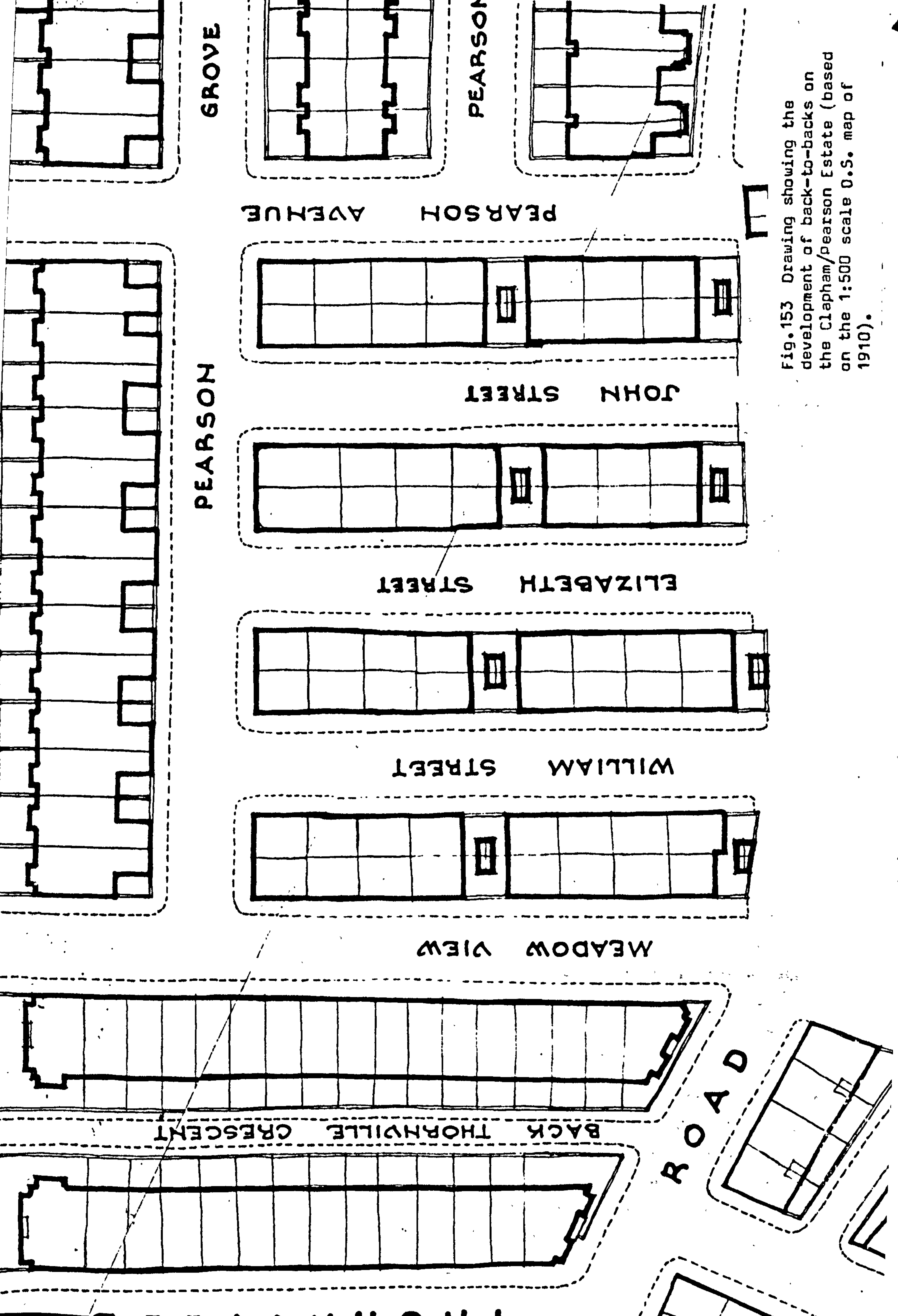


Fig. 153 Drawing showing the development of back-to-backs on the Clapham/Pearson Estate (based on the 1:500 scale O.S. map of 1910).

of 1910.

Linstrum described the houses on Headingley Hill as follows:

'Yet, maybe more important than the individual houses, was the gradual growth of the area as a place with its own character and a sense of order and unity that had been deliberately planned; It was (and is still in parts) a place of high stone walls, narrow ginnels, overhanging trees leaning out from private gardens - and silence.'

To walk from the houses on Headingley Hill north of Victoria Road to Brudenell Road or the Royal Park area is to leave behind this world of overhanging trees and silence for one of hard landscape, back additions and tightly packed humanity. It is to leave behind the order and unity which comes from the villas set in their own gardens to enter a different environment: one of rigid uniformity, of long straight streets and parallel rows of bye-law houses which were created as a result of attempts to plan an environment which was better than what had gone before. The detached villas were built in wide streets which could be straight or curved and the greater proportion of available land remained unbuilt on. The rows of uniform looking terrace houses were built facing onto straight streets, closely spaced together and most of the available ground was built on. The road pattern of the estates of terraces was laid down by the various local Acts and Bye-Laws which in themselves were created due to a reaction against the conditions in the enclosed courts and piecemeal developments that had occurred earlier in the century.

There is a warmth and softness about the shape and form of stone villas set in landscaped gardens which contrasts sharply with the harder geometric forms of the red-brick terraces set in paved streets with gardens too small to support trees or alternatively where houses are entered directly off the footpath. However, the estates of semi-detached houses, especially the inter-war infill dwellings, have gone a long way to produce areas which in character at least are set somewhere midway between the two extremes.

That there was no overall town or estate planning policy carried out by Leeds Corporation prior to 1914 shows on the ground. The abrupt changes in house types, the streets terminating in brick or stone boundary walls which turned them into cul-de-sacs, and the roads which are badly aligned or are at peculiar angles to others; all combine to testify to the lack of overall controlling policies.



The important factor the council had to consider was whether or not individual development proposals met the legislation then in force. The street that ran up against an old field boundary was accepted because an adjoining owner may not have wished to sell his land for building development. Ironically, when adjacent land was eventually developed, in many cases new road patterns were approved which did not align well, and in some cases did not align at all, with existing streets (see Figs. 154 - 156). All these factors, a peculiar mixture of monotonous regularity in parts mixed with, what would be to an observer who did not know how the various estates had developed, unexplained changes in building form and estate layout, combine to produce the unique character of the study area. Other parts of Headingley and other suburbs of Leeds have some similar characteristics to the study area, but as estates came on the market at different times and were usually developed on a piecemeal basis by many different developers, parts of every suburb have their own peculiar and distinct characteristics.

The impression that is gained by the observer who confines his attention to the detached and semi-detached villas in the study area is one of variety in road layout, house types, external materials and architectural styles. The variety in house types and external appearance conceals the fact that houses which were built in different architectural styles ranging from the Gothic to the Classical and the Tudor Revival to the Queen Anne, were often erected on individual estates within a few years of each other. The variety in these cases was more a reflection of the desire of owners to be different from their neighbours and to demonstrate their own particular tastes, rather than the variety being a natural result of development over a long period of time. If, however, the overriding impression presented by the estates of villas is one of variety, despite the true facts of the matter, the overriding impression presented by the red-brick terraces is one of uniformity and monotony. This impression is created by what appears to be standard repetitive units which were run up by the yard, by a few individuals at the same point in time. This lack of variety was indeed in some cases a result of rows of houses being built in this way, but the uniformity also conceals the fact that many different individuals were involved in producing a variety of house types which were often built over a long period of time.



Fig.154 Street ending against old field boundary north of Welton Road.



Fig.155 Back street ending against boundary wall of detached villa situated to the south of Victoria Road.

Fig.156 Back street reduced in width by boundary wall of Kensington and Hyde Park Villas.





Just two examples can be used to illustrate the way in which first impressions can be deceptive. The houses erected on both sides of Bainbrigge Road on the Mansion House Estate were mainly detached or semi-detached villas built in stone. There is a wide variety of house type, size, architectural style and external detailing, which would suggest a development over a long period. In actual fact, the deposited plans show that all but one detached house and a terrace of six houses were built in a ten year period from 1870 - 1880.<sup>2</sup> In contrast the houses built on the east side of Ash Grove on the Fawcett/Clapham Estate form one continuous terrace, four storeys high with red brick external walls and slate roofs. Despite the uniformity that a continuous building line and a straight row of houses appears to represent, the first house was constructed in 1876 and the last in 1893.

The names given to streets confuse the issue rather than clarify it. The right suburban address was of prime social importance to Victorian house owners and occupiers, but often they were pretentious rather than accurate pointers to the social status of the residents concerned. There was sometimes little to choose between the quality of those houses built in roads with names such as Kensington Terrace (which contained some back-to-backs) and those named after the speculative builder's children or other relatives.

Many developers fell back on a method of selecting names which sounded the right note of quality, names which were characterised by what was described by Dyos as a:

'monotonous but purposeful recital of Debrett'<sup>3</sup>

In the study area this was seen to be the case with roads laid out between 1838 and 1860, roads with names like Cumberland, Victoria, Grosvenor and Buckingham, but in later years names which were more descriptive of the locality tended to follow.

The names could advertise the amenities of the district or denote topographical features prior to housing development, which usually removed both the amenities and features from the physical landscape. Manor Road, Chestnut Avenue and Spring Road all involved demolition or removal of the things which first gave the streets their names, and in later years were irrelevant as a guide to the type of housing erected or the social standing of the inhabitants. To live in Chestnut Avenue might suggest opulence and a tree-lined road containing villas, whereas Spring Road or Chapel Lane could conjure up an image

of artisan or middle-class houses; in the study area the exact opposite was true.

The present character of the study area is one which is formed by not only bricks and mortar but also by the contrasts it presents between delight and monotony, between planned and unplanned growth and between hard and soft environments. These in turn have been shaped by the actual social standing of the more wealthy inhabitants and by the aspirations of the artisan or middle-class population that once lived there.

### 15.2 Domestic Architecture and the Red-Brick Aesthetic

Dixon and Methesius suggest that the social structure of Victorian Britain has a pertinent memorial in its domestic architecture.<sup>4</sup> Here was expressed the hierarchy of society with the richest landowners or industrialists at the top and the very poor at the bottom. For those in between, which could be said to include the greatest proportion of the householders in the suburb of Headingley in the last century, the acquisition of money meant a gradual movement up the social scale:

'The house not only reflected the social position of its occupant: it could also suggest the social position to which he aspired. The simpler houses show architectural features copied from the houses of the social class immediately above, and a feature can thus be traced as it makes its way down the social scale in a generation or two from ducal country house to artisan's cottages.'<sup>5</sup>

In Headingley there were the usual local factors such as, availability of land, building cycles, prices and rents which combined to produce local regional variations to national trends. Nevertheless, the majority of buildings in the study area came into the category of domestic architecture, the quality of which is very varied due to the wide range of house types erected. The hierarchy of society, changes in architectural styles, local custom and the introduction of new materials all played a part in producing this variety.

In Headingley, as elsewhere in the country, public and religious buildings continued to be built in stone long after the use of brick for other buildings had become common practice. But in some areas of Headingley detached mansions and smaller villas for the wealthy merchants and professional classes continued to be built in stone for some time after red brick was being used for nearby estates of terrace houses. If the houses erected for the persons at both ends of the social scale are examined it can be seen that the cheaper houses do not exhibit many architectural features copied from more expensive prototypes. Architectural features were not generally passed on from the stone detached villas to the red brick terraces such that the latter became



simply watered-down versions of their better-class neighbours. It is apparent that a red-brick aesthetic evolved in its own right, an aesthetic which grew out of the simpler houses erected in the early part of the century in the town centre and was carried into the suburbs on the waves of expansion.

That the earlier terraces built on the Teal Estate facing Woodhouse Moor, had classical doorways in stone added to red brick facades, is not in dispute. However, whereas in London some estates of speculative houses, such as the Holland Park Estate, 1860 - 79, had dwellings faced in stucco (where costlier stone cornices etc. were simply copied off higher quality houses and reproduced in the cheaper material) no major similar trend is readily discernible in the study area.

In Leeds and many other northern towns, brick became foremost among building materials when formerly it had only been one of several alternatives. As the nineteenth century passed it advanced to near domination and red brick became synonymous with building itself. In part, the usefulness of brick was the availability of clay for making bricks near to most of the larger towns, so much so that the situation arose where brick was preferred even in areas where suitable stone was plentiful:

'as coarse strong clay could be found in West Yorkshire, brick was commonly used in Leeds and Wakefield from the late seventeenth century; it partly superseded stone even in the region around Halifax and Bradford where the material was so plentiful.'<sup>6</sup>

The tradition for building terrace houses in red brick in Leeds went back to the eighteenth century. From 1767 and 1788 Park Row and Park Square respectively were developed with houses built in red brick with stone dressings to door and window openings. Thus when Blenheim Terrace and Woodhouse Square were started in the early 1830's, both were in red brick and continued the eighteenth-century tradition. Some houses built in Leeds in the early part of the nineteenth century were built in stone, such as those on Headingley Hill, others were in red brick plain and simple. More often a compromise was reached and red brick was mixed with stone quoins producing a Leeds style of late or postponed Georgian or alternatively stone was only used for the dressings to openings. The latter was more commonly found on detached villas of the period and described by Beresford as:

'purest red brick albeit with some incorporation of local stone, particularly in door and window features of the detached villas.'<sup>7</sup>

When the houses of Blenheim Terrace were built, the terraces, as was also the case with those erected in Park Square, were not all built

at one time with identical houses and uniform facades. But despite this, the use of plain red brick with similar sash windows and pedimented doorcases produced an effect of unity and an harmonious relationship between the parts and the whole. When Little Woodhouse was developed in the 1840's, terraces of late Georgian brick houses appeared such as those that can still be seen in Lyddon Terrace and Springfield Place. The large detached and semi-detached villas such as Belmont and Claremont were brick houses with stone dressings. Perhaps the finest example is Woodsley House in Clarendon Road, built in 1840 as a brick house with stone dressings and attached giant columns.

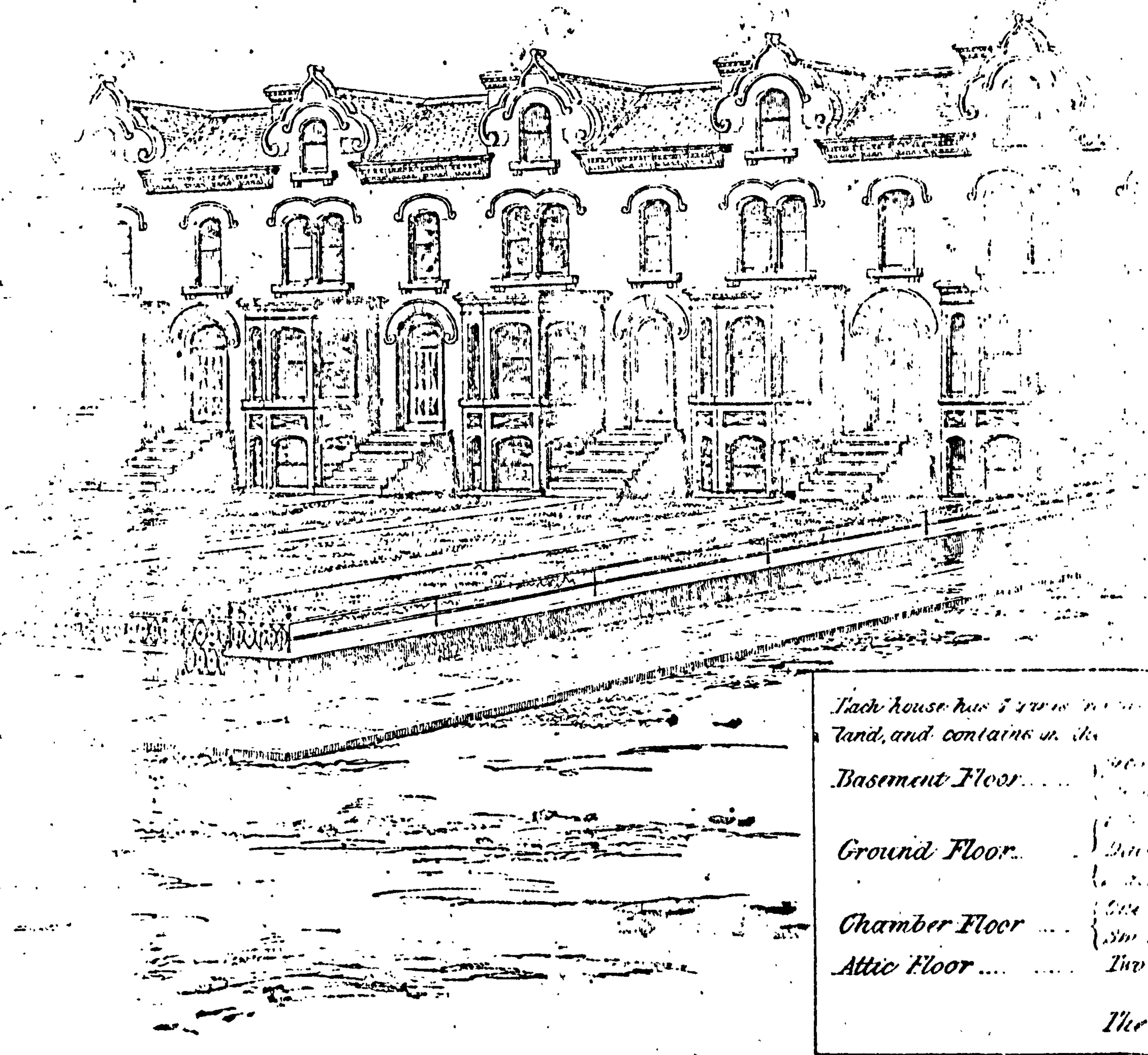
The reason why the development of Headingley Hill on the Fawcett Estate took place at a similar time to the development of Little Woodhouse but with stone the predominant material, may be directly attributable to some restrictive covenants banning the use of brick rather than the fact that brick was not available or suitable for villas of that class. Covenants could have a powerful effect on the external appearance of dwellings. Beresford describes the development of Lyddon Terrace in Little Woodhouse which took from 1825 - 1906 to complete:

'although its houses were erected over a long period by more than a score of different developers there is a remarkable uniformity imparted by the universality of red brick... The conveyance of 1837 had stipulated uniform minimum conditions for the type of house to be built: at least two storeys high, fronted with best stock bricks, and roofed with Westmorland or Welsh Blue slates;'<sup>8</sup>

The leading architect in Leeds, Cuthbert Brodrick, designed a terrace of three brick-built houses with stone dressings in Moorland Terrace, Little Woodhouse, in 1859. On the nearby St. John's Hill Estate the local architects Wilson and Bailey drew up a coloured lithograph to show what could be built on the new estate (which was just developing) for £403. The drawing prepared in 1864 showed terrace houses, each four storeys high with red brick external walls, bay windows to ground floors and Dutch gables to the attic floor. Upper and lower windows had curved stone lintels, stone dressings were added to the bay windows and central columns divided the bedroom windows: there were no string courses (see Fig. 157).

Aesthetic preference in Leeds gradually swung towards the more uniform machine-made bricks rather than the uneven or irregular hand-made bricks which were more popular in southern England. A fondness for ornament favoured many different shapes intended to lend interest and contrast but this did not extend to colours. Some sand-lime bricks of lighter colours were introduced, especially during the period when polychrome effects were popular. Similarly glazed bricks of various colours as well as





...ING WHAT MAY BE BUILT AT A COST OF £403.0.0 EACH AT ST. JOHN'S HILL, THE PROPERTY

Fig.157 Drawing of through houses showing what may be built at a cost of £403 each on the St. John's Hill Estate (Wilson & Bailey 1864).

terra-cotta decorative elements also gained some popularity. But despite these alternatives the predominant material used was red brick and restrictive covenants were often quite specific in the way that they referred to the fact that only 'best pressed red facing bricks' were to be allowed. The prices of bricks remained relatively stable and were not so very different in the 1890's from those prevailing in the 1830's. From the 1870's onwards, however, the use of heavy stone detail came into fashion not as an alternative but as an embellishment to red brick.

### 15.3 Architectural Character

The architectural style that had reigned supreme before the Victorian period was the Classical which had become traditional for a wide variety of building types. Gothic emerged in the nineteenth century as a powerful alternative. By the early decades of the nineteenth century a gradiose Neo-Classicism based on the revival of both Greek and Roman architecture had become firmly established. After 1830 a Classicism with a less orthodox outlook existed which included features of the Italian Renaissance. Sir Charles Barry used the Italian palazzo as the model for his smaller buildings and he also like to add picturesque vertical accents to the tops of buildings, such as corner pinnacles or chimneys. From the 1850's onwards the Leeds architect Cuthbert Brodrick, who had a national reputation, used clock towers, turrets and domes reminiscent of the French Renaissance.

Despite the Queen and Prince Albert giving their patronage to the Italian Renaissance style at Osborne House, the early Victorians tended to favour English styles, the most popular of which was English Gothic. This interest in the Middle Ages had little affect in Leeds until the early nineteenth century. On the Fawcett Estate at Headingley Hill a number of Gothic style houses were built between 1830 and 1850. These were in a variety of guises, some with battlements and turreted towers, others with elaborate Gothic bay windows. Typical examples are Ashwood c.1836, Headingley Castle c.1840 and North Hill House, 1846.<sup>9</sup>

Linstrum suggests that plainer Tudor or Jacobean houses were more popular in Leeds than the extravagantly Gothic, possibly because they could be built more cheaply.<sup>10</sup> He also pointed out that although the exteriors of houses may have been in the Gothic style and looked picturesquely irregular, the interiors were based on the traditional Georgian pattern and few had medieval interiors.<sup>11</sup>



Within the study area boundaries there were only one or two houses which could be described as Gothic. The mansion Spring Bank which still exists is a typical example. This house has some Gothic details but the majority of houses built on the Fawcett Estate between 1838 - 1870 favoured the Classical style in one form or another. The old Manor House and the Mansion House were probably eighteenth-century buildings and the New Manor House, built at some time after 1850 and demolished along with the old in 1902, was in an unknown style as records of it have not survived.

The enthusiasm for the antiquities of ancient Greece led to Greek details on buildings in Leeds. Armley House c.1820 was designed by Sir Robert Smirke and was completed in the Greek style using the Ionic order. During the period 1830 - 1850 a whole group of mansions were built in Leeds which were either Greek or mixed Greek-Italianate in style and many of these medium-sized houses were situated in Woodhouse or Headingley. The architect responsible for a number of the houses was John Clark who probably designed the first of the these houses to be erected in the study area, Rose Court c.1842 (see Fig. 38). The other houses which followed it and were also built in the Classical style were Morley House, Richmond House, Buckingham House, Longfield and Torridon. In contrast, Spring Bank built c. 1857 has oriel windows and battlements mixed with Dutch gables and is in parts a Gothic revival mansion, although these may have been the result of numerous later additions and alterations (see Figs. 158 - 159).

The houses that were built on the Headingley Old Gardens and on the Mansion House Estate followed the High Victorian pattern with its honest use of materials, its polychromy and its varied outline which usually expressed a functionally arranged plan. Some of the houses were richly ornamented when carried out in brick while others were plainer when constructed in local stone. From the 1860's onwards architects had a wide choice of medieval details at their disposal and could select to use a wide variety of building materials. Ornamental gables and chimneys, Dutch gables, decorative barge-boards, spires and turrets, oriel windows and projecting porches were all grist to the mill of domestic elevational design. Most architects and builders were quite content to use any details or materials which made their houses picturesque.



Fig.158 Spring Bank, Headingley Lane (battlemented bay added in 1898).

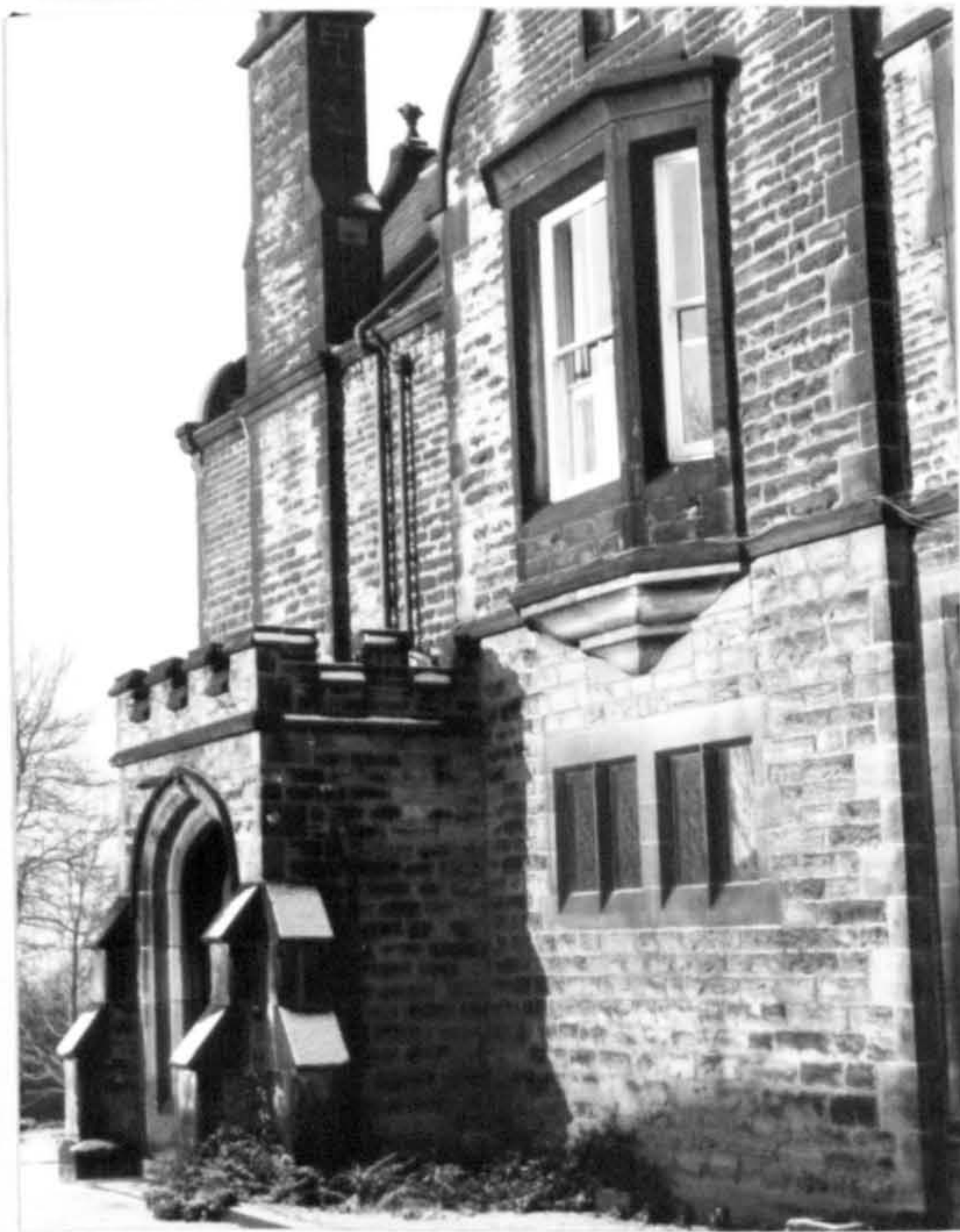


Fig.159 Spring Bank, Headingley Lane, entrance porch.

Fig.160 Pair of semi-detached villas in the Headingley Old Gardens (F.W. Bedford 1892).





The Picturesque reached its peak in the 1880's and early 1890's when symmetry and the restriction of decorative forms to any one style, were very unpopular. Irregularity of outline was considered to be one of the main characteristics of the Picturesque and few Victorian custom-built houses of the period were without some asymmetrical element.

The Victorian age became increasingly the age of the middle classes and a manifestation of the middle classes was the emergence of the semi-detached house. The semi-detached house which shares only one party wall with its neighbour was in part popularized by J.C. Loudon in his book 'The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion', published in 1838. He illustrated a pair of semi-detached houses erected in 1837 in Bayswater, London, one of which he occupied. Ten years later the semi-detached house was a common feature of suburban speculative developments in London. The Chalcots Estate developed by Eton College has examples dating from the 1840's and 1850's.<sup>12</sup>

Many of the houses built on the Mansion House Estate and a few of those on the Headingley Old Gardens Estate were semi-detached villas which exhibit the change in architectural styles and tastes from 1869 onwards. Stucco which was popular for domestic architecture in the south was uncommon in Leeds and there was never any tradition of domestic architecture in this material when stone was generally available. In Headingley, when brick appeared on estates such as the Mansion House Estate, the details were neither wholly Gothic or Classical. Windows could have round arches rather than pointed and decorative elements could be medieval in origin rather than Renaissance in character.

Polychrome decoration in the form of bands of contrasting coloured brick, stone or terra-cotta became widespread and roofs of some houses had slates of different shades to add to the effect. The late Victorian house type developed from a mixed medieval style: bay windows with colonettes set at the angles, dormer windows with decorative barge-boards, shallow porches with tiled roofs - all became familiar external features. The bay window which was also to become popular on terrace houses, had wooden sash windows and plate glass set between stone piers often with capitals enriched with naturalistic carving supporting lintels of stone.

In the 1870's a new version of Classical Revival was adopted, the so-called 'Queen Anne' revival. Few speculative houses in Leeds

were derived from the Queen Anne Revival but a number of custom-built semi-detached houses in Headingley and elsewhere show its influence. Inspired by the work of Norman Shaw and others at Bedford Park, the Queen Anne revival used red brick, tiled roofs, glazing bars in windows, bay windows and gabled roofs. Often red brick, including some rubbed brickwork, was combined with sash windows, asymmetrically placed bay windows and gables, in a personal way by the designer.

Externally half timbering was introduced under the influence of the Picturesque and examples appeared in the study area and in many other residential suburbs of Leeds. The Swiss Cottage at the junction of Victoria Road and Cardigan Road, designed by R.P. Oglesby, is a typical example of a small detached half-timbered house,<sup>13</sup> and a pair of semi-detached villas in Bainbrigg Terrace, which were designed by the architect Charles Fowler, also have half timbering on the facade.<sup>14</sup> In a similar way the influence of the Queen Anne Revival can be seen in pairs of semi-detached houses such as those built in the Headingley Old Gardens for James Bedford and designed by his son, F.W. Bedford<sup>15</sup> (see Fig. 160).

The earliest terrace houses to be built in the study area were constructed in stone on the Fawcett Estate and faced Victoria Road. A small number of through houses were also built in stone on the Teal Estate facing Woodhouse Moor. The only other area where stone was used for through terraces in the study area was on the Chapel Lane Estate. Three contrasting types of dwelling can be seen in the houses erected at different times on the three estates.

Those built in Victoria Road on the Fawcett Estate were completed between 1840 - 1860 and their front elevations are a mixture of ashlar facades, two storeys high with string courses, sash windows with glazing bars, and a variety of square-headed and circular-headed doorways. Those built lower down the hill in the same terrace have bay windows and one has a third storey. The majority of the houses have slate roofs but a few of the earlier buildings have stone roofs (see Fig. 161). A typical example of a stone terrace house on the nearby Teal Estate which was completed c.1857, is in comparison four storeys high and constructed in rock-faced ashlar. The slate mansard roof has two dormer windows with stone sills, architraves and curved heads. The first floor windows have simple stone heads and sills, and all the sash windows have glazing bars. The front entrance door has a plain stone architrave and a simple entablature (see Fig. 162). Some of the latest examples of stone through houses were erected on the Chapel Lane Estate in 1876 - 8 and the elevations are different again



Fig.161 Through terrace, Victoria Road  
(erected c.1840 - 1860). Note the stone  
roofing slabs.



Fig.162 Through terrace with slate  
mansard roof, Hyde Park Road (erected  
c.1857).

Fig.163 Through houses,  
Broomfield Place, Chapel Lane  
Estate (D. Dodgson 1876).





to those on the Teal Estate: all together less grand as the houses were intended for persons with a lower annual income. The facades are in plain stone, two storeys high, with regular spaced sash windows without glazing bars. Simple stone lintels and sills suffice for all openings, there are no decorative elements even around doorways and stone chimneys sit astride slate roofs (see Fig. 163).

The earliest terrace of through houses to be built in brick in the study area were those on the Teal Estate facing Woodhouse Moor. Here a number of houses were completed between 1860 and 1870 in red brick with some stone used for embellishment, especially around the main entrances. Some had simple undecorated stone window heads and sills but the doorways were flanked by Doric or Tuscan columns (see Fig. 164). Another example was three bays wide and two storeys high with a slate roof. In this case the principal front had two stone bay windows to ground floor rooms with lead flats behind stone parapets. Simple Georgian type windows to first floor bedrooms had stone sills and flat brick arches over. A stone pediment gives importance to the main entrance and stone architraves in the form of columns adds to this effect (see Fig. 165). Other examples of these early brick through houses on the Teal Estate can be seen in Figs. 45 - 46.

As the houses became smaller and were built after 1870 on the Teal Estate, so the plain facades with importance given to the entrance door gradually changed into ones where stone dressings were introduced as decorative elements on various parts of the elevation. By 1870 elliptical arches over door and window openings could be seen on the estate with stone introduced to enliven a plain brick facade. Decorative elements included under eaves elaboration and drip moulds over arches (See Fig. 166 - 167).

Elsewhere in the study area similar trends can be discerned on those houses built from 1870 onwards. Basically, four types of facade became common for through terrace houses, depending upon the type and size of the dwelling, the date of the building in relation to current architectural styles or trends and restrictions imposed by landowners in the form of covenants. The simplest elevations comprised plain red brick with brick arches above window openings with little or no stone used on the facade except for sills to openings and entrance steps. The second type of elevation had simple stone lintels and sills to all openings including bay windows, however, some simple decoration was added to these elements. The third type involved the use of elaborately carved stone lintels to doors and windows, elaborate sills, string courses and other decorative elements such as carved woodwork,





Fig.164 Detail of entrance door, Hyde Park Road.



Fig.165 Double fronted through terrace, Hyde Park Road.



Fig. 166 Eaves detail, Kensington Terrace.



Fig.167 Carved entrance door, Kensington Terrace.



ironwork and patterned or carved bricks. Finally, examples can be found of polychromy on facades, especially in the use of different coloured facing bricks and patterns formed on slates to roofs.

No examples were found of back-to-backs built in stone in the study area. Although these were not uncommon in nearby Burley in the earlier part of the century, the first back-to-backs to be built in the study area were erected c.1861 in red brick. These were 4 storeys high without basements and the elevations show them to be more in keeping with the early brick through terraces built elsewhere on the Teal Estate where they are situated. Brick flat arches over tall sash windows, simple stone sills, high floor to floor heights on the lower storeys and a stone surround to the entrance door all combine to give a postponed or late Georgian appearance (See Fig. 19).

Other back-to-backs were less grand in scale although, like the through terraces, they too passed through various stages of elevational treatment from simple brick facades to highly decorated exteriors with features added to embellish even the smallest of dwellings. Nevertheless, a general conclusion that can be drawn from observation of back-to-backs elsewhere in Leeds is that, as this house type was more prevalent in other suburbs, the degree of architectural decoration which was added to facades was greater on many examples to be found in other areas of Leeds than those examples situated in the study area. In Leeds as a whole it became customary in the 1880's and 1890's to add decorative elements to the exterior of even the humblest of back-to-backs, with no less cost per square yard of elevation being expended for these extra over items on some back-to-backs as on their through counterparts. This practice, however, might have been common in other areas of Leeds, but within the study area the decorative elements on back-to-back houses were generally more restrained than those on the through dwellings. For the purposes of comparison, some examples of highly decorated back-to-backs from another area of Leeds for the same period have been included (see Figs 168 - 170).

#### 15.4 Decorative Elements

It has been demonstrated that the houses in the study area were erected over a period of time which saw changing tastes in domestic architecture. Architectural styles and fashions changed most markedly in public buildings and only the better quality custom-built houses followed closely in their wake. Because of the very nature of cheaper dwellings built for speculation, the greater tides of styles and trends passed them by with little effect compared with the mansions and villas of the wealthy.





Figs.168 - 170 Decorated back-to-backs, the Luxors, Harehills, Leeds.





A change in the way a material was produced, such as sheet glass being made available, had a more immediate effect on the appearance of speculative houses than arguments which took place concerning the merits of a particular architectural style.

In some cases speculative builders had to keep in the forefront of fashionable test if they were to sell and survive. This was particularly the case on some estates in London where there was a great variety of quality and at certain times an over-provision of houses. Speculative housing was generally aimed at the middle and lower-middle classes who were attracted by a finer quality of appearance rather than by the fabric of a building. For this reason the development of speculative housing was largely a spontaneous process, traditional materials and structural forms reflecting the whims of fashion in varying degrees. As the nineteenth century passed, interest arose in the Picturesque which was followed by the High Victorian Movement and the interest in Polychromy, these were followed in turn by the introduction of half timbering and the Queen Ann Revival. Each would have some influence on the houses built in any suburb in any town during the period, the influence being more marked on the most expensive custom-built dwellings whose architects had four elevations and scope for demonstrating change. In the case of the smaller speculative houses, which in the study area at least were mostly built to designs prepared by local architects, there was little scope for keeping in the forefront of fashionable taste other than the use of certain decorative or structural elements which expressed a larger movement in design thinking in a minor and local manner.

As only the more expensive houses became affected by major stylistic changes, the ordinary red-brick terraces built for speculation changed more in terms of architectural decoration than in more fundamental ways. If the basic parameters were set by the plot size, plan configuration, number of storeys and materials in general use; then these, when coupled with costs related to the location and potential occupier, left little scope for decisions as to whether the facade or facades should be in Gothic, Italianette or Second Empire French. These were options that were not usually open to the architect working for the speculative builder who erected dwellings for the lower end of the market. With a plan which only gave two facades, a front and a rear, with quite often sculleries, outside privies or other back additions, usually only the elevation fronting onto roads remained for stylistic variation or outward display. The answer for most speculative builders was to adorn at least the front elevation of the ordinary terrace house with architectural decorative elements. This could involve the use of different materials or the



use of more elaborate materials in standard situations. The architectural decoration could be added by the architect or designer of the dwellings in response to national trends in the elevational treatment of buildings in general. It was also possible for the builder to simply add decorative elements to facades of houses as well as to interiors simply because he thought they would enhance the looks and hence the desirability of the property.

If the house was custom-built, the architect could select decorative elements at will and fit them to the status of his client or more often the status to which his client aspired. If the houses were to be built for speculation, the builder would have an eye to future lettings or sales to others. Whether eventually let or sold, speculation invariably meant building in advance of demand and when the prospective tenant or purchaser was faced with rows of empty property on the market, those with certain extras not displayed by the adjoining properties could tip the balance in their favour. It might be that something major, such as a bay window or a larger third bedroom, made all the difference, but when all other things were equal, decorative elements added to a facade could make the terrace house a little more attractive than its plainer neighbours. On such minor matters could depend the difference between a successful or unsuccessful let or sale when the provision of houses far outstripped demand.

The custom-built house could have decorative elements added to suit the pocket of the owner and in accordance with what was thought to be in good taste or fashion at the time. For the speculative builder the extra cost incurred on following stylistic changes or in simply adding decoration to make the houses catch the eye was a calculated risk. The extra cost spent on providing a carved lintel when a plain one would carry the same load, on providing carved or shaped bricks when plain ones could equally suffice, on providing decorated barge-boards when plain flat boards were cheaper, had to be offset against the reduced interest payments due on borrowed capital which could be paid back sooner if the building stood empty or unsold for a shorter period of time.

Often the treatment of many small elements on the design of a facade could have a dramatic effect on the whole when seen in combination whereas each on its own has little effect. The tendency was for plain brick facades in the study area to be replaced by elevations where stone was introduced for lintels, sills and architraves etc. Gradually basic elements in the facade such as keystones, corbels for gutter support, coal chutes or barge-boards would become more

and more elaborate as applied decoration became popular in the latter quarter of the century. After 1900 the amount of decoration applied to elements on the facades was greatly reduced as the general trend away from applied decoration gradually filtered down from simpler forms of house design encouraged by the Arts and Crafts Movement.

The elements which were given special attention in terms of simple ornamentation or a highly decorated treatment on an ordinary speculative terrace house can be summarised as follows:

- (a) Garden walls in stone, brick with stone copings, and brick or stone with iron palisade-type railings.
- (b) Foot scrapers set into external walls.
- (c) Cast-iron coal chutes set in external walls, footpaths or landings of steps.
- (d) Door architraves and heads, lintels or arches.
- (e) Window sills, jambs, heads, lintels or arches.
- (f) Bay windows, including the piers between sashes and the fascia to the roof.
- (g) String courses or continuous sill bands.
- (h) Air grates set in external walls.
- (i) Projecting brackets or oversailing courses at eaves level to support wooden gutters.
- (j) Fascia-boards and barge-boards.
- (k) Ridge tiles.
- (l) Finials to dormer roofs or to main roofs.
- (m) Chimney stacks and chimney pots.

Added to the above could be various attempts to introduce polychromy by the addition of contrasting coloured bricks, painted stone or terra-cotta into external walls and contrasting tiles or slates into roofs.

With an end terrace house, a semi-detached villa or a detached villa, the area of external elevation which could receive decorative elements was greatly increased. However, in all but the largest and most prestigious houses, one elevation was considered to be the rear elevation which not only received no special treatment in terms of decoration, but was often built in inferior quality facing materials.

The period 1850 - 1900 saw a steady increase in the number of different decorative elements which could be purchased for incorporation into even the simplest of buildings. Examination of the few builders merchants' catalogues which have survived shows that in all cases a basic unit could be supplied which would serve the purpose, but for those prepared to pay a modest extra on the lowest price, a



more attractive unit could be purchased. For those at the top end of the market, units were available at a considerably greater cost than that of the basic item, which has ever been the case for most products. With the introduction of technology into various industries, such as woodworking and brickmaking machines, cheap mass produced decorative elements were made available at a cheaper cost than those available using hand tools only.

Moulded and shaped bricks became increasingly popular during the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century in Leeds. These could be applied at any level or to any part of an elevation. However, they tended to be confined to the jambs of door and window openings, to string course, to immediately under the eaves and on oversailing courses to chimney stacks. In the same way terra-cotta and faience products were produced and marketed for domestic use and these could be introduced anywhere on an elevation but tended to be confined to bands near to the eaves of dwellings or to replace other items usually made in stone.

Internally the decorative elements which could be demanded by a client for a custom-built house were directly related to his pocket and the type of life style he and his family wished to lead. The detached house named Spenfield, designed by George Corson in 1875, is a case in point. Built for a wealthy banker in Far Headingley, the rather dull exterior hides a beautiful interior of carved woodwork, stained glass and rich metalwork. In the typical terrace house of the period, the internal decoration would be evident but severely limited in comparison.

The interior of a typical terrace house in the study area might be lit by etched or stained glass over the front entrance door or at high level in bay windows. The entrance porch could be tiled with coloured or patterned tiles and the entrance hall would most probably have an arch resting on plaster consoles which was a common feature after 1840. The staircase would have turned balusters of deal with a mahogany handrail and a circular knob or carved top to the newel posts. The hall and staircase would have a dado of lincrusta, a thick paper with low relief decoration (mostly produced by the firm Lincrusta-Walton on Tyneside). In the main rooms on the ground floor elaborate plaster cornices would decorate the junction of the walls and ceilings and in the centre of each room would be a plaster ceiling rose. Finally, and often of great importance to

prospective tenants, the fireplace surrounds and shelves in the major rooms would be of imported marble in contrast to those in bedrooms which would be in cast iron with ceramic tiled surrounds and a shelf over in slate. Ceramic tiles were used for floor tiles in entrance porches, for walls on occasions and in fireplaces. In some fireplaces the cast-iron surround would be set into ceramic tiles of various patterns and colours, the blue Delft type being very popular.<sup>16</sup>

Architectural decoration could be mass produced like many other goods which meant that it became relatively cheap and therefore could be used on most types of Victorian houses. As the pendulum swung gradually away from the classical simplicity of the eighteenth century in Leeds, the Victorian's love affair with all kinds of ornament becomes apparent in their houses. Ornament was added more and more lavishly until eventually even the humble back-to-back was not considered a lettable proposition without some small measure of beautification.

It is not possible to see the influence of the different architectural styles borrowed from the past on the elevations of ordinary houses or on their planning and estate layout. It is possible, however, to see some influence of the Norman, Gothic, Greek and Roman in the designs of the mass produced component parts which went up to make the architectural decorative elements. Thus in decorative bricks, patterns such as dog-tooth, diaper and dentil were all available, diaper patterns also appear on tiles. Chimney pots could be Elizabethan in character whereas finials for ornamental ridge-tiles were often of Gothic inspiration.

Few builders merchants' or manufacturers' catalogues have survived relating to the period when the majority of houses were erected in the study area. It is evident from street directories that merchants tended to specialise in certain types of products such as timber, laths, lime and cement or clay products. In each case they probably produced general catalogues displaying the complete range of products they handled. Alternatively they could pass on to customers more detailed catalogues which were produced by the manufacturers themselves. The latter would be confined to a particular range of products and an advertisement published in The Builder in 1852 probably used just one page of such a catalogue. The company concerned was the Farnley Iron Company of Wortley near Leeds who



manufactured, among other things, fire-bricks, drainpipes and terra-cotta products: the advertisement was for terra-cotta chimney tops (see Fig. 171 ).<sup>17</sup>

Other catalogues produced by individual manufacturers were found in the Abbey House Museum, Kirkstall, Leeds and in the Leeds Archives Department (these are described in more detail in Appendix 22). Of these only two of the catalogues inspected contained decorative elements. The first was produced c.1885 by Wilcock & Company of Burmantofts, Leeds who specialised in fire-clay chimney tops, pressed building bricks, corbels, mouldings, ventilating bricks, ridging tiles roof tiles, glazed faience and especially the application of terra-cotta and constructional faiencework. A second catalogue produced by J.C. Edwards of Ruabon, North Wales was for products manufactured at a greater distance away from Leeds, but the fact that the catalogue ended up in a Leeds museum might suggest that its products were in use in the area. J.C. Edwards specialised in bricks, moulded bricks, ventilating bricks, air grids, terra-cotta tiles, keystones, brackets consoles, chimney pots, garden edging tiles, copings, ornamental ridge tiles and finials. The catalogue was dated 1903.

Several pages from these two catalogues have been included to illustrate the range of decorative elements produced by just two firms selling similar items. Particular notice should be taken of the wide range of moulded or decorated bricks which were available to builders (see Figs. 172 - 175 and Appendix 22).

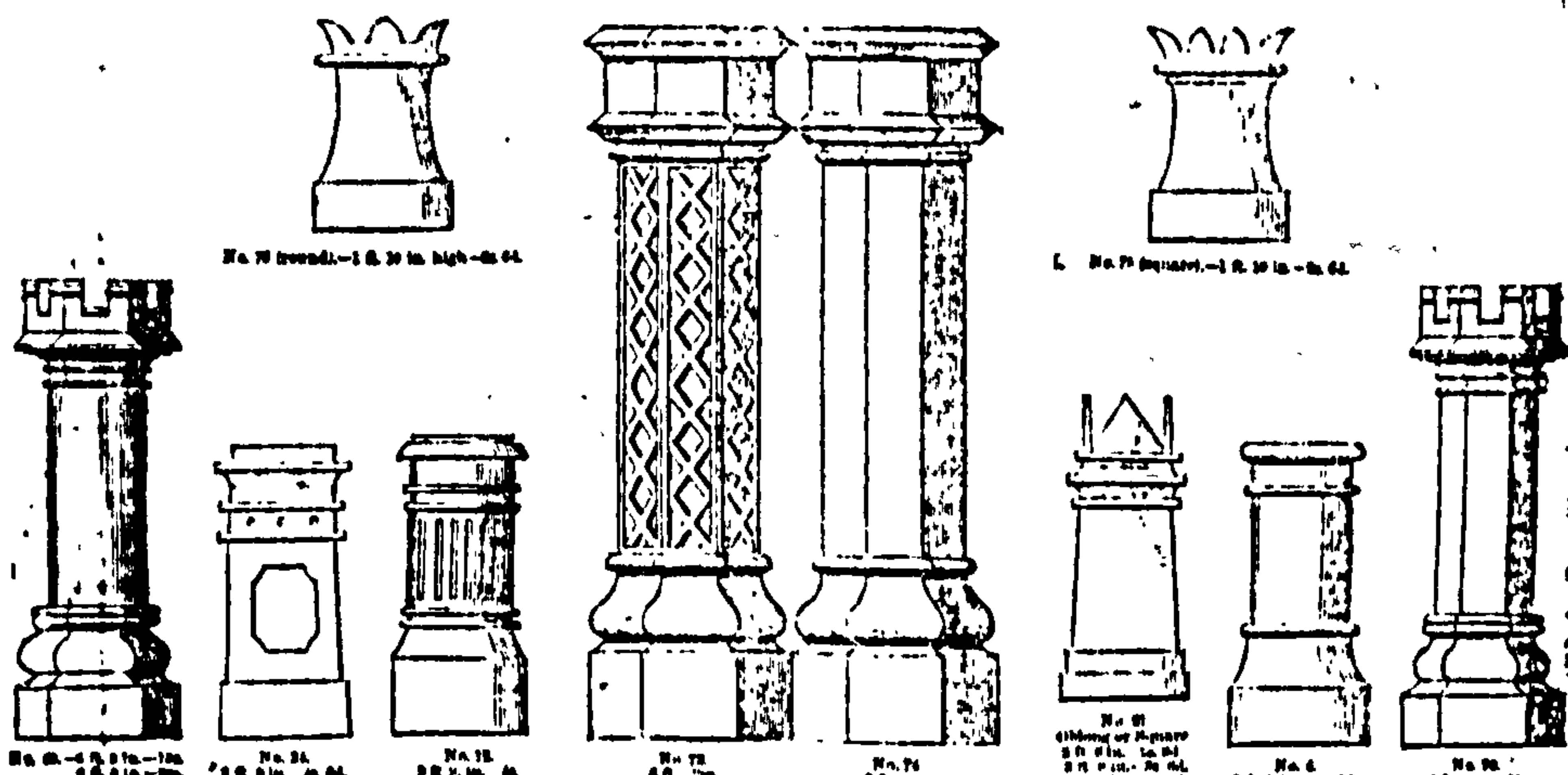
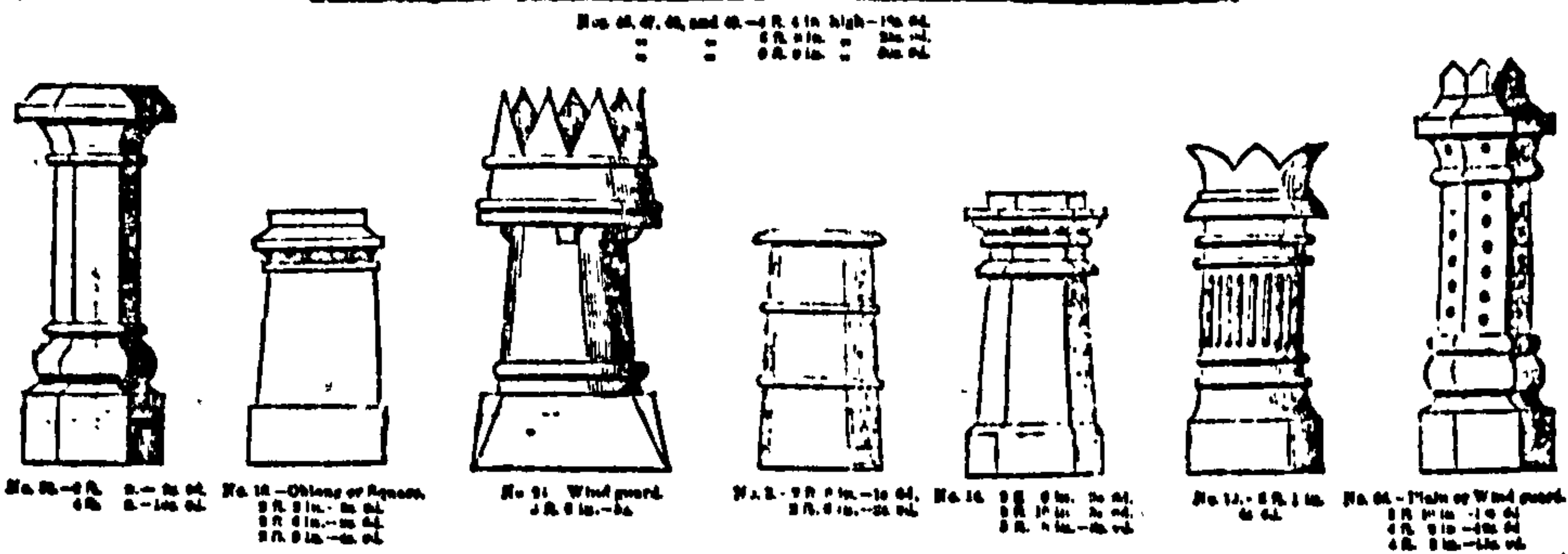
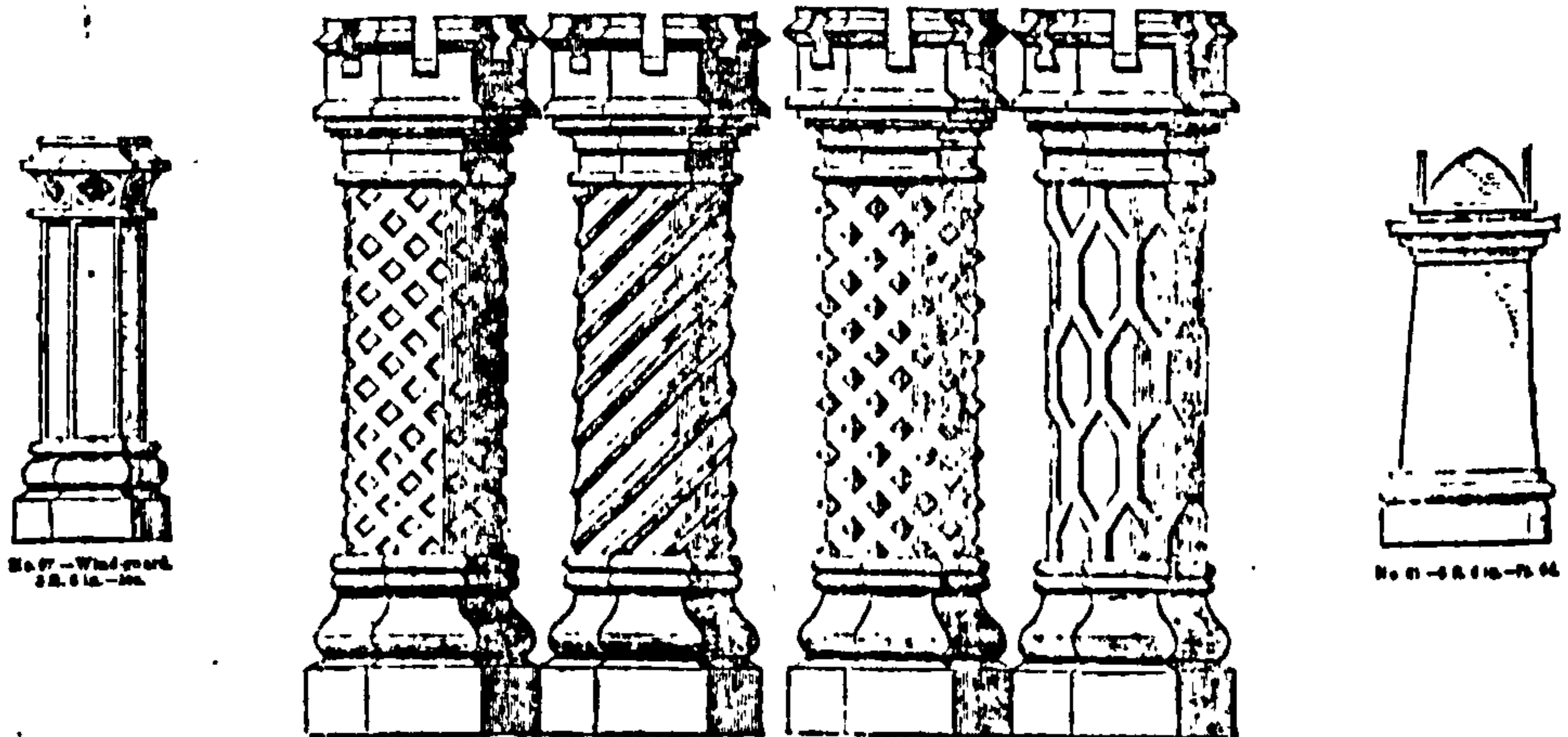
#### 15.5 Examples of External Decorative Elements in the Study Area

Starting at the garden level and working progressively up to roof level, a number of illustrations have been included to show typical external decorative elements on houses in the study area.

Figs. 176 and 177 show examples of garden walls to dwellings in various materials. The interior of the gardens are not shown but these would have been originally laid out with paths lined with garden edging tiles. The tiles were supplied by the builder to provide edges to garden paths, flower beds and grassed areas. They came in vitrified salt-glazed ware in red, buff and a variety of other shades. Even quite moderate terrace houses with very small gardens usually had edging tiles provided by the speculative builder.

**THE FARNLEY IRON COMPANY, WORTLEY, NEAR LEEDS,**  
 MANUFACTURERS OF  
 FIRE-BRICKS, PATENT GLAZED STONWARE DRAIN PIPES, CLOSET PANS, ORNAMENTAL TRUSSES, BRACKETS,  
 MODILLIONS, PEDFSTALS, VASES, &c.;

ALSO OF  
**TERRA COTTA CHIMNEY-TOPS,**  
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**BRISTOL**..... No. 14, Temple street.  
**LIVERPOOL**.... No. 3, Market street, and Shipping Wharf, Leadenhall street.  
**MANCHESTER**.. No. 41, Trade street, and 21, 22, and 23, Birmingham street, London road.  
**GLoucester**... No. 2, Havelock street, and Wellington street.  
**BRADFORD**.... Havelock street, near Market cross.  
**WARRINGTON**... Wellington street, adjoining the Midland Station, and Shipping Wharf, Victoria Works, Hunslet.

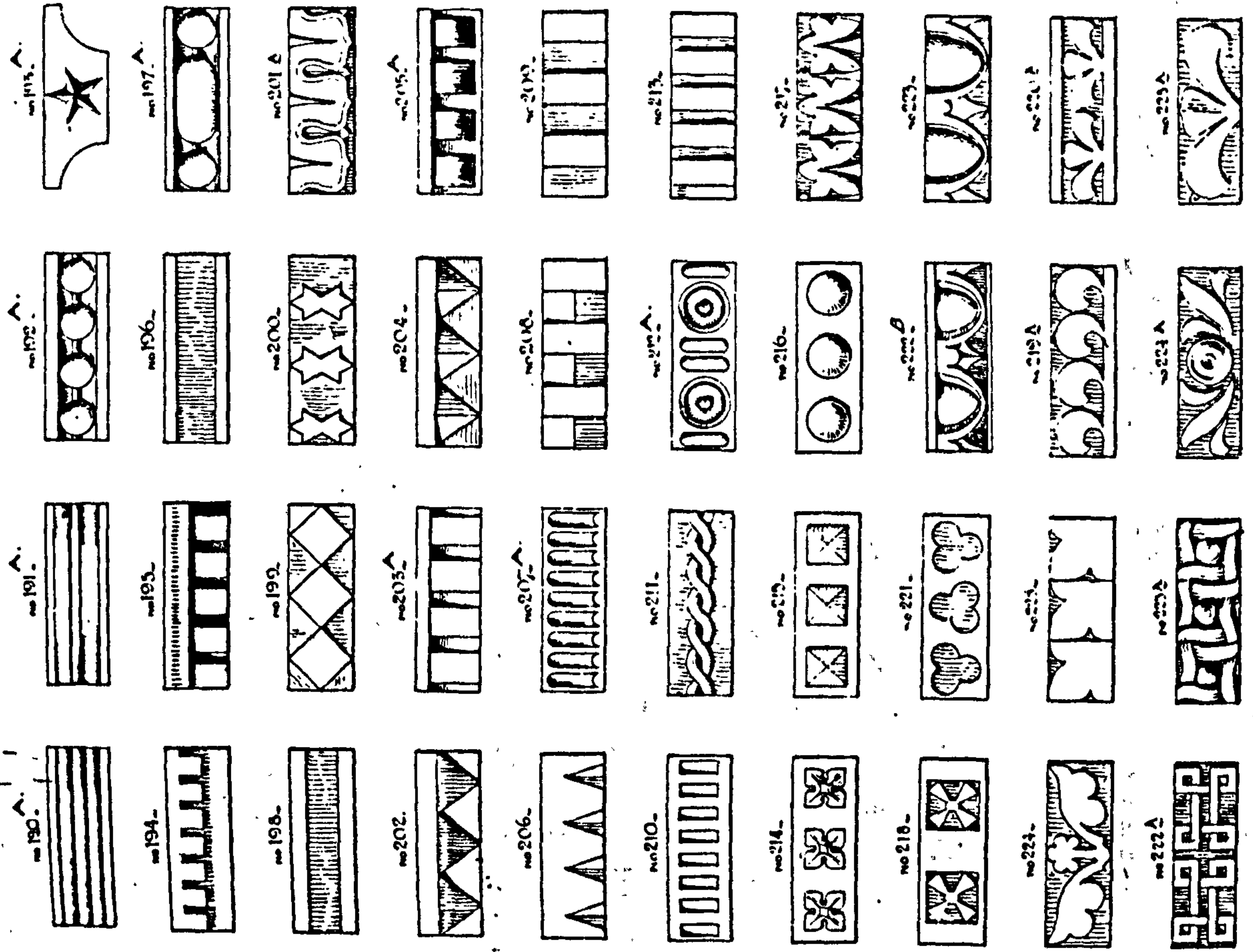
WHEN DRAWINGS, WITH PRICES, &c. MAY BE OBTAINED.

Fig.171 Advertisement for terra-cotta chimney tops, The Farnley Iron Company, 1852.



**J.C. EDWARDS & RUABON**

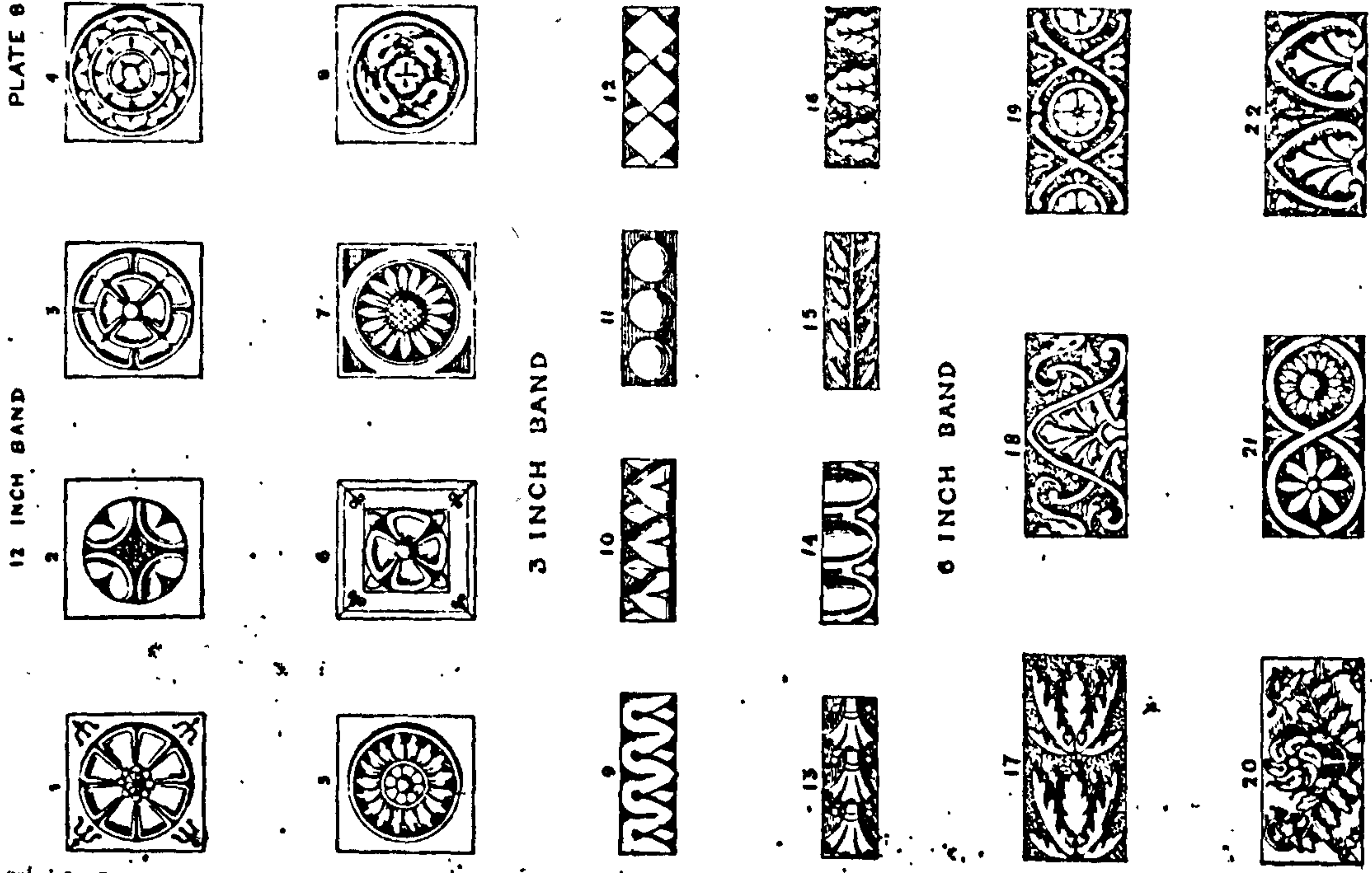
Ornamental String Courses, Cornice, Diaper Dentil, and Dog tooth Bricks, in red, buff, pink and vitrified blue.



All bricks are made 3 1/2 ins thick unless specially ordered. Angle bricks etc to any of these patterns.

**Wilcock and Co Byrmanoffs Leads - \* -**

TERRA COTTA OR FAIENCE IN ANY COLOR

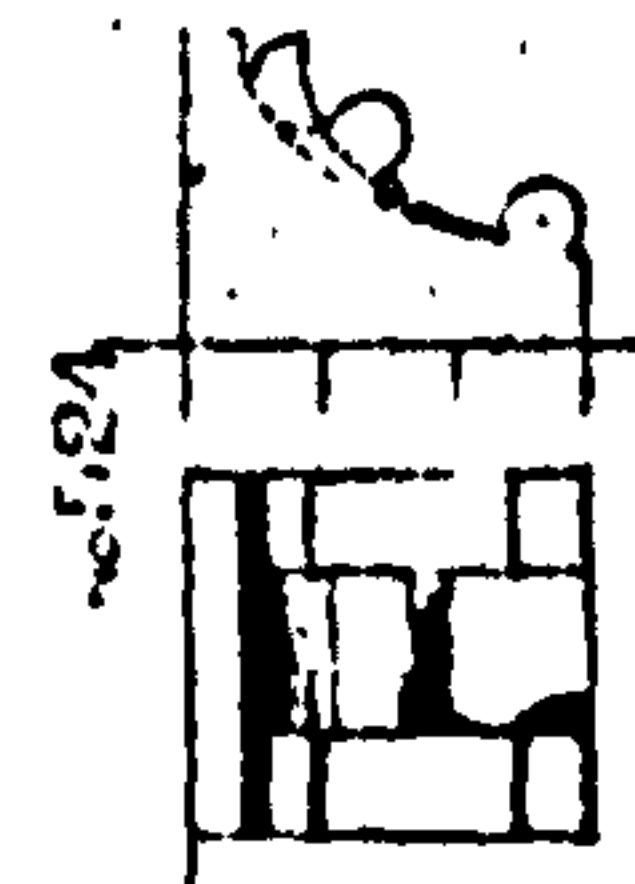
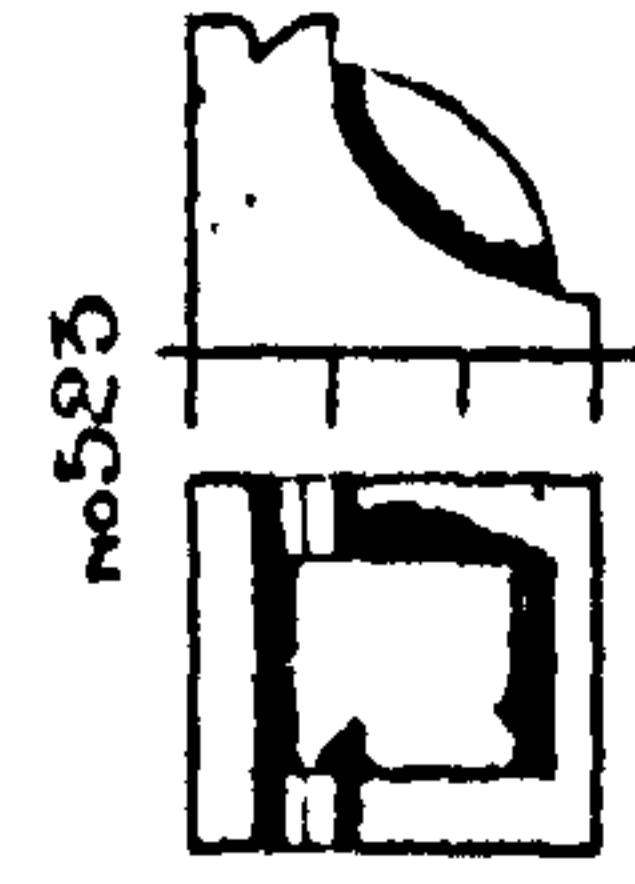
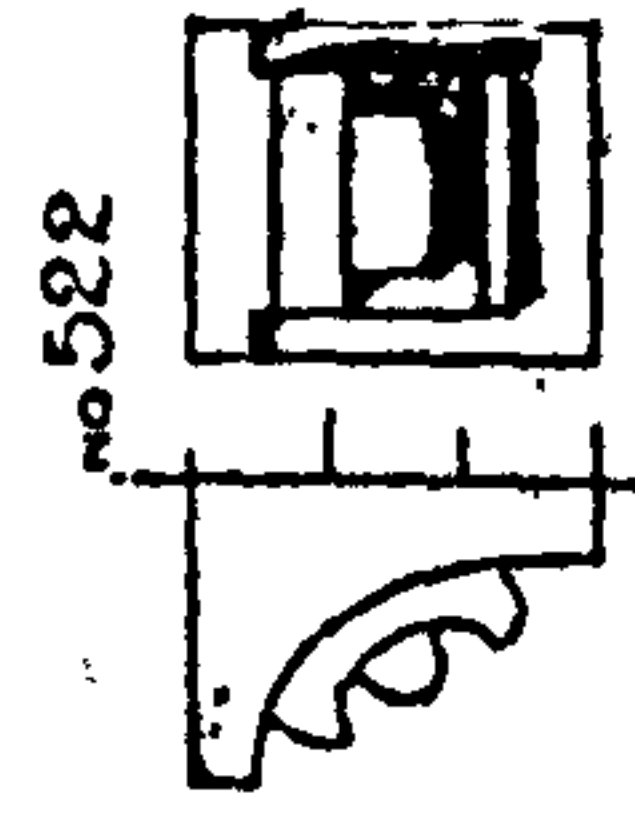
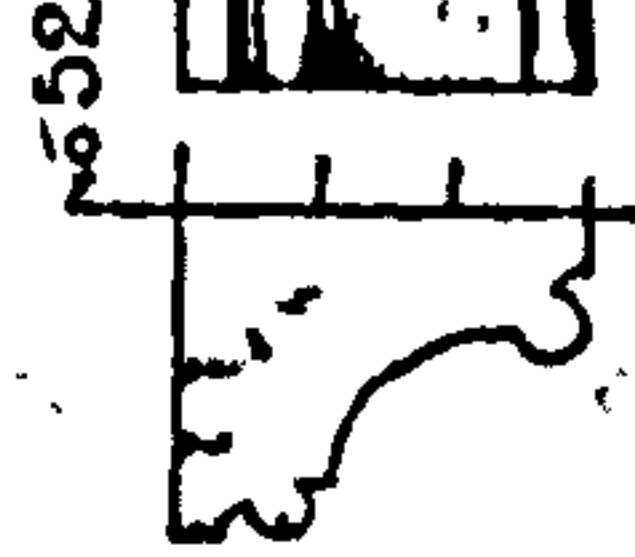
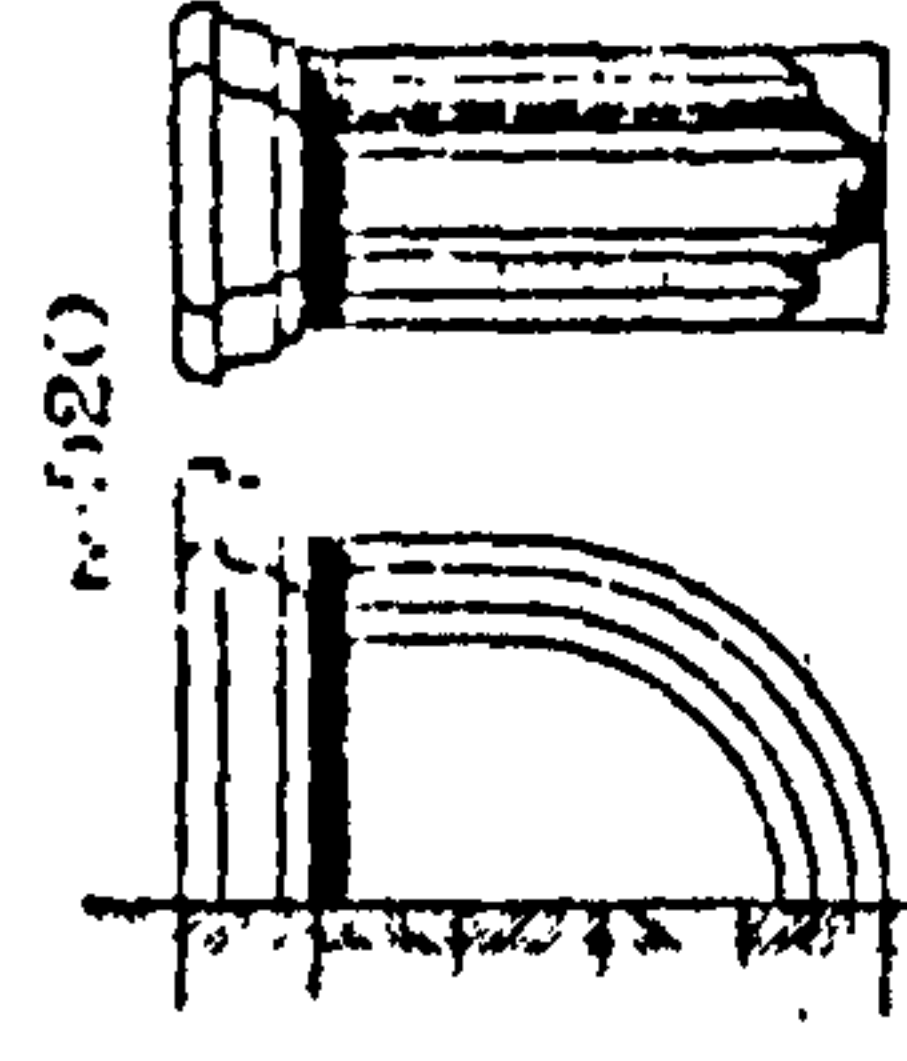
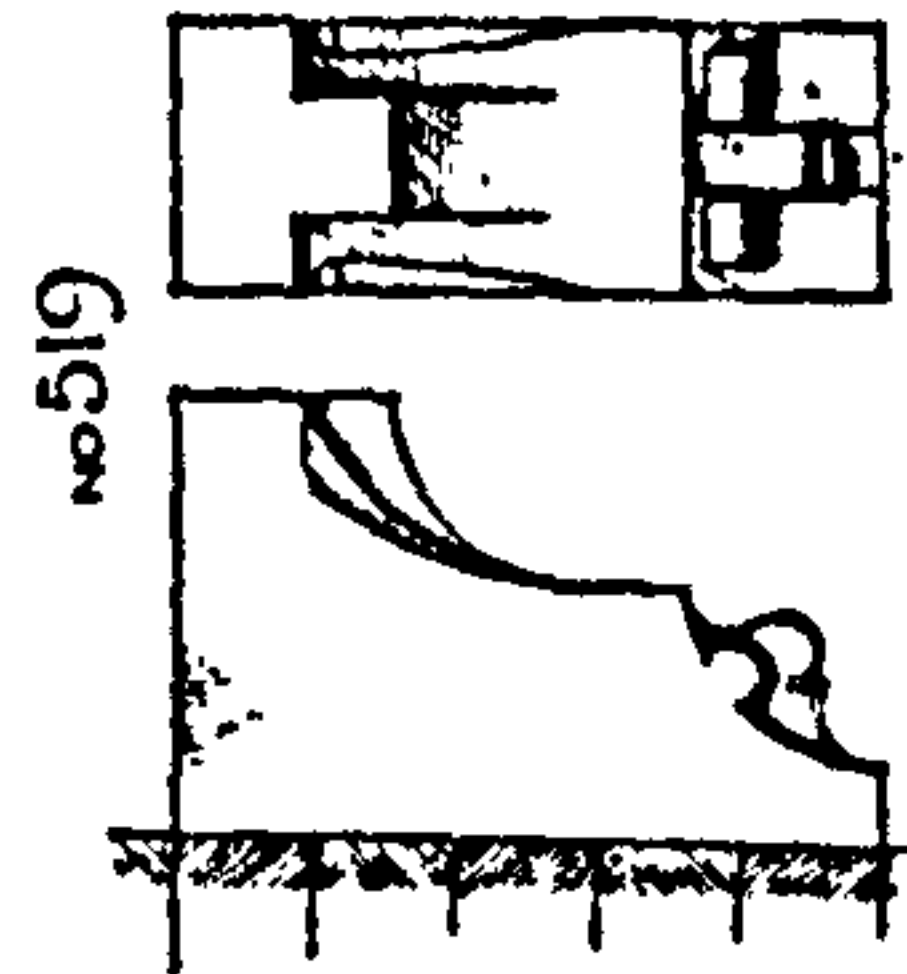
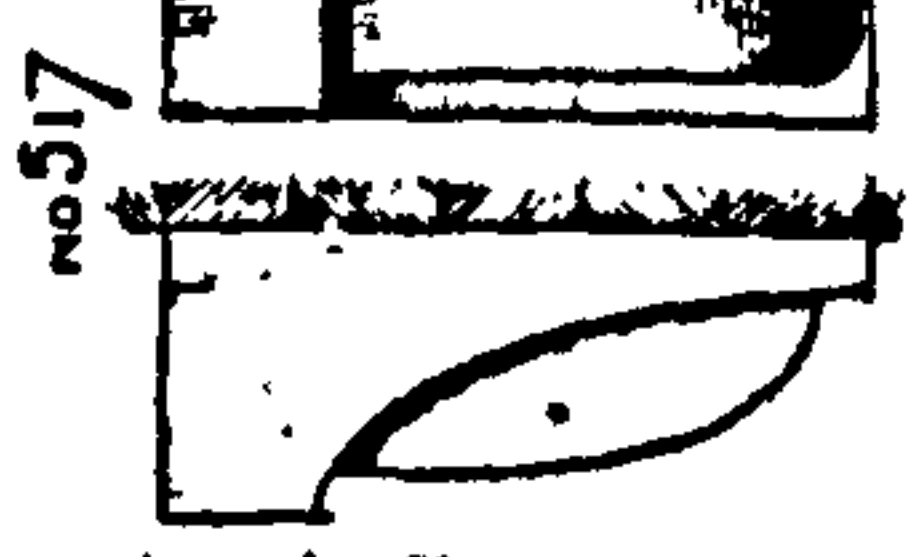
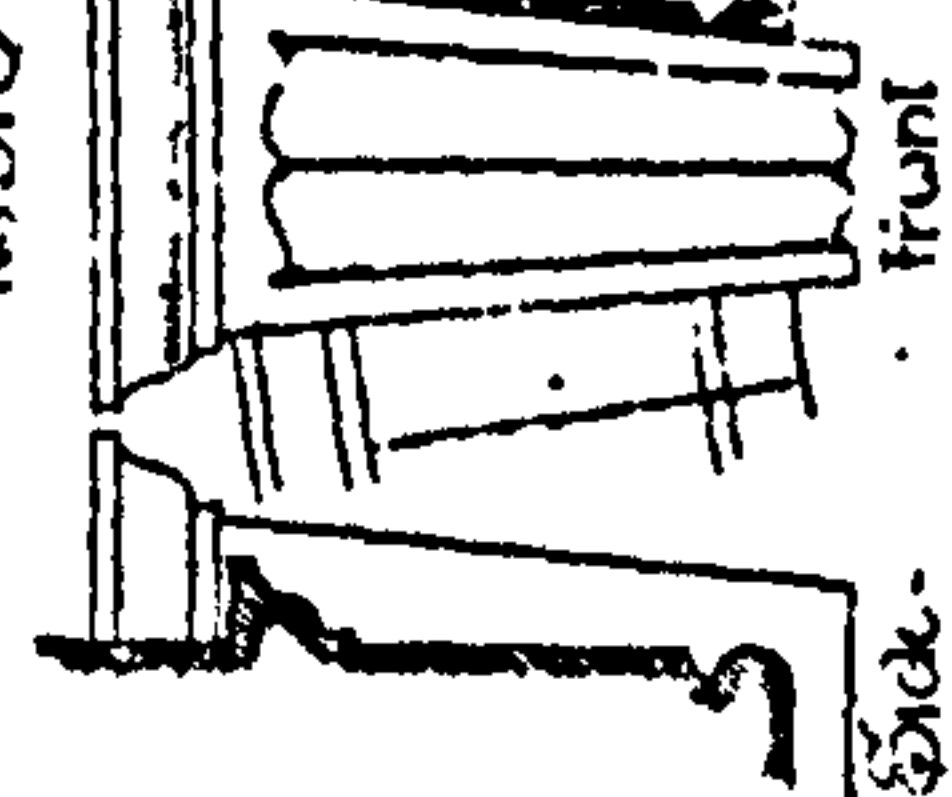
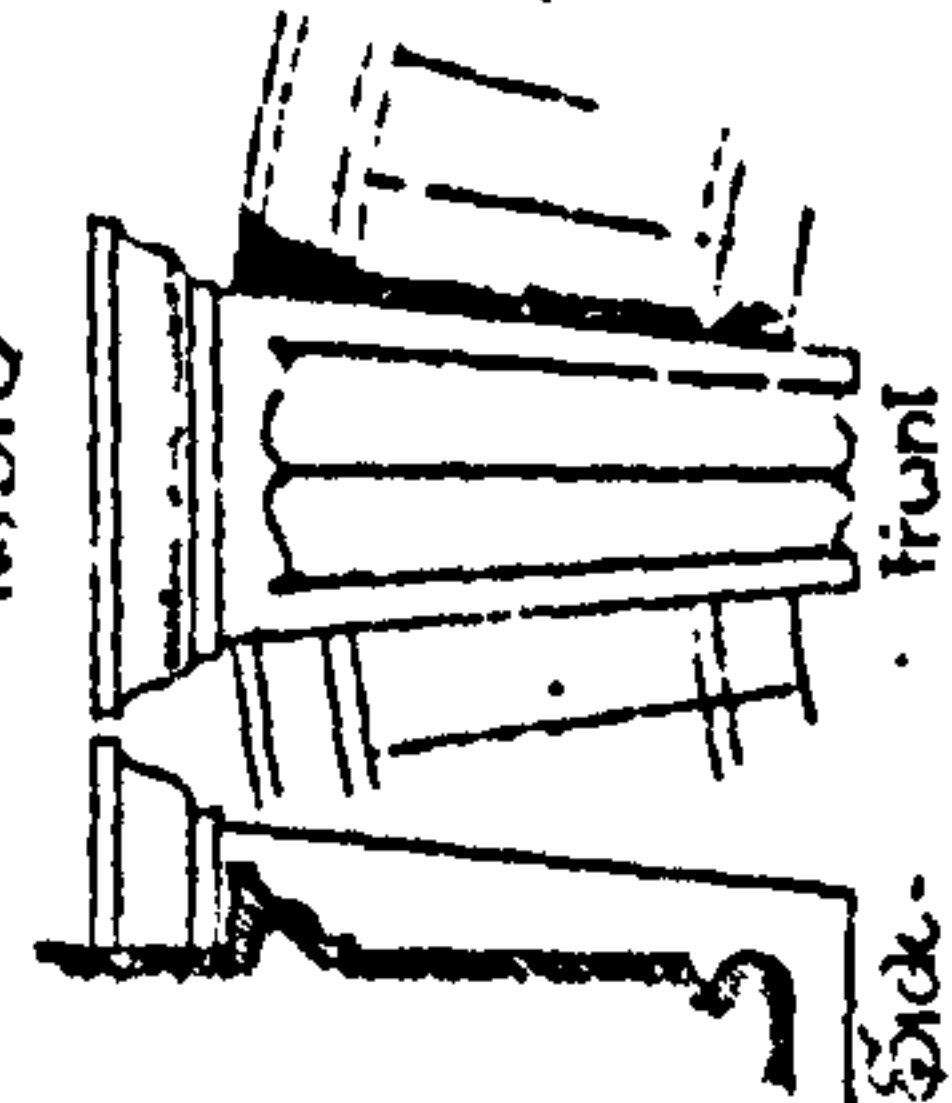
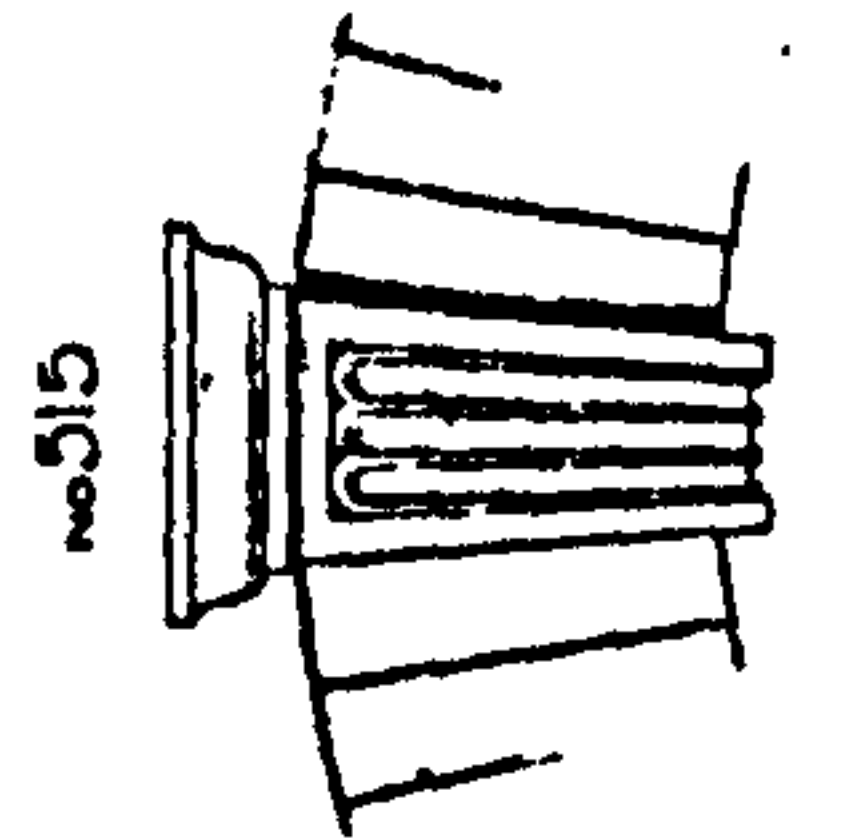
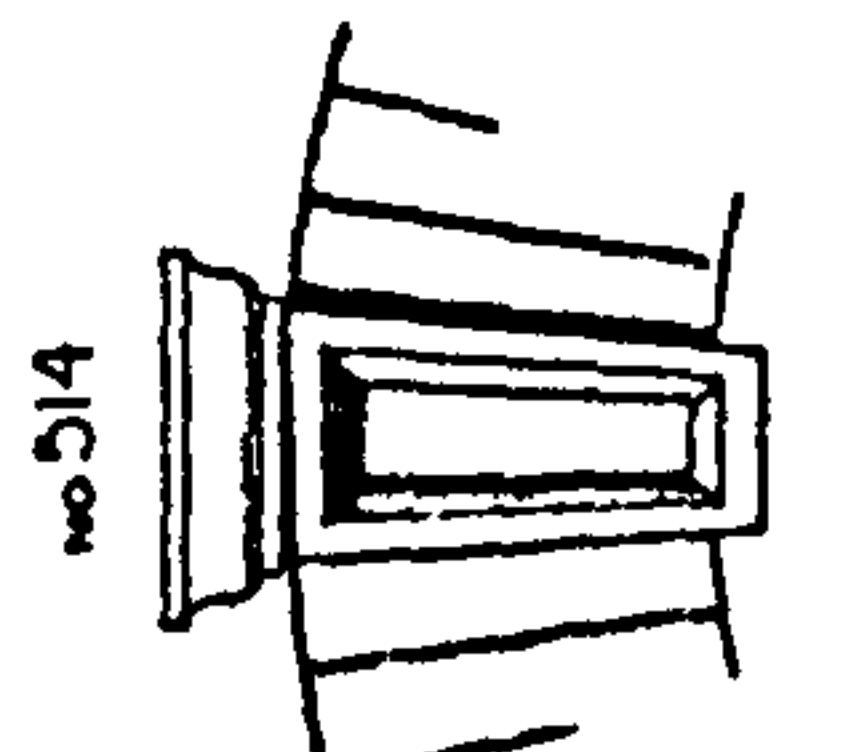
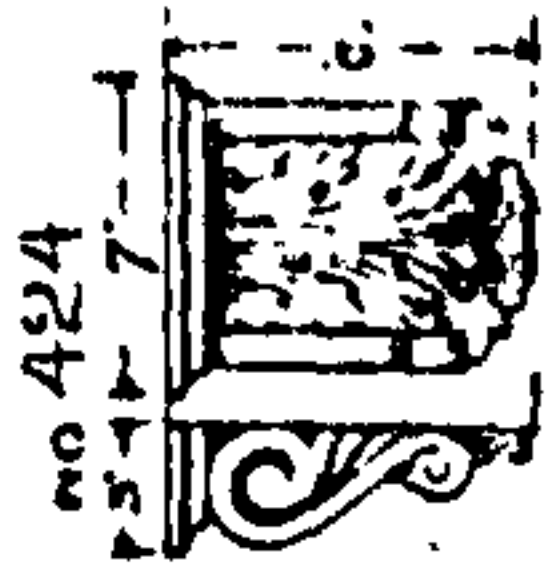
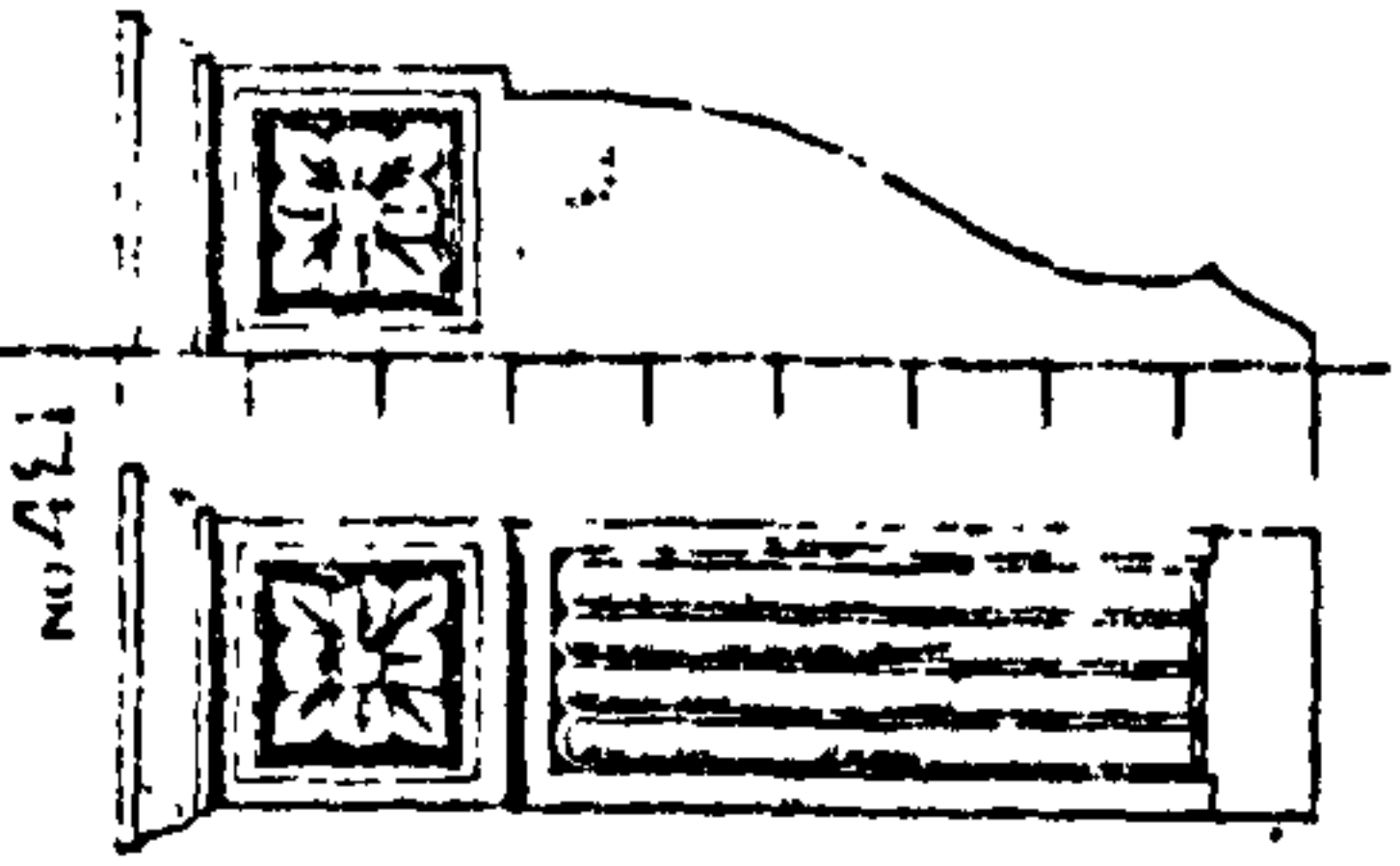
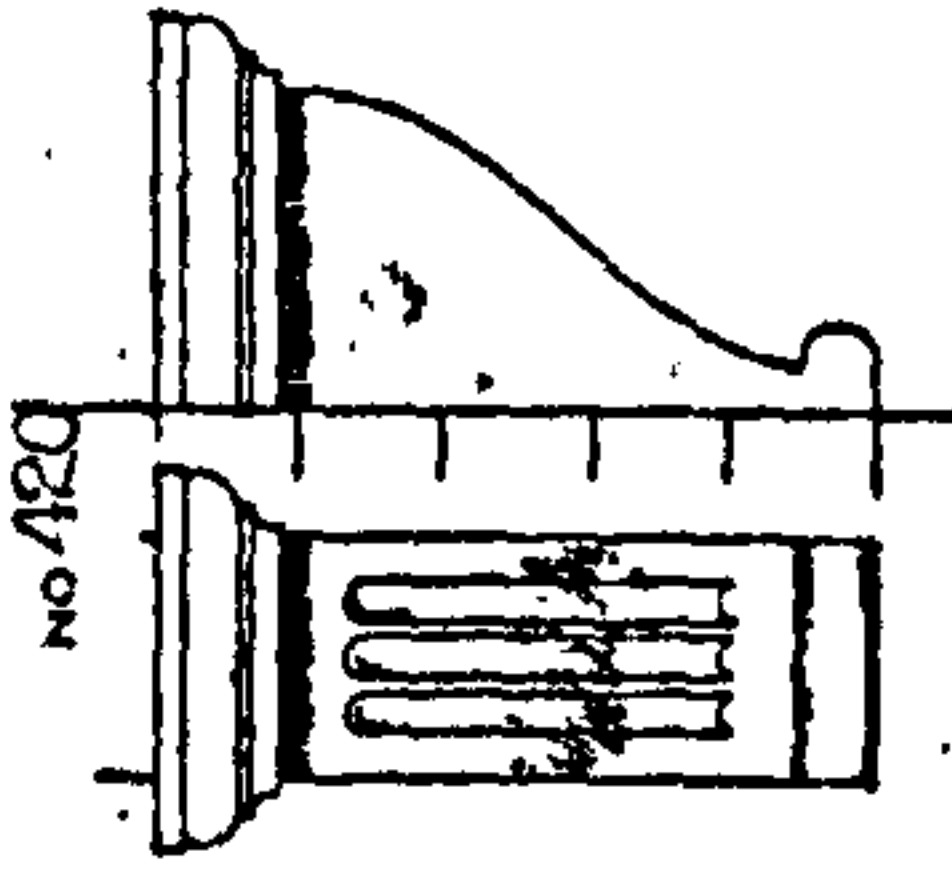
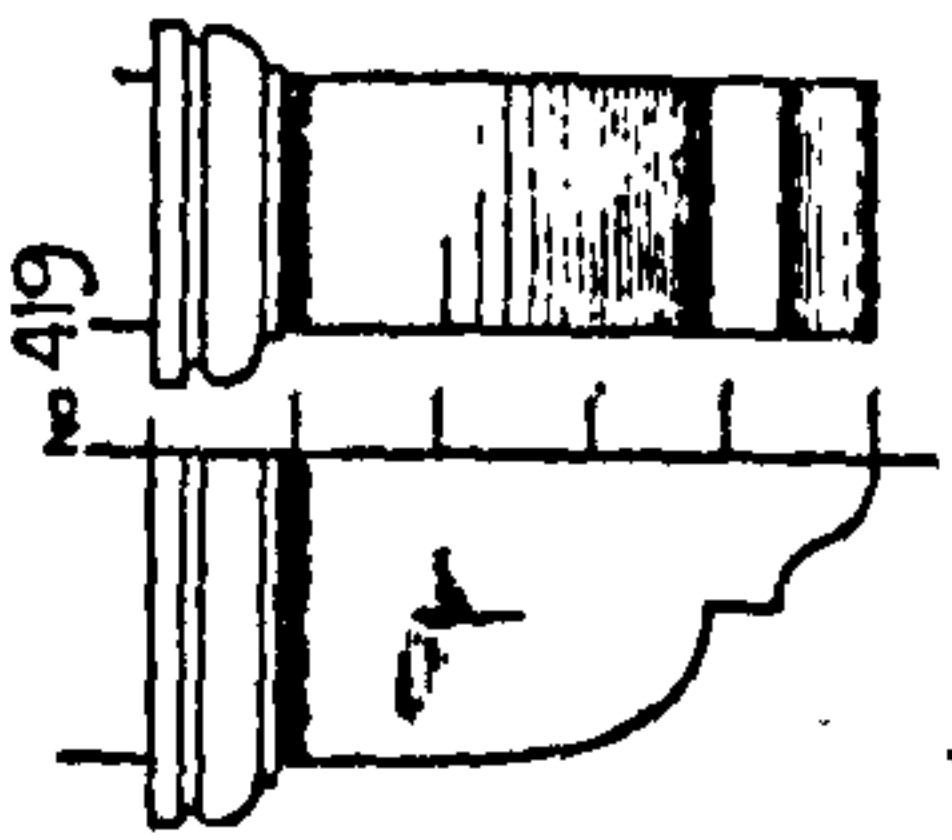
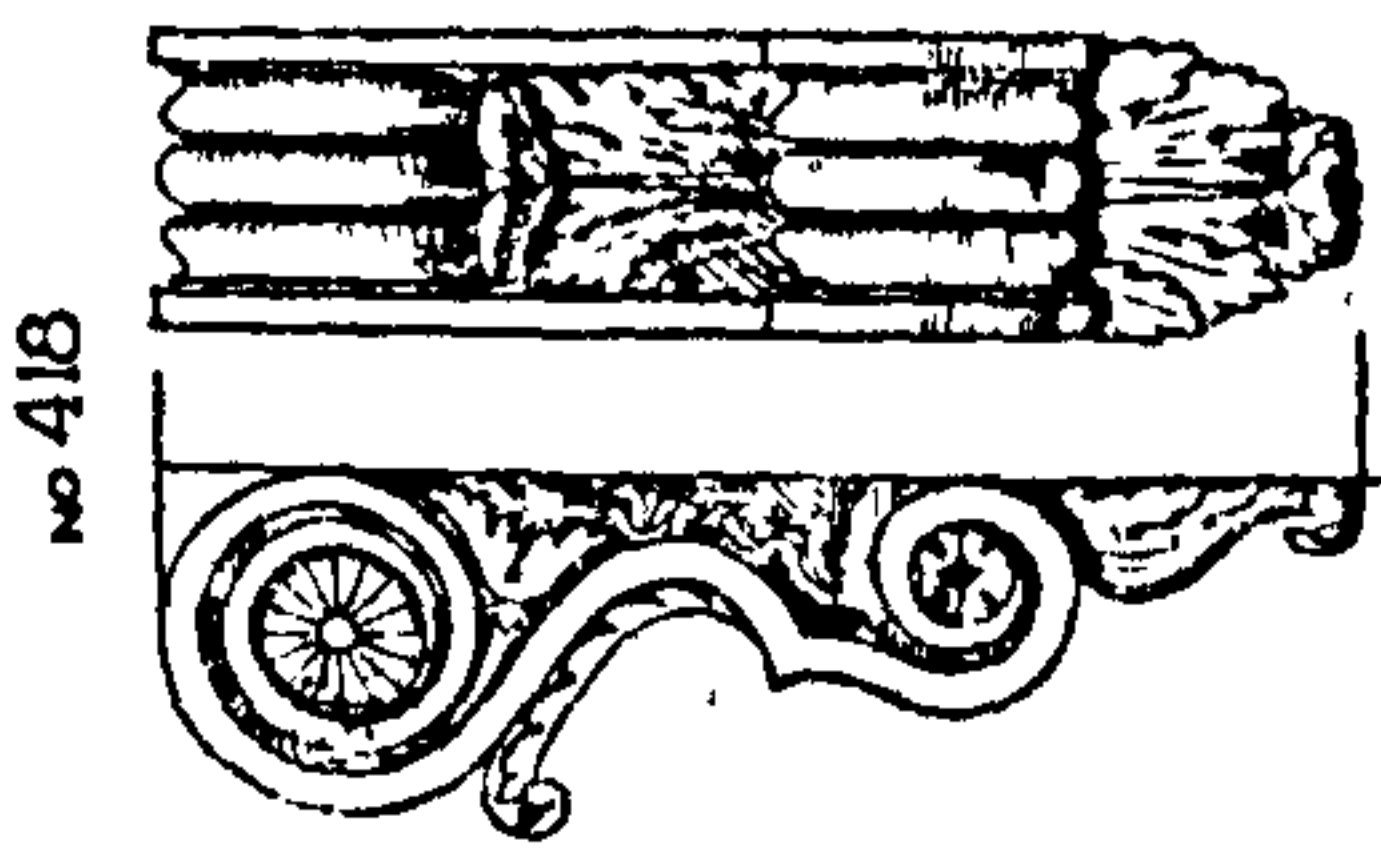


Figs. 172 & 173 Ornamental string courses and terra-cotta bands produced by J.C. Edwards, Ruebon and Wilcock and Company, Burmantofts.



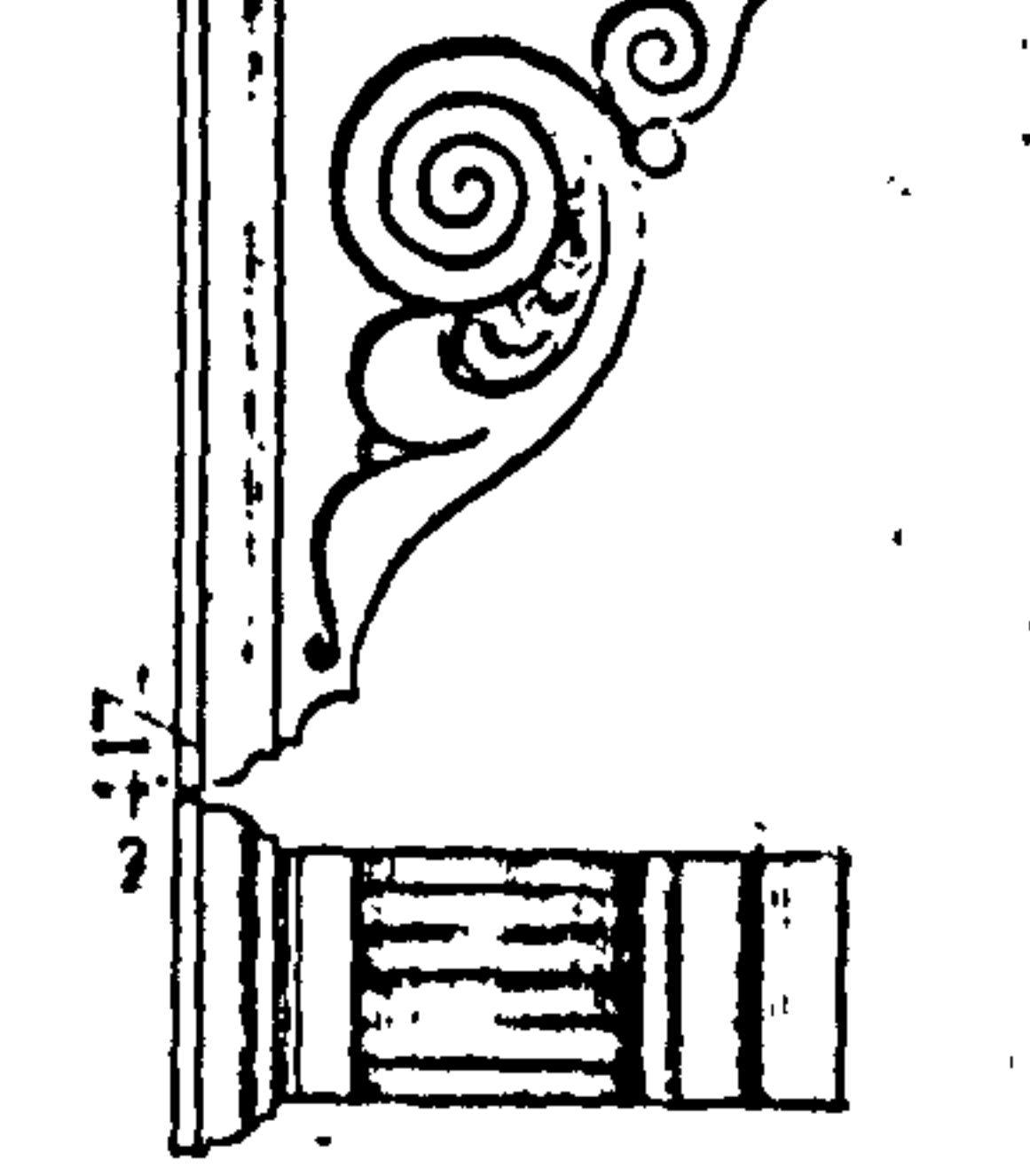
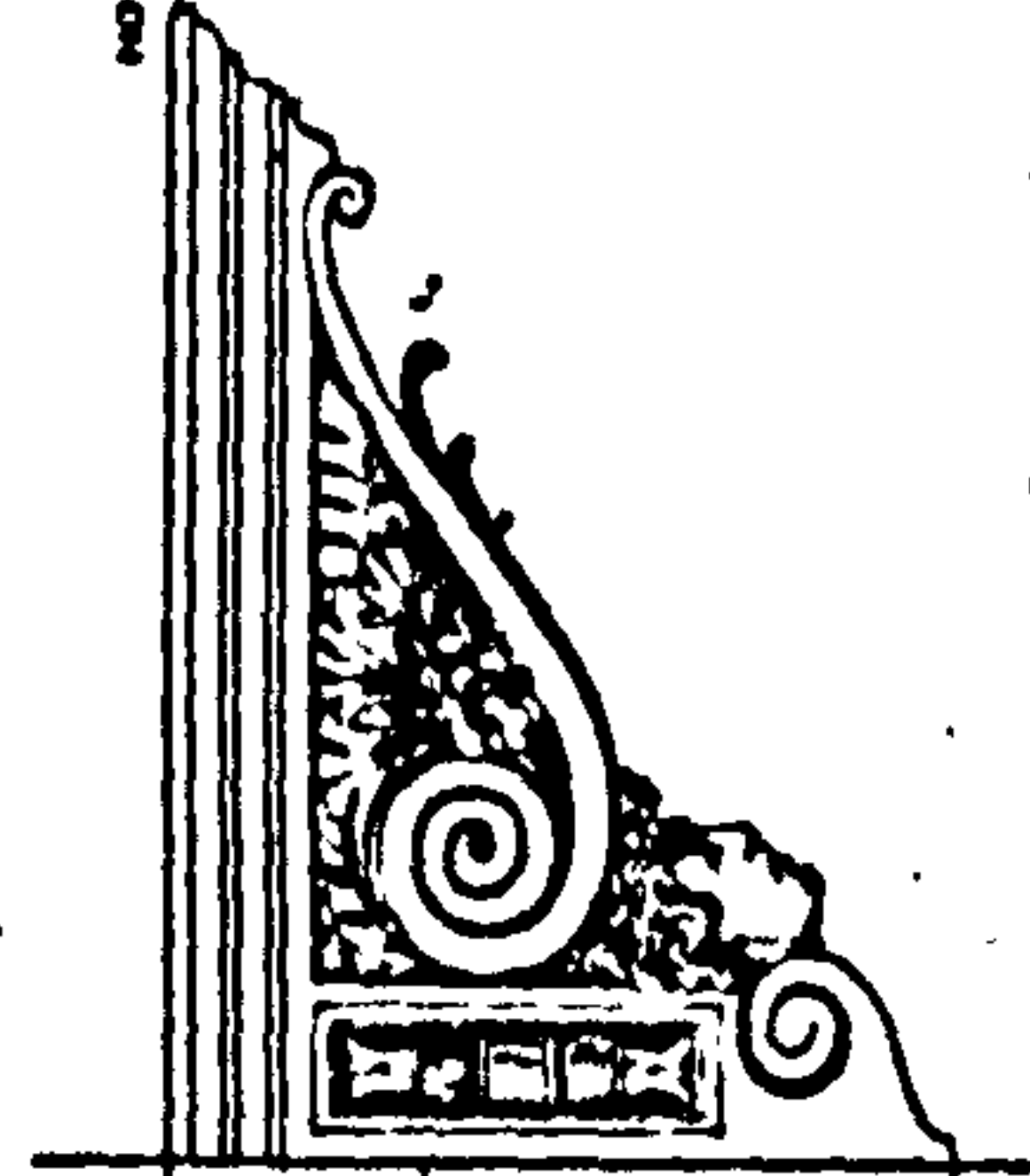
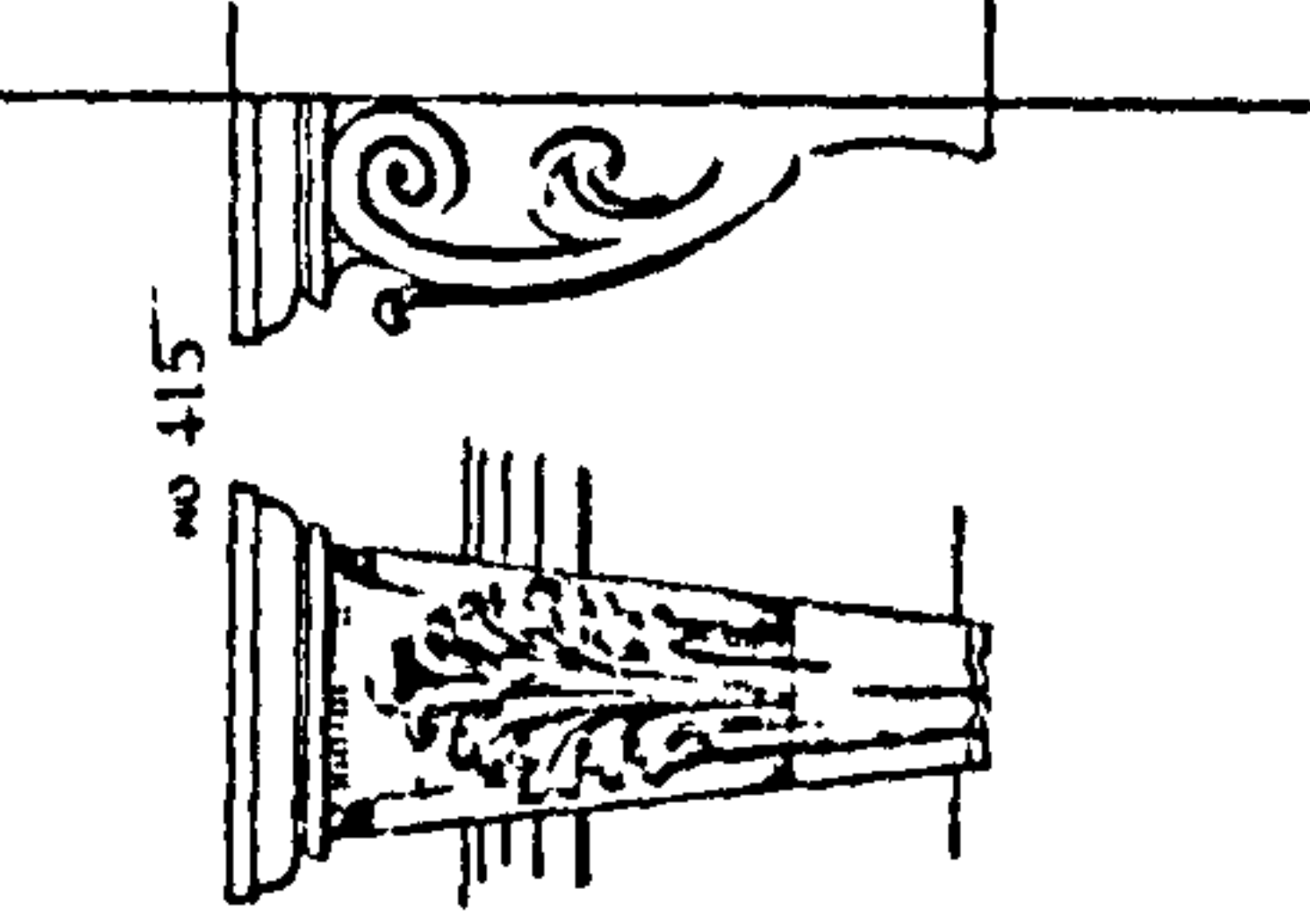
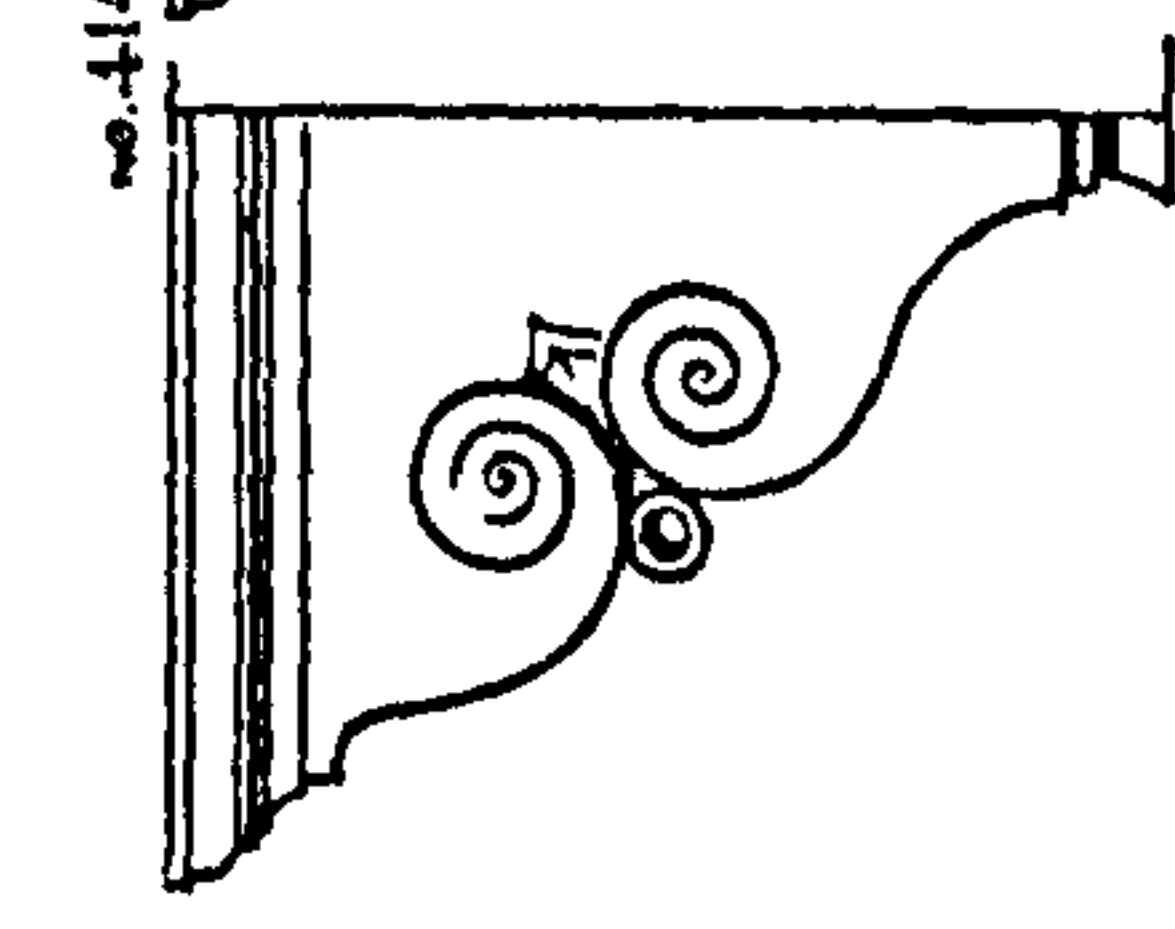
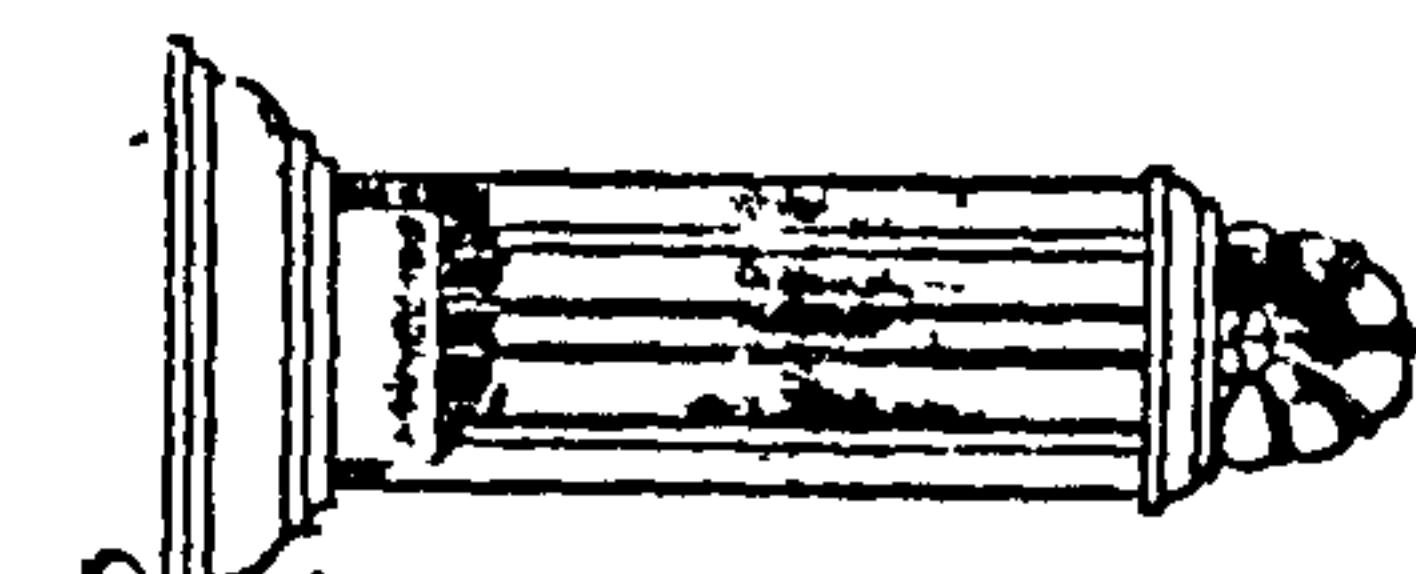
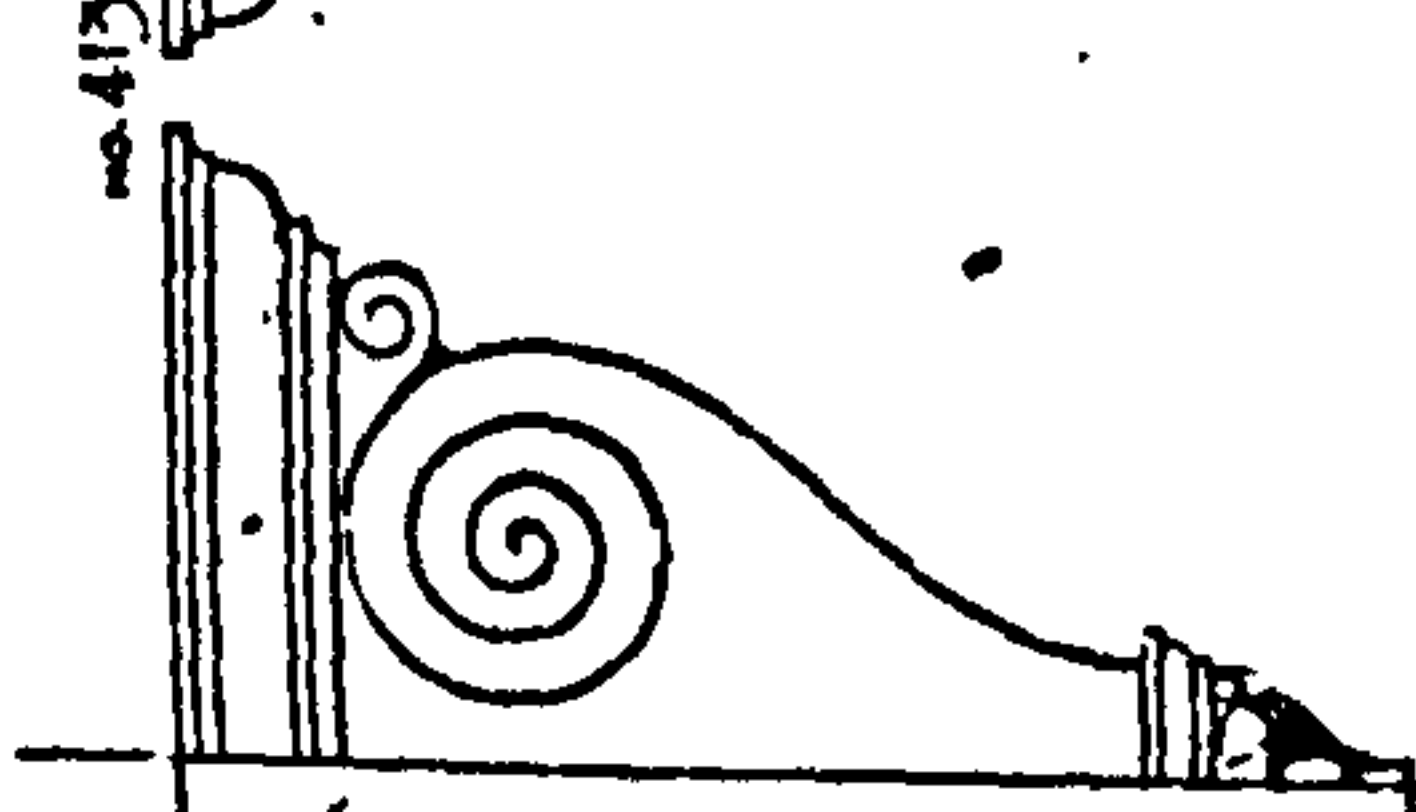
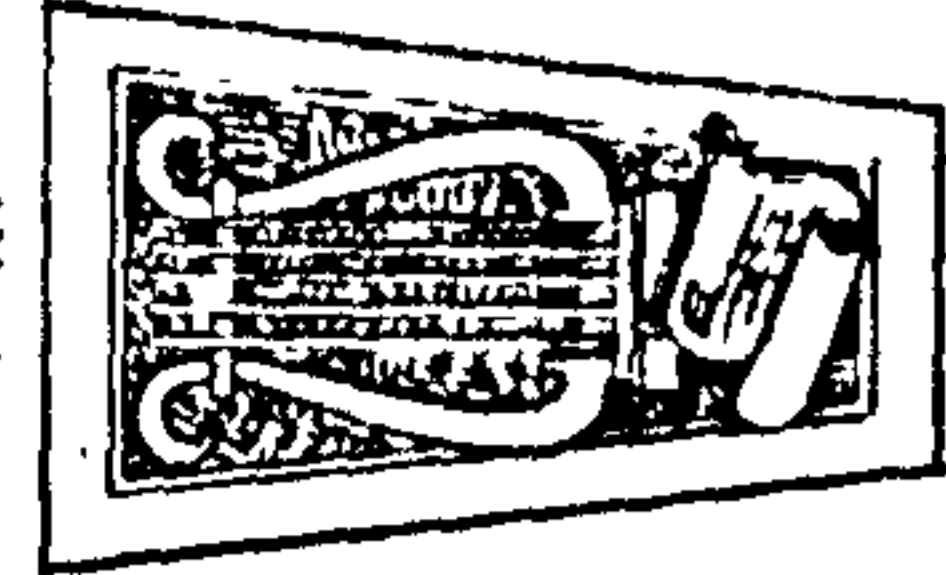
⊕ J.C. EDWARDS &  
RUABON

Terra Cotta in red, buff, or pink



J.C. EDWARDS,  
RUABON,

Terra Cotta, in Red and Buff & Pir.



Keystones - Brackets & Consoles

Figs. 174 & 175 Keystones, brackets and consoles produced by J.C. Edwards, Ruabon.



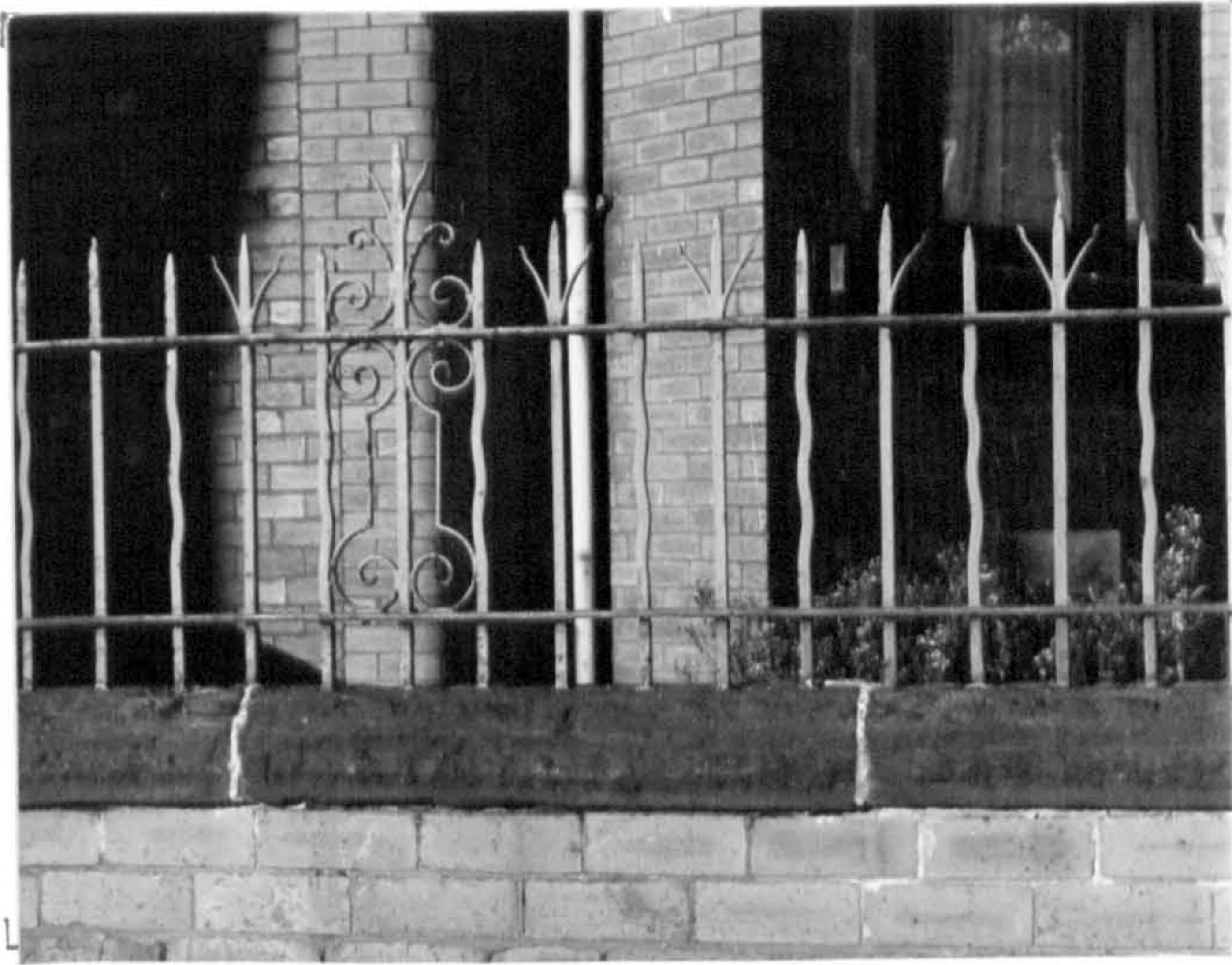
Figs. 178 and 179 show examples of cast iron coal chute covers and footscrapers set into the walls of dwellings. The footscrapers were usually made of iron and fixed into a stone block which was built into the wall of a house adjacent to the entrance door. They were most common in houses such as back-to-backs which were entered directly off the street and usually suggest that at the time the houses were completed, the surrounding streets and pavements had not been paved. It was common practice to have pavements laid only outside occupied dwellings and for there to be only earth (or mud on wet days) forming a footpath opposite vacant building lots.

Fig. 180 - 189 show a number of different architectural treatments of entrance doors. These include stone architraves, moulded or decorated brick reveals, pediments, stone lintels, brick and stone arches, keystones, corbels and consoles.

Keystones formed the central wedge-shaped voussoir of an arch and were often made larger than the remaining voussoirs. The keystone could be accentuated by being not only larger but also by being made to project from the wall surface: they could be made with some form of simple surface pattern or they could be highly decorative. The keystones which were accentuated the most, and often formed a focal point over entrance doorways, were those elaborately carved in the form of human heads, animals, fruit or foliage. It was not uncommon to see the head of a bull or cow projecting from the centre of an arch which sprang over the door to a butcher's shop, while the human heads, which probably represented characters found in popular novels and the Bible, could be used in any location where a keystone was required and the extra expense was thought justified. The largest of these keystones used in ordinary terrace housing were carved from single blocks of sandstone almost 3 ft. in length and many probably came from a few local suppliers.<sup>18</sup> Some of the human heads depicted on the keystones are reminiscent of characters found in Sir Walter Scott's novels and others look like Shakespearean<sup>or</sup> Old Testament figures.

Corbels were projections usually to be seen on either side of a doorway where they had been inserted for decorative purposes in a manner to suggest that they were supporting the springing point of a brick or stone arch. They could, like keystones, be plain, have simple patterns or be elaborately carved. The latter could be carved in the shape of human heads, animals, leaves, flowers or fruit.





Figs. 176 & 177 Garden walls and palisade railings.



Fig.178 Coal chute cover.

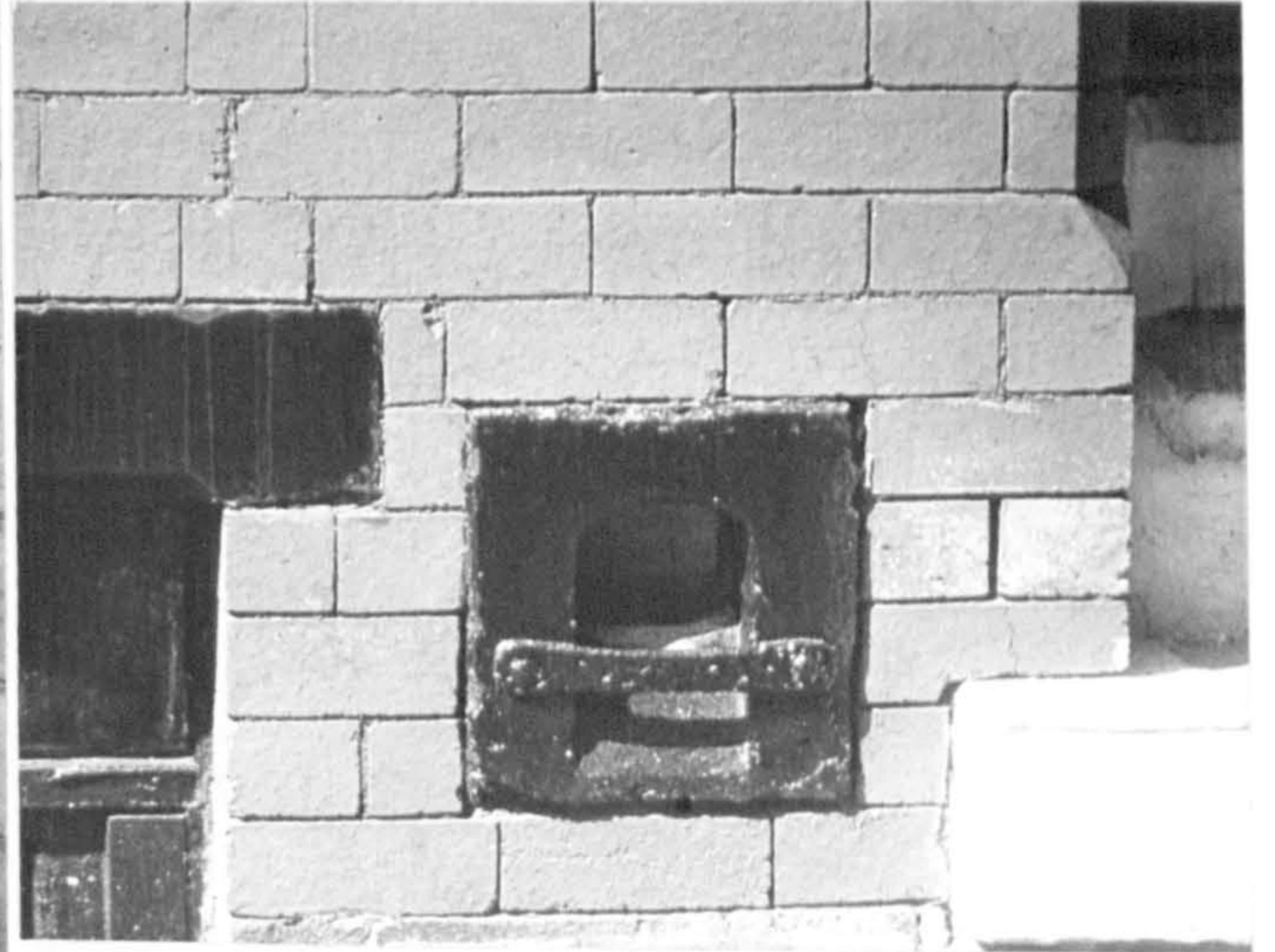


Fig.179 Footscraper built into the wall of a back-to-back house.





Figs. 180 - 184 Examples of decorative elements applied to entrance doors.







Figs. 185 - 189 Examples of decorative elements applied to entrance doors.



Corbels varied in size and quality but on the whole are attractive features of a Victorian house.

Consoles were ornamental brackets which were usually deeper than their projection from the wall. Normally the projection was slight and the bracket had much greater height in relation to projection. Often they were carved in the form of an elaborate scroll containing two reversed classical volutes. Consoles were used at either side of doorways on the larger Victorian villas and were frequently used to support a transverse arch in the entrance hall of even moderately sized Victorian terrace houses. The consoles for outside use were usually made from terra-cotta, while the consoles used in entrance halls were invariably made of plaster. Both types of consoles were usually painted.

Fig. 190 - Fig. 193 show a number of different architectural treatments of window openings in flat external walls. These include stone sills, stone architraves, moulded or decorated brick reveals, stone lintels, brick and stone arches, keystones and brackets.

Stone sills were used on Georgian houses in Leeds and changed little during the nineteenth century. Made from local sandstone they projected past both sides of the window opening and were usually two brick courses in depth. The top surface of the sill was splayed to allow water to be shed off and each end was stooled for building into brickwork. Stone sills were usually painted and surfaces were generally left plain with little or no decoration.

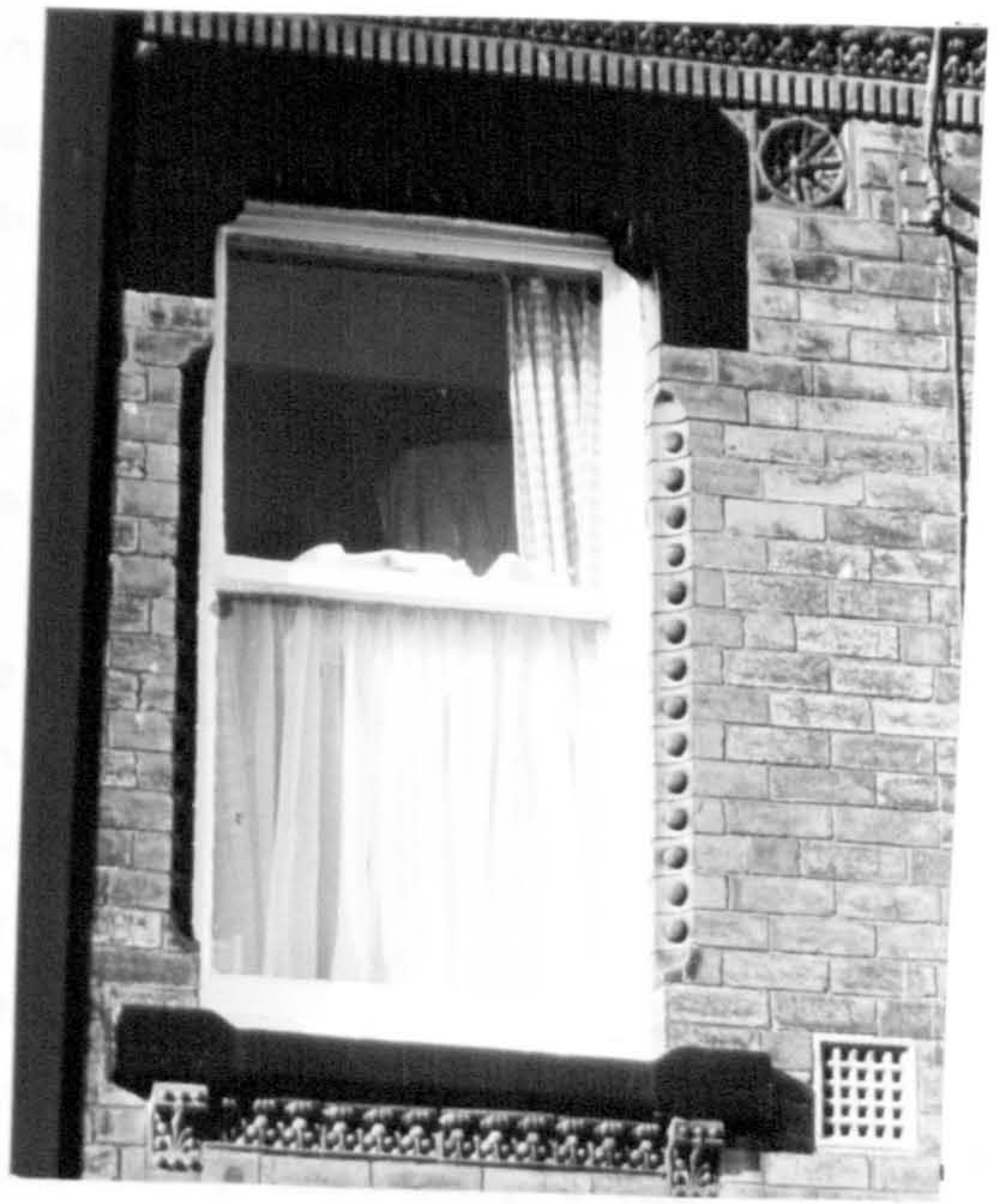
Simple plain stone lintels were used during the early part of the nineteenth century in Leeds as an alternative to flat brick arches over window openings. The lintels that replaced the Georgian flat arches and were in use prior to 1850 had splayed ends reflecting their arch-like predecessors. The outer surface of these early stone lintels was flat, had no decoration and was usually painted. Another variation to the flat arch or simple stone lintel, was the segmental arch over window openings which was also used on houses in Leeds at various times during the nineteenth century. By 1815 the stone lintel was in common use to replace the flat arch but poorer quality houses invariably used segmental arches, this was particularly the case on the back-to-backs and courtyard dwellings.<sup>19</sup>

The arch continued to be used by specific builders or architects to carry walls over window openings, but as the century passed the more





The use of the mullion of their construction  
 architectural equipment form standards up  
 the position of a bay window was a popular feature of American houses  
 although in some cases it was found more fashionable than in  
 the British houses. When placed in the front of houses where it  
 slightly increased the front yard of the house, bay windows were  
 usually allowed to project as far as beyond the building line, and  
 to have a low roof level, and a high level of the bay window.



Figs. 190 - 193 Examples of decorative elements applied to window openings.



favoured method was to use stone lintels. These changed to having flat ends instead of splayed ends and, as the desire for more decorative elements grew, the effect on lintels was that they became more elaborate. As the Victorian period entered its last few decades, lintels made from varying lengths of local sandstone approximately 9 ins. by 9 ins. square in section, changed from being plain to being shaped, then to being carved and eventually shaped and carved (see Fig. 200). They could be made even more decorative if the points of support had decorative terra-cotta brackets or blocks inserted into the brickwork at the position of impost thus producing an effect of extending the lintel part way down each reveal.

Fig. 194 - Fig. 196 show a number of bay windows to houses which, because of the nature of their construction, had to receive a different architectural treatment from standard window openings.

The addition of a bay window was a popular feature of Victorian houses, although in some cases it was added more for elevational effect than for practical reasons. When added to the front of terrace houses it slightly increased the floor area of the room, because bays were usually allowed to project up to 3 ft. beyond the building line, and it also allowed more light to enter the room because of the increased glass area compared with conventional window openings. The bay had one other advantage in that it allowed a person standing within it to look up and down a street rather than just across to what in most cases was another row of houses.

There were a number of examples of villas and terrace houses which were built in Leeds with semi-circular bay windows (see Fig. 197), but these were rarely found on houses in the study area. The more usual configuration was for the bay to be rectangular or to have both side windows on a splay to the house front, the angle of the splay usually being 45°. In London the most common terrace houses had two-storeyed bay windows capped by a polygonal hipped slated roof, the principal ground floor room and the main bedroom were thus lit by bay windows. In Leeds the bay window tended to be only used for the principal ground floor rooms and in the study area only a few examples were found of two-storey high bay windows which were capped in almost every case with a lead flat roof.

Bay windows were also subject to the cycle of events which affected other elements on facades. In the earlier years they were built with stone sills, stone uprights between sashes and stone lintels,





Figs.194 - 196 Bay window details.

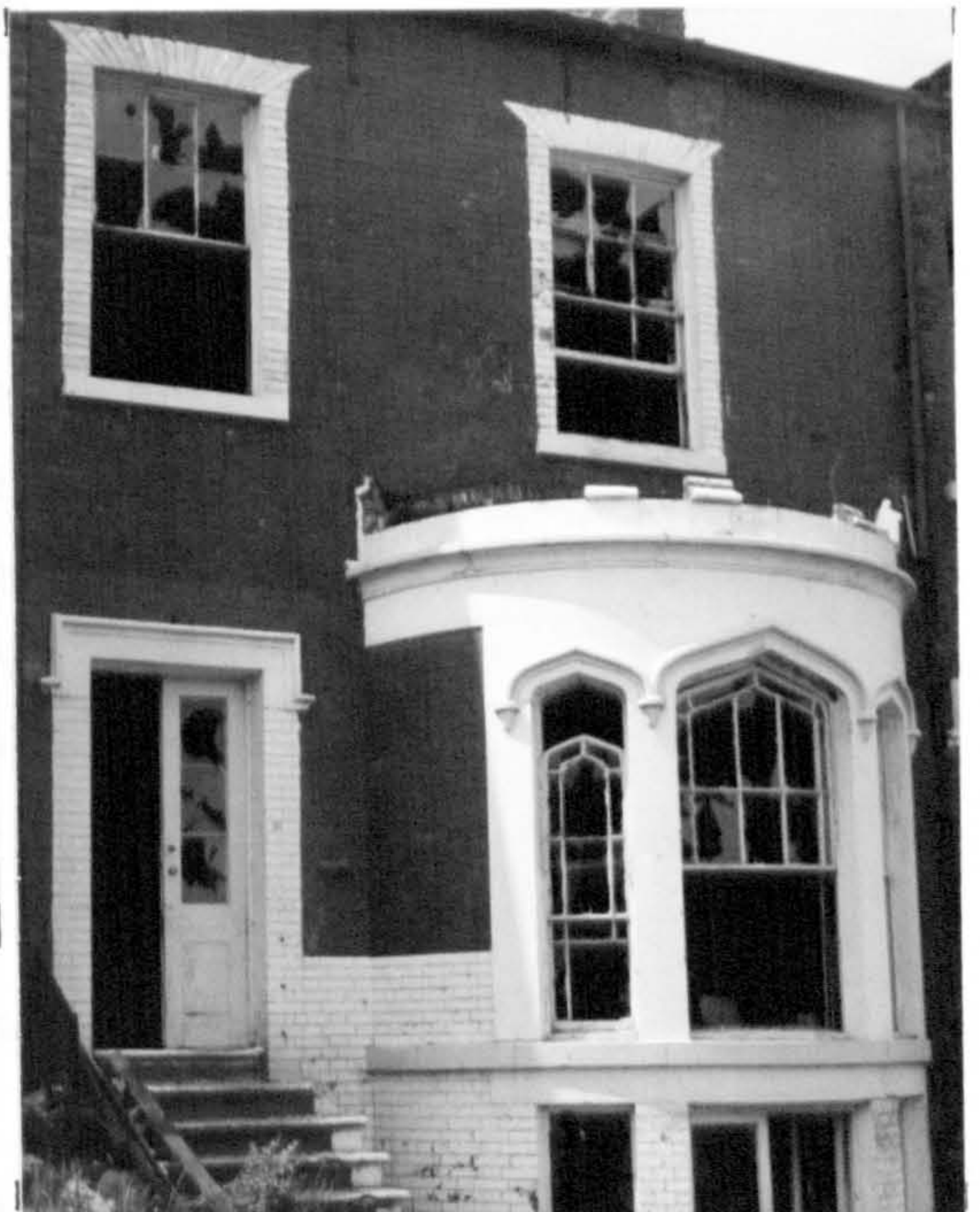


Fig.197 Semi-circular bay windows with Gothic details, Woodhouse, Leeds (taken just prior to demolition).



which in some cases were painted but generally contained no carving or decoration. If something more elaborate was desired, the edges of the stone could be shaped and the stone uprights between windows could be carved. Eventually the uprights became stone colonettes with carved capitals.

Fig. 198 and Fig. 199 show examples of different string courses or continuous sill bands which were common on the facades of houses in Leeds in the first half of the century and were reintroduced when dwellings became more highly decorated. In the latter case, ornamental string courses were more popular immediately below the eaves of houses rather than in their traditional position delineating floor or window levels. The plain string courses dating from the 1860's were made up of projecting stone or brick, whereas later decorative string courses were formed in moulded bricks or terra-cotta panels.

Fig. 200 and Fig. 201 show examples of applications of moulded, shaped and patterned bricks which were common features under eaves, around door and window openings, in cornices and wherever plain surfaces were required to be enriched. Local firms, such as Wilcock and Co., produced various sized blocks in terra-cotta from 3 in. to 12 in. deep for use in panels, which when put together produced continuous string courses or cornices. They also produced ornamental and moulded glazed faience bricks for use in cornices, string courses and at the sides of openings in walls. The latter could be made to order in any colour. Moulded bricks were made by such firms as J.C. Edwards of Ruabon and no doubt by many brickyards more local to Leeds, and the range from which the builder or building designer could choose from was very wide. The range included moulded surface bricks, patterned bricks, edge bricks, cornice bricks, jamb bricks, sill bricks, plinth bricks, stop bricks and splayed jamb bricks, to name but a few (see Fig. 172 and Appendix 22).

Moulded bricks were a common feature under eaves, around doorways and on the reveals of window openings. Separate bricks were built into the wall either side by side or one above the other in order to form continuous mouldings or string courses. Often one course of moulded bricks was designed to oversail the course below, adding to the decorative effect.

Fig. 202 and 203 show different examples of ventilating bricks or





Figs. 198 & 199 Examples of string courses or continuous sill bands.



Figs. 200 & 201 Examples of under eaves decoration incorporating moulded bricks and terra-cotta.





airgrates which were built into the walls of houses in the study area. Ventilation to all habitable rooms in the form of permanent ventilation was required under the various Improvement Acts and then by the Building Bye-Laws. The ventilation was usually provided to rooms by building into external walls perforated clay or terra-cotta bricks or blocks and these could be fitted with an iron hit-or-miss shutter on the inside. They came in a variety of sizes from 9 in. by 3 ins. to 10 ins. by 10 in. Many ventilating bricks were manufactured in salt glazed ware but some were also available in white or red terra-cotta. There was a wide variety of different designs and one design incorporating a floral pattern appears to have been used regularly throughout many parts of the study area. Other alternatives to floral shapes were those ventilating bricks which had circular or geometrical patterns incorporated in them.

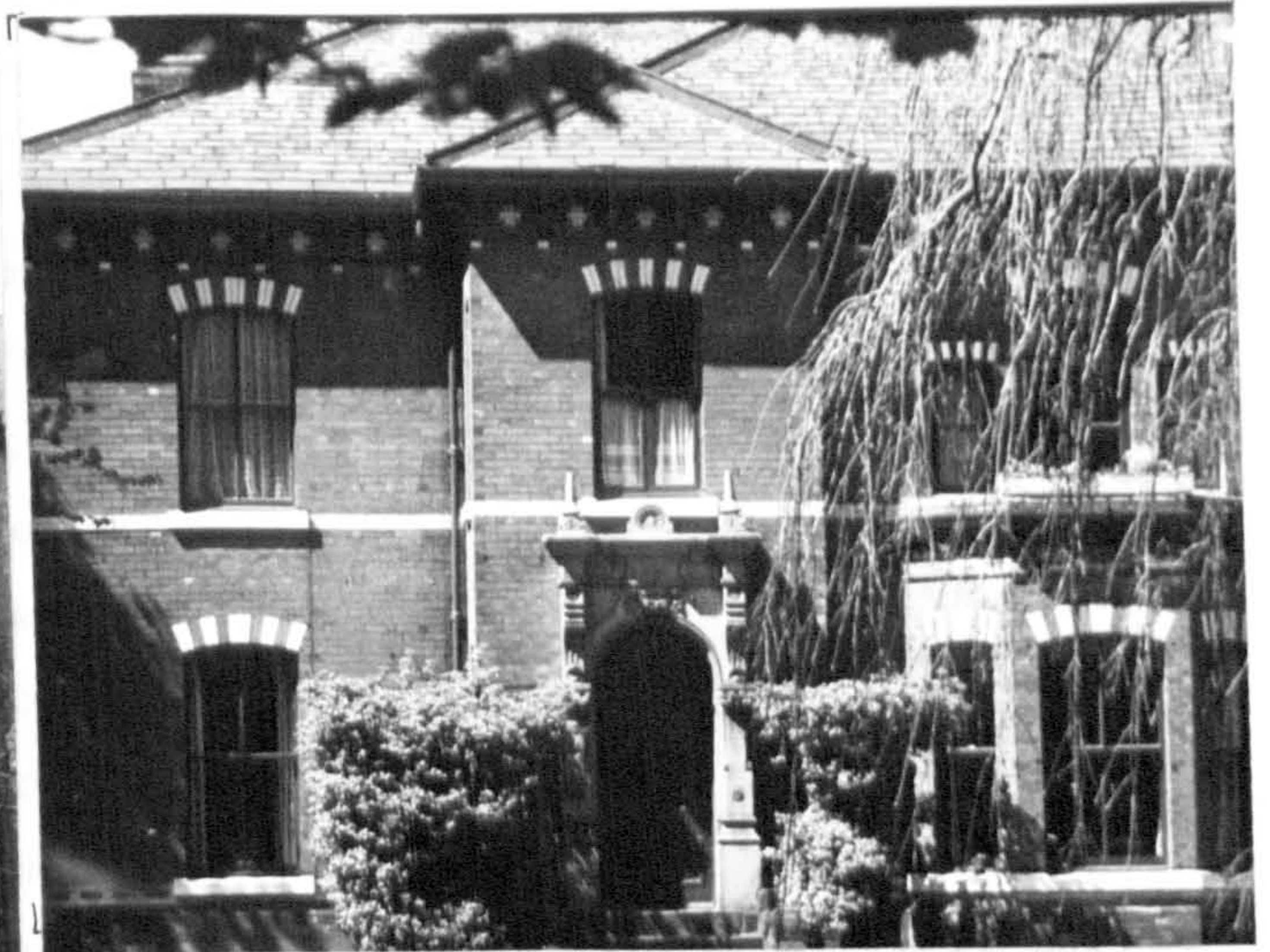
Fig. 204 and Fig. 205 show examples of different types of polychromy on the facades of houses in different parts of the study area. This attempt to introduce many different colours in elevations was generally confined to the building in of glazed bricks or bricks of a different colour to form string courses or to pick out certain parts of an arch. In some cases painted stone voussoirs were incorporated into a brick arch in order to produce the same effect. As most of the buildings in the study area were built in pressed red facing bricks, the glazed or coloured bricks used to provide a contrast were usually white, off white or cream in colour.

Glazed bricks were used for three purposes; to line the walls of toilets inside public buildings where the surfaces <sup>were</sup> required to be regularly washed down and cleaned, to face walls externally which were adjacent to or overshadowed windows, and to form continuous string courses or other polychromatic effects. The glazed bricks used for sanitary purposes were usually white or brown in colour, those for reflecting light near windows were always white and those for polychromatic effect could be any colour which contrasted with the main wall surface. Glazed bricks were used under the eaves of houses and around window openings to give a decorative contrast to the main brick colour. They were manufactured by the Leeds Fireclay Co. and by Ingham and Sons of Leeds who offered glazed bricks for sale in a variety of colours which included white, black, green, blue and brown.





Figs. 202 & 203 Examples of ventilating bricks in salt glazed ware.



Figs. 204 & 205 Examples of facades incorporating contrasting materials to produce a polychromatic effect.



Fig. 206 and Fig. 207 show examples of different types of brackets for gutters. The gutters were manufactured by passing a single piece of wood through a planing machine and were supported on projecting brackets built into the wall at the eaves level. Some brackets were formed by simply corbelling out bricks from the face of the wall, others were made of sandstone which were built into the brick wall and many were in terra-cotta. In the case of the stone and terra-cotta brackets, the exposed surfaces projecting from the wall were always painted. The various types of bracket mentioned above usually projected 3 in. to 6 in. from the wall surface and could be of simple shape or elaborately carved. The simplest stone brackets were only the size of one brick and usually sat on a projecting brick on the course below, others were larger and more elaborate being nearly 9 in. in width at the top.

Other decorative elements included blocks which were built into walls to record the date that the building was erected. These were common on villas and large houses and were usually carved in stone. Date panels in terra-cotta were available for the builder of smaller homes and this cheaper version of the elaborately carved datestones found on higher quality work had only a small blank portion left for the appropriate date to be inserted as and when required.

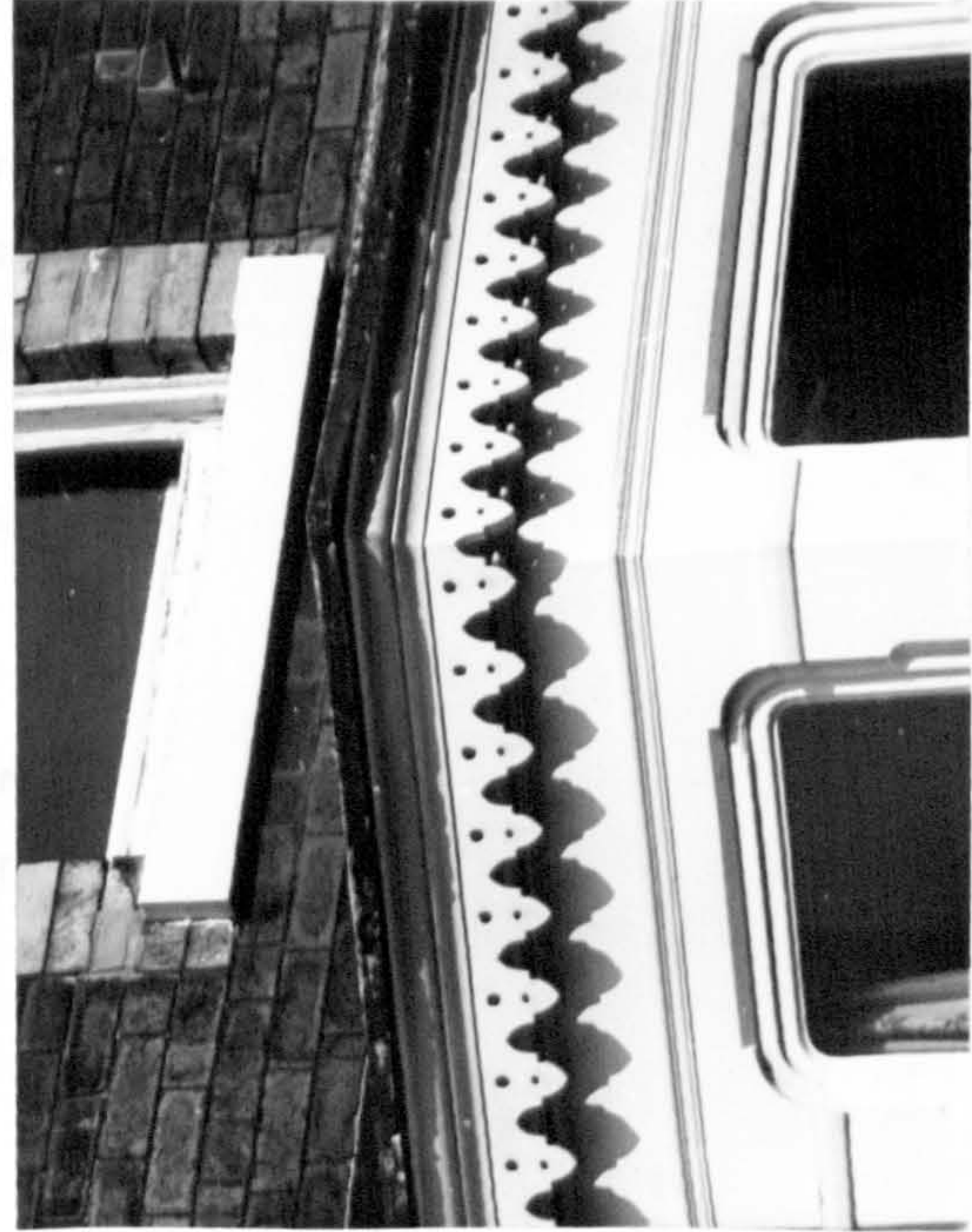
Another feature which could receive some decorative treatment was the brackets for holding back rainwater pipes to external facades. On high quality work these could take the form of projecting stones with a circular hole to receive the pipe and these often formed part of a continuous string course. A cheaper version was to have leaf or other decoration on the cast-iron lugs which normally fixed the pipe back to the wall.

Fig. 208 and Fig. 209 show examples of a variety of different timber fascia-boards and barge-boards used on houses in the study area. These were often plain painted boards but, just as some changing architectural styles were not reflected in the elevations of ordinary houses but in the derivation of the patterns to be found on bricks or other items used for decorative purposes, so too can the interest in the Picturesque be demonstrated by the use of highly carved or decorated barge-boards and fascias. Decorative boards were used on gable ends, on porches, on bay windows and especially on dormer windows. In many cases timber finials were incorporated and some of the more highly carved barge-boards were both carved and decoratively pierced.





Figs. 206 & 207 Examples of gutter brackets.



Figs. 208 & 209 Examples of decorative fascia-boards and barge-boards.

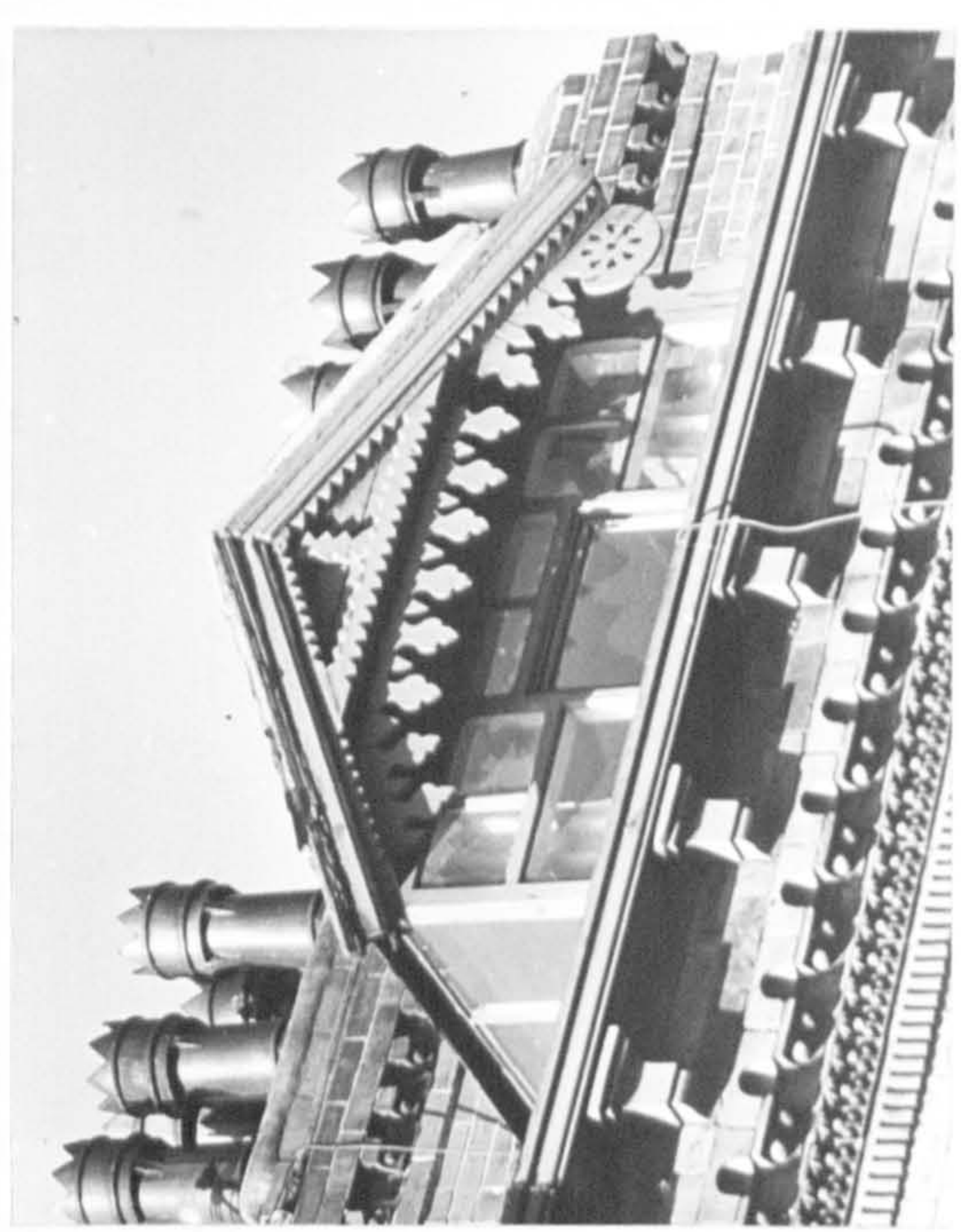
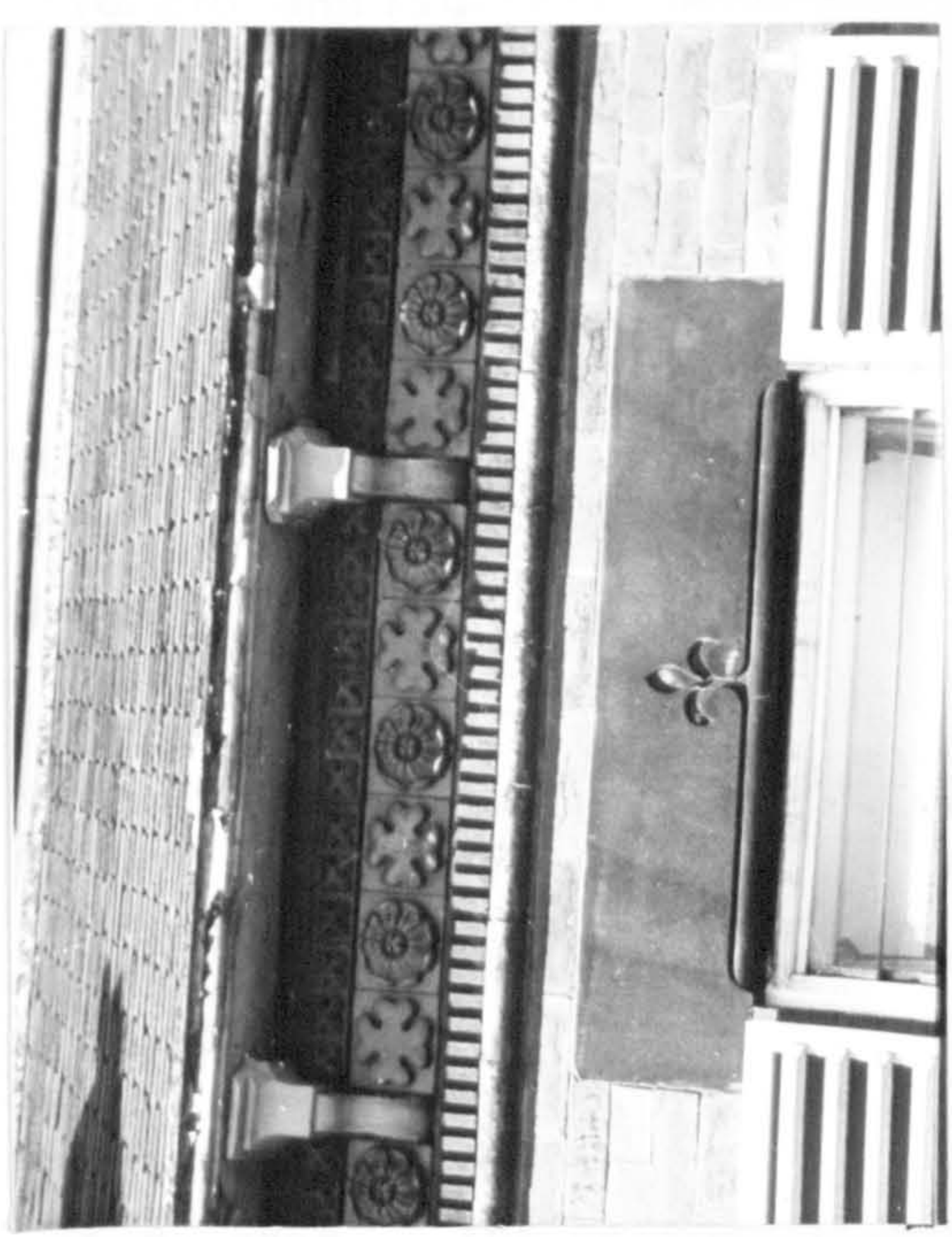




Fig. 210 and Fig. 211 show typical examples of roof slates which were capped by various forms of ridge tiles. The main roofs of most of the houses built in the study area were covered in Welsh Blue slates, however, a few had plain red tiles when erected around the turn of the century. Ridge tiles could be plain or highly decorative and examination of the catalogue produced by J.C. Edwards of Ruabon, shows that ridge tiles could cost from 4d. to 4s. per foot depending upon the degree of decoration required. Some roof ridges were finished with elaborate finial tiles and at least one example was found of a dragon finial on an end terrace house in Headingley (see Appendix 22). In 1903 a dragon finial cost around £3. 10s. at the works.<sup>20</sup>

Figs. 171, 212 and 213 show a wide range of different chimney stacks and chimney pots which were built to terminate flues on houses in the study area. The chimney stacks usually had a number of oversailing courses forming a wider platform at the point where the chimney pots were built into the stack. These oversailing course could be made up of projecting bricks to match the rest of the house or could be formed with decorated or moulded bricks.

The chimney pots, or chimney tops as they were sometimes referred to, could range from simple functional elements to very large and ornate features which formed attractive decorative elements to the roofscape. They were usually made in terra-cotta and could also be obtained in salt glazed wear. The 'Long Tom' variety could stand over 6 ft. in height and the most popular type used in the study area were termed 'crown' pots because of the serrated tops which were in the shape of a pointed crown.

The chimney tops produced by the Farnley Iron Company near Leeds in 1852 were in terra-cotta and were described as:

'In upwards of One Hundred Patterns, of various dimensions and of first-rate design'<sup>21</sup>

Typical sizes and prices in 1852 varied from 1 ft. 10 in. high costing 2s. 6d. or 4 ft. high costing 10s. 6d. if plain, to 6 ft. high costing 25s. and 9 ft. high costing as much as 60s. when decorated. By 1903 similar chimney tops could still be obtained for 2s. when plain and 2 ft. high, 4s. when plain and 4 ft. high, and 25s. when decorated and 4 ft. high.<sup>22</sup>

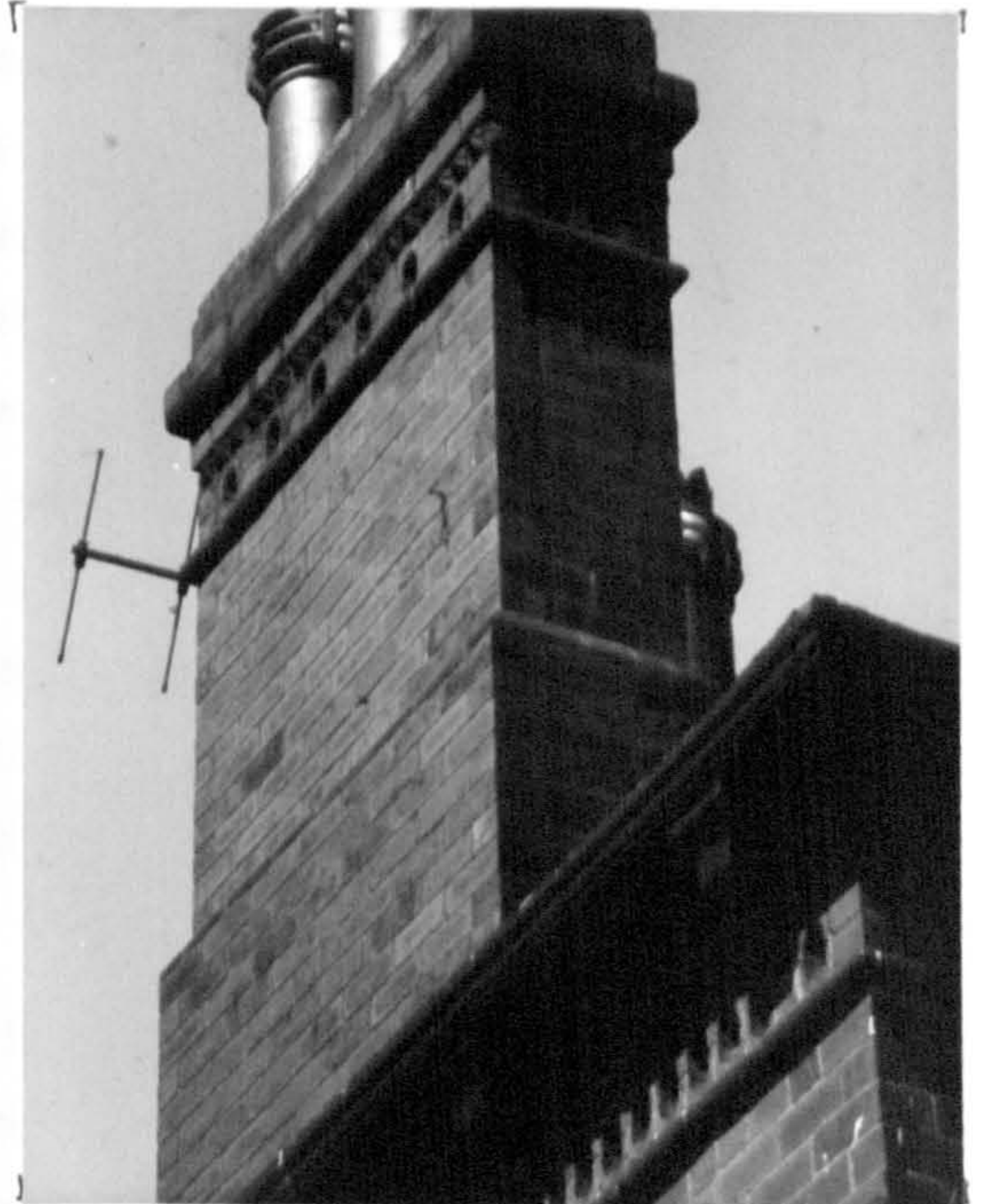




Fig.210 Decorative ridge tiles on  
dormer window.



Fig.211 Roof finial on dormer  
window.



Figs.212 & 213 Examples of chimney stacks and chimney pots.



## 15.6 The Selection of External Decorative Elements

The question arises as to who selected the decorative elements which were incorporated into the designs of both the interior and exterior of both custom-built and speculative houses? This question is easier to attempt to answer in the case of external decorative elements because drawings prepared at the time the dwellings were designed can be related to finished buildings and comparisons made between the designer's intentions and the builder's or developer's end results. In custom-built villas and mansions, it can be assumed that the client would have some role to play in selecting decorative elements in consultation with the architect or the builder carrying out the work. In the case of speculative housing schemes, the architect might suggest where decoration should be applied, but the final choice could be left to the developer as to where and how much of it was actually incorporated.

If a developer of speculative houses was himself a builder, he would be used to selecting various external elements which needed to be ordered for the facades of houses, ranging from ventilating air bricks to terra-cotta chimney pots and no doubt he developed favourites that suited his taste and pocket. The builder developer would be in a good position to select architectural decorative elements as this could be done when he was selecting or ordering other materials such as facing bricks, sash windows, floor joists and roof tiles. There would appear to be no reason why the speculative builder, who was working to approved drawings prepared by a local architect, could not substitute carved stone lintels, for example, for the brick arches shown on the plans if he preferred this particular method of spanning openings. Such substitutions could be made on site, presumably with the approval of the building surveyor or the client in those cases where tradesmen were erecting houses for speculators who were not builder.

The exact role of the architect or building designer in the selection of architectural decoration, like so many other aspects of speculative housing of the period, is not clear or precise. It has already been demonstrated that the majority of the house plans drawn up and submitted for approval to the council in Leeds were prepared by architects. Some drawings submitted for approval show no architectural decoration at all, others suggest its position in a rather diagrammatic or vague way, while a few show it in some detail but not

so precisely to rule out some degree of choice by the builder.

It has been suggested in a short paper by Hans van Lemmen of Leeds Polytechnic that the builder chose the architectural decoration which adorned the ordinary houses of Leeds rather than the architect. This judgement was based on examination of a number of Victorian houses in Leeds and especially back-to-back houses in the district of Woodhouse. Lemmen observed that:

'The interesting features of these back-to-back houses are to be found in their architectural decoration. It must have been the builder rather than the architect who was responsible for choosing the particular architectural detail and ornament, since this is not shown in the architects' drawing. As a matter of fact builders habitually added ornament, so that when the great architect C.A. Voysey designed his houses which were devoid of excessive architectural ornament, he had to include drawings showing where not to put ornamental detail.'<sup>23</sup>

The back-to-back houses described by Lemmen were built in Quarry Street, Woodhouse between 1884 - 5 during the period when even the smallest of new houses were made more ornate, and presumably more desirable in the eyes of tenants, by the addition of ornamental details. The architect for the block of houses was Walter Hobson, who was a major designer of houses of all types in the study area.

What evidence is there to suggest that builders had habitually added their own ornament and architectural detail to domestic buildings? The business records of the Leeds Builder George Nettleton indicate that during the period prior to 1860, when there were few architects in practice, he at least was capable of providing clients with complete designs for domestic buildings or for details to form part of them.<sup>24</sup> He drew out sketch details for gate piers, ornamental fireplaces, windows and doors, while the sketches prepared by his son show many examples of existing and proposed ornamental masonry details (see Figs. 128-133). If an architect was employed to design a custom-built house where Nettleton was the builder, it is most probable that the overall design including plans, elevations and sections, would be produced by the architect together with larger scale details which he felt needed his particular attention. Other aspects such as the mouldings or architraves to be used on a window or door, for example, could presumably be left to the discretion of a builder of Nettleton's capabilities.



In Headingley the first place to look for evidence of architectural decoration being chosen by the architect would be on the detached and semi-detached villas which in many cases were custom-built. Unfortunately, either the date that many were built was before 1868 and therefore no drawings at all have survived or, if they were erected after this date, only the drawings submitted for approval have survived. It follows therefore, that if comparisons are made between the completed buildings and the decorative elements or details sketched on elevations drawn for approval only, no meaningful observations can be made if it is not known to what extent further drawings were made available to the builder on site. It is quite feasible, as is common practice today, that an architect indicated decorative elements or architectural details on a drawing meant for building regulation approval and then, when detailed drawings were issued to the contractor at a later stage, some changes were made. Therefore, discrepancies between the approved drawings and the completed buildings could be accounted for by the issuing of further detailed drawings which have not survived and which did not change the building sufficiently to warrant re-submission to the local authority.

When the architects Smith & Tweedale submitted drawings to Leeds council for a detached villa to be built in Bainbrigge Road in the year 1883, a certain amount of architectural detail was added to the basic elevations and sections<sup>25</sup> (see Figs. 112 and 214). Internally, the sections indicated fireplace openings, flues and lintels to fireplaces, but did not show fireplaces or mantelpieces. Elsewhere on sections, panelled wooden doors to rooms and cupboards, coves to ceilings, an arch and pilasters to the entrance hall were all indicated. The elevations suggested where architectural decoration should be applied rather than indicated it in great detail. For example, sills to windows, flat and segmental arches to windows, a heavy cornice to the bay windows, a cornice at eaves level, mouldings to chimney stacks, triangular pediments to the front entrance door as well as to dormer windows and finials to the roof. Comparisons can be made between the original drawings as approved and the completed building by reference to Fig 215. As it is not known whether further details were issued by the architect for the contract, what few changes there are could have resulted from a selection process by the architect, the client, the builder or any combination of these three.



APPROVED.

11 MAR 1883

Top of attic Windows  
7-3 above attic floor.

Front  
Elevation



Fig.214 Deposited elevation of detached house, Bainbrigge Road, (Smith & Tweedale 1883).



Fig.215 Existing elevation of detached house, Bainbrigge Road.



The situation with houses built for speculation was somewhat different because it was less likely for the architect or building designer to be called upon to supply the developer with additional details over and above the basic drawings. Nevertheless, the day books of the architect Archibald Neill refer to the fact that a separate specification or bill of quantities could be prepared by architects for certain speculative housing schemes.<sup>26</sup> The set of plans prepared by the architects Kendall and Bakes for four terrace houses built at Idle near Bradford in 1899, were accompanied by a written specification describing each trade and at the same time giving further information concerning architectural decoration. When specifications were used, they would describe whether a string course was to be formed in brick or stone, whether a cornice was to be formed in terra-cotta or brickwork and so on. The scheme at Bradford had few notes on the elevations but details of what was intended by the architects became much clearer when the relevant clauses in the specification are read in conjunction with the drawings. The specification refers to chamfered heads, chamfered mullions, intermediate bandstones and gives sizes and the materials to be used. It would appear that all the work was to be carried out in local delphstone but only the moulded pediments to the front entrance doors warranted a separate detail, these were described 'as per detail' in the specification.<sup>27</sup>

It is apparent from examination of the approved drawings for houses built within the study area that architects tended to show ornament and architectural decoration in general terms on the basic elevation and sections. The details of and selection of these elements could be based on further drawings or specifications issued to the builder as described above. Where the developer was a builder or a building tradesman, there is clear evidence to suggest that no additional information was requested and the developer omitted or added decoration or decorative elements as and where he thought fit.

The builder George Hutton, who also described himself as an architect, had such a predilection for elaborate ornamentation that he indicated architectural decorative elements in great detail even on the drawings meant for approval by the council. Fig.216 shows a typical example of two of Hutton's houses which were approved in 1891 and erected soon after in Ash Grove. Moulded bricks with semi-circular projections are shown on door and window reveals, an





Fig.216 Deposited elevation of two through houses, Ash Grove (G. Hutton 1891).



Figs.217 & 218 Existing elevation of through houses, Ash Grove.



ornamental feature of nearly all Hutton's houses. The cornice to the bays are shown fretted, stone stilted lintels to upper windows contrast with four centred arches to lower windows and doors have carved keystones as well as bonding stones half way up the door reveal. String courses are shown on the eaves level as well as on chimney stacks and even the brackets to rainwater pipes are shown decorated. Another example of Hutton's deposited drawings can be seen in Fig. 219.

Another example of a housing developer with a penchant for building speculative housing with a high degree of decorative elements was the builder James Hutton who was no relation to George described above. He used the services of local architects and then added or omitted decorative elements as and when he thought fit. Where his architect had indicated a simple keystone to an arch over a doorway, Hutton selected a plain stone, a slightly enriched, or a highly decorative keystone as he thought appropriate for the houses in question, bearing in mind the type of purchaser he wished to attract. The taste of the builder involved, as well as the extra expenditure related to the advantages gained by the enhanced appearance, all had an influence on the final choice. There was also the question of keeping up with the current trends and fashions, which if ignored could result in the completed houses standing empty because they appeared old fashioned.

James Hutton had drawings approved for a number of houses on the Fawcett/Postill Estate and after approval made several amendments to the schemes in order to make the houses more decorative. One such set of drawings were approved in 1882 and were submitted by James Hutton who based them on earlier designs prepared for him by the architect F.W. Moseley.<sup>28</sup> Hutton built the houses and examination of the completed dwellings shows marked differences in elevational treatment from those approved<sup>29</sup> (see Figs. 221 - 222). He was not averse to tracing plans of houses which had been drawn up for him by an architect and using the drawings to obtain approval for a new scheme on almost identical sites further down the same street. In so doing he ignored the suggestions of the architect as to where and how much architectural decoration should be added and altered the elevations to indicate the changes he had already carried out on completed dwellings.

PLANS OF TWO SEMI-DETACHED VILLAS FREELY TO BE ERECTED  
 NUMBER 52 CARDIGAN ROAD FOR G. HUTTON 74 ALBION STREET 1892.

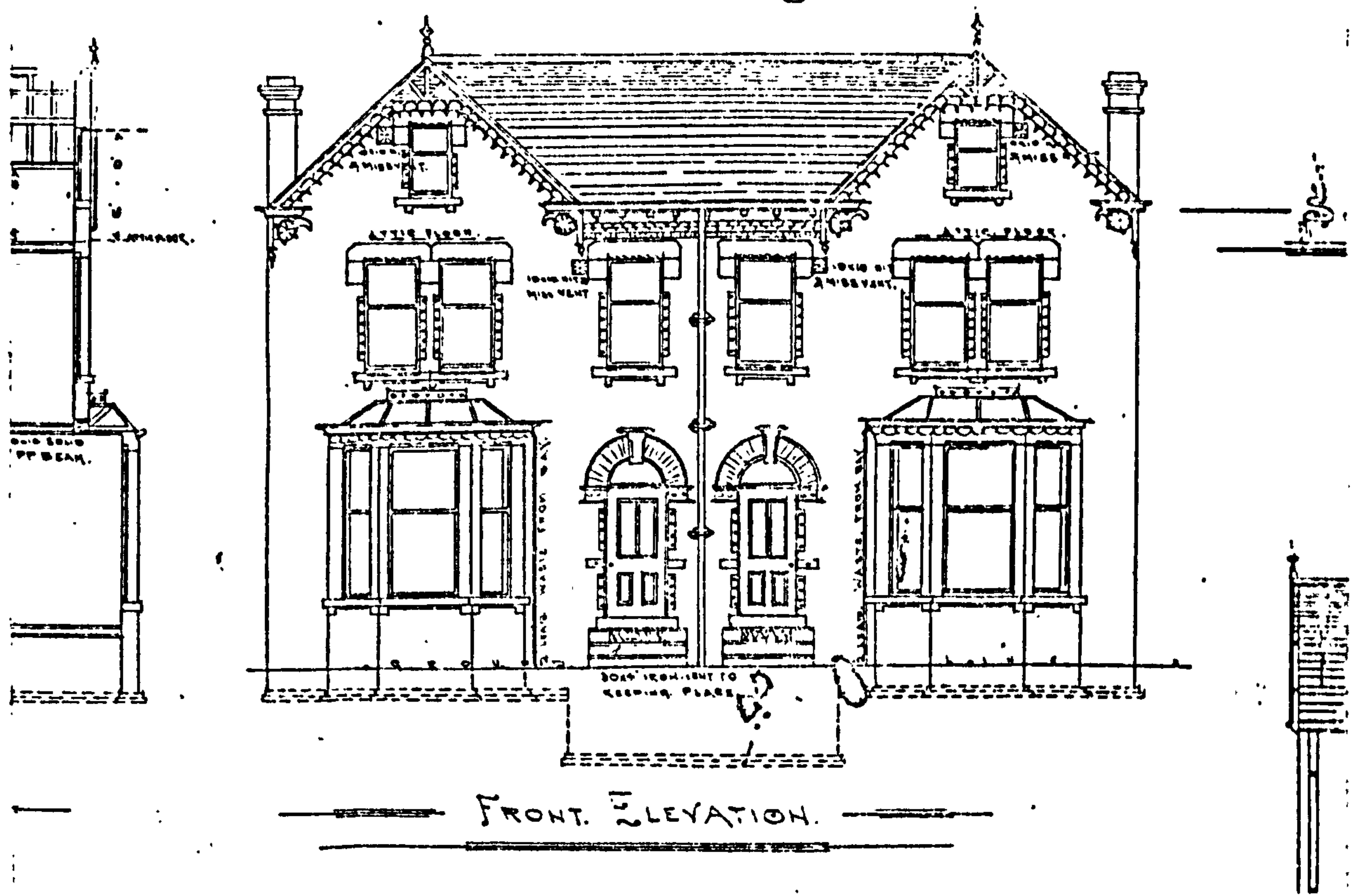


Fig.219 Deposited elevation of two semi-detached houses, Cardigan Road (G. Hutton 1892).

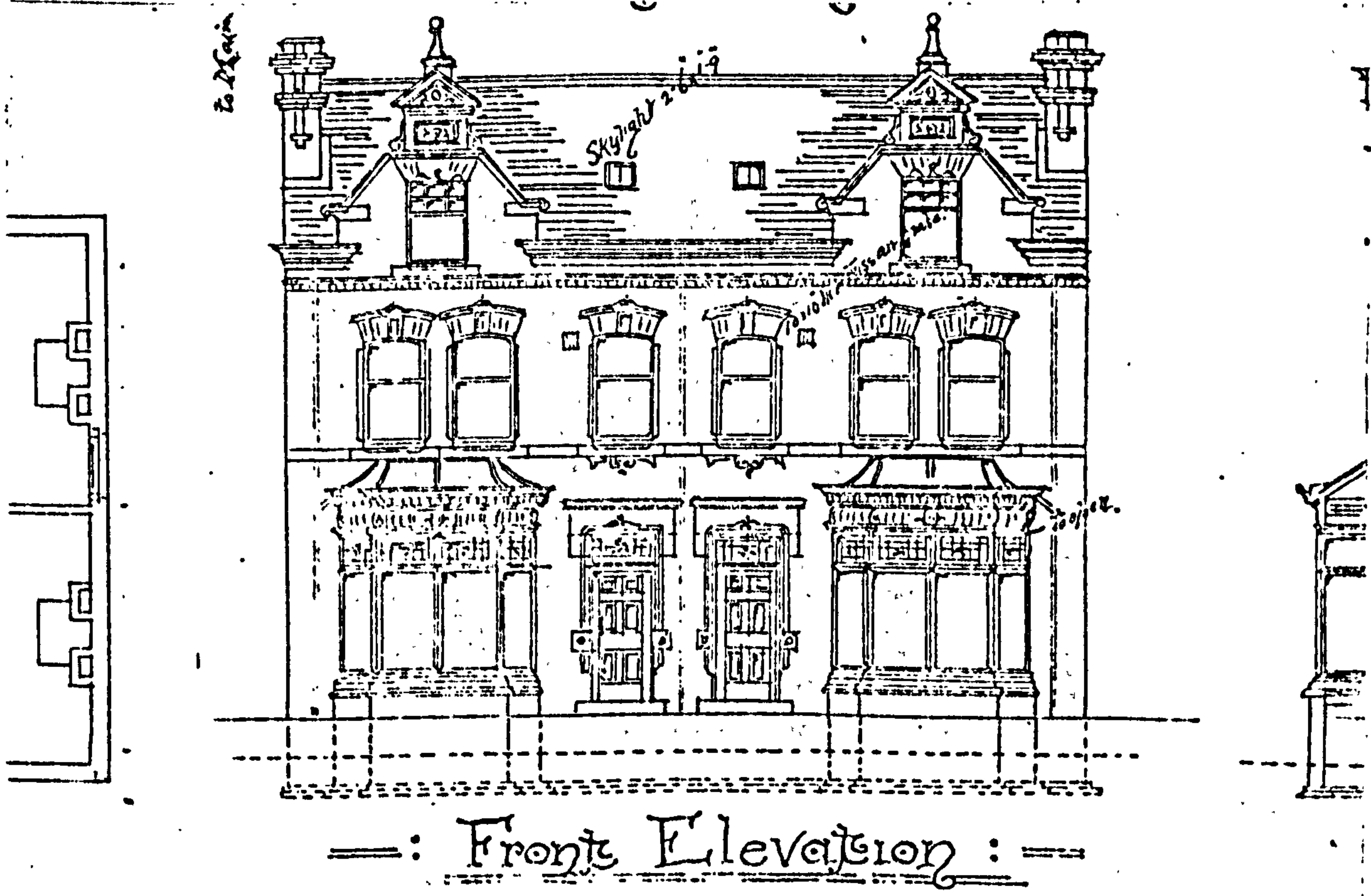


Fig.220 Deposited elevation of two semi-detached houses, Cardigan Road (Ambler & Bowman 1892).





Fig.221 Drawing based on elevation deposited by J. Hutton for through houses, Norwood Road, 1882.



Fig.222 Existing elevations of through houses, Norwood Road.



The developer of speculative houses who was not connected with the building trade may also have had a role to play in the final selection of decorative elements. In many cases the builder or tradesmen erecting the houses on the developer's behalf would have probably taken such decisions, but it is possible that a developer was asked to select a pattern of ventilating brick, keystone or chimney pot from a given price range.

In order that comparisons can be made between approved drawings and completed elevations, the following illustrations are included: Fig. 223- Fig. 233 show a number of examples of various house types, ranging from large semi-detached villas to small back-to-backs, built in the study area. In each case the comments on the differences between the drawings and the completed buildings have been kept to a minimum in order to let the illustrations speak for themselves. It should be pointed out, however, that general conclusions can be drawn from these and other examples relating to the study area. Observations concerning George Hutton and James Hutton have already been made. Added to these is the fact that, just as the moulded brick with semi-circular projections used around window openings became almost a trademark of George Hutton's work, so too did the segmental arch to all window openings become an in-house detail for many developments carried out by the architects James Charles and sons (see Figs. 228-230). In their case, because they usually acted as both architects and developers, they presumably did not let the tradesmen carrying out the work substitute stone lintels or generally alter their designs. In contrast, examination of the designs prepared for B. & W. Walmsley by the architect Daniel Dodgson, shows that the finished houses exhibit marked differences between what the architect intended and what the largest developers in the study area thought fit to erect (see Figs. 234-236). On the example illustrated the bay windows were built without a pediment as intended and capped instead with simple plain-tiled roofs. A continuous stone string course has been added at sill level to the upper windows and a string course has also been added at the eaves. Similarly flat plain keystones have been added to brick segmental arches and richly decorated barge-boards to the dormer windows. This would suggest that the Walmsley brothers paid Dodgson to draw up general plans for approval but made their own decisions concerning finer details. No doubt the money saved on the bay window details helped towards the cost of such items as decorated barge-boards.





Fig.223 Deposited elevation of two semi-detached houses, Cardigan Road (T. Anderson 1877).



Fig.224 Existing elevation of semi-detached houses, Cardigan Road.





*A. J. 012  
10-*

Fig.225 Deposited elevation of two semi-detached houses, Bainbrigge Road (C. Fowler 1878).



Fig.226 Existing elevation of semi-detached houses, Bainbrigge Road.



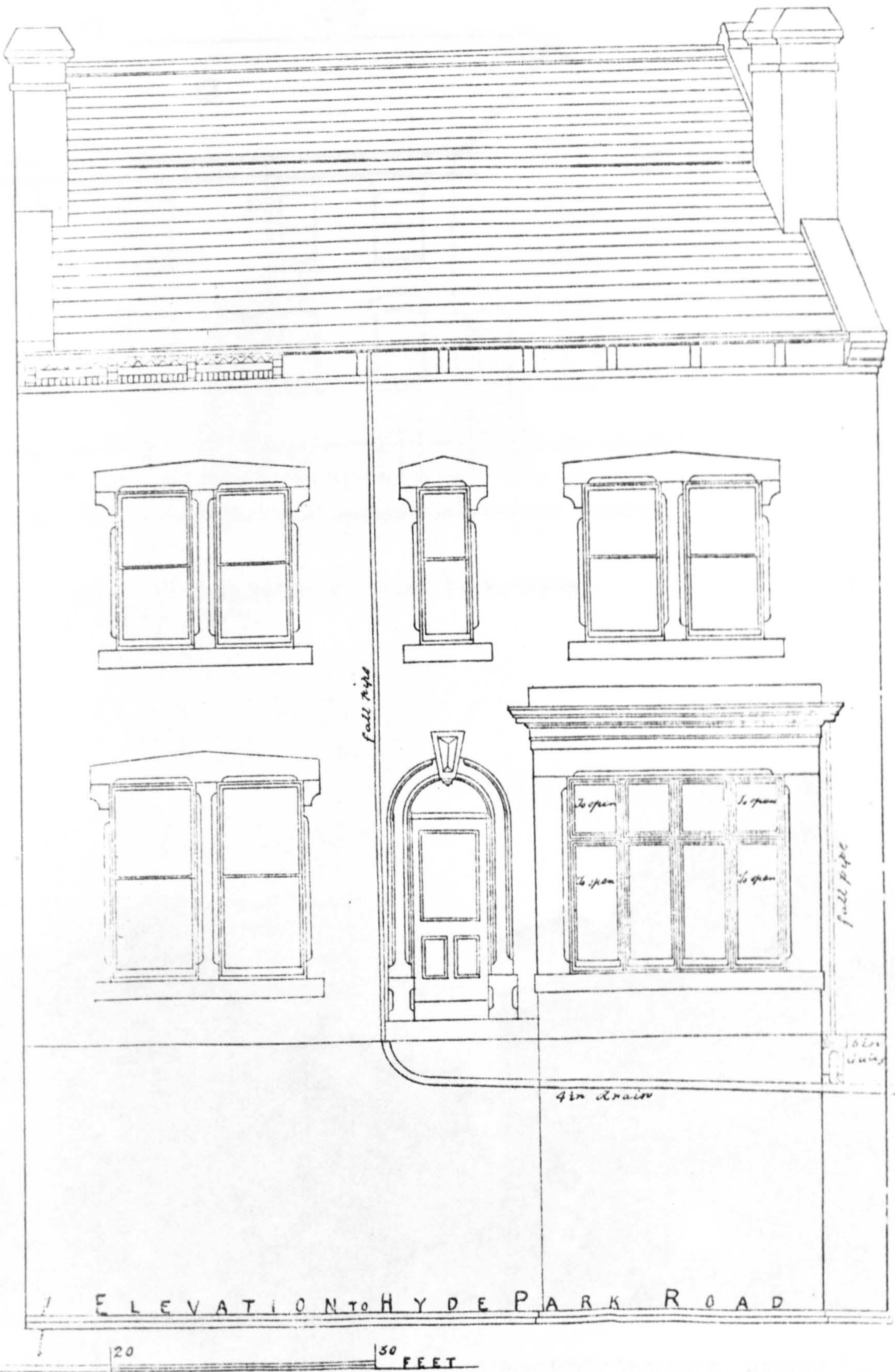


Fig.227 Deposited elevation of end terrace house, Hyde Park Road (J. Simpson 1888).





Fig.228 Deposited elevation of blind back-to-backs, Granby Terrace (J. Charles & Sons 1888).



Figs.229 & 230 Existing elevations of blind back-to-backs, Granby Terrace.





*Elevation to Brudenell Road*

Fig.231 Deposited elevation of end terrace house, Brudenell Road (J. N. Porter 1897).



Figs.232 & 233 Existing elevations of end terrace house, Brudenell Road.





Fig.234 Deposited elevation of houses and shop, Hessle View  
(D. Dodgson 1900).



Figs.235 & 236 Existing elevations of houses and shop, Hessle View.



## 15.7 Cost Comparisons

The cost to the developer of adding architectural decoration in absolute terms is difficult to assess. If a prospective purchaser or tenant found houses incorporating them more attractive than neighbouring dwellings, and therefore the developer disposed of empty property more quickly, the saving on interest charges or the income from an early let could help to offset the initial outlay. Even when this was not the course of events, money spent on a decorated barge-board, a carved keystone or a flamboyant chimney pot was not always a complete extra but rather an extra over cost on what would have been expended on a plainer item. The cost to provide a string course in stone two courses in depth, or a string course in moulded bricks one course in depth, would be offset by the cost of providing courses of plain facing bricks in their stead if the string course were to be omitted. Similarly, the cost to provide ornamental brackets in terra-cotta or stone to support a wooden gutter would have to be compared with the cost of providing simple brick corbels at similar centres to serve the same purpose. Thus in the majority of cases where decorative elements were added or inserted there would be a cost saving, however small, for a plain or simple treatment in the same position.

In some positions, decorative treatments such as the addition of a finials at the apex of barge-boards would have little or nothing to offset against their additional cost and were complete extras. Even highly decorative or carved and pierced barge-boards had the cost of a flat plain board to offset against it and one large keystone took up the position in the wall of at least two or three plain brick voussoirs. If typical prices could be found in manufacturers' catalogues for all the materials and items which could have been ordered and used in a typical terrace house, it would be possible to carry out<sup>a</sup> simple quantity surveying exercise in order to make some estimate of the extra expenditure on purely decorative external elements. In the study area, prices for only a few of these items were found (see Appendix 22) and without further information this exercise proved impossible. Nevertheless an estimate can be made of the extra over cost of some items in specific locations.

If a Welsh slate roof was used to cover a typical terrace house 16 ft. in width, ignoring back additions and dormer windows, then plain ridge tiles would have cost 6d. per ft. run or 8s. in total at 1903

prices. As an alternative, decorated ridge tiles with a simple fretted pattern could have been used at a cost of 1s. 3d. per ft. run or £1 in total at 1903 prices. As the fixing costs remained the same, the extra over cost for the decorated ridge tiles would have amounted to 12s. Typical through houses were built in the study area between 1895 - 1905 for £300 where the cost of slating was around 5% of the total building costs. The cost of providing a Welsh slate roof was probably in the order of £15 and an extra over of 12s. for decorative ridge tiles would represent an increase of 4% on the total cost of the roof covering.

A similar exercise to the above could be carried out to find the extra over cost of decorated chimney pots, gutter brackets, barge-boards, ventilating bricks and carved keystones etc. if the prices charged by manufacturers or suppliers was known. For example, at the turn of the century best pressed facing bricks could be had in Leeds for £1. 17s. to £2 per 1000 including free delivery, this worked out at around  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per brick. One row of stretchers across the front elevation of a house 15 ft. 9 in. wide took 21 bricks costing a total of 1s. 9d. If the row had been replaced by an ornamental string course using bricks which cost £6 per 1000 or  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d each, the total cost would have been 2s.  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. assuming the workmanship costs were the same. This would represent an extra over of around 9d. per row of bricks across one elevation and 3 or 4 horizontal rows of decorated or moulded bricks across a typical elevation would not be uncommon.

If the cost of a typical house in the study area was around £300 at the turn of the century and 1% was spent on decorative elements as an extra over item, then only £3 would have been available for this purpose. As has been demonstrated, an extra 12s. could be spent on decorative ridge tiles and an extra 3s. on 4 rows of decorated brickwork alone. Just one finial on a roof ridge or a terra-cotta carved keystone could cost 18s. and 10s. respectively to purchase, and 10 terra-cotta gutter brackets could cost a further £2 to obtain.<sup>30</sup> Therefore the total extra over cost of providing architectural decoration and ornamental features, ranging from decorative iron railings to bell push surrounds and from ceiling roses to marble fireplaces, would have been a far from inconsiderable item on some dwellings.



## NOTES

### CHAPTER 15 ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTER AND THE USE OF DECORATIVE ELEMENTS

- 1 Linstrum, p. 108.
- 2 The detached villa and the short terrace were not completed until 1883.
- 3 Dyos, p. 170.
- 4 R. Dixon & S. Muthesius, Victorian Architecture, p. 30.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Linstrum, p. 95.
- 7 M.W. Beresford, 'Walks Round Red Brick,' issue Number 1, printed in 20 issues of the Reporter, the newsletter published for members of the University of Leeds, 1977 - 8. See also Linstrum, p. 95 and illustration No. 56 where Linstrum refers to the house of Mr. Robert Denison at Town End Leeds as representing 'the new fashion for brick buildings with stone dressings.'
- 8 Beresford, op. cit., issue number 12.
- 9 Care must be exercised when examining the Gothic details of these houses as the writer found examples of deposited building plans dating from the 1880's where matching and elaborate additions were carried out by local architects and builders. This was particularly the case with bay windows.
- 10 D. Linstrum, Historic Architecture of Leeds, p. 45.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff (editors), The Victorian City: Images and Realities, plates 281 - 291, Vol. 1.
- 13 D.B.P., 27/20 Jun./1890.
- 14 D.B.P., 1/15 Mar./1878.
- 15 D.B.P., 27/10 Jun./1892.
- 16 Examples of many of the internal decorative elements mentioned, such as marble fireplace surrounds, plaster cornices, ceiling roses etc. can still be seen in some of the houses constructed in Ash Grove and Ebberston Terrace where the writer spent his childhood.
- 17 Taken from The Builder, 1852, Vol. 10, p. 746.
- 18 No catalogues showing local carved keystones have been found but actual examples can be inspected in the collection in the possession of the Leeds Public Works Department. These have been retained after demolition of large areas of terrace housing in various parts of Leeds.
- 19 See Fraser, p. 89 - 95, for illustrations of various methods of spanning door and window openings during the period.
- 20 See Plate 43 of J.C. Edwards catalogue illustrated in Appendix 22.
- 21 See Fig. 171.
- 22 See Plates 32 and 32a of J.C. Edwards catalogue illustrated in Appendix 22.

- 23 Hans Van Lemmen, 'Late Victorian Back-to-back Houses in Woodhouse, Leeds', Unpublished Paper, School of Education, Leeds Polytechnic, 1977, p. 10.
- 24 See Chapter 13.
- 25 D.B.P., 27/11 May/1883.
- 26 See Chapter 11.
- 27 See Appendix 23.
- 28 D.B.P., 30/17 Sept./1880.
- 29 D.B.P., 53/12 May/1882 and 31/7 Jul./1882.
- 30 See Appendix 22 for typical prices in 1903.



## CHAPTER 16 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 16.1 Preamble

This chapter attempts to draw conclusions from the findings obtained from various sources relating to the development of the study area. Certain conclusions can be drawn which hold true for the study area alone, whereas some could be applicable to other areas of Headingley or even to similar suburbs elsewhere in Leeds. However, before any attempt is made to compare conclusions drawn from the study area findings with results obtained from similar work carried out on suburban development elsewhere in the country, the fact that each nineteenth-century town had its own building climate must be taken into account. The climate for house-building in particular was not just a physical one but also social and financial. Each town had its own geographical situation, its own peculiar infrastructure, its own form of local government, in fact its own way of doing things. This often led to a set of conditions which could produce an end result somewhat different to results produced to meet the same basic demand elsewhere. The creation, continued production and welcome acceptance in Leeds of the back-to-back house, despite continuous and often bitter condemnation, is a classic case in point.

Some conclusions drawn from the findings of the study area are about people and their professional roles, these conclusions are therefore much wider in their context than the study area boundaries or even the town of Leeds. Whereas other conclusions relating to buildings, especially those concerning estate layout, house types, design, materials and appearance, can not be readily applied to other Victorian towns unless factors such as the tenure of land, size of land holdings, types of developer, regulations in force and transport developments were identical or at least very similar to Leeds.

Two factors concerning the title of the thesis need further clarification because each has some bearing on the conclusions contained in this chapter.

Firstly, it would have been possible to have ignored completely all houses within the study area which were built for owner-occupation and were therefore not built for speculation. Nevertheless, it was felt by the writer that had this course of action been taken, an incorrect picture of the way in which the study area developed would have emerged as it was not always clear when a development was for

speculation. In the majority of cases houses built in terraces in one form or another were built for speculation and detached or semi-detached villas were usually built for owner occupiers. But this general rule did not always apply for examination of deposited drawings showed that, contrary to expectations, some detached and semi-detached villas were built for selling or letting and some terrace houses were built for owner-occupation. If, however, a generic term was to be used to describe the majority of houses built in the study area between 1838 and 1914, speculative housing was considered to be the most appropriate. Because of this, when general conclusions have been drawn concerning findings from the study area they tend to apply to the most frequently built house type - the terrace house in one form or another and to the most popular method of development - that of building houses for speculation.

The second factor concerning the thesis title relates to the fact that the development of the study area was examined until 1914 whereas the general thesis title refers to nineteenth-century speculative housing. The justification for this is that the laying out of housing estates was a long term process and dwellings erected during the period 1900 - 1914 were built in most cases on building plots which had been approved and laid down over a decade before. Similarly, the materials used, the construction processes and the house types erected did not suddenly change when the nineteenth century ended, but continued in much the same way throughout the Edwardian period. For these reasons conclusions drawn from the study area which have been based on findings covering the period 1838 - 1914 would not be invalid if applied to the Victorian era.

Section 16.2 of this chapter lists a number of conclusions, some of which are general in nature and others which are more specific. Each conclusion is followed by notes relating it to the study area, to the town of Leeds and to the findings of other researchers who have carried out work in similar fields of architectural or urban history.

Section 16.3 of this chapter lists a series of suggestions for further research based on the findings of this thesis. These recommendations include suggestions for further research which will: add to the knowledge recorded in this work concerning the study area; add to the existing knowledge concerning speculative house-



building in Leeds during the last century; help to relate the findings from this thesis to a broader area of Victorian and Edwardian building activity.

## 16.2 Conclusions

The major conclusions, which although based on findings obtained from the study area, would appear from other evidence to be applicable to many other suburbs of Leeds can be summarized 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.

Evidence from estate maps submitted for approval to housing developments carried out in many different parts of Leeds would suggest that the above statement could equally apply to the study area or to other out-townships or suburbs. Although plans showing the road layouts and the laying out of building blocks had to be approved for all new estates, the details concerning drainage, road widths and alignment, house types, housing layout and density were considered only in relation to the area of land actually being developed. Beresford refers to this 'Irregularity' which came about due to the piecemeal character of development in Leeds. Writing of the period 1852 - 1865, Beresford stated that:

'the burden of the reformers' complaints was that single-field development by small proprietors weighted the scales against any provision of common services in water, paving, drainage and sewerage'<sup>1</sup>

Beresford quoted the Leeds Mercury in 1852:

'the whole town might have had an earthquake for an architect'<sup>2</sup>

In areas like Headingley in general and the study area in particular the size of estates being developed were generally larger than one field and this meant that the irregularity Beresford referred to

was less marked. Nevertheless, from the writer's unique position of being allowed access to nineteenth-century deposited estate plans, it was possible to establish that, although land holdings being developed were much larger, the process of piecemeal development still continued until the end of the century.

- (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.

Deposited building plans for both the study area and for all Leeds clearly show that the majority of houses were built a few at a time by a large number of different developers. This finding is contrary to the general impression created by the red-brick terraces which are a common sight in the suburbs of Leeds. Rows of identical or similar looking houses suggest rapid development by a few individuals on large tracts of land purchased and laid out in advance. The impression of homogeneity, brought about by restrictive covenants, building regulations, the use of standard basic materials and the general uniformity of external height, style and appearance, all help to conceal the piecemeal nature of the building development.

Beresford has demonstrated that the external appearance of housing estates in various parts of Leeds belies the fact that the houses contained in them were built on a piecemeal basis by many different developers and often over a long period of time. His description of Prosperity Street and of the development of the red-brick terraces around the present University, both illustrate the protracted nature of house-building and the number of different individuals involved.<sup>3</sup>

In 1977 C. Wilton carried out a study of Clementhorpe, a small area of Victorian working-class housing located to the south-east of the medieval city walls of York. Wilton was studying the way in which the houses in the area were developed between 1856 and 1902 before putting forward a case for their preservation and conservation.

Nevertheless, his historical survey showed remarkable similarities to the findings from the writer's study of Headingley:

'From a visual impression today of a consistent and unified area, each road at first sight containing apparently the same terraced housing, (although road by road the terraces vary) tends to imply that a



simple process of building street by street produced this landscape. The quick visual impression is misleading as the development involved a complex system of individual developments of one or a few houses at a time, commissioned by a variety of people, sometimes completion of the streets taking many years of infilling of plots, and each building project often varying in minor ways from the next'.<sup>4</sup>

The findings from the study area show that the average number of dwellings approved on deposited drawings was 4.6 per application;<sup>5</sup> the total number of houses erected between 1868 and 1914 was 2,197;<sup>6</sup> the total number of developers involved was 187;<sup>7</sup> the average number of dwellings erected per developer was 11.7.<sup>8</sup> In comparison, the average number of dwellings approved on each deposited plan for the whole of Leeds during the period 1877 - 1915, was 4.9 based on figures available for most of the years concerned.<sup>9</sup>

(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.

This conclusion is based on the evidence of the deposited building plans which were in the majority of cases submitted by persons who used the style or title of architect. It is also based on examination of the builders' text books and architectural pattern-books available for use by housing developers or tradesmen who chose not to seek professional advice. Findings from the sample of deposited building plans for all Leeds show that the extent to which builders and developers relied on professional advice in the study area is indicative of the situation in most of the other expanding suburbs.

Dyos and Kingsford suggested that most builders and developers were quite capable of erecting ordinary houses (even after the introduction of more complex building legislation) without the help of architects, because of the wide variety of published material available to them.<sup>10</sup> The weight of evidence obtained from the study area findings and from findings relating to the rest of nineteenth-century Leeds does not support this hypothesis.

- (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.

Findings from the study area and from examination of a sample of deposited buildings plans for all Leeds would suggest that the involvement of local architects in the design of not only custom-built but also speculative housing developments during the period 1868 - 1914 was far greater than might have been expected. The degree of this involvement can be measured by the fact that 83% of all dwellings approved on building plans for the study area were deposited by persons who could be considered to be practising architects.<sup>11</sup> In comparison 87% of all dwellings approved in the sample of building plans for all Leeds were deposited by persons calling themselves architects.<sup>12</sup>

Treen suggested that the involvement of local architects in the design of ordinary houses needed further investigation but he did not carry out any research into the subject.<sup>13</sup>

- (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.

It is evident from the way in which houses were constructed in the study area and in other similar areas of Leeds, that a very real improvement in the quality of materials used and the standards of workmanship took place after the introduction of further building legislation from 1866 onwards. This applied particularly to the bulk of suburban housing developments which were carried out as speculative ventures and the improvement in quality and standards was most marked after the introduction of the Building Bye-Laws in 1870. Custom-built houses, however, were generally of a higher quality without relying on local legislation due to the very nature of the building contracts and the type of clients involved.

The existence of building legislation alone was not sufficient to bring about a real improvement in housing constructional methods, materials and standards. But when eventually combined with a



requirement for drawings to be approved, a system of inspection and the enforcing of penalties, the jerry-building which had gone before either unnoticed or unchecked was generally eradicated. That better standards of construction were achieved where middle-class speculative housing was concerned, can be illustrated by the fact that the majority of dwellings situated in the study area which were built over 90 years ago are still structurally sound and still provide homes for citizens of Leeds.

It is probable that there was a relationship between the introduction of building legislation intended to improve the quality of buildings erected and the large increase in the number of architectural practices in Leeds. In 1861 there were 20 practices listed under the heading of architects in street directories. By 1875 this number had risen to 48.<sup>14</sup> The enlistment of professional help, in one form or another, by speculative house builders who wished to have plans drawn up and approved under the new legislation, no doubt contributed to this increase in the number of architects.

Wilton in his study of Clementhorpe at York found that, based on evidence from deposited drawings held by the council, most of the houses in the area were architect designed and only a few different architects were responsible for the majority of the designs.<sup>15</sup> These findings, relating to the involvement of architects in the design of ordinary houses in a small part of York, reinforces those found from the study area and from elsewhere in Leeds.

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.

The more specific conclusions which are based on findings from the study area which differ from the rest of Leeds or can not be applied to other suburbs of Leeds without further research or corroborative evidence, can be summarized as follows:

- (6) The creation of building estates from green-field sites in the study area was assisted by transport improvements but was not a transport led development.

The siting of villas on Headingley Hill for the wealthy merchants and professional classes was only made possible because the occupiers of the houses relied on their own transport or infrequent and expensive horse-buses. The later developments of middle-class speculative terrace housing and homes for the artisan class were mainly completed before regular tram services and lower fares were introduced to serve the area. The controlling factors governing the precise time that any particular estate was put on the market for building purposes were numerous and complex. They included the price of land, the availability of building land, the state of the housing market, the ability of developers and builders to borrow capital and the willingness of developers to invest. These factors were often more influential in the way that estates developed than the proximity or not of a public transport system which was not fully advanced enough to cater for a working population until after 1890.

Research has shown that other suburbs of Leeds developed along similar lines to the study area, whereas some expanded primarily because of transport developments.<sup>16</sup>

- (7) In the absence of town planning legislation, restrictive covenants imposed by landowners were important because of the role they played in controlling the quality of the built environment in the study area.

Examination of the deed packets relating to the titles of over 80 houses in the study area clearly showed the important role played by restrictive covenants in the development of the estates in which they were situated. The covenants prohibited industrial and commercial developments, influenced the value of domestic buildings and in many cases specified the type and quality of external building materials. Beresford has described how restrictive covenants were applied to the development of housing estates in Woodhouse and Treen refers to similar covenants being used to preserve the social character of estates in Chapel Allerton and Potternewton.<sup>17</sup>

Restrictive covenants were obviously used as a crude form of town planning control throughout the nineteenth century in Leeds, however, each individual landowner could have his own clauses drawn up to be as rigid or as lax as the occasion demanded. Beresford cites the case of J.W. Archer selling plots to builders on the Cowper Estate at



Potternewton in the 1880's with a restrictive covenant on the land which permitted:

'any class of dwelling houses approved by the Corporation of Leeds.'<sup>18</sup>

(8) The Study area was not typical of the whole of Leeds in the distribution of house types erected.

Records available listing the number and distribution of various house types completed and certified for habitation for the whole of Leeds show that from 1886 - 1914: detached villas represented 1.0% of the total; semi-detached villas 2.8%; through terraces 34.5%; back-to-backs 61.9%; houses built in terraces in one form or another represented 96.4% of the total.<sup>19</sup> Comparative figures for the study area for the period 1868 - 1914 show that: detached villas represented 1.5% of the total; semi-detached villas represented 7.4%; through terraces represented 69.4%; back-to-backs represented 19.2%; houses built in terraces in one form or another represented 88.6% of the total.<sup>20</sup>

The proportion of back-to-back dwellings to other house types erected in the study area was much lower than most other suburbs of Leeds, however, the study area forms only one part of the much larger former township of Headingley-cum-Burley. It is most probable that had a similar set of figures been available for all of the out-township, the distribution of the various house types erected would be closer to those for the whole of Leeds. This would apply particularly to the numbers of back-to-backs due to the fact that a large number of these were erected in Burley which is situated to the south of and outside the study area boundary.

(9) During the period of the greatest expansion of speculative housing in the study area, the majority of developers were drawn from the ranks of men who were already involved in some aspect of building or the allied professions.

Findings from the study area show that, although there were a number of entrepreneurs willing to act as speculative builders as well as a number of developers who built for owner-occupation, the majority of developers were either builders, building tradesmen, architects or surveyors. Builders or building tradesmen were responsible for 67% of all houses erected in the study area between 1868 and 1914, whereas architects and surveyors were responsible for a further 14%

of the total. This meant that almost 81% of the houses, including those built for owner-occupation, were erected by persons who in some way were connected with the building industry.<sup>21</sup> Dyos in his study of Camberwell suggested that there were a number of amateurs who were drawn into speculation by the attraction of high profits who in later years described themselves as builders. There were cases of this happening in the study area but usually the individual involved had some connection with the building industry in the first instance, for example as a materials supplier or paving contractor. It is not known how typical the study area is in respect of the type of developers involved in house-building compared with the whole of Leeds. What is clear from the study area is that private individuals such as vicars and clerks who had money to invest in housing preferred to lend the money on private mortgages to others who were willing to undertake building operations.

- (10) The sources of finance for most housing developers in the study area, whether building for speculation or for owner-occupation, was a wide network of individuals who lent money in the form of private mortgages.

Deed packets for houses situated in the study area contain documents which describe in great detail the various mortgage transactions involved in both the purchase of land and building operations. There was on occasions some considerable distance between the source of the finance and the place where the money was invested: the go-betweens who brought the lender and borrower together were nearly always members of the legal profession.

It is most probable that the study area was not an exception in this practice of developers obtaining finance from individuals in various parts of the county and country through an old boy network of solicitor's offices. Treen has suggested that it occurred elsewhere in Leeds though without making the legal connection.<sup>22</sup> If the practice was widespread in other suburbs of Leeds and in other developing towns, then the role of the nineteenth-century solicitor as a financial agent to speculative building operations is worthy of further investigation.



- (11) Examination of deposited building plans for terrace housing erected in the study area would suggest that although there was comparatively little freedom for a wide variation in plan types for back-to-back dwellings, the plan configuration for through terraces was by no means standardised. In all cases the cross-wall width was the prime generator of the plan layout.

Findings from the deposited building plans approved for dwellings to be erected in the study area showed that cross-wall widths for back-to-backs varied only between 13 ft and 20 ft. This coupled with the fact that back additions were not possible due to the very nature of the house type, meant that few variations in plan layout were possible. In contrast, the cross-wall widths for through terraces on approved plans for the study area varied from 12 ft. to 28 ft. With the added flexibility that back additions provided, a great number of variations of plan types were possible when constructing through terraces of different sizes.<sup>23</sup>

Examination of deposited plans for all Leeds showed a larger number of smaller back-to-backs than those found in the study area which tended to be mainly of the larger scullery type. It is also clear from the sample of deposited house plans for all Leeds that the through houses in the study area were fairly typical of those erected elsewhere in Leeds. However, a detailed comparison of house plans and plan variations was not carried out.

- (12) Speculative developers in the study area, especially builders, often amended external elevations prepared by local architects in order to incorporate architectural decorative elements of their own choice.

Comparison of the approved drawings prepared before work commenced on site and visual inspection of completed dwellings would suggest that this practice was widespread in the study area after 1880. Hans Van Lemmen has suggested that this was also common practice based on his observations of housing in Woodhouse, Leeds, but his findings were only related to a very small number of completed dwellings.<sup>24</sup>

### 16.3 Recommendations Relating to Further Research

Suggestions for further research can be divided into three major categories: those where some further research or investigations would add to the knowledge or fill in gaps in the knowledge gained by the writer's work on the study area; those where further research would show how findings from the study area related to or were typical of nineteenth-century housing development in the whole of Leeds; those where further research would indicate how the findings and conclusions drawn from the study area related to the development of similar areas in other towns.

Suggestions for further research coming under the first category of those which would add to the study area findings, can be summarized as follows:

- (1) Deeds relating to houses now in private ownership could be examined in order to find out more about the way in which individual estates developed. This would be particularly useful if houses were selected on estates or parts of estates where few dwellings are owned by Leeds Corporation.
- (2) An examination of a number of interiors of dwellings could be carried out in order to attempt to assess the extent of internal decorative elements such as marble fireplaces, ceiling roses, plaster cornices, stained and coloured glass etc., which were originally provided by the builder.
- (3) Further attempts could be made to find builders merchants' catalogues in order to price external decorative elements. If sufficient information could be found, a quantity surveying exercise could be carried out to calculate an estimate of the extra over cost of decorative elements compared with erecting a plain facade.
- (4) By reference to street directories, a social profile could be drawn up to show the occupations of those persons who occupied the houses in the study area between 1838 and 1914.

Suggestions for further research coming under the second category of those which would show how findings from the study area related to the whole of Leeds can be summarized as follows:



- (5) An attempt to ascertain to what extent developers who built houses in the study area were also active as developers elsewhere in Leeds would be a useful exercise.
- (6) Further attempts to find business records relating to builders who were operating in Leeds in the nineteenth century may reveal more detailed information concerning the way speculative house-building was carried out. Ledgers or account books listing financial transactions relating to the purchasing of building materials, payments from clients and the sale or letting of completed dwellings would be particularly useful.
- (7) A detailed study of the business addresses of architects with practices in the centre of Leeds during the last century, would show that many occupied offices in the same buildings and, at different times, the same rooms. The frequency with which business addresses were found to coincide in terms of the same building or street, would give some indication as to how close knit the architectural community of Leeds was during the period.
- (8) A complete indexing of all the deposited building plans held at the Leeds Archives Department should be carried out. An index kept with the drawings stating the drawing number, the date, the type of development, the name of the developer and the name of the plan depositor would be invaluable for future research work involving the history of building in Leeds for the period they cover.

Suggestions for further research coming under the third category of those which would indicate how the findings and conclusions drawn from the study area related to the development of similar areas in other towns, can be summarized as follows:

- (9) A similar study of an area of a suburb in another town could be carried out in order to compare findings.
- (10) A detailed comparison could be made between the findings of the study area with those related to the development of nineteenth-century housing based on leasehold rather than freehold tenure.



- (11) The way in which individuals provided private mortgages to finance housing developments on a national basis could be investigated and the role of the solicitor in the process more accurately determined.
- (12) A detailed examination of deposited house plans in other towns or cities such as Liverpool, or Bradford (where almost complete records are still in the local authorities' hands), could be carried out in order to ascertain the degree of involvement of local architects in the design process.

#### 16.4 Postscript

'Because they are so many and the same,  
The little houses row on weary row;  
Because they are so loveless and so lame  
It were a bitter thing to tell them so.  
And ill to laugh at those who hither came  
Not without hope and not without a glow,  
And who, perchance, by sorrow struck or shame  
Not without tears look back before they go.'

Humbert Wolfe





## NOTES

### CHAPTER 16 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1 Fraser, p. 83 - 84.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 M.W. Beresford, 'Prosperity Street and Others', in Leeds and its Region, p. 186 - 197. See also M.W. Beresford, 'Walks Round Red Brick', printed in 20 issues of the Reporter, (the newsletter published for members of the University of Leeds), University of Leeds, 1977 - 8.
- 4 C. Wilton, 'Clementhorpe: A Case for Conservation?' Unpublished dissertation, Diploma in Conservation Studies, University of York, 1977, p. 5.
- 5 See Chapter 6, p.149.
- 6 See Ibid., p. 151.
- 7 See Table 30.
- 8 See Ibid.
- 9 See Chapter 6, p. 137.
- 10 See Chapter 9, p. 38.
- 11 See Chapter 10, p. 88.
- 12 See Ibid., p. 92.
- 13 Treen, p. 394.
- 14 See Table 48.
- 15 C. Wilton, op.cit., p. 5 - 14, especially p. 11 and p. 13.
- 16 G.C. Dickinson, 'Passenger Transport Developments', in M.W. Beresford and G.R.J. Jones (eds.), Leeds and Its Region, p. 168 - 9.
- 17 M.W. Beresford, 'Walks Round Red Brick', issue number 12, printed in the Reporter, the University of Leeds, 1978. See also Treen, p. 124, p.210, p. 344.
- 18 Fraser, p. 105.
- 19 See Table 15.
- 20 See Table 19.
- 21 See Table 30.
- 22 Treen, p. 236 - 7, p. 243, p. 375.
- 23 See Chapter 12 and Appendix 15.
- 24 See Chapter 15, p. 264.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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#### Deposited Building Plans

For references to plans relating to houses approved for the study area - see Appendix 3.

#### Deposited Estate Plans

For references to Leeds Corporation deposited estate plans, Leeds Archives Department estate plans in business records, and Thoresby Society Estate plans - see Appendix 1.

#### Deposited Estate Agents' Papers

For references to Leeds Archives Department, Hepper Sale Particulars - see Appendix 1.

#### Deposited Solicitors' Papers

For references to Leeds Archives Department AM and DB/M solicitors' papers - See Appendix 1.

#### House Deeds

For references to deeds relating to houses in the ownership of Leeds Corporation - See Appendix 2.

#### Merchants' and Manufacturers' Catalogues

For references to builders merchants' and manufacturers' catalogues - see Appendix 22.

### B.2 Other Sources

#### Census Returns

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#### Leeds Archives Department, Miscellaneous Sources

- Ref. DB 55 Plan of Headingley Gardens Estate.....1870 - 2, property of Henry Cowper Marshall Esq.
- Ref. DB 220 Cardigan Estate with East Ardsley, Headingley and Bramley Inclosures.
- Ref. AM A plan of houses (particulars annexed) showing what may be built at a cost of £403. 0. 0d. each at St. John's Hill. The property of D. & J. Eastwood. (unlisted solicitors papers).
- Ref. DB/M488 Plans of four through houses to be erected in Bradford & Cavendish Roads, Idle for Mr. Henry Hobson, 1899.



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