History and Local Background

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An Examination of the Origins and Sources of Humberstone Garden Suburb, Leicester, (1907-1914)

By
M D Forrester, BA (Hons), Leicester Polytechnic

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the M A Degree (Victorian Studies) University of Leicester, 1984

55 Laburnum Road, Leicester, LE5 1FS
Phone 0116 276 0767 • Fax 0116 276 0767
Email: emma@anchortenants.co.uk

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The aim of this research is to examine the origins and sources of Humberstone Garden Suburb, Leicester, owned by Anchor Tenants Limited, which thrived as a self-styled "autonomous" community. Between 1907 and 1914 the tenants acknowledged it as their "utopia". In different form, it is still in existence today, 1984, and run by a management committee according to the rules of the Co-Partnership Tenants Association, founded in 1907 by Henry Vivian. Vivian was a leading figure in the "co-partnership in industry" and the "co-partnership in housing" movements towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Many of the origins of, and sources for, Humberstone Garden Suburb can be traced to Robert Owen's sociological statements formulated in A New View of Society (1813), whose threads run through two important nineteenth century movements: the Co-Operative Movement and the Garden City Movement. The two movements came together at Ealing (Brentham Way) Garden Suburb in 1905-7, and provided the blueprint for Humberstone Garden Suburb, Leicester in 1907.

In researching Vivian's involvement at Letchworth, Ealing and Humberstone Garden Suburb, I have many people to thank. Especially, I am grateful to Thomas Vass, Chairman of the Management Committee, Humberstone Garden Suburb, for allowing access to original documents, Minute Books, drawings of house plans and designs, and the use of books belonging to the estate.

I also wish to thank: Mrs Cadwaller, Librarian and Archivist, the Garden City Museum; Roy Garrett and Gillian Lonergan, Librarians, The Co-Operative Union, Manchester; Jim McClosky, Librarian, The Worley Memorial Library, Stanford Hall, Loughborough; The Library staff, The British Library, London; Aubrey Stephenson, Librarian, The Leicester Collection, the Reference Library, Leicester; and Mr England, Library and Archives, The Leicester Mercury office; also the staff of the Leicester University Library for obtaining archive documents and inter-library loans so efficiently and obligingly.

Introduction

This dissertation was written as the result of a promise to elderly inhabitants of Humberstone Garden Suburb, whose parents created the community, and who feared that their short history might well die with them. Research has revealed that the ideology and impetus that created Humberstone Garden Suburb in the early twentieth century are closely linked with, and form a continuing part of, certain ideas, experiences and empirical experiments of the nineteenth century.

The history of co-operation within a defined community goes back, in England, to Saxon and Norman villages and, in central Europe, to communities experimenting with communism during the Reformation. The philosophical idea of the ordered community can be traced from Plato's Republic, through New Atlantis and Sir Thomas More's Utopia to Robert Owen's A New View of Society of 1813. During the nineteenth century, the ideology emerged from theories and fiction into practical fact, culminating in two successful pioneer communities at the turn of the century: Letchworth, the First Garden City (1903) and Ealing, Brentham Garden Suburb (1905-7). Ealing, chiefly the work of Henry Vivian, was the 'blue-print' for all co-partnership communities, of which Humberstone Garden Suburb was the first in the provinces.

Chapter One outlines the history of Humberstone Garden Suburb from its inception to 1984. The founders, the Anchor Boot and Shoe Production Company, are introduced in their historical and social context.

In Chapter Two, Robert Owen's faith in communitarian principles, co-operation and co-partnership in industry are explored because they are seminal to the growth of the co-operative movement and because co-partnership ideals were a feature of Humberstone Garden Suburb. The origins of industrial villages for factory workers are also traced since these communities gave practical demonstration to many of Owen's communitarian principles.

Chapter Three examines the contemporary sources of the suburb, looking at Ebenezer Howard's garden city movement, which incorporated land, housing and town planning reform. Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin planned the layout of Letchworth Garden City and the Garden Suburbs at Hampstead, Brentham and Humberstone. Parallels are drawn between the philosophical outlooks of Howard, Vivian and Unwin.

In the final chapter, four, the suburb is examined under thematic headings arising from the first three chapters:

1. Was the suburb utopian in practice?

2. The importance of village imagery and sense of environment.

3. Nature as morally regenerative as well as useful to man, and housing reform generally.

The Conclusion summarises the thoughts and activities containing the communitarian thread from Owen in the early nineteenth century to the success of co-operative, co-partnership communities at the beginning of the twentieth century, and points to queries and anomalies that arise from the investigation.

Chapter

1

History and Local Background of Humberstone Garden Suburb, Leicester, 1907-1934

Introduction

The building of Humberstone Garden Suburb, Leicester (Fig.1) was inspired by an experimental new community being developed at Brentham Garden Estate, Ealing (Fig.2) (1905-1907), the first co-partnership garden suburb and a model for future Co-partnership Tenant Societies. By 1914, there were fourteen of these societies and, eventually, a total of eighteen were registered in England (Fig.3). Based on an economic structure specific to co-partnership housing, capital was raised from shares and loan stock, with a dividend paid from profits (in proportion to rent) to all tenant shareholders.

Humberstone Garden Suburb can, today, be located on the map of Leicester between Keyham Lane and Netherhall Road to the north and south, and flanked by the villages of Humberstone and Scraptoft (Fig.4). The suburb was created out of the vision and united efforts of individuals working at the Anchor Boot and Shoe Production Society, Asfordby Street, North Evington, Leicester (Fig.5) and, with the exception of schools and industry in situ; it was a self-contained, autonomous community between the years 1907 and 1914.

The Anchor Boot and Shoe Company was an offshoot of the Equity Boot and Shoe Co-operative Production Company, Western Road, Leicester. By the end of the nineteenth century, there were a large number of such societies in Leicester, of which many were in the boot and shoe manufacturing trade. A brief history of this Leicestershire industry explains why this was so.

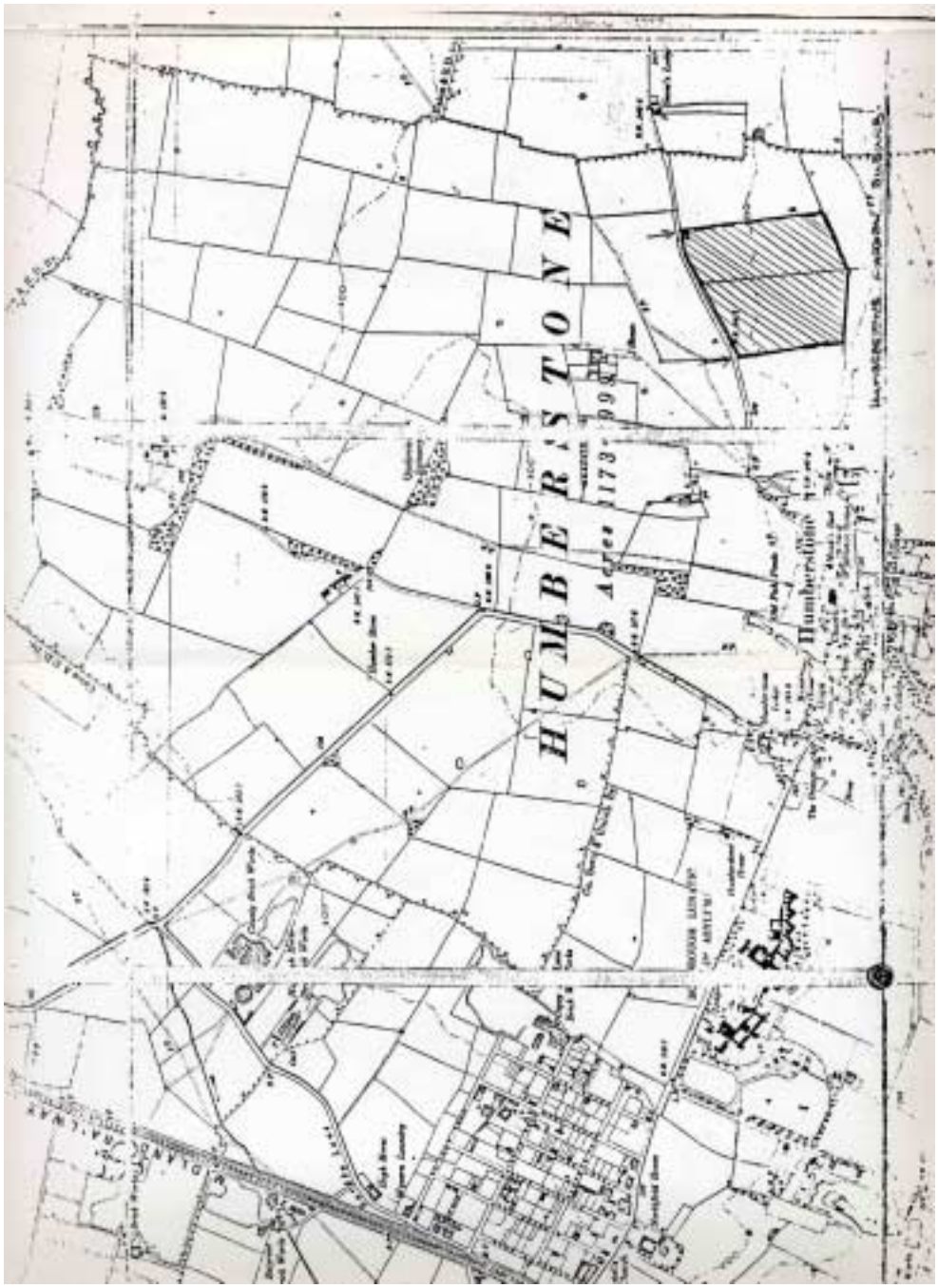


Figure 1 – Map of Humberstone 1902

Industrial background

From the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, England moved from being a predominantly agricultural (rural) society to becoming the first industrial (urbanised) nation, a process that brought with it a vast social upheaval and in which pauperism increased alongside the growth of new wealth. This paradoxical situation, occurring throughout the nineteenth century, was the main theme of Benjamin Disraeli's Sybil or Two Nations (1845) and was taken up by others such as the American Henry George in Progress and Poverty (1879) and by Alfred Russell Wallace in Land Nationalisation (1892).

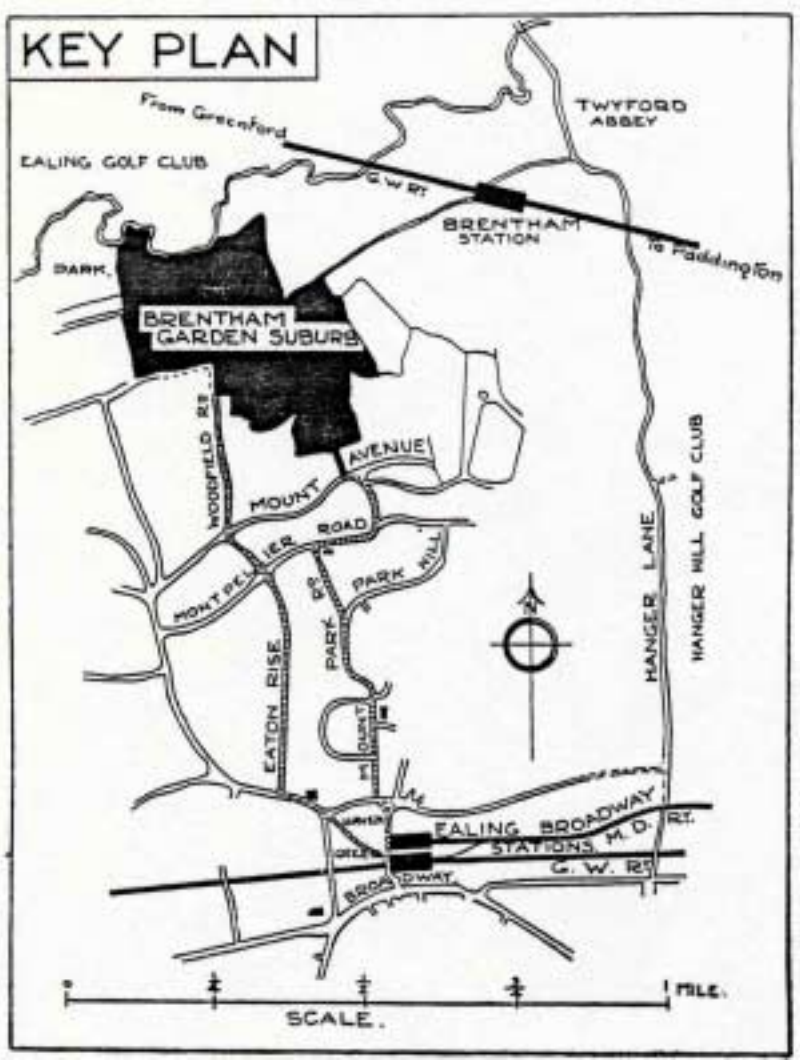
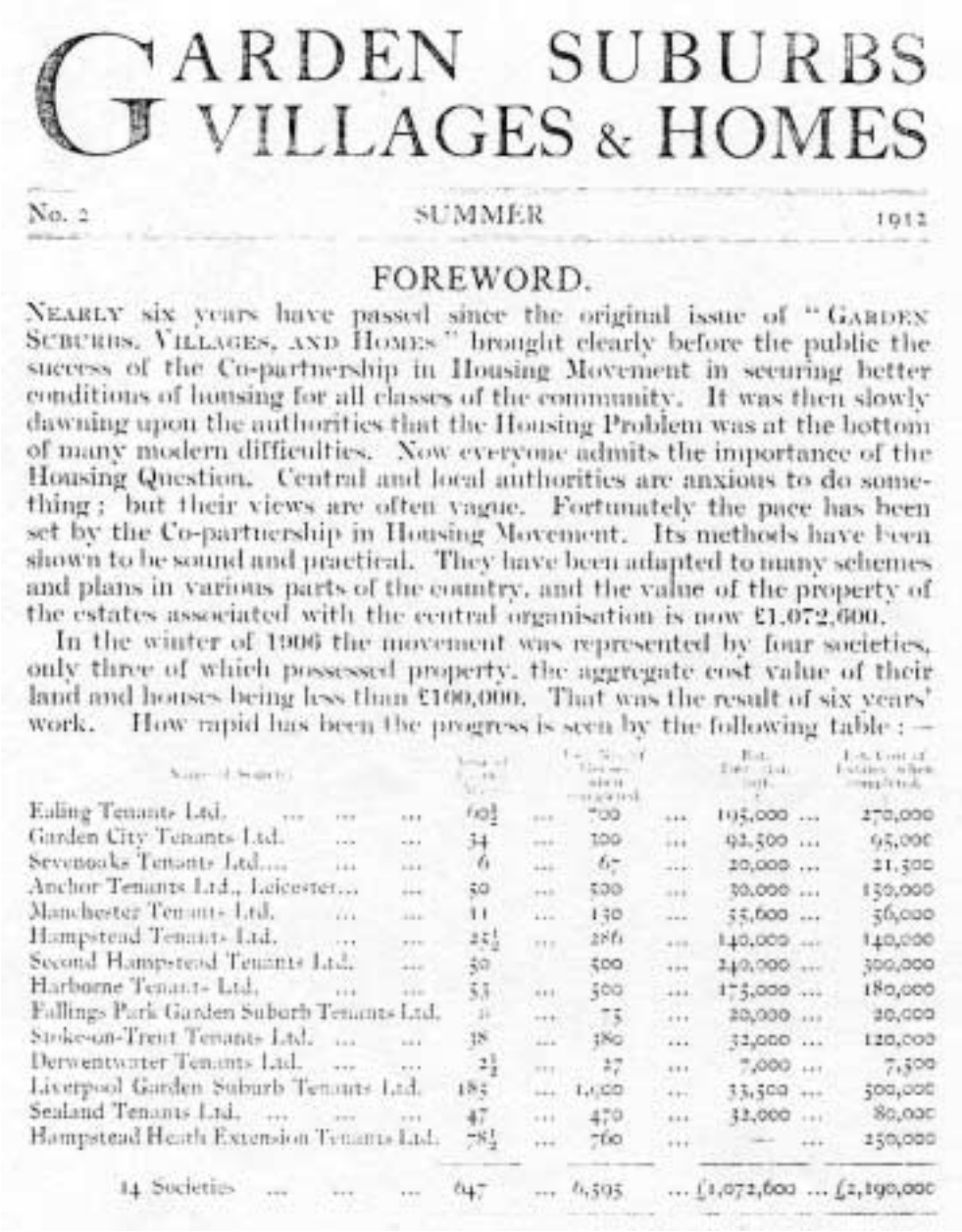


Figure 2 – Brentham Garden Suburb, Ealing

A further disruption of the economic and social fabric of the nation was caused by the dramatic population increase of 1.4% per annum (FN 1).

The town of Leicester was similarly affected. For centuries, it had been, primarily, a market centre due to its central geographical position in the county and in England, in the midst of rich agricultural land. The town's manufacturing base was almost wholly dependent upon the making of stockings (in 1826 regarded as "the largest in the world" (FN 2)) and upon boots and shoes, both industries organised on the domestic system. Between 1715 and 1815, the town's population quadrupled (FN 3). From the end of the Napoleonic wars, however, general economic depression and the local loss of military contracts produced a major slump, low incomes and unemployment, which continued to almost mid-century. A greater diversity of industry, coupled with mechanical innovation brought gradual improvement. By 1871, footwear manufacture in Leicester had surpassed that of its major rival Northampton and, by the end of the century, had overtaken in terms of employment the long established hosiery industry. Population between 1815 and 1914 increased nine-fold (FN 3) but the fact that footwear primarily employed men and hosiery primarily employed women (FN 4) contributed to the relative prosperity of the town during the



GARDEN SUBURBS VILLAGES & HOMES

No. 2 SUMMER 1912

FOREWORD.

NEARLY six years have passed since the original issue of "GARDEN SUBURBS, VILLAGES, AND HOMES" brought clearly before the public the success of the Co-partnership in Housing Movement in securing better conditions of housing for all classes of the community. It was then slowly dawning upon the authorities that the Housing Problem was at the bottom of many modern difficulties. Now everyone admits the importance of the Housing Question. Central and local authorities are anxious to do something; but their views are often vague. Fortunately the pace has been set by the Co-partnership in Housing Movement. Its methods have been shown to be sound and practical. They have been adapted to many schemes and plans in various parts of the country, and the value of the property of the estates associated with the central organisation is now £1,072,600.

In the winter of 1906 the movement was represented by four societies, only three of which possessed property, the aggregate cost value of their land and houses being less than £100,000. That was the result of six years' work. How rapid has been the progress is seen by the following table: —

Ealing Tenants Ltd.	... ...	69½	...	700	...	105,000 ...	270,000
Garden City Tenants Ltd.	... ...	34	...	300	...	92,500 ...	95,000
Sevenoaks Tenants Ltd....	... ...	6	...	67	...	20,000 ...	21,300
Anchor Tenants Ltd., Leicester...	...	50	...	500	...	30,000 ...	150,000
Manchester Tenants Ltd.	... ...	11	...	130	...	55,600 ...	56,000
Hampstead Tenants Ltd.	... ...	25½	...	286	...	140,000 ...	140,000
Second Hampstead Tenants Ltd.	...	50		500	...	240,000 ...	300,000
Harborne Tenants Ltd.	... ...	53	...	500	...	175,000 ...	180,000
Fallings Park Garden Suburb Tenants Ltd.		8	...	75	...	20,000 ...	20,000
Stoke-on-Trent Tenants Ltd.	... ...	38	...	380	...	32,000 ...	120,000
Derwentwater Tenants Ltd.	... ...	2½	...	27	...	7,000 ...	7,300
Liverpool Garden Suburb Tenants Ltd.		185	...	1,900	...	33,500 ...	500,000
Sealand Tenants Ltd.	... ...	47	...	470	...	32,000 ...	80,000
Hampstead Heath Extension Tenants Ltd.		78½	...	760	...	— ...	250,000
14 Societies	... ...	647	...	6,595	...	£1,072,600 ...	£2,190,000

Figure 3 – Table of progress of the fourteen Co-partnership Tenants' Societies (1912)

second half of the nineteenth century. Since employers and employees alike were reluctant to abandon the domestic 'putting out' system, despite increasing mechanisation, it was only in the last decades of the century that the factory system developed in Leicester (FN 5). Prior to such re-organisation, many processes had been carried out in separate workshops, often under sub-contract from a central merchant, factor or 'manufacturer'. Footwear making machinery was always hired from its manufacturers, never bought outright, and it was thus possible to set up in business without major capital outlay. This enabled small firms and shared workshops to flourish and encouraged, as all processes began

to be brought together under one roof, the establishment of co-operative production societies.

Figure 4 – Map of Leicester (1984) showing the location of Humberstone Garden Suburb

The Leicester Equity Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Society Limited was formed in 1887. A pioneer co-partnership society, modelled on the lines of the Christian Socialist workshops (Christian Socialists were still a great power and influence on co-operative thought at this time (see below) (FN 6)), its formation was an event of considerable importance in the history of co-partnership in

industry, not only in Leicester but throughout the co-operative movement (FN 7). Many of the men involved were originally employed by the Co-operative Wheatsheaf Works in Leicester (1862) where the Directors did not favour the views of Vansittart Neal and other Christian Socialists who advocated co-partnership in industry as a means of progress.

Disgruntled employees broke away to form an alternative system to that of being just wage earners to that of democratic management, giving the workers a preponderance of government and controlling power (FN 8).

E O Greening (1836-1923), who established the Labour Association in 1883 for the promotion of enterprises on co-partnership lines (FN 9) was consulted. Greening's friends were Owenites and Christian Socialists (FN 10) and founded the Co-operative Production Federation in 1882, during a slump in trade, to enable co-partnership production factories to survive by union. Rules for the new Leicester society were suggested by Greening, based on Owen's theories and, according to Amos Mann (FN 11), incorporated most of the features of M. Godin of Guise (FN 12). They provided for a division of profits, which ensured for workers a fair return for their labour.

The Equity Boot and Shoe society proved successful and moved to a spacious factory in Western Road, Leicester, which they were able to purchase outright in 1894.

Anchor Boot and Shoe Production Society, Leicester

In 1892, J T Taylor, a member of the Management Committee of the Equity Boot and Shoe society, recognising the growing market for children's footwear, suggested their manufacture by a separate business run on the same basis as the Equity firm. For this purpose, the Anchor Boot and Shoe Production Society was formed and registered, in 1893, under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of the same year (FN 13). Manufacturing began at once in a workshop in Friar's Causeway and, as trade increased, it became necessary in 1894 to find larger and better premises. Negotiations were opened with Arthur Wakerley (the architect) who was then developing North Evington, to build a two-storey factory in Asfordby Street (Fig.5) opposite the Market Square, to be let at an annual rental of £50. The Society took possession of the factory in 1895. Hitherto, production had been by hand or hand operated machines. In September 1895 the introduction of powered machinery was suggested but enough workers were opposed to the idea that it was not until after August 1896 that new machines began to be installed. These helped to meet the expanding trade of the Society and, far from putting men out of work, the number of workers had to be increased (FN 14). Between 1895 and 1898 trade more than doubled; further exten8ions were made to the factory, trebling the accommodation. The Society then decided to purchase the factory from

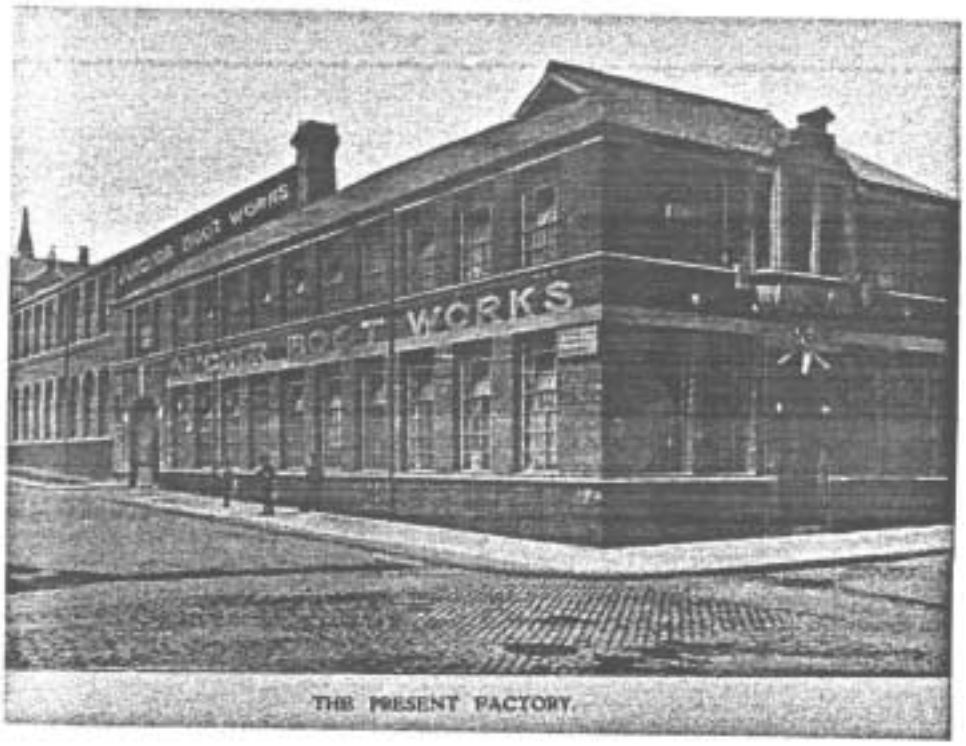
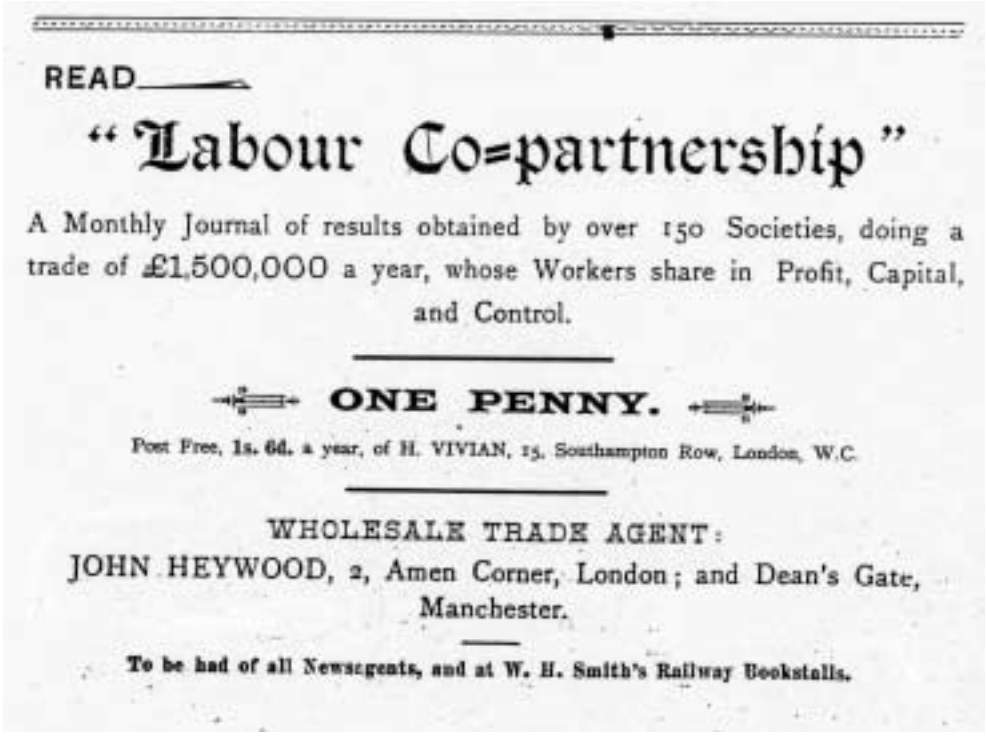


Figure 5 – The Anchor Boot works, Asfordby Street, North Evington, Leicester (1900)

Wakerley by instalments; the sale was completed in 1907. Writing in 1898, Thomas Blandford (FN 15) upheld the reputation that Leicester had gained as a centre of co-operative effort and, referring to the Anchor Boot and Shoe society, said that it was started on the broad basis of membership being open to all whose character justified them being accepted (FN 16), which suggests that those who applied to join were vetted -but by whom? - and/or that middle class supporters and advisors expected only men of a calibre that met with their approval to become members. Blandford's book (FN 17) published the rules under which the society operated.

Henry Vivian (1868-1930) joined the Labour Association at its formation, representing trades unions. He made the acquaintance of Blandford and together they published a monthly magazine Labour Co-Partnership (first issued in 1894) (Facsimile Fig.6), as a propaganda organ for co-partnership production societies. At Blandford's request, Vivian wrote an article in his Co-operators' Year Book, 1902, on his housing experiment at Ealing, entitled "An Interesting Co-operative Housing Experiment" and detailing the development of the site owned by Ealing Tenants Limited, 1901 (Appendix A).

Stimulated by this article, the Anchor workers invited Vivian to Leicester to give two lectures in 1902 - "Economics for the Working man" and "Co-operation and the Housing of People". As a result of visit and his article on Ealing, efforts were made by the Anchor workers to collect sums of money on a regular basis to accumulate capital for a co-operative housing venture of their own, similar to that at Ealing. They registered, in 1902, under the Industrial and


READ

"Labour Co-partnership"

A Monthly Journal of results obtained by over 150 Societies, doing a trade of £1,500,000 a year, whose Workers share in Profit, Capital, and Control.

ONE PENNY.

Post Free, 1s. 6d. a year, of H. VIVIAN, 15, Southampton Row, London, W.C.

WHOLESALE TRADE AGENT:
JOHN HEYWOOD, 2, Amen Corner, London; and Dean's Gate, Manchester.

To be had of all Newsagents, and at W. H. Smith's Railway Bookstalls.

Figure 6 – Labour Co-partnership – facsimile of Journal (from 1902)

Provident Societies Act (1893) as Anchor Tenants Society Limited, taking the trade name of their co-operative production firm. The name of the Society and those of the Chairman (M Wilford) and the Secretary (J T Taylor) ware confirmed in minutes dated 6 May 1902. The objective of the society (General Rule Three), to carry on the trade of buying, selling, hiring and letting land and buildings, and to carry on the trade of builders, was identical to that of Ealing Tenants Limited 1901 (FN 18). The rules for the Society were established at the same meeting (Appendix B).

It was originally intended to build the new community around the existing factory as a real "co-operative community ... with all life's necessities met and lived in common" (FN 19), but complications arose - the Anchor workers were not unanimously agreed on that point and problems might arise in respect of members of Anchor families who worked at other factories. A scheme for housing alone was therefore considered and the idea of taking the factory to the proposed colony was also abandoned.

Humberstone Garden Suburb

According to the Anchor Tenants Society Management Committee Minutes Books (9, 10, 12 of 1903), land was looked at and carefully thought about in other parts of Leicester before deciding upon the Humberstone area. An Estates Committee was elected (29 September 1903) of three members including J T Taylor, Secretary. In regard to an estate at South Knighton, plans were

submitted by Rolleston & Co (24 September 1903); the Committee interviewed Sir John Rolleston and viewed plots of land - one on the corner of Welford Road and Seven Bridges Lane and (later on 23 December 1903) an estate in South Knighton. Enquiries were also made about land in the neighbourhood of Scraptoft; on 28 January 1904 they interviewed Woodhouse & Salisbury. According to Amos Mann, the "promoters of this scheme would have liked to have kept within the Borough boundaries of Leicester, but the price of land was absolutely prohibitive" (FN 20), particularly land which could accommodate well built, low density housing with "a good stretch of land to each house for gardens, with recreational ground and allotments for all, within easy reach of the householders".

In his chapter headed "Housing of Workers", Amos Mann skips an interesting five years in the history of the estate:

"In the year 1902 a number of Anchor workers held a meeting and forty-five of them commenced to subscribe small sums toward obtaining their object. These sums accumulated to about £500 in the space of five years" (FN 21)

But more information can be found in the Minute Books. In November 1904 an offer of land from Captain Barns Hartopp was accepted, the position of the site being only twenty-minutes walk from the tram terminus (Fig.4), but was suddenly called off when a Special Meeting in February 1905 resolved that it would be unwise to proceed with the purchase. This may well have been due to lack of funds since only £500 had been accumulated and that, already in November 1904, the Committee had decided to 'broaden' membership to attract more savers.

Another Special Meeting was called in March 1905 to discuss the situation, at which the committee decided not to send a delegate to the Co-partnership Housing Council meeting at Red Lion Square, London, "because of the expense". The tone of these men comes through the Minutes as cautious and lacking in confidence to seek advice from the right quarter. However, in May (Minutes 1905*)*, a member was selected to attend a joint meeting called for by a Mr Halstead "for the purpose of interesting Co-partnership workers in tenant societies", but nothing seems to have come of it. But there is a report in December that the Secretary, Mr Wilford, attended the Housing Council meeting, out of which initiative came some progress.

In January 1906 Miss Sybella Gurney, Secretary of the Housing Council, visited Leicester and, on 3 April 1906, Frank Litchfield, the Organising Secretary, entered into correspondence with the committee over the purchase of land at Humberstone. A Special Meeting was called on 7 April 1906, when the secretary "gave a resume of the Society's past work and objects" and moved the following resolution:

"... seeing that owing to the refusal of the Anchor Boot Society to purchase the land at Humberstone, the objects of the Society would have to be somewhat

different to that held out as an inducement to members to join. Anyone wishing to withdraw from the Society may do so on giving seven days notice to the Secretary from April 27th, 1906".

A large majority carried the resolution. Nineteen members gave notice and the money to refund them was obtained from the Production Federation Society and from the Anchor Boot and Shoe society (Minutes, 19 April 1906).

At this time, however, Anchor Tenants decided to join the Housing Council (annual subscription 5/-), which was Vivian's advisory and propaganda body established to give help and guidance to tenant associations. The Council outlined various propaganda schemes, arranged lantern lectures in connection with the educational work of the Anchor Boot and Shoe society, helped to make printing arrangements for a Prospectus publicising the objects of the Society and proposed publishing an article on Anchor Tenants in the Pioneer under the heading of "The Housing Question". Once again, the Anchor committee agreed to broaden membership and also to increase loan stock interest from 4% to 5%. These events seem to have turned the tide; consultation with Vivian produced the advice that negotiations for the purchase of land should be put in the hands of Litchfield; Sybella Gurney promised to invest £100 in the Society's Loan Stock to help them raise money for land purchase (Minutes of meetings 8 November 1906 and 5 December 1906).

Early in 1907, negotiations with Captain Hartopp for the land at Humberstone were re-opened. The initial problems (lack of sustained interest and of regular subscriptions from the workers) and Sybella Gurney's "injection of faith" in the society were later acknowledged in the Special Demonstration Supplement (No. 10a) of The Forerunner of July 1911,

"The year 1906 ended with capital still further reduced to £277. However, 1907 must ever be looked to as the turning paint in the history of the Society. Two things helped towards it success:

1. *Four years of patient plodding had been a testing time, eliminating the waverers, leaving a smaller band, more determined than ever to persevere and overcome all preliminary difficulties:*

2. *The encouragement we received from the Honorary Secretary of the Housing Council, Miss Sybella Gurney."*

By the end of 1907, the Society's capital had increased to £1500 and they entered into a contract to purchase, at £100 per acre, a forty-eight acre estate, situated at Humberstone, from Captain Barns Hartopp. At this time it was also acknowledged in the Minutes that the Anchor Prospectus had met with warm approval among leading Leicester citizens (FN 22).

Seventeen acres of land to the east, and in the parish of, Humberstone (Fig.1) were purchased outright, with the remainder on mortgage at 3.5% to be redeemed by instalments of ten acres every three years; with buying consols to

cover the land tax, conveyancing and the freehold costs clear of all charges, total cost worked out at £116 per acre (FN 23).

The site was on a north-south slope, with Keyham Lane to the north, at six hundred feet above sea level, and with an uninterrupted view across the countryside to Stoughton village. To the southwest, fields extended to North Evington and, on the east, there were no houses between the site and Scraptoft village. The estate was, therefore, situated in a pleasant rural belt, which had natural spring water. Gas mains were in fairly close proximity, but there were no storm drains or sewerage within practical distance.

This photograph, taken in 1909, shows 14 members of the Anchor Tenants' Building Department. On the extreme left is Mr. George Hern, general manager and architect, while Mr. Sam Wilford, secretary, stands on the right. Other members of the group include the brawny Fat Dan (seated on the right), Mr. Taylor (third from right), Mr. R. Law and Mr. W. Pawley (standing first and second from left) and Mr. A. Wilford and Mr. Darby (seated first and second from left). Their motto: Not greater wealth but sim-

Figure 7 – Anchor Tenants' Building Department

In October 1907 negotiations were sufficiently advanced to invite Henry Vivian's approval. A "Demonstration" was organised to take over the land formally; the ceremony was performed by (Birmingham) Councillor J S Nettlelfold (FN 24) and presided over by Henry Vivian, supported by Sir Edward Wood (Mayor of Leicester), Councillors Flint, Walker, Burrows, Mann and Taylor, the Revd A Manwell and Dr C K Millard (Medical Officer of Health). A large number of prominent Leicester citizens were also present, to show their interest in the new housing experiment by working men (FN 25). Vivian and Nettlefold addressed the meeting, both pointing out that there was more to the housing problem than just the building of houses; the present scheme, they said, was to give the poor man the same advantages as the rich one had in regard to living in the country.

Raymond Unwin was asked to plan the layout for the first stage of development (FN 26). Plots ware drawn for among members anxious to move to the estate. A building manager, George Hern, was appointed, who developed seventeen acres with his team of twelve assistants, which formed the Anchor Tenants Building Society (Fig.7). By buying in bulk and using direct labour, costs were kept to a

Figure 8 – The first pair of cottages, 101-103 Keyham Lane.

Details of the cottages, 101-103 Keyham Lane, showing the plaque

minimum. Building began in May 1908; a memorial stone plaque was built into the first pair of cottages, numbers 101 and 103 Keyham Lane (Fig.8), on the boundary of the estate. Lady Rolleston formally declared these cottages open in

October 1908 her husband Sir John Rolleston MP delivered the address (FN 27). The cottages had cost £450 the pair and were occupied later that year at a rental of 6/6d per week, including four hundred square yards of land per cottage. (Fig.9)

Progress was maintained. By September 1910 forty-nine houses had been built and occupied. Keyham Lane was developed first, followed by some houses in Lilac Avenue, two isolated ones at the end of Laburnum Road, near to the farm, with later development in Laburnum Road and Fern Rise. Gardens were spacious and well stocked with fruit trees and bushes, the Garden Committee having decided which were the most suitable trees and shrubs for the type of soil.

More capital was needed. Anchor Tenants affiliated to the Co-partnership Tenants Limited and, with their help, a loan was negotiated with the Public Works Loan Commission (FN 28) and the Management Committee attempted to open negotiations for mortgages on eight houses. Amos Mann and J T Taylor (President and Secretary respectively) arranged to visit Vivian and Frank Litchfield in London to discuss "the whole matter of our relation with Federated tenants" (Minutes of 8 March 1910). Later W Hutchings and C Ramsbotham (FN 29) visited Humberstone Garden Suburb "with a view to rendering financial help". Litchfield laid down conditions and terms upon which financial help could be granted.

Anchor Tenants then changed their rules "in accordance with the Model Rules furnished by Co-Partnership Tenants" (Minutes 8 March 1910) (Appendix B), which suggests that cash flow was not sufficient under the old system, tenants were not contributing enough share stock and perhaps local stock was not

Figure 9 – Formal opening of the first pair of cottages, Ocyober 1908

selling well. Further, by reducing Unwin's housing density of ten-twelve houses per acre to seven-eight, they were interfering with the fine economic balance. (Fig.10)

In October 1910 the first number of their monthly magazine, The Anchor Tenants Forerunner was published, to keep tenants in touch with each other and with community activities, and to create a spirit of brotherhood and good neighbourliness. Encouragement for the community beliefs and eulogy about their estate appeared in editorials and articles, with news of a proposed Medical Society and a Choral and Debating Society. Tenants were also informed that Co-Partnership Tenants Limited had offered to invest a further £100 for every £100 share capital obtained by Anchor Tenants. Themes of co-operation, self-help, self-reliance, environmental beauty, fresh air, space, benefits of gardens and a general air of optimism, community spirit and progress permeated the magazine. In April 1912 the magazine title was changed to The Link (Fig.11) and continued in circulation until 1915, the last edition being half the size of the original due to wartime shortages.

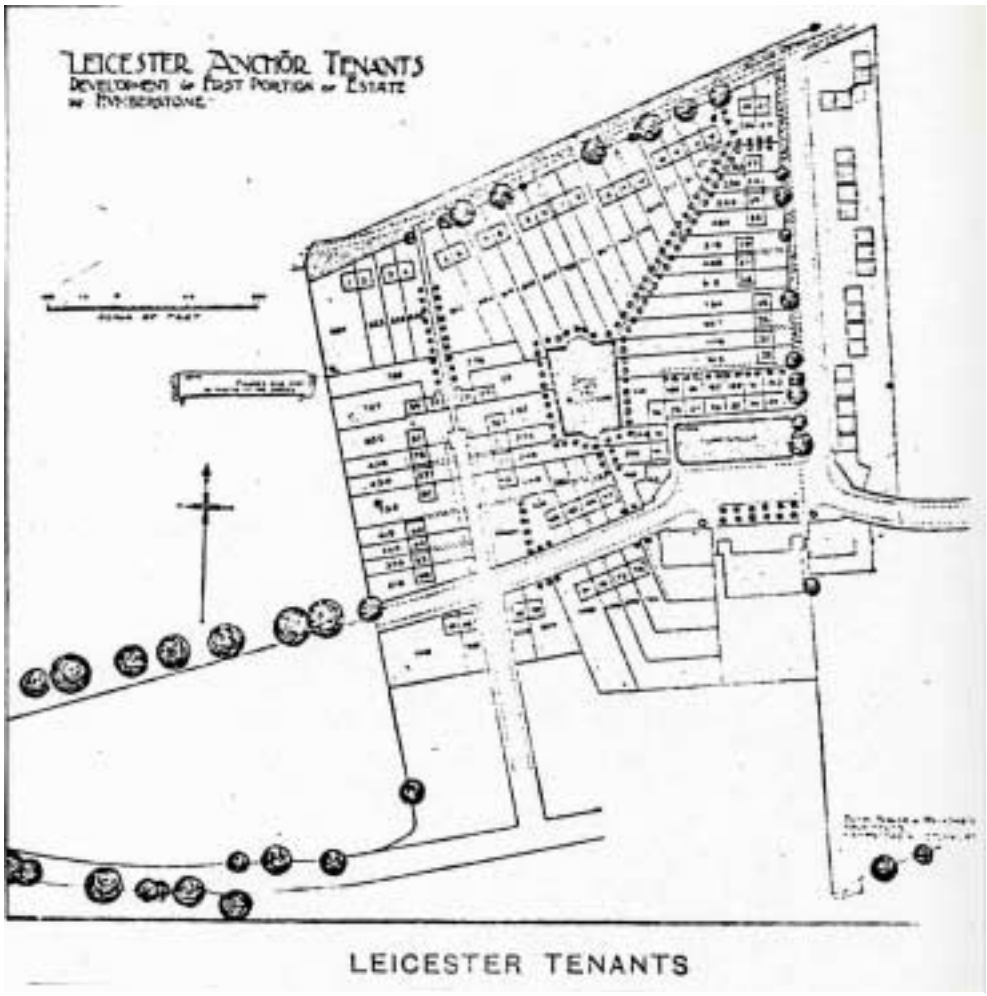
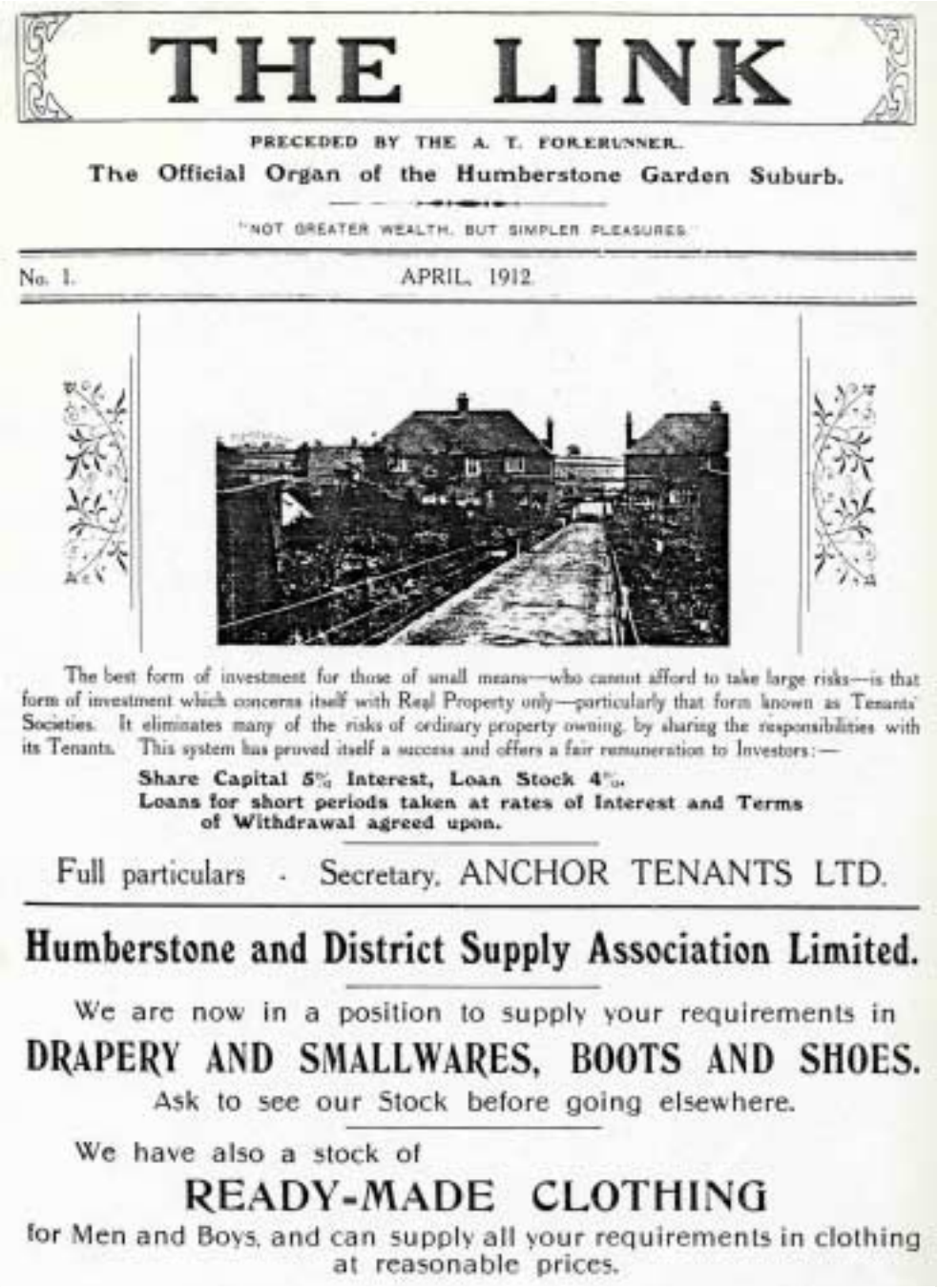


Figure 10 – Design Layout for Humberstone Garden Suburb by Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker



THE LINK

PRECEDED BY THE A. T. FORERUNNER.

The Official Organ of the Humberstone Garden Suburb.

"NOT GREATER WEALTH, BUT SIMPLER PLEASURES."

No. 1. APRIL, 1912.

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Humberstone and District Supply Association Limited.

We are now in a position to supply your requirements in

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Ask to see our Stock before going elsewhere.

We have also a stock of

READY-MADE CLOTHING

for Men and Boys, and can supply all your requirements in clothing at reasonable prices.

Figure 11 – The Link, April 1912

The opening service in connection with the new Meeting House, the Church of Christ, took place on October 28/29 (Fig.12) and was reported in the Forerunner in November 1910. The sect provided the moral tone for the whole community. Many "Anchorites" had worshipped at the Church of Christ (1865) Crafton Street, Leicester (FN 30). The sect has a long history related to industry, particularly with the boot and shoe manufacturing trade in Leicester. The Church of Christ (Appendix C) originated in America in 1811, through the work of Alexander Campbell. J T Taylor took over the leadership of the church in the early days at Humberstone Garden Suburb; he was a great friend of John

Figure 12 – Church of Christ

Plaque reads:

Humberstone Garden Suburb. Founded 1907 for Anchor Tenants Ltd., with grateful thanks to the pioneers.

Wycliffe Black, a boot and shoe manufacturer of Wigston (Fig.13), who was a powerful member of the church in Leicester, and Leader in 1890 of the Crafton Street branch. Members ran this, with no paid ministers; the sect created its own leaders. Black traces a direct link back to Alexander Campbell, the founder, as his (Black's) grandfather, James Wallis, a strict Scottish Baptist who settled in Nottingham in 1836, was a close friend of Alexander Campbell (FN 31).

Figure 13 – John Wycliffe Black, Boot and Shoe manufacturer. Factory at Wigston, Leicester.

The high moral tone was difficult to live up to; according to elderly tenants, many felt alienated from their Meeting House. If not baptized, they were not officially members, so were not allowed to contribute to the Church collection (see Appendix C). Two men who fell victim to the morality imposed: both were considered "good" and "worthy" men, both had been efficient and tireless members of the Estate Committee, but one of them unfortunately tended his garden on a Sunday and the other was deemed to be over friendly with a married lady on the estate (FN 32). Both men were caused to leave. There was, however, a sincere attempt to create the atmosphere of a meeting House, where all were welcome, and to perpetuate the ideal of brotherhood. In February 1911, Amos Mann delivered an address entitled, "The Church of God, What Is It? Can it be Found?" It was well attended and an interesting discussion took place as not all members of the audience were in full agreement with Mann's views (FN 33). As the only denomination on the estate, the Church of Christ had a powerful influence, but later the Wesleyan Church hired the Institute on Sundays to offer an alternative - or to serve Wesleyans who had joined the estate.

A second "Demonstration" took place in July 1911 (Fig. 14) to celebrate the completion of the first stage of development and to publicise their achievement,

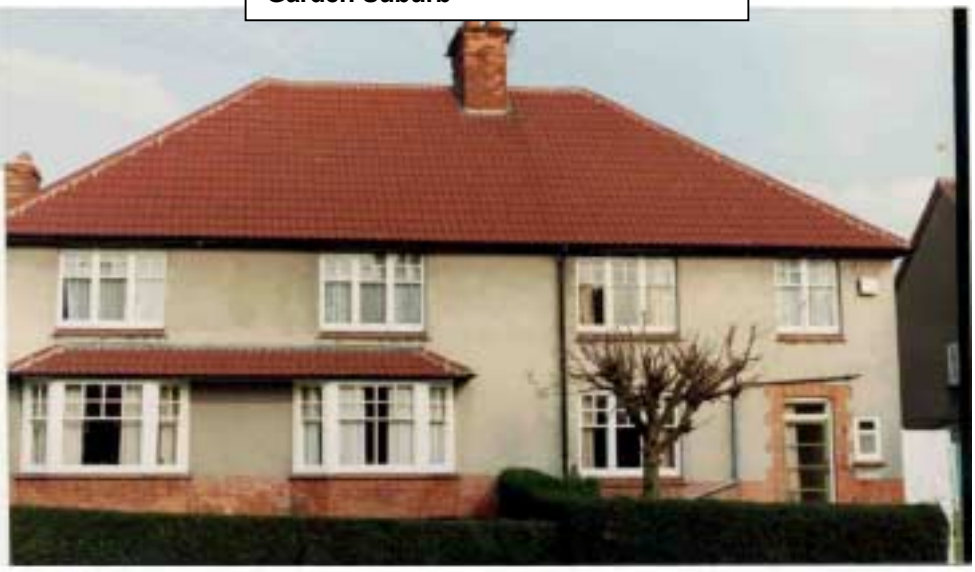
taking the form of an "Open Day", with a number of houses open for inspection by the public. Vivian was once again invited and addressed the assembled crowd, reaffirming the value of co-operation. The estate was generally admired for its healthy situation, attractive gardens and surroundings, and received wide coverage in the local press - journalists from six Leicester newspapers were present.

Figure 14 – The "Demonstration", July 1911

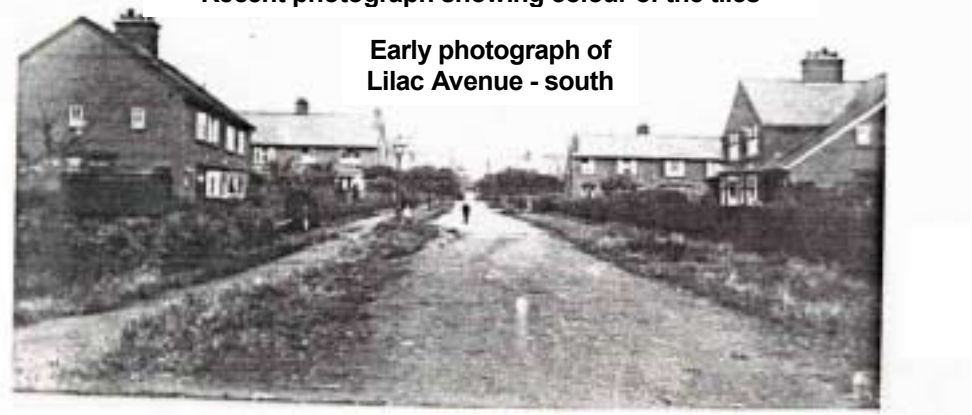
By 1911 a further twenty houses had been built and a total of sixty families housed in semi-detached houses with white rough-cast walls and dark red tiled roofs (Fig. 15), and the social life of the community had developed considerably. The second stage of the development received a serious setback when George Hern died on 13 October 1911. He was considered by all to be an admirable man as Manager of the building programme (see below, Chapter

Keyham Lane – The first houses, early photograph by Raphael Tuck & Sons Ltd.

Figure 15 – Houses at Humberstone Garden Suburb



Recent photograph showing colour of the tiles



Early photograph of Lilac Avenue - south

Five). At this stage of the development, no two houses were alike, as tenants had been allowed to dictate their requirements. A beech tree was planted at the lower end of Fern Rise (Fig.16) as a memorial to Hern, a special meeting was called, and a resolution passed that Hern's salary be continued for one month

Memorial with rusticated seats

Figure 16 – George Hern's Memorial

The beech tree (looking up Fern Rise

and that his brother, Albert, be approached to give assistance to the secretary. (Minutes of 14 October 1911). In the same Minutes, it is also recorded that Mrs Hern be offered the job of cleaning Room and Office at a fee of 2/6d per week. Mrs Hern continued to live on the estate with her two sons.

Opening Day on the Tennis Courts.

OPENING OF BOWLING GREEN.

Figure 17 – Recreational facilities at Humberstone Garden Suburb

Between 1912 and 1915, building operations proceeded but at a much slower pace and houses became standardised. More shareholders joined the Society as its fame grew. All prospective tenants were required to hold shares in the Society to a value of £50, each share costing £10; after an initial down payment, the shares could be bought by instalments of not less than 10/- per quarter. Interest of 5% and dividend on rent (usually 1/- or 1/6 in the £) would be accruing to the tenant towards his total of £50. After that, he could choose to receive two cash payments a year or to leave them in towards more shares. A maximum of £200 per member was allowed, under the Act; any tenant who acquired shares amounting to £200 lived in his house rent-free. The estate census in 1913 recorded a population of three hundred and fifty-two people.

Recreational facilities were established; a cricket pitch (Fig.17), a bowling green in 1912 (Fig.17) and the tennis courts later in 1914 (Fig.17). In 1915 the value of the estate was estimated at £33,000. By that time, the shops shown in Unwin's plan had been built (Fig.18) and occupied by a butcher, grocer and haberdasher. Over the shops were a meeting room, offices and a large room for

Laburnum Road, with the shops at the far end.

Figure 18 – The "Centre" – Laburnum Road and Shops

recreational purposes. A farm at the other end of Laburnum Road, supplied dairy food; a local resident kept bees and sold honey; another tenant delivered coal and logs to the door, and most tenants grew their own vegetables.

A Medical Society and a Distribution Society (FN 34) were established; social events, including Saturday concerts and lectures, were running smoothly. There was a variety of games clubs, Music and Debating Societies, and a Garden and Horticultural Society to choose from. Everyone's needs were taken care of. Tenants also collected together sufficient books to furnish a small lending

The New Hall, built 1937

Figure 19 – The New Hall or Institute – 1937 and Detached house built on the site of the Bowling Green.

library. Winter entertainment included dances, parties, whist drives and lectures. Christmas 'At Homes' made sure that every tenant received an invitation, and Christmas festivities included fancy dress parties, choral society functions and a carol evening. In summer there were open-air concerts, flower shows and festivals, and other Gardening Club activities. Four acres of playgrounds and open spaces provided the children and young people with outdoor amenities, with a further six acres under development. Club membership was open to all tenants, with fees kept as low as possible to retain viability. Profits from the three shops, which were run on co-operative production lines to return a dividend on purchases to each customer, also contributed towards financing the educational and social activities (FN 35). By the end of 1915, the estate had grown to ninety-three houses, but the peak of the 'utopian' period was over.

In decline

There is no doubt that the First World War severely curtailed the growth of the suburb, particularly as men left to join the armed forces. For a variety of other reasons, its social and economic structures were disrupted beyond repair; after the war, unemployment due to closure of Leicester factories (including the Anchor Boot and Shoe society), low wages, rising prices, the consequences of the General Strike of 1926, and the 1930s slump, dealt the Suburb a blow from which it never recovered. Tenants on the estate were; however, better off than most workers due to their strong community spirit and their attempts to be self sufficient. In spite of difficulties, they managed to build another fifty houses during the 1930s and 40s, bringing the total to one hundred and forty-three; main drains were laid and the water supply overhauled; a new Hall for social gatherings was built in 1937 (Fig.19) and, in the 1930s, a detached house was built on the site of the bowling green (Fig.19). In 1938-9 houses were built along the southern end of Chestnut Avenue, although land at its northern end was sold to a private builder for £4,500 as, earlier, when experiencing financial problems, the Management Committee had agreed to take on "running mortgages", which cost £4,500 to clear.

A further blow to their survival as a community was the extension of the City boundary, which, in 1938, engulfed the whole Suburb, causing the loss of their sports grounds by Compulsory Purchase Order, for which Leicester City Council recompensed the tenants at only the original 1907 purchase price. After the Council built Highlease School for the handicapped in 1950, some of the land was rented back as allotments.

The First World War dealt the Suburb a major economic blow; the effects of the Second World War almost destroyed the social structure of the estate. As younger, second generation members returned from armed service and munitions factories, this more travelled and worldly generation found difficulty in settling back into the old way of life: for many of them, it was simply not what they wanted. The war also depleted the Suburb's financial resources: the City Council insisted that the estate take out insurance against War Damage,

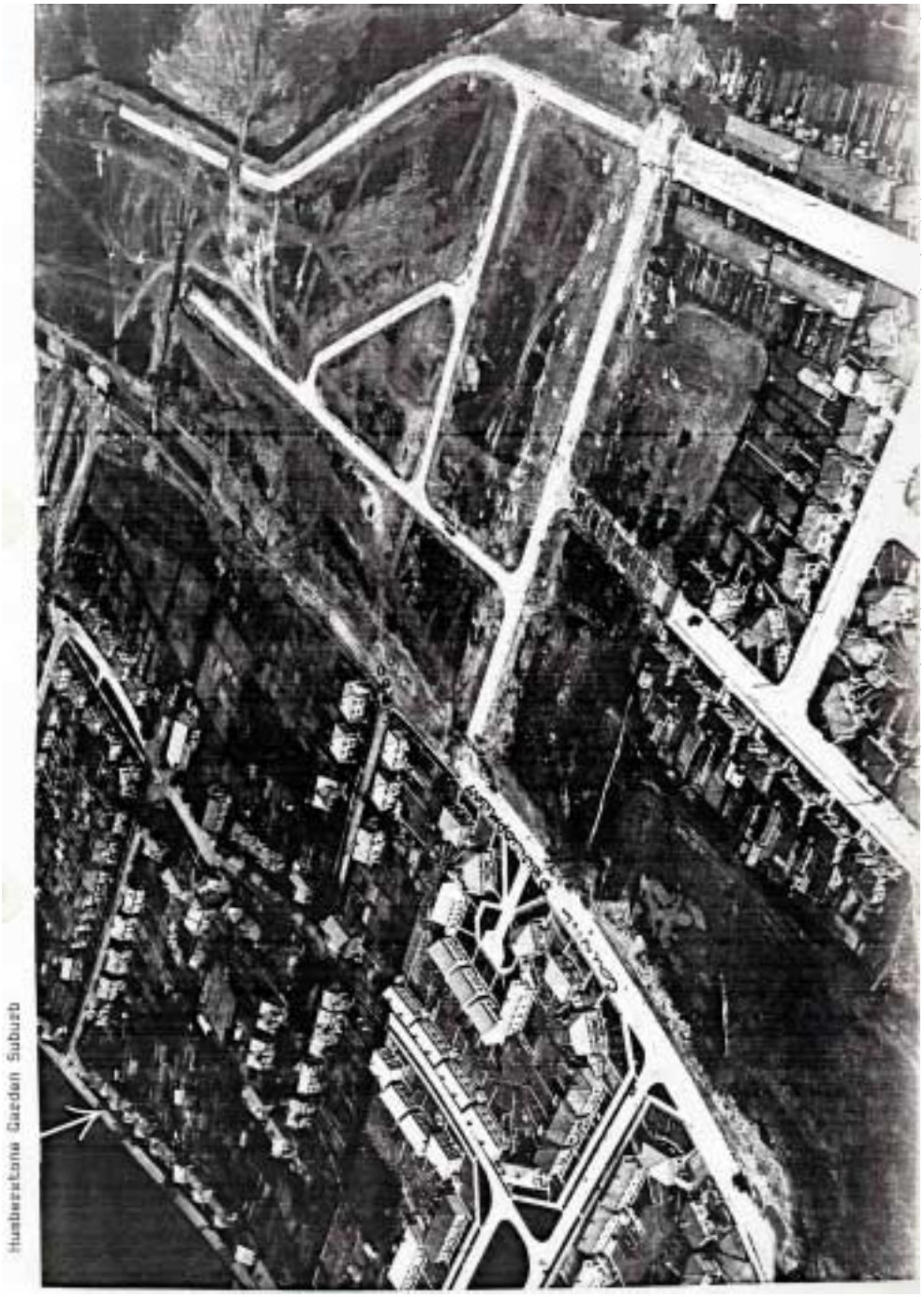


Figure 20 – Aerial photograph of the Netherhall Council Estate during its development (9th May 1953)

The gradual deterioration of the physical, economic and social fabric of Humberstone Garden Suburb has been due to many and various factors, over many of which the members had no control. The attempt to be autonomous whilst dependent on outside resources and having no control over the surrounding environment, could never have worked. In any case, in the early days, the Management Committee made many mistakes, the most fatal perhaps the decision not to allow Billesdon Rural Council to make up the roads for nothing.

Talking to older residents, it is evident that much of the early community spirit does still exist. The estate is still administered by a Management Committee and run on co-partnership lines, although much of the original guiding philosophy and raison d'etre have either been forgotten or had to be abandoned.

Brentham Garden Suburb, Ealing, on which Humberstone was modelled, and all other co-partnership tenant associations are now privatised or run as commercial undertakings. Humberstone Garden Suburb in 1964 claim that they are the only estate left operating as a co-partnership venture. But this is likely to change in 1985; already it has been suggested that shareholders be paid off, material assets realised, and every householder given the chance to pay off what is still owing to the company to become the full owner of his house. This offer could be very tempting, as the houses would fetch considerably more on the open market than their co-partnership value.

To Anchor Tenants from 1907 to 1914, Humberstone Garden Suburb was their "promised land". It was their utopian dream come true; through their belief in the ideals of co-operation, brotherhood, self help, self-reliance and the chance of self-improvement, they made their 'utopia' not only possible but also practicable and workable on a daily basis.

During the nineteenth century, the utopian ideal was presented in literature in novel form as a vehicle for didactic programmes for social change and political action, but always distanced from the real world. Attempts to create new communities all failed. Enlightenment theories at the beginning of the century provided optimism that, in a planned future a good life was obtainable on earth as well as in heaven. Later writings, however, were directed to mitigating the effects of industrialisation rather than of restructuring the social order. One man who had a messianic belief in his own ability to reconstruct society was Robert Owen (1771-1858) whose ideas are now explored.

Chapter

2

Origins and Sources - the Co-Operative Movement

Robert Owen (1771-1858)

Inspired by the success of his social changes whilst Manager of the largest and best equipped cotton mill at New Lanark, Ayrshire, Scotland, Robert Owen believed that he had the answer to the restructuring of society in Britain, and in the whole world, without resorting to revolution (FN 36). He was appalled by contemporary imperfections thrown up by the new machine age and his solution, A New View of Society (1813), gave concrete theory to socialist-utopian ideology. He aimed to introduce change gradually by setting up exemplary co-operative communities in which, through education, and practice, all individualism would be removed - a philosophy of paternalistic communism.

Owen's solution was a 'fresh start', a new community in rural surroundings, run on communitarian principles with a paternalistic hand to enforce them. His ideology was based on 'voluntary' co-operation in communities of like-minded people within a framework of agriculture and manufacturing industry (FN 37) but, most innovatory, was this notion of 'voluntary' co-operation to replace competition. He realised that competition was the motive power behind the manufacturing system and depended on profit margins for survival; his system removed all cash transactions and 'profit-on-price' and he argued that all private property was theft; property should be held in common for the benefit of all, replacing the old system with mutual co-operation, association and brotherhood (FN 38)

Owen also recognised the destructive element in tedious, repetitive factory work, that such occupations "deteriorates and often destroys the finest and best faculties of our nature" (FN 39), which he proposed to counter with agricultural activities in a rural community. Community life, he felt, was essential to well being, with equality at all levels. The inequality of land distribution, which created many social problems, would be solved by restoring the land to the people under public ownership, administered as a joint stock company in

parochial partnership by dividing the rent (FN40). Further, he felt that workers should put up capital for industry by buying shares, thus ensuring a role in management and labour and thereby sharing the products of their common labour.

This idea is important in the origins of Humberstone Garden Suburb since from it grew the union of workmen as co-partnerships in industry, and its extension at the turn of the century to co-partnership in community living.

The constructive element behind any new community experiment rests on a concept of human nature. Thomas More, in Utopia, assumed that human nature would always be imperfect - man a victim of his own inherited biological make-up. Owen, however, believed that greed, crime and apathy were products of harmful institutions and that behaviour patterns could change in response to formal education in ideal circumstances - that is, given a better environment, men change for the better. The Nature versus Nurture debate, original sin versus the perfectibility of man, continued throughout the philosophical and scientific debates of the nineteenth century, receiving added stimulus with the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species in 1859.

Although Owen's community experiment at New Harmony, America, in 1824, failed, as did other Owenite communities that followed in the 1830s and 1840s, his communitarian principles were a powerful influence throughout the century, to the extent that they also took root in the minds of the under-privileged and gave birth to the socialist and co-operative movements.

Birth of the Co-operative Movement

Owen intended his philosophy to inspire the minds of the upper and middle-classes towards a new social system - a paternalistic attitude that improvements had to be made for the working classes rather than by them. But, for the working man, the "ideals of co-operation, co-operative production, consumption and education, appealed to this class with more force and authority than to other sections of society" (FN 41) since, as Briggs suggests, they could identify with Owen's views for the regeneration of society in their own favour - a utopia now rather than in some distant future.

The co-operative movement, stemming from Owen's ideas of association and a united front, became the most fundamentally revolutionary of all workers' movements, spreading throughout the world, and claims its founder in Robert Owen. Two forms of co-operation developed within the movement. One, the "producers" movement, were workers' attempts at co-operative self-governing workshops and led to the establishment of co-partnership in industry. The other, the "consumers" movement, made consumption the test of prosperity; it was this side that became a worldwide movement.

The schism occurred through the innovatory 'dividend on purchases scheme operated by the Rochdale Pioneers. Later, the producers' movement borrowed the idea, incorporating into principles of co-partnership the payment of dividend to wage earner and customer in proportion to wages earned and money spent. Later, co-partnership tenants received a dividend in proportion to rents paid.

In reality, the genesis of the co-operative producers' movement owed more to Owenite socialism than to Owen's doctrines, to his disciples who experimented and modified his ideas and succeeded where he had failed.

The Producers' Movement, backed by the Christian Socialists

On his return from America, Owen founded co-operative workshops in England based on-mutual co-operation, labour as value, no profit on goods and no cash transactions, but they all failed. 'Owenite' disciples followed with practical demonstrations but none stayed the course (FN 42). Socially concerned men wrote in sympathy with 'Owenism' (FN 43) but Owen's attack on religion and the family unit lost him public support.

In the 1820s, William King (FN 44) was responsible for significant pioneering work in Brighton, supporting the Brighton Provident Institution. He encouraged the establishing of retail shops, with the profits saved towards eventual communities. He equated his ideas of co-operation with brotherly love and Christianity. Trading Societies, based on King's ideas, all eventually failed - until the founding of the Rochdale scheme. (FN 45)

In Rochdale, in 1844, Charles Howarth's scheme of dividend on purchase caused the split in the movement:

"The scheme of the Rochdale Society was to attain Communism through an association of producers and to obtain capital necessary by opening a retail shop. But the very thing that gave them success assured the failure of their scheme. The invention of dividend on purchase ... made it certain that the co-operative movement would always be an association of consumers." (FN 46)

This was the most important development within the movement and made consumption not production the test of prosperity. As the principle was extended, leading to Production and Wholesale Societies, commerce and banking, the co-operative movement became universally a consumer movement.

The Anchor Boot and Shoe Production Company, however, trace their origins to Owen through the producers' side of the movement, through the self governing workshops of the 1830s and 40s, based on co-operation between producers only (FN 47). These workshops attracted the support of middle class churchmen and reformers who saw in them moral and material benefit for

workers; calling themselves Christian Socialists, they saw a "radical affinity" between the principles of the Christian religion and socialism (FN 48). They were involved with many areas of social reform, particularly education for workers, but co-operation with the workingman as a democratic cause fell into disrepute after the militant action of the Chartists in 1848. Thereafter, the Christian Socialists as a group disbanded but continued, as individuals, to work for the regeneration of industry on Owen's principles. By 1850 they had promoted twelve co-operative associations, all in trades not yet transformed by machinery (FN 49), such as boot and shoe production. Most important for the producers' movement was their promotion and support of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1852, and its later amendments, which protected the honest members of an association, or society against the criminal, irresponsible or unscrupulous acts of other members. Attempts were made by Christian Socialists to support production enterprises to supply consumer stores as assured markets in the co-operative retail scheme. Those producer enterprises that survived did, in fact, form independent trading agreements with consumer societies. But most wholeheartedly, these reformers supported co-partnership in industry, believing that factories should be owned and controlled by the workers themselves. Other reformers, such as E O Greening, Thomas Blandford and Henry Vivian, agreed on the fundamental principle of co-partnership as a philosophy for industry and as a means of preventing destructive disharmony between management and worker (FN 50).

Co-partnership in Industry

Recognising the futility of lockouts and strikes, the original co-operators, following Owenite socialism, assumed that unity of purpose would eliminate both strife and the causes of strife. In the 1840s, depression in industry led to the founding of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, in which the consumer movement developed production societies of their own but run on traditional capitalist lines. The original idea of elevating the worker to shareholder, profit sharer and a voice in management, seemed to be slipping away to reproduce the kind of disharmony they had intended to avoid. (FN 51)

In 1882, during a depression in industry, the Co-operative Production Federation was established by E O Greening "to bind together existing co-partnership societies for business purposes", to market produce, to raise capital and to publish a Co-operators' Year Book for propaganda purposes, and so give more ordinary workmen the opportunity to set up businesses for themselves (FN 52). (It was in the Co-operators' Year Book that the Anchor Boot and Shoe Production Society first saw Henry Vivian's article about Ealing Tenants' experiment (Appendix A)).

In 1883, the Labour Association was formed (in 1902 to become the Labour Co-partnership Association), "to promote co-operative production based on the co-partnership of workers" (FN 53) by propaganda and education, and seems to have been successful; whilst only fifteen co-operative societies were registered

in 1883, in 1892 the Royal Commission on Labour reported forty-six in England and Scotland, with a rapid growth of co-partnership agricultural societies in Ireland.

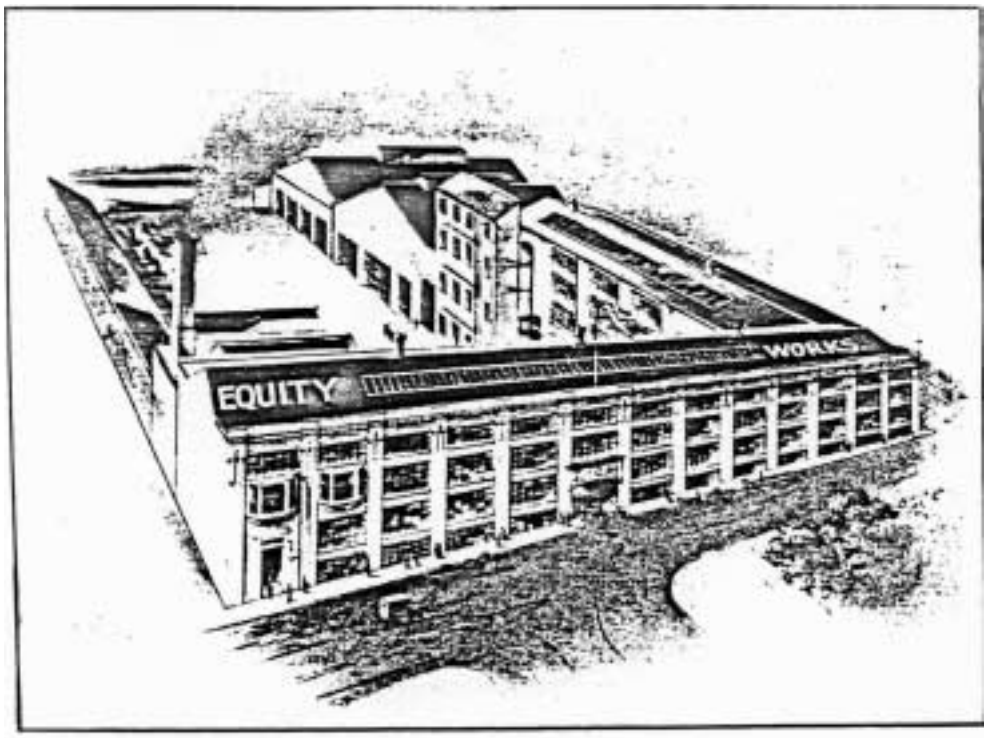
Co-operative Production Societies existed in Leicester in the 1880s, run on the "federal system" on capitalist lines, but there were no co- partnership production societies. John Wycliffe Black, the dynamic leader of the Church of Christ in Leicester, owned this type of factory in Wigston. (Fig.13). The Wholesale Co-operative (Wheatsheaf) Works (1862) was another run on similar lines. The propaganda of the Labour Association and its pamphlets made workers aware of an alternative system: "In September 1886 meetings were held by the workers of Leicester and Enderby" (FN 54), and resulted in the formation of the Equity Boot and Shoe Society (1887), the very first co-partnership production society in Leicester. It was modelled on the lines first advocated by the Christian Socialists' workshops. A second co-partnership was established in 1893, The Leicester Co-operative Printing Society, followed by The Anchor Boot and Shoe Production Society in the same year. J T Taylor (Secretary of the Management Committee later at Humberstone Garden Suburb) was also a member of the managing committees of the printing and Equity societies (FN 55). Taylor became manager of the Anchor firm in 1895, with Amos Mann as president.

The history of the Anchor Boot and Shoe society is given in Chapter One; here, its place in the continuity of co-partnership thought and action from Owen's communitarian principles to co-partnership in co-operative production is clearly demonstrated. Henry Vivian provides the link between co-partnership in industry and co-partnership in housing.

Henry Harvey Vivian (1868-1930) and the Co-partnership Housing Movement

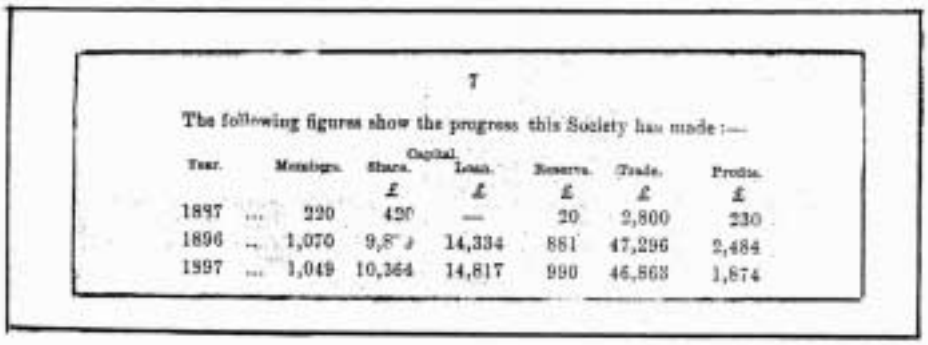
Henry Vivian wanted the artisan working class to live and work in harmony and receive a fair share of the benefits of their labour. After witnessing strikes and lockouts in London in the 1890s, he was convinced that co-partnership was the means of averting such strife. Vivian was born in Cornwood, South Devon in 1868, becoming a carpenter and joiner and serving his apprenticeship in London. He also became active in trade union affairs and was representative for trades' unionists on the Labour Association committee. Between 1895 and 1900 he wrote many pamphlets for the Labour Association about co-operation in industry, including "The Partnership of Capital and Labour as a Solution to the Conflict Between Them", in which he gave a definition of labour co-partnership and the intrinsic principles involved. He drew attention to the success of the Leicester Boot and Shoe Production Society (Equity) and included a table of figures over the first decade showing their steady progress (FN 56) (Fig.21), and pointed out that such ventures demanded a strong combination of moral and business qualities in the manager or a high standard of intelligence in the

workers (FN 57). Vivian was appointed secretary of the Labour Association and remained so until 1909. Through the Association, he became a close friend of Greening and Blandford, both of whom had been involved with co-partnership enterprises in Leicester.



Equity Works, Leicester

Table of Progress



7

The following figures show the progress this Society has made:—

Year.	Members.	Capital. Shares.	Loan.	Reserve.	Trade.	Profits.
		£	£	£	£	£
1895 ...	220	420	—	20	2,800	230
1896 ...	1,070	9,8[illegible]	14,334	881	47,296	2,484
1897 ...	1,049	10,364	14,817	990	46,863	1,874

Figure 21 – Equity Boot and Shoe Works, Leicester

Vivian and Blandford visited the Anchor works in 1898 when the new extensions to the factory were formally opened by the Mayor of Leicester (Alderman Arthur Wakerley) (FN 58), and Blandford discussed the firm in his book Distributive Co-operation in Leicester (1898), which was the reference for Amos Mann's subsequent book, Democracy in Industry (1915).

In 1891 Henry Vivian established a co-partnership building company, General Builders Limited, in Ealing with the object of applying co-operative principles to the building industry by adapting the machinery of the best managed trades unions to the purposes of co-operative production (FN59), and copying their branch system. By 1897 the company had eighteen branches. Vivian explained the work of the company was first to build houses to meet the requirements of its own members and secondly to undertake the work of general building and contracting, competing with other firms. Prophetically, he wrote,

It is hoped by some of the active workers that as the Society grows in strength it will be able to secure a piece of land near London large enough to erect a number of houses for its workers and other members, with joinery, machinery and general works and plant for a large builders' business. (FN 60)

This was the beginning of the Ealing pioneer co-partnership community, when six men from the General Builders Company pooled their resources to buy land on which to build nine houses; Ealing Tenants Limited (1901) was the result. This small local initiative was the start of co-partnership in housing and spread nationally to the establishing of many tenants' societies. Indirectly, the movement influenced "the much wider fields of town planning, housing management and social betterment both at home and overseas" (FN 61) and owed much to the driving force of Vivian and his circle of reformers in co-partnership housing (FN 62).

In the history of housing associations, however, Tenants Co-operators Limited (1888) is considered to be the parent society. It was founded by Benjamin Jones, manager of the London branch of the Co-operative Wholesale Society and honorary secretary of the southern section of the Co-operative Union. He was one of the original members of the Society for Promoting Industrial Villages, established in 1883 by middle class reformers anxious to promote industry and the building of houses in rural areas (FN 63). On its dissolution, Jones decided to promote a company based on collective ownership of the property by the tenants. With the assistance of F V Neale and other wall-known co-operators, Tenants Co-operators was formed in London: tenants owned shares in their property, with payment of a fixed rate of interest to capital (4%) and the sharing of profits among all tenants, based on the Rochdale system of dividend. The arrangement gave tenants security of tenure, a share in profits, and he was not tied to a particular house; accumulated dividends and savings formed the share capital and provided a fund for repairs and other emergencies. On leaving the district the tenant could sell his shares or continue to hold them and receive the interest. The system also claimed, in principle, to solve the problem of "unearned increment", for any gain made under this head was returned as surplus profits (FN 64). The management was voluntary, charitable rather than co-operative, and not true co-partnership, nor was there any sense of community as the estates were devoid of social amenities (FN 65).

Their economic structure and the principle involved, however, provided the basis for Vivian's development at Ealing:

"...the system we are endeavouring to work out is not absolutely new, it is, in fact, an improvement on that adopted by the Tenants Co-operators Limited, which has received a large measure of success during the thirteen years it has been in existence" (FN 66)

Ealing Tenants Limited was registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act in April 1901, following but modifying Tenants Co-operators' model to become more co-operative, firstly by confining the operations to one neighbourhood and, secondly, by demanding a more substantial share capital from members - a total of not less than ten £5 shares - which could be paid by instalments (FN 67).

In 1905, Vivian and his colleagues established the Co-partnership Tenants Housing Council, a propaganda body to give advice to new societies wishing to develop other estates on the lines so successfully inaugurated at Ealing (FN 68). Sybella Gurney was honorary secretary of the Housing Council and gave considerable help and advice to Humberstone Garden Suburb in its formative days (Minutes 1907-1914).

A business federation entitled Co-Partnership Tenants Limited was formed in 1907, essentially as a parent advisory body to give practical effect to the propaganda. The Chairman was Henry Vivian, the deputy Chairman William Hutchings; the Consultant Architect was Raymond Unwin, the resident Architect C L Sutcliffe; Frank Litchfield was organising secretary and Sybella Gurney honorary secretary - all of whom were involved with Humberstone Garden Suburb.

In contrast to Tenants Co-operators Limited, Co-Partnership Tenants was a business concern with paid officials, departments for finance, accountancy and educational guidance. Each tenant society had to buy share capital in the Federation proportionate to its assets (£100 for each £1000 of property). Any profit made by the Federation was divided among its Tenant Societies in proportion to the use they made of the Federation (FN 69). By 1912 there were fourteen of these societies (Fig.3) and the reserve fund stood at £10,000.

Expansion of the Ealing estate to become Brentham Garden Suburb was due to impetus provided by the first garden city, Letchworth, 1903. At Brentham, Henry Vivian combined a sound economically viable structure with the wider concepts and ideals of the garden city. Yerburgh, writing in 1913, confirms this:

"... the distinguishing feature of the Ealing Tenants lies in the fact that it was the first society to combine with Mr Benjamin Jones' idea the new town planning idea of Mr Ebenezer Howard whose epoch making book To-Morrow. A Peaceful Way to Real Reform just then published, has since led to such beneficial revolution in Housing and Estate development in all parts of the country." (FN 70)

Figure 22 – Port Sunlight, Cheshire

The ideology of the garden city movement was influential in other co-partnership communities - the village style layout with a core or centre provided by a village green, shops, meeting places with social amenities, meshed with ideas of space, an aesthetic, tree planted environment, good housing with

gardens and recreational facilities. New garden cities on the Letchworth plan, however, were too costly for municipalities or private developers, but suburban housing on garden city lines became fashionable and respectable - but sadly, the antithesis of Howard's ideal of "a garden in the city".

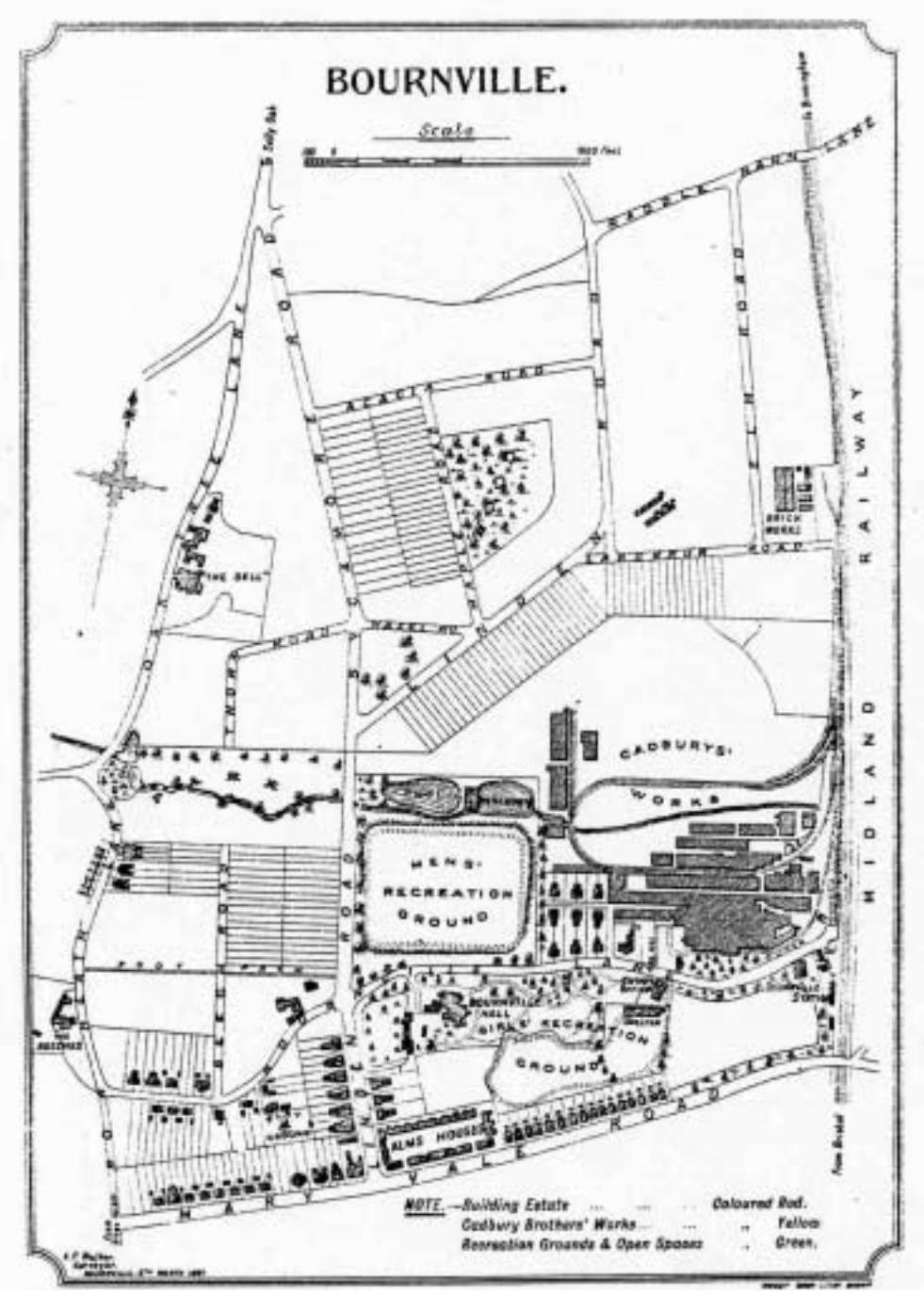


Figure 23 – Map of Bournville (Cadbury Estate)

A further, gradual and cumulative, influence exerted on the physical and social ideal of a new community came from private enterprises such as Bedford Park (1876) and, a little later, the creation by enlightened employers of

Figure 24 – Plan for New Earswick by Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin

manufacturing villages, such as Port Sunlight (1887), Bournville (1895) and Earswick (1902-4).

Industrial Model Villages

During the first part of the nineteenth century, in the idea of providing ordinary people with an ideal environment there were many prophets but few practical demonstrations. As factory villages developed, however, (many later swelling into substantial towns), they allowed mill owners to assume the role of the

responsible squire. And, as some landowners became concerned about the plight of agricultural workers, as rural areas became depleted in the migration to the towns in search of work, they joined with social reformers and industrialists to form, in 1883, the Society for Promoting Industrial Villages (FN 71).

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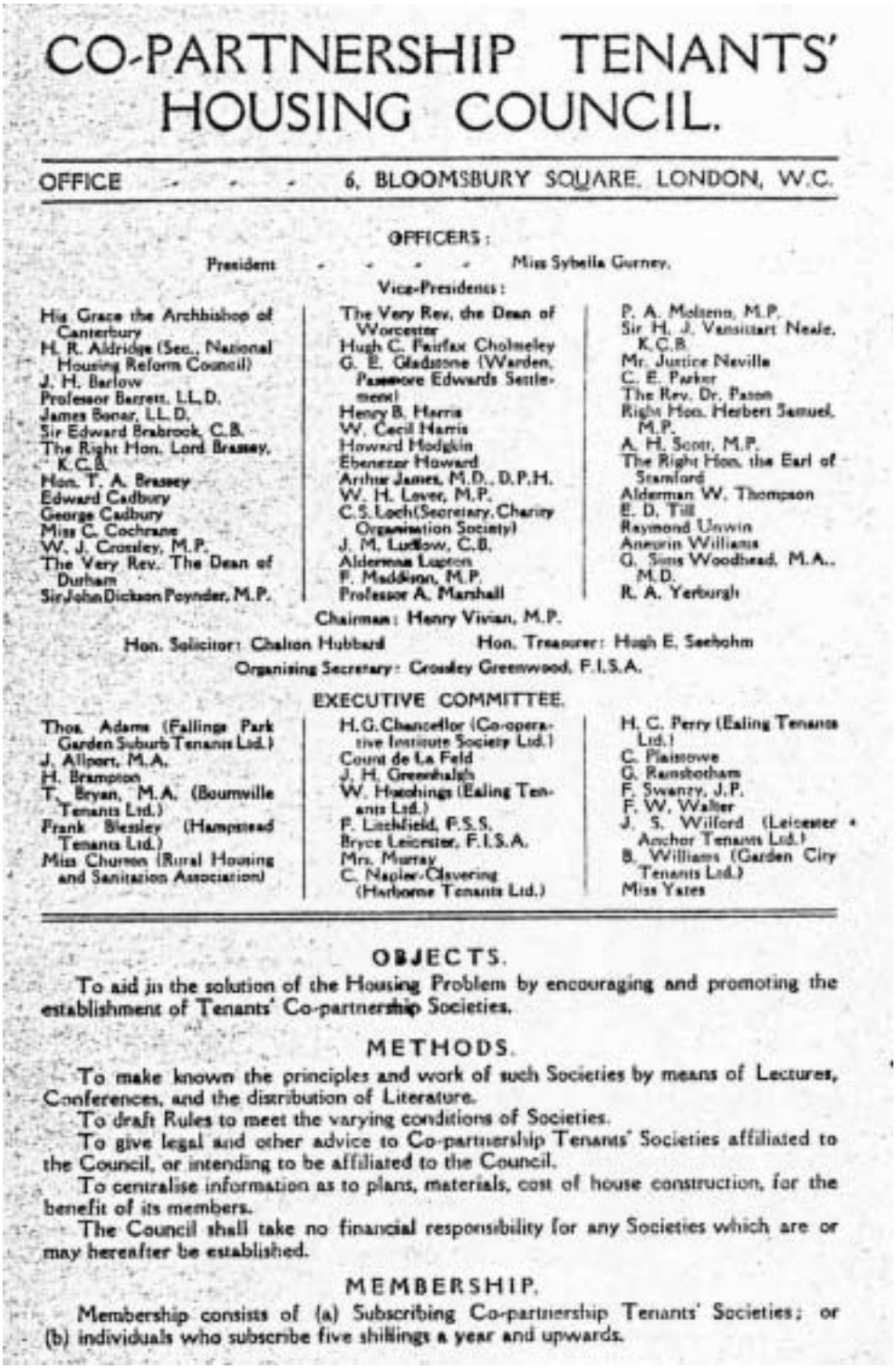
Figure 25a – The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association President and Committee

There had been paternalistic schemes, with a sincere desire to give workers a good standard of housing in an attractive environment, operating on Owen-like principles - between 1840 and 1860, for instance, in the Leeds, Bradford,

Halifax triangle of the textile industry. Model villages at Copley and Ackroyden were provided by Colonel Edward Ackroyd and, at Saltaire, by Sir Titus Salt.



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OBJECTS.

To aid in the solution of the Housing Problem by encouraging and promoting the establishment of Tenants' Co-partnership Societies.

METHODS.

To make known the principles and work of such Societies by means of Lectures, Conferences, and the distribution of Literature.

To draft Rules to meet the varying conditions of Societies.

To give legal and other advice to Co-partnership Tenants' Societies affiliated to the Council, or intending to be affiliated to the Council.

To centralise information as to plans, materials, cost of house construction, for the benefit of its members.

The Council shall take no financial responsibility for any Societies which are or may hereafter be established.

MEMBERSHIP.

Membership consists of (a) Subscribing Co-partnership Tenants' Societies; or (b) individuals who subscribe five shillings a year and upwards.

Figure 25b – Co-partnership Tenants' Housing Council President, Committee members and Officers

Saltaire was considered by many to be the perfect 'model' village, inspired by Disraeli's Sybil (1847) and the model village and workers' cottages built by Mr Trafford (FN 72). Salt's new community was built around a huge Italianate-style mill (FN 73). There was no public house but social and rational recreation was catered for. Anchor Tenants at Leicester had originally intended building housing around their factory or taking the factory to the new community; neither scheme was carried out, but they were very conscious of Saltaire. The Link of January 1914 showed a picture of the monument to Sir Titus Salt at Bradford, with the caption, "Sir Titus Salt built, 60 years ago, the model village of Saltaire. One of the earliest housing experiments".

Many towns followed Salt's pattern during the half-century (FN 74) and the belief grew that village type communities had a 'civilising' effect upon their worker inhabitants, presumably because a man was more conspicuous in a small community than in the anonymity of the urban environment.

Other paternalistic industrialists and reformers, often motivated by religious conviction and genuine humanitarianism, pushed the idea to new dimensions in the model villages of Port Sunlight (Fig.22), Bournville (Fig. 23) and New Earswick (Fig.24). Here they demonstrated the importance of good, low density housing at low rents, in an attractive, healthy environment which included space for recreational facilities; these, and other features such as profit sharing (that is, money returning in some form for the benefit of the community), paved the way for the garden city movement which flourished at the turn of the century. The Garden City Association did, in fact, hold its conferences at both Port Sunlight and Bournville; Cadbury and Lever were directors of the Association and, with other well known names, also Vice Presidents of the Co-partnership Housing Council. (Fig.25) (FN 75).

There were also advantages to the employers: George Cadbury stated in 1914, "we have always believed that business efficiency and the welfare of employees are but different sides of the same problem." (FN 76) and Lever, a Liberal Member of Parliament, speaking in the House of Lords in 1919 said, "a deep-rooted suspicion between employers and employed ought not to exist. I think it arises entirely from misunderstanding" (FN 77). A solution to industrial strife was certainly to their benefit.

Cadbury, a Quaker, did attempt to encourage self-reliance and a measure of independence among his workers, with some relief from paternalistic control. His chief concern was in providing an improved environment to inspire the working man to keep out of public houses, in which cottages with good gardens to occupy leisure hours was a necessary ploy. Gardening and horticulture were encouraged not only on moral grounds but also as a perfect antidote to factory work - echoing the earlier beliefs of Owen and Adam Smith that continual repetitious work was destructive of the intellect. (FN 78).

The efforts of these men to improve the living conditions of the factory worker in village style communities offered an attractive alternative to the developing

industrial, towns. It also, importantly, presented a persuasive format to all reformers, whatever their political creed, and became a concept also implicit in Ebenezer Howard's ideology for garden cities.

The "village ideal" was based on nostalgia for the (romanticised) village and country life then fast disappearing. Like Morris, Ruskin and other intellectual sympathisers, and Parker and Unwin in their planning, they believed that environment played a vital role in the transformation of society. In practice, however, their proposals could apply only to the fully employed artisan class. In co-partnership schemes, for instance, the maintenance of regular payments for shares relied upon regular and reasonably paid employment. Further, while the beneficial effects of rural surroundings were a major part of the reformers' ideology, the choice by co-partnership societies to build in rural areas was often primarily influenced by the fact that rural land was cheaper.

Chapter

3

Origins and Sources - The Garden City Movement

The Ideology of the Garden City movement

When, at Brentham Garden Suburb, Henry Vivian combined the principles of co-partnership with the wider concepts of the garden city movement, the two movements became mutually supportive, with certain reformers acting as directors, committee members, or shareholders of both the Co-Partnership Housing Council and Garden City Tenants Limited, demonstrating the mutuality of their ideals and beliefs.

The generative force behind the garden city movement was reform, encompassing town planning, land reform and improvements in the building of houses, with an emphasis on sanitation and health, and so bringing together and providing a solution to problems that had exercised the minds of reformers throughout the nineteenth century. Paternalistic efforts to physically and morally improve (and so control) the less privileged in society arose in considerable part, from fear of the spread of disease and vice from unsanitary cities and the possibility of lower class uprising. (FN 79). “Society must do something to protect itself against disease and vice,” said the Provost of Edinburgh in 1866 (FN 80). Dislike of cities in general, London and the manufacturing towns of the north in particular, had been the starting point for many nineteenth century writers (FN 81).

In 1899, Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) published his influential book) To-Morrow. A Peaceful Way to Real Reform. In his introduction he claimed that, although most Englishmen were divided by religion and politics, they all agreed that the continual spread of cities was an evil and “that the people must be got back to the land” (FN 82). The “back to the land” movement already formed an

integral part of many social cults, whether based on religion, co-operation, anarchy or economics. There had been no shortage of community experiments, only of those that were successful. Armytage wrote that "a prophet was needed to give an authoritative revised version of the old gospel" (FN 83). Howard offered a comprehensive remedy and, although his book was not very enthusiastically received, a second revised version in 1902, entitled Garden Cities of Tomorrow, was much more popular. Cecil Harmsworth MP declared in 1911,

"For this book, it may be claimed, that no book in the whole realm of literature, other than a religious one, ever produced such momentous results in so short a time" (FN 84)

In Howard's own words, his theory was "a unique combination of proposals" (FN 85). He acknowledged his scheme's derivation from many sources, but refers to three main ones:

"Shortly stated, my scheme is a combination of three distinct projects which have, I think, never been united before. These are:

(1) The proposal for an organized migratory movement of population of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and of Professor Alfred Marshall;

(2) The system of land tenure first proposed by Thomas Spence and afterwards (though with an important modification) by Herbert Spencer;

(3) The model city of James Silk Buckingham" (FN 86)

Although the elements of the scheme were not new, most innovatory was his skilful synthesis - "An instinct for the permanently significant from the ephemeral in the ideas of his time" (FN 87).

In his essay, "The Housing of the London Poor. Where to House Them" (FN 88), Marshall advocated a committee to head colonies of an organised migration of population from London to mitigate the evils of city life. The committee would guide the colony, encouraging temperance and self- reliance; industry would follow when the colony seemed stable. Marshall made many innovatory technical recommendations (FN 89) and, although he had not worked out a formula for the land problem, believed that those who owned the land would gain the most.

Wakefield, in Art of Colonisation (1849), proposed forming colonies of all classes, a true representation of society, "all in short that held together and kept entire the fabric of society as it existed in the parent state" (FN 90).

Thomas Spence's proposal, then more than one hundred years old, of one rent paid to the parish in proportion to property owned, which could then be utilised for the benefit of the community, solved the problem of unearned increment of

the land returning to the landowner (FN 91). Herbert Spencer, seventy years later, not in favour of socialism, proposed a change of landlords, "separate ownership would merge in the joint stock ownership of the public. Instead of being in the possession of individuals, the country would be held by the great

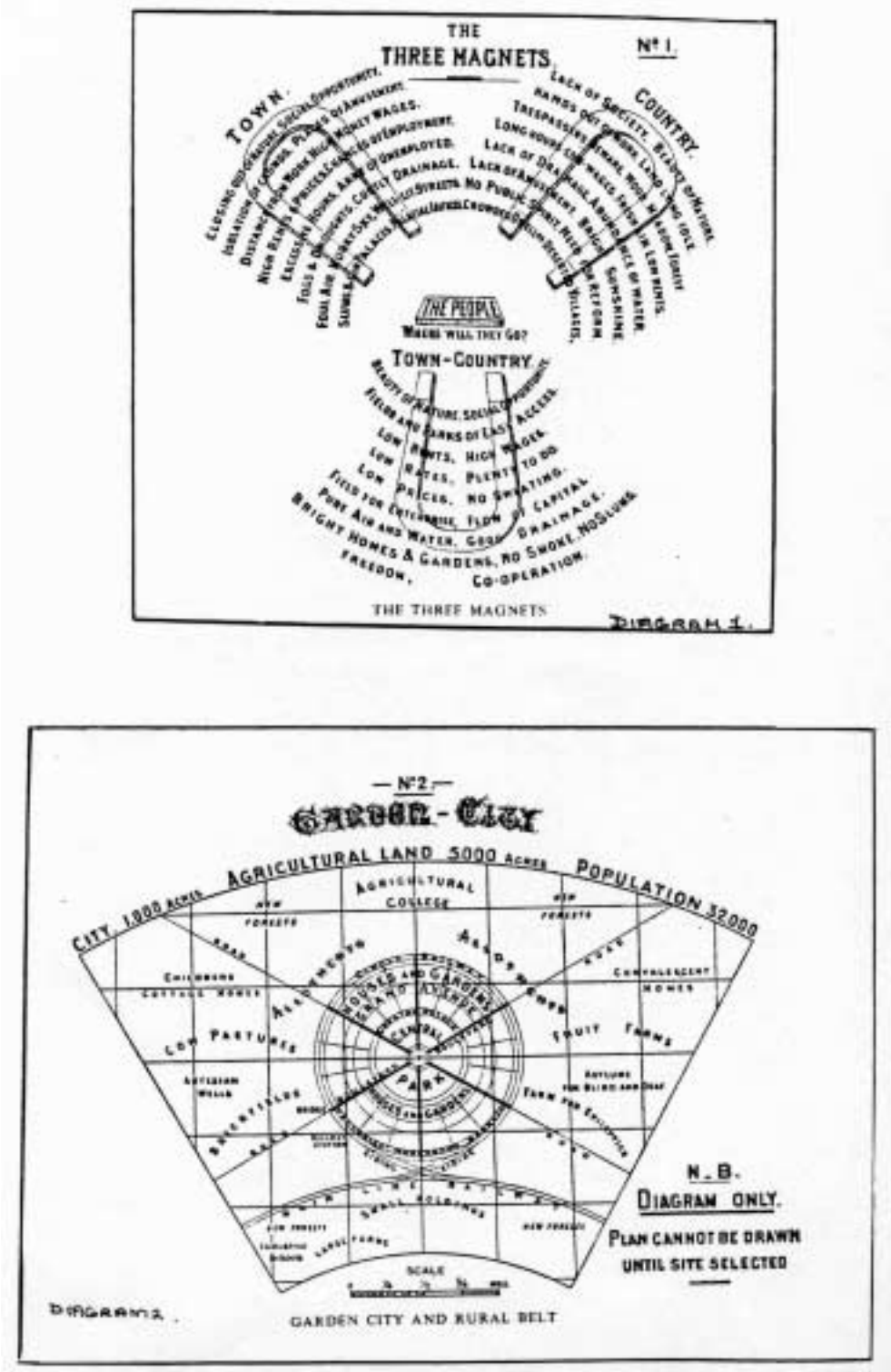


Figure 26 – Town and Country – advantages of both (Ebnezer Howard)

Figure 27 – Humberstone Garden Suburb: surrounding country before encroachment by the City of Leicester

corporate body - society" (FN 92).

The final proposal was the essential feature of a scheme by James Silk Buckingham, who suggested a planned industrial town, limited in size and population, surrounded by a large agricultural estate, and therefore a close interrelation on all levels of town and country.

"Wherever practicable, the labours of agriculture and manufacture to be so mingled and so the variety of fabrics and materials to be wrought upon also so associated as to make short period of labour on each alternately with others

produce that satisfaction and freedom from tedium and weariness which an unbroken round of monotonous occupation so frequently occasions, and because also variety of employment develops the mental as well as physical faculties much more perfectly than any single occupation" (FN 93)

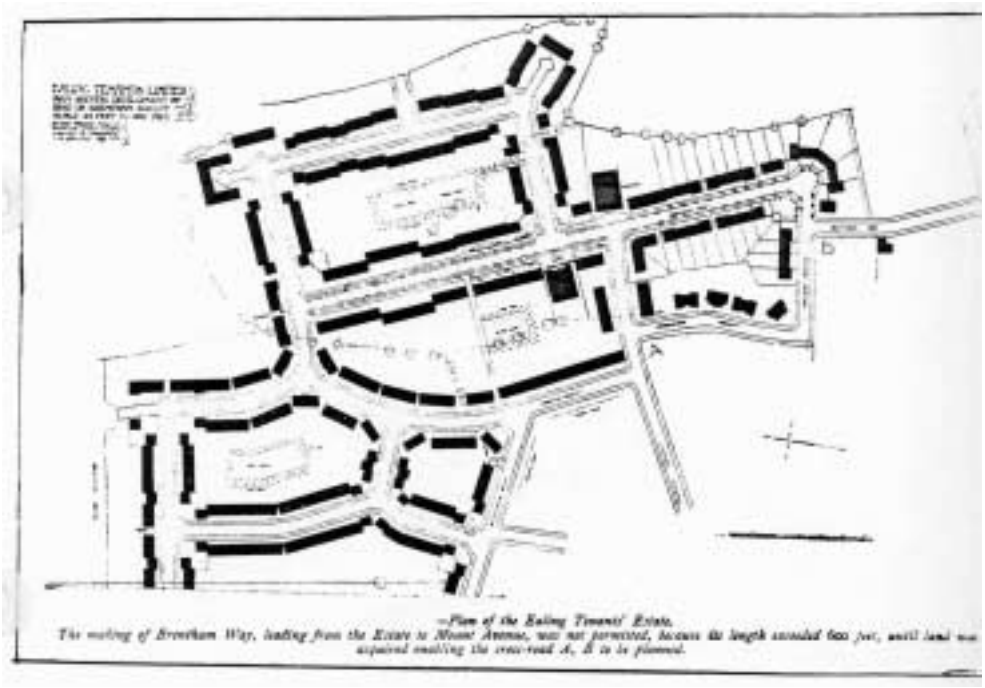
Howard's answer to the dual problem of overcrowded cities and depletion of the country was a Town/Country Magnet (Fig.26), which would draw people off freely into small, well planned towns in the country and thus to an environment which would enjoy the advantages of both town and country, with the disadvantages of neither (Fig.26). This theme was also inherent in Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward 2000AD (1888), which Howard read. Although a vision of a socialist society in Boston, where technical advances had emancipated men from degrading toil, every industry including agriculture was to be carried on collectively for the good of all. Howard rejected the socialist aspect; he saw no wisdom in either Conservative or Socialist dogmas and believed the best solution was to encourage private enterprise on publicly

Figure 28 – Map – surrounding agricultural belt (1902), Humberstone Garden Suburb

owned land. It was this outline of a balanced community and the mechanics to show how it could be achieved that was Howard's major contribution to contemporary urban problems (FN 94).

Howard's provision of a permanent belt of open land around the city was multi-functional agricultural land, open space for the urban dweller, views, fresh air, and would also limit the physical spread of the city as well as protecting it from suburban encroachment at the perimeter.

At Humberstone Garden Suburb, it was this very kind of suburban encroachment by the town of Leicester that proved fatal to the autonomy of the estate. At Letchworth Garden City, in the agricultural belt, private enterprise would operate, individuals could rent farms, smallholdings, allotments, or cow-pastures, and co-operators would be welcome to cultivate large areas of fields. Although Humberstone Garden Suburb was surrounded by an agricultural belt (Figs 27-28), besides the 'green belt' provided by the recreational grounds, it was more a matter of the benefit of rural surroundings than a planned interchange of labour, products and facilities.



—Plan of the Ealing Tenants' Estate.

The making of Brentham Way, leading from the Estate to Mount Avenue, was not permitted, because the length exceeded 600 feet, until land was acquired enabling the cross-road A, B to be planned.

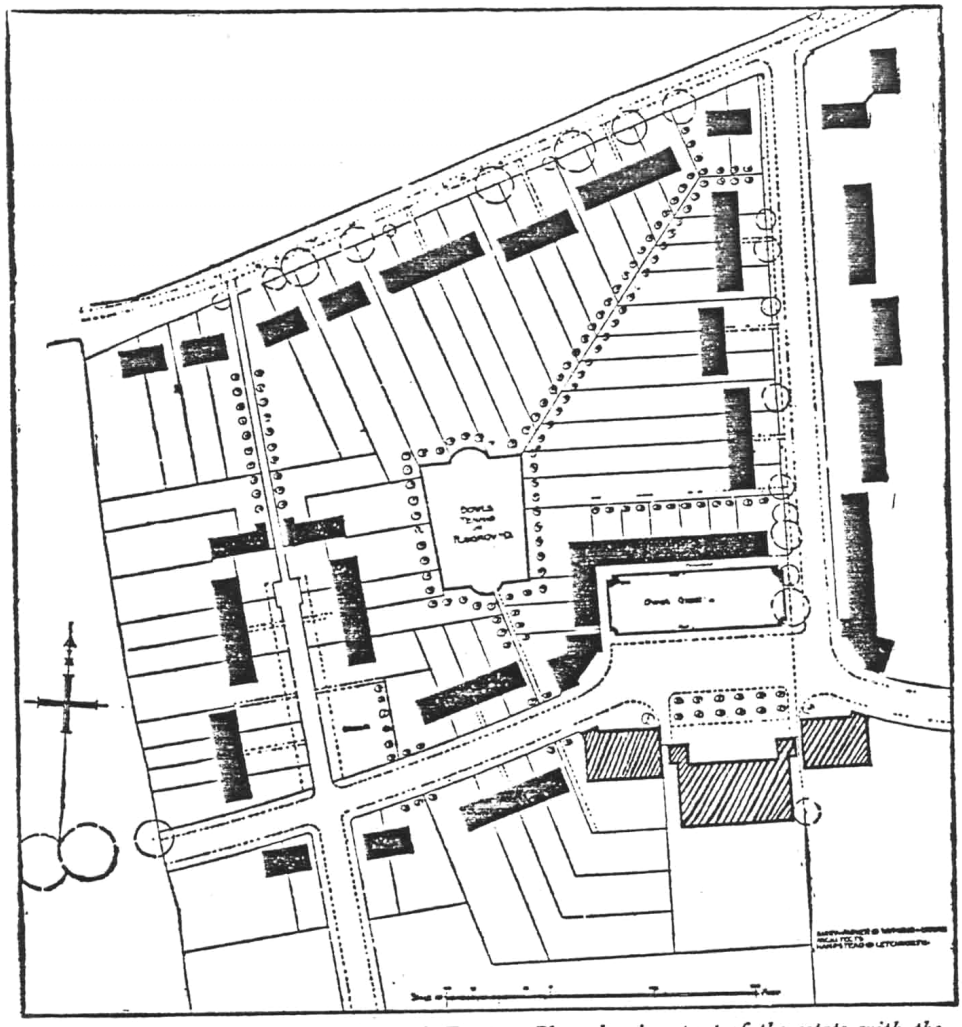
Figure 29 – Estate layout by Parker and Unwin 1909, Ealing

In his co-partnership estate at Brentham Garden Suburb, Henry Vivian incorporated many of the wider concepts of the garden city ideals - a fresh start on reasonably priced virgin land, the total planning of a new community, a village style layout and good housing with gardens. He invited Raymond Unwin to be consultant architect to Co-Partnership Tenants Limited (1907); Unwin and Barry Parker designed the layout for Ealing (both phases) and Humberstone Garden Suburb. Vivian would have been aware of their work at New Earswick

(1902-4), Letchworth (1903) and Hampstead Garden Suburb (1905) and of their successful attempts at town planning.

Raymond Unwin (1867-1941)

In Unwin's book, Town Planning in Practice (1909), a variety of layouts is illustrated, including plans and layout for Ealing Brentham Way and Humberstone Garden Suburb (Figs 29-30).



—Leicester Anchor Tenants' Estate. Plan showing part of the estate with the village centre.

Figure 30 – Estate layout by Parker and Umwin 1909, Leicester

Parker and Unwin became partners in an architectural practice in Buxton in 1896, that lasted until 1914 when Unwin became the central figure in the design of state housing. They were half-cousins and later related again by marriage. Parker and his sisters were Quakers, with a puritanical streak and a leaning toward simplicity and austere living. Unwin was socialistically minded in the tradition of William Morris; for him, the garden city movement provided an

unparalleled improvement in the lives of people through good housing and an aesthetic environment (FN 95).

They were commissioned by the First Garden City Company (1902). Although the overall plan and the social aspects of the garden city were the brainchild of Ebenezer Howard, the detailed environment and residential planning were the work of Parker and Unwin.

The planning principles of the garden city were less a reaction to the deprivation and chaos of the cities than to the unimaginative bylaw planning of the late nineteenth century, which Parker and Unwin considered only a marginal improvement on the "maximum density-minimum cost" developments of speculative builders. Their slogan, "twelve houses to the acre" was the central theme of Unwin's popular pamphlet, "Nothing Gained by Overcrowding" of 1912. He believed an attractive, low-density layout was very little more expensive than bylaw grid planning. These architects were also committed to good construction, ornament only when part of function and, in accord with Arts and Crafts philosophy, visual beauty available to everyone, the village an animate symbol and the necessity of understanding the past with the Middle Ages as the historic standard, all emphasised in Unwin's Town Planning in Practice:

"We have been so used to living in surroundings in which beauty has little or no place that we do not realise what a remarkable and unique feature the ugliness of modern life is" (FN 96)

His views appear in the original plan for Humberstone Garden Suburb - curved roads, terraced housing around a village green, a wider central area for a focus and the retention of existing trees with provision for new planting. In writing of the individual's sensibility towards his home and community, Parker and Unwin were part of the Romantic Movement, whose disciples believed in the moral and spiritual regenerative powers of rural life:

"In short to build up little communities of people who will have some sense of locality and will acquire ties which spring from common interests and enjoyments shared with those around them" (FN 97)

Land Reform

A further link between the garden city movement and co-partnership housing was that they both found a solution to the "Land Problem". The debate over public and private ownership of land had a long pedigree before the nineteenth century and centred on the question of who was entitled to the unearned increment of the land. Thomas Spence's solution in the eighteenth century was a single tax, with rents paid into parish treasuries (FN 98). In the nineteenth century, reformers looked for ways of obtaining public ownership with the increment returning to the people who had produced it (FN 99). Others, such as

Figure 31 (a) – Humberstone Garden Suburb Houses 1907-1914 (from The Link)

Henry George, the American economist (FN 100) and Alfred Russell Wallace (FN 101) argued for land nationalisation:

"Climate, soil, latitude, government, voice, may all differ, but the general law remains true, that the ownership of land by the very persons who cultivate it is beneficial to themselves and to the whole community…" (FN 102)

Howard's plan for the reform of land tenure was more in the realm of reality than the utopian fantasies of many of the writers he had studied, and revealed the core of the problem:

"In what way are landlords as a class less honest than the average citizen? Give the average citizen the opportunity of being a landlord and of appropriating the land values created by tenants, and he will embrace it tomorrow. If then the average man is a potential landlord, to attack landlords as individuals is very like a nation drawing up an indictment against itself and then making a scapegoat of a particular class" (FN 103)

Fern Rise

Keyham Lane

Figure 31 (b) –Humberstone Garden Suburb Houses 1907-1914

Howard encouraged private enterprise on publicly owned land and created a system by which, whilst permitting its' members to do those things beneficial to themselves, ensured their receipt of all "rate-rents" to expend in public works (FN 104).

The Garden City Association, 1899, was established in the office of the Land Nationalisation Association, of which the President was Alfred Wallace, and there is no doubt that the issue of land reform was influential in attracting financial backing.

At Letchworth, as the inhabitants became owners of the site, profits were apportioned to expenses, the Sinking Fund (interest to external shareholders) and the Central Council Fund (FN 105). Ground rents and rates were paid into a Trust Fund; land for the building of factories, shops and housing was leased to

Figure 31 (c) - Village-style pump used to raise natural water. One pump shared between two gardens. Humberstone Garden Suburb

private individuals or housing societies on nine- hundred and ninety-nine year leases.

Henry Vivian's solution to the "land problem" was the establishment of co-partnership communities in which, after commitments had been met by the

central fund, profits were utilised for the benefit of the community, thus returning the increment of the land to the people. Members of co-partnership societies, like the inhabitants at Letchworth, were joint owners of the site, their own landlords and their own tenants. The significant difference between the two systems was that of size: Letchworth was planned as a total, self-supporting industrial/residential/agricultural community, whilst co-partnership tenants' associations were much smaller and usually dependent upon nearby towns for work and services.

Chapter 4

Summary and Discussion of the Origins and Sources of Humberstone Garden Suburb

Humberstone Garden Suburb 1907 to 1914: Was it "Utopia"?

Through union and co-operation, the employable artisan working class raised their standard of living, taking on new values. The aspirations towards good housing, education, respectability and time for leisure were middle class, yet they retained a proud desire to remain independent as an elite within their own class. Some of these men and their families found these standards and quality of life in co-partnership tenant societies, which became their form of "utopia", their attempt at "heaven on earth" -"when heaven and earth become synonymous terms" (FN 106).

Housing (Fig. 31)

Residents of Humberstone Garden Suburb who are the sons and daughters of the first tenants affirm that the estate was utopia for the families living there between 1907 and 1914. Elderly residents, whose parents chose their plot and watched the early development of the first phase of housing, have happy memories of their childhood. To them all it appears that the quality of the housing was the main attraction and reason for moving into the estate. The well built, individually designed, semidetached houses (including bath and sometimes bathroom), with gardens at back and front (sharing a village style pump) were the first of their kind in Leicester for the working class. It is natural that the estate is eulogised by this generation today, who have seen so many changes for the worse and have watched, helpless, whilst municipal power, in

the name of progress, has demolished their once-autonomous garden village. Nostalgic memories even include the early struggles and difficulties, but chiefly that these engendered a considerable camaraderie. Many photograph albums and scrapbooks testify to the wealth of social activities enjoyed by members of all ages. Some selfishly guard their documentation of the life of the estate, perhaps prophetically anticipating its future demise.

Social Amenities (Fig. 32)

The importance of the clubs and societies was that everyone had a chance to join in an activity suited to his or her own individual inclination; at Christmas, no one was left out of the communal celebrations. The social amenities provided

Figure 32 – Social Activities. Humberstone Garden Suburb

and administered by the Estate Council (and later by small, specific committees) prevented any feeling of isolation or boredom by the women and children on the estate. Efforts to keep running costs as low as possible meant that club activities were in the reach of all. Reviewing their progress in April 1911, when sixty families had been housed, they wrote "...we have also done something towards stimulating a good social life where we may come into contact, one with another on terms of perfect equality"(FN 107). The estate established a Social Service Committee where domestic goods were purchased wholesale and sold through agents (advertised in the Forerunner) as "Help to develop the social life of the estate by trading with your Social Service Committee" (FN 108).

Figure 33 – Social activities: cricket at Humberstone Garden Suburb

Recreational Facilities (Fig. 33)

Ground for recreational pursuits was given priority; although not all amenities were available at the outset, most were in existence by 1914. Space, fresh air and good sanitation were recognised as being important to health, as well as exercise and outdoors activities. The amenities included a bowling green, a cricket pitch, skittle alley, football ground, tennis courts and golf links. There was a plan to turn the village pond into an outdoor swimming pool but this never materialised. These activities were all for men; the tennis club, however, was mixed, with subscriptions covering the initial cost of equipment and

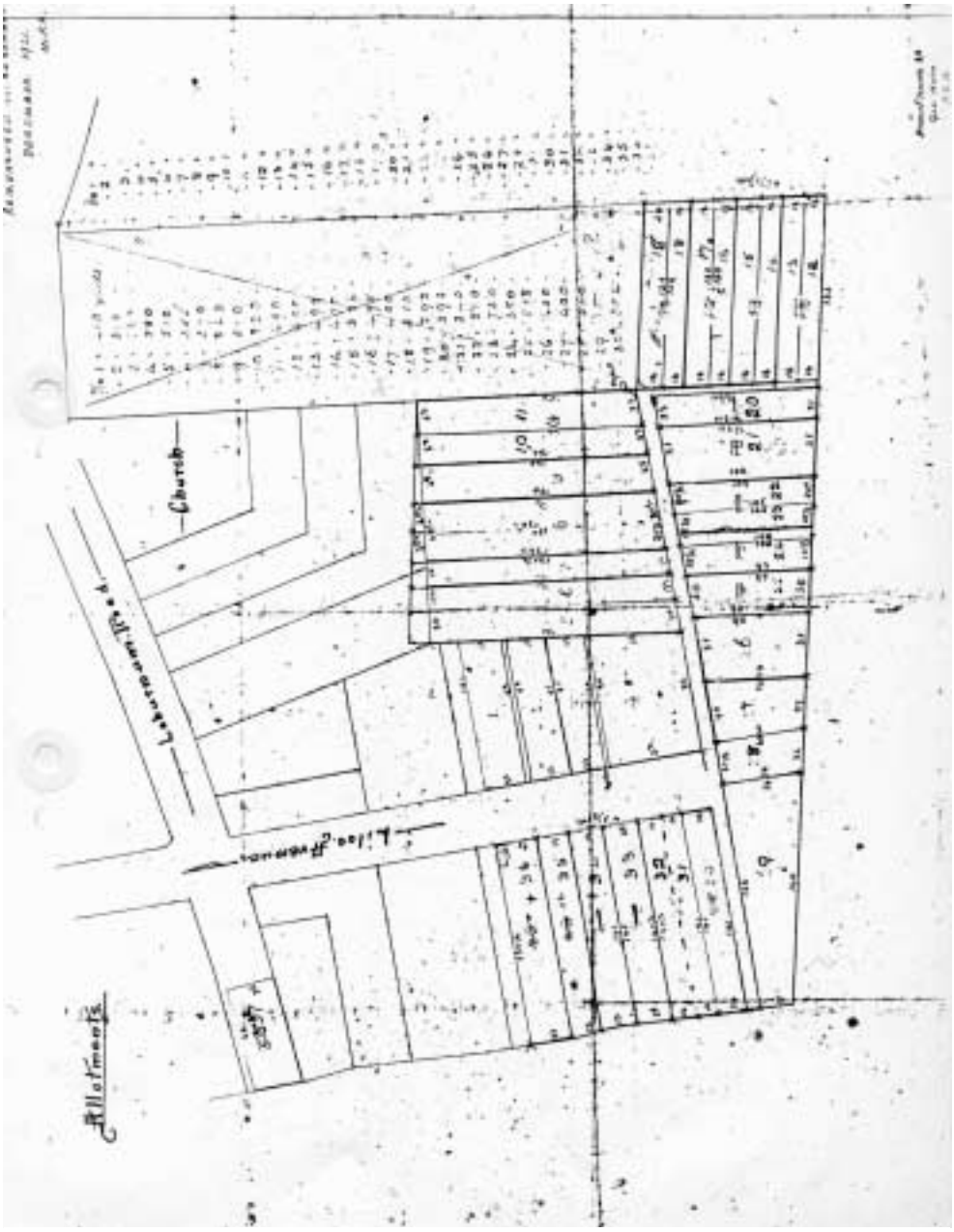


Figure 34 – Allotment chart.

maintenance. The Golf Committee decided to lay out the course, on six month's experimental trial, with only five holes, the fees for which would be 4/- for members, 7/6 for non-members and visitors, or, for casual visitors introduced by members, 6d for each half day's play. Although Sunday was the only full free day from work, no golf was allowed on the Sabbath (FN 109).

Allotments (Fig.34)

Allotments were issued to the members before the estate was officially opened. In 1912, Culpin writes that the estate had three acres for allotments (FN 1I0) but, after later development, this could have been much greater. There is evidence that each house was eventually allotted a strip of land when existing allotments were re-measured and re-allocated in 1921 (Fig.34), with rents charged according to the size of ground occupied. At the beginning of the development, a tool shed was erected and members shared all the equipment it housed. Bulk, wholesale buying of seeds, manure, equipment or services required kept down the costs and meant that allotments were within the financial reach of all the tenants, a feature of the principles of co-operative co-partnership.

The notion that the workingman with his own plot of land to cultivate would become self-reliant has a long pedigree. The "Home Colonies" of William Allen (an Owenite) in the 1820s were based upon this idea and were also seen as a remedy for poverty (FN 111). At the turn of the century allotments for the urban workingman had rural implications - keeping the man physically fit whilst relating to nature and restraining him from more worldly pursuits. Leisure activity that was both physically, practically and spiritually rewarding was also regarded as a necessary compensation for working in mechanised industry. Whether the tenants were guided by these beliefs it is difficult to say; more likely they chose to have allotments as an economical way of growing food and a practical communal activity.

Educational Opportunities

A variety of educational programmes were offered by the Estate Council as well as by the Anchor Boot and Shoe Company's Educational Committee (see Appendix D), and the Young Men's Guild provided Sunday lectures; study classes were held in the Institute and included such subjects as industrial co-operation, to which ladies were especially invited (FN 112). Children on the estate were also catered for with physical fitness classes, painting, sewing and musical instruction and, in addition, a learners' Dancing Class was held in the Institute for 2^{d} per night. This is reminiscent of Owen's programme of education and tuition for children at New Lanark and the later ideas incorporated into his communitarian principles; certainly they must have provided subjects which were not available in schools at that time.

Figure 35 – The rural belt 1907-14 Humberstone Garden Suburb

Education and the acquiring of knowledge was very important to the co-operative working classes, and Anchor Tenants were no exception. In their magazine of December 1910, the front-page article was entitled, “What is

Education?" written by Dr Melcombe, in which he spelled out the message of self-improvement, for men "to become and do the best which is in them to do and to be". Samuel Smiles' doctrine of self improvement and perseverance through self help were re-iterated, followed by Dr Melcombe's view that:

"... education is not and has nothing whatever to do with preparing a man for any special profession. It has to prepare and fit him to live well and worthily the life he is to live in this world" (FN 113)

The same magazine, in June 1911, carried an article about the Workers Educational Association by R Law, who later obtained a scholarship to Cambridge (FN 114).

Community Spirit

There is no doubt that the community spirit that prevailed in the early years helped to make the garden suburb a success. Time, thought and energy were given in a self-sacrificing way by the management Committee, which met weekly. There was also a Members Meeting and a "progress" half yearly meeting. Special meetings were called for specific issues, sometimes on a personal level difficult to resolve. Admittedly, co-partnership in community living was possible and successful only in helping those working classes already in a position to help themselves; nevertheless, it required enthusiasm, dogged determination and sustained commitment over a period of time to produce a successful outcome.

Physical Manifestations

Physically, it is important not to judge the estate as seen today, 1984. There have been alterations to the estate by Leicester City Council during the road-making period in the late 1950s, when the Council removed George Hern's memorial tree from Laburnum Road because it was considered a traffic hazard (FN 115). The beech tree, with rusticated seats below, was not only an important meeting place but also represented value laden root memories - the early tenants held George Hern in high esteem. The Council's action was particularly insensitive, since they did not even consult the Management Committee.

Although there was no village green, Laburnum Road, by virtue of its width and the setting there of the public buildings, became the village centre. The shops, Meeting House, the (later) Institute and, further down the road, the farm, offered many of the basic necessities of life all in close proximity to each other. The dark red tiled, white rough cast semidetached houses, surrounded by gardens, at a density of only seven or eight to the acre, amongst trees and shrubs, would have presented a much more "garden village" appearance than it does today. In the first phase of development, the houses were all of different design because

Hern took individual requirements into account (see below) but, despite the variety, every house contributed to the total ensemble. A description of Brentham Garden Suburb at that time is equally applicable to Humberstone Garden Suburb:

"The tiled roofs and the ruddy glow that alternates with a bright whiteness are effective in the sunlight and less sombre than many places on the duller days ... And so we might ramble around these Co-partnership houses and homes with a diversity of outlook that can be seen nowhere else in this country save on other estates that express the same ideal in an equally practical way" (FN 116)

At this time (1907-1914), Humberstone Garden Suburb was surrounded by a rural belt (Fig.35). Co-partnership garden suburbs were planned for the future; although at Humberstone only forty-eight acres had been negotiated, presumably other land around the estate was potential development land (FN 117). Like Owen's vision of his Villages of Unity and Mutual Co-Operation and Howard's blueprint for a garden city, co-partnership garden suburbs were small examples planned as much for future growth as for present requirements. The surrounding "green belt" at Humberstone, however, although physically reminiscent of More and echoing the agricultural environment of Owen's villages and Howard's rural surroundings at Letchworth, was not protected and Anchor Tenants appear never to have obtained any option to purchase. Maybe they considered they had reached optimum size with forty-eight acres but, even so, no move was made to protect themselves from encroachment. In the event, the land was purchased by the Leicester City Council who also secured, by compulsory purchase, the estate's recreational grounds and allotments. Later, the estate was permitted to rent back individually the allotments that once belonged to their own company.

Disadvantages (Fig. 36)

Were there disadvantages implicit in this attempt by artisan working class people to find a better quality of life in an attractive environment in the country? Elderly residents speak of community problems as being no more than might be expected in any interrelated settlement. Individuals had privacy in the spacing of the houses and privet hedges later gave a line of demarcation without the necessity for high walls or fences. Martin (FN 118) suggests that the main disadvantages were the long journey to work - some four or five miles across country to the Leicester factories, the lack of main sewerage, electricity and made up or adopted roads. Perhaps a further problem could have been that so many of the residents both worked together and lived in the same community, even spending much of their leisure time together, although such close and constant proximity seems not to have caused much strife. Such people, however, would not have considered Martin's objections, as particularly serious at such a time. Workmen were quite used to walking long distances - the distance to the factory, in any case, was nearer to three than five miles, and the tram terminus at Uppingham Road was even nearer (the tram service was

extended to the lower end of Humberstone Drive in 1904). Many tenants bought bicycles, which they would leave at Pallant's shop (near the terminus and still there today) for 1d per week.

Figure 36 (a) – Map showing the position of Humberstone Garden Suburb in relation to the tram terminus at Humberstone drive - 1966

In 1925, one tenant, Tom Bowerman, bought a T-Ford model bus and ran it for the benefit of the estate, linking up with the Corporation service. Sanitation at the houses was by means of earth closets, which had to be emptied, and cesspits were dug well away from the houses. This method of disposal was quite usual at

the time. Main sewerage was laid in 1926/7 and electricity mains connected to the estate. The roads could have presented a serious problem in winter since they were covered only with ashes. Complaints from council tenants of the Netherhall Estate in the 1950s led to the adoption of the roads by the Council, but at very high cost to the garden suburb tenants (Fig. 37).

Changes occurred as the estate developed; as more houses were built, more tenants arrived, families increased and men changed their jobs. There was thus a

Figure 26 (b) – Map showing Asfordby Street and tram route, Uppingham Road to terminus – 1902

greater cross section of occupations, with a lower proportion of those working at the Anchor Boot and Shoe Company, but it did bring in a greater variety of trades and potential co-operation as well as offsetting the insularity of too close a community.

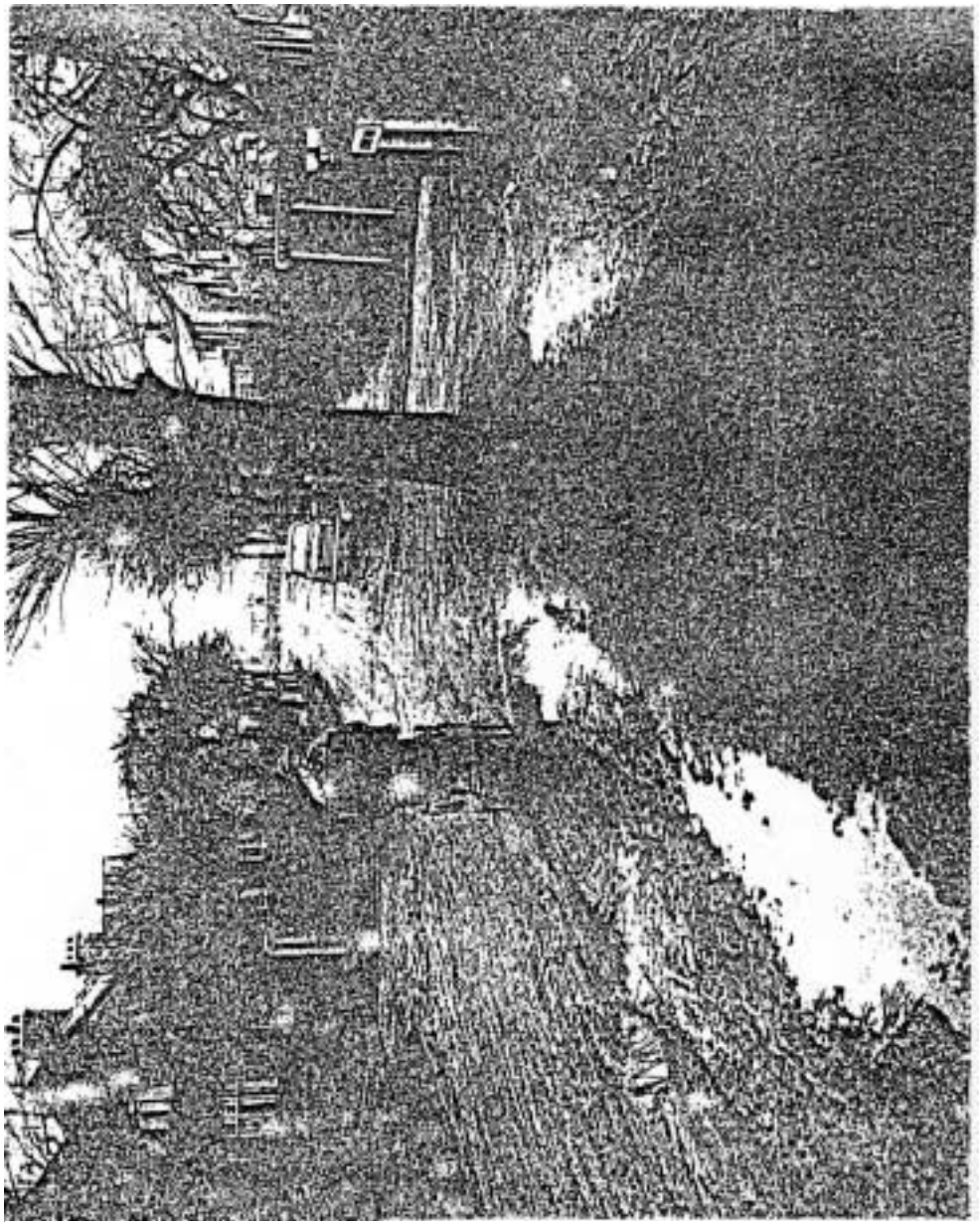


Figure 37 – State of roads at Humberstone Garden Suburb in wet weather

All in all, there is evidence to suggest that Humberstone Garden Suburb was a kind of "Utopia" for the tenants and their families, particularly in the early formative years before the Great War. There was a high moral tone, a sense of brotherhood and mutual help (Fig.38), a work ethic, a belief in self-help, self-reliance and an independence from outsiders who offered help. Sometimes, unfortunately, eagerness to be independent was carried too far as, for instance, when Billesdon Rural District Council offered to make up the roads without

"Pomeranian."—From your "doggerel" we take it that you have some little grievance against the canine residents on the Estate. We agree with you that they are somewhat out of tone when holding their nocturnal concerts, but we are hoping that for the future, tenants desirous of midnight protectors will endeavour to "curtail" the "breed" of any "growling" from their neighbours by doing their best to harmonize the voices of their darlings.

The cinder paths leading to the Estate have certainly been of great benefit this winter and much appreciated, but what is sadly needed is a solid crossing of some kind from causeway to causeway in Keyham Lane. Perhaps the authorities will kindly take note.

Make a note of the Concert on Saturday, January 21st, in aid of the funds of the Choral Society. Mr. Philpott has secured exceptional talent. Tickets, 3d. each.

CHRISTMAS FESTIVITIES.

The Senior's Party on Christmas Eve was opened by a seasonable Concert given by the Choral Class. A number of part songs and carols were rendered by the choir. Two pieces were ably sung by a double quartette of male voices, and the solos by Mrs. Purdy and Messrs. Riley and Philpott were heartily appreciated. It was decided to make a collection towards the expenses of the Children's Party. After the concert, light refreshments were partaken of and games indulged in. Promptly at midnight, the party formed themselves into a choir and making a detour of the estate, Christmas Day was fittingly ushered in by the rendering of time-honored carols and melodies at several different points.

On Wednesday Evening, the Institute, so gaily decorated, was scarcely large enough to hold the crowd of juniors who had come together for their annual Christmas Party. Besides over 60 children, there was a fairly large company of parents who had brought their little tots to receive their presents from Santa Claus. The Christmas tree which was over 8 ft. high was heavily laden. Games of a homely character were indulged in followed by refreshments. Then Santa Claus made the hearts of the children glad by his distribution of the free gifts.

On Thursday Evening, a Whist Drive was held to aid the finances of the Choral Society. The Institute was crowded with a hopeful company of whist players. Twelve tables were used and the prizes were won by Mrs. Warner and Mrs. Wilford, and Messrs. Morris and Murby.

On New Year's Eve, the Lord's Day School Anniversary tea was held in the Meeting House. Besides teachers and friends some 50 scholars sat down to well-spread tables. At 6-30 an open Concert was given entirely by the children, comprising solos, duetts recitations, piano and violin solos. A number of the parents were present and evidently appreciated their efforts. At the close each scholar was presented with a New Year memento.

Residents on the Anchor Tenants Estate

READ THIS.

We all desire to increase the facilities

FOR OUR SOCIAL WELFARE!
AND FOR OUR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION!

The way to do this without increasing the cost of commodities to the purchaser, is by trading with the Social Service Committee whenever possible.

OUR AGENTS ARE

Mrs. GOODMAN,
"Holyoake,"
Keyham Lane.
Who can supply
GROCERIES, HARDWARE,
SWEETS AND SUNDRIES.

Mr. PARKER,
"Windermere,"
Keyham Lane.
Who will meet your requirements for
COAL, FRUIT, EGGS, MILK, MEAT.

Pattern Books for
LADIES' COSTUMES, MEN'S AND BOY'S CLOTHING, ETC.,
may be seen on application to

Mr. MORRIS,
"Ashleigh,"
Keyham Lane.
Who will be pleased to receive your order, and take your measure for any garment required.

Mr. FREEMAN,
"Killarney,"
Keyham Lane,
Will Sweep your Chimneys at your convenience when required.

And last but not least important, a small **SAVINGS BANK** will commence with the New Year. For information regarding which apply to the Secretary, Mr. Jays, Mr. J. S. Wilford, or any member of the Committee.

Help to develop the Social Life of the Estate by trading with your Social Service Committee.

Figure 38 – The Anchor Tenants Forerunner, January 1911

cost to the estate. Jealously guarding their autonomy, the Committee saw the offer as a threat to their independence but later regretted their decision to refuse it. Their ideals appear in the Anchor Tenants Forerunner of April 1911:

"The greatest amongst us being, not those who can contribute most in the world's goods, but those who give themselves in service for the welfare of all. May we not regard this as religious work, that in one time and generation we

may do something to make more possible the living of a fruitful life and bring into closer realisation the time when heaven and earth are synonymous terms"

Everyone was committed to helping to create the community, which had a "village core" in more senses than the primary layout. Although Unwin deliberately planned the layout to create a village imagery, he, Vivian and Howard all recognised that life required more than a picturesque environment. The social amenities (Vivian believed that the Institute, Club or Meeting Hall should take priority in the building scheme), the educational programmes and sports facilities encouraged closely woven strands of comradeship and commitment. As the estate developed and the next generation grew up within the community, knowing no other place as home, these ties were reinforced. By 1984, thirty-one couples had met and married from the estate. The last of the original tenants (a worker from Corah's) died recently aged ninety-three years.

Although geographically a suburb of the industrial city of Leicester, the estate was a deliberate attempt at creating a village community in both idealistic and practical terms.

Humberstone Garden Suburb: What is a "Garden Suburb"?

Although called Humberstone Garden Suburb, the estate was never a suburb in the conventional sense, that is, an extension of urban sprawl, of either Leicester or Humberstone.

In taking its name from Humberstone village, with which it was in close proximity, it confused not only local contemporaries but also later historic interest in its identity and origins. It was, in 1907, an autonomous, planned community, a "fresh start" in rural surroundings (Fig.1) and was an attempt by a group of artisan working class men to find the perfect environment that enhanced their quality of life - a "Utopia now".

The creation of this new community was an independent gesture of self-help, self-reliance and total commitment to the principles of co-partnership (as practised by the "producer" side of the Co-operative Movement). The main difference from a purely residential suburb was the deliberate social core created simultaneously with the physical layout, which was based on the traditional old English village.

Even in 1912/13, there was confusion over the term "suburb". Culpin attempted to give a definition (FN 119): A "Garden Suburb" is an extension of the normal growth of existing cities but planned on healthy lines; "Garden Villages" are garden cities in miniature, without the valuable provision of a protective belt and are usually the centre for one great industry. The examples he gave were Port Sunlight and Bournville. The Humberstone estate comes closest to the definition of garden village since; originally, Anchor Tenants intended to build

their housing around the factory at North Evington. As it was, the estate was quite separate and at some distance from the factory and was also considerably smaller than the industrial model villages.

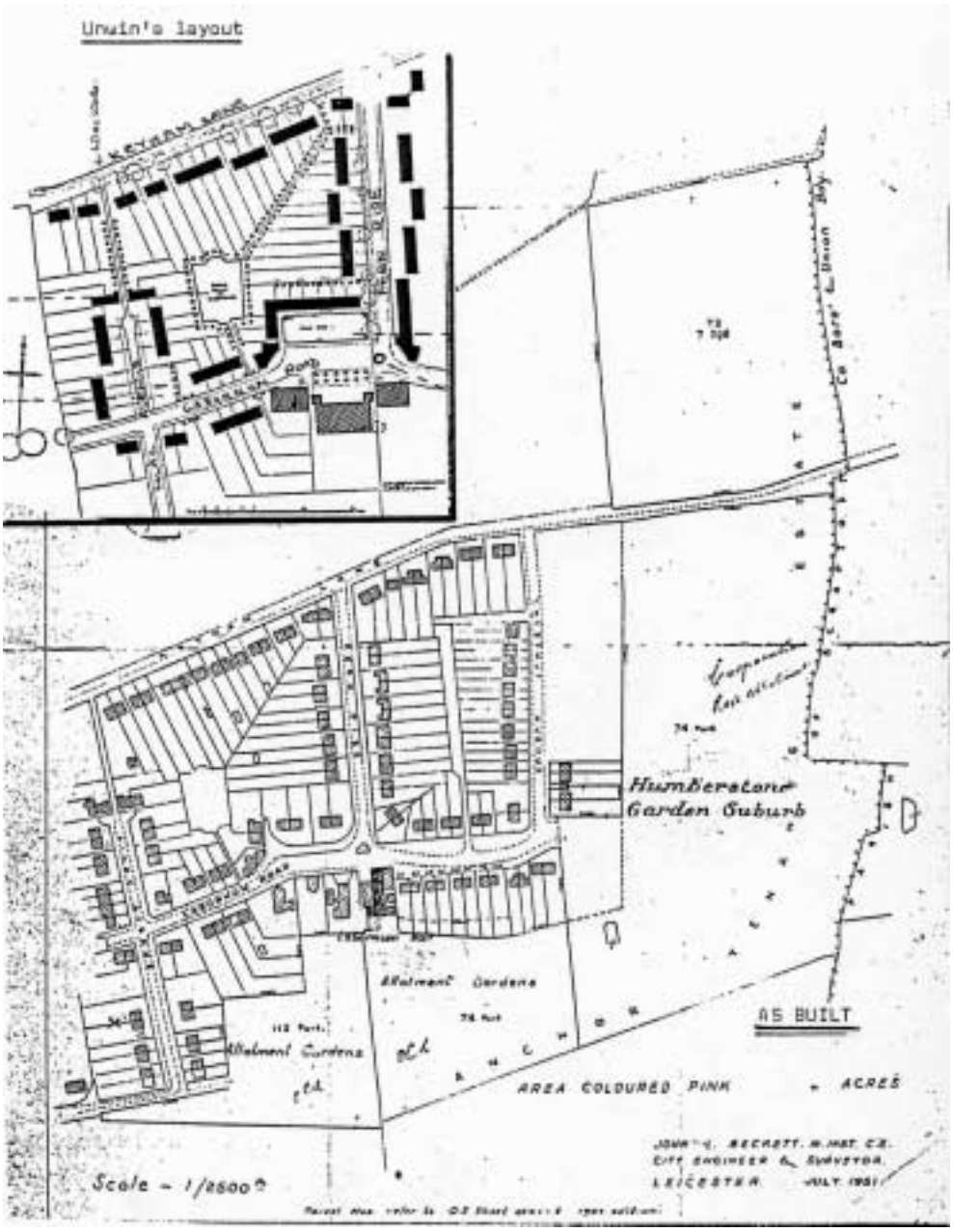


Figure 39 – Comparrison of Unwin's plan for houses and layout with what was actually built

A writer in 1912 drew attention to the words 'suburb' and 'suburbia' as being words of reproach. A happier expression was "garden village". He continued:

"Life in a garden village today is working towards re-establishment of that social life which the growth of huge manufacturing centres, following the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century has nearly broken down and swept away" (FN 120)

This, besides being a nostalgic view of the past and expressing a fear of increasing industrialisation in the country, does describe the attempts at creating a social core, as at Humberstone Garden Suburb. Umwin's layouts, including the one for the estate (Fig.30), follow the plan for a garden village even if this did not actually materialise. Unwin believed in the village as an animate symbol on all levels; his plan for Humberstone gives credence to the definition of it as a "Garden Village".

Garden cities were totally self-contained (there were only two, Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City), combining the advantages of town and country but dependent on a complicated, interrelated town/country mutuality at social, physical and economic levels. Strict constructionalists defended Howard's ideal of the self-sufficient community, whilst others - with many authoritative voices among them, such as Tudor Walters, Raymond Unwin and John Burns - subordinated the pursuit of the original to more immediate sectional concerns - pressure for land reform, a national system of town planning legislation, an improved standard of house design or the building of industrial garden villages modelled on Port Sunlight, Bournville and New Earswick (FN 121).

A "Garden Suburb" could be a leafy residential area, laid out attractively on the outskirts of a town. There was a movement by the better off classes to move to the perimeters of a town to protect their families from the social problems caused by overcrowding in towns. Manufacturers were usually the first to leave, followed by shopkeepers, and many of the wealthier people moved into fine houses with large gardens. But neither suburbs nor garden villages dealt with the nineteenth century problem, seen as the 'root' evil by Culpin, that of rural depopulation. The Garden City was the preventative of this evil, the others the palliative.

Humberstone Garden Suburb has its roots in the ideal of the industrial garden villages in providing good housing in a pleasant environment at low density; Anchor Tenants wanted to be close to their industry "that all the necessities of the workers should be met and that life, as far as that was possible with ones own independent ideas, should be lived in common" (FN 122). Without the industrial content, however, it nevertheless had its roots in the ideal of the traditional village but without a paternalistic, philanthropic manufacturer as its instigator.

The Idealised View of The Village

Humberstone Garden Suburb had all the ingredients of a garden village in a rural setting in the years 1907 to 1914, with its social core, a philosophy of life based on co-operation inherent in the ideals of brotherhood and community spirit and an economic policy independent of the nearby municipality (FN 123); Unwin's layout in Town Planning in Practice (1909) (as defined by his caption) was based on the plan of a village. Unwin's plan of the estate (Fig.30) clearly defines a village green and public buildings set back from the road. One large

building (presumably the Institute) is set back with a green margin in front for shrubs and trees. Nine houses are planned in terraced style around the green; these houses have smaller gardens than others on the estate, possibly to give a wider choice since allotments were also available (FN 124). It is interesting to note how many terraced blocks there were in the original plan compared with what was actually built (Fig.39). Unwin planned two blocks of six cottages, eleven of four cottages and three of three, at an overall density of ten to the acre (compared with 7-8 to the acre as built). His layout provides for Laburnum Road to increase in width towards the village green, expanding into what is virtually a square including the green, with existing trees retained and others to be planted, creating tree lined vistas and walks.

For various reasons (see below), the plan was not strictly adhered to, the village green and terraced block of nine houses did not materialise (FN 125). In the Estate Minutes there are vague references to the revised layout: a Minute of 10 April 1910 states, "the plan of suggested rearrangement of houses near the central square submitted and generally approved". No reasons for revision are given. In the Minutes of 8 October 1912, it is recorded that A E Hern submitted a plan and design for the centre green, Laburnum Road, which was accepted and agreed. Later, in Minutes of 9 September 1913, it is recorded that a "letter of request from Mr Elliott and five others, asking that land might be re-plotted so as to give additional garden ground" had been received. On 13 October 1913, Mr Hern submitted a new plan in accordance with instructions, to meet the wishes of Messrs Neep, Page, Elliott and Wheatley, which was resolved to be "submitted to the tenants". This suggests that tenants knew exactly what they wanted and would not necessarily be subordinate to an aesthetically designed village style layout by Unwin. The historic and symbolic importance of the village green could well be of less importance to men bent on improving their housing conditions, particularly as there were other open spaces incorporated into the layout (FN 126).

Laburnum Road, nevertheless, did become a central point. The shops (with a Meeting Room above), the Church of Christ, the Institute and, later, George Hern's memorial tree and seats at the bottom of Fern Rise, provided a focal meeting point. The fact that the residents chose this position for the memorial tends to indicate that they thought of this as the village centre. In the early days, there would be no traffic to disrupt the loitering and conversation among friends and neighbours and the seats would encourage leisurely social intercourse.

According to the philosophy preached in Town Planning in Practice, Parker and Unwin planned the site paying particular attention to the lie of the land, north/south aspects, prevailing wind and natural slope of the ground. In an essay of 1901, they discuss housing for workers, saying that, "The site is the most important factor to be considered, for it usually suggests both the internal arrangement and the external treatment" (FN 127). They had definite principles which they believed should inform the building of houses and the planning of sites, position of roads, views from windows, and vistas along streets, which were given careful attention in order to create harmony and beauty for the

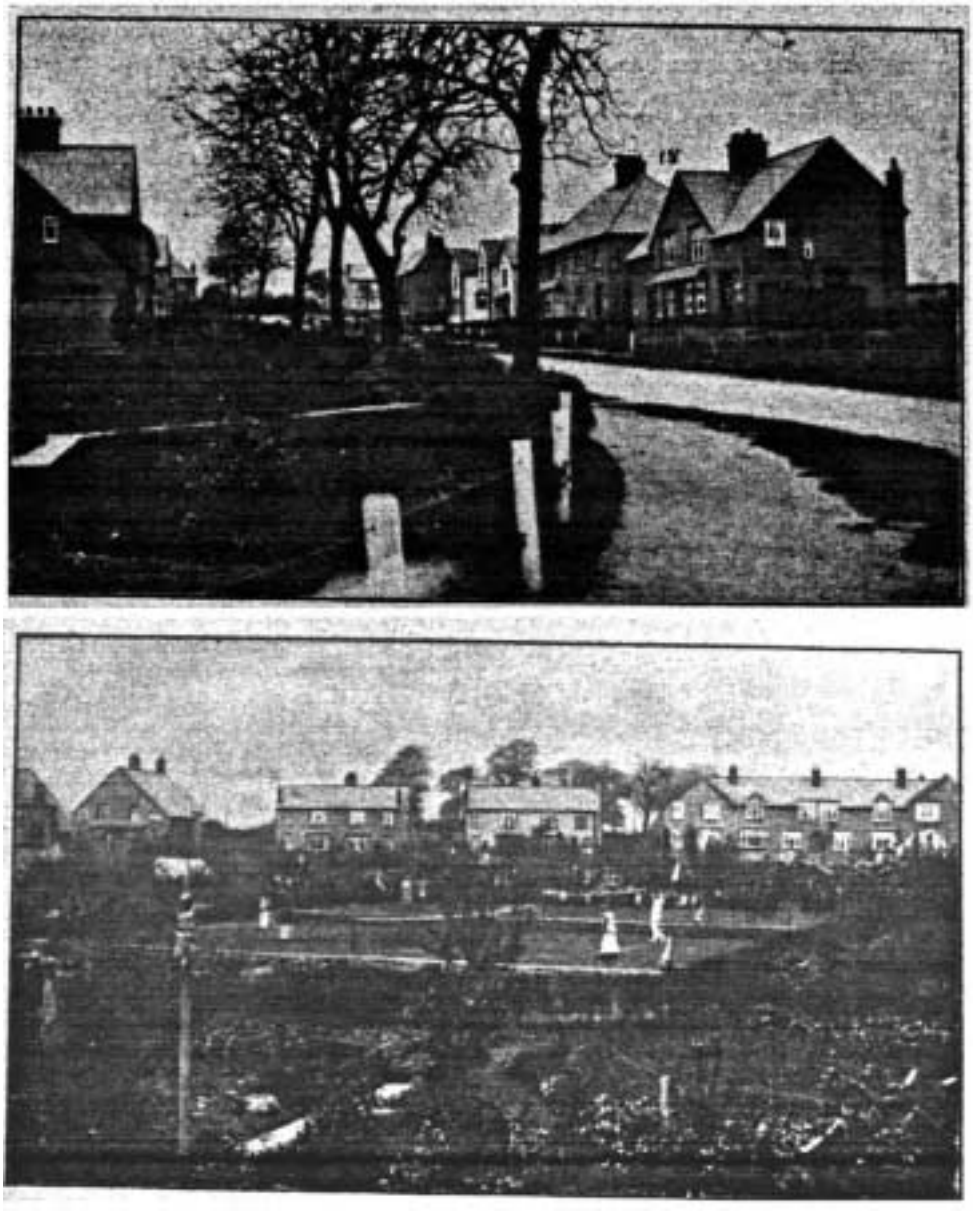


Figure 40 – Two views (1912) showing lack of fences or high hedges

benefit of people. Unwin insisted that the correct type of trees and shrubs should be planted on new sites - varieties prevailing in the area were to be grown, maintaining not only artistic continuity but an historic link as well (FN 128). The Humberstone Garden Suburb Minutes show that trees were carefully selected and planted by the Committee, to suit the environment and soil (FN 129). But there is no evidence of Unwin ever visiting the site before or after its official opening minute Books dated between 1907 and 1914 make no mention of his name either in relation to the site development or supervision of the housing programme, except for a record of correspondence enclosing Unwin's Bill of Costs (minutes 7 February 1909).

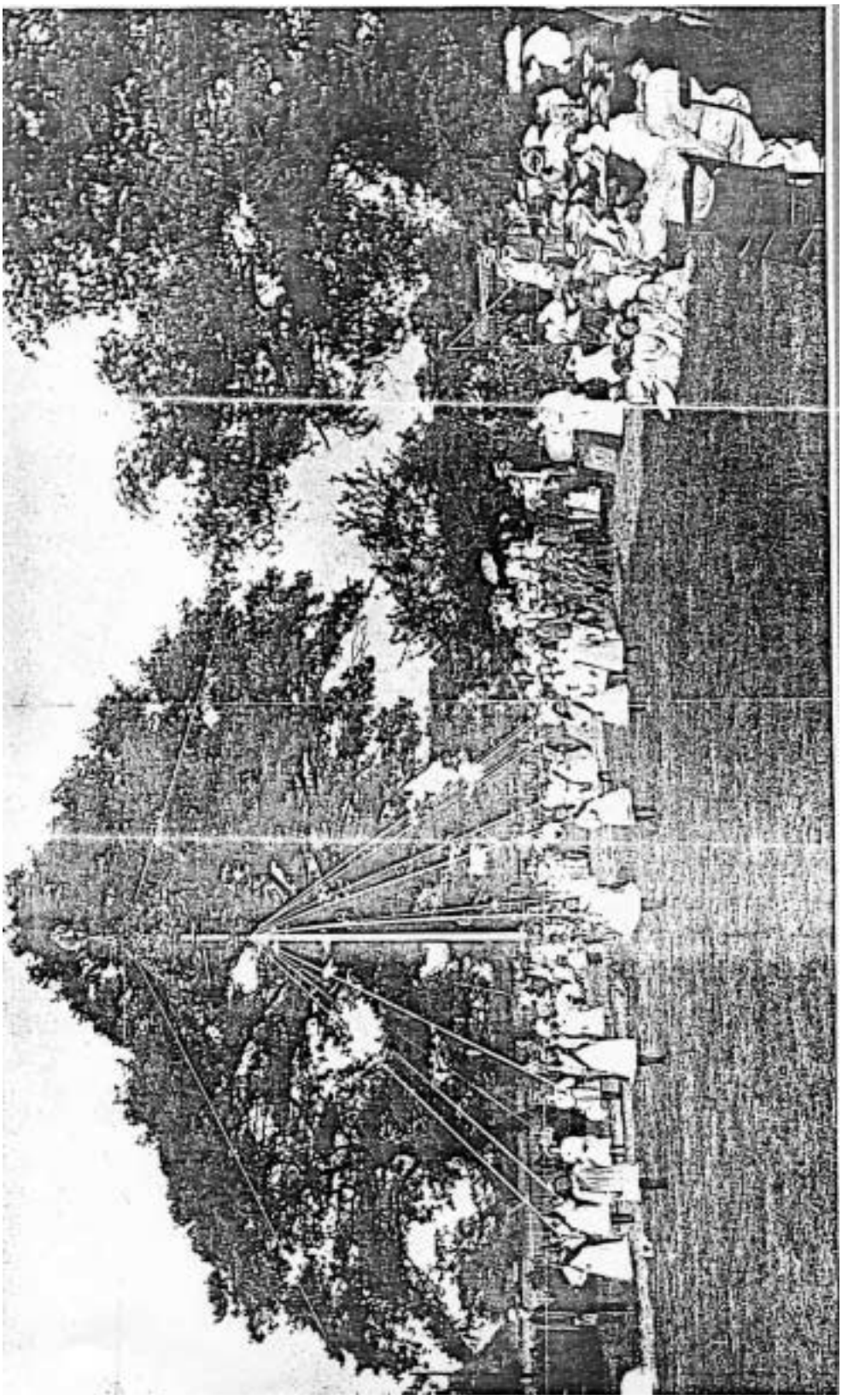


Figure 41 – Brentham Garden Suburb: opening of the Recreational Grounds, May 1908. (from The Sphere, May 1908)

It seems more likely that the layout was commissioned by Vivian for the Co-Partnership Housing Council (later registered as Co-Partnership Tenants Limited, 1907) as Unwin was the official Consultant Architect to the company, but how exactly Unwin became aware of the physical geography of the Humberstone site in order to relate it to his planned layout cannot be traced. The description of Humberstone Garden Suburb given earlier confirms that, in its early days, it was based on the old English village, an ideal that grew out of the nineteenth century distrust of the city. Twentieth century writers have paralleled that vision of the ideal village with the "home community", both settings seen as idealised "organic" communities. The description "Beau Ideal" has been given to the romanticised stereotyped visions of the village and family (FN 130):

"The Ideal setting of women's lives in the home is a constant theme of the whole (Victorian) period. Ana1ogous to it is the theme of the village community as the ideal setting for relationships in the wider society" (FN 131)

The core of this ideal was home in a rural community, with home and village ideally separated from the public life and work sphere. The writers continue that the home and village community was deliberately sheltered from the public life of power and doubly reinforced by the physical walls of the house and by hedges, fences and walls that surrounded and defined the physical boundaries of its garden setting (FN 132).

This may have been true of the houses in garden suburbs, garden villages and suburbia elsewhere but at Humberstone Garden Suburb; only small hedges were planted around recreational grounds to provide a line of demarcation. Gardens and allotments did not have physical boundaries such as hedges, fences and walls (fig.40). Vivian encouraged the co-operative community sense; the absence of physical barriers were an extension of his ideal of collectivism.

The ideal village (Beau Ideal) became a symbol of social stability, which the Edwardian upper and middle classes wished to preserve. It was synonymous with an ordered society, based on the village hierarchy, traditional patterns of behaviour and legitimate authority. This was true only to some extent of co-partnership societies; the community was an ordered society but the only authority was that of ethics and adherence to the rules of co-partnership principles as determined by the Management Committee and other sub-Committees. Such hierarchy as could be said to exist, albeit democratically elected and thus different from the English squiredom, was nevertheless stable and community based. Advice was always available from Co-Partnership Tenants Limited of London (FN 133) and they did in fact seek advice at various times on a number of issues from the head office in Bloomsbury Square, London - which advice would inevitably have been in line with, and perpetuating, the ideals and principles on which the whole movement was based (FN 134).

Community, par excellence, was equated with the country as a rural phenomenon. Myths grew up around this idealised vision; there was a view of

the village community as man's "natural state", which gave a superiority to rural occupations and pleasures. Urban activities, associated with large towns and cities, were considered "unnatural" (FN 135). A superior feeling, possibly relating to myths of the countryside as well as the success of a progressive, co-operative co-partnership community, no doubt did give Humberstone Garden Suburb tenants a feeling of elitism and exclusiveness. Locally, contemporary workers referred to them as "that stuck up lot from Humberstone Garden City"; some thought them "cranky". They were criticised for "keeping to themselves" and, no doubt, were generally viewed with suspicion for being different.

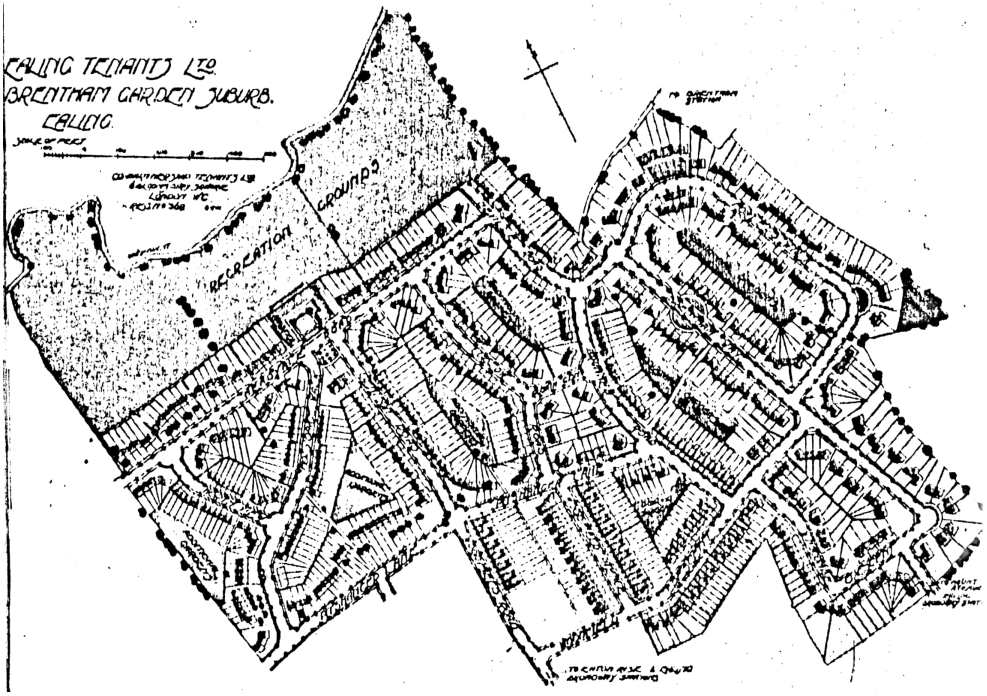
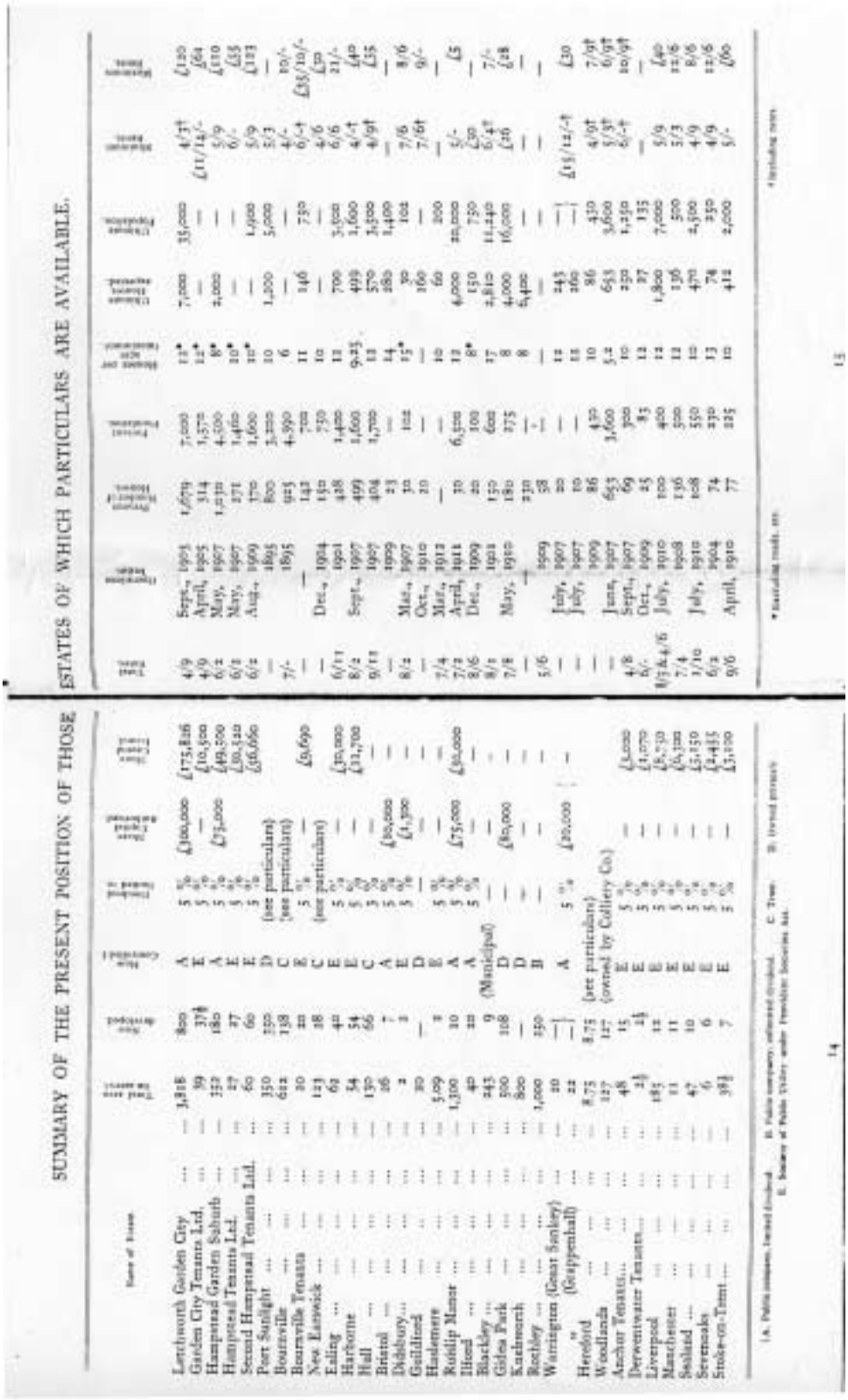


Figure 42 – Brentham Garden Suburb, Ealing

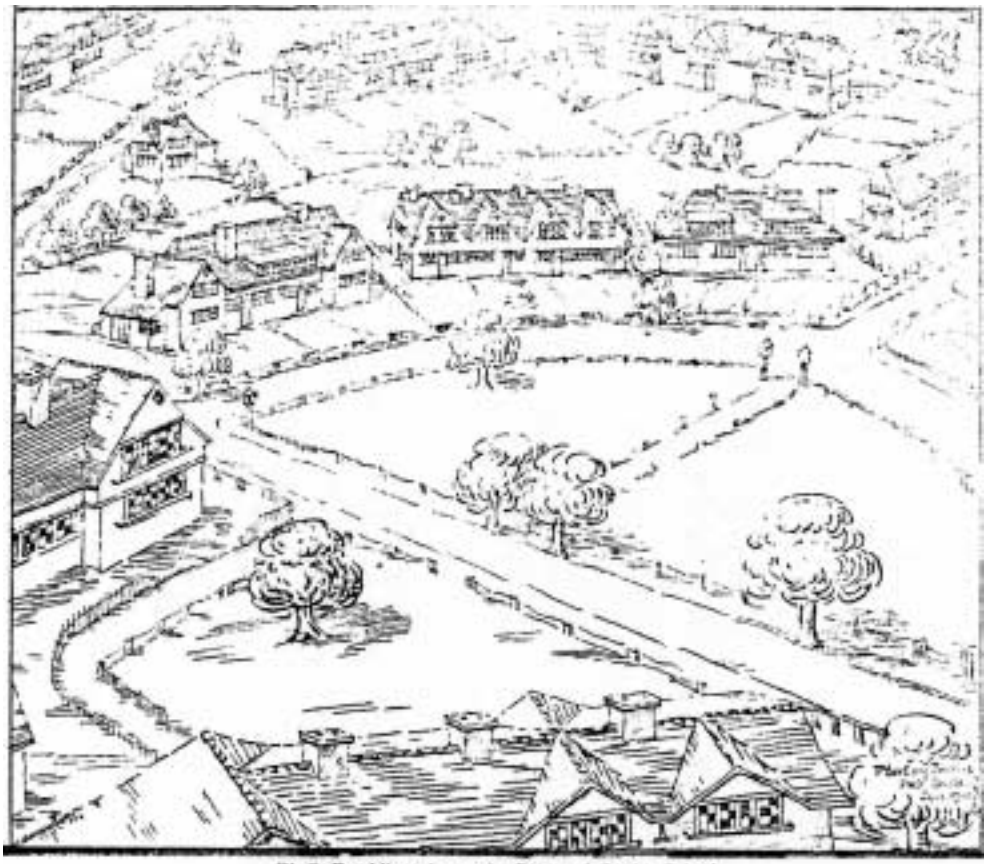
Other myths suggested a synonymity with harmony, beauty and a static way of life. Henrietta Barnett, writing about Hampstead Garden Suburb in 1908, said, "..we're getting back something of the Old English Village Life" (FN 136). In such a community, one "belonged", compared with the anonymity of town life, had a "sense of place" in which life was meaningful. The social importance of life in the countryside was seen as a symbol of freedom, an escape, presumably, from the distressing conditions of towns; a village was "cosy and safe", compared with the rapid development of the town which was a constant reminder of how quickly life could change (FN 137). How conscious the tenants of Humberstone Garden Suburb were of this symbolism it is not possible to say, except that the philosophy they received from the co-partnership organisation and, indeed, practised themselves, suggests that they saw life in their community in these terms.



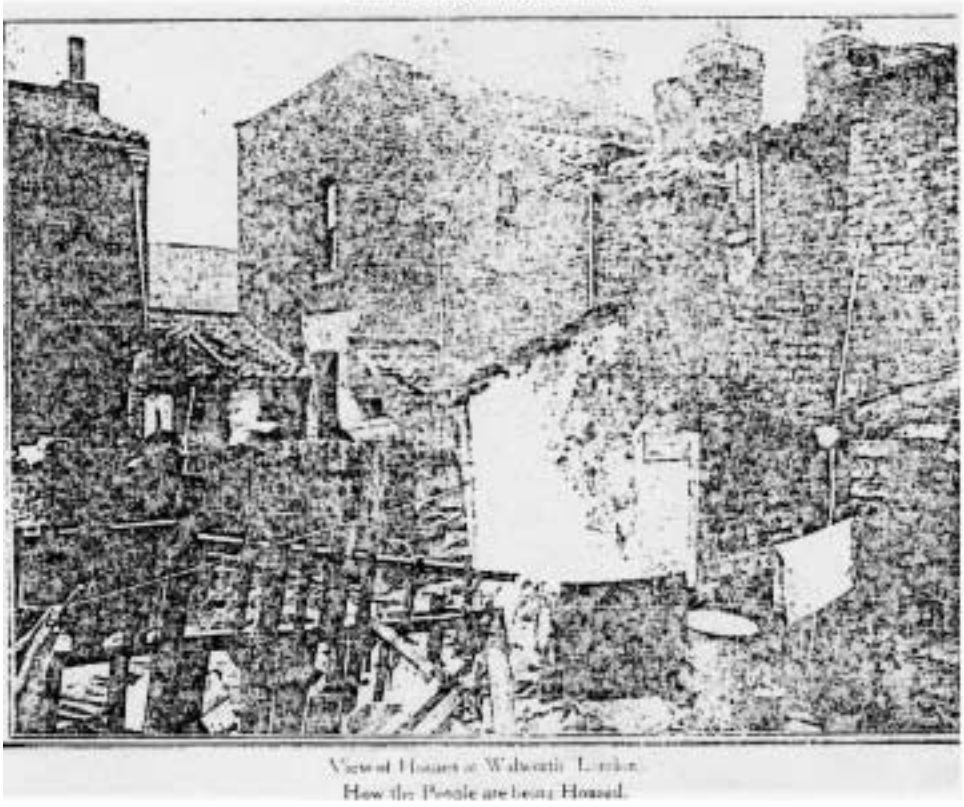
SUMMARY OF THE PRESENT POSITION OF THOSE

ESTATES OF WHICH PARTICULARS ARE AVAILABLE.

Figure 44 – Chart showing national strength of Co-partnership Housing Movement (1912)



Bird's Eye View of part of a Proposed Garden Suburb.
How the People should be Housed.



View of Houses at Walworth, London.
How the People are being Housed.

Figure 44 (a) – Contrasts of garden suburbs with city slums (1912)

William Cobbett has been blamed for idealising and popularising a mythical merry England (FN 140). This was a powerful image and one used at Ealing, Brentham Garden Suburb, to publicise co-partnership life in a village style community and as hosts to a co-partnership Festival in 1902. Many tenants from Humberstone supported the festival, travelling together by train from Leicester to Ealing. The scenes depicted in the pageant were all socialistic, comparing various periods of history against contemporary injustices, but with an optimistic theme of progress running through to the millennium, instanced by "Corpus Christi Day 1409" (showing the election of the Master Weavers Guild), 1850 conditions in the factory and mine, and a strike followed by Quaker Relief work. The pageant was called "Merrier England" and ended with the year 2001 and an optimistic view of the future portrayed by young girls carrying flowers and an emblem to the new "Golden Age" 2001 (FN 141).

During the celebration of the opening of the recreational grounds at Brentham Garden Suburb (Whit Monday, 1908), by John Burns MP, young girls danced around the maypole (Fig.41). Although symbolic of village green activities the focus was, like the Institute, on the periphery of the estate. Like Humberstone Garden Suburb, Parker and Unwin's layout plan had been changed. Originally at Brentham, the plan showed a wide avenue (Brentham Way) as the centre of the village (Fig.29). This would have been in keeping with Unwin's stated principles: (Compare with Fig.42)

"One or two public buildings are arranged at points where the cross roads lead into this, and the Avenue is laid out in such a way as to afford space for seats and wide shady promenades" (FN 142)

Co-partnership societies depended largely on their layout and village imagery to publicise and draw attention to themselves, to spread the co-partnership movement as based upon the village and its surrounding country environment, since they were dependent on the buying of loan stock by wealthy shareholders to provide capital. The more societies that became established the more successful and stable the total project (through federation) would become. The garden city movement sponsored other community experiments founded by a variety of schemes. Culpin published in 1913 an interesting comparative chart (Fig.43) illustrating the success at this time of the co-partnership housing movement and that it was now a national movement. The garden village imagery was being perpetuated throughout all these schemes, including the industrial "model" villages at Port Sunlight, Bournville and New Earswick. As the old traditional agrarian villages began to disappear through depopulation, a new type of "model" village was evolved. These model factory villages laid the foundation for the garden city movement.

The village imagery was used by Unwin, Vivian and Nettlefold to contrast with the slum conditions in cities and towns and also with by-law planning of straight streets in grid form (Fig. 44). Unwin's approach to a new planned community was subjective in his desire to create beauty; Vivian's approach indicates a more practical mind, in his organisational powers and the sound economic base he

devised to support and fund co-partnership garden villages. Humberstone Garden Suburb was the benefactor of both approaches.

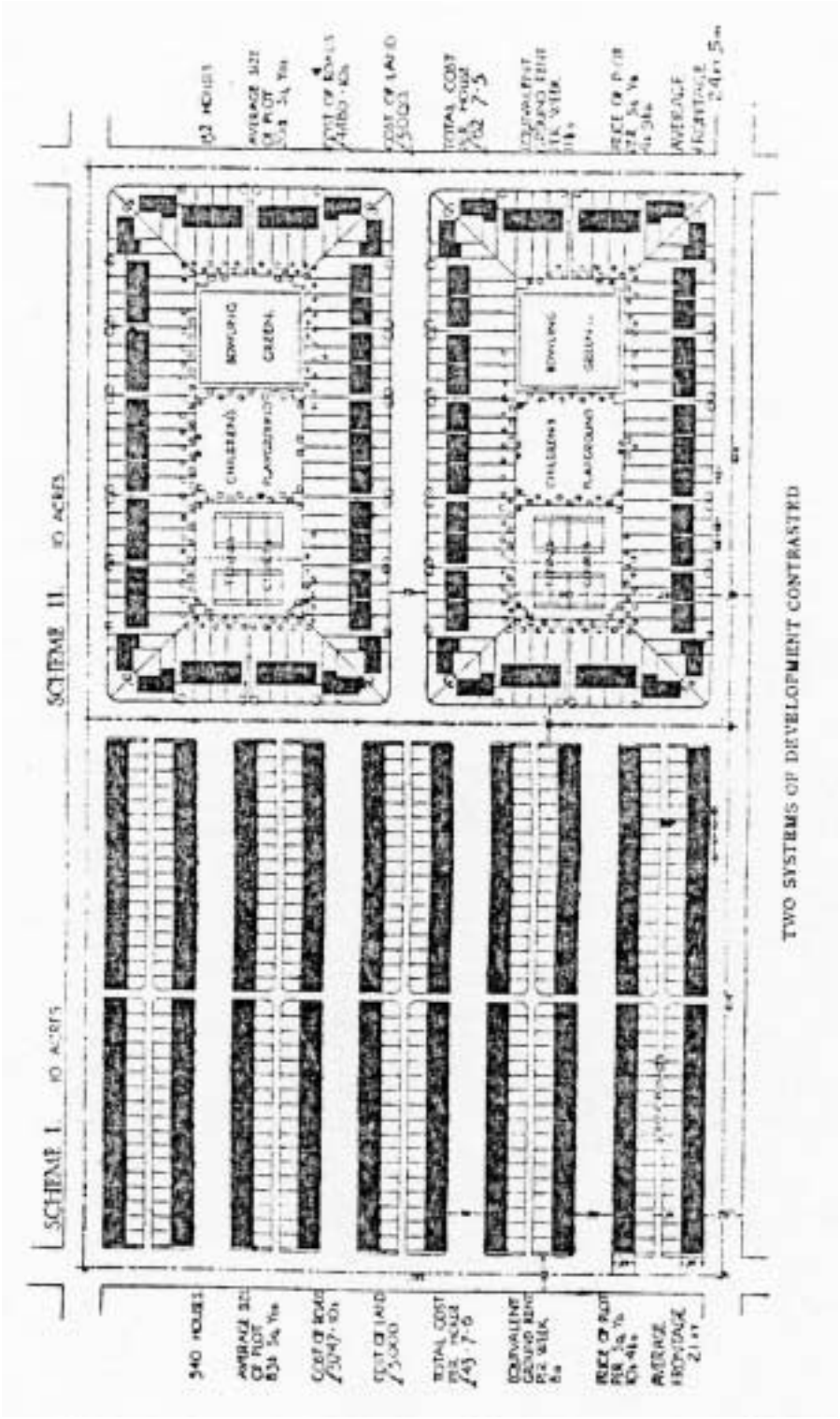


Figure 44 (b) – Extract: Raymond Unwin "Nothing gained by overcrowding". Garden Cities and Town Planning Association. (1912)

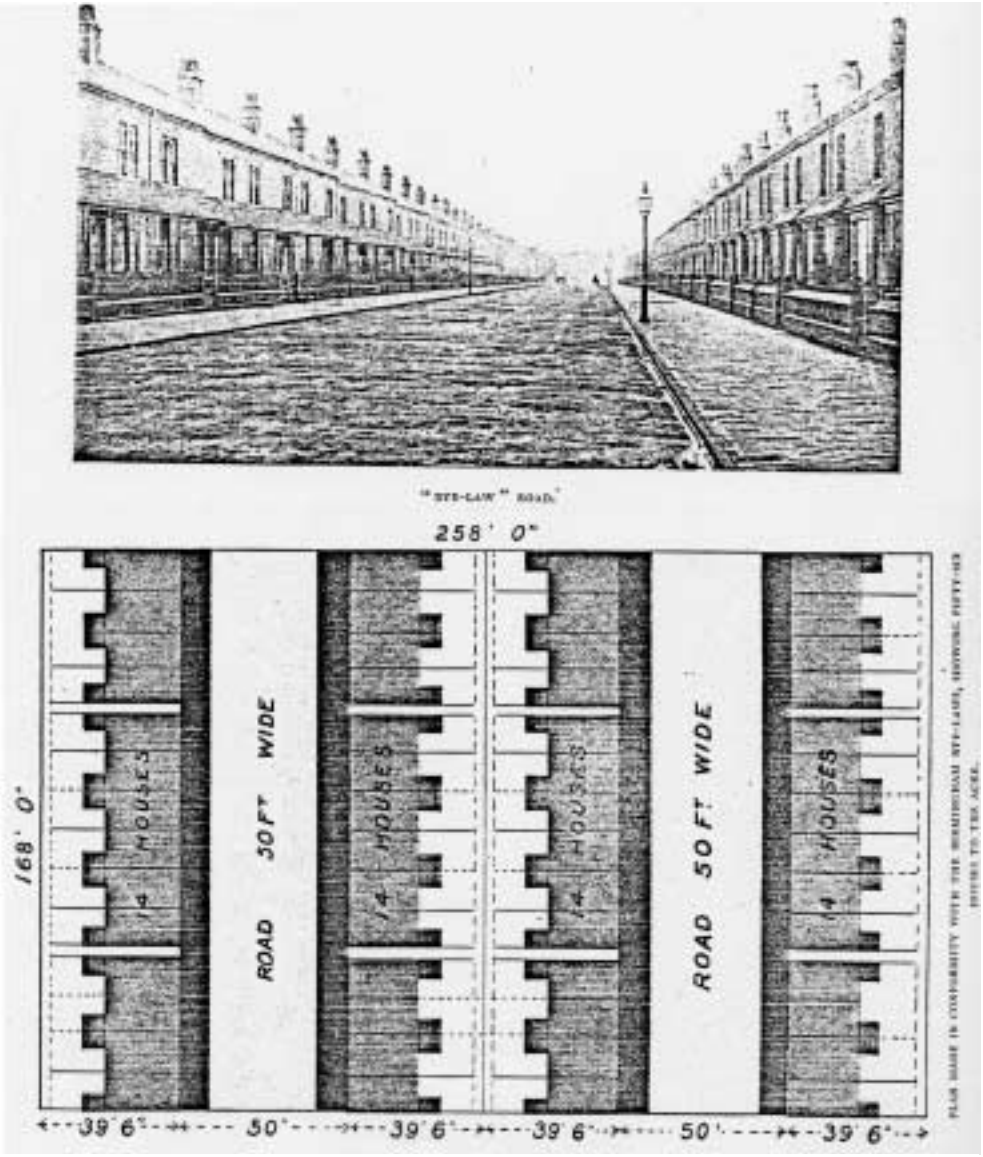


Figure 44 (c) – Contrast with by-law housing; J S Nettlefold "Practical Housing" (1940)

The Glorification of Nature and the Importance of Health

The glorification of nature was part of the Romantic Movement stemming from Rousseau's writings and manifested in the Picturesque Movement towards the end of the eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century, 'Nature' was imbued with morality and religious significance, changing towards the end of the century to 'Nature' as morally regenerative and, later, as subordinate to man's practical needs (FN 143).

At the turn of the century, the health of the working class man became an important issue, mainly due to the discovery of the unhealthy, rickety race

during recruitment for the Boer War. A healthy, robust man was regarded as the product of a natural, rural environment. The co-partnership schemes all incorporated recreational facilities into their village layouts, with plenty of open spaces, allotments, gardens and tree lined walks. 'Nature' was now being used to provide not only a healthy environment but also a leisure and pleasure place and a means of providing physical exercise. Thus, providing the workingman with a healthy environment was not only for the "preservation and enlargement of human life" (FN144) but also to improve his physical health. In his address at Humberstone Garden Suburb, Vivian stated:

"... a Nation can only hold its own with a struggle against nations by having healthy robust individuality ... if they (the British) were to hold their own in future they wanted the healthiest and most robust kind of worker who could give

Fern Rise – East side

↑ Two early houses (roof design 4)

← J T Taylor's house. The only detached house 1907-14

Figure 44 (d) – Variations on roof design

his best to the industry in which he was engaged" (FN 145)

This is in the tradition of the 'enlightened' employers and philanthropic industrialists whose improved living and working conditions for their factory workers was justified by their increased productivity and consequent increased profits. In drawing attention to this point at a public meeting, Vivian is using a propaganda weapon to attract financial support.

THE LINK

The Official Organ of the Humberstone Garden Suburb.

"NOT GREATER WEALTH, BUT SIMPLER PLEASURES."

No. 23. FEBRUARY, 1914.

Application for Share Capital 5% Interest, and Loan Stock 4% Invited.

Loans for short periods taken at rates of interest and Terms of Withdrawal agreed upon.

E. O. GREENING
(Founder and Managing Director, Agricultural and Horticultural Association Ltd.).

The best form of investment for those of small means—who cannot afford to take large risks—is that form of investment which concerns itself with Real Property only—particularly that form known as Tenants' Societies. It eliminates many of the risks of ordinary property owning, by sharing the responsibilities with its Tenants. This system has proved itself a success and offers a fair remuneration to Investors.

Full particulars · Secretary, ANCHOR TENANTS LTD.

Figure 45 – The Link and E O Greening

Besides the romanticised view of the countryside and the Nature symbolism, there was a genuine love of the country for its own sake by men and women hitherto deprived of experiencing its pleasures but who were now able to take advantage of the expanding railway system to travel. Tramways were extended to the periphery of towns, enabling the inhabitants to spend their off duty hours in a more congenial environment. With the invention of the "safety" bicycle in the 1880s and, towards the end of the century, the advent of the pneumatic tyre, cycling became a great liberator, particularly for women. Many Anchor tenants were able to buy bicycles to travel to work or the nearby tram terminus, but which could also be used in leisure hours (FN 146). Children of the original

tenants remember cycle outings and picnics with some nostalgia: one elderly resident vividly remembers her cycling days, once as the only girl amongst thirteen boys, and also the emancipating delights of a new knickerbockers outfit (FN 147).

The countryside and nature were thus important to these people on a much more 'down to earth' daily basis than the romantic notions of the English intelligentsia. That nature was very much part of the life of Humberstone Garden Suburb is reflected in the names chosen for their roads. Originally, the choice was for bird's names, such as Mavis Road, and the village green was to be Mavis Green. Other names suggested were Anchorstead Road, Skylark Road and Kingfisher Road (FN 148). Later, the names were reconsidered and changed to Lilac Avenue, Laburnum Road and Primrose Rise (later changed to Fern Rise) (FN 149).

Gardens, Horticulture and Morality

In the later years of the nineteenth century, it was no longer sufficient to contemplate the beauty of nature for moral uplift, one had to be actively engaged in the creation of that beauty. The "garden movement" developed so that, by the turn of the century, the provision of gardens and allotments for the working classes and encouragement to cultivate them became an integral part of housing reform. Gardens were seen as not only improving housing conditions, lowering the housing density and contributing to a rural/village environment, but were health giving through open air activity and the consumption of home grown produce (which also helped in times of financial hardship), and also morally regenerative - an antidote to mechanisation and a vastly superior alternative to the worrisome drinking habits of the working classes. Gardens abounded in the industrial garden villages and co-partnership estates, but there were no public houses. The village inn, that ubiquitous feature of the real old English village, did not survive the myth. But, since co-partnership tenants were predominantly non-conformist with a commitment to temperance or teetotalism, the absence of a public house would be a matter of voluntary abstinence rather than an imposition.

Horticulture, an essential part of Owen's principles, was promoted in the co-operative movement by E O Greening, who established the Agriculture and Horticultural Association to sell seeds, manure and agricultural implements to working men at prices they could afford. Greening was commemorated in the Humberstone Garden Suburb magazine, The Link, in February 1914 (Fig.45). Gardens at Hurnberstone were not of uniform size (which thereby permitted a degree of individual treatment) but were sufficiently long to include a vegetable plot as an addition or alternative to an allotment. The residents enthusiastically tended both gardens and allotments and the Garden and Horticultural Club had many members. Seeds, and other requirements, were available at reasonable prices through the management Committee's bulk buying. Flower Shows and Festivals were well supported and not only within the estate. Anchor Tenants

Figure 46 (a) – Humberstone Garden Suburb. Early houses showing variations on roof design (1)

Figure 46 (b) – Variations on roof design (2)

won many awards at other shows - the Billesdon Agricultural Show, the Leicester Abbey Park Show and the Co-operative Festival at the Crystal Palace (FN 150)

In the garden movement, increasing prominence was given to the virtue of industry as a natural corollary to the vice of idleness, a view that was supported at Humberstone Garden Suburb by the puritanical streak of righteousness emanating from the Church of Christ. This sect set the tone for the high moral fabric of the estate in its early days. Moral judgement was sometimes taken to excess and, by today's standards, would seem cruel and un-Christian (Chapter One). When the movement was established in Britain (Appendix C), the rules strictly adhered to were those set out by Alexander Campbell, but they seem to have been misunderstood - in rejecting the laws of Moses, members were not bound to observe the Sabbath as a strictly religious day; even so, at Humberstone Garden Suburb, anyone caught engaging in work or gardening on Sundays was severely punished (see page xx above).

When the garden suburbs were created at the turn of the century, the idea of a planned community, a "fresh start" with good housing, an aesthetic layout and social and recreational facilities, was popular with the public, government and all reformers. Inherent in the ideal there seemed to be a solution to all the social problems caused by the uncontrolled growth of towns and cities. The environment at Humberstone conformed closely to this ideal; that as such it was beneficial, at least to health, may be illustrated by the longevity of its residents, the oldest of which died recently aged ninety-three years (FN 151).

The Need for Working Class Housing: one successful solution

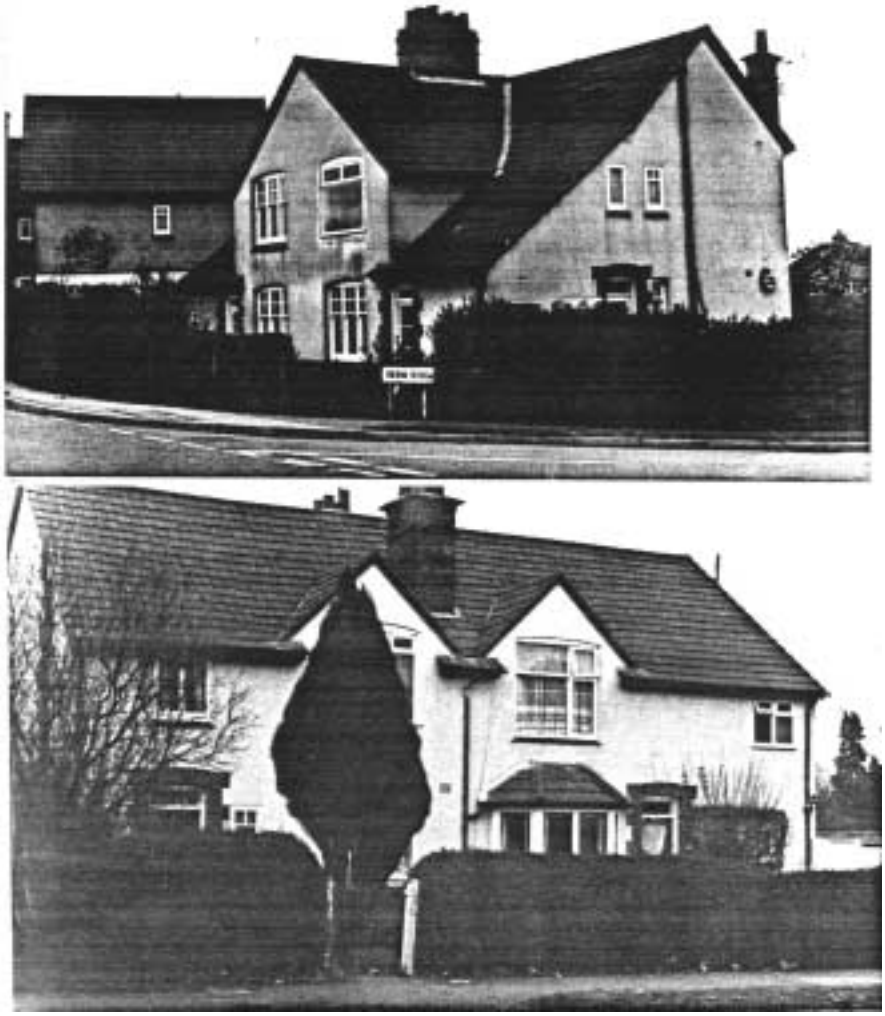
The problem of houses for workers

The origins of Humberstone Garden Suburb lie to some extent in the context of the general problem of providing housing for the working classes. In the nineteenth century, the rapid rise in population, the dramatic growth of industrial towns and the migration of agricultural workers to urban centres in search of work, inevitably led to a demand for working class housing that could not be easily met Philanthropic ventures scarcely touched the edges of the problem; to attract the necessary capital they had to show a reasonable return, which meant that rents were higher than most working men could afford.

Legislation (e.g. the Torrens and Cross Acts) giving local authorities permission to build working class housing had no mandatory element and few took advantage of the opportunity. Pressure from workmen themselves was co-ordinated by the Workman's Housing Council (1898) but had little effect. There were a few Building Societies, which were generally co-operative in character,

but the number of workmen who could afford to become owner-occupiers was few indeed.

Figure 46 (c) – Roof designs (3) and (4)



An alternative "self help" solution was in co-partnership, in which Henry Vivian was a prime mover. His method was based upon the earlier venture of Tenant Co-operators Limited (1888), which built terraced or tenement houses (types generally accepted as appropriate to the needs of the working classes) and operated financially in a manner similar to the building societies, Friendly Societies, the Co-operative Union and Trades Unions, but Vivian argued for a much more progressive and socialistically-inclined scheme, in which the tenants themselves owned the estate both jointly and individually, and that the estates should be planned on garden city lines and a sound economic base.

The workmen who formed the Anchor Boot and Shoe company could well have chosen the orthodox view and built terraced houses in the vicinity of their factory, but, when urban land proved so expensive, and they chose to buy on the rural perimeter, Vivian's ideas came much closer to their aspirations. Vivian's first-built scheme was at Ealing, but it was the later Brentham Garden Suburb (1905-7) that provided the pattern for Humberstone Garden Suburb. Whilst, however, the basic principles were clearly and emphatically publicised by Vivian and like-minded reformers, the essence of co-partnership was to serve both community and individual needs, and the pattern therefore permitted of modification. The choice and decisions made by Anchor Tenants give Humberstone Garden Suburb it unique character within a century old framework of philosophy and experiment of which the garden suburbs were a culmination.

Humberstone Garden Suburb Housing (Fig. 46)

Today, the phases of development of the estate can be identified by changes in architectural styles The houses built in the early phase, between 1908 and 1911, were built by George Hern, who lived in Lilac Avenue on the estate. Chosen by the Management Committee from the thirty applicants they interviewed, George Hern was appointed Manager in 1908. According to Hern's Obituary in 1911 (FN 152), his father was also in the building trade and came from Rothwell in Northamptonshire. The family moved to Leicester and settled in the Belgrave area. On completion of his apprenticeship, Hern worked for a builder in Belgrave Road. On his introduction to the Humberstone site, accompanied by the man who wrote the obituary, he saw grass fields and agricultural land. The writer recalled ".. at that time we had very little idea of building our own houses and if we had, that he (Hern) would be the architect" (FN 153) but, also in retrospect, J S Wilford wrote of him, "As an Architect with ideas, he sought our service because he was desirous of a larger scope for them than he was obtaining in his previous position" (FN 154). In Leicester, in the first years of the new century, acres of new streets of small terraced houses were being built on the edges of the town; presumably it was this kind of building that gave insufficient scope to Hern, but whence came his "ideas" cannot be determined. Certainly the orientation and planning of the houses at Humberstone accord with the views expressed by Vivian, Unwin and Nettlefold, and the Arts and Crafts principles.

(5)

(6)

Figure 46 (d) – Roof designs (5) and (6)

Tower House with tower removed

Possibly Hern had read of the garden city movement and the revival of English domestic vernacular architecture, but there is no slavish copying. In these early houses, Hern's strength lies in his ability to retain architectural unity whilst permitting the tenants to dictate their personal choice of the disposition and use of rooms, which was also expressed externally. No two houses are alike at this stage, as shown in the variety of plans and designs (see Folder). There seems to have been a basic set of roof, window and door designs from which to choose but Hern's priority was evidently to meet the occupier's own requirements.

Unwin wrote in 1901,

"In designing any particular building it is generally very helpful to take the primary requirements and think out the problem from the beginning, as though no such custom in connection with such buildings had ever grown up ... In like manner, to approach the question of cottage design and arrangement from the point of view of the original requirements, and develop from them, will probably be the best way to bring the various points into true relations…" (FN 155)

There is no evidence to suggest that Hern ever read this tract, but he certainly followed its dictum (FN 156). Unwin's views on air and sun, "let no house be built with a sunless living room ... it must be insisted upon as an absolute essential" (FN 155), seems also to have been observed. The site is planned to a north/south aspect and the plans show a considerable number of living rooms and bay windows facing south.

Even so, parlour-type cottages (of which Unwin disapproved) seem to have been much more popular than Unwin's idea of one large living room. Many houses on the estate had a parlour in preference to a kitchen; all have scullery, larder, coalhouse and outside earth closet. Either Unwin did not understand the importance of the "parlour" in working class culture at this time or his belief in a single communal living room, in the manner of the real medieval cottage, was a wilful disregard of the living habits and/or aspirations of the people for whom he was designing.

The placing of 'front' doors also catered to individual tastes; some are conventionally placed on the front elevation, others at side or back. There were only two detached houses at this time, 119 Keyham Lane and that of J S Taylor (secretary to the Estate Management Committee and pillar of the Church of Christ), which has a porch over the front door (Fig.46). On some properties, the roof level is changed so that either side of a semi-detached pair is different; in the case of Messrs Wright and Needham (see plan A), one half of the building is set further back from the road, although both houses contain living room, parlour, scullery, pantry, cycle- and coal-house and an earth closet. On the ground plans, rooms could be extended or protrude without the need to duplicate in the adjoining house. Mr Neale, in Laburnum Road, had a larger parlour as, overhead, he accommodated a Billiard Room (21'6" x 15'0"), where members were permitted to play, but no outsiders (Plan B).. Many plans had space for cycle storage inside the house - cycles were expensive and precious.

Figure 47 – Four cottages under one roof

Figure 48 – Humberstone Garden Suburb 1907-1914 – Four cottages under one roof (Keyham Lane)

George Hern drew many of the unusual house plans and decorative features. A house for Messrs Headley and Pratt has decorative brick polychrome and unusual roof levels, with a front door on the front elevation and another (French window) on the back, leading from the parlour. The house to its right is not small, having three bedrooms (averaging 13' x 13') and a bathroom (at 7 Keyham Lane). Another unusual design is the Tower House (Plan E), from which the tower has now been removed. Situated to the right of the Church of Christ, it is in fact two houses, that on the right being comparatively small (built for a brother and sister) but both houses have their living rooms at the rear to face the sun (Fig.46d).

This flexibility is, however, in keeping with Vivian's request for individuality,

"... the principle of sharing ... causing each individual house to become more attractive, which gives to the whole area covered a coherence which, springing

Figure 49 – Humberstone Garden Suburb – Four cottages under one roof (Lilac Avenue)

from the common life of the community, expresses itself in the harmony and beauty of the estate" (FN 157)

Even today, and bearing in mind that later phases of development did not indulge the tenant's idiosyncratic wishes and that there have been "modernisations", this individuality is still apparent.

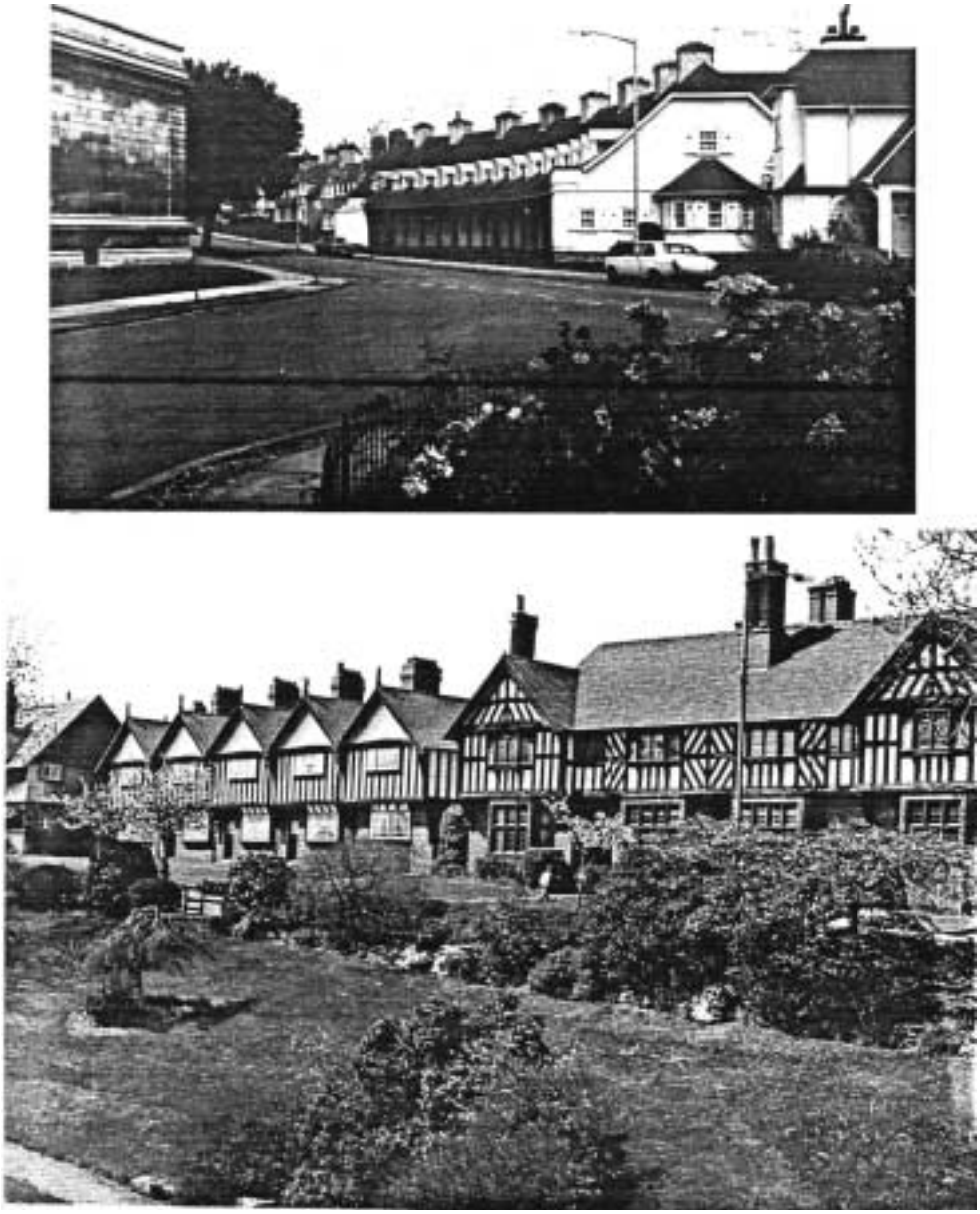


Figure 50 – Port Sunlight and the picturesque environment

Semi-detached housing for the working classes were most unusual at this time; these were the first of their kind in Leicester and were, in some respects, ahead of Brentham Garden Suburb where the early housing follows a terraced-style of four cottages under one roof (Fig. 47). At Humberstone Garden Suburb, such blocks appear only twice, one in Keyham Lane (Fig.48) and one in Lilac

Avenue (Fig.49). The style was not popular with Anchor Tenants; in rejecting Unwin's original plan containing a village green and terraced blocks of houses, they clearly considered semi-detached houses and long gardens as superior to a medieval village imagery.

Figure 51 – Bournville: emphsis on improved, attractive archetecture

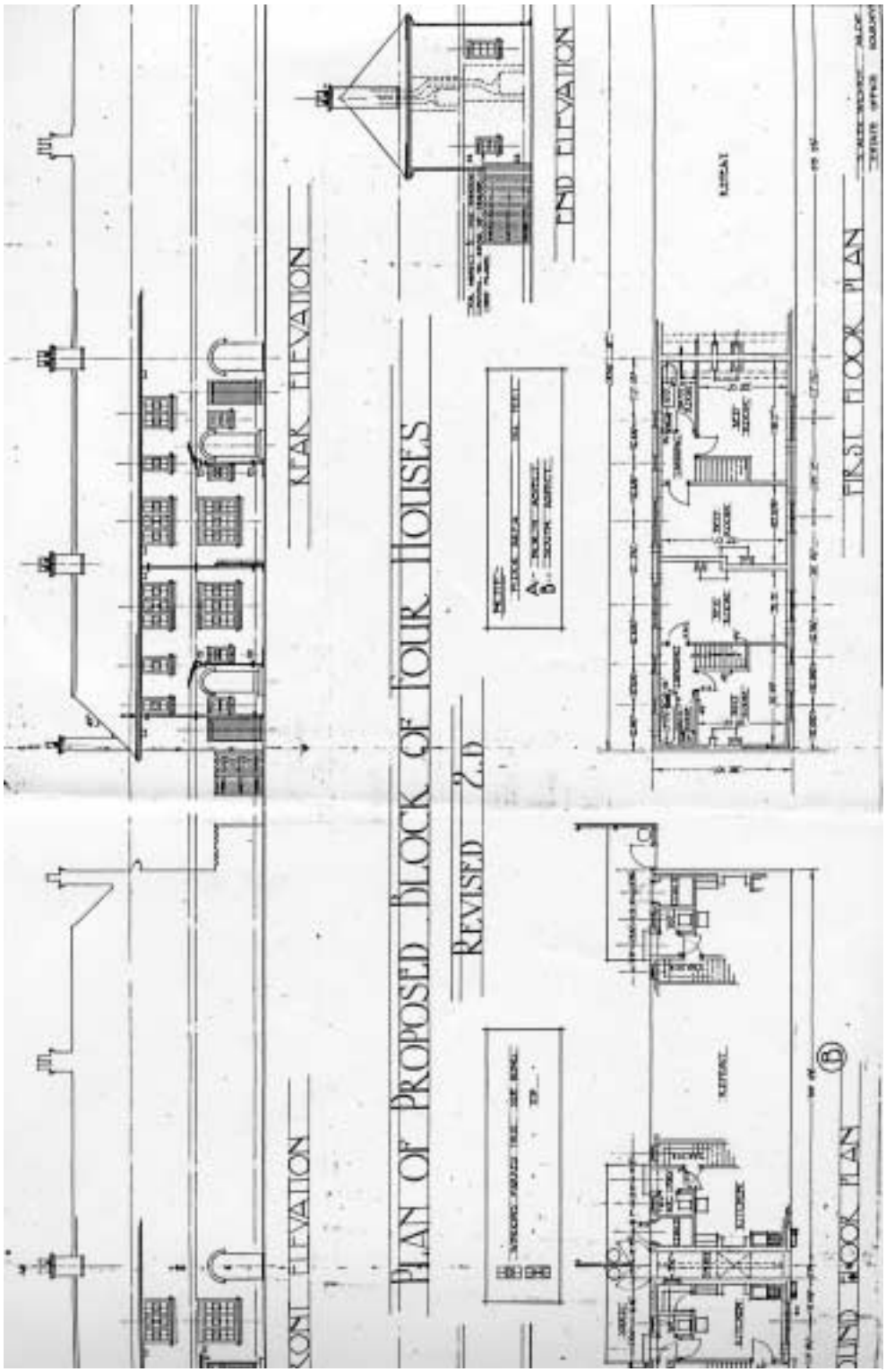


Figure 52 – Plan of four cottages under one roof – sent from Bournville to Humberstone Garden Suburb for second phase of building but not used

On George Hern's death in 1911, his brother A E Hern took over and house plans became much more standardised. The Management Committee passed a resolution "in future to build more to standard and not allow the variation in

detail by the tenants quite so much" (FN 158). The next phase of building, under A E Hern, took place along Laburnum Road; here George Hern's designs were used, but without the flexibility.

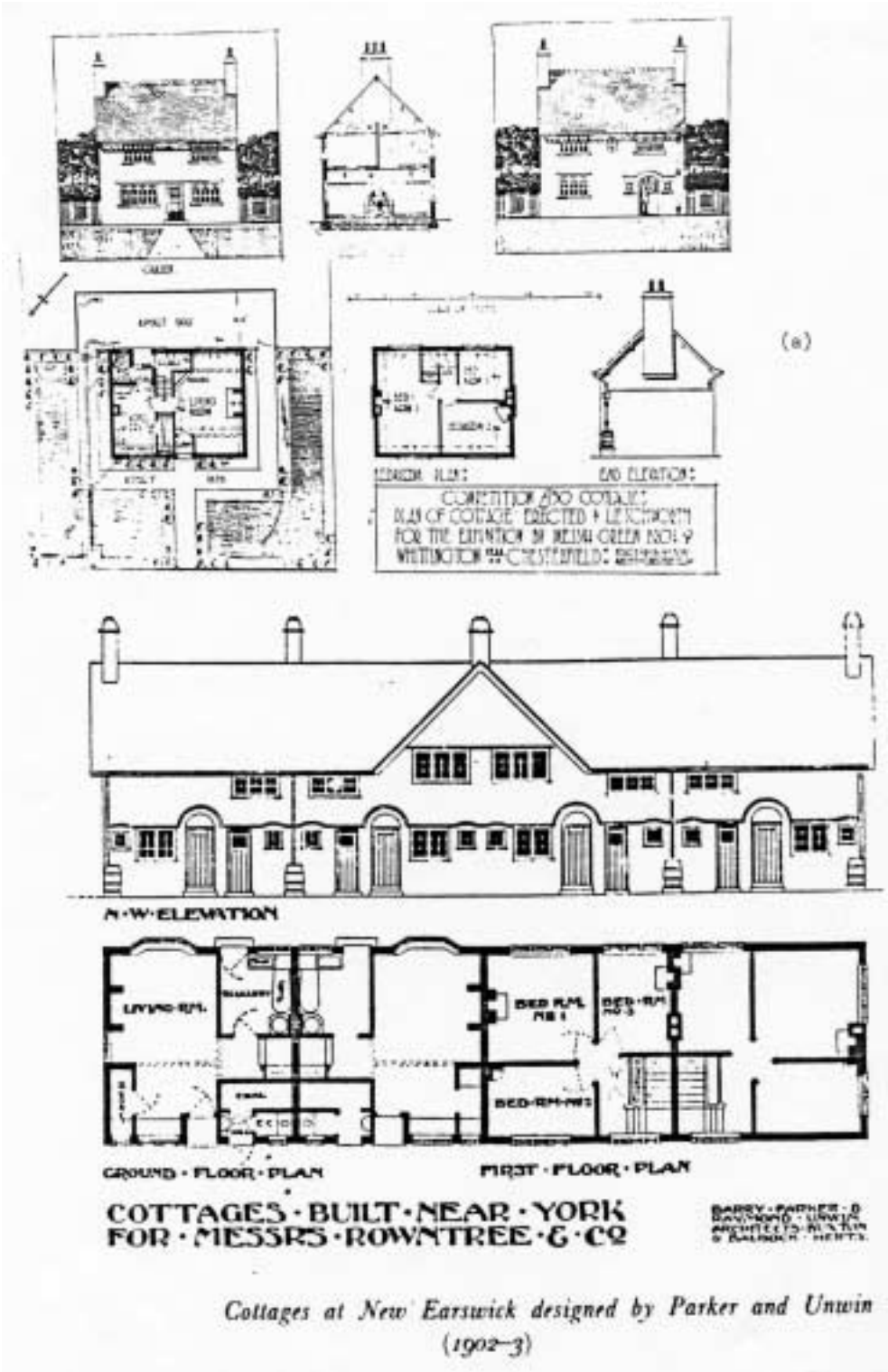
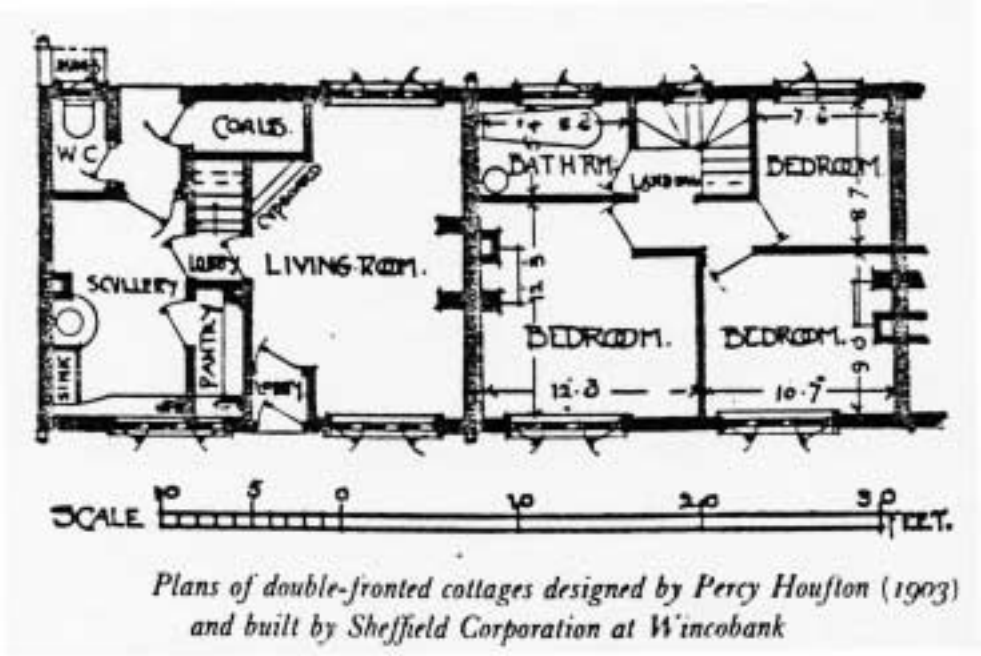


Figure 53 – Cottage designs 1902-3. Top: Cottage, Letchworth by Green Bross. First prize "Small Cottages" competition 1902-3.

Comparison with other estates

At Port Sunlight, Lever introduced features that greatly influenced Bournville, Letchworth and Co-partnership estates. With low density housing, gardens, pleasant natural surroundings and the idea of cloaking working men's houses in the guise of middle class villas, the emphasis was on attractive architecture and picturesqueness, but the houses were nevertheless in terraces (Fig. 50). At Bournville, the emphasis is also on improved housing, but the estate included a much greater variety of houses suitable for all classes (Fig. 51) From a distance, however, the blocks of four give the appearance of semidetached middle class villas, but closer inspection reveals two more 'front' entrances on the sides. They were all good examples of attractive domestic architecture; various cottage forms, both terraced and semi-detached, were built and were well ahead of their time. There is nothing in the designs of housing at Bournville to give a hint of derivation for Hern's houses at Humberstone, albeit the Estate Office does possess the plans of a group of four cottages sent to them from the Bournville estate (Fig.52).



Plans of double-fronted cottages designed by Percy Houfton (1903) and built by Sheffield Corporation at Wincobank

Figure 54 – Cottages by Percy Houfton - 1903

The Cheap Cottage Competition at Letchworth stimulated interest in industrial cottages for workers. The prize-winning cottage by Green Brothers (of Chesterfield) displays Unwin's priority of one through living room. Artisan cottages for New Larwick (1902) by Parker and Unwin are larger and clearly define functional areas of the room, an aspect so important to them (Fig.53). Plans of double fronted cottages, designed by Percy Houghton, echo this theme - one through living room and the place for the corner cupboard are indicated (Fig.54) (FN 159). The Art of Building a Home, by Parker and Unwin, was published in 1902 and seems a likely influence on cottage design at this time.

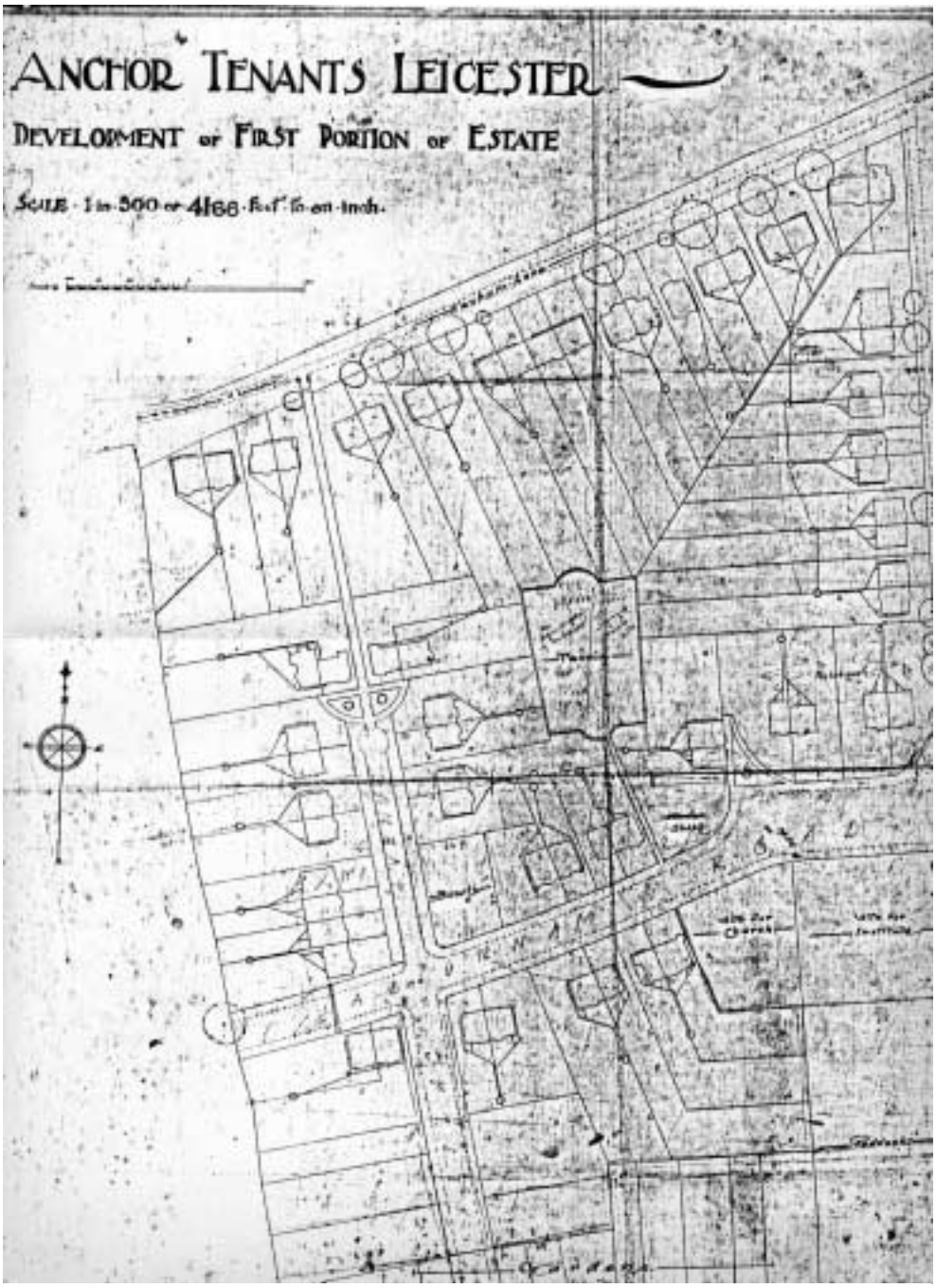


Figure 55 – Plan of the first development

New Earswick, York, for the Rowntree family, was a proving ground for Parker and Unwin's ideas on working class housing. The most popular design was four cottages under one roof (Fig.53) or a block of terraced housing. Without examination of a greater selection of Parker and Unwin's designs for workers' houses, it is difficult to connect them with George Hern's designs for Humberstone Garden Suburb. Hern's designs show influence from the Arts and Crafts movement in the positioning of the houses and gardens on the estate, even in the revised layout, presumably the work of George Hern (Fig. 55).

Although the house style changed and the final footage from the road, they are all positioned to catch as much sun as possible, particularly with the addition of bay windows (although some of these are modern additions).

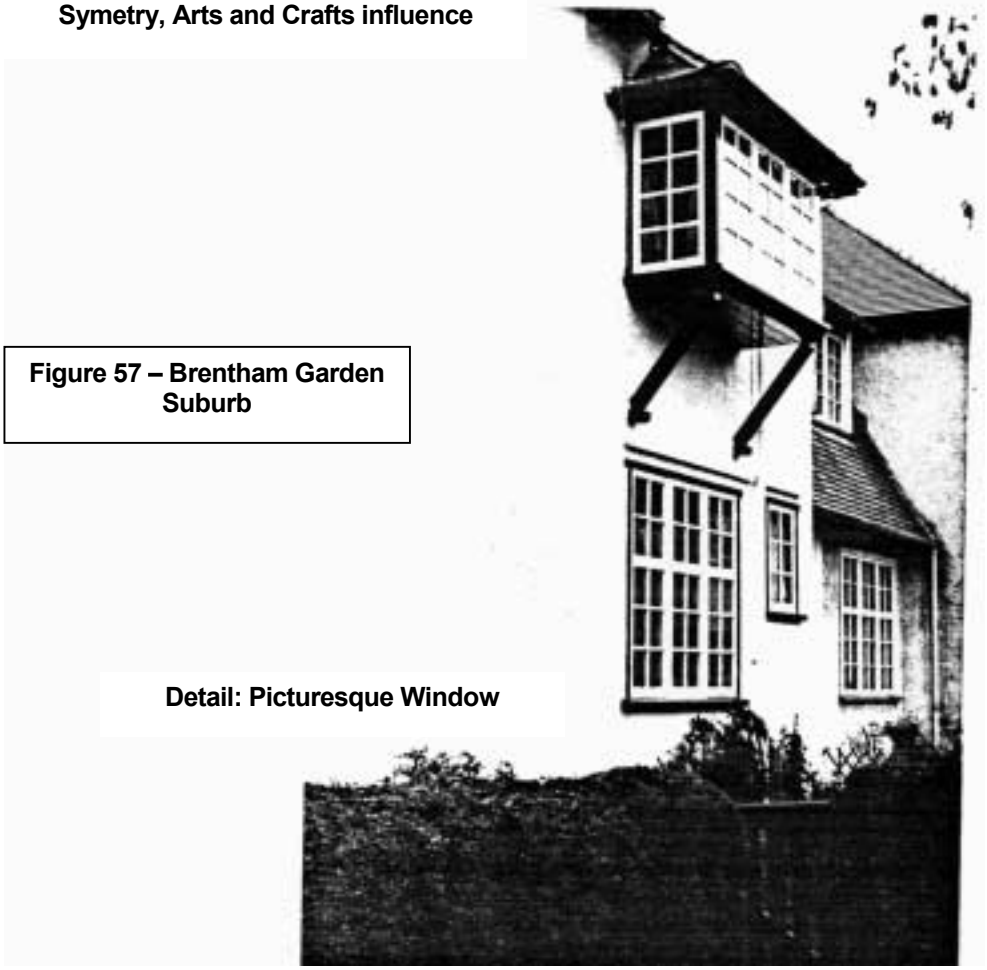
Figure 56 – Brentham Garden Suburb: late phase, semi-detached symmetrical design

At Brentham Garden Suburb, Ealing, although acting as the exemplar for Humberstone, no houses were seen there similar to George Hern's designs. At Brentham, semi-detached houses are not easily identified as 'front' doors are often out of sight (Fig.56); those built in the second phase (1905-7) are large and attractive with red tiled roofs and white roughcast walls; detailing of windows adds interest (Fig. 57). Houses on the corner of Neville Road are designed to accommodate an awkward corner site; four houses extend round the corner and appear symmetrical apart from minor window details (which may have been added when private ownership took over) (Fig. 58). Smaller houses in Brentham Way, overlooking the allotments, have grey tiling (Fig. 59). One of the attractive features of the estate (even today, when overgrown) are the walk ways, linking up the back entrances of the houses with allotments and streets (Fig. 60). In Brentham Way, a block of four houses is reminiscent of Parker and Unwin's work at New Earswick, although they are finer in detail and larger. Compared with Humberstone Garden Suburb, the estate looks more middle class and opulent perhaps due to metropolitan sophistication and example.

At Garden City Tenants, Letchworth, housing was also attractive, centred around village greens (Fig.61), but in blocks of four or more. There is a certain similarity between these blocks of four and those on Keyham Road, Leicester. They have gabled ends and dormer windows in the pitched roof (Fig. 61 c/f Fig. 48). Garden City Tenants (1904) leased five sites, Pixmore Hill, Bird's Hill Estate (close to the industrial quarter), with housing designed for working men; Westholm and Eastholm Greens are in a more attractive setting on the other side

of the city and overlooking Norton Common. Norton Holdings (not examined) was well supported by middle class shareholders (Fig.62).

Symetry, Arts and Crafts influence



Detail: Picturesque Window

Figure 57 – Brentham Garden Suburb

1905-7

1904

Figure 58 – Brentham Garden Suburb. Two different treatments of a corner site

At all these estates and model villages, there is an attempt to model them on an old English village, although those at Port Sunlight are over picturesque. Of the

architecture examined, many features appear to have been borrowed from Seventeenth century domestic brick architecture of the Midlands - with frequent gables, high-pitched roofs, and long lines of casement windows. The most marked feature is the use of rough cast or external plastering, possibly for the sake of economy to cover the use of cheap bricks, but it does, if' heavily applied, add materially to the warmth of the house.

At co-partnership estates, the largest proportion of houses are those which can be designated "cottages". According to P Abercrombie, these are of two kinds - the parlour cottage, with two sitting rooms, kitchen and small scullery, and the living room type, with no parlour but one living room and a scullery (FN 160). Humberstone Garden Suburb contains a mixture of these but also includes rooms for mangles and cycles. (A Mr Manby, at Humberstone, repaired cycles for the estate and had a workshop built onto the side of his house (Fig.63)).

In the first phase of building at Humberstone Garden Suburb (1908-1911), the house designs appear to be unique. George Hern may have taken his ideas from his father; possibly from the Co-partnership Housing Council in London, whose aim was to collect, exchange and help with housing designs; or basic plans of Unwin's may have been a source. The Co-Operative Union, Holyoak House, has been approached for suggestions and an attempt has been made to trace the archives of the Co-partnership Housing Council or Co-partnership Tenants Association to see if they reveal any evidence of design sources. The second phase of housing that followed George Hern's death was much less attractive, but this was a management decision, with the need for speed and economy influencing the move to greater standardisation.

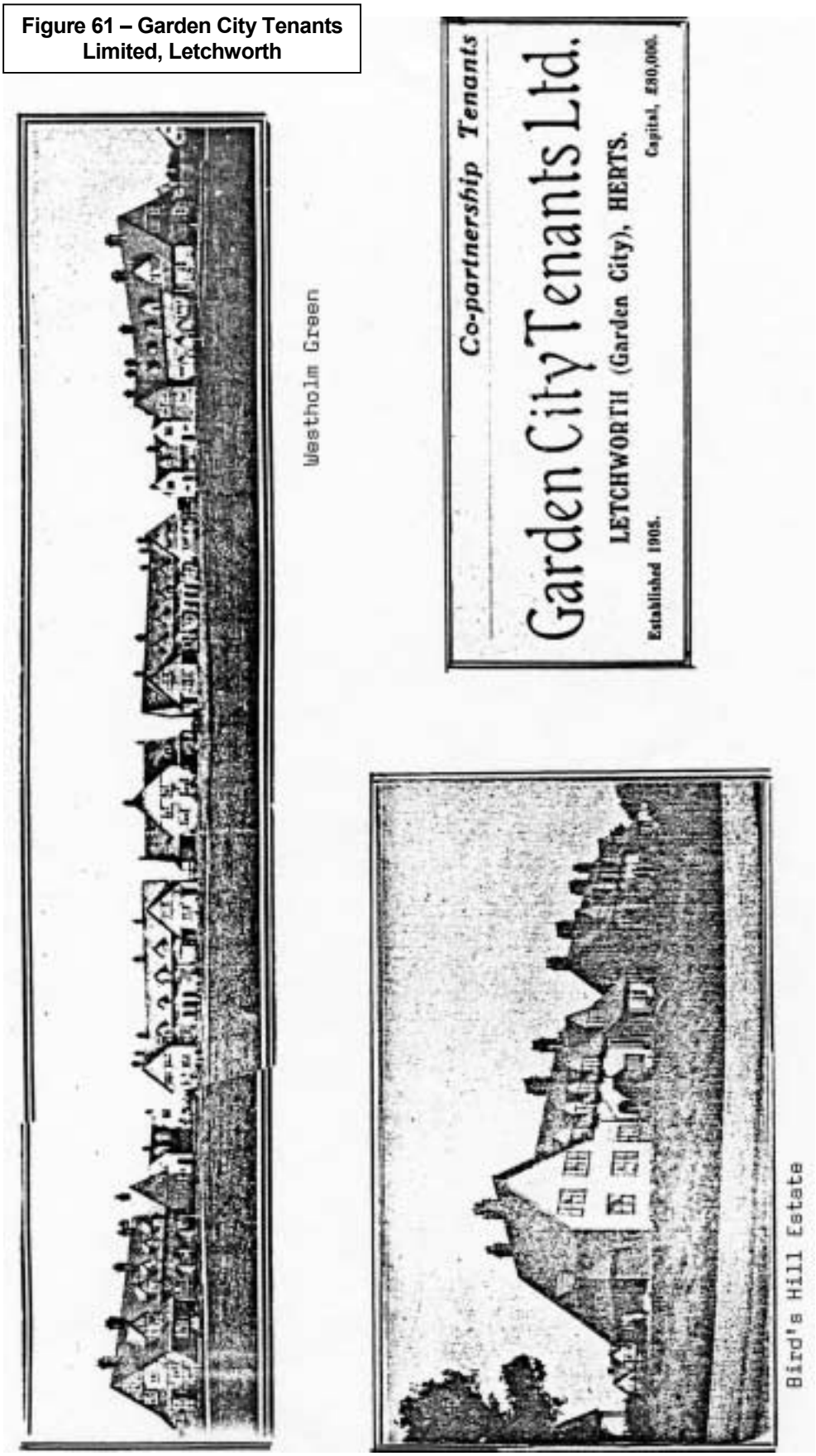
Figure 59 – Brentham Garden Suburb – Terraced cottages Brentham Way; standard design

Figure 60 – Brentham Garden Suburb

Walkway

Allotments

Figure 61 – Garden City Tenants Limited, Letchworth



In Leicester, the authoritative view is that the Humberstone houses were the first semi-detached houses for workers (FN 161). Almost all new built working class housing at the time (1908) was speculatively built and consisted of tunnel-backed terraces in long streets (Fig.64). An alternative was well overdue when Parker and Unwin published their ideas and put them into practice at New Earswick (1902-3) and, as evidenced at Humberstone Garden Suburb, when the working class had a choice, clearly they preferred the semi-detached house. The movements mentioned herein for improved housing for the working classes, which flourished at the turn of the nineteenth century, and the styles they embraced, clearly had a much wider effect, as can be seen in the local authority and speculatively built estates of the twentieth century.

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Mr Thomas Kitchin (Public Auditor), Letchworth, Herts.

Secretary:
H. Weaver.

Figure 62 – Norton Smallholdings Limited – List of Shareholders Letchworth Garden City.

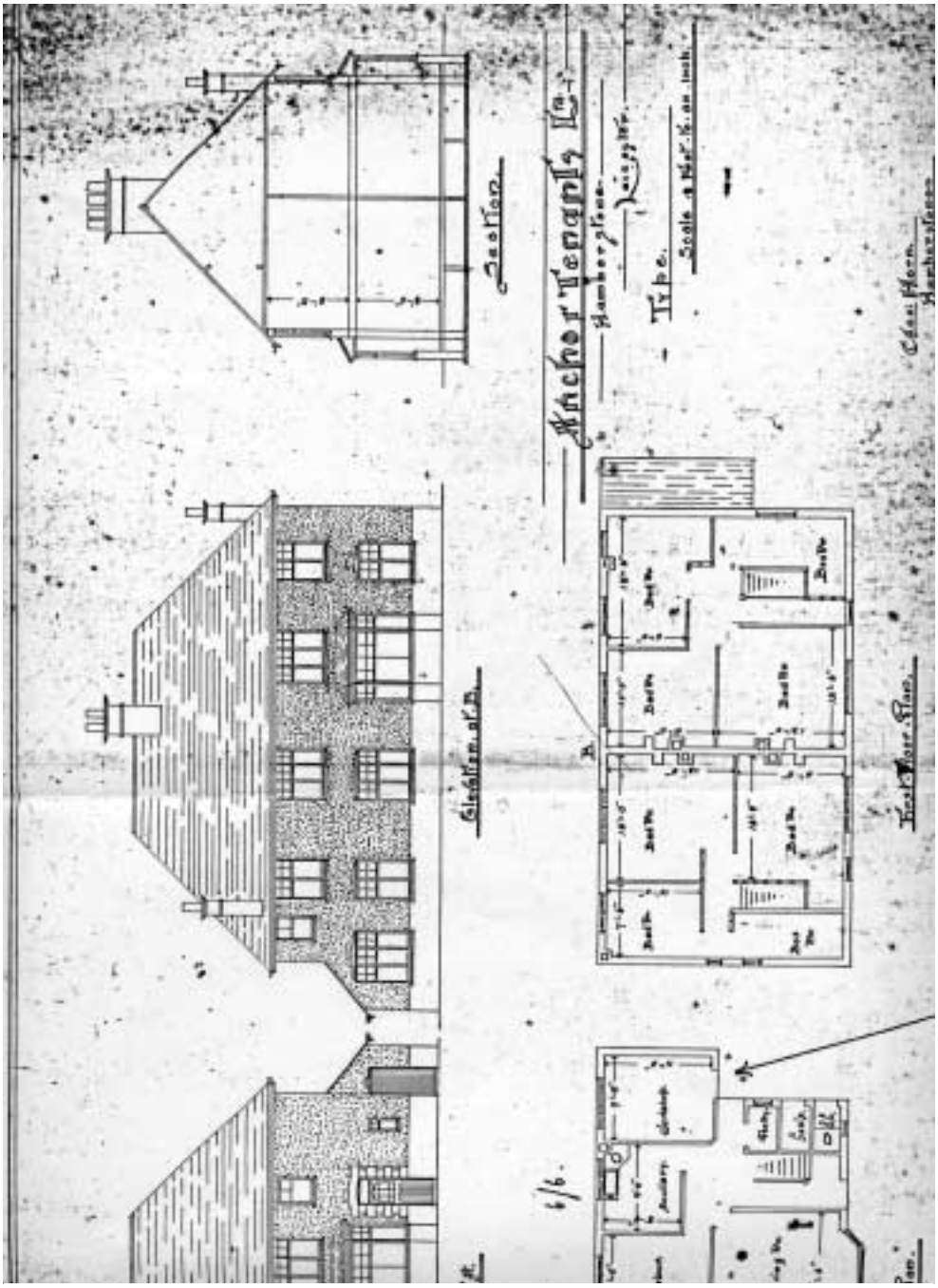

Figure 63 – Humberstone Garden Suburb: Mr Manby's house with the workshop

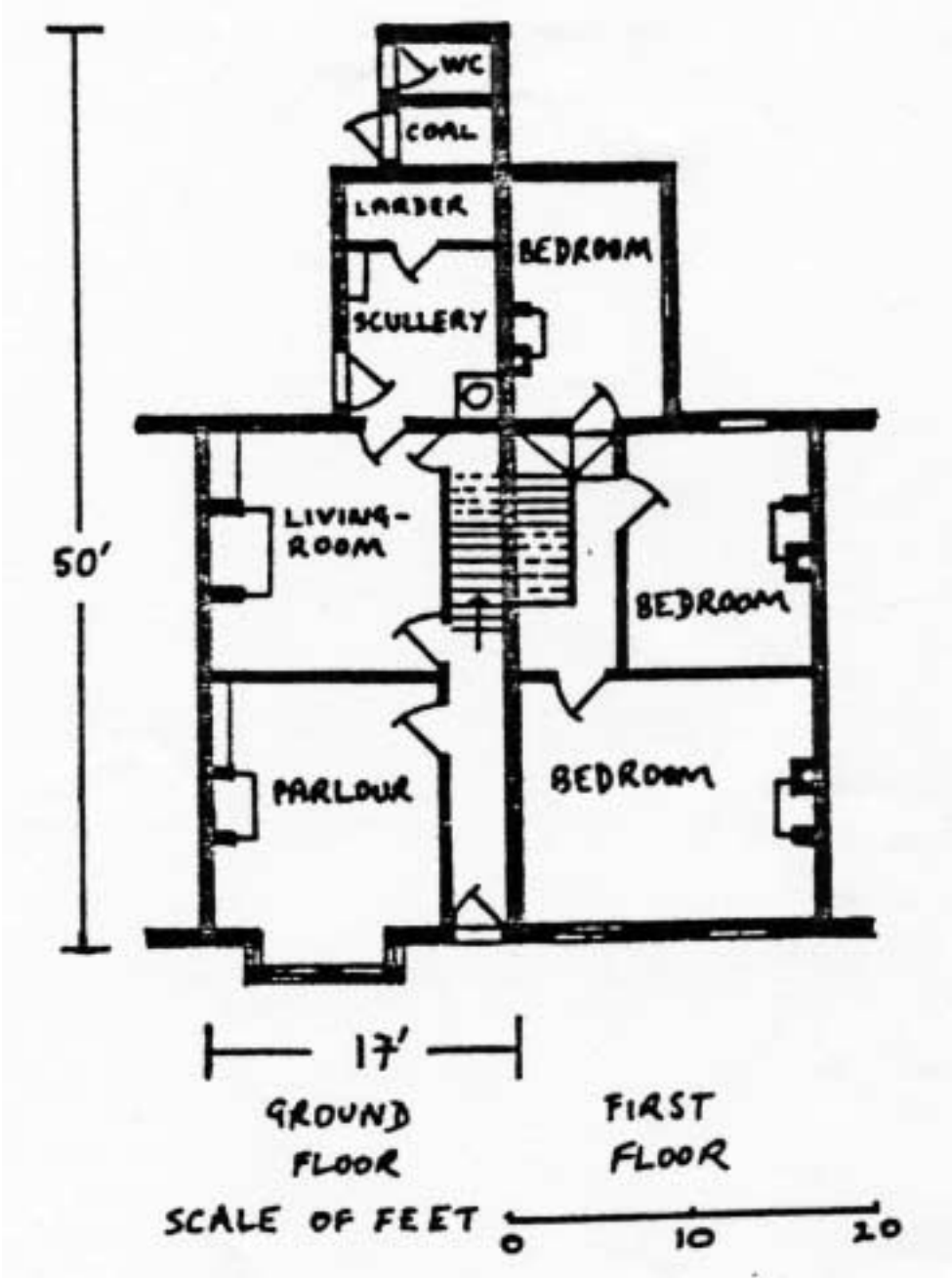

Figure 64 – Typical tunnel-backed terraced housing, by speculative builders

Conclusion

The foregoing examination of Humberstone Garden Suburb demonstrates that its origins can be traced back, through two important movements - the co-operative and the garden city - to Robert Owen and his early nineteenth century sociological statements (see Flow Chart, p 85). Owen's principles were so eclectic that most reformers could subscribe to at least part of his creed; those most important to the origins of the Humberstone estate were co-operative co-partnership and the creating of a new community, which provide the link to the two movements.

But the early development of the estate also reflects other elements of nineteenth century thought and endeavour - those typically Victorian characteristics of self-help, self-improvement, self-reliance, morality, the importance of environment to moral and physical health, and the enjoyment of rural pursuits and recreational facilities. At the turn of the century, there was also an emphasis on the preservation of race and a wave of nationalism personified in nostalgia for a "Merry England" - two themes often mentioned by Vivian and Unwin when speaking of and publicising co-partnership tenants' societies.

All these co-operative principles and strands of thought and belief came together in the early twentieth century in the creation of successful co-partnership communities, to offer a superior alternative to the high-density housing provided by speculative builders. Unwin attributed their success to their harmonising what would otherwise be two opposing sections of the community - those who build and let houses, and those who occupy them. In co-partnership estates the tenants became their own landlords, thus fulfilling both roles at the same time; equally the schemes promoted by Unwin and Vivian served the interests of both workers and reformers. The co-partnership estates were also able to attract investors; as Vivian had reminded potential purchasers of Loan Stock, their help was not only excellent from the social point of view but their investment was safe on account of the behaviour and character of the tenants themselves.

Further contributing to the success of co-partnership schemes was their being based on the old English village, which suggested stability, order, moral behaviour and a return to agrarian roots. The agrarian dream was difficult to accomplish in the face of increasing industrialisation but, implicit in the

imagery, was the assumption that country life possessed qualities not to be found in towns. In a meshing of Romantic and Utilitarian thought, reformers acknowledged the new machine age and social order but were repelled by the conditions presented by urbanisation. The middle class 'ideology of flight' was an escape from the evils of towns rather than any desire or attempt to improve the towns themselves. In essence, more backward looking than progressive, by the early twentieth century, reform became centred on planned new communities in rural surroundings. The nineteenth century communities that had succeeded - the model industrial villages - were their proving ground. Rural communities provided a solution acceptable to all religious and political groups, and co-partnership societies appealed to reformers, investors and, particularly, to the individuality of the tenant. Since it was the workers themselves who chose to live in a village style community, the point was reached, after some hundred years of experiment, when workers' own attitudes and aspirations coincided with those of the reformers and the potential investors.

Regarded retrospectively, however, there are contradictions and anomalies in these reforming movements. Implicit in the village imagery were virtues that the middle class wished to instil into the lower levels of society, yet only the hard working, moral minded artisan - the elite of the working classes - could afford to commit his life's wages to a co-partnership scheme and he had already to possess the "appropriate" values and qualities in order to sustain the development and success of such a scheme.

Co-partnership tenants' estates were also based upon garden city concepts, in terms of layout, housing, social organisation and garden village aesthetics. There is no doubt that this additionally attractive imagery contributed to their success, but how far the tenants themselves were imbued with the idealism out of which came the layout, housing and so on - or even understood it - is difficult to assess. Anchor Tenants seem not to have been wholly impressed with Unwin's medieval village plan - the size of their gardens appears to have been of greater import than the possession of a village green. It is much more likely that the appeal of a semi-detached house, large garden and recreational facilities were the real attraction. In any case, the management team was prepared to take advice but not to be dictated to; their personal and corporate independence was of considerable importance to them.

Further, by their own efforts, these workmen were acquiring for themselves recreational facilities normally only within the reach of the rich man in the country; they were able to select the size and position of their own plot and, in the early stages of development, each house was designed to the individual tenant's requirements. Such realisation of their aspirations and their obvious pride in ownership would add to their feeling of elitism and independence, but this must surely have been divisive within their own class and of little benefit or example to their less fortunate brethren, many of whom, through no fault of their own, could never achieve such goals.

When the Humberstone tenants chose their house plan from George Hern's basic selection, without exception they chose two rooms rather than one large living room, thereby expressing their cultural desire for a "parlour". This was in total opposition to the views of reformers who, whilst possibly believing that through-ventilation was healthier, also clung to the idea of a medieval, one room communal life style as essential to their ideology and appropriate to the needs of the working class. Thus, where freedom of choice was possible, it reveals the limitations of paternalism and reforming zeal.

When Anchor Tenants chose to move out of the town into a new community, they were rejecting one of the best planned industrial/residential sites in Leicester - the new Wakerley industrial community at North Evington, which had open space, well-built terraced houses and public building, all architect designed. Ironically, it was the very virtues that manufacturers wished to inculcate into their workers by placing them in industrial villages that the Anchor men relied upon to get away from such an environment and build for themselves by their own self-help, self-reliance, hard work, thrift and respectability.

Respectability and a high moral tone were part of community life in the early days at Humberstone Garden Suburb. Their chosen leaders, Amos Mann and J T Taylor, were public figures and men of status in the co-operative movement; committed to co-partnership principles, they were valuable committee members of the estate and other bodies, and were lay preachers of the Church of Christ. By their example alone, they could have ensured a high moral fabric within the estate. Yet it was deemed necessary to re-interpret Alexander Campbell's rules for the Churches of Christ that cleaved to the New Testament and rejected the Laws of Moses, and insist upon the commandments to observe the Sabbath Day and keep it holy (Exodus 20:8-11; Leviticus 23:3). Retribution on those who violated the rule was particularly harsh, and contrary to the code of Christian brotherhood in the forgiveness of sins. The question remains as to whether this change in the rules sprang from the inheritance of Victorian attitudes, the fear of appearing too different or too permissive, or whether, in their fierce independence, these people felt free to modify even their chosen religion when it best suited their circumstances.

In tracing the origins and sources of Humberstone Garden Suburb, it is evident that communitarian principles and ideas were active throughout the nineteenth century yet it was not until the early twentieth century that two pioneer experiments at Letchworth (1903) and Ealing, Brentham Garden Suburb (1905-7) (which were collective ventures and not the singular enterprises of paternalistic industrial philanthropists) became established and successful. The suggestion that by that time the "climate was right" has to take account of the coming together of various factors that were not previously in being. Owen's messianic desire to restructure the whole of society gave way to the need to come to terms with and find a more practical solution to the problems incurred by urbanisation. There was a growing feeling for collectivism and more areas of support - in the co-operative movement, the Fabians Society, and trades unions -

that increased working class confidence in itself, so that certain sections of the working class, whose aspirations now coincided with the views of liberal minded, middle class reformers, were considered "worthy of help". The working out of a viable economic structure that produced a return on investment as well as social improvement attracted the necessary financial backing. In the wider context, improved communications (in various forms of transport, letter post, cheaper printing) contributed to a wider dissemination of information and ideas and the opportunity for direct discussion and interchange of experience. More generally, it could be said that it was the truly composite nature of co-partnership itself that overcame and coalesced a variety of (and possibly opposed) attitudes and made it acceptable to all concerned as one solution to the housing of industrial workers.

Co-partnership "garden villages" were, however, without exception dependent on a larger community (town or city) for their work and public utilities yet, because of the emphasis on their social core, they were attempting to be autonomous. In the years 1907 to 1914, Humberstone Garden Suburb did have most of the criteria that would define it as a self-contained community. But the autonomy of any community cannot be sustained within .a larger community that is itself subject to change. As the outside world changes, those changes inevitably invade the smaller community. At Humberstone, two World Wars, economic depression (which in the 1930s closed the Anchor factory), and the new material age bringing cars, buses and television, made their impact. The community could no longer hang on to old ideals and, at the same time, provide younger generations with the kind of society they wanted. A self-contained community can remain so only where all its needs are met within the community itself. And even should that be so, there can be physical encroachment on its boundaries. The Humberstone estate was never intended to be larger than the forty-eight acres, but made no provision for buying peripheral land to protect itself and its boundaries. Cost alone may have been the deciding factor, but then, no amount of "moat" could have resisted a Compulsory Purchase order. The estate has, nevertheless, fought long and hard to maintain its identity and title; even today, only relatives of the original tenants may live on the estate and applicants are carefully vetted-by the Management Committee

There is interesting research still to be carried out: for instance, to investigate George Hern's early days and the source of his "ideas" and designs; the varied styles of houses through the three main stages of development, 1907-14, 1930s, 1938-40; Vivian's co-partnership firm at Ealing, General Builders Limited, had eighteen branches but their location is not fully known - Humberstone Minutes record that Committee members visited houses and a building firm in Kettering in 1906, which may well have been one of these branches and needs to be followed up.

In reviewing the historical importance of Hurnberstone Garden Suburb, it is difficult to separate that of local interest from the wider context. Anchor Tenants Limited were the first society to register (1902) after the Ealing experiment due, no doubt, to the strength of co-partnership in industry in Leicester. From their

London base, Greening, Blandford and Vivian were all involved with the setting up of the Leicester production companies; the local men, Amos Mann and J T Taylor, were on the company and estate committees, and were also members of the Churches of Christ Co-partnership in industry and Churches of Christ were frequently a compatible relationship, were both centred in the Midlands, and still exist. Henry Vivian's innovatory co-partnership in housing movement, however, although starting as a local initiative at Ealing, developed into a national movement, exerting influence at home and overseas. Humberstone Garden Suburb was part of that movement and tenants claim that they are now the only society left that still operates under the original co-partnership rules. After more than eighty years, the possibility exists of its future demise (this issue has been raised several times in past Committee meetings); but the depth of its roots, the singularity of its survival, and the threat of its extinction as a co-partnership enterprise, are surely of some significance in the history of working class housing and community living.

Appendix A

"An interesting co-operative experiment" – Co-operators' year book, 1902

AN INTERESTING CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING EXPERIMENT.

THE efforts of municipalities, co-operative societies, and public companies to supply houses for the people are fairly well known, as also is the great work that is being done by building societies in enabling workmen to become the owners of the house they live in. The Ealing Tenants Limited, 1, Manor Road, West Ealing, W., however, deserves special notice in a "Co-operators' Year Book," because its methods are essentially co-operative in their character. The Society is registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, and is really an association of tenants. The system it is endeavouring to work out is not absolutely new; it is, in fact, an improvement on that adopted by the Tenant Co-operators Limited, which has achieved a large measure of success during the thirteen years it has been in existence.

Many workmen, particularly in a large city like London, find it extremely risky, as well as expensive, to try and buy the house they live in on the usual individualistic plan. To deal with the expense first. One plot of land will cost more in proportion than fifty or a hundred plots. The legal expenses, the survey fees, and the building of the house costs more in proportion. The interest to be paid, and the legal charges in connection with the borrowing of the margin which a workman usually requires to enable him to build, are also proportionately heavy. This is true, not necessarily because the people he is dealing with are scoundrels, although occasionally they are that, but because everything is done on a retail basis, and there are retail working expenses. By association the tenant owner can get everything done on wholesale terms, effecting a saving of probably twenty per cent. With regard to the risk. Large numbers of the best class of workmen in London have no certainty of permanent employment at one place. This often means that after a man has partly bought his house by a very expensive method, he is burdened with the expense of finding a tenant and collecting the rent of one house, or of selling his interest at something considerably below what he has given for it. Many reformers, with these facts before them, conclude that the only other alternative is municipal building, because you get in this way the economy of wholesale dealing, and relieve the workmen of risks. This reasoning, however, ignores the very important and good part that individual interest—using the term in its best sense—plays in the management and use of house property, and the educational value to the individual and the community of enlisting the same. In short, what we want is *wholesale economy and retail responsibility*. This is what the founders of the Ealing Tenants Limited believe they have secured. The Society buys its land wholesale with the shares subscribed by intending tenants: builds its houses wholesale with the money borrowed at a fair rate of interest, as loan stock or upon the security of freehold land plus good tenants, whose shares are a good security for the regular payment of rent. The Society has a lien upon any tenant's shares if he fails to pay the rent regularly. After interest has been paid on the borrowed money, the surplus goes to the tenant-shareholder, not in cash, but as shares, so that year by year so much of the borrowed capital may be repaid or used for extending the Society, its place being taken by capitalised shares. The cost of internal repairs may be taken out of each tenant's share of profits. If a tenant-member is compelled to leave the neighbourhood, he merely takes his share-book with him or arranges for a transfer at par. The co-partners he leaves behind share with him the risk of finding another tenant. He does not bear the whole burden himself.

The shares are £10 each, and a tenant-member must sooner or later pay up five shares or £50. This is equivalent to the cost of the plot of land on which his house stands, and is independent of any shares accumulated out of profits. To conclude, the plan secures:—

1. The minimum of speculation and risk in letting.
2. Security to capital.
3. Economy in buying, building, and borrowing.
4. Individual responsibility without anxiety.
5. The sharing of surplus value equitably.

The Society has bought land for fifty-four houses at Woodfield Road, Eaton Rise, Ealing, and these are being built as rapidly as possible.

15, Southampton Row, W.C. HENRY VIVIAN.

From: Archives of Worley Memorial Library, Stanford Hall,

Appendix

B

A review of the Rules and Financial Affairs of Humberstone Garden Suburb

(As revealed by the Minutes from 6 May 1902 to 4 March 1910)

Although motivated by belief and aspiration, Humberstone Garden Suburb was also a business enterprise and, as such, essential to its success was a sound financial structure with adequate cash flow. But it was also a pioneering venture and thus had to learn as it went along. Enthusiasm and an urgent desire to "go it alone", however, were no substitute for inexperience. Whatever the ideological commitment of its members, it was on the rocks of financial crises that the society most nearly came to foundering. Changes in the constitutional Rules and financial structure over the years plot the course of the society's eventual enlightenment.

The Establishment of Rules

On 6 May 1902, members met at 68 Asfordby Street, North Evington, where the General Rules were worked out. Their special objective was defined as "to carry on the buying, selling, hiring and letting of land for building, and to carry on the work of builders". These were identical to those of Ealing Tenants Limited, London (FN A1). The name of the society was decided upon and its office address (68 Asfordby Street); the "Rules" were discussed but, unfortunately, no mention is made of the source of the Rules. It is possible that they were those of Tenant Co-operators Limited, upon which Vivian based the Ealing experiment, since the Co-Partnership Housing Council and Co-Partnership Tenants postdate this event.

For "Rule 22", the members substituted their own "Rule 15", in that true capital of the Society was to be raised by shares of the nominal value of Ten pounds, with ten shillings paid on application and the balance by instalments, with a fine of one shilling per quarter for non-payment. On 9 May, other general rules were

decided upon and, in 1903, members participated in the first ballot for dwellings. Between January 1903 and February 1905, weekly, half-yearly and special meeting were held (arrangements that continued after the estate was established). An Estates Committee was elected to search for land, correspondence was entered into with the Labour Co-partnership Association (1902) (Minutes 12 January 1904), and a banking account was opened with the Stamford, Spalding and Boston Bank.

In 1904, however, with the site chosen there was insufficient capital for the purchase to proceed and efforts were made to broaden the membership to attract more investment. But too little avail. In 1906, nineteen members withdrew but, in the same year, with advice and guidance from the Co-Partnership Housing Council and the raising of interest on loan stock, steady progress was maintained, with land purchased, a building manager and staff appointed, and the first pair of cottages let in July 1908. Having overcome their initial problem of adequate accumulation of capital, however, other problems were to follow.

Progress hindered by lack of cash flow

From October 1908 until March 1910, more cottages were built but only after mortgaging the first four cottages for £600 (Minutes 22 October 1908). This became the pattern in the early days; as the houses were completed, they were mortgaged to raise money to finance further building but, inevitably, the amount secured was less than the cost of new building. In November 1908 (Minutes 26 November 1908), Crossley Greenwood and G Ramsbotham of Co-Partnership Tenants Limited were contacted for methods of approaching the Public Works Loan Commission and for advice on the purchasing of building materials.

Greenwood and Ramsbotham visited the estate but their ensuing correspondence appears to be more concerned with the provision of a social centre than with more mundane practicalities (Minutes 3 December 1908).

Building continued steadily for the next year but by February 1909 lack of cash flow became critical. Various attempts were made to solve the problem; several approaches had been made to the bank for an overdraft, appeals were made for the buying of more loan stock, all the built houses had been mortgaged as soon as they were built, and members were urged by the committee to contribute regularly to their share capital and "if it lay in their power to subscribe also to loan capital". A resolution to join Co-Partnership (Federated) Tenants was passed after Hutchings (its Vice President) had spoken of their work at the Half-Yearly Members Meeting on 18 February 1909 (Minutes 18 February 1909).

Assistance from Co-Partnership Tenants Limited, London

A visit to London was decided upon (Minutes 1 March 1910) to meet Vivian and Litchfield to discuss the relationship between the two societies. J T Taylor and Amos Mann were delegated to attend.

A Special Meeting in March (Minutes 8 March 1910) can be seen, in retrospect, as the beginning of the turning point in their financial difficulties. It is minuted that officials of Federated Tenants "waited upon the Committee" these were Hutchings, Litchfield and Ramsbotham, to discuss the possibility of rendering financial help. Litchfield "laid down conditions upon which aid could be enlisted and terms upon which it would be granted". It was agreed that Co-Partnership Tenants were to be asked to advance to Anchor Tenants a loan of £2000 and application should be made to join the Trading Department of Co-Partnership Tenants Limited. The objects of the Trading Department were: -

(1) To provide expert advice based on accumulated experience,

(2) To raise capital for such societies that join the Federation and accept its advice and

(3) To pool orders where practicable particularly for building materials (FN A2).

A meeting was called later that month (Minutes 22 March 1910) for the committee to agree on alterations to the original Anchor Tenants Rules, in accordance with the model rules of Co-Partnership Tenants Limited. Seeland Rules "as printed" were put forward (those of a co- society on the outskirts of Chester), which suggests that these were rules advised by Co-Partnership Tenants Limited and were the original prototype for all societies to emulate. After going through each rule thoroughly, the committee decided to call a special meeting to put forward the suggested alterations. That meeting, held on 24 March 1910, unanimously adopted the Seeland Rules, albeit slightly modified to suit Anchor Tenants' circumstances.

The changes in Rules 15 and 22

The revised rules provided much greater financial support. Instead of a ten shilling down payment towards the first £10 share, £5 had to be found as an initial payment and instalments were increased from ten shillings quarterly to ten shillings per month (an increase from nine pence to two shillings and sixpence per week). However, once the first share had been acquired, further shares could be bought at five shillings per calendar month, that is, less than one shilling and three pence per week. With rents ranging between four shillings and seven shillings and sixpence per week, this must have meant a heavy weekly commitment for some of the workers.

From the society's point of view, however, it was a much more stable situation. Cash intake would increase and be more regular, and those not wholly committed to co-partnership community living would be discouraged. The community thus becomes much more selective, attracting not just those who had the capacity to meet the higher demand but those who had the will and thrift to save the initial down payment; to accumulate £5 on weekly wages in the region of two pounds ten shillings was not at all easy. If this could be achieved, however, the system was rewarding: bringing a dividend on rent, 5% return on share stock and, after the first share was purchased (in less than one year), payments towards share stock dropped to five shillings per month. And, after the tenant shareholder had acquired the requisite number of shares (£50), he had the option of gradually increasing his holding to a maximum of £200 and investing his savings at a return of 5% until it was equal to the value of his house, when the interest on his capital combined with the bonus he had received in the form of shares would approximately equal the rent of his house.

Need the financial problems ever have occurred?

Anchor Tenants were stimulated by Vivian's account of Ealing Tenants Limited (1901). This was a pioneering time for Vivian and the men on the committee of the Labour Association, who were becoming increasingly involved in housing and town planning reform. This is evident from the rapid change that took place within Vivian's housing movement: in 1902 the Labour Association became the Labour Co-Partnership Association and, in 1903, the Co-Partnership Housing Council, to be followed in 1907 by the Co-Partnership Tenants Association, an additional body of reforming men to advise on all aspects of community living.

Local Leicester men of leadership calibre, who encouraged the break from the Equity Boot and Shoe society in the 1890s, such as J T Taylor and Amos Mann, were men held in high regard within the Co-Operative Movement and who also moved in the circles of zealous, nonconformist reformers. These men played a prominent part in the establishment of Anchor Tenants Limited (1902) and served as President, Secretary or Chairman of the Management Committee. In spite of this, their over cautiousness in the early stages, their procrastination in joining the London advisory bodies and, particularly, their caution in spending money until they were sure of best value in return, led them into financial difficulties, which might otherwise have been avoided. it is unwise, however, to judge too strongly in retrospect since many other factors may have influenced their judgement; they did learn from their mistakes, particularly that they could not do everything for and by themselves.

As early as 1904, the management committee was invited to London to join in discussion on the founding of a National Association to advise on co-partnership societies (Minutes, December 1904) "at no cost or commitment to

join", and the secretary was invited to serve on the council. In March 1908 there is correspondence with Federated Tenants with a view to their joining that body; the secretary was instructed to "write for further particulars in relation to one or two points" (Minutes 11 March 1908). In May 1908 the management committee held a discussion "as to the alteration of Rules as suggested by the board of Federated Tenants" (Minutes 6 May 1908), which suggests that there were differences between their own rules and those found appropriate by the advisory body, particularly in regard to financial matters. Anchor Tenants finally joined Co-Partnership Tenants in February 1909 (Minutes 18 February 1909), from whom they received invaluable help and guidance that put their venture on a very much surer footing. This could have been done much earlier.

Anchor Tenants may have suffered from being the first registered company (1902) after Ealing Tenants Limited (1901) pioneered the co-partnership housing movement. The whole project was then in its embryonic stage and took off' later under the stimulus of the garden city movement (1905-7). From inception, Anchor Tenants flagged for a number of years, at one point their accumulated capital for land actually decreased and they had to rely on the London movement to inject faith and cash in their venture. This show of confidence and the finding of land on which to build stimulated the workers' efforts so that they managed to collect £1500 (loan and share stock) before the end of the year. But there is no doubt that changing their Rules and methods of accumulating capital and cash flow helped to make the system more economically viable and contributed in considerable measure to their success.

Appendix

C

Churches of Christ – A Nineteenth Century Reformation Movement

Historically, the Churches of Christ movement grew out of eighteenth century religious stagnation brought about by rationalist Enlightenment theories. Many people saw religion being replaced by theological theories and, fearing that reason and logic were out of touch with the deeper emotions and needs of man, there was a romantic reaction in the form of religious revivals. Methodism, Pietism, Evangelicals and, later, Anglo-Catholics, were all reactions to rationalism. Sects mushroomed throughout Britain; fanaticism was common, pseudo-Christianity rife. The Churches of Christ movement, in America and Britain, was a reaction against this multiplicity of religious sects.

Their belief in "a return to simple beliefs and ways of New Testament Christians" had already been preached much earlier by John Glas (1695-1773) who also included a weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper, believers' Baptism, a stress on the intellectual approach as opposed to emotion, and the setting up of a form of church government, such as Presbyters and Deacons. In the same era, isolated Presbyterian churches were reaching the same decision independently.

The Churches of Christ movement was founded in America by Thomas Campbell; of Scottish extraction, he was born in County Down, Ireland, in 1763 and emigrated to America in 1807, where he was joined by his son, Alexander, in 1809. Thomas Campbell was a Presbyterian Minister who withdrew from the Presbyterian Church. He became unpopular because he enunciated the principles that "where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are silent, we are silent" (FN C1) and that Christian liberality and Christian Union should be encouraged on the basis of New Testament teachings. Besides celebration of the Lord's Supper and believers' Baptism, other tenets of the Churches of Christ were no paid ministers and no church hierarchy, Christians were free from the laws of Moses, and the belief that the Christian faith should be centred in facts rather than theories about facts. They also placed great emphasis on Christians following "in the way of the Cross", which often led to a life of fanatical

idealism, acts of self-denial and a high moral tone in general (which were very evident at Humberstone Garden Suburb).

There was considerable influence from the tenets of the Scottish Baptists but, in Christian doctrines relating to God, of the person of Christ, atonement for sins, Trinitarian views such as baptism administered in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, they did not differ from orthodox Christianity. Alexander Campbell was stated to be an orthodox Christian (FN C2). Their stance was more a protest against making metaphysical explanations and theories out of Christian doctrines. Members believed that dogmas about God and Christ were best expressed in the chaste language of the New Testament. It was not intended to be a cult of perfect holiness, more one of self-discipline.

Alexander Campbell took over the leadership of the movement in America, which was called the Disciples of Christ, and members were often referred to as "Campbellites".

The American and British movements have a long, complicated but interesting history; through a variety of ways, the movement was introduced into Britain by enthusiastic followers (FN C3). As there was no common founder in Britain, Campbell's writings were the focus for the new movement but the most important man in the British movement and particularly in the Midlands was James Wallis - an apprentice tailor in Kettering, who moved to Leicester in 1814 to avoid military service, and settled in Nottingham in 1816.

Wallis became a disciple of Campbell's, publishing his views in a journal called Christian Messenger, which ran to twelve volumes between 1837 and 1845. Wallis received Campbell's works from America, which he published, thus reinforcing the doctrines of the Church of Christ as set out by Campbell in his classic book, The Christian System. In 1836 Wallis established a Church of Christ in Nottingham; through his publishing activities, by 1842 there were fifty such churches and over one thousand two hundred members in Britain. At its peak in Britain in the nineteenth century, membership reached sixteen thousand; present membership is reported to be over two million (FN C4).

Churches of Christ were born in a period of economic and ecclesiological turmoil between 1836 and 1842. This was not only a time of economic depression but also one of political agitation amongst the working class, when the Chartists were active. Thomas Campbell's first endeavour in America, the Christian Association of Washington, 1809, was based on the model of the early Methodist societies; Primitive Methodists had always regarded themselves as having a special mission for the working class (FN C5) and the coincidence of their views enabled the Church of Christ to establish an affinity and close connection with working class movements.

In Leicester, the first Church of Christ was founded in 1865 at Crafton Street (now demolished) by Wallis and his followers. Wallis' grandson, John Wycliffe Black moved to Leicester in 1890 to establish a Boot and Shoe factory at

Wigston (Fig.13) and became a leading light in the Crafton Street Church. It was there that many of the Anchor Tenants worshipped when the original Anchor Boot and Shoe Production Society was in Friar's Causeway, Leicester. Black, as much committed to the movement as his grandfather, and helped by well-known local businessmen and manufacturers (such as Leavesley, Carmichael, Ellis and Wormleighton (FN C6)), established four more Churches of Christ: Melbourne Road (1890), Harrison Road (1896), Hinckley (1898) and Evington Road (1909). The Church of Christ at Humberstone Garden Suburb followed, its opening services taking place on 28 and 29 October 1910. The Meeting House, as it was called, is still in existence today with a small but devoted membership. The church, in common with Churches of Christ as a whole, is now a congregation of the United Reform Church.

A famous public figure and member of the movement was Lloyd George (Criccieth Church of Christ). When he was Chancellor of the Exchequer he spent a weekend with Baron de Forrest MP at Gaddesby Hall and, with others (Wedywood Benn, Seebohrn Rowntree (FN C7)), paid a surprise visit to the Humberstone estate in September 1912. He could not have failed to see the Meeting House but it appears that his main purpose was to find out about the housing on the estate; at this time the Liberal government were committing themselves to housing reform and other social improvements.

At Hurnberstone, Amos Mann and J T Taylor both lived on the estate, were members of the Church of Christ and reliable and trusted members of the Management Committee as well as acceptable preachers. The principles of the Church and of co-partnership housing were highly compatible, not least in their democratic constitution, belief in self-denial and the upholding of a high moral tone. Both movements found considerable acceptance in the Midlands, particularly in Leicester (FN C8).

More recently, there has been need for reform; the anti-clerical stance of the church meant that the movement lacked intellectual guidance and direction, and its democratic characteristic had disadvantages in lack of devotional spirit. The Churches of Christ had never sought to define themselves in an exclusive way but, always opposed to sectarianism, were anxious to find common ground with other sects in their search for unity. The leaders of the Churches recognised the significance of the ecumenical movement that was taking shape from about 1920 onwards; and they became fully involved in the British Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches from their inception. Overdale College was founded in Birmingham in 1920, and became the focus and spearhead of the movement towards a more liberal theology and towards greater openness to other Churches, largely owing to the great and decisive influence of its first Principal, William Robinson, during the next fifty years. The sacramental significance of Baptism and the Lord's Supper were emphasised; the worship of the churches became more ordered and reverent; the central committees and the Annual Conference acquired increasing influence; and the movement towards Christian union was accelerated.

Dr Robinson's successors, notably James Gray and Arthur Brown, and a large number of his students and followers, continued his work. Other leaders increasingly shared their attitudes and policies and, as a result, in 1981, the Churches of Christ became a part of the United Reformed Church and thus took a step further in achieving Alexander Campbell's cherished hope that one day all churches might be re-united on the basis of New Testament Christianity.

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Appendix

D

Lectures and Lecturers at Anchor Boot and Shoe Production Society for Anchor Tenants at Humberstone Garden Suburb, 1900 to 1907

Extracted from: Amos Mann, Democracy in Industry, PP 56-7

LECTURES AND LECTURERS.

1900.

"The Effect of Machinery"	Mr. T. Adcock.
"Ruskin's Economic Teaching"	Mr. T. Adcock.
"A Visit to Hazell's Printing Works" ..	Mr. A. Mann.
"Co-operation in the West Indies"	Mr. Parris.
"The Co-operative Ideal"	Mr. F. Maddison.
"Water"	Mr. T. Groome.

1901.

Co-operation: "Past"	Mr. A. Mann.
Co-operation: "Present"	Mr. A. Mann.
Co-operation: "Future"	Mr. A. Mann.
"Hopes and Fears for the Twentieth Century"	Mr. J. R. MacDonald.
"Mazzini"	Mr. R. Halstead.
"Women's Rights and Men's Duties" ..	Mr. T. Adcock.
"Edinburgh and its Neighbourhood" ..	Mr. J. R. Sargent.
"Carlyle and Ruskin as Social Reformers" ..	Mr. R. Halstead.

1902.

"Economics for Workingmen"	Mr. H. Vivian.
"One and All Gardening"	Mr. W. E. Boyes.
"Ground Fruit"	Mr. W. E. Boyes.
"Rights of Citizenship"	Mr. Philip Snowden.
"Co-operation, and the Housing of the People"	Mr. H. Vivian.
"Imperialism"	Rev. F. L. Deane.
"A Rational System of Education" ..	Mr. F. J. Gould.

1903.

"Robert Owen"	Mr. A. Mann.
"The Story of a Piece of Coal"	Mr. J. R. Sargent.
"Allotments"	Mr. W. E. Boyes.
"American Experiences"	Mrs. Widrington (Enid Stacey).

1904.

"London and its People"	Mr. A. Mann.
"The Romantic History of the Silk Industry" ..	Mr. J. R. MacDonald.
"The Moralisation of the Industrial System" ..	Rev. N. Whitaker.
"The Garden City a Solution of the Housing Problem"	Professor Timson.
"A Ramble through Derbyshire"	Mr. J. R. Sargent.
"Among the Colleges of Oxford"	Mr. R. Halstead.

1905.

"Roses and their Culture"	Mr. E. Harris.
"The Fallacies of Protection"	Mr. A. Mann.
"Wealth"	Mr. H. Vivian.
"The City and the Citizen"	Mr. J. R. MacDonald.
"The War Cry of the Reformers"	Rev. McLelan.
"Some Marvels of Insect Life"	Rev. J. W. Watts.
"Shakespeare's 'Tempest'"	Mr. T. Adcock.
"Robert Burns"	Mr. J. Peacock.
"The Western Highlands of Scotland" ..	Mr. J. R. Sargent.

1906.

"Ancient Leicester"	Rev. J. W. Watts.
"The Revolution in Japan"	Mr. T. Adcock.
"Direct Representation in Parliament" ..	Mr. J. T. Taylor.
"Money"	Rev. A. Manvell.
"A Trip Through Cornwall"	Mr. J. R. Sargent.
"Garden Insects"	Rev. J. W. Watts.

1907.

"Hamlet"	Mr. T. Adcock.
"The Growth of an English Cathedral" ..	Rev. J. W. Watts.
"A Co-operative Trip Through Great Britain" ..	Mr. R. Halstead.
"What is Morality?"	Mr. J. S. Stanyon.

H

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52 Plan of four cottages sent from Bournville to Humberstone Garden Suburb for second phase of building, but not used

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58 Brentham Garden Suburb - Two different treatments of a corner site

59 Brentham Garden Suburb - Terraced cottages, Brentham Way, standard design

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61 Garden City Tenants Limited, Letchworth

62 Letchworth Garden City - Norton Smallholdings Limited, List of Shareholders

63 Humberstone Garden Suburb - Mr. Manby's house with workshop

64 Typical tunnel backed, terraced houses by speculative builders

Footnotes

FN1 Neil Tranter, Population Since the Industrial Revolution, p. 2

FN2 Leicester Co-operative Congress Souvenir 1915 “Modern Leicester”, Thomas Adcock, p. 78

FN3 Ibid, p. 78

FN4 R H Evans, “The Expansion of Leicester in the Nineteenth Century”, p. 65, in The Growth of Leicester, Ed. A E Brown, Leicester University Press (1972)

FN5 Ibid p. 65

FN6 Amos Mann, “Co-Partnership Societies in Leicester and Neighbourhood” in the Leicester Co-operative Congress Souvenir, (1915) p. 202

FN7 Ibid p. 201

FN8 Amos Mann, op cit, p. 203

FN9 Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. 1, p. 136, describes Greening as “A man intensely interested and involved with the co-operative movement”.

FN10 E T Craig, C J Holyoake, Thomas Hughes, Lloyd Jones, William Pare.

FN11 Leicester Co-operative Congress Souvenir, op cit, p. 203

FN12 M. Godin of Guise founded the famous Familistere of the town in 1886. He was an industrialist and ran his iron works on co-partnership lines. He created a new community influenced by Charles Fourier's phalansteres, which were voluntary co-operatives based on complete participation of the workforce in administration, production and distribution.

FN13 The Industrial and Provident Societies Acts grew out of the old Friendly Societies Acts of 1834, 1846 and 1850. The Act of 1852, commonly called Mr Slaney's Act, gave legal support to provident savings by groups of people. There were Amendments in 1854, 1856, 1867, 1871 and 1876 with a most important Amendment in 1893. Under this, a housing company could register as a Public Utility Society if it undertook to limit its annual dividend to a maximum of 5%. This enabled it to borrow one-half (increased in 1909 to two-thirds) of its initial capital from the Public Works Loan Board. J C Cray, Co-Op Union, (1927)

FN14 Amos Mann, Democracy in Industry, p. 22

FN15 Thomas Blandford also supported co-partnership in industry. He was a founder member of the Labour Association, becoming responsible for the publicity of co-partnership ideals through the medium of Year Books (including a history of the Anchor Boot and Shoe society) and annual festivals at the Crystal Palace. Dictionary of Labour Biography

FN16 T Blandford, Distributive Co-Operation in Leicester, (1898)

FN17 Ibid

FN18 M Tims, Ealing Tenants Limited. Pioneers of Co-Partnership, members Paper No. 8, Ealing Local History Society, p.12

FN19 Amos Mann, Democracy in Industry, p. 60

FN20 Ibid, p. 60

FN21 Amos Mann, Democracy in Industry, p.61

FN22 It has not been possible, however, to discover a list of Loan Stock shareholders

FN23 Amos Mann, Democracy in Industry, pp.61-62

FN24 J S Nettlefold, Chairman of the Housing Committee, Birmingham City Council and author of Practical Housing (1910)

FN25 Amos Mann, 22. cit pp. 61-62

FN26 Raymond Unwin became consultant Architect to Co-Partnership Tenants Limited 1907, formerly Co-Partnership Housing Council 1905. He was in partnership with Barry Parker, whose name appears with Unwin's on the layout plan but it is doubtful if Parker had anything to do with it.

FN27 It is interesting that, from the Minutes of 21 May 1908, the men originally invited to the official opening were Professor Geddes, Aneurin Williams and Tudor Walters MP.

FN28 Leicester Co-operative Congress (1915) E Horrot, Humberstone Garden Suburb, p.240. Minutes of 8 March 1910 confirm that a cash flow crisis occurred, possibly due to tenants not paying regularly towards share stock, but building costs were rising and too few houses meant insufficient rent return.

FN29 W Hutchings, Deputy Chairman, Co-partnership Housing Council; C Ramsbotham, Federated Works Manager

FN30 Now demolished

FN31 Information from Dr James Gray, author of Discipleship in the Church

FN32 Some tenants felt that this form of Christianity was very hard; these men, they feel, were "more sinned against than sinning".

FN33 The Anchor Tenants Forerunner, February 1911

FN34 and renamed the Humberstone and District Supply Association

FN35 The Anchor Tenants Forerunner, No. 5

FN36 The French Revolution had shaken many who had previously had faith in Enlightenment ideas.

FN37 His ideas of equality at all levels followed those of Robert Southey, Coleridge and sympathisers who in 1794 planned a communist society or pantisocracy: Susquehann, America

FN38 Jeremy Bentham and James Mill were his close friends. Owen, also, would be aware of the success of the eighteenth century Friendly Societies based on mutuality

FN39 Cited by Ass Briggs Robert Owen in Retrospect p.4 Co—operative College Paper No. 6, Loughborough (1959)

FN40 He was influenced by Thomas Spence: paper read to Newcastle Philosophical Society in 1775; cited by W H C Armytage, Heavens Below (1961) Routledge and Kegan Paul.

FN41 Asa Briggs, Robert Owen in Retrospect, Co-operative College Papers No. 6 op cit p.6

FN42 R C Garrett, Co-operation and the Owenite Socialist Communities in Britain 1825-1845, Pp. 41-59

FN43 Ibid p. 7; John Minter Morgan, Robert Southey, Charles Hill

FN44 Dr William King MD, Oxon; Cambs MA, Twelfth Wrangler. Or W II King, A Co-operative Pioneer, Co-operative College paper No. 6 (1969)

FN45 Capital accumulated in this way was slow to accrue; two to three hundred Trading Societies came into being but most failed through poor regulation and insecure economic base.

FN46 Leonard Woolfe in Co-operation and the Future of Industry, cited by E O Greening, A Pioneer Co-Partnership, Leicester Boot and Shoe Co-operative Society, Co-operative Printing Works, Leicester

FN47 Most failed through dishonest members, unworldliness, lack of commitment, constant disagreement, or introduction of competition.

FN48 Founded by J M F Ludlow, although its prophet and inspiration was F 0 Maurice, Professor of Theology, King's College, Cambridge with the Broad Church;

others were: Charles Mansfield, Charles Kingsley, 3 C Hare, Thomas Hughes, E Vansittart Neale.

FN49 e.g. builders, bakers, piano makers, printers, smiths, tailors

FN50 Catherine Webb, Labour Co-Partnership in Industrial Co-Operation Chapter XVII, Co-operative Union, Manchester (1931)

FN51 A Bonner, British Co-Operation, Co-operative Union, Manchester (1961) p. 113

FN52 C Webb op cit p. 133

FN53 Ibid p.133

FN54 Amos Mann, Co-operative Congress Souvenir, 1915, p. 204

FN55 The meeting to discuss the setting up of the Anchor firm was held in the schoolroom of the meetinghouse of the Church of Christ, Crafton Street; most Equity workers worshipped there.

FN56 Henry Vivian, The Partnership of Capital and Labour as a Solution to the Conflict Between Them (1898) pp.6-7

FN57 Ibid, p. 10

FN58 Amos Mann, Democracy in Industry, p. 28

FN59 “A Novel Attempt at Co-operative Production in the Building Trades”, Economic Journal No. 6, June 1896, pp270-2 Henry Vivian

FN60 Ibid

FN61 M Tims, Ealing Tenants Limited., Pioneers of Co-Partnership, Ealing Local History Society, Members Paper No. 8 (1966)

FN62 Ralph Neville KC, J 11 Ludlow, Lord Brassey, Sir John Brunner MP, Earl Grey, the Earl of Harrogate, Leopold de Rothschild.

FN63 William Ashworth, The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning, p. 158

FN64 Tenants Co-operators Limited made slow progress. They owned property in Camberwell (1893-4), East Ham (1895), Epsom (1895), Penge (1889-90), (Upton Park and Plashet), which included cottages, tenement houses and a block of fourteen flats. Co-operative Industry, Ayes, pp.232-235

FN65 M Times, op cit p 10

FN66 Henry Vivian, “An Interesting Co-operative Housing Experiment” in the Co-operators’ Year Book (1902)

FN67 M Tims ibid p 12

FN69 H Vivian, The Co-Partnership Housing Movement in England, p.5 Tracts on Social and Industrial Questions

FN69 H Vivian, The Co-partnership Housing Movement in England, op cit, p.5

FN70 J F Yerburgh, A Short History of the Pioneer Society in Co-operative Housing, Co-operative Printing Works, Leicester (1913) p.57

FN71 President: Sir George Campbell, Chairman: Revd Henry Solly, Vice-President: Lord Shaftsbury, Lord Aberdeen, Samuel Morley, Professor Foxwell, Council: James Hol, Benjamin Jones, Walter Hazell. see William Ashworth op cit, p. 135

FN72 G Darley, Villages of Vision, Palladin, London (1978) p.132

FN73 At this time, classical architecture was seen to be both inspiring and sustaining of moral behaviour.

FN74 William Ashworth, op cit, pp. 127-8

FN75 Gillian Darley (op cit, p.143) suggests that their endeavours were attempts to exonerate capitalism from its responsibility for bad industrial housing, one of the open sores of the factory system.

FN76 M Swenarton, Homes Fit for Heroes p.36 citing E Cadbury “Scientific Management”, Sociological Review Vol VII, No. 2 (1914) p.106

FN77 G Darley 22 op cit p.144

FN78 Eric Lampard, The Urbanising World in The Victorian City Vol.1 by Dyos and Wolff, p.28

FN79 Charles Dickens, Bleak House. Expressed through the character of Tom-all-alone when dying - his disease could spread and revenge his death.

FN80 W A Eden, “Studies in Urban Theory II”, Town Planning Review, XIX (1946) p. 134

FN81 Kingsley, Buckingham, Marx, Engels, Chadwick, Cobbett, Parker and others.

FN82 E Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow, Faber and Faber, London (1936) p.42

FN83 W H C Armytage, Heavens Below, p.370

FN84 Cecil Harmsworth, Garden Cities and Town Planning, (1911)

FN85 E Howard, ibid, Chapter X, p. 118

FN86 Ibid, p.119

FN87 E Howard, op cit Preface p. 10 by F J Osborne

FN88 A Marshall, Contemporary Review XLV (1884) pp. 226-9

FN89 Piped water, steam heating, compressed and ‘ozonised’ air, multi-tubular tunnels, the reduction of air pollution and electric communications between houses.

FN90 E Howard, ibid, p. 120

FN91 T Soence, Paper read to the Philosophical Society, Newcastle (1775) cited in E Howard, ibid, p.123

FN92 Herbert Spencer, Social Statics Chapter X, Section 8, cited in E Howard, ibid, pp.123-4

FN93 E Howard, op cit, p.126

FN94 Lewis Mumford,”The Garden City Movement of Ebenezer Howard” in Metropolis, Eds. Elias, Gillies, Riemer (1946)

FN95 M. Swenarton. op cit, p.6

FN96 W Creese, The Legacy of Raymond Unwin, MIT Press (1967) pp.74-5

FN97 R Unwin, “The City Beautiful from Converging Views of Social Reform” Lectures on Land and Labour, cited by W Creese, The Search for the Environment, p. 172

FN98 Thomas Spence op cit, quoted in E Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow p.123

FN99 J S Nettlefold, Practical Housing (1910) p.135

FN100 Henry George, Progress and Poverty (1879) quoted in Land Nationalisation

FN101 A R Wallace, Depopulation of Rural Districts, pamphlet for the Land (1892) Nationalisation Association (1885)

FN102 A R Wallace, Land Nationalisation, Swan Sonnenschein & Co.Limited., London (1892) p.183

FN103 E Howard, op cit, Chapter X, p.136

FN104 Waterworks and sewerage were built in 1904, gas works in 1905, electricity laid on in 1907-8, all undertaken by the company as landlord. A Crawford, unpublished paper, Victorian Studies Centre, Leicester University (1971)

FN105 Operated by a quasi-public ownership or Trust Fund

FN106 The Anchor Tenants Forerunner (April, 1911)

FN107 Anchor Tenants Forerunner (April 1911)

FN108 Ibid List of agents on the estate ranged from purveyors of groceries, hardware, sweets and sundries, coal, fruit, eggs and milk to ladies’ costume patterns, men’s and boys’ clothing, and there was a sweep, a fireman and a savings bank.

FN110 E W Culpin, The Garden City Up To Date, The Garden City Press (1912) p.39

FN110 Ibid

FN111 W H C Armytage, Heavens Below, p.88

FN112 The Link (November 1913)

FN113 The Anchor Tenants Forerunner No 3 (December 1910)

FN114 The Anchor Tenants Forerunner No 9 (June 1911)

FN115 At this time, the Corporation bus service served the estate, and residents were beginning to acquire their own motorcars.

FN116 Garden City Villages and Homes, No. 2 (1912) p.32

FN117 Later purchase of surrounding land would, inevitably, have been much more expensive.

FN118 G C Martin, The Growth of Leicester, ed. A E Brown, Leicester University Press (1972) p.82

FN119 E W Culpin, The Garden City Movement Up To Date (1913) p.6

FN120 Bryce Leicester, “Life in A Garden Suburb” in Garden Suburbs, Villages and Homes (1912) No. 2 Garden City Press, p.19

FN121 Simon Pepper, “Garden City Legacy”, Architectural Review, (June 1978) p.322

FN122 Amos Mann, Democracy in Industry, p.60

FN123 Tenants did pay rates to Leicester, however, for water, gas and electricity

FN124 Prior to this date, Unwin had planned medieval style artisan cottages in a similar block around a centre courtyard, Architectural Review, (June 1978) p.329

FN125 Elderly residents (sons and daughters of the original tenants) are vague about ‘the reasons for this. Presumably, as the estate never had a village green and they never saw Unwin’s labour, the issue was insignificant.

FN126 Research continues with a view to identifying from the names of these tenants which houses were involved in the revised plan with the loss of the village green.

FN127 Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin, “The Art of Building a Home” (1901) Essay, Longmans Green

FN128 R Unwin, Town Planning in Practice (1909, reissued 1971) p.145

FN129 minutes of 27 August 1908

FN130 Leonore Davidoff, Jean L'Esperance and Howard Verity, "Landscape with Figures, Home and Community in English Society" in Rights and Wrongs of Women, eds. Ann Oakley and Juliet Mitchell, Penguin (1976) p.144

FN131 Ibid, p.140

FN132 Ibid, p.141

FN133 Anchor Tenants Limited became federated to the company in 1909 FN134 Minutes, Humberstone Garden Suburb, 1907 to 1914

FN135 Ruth Glass, Conflict in Cities (1966) cited in Leonore Davidoff et al op cit, p.147

FN136 "The Garden City" New Series Vol III No. 28 (May, June 1908) pp 80-81 cited in Mark Swenarton, Homes Fit For Heroes, op cit.

FN137 W E Eden "Studies in Urban Theory II", Town Planning Review XIX (1947) FN138 Norbert Elias, Foreword: "Towards a Theory of Communities" in The Sociology of Communities, Cohn Bell and Howard Newby

FN139 Leonore Davidoff et al, op cit p.150

FN140 Ibid, p.150

FN141 M Tims, Ealing Tenants Limited, op cit

FN142 R Unwin, Town Planning in Practice, op cit, p.228

FN143 S Pierson, "The Way Out" in H Dyos and II Wolff, The Victorian City Col I, pp 185-8

FN144 H Vivian "Garden Cities, Housing and Town Planning", Quarterly Review Vol 216, No. 431 (1912) p.495

FN145 "Demonstration", Humberstone Garden Suburb report in local newspaper, Daily Mercury (1911)

FN146 Accommodation for the storage of bicycles is shown in the house plans

FN147 Interview with elderly resident of Humberstone Garden Suburb

FN148 Humberstone Garden Suburb Minutes of 14 January 1908

FN149 Ibid, Minutes of Members Meeting (18 March 1908)

FN150 “News from Co-Partnership Estates”, The Co-Partnership Journal (1912) p .44

FN151 Verbal information from T Vass, Humberstone Garden Suburb

FN152 Anchor Tenants Forerunner (October 1911)

FN153 Ibid

FN154 Ibid

FN155 Raymond Unwin, Cottage Plans and Common Sense, Fabians Tract (1908) (reprint of Essay, 1902)

FN156 Access to all the material at the Anchor Tenants Estate Office has not been possible but it is significant that they have a copy of J S Nettlefold’s Practical Housing of 1908.

FN157 H Vivian, op cit p. 4

FN158 Humberstone Garden Suburb Minutes, Monthly Members Meeting (10 January 1912)

FN159 Cottages built by Sheffield Corporation at Wincobank, 1903

FN160 Patrick Abercrombie “Cottages and Houses in Garden Suburbs”, Town Planning Review (1910) p.126; “Modern Town Planning in England. A Comparative View of Garden City Schemes in England” Part II

FN161 Planning Department, Leicester City Council

FNA1 M Time, Ealing Tenants Limited. Pioneers of Co-Partnership, Members Paper No. 8 (1966) p.12

FNA2 P Abercrombie, “Modern Town Planning in England”, Town Planning Review (1910) p. 117

FNC1 W Robinson MA DO, What Churches of Christ Stand For, Berean Press, Birmingham (1946) pp.20-24

FNC2 Churches of Christ publication The Messenger, IX, p.317, cited in W Robinson, op cit, pp.20-24

FNC3 D M Thompson, Let Sects and Parties Fall, Berean Press, Birmingham (1980)

FNC4 “Disciples of Christ”, Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion

FNC5 0 II Thompson, Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century, Routledge and Kegan Paul (1972) p.208

FNC6 Interview with James Gray

FNC7 The Link (October 1912)

FNC8 D M Thompson, Let Sects and Parties Fall, op cit pp.214-215

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