

THE GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT: ITS ORIGINS  
AND INFLUENCE ON EARLY MODERN TOWN PLANNING

by

Ronald A. Phillips

B.A. University of British Columbia 1970

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL  
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS

In the Department  
of  
Geography

© Ronald A. Phillips 1977

Simon Fraser University

May 1977

All rights reserved. This work may not to be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without permission of the author.

ii  
APPROVAL

Name: Ronald Adna Phillips

Degree: Master of Arts

Title of Thesis: The Impact of the Garden City Movement  
in Early Modern Town Planning

Examining Committee:

Chairman: Mary L. Barker

~~Edward~~ M. Gibson  
Senior Supervisor

~~Frank~~ F. Cunningham

James W. Wilson

David F. Ley  
External Examiner  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Geography  
University of British Columbia

Date of Approval: June 14, 1977

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis or dissertation (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Dissertation:

The Impact of the Garden City Movement in Early  
Modern Town Planning

Author:

(signature)

Ronald A. Phillips

(name)

June 14 / 1977

(date)

ABSTRACT

Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City Association which he founded are generally conceded to have been a major influence on the development of modern town planning theory and practice. There are, however, contradictions in the various interpretations of Howard's role in the genesis of town planning thought. This study re-examines Howard's proposals for social and environmental reform in order to clarify their origins and their influence on the town planning movement. The material on which this study is based was gathered from archival sources in Britain during 1973 and 1974.

The first section deals with the origins of Howard's thought: his ideas on the industrial city and the nature of its problems; the alternative patterns of settlement he proposed; and the political and social conceptions that underlie the garden city scheme. These are found to have grown out of his connections with various radical reform groups, notably the American socialist movement. The garden city thus was primarily a proposal for social reconstruction along more co-operative lines; Howard's layout and design features were not goals in themselves, but instruments for facilitating new social patterns.

Howard's impact on the town planning movement is considered next. An examination of the early history of the Garden City Association shows that the content of Howard's original programme was substantially changed by those groups that supposedly supported him. The Garden City Association, in fact, soon began to campaign for objectives directly opposed to Howard's. After 1901, the Association became a lobbying group for all aspects of planning, and was instrumental in having some initial town planning legislation enacted and in gaining professional status for planners.

The principal conclusions of the study are, first, that there are three distinct groups, each with a different set of policies, that claim to represent Howard's ideas. It is thus necessary to make a clear distinction between Howard's proposals, the proposals of the Garden City Association, and the programmes of other organizations such as the new towns group. Second, the importance of Howard and the Association is not in the actual proposals advocated, but in their role as a rallying point for a wide variety of reformers and urban theorists. The coalition represented by the Garden City Association marks the first time that critics of the industrial city of various political backgrounds were able to act in concert.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I	INTRODUCTION.....	p.1
	NOTES.....	p.12
CHAPTER II	ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT.....	p.14
	THE PROBLEM OF GREAT CITIES.....	p.16
	THE SOLUTION: THE GARDEN CITY.....	p.32
	THE PATH FOLLOWED UP.....	p.53
	SUMMARY.....	p.69
	NOTES.....	p.72
CHAPTER III	IDEA AND INFLUENCE: HOWARD AND THE GARDEN CITY ASSOCIATION.....	p.79
	NOTES.....	p.96
CHAPTER IV	HOWARD'S ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLANNING THEORY.....	p.98
	NOTES.....	p.111
CHAPTER V	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	p.113
	NOTES.....	p.123
BIBLIOGRAHY	.....	p.133

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE 1.....p. 34

FIGURE 2.....p. 44

FIGURE 3.....p. 46

FIGURE 4.....p. 50

FIGURE 5.....p. 91

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Urban design is not the monumentalization of some private joke. (1)

This study deals with the creation of a new mode of thought concerning urban life that has generally been called in the English language "town planning." (2) Along with its analogs urbanisme and Städtebau, the phrase town planning was, as Françoise Choay notes, coined in the last years of the nineteenth century to "... mark with the full impact of neologism the advent of an entirely novel relationship between Western man and the organization of his cities--resulting from the industrial revolution." (3) The main focus of the study will be on the ideas and influence of one of the central



figures in the genesis of this new discipline, Ebenezer Howard, and on his proposals for restructuring the urban environment as embodied in the garden city plan.

In the little more than 75 years since the publication of Howard's major work, To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform, town planning has moved from being the exclusive preserve of a diverse collection of reformers and visionaries and not a great number for all their diversity, to being an accepted and generally unquestioned function of the modern state. (4) It has become in fact a major instrument and ideology of landscape creation and change in the modern world.

Modern town planning is at once a governmental activity, a profession, and a social movement. As a social movement it emerged, as Choay asserts above, as a response to the sudden and unprecedented growth of the industrial city, while the other two aspects, planning as a profession and as a government function, arose subsequently from the efforts of those early reformers such as Howard and his associates in the Garden City Association. As a profession it began in Great Britain with the formation of the Town Planning Institute in 1913, and as a governmental activity it received its

first statutory recognition in the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909.

Barraclough asserts that the purpose of contemporary history is, "...to clarify the basic structural changes which have been shaping our world," beginning where the forces and institutions evident in society today first emerged. (5) This then is the purpose of this study, to trace out the contemporary history of a constellation of forces, events, ideas, and personalities which helped to create and were in turn shaped by the garden city movement, from its origins in the late nineteenth century to the institutionalization of some of its ideas in the mid-twentieth.

The garden city movement originates from the one major writing of Sir Ebenezer Howard, Garden Cities of To-morrow, which had first appeared in 1898 as To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform and was reissued under its present title in 1902. For this work Howard is widely acknowledged to be "the father of modern town planning," and in fact it is difficult to find a book on planning or urban history without what seems an obligatory opening chapter or at least major section on Howard and the movement that he founded. Gordon Cherry, for example,

head of the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of Birmingham says in his Urban Change and Planning: "The most influential figure to shape the course of urban history was Ebenezer Howard. His influence was remarkable." (6). Even such an outspoken critic of Howard's ideas as Jane Jacobs in her Death and Life of Great American Cities concludes that:

Howard's influence in the literal or reasonably literal acceptance of his scheme was as nothing compared to the influence on conceptions underlying all city planning today. City planners and designers with no interest in the Garden City as such are still thoroughly governed intellectually by its underlying principles. (7)

Humphrey Carver, a past president of the Town Planning Institute of Canada and a lecturer in planning at the University of Toronto gives, in his Cities in the Suburbs, the following extravagant assesment of Howard's impact:

Any study of town planning is bound to treat the figure of Ebenezer Howard with awe, as if he were indeed one of the Prophets. For this stream of imaginative thought which has flowed from this fountainhead is still as fresh as ever after more than half a century. From this source has flowed the stream of events that bore the fifteen new towns of Britain built after World War II. This was the source too of Radburn and the

American Greenbelt Towns of the 1930's, still regarded as prototypes of good community planning. Whether the aim is to realize a realtor's dream in the suburbs, or to build an ideal city in the wilderness--we keep on coming back, again, to Ebenezer Howard. But we never quite catch up with him. (8)

These three examples are typical of much of the writing on Howard and his influence. Considering the ubiquity of his name in the literature, there has been surprisingly little work done on the actual content of Howard's thought, its origins, or its influences on the emergent town planning movement. For a so-called classic it has suffered the curious fate of being almost universally acclaimed but unread; as F.J. Osborn asserts, "...most of the popular writers on planning do not seem to have read it--or if they have read it, to remember what it says," or if they remember a part, to have understood it. (9)

Whether Howard was "indeed one of the Prophets," or was "the spawn of the devil working through his chosen vessel," the extremity of these interpretations indicates something of the reception he has had among modern planning theorists. Donald L. Foley, in an excellent article in the British Journal of Sociology, outlines three distinct sub-ideologies which have been active

within the seeming unity of the field. (10) The first, what Peter Self has called the umpire role, deals with the reconciliation of competing claims for scarce land resources among potential users. This view sees itself as having a purely allocating function and as being neutral. (11) The second stance asserts that the role of the planner is to provide a better physical environment in the city through improved housing, more parks, better transportation, and more efficient hygenic facilities. The third position outlined by Foley stresses that planning is part of a broad social program aimed at providing a better quality of life through the establishment of small, functionally independent, low density new towns. (12) These three positions, though they together provide the basic propositions around which planning theory has formed, and may each be drawn upon with varying emphasis to justify a particular planning proposal or proposition, have been in competition with each other, generating, especially between the second and third positions, what Foley calls "major internal ideological strain." Because of the central position of Howard's garden city concepts in the formulation of the third stance outlined above, both sides in the ongoing debate over environmental reform have had an interest in tracing out Howard's influences on the discipline, and

subsequent interpretations of his work have tended to be used in support of one position or the other. As Helen Rosenau points out with reference to Lewis Mumford, though it applies equally well to both supporters or opponents of the scheme, "his ideal of the garden cities completely influences his choice of examples and his historical method." (13) The garden city thesis arose as a response to a specific set of problems and from within a given historical perspective, while later critics and interpreters have been less concerned with analysis of the concept than with its translation into a form which could be used in their own time for their own ends. In short, its use has been as a propaganda device rather than as a substantive part of the field's body of theory.

For our task here, i.e. the understanding of Howard's garden city scheme and its impact on the development of modern planning thought, several inter-related tasks are involved. Firstly, the "situational determination" of Howard's work, that is the attempt to understand it in its own terms. (14) Thus, Chapter 3 will deal in turn with the questions that Howard raised, the kinds of solutions he envisaged, and the means he hoped would lead to the realization of his goals, in terms of the political, economic, and intellectual climate in

which they evolved, and, secondly, the analysis of the role of the the garden city thesis in the evolution of planning theory. This involves the examination of the particular emphasis on, and selection of, different facets of the garden city scheme by succeeding planning factions. As E.H. Carr, for example, puts it:

...the facts of history never come to us "pure" since they do not and cannot exist in a pure form: they are always refracted through the mind of the recorder. It follows that when we take up a work of history, our first concern should not be with the facts which it contains but with the historian who wrote it. (15)

Thus Chapter 3 deals with the impact of garden city ideas on emerging town planning thought and the various transformations they have undergone.

Town planning may be defined as the attempt to control and direct the future course of urban change, and as such it involves an image of the future and a conception of the correct means of arriving there.

According to F.L. Polack this has several aspects:

In setting himself purposefully to control and alter the course of events, the concepts of value, means and ends, ideals and ideologies, as he has attempted to blueprint his own future.... In a later stage man staggers under the double load of not only having to

construct his own future, but of having to create the values which will determine its design. (16)

Planners of the urban future have tended to abdicate their responsibility to "create the values which will determine its design." As Eric Reade asserts, they have had a "traditional tendency to seek ends through inappropriate means, or even to lose sight of ends." (17) Some of the reasons for the divorce of planning from ideology, with special reference to the formative period, will be outlined below (Chapter 3).

The concept of ideology will provide one of the main tools for our analysis of the garden city thesis and its various interpretations. Ideology will not be used in the sense that Mannheim developed it, i.e. a system of values which serves to support the existing order, but in a more inclusive sense of a description of the world which is more or less consistent internally and of which the major dimensions are considered to be:

1. assumptions about human nature,
2. assumptions about economy and society,
3. assumptions about social change and the future,
4. assumptions about the relationship between man and nature. (18)



It will perhaps be valuable at the outset to outline some of the difficulties involved in any analysis of the development of Howard's thought and its influences. The first and most serious is that one of the major sources normally available to any student concentrating on the works of an historic figure is totally lacking. Howard's personal papers had been promised to Sir F.J. Osborn, long time president of the Garden City Association, but before they could be examined, they were inexplicably burned by Howard's wife. The few papers and pieces of correspondence which survive, as well as some pamphlets written before To-morrow, are available in the Hertfordshire County Archives and the Letchworth Museum, England.

The two attempts at biographies, Dugald McFadyen's Sir Ebenezer Howard and the Town Planning Movement (19) and John Moss-Eckhardt's Ebenezer Howard: An Illustrated Life (20) are both uncritical and almost worshipful. Though both are confused in thought and style, they do contain useful information on Howard's early life.

With the exception of the second edition of his work, Garden Cities of To-morrow, Howard's own writings have gone largely unexamined. The small but significant changes between this second edition and the original

To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform have been overlooked, while the articles, speeches, and pamphlets are, except for a short article in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners by Stanley Buder, virgin territory. (21) In short, while the absence of Howard's personal papers lends some difficulty to the task, the wealth of other, largely unexamined material provides the opportunity for a new and perhaps more solidly based evaluation of Ebenezer Howard's contributions.

NOTES

1. The Architect and the City, Marcus Whiffen, ed. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966) p.148.
2. The Oxford English Dictionary lists the first use of the term in 1906 in The Official Report of the Housing Deputy to the Prime Minister.
3. The Modern City: Planning in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Braziller, 1969) p.7.
4. (London: Swann & Sonneschein, 1898)
5. Geoffrey Barraclough, An Introduction to Contemporary History (London: C.A. Watts, 1964) pp.9-12.
6. (Oxford: G.T. Foulis, 1972) p.119.
7. The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York: Random House, 1961) p.8.
8. Humphrey Carver, Cities in the Suburbs (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962) p. .  
Despite the overwhelming praise, Howard would have been horrified by Carver's statements, most especially to the use of the plan to "...realize a realtor's dream in the suburbs." see below, Chapter IV. Cf. Ivor dewolfe's review of Jane Jacobs' work in The Architectural Review (Feb., 1963) pp.91-93., in which he recommends Death and Life of Great American Cities as "... a book which is a must for all those who believe the urban consequences of those odd bedfellows, Ebenezer Howard and leCorbusier, to be the spawn of the devil working through his chosen vessels."
9. Preface to Garden Cities of To-morrow (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1965) p.9.
10. D.L. Foley, "British Town Planning: One Ideology or Three?" British Journal of Sociology, Vol XI, no.3. (September 196 ) p.211.

11. Cities in Flood: The Problem of Urban Growth (London: Faber & Faber, 1951) Self calls the umpire role " a poison in the heart of the planning machine," and calls for an end to any pretense of planning being neutral or value free. (p.174.)

12. There have been several other attempts at developing a classificatory system besides this one by Foley, but they can generally be reduced to three categories similar if not identical to this one. Cf. Reiner, The Place of the Ideal City in Town Planning and Choay, The Modern City: Planning in the Nineteenth Century.

13. The Ideal City in its Architectural Evclution (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959) p.141.

14. For a further discussion of this point, what sociologists have called the "social location of thought," see Berger and Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966) pp.1-2 .

15. E.H. Carr, What is History? (London: Macmillan, 1961) p.22.

16. Frederik L. Polak, The Image of the Future (New York: Oceana, 1961) pp.36-37.

17. "Contradictions in Planning" Official Architect and Planner, Vol 32, no.1 . p.1181.

18. Cf. Wendell Bell et al, "A Paradigm for the Analysis of Time Perspectives and Images of the Fature" in W. Bell and J.A. Mau, Sociology of the Future (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971).

19. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1933)

20. (Aylesbury, England: Shire Publications, 1973)

21. "Ebenezer Howard: The Genesis of a Town Planning Movement" Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol 35 (Nov. 1969) pp.39 -398.

## CHAPTER II

### ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

The great cities of the world have become loathsome centres of fornication and covetousness--the smoke of their sins going up into heaven like the furnace of Sodom and the pollution of it rolling and raging through the bones and the souls of the peasant people around them.

John Ruskin (1)

In Chapter Ten of Garden Cities of To-morrow, "A Unique Combination of Proposals," Howard summarizes the essential features of the garden city scheme as follows:

My proposal is that there should be an earnest attempt made to organize a migratory movement of the population from our overcrowded centres to

sparsely settled rural districts; that the mind of the public should not be confused, or the efforts of the organizers wasted in pre-mature work on a national scale, but that great thought and attention shall be concentrated on a single movement ...that the migrants shall be guaranteed (by making suitable arrangements before the movement commences) that the whole increase in land value due to their migration shall be secured to them; ...and that the golden opportunity so afforded...shall be availed of in the fullest manner, by so laying out a Garden City. (2)

There are then three aspects to Howard's vision:

1. The recognition of a problem; the overcrowding, congestion, crime, poverty, and high mortality<sup>rate</sup> of the nineteenth century industrial city.
2. A solution; the dispersal of population from London and the new industrial cities of the north to his garden cities.
3. A method for achieving his goals; the nationalization of rural land for the building of such new communities, beginning with a small scale exemplary model on the land acquired.

The three following sections of this chapter will take up the development of Howard's thought in terms of these three aspects of his scheme.

THE PROBLEM OF GREAT CITIES

Writing in 1899 and looking back over what he considered the central issues of the preceding century, the American sociologist, Adna Weber concluded that:

...the concentration of population was now recognized as the most remarkable social phenomenon of the present century... The tendency towards concentration and agglomeration is all but universal in the Western world. (3)

Over the course of the century a new order of human settlement had been created, it had become an "age of great cities." (4) Not only was the overall increase in the British population overwhelming, doubling itself in the first 50 years of the century, and again doubling by 1918, but throughout the period towns were absorbing an increasing percentage of the growing population. By 1891, 72.5 per cent of the British population was classed as urban. (5)

The rise of great cities, the transformation of Britain from a predominantly agricultural nation in 1800 to a predominantly urban one in 1900, was a profound social reorganization which generated controversy from its very beginnings and continues to do so today. (6) It has been argued that British culture

throughout this period had an anti-urban bias, but the city has always had boosters and admirers, even if the opponents of the cities seemed at times the majority. Asa Briggs provides perhaps the best assesment of contrasting reactions to the new cities in his Victorian Cities where he writes:

To some of them this was a matter of pride--cities were symbols of growth and progress: to others the spread of cities and the increase in their numbers were matters of concern, even alarm. (7)

This "question of great cities," of course, overlapped with other areas of controversy, especially concerning industrialism and poverty, but it appears to have had a separate existence and continuity of its own throughout the century. Howard's conception of the urban condition of his time thus follows a century of ongoing debate over the question and marks a comparatively late stage, in fact, it will be argued below, a transitional stage from a Victorian to a modern view.

Before 1800, the city was usually identified with excess rather than the poverty and degrading conditions with which it was to later become identified. Cities were considered dangerous in that they had the power to



influence for ill the moral values fostered by country life. William Cowper, in The Task, acknowledges the cultural dominance of the city:

And genial soil of cultivated life  
thrive most,  
and may perhaps thrive only there,

but condemns its corrupting influence:

In cities foul example on most minds  
Begets its likeness. Rank abundance on  
Rank abundance breeds in gross and  
pampered cities sloth and lust, And  
wantoness and gluttonous excess. In  
cities vice is hidden with most  
ease. (8)

It is also from The Task that the famous epigram, "God made the country, but man made the town," is derived as well. Thus at the beginning of the nineteenth century rural life provided the social norm. (7)

The first third of the century saw the emergence of a new understanding of the city, and a new kind of city. The provincial city of the north grew to a size only London had achieved before. Two eminent visitors to the Manchester of the 1830s, Benjamin Disraeli and Alexis de Tocqueville, illustrate well the emerging new sensibilities. Disraeli, speaking through the protagonist of his novel Coningsby, describes the city, exclaiming:

Certainly Manchester is the most wonderful city of modern times! It is the philosopher alone who can conceive the grandeur of Manchester, and the immensity of its future. (10)

de Tocqueville, visiting the city in 1835, remarked:

Here humanity attains its most complete development and its most brutish; here civilization works its miracles and civilized man is turned back almost into a savage. (11)

Neither comment is untypical of the many visitors, both British and foreign, for whom "...the comprehension of Manchester was a central part of their social education." (12)

By the 1830s, fairly distinctive Whig and Tory attitudes towards urbanization had emerged. For most of the century the Liberals defended the large cities, where they saw the base of their support as lying. They pointed to the importance of urban industry to the national prosperity, and stressed the growing wealth and comfort enjoyed by large numbers. Tories, on the other hand, rejected the Liberal stress on material advance, and saw instead the breakdown of community and morality and the increasing poverty and destitution which seemed inseparable from city life. The main lines of argument for the remainder of the century are thus clear.

The most influential writings of this time were the official and unofficial reports of such men as John Kay, Peter Gaskell, and Edmund Chadwick, whose revelations of insanitary conditions and high morbidity and mortality rates sparked the rise of the public health movement. This movement was acceptable to the Liberals in that it rested on the idea that the conditions of the poor could be alleviated without the need for interference in the economic system; it stressed activity to suppress nuisance rather than provision of positive social action. "The evils effecting the working classes," wrote John Kay, "so far from being the necessary results of the commercial system, furnish evidence of a disease which impairs its energies." (13)

Hobsbawm, among others, has drawn attention to the relationship between the boom and bust cycles of economic development and periods of social unrest during this period. (14) Generally hard conditions in the 1840s, and the heightened alarm and controversy which attended the rise of Chartism, gave way to a period of relative optimism and social harmony in the 1850s with increased prosperity and expansion of trade.

This is the "age of equipoise," the time when, if at any time, the "myth of Victorian smugness" applied. (15) Criticism of the city lost much of its edge and preoccupation with the social question declined. Chamberlain's civic gospel marks perhaps the highpoint of confidence in the industrial city and represents a growing faith in the ability of cities to transform themselves.

We arrive now at the the 1880s and '90s, two decades during which Howard conceived and wrote To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform. By the beginning of the 1880s the expansion of German and American Industrial capacity to levels competitive with Britain brought on the so called "Great Depression," and with it an end to the faith in continuing economic expansion. Up to this time the British intellectual could still see, "...the image of a great city rising up before us as the very symbol of civilization, foremost in the march of improvement, a grand incarnation of progress." (16) Laissez faire economics seemed still to be:

...the most beautiful and wonderful of the natural laws of God. ...the supposed concentration on economic selfishness is simply to fulfill the

command of the Creator. (17)

But by the '80s the argument that unrestrained economic growth could, without intervention, solve the problems of cities, had begun to wane. Forty years of expansion and stability had not eliminated high mortality, poverty and squalor, nor appreciably uplifted the moral tone of the masses. The limitations of self-help and voluntarism were becoming clear, and there was a move to intervention in and restraint of the market. The liberal economist J.A. Hobson, for example, writing on The Evolution of Modern Capitalism in 1894, asserted that:

This rapid appreciation of the economics of centralized production, heedless of all considerations, sanitary, aesthetic, moral, found a hasty business expression in the huge hideous conglomerations of factory buildings, warehouses and cheap workmen's shelters, which make the industrial town. The requirements of a decent, healthy, harmonious individual or civic life played no appreciable part. (18)

The old arguments between Whig and Tory about the problem of cities were undermined. Progressive Liberals, especially under the influence of permeation by the left, became disenchanted with the industrial city and, with Chamberlain's influence still strong, were flirting with municipal socialism. (19) Tory

criticism, though it had not remained as vocal as previously during the prosperous mid-century, had remained strongly against the city. The emerging socialist position on the subject was essentially similar: the city embodied the values of capitalism and therefore its social ills were inseparable from its very existence. There was, in fact, a prevailing view that poverty, disease, crime, and mortality were inseparably linked with the industrial city, and this view, with certain reservations, was shared by all parties. Over this period, then, a broad consensus on the problems of industrial urbanism emerged.

The problem of the city was so generally recognized by the time that Howard was writing that, though he despaired of men ever agreeing on, "...a single question having a vital bearing on national life and well being," he asserted that:

There is however a question in which one can scarcely find any difference of opinion. It is well nigh universally agreed by men of all parties, not only in England but all over Europe and America and our colonies, that it is deeply to be regretted that people should continue to stream into the already overcrowded cities, and should thus further deplete the country districts. (20)

In his preface to To-morrow, Howard cites a wide range of contemporary writers on the ills of city life. This, from Lord Roseberry, then chairman of the London County Council, is typical:

I am always haunted by the awfulness of London.... sixty years ago a great Englishman, Cobbett, called it a wen. If it was a wen then, what is it now? A tumour, an elephantiasis sucking into its gorged system half the life and the blood and the bone of the rural districts. (21)

It is interesting to note, in light of Howard's thesis, that the conclusion to Cobbett's comment was: "How is this wen to be dispersed? None know if it is to be done by the knife or caustic, but dispersed it must be."

The other aspect of the problem to which Howard addressed himself, and one which is often overlooked, was the depopulation and impoverishment of the countryside. This aspect of the changing urban-rural relationships of the nineteenth century is well detailed in John Saville's Rural Depopulation in England and Wales, 1857-1951. (22) During the 1880s the new problem of agricultural depression brought this home to the populace at large. Howard, in his introduction to To-morrow, cites a number of commentators on this phenomenon and refers especially

to a series of articles in the Daily News entitled "Life in our Villages." (23)

The city came to be seen as a kind of social pathology, a malignant tumour on the face of the countryside. Petersen's "The Ideological Origins of Britain's New Towns" details the changing attitudes of the educated classes towards the city, concluding that, "...the literary works that Englishmen study in school and, as adults, read for pleasure, almost all speak with one voice, saying that cities are evil." (24) The Whites' The Intellectual Vs. the City (25), and Schorske's "The Idea of the City in European Thought," (26) give detailed accounts of nineteenth century attitudes, European and American as well as British, to the new cities of the age. Most conclude, along with Petersen, that not only Howard, but the entire century was characterized by a "century of anti-urban animus." (27)

Anti-urbanism has become a critical commonplace in discussion of the Victorian city. For our purposes here, however, it tends to obscure some of the important differences both over the course of the century and among even the strongest critics. There



certainly were in the Victorian era strong literary reactions against the city, but as Leo Marx, for example, points out, these "ignore the conventional metaphoric character of the urban-rural contrast, its long history in western thought, miss the subtle ways in which that bias is often qualified, and most important, they miss its deeper meaning." (28) The reactions against cities are not baseless or purely psychological, nor do ideas and metaphors of city life grow without relation to the actual objects they describe. For, Marx continues:

...the apparent animus is usually directed not against the city itself, ie. the city as actual physical environment, but rather against the system of values which the city within a specific historical and cultural context has come to represent. (29)

It was not a romantic rejection of cities, nor a flight from the realities of industrialization which motivated Howard's analysis, but a hatred of what he saw as the extreme social costs of cities in the particular form in which they then existed. His feelings about the city was characterized not by animus, but by a thorough enjoyment of civic life. He describes his reaction on returning to London after a stay in the country:

A strange ecstatic feeling at such times often possessed me. The crowded streets--the signs of wealth and prosperity--the bustle--the very confusion and disorder appealed to me and I was filled with delight. (30)

Indeed his garden city plan was developed explicitly "...so that the advantages which a large city presents in the higher forms of corporate life may be within the reach of all." (31) It is not that the city per se was evil, but that inequality of access to its manifest attractions seemed built into the very nature of the existing type of city.

As noted above, Howard's relationship with various political and social movements of the time has gone largely unexamined. His conception of the city and its problems has been attributed to a fog of anti-urban bias which blanketed the whole of the nineteenth century or, in contrast, it has been completely divorced from the Victorian debate over urban reform. His position was, in fact, typical of the groups to which he belonged, and to two in particular, the Nationalization movement of Edward Bellamy and the Land Nationalization Society of Henry George. (32) Far from being the liberal that most writers have labeled him, Howard's ideas on city life owe most to the socialist

movement, especially the American movement as represented by Laurence Gronlund and later Edward Bellamy. (33)

Gronlund considered himself a communist, though he disagreed with Marx and other European socialists on the ideas of class-struggle and revolution. His Co-operative Commonwealth marks the first attempt by an American socialist to write an analysis of Marxism. In it he presents a view of the city which, though it agrees with Ruskin and many of the other opponents of the industrial city in many ways, takes a turn which was typical of some factions of the socialist movement. "The present relation of city to country," Gronlund writes:

...is an abnormal one. Every civilized country with its overgrown cities may be fairly compared to a man whose belly is steadily increasing in bulk out of all proportion to the body and whose legs are constantly growing thinner. (34)

So far the assesment parallels most late Victorian applications of disease metaphor to description of the city, but he continues:

The evolution is as yet perfectly legitimate. Our large towns and cities are the necessary fruits of our industrial system and are destined to

become the needed and inevitable centres for the coming changes; in their hands will chiefly lie the threads of destiny. But then their purpose will have been fulfilled. (35)

There are two important aspects of this interpretation that distinguish it from both the liberal and conservative views; the first is the idea that urbanism and industrial capitalism are functionally linked, and the second is the view that the existing city was a necessary, though transitory stage in a process of evolution.

Gronlund's work was a major influence on Bellamy, who was in turn acknowledged to be a major inspiration to the garden city idea. Gronlund even ordered the sale of The Co-operative Commonwealth halted in order to push the sale of Bellamy's Looking Backward. (36)

These two aspects of Gronlund's theories illustrated in the above quotation, evolution and the inter-relationship of capitalism and the industrial metropolis, are strongly displayed in Howard's work. He asserts that:

These crowded cities have done their work; they were the best that a society largely based on selfishness and rapacity could construct, but they are

in the nature of things entirely unadapted to a society in which the social side of our nature is demanding a larger share of recognition. (37)

Both the conception of the city as an essential outgrowth of the values of the dominant culture, "the best that society...could construct," and the kind of social evolutionary theme this idea represents are foreign to the liberal interpretation of society, though they do bear some relation to conservative views. Even such an enlightened liberal as J.A.Hobson, saw reform as requiring only an adjustment of the industrial system, not a complete structural change:

The true reform policy is not to destroy the industrial town but to breathe into it the breath of social life, to temper and subordinate its industrial and machine-goods producing character to the higher and more complex purposes of social life. (38)

Howard, in contrast, believed that a change in the very basis of society was imminent, and that the nature of cities would change radically with the changed social relationships. "The reader," Howard cautions:

...is therefore, earnestly asked not to take it for granted that the large cities in which he may perhaps take a pardonable pride are necessarily, in their present form, any more permanent than the stage coach system which was the subject of so much admiration just at the very moment when it was about to

be supplanted by the railways. (39)

Once it is realized ,Howard argues, that there exists this inseparable relationship between a society and the landscape it creates, and that society is poised on the threshold of its next evolutionary stage, a complete transformation of the existing landscape is inevitable. The only issues remaining are, how quickly and with how much difficulty and social disruption the needed changes will occur. Howard concludes that:

The simple issue to be faced and faced resolutely, is: Can better results be obtained by starting on a bold plan on comparatively virgin soil than by attempting to adapt our old cities to our newer and higher needs? Thus fairly faced, the question can only be answered in one way; and when that simple fact is grasped the social revolution will speedily commence. (40)

THE SOLUTION: THE GARDEN CITY

The twin problems of urban overcrowding and rural depopulation could not be solved, Howard judged, by any alteration or improvement to existing cities but only by "...starting on a bold plan on comparatively virgin soil," that is, by the construction of an entirely new form of settlement, the garden city. The basis for this new form of city is initially presented through the metaphor of "the three magnets." (See Figure 1) The town and the country are regarded as two sources of attraction, each with its own strengths and weaknesses, and each trying to draw the population to itself.

The town magnet offers, Howard wrote:

...the advantages of high wages, opportunities for employment, tempting possibilities for advancement ...its social opportunities and its places of amusement are very alluring.... The well lit streets are also a good attraction.(41)

But these are largely counterbalanced by:

...high rents and prices...excessive hours of toil, distance from work and the "isolation of crowds."(42)

For every advantage that the city possesses, there is a corresponding set of drawbacks. The holds true as well for the county magnet which, Howard writes:

...declares herself to be the source of all beauty and wealth; but the town magnet mockingly reminds her that she is very dull for lack of society, and very sparing of her gifts for lack of capital...long hours and lack of amusements forbid the bright sunshine and pure air to gladden the hearts of the people. (43)

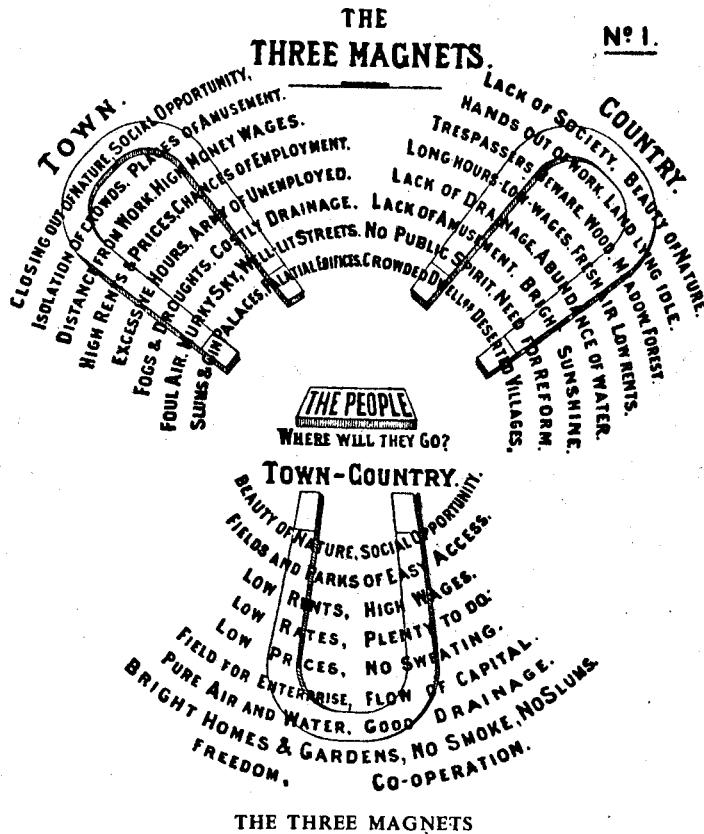
Neither alternative, town or country, offers for Howard the conditions of a full and healthy life, each is in its own way deficient in some essential quality of life. There are, he argues:

...not only, as is so constantly assumed, two alternatives-- town life and country life--but a third alternative, in which all the advantages of the most energetic and active town life with all the beauty and delight of the country may be secured in perfect combination. (44)

This third alternative is "Town-country" which, as is indicated in Figure 1, provides all the advantages of both city and country life with none of their attendant drawbacks. The task that Howard sets himself with the garden city proposals is the construction of a completely new magnet, "so that the force of the old attractions shall be overcome by the force of the new attractions that are to be created." (45) In answer to the question,



Figure 1



In this famous diagram Howard presents his ideas on the correct principles of urban growth. The town and the country are presented as alternate forces attracting the population. Howard's scheme calls for the creation of a third alternative, town-country, which possesses the advantages of both and the drawbacks of neither.

Source: Garden Cities of To-morrow, p.46.

"The People, where will they go?" posed in his diagram, the answer must obviously be, to the magnet with the strongest force of attraction town-country. "Town and country," wrote Howard, "must be married and out of this joyous union will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilization." (46) Human society and nature are meant to be enjoyed together.

Howard has long been identified as the originator of this third alternative solution to the problem of industrial urbanism. Jack Klein, for example, writes that:

Howard was probably the first person to identify the possible middle ground which he called "town-country" as an alternative to the polarized choices then existing in either town or country. (47)

The attempt to reconcile industrial production and a healthier physical environment was, however, in no way new with Howard, but represented a characteristic late Victorian response to the problem of great cities. Members of most parties believed that some entirely new pattern of urbanization was required. Charles Kingsley, who exerted a strong influence on Howard, concluded in 1881, "after years of thought," that the only remedy for:

...the worst evils of city life was a complete interpenetration of city and country, a complete fusion of their two modes of life and a combination of the advantages of both, such as no country in the world has ever seen. (48)

In order to trace the evolution of this type of solution to problems of industrialization and urbanization, it is necessary to distinguish between two different but parallel social movements which were effecting patterns of settlement in the nineteenth century, the construction of model villages and housing estates, and the establishment of new industrial villages.

The village ideal had, as Ruth Glass argues, always been a strong component of English life. (49) Success and the good life were associated for many with an essentially rural life style, as represented by the image of the country house. In the nineteenth century a pattern of development, detached houses set in gardens and arranged on an informal ground plan, emerged to provide the expanding middle classes with a kind of surrogate country estate. Although the first examples were constructed in the '80s, the exclusive residential suburb began to proliferate in the '80s and '90s. The character of these villages was completely residential and based on class selection. They were not intended as

alternatives or solutions to the problems of the industrializing cities, but as retreats for the middle classes who worked in those cities. (50) A typical example of this kind of development is the suggested garden village at Ilford in Essex put forward in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine for December 1848. The scheme stressed air and space, shrubbery and gardens, schools and churches, and self-contained cottages in a group not too large to deprive it of country character nor too small to reduce social intercourse. The numbers involved were to have been in the order of five or six thousand. The scheme was commercial and appealed explicitly to "the professional classes." (51)

The type of proposals put forward by Howard and others was, on the contrary, aimed specifically at coping with the demands of the new industrialization and its effects on all classes. The picturesque villages, such as the one in Ilford, or Bedford Park in London, rejected industrial production and represented a middle class paradise, essentially a flight from the realities of the expanding cities, while the industrial villages attempted, with whatever degree of success, to meet the problem head on.

The first discussion of a "town-country" type of alternative appears to have been by Robert Owen who, New Lanark behind him, addressed a meeting, in June 1818, on the topic of "Village Settlements According to New Principles." Owen visualized a series of settlements with a maximum of 2,000 inhabitants, each village situated within easy travelling range of a group of similar communities so that:

...they will be found capable of combining within themselves all the advantages that city and country residence now afford without any of the numerous inconveniences and evils that necessarily attach to both these modes of society. (52)

Followers of Owen, Fourier, and Cabet founded a number of colonies both in Europe and the Americas during the 182s and 3s, and at the midpoint of the century, the Chartists began several industrial villages south of London. The 1860s and '70s saw few new industrial colonies, but with the '80s and '90s there came a sudden renewal of this kind of activity. (53) Up until this period the idea of a marriage of industry with small scale community social organization remained the preserve of an essentially small and isolated group of individuals, chiefly followers of Owen. In the 1880s, however, it began to be stressed by a much wider group of

reformers and radicals, many of whom were opposed to industrial capitalism and the kinds of cities they saw it as generating.

The anarchist movement, for example, was against any idea of large scale industry, mass production, or mass consumerism, and advocated a society based on small units. In his article "The Evolution of Cities" in the Contemporary Review of 1895, Elisee Reclus, the French geographer and anarchist polemicist, wrote that, "...the normal development of great towns, according to our modern ideal, consists, then, in combining the advantages of town and country life." (54) Peter Kropotkin's Fields, Factories, and Workshops proposes, in general outline, the same system of industrial villages as the garden city movement. (55)

John Ruskin, essentially a conservative critic of industrialization, and a writer greatly admired by Howard, was possibly the most important contributor to the spread of this vision. The image of a new environment put forward by Ruskin captured the imagination of the popular reform movements of the time. At the head of the first chapter of To-morrow, Howard placed the following quotation from Ruskin's Sesame and

Lilies:

Through sanitary and remedial action in the houses that we have; and then the building of more, strongly, beautifully, and in groups of limited extent, kept in proportion to their streams and walled round so as to be no festering and wretched suburb anywhere, but clean and busy streets within and the countryside without, with a belt of beautiful garden and orchard round the walls, so that from any part of the city perfectly fresh air and grass and sight of far horizon might be reachable in a few minutes walk, this is the final aim. (56)

This vision was extremely powerful and echoes through the writings of conservative, socialist, and anarchist critic alike. Ruskin's influence on the development of town planning thought cannot be underestimated in that his writings, both aesthetic and economic had a profound influence not only on Howard, but on William Morris, Patrick Geddes, Parker and Unwin, the architects of the first garden city at Letchworth, and on

many of the early planners and architects who delineated the bases of planning theory.

One of the most widely known visions of a transformed industrial landscape to emerge from this period was William Morris' News from Nowhere, which was, like Howard's work, greatly influenced not only by Ruskin, but by Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward. In fact, News from Nowhere was conceived as a direct rebuttal of Bellamy. In his review of Looking Backward in the Commonweal in early 1889, Morris criticized Bellamy for only doing half the job. Morris felt, like Ruskin before and Howard after him, that ridding the world of injustice and inequality must be accompanied by a drastic change in the quality of the environment. In News from Nowhere he visualizes the transformed environment under socialism:

...the difference between the town and the country grew less and less; and it was indeed this world of the country vivified by the thought and briskness of town bred folk which has produced this happy and leisurely but eager life. (57)

The parallels with Howard's "town-country magnet" are obvious.



Two further examples will help to illustrate the breadth of political belief which held this view in common. Adna Ferrin Weber, the American statistician quoted above on the "problem of great cities," argued, after concluding his monumental analysis of urbanization in the nineteenth century, that if society wanted to minimize the evils which he saw as endemic to the urban condition, it must go beyond such palliatives as model tenements, building laws, and inspection and seek wider goals. He suggested that a new form of city, one that combined the best of urban and rural life must be developed, and quotes extensively from Charles Kingsley's "Of Great Cities" cited above. (58)

Shortly after the turn of the century, H.G.Wells predicted that the great population centres of the world would disperse; the old terms "town" and "city" would become obsolete as people spread out more thinly into what he called "urban centred regions." (59)

The precise derivation of Howard's ideas in this area is difficult to trace, and he himself gives no clue to his sources of inspiration beyond the quote from Ruskin noted above, but the idea was entrenched amongst a

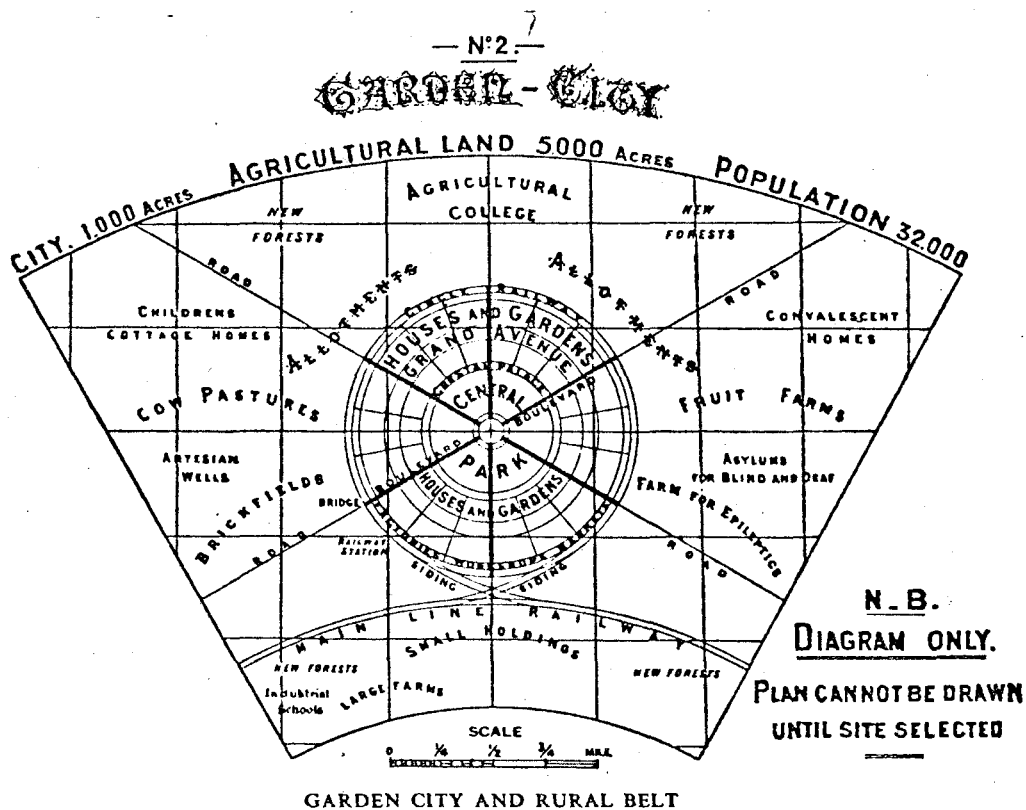
wide variety of reform groups, to many of which Howard either belonged himself or was associated.

The physical plan of the garden city as conceived by Howard is mechanical and uninspired. On an initial purchase of 6000 acres of agricultural land, a city for 30,000 residents covering an area of 1000 acres was to be built in the form of a series of concentric circles. (See Figure 2) Howard describes his diagram as "...of a circular form, 1240 yards (or nearly three-quarters of a mile from centre to circumference)." (60)

All of the town's industries are situated on the outer ring, fronting onto a circular railway which surrounds the built up area. Industry is segregated not so much for aesthetic reasons as for efficiency. The grouping together of industries allows for ease of transshipment, thus:

...effecting a very great saving in regard to packing and cartage, and reducing to a minimum loss from breakage, but also, by reducing the traffic on the roads of the town, lessening to a very marked extent the cost of maintenance. (61)

Figure 2



Howard's conception of the relationship between the city and the greenbelt sectors in his garden city scheme. The note, "N.B. DIAGRAM ONLY" did not appear in the original edition, but was added to the second edition of the book in 1902.

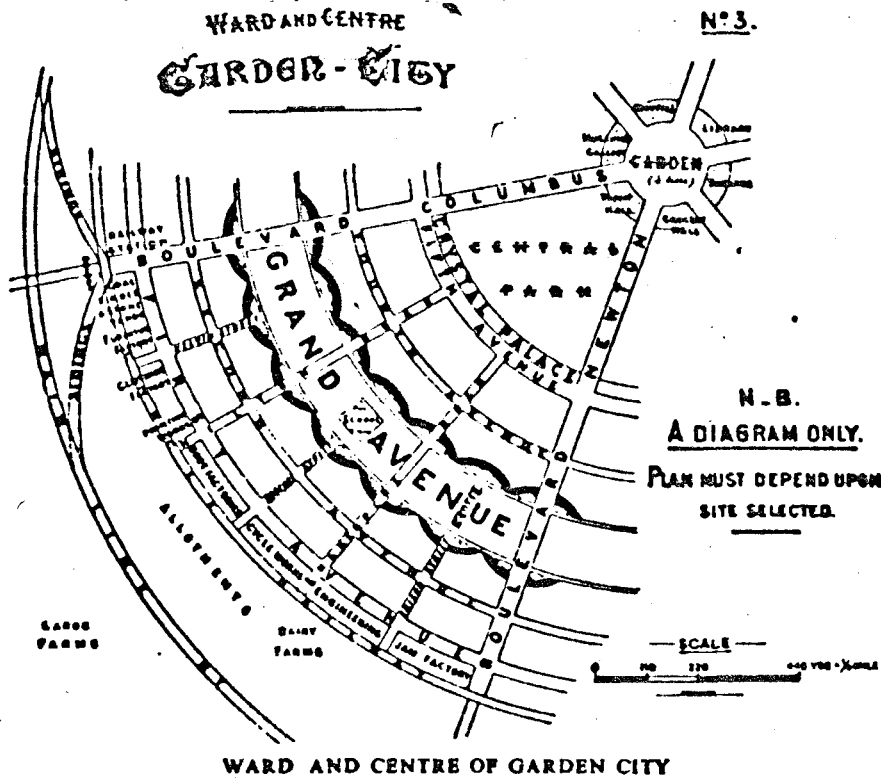
Source: Garden Cities of To-Morrow, p. 52.

The next inner ring is to be called "Grand Avenue." This avenue is fully entitled to the name it bears, for it is to be 420 feet wide. Howard notes with pride that, "Portland Place, London, is only 100 feet wide." (62) The center of the Grand Avenue contains the town's schools and churches, perhaps the least likely place to have put them.

Inward from this great triumphal parade is the "Crystal Palace," a glass and steel arcade containing the retail shops for the town as well as an enclosed winter garden. The centre of the town contains a central park of 145 acres and a final inner ring of public buildings containing the town hall, hospital, museum, concert hall, library, and theatre. (see Figure 3)

Howard attributed his design to a plan for the model town of Victoria, developed by James Silk Buckingham in his pamphlet National Evils and Practical Remedies, published in 1848. Buckingham's book provides a direct link between Howard and Robert Owen. The ideas that are developed in National Evils and Practical Remedies were derived from Buckingham's long association with John Minter Morgan in the Self-Supporting Village Society, a group whose aim was to preserve and update Owen's

Figure 3



This diagram, drawn by Howard himself, shows the essential monumentality of his design conceptions, notably in the Grand Avenue, a 420 foot wide ceremonial promenade, and the Crystal Palace, a completely enclosed commercial arcade of glass and steel.

Source: Garden Cities of To-morrow, p. 53.

ideas. (63) At a public meeting in 1846, Buckingham declared that he and Morgan agreed that Owen's scheme was practicable, and that they intended to proceed in the setting up of colonies. (64) In the plan for Victoria, Buckingham envisaged a town area of about 1000 acres, surrounded by a large agricultural estate and supporting about 25,000 people. Though he never acknowledged any direct connections with Owen's thought, Howard was indebted directly to the proposals of Morgan and Buckingham. Thus we see a direct line of descent for both the idea of "town-country" and the actual layout of garden city from Owen through the Self-Supporting Village Society to Howard.

Another precursor of the garden city was the Reverend Henry Solly's Society for the Promotion of Industrial Villages. Writing in 1884 in his *Home Colonization: Re-Housing the Industrial Classes*, Solly asserted that:

...the true answer to "The Bitter Cry" of outcast London and other great towns is to be heard in the dreary half-populated rural districts of the kingdom. The one

evil must redress the other, and the formation of Industrial Villages, on the plans recommended by the Society will, we believe, secure the object. (65)

The society's aims were the dissemination of propaganda, but despite some success, they were forced to disband because of outstanding liabilities in 1899. (66)

One of the major successes of Solly's small group was the espousal of his views by both the Nationalization of Labour and Land Nationalization Societies, to both of which groups Howard belonged. In fact, the first public presentation of Howard's views was at a joint meeting of the two groups where he spoke on the subject of a "Co-operative Commonwealth," which became the basis for his first published work and which appeared with a series of similar schemes in the land groups journal, Nationalization News. (67) The title of Howard's paper, "Home Colony," is derived from one of Solly's pamphlets.

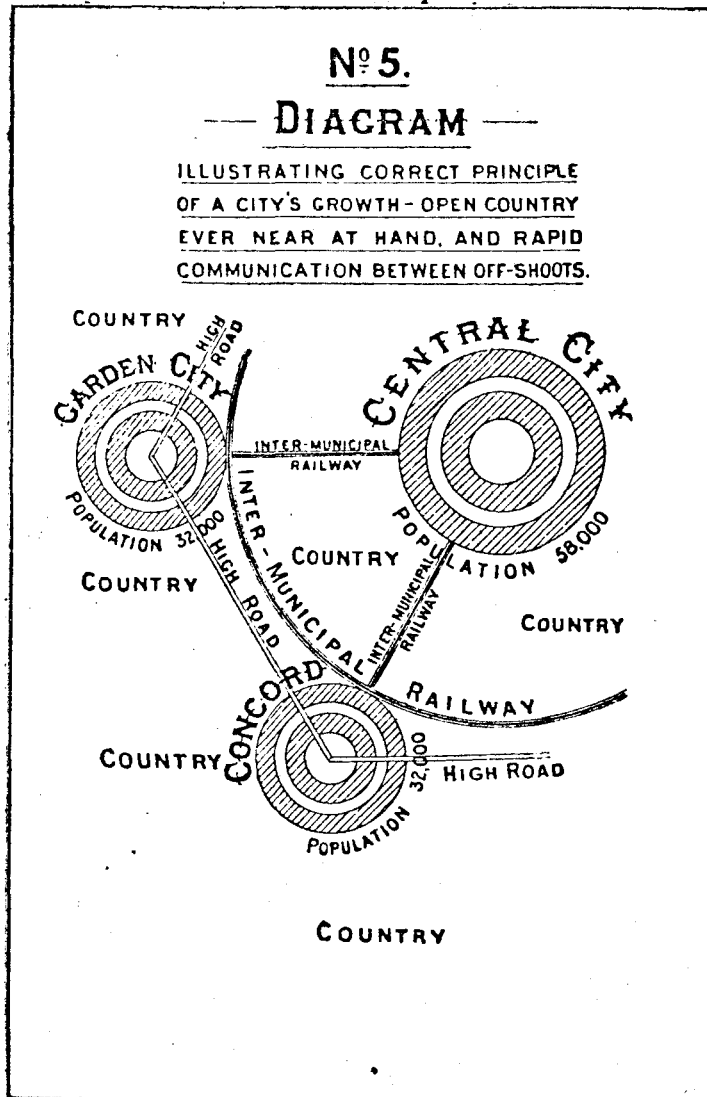
In Chapter Twelve, "Social Cities," the scheme is extended to deal with the problem of growth, and is perhaps the most original of Howard's proposals. As the original settlement expands to the the anticipated limit

of 32,000, all new growth is to be channeled beyond the agricultural belt into a second garden city. In Figure 4, below, Howard presents "...a very rough drawing representing, as I conceive, the true principle on which all towns should grow."(68) This principle, the idea of "...always preserving a belt of country around our cities would ever be kept in mind, till, in course of time, we should have a cluster of cities."(69) The concept of a limitation to the size of cities and the formation of colonies when the original community had reached a specified size was a feature of the Greek city states and was also a part of several nineteenth century model village schemes, including the Owenite settlements, Buckingham's Victoria, and Pemberton's Happy Colony.(70)

The idea of a group of cities clustered in such a way as to function as a single unit appears to be new with Howard, and oddly enough, is the feature most often overlooked when considering the garden city scheme. Though the garden city has often been characterized as representing a small town or village ideal, it was in fact designed so that "...each inhabitant of the whole group, though in one sense living in a town of small size, would be, in reality, living in and would enjoy all the advantages of a great and most beautiful city." (71)



Figure 4



This diagram illustrates the way in which the garden city deals with urban growth through the establishment of new colonies when the original settlement reaches its optimum size. It also shows the essentially urban nature of the scheme: this cluster, for example, would have a population of 250,000 and be linked closely to other similar clusters.

Source: Garden Cities of To-morrow, p. 143.

The phrase "garden city" has come to suggest a type of settlement distinguished by three main characteristics: self containment, limited size and low density, and "romantic" or organic layout. The first is true, so long as it is remembered that Howard conceived of his garden city as existing in a cluster representing a fairly large population in total.

Low density was not an essential part of the scheme. Howard specifies that the average size of building lot was to be twenty by one hundred and thirty feet, nearly seventeen houses to an acre, considerably higher than most modern suburbs. It was a later pamphlet, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*, by the architect of Letchworth, Raymond Unwin, that established low density as a goal for garden city supporters. (72) Howard saw his plan as a city within a garden rather than a city of gardens.

The third common assumption about the garden city, that it looks back to a village or small town past, what Choay calls a culturalist rather than a progressivist view, (73) is also a misconception. The geometric design, the monumentality of its features, especially the Crystal Palace and Grand Avenue, Howard's desire that in his city "...the public buildings, the churches, the schools and

*interest in*

universities, the libraries, picture galleries and theatres would be on a scale of magnificence," (74) and the preponderance of mechanical over organic metaphor in his description of his plan all indicate that the conception was not in the least nostalgic or retrogressive. The lack of historical references, typical of many "back to the landers," is also indicative of this. The characterization of Howard as nostalgic seems to spring from the actual layout of the first garden city at Letchworth designed by Parker and Unwin. Lewis Mumford suggests that:

Unwin's love for the rambling layout of medieval German hill towns was even in some degree at war with Howard's rational clarifications and forward looking proposals. (75)

THE PATH FOLLOWED UP

The third aspect of Howard's plan, the methods by which this new urban order was to be brought about, involved several interrelated endeavours. First was to be the systematic migration of excess population from the the industrial cities and London to pre-purchased sites in the countryside. This, Howard believed, would be possible for people of all classes because the initial costs of acquiring undeveloped land would be low, and because control of this land was to be kept in the hands of the community as a whole, increments in land value accruing to the people of the town and not to a landlord class. And finally, the whole scheme was to be undertaken by building an initial garden city as an exemplary model for future developments.

The idea of an organized migration from the cities to new, pre-planned colonies in the countryside is directly traceable to Edward Gibbon Wakefield's A View of the Art of Colonization which appeared in 1849, and to Alfred Marshall's article "The Housing of the London Poor," cited above. (76) Those parts of the scheme dealing with municipal control of land were derived from Thomas

Spence, Herbert Spencer, and more directly, from Henry George, while Howard's ideas on the utility of example in bringing about basic social change are a function of his overall political values, and owe a great deal to Tolstoy and the Christian Socialists.

Edward Gibbon Wakefield was a member of the British Foreign Service and a social reformer who advocated a systematic policy of colonial settlements as one solution to the problem of over crowding in the British Isles. He believed that there was , "...a want of room for people of all classes," and proposed that "...in order to prevent overcrowding here, where there is little room, we must send our whole super-abundance of capital and people to the colonies where the room for both is at all times unlimited." (77) The problem with existing colonies was that they were socially unbalanced. Wakefield complained that:

We send out colonies of the limbs, without the belly and the head; of needy persons, many of them mere paupers or even criminals; colonies made up of a single class of persons in the community, and that the most helpless and most unfit to perpetuate our national character, and to become the fathers of a race whose habits of thinking and feeling shall correspond to those which in the meantime we are cherishing at home. The ancients, on the contrary, sent out a represent-

atives of the parent state--colonisers from all ranks. (78)

For success, Wakefield maintained, a colony must therefore be systematically settled by people of all classes and occupations; it must be a complete community, mirroring the social makeup of the parent society.

The other major source of garden city ideas on settlement that Howard acknowledged was Alfred Marshall. In an article in the Contemporary Review, Professor Marshall suggested that:

Whatever reforms be introduced into the dwellings of the London poor; it will still remain true that the whole area of London is insufficient to supply its population with fresh air and the free space that is wanted for wholesome recreation. A remedy for the overcrowding of London will still be wanted....There are large classes of the population of London whose removal into the country would be in the long run economically advantageous: it would benefit alike those who moved and those who stayed behind. (79)

Marshall's plan called for industries to relocate their factories in the countryside and thus draw their employees out of the overcrowded cities, but did not deal with the problem of the social makeup of the new industrial towns. These two ideas, the organized migration out of the cities and Wakefield's suggestions

for balanced colonization, led Howard to the idea of a home colony; Wakefield's pre-planned colonization scheme applied not to New Zealand or Canada but to the British countryside.

Marshall concluded his article by stating that: "Ultimately all would gain, but most the landowners and railroads connected with the colony." (80) It was with this point that Howard disagreed most strongly with the ideas of Marshall, feeling that any gain resulting from the migration scheme must return to the settlers themselves, not to any private or commercial interests.

Howard returned from a four year sojourn in America in 1876, where he had "...already taken part in two social experiments, unsuccessfully." And, on his return, according to F.J.Osborn, "...he moved in earnest circles of Nonconformist churchmen, and less orthodox religious enthusiasts, circles overlapping with others of mild reformers who in those days were largely concerned with the land question." (81) This "land question" revolved around the inter-relationship of urban poverty and squalor and the existing system of private ownership of land, with Henry George's single tax theory and land nationalization as central issues.


Howard's involvement with the land question initially began with his attending a lecture by Henry George, who was on a speaking tour of England in 1882, and a subsequent reading of Progress and Poverty, George's best known work. While Howard's opinions on the subject gradually moved away from those of George, common ownership of land remained central to his scheme. In order to understand the land question as viewed by Howard, both as he initially conceived it under the impact of Henry George, and his final position as expressed in Garden Cities of To-morrow, it is necessary to trace this argument over the period in which Howard's ideas were being developed.

The question in the form that Howard and other land reformers expressed it arose primarily out of the debate following the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species, over the implications of evolutionary theory for conceptions of the nature of society. Ideas concerning common ownership of land had, of course, been presented before this, but with the impact of Darwin the question assumed the form in which Howard and others of the late nineteenth century came to grips with it.



Darwinian ideas were seized upon with varying degrees of enthusiasm by thinkers in almost all disciplines, but the consequences of this application of the ideas of evolution and survival of the fittest to fields outside natural history were felt most strongly in the realm of social theory. Primarily through the works of Herbert Spencer, they soon developed into a new ideology, social-Darwinism.

Initially in the endeavour to outline the full range of implications of Darwinian thought to social theory, interpretations tended to defend the status quo and to add to the attack against reformers or almost all efforts at social change. The catchwords "struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest" were taken to imply that the principles of laissez faire economics were the counterparts of the natural processes generating progress in the animal world. Struggle and hardship, whatever the cost to the bulk of mankind, meant betterment in the long run. As this body of belief took form as social-Darwinism, a group of dissenters arose who attempted to show that the social consequences of Darwin's theories could be read in radically different ways than those applied by orthodox theorists.



Herbert Spencer is generally identified with the more conservative aspects of social-Darwinism. Spencer's views on human nature and the workings of society were based on an extreme individualism, the only restraint upon a person's "freedom to do what he wills," was that "he infringes not on the equal freedom of any other." (82) He saw each individual as having "...an instinct for personal rights--a feeling that leads him to repel anything like an encroachment upon what he thinks his sphere of original freedom." (83) The consequences of this position in terms of the rights of property can be seen as an extension of this law of equal liberty. "Equity," writes Spencer, "does not permit property in land." (84) In other words, if ownership of land is not possible for everyone, principles of equity demand that it not be allowed to any individual.

Howard quotes extensively from this section of Social Statics, citing it as one of the main sources of his ideas:

But to what does this doctrine that men are equally entitled to the use of the earth lead? ...are we to be left to the management of Messrs. Fourier, Owen, Louis Blanc & Co.? The change required would simply be a change of landlords. Separate ownership of land would merge into the joint stock ownership of the

public. Instead of being the possession of individuals the country would be held by that great corporate body--society. (85)

Spencer, however, later retracted this call for common ownership on the grounds that state ownership was a irremediable evil at all times. (86) More importantly for Howard, Spencer based his conceptions on an underlying ideology of competition; common ownership of land was merely a device to clear away the impediments to equal competition by all in that great spur to progress, the struggle for survival.

Darwin's theories could be read in very different ways however. Howard, with many others, felt that evolutionary doctrines implied intra-species co-operation rather than competition, and uses the following quote from Darwin's Descent of Man to substantiate this view: "Selfish and contentious men will not cohere, and without coherence nothing can be accomplished." (87)

Two of the most important critics of Spencer's interpretation of Darwin, as well as being the two most outstanding influences on Howard in the area of land theory, were Henry George and Edward Bellamy, both of whom felt the necessity of overturning the more conservative elements of evolutionary sociology. (88)

George differed from other dissenters from the mainstream of social-Darwinism in his acceptance of the idea of competition as basic to economic life. In the concluding section of Progress and Poverty he confronts the prevalent evolutionary conservatism stating:

In this view, progress is the result of forces which work slowly, steadily and remorselessly, for the elevation of man. War, slavery, tyranny superstition, famine, and pestilence, the want and misery which fester in modern civilization are the impelling causes which drive men on by eliminating poorer types and extending the higher. (89)

Social-Darwinism fails, according to George, in that it holds that no changes can avail, except those slow changes in man's nature, when in fact changes in material conditions have a major effect on human nature themselves.

Howard gleaned much from George, chiefly that control of the land carries with it the power to influence most other aspects of social life. But he felt that George erred in placing the blame for all the evils of society on landlords as a class, and asserting that "...our landlords are little better than pirates and robbers, the sooner the state forcibly appropriates their rents the better." (90) Howard was strongly against any

change of existing conditions by force, and felt that George was making a scapegoat of landlords, oversimplifying the real nature of social causation. Despite his criticisms of George, he adds: "I hope it is not ungrateful of one who has derived much information from Progress and Poverty to write thus. (91)

The answer to Howard's disagreements with the ideas of Henry George appears to have come from the American socialist Edward Bellamy's utopian novel Looking Backward: 2000-1887. Howard describes the stimulus to action provided by Bellamy's utopia on first reading it in 1888:

The next morning I went up to the city from Stanford Hill. I realized as never before, the splendid possibility of a new civilization based on service to the community and not on self interest, at present the dominant motive. Then I determined to take such a part as I could, however small it might be, in bringing a new civilization into being. At once I called on Reeves, then in Fleet St., and suggested that he should publish an English edition of Looking Backward... Shortly afterward, and before writing my book, I joined with a few friends in discussing Bellamy's principles... Thus I was led to put forward proposals for testing Bellamy's principles, though on a much smaller scale--in brief, to build by private enterprise pervaded by public spirit, an entirely new town industrial residential and agricultural. (92)

The key phrases in Howard's statement above are, "to build by private enterprise pervaded by public spirit and ...based on service to the community and not self-interest...build a new civilization." Bellamy's novel provided a way of working gradually and without making a scapegoat of any particular class or requiring that the whole of society be changed at once, to the nationalization of land.

When Julian West, the hero of Looking Backward, awakes from a 112 year hypnotic trance to find himself living in Bellamy's technocratic utopia, one of his first reactions to the transformed society is, "Human nature itself must have changed very much," to which his host and guide, Dr. Leete, replies, "Not at all, but the conditions of human life have changed and with them the motives of human action." (93) "Selfishness," explains Dr. Leete with regards to life in the nineteenth century, "was their only science, and in industrial production, selfishness is suicide." (94) Howard was for some time a member of the Nationalization of Labour Society, as well as the Land Nationalization Society, which was closely allied with the Bellamy group and which propounded the ideas of Henry George. The declaration of principles of Bellamy's nationalist movement began:

The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of survival of the strongest and most cunning. Therefore so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system the highest development of the individual cannot be reached, the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realized. (95)

The transformation of society was for Bellamy and the nationalists, as well as for Howard, to be brought about not through revolution or forcible appropriation, but through evolutionary processes already at work. Bellamy forecast the change as arising from the activities of the capitalists themselves. He saw the general increase of monopolies, what he called "trustification," to the point where the entire productive capacity of the nation was controlled by one monster monopoly, which would in effect become the government:

The nation was organized as the one great business corporation in which all other corporations were absorbed; it became the one capitalist in the place of all other capitalists, the sole employer, the final monopoly in which all previous and lesser monopolies were swallowed up, a monopoly in the profits and economies of which all citizens shared. The Epoch of Trusts had ended in the Great Trust. (96)

There was no need for any violent or extreme actions to work the needed changes in society. The capitalist

system was changing from within. The implications of this kind of evolutionary view of social change on Howard's concepts of the kinds of social actions required to work the desired modifications in society will be discussed below in the section on models. In terms of the industrial city, the same processes are at work. Howard argues that changing conditions within society will act to produce a wholly different kind of environment:

These crowded cities have done their work; they were the best that a society based on selfishness and rapacity could construct, but they are in the nature of things entirely unadapted for a society in which the social side of our nature is demanding a larger share of recognition. (97)

The way to this new order of society was to be through the land question. Other reformers had done good work Howard asserted, but "...they have been a little slow to consider the special importance of the land question, and have thus missed the true path to reform." (98) The nationalization of land remained a central point in the development of Howard's concepts throughout the 1880s and '90s when he was writing To-morrow. He felt, in fact, that this was the central principle of his proposal:



It represents pioneer work, which will be carried out by those who have not merely a pious opinion, but an effective belief in the economic, sanitary, and social advantages of common ownership of land. (99)

How typical Howard's evolving position on social reform was of this period is shown by the comment of R.C.K. Ensor in his *England: 1886 to 1914* that "...out of Henry George, by either Bellamy or Gronlund, was a true pedigree of the convictions held by nearly all of the leading propagandists who set socialism on its feet in Britain between 1886 and 1900." (100)

The other facet of Howard's method for the transformation of English society, the creation of an exemplary model rather than the attempt at change on a more wide sweeping scale, was perhaps the most typical feature of late Victorian reform. Beginning with Robert Owen's New Lanark and continuing through Titus Salt's Saltaire, Cadbury's Bournville, the Lever family's Port Sunlight, and the many other new model villages and towns created by the industrialists, the nineteenth century could almost be called the age of models. The motivation for these new towns, not forgetting the strain of genuine philanthropy and public service that runs through the age, was often one of fear; fear that if reforms were not

instituted peacefully from above, they would come violently from below. Engels' definition of Utopian Socialism, which he had formulated four years before the publication of To-morrow to describe the kind of earnest bourgeois reformer he despised, fits Howard's methods perfectly. "It was necessary," Engels wrote, "to discover a new and more perfect social order and to impose this upon society from without by propaganda and, whenever possible, by the example of model experiments." (101)

As we have seen, Howard's political philosophy can loosely be classified as utopian or evolutionary socialism, in that he believed that a change in the basis of society was necessary and that the principles of combination and co-operation must take precedence over competition as the rationale of social relations. References to "the social revolution" or "the change" abound in his work. He believed also that the necessary changes in society had already taken place, but were prevented from being realized by the existing land tenure system and the destructive environment it created. All that was needed was to begin. "How is the change to be effected?" asked Howard, "I reply," he continued, "by force of example, that is by setting up a better

system." (102) He quotes extensively from Tolstoy's The Kingdom of God is Within You to explain the logic of this approach to change:

Human beings in their present condition may be likened to bees in the act of swarming... Their position is a temporary one and must inevitably be changed. The swarm cannot rise because one bee clings to the other and prevents it from separating itself from the swarm, so they all continue to hang. It might seem as if there were no deliverance from this position, precisely as it seems to men of the world who have become entangled in the social net... If among these bees who are able to fly not one could be found willing to start, the swarm would never change its position. And it is the same among men....all that is needed to break through the magic circle of social life, deliverance from which seems so hopeless, is that one man should view life from a Christian standpoint and begin to frame his own life accordingly, whereupon others will follow in his footsteps. (103)

The garden city was to be this first flight from the swarm, the step that broke the social impasse.

SUMMARY

The division of the garden city scheme into three separate sections--the problem, its solution, and the methods through which this solution was to be arrived at--is an artificial one developed merely for convenience of analysis. Each aspect of Howard's proposals is inseparable from the other two. The central features of the garden city grow directly from his views on the nature of the industrial city and its problems, and his beliefs concerning social change.

Howard saw social progress from an evolutionary perspective, not the social-Darwinism of Spencer but what could be called a variety of evolutionary socialism. The existing patterns of urbanization were functionally linked to the dominant modes of production, and any change in one would necessarily generate a change in the other. For Howard, human nature was already changing producing "...a society in which the social side of our nature is demanding a larger share of recognition." (104) Existing cities therefore had evolved to match a set of social relations which Howard saw as already superceded. They were suited to a capitalist society, but not to man's new nature.

Lewis Mumford in his The Story of Utopias discusses what he calls "the utopia of reconstruction," and lists several works with the same general outlines as Howard's book and published within a few years before or after To-morrow. The main feature of this type of vision was the underlying assumption, displayed strongly by Howard, that man's development was somehow constricted; he was oppressed by the existing environment. Mumford writes that:

The utopia of reconstruction is what its name implies: a vision of a better, reconstituted environment which is better adapted to the nature and aims of human beings who dwell within it than the actual one; and not merely better adapted to their actual nature, but better fitted to their possible development. (105)

The whole purpose of the garden city scheme is to produce the new environment which will allow the development of society along co-operative lines.

If changes in the nature of society are followed in an almost automatic fashion by changes in its environment the question remains, why was it necessary to actively campaign for change? The answer is again provided by his underlying political philosophy. Institutions evolve

from the life of the community and act to fill its various needs. At certain points in history, however, the institutional framework does not keep abreast of other changes in the community and become, in fact, impediments to continued social development. These are what Howard called vested interests, and include chiefly the system of land tenure and the underlying ideology of competition. Unlike the Marxists, whom he strongly criticized, Howard felt that change could be brought about by propaganda and example. Thus the creation of one model of what he saw as the correct type of settlement would break down social inertia, and lead to a fairly rapid alteration of existing conditions. In his discussion of "The Future of London," which concludes the book, he writes:

One small garden city must be built as a working model, and then a group of cities such as that dealt with in the last chapter (Social Cities). These tasks done, and done well, the reconstruction of London must inevitably follow, and the power of vested interests to block the way will have been almost, if not entirely, removed. (106)

Land nationalization applied with the common interests of the bulk of the people in mind, and in a spirit of good will was for Howard "The Peaceful Path to Real Reform."

NOTES

1. John Ruskin, Unto This Last, in The Works of John Ruskin, edited by Cook and Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1903) Vol XXXIV, p.205.
2. Garden Cities. p.127.
3. The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Macmillan, 1899) p.1.
4. The phrase "age of great cities" is borrowed from Robert Vaughn's The Age of Great Cities (1843), but was a commonplace amongst Victorian observers.
5. Weber's The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century, op.cit., provides an exhaustive and still unequalled statistical treatment of the Victorian urban experience. q.v. Eric E. Lampard, "The Urbanizing World" in The Victorian City, edited by Dyos and Wolff (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973) Vol I, pp.3-57.
6. The selection of 1800 is essentially arbitrary, even in 1800 Britain was more urbanized than any other country of that time .
7. Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1968) p.59.
8. William Cowper, The Task (1785) in The Poetical Works of William Cowper, edited by H.S. Milford (London: Oxford University Press, 1950) pp.143-44.
9. See Ruth Glass, "Anti-Urbanism" in "Urban Sociology in Great Britain: A Trend Report" Current Sociology Vol IV (1955) pp.5-19.
10. The Works of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, edited by E. Gosse (London: N. Walter Dunne, 1904) p.209.
11. Journeys to England and Ireland (London: Faber and Faber, 1958) p.108.

12. Disraeli, op.cit. p.187.
13. "The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Class Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester" in The Idea of the City in Nineteenth Century England, edited by B. I. Coleman (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973) pp.66-70.
14. Economic History Review Vol I, no.1. (1952) p.69.
15. William Petersen, "The Ideological Origins of Britain's New Towns" Journal of the American Institute of Planners (May 1968) pp.160-1.
16. "Chambers' Edinburgh Journal" (1850) cited in Briggs. op.cit. p.88.
17. Goldwin Smith, "The Laws of Political Economy" in Industrialization and Culture edited by C. Harvie et al. (London: Macmillan, 1970) pp.165-6.
18. J.A. Hobson, The Evolution of Modern Capitalism (London: Walter Scott, 1906).
19. See R.C.K. Ensor, "Permeation" in The Webbs and Their Work edited by Margaret Cole (Brighton: Harvester, 1974) pp.48-73.
20. Howard, Garden Cities. p.42.
21. ibid., p.20.
22. John Saville, Rural Depopulation In England and Wales: 1851-1951 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957).
23. Garden Cities, p.23.
24. Petersen, op.cit. p.162.
25. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).
26. In The Historian and the City edited by Oscar Handlin and John Burchard (Boston: M.I.T. Press, 1966) pp.95-114.
27. Petersen, op.cit.



28. Leo Marx, "Pastoral Ideals and City Troubles" in The Fitness of Man's Environment pp.142-3.

29. *ibid.*,

30. Stanley Buder, "Ebenezer Howard: The Genesis of a Town Planning Movement" The Journal of the American Institute of Planners Vol 35, (Nov. 1969) p.395.

31. Garden Cities. p.149.

32. For a more complete exposition of Howard's relationship to these two groups and other social reform groups of the time, see Chapter 2, pp.23-68.

33. See Howard Quint, The Forging of American Socialism (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953) for a discussion of the relationship between these organizations, especially those represented by George, Gronlund, and Bellamy. Sylvia A. Bowman, Edward Bellamy Abroad (New York: Twayne Publishing Company, 1962) for the influence of Bellamy, and to some extent Gronlund, on the British political scene.

34. The Co-operative Commonwealth (London: Swann and Sonnenschein, 1891) p.116.

35. *ibid.*

36. Quint, *op.cit.* p.30.

37. Garden Cities. p.32.

38. Hobson, *op.cit.*

39. Garden Cities. p.146.

40. *ibid.*

41. *ibid.* p.47.

42. *ibid.*

43. *ibid.* pp.47-8.

44. *ibid.* pp.45-6.

45. *ibid.* p.45.

46. *ibid.* p.48.
47. Jack Klein, "New Communities: An Historical Perspective" New Communities in Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Faculty of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo, 1976) pp.13-14.
48. Charles Kingsley
49. Glass, *op.cit.*
50. Gillian Darley, Villages of Vision (London: The Architectural Press, 1975) pp.37-43.
51. Ian Fletcher, "Bedford Park, Aesthetes Elysium" in Romantic Mythologies (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967) pp.178-9.
52. Robert Owen, A New View of Society (London: Dent, 1963) p.265.
53. W. Ashworth's The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning, Gordon Cherry's Urban Change and Planning, and Cecil Stewart's A Prospect of Cities, all do an excellent job of outlining these various schemes.
54. Contemporary Review. Vol 67 (February 1895) pp.263-64.
55. W.A. Eden, in an important article on the evolution of Howard's thought dismisses the possibility of Kropotkin having had a direct influence on the garden city scheme, while Lewis Mumford asserts that Kropotkin's influence was direct and pervasive. Eden bases his conclusion on the fact that Fields, Factories, and Workshops did not appear until after To-morrow, when, in fact, most of Kropotkin's study, along with his Mutual Aid, had been serialized in the journal Nineteenth Century between 1888 and 1891. There is a footnote in the 1902 edition of Garden Cities of To-Morrow, but this appears to have been added by the publishers, Swann and Sonnenschein, rather than by Howard himself.
56. Garden Cities. p.50.
57. (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891) p.79.
58. Weber, *op.cit.* p.475.

59. H.G. Wells, Anticipations (New York: Scribners, 1904) pp.55-6.
60. Garden Cities. p.51.
61. *ibid.* p.55.
62. *ibid.* pp.54-5.
63. Cf. W.H.G. Armytage, Heavens Below (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961) pp.209-223.
64. Ashworth, *op.cit.* p.125.
65. (London: Swann and Sonnenschein, 1854) p.3.
66. Ashworth, *op.cit.* p.138.
67. (February 1893) pp.139-40.
68. Garden Cities. pp.139-40.
69. *ibid.* p.142.
70. Robert Pemberton, (London: Swann and Sonnenschein, 1854)
71. Garden Cities. p.142.
72. (London: Town and Country Planning Association, 1912)
73. Françoise Choay, *op.cit.*
74. Garden Cities. p.142.
75. *ibid.* p.32.
76. The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield (London: Collins, 1968).
77. *ibid.* pp.792, 893.
78. *ibid.* p.815.
79. Garden Cities. p.66.
80. *ibid.* p.122.

81. ibid. p.20.
82. Social Statics. p.114.
83. ibid. p.93.
84. ibid. p.114.
85. Garden Cities. pp.123-4.
86. Justice. p.290.
87. Garden Cities. p.112.
88. According to Kropotkin, George was directly responsible for the great revival of socialist feeling that began in England during the 1880s, after the lapse since the Chartist movement of the 1840s.
89. Progress and Poverty.
90. Garden Cities. p.136.
91. ibid.
92. Dugald McFadyen, Sir Ebenezer Howard and the Town Planning Movement, op.cit. p.33.
93. Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward. pp.60-1.
94. ibid. p.244.
95. Nationalist, Vol I. Boston, 1899.
96. Bellamy, op.cit. p.56.
97. Garden Cities. p.
98. ibid. p.
99. ibid. p.
100. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936)  
p.334.
101. F. Engels, cited in M.L. Berneri, Journey Through Utopia (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950) pp.207-8.

102. Garden Cities. p.136.
103. *ibid.* p.118.
104. *ibid.* p.32.
105. (New York: Viking, 1962) p.21.
106. Garden Cities. p.159.

CHAPTER IIIIDEA AND INFLUENCE: HOWARD AND THE GARDEN CITY  
ASSOCIATION

Howard's book, under the title To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform, was completed in the mid-1890s but, at first, he could find no one to publish it. For several years Howard circulated the finished manuscript amongst his associates until, in 1898, with money loaned by friends, he published it himself.

The first public exposure of Howard's proposals was, however, five years earlier in the Nationalization of Labour Society journal, Nationalization News of February 1893, in one of a continuing series of articles under the general title of "The Proposed Home Colony." (1) These articles were solicited by the society in an attempt to

gain members' comments and suggestions about the development of 900 acres of land being considered for purchase as the site for an industrial colony. Howard's scheme, as it appeared here, was similar to most of the other submissions, and was essentially identical to the programme developed in To-morrow, but it aroused little comment inside the nationalization society and none outside.

When the proposal was finally put before the general public, as To-morrow, reviewers found it for the most part an impracticable, utopian scheme. The Times described it as, "...an ingenious and rather entertaining attempt to solve important questions, the only difficulty is to create it; but this is a small matter to utopians." The Fabian News, which could be expected to take a more sympathetic view, dismissed it as ridiculous, concluding that:

The author has read many learned and interesting writers and the extracts he makes from their books are like plums in the unpalatable dough of his utopian scheming. We have got to make the best of our existing cities, and proposals for building new ones are about as useful as would be arrangements for protection against visits from Mr. Wells' Martians. (2)

The book had little initial impact, and the Land Nationalization Society remained Howard's only source of support in the first few years following publication. Howard later acknowledged that, "... the garden city took its rise in the hearts and minds of those who were committed to the public ownership of land." (3)

On June 10, 1899, Howard and several associates founded the Garden City Association, and, as noted above, the founding members at this initial meeting were drawn almost exclusively from the board of the Land Nationalization Society. The purpose of the association was stated as, "...promoting in its main features by educational and other means the project suggested by Mr. Howard in his book, To-morrow." (4) For the first several years of its existence the association saw its function as the dissemination of propaganda, rather than independent action, and was essentially similar to such groups as the Society for Promoting Industrial Villages discussed above. Though members did speak before working class groups, their aim was explicitly directed at swaying "the responsible and respected members of the middle class." (5) Howard spoke often at London churches and discussion clubs on "The Ideal City Made Practicable," during which a good part of his



presentation was devoted to the criticism of any attempts at the improvement of existing cities, stressing that any kind of remedial action could only work to attract even more people to the overcrowded cities, compounding the problem rather than solving it.

From 1899 to 1901, the membership of the association grew slowly, and it seemed, in fact, to be dying the same death of slow attrition as so many other visionary reform groups of the time. At the end of 1901, however, two important recruits who gave new direction to the organization were added, Ralph Neville and Thomas Adams.

Neville was a prominent liberal politician and lawyer who brought important connections, both in the Liberal Party and amongst more respectable kinds of reformer such as the Lever family and the Cadburys. Thomas Adams, who later gained fame as a consultant and teacher of town planning in Canada and the U.S.A., was also associated with the Liberal Party as an organizer. Neville assumed the presidency of the association at this time, and Adams was appointed as paid secretary late in 1901.

Adams rapidly assumed control of the organization, and it appears to have been he rather than Howard who set policy and procedure for the Garden City Association. Adams wanted the association to become a professional planning group which advocated and advised on planning in general, rather than representing any particular planning vision. In a memorandum to the association's council, he promoted this new role, and implied that this meant the divorcing of the Garden City Association from too close a relationship with Howard's ideas. In this he appears to have been largely successful. Barry Parker, one of the architects of Letchworth, for example, writes in a letter to F.J. Osborn many years later:

I used, when at the offices of the Garden City Association in London, to resent the way Thomas Adams used to dominate over him and others at board meetings. (7)

With Adams directing association affairs, and Neville heading up the company which developed Letchworth, Howard was soon pushed into the background.

Adams, along with many of the other new members of the Garden City Association, including Raymond Unwin, conceived of their task in terms very different to those used by Howard. The process of structuring the

environment, urban design at a physical rather than a social level, assumed predominance over the ideology of change that had inspired it.

At the instigation of Adams a revised edition of To-morrow was issued in 1902 as Garden Cities of To-Morrow. In this new version several of Howard's original illustrations were dropped, and of the remainder, several were amended. All had the following caution added:

N.B. Diagram only. Plan cannot be drawn until site selected.(8)

At the places in the text where Howard describes the physical layout of the town, the words, "A description which is, however merely suggestive," were added in heavy type.(9) Perhaps the most important modification occurs in the section on land control and finances, where a footnote was added stating that: "The financial arrangements described in this book are likely to be departed from in form."(10) The alteration of the title, with the change in emphasis from social reform to physical planning, mirrors the changing philosophy of the organization.

With Howard playing a decreasing role in Association affairs, it became a rallying point for a growing number of architects and town planners more interested in aesthetics and urban redevelopment than in the garden city per se, or the the broad social reforms that had motivated Howard. Karl Mannheim has suggested that when confronted with reality, utopian thinking must change or be superseded. Within a few years of the founding of the Garden City Association the original set of proposals had been largely altered in an attempt to gain broader support. The question arises, then, how much can the garden city programme, as originally outlined by Howard, be modified and still reasonably keep the name garden city? There must exist some irreducible core, essential to the scheme, and without which the assumption of Howard's name becomes absurd. Returning to Howard's outline of his plan in To-morrow it is clear that to him the essential elements were, in order of importance:

✓ 1. The nationalization of land as the vehicle for the achievement of garden city.

✓ 2. The self-contained and limited nature of the towns to be built.

3. The eventual replacement of the existing urban order with a network of garden cities. (11)

With regards to the first of these core elements, the alteration of Howard's ideas began at an early point with the additions to and modifications of To-morrow. In 1902, the Garden City Association formed the Garden City Pioneer Company to seek out and secure a site, and to prepare a plan for the first projected town. By April of the next year, a suitable area at Letchworth had been acquired. Howard's scheme had demanded that the new town's title be held by a group of trustees acting on behalf of the residents, who would themselves manage the town through the election of a central council. Difficulties in raising funds, however, led Ralph Neville to establish a limited dividend company, First Garden City Limited, which had as its objective the protection of stockholders' investments rather than the good of the town's inhabitants. The new directors of this company were chiefly successful business men, half of them large industrialists. Another important facet of the programme, as outlined in To-morrow, was a system of periodic rent revisions designed to prevent individuals from gaining an unearned increment through the increased value of the land they held, but the need to attract

industry and commerce to the new town led Neville and the industrialists to offer long term leases with no provision for an adjustment. These modifications meant, in effect, that that Letchworth was never more than a shadow of Howard's original conceptions. A first model of the garden city, Letchworth, was built, but by a private company independent of the Association. In fact, this was one of the main reasons why Howard, acting on his own, purchased a site for a second garden city at Welwyn in the early 1920s.

Even so staunch a defender of Howard's original programme as F.J. Osborn, who, along with C.B. Purdom, and with Howard's approval, openly criticized the Association for abandoning its principles, conceded in a letter to Lewis Mumford that:

...the real programme of the garden city was the entirely realistic prospectus of First Garden City Ltd. In 1903 Neville and the industrialists pruned out Howard's more far reaching social idealism and fastened on his essential common sense. (12)

In other words, they removed those sections of the scheme which Howard himself considered vital, the plans for land nationalization.

The founding of Letchworth had an immediate impact on the public, but on the whole people were less interested in the fact that a new town could be established, or in the principles that the new town ostensibly represented, than in the new kinds of house design and street layout used, and in the town's low density. The term garden city, in fact, became a vogue phrase used to describe almost any kind of housing development, often bearing no resemblance or even with features directly contrary to the basic concept. Within a few years of the founding of Letchworth one writer could assert that its success forced everyone concerned with development to think in terms of garden city design, "...if some estate developers still proceed on the old lines, they apologize and make excuses for it." (13)

It was pleasing appearance and the provision of amenities which were stressed. The features of open layout and a maximum a twelve houses to an acre, which had been used by Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker in their design for Letchworth, became the central issues. (14) In the third issue of the Association's journal, Garden City, Thomas Adams wrote that the purpose of the Garden City Association was to:

...make suggestions and offer council to individuals, firms, or public bodies proposing to build houses or factories or to develop land and wishing to do so in a manner different from the usual... We are becoming better known as an association which stands for design and development as opposed to chance and chaos in urban growth. (15) 1909

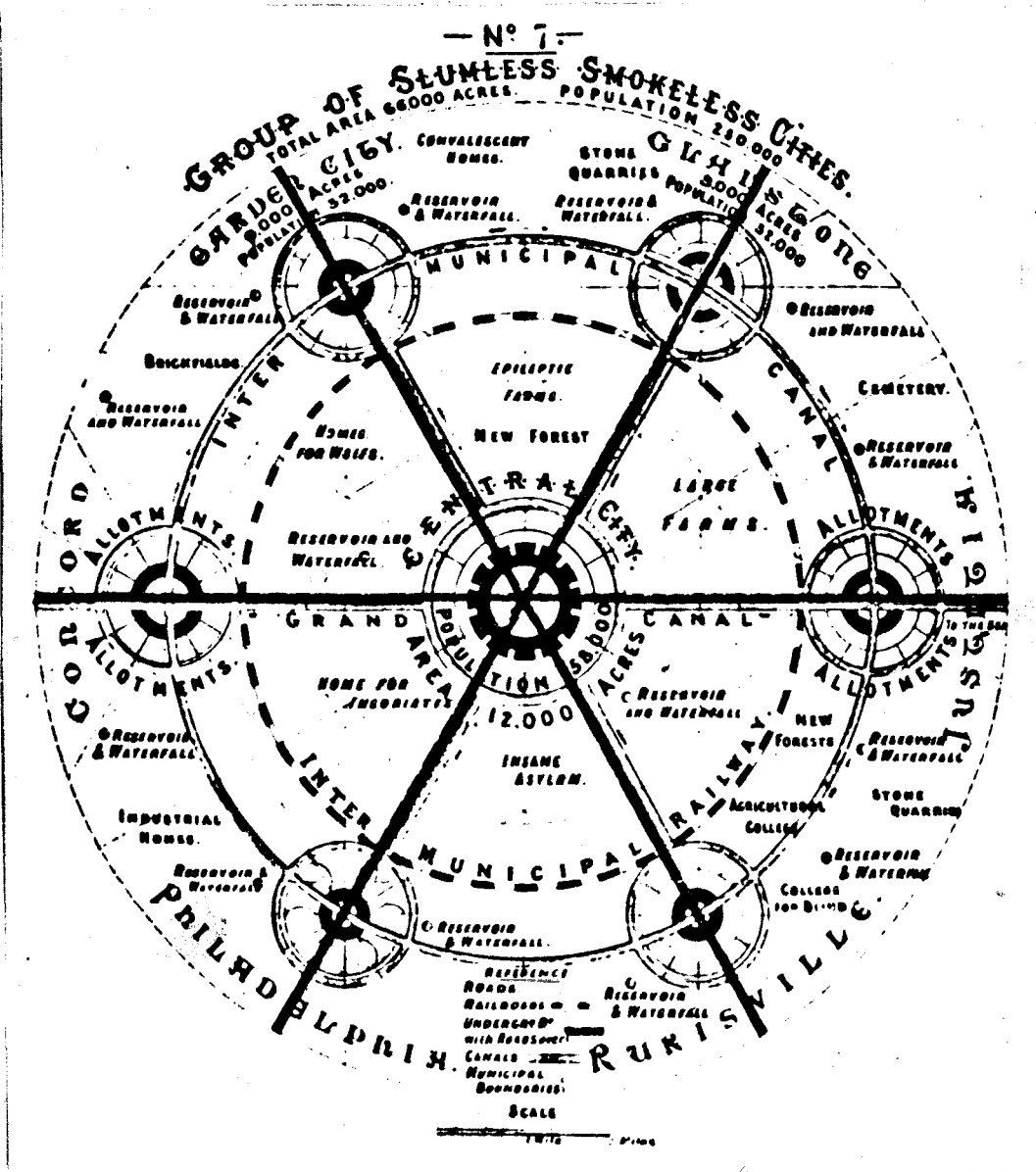
The confusion of the garden city with low density suburban development was strengthened by this increasing support by the Association of those housing schemes it considered to have design merit. To a great extent the idea of a garden city became identified more in terms of artistic criteria than social considerations. It seemed to many that if developers were persuaded to ape the design features of Hampstead Garden Suburb or Letchworth, then town planning would have achieved its victory. Thus the second key element of Howard's original scheme, the self contained and limited nature of the new towns to be created, was soon submerged beneath the design ideas of Raymond Unwin and other Association members and the developers who capitalized on the term 'garden city.' It is unlikely that most of the proponents of housing on 'garden city lines,' had even read Howard's proposals, or if they had, understood them.



Although it had been a growing awareness of the social failure of existing cities that had initially sparked the call for town planning, the emphasis both within the Garden City Association and among architects, planners, and legislators outside of it, was not on the satisfaction of social needs, but on the appearance of things. Raymond Unwin, for example, stressed that town planning's appeal was that improved design of buildings was not enough to insure beautiful towns, but that the new discipline of town planning allowed the architect to bring the buildings into true relationship with one another. (15)

The final goal of a completely transformed urban order, the third essential feature of Howard's scheme, was another early casualty in the forging of the planning movement. It is clear from the 1898 edition of To-morrow that Howard saw the clustering of garden cities (see Figure 5) as the next stage in the evolution of the urban industrial system. In a chapter entitled "Social Cities," he writes:

Let me here present a diagram representing a series or cluster of towns... The idea of a carefully planned town lends itself readily to the idea of a carefully planned cluster of



This diagram from the 1898 edition of Howard's book, illustrates what he considered to be the final form of the garden city. The population of this cluster was to be approximately 260,000, and it was to function as a single city. The diagram was omitted from the 1902 edition as too visionary even for the sympathetic reader.

Source: To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform, p.59.

towns...so that the advantages which a large city presents in the higher forms of corporate life may be within the reach of all. (17)

In contrast to this, the concept of the garden city that emerged was that of a series of small, new cities acting as satellites to large established centres of population and serving as overflow catchments. C.B. Purdom, who as a member of the New Towns Group which was founded in 1918 to push for a return to Howard's original principles, published The Building of Satellite Towns (1925), in which he stressed that Welwyn Garden City was intended from the beginning to be a satellite town to London. (18) The concept of a self-contained development was retained, if weakened, while the ideal of the eventual replacement of London and the other British industrial cities with clusters of garden cities is nowhere to be found.

This wholesale alteration of the scheme, however, did not go completely unchallenged. There was some criticism of this new direction from within the Association itself, and several members went to the attack against what they saw as the falling away from basic principles. The first of these was C.B. Purdom, who wrote:

I have very slight interest in town planning that owes its origins to the act of 1909, and frankly, I see very little that is good in the garden suburb, or 'town planning on garden city lines' ...I always regretted the day that the Garden City Association weakened its good wine with the water of town planning. Time will show, I believe, that it was a mistake. The garden city is too good an idea to be confused with inferior practices. (19)

But he was forced to admit that hardly anyone in the Association was able to keep his head and repudiate the garden suburb . (20)

In 1918, Purdom, along with F.J. Osborn and W.G. Taylor, founded a breakaway reform movement within the Garden City Association, the New Towns Group, which advocated a return to the Associations original program, and drafted, with Howard's assistance, an official definition:

A garden city is a town designed for healthy living and industry; of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life, but not larger; surrounded by a rural belt; the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community. (21)

Howard himself had little hope for the group's campaign to induce the government to take up garden cities

as a national policy, and, to the surprise of his co-workers, proceeded to buy a site for a second new town at Welwyn. The work of creating this new garden city absorbed the energies of the New Towns Group, and it soon ceased its campaign to alter either policy within the Association or to influence government action.

Thomas Adams, Raymond Unwin, and others active in the Garden City Association, were among the founders of the Town Planning Institute in 1913, and, as we have seen, all moved away from garden city principles. Also in 1913 an International Garden City Federation was established, but this too soon adopted other goals, changing its name to the International Federation for Planning and Housing. The Garden City Association itself devoted an increasing amount of its time to any scheme that it considered of value, and it became more identified with the kind of suburban development that Howard had directly attacked than with the substance of the To-morrow proposals. Howard's name virtually disappears from the literature during this period, and his actual programme was ignored or changed beyond recognition. Thomas Adams, for example, in his Recent Advances in Town Planning, makes no reference to Howard, and Raymond Unwin, in Town Planning in Practice, makes a

cursory reference but concentrates on design features. (22) By the time that new towns policy was being developed in Britain in the 1940s, the substantive content of Howard's proposals had been forgotten to such a degree that the social planner of Stevenage could tell a B.B.C. audience in 1949 that:

The policy of aiming at a 'balanced and self contained community' for a town is quite new and the methods of attaining it are still untried. (23)

By 1962, the successor of the Garden City Association, the Town and Country Planning Association, was campaigning against the original new town concept. Maurice Ash, a long time member of the executive of the Association under its various titles, wrote in a pamphlet issued by the Town and Country Planning Association in 1962:

We remain in thrall to the concept of the town... reinforced as it is by the generally accepted notion of the green belt, it has all the forceful appeal of a romantic idea... (24)

## NOTES

1. Ebenezer Howard, "The Proposed Home Colony" Nationalization News February 1893, pp.20-21.
2. The reviews cited are contained in Howard's scrapbook at the Letchworth Museum.
3. Stanley Buder, "Ebenezer Howard: The Genesis of a Town Planning Movement" Journal of the American Inst. of Planners Vol 35 (November, 1969) p.394.
4. Ibid.
5. See F.J. Osborn, Green Belt Cities (New York: Schocken Books, 1969) p.35.
6. Thomas Adams, "Relationship of Association and Company, Memorandum by Secretary, January 8, 1904."
7. Barry Parker to Frederick Osborn, august 12, 1945. Letter in the Hertfordshire County Archives.
8. Howard, Garden Cities pp.52,53,143.
9. Ibid., p.51.
10. Ibid., p.50.
11. Ibid., pp.118-127.
12. M. Hughes, ed., The Letters of Lewis Mumford and Frederick J. Osborn (New York: Praeger, 1972) p.382.
13. H. Vivian, "Garden Cities, Housing, and Town Planning" Quarterly Review CCXVI. p.497.
14. For a further treatment of the idea of "open planning," see Raymond Unwin, "Nothing Gained by Overcrowding" Garden City Association Pamphlet No. 12 (London: Garden City Association, 1912)
15. Thomas Adams, Garden City III (1904).
16. R. Unwin, Town Planning in Practice p.375.

17. To-morrow. p.149.
18. Purdom, op.cit. p.172.
19. C.B. Purdom, "A Criticism" Garden Cities and Town Planning, new series Vol IV. pp. 124-5.
20. ibid. p.125.
21. Buder, op.cit. p.378.
22. Thomas Adams, Recent Advances in Town Planning (London: A. Churchill 1932. Raymond Unwin. Town Planning in Practice (London: T. F. Unwin, 1911.
23. Charles Madge, "The Social Pattern of a New Town" Listener (Feb. 17 1949) p.267.
24. Maurice Ash, A Cloud of People (London: Town and Country Planning Association, 1962) p.7.



CHAPTER IVHOWARD'S ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLANNING THEORY

We began this study with several comments from contemporary observers illustrating the importance of Howard and the garden city plan to all town planning thought, and subsequently concluded that, within a very short time after the publication of his proposals, their central features were essentially forgotten. There exists an obvious conflict between these two conclusions, and it is one that must be resolved if we are to understand Howard's role in the development of planning theory.

Thomas Reiner in his The Place of the Ideal Community in Urban Planning develops a typology of ideal communities based on the degree to which they serve to support the existing social order or urge radical change. The three ideal types that Reiner developed are:

Type I. No fundamental societal innovations are suggested. The ideal community is a solution within the framework of current social relationships. The plan merely suggests an orderly over a chaotic environment.

Type II. Incorporates major environmental revision, so as to achieve a better life, but one which is still in accord with the fundamental values of the community.

Type III. Requires a reconstructed social system. The author either himself urges such a change or assumes that such a reorientation lies just below the surface. Given the opportunity new ways will characterize human behavior and society as a whole. This may involve a programme to remove impediments to the assertion of the new life. (1)

These three models outline the three major sub-ideologies which underlie the town planning movement,

and will be useful in our analysis of Howard's role within it since, of the various groups who have assumed the name garden city, all three positions have been held.

Howard, as we have seen, was quite clearly of the third type. His goal was the complete reconstruction of the social system and the environment it produced. The groups which supported Howard, and ostensibly pursued garden city based policies favoured, however, the first or second of Reiner's types of reform proposal.

In Chapter II the relationship of the garden city scheme to the various communitarian and reform groups was examined, and it was seen that Howard was the heir to a century long movement in community experiments. His proposals were, in fact, typical of a wide range of reformers; he assimilated the contributions of a number of theorists and produced a scheme of broad radical appeal. This was his intention, to draw together a broad range of individuals and groups with a common interest in new communities, social change, and, most importantly, land reform, into one large communitarian experiment, and in this he was largely successful.

A typical example of the kind of coalition that Howard represented is Thomas Davidson's Fellowship of the New Life, which C.B.Purdom identifies as an early influence on Howard. (2) The Fellowship was founded in October, 1893 and its aims were the dissemination of socialist ideas as well as the founding of industrial colonies. Its manifesto gives the society's aims as follows:

...it will work towards the establishment through its members, of a residential industrial settlement, on co-operative lines, by way of illustrating its ideal. (3)

In 1884 there was a split within the Fellowship over the founding of communities. This resulted in the formation of the Fabian Society to act as an intellectual pressure group, while the Fellowship carried on the work of model village formation, or as Bernard Shaw, a participant at this meeting, put it, "one to sit among the dandelions, the other to organize the docks." (4)

The Fellowship community was never successful, and when Letchworth was founded it threw its support enthusiastically behind Howard. Tolstoyans (such as J. Bruce Wallace), Ruskinians, anarchists, and Christian Socialists, all of whom were involved in such groups as

the English Land Colonization Society, The Council of Home Colonies and Rural Industries, and the Home Colonization Society, the names of which indicate their close relationship to the garden city, backed Howard's proposals and many abandoned their own often abortive efforts and relocated at Letchworth.(5) The appeal of the garden city was that its principles represented those of a wide spectrum of communitarians, offering them, "a huge experiment where minor experiments can be carried out."(6) One factor which helps to explain Howard's success was that, unlike other similar social reformers, he did not specify the exact form that social relationships in garden city were to follow. Other experimental communities had attempted to establish an essentially monolithic social system, and any split within the group generally led to dissolution. In a chapter entitled "Some Difficulties Considered," he devotes a great deal of attention to the failure of one such experiment, Topolobampo, in Mexico, and concludes that it was just this kind of attempt to impose a social monopoly that forced its degeneration into factional dispute and its eventual demise.(7) The garden city scheme, on the other hand, was to depend on voluntary associations of individuals and groups. Howard actively encouraged a variety of social proposals at various levels:

Those who have the welfare of the society at heart will in the free air of the city, be always able to experiment on their own responsibility, and thus quicken the public conscience and enlarge the public understanding. (8)

Howard himself spent most of his energies at Letchworth organizing kitchens on "Integral co-operative lines." The one principle that he held as inviolable was common ownership of the land.

As Alfred Russel Wallace, the great biologist and president of the Nationalization Society, observed at the annual meeting of that organization in 1899:

Perhaps the only proposal that goes to the root of the matter without being of such an alarming nature as to be for the present out of the sphere of the practicable is Mr. Howard's excellent plan for the establishment of Garden Societies. (9)

Howard drew together all these diverse interests into one scheme which represented, at least to some degree, the combined energy of late nineteenth century communitarian reform. In the years following the publication of To-morrow in 1898 and the first few years after the founding of the Garden City Association, the garden city was seen as a programme of radical land reform and home colonization. The platform advocated by

the Garden City Association in its early years, or by the New Towns Group under the guidance of Osborn, Purdom, and Taylor, has come to represent the popular conception of Howard's proposals. The image of a reformed environment, the small city in a garden is retained, but the social content of the garden city is reduced to some conception that small communities are less alienating and more democratic than large cities. Environmental rather than social reforms have come to be the aim.

In an attempt to gain support from the broader society, the more far reaching social theory that had been an integral part of the scheme were removed, and a divorce attempted between Howard and the garden city and any association with the reform groups with which he had such clear connections. Lewis Mumford, for example, calls the garden city plan an invention that Howard developed in complete isolation from the reform tradition. "At the beginning of the twentieth century," he writes, "two great inventions took form before our eyes: the aeroplane and the Garden City." (34) The changing of the book's original title, the removal of the words, A Peaceful Path to Real Reform, is a further attempt to separate the scheme from any taint of radicalism, especially from land nationalization. Leonard Benevolo

in The Origins of Modern Town Planning asserts that the separation of physical town planning from social and political theory occurred with the revolutions of 1848; that from this point on the social question and the problem of great cities took separate routes.(11) This may be true for European theorists, but in Britain generally, and in the work of Howard most strongly, the separation had not yet occurred. It is in the crucial years between the founding of Letchworth and the First World War that this separation becomes established.

In 1910 the Royal Association of British Architects called the first town planning conference to be held in Britain. In its conclusions it outlined what it considered should be the content of this new discipline:

For the design of the town plan, the architecturally trained mind is as essential as for the design of a single building; for the work consists in applying on a wider field and with greater scope the same principles which govern the designing of individual buildings.(12)

The RIBA was particularly influential, and their endorsement of this kind of architectural approach to town planning was a significant factor in the development of the discipline. Others, such as Raymond Unwin, stressed that the focus of town planning should be on the



bringing together of individual buildings in a harmonious relationship. (13) It was the approach of the RIBA and Unwin that emerged as town planning in practice.

Implicit in the view of those who saw planning as an extension of architecture was the belief that the growth of population, which had characterized the nineteenth century, would continue in the twentieth, and with this growth a correspondingly large number of new buildings would be needed. To be able to structure the spread of these new buildings would of course be a positive step, but even this limited goal did not go unopposed. One advocate of town planning, for example, told an audience at the University of Manchester that the ideal course would be to do nothing, but that there was, in some few instances, a need to attempt the rash game of planning in order to avert disaster. (14) The Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 gave statutory recognition to this view of planning, in that it provided the machinery for controlling new growth, but of a voluntary and extremely limited nature. It did not, for example, make provision either for the already built up areas or for the areas beyond the town's boundaries where most of the new growth was actually occurring.

The name garden city was retained by the architecturally-oriented group, but the form of application proposed was the creation of groups of suburbs around a central nucleus along the lines of Hampstead Garden Suburb or Wythenshaw. This became the policy of the Garden City Association under the direction of Thomas Adams, Ralph Neville, and the industrialists who dominated First Garden City Ltd., and rapidly replaced the conceptions of Howard in the public mind as to what comprised a garden city. Trystan Edwards, for example, a prominent advocate of planning, criticized this view saying:

The promoters of garden cities promise to their clients a rustic environment which cannot be had under the circumstances, and the attempt to maintain the fiction of rusticity, when the conditions of rusticity are absent, is responsible for a type of development which does not deserve to be called modern or advanced, but is, in effect, rank retrogression. (15)

There was, he continued, an alternative to the type of sprawling development proceeding under the banner of garden city housing:

A well arranged town, smokeless and quiet, a town which...contains a considerable population in a relatively small area; a compact town...immediately beyond which there is nature undefiled: this is an ideal which seems more

attractive than the monotonous diffusion of Garden Cities. (16)

The irony of Edwards' criticisms is that he puts forward a plan which contains all the physical earmarks of Howard's proposals, which in fact could almost be from To-morrow, as an alternative to what had become the programme of the association that Howard had founded.

We have seen in chapter three and in this chapter, above, that there was a resurgence by a faction within the Association, the New Towns Group, who felt that the movement had been sold out to the garden suburbs compromise. They campaigned for a return to at least a portion of Howard's original proposals, and were largely successful in the period following the First World War. This is the group of proposals which have survived as the "garden city" scheme, though in many important aspects they differ significantly from Howard's ideas.

There have been, then, three distinct planning ideologies which have used the name garden city and claimed their descent from Howard. The first of these was advocated by the Garden City Association before the ascension of Adams, Unwin, and Neville, and represents the programme as outlined in To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real

Reform. The garden city idea, in this view, is a programme of radical social reconstruction based on community ownership of land and sweeping environmental change. The second group claiming the mantle of garden city was the Association after 1903. They evolved from the early Association, but their policies were pragmatic and amelioristic, and essentially supportive of the existing social order. The continued use of Howard's name had the dual advantage of retaining the allegiance of the reformers and communitarians that Howard represented and amongst elected officials and influential members of the middle class. The third stance with regards to the garden city proposals was the one represented by Mumford, Osborn, and Purdom, and it is this which is generally conceived to be the garden city scheme. The spirit of this application is one of liberal reform. The environmental aspects of Howard's proposals are retained, but the underlying ideology of social change is entirely gone. The apparent paradox in Howard's reputation is thus a result of the presence of these three distinctly different interpretations of his work. The essential core of the garden city scheme was superseded at an early stage in the Garden City Association's development; it is the later combination of proposals, the ideas put forward by Purdom in The Building of Satellite Towns, or Osborn

in Greenbelt Cities, which have been carried forward and have had the continuing influence on the development of town planning that so many writers have attributed to Howard and the garden city.

NOTES

1. Thomas A. Reiner The Place of the Ideal Community in Urban Planning (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962) pp.20-21.
2. C.B. Purdom, The Building of Satellite Towns (London: Dent, 1925) "We can have little doubt," writes Purdom, "that Howard was influenced by the project made in the late eighties of the last century for a co-operative, industrial, educational, and residential settlement in the neighbourhood of London under the auspices of Davidson's New Fellowship." (p.39)
3. W.H.G.Armytage Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England, 1560-1960 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961) p.339.
4. St.John Ervine Bernard Shaw: His Life, Work, and Friends (London: Constable, 1956) p.124.
5. For a further discussion of these various groups and their interrelationships see Armytage, op. cit., pp.327-384.
6. *ibid.*, p.374.
7. *ibid.*, p.394. This aspect of the scheme is illustrative of the influence of the anarchist movement on Howard's thought. Although he makes no reference to any of their work, the influence of such writers as Kropotkin or Reclus is obvious in this chapter.
8. Garden Cities. p.104.
9. Cited in Buder, op.cit. p.394.
10. Garden Cities. p.29.
11. Translated by Judith Landry (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967).
12. Town Planning Committee, the RIBA, "Suggestions for Promoters of Town Planning Schemes" Journal of the RIBA. 3rd series, Vol XVIII. p.668.
13. Unwin, Town Planning in Practice, op.cit. p.375.

14. P. Waterhouse, "Old Towns and New Needs" in P. Waterhouse and Raymond Unwin, Old Towns and New Needs: The Warburton Lectures of 1912. p.30.

15. A.T. Edwards, "A Further Criticism of the Garden City Movement" Town Planning Review Vol IV. pp.316-17.

16. *ibid.* p.318.

CHAPTER VSUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study has been to examine the ideas and influence of Ebenezer Howard and the proposals for social and environmental reform that he put forward. The study has focused on two main areas; firstly, a re-examination of the garden city scheme in terms of other similar schemes, the political climate of the time in which it was written, and the social and economic conditions of that era; and, secondly, an analysis of the role of Howard and the garden city in the evolution of town planning theory in its formative period.

In Chapter II, above, the origins and development of Howard's ideas on urban reform were examined, and it was noted that in several important ways modern interpretations of Howard's work would appear to be biased or often incorrect. There have been two main approaches used in the analysis of the garden city scheme and its



influence: supporters of the garden city, such as Lewis Mumford, F.J. Osborn, or C.B. Purdom, most of whom were active in the Garden City Association and were interested in spreading the garden city gospel, have tended to divorce Howard's ideas from their very clear connections with various communitarian reform groups of the time and to stress the independence and originality of the scheme; opponents, such as W.A. Eden, William Petersen, or Jane Jacobs, on the other hand, have attributed garden city ideas to a naive anti-urbanism and a nostalgia from pre-industrial village or small town life.

Contrary to what many writers on town planning history, especially those directly connected with the garden city movement, have suggested, Howard's proposals are firmly rooted in the ongoing debate over conditions in the industrial city. His conception of the problems inherent in industrial urbanism, his vision of of a reconstructed society, and the means he proposed for the realization of his goals, all grew directly from his connections with various radical reform groups, notably the Nationalization of Labour Society, the Land Nationalization Society, and the Brotherhood of the New Life. Howard was a member of these and several other such reform oriented groups. In fact, there is a clear

line of descent from the ideas on community reform proposed by Robert Owen in his A New View of Society and Howard's views as expressed in To-morrow. Leonardo Benevolo, amongst others, has pointed out that modern town planning originated in the late nineteenth century as one aspect of the protest against conditions in the industrial city. In this view, planning is, "...an integral part of the general attempt to extend the benefits of the industrial revolution to members of all classes." (1) Howard saw the existing environment as an obstacle to the emergence of a new, more equitable social order. Social reconstruction was his chief aim, as it had been for Owen or Buckingham before him, and environmental reform, through the construction of garden cities, was the route to the needed changes.

Critics of the type of reform proposal suggested by Howard have often characterized them as representing an animus against progress, against the machine and the kind of landscape that machine production generates. Howard's protest, however, centred on the effects of industrialization rather than on industrialization per se. The benefits of advancing technology were generally conceded. The problem lay with the social system that subordinated man to the dynamics of production and the

profit motive. Howard's vision was not of an idyllic village life of rose gardens and cottage crafts, but of a highly efficient industrial city making use of the most advanced technology available. The suggestion that the garden city harked back to a pre-urban village dream, and as such was essentially a flight from reality, ignores both the real nature of Howard's scheme and also the wealth of statistical and medical evidence widely available at that time that showed that the industrial city was indisputably a destructive environment. Morbidity and mortality rates were significantly higher in the cities than in the villages and towns, and this held true for members of all classes. Limitation of the size of towns was thus as logical response to these figures as sewage disposal was to the problem of cholera. The garden city, then, was a progressive and rationalistic response to the social and physical conditions of the British industrial city in the nineteenth century, and was firmly based on a socialist interpretation of the industrial urban system.

The second aim of this study has been to examine the influence of Howard and the garden city scheme on the subsequent development of town planning theory and practice. Chapter III traces the history of the

movement that Howard founded, through its several incarnations as the Garden City Association, the Garden City and Town Planning Association, and, finally, the Town and Country Planning Association. As the Garden City Association grew and gained a degree of political influence in the years before the First World War, it gradually moved away from the principles that had motivated Howard. Within a short time, in fact, the core of the garden city proposals had been largely discarded, though the association continued to refer to Howard as its founder and central inspiration. The most important component of the scheme in its initial formulation was the call for land nationalization, but, as we have seen, this aspect of the plan was quickly discarded, both in the association's theoretical position, as expressed in their journal Garden City, and practically in the development of the first garden city at Letchworth. Other central features of the scheme, the limitation on the size of the new cities, and their combination into interconnected functional networks, for example, were also removed from the programme of the Garden City Association at an early stage.

Largely through the work of people involved in the Garden City Association, a professional society of town

planners was formed in 1913, and, beginning with the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909, legislation concerning conditions in the industrial town began to be enacted. As the new discipline of town planning grew in acceptance and influence, however, it gradually reduced the scope of its social aims, and became primarily aesthetically rather than politically oriented. Cut adrift from its roots in social reform, it became increasingly a purely technical matter. In this early formative period, as D.L. Foley asserts:

...its doctrines needed to provide a broad and attractive rationale for winning over and maintaining the allegiance of political leaders, elected officials, and citizens. (2)

A certain ambiguity in its underlying formulations has acted as an adaptive mechanism by which the emergent planning movement could steer a course amidst often antagonistic conditions. The Garden City Association provided a useful rallying point for a group of architects, surveyors, and social workers more interested in professional status and statutory recognition than in social reform. Succeeding groups of town planning theorists called on the name of garden city to legitimize and lend an impression of continuity to their arguments, though they often bore no relationship to the original

garden city scheme or, in fact, ran directly contrary to it. The more far reaching or radical of Howard's proposals could only act as an embarrassment in the quest for general acceptance.

David Harvey, among others, has argued that the separation of town planning from its roots in social reform leads to a basic conceptual problem in the very nature of planning as it has come to exist. (3) Harvey sees this problem as arising from an artificial separation between what he calls the sociological imagination and the spatial or geographical imagination in the analysis of the city and its problems. Either approach by itself, he argues, is inadequate in providing an understanding of urban process. Neither a purely spatial nor a purely sociological form of analysis can explain the complex functional interrelationship between a society and the landscape it builds and inhabits. What is required is a melding of the two ideas.

Historically, the separation of the sociological imagination from town planning in Britain occurred over the period we have been discussing. Howard's work represents an interface between what have become two distinct approaches to the city. In fact, one of the

main interests of Howard and the garden city scheme is that they represent, whatever their shortcomings, the last instance where an integrated socio-spatial view was the dominant paradigm in town planning.

Howard and the garden city mark the transition from a diverse group of visionaries and reformers representing a broad spectrum of the left to the essentially pragmatic and amelioristic town planning movement of today. His role in the evolution of planning was to provide what Leonard Reissman has called an organizing myth:

The function of the myth was to condense a complicated intellectual message into a shorthand which could be easily translated into action. The myth thereby became an appealing part truth, attractive for its simplicity, as are most myths. (4)

From the basis of support provided by Howard's Garden City Association, a lobbying group emerged which was highly effective in gaining acceptance for at least some of the goals that Howard had advocated. Despite the rapid bypassing of his ideas by those groups that ostensibly supported him, Howard was, for a few years, the most influential figure in British planning circles, and came to represent the whole movement for improved conditions in the industrial town.

The importance of this re-examination of Ebenezer Howard and his proposals as embodied in the garden city scheme is twofold. Firstly, it is hoped that this study will help to re-excite interest in the actual content of the garden city scheme as outlined in To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform. The questions that Howard addressed remain as relevant as they were eighty years ago. Urban sprawl and the shrinkage of agricultural land resources that goes with it remain central issues for the planner, and the type of solution proposed by Howard provides one kind of approach to the problem. It has, as well, been influential in the development of modern ideas on transportation, land use, zoning, and neighborhood development. But beyond this purely spatial approach to problems of settlement, Howard's thought remains vital in its conception of the problems of power and community, through his insight that without some kind of community control of land, along the lines suggested in his scheme, planning must remain fragmented and amelioristic.

Secondly, this study provides a more accurate interpretation of the history of the town planning movement, clarifying some of the misconceptions which abound concerning one of the most important figures in



the development of planning thought. Planning, as it has come to exist, has tended, as we have noted, to abandon some basic goals, to concentrate on means at the expense of ends. The values that underlie much of British town planning have generally been a set of a priori assumptions which derive from such writers as Howard, Mumford, or Unwin. If planning is to be meaningful, it must overcome its intellectual dependence on such unexamined assumptions as, high density is unhealthy, small towns provide a stronger sense of community, or that in some mysterious way greenery is good for people, and the environmental determinism these myths imply. As Ruth Glass asserts:

...it is undoubtedly the ideology of planning, far more than the techniques of design and administration, which needs to be considered and developed. Planning without social policy does not make sense, and social policy without social theory and research is liable to become meaningless and eventually unacceptable. (5)

One of the essential tasks in the attempt to make town planning self-aware is to trace out the social history of those ideas which are explicit or implicit in planning policies. An awareness of their content, genesis, and influence is central if the town planning movement is to become self-conscious.

NOTES

1. The Origins of Modern Town Planning trans. by Judith Landry (London Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967) p.xiii.
2. Controlling London's Growth: Planning the Great Wen, 1940-1960 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963) p.53.
3. The Urban Process (New York: The Free Press, 1964) p.45.
4. Social Justice and the City (London: Edward Arnold, 1973) pp.22-49.
5. "The Evaluation of Planning: Some Sociological Considerations" International Social Science Journal Vol XI, no 3 (1959) p.409.

BIBLIOGRAPY

- Abercrombie, Patrick. Town and Country Planning. London: Oxford University Press, 1944.
- Adams, Thomas. Recent Advances in Town Planning. London: A. Churchill, 1932.
- Armytage, W.H.G. Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England, 1560-1960. London: Routledge and Paul, 1961.
- Ash, Maurice. A Cloud of People. London: Town and Country Planning Association, 1962.
- Ashworth, William. The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954.
- Barraclough, Geoffrey. An Introduction to Contemporary History. London: C.A. Watts, 1964.
- Bell, Colin and Rose. City Fathers: The Early History of Town Planning in Britain. London: Crescent Press, 1969.
- Bell, Wendell., and Mau, James. The Sociology of the Future. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971.
- Bellamy, Edward. Equality. New York: Appleton, 1933
- . Looking Backward: 2000-1887. New York: Signet, 1960.
- . Selected Writings on Religion and Society. Edited by Joseph Schiffman. New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1965.
- Benevolo, Leonardo. The Origins of Modern Town Planning. Translated by Jud Landry. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.
- Berger, Peter L., and Luckmann, Thomas. The Social Construction of Reality. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1966.

- Berneri, M.L. Journey through Utopia. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950.
- Blowers, M. et al. The Future of Cities. London: Hutchinson, 1974.
- Bookchin, Murray. The Limits of the City. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.
- Bowman, Sylvia A. Edward Bellamy Abroad. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1962.
- Briggs, Asa. Victorian Cities. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.
- Buber, Martin. Paths in Utopia. Translated by F.C. Hull. Boston: Beacon Press, 1958.
- Buckingham, James Silk. National Evils and Practical Remedies. London: Collins, 1849.
- Buder, Stanley. "Ebenezer Howard: The Genesis of a Town Planning Movement." Journal of the American Institute of Planning 35 (November 1969) pp.390-398.
- Carr, E.H. What is History? London: Pelican, 1964.
- Carver, Humphrey. Cities in the Suburbs. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962.
- Chadwick, Edwin. "Report on the Sanitary Conitions of the Labouring Population: 1842" in English Historical Documents. Edited by G.M.Young and W.H. Chaloner. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958.
- Cherry, Gordon E. "Influences on the Development of Town Planning in Britain." Journal of Contemporary History IV no.3.
- . "The Spirit and Purpose of Town Planning: An Historical Approach." Journal of the Town Planning Institute. (January 1969) pp.12-15.
- . Town Planning in its Social Context. London: Leonard Hill, 1970.

- . Urban Change and Planning: A History of Urban Development in Britain Since 1750. Oxford: G.T. Foulis and Co., 1972
- Choay, Françoise. The Modern City: Planning in the Nineteenth Century. New York: Braziller, 1969.
- Clapp, James A. New Towns and Urban Policy. New York: Dunellen, 1971.
- Cole, Margaret. The Webbs and their Work. Brighton: Harvester, 1974.
- Coleman, B.I. The Idea of the City in Nineteenth Century Britain. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.
- Cowper, William. The Poetical Works of William Cowper. Edited by H.S. Milford. London: University Press, 1949.
- Creese, W.L. The Legacy of Raymond Unwin. Boston: M.I.T. Press, 1967.
- . The Search for Environment. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.
- Curl, James S. European Cities and Society. London: Leonard Hill, 1970.
- Dahir, James. The Neighborhood Unit Plan: Its Spread and Acceptance. New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1947.
- Darley, Gilian. Villages of Vision. London: The Architectural Press, 1975.
- de Wolfe, Ivor. "Jane Jacobs' The Growth and Death of Great American Cities: A Review" Architectural Review (February 1963) pp.91-93.
- Disraeli, Benjamin. Coningsby. in The Works of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. London: M. Walter Dunne, 1904.
- Douglas, Roy. "God Gave the Land to the People." in A.J.A. Morris. Edwardian Radicalism. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974. pp.148-161.

- Dyos, H.J. and Wolfe, M. The Victorian City. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.
- Edan, W.H. "Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City Movement." Town Planning Review XIX (1947) pp.123-143. } 6
- Edwards, A.T. "A Criticism of the Garden City Movement." Town Planning Review. IV no.2. (October 1913) pp.150-157. } 10
- . "A Further Criticism of the Garden City Movement." Town Planning Review. IV no.3. (January 1914) pp.312-318. }
- Egbert, Donald Drew. Social Radicalism and the Arts. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970.
- Ensor, R.C.K. England: 1876 to 1919. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936.
- Ervine, St. John. Bernard Shaw: His life, Work, and Friends. London: Constable, 1956.
- Evans, Sylvia. New Towns: The British Experience. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1972.
- Fletcher, Ian. Romantic Mythologies. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.
- Foley, Donald L. "British Town Planning: One Ideology or Three?" British Journal of Sociology II no3 (September 1960) pp.211-231.
- .. "Idea and Influence: The Town and Country Planning Association." Journal of the American Institute of Planners (February 1962) pp.10-17.
- Forbes, Jean. (ed.) Studies in Social Science and Planning. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1974.
- Forsyth, R.A. "The Victorian Self Image and the Emergent City Sensibility." University of Toronto Quarterly XXXIII (1963) pp.61-77. } ?
- Friedmann, J. Retracking America: A Theory of Trans-active Planning. New York: Anchor Press, 1973.

- Galantay, E.Y. New Towns: Antiquity to the Present. New York: Braziller, 1975.
- Garden City Association. Minute Books. Hertfordshire County Archives.
- George, Henry. Progress and Poverty. New York: Modern Library, 1947.
- Glasier, J. Bruce. William Morris and the Early Days of the Socialist Movement. London: Longmans, Green, 1921.
- Glass, Ruth. "The Evaluation of Planning: Some Sociological Considerations." International Social Science Journal. XI no3 (1959) pp.393-409.
- . "Urban Sociology: A Trend Report." Current Sociology. IV (1955) pp.5-19.
- Goodman, Paul and Percival. Communitas. New York: Random House, 1960.
- Gronlund, Lawrence. The Co-operative Commonwealth. London: Swann and Sonnenschein, 1883.
- Harvey, David. Social Justice and the City. London: Edward Arnold, 1973.
- Harvie, C. et al. Industrialization and Culture. London: Macmillan, 1970.
- Herbert, G. "The Organic Analogy in Town Planning." Journal of the American Institute of Planners. 29 (1963) pp.198-209.
- Himmelfarb, Gertrude. Victorian Minds. New York: Knopf, 1968.
- Horns, F.R. Town Building in History. London: George G. Harrop, 1956.
- Hobson, J.A. The Evolution of Modern Capitalism. London: J. Walter Scott, 1908.
- Hofstadter, Richard. Social Darwinism in American Thought. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955.

- Houghton, Walter. The Victorian Frame of Mind. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.
- Howard, Ebenezer. "The City of the Future" Transactions of the RIBA Town Planning Conference, London, October, 1911. London:
- . Garden Cities of To-morrow. London: Swann and Sonnenschein, 1902.
- . "Home Colony." Nationalization News 30 (February 1893) pp.20-21.
- . "New Bellamy Jobbing Press: Prospectus." (c.1890) Hertfordshire County Archives, England.
- . To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform. London: Swann and Sonnenschein, 1898.
- Hughes, Michael R. The Letters of Lewis Mumford and Frederick Osborn. Bath: Adams and Dart, 1971.
- Jacobs, Jane. The Death and Life of Great American Cities. New York: Random House, 1961.
- Keable, Gladys. Tomorrow Slowly Comes. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 1963.
- Keeble, L. Town Planning at the Crossroads. London: Estates Gazette Ltd., 1961.
- Klein, Jack. "New Communities: An Historical Perspective." New Communities in Canada. Waterloo: Faculty of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo. pp.10-15.
- Klingender, F.D. Art and the Industrial Revolution. London: Paladin, 1968.
- Kingsley, Charles. "Of Great Cities." Sanitary and Social Essays. Works XVIII. London: Macmillan, 1880.
- Kropotkin, Peter. "Brain Work and Manual Work." Nineteenth Century. (May 1890) pp.456-475.



- . "The Industrial Village of the Future."  
Nineteenth Century. (October 1888) pp.513-530.
- Lawrence, E.P. Henry George in the British Isles.  
East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, .  
1957.
- Levine, R.E. Backgrounds to Victorian Literature.  
San Francisco: Chandler, 1967.
- McFadyen, Dugald. Sir Ebenezer Howard and the Town  
Planning Movement. Manchester: Manchester  
University Press, 1933. ✓
- Mannheim, Karl. Ideology and Utopia. London:  
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1936.
- Manuel, Frank E. (ed.) Utopias and Utopian Thought.  
Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965. ✓
- Marshall, Edward. "The Housing of the London Poor."  
Contemporary Review (February 1884) pp.224-231.
- Marx, Leo. "Pastoral Ideals and City Troubles." in  
The Fitness of Man's Environment, Smithsonian  
Annual II. Washington: Smithsonian Institute  
Press, 1968.
- Morris, William. "Looking Backward: A Review."  
Commonweal. (June 22, 1899).
- . News From Nowhere. London: Reeves and  
Turner, 1894.
- Morton, A.L. The English Utopia. London: Lawrence  
and Wishart, 1969.
- Moss-Eccardt, John. Ebenezer Howard. Ayelsbury,  
England: Shire Publications, 1973.
- Mumford, L. The Culture of Cities. New York:  
Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1938.
- . The Story of Utopias. New York: Viking,  
1922.
- Osborn, F.J. "Ebenezer Howard, Father of the Garden  
City." Town Planning Review 43 (April 1950)

- . Greenbelt Cities. New York: Schocken Books, 1969.
- . "Sir Ebenezer Howard: The Evolution of his Ideas." Town Planning Review 43 (October 1950).
- Owen, Robert. A New View of Society. London: Dent, 1963.
- Pemberton, Robert. Happy Colony. London: Swann and Sonnenschein, 1854.
- Petersen, William. "The Ideological Origins of Britain's New Towns." Journal of the American Institute of Planners. (May 1968) pp.160-170. ✓
- Polak, Frederik. The Image of the Future. New York: Oceana, 1961.
- Pooley, Beverley J. The Evolution of British Planning Legislation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Law School, 1960. ✓
- Purdom, C.B. The Building of Satellite Towns. London: Dent, 1925. Revised 1949.
- . The Garden City. London: Dent, 1913.
- Quint, Howard H. The Forging of American Socialism. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953.
- Reade, Charles C. "A Defense of the Garden City Movement." Town Planning Review. IV no.3. (October 1913) pp.245-251. ✓\*
- Reade, Eric. "Contradictions in Planning." Official Architecture and Planning. 32 no10. pp.1179-1185.
- Reiner, Thomas A. The Place of the Ideal Community in Urban Planning. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963. ✓\*
- Reismann, Leonard. The Urban Process: Cities in Industrial Societies. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Richardson, Benjamin Ward. Hygeia: City of Health. London: Macmillan, 1876.

- Rodwin, Lloyd. The British New Towns Policy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.
- Rosenau, Helen. The Ideal City in its Architectural Evolution. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959.
- Roweis, S.T. "Urban Planning in Early and Late Capitalist Societies: Outline of a Theoretical Perspective." Papers on Planning and Design. Toronto: Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Toronto, 1975.
- Ruskin, John. On the Nature of the Gothic. with an introduction by William Morris. London: George Allen, 1899.
- . Unto this Last. in The Writings of John Ruskin. XXXIV. Edited by Cook and Wedderburn. London: George Allen, 1903-1912.
- Saville, J. Rural Depopulation in England and Wales, 1851-1951. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957.
- Schaffer, Frank. The New Town Story. London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1970.
- Schorske, Walter. "The Idea of the City in European Thought." in The Historian and the City. Edited by O. Handlin and J. Burchard. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966.
- Self, Peter. Cities in Flood. London: Faber and Faber, 1951.
- . New Towns: The British Experience. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1972.
- Sherman, S. "On Forming and Re-forming Towns." Journal of the American Institute of Planners 29 (1963) pp.134-143.
- Simmie, J.M. Citizens in Conflict: The Sociology of Town Planning. London: Hutchinson, 1974.

- . "Physical Planning and Social Conflict in Victorian Britain and the First Half of the Twentieth Century." Town Planning Discussion Paper. London: School of Environmental Studies, University College, London, 1971.
- Solly, Henry. Industrial Villages: A Remedy for Overcrowded Towns and Deserted Fields. London: Swann and Sonnenschein, 1884.
- Spencer, Herbert. Social Statics. New York: Appleton, 1888.
- Stewart, Cecil. A Prospect of Cities. London, Macmillan, 1952.
- Sussman, H.L. Victorians and the Machine: The Literary Response to Technology. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Tetlow, John and Goss, Anthony. Homes, Towns, and Traffic. London: Faber and Faber, 1965.
- Thrupp, Sylvia, "The City as the Ideal of Social Order." in O. Handlin and J. Burchard. The Historian and the City. Boston: MIT Press, 1966. pp.121-132.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. Journeys to England and Ireland. Edited by K.P.Meyer. London: Faber and Faber, 1958.
- Town Planning Committee, Royal Institute of British Architects. "Suggestion to Promoters of Town Planning Schemes." Journal of the RIBA. Third Series. XVIII.
- Tunnard, Christopher. "The Customary and the Characteristic: A Note on the Pursuit of Community Planning History." in O. Handlin and J. Burchard. The Historian and the City. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966.
- Unwin, Raymond. Nothing Gained by Overcrowding. London: Garden City Association, 1912.
- . Town Planning in Practice. London: T.F. Unwin, 1911.

- Viet, Jean. New Towns: A Selected Annotated Bibliography. Paris: UNESCO, 1960.
- Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. A View of the Art of Colonization. in The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Edited by M.F. Lloyd Pritchard. London: Collins, 1968.
- Wallace, Alfred Russel. Labour Colonies. Land Nationalization Society Tract No.4. (c.1882).
- Weber, Adna Ferrin. The Growth of Cities. New York: Macmillan, 1899.
- Whiffen, Marcus. The Architect and the City. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966.
- White, Morton and Lucia. The Intellectual Vs. The City. Cambridge: Harvard University Press and the MIT Press, 1962.
- Williams, Raymond. Culture and Society. New York: Doubleday, 1958.