

THE PERSISTENCE OF THE VILLAGE IN BRITISH TOWN PLANNING

by

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Submitted to the Department of
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ABSTRACT

Despite changes in purpose and form, the village has remained a persistent force in British Town Planning, from the traditional rural feudal villages through the model industrial villages of the 19th century, to the Garden City Movement and the New Towns, and now today in the planning of village-sized settlements. This thesis traces characteristics of the traditional village using the example of Tillington, West Sussex, and tracks village elements through milestones in British town planning: Letchworth Garden City, Milton Keynes New Town, and Poundbury, a planned village-sized extension to an existing town, and shows that despite history and technology, the village persists as a form for new settlements.

In a traditional village, villageness could be characterized in five ways: form, opportunities for social interaction, economic structure, feeling (sense of community) and myth. Form refers to the size and physical layout of the village, either linear or built around a common piece of land. Form includes the style of houses, their placement in relation to the road and closed views into the village. Opportunities for social interaction refers to the dense network of relationships in the village which grew out of shared experiences, for example, church, work, and recreation. Economically, the village had its roots in the land immediately surrounding it. The illusive qualities of a place "feeling like a village" refers to people living close together and the sense of community that developed. The myth of the village was imposed upon it by authors and artists who saw life in the village as a romantic idyll.

Chapter I traces the history of the village of Tillington in West Sussex. Tillington may be viewed as an archetypal village; its form and history are common to villages throughout England. Like most villages today, it is now an upper-middle class enclave.

Chapter II describes the historic context for the development of the Garden City at Letchworth. Combining the best elements of the city and the country, Letchworth was envisioned by its founder Ebenezer Howard, to be an autonomous city within a regional system. As built by Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, it emerged with characteristics of the village, although at a larger scale than a traditional village.

Chapter III examines the New Towns Movement with emphasis on Milton Keynes and the grid square of one community called Neath Hill. Milton Keynes, the last of the post World War II New Towns, was built to house 250,000 people. Its plan at the macro-level was the antithesis of the village, but many of the housing estates located there embodied the qualities of the village.

Poundbury, the subject of Chapter IV, is the planned village extension to the City of Dorchester. Poundbury is a successful manipulation of the myth of the village, yet, it does not contain any other of the qualities of villageness besides form and myth.

Despite history and technology, the village persists as a form for new settlements. It captures romantic associations with a simple unchanging life and preferences for small-scale development surrounded by the countryside, and it is difficult for planners and developers to move away from the village concept.

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Introduction

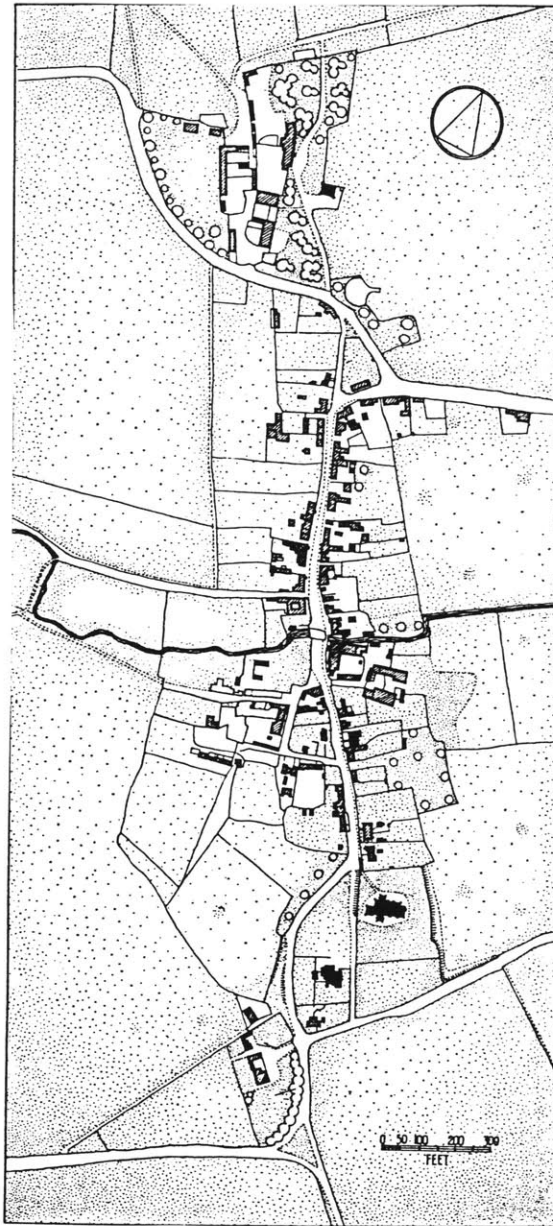
In England, the word village is a potent one, bringing to mind a small cluster of picturesque cottages in an idyllic setting far removed from the fast pace of city life. In the 1953 *Design in Town and Village*, published for the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Thomas Sharp called the village, "among the most pleasant and most warmly human places that men have ever built to live in." (Sharp 1953: 1)

The English village has existed since the prehistoric era, but was organized in the traditional form Sharp refers to in medieval times. In a village, villageness might be characterized in five ways: form, opportunities for social interaction, economic structure, feeling (sense of community) and myth.

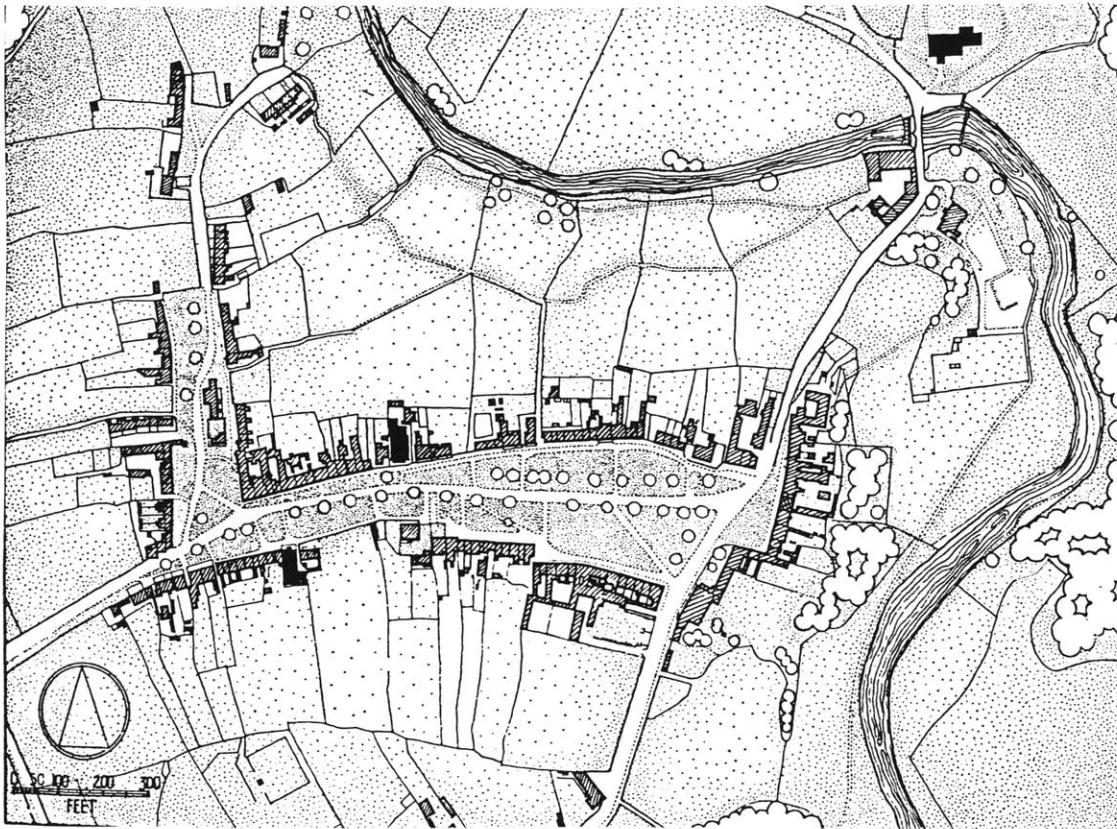
In the traditional village, there are two broadly distinguishable forms, although some villages have characteristics of both. The first is the linear or roadside village, forming a ribbon in its configuration. The second form is the enclosed village, distinguished by the village buildings built around a common piece of land. Both are considered good arrangements for living in the countryside, affording protection, either real or perceived, from wild animals and robbers. The residents worked in the open fields all day and found a psychological satisfaction to coming home to living conditions that are enclosed. (Sharp 1953: 17)

Agricultural activity required a small volume of labor, and because of the limited distance that people could travel to work, the village historically remained a small unit. Sharp wrote that villages of 300-450 people "hold the pure spirit of the English village." Above that size, he stated, the form begins to get more complicated and at a population of 1000, it disappears altogether.

No two villages are identical. Geography, land form and history insure the unique character of each village. Despite the fact that the overall form is nearly always irregular;



An example of a linear village. Note that the road forms a ribbon and is not straight. Houses are sited close to the road and to each other; no front gardens exist. The village is the local climax; views are enclosed.



An example of an enclosed (built around a green) type of village. The road runs between greens. There are few front gardens. The views inwards and outwards are all well-contained; the village is the local climax.

simplicity reigns because the form and the details stand together as a single whole. The ground plan of the village at once declares itself and is easily understood. Moreover, simplicity is strengthened rather than weakened by the subsidiary elements. (Sharp 1953: 5) There is an absence of subsidiary enclosures that would confuse the simplicity of the main enclosure created by the buildings. This point is clearly illustrated by the absence of enclosed front gardens.



Two examples of linear villages. Upper photo: Notice that the church is at the head of the street. Lower photo: Road curves slightly to contain view. Note dense siting of houses close to the road.

According to Sharp, the arrangement of buildings within the village "is such that striking pictorial qualities result." Views into the village are closed; it is the local climax. In a linear village, the church will generally be at a turn of the road, or at the head of the village street, dominating it. (Sharp 1953: 5) The place itself is enclosed; "it is the village that is vital, that exists in its own right. Its roads are intrinsically the means of going out and coming in, not merely of passing through." (Sharp 1953: 8)



An example of a village built around a green. Houses are sited close to each other and to the path that runs between the houses and the green. View are closed into the village.

A single economic purpose of the village with its ties to the land (or sea) characterized the traditional village; its purpose was to house the people who worked on the surrounding land and those who served their social needs: minister, shopkeeper, publican and craftsman. The peasants in the village were relatively secure from danger, close to the church and neighbors, and centrally placed in relation to the scattered lands they worked.

Villages might also be classified as economically open or closed. In the open village type, growth was spontaneous and piecemeal with many landowners. In a closed village, land was owned by one or two powerful figures who kept a tight control on development, preventing encroachment on the farm lands or manor park and checking growth that might lead the community to support a burdensome number of paupers.

Opportunities for social interaction (sociability) were achieved by the proximity of the houses to each other, men and women working side-by-side in the fields, and by attending the same church. People were born, lived their whole lives and died in the same village. The feeling of community was reinforced by these interactions. People helped each other out in times of crisis. Generations of families lived in the same village. The bonds they developed were strengthened by daily contact.

The myth of the village was imposed upon it by countless English authors who have extolled the virtues of the village and countryside, glorifying its pastoral qualities, its slow pace of life. William Spenser wrote of the countryside, "Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife, Their noble wishes never learn'd to stray; along the cool sequester'd vale of life, they kept the noiseless tenour of their way." (quoted in Williams 1973: 74) Oliver Goldsmith wrote of the village, "Sweet Auburn loveliest village of the plain, Where health and plenty cheered the laboring swain, Where smiling spring its earliest visit paid, and parting summer's lingering blossom delayed." (quoted in Williams 1973: 10) Artists such as John Constable and J.M.W. Turner painted scenes of the countryside that emphasized its idyllic qualities. Turner was a guest of the Egremont family at Petworth Park, the estate bordering the village of Tillington in West Sussex, and he painted many scenes of the park and surrounding landscape. It is these images of the country and of the village that are embedded in the English psyche.

Today the upper middle-class spends a great deal of money to live out the myth of the village in old restored and renovated villages. While they cannot fulfill the fantasy of living in the country at the scale of the great manor house, wealthy English people and

foreigners, too, can approximate this dream, moving to villages where the buildings and the village form are unchanged. Rarely are concessions made to the automobile. Only the social mix of the population has altered. Few children live in villages. Many village residents are retired or weekend visitors. In England, the common executive retirement age is 60. Retirees putter in their gardens and take long walks in the countryside. People who do commute, go out to work.

The pastoral qualities of the medieval village as remembered and built in the 20th century are products of sentimentalizing a life that never existed. While today the villager is probably not close to the place of work unless it is at home, he/she is still close to the church and neighbors. This closeness is a comfort, either perceived or real. The pastoral scenery; the sense of ever-present tradition; and a sense of belonging to a small community draw people to the village.

While every village does not conform to these idylls, these are the qualities that over this century planners have sought to replicate in new communities. From the 1870's, many legislative actions addressed the need for new settlements for the improvement of living conditions and the health of the British people, both in the city and in the country. From Ebenezer Howard's Garden City of Letchworth of 1903 through the post World War II New Towns Movement, reformers proposed new settlements that provided opportunities for better health, uncrowded living conditions, and economic growth. Moreover, the physical forms of these model settlements were viewed as related to the desired social changes, and while they were not planned as villages, they all have vestiges of village form and some of the characteristics I have identified as "villageness."

Even though the plan for Letchworth Garden City could not be more different from the plan for Milton Keynes New Town nor more different from the plan for Poundbury, and despite differences in size, history and technology, they share formal and social aspects. While none of these new settlements is agriculturally based, the large size and the scale of these 20th century villages do not qualify them to be true villages; they

are all hybrids of the village form. The "neighborhood unit," used in some form in all the New Towns, shares some common goals with the traditional village. The characteristics of the village, that are present in all these new settlements, are that they are surrounded by open landscape, bounded by arterial roads, and have closed views into the village. The dwelling units are sited close to the road and to each other; roads generally follow topography of land; and the local center generally serves local needs

Despite changes in purpose and form, the village has remained a persistent force in British Town Planning, from the traditional rural feudal villages through the model industrial villages of the 19th century, to the Garden City Movement and the New Towns, and now today in the planning of village-sized settlements. This thesis traces the characteristics of the traditional village using the example of Tillington, West Sussex, and tracks village elements through milestones in British town planning: Letchworth Garden City, Milton Keynes New Town, and Poundbury, a planned village-sized extension to an existing town. From these traces, I conclude that the village persists as a form for new settlements, and it is difficult for planners and developers to move away from the village concept.

In the course of my research, I spent time at Tillington, Letchworth, Milton Keynes and Dorchester. Each chapter in the thesis opens with my personal impressions of the particular village form I am addressing. I believe that my personal observations aided my ability to understand the village concept.

Chapter I traces the history of the village of Tillington in West Sussex. Tillington may be viewed as an archetypal village; its form and history are common to villages throughout England. Like most villages today, it is now a middle- to upper-middle class enclave.

Chapter II describes the historic context for development of the Garden City at Letchworth. In the 19th century, reformers who wanted to get large numbers of people out of the overcrowded unhealthy cities, supported legislation for better living conditions.

Industrialists built industrial villages in the countryside. Combining the best elements of the city and the country, the Garden City of Letchworth was envisioned by its founder Ebenezer Howard, to be an autonomous city within a regional system. In *Tomorrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898), retitled in the third edition, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (1902), Ebenezer Howard envisioned groups of garden cities for 32,000 residents, surrounded by an agricultural greenbelt. As built by Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, it emerged with characteristics of the village, although at a larger scale than a traditional village. Except for the lack of a feudal economic base, Letchworth contains all the characteristics of villageness.

Chapter III examines the New Towns Movement with emphasis on Milton Keynes and the grid square of one community called Neath Hill. Despite the fact that post World War II New Towns were planned as large cities for over 50,000 people, qualities of villageness existed in the form of high-rise and terraced "urban villages." In a characteristic urban village dwellings were placed close to the roads in rows; views were closed; and the housing estates were surrounded by open countryside. Distinct areas were defined for home, work and recreation, subdivided by landscape that was itself connected to a greenbelt. Housing was arranged in individual neighborhoods with their own shopping and social services. The town center with its businesses, entertainment and civic groups provided a focus of the overall design.

Milton Keynes, the last of the post World War II New Towns, was built to house 250,000 people. Its plan at the macro-level was the antithesis of the village, but many of the housing estates located there embodied the qualities of the village. The housing estates (grid squares) are bordered by arterial roads that contain local centers. Each center caters to local needs and because of their placement at the edge of the estates, also attracts outside customers. A greenbelt of land in the form of verges surrounds the housing estates. Moreover, a feeling of community exists, bolstered by the many opportunities for community activities within the housing estates.

Poundbury, the subject of Chapter IV, is an effort to create a village environment in the planned extension to the City of Dorchester. HRH The Prince of Wales is involved in this project. Poundbury will be a built example of the planning principles he set down in his book and television show, "Vision of Britain." The Poundbury development, carried out by the Duchy of Cornwall, is an attempt to create new mixed-use villages based on a prescriptive design code.

From my research, and first hand observations, I conclude that the village persists today. Despite history and technology, the village persists as a form for new settlements, capturing romantic associations with a simple unchanging life and preferences for small-scale development surrounded by the countryside. While Poundbury best fits the physical criteria for village form, its disjuncture between image and reality raises questions about the limits of form, which I examine in my conclusion.

Chapter One- Tillington

The ever-growing numbers of people who are touched by a sense of unease at the urban industrial future feel a lack of substance in their lifestyles. The village symbolizes an alternative. It is a place from which strength and reassurance may be drawn, where the past is always present, where neighborliness is a way of life and the community is so small that no man needs to be a stranger. (Muir 1980: 6)

Three plaques recognizing the village of Tillington as the Best Kept Village, 1973, 1976 and 1978, adorn the outside walls of the village hall. The Best Kept Village awards, awarded by individual counties for villages with populations under 700, have been awarded since the late 1950's. Tillington also won the award in 1962, 1964 and 1968 and placed second many times. The visitor would concur that Tillington is an archetypal English village, both in form and history. It has a linear form and, until the end of World War II, was predominately a closed agricultural-based village.

The history of Tillington is similar to the history of many closed English villages. From its inception as a group of dwellings for the workers of the surrounding estates through its reaction against the Enclosure Laws and subsequent overcrowded conditions, Tillington exemplifies the closed English village. It is a history of communal relationships tied to land use and boundaries. Tillington's 20th century evolution to a middle to upper-middle class enclave is part of a movement back to the country that has resulted in its designation as being part of the "stockbroker belt."

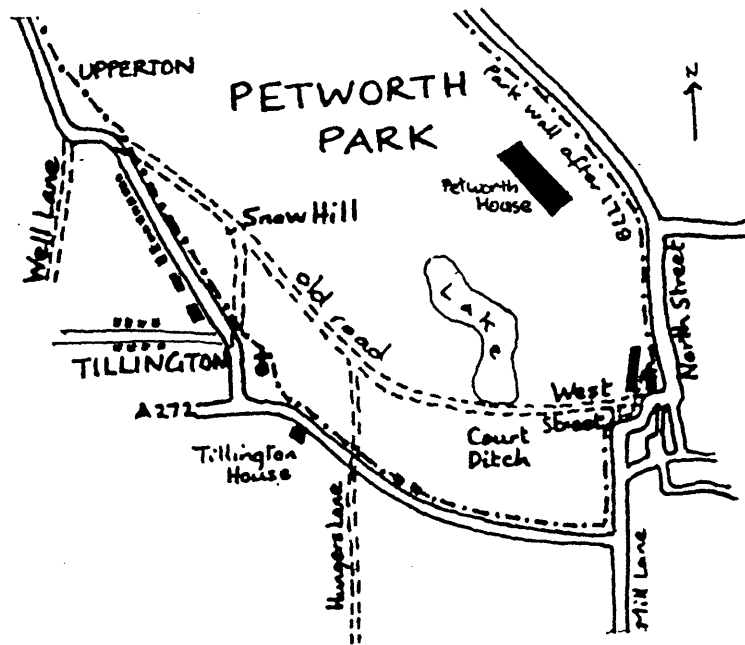
The history of Tillington evokes hard meager lives, rather than the romantic idyllic qualities we have come to associate with the village. The pastoral village where the happy laborer tilled the fields all day and then came home to a romantic flower-filled cottage is a myth. The substance of the myth is that the village "is the only setting in which authentic feelings, and intimate and meaningful social relations are possible, and

the picturequeness of traditional villages is a metaphor for these virtues." (Forty 1980: 74) Excluded from this picture of the village are the aspects of real village life including isolation, poverty, and the relationship of landlord to the tenant.

Driving into the village of Tillington from the highway with the South Down at your back, the visitor first sees the 18th century almshouse converted in the 1950's into housing and a workshop for the mentally handicapped. Next to it sits All Hallows Church. Dating from 1100 A.D., its original form was a simple nave and chancel. During the next century, a square tower was added. Over the years, the church has been renovated, but still serves the local populace. The cemetery road runs perpendicular to the main road and disappears around a bend. It is lined with houses, some dating from as early as the 13th and 14th century, preserved today, all in good condition. Wattle-and-daub (half-timbered) and brick were the materials used to build these two and three-story houses. While these houses were originally built for farmers and farm workers for the surrounding estates, middle-class and upper-middle class people now inhabit them.

The road curves. The Horseguards, the local pub and restaurant, sits at the corner of the cemetery road. Next to it is the village store and post office housed in a former Tudor dwelling. An elementary school located next to the store was torn down in the 1960's and a small unit of apartment housing and gardens for the elderly, Linton House, was built in its place. Few school-age children live in the village. The population of Tillington is an older one, reflecting a national trend of older people moving to the south.

A row of Victorian era terrace houses with small front gardens, once workers' cottages, now houses a variety of middle-class residents. As the landscape changes from flat to a gentle rise on the road out of Tillington toward the next village of Upperton, the visitor sees the last of the village houses, three 18th century brick houses, renovated for the late 20th century dweller. The village ends in a recreation area with tennis courts, playground equipment and a cricket field and small fieldhouse. The ribbon-type



Map of Tillington showing route of old road from Petworth (North Street) to the village of Upperton. Note line of wall around Petworth Park and the village of Snow Hill that was demolished during the emparking process.

arrangement of Tillington is built all on one side of the road. Opposite is the wall of the estate belonging to the National Trust, the family home of the Earl of Egremont, known as Petworth Park. Only the church and the village hall are built on the park side; their exterior walls are part of the park walls.

Daytime activity in the village is centered at the village store. Owner Jenny A'Court came to Tillington 15 years ago. She operates a small grocery store that also sells postcards for tourists, greeting cards and liquor. The post office is squeezed into a corner of the store and dispenses pension checks as well as stamps.

A'Court has seen great changes in Tillington in the last two decades. Only a few of the original farm workers still live in the village. She remembers Jess Daniels' reticence to be served when a member of the upper class was in the store. He would hang back waiting until they were gone. While some of the older villagers from the big houses still try to demand preferential treatment, it is not tolerated in Jenny's store today. She

walks a fine line. She needs the customers and worries about the big supermarkets that more and more blot the nearby landscape.

She readily admits that everyone knows what everyone else is doing, that there are no secrets in Tillington. Put another way, everyone watches out for everyone else. A closeness, a sort of camaraderie exists in the village. She attributes this to the proximity of dwelling units to each other and to the small size of the village. A pride of place is the common denominator. Generations of families live here, and a strong feeling of community is present today.

Located in the County of West Sussex, Tillington is today a village of 345 people. It is part of Tillington parish that also includes the adjacent villages of Upperton and River (combined population of 200 people). Tillington Parish is bounded on the east by the town of Petworth, on the west by the village of Logsworth, on the north by the village of Lurgashall, and on the south by the river Rother. It contains 4080 acres of hazel mold and wealden clay. It is bisected by a hill of green-sand formation which runs diagonally through the parish and separates the hazel mold from the wealden clay and makes almost an equal partition of the parish so that one half yields good crops of easy cultivation, and the other half, a poor soil, is better adapted to the growth of oak than wheat.

Tillington (Tolystone) first appears in history during the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042-1066) as the possession of Lady Eddeva, who held it for the king. During this time, all land was the dominion of the king. The landed nobility held freehold title to the estates on condition of fealty to the king and a percentage of income from the land. The land value for Tillington was £8. In the Domesday Book (1086), a survey of landholdings and assets in England ordered by William the Conqueror, Tillington comprised five hides (one hide=120 acres); seven plows, with eight oxen to one plow; two farms; one mill; 120 eels; twelve meadows; twenty woods with 21 villeins (free peasants of a low rank), eleven cottagers (agricultural laborers of a lower rank than villeins) and eight serfs (lowest rank of peasants). At this time Sussex villages were

small settlements cleared from the forests of the Weald (tract of country, formerly wooded, including portions of Sussex).

Tillington village sits on a sandstone ridge with better land for cultivation closer to the Rother River. Because of its proximity to the river and to Hungers Lane, one of the oldest drove roads (a road along which horses and cattle were driven) in England from London to the sea, Tillington gained prominence because of its geographical position and its good farmland.

From its beginnings, Tillington's economic structure was based on an agricultural community with few local service-related industries. The earliest local industry was iron smelting. Small forges where iron was wrought into tools, farm implements and domestic implements such as candlesticks, lanterns and firebacks were in operation. The mineral fuller's earth, a hydrous silicate of aluminum used in cleaning cloth in the neighboring fulling mills (the process of cleaning and thickening cloth by beating and washing) was present at Tillington. Hops were grown locally in the late 18th century. The Earl of Egremont had a flourishing hop ground at Petworth that produced malt for the numerous alehouses in Petworth. Behind the Horseguards, a brewery existed until the early 20th century. Iron, glass making and marble quarrying were performed on a small scale.

The Tillington parish registers date from 1572. In 1601, with the passing of the Elizabethan Poor Law, records show that several poor children were apprenticed to foster parents and arrangements were made for sending vagrants back to their homes. Evidence of non-attendance at church and popish recusancy (nonconformism) begins at this time. Records were left that show that money was loaned from one man to another to care for children born out of wedlock so the parish would not be responsible.

The parish was by law responsible for its poor and workhouses (house established for the provision of work for the unemployed poor of a parish) were built and run by boards of guardians. Built in 1792, the workhouse at Easebourne housed the paupers of

the parish who were under fourteen and over 60 years of age. Husbandry, gardening, spinning and weaving and picking wool were the types of almshouse work. In 1795, the daily diet for the 159 residents consisted of bread and cheese or gruel for breakfast and lunch and meat trimmings for dinner.

The history of the Egremonts at Petworth Park is tied to Tillington. Besides their geographic proximity, many of the houses in the village were owned by the Egremont family for farm workers until after World War II. There has been a house at the estate of Petworth Park since the 12th century and there are records of various kings coming to visit throughout the centuries. Between 1688 and 1696, Petworth House was extensively rebuilt to its present form by the Duke of Somerset in time to entertain William III there. In the mid-18th century, the landscape gardener, Lancelot (Capability) Brown came to Petworth and redesigned its grounds. Courtyard and parterre became rolling lawn gently sloping down to a series of lakes.

Brown's work changed the form of Petworth Park. Originally, a road ran from the town of Petworth to the village of Upperton going through the village of Snow Hill. The map shows a road between Snow Hill and Tillington. Snow Hill no longer exists. It was demolished when the road was moved and the wall around Petworth Park was built. Beginning in the 18th century, the process of emparking which involved the reconfiguration or demolition of villages to make way for pleasure parks was a frequent occurrence in England. Closed villages were the property of the estate owners and could be altered at whim. Emparking was an expensive process, but was carried out to obtain better views and for realignment of boundaries.

The twelve mile wall that surrounds Petworth Park was completed in 1779. Originally, the park had been a hunting park, consisting of the Great, the Middle and the Home Parks, none of which provided much room for grazing. At the western end of the park, a rabbit warren and area for cultivation and small area for grazing were located about half a mile from the house. In the late 16th century, this area was enclosed with a

fence and hedgerow and the tenants were granted the right to graze elsewhere outside the park. When the tenants discovered that the whole park was to be enclosed, they revolted, tearing down the existing fences and cutting off the water supply at Petworth.

Carrying their complaint to the Court of Chancery, the tenants claimed that they had never accepted the trade of the new fence for new grazing land. Further, they asserted that the pannage (land for grazing) at Colehook Common had been theirs by custom since ancient times and was hardly worth the same amount as the land at Petworth. The ninth Earl refuted the tenants' claim. The dispute dragged on, and a year later commissioners were appointed to look into the claims. While their report is not available, a declaration of agreement exists, signed by 102 of the Earls' "good and dutiful" tenants:

We have worthily drawn upon ourselves your Honour's Disfavour. We are most heartily sorry for the same and by these letters of submission do most humbly crave pardon thereof at your Honour's Hands promising and protesting that at all times hereafter we shall and will (God's Grace so assisting us) in all things and by all means shew and demesne ourselves as loyal and dutiful tenants unto Your Honour. (Gundry 1981: 20)

A partial blockade of Britain during the Napoleonic Wars reduced wheat imports and forced up bread prices; potatoes, barley bread and turnips became the subsistence diet. The Corn Laws of the 1830's did little to help the poor farm worker. While the law offered economic protection to British farmers against foreign competition, but did little to help the hungry poor.

To try to resolve the resulting problems of overcrowding and poverty in the village, a plan for emigration was begun for the Petworth area. At the time, the village of Upperton had a population of 845 people. Lord Egremont, the principal backer and financier of the scheme, paid for the passage and provided clothing to the emigrants. A doctor and superintendent traveled on each trip with the groups. Bacon and pork were added to rations of oatmeal, potatoes, herrings, tea, sugar, bread and vinegar. According to an 1836 entry in the Tillington parish register, £40 was borrowed to assist the

emigration. One new settler wrote back to express his gratitude for his new life in Canada, but how the numbers generally fared, we do not know.

Tillington School was built in 1838 on Pitshill estate land (home of the Mitford family and the other big landowner in the village). Although the school was one big room, it was separated for boys and girls, each having their own entrance. The playground was situated on the site of the Linton House garden. Boys were often called out of school to help with the beaters (driving game birds and animals), potato picking and harvesting as the season demanded. Children went to school until age ten or eleven, later changed to fourteen. In the Tillington Parish Council register of 1906, a copy of a letter is included to the Ministry of Education asking that the leaving age be changed to thirteen. The reason for the letter was the unmanageable large number of students at the school and the need for farm workers.

The parish council registry system was begun in 1895. Records were kept of parish council meetings. It is the only public record of civic activities and concerns. It serves to illustrate the kind of issues villages dealt with for the first 60 years of this century (records are sealed for 20 years so the records from 1971 on are not yet available. The records expose petty concerns, neighbors' disputes and a village always struggling not to fall into disrepair. The records of the parish council meetings help dispel the myth of the idyllic village.

While the information about Tillington contained in the parish council records is limited, the reader is left with a picture of a village that was run in a patient and efficient manner, albeit directed primarily towards economic and boundary issues. This image of Tillington may be due to the fact that members of the Council were predominately from the large landowning families of the village. That changed in the 1950's. The Council is now made up of a mix of long-time residents.

Much of the business of these Council meetings was taken up with the matter of allotments. Allotments are small pieces of land leased under the provisions of the Small

Holdings and Allotment Acts (1908, 1926) for cultivation as a subsidiary source of income. Great pride was taken in the tidiness of these plots. Complaints of fruit trees hanging over into others' plots, untidiness and the rental of these plots occupy much of the business of the parish council. Upkeep of roads and footpaths were also the concern of the Council. Housing the poor was the responsibility of the parish council and there was much discussion over the building of new housing for them. Allotments were sold for this purpose after World War II and the rest of the allotments were sold in the 1960's.

What the historic records of Tillington do not include and only allude to is the extreme poverty and misery that were present in all English villages. The peasant worker paid rent to the lord of the manor. In addition, the price of salvation, the support of the rector of the parish, was fixed at a tithe of one-tenth of all wood, wheat, milk, eggs and the increase of livestock. Beginning in the ninth century, tithes in goods were levied and continued to be collected until 1836. After this time, cash payments were collected until 1936, but after 1891 the charge fell on the owners, not the tenants.

With few exceptions, the village is the product of building and rebuilding. Houses for tenants were not necessarily substantial structures. Fortune and the whims of landlords created an unstable economy. During the eighteenth century, landowners petitioned Parliament for passage of Private Enclosure Acts. These Acts created a complete redivision of farm land. Those who lacked a permanent title lost land because the landlord was not obligated to offer them new holdings. Cottagers who rented cottages with rights to common grazing land went uncompensated when land was enclosed.

Up until the end of World War II, farming continued to be a primary source of income for the residents of Tillington. While a few houses were sold and bought by middle-class people willing to commute out to work, the village remained under the domination of the large landowners. Central plumbing and heat were slow to come to the village. Electricity did not arrive until the 1940's. It is no wonder that people continued to migrate to the cities in hopes of finding better jobs and a better life.

Today Tillington, like most English villages, retains the form of the traditional village because it has been designated by the West Sussex County Council a "region of historic interest." Any additions or extensions to property must be approved by the County Council. Moreover, residents do not want change; they feel a particular pride in the restored and renovated cottages in which they live. They value and guard the sense of villaginess that exists in Tillington.

The church, the pub and the local store continue to serve a social function in Tillington. The village hall is a gathering place for local community groups. Even though a number of residents are weekend visitors a feeling of community is strong. Without the impoverished laborers, residents are able to live out the myth of the village. The weekend gardener has replaced the tenant farmer; the false image of the happy laborer has been superceded by the contented village resident attending to ornamental herb and flower gardens alike. Tillington *is* truly a pastoral and idyllic place in which to live.

As the archtypal village, Tillington contained and continues to exhibit all the qualities of villageness except economic structure. Its economic structure is no longer based on a feudal agricultural arrangement, but it still is surrounded by verdant countryside. Tillington's linear form and housing layout have not been altered; its cottages have been restored for modern living and only in slight ways is this obvious. One must look hard to find the occasional television antenna. Opportunities for social interaction are just as strong today as they were in medieval times. While people do not work together in the fields, they do attend church together, shop at Jenny's store, play cricket on the recreation field, and come together in crisis as well as in celebration. A strong sense of community is present in Tillington. People moved here in pursuit of the myth of the village. What they have found is that the myth coexists peacefully with modern living.

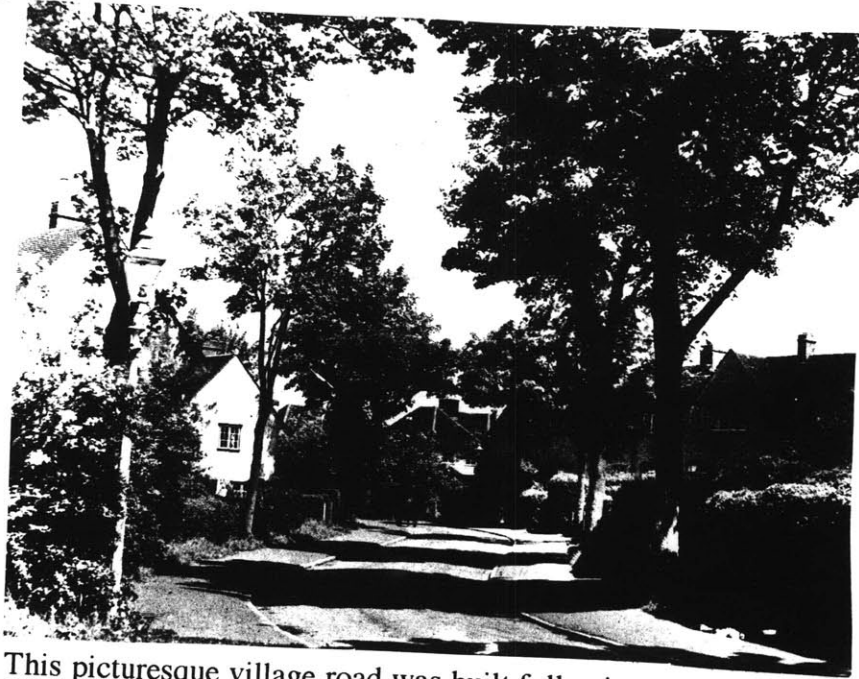
The village was the expression of a small corporate life in which all the different units were personally in touch with each other, conscious of and frankly accepting their relations...It is this crystallization of the elements in a village in accordance with a definitely organized life of mutual relations...which gives the appearance of being an organic whole, the home of a community, to what would otherwise be a conglomeration of buildings..... We cannot of course put back the hands of time.....the relationships of feudalism have gone, and democracy has yet to evolve some definite relationships of its own...we could, if we really desired it, even now so arrange a new building site... that it should have some of the charm of the old village. ("Cooperation in Building," Unwin, 1901, quoted in Miller 1989: 45)

Arriving at the station, the visitor's first view of Letchworth is the city center, lined with two perpendicular double-sided rows of shops, at the bottom of which is Howard Park, a large green space with wading pool and playground equipment. Children splash in the pool while adults stroll on the lawns. The only hint that this is the late 20th century is the graffiti covering the stone that commemorates Ebenezer Howard's founding of Letchworth in 1903.

The shopping district is adequate for a town, but the arrangement of houses around the park (green), creates a village atmosphere. The scale of the blocks of housing is small; the houses front onto the road as they do in villages. The style of the house is an updated version of the village cottage. Roofs have a steep pitch. Walls are stuccoed, reminiscent of the wattle and daub effect seen so often on village houses.

Attached housing sits comfortably with single family housing of different sizes. Rushby Mead, formed by the lines of an old stream bed that winds gently by Howard Park is the quintessential image of the picturesque village. Pride of place is obvious in the upkeep of houses and the multi-colored gardens in front of them. The streets are lined

with mature trees, protecting the houses from the summer heat and allowing light and warmth in the



Rushby Mead: This picturesque village road was built following an old stream bed, and winds by Howard Park.

winter months. Raymond Unwin took pride in preserving most of the trees and hedgerows.

Combining the best elements of the city and the country, Letchworth was envisioned by its founder Ebenezer Howard, to be an autonomous city within a regional system. As built by Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, it emerged with characteristics of the village, although at a larger scale than a traditional village.

Raymond Unwin, planner and designer of Letchworth contributed most to the turn-of-the-century village. He believed that the 14th century village was the "truest community that England had ever known and its beauty was the expression of a unique balance of order and uniformity." This was the balance he sought to achieve in the "revitalized community of the future, the Garden City." (Fishman 1977: 69)

Howard and Unwin responded to the conditions of the Victorian city and to a century of experiments in model communities. From the passage of the Enclosure Acts

of 1796 through the Industrial Revolution, villagers left the country in large numbers for the promise of a better life in the city. In the city, these former agricultural workers found overcrowded and unsanitary conditions. Jobs were to be found, but they were low-paying. Cities were not prepared for the influx of country people.

Artists and authors decried these conditions in image and word. In Gustave Dore's drawing, "Over London by Rail," the city is depicted as a monster. Billows of smoke from the trains and factories hang over houses set so close together, side-by-side and back-to-back, that the viewer cannot see any light or air around them. In many of his novels, Charles Dickens used the backdrop of the industrial city.

It was a town of machinery and tall chimneys, out of which interminable serpents of smoke trailed themselves for ever and ever, and never got uncoiled....It contained several large streets all very like one another, inhabited by people equally like one another, who all went in and out at the same hours....to do the same work, and to whom every day was the same as yesterday and tomorrow. (Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* quoted in Miller 1989:1)

The Victorian industrial city reflected both economic progress and the social and environmental consequences of unchecked growth. By 1801, twenty percent of the population of England and Wales lived in towns with more than 5000 inhabitants. By 1851, the numbers rose to fifty-four percent and climbed to seventy-two percent in 1891. London's population grew from 900,000 in 1801 to 3,900,000 in 1891. The population of England and Wales doubled from 6,900,000 in 1801 to 18,000,000 and doubled again by 1911. England was the center of world trade; the introduction of the steam engine (1765) followed by the power loom (1785) made England the leading industrial country in the world.

Local government was unwilling and unable to deal with the massive expansion. Cholera epidemics killed 94,000 people between 1831 and 1849. In the 1830's Edwin Chadwick, the Poor Law Commissioner, submitted reports on sanitary conditions in towns, pointing out the relationship between polluted water supplies and disease.

Moreover, lack of sewage waste disposal facilities coupled with overcrowding and poor burial methods contributed to the squalid conditions.

The Health of Towns Commission was appointed in 1843, but it was the private charitable trusts that were truly instrumental in making changes. The Health of Town Association, the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes and the Society for the Improvement of the Condition of the Laboring Class all date from the 1840's. By soliciting funds from reform-minded private investors, these groups were able to build model tenements in the cities. In contrast, in the countryside, large land owners dealt with the problem of overcrowding and poor conditions by sending the overflow population to Canada. All of the public attention turned on the cities, not the conditions the villagers left behind.

While local Building Acts had been passed as early as 1774, it was not until the passage of the 1848 Public Health Act that national standards were set. Despite the power of a central Board to form local boards, initially, local boards were slow to form. It was not until the 1858 Local Government Act extended powers to include construction stability and space around buildings that the numbers greatly increased. The Local Government Board was established as the central government department with responsibility for public health, and later, housing and town planning.

The Public Health Act of 1872 established sanitary authorities. All these Acts were consolidated in 1875; model bylaws came two years later. The 1868 housing legislation, the Artisans and Laborers Dwelling Act, gave power of demolition and repair of buildings to the building owners. Areas could be cleared and land acquired for redevelopment, but no obligation was included for rehousing existing tenants.

As early as 1800, both private developers and social theorists began to think about and build model communities. The form these communities took was the village. Although the industrialists' motivation behind these "villages" was the improvement of living conditions, they were not much different in economic structure than the feudal

village. Everyone worked for the owner of the village in his factory. Industrialists accepted the myth of the village as a idyllic pastoral place to live and built their industrial villages accordingly. They looked like villages. Housing provisions for workers were larger than in the traditional village. Opportunities for social interaction were obvious in that everyone worked in the same factory. Furthermore, amenities such as a community hall, public library and swimming pool were included. A sense of community developed because of the shared work, opportunities for social interaction, and the insular nature of these settlements. Despite the reform-minded motivation behind their construction, they were far from being democratic. Many rules governed workers' lives in these industrial villages; alcohol and tobacco were forbidden and being fired meant losing your home.

In 1800, David Dale constructed the first industrial village, a settlement with factory and housing for his workers at New Lanark, thirty miles southeast of Glasgow. This closed secular village community dominated by the company that employed the citizens was isolated and plain in form, but Robert Owen, Dale's son-in-law, used New Lanark as a trial settlement for agricultural and industrial villages based upon unity and mutual cooperation. In 1816, Owen opened the Institution for the Formation of Character at New Lanark. He believed in the eight-hour working day and the power of education. Owen imposed social interaction on his employees. After the factories closed at 6:30p.m., the residents spent the evening in school, music or dance. Owen believed that dancing was a "relaxing alternative to the hours of labor." (Darley 1975: 81) Owen's ideas were influential in both Britain and the United States. Many co-operative experiments owe their conception "to the rapid spread and enormously widely publicized interest in Owen's ideas and the great enthusiasm of his followers." (Darley 1975: 82) While Owen's ideas were influential, they were only a small step towards real reform. His paternalistic attitude towards the workers at New Lanark would be copied throughout the century by reform-minded industrialists.

Owen's example in New Lanark sparked other attempts to revolutionize patterns of living conditions tied to factories and rural areas. (Darley 1975: 82) The Land Nationalization Society was founded by Alfred Russel Wallace in 1881. Wallace saw the large landowner as the enemy and the solution was state ownership of land. Because he thought that the great estates would be bought up and that the people who had fled the rural areas for city slums would be lured back by the promise of a family homestead leased at low rates from the state, he imagined that a balance would be created between the capitalist industry in the cities and the "independent yeomen" in the countryside. (Fishman 1977: 55) His idea would have irrevocably changed the village. No longer dependent on the estate owners for work and housing, villagers would have become tenants of the State. Socially, Wallace's plan would have changed the class system, but how the state would have handled these newly independent people was not contained in Wallace's plan.

James Silk Buckingham's solution for the problem of overcrowded cities was contained in his book, *National Evils and Practical Remedies* (1849), in which he recommended the "great principle of associated labor, skill and capital" for the building of a model town as a means of absorbing the unemployed community. Buckingham's reform views included the advocacy of temperance, the abolition of slavery and the creation of public libraries.

His plan for the industrial town of Victoria called for the formation and incorporation of a "model-town association" by Royal Charter or Act of Parliament. His model community was meant to be a private venture with no governmental assistance. No plan for dwelling types and no more than schematic layout exists so it is impossible to tell whether Victoria was a village form. The scheme for Victoria grew out of the reform movement; it was to be a community based on its founder's desire for social change. Although Victoria was never built, its planning principles were a major influence on Ebenezer Howard.

Buckingham envisioned the purchase of 10,000 acres of land, 1000 of which would contain a town of 10,000 residents. The city was to be planned before any building started. Factories and houses would provide rents from £5 to £300 yearly. All the buildings were to be the property of the company which would also own and manage the factories and the surrounding 9000 acres of land. In Victoria, Buckingham planned for an eight hour work day with wages paid on a fixed scale. Overcrowding was not to be allowed. Medical services and education were to be free. Provisions were made for public baths, public kitchens and laundries. No alcohol or tobacco were to be allowed.

An autonomous community economically based on a fixed wage scale would have provided opportunities for economic betterment and social stature. Workers no longer would be kept to the economic class in which they were born. Buckingham's ideas were in direct contradiction to the traditional closed village and to the paternalistic industrial villages of the 19th century.

A capital fund was to be divided into shares, with one third of the shares to be set aside for industry and agriculture. All residents were to own at least one share. Outside investors were allowed to buy into the project. Dividends limited to ten percent were to be paid out of the profits. After the dividends were paid, the balance of the profits was to be divided proportionally among the active resident members of the community.

The design of Victoria was a group of concentric squares. The outer square contained 1000 houses and gardens; a covered arcade for workshop comprised an inner square. Smaller squares arranged toward the center were planned for the more expensive houses and the public buildings. Industrial buildings were to be placed at the outer edge of the town "so as to place the laboring portion of the population in the full enjoyment of the outer air." Eight roads radiated from the center. Their names, Avenue of Faith, Avenue of Unity, Avenue of Fortitude, etc. reinforced Buckingham's planning values.

What is important about Victoria is its autonomous economic plan. Buckingham did not envision a settlement managed by one factory, but imagined that many factories

would locate there. Giving the residents a share of the capital fund moved the community away from a variation of the feudal system on which so many of the 19th century villages were based.

By the 1860's, model industrial villages began to appear elsewhere. Sir Titus Salt, a textile manufacturer, built a complex of mills and housing for his workers near Bradford. The town's name, Saltaire was a combination of Salt's name and the River Aire, on which the development was located. The town was distinguished by a large park and architect-designed Italianate housing. Eight hundred houses were built for a population of 3000. A church and almshouses for retired employees were included. Saltaire was another example of the paternalistic industrial villages with the added narcissistic element of even having the factory owner's name as the village name.

The layout for Saltaire was similar to a village, although Italianate housing never appeared in the traditional village. Opportunities for social interaction were contained in shared work, church and recreation. Despite the paternalistic nature of Saltaire, Salt's provision for retired employees exhibited a concern for the continuum of the community.

Colonel Edward Akroyd created Akroyden near Halifax. Its double quadrangle of Gothic-style housing influenced successive experimental housing schemes. (Miller 1989: 4) Although its form was back-to-back, the terraced housing had mullioned windows and roof lines punctuated by gable dormers. Akroyden was a combination of village and urban design. In the city, back-to-back housing was a method of creating high density housing that was associated with conditions of low light and little fresh air. The quadrangle was an imitation of a village green. Akroyden is yet another example of industrialists accepting the myth of the village. Using the village form as a vehicle of social change was Akroyd's motivation because "this taste of our forefathers pleases the fancy, strengthens the house and home attachment, and entwines the present with memories of the past." (quoted in Burnett 1986:180)

Dr. Benjamin Ward Richardson's City of Health, Hygeia, was a

theoretical outline of a community so circumstanced and so maintained by the exercise of its own free will, guarded by scientific knowledge, that in it the perfection of sanitary results will be approached, if not actually realized in the coexistence of the lowest possible general mortality with the highest individual longevity. (Richardson, *Hygeia; or, a City of Health*, 1876, quoted in Howard 1946 edition: 58)

The plan for Hygeia was characterized by wide boulevards with a railway underneath. All pathways were to be planted with trees and shrubs. Every house was planned to have a garden. Drainage and sewage were carried away from the city through side openings in the subways. Glazed brick instead of plaster formed interior walls. Kitchens were to be located on the "tops of houses and all smoke consumed." Public laundries, swimming baths, hospital and library were to be provided. "And instead of the gutter, the poorest child has a garden." (quoted in Purdom 1933: 14) Hygeia was not built, but remained a model of the possibilities of creating towns with sanitary living conditions.

Industrial villages contained advances in sanitary conditions, education, and pleasant provisions for living in the country. At best, they were paternalistic, at worst, feudal. They shared an anti-urban sentiment that would be echoed in the Garden City Movement.

The Arts and Crafts Movement in the late 1880's was a reaction against conventional Victorian values both in the arts and industry. John Ruskin and William Morris led efforts for reforms in architecture and applied design, drawing upon the interdependence of aesthetics and economics. (Miller 1989: 4) Ruskin's writings anticipated the Garden City movement in his calling for improved environments and integration of town and country. The following quote attributed to John Ruskin's work, *Sesame and Lilies*, was used by Howard to head Chapter I of his book, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, and later, by Lewis Mumford to describe the ideal settlement. Ruskin describes an idealized village.

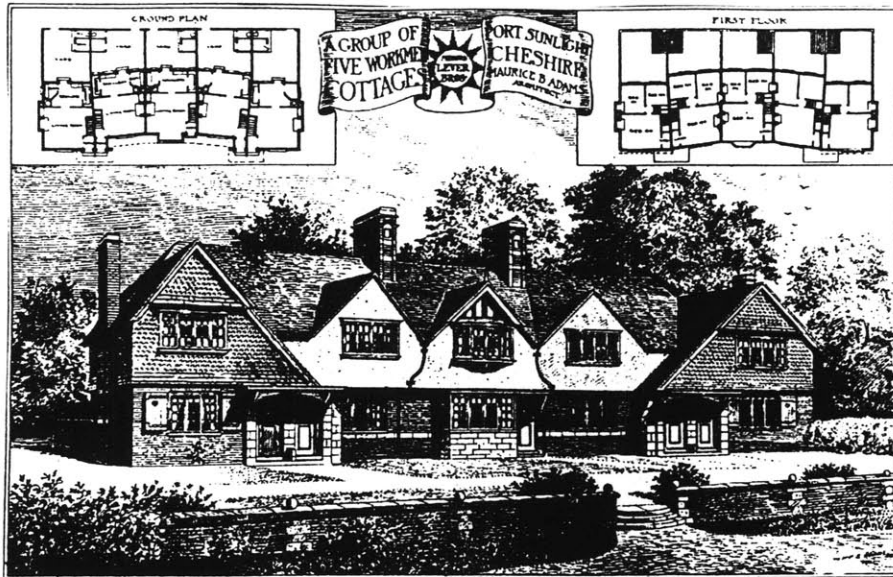
Providing lodgments [for working people] means a great deal of vigorous legislation and cutting down of vested

interests;....through sanitary and remedial action in the houses that we have, and then the building of more, strongly, beautiful in groups of limited extent.....walled round so that there may be no wretched festering suburb anywhere, but clean and busy streets within, and open country without, with a belt of beautiful garden and orchard around the walls, so that from any part of the city perfectly fresh air and grass and the sight of the horizon may be reachable in a few minutes walk. This is the final aim. (quoted in Howard 1946 edition: 50)

Model settlements, so-called industrial villages, were built according to Ruskin's ideas. The best known and the most successful of these communities in the late 19th century were Port Sunlight and Bournville. Like the earlier industrial villages of Saltaire and Akroyden, their legacies are their establishment of factories with nearby housing for an industrial population in rural or semi-rural districts. Different from the earlier industrial villages is their founders' insistence on aesthetically pleasing communities along with all the earlier reforms.

Port Sunlight was established by Sir William Lever (later, Lord Leverhulme) in 1887 on fifty-six acres outside of Birkenhead. The name of the city was based on Lever's most profitable product, Sunlight soap. In Port Sunlight, Lever sought to build "a conveniently planned and healthy settlement laid out with all possible artistic thought on sound business lines." The form was a village. He promoted the revival of the black and white Cheshire vernacular architecture designed by William and Segar Owen. The housing was individualistic in character with timber studwork above a stone base. The Arts and Crafts Movement architect Edwin Lutyens was consulted on some of the housing designs. Individual gardens were abandoned in favor of open frontages, as in traditional villages. Allotments for vegetable gardens and fruit trees were provided in the inner quadrangles, away from public view. The housing designs introduced a middle-class concept for working-class housing. In the traditional village, laborers were often crowded in small cottages with no concern for sanitation and interior layout.

Bournville, the town for George Cadbury's chocolate factories and workers, was founded in 1879 when the factory moved five miles out of Birmingham "to benefit from



Drawing of five joined workers' cottages in Arts and Crafts style at Port Sunlight. Housing style, roof pitch and materials are reminiscent of traditional village housing.



Example of Tudor-style workers' housing at Bournville. Note how the housing meets the road in the same manner as in the traditional village.

the purer air" (Miller 1989: 6) of Bournbrook. Housing for the works foremen began immediately, but the town buildings did not get under way until 1895. The architect for

the town was W. Alexander Harvey whose work was influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement architects C.F. Voysey and M.H. Baillie Scott.

Years later Harvey reflected on his work at Bournville, "as an example of what the village of the future might be, a village of healthy homes amid pleasant surroundings." (quoted in Darley 1991: 10) In Harvey's plans, community buildings and recreation areas were integrated. Cadbury stressed the amenity, economic and recreational role of the individual garden. Plots were generous, allowing for a large percentage of the production of fruits and vegetables needed for a family. Economy of construction with the high quality of materials and craftsmanship produced housing designs that were influential later at Letchworth, the first garden city.

In both Bournville and Port Sunlight the founders' attempted "to reestablish contact with the workers", and the company towns were founded to "recreate the closer ties between master and man they remembered from their youth." (Fishman 1977: 60) The results were environments of superior amenities, but also places that interfered paternalistically and constantly in the workers' lives. For example, in Cadbury's "Rules of Health," he cautioned Bournville residents to let tea brew for more than three minutes and advised them to sleep with their mouths closed. (Fishman 1977: 60) This paternalism was not so different from a socially closed village. Houses were larger than in a traditional village and the layout of the town was planned for healthy conditions, but the resulting social structure was that of an industrially based village community. At Bournville, the last of these industrial villages, George Cadbury rented up to half of the housing to non-Cadbury employees, which allowed more social integration and a less paternalistic character for the town. The housing for workers was indistinguishable from the housing for outsiders. This homogeneity marked the first time that middle class housing was planned and built for the working class. (Miller 1989: 6)

The 19th century's theoretical model communities and their incarnations in the factory towns of New Lanark, Bournville and Port Sunlight set the stage for Ebenezer

Howard and the Garden City movement. Despite their paternalistic basis, the industrial villages showed the possibility of creating privately funded communities based on improved health conditions, better housing and sanitary provisions in the countryside. They felt like villages, though at times, more like socially closed traditional villages than ones with reform-minded principles behind them.

As a Parliamentary reporter, Howard was familiar with the findings of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes that revealed the increased problems of overcrowded slum housing. In 1889, the London County Council, the first Metropolitan Authority, was created. The Council worked towards promoting new housing legislation and in 1890, the Housing of the Working Classes Act consolidated existing measures and gave added power to authorities to undertake housing for a demonstrated need, independent of their involvement in slum clearance. A 1900 amendment to this legislation enabled local authorities to purchase land outside of their own districts for housing schemes.

As a result of his exposure to the legislative concern for improved housing, Howard became involved in social movements of the day. As a member of the Zetetical Society, a debating club that examined social and religious questions, Howard gave speeches on Spiritualism as early as 1880. He credited a variety of philosophers and reformers with near discovery of the Garden City, including Thomas More, William Morris and John Ruskin. Moreover, the utopian community concepts of Victoria, Hygeia, Bournville and Port Sunlight were significant to his development. Howard wrote that he was strongly influenced by Victoria; he later used a geometric form (circle) for his diagrammatic model of a garden city.

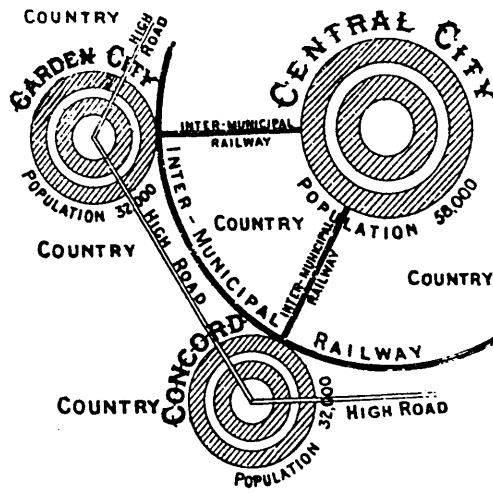
It is difficult to imagine today the achievement that Letchworth was in its time. While social reformers talked and wrote about a better life for city slum dwellers, Ebenezer Howard, inventor and promoter of the scheme for Garden Cities, motivated people to take action to work toward and build what we know today as a Garden City.

Howard framed the problem of overcrowded and unhealthy cities as a question of how to restore the people to the land. His answer lay in the consideration of the numerous reasons that led people to migrate to the city. Howard postulated that the city and the country were two magnets with attractions and disadvantages pulling people both ways. Some of these town attractions included: social opportunities, high money wages, places of amusement and palatial edifices. Disadvantages were: closing out of nature, isolation of crowds, distance from work, high rents and prices, foul air, slums and gin palaces, among others. (Howard, 1946 edition: 46)

Howard saw the country as the second magnet with attractions of the beauty of nature, fresh air, low rents, bright sunshine and abundance of water. Country disadvantages were a lack of society, long hours, low wages, crowded dwellings and deserted villages.

Howard wrote that the "force of the old attractions shall be overcome by the force of the new attractions which are to be created." (Howard 1946 edition: 45) He imagined the possibility of creating a third magnet, the town-country magnet. This third magnet combined the attractions of the other two: beauty of nature, social opportunity, low rents, high wages, pure air and water, bright homes and gardens, no slums, and fields and parks with easy access. (Howard, 1946 edition: 46) "Town and country must be married and out of this joyous union will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilization." (Howard 1946 edition: 48) What Howard described as the town-country magnet was a village or small town with the economic and recreational possibilities of the city. He was not talking about the current state of village life.

The planners of Letchworth set out to produce a "community which would not only harmonize with the past but also be capable of programming itself as it grew in the genuine organic tradition." (Creese 1966: 210) The garden city was planned to give people the opportunities for better health (no foul air or crowded conditions) and a chance for jobs with high wages and comfortable places to live while paying low rents. While



Satellite diagram showing Central City in relation to Garden Cities. Diagram reflects Howard's beliefs that settlements surrounded by countryside provided optimal conditions for living.

Letchworth has been criticized for its lack of tension and its "pleasant coziness," it is precisely those values that the planners chose to impart. Parker and Unwin, together with Howard, were trying to escape the grimness of English cities with a new settlement form. "The idea that the people at large were somehow cut off from the countryside, from a birthright, had been implanted in the English reform mind since the beginning of the enclosure of common lands." (Creese 1966: 209). Howard never envisioned his Garden Cities as formal villages; it was his designers, Parker and Unwin who interpreted Howard's ideas in this way.

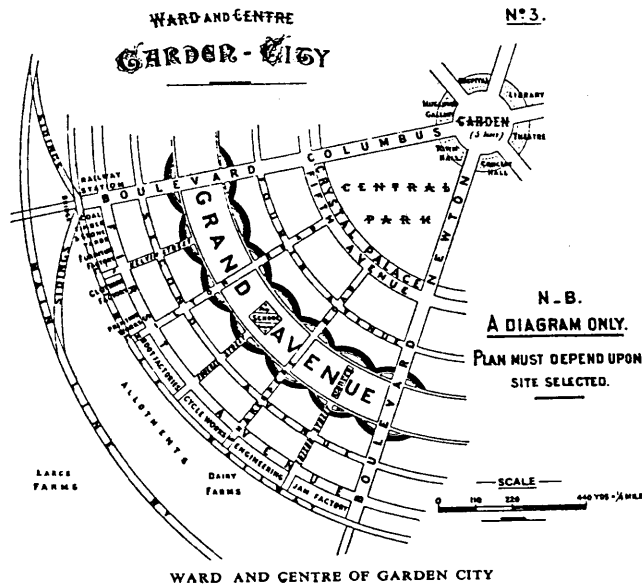
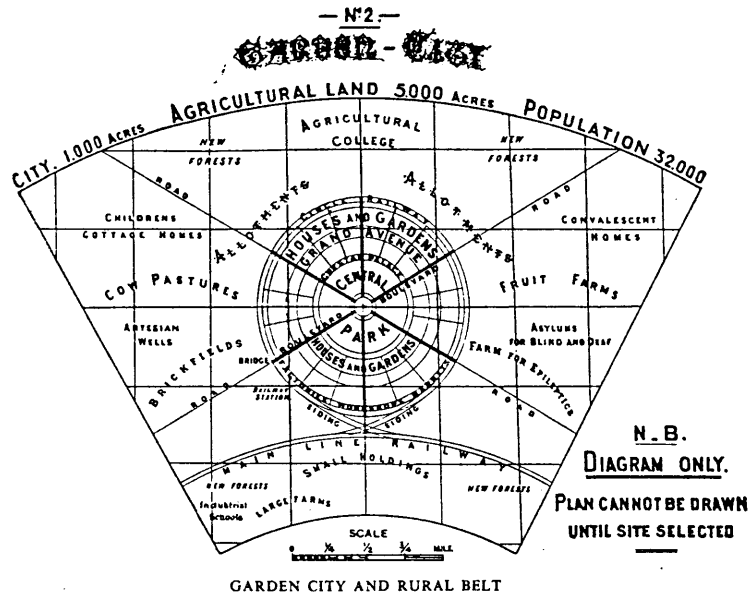
Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, published in 1898, is often credited with giving Howard the push to realize his ideas. In his book, Bellamy describes Boston in the year 2000 A.D through the eyes of his hero who has been asleep since 1888 and wakes up to a society transformed. In 2000 A.D., people have realized that their individualistic goals hurt society as a whole and they have given up their selfish ways. Everything has been nationalized. Industry has been grouped into one government-owned cooperative trust. Distribution is concentrated into one Department Store whose branches in the cities

and villages sell everything the nation produces. Centralized planning replaces competition; poverty and unemployment are unknown. Everyone receives an equal salary. After reading the book in one sitting, Howard went out the next morning:

I went into some of the crowded parts of London, and as I passed through the narrow dark streets, saw the wretched dwellings in which the majority of the people lived, observed on every hand the manifestations of a self-seeking order of society and reflected on the absolute unsoundness of our economic system, there came to me an overpowering sense of the temporary nature of all I saw, and of its entire unsuitability for the working life of the new order- the order of justice Fishman 1977: 33)

Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform was published in 1898 and re-issued in its third edition under the title, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*. In this book, Howard called for the creation of a new town of about 32,000 residents set in an agricultural district in England. Howard and his contemporaries saw the cities of England as "the graves of the physique of our race. Can we wonder at it when we see the houses so full, so ill-drained, so vitiated by neglect and dirt?" (Howard reprint 1946: 43) He saw villages as "stationary or receding." In the late 1800's, there was nationwide concern about the depopulation of the countryside. Rural villages were at a low point. Still, the image of the village as a pastoral idyllic place was being fed to the English population through art and literature.

Howard envisioned self-sufficient "social cities" of 250,000 people. Each social city would consist of a central core of 58,000 residents connected to a ring of six independent and widely spaced Garden Cities (32,000 residents each). The cities would achieve their self-sufficiency by the collection of rents from residences and commercial and industrial land. Moreover, these rents would pay for infrastructure and public buildings within the cities and the excess (up to five percent) would be given back to the residents. Howard imagined that as the city grew, land prices would increase and therefore, increase the profitability of the rents.



Upper diagram: Howard's diagrammatic scheme for a Garden City showing built area in center surrounded by greenbelt. Lower diagram: schematic plan for individual ward.

For each Garden City, Howard's proposal called for the purchase of 6000 acres of agricultural land. The Garden City was planned to cover 1000 acres and the surrounding five-sixths of the acreage was to be left for agricultural purposes. His diagrammatic scheme was a circular city broken up by wide boulevards into six wards. The wards were

pie-shaped wedges formed by the boulevards radiating out from the center. Each ward contained its own school and group of factories.

Howard's ideas for the Garden City did not suppose any specific form; he often said that its form would depend on the site in which it was built. What he envisioned in *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* was a modern city built to take advantage of its country setting. Amenities such as shops, public buildings for entertainment, parks, provision for educational and religious facilities and industrial areas were his concern, not settlement form. Unlike Victoria and Hygeia, Howard worked out the financial structure to finance a Garden City.

In Howard's scheme, the railroad touched the circle at the southern end of the city and circled around it. In the center of the circle was a smaller circle of five and one-half acres laid out as a garden. Surrounding the garden were the larger public buildings of the town hall, the principal concert and lecture hall, a museum, an art gallery and hospital. A large park containing 145 acres was planned to surround the public buildings. On the edge of this park, Howard placed his Crystal Palace, a wide glass arcade built to hold shops and a winter garden.

Concentric circles of roads were lined with houses. The average size lot was 20' x 130', the smallest 20' x 100'. Howard imagined these houses to be of "varied architecture and design, some having common gardens and cooperative kitchens." (Howard 1946 edition: 54) Specific plans for housing were not included. In the middle of this concentric pattern of roads was a Grand Avenue that was not a road but a park of 115 acres that served as a divider to the city. The school and playgrounds were located here as were churches of unnamed denomination. The outer ring of the city contained factories, warehouses, dairies, markets, coal yards, timber yards, etc. all fronting on the circular railway.

Howard's book was widely reviewed. The Times (October 19, 1898) called it an "ingenious and rather entertaining attempt," and added "the only difficulty is to create it."

(Quoted in Purdom 1933: 23) It is curious that no other book of such significance has enjoyed less academic prestige. F. J. Osborn in his preface to the 1946 edition of *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* believes that this inattention was because it avoids "technical terminology, displays no great learning and contains little historical or demographic documentation." (Howard reprint 1946: 10) The Fabian Society, a reform-oriented group dismissed the book. "His plans would have been in time if they had been submitted to the Romans when they conquered Britain....We have got to make the best of existing cities, and proposals for building new ones are about as useful as would be arrangements for protection against visitors from Mr. Well's Martians." (Howard 1946 edition: 11)

Undaunted by these reviews, Howard lectured widely on Garden City. Within eight months, a Garden City Association had been formed with the express purpose of building a Garden City. Subscription to the Association was one shilling and in two years, only £241 12s 9d had been collected. In May 1900, the Association resolved, to form a limited company called the Garden City, LTD, with a share capital of £50,000 of which £5000 was to be a first issue. A cumulative five percent dividend was to be redeemable at the option of the body of trustees.

In an attempt to bring public support to the proposal, a conference was planned at Bournville to consider "the desirability and practicality of a movement of manufacturers and co-operators to new areas, so that new towns may be established on land to be purchased for the community." (Purdom 1933: 24) Delegates from borough and urban district councils, and representatives from religious groups and trade unions attended. In 1902, a second conference was held at Port Sunlight. The conference succeeded in bringing Howard's proposals to the public, and in 1902, the Garden City Pioneer Company Ltd. was registered. The mission of the company was:

to promote and further the distribution of the industrial population upon the lines suggested by Ebenezer Howard...with the view of forming in any part of the United Kingdom Garden Cities: towns or settlements for agricultural, industrial, commercial and residential purposes. (Purdom 1933: 27)

The company formed committees to look for a suitable site. The chosen land was an area 34 miles from London between the towns of Hitchin and Baldock, comprising Letchworth Manor and parcels of agricultural land, located in the county of Hertfordshire.

First Garden City Ltd. was registered in 1903 to purchase the land and develop a city. The directors formed an elastic and adaptable policy of development. So far as aesthetics were concerned the directors of the company had no policy, but they did issue a pamphlet including, "suggestions and instruction to prospective builders in which they championed the high standard of beauty which they desired to attain in the Garden City." (quoted in Purdom 1933:40) The town was to be organized for industrial purposes and provision was to be made for residential areas.

The company considered three different plans; the firm of Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker was chosen. Unwin was an architect whose Arts and Crafts Movement designs were known to Howard. In the late 1890's Unwin had designed an urban quadrangle of cooperative housing with a restaurant and shared common rooms, anticipating "Homesgarth," the cooperative house at Letchworth. In 1901, at New Earswick, Unwin and Parker had designed a village community for the Rowntree Chocolate Trust.

The New Earswick scheme was to provide "low-cost housing, secure employment, pleasant surroundings and a full range of facilities at hand." (Darley 1975: 74) Unwin and Parker interpreted this task by the grouping of houses, shops and public buildings around a village green large enough to serve as a playing field and recreation grounds. The main road ran around the green with secondary roads coming off it. The use of cul-de-sacs by Parker and Unwin at New Earswick, gave a "varied effect in the best sense of the Picturesque, an ideal antidote to endless urban vistas." (Darley 1975: 94) Housing was set back behind the banks of a stream; mature trees were left on the site. The emphasis was on the small unit. Houses were built at the density of twelve to the

acre, angled to take full advantage of the sun. "Variety was the hallmark, in roof levels, the angles at which housing was set and in the layout." (Darley 1975: 94) Although New Earswick was yet another industrial village, it had the added element of aesthetic beauty as interpreted by Raymond Unwin as a village.

Unwin was committed to the image and the ideal of the village. "Unwin's aesthetic glorification of the traditional village was also a glorification of the stable social relations he imagined existed there, and an implicit critique of the modern quest for change." (Fishman 1977: 69) Like the imagined village, the Garden City would be a community where everyone would have a place and be happy with it. To this end, Unwin's plan for Letchworth contained a blend of formal and natural elements.

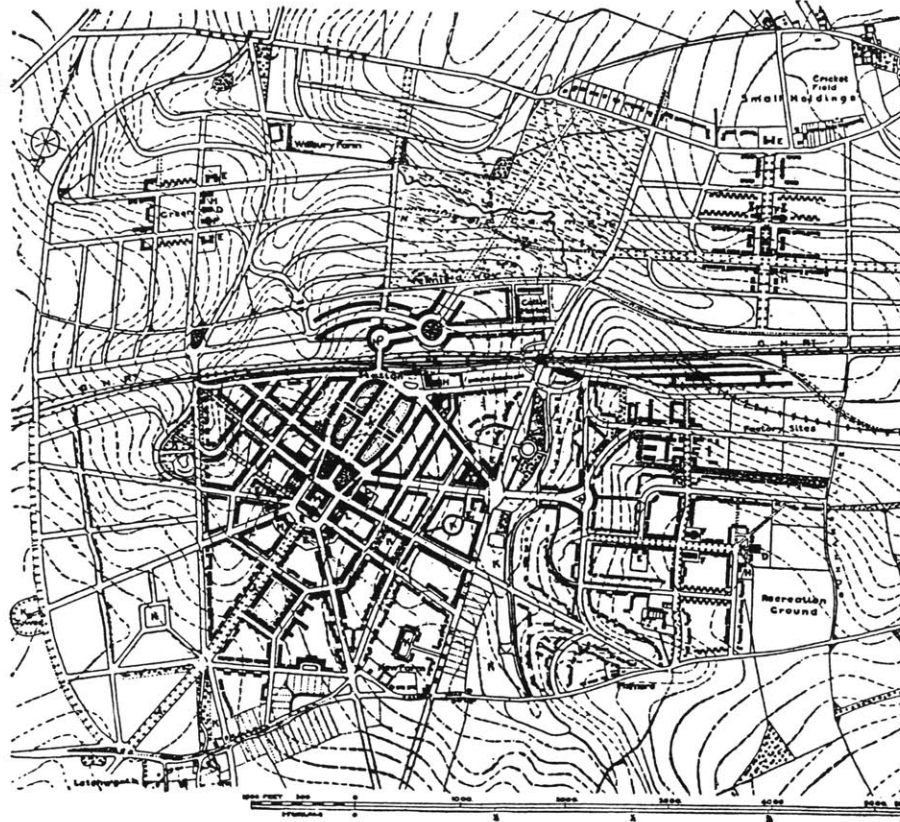
Three main roads radiated from the center of the town in a web-like pattern, providing open vistas of countryside. Housing was laid out in a modified grid pattern. The train station was sited at the edge of the town, a short walk to the center. Unwin planned wide tree-lined boulevards. Factory sites were placed on the eastern edge of the town fronting the rail line. The town was not circular, but filled the site in a rectangular shape. Housing was planned close to the center.

While Parker and Unwin adopted Howard's social goals, they looked to the natural form of the land for their design. Their vision of the Garden City was a medieval village seen through the eyes of William Morris. They "wanted to adapt what they believed were the valid principles of traditional English planning to the decentralized city of the future." (Fishman 1977: 67) This involved the tight placement of housing in small blocks. Houses were not identical, but common styles existed. Individual gardens were provided for each house. A common, or in this case, a park, was provided for the recreational use of the residents. While Howard described a plan of mechanical symmetry, Parker and Unwin sought what they called an "organic unity." (Fishman 1977: 68)

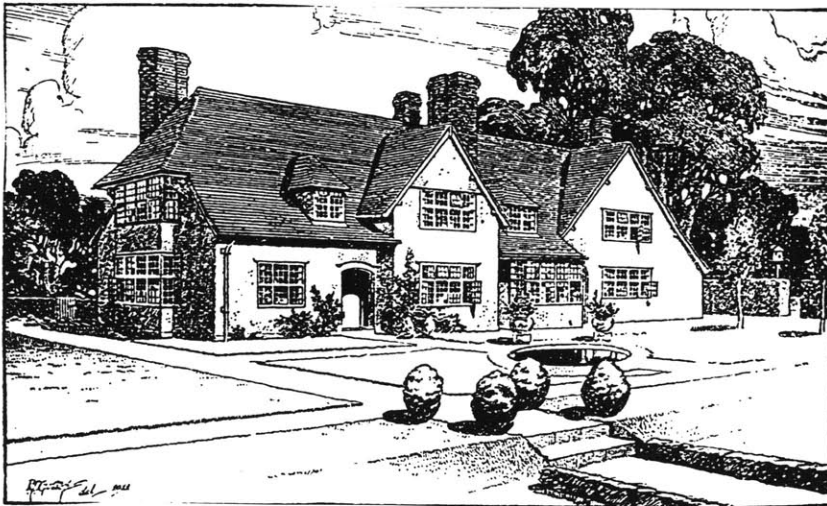
PARKER & UNWIN'S
ORIGINAL PLAN OF
GARDEN CITY,
AS FIRST PUBLISHED
(APRIL 1904)

Key to Plan

- A. Main Avenue
- B. Goods Yard and Sidings
- C. Central Square
- D. Sites for Public Hall, Museum, etc.
- E. Sites for Schools
- F. Sites for Places of Worship
- H. Sites for Hotels
- K. Open Spaces, Greens, or Parks
- L. Site for Post Office
- M. Site for Municipal Buildings



Parker and Unwin's original plan for Letchworth. In plan, the Garden City is laid out like a town, but housing is arranged around greens as in a village.



R. P. Gossop drawing for a house at Letchworth. Housing style, materials, pitch of roof, and windows are all reminiscent of village houses.



Two examples of village-style houses built at Letchworth. Upper photo: Note thatched roof. Lower photo: Joined cottages. Note prominent chimneys and housing materials, reminiscent of traditional village housing.

They followed Howard's scheme of separating the town from the countryside, placing the new town in the center of the site. They took advantage of the hills and streams in their layout of the town. The Crystal Palace was replaced by the two rows of shops. Only the town center remained exactly the way Howard had envisioned it, a formal arrangement of municipal and cultural buildings. Buildings were grouped into an industrial park adjacent to the power plant and the railroad. Residential buildings were separated from industrial buildings by the railroad tracks. "The plan is effective without calling attention to itself through a calculated prettiness." (Fishman 1977: 68)

Unwin urged the adoption of building regulations for the new town. He believed that construction and aesthetics were inseparable. In his draft building regulations of 1904, he included building area standards, building lines and grouping, aspect and prospect, the use of hedges to define boundaries and the submission of materials for approval.

Letchworth was a milestone in British town planning. Ebenezer Howard was able to assimilate the social progress of the late 19th century into a new settlement form, the Garden City. With its innovative financial structure and provisions for living, the Garden City served as a model for planners for many years to come. As built by Parker and Unwin:

In their idealization of the English village, Parker and Unwin brought to prominence an element that had hardly existed in Howard: the fear of the great city and its social turmoil, the desire to discard the burdens of progress and return to the simple life. With their mixture of the enlightened and the medieval, Parker and Unwin reflected a split in the movement between an optimistic endorsement of the future and a nostalgic wish to escape from the modern world. (Fishman 1977: 70)

In looking back to the village, Parker and Unwin brought to life the myth of the village, with its medieval form adjusted for the modern needs of the 20th century. They created a new larger village form accommodating social progress while keeping the form, social aspects and feeling of a village intact. They created opportunities for social interaction in the pursuit of developing a community.

Chapter Three- Milton Keynes

It's a bird. It's a plane. It's Superman flying over a typical American suburb. The Man of Steel passes over highways and housing developments. Something is wrong. People are driving on the left-hand side of the road. Wait, that's not the United States he's flying over. It's Milton Keynes, the last of the post-World War II New Towns.

I arrive in a more conventional manner, driving in from the motorway. I am equipped with a map and a friend who has accompanied me as navigator. No amount of navigational equipment is enough: we get lost. I am told later that all first time visitors to Milton Keynes lose their way although the roadway system could not be more explicit.

The map shows a simple grid. It brings to mind a fishing net laid over a gently undulating landscape. A divided four lane grid road divides the city into 70+ housing estates. A central area divided into a smaller grid is the main shopping and business district. Horizontal and vertical roads are numbered and named. Signage seems adequate. The problem is that all the grid roads look the same, and are heavily planted with no evidence of any buildings visible from the road. While the intersections were initially planned to have traffic lights, roundabouts were installed instead because they were cheaper. The roundabouts are disorienting; there are no landmarks to guide me. The lush plantings give a sameness to the grid roads. The setbacks give privacy from light and noise to the residents in the housing estates, but the lack of any visual landmarks confounds the visitor.

I have years of experience driving in England, going around roundabouts. English roads are usually well-marked, but not here at Milton Keynes. If I want to go two housing estates away, my destination is not necessarily marked. I have three choices of exits and they are the adjacent estates to the roundabout. Unless I know that Pennyland is next to Neath Hill, I am more likely to guess incorrectly and end up going

towards Great Linford. Even though I spent a week (two separate trips) in Milton Keynes, I never felt comfortable on the grid road system. Luckily, there are few cars on the roads so my inept attempts to go where I wanted did not interfere with local traffic patterns. The lack of other cars is a bit spooky. When I ask Don Perkins, chief architect for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation if everyone is on holiday because there is so little vehicular traffic, he laughs. He explains that the lack of traffic is a product of the low density of the city.

My unease is compounded when I get to the city center. Central Milton Keynes does not look like any other English city, even less like an English village. Before I visited the city I had read that residents of the city feel like they are living in villages. No village ever looked like Central Milton Keynes. Wide tree-lined boulevards contain large glass and mirror blocks of office buildings. The shopping center, until recently the largest covered mall in Europe, looks like a 1970's version of Ebenezer Howard's Crystal Palace, proposed for Letchworth. Richard McCormac, president of the Royal Institute of British Architects (R.I.B.A.), told me that the conventional folklore is that Llewelyn-Davies, the firm picked to plan the city was also up for a job in California and that the firm designed Milton Keynes to look like a California city in order to get the next job. In any case, the directors of "Superman II" used it as the typical American suburb.

Not all the plan for Milton Keynes was carried out. Today the city is 25 years old and has a population of 152,000, not quite the 250,000 planned for the completed city. The city is still growing. Despite the fact that the city is unfinished, in March 1992, the Milton Keynes Development Corporation (MKDC) was dissolved according to the original planning edict, and the city's future is now under the jurisdiction of the New Towns Association.

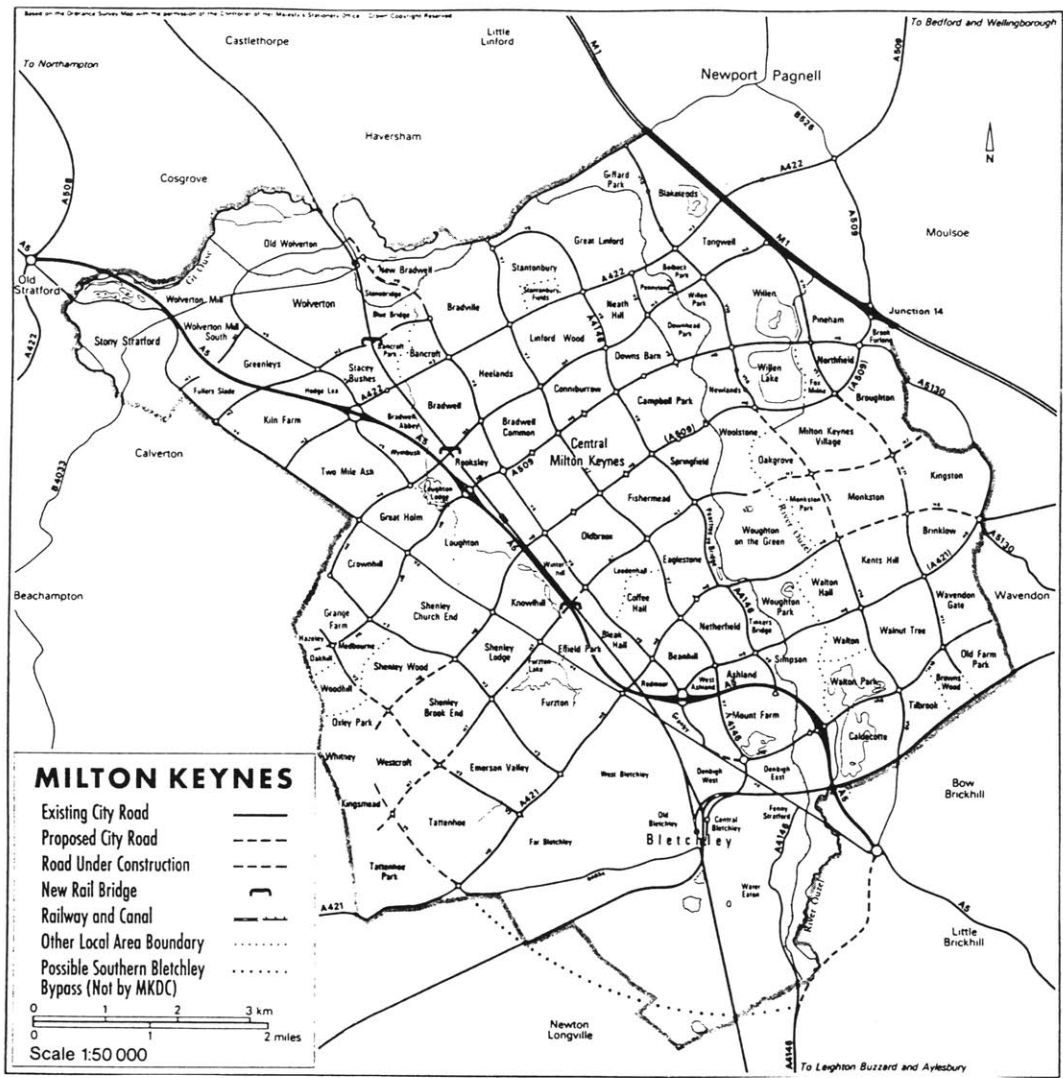
Milton Keynes is frequently the butt of jokes on English television. In an article in the Financial Times, titled, "Residents determined to have last laugh," author Jim Kelly



Liz Leyh's concrete cows have come to symbolize the popular negative image of Milton Keynes.

wrote that "the British have come to sneer at Milton Keynes, seeing only concrete cows, 15 million trees three feet high and roundabouts with one entry and one exit." The life-sized concrete cows, a gift from visiting sculptor Liz Leyh, have come to symbolize the popular negative image of Milton Keynes. Yet, while outsiders have nothing good to say, residents are happy with their lives in Milton Keynes. Kelly points out that 80 percent of the residents indicate satisfaction with the way the city has been planned and 75 percent of those residents who were surveyed are happy with their housing.

I was in Milton Keynes to take photographs of the city. By the time I left, I had driven all over the city and my opinions had changed. What I initially saw as unmitigated sameness evolved into an appreciation for the diverse attempts to house so many people in this New Town. Red brick dwellings with red-tiled roofs do dominate the city, but



Plan for Milton Keynes shows grid road system laid over the site like a fish net. The grid squares, with allowances for topography, are approximately one kilometer by one kilometer.

their variety of form and size and layout within the estates distinguishes one housing estate from another.

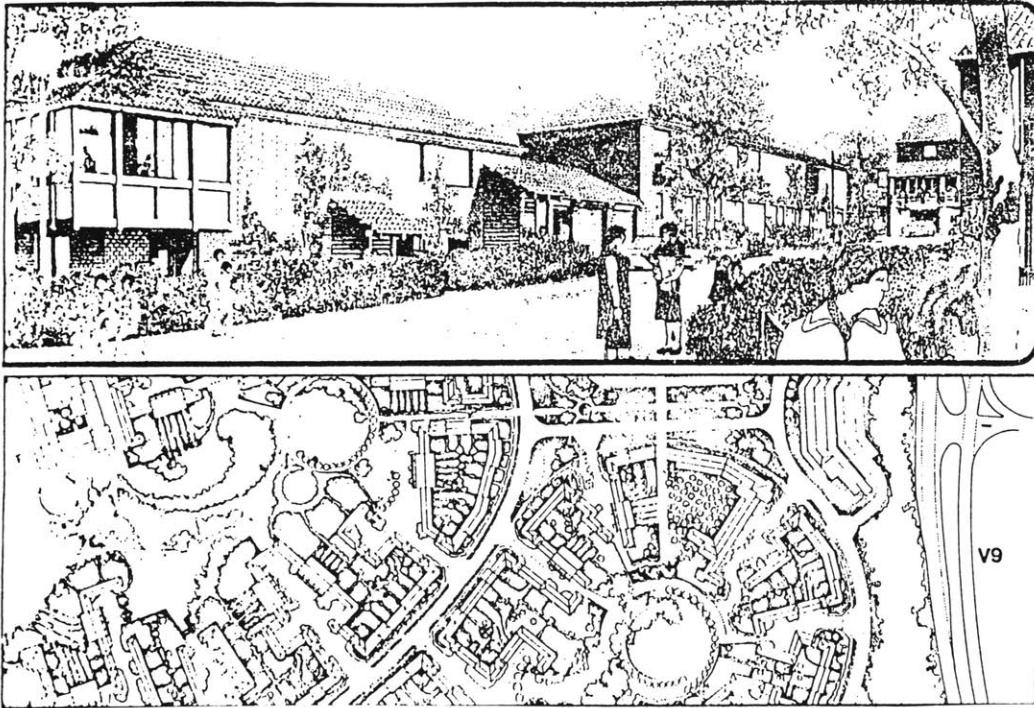
Milton Keynes' plan is based on the grid square, about one kilometer by one kilometer. The size is approximate because allowances have been made for the topography, so some are a little bigger, some a little smaller than one kilometer square. All but twelve of the grid squares contain some residential development. The grid

squares that contain "main employment areas" are bounded by parks. All of the grid squares are bounded by at least 30 feet of heavily planted verges. A system of pathways called the Redway winds its way around and through the individual grid squares and connects the city together in a system of pedestrian paths. Bicycle trails and horsepaths are located in some of the grid squares.

No two grid squares are alike in their layout. Many different architects working with the Milton Keynes Development Corporation developed a multitude of responses to the challenge of siting and building housing for up to 5000 people per grid square (housing estate).

At the macro-level this plan is the antithesis of the village, but many of the housing estates that have been built within the grid squares make full use of the qualities of the village. While the layout of some grid squares repeats the macro pattern of a grid within a grid, other squares are laid out very much like a village along gently curving roads that follow the topography. These Milton Keynes "villages" are bounded by arterial roads and surrounded by the heavily planted verges. The dwelling units are sited close to the road and to each other. In some cases, houses are built around a green. Often the dwelling units have traditional vernacular details. The extensive social planning for Milton Keynes contributed at the micro level (planning of individual housing estates) to a village-like structure and sense of community. The housing estate of Neath Hill is often singled out as both looking and feeling like a village. Even in modern Milton Keynes it has not been possible to escape the village.

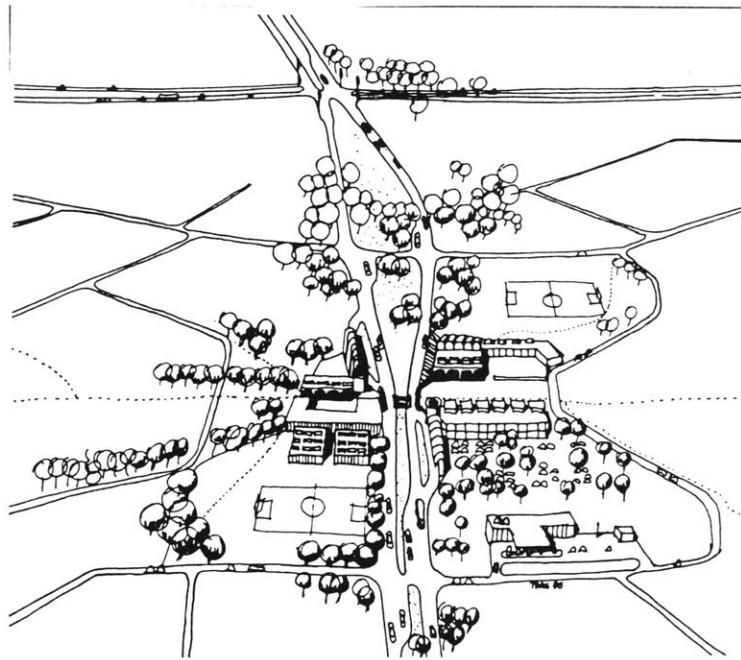
Driving into the housing estate of Neath Hill, I was immediately struck by its small-scale buildings placed closely together, its tree-lined roads and an overwhelming feeling that I was in a village. Straight ahead was a housing complex for the elderly. The road curved to the right and I was drawn to discover where it went. I was rewarded with a vision of attached and single-family housing built around a rectangular green. The houses were placed close to the road and to each other. Small mews came off the main



Upper drawing shows backs of Neath Hill housing placed around a village green. Lower diagram shows Neath Hill plan for housing sited close to the road with few front gardens (in a village layout).

road at regular intervals. The overall form is very much like a village.

The local center is visible from the grid road and accessible from the estate. It is exactly what the original planners for Milton Keynes envisioned for the local centers. By placing the local centers opposite each other in opposite housing estates with pedestrian underpasses under the grid roads, residents would have multiple shopping options. Also, their placement and visibility would attract people driving by on the grid roads. Moreover, this created a dense network of relationships within the city. Multiple options give residents the ability to be part of a community at the scale of a grid square while extending their networks to other parts of the city, like a village in a city.



Drawing shows placement of local centers at edge of grid squares. Access to adjoining local centers was made possible by an pathway that ran underneath the grid road.

While Milton Keynes has been called the "Third Garden City," it is very different from Letchworth and the Garden City copies that provided curved roads but little else that was reminiscent of the Garden City. Milton Keynes differs from Letchworth in its goals, planning process, size, financing, development, transportation systems, layout, governmental bodies, and the time the two cities were built. What Letchworth and Milton Keynes do share, besides a heavily planted landscape, are uses of the village form.

In Letchworth, the whole city may be viewed as a village. It is not broken up into smaller units (grid squares) as at Milton Keynes. Letchworth has never had a population bigger than 17,000 while Milton Keynes is planned for 250,000 people with each grid square containing 2000-5000 residents. Services are centrally located in Letchworth while at Milton Keynes local centers serve each grid square with a large city center providing hundreds of shops and offices. Letchworth has an identity derived from the

similarity of the housing units. In Milton Keynes, each grid square has its own identity, and in some cases, its own take on the village concept.

The differences between scale and plan between Letchworth and Milton Keynes reflect demographic and legislative trends of the intervening years. To house a growing British population between 1919-1939 four million dwellings were built along roads laid out in geometric patterns or unrelated curves. In most cases, there was no attempt to provide community buildings or handle increasing traffic or to foster any type of community values. The new houses were not part of new settlements, but were tacked on to existing cities. These were not village hybrids, but suburbs.

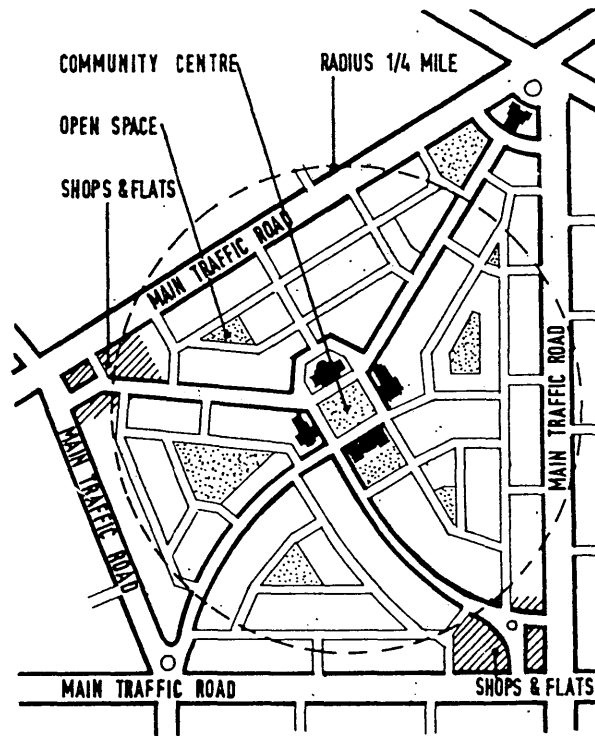
During the years between Letchworth and Milton Keynes much housing legislation was passed, which helped to shape this housing boom. The Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 made a systematic survey of rural housing obligatory, and simplified the procedure for dealing with unfit houses. As Howard had indicated in his concept of the country magnet, the problem of rural housing was real, both in quantitative and qualitative areas. While a shortage of houses existed, estimated around 120,000 units, a much higher, though incalculable number of dilapidated, unsanitary and overcrowded cottages were spread over the country. (Burnett, p. 137) The agricultural economy was depressed; the only new cottages in the villages were not built for middle-class patrons seeking a country cottage as a second home.

Raymond Unwin, the designer responsible for promulgating the village ideal in his writings, and conspicuously in his work at Letchworth, was a member of the Committee responsible for the 1918 Tudor Walters Report on Housing Standards and Density, which recommended standards for building. "Each house shall have a minimum of three rooms on the ground floor and three bedrooms above, two of these being capable of containing two beds. A larder and a bathroom are essential." The Report recommended a maximum of twelve houses to the acre, and encouraged variety in housing design that did not segregate tenants of the same social class. This Report

reflected Unwin's, "Nothing Gained by Overcrowding," in which he recommended the ideal housing density at twelve dwellings to the acre. Unwin's previous work at Letchworth had demonstrated the possibilities of building economically feasible, but generous, housing provisions in a country setting. At Letchworth, he interpreted these ideas in a village form. The influence of Letchworth was seen in the number of housing acts passed during the 1920's and 1930's, all with the purpose of giving local authorities the power to purchase land and develop it as Garden Cities.

In 1940, the Royal Commission on the Distribution of Industrial Population under the chairmanship of Sir Montague Barlow filed its report, concluding that "the continued drift of the industrial population constituted a social, economic and strategic problem which demanded immediate action." The report recommended that "urgent consideration should be given to the decentralization or dispersal both of industries and industrial population from congested urban areas by means of garden cities or the development of existing small towns." As in the 19th century, the government was still addressing problems of overcrowded cities and considering new settlements in the country as a solution.

In 1943, the British National Council of Social Services published a survey of the needs of residential areas in Britain, which suggested that future planning should be based on neighborhood units, a 20th century planning device that borrows important aspects from the traditional village. This recommendation was a harbinger of the eventual planning direction that England took in the creation of New Towns, or extensions to towns, rather than the creation of new villages. But yet, planning did not abandon the village; it interpreted it as a neighborhood unit. As a planning mechanism, the "neighborhood unit" was the smallest village-like increment. Except for Washington and Milton Keynes, the neighborhood unit was a pivotal planning tool in all the New Towns.



Clarence Perry's plan for the neighborhood unit. Community center is placed in the center of the neighborhood while local shops are sited at the edges. A small amount of open space was placed within the neighborhood.

The neighborhood unit theory promulgated by Clarence Perry in the 1929 *Plan for New York and its Environs*. was applied on a large scale in the British new towns. (Mumford 1954: 269) In Letchworth, Unwin and Parker had made no effort to define or even suggest the neighborhood. Furthermore, the emphasis lay on the city as a whole, treated as a single unit, as opposed to the neighborhood unit, which is but one component of a whole.

Clarence Perry wanted to give back to the neighborhood the functions that had been allowed to lapse or had become unduly centralized since the decay of the medieval city. This led him from the neighborhood to the neighborhood unit: from a mere cohabitation to the creation of a new form and new institutions for a modern urban community. (Mumford 1954: 260) In planning this led to the change of the basic unit of planning from the city block or avenue to the more complex unit of the neighborhood, a change that demanded a reapportionment of space for avenues and access streets, for

public building and open areas and domestic dwelling, in short a new generalized urban pattern.

The neighborhood unit in British New Towns represented a qualitative advance over most prewar housing estates that provided no local community services. The neighborhood unit plan for New Towns in Great Britain was the first real attempt on a nationwide scale to plan residential areas comprehensively with shops, schools, community buildings, and open spaces fitted into residential areas as part of a planned pattern.

The primary difference between a village and a neighborhood is that a village is an entity unto itself, while a neighborhood is part of a larger form, a town or city. Frequently in the New Towns, the neighborhood units were called villages, a crossover in naming related to the romantic associations with the term "village," and probably was a good selling point. Some sociologists criticized the neighborhood unit approach as an attempt to recreate an idealized form of village life. (S. de Monchaux 1973: 4) which resulted in isolating groups of people from one another and from all the services, and activities that a city has to offer.

As Social Planner for the New Town of Milton Keynes, Suzanne de Monchaux proposed the Local Area Plan (LAP) rather than the neighborhood unit as a planning mechanism. This concept envisioned overlapping catchment areas defined by the location of social services.

Originally thought of as a planning tool, the neighborhood unit came to be equated with community as a social form. "In the extreme it expressed idealized assumptions about the nature of the relationship between the physical environment and social behavior." (S. de Monchaux 1973: 3) The neighborhood unit was thought to be a social restorative in an age of rapidly changing social, economic and political conditions. According to Suzanne de Monchaux, great concern existed concerning people and their presumed isolation in modern life. It was thought that people must be provided with a

means of rediscovering the qualities found in older social forms (such as the often misrepresented rural village), forms that were imagined to provide supportive stable contacts and interactions. (S. de Monchaux 1973: 3) When de Monchaux refers to the misrepresented rural village, she refers to the myth of the village which was imposed upon the traditional village.

According to de Monchaux, studies indicated that the neighborhood, however successfully planned in physical terms, was not a mechanism capable of responding successfully to such an immense load of expectations. (S. de Monchaux 1973: 4) In a 1972 study that attempted to isolate and compare predictors of social satisfaction in planned and unplanned communities, results showed that three factors were predominant: maintenance (upkeep of structures), compatibility (friendliness and perceived similarity) and level of noise. At higher densities, provision of outdoor play space was significant. (S. de Monchaux 1973: 4) What made people happy was not the neighborhood form, but good maintenance of structures, friendly people and low levels of noise. The elements of well-maintained buildings filled with friendly, but quiet people are not qualities of a neighborhood unit, but of a good building maintenance program, careful screening of community members and noise restrictions.

Looked at in a positive way, the neighborhood unit concept does allow a way of isolating manageable physical design units within an urban framework for purposes of traffic management, siting and orientation of dwelling units, commercial, and educational and social services, network division, density mix, visual reference and landscaping. (S. de Monchaux 1973: 7) That the neighborhood cannot produce social effects does not invalidate the desirability of these effects. De Monchaux suggested the pursuit of these desired social effects at a policy and service level rather than at an environmental design level. (S. de Monchaux 1973: 7)

Local Area Planning does not need to recognize physical boundaries or forms. It describes a set of conditions where various local needs are met in terms of ranges of

facilities and services, accessibility, relationship to local and larger areas. It would insure local services but would not impose an unwanted insularity on residents who seek social interactions in other locations. What the Local Area Plan does is enhance the likelihood that a wide range of opportunities is available to residents through the use of social as well as physical mechanisms.

The New Towns, like villages, were sited in rural areas. Instead of being surrounded by agricultural land as villages were, the New Towns were surrounded by green belts of open country that had formerly been agricultural land. Often times, an old village was incorporated as part of a New Town. Residents identified with the former villages.

The purpose of a village had been to house agricultural workers. In contrast, the purpose of the neighborhood was to house and provide local services for a limited number of residents, often the number of people needed to support a primary school. While work was a common bond for villagers, the primary school was the bond for those who lived in the neighborhood. In keeping with Sharp's definition of a village, the social simplicity of a neighborhood, that is the bond of the school, is the same sort of simplicity found in the village.

In the neighborhood, neighbors are simply people who live near each other. "To share the same place is perhaps the most primitive of social bonds, and to be within view of one's neighbors is the simplest form of association." (Mumford 1954: 257) This definition of a neighborhood fits a village too.

Neighbors are people united primarily not by common origins or common purposes but by the proximity of their dwellings in space. Neighbors know each other by sight. In times of crisis neighbors are drawn together, but neighborliness rests only on the fact of local cohabitation. Nothing is forced in this relationship; neither friendship nor occupational affiliation is implied in the give and take of a neighborhood.

In the New Town of Washington, designed by the firm of Llewelyn-Davies Weeks Forestier-Walker and Bor, the neighborhood units were actually called villages, and were considerably smaller units than in other New Towns. This use of word, "village" recalls the romantic associations with living in a village, the myth of the village. The plan stated that "the 'village' was to be small enough to have a consistent character of its own and relate to its residents' 'sense of place' but was large enough to accommodate a population that was socially varied." (Washington New Town Plan 1966:67) Each "village" was planned to provide housing and other facilities (school, shopping, local services) for approximately 4500 people.

A primary road network divided the city into areas approximately one mile square. The grid squares were not planned to be self-contained entities, but to contain a variety of uses, most containing one or more villages. Moreover, a system of footpaths was designed to link all areas of individual grid squares and connect the grid squares to one another.

The planners created a hierarchy of living environments designed to foster social interaction among residents. At a macro level they planned grid squares and within those squares, "villages." Within each "village" were "Groups," and a number of "Places." In the Washington "village," the Group, composed of 24-50 families was the smallest unit. A "Place" composed of Groups, with a lower limit of 400 families, was next in the hierarchy, and the nineteen villages each containing several Places, form the town. A Place was loosely defined as the area large enough to support a nursery school, convenience store, telephone booths, mail boxes, and a play area for children. Three nursery schools were provided in each village. They were in close walking distance of dwelling units via village footpaths. One two-form primary school was provided in each village.

The New Towns program in England faced a unique problem of creating social networks in new settlements. In traditional villages, generations of families had lived and

worked together; their bonds were renewed constantly. But in a New Town, the social network was a blank slate. While earlier New Towns had used the neighborhood unit to achieve sociability, the planners of Washington realized the limiting and isolating factors of a neighborhood. With increased car ownership came increased mobility. The planners of Washington planned a new settlement that reflected this mobility and provided opportunities for increased interaction. "The master plan can best foster active social development by providing a high degree of accessibility, giving maximum opportunity for interaction." (Washington New Town Plan 1966: 81) Opportunities for interaction were provided by local centers, a main shopping center area with offices located above shops, industrial areas, a stadium, an arts center, and a library.

Milton Keynes was planned to be bigger than any of the previous new towns, and after the planning of 31 New Towns, reassessment of the planning process was in order. The planners of Milton Keynes were the same planners who had been involved in the planning of Washington.

The neighborhood unit was not the only element of planning a city that was considered for revision. The goals for Milton Keynes were formulated as a result of careful examination of the experience of other new towns, contributions of experts, and a close look at what was happening in the rest of the country and other parts of the world. The goals provided a framework for exploring and testing alternative proposals and policies that came to make up the "artifact of the mind" that was the plan. (J. de Monchaux 1992: 3)

The most important goal of the plan for Milton Keynes was that this New Town provide for opportunity and freedom of choice. The knowledge that they could not predict what opportunities might be needed in the future led to the adoption of an open-ended and choice-driven plan, of necessity ambiguous in some of its physical aspects. The plan did not dictate the built form, although the Development Corporation built most of the housing during the early years. The planners decided issues of density at ten to

twenty-five dwellings per acre, road layout for the arterial roads, setbacks for development from the grid squares, placement of the City Center, placement of the local centers, plan of the Redway and other pathway systems, infrastructure, and a system of parks throughout the city.

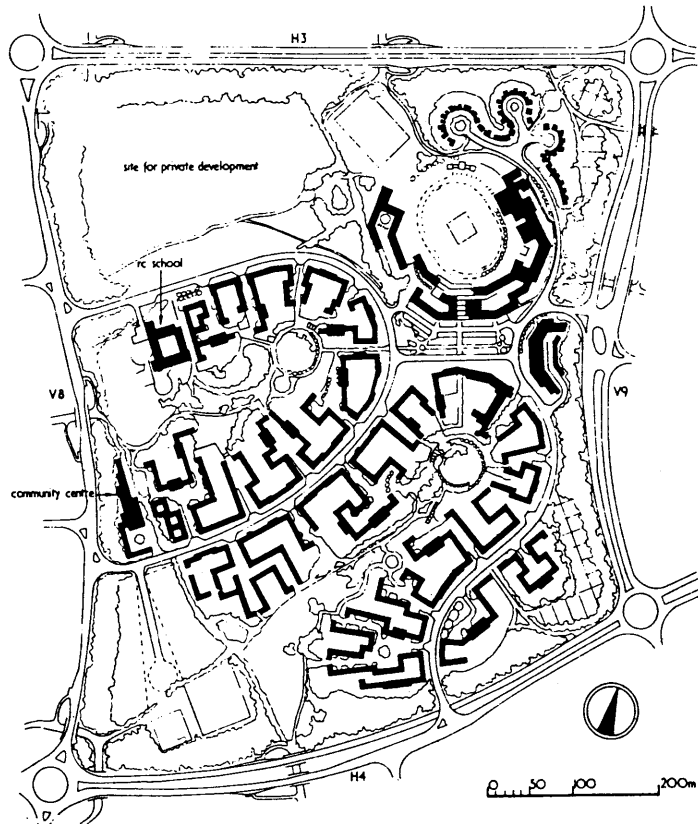
We imagined, in a non-specific way, an unparalleled richness in the way the choices about design and location might be taken up. We saw an unrealized complexity of connection and web of associations being built across time and place in the new city. And in this richness we imagined would lie the ability of the city to meet all, and not just a few, of the goals the corporation established. (J. de Monchaux 1992: 9)

Thirteen existing traditional villages were incorporated in the Plan as part of the city. "Special importance is attached to the future role of these villages....Proposals for each must be prepared with great care to insure that the new role and development associated with each village takes full account of existing social and physical characteristics." (Milton Keynes Master Plan 1970: 102) The character and location of each village influenced the alignment of the physical plan and location of certain land uses; villages fell within the grid of the primary road network. Local centers and activity centers were located adjacent to existing village shops.

The goal of integrating existing villages and their population fully into Milton Keynes means extending to them urban services equal to those of the rest of the city; in practice, this could conflict, to some extent, with the maintenance of their present characteristics, and a careful balance will have to be struck between preservation and modernization. (Milton Keynes Master Plan 1970: 332)

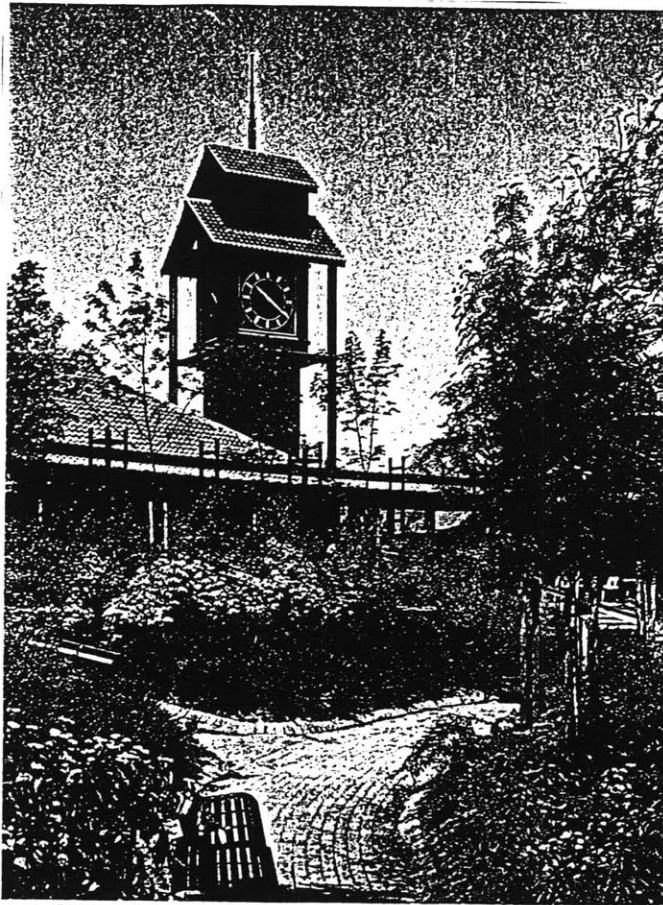
In some ways, Milton Keynes is a combination of the best of country, suburban, and city living environments. It is situated in a rural setting. The views are picturesque. The housing density is low. Roads define the boundaries of the living environment, creating an insularity. Local centers serve daily needs. Like a suburb, the houses are new, filled with modern amenities. The roads are wide and planning has taken the car into account. Public transportation is available. Like a city, there is a large population

and shopping facilities with a range and variety of goods that could only be available to a large population. A range of job opportunities exists as in a large city; 2500 companies have registered themselves in Milton Keynes in the last 20 years. Civic, recreational and healthcare opportunities are also available on a scale befitting a city.



Plan for Neath Hill. Diagram shows local center placed on edge of housing estate and road layout similar to a traditional village plan. Note housing sited around greens and in mews courts.

Looking at the arrangement of one of the grid squares, Neath Hill, we see a development that meets the goals of the original overall plan although its physical form and layout provide striking visual evidence of the persistence of the village form in a new



Clock tower in local center at Neath Hill serves as a landmark to motorists driving by on the grid road. Note dense planting.

setting. In a document titled, "Neath Hill- An Urban Village?," produced by the Milton Keynes Urban Studies Center, the authors support the idea that Neath Hill is in fact a village. The argument is made that the designers of Neath Hill attempted to go beyond the images of the overcrowded vice-filled city and the virtuous country village by "creating a community that is at once varied and organic," that can respond to the needs of the whole cross-section of society. In a 1978 article in *Building Design* titled "Village Within a City," author Deyan Sudjic wrote that Neath Hill was seeking to "recreate the village ideal."

In architect Wayland Tunley's plan for Neath Hill, we see a gently curving road with small mews coming off it. Overall, the development is a series of small mews-style courts located around the side of a low hill. At the entrance to each court, a path leads

onto a large open space with small play areas located around it. As much land as possible has been included in garden areas. Driving in from the grid roads the allotments for vegetable gardens and fruit trees are placed directly across from the entrance to the local center. In "Neath Hill- A Guide for Residents," produced by the Milton Keynes Development Corporation, a list of suggested shrubs, trees and climbing plants, chosen for their ability to grow in the soil and local conditions was included in the welcome packet for new residents.

Donald Reay has suggested that residents of Milton Keynes regard themselves as living in individual villages set in kilometer grid squares, with the town center a special trip some way off and the workplace a bus ride away. (Reay 1984: 26) Neath Hill certainly fits this description with the added emphasis of physical design and detailing that are a contemporary version of the village aesthetic. Tunley planned housing and public buildings that give the feel of the village without creating a pastiche of "olde" cottages done up in an imitation medieval style. He created modern houses for modern living in the late 20th century. He makes no apologies for his village. "We are giving people what they want. We wanted to create a formula without rubber stamping units." In Christopher Knight's evaluation of Neath Hill, he suggested that it could be either a "false dawn or the end of an epoch. It might be a desert island in the threatening seas of Milton Keynes that one wouldn't want to be rescued from." (Knight 1981: 703) In the years since Neath Hill was built, other designers have taken up the village concept, but nowhere has it been treated with such dignity and respect as in Neath Hill.

In an assessment of his plan for Neath Hill, Tunley wrote that he was trying to "combat the malaise" (quoted in Knight 1981: 694) associated with building 900 houses with 2250 parking spaces spread over a kilometer grid, "on a rubber stamp formula with very little variety, amusement, relief and joy." (quoted in Knight 1981: 694)

Tunley based his design on the several criteria. The whole area would have a variety of uses. A clearly understood system of streets, bicycle paths and pedestrian ways

would all lead to a "lively" central area. The commercial elements would be linked to the city via the grid roads as laid out in the master plan. A variety of public areas and recognizable streets and mews of differing character and landscape styles would be an integral part of the plan. There must be surprises and vistas.

The development would include the widest variety of housing types possible. Houses must be designed in a way that would allow residents to customize them to enhance rather than damage the quality of the environment. Housing materials would be the best quality low maintenance modern materials that could be afforded: red brick with red tile roofs . Interest would be achieved by the variety of the built form following the topography of the site, together with a variation of roof heights. Sociability was created at the macro planning level by the dense network of opportunities for the residents. Furthermore, Neath Hill feels like a village; the many occasions for local interaction create a sense of community.

According to Tunley, "the sum total of these criteria seemed to add up to a village plan."(quoted in Knight 1981: 697) Tunley's design does go a long way in satisfying the goals of the plan for Milton Keynes, and in the process comes close to creating the look and feel of a village. Perhaps we can call this new form the "villurb," a name that brings to mind village, suburban and urban form.

Tunley's local brick 'farm building vernacular' look is offset by the architectural insignia of clock tower, entrance gatepiers, timber oriels, lanterns, balconies and pergolas. These and the mews (named after largely obsolete crafts) are more than whimsical echoes, and are surely intended to upgrade the 'village' idea behind the layout by relating it to its context of a totally architect-designed New Town. (Knight 1981: 691)

"Neighborhood" and "village" are two words that are persistently used interchangeably to describe living conditions in Milton Keynes. John Billingham, former head of Design and Development for the MKDC, insists, and quite accurately, that there were no neighborhoods planned for Milton Keynes and that none exist in the city. Yet,



Milton Keynes as portrayed by the 'City structure' report: a quilt of secluded but connected villages.

when I went to the Milton Keynes library, there on the shelves were Development Corporation documents with names like Neath Hill Neighborhood Report. A card fell out of a document when I picked it up. It said, "Sybil Fawlty (fictitious name), Neighborhood Liaison Officer." When I ask Billingham about these seeming

contradictions he shrugged. Even the Milton Keynes Development Corporation cannot let go of the neighborhood unit, albeit, in vocabulary, not in reality.

When Milton Keynes residents use the words "neighborhood" and "village", they use them to describe a place where low density housing units set in the city or countryside are their homes. When an estate agent uses the word "village" to sell Milton Keynes, the word is meant to conjure up all the mythical associations we make with the word, "village." When a developer uses the word, "village," you can bet he's talking about building neo-vernacular housing. Maybe, if a person has grown up in a neighborhood and remembers it fondly, then she will call the area she lives in Milton Keynes, a "neighborhood." Maybe if a person has social pretensions or has always wanted to live in a "village", he will call his living arrangements a "village." But whatever the planners' or the residents' terminology, some of the housing estates in Milton Keynes do have important elements of the village in their physical form, and continue the village concept in British town planning.

Chapter Four- Poundbury

The conception of each neighborhood as a traditional Dorset village or small town with its traditional street pattern and square or common, combined with the use of traditional building types and materials, should insure that development is on a human scale. (Poundbury Planning Weekend Appendix 1989: 30)

At first glance, the City of Dorchester in the county of Dorset appears unchanged from the early 19th century. Small-scale gray stone public buildings line a main street with auxiliary perpendicular narrower streets. The streets are crowded; it is market day. School children crowd into small shops while women with baskets over their arms shop for produce in an open air market. A closer look produces a more realistic picture of the city. While local shops are in abundance, so are national and international chain stores. Today the historic center of Dorchester is a shopping and administrative center for a population of 15,000 residents and for the surrounding villages. No buildings are used as housing in the center of the city. Former gardens are now parking lots. The residents have moved to the edges or suburbs of the city. Small buildings in the center are used as professional offices.

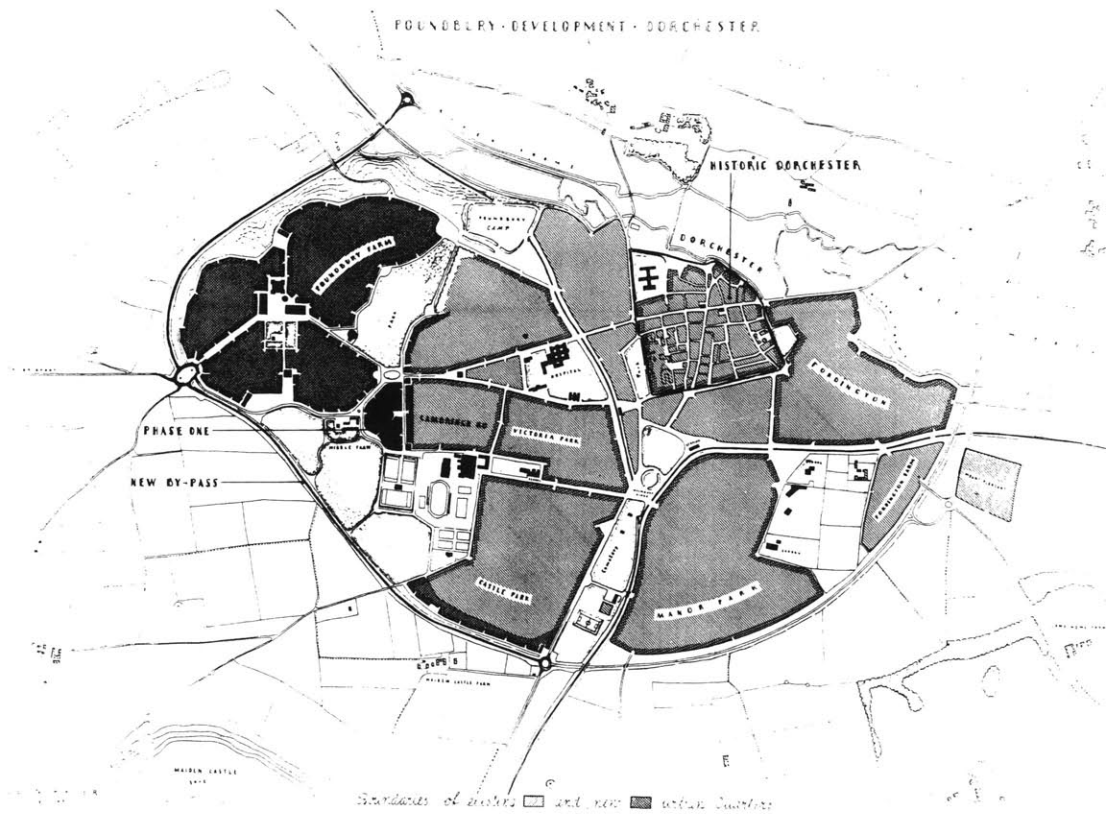
In July 1987, in an attempt to accommodate a ten to fifteen year expansion plan, the West Dorset District Council approached the Duchy of Cornwall to develop some of its land located on the western perimeter of the city, captured within the recently completed by-pass. The Duchy of Cornwall has owned land around Dorchester since the 14th century. Today, in Dorchester, it owns approximately 2600 acres of agricultural land, primarily to the south and west of the city. The total holdings of the Duchy of Cornwall consist of about 130,000 acres of agricultural land, mainly in the counties of Avon, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Glamorgan, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire and the Isles of Scilly. The Duchy also owns a portfolio of commercial property and a small urban estate in South London.

The Duchy exists to produce an income for HRH The Prince of Wales who receives no provision from the Civil List. The income from the properties meets the entire cost of the public and private lives of HRH The Prince and Princess of Wales. The Duchy is managed according to the provision of the Duchy of Cornwall Management Acts 1863 -1982. The Duchy is governed by a Council; the chairman is HRH The Prince of Wales, as Duke of Cornwall. The prince has taken an active role in the Dorchester expansion.

Dorchester encompasses 750 acres of land. The new development is located on the Duchy's Poundbury Farm and the town extension, named Poundbury, will add 400 acres to the city. Two separate farmhouses and associated farm buildings and a number of privately owned cottages within the development area are currently located on the site. Although the land is now intensively farmed, it is considered to be relatively open and featureless.

Poundbury has been conceived as the development of a new community made up of four "Dorset villages" at the edge of Dorchester. Each village will incorporate mixed-use development "which will be built in the local style, using traditional methods and materials." (Duchy of Cornwall 1991: 1) The Duchy will build the infrastructure and then sell individual sites and groups of sites to builders and developers. These sites are going to be sold in small packages to encourage local builders and developers to get involved and to prevent the "sterile uniformity of national house builders." A design code must be followed. The Duchy has commissioned designs for the civic buildings it will build in the new development.

The planning of Poundbury has been a four year process that began in 1988 with the appointment of architect Leon Krier as the master planner. The Prince and Krier have much in common. Both have been ridiculed and praised by the architecture profession; and both share a distaste of modernism and consider Siena the paradigm of urban civilization. Although the Poundbury site is relatively flat, Krier's original plan for Phase



Plan shows Dorchester and planned development of Poundbury (darkest areas).

It looked like an Italian hill town. Densely sited housing wound round and round the site with the town center in the middle. The plan was criticized as being alien and unEnglish, and the revised scheme has much more of the feel of an English village than a Classical Italian town.

Krier is well known for his campaign for the reurbanization of the European city. The choice of Krier was made on the strength of his ideas not his completed projects. From the mid-1970's, he has proposed one scheme after another for the remodeling of Europe's historic cities. His plans for buildings are archetypal Classical structures. Only one of his designs has ever been built, his own house at Seaside, Florida.

Poundbury is also a vehicle for the planning and architecture ideas of HRH Prince Charles. In his book and documentary of the same name, "Vision of Britain," Prince Charles wrote that,

For a long time I have felt strongly about the wanton destruction which has taken place in the country in the name of progress, about the sheer, unadulterated ugliness and mediocrity of public and commercial buildings, and of housing estates, not to mention the dreariness and heartlessness of so much urban planning. (HRH Prince of Wales 1989: 7)

For the last eight years, Prince Charles has been an active critic of contemporary British architecture. He believes that when "man loses contact with the past, he loses his soul. What we really need to do is not return only to classical principles, but to regain the humility to understand the lessons of the past." (HRH The Prince of Wales 1989: 10)

Too many of our modern buildings are huge, blank and impersonal. We have created somewhat god-forsaken cities from which nature, or indeed the spiritual side of life, has almost been erased. We don't *have* to build towns and cities we don't want, in which we feel manipulated and threatened by architecture. (HRH The Prince of Wales 1989:137)

In addition, Prince Charles believes that architects have neglected the people for whom they design. In 1991, he resigned from a committee gathered to choose an architect for the National Museum of Scotland because no local citizens were placed on the committee. He wants architects and developers who employ them to "be more sensitive to the deep-rooted feelings of ordinary people and to find ways of integrating their opinions and their needs into the creative processes from which new buildings emerge." (HRH The Prince of Wales 1989: 12)

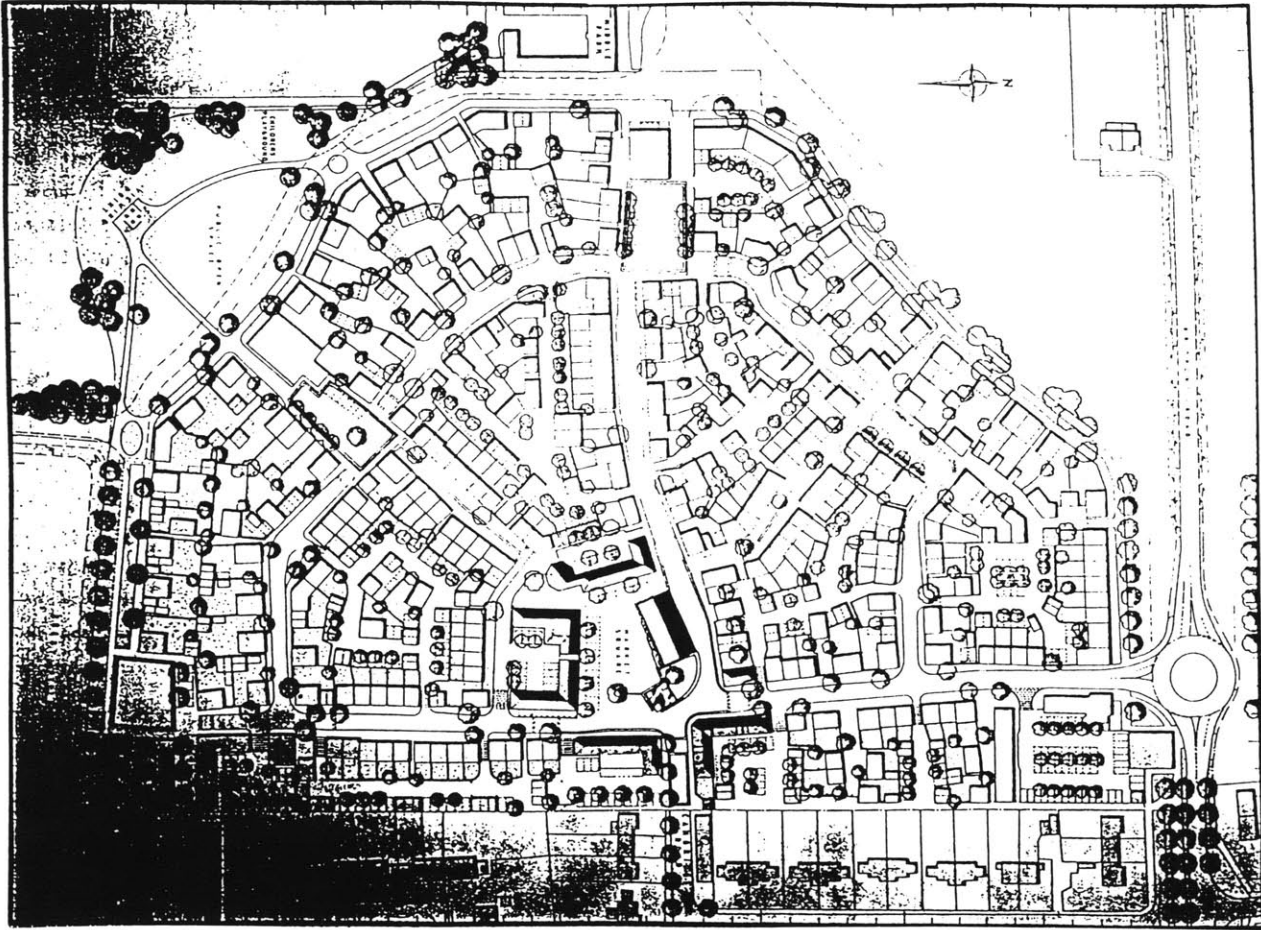
The Prince's calls for a revival of classical architecture and the participation of the local community in building its future find support in the work of Leon Krier and in the community architecture firm of Hunt Thompson Associates . "In allying himself with Krier, the Prince, whether he realizes it or not, is implicitly criticizing not just the

architecture profession, but the whole pattern of urban life in industrial society."
(Architecture Journal 1989)

Prince Charles calls for "ten commandments or principles" of new development, which address: The Place, Hierarchy, Scale, Harmony, Enclosure, Materials, Decoration, Art, Signs and Lights, and Community. Theoretically, his planning principles can be used to design any built form. At Poundbury, these principles will be used in a "village" form. They are intriguing when compared with the principles used at Letchworth and Milton Keynes. At Letchworth and Milton Keynes, villages were built responses to principles for social change. Problems of overcrowded cities, unhealthy living conditions, and poor opportunities for employment were issues addressed by the planners of these new communities. The new settlements were planned to grow and adapt to the needs of the communities. The Prince's concern is for the built form alone. He imagines that good form will promote social change.

Poundbury's Phase I, the Middle Farm site, is seen as an organic extension of the existing Victoria Park suburb ; the three future "Dorset villages" will be built around Poundbury Farm with groups of large trees framing a central common. Due to the revised scheme, the first phase of the new "Dorset Village" plan was cut back to 244 dwelling units from 500-800 dwelling units (planned for each phase). Besides houses and flats of varying sizes, Phase I will include: 17,300 square feet of offices, 11,000 square feet of retail space and 8500 square feet of light industrial workshops, a tower, a market hall, an inn, a pub, and a restaurant. Twenty percent of the housing will be affordable housing developed by the Guinness Trust Housing Association.

In December 1991, planning permission was granted for Phase I. Infrastructure will be completed in 1992 and building will begin in 1993. The main road to Bridport that runs through the site, will be rerouted to form a tree-lined avenue, separating the Middle Farm village from the other three phases, and the existing Bridport Road will be integrated into one of the districts to become the High Street of that quarter.



Plan for Phase I shows village layout. The road into Phase I is similar to the linear village form. Note that the road is not straight but curves slightly to give views into the village.

Although the plan for Poundbury calls for four Dorset villages, as built, it will have only two of the qualities identified with villageness, form and myth. No opportunities for social interaction are planned to be built in Phase I. From drawings of the proposed Phase I village, one cannot get a sense that Poundbury will feel like a village either. Because no opportunities for social interaction are planned, except for a market and accommodations for retail space, it is doubtful that a feeling of community can develop, or stores, either. With 244 dwelling units, Phase I is too small for a market and retail stores to locate at Poundbury without being subsidized. If the retail stores have

to be subsidized, what does that say about the planners' vision for self-sufficient communities?

Each village (or phase) will need separate planning permission. Schemes for Phases II, III and IV are not yet drawn, but the general aims of the overall plan are in place. Each phase of the development was planned to be self-sufficient in education, employment, shopping and leisure, but due to the cutback in size, Phase I will not have a primary school. No resident will have to walk more than 5-10 minutes to reach his or her place of employment. It is expected that most shopping needs will be satisfied without the use of a car, although that will be difficult if Phase I cannot attract any stores. Housing density will be relatively high at 15 dwellings to the acre. The houses will be organized in loose blocks with parking accommodations behind the dwellings. Every house will have a garden. Gas and water will be brought into the rear of the houses. Power lines will be buried.

The number of dwelling units planned for Phase I fits comfortably within the accepted size of the rural village. The square footage of commercial and industrial space is quite large for an agricultural village, but the planners of Poundbury envision an economically self-sufficient community. Instead of fields for laborers to work in, the planners have provided office space. It seems unlikely that the "village" will be self-sufficient in shopping provisions. Who will support the shops? Certainly a small convenience store will succeed, but even in rural villages today, residents go out to supermarkets. If it's cheaper to drive a few miles, residents will shop in supermarkets. Likewise, why would the Poundbury residents shop for any goods locally when a short trip away, they could find wider variety and cheaper prices? Small exclusive stores might succeed, drawing customers from Dorchester and tourists too, but that does not fit with the planners' goals for a socially mixed self-sufficient community.

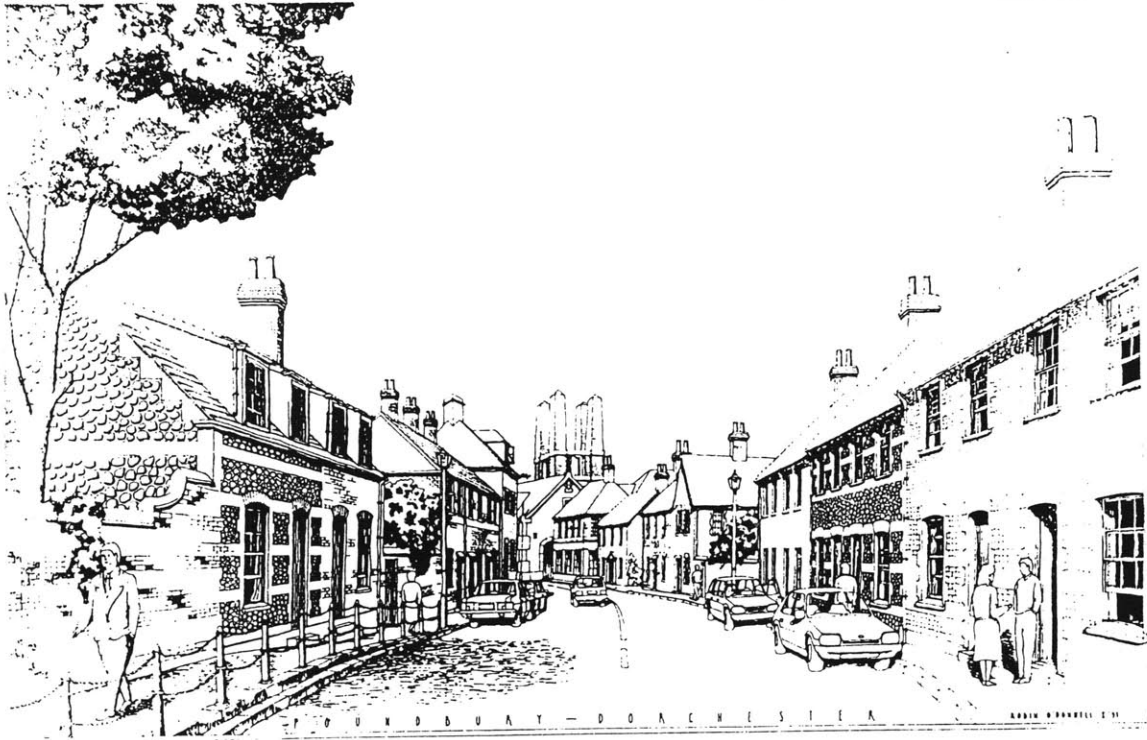
In Phase I, roads will be through roads, no cul-de-sacs. Densities are planned to be greatest in the village center and will decrease out to the edges. Seven public buildings have been commissioned for the center. Single family houses will overlook the



Carl Laubin's painting of Poundbury shows village street with housing, shops and market building. Lack of cars underscores planners' wish that residents be able to walk to shops and work.

surrounding countryside. A recreation field/park is planned for the edge of the development. We might imagine what Poundbury will look like from the painting commissioned by the Duchy from Carl Laubin. Laubin's view shows one of Poundbury's main streets with Leon Krier's tower hovering above architect John Simpson's market building. Houses of brick and stone sit next to shops and workshops. Only one car is in the painting; pedestrians and bicyclists seem to have the rule of the road. Reportedly the Prince had to persuade Laubin to add puddles to the painting. As the Prince has said, this

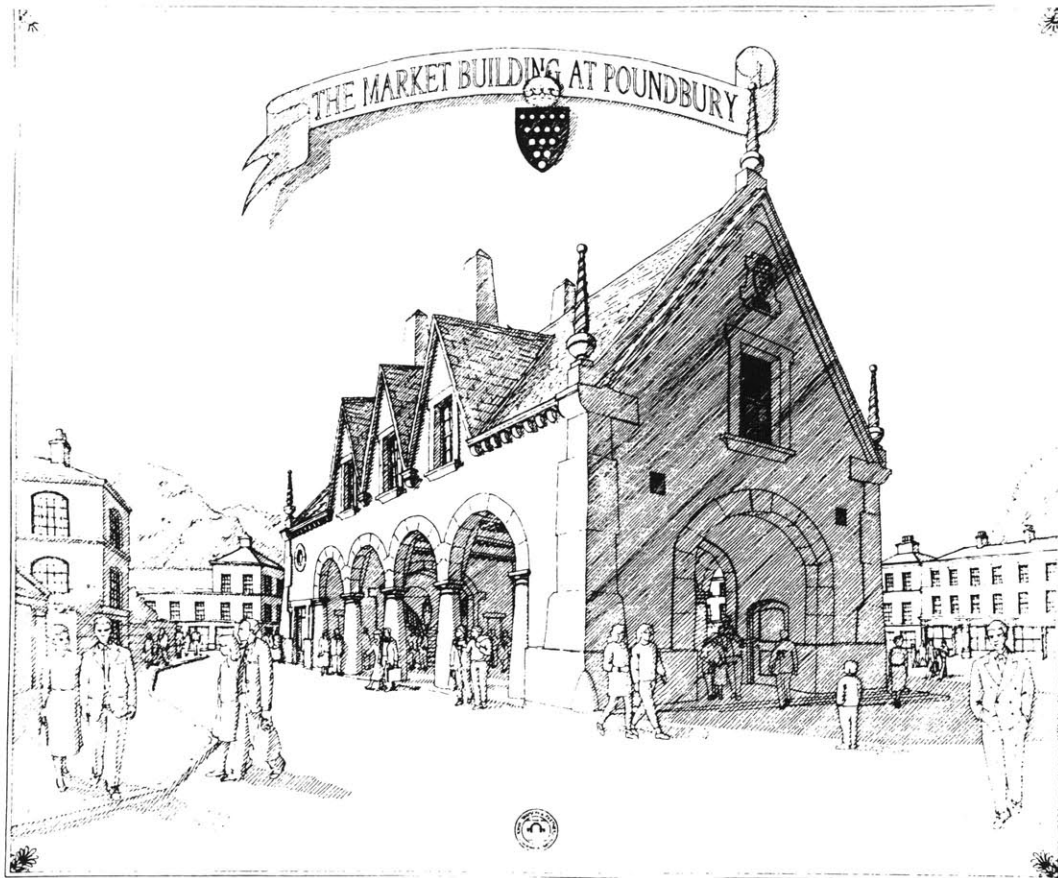
"chocolate box tourist board scene" is not his vision for Poundbury, but if the plan is carried out as intended, it will look exactly like the painting.



Drawing shows proposed village street in Poundbury. The market tower is the local climax. Vernacular housing is densely sited close to the road.

The design code for Poundbury leaves no doubts that it will look like a village. The architecture firm of Andres Duane/Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk's design code assures that Poundbury's form will be a village. The Prince has praised their work at Seaside, the resort community in Florida. At Seaside, a strict design code dictates materials, uses and the form of the community. At Poundbury, the Poundbury Architectural Review Committee (P.A.R.C.) must approve all building plans. The code is written to enforce the classical principles of architecture of which Prince Charles is so fond. Materials, techniques and configurations of external building walls, garden walls, building elements, roofs, windows and doors and gardens are regulated. Nine types of buildings are

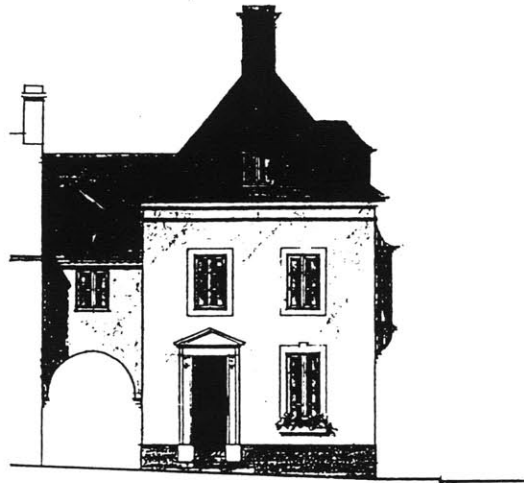
allowed: terrace house, high street terrace house, two varieties of townhouses, detached house, villa, block, courtyard and courtyard workshop. Regulations include building use, building placement, building frontage, out buildings, parking and building height.



John Simpson's market building at Poundbury is planned to be a gathering place.

The regulations range from a simple height restriction of three and one-half floors maximum, to mandatory porches and bay windows. A narrow range of materials will be allowed. Four quarries make the list as acceptable places to buy stone. Brick shall be laid in English Garden Wall or Flemish bond patterns. Column orders shall be Tuscan or Doric with proportions and entablatures established in William Chambers' *Treatise on Civil Architecture*. Window panes shall approximate the Golden Mean proportionally. Roof pitch shall be between 30 percent and 43 percent or between 47 percent and 55

percent. Exterior doors shall be single or double of a pattern selected from the P.A.R.C. Master list. All trees and shrubs planted in yards shall be selected from the P.A.R.C. List of Native Plants.



Drawing of small "village" house planned for Poundbury.

In 1988, in order to obtain community response to the concepts of the new development, members of the Planning Team, a group of 25 professionals from varied

backgrounds, including architecture, economics, health care, conservation, infrastructure and rural development, conducted a social survey with community leaders. A second survey was done a month later. In the second study, interviewees were residents of Dorchester; most of the interviewees were chosen from the west side of town because of its proximity to Poundbury. Residents generally felt that the expansion of Dorchester was inevitable because of the rising population in the area. Most people felt that the plan was good in theory, but were skeptical about putting the ideas into practice. They were particularly cynical about the concept of economically self-sufficient villages considering that most people do their shopping in a town center and they commute out to work. (Poundbury Planning Weekend Appendix [PPWA] 1989: 20) When they were told about the village plan, they envisioned English villages, not Krier's first scheme for an Italian hill town.

Respondents voiced concern that the housing might be unaffordable. Development as the residents of Dorchester had experienced it in the last 30 years was 1960's plain box style social housing. They thought that if well-known outside architects were involved in the development, the housing would not be affordable. They wanted some low-cost homes with a balanced mix of people and housing types. They thought that high-technology industry was appropriate for the development and there was agreement that without chances for employment, the development would not succeed. Concern for activities for youths was expressed. A green environment was considered very important to the respondents. A general store, post office and pub were seen as necessities for each village. Residents wanted residential districts. They did not want the planned density of mixed offices and houses, so the mix was lessened, but the important principle of mixed development has been maintained.

The residents of Dorchester asked for the kind of "village" where local needs (general store, post office and pub) are met. They recognize that people go out to work and shop. Life in a rural village today is not insular. That the planners of Poundbury

want to impose self-sufficiency on the new "villages" seems unrealistic. If this were a community for the elderly where few people drove cars, this plan might be more fitting. If this was a resort community, like Seaside, and tourists came to stay for only a week, then shopping locally might be part of the resort experience. It makes good economic sense that residents will travel to find the cheapest prices and best jobs. Why would residents want a self-sufficient community? Gone are the days when people were born, lived and died in a village without ever venturing out.

Almost all the respondents agreed that further consultation was needed, that the idea of a community planning session, Poundbury Weekend, was a good idea. Some residents expressed concern that the ideas of ordinary people would not be listened to, but they did seem to feel that "the future of their town was as safe as it could be in the hands of the Duchy of Cornwall." (PPWA 1989: 22) Prince Charles's involvement and patronage of the scheme was seen as a reason to trust in it.

The Planning Team, led by Krier, felt that local people must be involved in the shaping of their community; that people can improve the quality and design of communal life. Public participation is essential. (PPWA 1989: 31) John Thompson, a leader in the community architecture movement in England was part of the Planning Team. His firm, Hunt Thompson Associates was hired as community development consultants for Poundbury. The information gathered in the two limited preliminary surveys in Dorchester served as the necessary feedback to make the plan. How much did the planners take into account the residents' concerns about the viability of a self-sufficient village? Asking residents for their input into what they wanted in a new community is different from what happened at the Poundbury Weekend. Planners came to Poundbury with a plan to sell, not a concept on which to get feedback.

Poundbury Weekend, a four-day event, was held in June of 1989. The Thursday session for residents of Dorchester was an evening town meeting at which local people, and Duchy and Poundbury planners outlined their objectives of the master plan and the

agenda for the weekend. Friday and Saturday events were centered around two themes. On Friday, the question was, "How can the Poundbury development best meet the needs and aspirations of local people?" Sessions on History and Planning, the Needs of Dorchester, Employment and Training, and Special Interest Workshops were all followed by open forums for discussion. On Saturday, the sessions were focused on exploring "how the Poundbury development should take place, both physically and socially." The subjects covered were: Master Planning, Use Procurement, Development Process, and Present and Future Trends, all followed by open forums. Only one of these subjects, "Master Planning," is a planning topic; the rest are different ways of saying implementation. On Sunday and Monday, an exhibition of plans for Poundbury was held at the County Museum to allow residents to see actual designs for Poundbury. Questionnaires were provided to get local response to the plans.

After the Planning Weekend, a storefront was leased by the Duchy in order to display the plans and to get further local response to them. A guest book was provided so people (not just residents) could comment on the scheme. The representative from the Duchy, when asked if anyone ever read the comments, replied that she marked a few of them for the Prince to read. I read all the comments. While the book contains responses from the residents of Dorchester, many people commenting on the plan came from other parts of England and Europe. A few identified themselves as architecture students from the Continent. Comments generally fell into two categories: people either responded favorably to the "village" look of the plan; or they did not take the scheme seriously. One person wrote, "We will not have to visit DisneyWorld."

The Duchy of Cornwall is committed to make money for HRH the Prince and Princess of Wales, and Poundbury is not the only village project in which the Prince is involved. In December 1991, the Duchy of Cornwall submitted plans to the local council for the new village of Thicket Mead, outside Midsomer Norton in Avon. The Duchy has

been encouraged by the council to submit proposals in return for bearing a portion of the cost of a new main road into the town which runs along the edge of the Duchy's land. The plans for Thicket Mead call for rows of traditional cottages with fences and clipped hedges looking out over two informal village greens. The majority of the houses, two



Village layout planned for Thicket Mead. Note dense grouping of houses around village greens.

and three bedroom cottages with steeply pitched roofs and pronounced chimney stacks, will be aimed at the local market. Robert Adam, the Duchy's architect on this proposal said, "Recent speculative housing tends to have too much fussy detail. We're trying to get a few things right, not a lot wrong." (The Times: 1991) Adam's design shows extensive tree planting around the two greens; larger existing trees will be saved. One-hundred and seven houses will be built and, as at Poundbury, parking accommodations will be provided behind the houses. He observed, "In most new developments garages and hard stands absolutely destroy the front aspect of houses." (The Times 1991) Like Poundbury, Thicket Mead is an example of a new settlement built on the form and the myth of the village. No provisions for local services are included, no shops or schools or recreation areas are planned.

The Duchy's plan for Poundbury attracts the most attention, but it is not the only British backlash against urban sprawl. Even before the plans for Poundbury were published, the search was on for an alternative to the suburban-style speculative estates that proliferated on the edge of almost every country town in England during the 1980's, with their "self-consciously meandering roads, cul-de-sacs and hideous signature of cars parked on concrete 'lawns' in front of every house." (The Times, 1992)

Besides the Duchy, other developers are building so-called "villages." Developing a group of houses and calling it a village is common practice by property developers and volume house builders. It is as easy today to call a densely grouped housing development, underdeveloped and overdesigned, a village, as it was to call a grim block of late Victorian dwellings Mansions. "The image is merely a sales device, suggesting appealing ingredients, though what those may be is left soft-focused." (Darley 1991: 8) The only quality of villageness in these new developments is mythical. Developers exploit the myth of the village to sell houses. A dense grouping of houses built around a green with a pond does not qualify a development to call itself a village. Despite the fact that these new projects look like villages, they will have all the problems of housing developments with no opportunities for social interaction. Moreover, they certainly do not feel like villages either.

An example of these new "villages" is located outside Sittingbourne in Kent. John Evennett has designed and built Church Milton, a housing development for Royco. Royco's managing director states the "concept was to build groups of houses that never repeated." Evennett did not only use the traditional suburban red brick with red tile roofs, but introduced slate roofs, white weatherboarding typical of Kent, wooden verandahs and wooden sash windows. Variety is achieved by mixing painted and weather boarded houses with occasional brick ones.

Church Milton is like a closed village in the sense that the houses had all been built by one developer just as all the houses in a closed village were built by the large

landowner. The initial development did have some of the elements of a rural village with its houses built around a green and pond. The style of the Royco-built houses was in a vernacular style that fit the County of Kent.

Evennett states that the bane of modern housing development is the highway authority. "Mostly it's the highway standards which destroy what you're trying to do. They force you to adopt road layouts and parking arrangements quite alien to the traditional village." (The Times 1992) At Church Milton, Evennett does not place the garages beside the front door in the main elevation. Some are set back between the houses with a third bedroom over them. Others are sited behind the houses. Royco built a village pond; the village green is the main focus of the development. But the scheme lacks shops, a church, and a pub. One resident commented, "The houses are beautiful, but there's no shop, not even a pub to go into and have half a jar and a natter."

After the first 130 houses were built on ten acres, Royco sold off the rest of the site to other volume house builders. The new houses do not follow Evennett's lead and are unfortunately, typical mass-produced cookie-cutter style houses. Church Milton won acclaim for Royco, including the 1989 best house builder of the year from *What House?* magazine. Criticism of the development is that it is too cute. "People in Sittingbourne call it toy town." Audrey Colcough, the manager of the community hall built by Royco, says that the hall is always booked for community activities. She refutes the toy town image. "It's very pretty. As soon as you walk in from the busy main road, you suddenly feel a wonderful tranquillity. The village green and pond are a great asset. Everyone is very protective of the community."

After the remaining lots at Church Milton were sold, the rest of the development was built like an ordinary suburb; the closed village form of the original development was no longer maintained. When the next group of houses got built, it destroyed the village atmosphere. Control was lost. Church Milton is neither a village nor a planned community. It is, after all, only a housing development, a suburban addition to an

existing town with a small village-like elements. It has no center; it lacks shops and local services.

Mutations of the village concept are spreading to other parts of the world too. In Japan, English village housing design with "English village-style landscaping" is being built by Kureha Construction, a subsidiary of Kureha Chemical under a licensing deal with Beazer Homes, the third largest house builder in the United Kingdom. "Anything that is British will be looked at as quality," said Dennis Webb, managing director of Beazer Homes. This housing development is a blatant example of developers selling the myth of the village. In this case, the developer is able to benefit from the perception that quality is equated with British-made goods.

The export is only skin deep. The Japanese may want mock-Tudor or Elizabethan style exteriors, but the interiors will be Japanese style layouts with large bathrooms downstairs and family areas with tatami matting. Traditional solid British construction will have to be altered for earthquake proofing. Designers will work out how to obtain the best brick effect without the rigidity of real bricks, Webb said. In applying "village" exteriors to houses, the effect is that of a two-dimensional stage set, nothing more.

Planning new settlements based on the myth of the village has yielded new "villages" fraught with "phony regionalism" and "ersatz historicism." (Darley 1991: 15) While the planners at Poundbury and the other new "villages" have occasionally succeeded in their attempts to create perfect-looking villages, they have failed to provide opportunities for social interaction and chances for a feeling of community to develop in these places, qualities important for any new settlement. While they are examples of the persistence of the village, these new "villages" are villages in form and myth alone.

Conclusion

Despite changes in purpose and form, the village has remained a persistent force in British Town Planning, from the traditional rural feudal villages through the model industrial villages of the 19th century, to the Garden City Movement and the New Towns, and now today in the planning of village-sized settlements.

In considering the qualities of villageness, village "form" is the one characteristic that can be traced through all the "villages" I have examined in this thesis, in Tillington, in Letchworth, in Milton Keynes and in Poundbury. Through these milestones of British town planning, the size of the village has increased, but its basic form of densely sited cottages surrounded by countryside remained.

Despite renovations, Tillington has retained its original village form. No new buildings have been constructed for over 100 years, and its designation by the County Council as a "place of historic interest" guarantees that its form will not change.

Letchworth and the Garden City Movement proved that it was possible to build villages of larger sizes, and to put reform ideals into built form. Letchworth retained a village identity within a formal interpretation of a regional idea of a city. Unwin and Parker perfected the balance between simplicity of architecture and subtlety of planning. (Darley 1991: 15)

Milton Keynes, the last of the New Towns, is a metamorphosis of the village-of-the mind with a modern planning sensibility, open-ended and choice driven. The new villages of Milton Keynes retain the best qualities of the traditional village in both form (and feeling). Furthermore, when Milton Keynes was built, it incorporated in a sensitive manner thirteen rural villages into thirteen of the new housing estates. Modern housing styles mixed comfortably with the old cottages. This ability to blend the old with the new

is one of the strong elements of the city. Not only are new houses mixed in with the old, but the "old" concept of the rural village is updated for modern times.

Poundbury is the new literal village. It is a closed village, both physically and socially and is anti-modern in the worst sense because it does not make accommodations for growth and change. In the plans, Poundbury looks like a traditional village. The prescriptive design code guarantees this fact. House type, size and density seem right for a village but the designers at Poundbury are so involved with the actual look of the "village" that they have discarded planning principles in favor of making a "correct" design.

Part of what makes Tillington a visually interesting place are its irregularities. Housing styles span centuries. Window and door sizes reflect the era in which the houses were built or in some cases, renovated. Materials vary from house to house. The restrictions of the design code at Poundbury do not allow for personalization of space or unplanned irregularities. Even the kinds of shrubs and trees must be approved by the Poundbury Architectural Review Committee. A better approach to Poundbury's plan would have been design objectives rather than a design code.

In old Tillington, the economic structure reflected a closed form that belonged to a feudal agricultural time when residents were tied to the land and to the landowner for whom they worked. House ownership and betterment of one's status in life was not possible. The original social and economic structure of the traditional village has been over since the Industrial Revolution.

Opportunities for social interaction existed in Tillington, and later, at Letchworth and Milton Keynes, but not at Poundbury. These opportunities reflected the villages in which they occurred. At Tillington, they were the church, school, shared working in the fields, and the fact that people lived their whole lives in the same village. Today in Tillington, although the residents do not share work, they still attend the same church and

schools (albeit in another town), shop at the local store, and root for the local cricket team.

At Letchworth, opportunities for social interaction were present in the schools, various churches, stores, civic places, and recreational possibilities. These same opportunities existed at Milton Keynes at the local level in the housing estates and through the Local Area Plan, in other parts of the city. Central Milton Keynes provides all the amenities of a large city, with a non-denominational cathedral, hundreds of stores, entertainment complex, library, and offices. At Poundbury, the first of four "Dorset villages," will not have a school. Its scheme for shops and offices will be difficult to carry out because of the small number of dwelling units planned for the settlement. Because of the proximity of the dwellings to each other, residents will, of course, have the opportunity to meet one another, but none of the other ties present at Letchworth, Milton Keynes and Tillington exist here. Because of this lack of opportunity for social interaction, Poundbury's residents will have a more difficult time developing a sense of community.

Although planned at the macro level to be cities, Letchworth and some of the grid squares at Milton Keynes do feel like a village. A strong sense of community has developed from the shared experiences of its residents. They contain the elements of good communities which I believe include social equity and opportunities for growth and change. Poundbury only takes the physical form of a village and relies on its design code to make the place a community.

Despite the reality of the hardships associated with traditional village life, the village came to be viewed as an idyllic place, with picturesque cottages, set in an abundant landscape and provided with local services. This partial image of the village was the basis for the myth that has grown up around it. Raymond Unwin's belief that the 14th century village was the truest community that England had ever known and that its

beauty was the expression of a unique balance of order and uniformity, was manifested in his plan for Letchworth as the revitalized community of the future, the Garden City.

The myth of the village is what drives the plan for Poundbury, although only its form, not its feeling has been translated. Planners imagine that people will want to move to a village (replica), and have designed it accordingly; they believe that form alone will attract people to Poundbury.

In contrast, the villagers of Tillington today are able to live out the myth of the village. Romantic cottages are surrounded by rolling fields. The local store, the pub and the church define a public realm. Everyone knows everyone else. Life is quiet and peaceful.

Today village-size developments are being proposed all over England. Although planners and developers have tried to move away from the village in the 20th century, in both the Garden Cities and the New Towns, at the micro-level, they were built as villages. While the compact form of the village makes it an ideal community size, planners must take more than the village form and myth into account as they plan for the future.

From this study of villages and the qualities of villageness, I conclude that despite history and technology, the village persists today as a form for new settlements, capturing romantic associations with a simple unchanging life and preferences for small-scale development surrounded by countryside. In planning future settlements, planners should remember the lessons of the village and the qualities of villageness. Preference for the village form has been demonstrated over and over again in this century. More importantly, qualities of community (feeling like a village) and opportunities for social interaction are elements of new communities that cannot be discarded in favor of form. Just looking like a village is not enough to make a successful new settlement. It is a lesson that the planners of Poundbury will have to learn the hard way.

Epilogue

After World War II, with the advent of more efficient mechanized farming, and the resultant diminished need for farm workers, the houses in the village of Tillington owned by the Egremont and the Mitford families were sold. While some of the workers' cottages were bought by the workers themselves, middle to upper-middle class people moved to the village too. Roads were improved and more people owned cars.

Travel to work did not need to be limited to short distances. The village changed from being primarily an agricultural community to being a bedroom community with commuters traveling as far as London to work. Following a general countrywide trend, working class people moved to towns and cities. Eight out of ten British citizens live in a town or city today.

Today, Tillington is predominately a middle to upper-middle-class village. Some houses lie vacant during the week and are used as weekend country homes. An American family bought two houses that are used only four to five months of the year as vacation houses. Tillington has not grown in size. New building is prohibited; what were once joined multi-family workers' cottages have been combined and renovated for single families. Old barns have been restored and renovated for single family housing. Even the housing for the elderly, built in the location where the school had been is now leased to whoever wants it; the need for elderly housing does not exist.

Except for the handful of farm workers, no local industry exists in Tillington today. While this area of England is called the "weekend stockbroker belt," there are no offices in the village. For them the village is a weekend place, a refuge from the rigors of city life, a place that represents no change in a changing world.

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