Houses or Tenements in England.

A Comparison with special relation to their situation.

By Frank M. *Elgood*, F.R.I.B.A., Chairman of National Housing and Town Planning Council.

In no country more than in England is such stress laid upon the importance and value of separate and independent family and home life. We speak here of the "sanctity of the home" and take pride in the old adage, "An Englishman's house is his castle", though we mean a great deal more than this. The ideal is that every family should be properly housed in a separate self-contained structure, with sufficient air space surrounding it at least on two sides, with bedroom accommodation that enables the sexes to be divided and with separate bath and sanitary accommodation.

It was not always so. An enormous number of houses were built during the industrial era which, though self-contained dwellings, had but three rooms, one on the ground floor and two upstairs. It was the existence of these which created the necessity of building tenement houses. Some fifty or more years ago there were in all large centres of population and manufacturing towns many thousands of small houses situated in courts or alleys, each containing about twelve houses. The houses were back-to-back, side-to-side, without any through ventilation, with no yard space and no internal sanitary arrangements whatever. Two closets were generally situated at the end of the court, were used by the occupants of all houses, and the only water supply was from a standpipe, common to all. Inside, the houses were absolutely devoid of domestic conveniences. Many of these courts were what was known as the "tunnel" type, i.e. they were approached from the street through an archway, often not more than three feet wide, opening on to a court or space with a row of houses on each side and sometimes little more than six feet between the fronts of the two rows. The courts were blocked up at each end by walls or other buildings shutting out both sun and air. In Liverpool it has been estimated that one-fifth of the population existed in these places. Not only were these spots a danger in themselves but they generated fever and other diseases, causing death and loss of health in other parts also.

The problem of dealing with these conditions has always been how to rehouse the occupants of insanitary and overcrowded houses which had to be demolished. As a matter of fact it has never been overcome for various reasons, which it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss. The problem was nevertheless at the root of all rehousing schemes and was probably one of the chief factors in inducing those who undertook to deal with it, to favour the building of tenement blocks. Actually, the tenements erected were not restricted to the persons dispossessed and the result was that they were, and are to-day, occupied mainly by the better paid artizans. As a consequence most of the people displaced overflowed

into the immediate neighbourhoods, where they greatly increased overcrowding, intensified insanitary conditions and created extended difficulties. Notwithstanding these results, the number of families residing in an insanitary area to be cleared had always to be taken into account and at least an effort made to provide for rehousing on the site nearly as many as possible. As the old and insanitary small houses were built at a density of over 100 to the acre, the only practical method of providing more open space seemed to be that of building in blocks several storeys high. An additional reason for high building, of course, was the endeavour to obtain as much return in rent as possible and so to minimise the loss on building on account of the heavy cost of the cleared area.

It will be seen therefore, that tenement buildings are not in England the result of any approval or appreciation of this type of housing, but rather that they grew out of conditions for which this method, at the time, appeared the only remedy. Just as in continental cities the fortifications and walls acted for many years as a band or cramp constricting suburban growth, so the tenement problem in England perpetuated the earlier tradition of intensive housing. No doubt other causes existed, and foremost of these must be counted the lack of facilities in the past for cheap, rapid and easy transit to and from the centre and the surrounding country. Indeed it cannot be too strongly emphasised that so far as large towns are concerned the problem of housing is inexorably interconnected with that of transport.

It should be noted that in the large towns in Scotland, on the other hand, tenement dwellings are the natural and commonly accepted type for the workers. To some extent this is due to causes similar to those in continental cities, i. e. restriction of the area of the town, necessitated much later than in England because of attacks from outside (the Highland Clans). But it may be due also partly to climatic reasons and partly to social reasons. Block dwellings are certainly warmer and drier than the ordinary house and it is customary there to build in stone, with walls thicker than usual in England, in order to retain heat and exclude wet. Such walls would naturally permit higher and heavier buildings without increased expenditure for thicker and stronger walls. So far as social causes were at work in producing tenement blocks, it may be that the Scot, who is renowned for being "clanny", that is to say, for having strong tribal instincts, does not appreciate independent family life to the same degree as his neighbour across the border. Parenthetically it is a little ironic, that the so-called steel house, which has lately caused so much controversy, originated in Scotland and in the form of a bungalow!

To return to England. Block dwellings have never been established as the normal type even in large towns, but the practice of clearing unhealthy areas has, as above mentioned, handicapped municipalities by compelling them to obtain their accommodation for re-housing on very dear land and, as a consequence, to make the most of a small area by upward extension. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that "model housing" took the form of overcrowding an area almost to the same extent as in the houses replaced, by providing or encouraging the provision of too many rooms on too little land. London and Liverpool offer the principal examples of this method of re-housing. Liverpool had its own particular problem in connection with labour, mostly of a casual nature, in and around the docks. London also provided a special problem owing to its immense size and the distance from the outer edge

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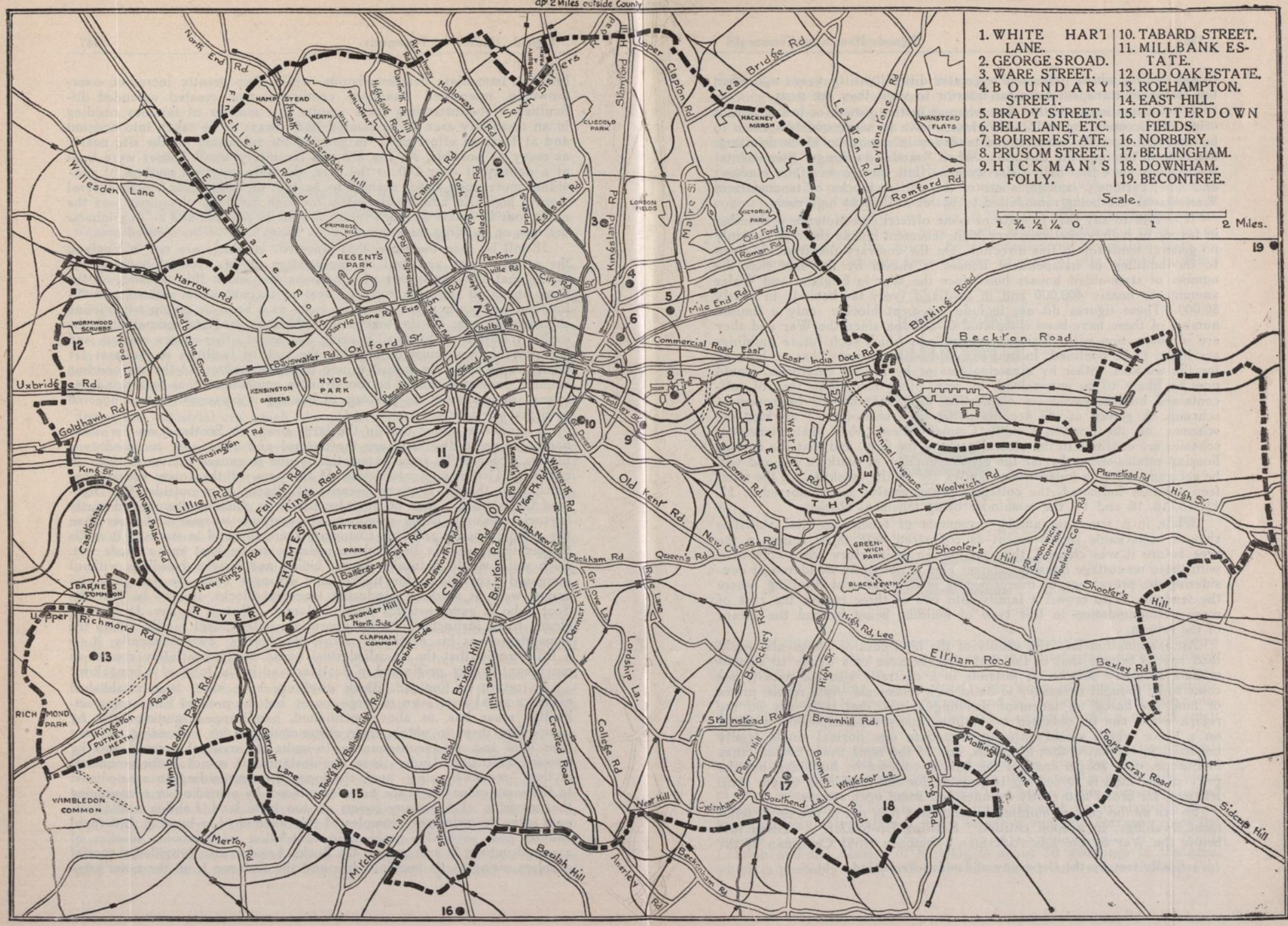
ab 2 Miles outside County
1. WHITE HART LANE.
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11. MILLBANK ESTATE.
12. OLD OAK ESTATE.
13. ROEHAMPTON.
14. EAST HILL.
15. TOTTERDOWN FIELDS.
16. NORBURY.
17. BELLINGHAM.
18. DOWNHAM.
19. BECONTREE.
Scale.
1 ¾ ½ ¼ 0 1 2 Miles.
North End Rd.
Finchley Road
Hampstead Heath
Parliament Hill
Highgate Road
Archway
Holloway Rd
Seven Sisters Rd
Finsbury Park
Clissold Park
Stamford Hill
Upper Clapton Rd
Lea Bridge Rd
Hackney Marsh
Leyton Rd
Leytonstone Rd
Wanstead Flats
Romford Rd
Haverstock Hill
Camden Rd
York Rd
Caledonian Rd
Upper St.
Essex Rd
Kingsland Rd
London Fields
Mare St.
Victoria Park
Willesden Lane
Edgware Road
Primrose Hill
Regent's Park
Pentonville Rd
City Rd
Old St.
Old Ford Rd
Roman Rd
Mile End Rd
Barking Road
Harrow Rd.
Wormwood Scrubbs
Ladbroke Grove
Wood La.
Marylebone Rd
Euston Rd
Holborn
Oxford St.
Bayswater Rd
Commercial Road East
East India Dock Rd
Beckton Road.
Uxbridge Rd.
Kensington Gardens
Hyde Park
Piccadilly
Strand
Tooley St.
Goldhawk Rd
Kensington Rd
Tunnel Avenue
West Ferry Rd
Lower Rd.
River Thames
King St.
Fulham Rd
King's Road
Lillie Rd
Castelnau
Fulham Palace Rd
Kennington Rd
Walworth Rd
Old Kent Rd
Woolwich Rd
Plumstead Rd
High St.
Battersea Park
Battersea Park Rd
Wandsworth Rd
Clapham Rd
Brixton Rd
Camberwell New Rd
Peckham Rd
Queen's Rd
New Cross Rd
Greenwich Park
Blackheath
Shooter's Hill Rd.
Woolwich Common
Shooter's Hill
New King's Rd
Barnes Common
Upper Richmond Rd
Lavender Hill
North Side
Clapham Common
South Side
Brixton Hill
Tulse Hill
Denmark Hill
Grove La.
Rye Lane
Lordship La.
Brockley Rd
High Rd, Lee
Eltham Road
Bexley Rd
Richmond Park
Kingston Road
Putney Heath
Wimbledon Park Rd.
Garratt Lane
Upper Tooting Rd
Balham High Rd
High Road
Croxted Road
College Rd
Stanstead Rd.
Brownhill Rd.
Perry Hill
Bromley Rd
Whitefoot La.
Mottingham Lane
Foots Cray Road
Sidcup Hill
Wimbledon Common
Merton Rd
Mitcham Lane
Streatham
Beulah Hill
Anerley Rd
Beckenham Rd
Sydenham Rd
Southend La.
Baring Rd
Wear Hill

to the centre, which presented a greater difficulty fifty years ago when the means of transport were far inferior to what they are now.

It is interesting to notice that whereas in the growth of towns houses originally occupied by well-to-do classes have in many quarters come to be occupied by wage-earners, the tendency in regard to block dwellings has been in the opposite direction. When "model dwellings" (tenements) for workers were first built there were no flats for the wealthier classes: and now, curiously enough, some of the earlier blocks of tenements in Westminster are being remodelled to be let in flats at high rents.

It is safe to say that in spite of some official recrudesence in London in favour of high, sometimes very high, tenement blocks there is certainly no general tendency in this direction. On the contrary the stimulus given to the building of independent houses is shewn by the fact that the number of state-aided houses built since the War in England and Wales amounts to nearly 400,000 and in Scotland (very far behind) to nearly 50,000. These figures do not include tenement blocks: only a limited number of these have been completed in London since the War and they are in connection with clearance schemes, to which such future buildings are likely to be confined. Indeed it would be true to say that no housing for the workers, either by municipalities or by private enterprise, would now be likely to be entertained in any other form than that of self-contained houses, except in connection with clearance or improvement schemes. A glance at the accompanying plan of London*) marking the schemes of the London County Council shews that their tenement schemes are confined to the central parts of the City, and that the cottage housing estates where by far the greater number of workers are and will be accommodated in independent houses are on the outskirts. Of the nineteen schemes indicated, the cottage housing estates are numbered 1, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18 and 19, the remainder being tenement blocks.

While it is true that among occupants of tenements vital statistics shew a remarkable improvement as compared with those ruling in the area before it was cleared, they are not so satisfactory when compared with those on cottage housing estates. This is not to be wondered at considering the prevalence of overcrowding in the tenement dwelling, where the tendency is to crowd a family into two or three rooms, the cost of more accommodation in this type of building being beyond the means of the artisan.

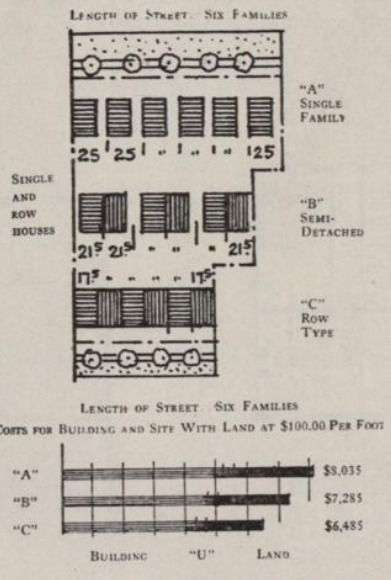
An examination into the causes of the high cost of tenements would lead one to believe that in the first place because of a desire to accommodate as many persons as possible in a centrally situated area it has come to be thought necessary to build high tenements. As a result, prices of land are based on tenement dwelling values, that is to say on the return which can be obtained by building many superimposed dwellings on a space which would only accommodate one normal single family house. It is estimated that in Berlin, one of the most overcrowded cities in Europe, only 36 per cent. of the land is covered by buildings, but the price of the land is forced up to provide for the remaining 64 per cent. left over for broad and costly avenues and some open spaces.

So far as the cost of building is concerned it is not in favour of tenement dwellings. In a book entitled "Housing Up-to-Date", written just before the War by the late Alderman Thompson (first Chairman of the

*) Kindly lent by the University of London Press, Ltd.

National Housing and Town Planning Council), statistics are given shewing that the pre-war cost of tenement dwellings amounted to an average of about £ 90 to £ 100 per room, while the comparable cost of cottage-building was an average of about £ 50 per room. (It must be remembered that the present cost of building is about 80 per cent. higher.)

Allowing an average of ten to the acre for houses built throughout England and Wales under the Housing Act of 1919, the cost of land was less than £ 21 per house. This of course includes the cost of sites in country districts, where it averaged only £ 127 per acre. The average cost per acre in urban areas was £ 230, this figure including some areas where the cost was very much higher because it was in or near the centre of the town. As tenements are invariably built on dearer land than cottages these figures of cost of site and of building



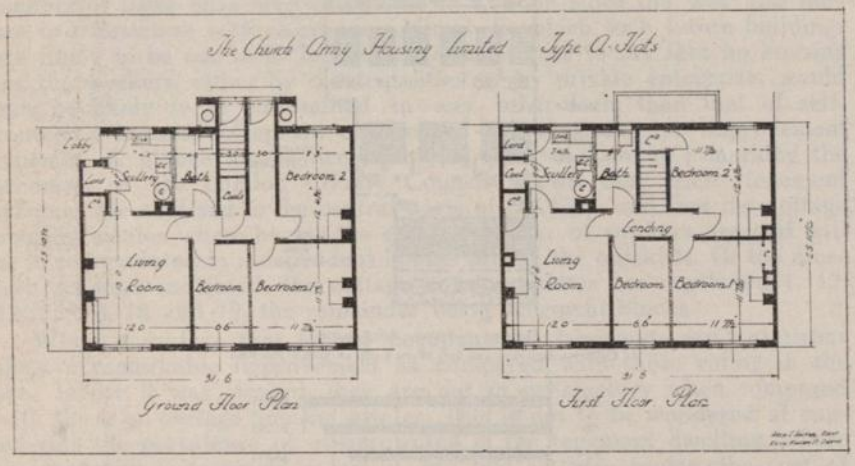
prove conclusively that the cost per room in the cottage, both for building and for site is less than the cost per room in the tenement. In many towns a comparison of costs is impossible because the tenement does not exist. The "model dwelling" had a brief reign when introduced, but outside London it failed to secure approval and is to-day regarded as an undesirable method of housing, while even London is still a city of small houses.

While no claim can be made for special economy of the use of land, a type of cottage flats with common yard and drying ground in central areas is one which commends itself. An illustration is given of a block of these which has been recently built by Church Army Housing Limited a registered public utility society. In this case each flat is arranged so as to be entirely self-contained, each having a separate entrance from the outside. The buildings are in a densely populated quarter of South London and the density of building is about 30 dwellings to the acre, which is probably barely within the limit that would secure the approval

of housing reformers. It will be noticed that these tenements are only two storeys high. If the height were increased it would be difficult to avoid the provision of a common staircase, which at once interferes with the ideal of a separate and independent family dwelling.

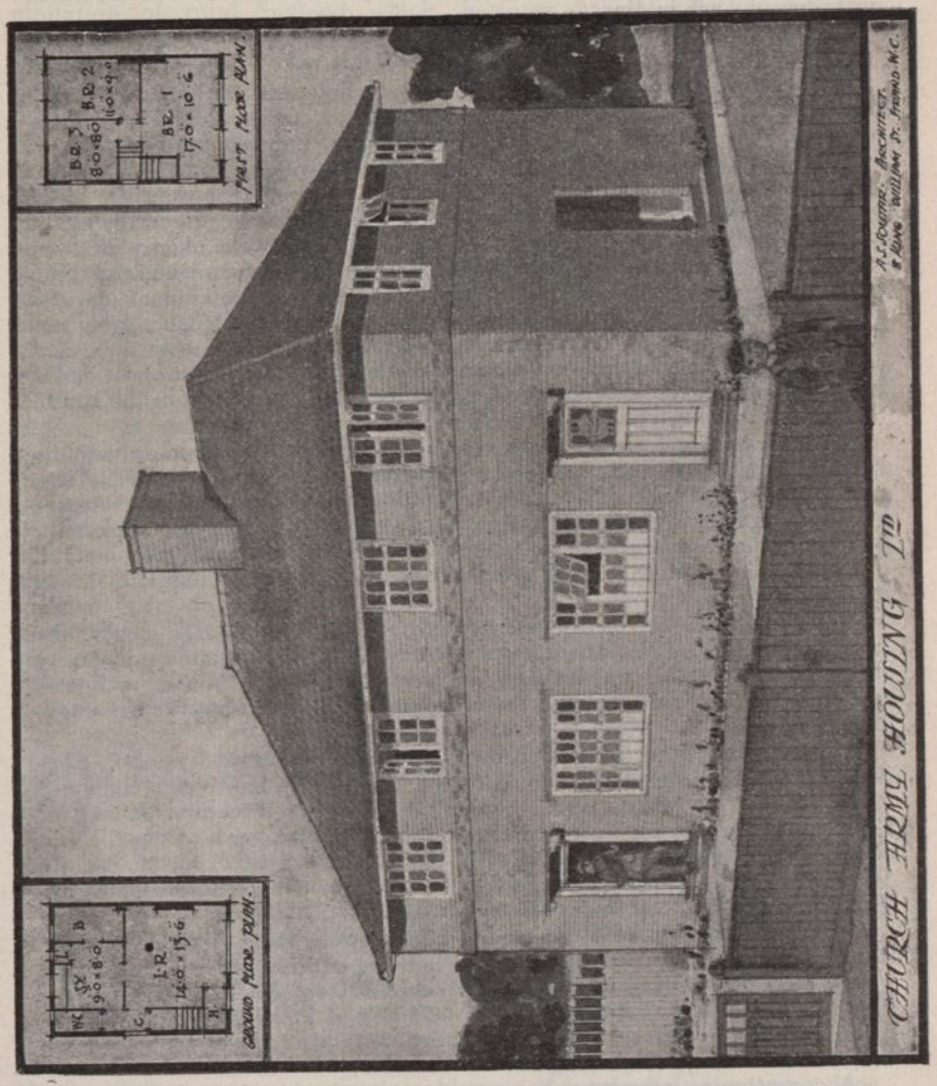
By way of contrast, an illustration is given of a pair of cottages built by the same agency, which represents the ordinary type of post-war building at a density of about 12 to 16 to the acre.

There is one particular problem which is exercising many minds and which has scarcely been touched on up to the present in England, that is—the relation of housing to town planning. We have, of course, the garden city with the proper balance between industry and housing and due regard to the two in the planning of a new community. But for any co-ordinated planning and development of existing towns very little has yet been accomplished. It is true that an integral and essential feature of all town planning schemes is the zoning of areas for commerce and



dwellings, but this only touches the fringe of the question. When the Housing Act of 1924 was passed it contemplated the erection of 2,500,000 workers' houses during an ensuing period of fifteen years. To consider what this means a comparison may be made with the great continent of Australia and one is almost aghast at the thought that such a number of houses would accommodate twice the population of this huge dominion. To add to the aggregation of many of the larger cities and towns, already cumbrous and overgrown, would surely prove a grave mistake and would provide a huge legacy of transport and other difficulties in the future. The only escape would seem to be by preparing careful and well-thought-out regional schemes—several authorities being brought into harmony and acting together—whereby the siting of new towns, whether dormitory or industrial, would be suggested after the fullest consideration of industrial needs, social amenities and the preservation of that which makes for a healthy and happy existence.

There is much hope to be derived from certain regional schemes which have already been undertaken. In one such scheme, for East Kent, where


CHURCH ARMY HOUSING Ltd
A.J. COUPER. ARCHITECT.
8 BANK BUILDINGS, ST. PANCRAS, W.C.
FIRST FLOOR PLAN.
BED 3
8'0 x 8'0
BED 2
11'0 x 9'0
BED 1
17'0 x 10'6
SECOND FLOOR PLAN.
LR
14'0 x 13'6
KX
9'0 x 8'0

new coal fields are being developed, definite proposals are made for providing for a large anticipated additional population. The way in which the country districts have during the last few years been exploited by haphazard building, without preconceived plan or order, emphasises the great need of steps being taken before the problem is rendered insoluble by failure to act in time.

Summary.

The English traditional ideal is that of an independent home for every family and in spite of the enormous growth of urban population which occurred during the industrial era, this system of housing has been almost uniformly adopted. The congestion created, however, led to the necessity of clearing unhealthy areas and the only method of rehousing an equal population seemed to be by the erection of tenements. Nevertheless it has seldom been the experience that such buildings were chiefly or even largely occupied by those dispossessed. Besides the attempt at rehousing, another reason which influences the building of tenements of several storeys is the heavy cost of acquiring property for demolition. It is not that tenement building is the result of any appreciation of this method of housing, but rather that conditions have enforced this solution of a difficult problem in the absence of adequate means of transit from the centre to the surrounding country.

In only a few towns have tenements been built. Liverpool, with its special problem of dock labour and London owing to its immense size are the chief examples. Manchester, Nottingham and a few lesser towns have tried small experiments which have proved too costly to repeat. In Scotland, on the other hand, tenements are the generally accepted method of housing the worker, but the standard in that country is distinctly lower than in England.

Such tenements as have been erected, carry on, to a large extent, the intensive housing they are designed to replace and provide too many rooms on too little land. Except in connection with re-housing schemes in London, there is no demand for or approval of tenements for the wage-earning classes.

On the other hand the fact that nearly 400,000 separate houses in England and Wales and 50,000 in Scotland have been built with State-aid since the War shows a clear tendency in the other direction. A map of London illustrates the enterprise of the London County Council and shows the cottage housing estates on the outskirts (1, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19) and tenement schemes in connection with re-housing and improvements within the more central areas.

While the cost of land for tenements, owing to their central situation, is necessarily higher than for cottage housing estates, there is no saving in the cost of building in the former case. Before the War the cost per room in tenements averaged £ 90 to £ 100 and in houses £ 50. There is no reason to believe that the proportionate costs vary today though they are both 80 per cent. higher.

A compromise between a house and a tenement is that of the cottage flat which is illustrated : each flat is self-contained and has a separate entrance from the street ; common stairways and approaches are avoided by limiting the height of such buildings to two storeys. By way of contrast the ordinary type of post-war cottage is also illustrated, each house having about 400 square yards of land.

There is still a great need for considering the relation of housing to the general development and replanning of towns. Insufficient regard has hitherto been attached to securing that residential estates shall be suitably located having regard to transport facilities, industrial needs and the preservation of natural amenities. The result has been an indiscriminate exploitation of rural England which, however beneficial to the few individuals who profit, is likely to have a prejudicial effect on the community of the future. The problem is urgent and cannot be too strongly stressed.

Sommaire.

L'idéal anglais traditionnel est celui d'un « home » indépendant pour chaque famille et, en dépit de la croissance énorme de la population urbaine qui se produisit durant l'ère de l'industrie, ce système d'habitation a été presque uniformément adopté. Toutefois la congestion qui se produisit conduisit à la nécessité de l'assainissement des zones insalubres et la seule méthode de création de nouveaux logements pour une population équivalente sembla être la construction de maisons à appartements. Néanmoins il a rarement été constaté par expérience que de tels édifices étaient occupés dans une proportion forte ou même notable par les habitants dépossédés. Outre les essais pour loger à nouveau les expulsés, une autre raison qui influe sur la construction de maisons à appartements de beaucoup d'étages est le coût élevé d'acquisition d'une propriété pour la démolir. Ce n'est pas que la construction de maisons à appartements soit le résultat d'une appréciation quelconque de cette méthode de logement, mais plutôt que les conditions ont favorisé cette solution d'un problème difficile en l'absence de moyens de transport appropriés entre le centre et la campagne avoisinante.

Dans peu de villes seulement des maisons à appartements ont été construites : Liverpool, avec son problème spécial de travail dans les docks et Londres en raison de son immense étendue, sont les principaux exemples. Manchester, Nottingham et quelques villes de moindre importance ont tenté de petites expériences qui se sont prouvées trop coûteuses pour être renouvelées. En Ecosse, d'autre part, les appartements sont la méthode généralement acceptée pour le logement des travailleurs, mais les conditions de l'habitation sont nettement inférieures, dans ce pays, à celles de l'Angleterre.

Des maisons à appartements telles qu'elles ont été édifiées continuent, dans une large mesure, le logement intensif qu'elles visent à remplacer, et contiennent trop de pièces sur un espace trop restreint. Sauf dans le cas de plans de reconstruction en remplacement de taudis à Londres, on ne recherche ni n'approuve les maisons à appartements pour la classe ouvrière.

D'autre part, le fait que près de 400,000 maisons familiales en Angleterre et dans le Pays de Galles et 50,000 en Ecosse ont été construites avec l'aide de l'Etat depuis la guerre montre une tendance nette vers l'autre direction. Une carte de Londres illustre les entreprises du Conseil de Comté de Londres et montre les domaines construits de cottages dans les localités suburbaines (1, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18 et 19) et les projets de maisons à appartements en rapport avec la reconstruction et les améliorations dans les quartiers plus au centre.

Le coût du terrain, en raison de leur situation centrale, étant nécessairement plus élevé pour les maisons à appartements que pour les

domaines construits de cottages, il n'y a pas, dans le premier cas, d'économie dans le prix de la construction. Avant la guerre le coût par pièce se montait à £ 90 ou £ 100 (2250 frs à 2500 frs) dans les appartements, et à £ 50 (1250 frs) dans les maisons familiales. Il n'y a pas de raison de croire que la proportion a changé maintenant, bien que les prix seraient de 80% plus élevés.

Un compromis entre une maison et un immeuble à appartements est celui du cottage à étages qui est reproduit : chaque étage forme un tout et a une entrée séparée sur la rue ; la communauté des escaliers et des abords de la maison est évitée par la limitation de la hauteur de telles constructions à deux étages. Par contraste le type ordinaire du cottage d'après-guerre est aussi reproduit, chaque maison ayant un lot de 334 mq environ de terrain.

Il est toujours très nécessaire de considérer les rapports de la question de l'habitation avec le développement général et l'aménagement des villes. On n'a jusqu'ici apporté qu'une attention insuffisante à la localisation convenable des quartiers résidentiels par rapport aux facilités de transport, aux nécessités industrielles et à la préservation des beautés naturelles. La conséquence a été une exploitation sans discernement de l'Angleterre rurale, qui, avantageuse pour les quelques individus qui en profitent, aura probablement un effet nuisible pour la société de l'avenir. Le problème est urgent et on ne saurait trop y insister.

Auszug.

Das traditionelle englische Ideal ist das eines Eigenheims für jede Familie, und trotz dem enormen Wachstum der städtischen Bevölkerung, das die industrielle Ära begleitete, wurde diese Wohnart beinahe allgemein angenommen. Es kam jedoch zu einer übermäßigen Zusammendrängung der Bauten, die die Beseitigung der ungesunden Quartiere nötig machte. Die einzige Möglichkeit, die gleiche Bevölkerung auf der gegebenen Fläche unterzubringen, schien in der Errichtung von Miethäusern zu bestehen. Man machte indessen die Erfahrung, daß solche Häuser selten von dem Hauptteil der früheren Mieter bewohnt wurden. Außerdem besteht noch ein anderer Grund, welcher die Erbauung von Häusern mit mehreren Stockwerken an der gleichen Stelle erschwert, nämlich die hohen Kosten der Erwerbung der zur Demolierung bestimmten Häuser. Es ist nicht etwa so, daß die Errichtung von Miethäusern das Resultat der Billigung dieser Bauart wäre, sondern die Umstände haben diese Lösung eines schwierigen Problems erzwungen, solange keine geeigneten Verkehrsmittel vom Zentrum zum umliegenden Land bestanden haben.

Nur in wenigen Städten wurden mehrstöckige Miethäuser errichtet. Liverpool mit seinem besonderen Problem von Dockarbeitern und London zufolge seiner riesigen Größe sind die wichtigsten Beispiele. Manchester, Nottingham und einige kleinere Städte haben einige Versuche gemacht, die sich jedoch als zu kostspielig erwiesen haben und nicht wiederholt wurden. In Schottland hingegen sind Miethäuser die gebräuchliche Art, Arbeiter unterzubringen, aber die Lebenshaltung in diesem Lande ist beträchtlich niedriger als in England.

Diese neu errichteten Mietwohnungen führen in großem Maßstabe die allzu gedrängte Wohnweise weiter. Sie schaffen zuviel Wohnräume auf zuwenig Land. Ausgenommen die planmäßige Wiederunterbringung der

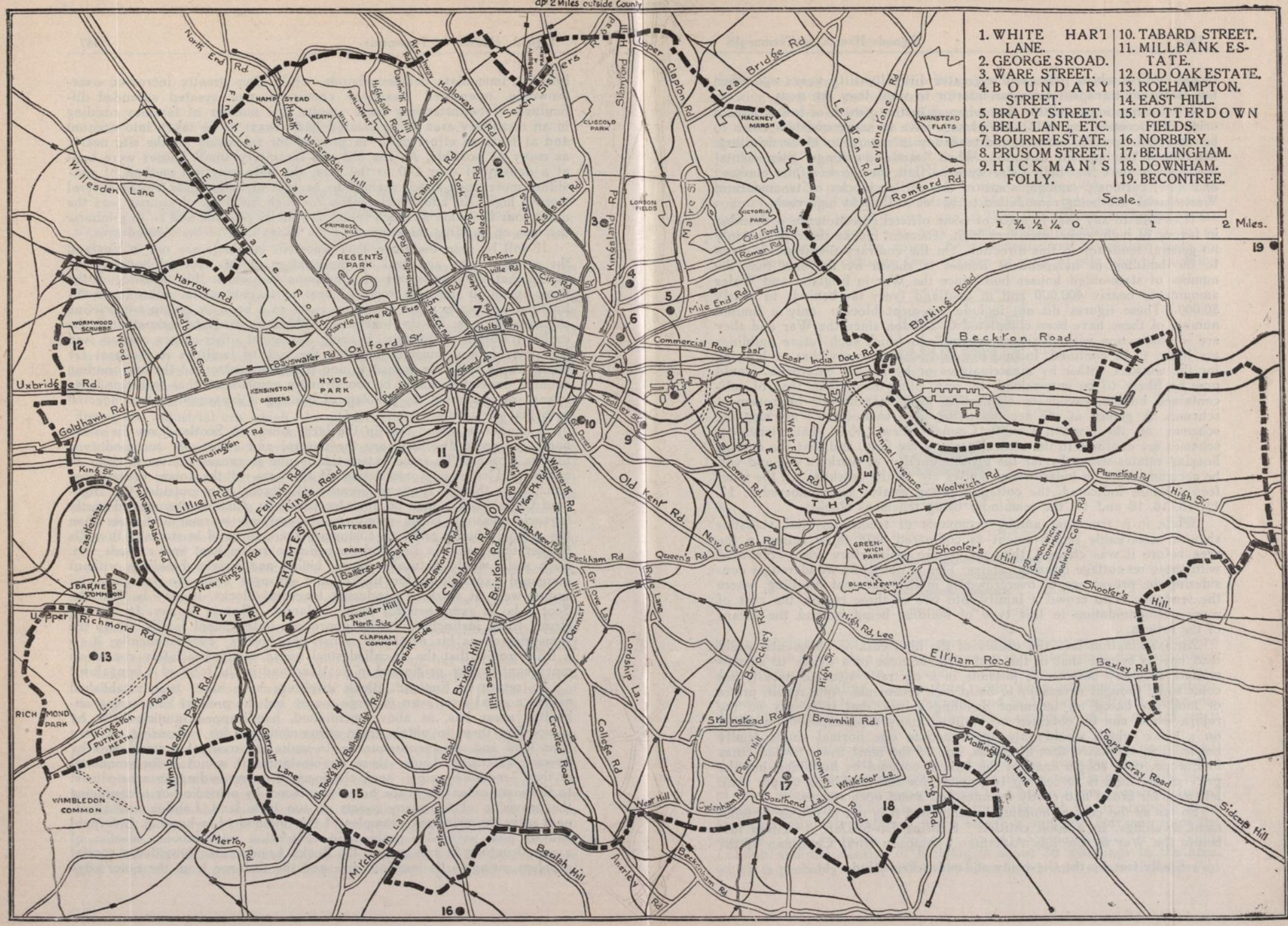
Wohnparteien in London besteht keine Nachfrage nach Mietwohnungen für die Lohnarbeiter, noch finden sie die öffentliche Zustimmung.

Hingegen beweist die Tatsache, daß nahe an 400.000 Einfamilienhäuser in England und Wales und 50.000 in Schottland mit Staatsunterstützung seit dem Kriege errichtet wurden, daß eine klare Tendenz nach dieser Richtung besteht. Ein Plan von London macht die Tätigkeit des Londoner Grafschaftsrates anschaulich und zeigt die Einfamilienhäuser in den Außenbezirken (1, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18 und 19) und die Pläne zur Schaffung von Mietwohnungen in den zentralen Zonen.

Da die Grundpreise für vielstöckige Miethäuser zufolge ihrer zentralen Lage notwendigerweise höher sind als für Einfamilienhäuser, erwächst im ersteren Falle keine Ersparnis an Baukosten. Vor dem Kriege betrugen die Kosten pro Wohnraum in Hochbauten 90 bis 100 Pfund Sterling und in Einfamilienhäusern 50 Pfund Sterling. Es ist kein Grund anzunehmen, daß die relativen Kosten heute andere sind, obwohl beide um 80 Prozent höher sind als früher.

Ein Kompromiß zwischen Hochhaus und Einfamilienhaus ist das, welches in der beigefügten Illustration gezeigt wird: jedes Stockwerk hat einen separaten Eingang von der Straße; gemeinsame Stiegen und Eingänge werden dadurch vermieden, daß die Haushöhe auf zwei Stockwerke beschränkt wird. Im Gegensatz dazu wird ein Typus eines Nachkriegs-Einfamilienhauses gezeigt, bei welchem jedes Haus 334 Quadratmeter Land erhält.

Ferner ist es unerläßlich, das Verhältnis vom Hausbau und von der allgemeinen Entwicklung und der planmäßigen Umgestaltung der Städte zu berücksichtigen. Es wurde bisher dem Umstand nicht genügende Beachtung geschenkt, daß bei der richtigen Anlage von Wohnvierteln die Verkehrsverhältnisse, die geschäftliche Notwendigkeit und die Erhaltung natürlicher Vorzüge berücksichtigt werden müssen. Die Folge davon war, daß eine rücksichtslose Ausbeutung der Landbezirke stattfand, welche wenigen Individuen Vorteil brachte, aber der Gesamtheit künftig Schaden bringen wird. Es handelt sich hier um eine brennende Frage, die nicht scharf genug formuliert werden kann.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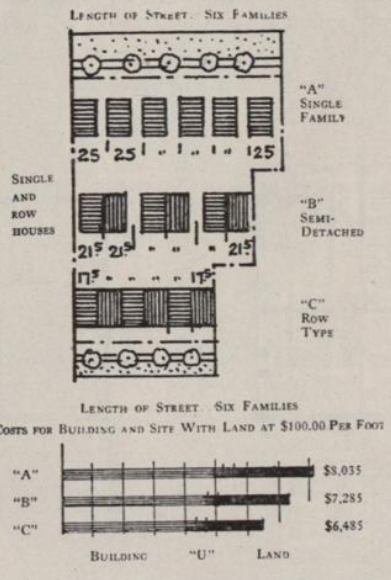
11. MILLBANK ESTATE.
12. OLD OAK ESTATE.
13. ROEHAMPTON.
14. EAST HILL.
15. TOTTERDOWN FIELDS.
16. NORBURY.
17. BELLINGHAM.
18. DOWNHAM.
19. BECONTREE.
Scale.
1 ¾ ½ ¼ 0 1 2 Miles.
North End Rd.
Finchley Road
Edgware Road
Willesden Lane
Hampstead Heath
Parliament Hill
Haverstock Hill
Highgate Road
Dartmouth Pk Hill
Holloway Rd
Seven Sisters Rd
Finsbury Park
Stamford Hill
Upper Clapton Rd
Lea Bridge Rd
Leyton Rd
Leytonstone Rd
Wanstead Flats
Hackney Marsh
Clissold Park
Camden Rd
York Rd
Caledonian Rd
Upper St.
Essex Rd
Kingsland Rd
Mare St.
London Fields
Victoria Park
Romford Rd
Old Ford Rd
Roman Rd
Mile End Rd
Barking Road
Beckton Road
Commercial Road East
East India Dock Rd
Primrose Hill
Regent's Park
Hampstead Rd
Pentonville Rd
City Rd
Old St.
Harrow Rd.
Wormwood Scrubbs
Ladbroke Grove
Wood La.
Marylebone Rd
Euston Rd
Holborn
Oxford St.
Bayswater Rd
Uxbridge Rd.
Kensington Gardens
Hyde Park
Piccadilly
Strand
Goldhawk Rd
Kensington Rd
Tooley St.
Great Dover St.
Kennington Rd
Kennington Pk Rd
Walworth Rd
Old Kent Rd
River Thames
West Ferry Rd
Lower Rd.
Tunnel Avenue
Woolwich Rd
Plumstead Rd
High St.
King St.
Fulham Rd
Lillie Rd
Fulham Palace Rd
Castlenau
King's Road
Battersea Park
New King's Rd
Battersea Park Rd
Wandsworth Rd
Clapham Rd
Brixton Rd
Camberwell New Rd
Peckham Rd
Queen's Rd
New Cross Rd
Greenwich Park
Blackheath
Shooter's Hill Rd.
Woolwich Common
Woolwich Com. Rd
Shooter's Hill
Barnes Common
Upper Richmond Rd
Lavender Hill
North Side
South Side
Clapham Common
Brixton Hill
Tulse Hill
Denmark Hill
Grove La.
Rye Lane
Lordship La.
Brockley Rd
High Rd, Lee
Eltham Road
Bexley Rd
Richmond Park
Kingston Road
Putney Heath
Wimbledon Park Rd.
Garratt Lane
Upper Tooting Rd
Balham High Rd.
Streatham High Road
Croxted Road
College Rd
Stanstead Rd.
Brownhill Rd.
Perry Hill
Bromley Rd
Whitefoot La.
Baring Rd
Mottingham Lane
Foots Cray Road
Sidcup Hill
Wimbledon Common
Merton Rd
Mitcham Lane
Beulah Hill
Westow Hill
Sydenham Rd
Southend La.
Anerley Rd
Beckenham Rd
Road

National Housing and Town Planning Council), statistics are given shewing that the pre-war cost of tenement dwellings amounted to an average of about £ 90 to £ 100 per room, while the comparable cost of cottage-building was an average of about £ 50 per room. (It must be remembered that the present cost of building is about 80 per cent. higher.)

Allowing an average of ten to the acre for houses built throughout England and Wales under the Housing Act of 1919, the cost of land was less than £ 21 per house. This of course includes the cost of sites in country districts, where it averaged only £ 127 per acre. The average cost per acre in urban areas was £ 230, this figure including some areas where the cost was very much higher because it was in or near the centre of the town. As tenements are invariably built on dearer land than cottages these figures of cost of site and of building



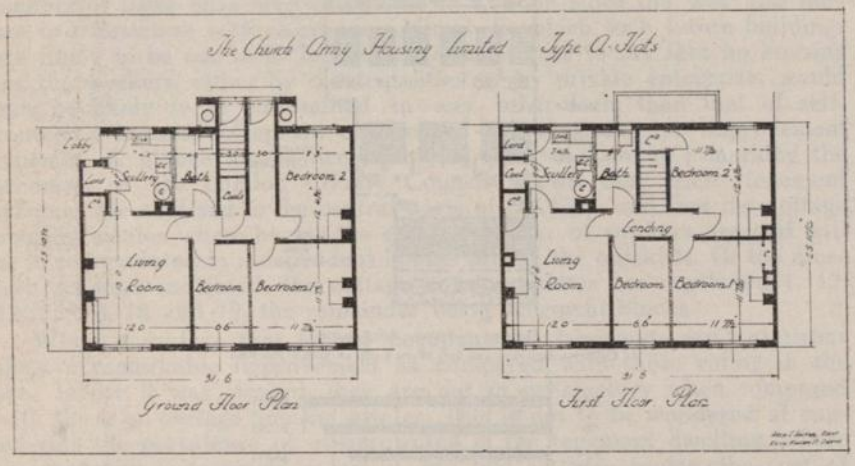
prove conclusively that the cost per room in the cottage, both for building and for site is less than the cost per room in the tenement. In many towns a comparison of costs is impossible because the tenement does not exist. The "model dwelling" had a brief reign when introduced, but outside London it failed to secure approval and is to-day regarded as an undesirable method of housing, while even London is still a city of small houses.

While no claim can be made for special economy of the use of land, a type of cottage flats with common yard and drying ground in central areas is one which commends itself. An illustration is given of a block of these which has been recently built by Church Army Housing Limited a registered public utility society. In this case each flat is arranged so as to be entirely self-contained, each having a separate entrance from the outside. The buildings are in a densely populated quarter of South London and the density of building is about 30 dwellings to the acre, which is probably barely within the limit that would secure the approval

of housing reformers. It will be noticed that these tenements are only two storeys high. If the height were increased it would be difficult to avoid the provision of a common staircase, which at once interferes with the ideal of a separate and independent family dwelling.

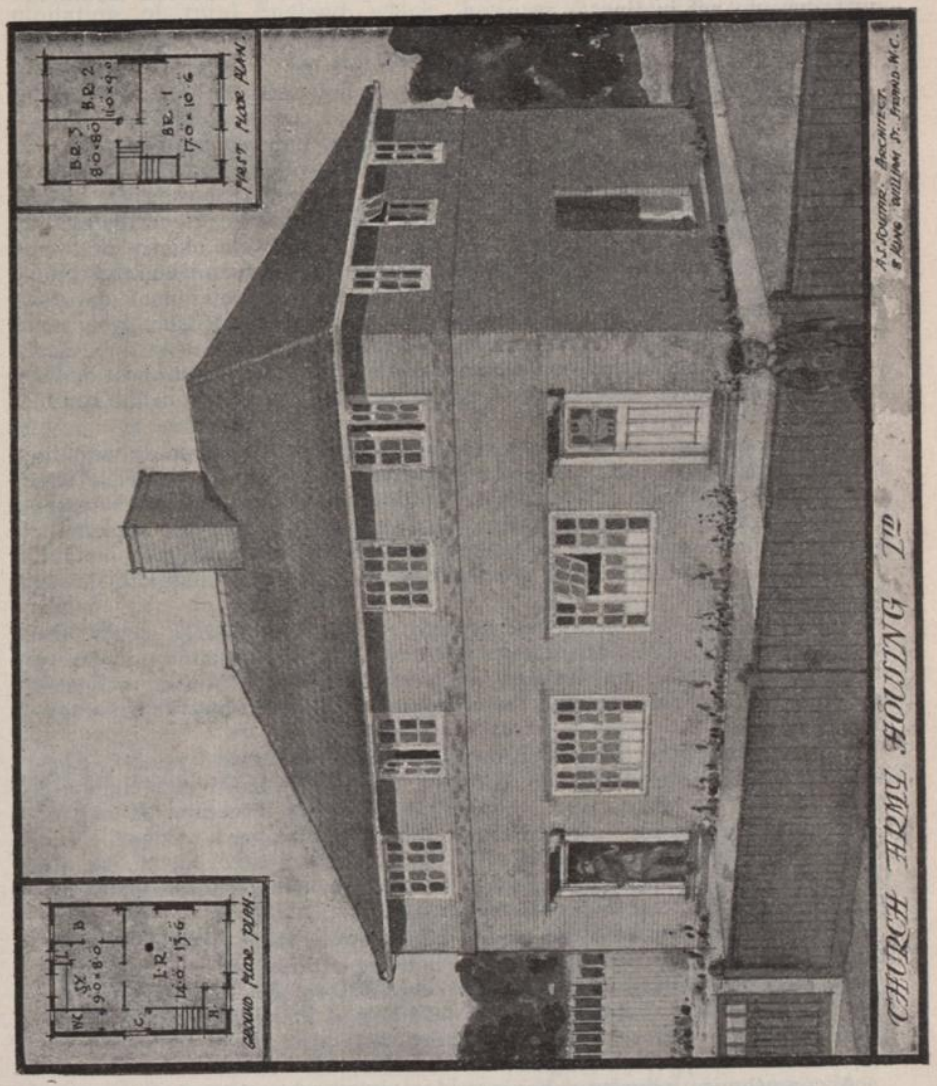
By way of contrast, an illustration is given of a pair of cottages built by the same agency, which represents the ordinary type of post-war building at a density of about 12 to 16 to the acre.

There is one particular problem which is exercising many minds and which has scarcely been touched on up to the present in England, that is—the relation of housing to town planning. We have, of course, the garden city with the proper balance between industry and housing and due regard to the two in the planning of a new community. But for any co-ordinated planning and development of existing towns very little has yet been accomplished. It is true that an integral and essential feature of all town planning schemes is the zoning of areas for commerce and



dwellings, but this only touches the fringe of the question. When the Housing Act of 1924 was passed it contemplated the erection of 2,500,000 workers' houses during an ensuing period of fifteen years. To consider what this means a comparison may be made with the great continent of Australia and one is almost aghast at the thought that such a number of houses would accommodate twice the population of this huge dominion. To add to the aggregation of many of the larger cities and towns, already cumbrous and overgrown, would surely prove a grave mistake and would provide a huge legacy of transport and other difficulties in the future. The only escape would seem to be by preparing careful and well-thought-out regional schemes—several authorities being brought into harmony and acting together—whereby the siting of new towns, whether dormitory or industrial, would be suggested after the fullest consideration of industrial needs, social amenities and the preservation of that which makes for a healthy and happy existence.

There is much hope to be derived from certain regional schemes which have already been undertaken. In one such scheme, for East Kent, where


CHURCH ARMY HOUSING Ltd
A.J. COUPER. ARCHITECT.
8 BANK BUILDINGS, ST. PANCRAS, W.C.
FIRST FLOOR PLAN.
BED 3
8'0 x 8'0
BED 2
11'0 x 9'0
BED 1
17'0 x 10'6
SECOND FLOOR PLAN.
LR
14'0 x 13'6
KX
9'0 x 8'0