Building the New Jerusalem
Architecture, housing and politics 1900–1930

Mark Swenarton
IHS BRE Press publications are available from
www.ihsbrepress.com
or
IHS BRE Press
Willoughby Road
Bracknell RG12 8FB
Tel: 01344 328038
Fax: 01344 328005
Email: brepress@ihs.com

Requests to copy any part of this publication should be
made to the publisher:
IHS BRE Press
Garston, Watford WD25 9XX
Tel: 01923 664761
Email: brepress@ihs.com

Printed on paper sourced from responsibly managed
forests

Cover design by Hayley Bone

IHS BRE Press makes every effort to ensure the
accuracy and quality of information and guidance
when it is published. However, we can take no
responsibility for the subsequent use of this
information, nor for any errors or omissions that it may
contain

EP 82

© Mark Swenarton 2008

First published 2008

ISBN 978-1-84806-024-1
CONTENTS

CD contents ix
Figures xi
Introduction 1
1 Home front 13
Simon Pepper and Mark Swenarton
2 Neo-Georgian maison-type 29
Simon Pepper and Mark Swenarton
3 An insurance against revolution 41
4 Rationality and rationalism 59
5 Sellier and Unwin 77
6 CIAM, Teige and the Existenzminimum 85
Christiane Crasemann Collins and Mark Swenarton
7 The education of an urbanist 95
8 Unwin and Sitte 125
9 Rammed earth revival 133
10 Breeze blocks and Bolshevism 155
11 Houses of paper and brown cardboard 167
Endnotes and references 187
Index 223
The accompanying CD contains scanned copies of the following documents.

5. Report of the Departmental Committee on Buildings for Small Holdings (1913)
6. Advisory Committee on Rural Cottages, *Plans, models, specifications, and methods of construction for rural cottages and outbuildings* (1915)
7. Tudor Walters Report, *Report of the Committee appointed by the President of the Local Government Board and the Secretary for Scotland to consider questions of building construction in connection with the provision of dwellings for the working classes in England and Wales, and Scotland* (1918)
8. Women’s Housing Sub-committee, First interim report (1918). Final report (1919)
11. Ministry of Health, Standardisation and New Methods of Construction Committee, *Particulars of Systems of House Construction Approved up to April, 1920* (1920)
12. Building Research Board, Special Reports 1-8 (1921–7)
   1. *Sand-lime and Other Concrete Bricks. HO Weller* (1921)
   2. *Experiments on Floors* (1921)
   3. *The Stability of Thin Walls* (1921)
   5. *Building in Cob and Pisé de Terre* (1922)
   8. *Fire Resistant Construction. RE Stradling and FL Brady* (1927)
Introduction

And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years…. And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea. And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven. (Revelation, chapters 20–21)

The period 1900-1930 was the one in which the architecture, housing and politics of the modern world were formed. A time traveller from the twenty-first century arriving in 1900 Europe would find themselves in a foreign land: no political consensus over the state’s responsibility for welfare; no widespread provision of social housing by the state; no ‘modern architecture’ in the form that we know today and no concept of housing as a major part of architecture. Wind the clock forward by 30 years and the landscape would be familiar: widespread state involvement in the provision of housing for the working class; social democracy established as one of (if not the) dominant political formations; a theory and practice of modern architecture that, in its essentials, is still with us today, with housing seen as a major component of the discipline of architecture.

Nor, of course, was it a coincidence that politics, housing and architecture alike were transformed in this period; on the contrary, the three were closely entwined. Housing was one of the main planks of social democratic politics (which in Britain meant Labour) and, in response, one of the areas in which anti-Labour political parties also wanted to make a mark. Architects saw in the advent of social democracy, with its state-funded programmes, both the opportunity and the necessity for a new kind of architecture, both as symbol and midwife of the new society emerging from the old. And it was through their claim to expertise in the design of housing for the working class – never before seen as a major area of architectural endeavour – that architects staked their claim to a leading role in the social democratic pageant.

Nor, equally, did the changes to our triad take place in isolation from the other changes – economic, technological, cultural – that were transforming the developed world at this time. The ‘factory system’, first identified as a phenomenon in Britain in the early nineteenth century, had matured and spread across the globe, generating not just the organised labour movement that was to provide the basis for social democratic politics but also the intense commercial competition between industrialised countries, notably Britain and its latter-day economic rival, Germany, that was to culminate in the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. But the kind of things that were being made, and the way that they
were being made in factories, were also changing (Fig. 1). Thanks to its growing affluence, the working class was increasingly recognised as a consuming class; and fortunes were to be made on both sides of the Atlantic by those who, like Ford in America or Cadbury in Britain, perfected the methods of producing commodities for this new market, whether cars or chocolate. With these advances, many coming from the USA, there also arose new approaches to the organisation of production – scientific management, Taylorism, standardisation – which, at least until the USA lost its allure with the Wall Street crash in 1929, seemed to hold the key to improving efficiency and quality, and reducing costs. Nowhere was the appeal of this new approach greater than in relation to construction, with its hopelessly pre-scientific, ‘rule of thumb’ procedures and its chronic inability to deliver
The model to which these governments overwhelmingly turned, was that developed in Britain in the decade or so before 1914 by the ‘garden city movement’, above all by Raymond Unwin. In an age when Fordism was entrancing the world – when every problem could be subjected to the scrutiny of ‘the expert’ – Unwin was, so far as housing was concerned, the expert’s expert. Unwin had designed showpiece projects for each of the three strands that comprised the garden city movement – the ‘industrial village’ (Rowntree’s New Earswick, York, 1902–), the ‘garden city’ (Letchworth Garden City, Hertfordshire, 1903–) and the ‘garden suburb’ (Hampstead Garden Suburb, London, 1905–); but it was with the garden suburb that he was most clearly associated and with which his theoretical work was primarily concerned. Whereas with the garden city Ebenezer Howard wanted to abandon the existing city and start from scratch in the agricultural countryside, Unwin’s vision of the garden or satellite suburb started with the forces of suburbanisation that were already at work and sought to control them so as to produce a transformation in ‘the dwellings and surroundings of the people’ (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. Conventional versus garden city layout: Liverpool Garden Suburb, 1912, ‘as it might have been’ (top) and ‘as it was’
INTRODUCTION

pay for the peace – and whose opposition in 1921 brought the housing programme to a premature halt. The advent of the first Labour government in 1924, however, re-activated the municipal housing programme and when the Conservatives – keenly aware of the need to offer social reform if they were not to lose out to Labour – returned to power, they decided to retain it, albeit with the proviso that the Building Research Station should seek a novel and cheaper form of construction for social housing. The outcome across Britain in the 1920s was the construction of low-density cottage estates designed according to (an inevitably pared-down version of) Unwin’s precepts and often built of concrete or steel rather than brick (Fig. 6).

The local authority estates, however, were not the only ones built on Unwin’s model. The great forces of free-market suburbanisation which Unwin had sought to reform proved themselves more amenable to change – albeit of course on their own terms – than he could have imagined or, in the form in which it turned out, than he would have wished. Speculative builders, whom Unwin in the 1900s had berated for building an unacceptable form of housing, were also persuaded, if not by the arguments, at least by the authority of the Tudor Walters Report and adopted Unwin’s low density method, albeit with the design subtleties, as well as the social programme, largely omitted (Fig. 7). The upshot was that the kind of low-density perimeter block layout that Unwin had pioneered for the pre-war garden city movement as a radical break with convention had itself become,
Building the New Jerusalem explores a fascinating and formative period in our thinking about modern housing, and especially its design and technology. It subverts, supplements, and surprises at every turn.

Richard Harris, McMaster University

Mark Swenarton shows how our small island provided the housing vanguard for the most exciting and challenging visions of building many Utopias in the twentieth century.

Anne Power, London School of Economics

This superbly researched book challenges the conventional history of modern architecture by putting Britain’s garden city and social housing movements at its origins.

Robert Fishman, University of Michigan

This thought-provoking collection of essays and documents will be indispensable for all researchers in the area, whether from a perspective of history, architecture or social policy.

Alison Ravetz, Leeds Metropolitan University

In this provocative collection of essays, Mark Swenarton narrates a story around the international influence of British architects and urbanists. He reminds readers that modern architecture in Britain was a social and political concern, not merely an aesthetic style.

M Christine Boyer, Princeton University