Speculative housing development in Leeds and the involvement of local architects in the design process 1866 — 1914

by F. Trowell

Houses, we may say, spring up everywhere in the outskirts of our great towns. A suburb, in these days is one congeries of crude brick and mortar. It is the most melancholy thing in existence. Streets, squares, crescents, terraces, Albert villas, Victoria villas, and things of the same inviting character, stand up everywhere against the horizon

The Builder, 1848

The following article is based on a thesis which examined the process by which areas of open fields were developed into peopled streets in the latter half of the nineteenth century[1]. It also considered the extent to which the emerging local architectural profession was involved both in the development process and in detailed aspects of speculative housing design.

To achieve these aims, part of a suburb of Leeds was selected as a representative study area. This area contained housing of all types ranging from detached villas to small back-to-back terraces and was typical of surburban areas in many towns.

The major sources of original and unpublished information were deposited estate plans, deposited building plans, and some house deeds, all held by Leeds Corporation.

The basic research method was to examine deposited plans relating to the study area, in order to trace the development of the existing housing stock, and also to carry out site visits to record buildings and their architectural character. The persons and processes involved were then analysed and compared with the end product.

Nineteenth-century speculative housing

Architectural historians have generally ignored nineteenth-century speculative housing, concentrating instead upon the mansions and the larger detached or semi-detached villas of the period designed by well known architects. Other researchers have studied speculative housing but from an economic, social or public health viewpoint. Even when speculative housing has come within the scope of existing research, much detail remains to be filled in concerning the mass of ordinary suburban housing. Houses built for speculation, that is in advance of the demand for them, are by far the largest group of any Victorian building type, and more than any other they determine the character of Victorian cities. They are one of the most characteristic products of Victorian Britain and they still remain in sufficient quantities to be a significant element in our urban environment.

The reasons why this major area of building activity has largely been ignored by architectural historians are probably twofold: first, the widely-held belief that houses of this type were designed and erected by speculative builders using pattern-books; second, the difficulty in obtaining original source material concerning their design and construction. The stronger the belief in the former (that builders and not architects were responsible for their design and therefore the end products were buildings and not architecture), the less incentive there was for finding the latter (source material).

If statistics for building activity are

examined for an industrial town of the period, it can be seen that by far the greatest effort was put into the rapid expansion of the suburbs. The process by which areas of open fields were developed into peopled streets in the latter half of the nineteenth century has been likened to a bricks-and-mortar crusade. In Leeds, for example, in 1878 66 per cent of all buildings certified as completed and ready for occupation were houses. This figure was to rise to 75 per cent later in the century[2].

While it is true that other buildings could be of greater value in terms of capital outlay, in terms of the number of buildings completed the housing market was the largest. If the type of houses built in towns is examined, it will be seen that the majority after 1850 were speculative houses built in terraces. Once more taking Leeds as an example, out of 46,506 dwellings erected between 1886 and 1914, only 4 per cent were detached or semi-detached villas. The remaining 96 per cent were built in rows of terraced houses in one form or another[3]. Comparison with figures for other industrial towns would show that Leeds is not peculiar in the small number of detached houses built.

The greater part of nineteenth-century suburban housing development in Leeds took place in two distinct stages. The first was a gradual movement into the suburbs with only a small number of builders and only a few regulations governing the erection of new buildings. The second stage, in the second half of the century, was the mass exodus to the suburbs involving the erection of a far greater number of houses, which were built during a period of ever increasing bye-laws and other regulations governing their construction. The question must be asked whether builders who had used empirical methods when working in the first half of the century subsequently turned to professional advice in order to ensure that their buildings conformed to the new regulations.

The study area

The suburb of Headingley in Leeds was selected for several reasons. First, it contained a suitable mixture of existing housing; second, two other research projects had been completed that dealt with Headingley. The one covered the whole of the estate development of Headingley from 1781 to 1914[4]; the other (by the University of York) examined the changing role of existing houses within part of Headingley in the present century and made recommendations on their conversion for use by single young persons[5]. It seemed therefore that a study of speculative housing in Headingley might link together these two pieces of work while increasing our understanding of a crucial period in the development of the housing stock of this area.

The Census Reports of 1911 show that the borough of Leeds contained 101,933 houses and that Headingley was one out-township in which over 10,000 were situated. The whole of the suburb was considered too large an area of housing to study in sufficient depth to avoid generalities. A smaller area was required and a study area of 265 acres was selected, covering more or less that part of Headingley used by the University of York.

When the first migrations to the suburb occurred, the first building plots in the study area were developed with large villas built on the top of a south-facing slope on land which was north-west of the Leeds town centre. The new houses were not polluted by drifting mill-chimney smoke (which tended to originate from the south and the south-west) because of the prevailing westerly wind.

The study area had approximately 45 existing houses within its boundaries in 1831 (mainly in Headingley village) and was a rural area. The first major sale of land for estate development took place in 1837. This also caused the construction of the first new road to be driven into the study area in order to cater specifically for villa plots[6].

Headingley changed in character as its population grew from 1,313 in 1801 to 46,434 in 1911. It lost its select middle-class status as estates of terrace houses built in red brick began to encroach on the large stone villas of the merchants and bankers. It is significant that around 1,000 dwellings were built in the township between 1801 and 1851, compared to more than 8,000 in the second half of the century.

These changes can be seen clearly in the study area where some back-to-backs were built before 1850 and the red-brick terraces began to appear in the 1860s. By 1914 the majority of houses existing today had been completed and approximately 2,750 houses were in existence[7]. Some infilling took place in the 1930s, especially small estates of semi-detached houses which were built on vacant plots of land or in the grounds of larger houses. These brought the total number of houses to approximately 3,300. Nonetheless, the major period of housing development was from 1838 to 1914. By the latter date most estates which had been put on the market and offered as building land had been developed.

Architectural pattern-books

The belief that builders alone were responsible for the planning, external appearance and the construction of the ordinary mass housing of the Victorian suburbs built after 1850 has rested on three major assumptions. The first is that the design process was a simple exercise: that many estates had estate plans approved by local authorities and restrictive covenants imposed by landowners, and that, together with building lines, these created a strait-jacket for designers leaving little room for originality, individuality or freedom of expression. The second assumption is that this constraint, when coupled with the low budgets available in comparison to the houses of the rich, meant that simple repetitive designs were all that were required and that builders could obtain these by reference to architectural pattern-books similar to those published earlier in the century. The third assumption is that architects were too busy designing public, educational, and religious buildings and houses for the wealthy, to bother with the houses of the middle- or working-classes and that they considered such work beneath them.

Historians – notably H.J. Dyos in his study of Camberwell – imply that professional advice was not sought by speculative builders concerning any aspect of the housing design[8]. The inference is that the end-product was entirely the result of the efforts of the speculative builders: from the layout of the streets to the choice of encaustic tiles and the inclusion of gas lighting. The suggestion is often made that prior to 1850 builders had sufficient experience to design and to erect working- and middle-class houses without the need of architects; and in the second half of the century they simply applied this knowledge to build on a larger scale. For builders in the first half of the century there were a number of architectural pattern-books giving designs for lodges, cottages, villas, mansions and even farm labourers' or factory workers' dwellings. For houses in the expanding suburbs, urban historians have pointed out that there were even more pattern-books, textbooks and manuals published from which the builder or speculator who knew little or nothing about building could obtain guidance[9].

That developers who had no connection with the building industry and tradesmen who wished to further their building knowledge referred to such books as those in *Weale's Rudimentary Series* (1849-88)[10] is not in question, because basic construction and crafts connected with the building trades did not vary significantly between one region and another. That plans could be published nationally which were then copied and adapted by persons wishing to submit plans to a local council for approval on similar lines to the present day *Daily Mail Book of House Plans* is more doubtful. If the plans were to be used for the construction of ordinary houses in the suburbs and not just for high quality villas, then local custom and regional variations had to be accommodated. In Leeds, for example, the preference was for back-to-back houses with a frontage of 18 feet 6 inches, or for through-houses with a frontage of 17 feet. It was also customary to build cellars and attics; tenement buildings were virtually unknown. Other parts of the country had a predilection of two-storey houses with back additions, whereas cottage flats were popular in the north-east and especially in Scotland.

A number of books were published which

were useful sources of designs for detached and semi-detached surburban villas, entrance lodges, gardeners' cottages, cottages in the country and model labourers' dwellings. Only one book appears to have been published which could be said to represent a pattern-book of designs for terrace housing which were not meant for the labouring classes housed near mills or factories, for agricultural workers or for model dwellings to be erected by philanthropic societies. In1904 John Hames Raggett, an architect and quantity surveyor from Birmingham, produced a detailed and comprehensive study of speculative housing schemes throughout England. Raggett's book was too late to be a pioneering work to set patterns which others could merely copy; it was more a collection of schemes that had been already carried out in several towns such as Leeds, Nottingham and Birmingham[11].

The deposited plans for houses erected in Leeds between 1866 and 1914 show a variety of house plans which are not readily recognisable as those published in architectural pattern-books and text books. Rather the deposited plans suggest that the speculative builders did not themselves aspire to be house-designers, but instead used persons who called themselves architects to draw up designs and have them approved on their behalf.

Deposited building plans

Following the Leeds Improvement Act of 1866, plans had to be deposited for approval for new buildings to be erected facing on to roads that were to be adopted by the Corporation[12]. The first Bye-Laws introduced in 1870 required building plans to be submitted for approval for all new buildings, alterations and extensions wherever situated within the borough[13]. Copies of the building plans which were approved by Leeds Corporation have been retained and are stored at Leeds Archives Department where they can still be inspected.

A search through all the deposited building plans for the study area for the period 1866 – 1914 indicated that the majority of drawings were prepared, deposited and signed by persons calling themselves architects. This was particularly the case where speculative housing was concerned. For example, of the 2,197 houses erected from approved drawings in the period 1868-1914, 2,038 (93 per cent) were from drawings submitted and signed by persons calling themselves architects. A wider sample of deposited plans for all the townships of Leeds in the period 1877-1910 showed that out of a further 7,717 houses approved, 87 per cent were on drawings deposited by persons calling themselves architects[14].

Examination of the deposited plans showed that the owners of the very best mansions and villas employed the most eminent architects in Leeds for their designs. In the same way, when new owners extended or altered these large houses, architects such as W. Hill, E. Birchall, T. Ambler, C.R. Chorley and W.H. Thorp were employed. Architects of a similar standing were usually given the commissions for new entrance lodges, coachmens' or butlers' cottages and servants' dwellings connected with the larger houses. The deposited plans also showed that there was a second string of architects who had town centre practices and who were principally engaged by developers for the preparation of drawings for speculative houses, particularly dwellings in terraces with through- or back-to-back plans. A small number among the well known architects spanned the whole spectrum of housing design: for instance, Thomas Ambler designed large detached villas, extensions to mansions, semi-detached villas, red-brick terraces and back-to-back artisans' cottages[15].

The deposited plans also showed that architects were frequently employed to submit drawings even for small works. Architects submitted drawings for small alterations such as new fat-fryers for fish-and-chip shops; water-closets; stables; porches; woodsheds; and greenhouses. If the addition of a new bakehouse to the rear of a corner-shop was not beneath the dignity of town centre practices, it seems unlikely that the same architects would not have accepted work involving a row of terrace houses. For architects in the second half of the century, work in the expanding suburbs, with each small housing development requiring its own drawings, was an obvious source of 'bread-and-butter' income while waiting for or working on more prestigious projects.

Depositor or designer?

The fact that architects put their names, titles, rubber stamps, and even personal signatures on drawings is evident just from examination of the deposited plans. Nonetheless the possibility has to be faced that draughtsmen working for builders and developers actually drew up the plans and then took them to architects for the latter to rubber-stamp them or sign them and thereby provide an air of professional respectability. This might have been worthwhile even if a small fee was involved because the addition of an architect's name would help their passage through the Town Hall and its legislative processes. If such a procedure was carried out, it would probably have been on the basis that the architect checked the drawing for any obvious errors which might result in the plans being refused and it had the advantage of the client not having to pay him fees for the whole of the design and drawing-up stages. This, if it were the case, could explain why architects with town centre practices became involved in the submission of drawings for new fat-fryers for fish-and-chip shops, garden sheds,*et al.*

It was decided therefore to check the evidence to see if such a theory was consistent with the drawings submitted and with records of the day-to-day workings of architects during the period. The first method (examining the original drawings) showed that drawings which purported to emanate from the same architect's office did indeed have a readily identifiable drawing style. The thickness of line, the lettering (which in some cases was very decorative and in others very plain), the coloured washes, north points, etc., meant that many drawings could be readily picked out as emanating from particular offices. For example, some architects purchased rubber-stamps to avoid having to write the words plan, elevation, etc., and these were used on all their drawings after a given date. This is not to say that all drawings submitted by architects were examples of fine draughtsmanship and those by builders or non-architects poorly drawn. Often the architect passed on the job of tracing to a young pupil and simply lettered or titled the drawing himself. Similarly, some builders or persons who were not architects produced drawings of a reasonable standard.

Further evidence which helps to dismiss the theory of 'rubber-stamping' by architects of other persons' drawings can be found through an examination of architects' drawings for other buildings in Leeds. This was done as a secondary task while carrying out the sample of deposited plans for all Leeds. Drawings submitted for other building types (churches, chapels, banks, shops, industrial building, etc.) were compared with those submitted for houses, and the general style of drawing examined. From this it emerged that the offices that prepared the former drawings also prepared those for housing, including alterations and small works.

The suggestion that a builder or developer's draughtsman would use an architect's office as an agency for deposit also seems open to question. It might be that one reason for this practice would have been to avoid having the plans refused due to them not complying with regulations; but it is clear that depositors could be called in to the Town Hall to make amendments to drawings in order to avoid this[16]. Neither the Improvement Acts of 1866 and 1869 nor the bye-laws introduced in 1870 required that architects be employed.

When an architect was employed, did he simply draw up the developer's design? This would have depended to a large extent upon the client's knowledge and experience of housebuilding. Developers were not all speculative builders; some were drawn from very different trades and backgrounds. Even when the developers were connected with the building trade they were often single craftsmen or two men from different trades combining skills in partnership in order to build

only a few houses per year. Figures for the study area show that, out of 2,197 houses erected, 19 per cent were erected for developers who were entrepreneurs (bankers, merchants, shopkeepers etc.); 14 per cent were erected for developers who were members of the professions; 48 per cent were erected for or by developers who were builders working singly; 18 per cent were erected for or by developers who were builders working in partnership.

As for the role played by the principal of an architect's office in the design and construction of suburban houses, this is difficult to assess. Did he take instructions from the client, either speculative builder or other developer, measure the site, prepare designs and have copies traced by a pupil for submission and for the client's use? After submission and approval, did he prepare specifications, bills of quantities, further details, obtain tenders and supervise the erection? Was the architect's involvement a full service to the client in some cases and a partial one in others or did his work always stop once the drawings had been stamped 'approved'?

What then was the limit of the architect's involvement? The evidence here is somewhat fragmentary, but such as it is suggests that it was by no means confined to the stages prior to the submission of drawings for approval. Archibald Neill, for instance, was a local architect working in Leeds during the period 1878-1915. His diaries indicate that he visited the site, took levels where appropriate, drew out a scheme for the client's approval and submitted tracings to the local council for building regulation approval[17]. If tracings of the drawings used for submission to the council were then used by clients to carry out building operations on site, the architect or person producing the drawings must have relied on the sound practical knowledge of the builder. Party-walls, fireplaces, external walls, roof construction and openings for windows and doors were indicated in terms of position but not described in terms of construction. Wall thicknesses, floor-joist sizes and purlin sizes were not stated even on irregular shaped plans. The selection of the correct thickness of a solid wall for a specific height or the correct floor-joist size for various spans was left to the craftsmen and builders on site. Only where construction was out of the ordinary were constructional notes added.

It is possible, however, that the architect or building designer drew up a separate written specification or bill of quantities to accompany the drawings and in this document the information lacking on drawings would be given. Reference to one specification for ordinary terraced houses was found relating to a development built in Leeds in 1883 to the designs of Archibald Neill[18]. Similarly, a specification and full bill of quantities were also found relating to a small development of through terrace houses erected at Idle near Bradford in 1899 by the Leeds architects Kendall and Bakes. Clauses in the latter document gave further information such as foundation and wall thicknesses to supplement the approved drawings[19].

The local architectural profession

The early nineteenth-century urban expansion of Leeds created a need for public buildings, factories, churches and villas. This encouraged a number of architects to set up practice and in 1822 there were five in Leeds. Robert Chantrell, Thomas Taylor and John Clark became, in effect, West Yorkshire architects and it was unusual during the period 1820-1850 for architects to be employed who were from outside the area.

By 1853 the number of architectural practices in Leeds had increased to 23[20]. A few practices (eg John Chantrell) had been passed down from the earlier generation, but the majority were newly established. One important newcomer was Cuthbert Brodrick who won the competition for the design of Leeds Town Hall in 1853 and opened an office in Leeds. His public buildings in Leeds won him much public acclaim and he became well known outside the town.

The other practices which had sprung up in Leeds were little known outside the town or its region. Nonetheless they had a great influence upon local architecture for the rest of the century because they trained articled pupils and later took some of them into partnership, thus maintaining a sense of continuity for a number of generations. New names were added during the 1860s to the Leeds practices: William Reid Corson and his younger brother George Corson, Perkin and Backhouse, Thomas Ambler, Adams and Kelly and Charles R. Chorley all became well known in the town[21].

In the second half of the century it became more common for local men to be set aside in favour of outsiders, especially leading architects from London. While the Church of England favoured such architects as J.L. Pearson from London who rebuilt St. Michael's, Headingley in 1884-6, the Wesleyan Methodists employed architects from other towns such as Bath, Hull and Liverpool to design some of their more important buildings[22].

The number of architects practising in Leeds remained fairly constant at around 28 during the 1860s but rose dramatically after 1870. By 1875 there were 48; by 1886, 70; and at the turn of the century it reached a peak of 78[23]. The dramatic rise from 1870 can be attributed to two factors: the town's continued expansion as more and more new buildings were erected and the introduction of stricter building legislation in the form of bye-laws.

If designs for major public, commercial and religious buildings were the work of outside architects or the best architects in town, what was the work on the drawing boards of the numerous smaller practices?

The professional standing of the housing designers

Throughout the nineteenth century it was notoriously difficult to know which of the persons who described themselves as architects were architects in the accepted sense of the word. The Institute of British Architects was founded in 1834 and in 1866 the Institute added the epithet 'Royal' to its title. Many persons, however, were properly trained but practised without ever becoming members of the Royal Institute of British Architects (R.I.B.A.). The census returns for 1871 indicate the problem quite clearly: according to the census 5,692 persons in England and Wales described themselves as architects when the R.I.B.A. had only 519 members in that year – some 9 per cent of the total profession (a figure which had risen only to 15 per cent by 1901)[24]. As a criterion for judging the professional standing of an architect, membership of the R.I.B.A. was not one that could be applied to a large proportion of the profession prior to 1921.

It is difficult to establish how many of the persons calling themselves architects were in fact builders or surveyors. In the 1851 Census a note is made to the effect that 'Many of the 2,971 architects are undoubtedly builders'[25]. There was also considerable confusion between the allied professions of architect and surveyor, many men practising as both. Street directories of the period quite often listed the same person in both sections of the trade directories.

In December 1876 an inaugural meeting was held in the Philosophical Hall, Leeds to discuss the formation of a Leeds Architectural Association. George Corson was chosen as the first President and took the chair at the first general meeting in January 1877, when some 80 persons attended. The name was changed in 1881 first to the Leeds Architectural Society and then to the Leeds and Yorkshire Architectural Society (L.Y.A.S.). Members were to be those persons engaged professionally in the study or practice of architecture and civil engineering. It is interesting to note that in 1877 only 8 per cent of the membership were also members of the R.I.B.A. and it was not until 1895 that one third of the membership were also members of the R.I.B.A.[26]. Although some local architects were too old in 1876 to bother to become members of the local society and others were only intermittent members, membership can be used as some guide to the professional standing of those persons who described themselves as architects on deposited drawings.

Some depositors of drawings were clearly not architects: undoubtedly some were

builders, clerks of works, articled pupils or draughtsmen. In an attempt to clarify this, a classification system was devised for those persons who described themselves as architects. One basic set of criteria was used to classify the architects who deposited drawings for speculative housing in the study area and then other factors were taken into account in order to push them higher or lower within the hierarchy. The basic set of criteria was whether or not they had an office in the centre of Leeds, took commissions for building designs and were recognised by being listed in the appropriate section of street directories of the period[27]. This established that they were acting as architects in the late-nineteenth century sense of the word. Based on these criteria, 82 per cent of all the houses erected in the study area were on approved drawings which were the work of architects who at the very least could boast a town centre practice at some time during the period[28].

The possibility had to be faced that a speculative builder could open an office and call himself an architect. Searches through newspapers, street directories, obituaries, records of the L.Y.A.S. and the R.I.B.A. established whether or not this was the case and produced a set of biographical notes on each individual concerned[29].

Other factors could be taken into account in order to push the person concerned higher or lower in the hierarchy. Rising to high office in the local society, membership of the local society, membership of the R.I.B.A., working from home etc. are typical examples. Basically eight types of plan-depositors emerged from this exercise in classification. The categories used to classify depositors of plans for houses in the study area between 1868 and 1914 are given below:

A1 Category — Leeds architects with a practice which was well known in the town and region and who rose to high office in the L.Y.A.S.

A2 Category — Lesser known architects with Leeds town centre practices who were usually members of the L.Y.A.S.

A3 Category — Architects practising from home or the suburbs.

A4 Category — Architects practising in Bradford.

A5 Category — Builders calling themselves architects.

A6 Category — Persons not listed in street directories as architects or builders but calling themselves architects.

B1 Category — Builders.

B2 Category — Others

A breakdown of the numbers of dwellings erected in the study area according to the category of depositors is presented in Table 1. A similar exercise was carried out on a much larger sample of deposited plans for all the townships of Leeds, involving a further 7,717 houses. This showed that only about 6 per cent of all the houses examined were deposited by builders and by far the greatest share (65 per cent) were deposited by architects who fell into categories A1 and A2 above[30].

Who were these men? Four typical examples will help answer this question:

Daniel Dodgson (d. 1903) qualified under Thomas Ambler as an articled pupil and left to set up in practice on his own account in 1872 when his office was at 18 Park Row, Leeds. He built up a varied practice and carried out a wide range of buildings ranging from Roundhay Road Methodist Church to a town centre shopping development in Vicar Lane. The extent of his domestic work was prodigious. He submitted drawings for approval for a larger number of speculative and custom-built houses than any other architect for whom accurate figures are available for the period 1872-1903. Dodgson became a member of the L.Y.A.S. in 1877 and was elected a committee member for the period 1877-1879, but after 1885 ceased to be a member[31].

Walter Hobson (1856-1916) was articled as a young man to the architect Edward Birchall of Park Place, Leeds and was a prize-winning student of the L.Y.A.S. in 1877. By 1884 he had set up in practice on his own account at 2 Park Place. By 1891 the firm was called Walter Hobson & Co., Architects, Surveyors and Valuers. He devoted himself to commercial and domestic architecture but his other works included extensions to the Leeds Infirmary, St Chad's Home at Far Headingley and the Canon Jackson Memorial Wing at Cookridge Hospital in 1894. He was also responsible for the design of many housing schemes in Leeds particularly at Burley, Headingley and West Park. He was a member of the L.Y.A.S. from 1877 and was Vice-President from 1886 to 1901. On his death in 1916 it was said that he was 'a striking personality in Leeds and was recognised in the profession as a clever and successful architect'[32].

Frederick Mitchell (b.1863) was the son of Henry Mitchell, architect, and was educated at public school, the Mechanics Institute, Leeds and the Yorkshire College. He was an assistant with T. Howdill of Leeds and J. Kirk and Sons of Huddersfield after being an articled pupil to C.D. Swale of Leeds. Mitchell went into partnership with Swale in 1887 and had an office on his own from 1897. As a student he won a national silver medal as a scholar at the Leeds School of Art and a silver medal for the L.Y.A.S. in 1886 as well as other prizes for design. He was responsible for the

Table 1 Number of houses erected in the study area related to various categories of depositors, 1868 – 1914

		Dwellings erected (number)	Share of total (per cent)
A1 Category (well known architects)	20 practices	434	19.8
A2 Category (less well known architects)	35 practices	1,363	62.2
A3 Category (architects practising from the suburbs)	5 practices	99	4.5
A4 Category (architects from Bradford)	2 practices	5	.2
A5 Category (builders calling themselves architects)	2 persons	49	2.3
A6 Category (persons not listed as architects or builders)	6 persons	88	4.0
B1 Category (builders)	11 persons	110	5.0
B2 Category (others)	9 persons	44	2.0
	Total	2,192*	100

*The total number erected was 2,197, but 5 dwellings were erected from drawings where the depositor's name was illegible.

Source: see Trowell, 'Nineteenth-Century Speculative Housing in Leeds: With Special Reference to the Suburb of Headingley 1838-1914' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of York, 1982), p. 87.

design of many buildings in Leeds and elsewhere including: St Oswald's Church, Schools and Institute; the Abbey Picture House, Kirkstall; and houses in Leeds, Horsforth, Rawdon, Boston Spa, Nottingham and Scarborough. Despite his impressive educational record and the fact that he had his own practice, it would appear that Mitchell was only an Associate Member of the L.Y.A.S. from 1885 to 1887. Although he was in an established town centre practice, throughout the period he submitted house designs in various parts of Leeds[33].

Thomas Winn (1838-1908) was the son of a Woodhouse builder and started life as a bricklayer. He obviously aspired for something higher and, while working during the day as a bricklayer, he attended evening classes at the Mechanics Institute in Leeds, starting with classes in building construction and moving on to instruction in architecture. He commenced practice as an architect in 1881 and opened an office at 18 Park Lane, Leeds when he was 43 years of age. He designed a number of commercial and shop premises in Leeds as well as preparing deposited building plans for speculative housing. He also designed many well known public houses in Leeds, such as the Mitre, Commercial Street; the Jubilee, Park Lane; the Black Swan; and the Adelphi. He also became involved in arbitration work and was much respected as a valuer. His obituary notice stated:

> he started his business life in the humble capacity of a bricklayer, and in order to attain the honourable professional position in the city he occupied at the time of his death, he had a strenuous struggle[34].

Conclusion

The major involvement of local architects in the design of suburban housing in the nineteenth century, similar in many respects to the involvement of architects in the design of housing this century, is most significant. If Leeds proves not to be an exception in this particular and the practice was widespread in other towns, then the role of the nineteenth-century architect needs to be reassessed.

Leeds Polytechnic

References

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2 Trowell, thesis, Table 14, Vol.1, p.138; information drawn from Annual Reports and minutes of various Corporation Committees such as Building Clauses Committee, 1869-1894 and Plans Committee, 1904-1910.

3 Trowell, thesis, Vol.1, p.139.

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5 A Chippendale, *Housing for Single Young People: A Survey of Single Young People Living in Multi-Occupied Houses*, Research Paper 11, Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies (University of York, 1976).

6 Leeds Archives Department, Sheepscar (hereafter Archives), DB/M341, 'Plan of an estate at Headingley belonging to John Henry Fawcett divided up into villa-lots for sale, 1837'.

7 Trowell, thesis, Table 7, Vol.1, p.34. The Ordnance Survey Map of 1971 shows that 3,345 houses existed in the study area at the time of the survey; 80 per cent of these were erected between 1838-1914.

8 When questioned about these assumptions, Professor H.J. Dyos stated that in his opinion the middle-class and working-class houses built in Victorian suburbs were not the work of architects but the result of local builders using readily available pattern-books. (Interview held with the author, Leicester, April 1978). See H.J. Dyos *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* (1961).

9 A comprehensive list of these pattern-books, textbooks and manuals is given in Trowell, thesis, Vol.2, pp.163-164.

10 John Weale, who published *Weale's Rudimentary Series* (1849-1888), wrote some books himself and employed other authors to write books for this series e.g. E. Dobson, *Rudiments of the Art of Building* (1849).

11 J.J. Raggett, *A Series of Plans of Labourers' Cottages with Quantities for Estimating their Approximate Costs* (Birmingham). For recent discussions, see E. Gauldie, *Cruel Habitations: A History of Working-Class Housing, 1780-1914* (1974); S. Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (1982); M. J. Daunton, *House and Home in the Victorian City: Working Class Housing 1850-1914* (1983).

12 Section 31, Leeds Improvement Act of 1866.

13 Bye-Law 21, *Bye-Laws with Sections of Acts Relating to New Streets, Buildings, etc.* (Leeds, 1870).

14 The reasons for taking the sample and the methodology are explained in Trowell, thesis, Vol.3, Appendix 19. The sampling process resulted in 102 bundles of plans being selected which on average contained around 100 drawings each. All drawings relating to housing developments were closely examined and relevant statistics drawn up relating to approximately 11 per cent of all the houses approved by the Corporation for the period 1877-1910.

15 The architect Charles Fowler designed many large villas in Headingley as well as carrying out works in the town centre and alterations to Headingley Parish Church. At the same time he was architect to the Leeds and Yorkshire Land, Building and Investment Company. The latter position involved the preparation of designs for very small through terrace houses for artisans.

16 Plans were checked for basic errors by the officials and depositors were allowed to withdraw the plans for alteration before they went to the committee.

17 Archibald Neill F.R.I.B.A. (1856-1933) was in practice in Leeds from 1878 to 1915 when he became Chief Valuation Officer to the City of Leeds. His diaries are in the form of daybooks covering day-to-day events in his office for the period 1880-1887. See Archives, GA/Z23 and Trowell, thesis, Chapter 11, Vol.2.

18 Archives, GA/Z23. See entry for 16th March, 1883.

19 Archives, DB/M488.

20 Information drawn from street directories for Leeds.

21 For details of the works of these architects, see D. Linstrum, *West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture* (1978), pp.369-386.

22 L. Wright, an architect from Hull, designed Belle Vue Primitive Methodist Church in 1870; C.O. Ellison of Liverpool designed Woodhouse Moor Wesleyan Chapel in 1874; Wilson and Wilcox of Bath designed the Wesley College, Headingley in 1867.

23 See Trowell, thesis, Table 48, Vol.2, p.58.

24 B Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain: a Sociological Study*, p.175.

25 *Ibid.*, p.173.

26 For the early history of the Society, see the Society Reports, 1876-1914 held in the R.I.B.A. Regional Office, Woodhouse Square, Leeds.

27 The starting point for this exercise in classification was information such as the name of firms and office addresses given on over 11,500 deposited drawings inspected.

28 Some of the plan depositors did however deposit plans of houses for approval while working from home or as a pupil prior to setting up an office in their own right.

29 For biographical details of the persons mentioned, see Trowell, thesis, Appendix 7, Vol.3.

30 A comparison has been made of the findings from the sample of deposited house plans for all Leeds with those relating to the study area: see Trowell, thesis, Table 67, Vol.2, pp.92-93.

31 For further biographical details and examples of work carried out, see Trowell, thesis, Vol.3, pp.73-74. (Total number of houses on deposited plans inspected under the name Dodgson was 981).

32 Trowell, thesis, Vol.3, pp.84-85. (Total number of houses on deposited plans inspected under the name Hobson was 382).

33 Trowell, thesis, Vol.3, pp.94-95. (Total number of houses on deposited plans inspected under the name Mitchell was 349).

34 Obituary, *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 17th September, 1908. See also Trowell, thesis, Vol.3, pp.117-118. (Total number of houses on deposited plans inspected under the name Winn was 91).