PAPERS READ AT THE LAMAS LOCAL HISTORY CONFERENCE HELD AT THE MUSEUM OF LONDON IN NOVEMBER 2006: 'LOST LONDON'

THE LOST RIVERS OF LONDON

Nicholas Barton

Throughout its length, the Thames has tributaries of various sizes. In central London these were covered over centuries ago, mainly because people threw rubbish into them, which made them smelly and unpleasant and also blocked up the stream which caused floods. In outer London, some of the larger tributaries remain open, or partly open, but sometimes rather polluted.

These tributaries, and in the past even those now buried, have been used for military, domestic, and recreational purposes, to supply water for drinking and for industry, and to drive watermills. Some were navigable. Ever since the Lea formed the frontier between Christian Wessex and the pagan Danelaw, these small rivers have formed boundaries: between parishes, boroughs, parliamentary constituencies, police divisions, postal districts, and even, formerly, telephone exchanges.

Of those now lost, the most important on the south were the **Neckinger**, which flowed past Bermondsey Abbey and whose mouth is still open as St Saviour's Dock, and the **Effra**, which rose in Norwood, passed through Herne Hill and Brixton, and joined the Thames at Vauxhall (Fig 1).

On the north, part of the **Bollo Brook** formed an ornamental canal in the grounds of Chiswick House, but became so polluted that the stream now flows in a pipe at the bottom of the canal which is fed from the Thames. **Counter's Creek** was also made into a canal, this time for boats, but it was not profitable so its bed was used for the railway which runs through Shepherd's Bush, Olympia, and West Brompton; its mouth is Chelsea Creek.

The **Westbourne** arose on the west side of Hampstead and flowed down to Kilburn, named after a tributary stream. It is remembered in the names Westbourne Grove and Bayswater. In Hyde Park it was dammed up, at the suggestion of Queen Caroline, to make the Serpentine. Flowing under Knightsbridge it continues to Sloane Square, where it crosses the Inner Circle in a large iron pipe visible above the tracks and platforms, and joins the Thames near Chelsea Bridge.

The **Tyburn** arose on the south side of Hampstead hill and flowed down to Regent's Park, where it supplied the lake (Fig 2). The sinuous course of Marylebone Lane, in an otherwise rectangular grid of streets, was once the path beside the stream. Crossing Oxford Street (where it gave its name to Tyburn gallows) and Piccadilly at their lowest points, it divided near Buckingham Palace into a delta of small streams. Two of these embraced Thorney Island, on which lovely spot was built the Abbey of Westminster. It was not lovely for long as Westminster soon became the centre of the Court and government. The southern mouth of the Tyburn, driving the Abbey mill (hence Millbank), was still open in 1642.

The **Fleet** is the largest of the tributaries within London. It arises by two heads on Hampstead Heath: one in the Vale of Heath and the other in the grounds of Kenwood House. The first supplies the Hampstead ponds and the second the Highgate ponds. They go underground
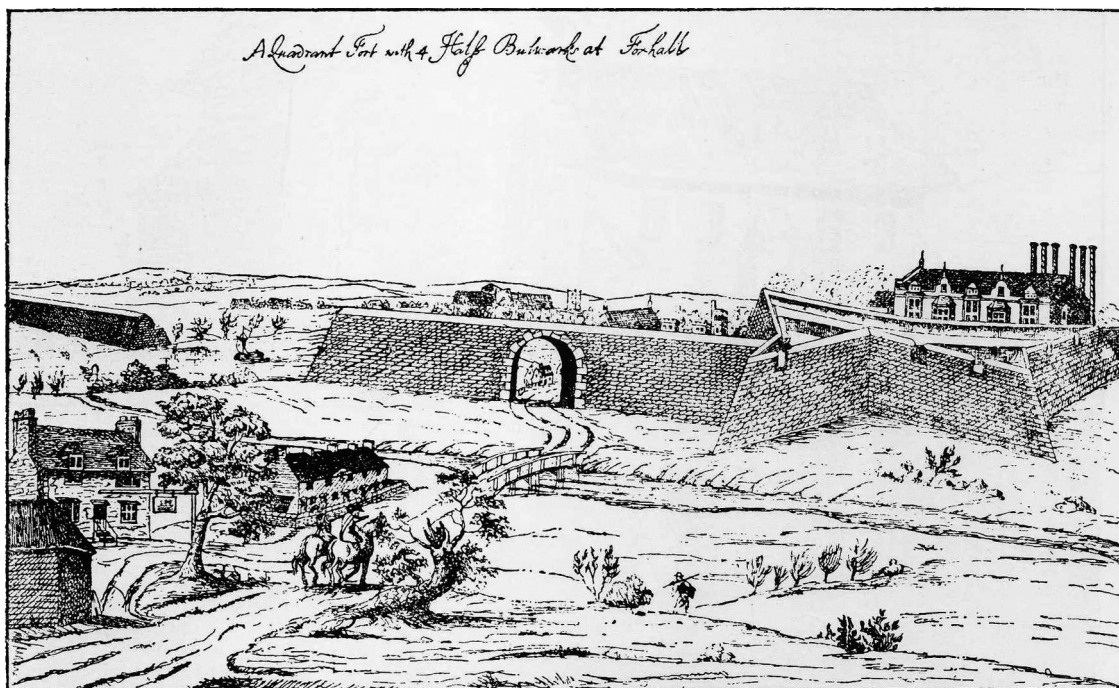
Fig 1. The River Effra at Vauxhall beside the fort that was built as part of the Civil War defences. The River Thames is on the left. The drawing is thought to be a mid-19th-century forgery. From Nicholas Barton, The Lost Rivers of London (1992).

Fig 2. The Tyburn at Marylebone c.1750. The view is taken from the site of the present Wigmore Street. From Nicholas Barton, The Lost Rivers of London (1992).

where the heath ends and join near Camden Town, forming a stream which was 65 ft wide in flood in 1826, at which time it was still quite attractive as far down as King's Cross. However, it soon declined 'from a river to a brook, from a brook to a ditch, and from a ditch to a drain', when it was enclosed to make the Fleet sewer. It followed roughly the course of King's Cross Road and almost exactly the course of Farringdon Road and Farringdon Street, where its valley, though not as deep as it once was, is still clearly visible where it is bridged by Holborn Viaduct. After the Great Fire, the Fleet below this point was converted into a canal under the direction of Wren and Hooke, but it was not used much except as a rubbish dump and by 1745 only the section below Ludgate Circus remained open; it now flows under New Bridge Street.

These polluted streams caused much disease until 1860 when Joseph Bazalgette devised a system of intercepting sewers, completed in 1865, which carried the sewage out of the tributaries before it reached the Thames and down to outfall works to the east of London where it was disposed of safely. Thanks to him, the lost rivers of London are not only out of sight but out of mind — except on an occasion such as this.

Further reading

N Barton *The Lost Rivers of London* (1962; revised 1992) — still in print and distributed by Phillimore: ISBN 0 948667 15 X.

LOST CHURCHES AND CONVENTS OF MEDIEVAL LONDON

Vanessa Harding

Medieval London had a host of convents and religious houses, built up over a period of time, most of which were formally closed or abolished in the mid-16th century, despite their size, wealth and apparent prosperity. A few survived, but many of those that disappeared as living institutions have nevertheless left their mark on the fabric of the capital. Certainly the names of many of London's medieval religious houses and convents will be familiar, even if their connotations are not always prominent in our consciousness. Thousands of people every day get off the Underground at Temple, Blackfriars, and St Paul's; or walk along the Minories, St Martin le Grand, Crutched Friars, or Clerkenwell Road; or visit Covent Garden or the Savoy. Two of London's most famous hospitals, St Bartholomew's and St Thomas's, date from the early Middle Ages, while Westminster Abbey, of course, is one of the most visited and widely recognised buildings of today's London.

Monasticism and mendicancy

What was the purpose of religious communities? The medieval church acknowledged two main ways of fulfilling its mission of salvation: that of ministering directly to the laity, with teaching and sacrament, to help them attain salvation themselves, and that of establishing a distinct and separate world of religious whose prayers and vicarious penances, more intense and arguably more effective than those of the lay world, would help to secure it for them. The clergy also fall into two groups, roughly corresponding to these different approaches. They can be divided into secular and regular, the secular clergy being those who ministered directly to the laity in the world, or *saecula*; the regulars, those who lived, usually in communities, under a specific rule or *regulus*. The secular clergy comprised principally priests, chaplains, deacons, and clerks in minor orders, who served the laity in parish churches and chapels and formed the lowest tier of the hierarchy of ecclesiastical authority, crowned by bishops, archbishops, and ultimately the pope. The regular clergy, sometimes just called the religious, were monks and canons (and nuns) living in communities, and the leaders of those communities, priors and abbots, prioresses and abbesses. All of these people, secular and regular, had made a lifelong commitment to service in the church, accepting celibacy as part of that commitment (apart from those in minor orders like parish clerks), but only the regulars had made a binding profession of obedience to a particular rule of life, which dictated exactly how and where they lived. The secular clergy were wholly masculine; the only significant opportunities for women religious lay within the regular life, in houses of nuns or sisters.

Over the years, a range of institutions developed within each of these broad missions. The older monastic orders generally followed the order or rule of St Benedict or St Augustine, which related principally to the idea of fixed, resident communities of religious, sometimes distancing themselves from the lay world,

sometimes open to it, but convinced of the primacy of their mission of prayer and penance. Generally speaking, the Benedictine religious were monks and nuns, the Augustinians canons and canonesses. In the 11th and 12th centuries several new orders of religious were created, often with very prescriptive rules, catering for particular circumstances; these included the austere and separatist Carthusian order and the orders of Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller established to defend the holy places of Palestine and to care for Christian travellers and pilgrims there.

The dominance of the enclosed orders was challenged in the early 13th century by the teachings of St Dominic and St Francis, and the orders of friars that they founded. The friars were to be the type of later medieval religious, completely involved in the world in a literal and topographical sense, but spiritually isolated from it — in principle at least — by a complete rejection of its values. Both Dominicans and Franciscans adopted poverty as a guiding rule; unlike the regular houses, they eschewed the accumulation of property as a source of income, and depended on begging and alms. They criticised the church hierarchy and the older orders for accepting secular values, and especially for, as they saw it, having compromised the apostolic purity of motive and action of the primitive church by pragmatism. Their role was to minister to the laity directly, by providing an example, by preaching — the Dominicans' speciality — and by offering direct access to spiritual benefits, for example by acting as confessors. In this, they were phenomenally successful. By the beginning of the 14th century, less than a hundred years after their foundation, there were perhaps 600 Dominican houses and 1,400 Franciscan across Europe: say 12,000 and 28,000 friars of the two kinds. They benefited from the growth of towns, in which their houses were located, and also from the growth of the universities, in which they played an important role. However, they were looked on with some suspicion by older foundations and sometimes by the parish clergy, and their direct dependence on alms and donations could make them seem more rather than less implicated in the secular economy.

Alongside the houses of monks, canons, nuns, and friars were numerous hospitals, run by the religious as places of asylum and sometimes medical cure. Sometimes they split off from original monastic foundations, separating the mission of care from that of prayer; sometimes they were founded as hospitals from the first, perhaps for a special constituency such as clerics, lepers, or the insane.

The London Houses

Medieval London had a significant number of religious houses: it was a centre of population, wealth, and royal interest from at least the 11th century, so that royal, religious, and lay founders all responded to its needs and circumstances. The majority of these houses generated significant archival records, with cartularies, collections of deeds, administrative documents, and estate records. Many of these passed to the Crown at the Dissolution, and now form part of the collections at The National Archives.[1] Some of these records have been published, and the histories of several individual houses written. A short history of each of the religious houses in and near the City of London was included in the *Victoria County History of London*, vol 1 (1909), with houses in outer Middlesex and Surrey covered in *Victoria County History of Middlesex*, vol 1 (1969), and *Victoria County History of Surrey* vol 2 (1967). In addition, the accounts of religious houses from the VCH *London* have been republished with new information and corrections as *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*, edited by Caroline Barron and Matthew Davies. The following discussion relies heavily on the VCH accounts for information and detail; what is offered here is an overview.[2]

A brief listing of the London houses indicates their number and variety. The earliest religious foundation, apart from St Paul's, was the abbey of Benedictine monks founded at Westminster, well before the Conquest, which came to be the royal church and mausoleum. It was endowed and/or rebuilt by a succession of monarchs, notably Edward the Confessor, Henry III, and Henry VII. It was a large and wealthy house, with some 80 monks in the 11th century, and estates across southern England.[3] Bermondsey Abbey in Surrey, a Cluniac house, was founded in 1082, and St Helen's Priory, a house of Benedictine nuns, was established in the City in the 12th century. Several houses of Augustinian canons were also founded in the first half of the 12th century: the priory of St Mary Overey, in Southwark; the priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate (also known as Christchurch); and the priory of St Bartholomew in Smithfield. Houses of

Augustinian canonesses were founded in the same period, at Kilburn, Clerkenwell, and Halliwell (in modern Shoreditch). The 12th century also saw the foundation or evolution of London's major hospitals. St Bartholomew's Hospital had separated from the priory within a few decades of the latter's foundation to become a distinct institution, and St Thomas's in Southwark originated in the 12th century in the precincts of St Mary Overey, though it was refounded as a separate entity in the early 13th century. The hospitals of St Giles Holborn, for lepers, St James Westminster, St Mary Bishopsgate (also known as St Mary Spital), and St Katharine by the Tower were established before 1200.

London's religious houses belonged to international or transnational orders, and had interests and loyalties beyond their immediate setting, but their mission was local and specific: they were established to be of benefit to the family and community of the founder. The crusading orders were rather different, however. The order of Knights Templar was one of the results of the early crusading movement, which linked two aspects of Christian sanctity — the holy warrior in the just war, and the monk. The Knights Templar were founded to guard the Christian shrines in Palestine, as the Knights Hospitaller were established to defend and succour pilgrims and crusaders. There were relatively few active knights but many more members of the orders, though they were never numerous like for example the Cistercians, whose rule they followed, let alone the friars. The orders were international and military, with a command structure that crossed national boundaries; their active role was set in Palestine, but there were houses in Western Europe that served as resources for men and supplies or rent income, and also as hospices for travellers. They also actively channelled funds towards the Holy Land, and became expert at international exchange and remission of funds. They were credited with huge wealth, because of their money-handling activities, and indeed the French order acted as treasurers to the crown. The English order had an income of some £4,000 a year in the late 12th century. London had a house of Knights Templar, founded in the early 12th century in Holborn, but it had moved to its permanent site off Fleet Street by 1184, where the Temple Church was built. The Knights Hospitaller were established in Clerkenwell at the priory of St John of Jerusalem in the

12th century; they succeeded to some of the Templars' lands when the latter were disbanded in the early 14th century.

Most of London's religious houses were on the periphery of the built-up area of the City, but one new and distinctive house was founded in the city centre in the early 13th century, the house or hospital of St Thomas of Acre. Dedicated to London's popular patron saint St Thomas Becket, it occupied the site of his birthplace in Cheapside. Originally a military order, it later adopted the Augustinian rule. A few more small hospitals were founded in the 13th century, including one dedicated to St Mary of Bethlehem, later focusing on the care of the insane, in the northern suburb, but the foundation of large enclosed houses had effectively ceased by 1250.

But the 13th century was pre-eminently the age of the friars, and London, as a substantial urban centre, attracted all the major orders. Both Dominican or Black Friars and Franciscan or Grey Friars arrived in the 1220s, and established themselves within the city walls; unlike the enclosed houses, they needed to be close to and accessible to the lay population. The Carmelite or White Friars, the Augustinian (Austin) Friars, and the Crossed or Crutched Friars followed within a few decades, again mostly finding sites within the walls. A small foundation of Friars of the Sack, or of Penitence, was not long-lived, but the other houses were large (both Dominicans and Franciscans built large churches to which the laity were welcomed) and well-populated. The Franciscans were also known as Friars Minor, and a house of Franciscan nuns, of the order of St Clare, popularly known as the Minoresses, was founded outside Aldgate in the street now known as Minories.

Medieval London probably reached its maximum size in the early 14th century, and was certainly well supplied with religious houses by that date. The plagues of 1348–51, however, while decimating the population, also prompted a renewed interest in penitential and intercessory provision. The big plague burial grounds to the east and the north-west of the City became the sites of, respectively, the Cistercian house of St Mary Graces and the Charterhouse. Both orders had originated much earlier, and both were associated with seclusion and distancing from centres of population, and perhaps for this reason had not attracted the interest of potential founders in London. But the orders' reputation

for austerity and holiness may have made them newly attractive to a society that attributed plague to divine displeasure and sought to appease it through enhanced devotion and observance.

An increased interest in chantries, fraternities, and intercessory foundations has also been attributed to post-plague anxieties, especially to people's fears of dying spiritually or practically unprepared. Most of London's parish churches accumulated several chantry and obituary endowments between 1350 and 1548, while a few wealthier Londoners established colleges of chantry priests such as Whittington College, transforming the parish church of St Michael Paternoster Royal into a small religious community.[4] Londoners also continued to express care for the practical well-being of their fellows, in the foundation of almshouses and small hospitals, more for the old than the sick, quite often entrusting these to the administration of a city company. The last major religious foundation in London (actually just outside the City itself) was Henry VII's hospital of the Savoy, founded in 1509 and unusually well-staffed and equipped.

Londoners and the London Houses

Convents, friaries, hospitals were in London, then, but how far were they 'of' London? Certainly Londoners had contributed to, or even instituted, religious foundations, and continued to make donations, though the focus of lay benevolence shifted very much towards the friars in the later Middle Ages. The friaries were more in the world; friars acted as confessors to the laity, and the Dominicans especially preached to them. The prayers of the friars were frequently sought by the dying, and it was common for middling and wealthy Londoners to make bequests to the four orders of friars in London (usually omitting the Crutched Friars), either to attend their funerals, to hold simultaneous requiem masses, or to intercede after death. The Greyfriars church was especially popular for burial: Isabella, the wife of Edward II, was buried there, as were many of the mercantile élite. The Austin Friars, with their international profile, offered a home-from-home for the Italian community and were commonly remembered in their wills or requested as a burial site.[5]

Londoners also joined the orders and houses, though in what numbers over all it is hard to establish. A few daughters of wealthy Londoners became nuns, and by the 16th century some widows joined smaller institutions as vowesses or corrodians. Female houses might offer shelter and an effective retirement home, and the house of the Minoresses had several aristocratic lodgers and visitors. The closed orders and houses probably figured largely only in the lives of servants and precinct inhabitants, though there were probably more of those than we realise. One exception may be the centrally located house of St Thomas of Acre: the church became a landmark in London life, an important place for meeting and also for burial, and had been adopted, if not actually taken over, by the Mercers' Company in the early 16th century.[6] Several foundations, including St Thomas of Acre, St Paul's, and the Hospital of St Anthony of Vienne, offered schooling to London boys.

The most visible and significant religious institution for most Londoners was however St Paul's Cathedral, staffed by canons rather than monks and run by a Dean and Chapter.[7] The cathedral was literally open to Londoners, who used it as a place of worship and civic celebration but also as a meeting-place, for trading, hiring, recreation (up to a point), and as a pedestrian cut-through from one street to another. It always featured in royal entries and processions, and Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon were married there in 1502. The cathedral itself was never a major focus of civic burial, but some citizens founded chantries there, and a number were buried in the churchyard. The Dance of Death decorating the walls of the Pardon Churchyard was a noted feature, while the great churchyard was both an ancient locus of the folkmoot and a central site for preaching. To address a congregation from Paul's Cross pulpit in the churchyard was to address the City, and through it the nation. Sermons were preached declaring Henry VI the true king in 1471, proclaiming Edward IV's sons to be bastards in 1483, and denouncing Empson and Dudley, ministers of Henry VII, after the latter's death. Papal Bulls were read there, and in the 16th century both Protestant and Catholic Reformations were preached there. Wolsey pronounced anathema on Luther from a platform in the churchyard in 1521, and finished with burning his works; Tyndale's Testament and Coverdale's Bible were burned there in 1546. The precinct also housed the cathedral school, refounded by Dean Colet in 1509, and an important educational resource for Londoners. Some sense of the interest Londoners had in St Paul's is reflected in

references to events and incidents there in the 15th-century London chronicles. Memorably dramatic events for the people of London included the erection of the weathercock on the steeple in 1422, the lightning-strike that set the steeple on fire in 1443, and the storm that blew off the weathercock in January 1506.[8]

The Dissolution of the Monasteries

Apart from the house of Knights Templar, disbanded with the rest of the order in the early 14th century (though their church survives, encapsulated in the legal precinct of the Temple), London's religious houses mostly survived until the Henrician Reformation of the 1530s. By the early 16th century, however, many of the large old houses were dwindling in numbers, and some were allegedly suffering from poor discipline and financial problems. The flow of benefactions had decreased, as more was diverted to chantries and charities. The monasteries thus offered a comparatively soft target for the reforming zeal (and financial acumen) of Thomas Cromwell. If the monasteries were not fulfilling their role of liturgical and behavioural example, what were they for? Especially if at least some individuals had begun to doubt the spiritual efficacy of intercession at all.

Historians debate how much of the 'programme' of reformation was actually planned or foreseen at any stage, but it does look as if Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, was something of a test case for the closure of religious houses. In 1532 the house still had 18 canons beside the prior, and an annual value of *c.*£355, so it was neither impoverished nor insignificant, but it was surrendered to the Crown with relatively little fuss. In 1534 the priory site was granted to the Lord Chancellor, Thomas Audley.[9] Smaller houses, arguably insufficiently endowed or manned to fulfil their mission, were surrendered in 1536. In London this included the 14th-century hospital of St Mary within Cripplegate ('Elsingspital'), with a prior and ten canons, and the house of Augustinian canonesses at Kilburn. The breach with Rome also brought about the downfall of the Charterhouse, despite its size (30 choir monks and 18 lay brethren) and prestige. Most of the monks were imprisoned, and either executed or died in prison, for resisting Henry VIII's claim to primacy in church affairs.

The years 1538–40 saw the closure of almost all London's religious houses, apart from some of the hospitals, and the confiscation of their assets (including their libraries and archives) by the Crown. The new Court of Augmentations, formed in 1536 when the smaller houses were being suppressed, handled a huge volume of business over the next couple of decades, surveying, valuing, and disposing of religious properties. Relatively little London property remained in the Crown's hands: in effect, there was a wholesale transfer of ownership from institutional and religious hands to those of the laity, prompting partnerships of courtiers and financiers to exploit the new opportunities for investment. In addition to the precincts and local rental properties held by the London houses, religious houses all over the country held endowments in London, so a very large amount of real estate changed hands. Churches, secular buildings (such as the lodgings of abbots and priors), and rental property met varying fates. Some monastic church buildings found new life as parish churches: the church of Elsingspital was taken over by the adjacent parish of St Alphege, while the Greyfriars church became the church for a new parish of Christ Church in Newgate Street. The Minoresses' precinct became the new parish of Holy Trinity Minories, with the conventual church becoming the parish church. The church of St Thomas of Acre was adopted by the Mercers' Company as their company chapel.

The priory church of St Mary Overey in Southwark became a parish church and later, in 1905, Southwark Cathedral. Others, however, were demolished or converted to secular uses. The town houses of provincial abbeys and priories were mostly snapped up by courtiers and nobles, as were some of the precincts of London houses, with their spacious gardens and attractive residential buildings. Sir Richard Rich, first chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, obtained the site and buildings of St Bartholomew's Priory; Charterhouse came into the hands of Sir Edward (later Lord) North, Rich's successor.[10]

It is difficult to estimate the numbers dispossessed by the closure of the religious houses in London. A rough count, based on the numbers returned to the Valor Ecclesiasticus in 1536, summarised in the VCH accounts, suggests that 280 or more religious lost their places. In most cases they received pensions, and a few of the monks and canons may have found other employment in the church. But most of the houses also had lay servants, administrative

personnel, and dependants, who also lost their immediate employment. Local circles of tradesmen and suppliers, such as the cornman, fishmonger, butcher, and brewer mentioned in the domestic accounts of St Helen's Priory, must have suffered from the loss of substantial and long-term customers. Monastic dispensation of alms and food may not have played such a significant role in London's economy of charity as it did elsewhere, but between them the City's religious houses gave out a considerable volume of relief, in pittances and doles, in addition to supporting longer-term inmates such as the 14 paupers resident in St Giles's Hospital, Holborn. Artistic treasures and traditions were lost, including liturgical books and manuscripts, music, church bells, and a large quantity of plate. The treasuries of the three major friaries alone yielded some 4,500 ounces of silver plate.

Several religious houses survived, though sometimes in a reformed or reconstituted state. Westminster Abbey was dissolved in 1540 and reconstituted as a cathedral chapter for the new but short-lived see of Westminster, with the last abbot becoming the first dean. The abbey was briefly refounded under Mary but in 1560 Elizabeth reinstated the collegiate body with a dean and prebendaries. The hospitals had a mixed fate: some, like Elsingspital and St Mary Spital were closed, and their assets surrendered, despite arguments for their valuable function; others, including St Mary of Bethlehem and St Katherine by the Tower, were spared. St Bartholomew's and St Thomas's underwent several difficult years before being revived as part of the cluster of new and restored foundations run by the City of London. A significant amount of their medieval endowment had been dispersed, however, though St Thomas's subsequently received part of the endowment of Henry VII's Hospital of the Savoy. Some of the buildings of the former Charterhouse also had a new history, from the early 17th century, as an almshouse (Sutton's Hospital) and school.

Lost and Found

The dissolution of the religious houses undoubtedly had a profound impact on the appearance and cartography of the City. Communities established for centuries were dispersed, familiar landmarks transformed, ways of perceiving and experiencing the City reshaped. The historian John Stow, writing some fifty years after the event, catalogued the fate of many of London's religious sites, and his account leaves the reader in no doubt of the significance of the Dissolution, though at the same time his careful record ensured that the names and locations of the former religious houses would not fade into oblivion.[11] But the Dissolution was by no means the only agent for major change in Tudor London: the religious reformation of Edward VI had a greater impact on the parish churches and the liturgical lives of Londoners, while economic and demographic forces together transformed the size, social and occupational structures, and the economic topography of the metropolis. The secularisation of the precincts offered some new and often under-regulated spaces for the growing population to colonise, but did not in itself cause the population expansion of the later 16th century.

Nor is it likely that, without the Dissolution, we would still have all the abbeys and conventual buildings of the medieval city. The Fire of 1666, wartime bombings, changing architectural and ecclesiological tastes, and the pressure of redevelopment have between them decimated London's medieval buildings, including the churches that survived the Reformation. St Paul's Cathedral lost its magnificent spire in a lightning-strike in 1561, and was already in a seriously dilapidated state before the Civil War. The Great Fire destroyed what then survived of the Greyfriars church and St Thomas of Acre, as well as St Paul's. The parish churches of St Bartholomew the Less (within the hospital) and Holy Trinity Minories were largely rebuilt in the 18th century. St Stephen's chapel within the Palace of Westminster, formerly a royal collegiate foundation, was destroyed by fire in 1834. The church of the Austin Friars, given a new life as the church of the Dutch congregation after the Reformation, was bombed in 1940. Likewise, not all that appears to be medieval is in fact so: though Gothic in style, the western towers of Westminster Abbey date from the 18th century, while St Mary Overey, Southwark (the present cathedral) was extensively restored and its nave rebuilt in the 19th century.[12]

However, as noted at the beginning, though much has been lost, quite a bit survives, in one way or another. Many of London's religious houses are still traceable, as standing buildings or parts of buildings, in anomalies in the street-pattern, in place-names, through institutional continuities or successions. And sometimes what

was lost is unexpectedly found. Fire damage in 1941 to the standing, largely early modern, buildings on the site of the Charterhouse revealed much detail of the medieval priory's layout including the grave of Sir Walter Manny, the house's founder.[13] Wartime destruction also necessitated the rebuilding of Mercers' Hall, which brought to light a late medieval statue of Christ's recumbent body which had remained hidden since the 16th century. Probably once part of an Easter sepulchre in the church of St Thomas of Acre, it is a tantalising remnant and reminder of the artistic patronage of London's religious houses.[14] And even more recently, redevelopment on the site of Holy Trinity Priory uncovered the foundations of a chapel and part of the chancel arcade of the priory church. The chapel was consolidated for preservation and moved, but the arcade, which stands to a considerable height, and had been preserved inside a party wall since the 16th century, is still visible *in situ* from the street.[15]

NOTES

[1] For a listing of the records of religious houses holding property in London, see D Keene & V Harding *A Survey of Sources for Property-Holding in London before the Great Fire* London Record Society 22 (1985).

[2] The VCH accounts are all now accessible via British History Online at http://www.british-history. ac.uk. See also C Barron & M Davies *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (2007). If no other source is given, the VCH accounts are the source for all details in the following discussion.

[3] E Mason (ed) *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066–c.1214* London Record Society 25 (1988); B Harvey *Living and Dying in England, 1100–1540. The Monastic Experience* (1993).

[4] *cf* R Hill 'London chantries' in F R H Du Boulay & C M Barron (eds) *The Reign of Richard II*; C J Kitching (ed) *The London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate of 1548* London Record Society 16 (1980).

[5] C L Kingsford *The Grey Friars of London: their History, with the Register of their Convent and an Appendix of Documents* (1915); J Rohrkasten 'Londoners and London mendicants in the late Middle Ages' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996), 446–77; S L Thrupp 'Aliens in and around London in the 15th century' in A E J Hollaender & W Kellaway (ed) *Studies in London History Presented to P.E. Jones* (1969), 251–72.

[6] *cf* D Keene & V Harding *Historical Gazetteer of London before the Great Fire, vol i, Cheapside* (microfiche, 1987; full text available online at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.asp?pubid=8), 105/18.

[7] For a recent and very full account of St Paul's, see D Keene, R A Burns & A Saint (eds) *St Paul's: the Cathedral Church of London 604–2004* (2004).

[8] A H Thomas & I Thornley (eds) *The Great Chronicle of London* (1938; repr 1983), 122, 177, 286, 330.

[9] M C Rosenfield 'Holy Trinity Aldgate on the eve of the Dissolution' *Guildhall Miscellany* 3.3 (1970), 159–73.

[10] *cf* C M Barron 'Centres of conspicuous consumption: the aristocratic town house in London, 1200–1550' *London Journal* 20 (1995), 1–16.

[11] J Stow *A Survey of London* (1603; ed with introduction and notes by C L Kingsford, 1908; repr 1971).

[12] H A Harben *A Dictionary of London* (1918), under Trinity (Holy), Minories; N Pevsner *The Buildings of England. London, 1. The Cities of London and Westminster* (1957; 3rd edn, revised B Cherry, 1973), 181, 201–2, 406, 529–30; B Cherry & N Pevsner *The Buildings of England. London, 2. South* (1983).

[13] *VCH Middlesex*, 1, 159–69; D Knowles & W F Grimes *Charterhouse: the Medieval Foundation in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (1954); B Barber & C Thomas *The London Charterhouse* MoLAS Monograph 10 (2002).

[14] J Evans & N Cook 'A statue of Christ from the ruins of Mercers' Hall' *Archaeological Journal* 111 (1955 for 1954), 168–80.

[15] J Schofield & R Lea *Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, City of London: an Archaeological Reconstruction and History* (2005).

THE ABERCROMBIE PLAN FOR LONDON — LOST OPPORTUNITIES?

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Archaeology and planning history are very similar. Some will see them as the study of things — artefacts in your case, plans in mine — but, in reality they are about people. People who suffered change and development, people who welcomed it and people who brought it about.

In the case of the Abercrombie Plans for London, it is often assumed that they were the innovative inspiration of one man — this man — Sir Leslie Patrick Abercrombie, born in 1879, the son of a Manchester stockbroker and destined to become, in the contemporary words of planning pioneer Sir Frederick Osborne, 'the only philosophic or sociological planner in the country', the Professor of Planning at University College London and a knight.

In fact the ideas that contributed to this — one of the greatest of all plans — can be traced back to a collection of ideas dating back to Elizabethan times and the people that mattered most in this plan were the people of London. As the Greater London Plan itself stated, 'Dominating … is the community idea — at one end the community of the Capital of the Empire, at the other the communities of simple people whose work and existence happen to lie within this imperial metropolitan region'.[1]

The County of London Plan 1943 and the Greater London Plan 1944

Before tracing the thinking behind this plan and before we try to look at its legacy, I need to describe the essential characteristics of the plan. In fact there are two plans — the County of London Plan of 1943[2] and the Greater London Plan dated 1944[3] (but not published until a year later). The former was prepared by J H Forshaw, the Architect to the London County Council, and Patrick Abercrombie and the latter by a team led by Abercrombie. Abercrombie saw them as twin documents,[4] with one focusing on the area of the then LCC and the other looking at its hinterland.

The 1943 plan listed the 'four major defects of London' as being: 'overcrowding and out-of-date housing; inadequate and maldistribution of open spaces; the jumble of houses and industry compressed between road and rail communication; and traffic congestion.' The solution to these complex and interrelated problems was a bold one. As Professor Sir Peter Hall has stated, Abercrombie did nothing less than '… create a new spatial order for London: in it, fast traffic highways not only solve the traffic congestion problem, but also give definition and shape to the reconstructed communities they separate, by flowing through green strips which additionally bring much needed open space to London'.[5]

In the 1944 plan he took this spatial vision one step further to map out a new order for the whole region — epitomised in the diagram contained on page 30 of the Plan. The Plan stated that, 'After full consideration we have come to the conclusion that the main pattern of the Plan should be based upon the faintly indicated structure of concentric form. The natural evolution of disorderly growth can be shaped into some semblance of ordered design …' The four rings were the Inner Urban Ring —

the overspill from the LCC area; the Suburban Ring — 'this ring, with regard to population and industry, is to be regarded as a static zone'; the Green Belt Ring — 'permanently safeguarded against building'; and the Outer Country Ring — 'the chief reception area for overcrowded London'. It was in this 'reception area' that Abercrombie and his team proposed ten 'new satellite towns'[6] and the expansion of existing towns. It is for this, the green belt and satellite towns, that the Abercrombie Plans are best known across the world.

However, the plans have four other attributes that cannot be forgotten. First, roads and traffic formed a key element of the plans. Second, the plans took a strategic view of a great city and of its hinterland but, ultimately, they were plans about the myriad communities that made up Greater London. One of the most exciting maps in the 1943 County of London Plan is that which shows the amoeba like communities in, and on the edge of, London.[7] The Plan stated that 'recognition of the existing community structure of London must be implicit in any main reconstruction proposals; to ignore London as it exists and treat it as one vast area for experiment would lead to incalculable and unnecessary disturbance to people's lives …'.

Third, the 1944 Plan was not just about a green belt around London, but about the relationship between the countryside and the built up city. The Plan states that 'there is the need to preserve, wherever they exist, wedges of countryside which still in a few places thrust their points into the built-up mass'. In particular, the Plan was instrumental in focusing on the need to prevent the Lee Valley from being industrialised.[8]

Finally, it was very concerned with the apparently prosaic issue of density. As Lord Esher has written, 'Residential density was an obsession of the period. It was something you could get your teeth into: the mathematics were elementary and the flats-versus-houses controversy was familiar and affected everybody …'.[9] Abercrombie was a leading light in the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA), a national body promoting both garden cities and lower densities. One of the key points about the 1944 Plan's dispersal of population from London was that it would allow Londoners to live at much lower densities — predominantly in houses with front gardens.

Indeed, one of the few criticisms of the 1943 County of London Plan was from those who supported lower densities and felt Abercrombie

had not gone far enough. TCPA Director Frederic Osborne, in one of a series of letters to US urban seer Lewis Mumford, wrote, 'I could not have believed that any planner could state in full detail the case for Decentralisation and then produce a Plan that doesn't do the main thing necessary — permit the majority of people to have decent family homes'.[10]

Despite such criticisms — which Abercrombie was at pains to redress in the 1944 Plan — no one could deny that these were certainly bold plans. The boldness reflected the man himself. Lord Esher has written that, 'Abercrombie was an Edwardian … So his training was classical, his tastes Arts-and-Crafts. But with his wide culture, his curiosity, his vivid literacy, he was a renaissance man in the wider sense …'.[11] We hear stories of his arrogance, but also of his willingness to let others do the survey and analytical work that underpins great plans. Perhaps this emphasis on the more 'philosophic' side of planning, combined with a tremendous self confidence, can be seen in the Plan itself.

Professor Peter Self has commented that, 'By today's standards the GLP looks very unsophisticated. It contained no forecasts of population and employment except for the mistaken assumption that the population of the London region would not increase and might be slightly reduced. It offered none of the new fashionable "options" for public policy, which could be the subject of public consultation. (The hidden assumption here was that there was already sufficient consensus about goals.) The plan was not costed on the argument that well planned need cost no more than unplanned development and would produce unpriced social benefit; and Abercrombie added the perhaps perceptive remark that "any economic evaluation depends upon the breadth or narrowness of the conception of the word economics".'

The context of the Plans

The clearest context for the 1943 and 1944 Plans is that they were prepared in wartime. Abercrombie and Forshaw were commissioned to do the County of London Plan in April 1941 — a month before the concerted period of the Blitz was to end and a year before the Africa campaign started to give some hope of an allied victory. London was devastated in the War. In October 1940, Sir Winston Churchill had stated that, 'Most painful is the number of small houses inhabited by working folk which has been destroyed … We will rebuild them, more to our credit than some of them were before. London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham may have much more to suffer, but they will rise from their ruins, more healthy and, I hope, more beautiful'. It is fitting and telling that the frontispiece of the 1943 Plan was a picture of a bombed out family packing up their belongings and, below it, the Prime Minister's 1940 statement.

The second context was, in many ways, related to the first. This was the paradoxically combined national desire to protect the countryside but to provide decent housing for all. One of a series of morale boosting propaganda posters showed an English landscape (the South Downs near Brighton), with the slogan 'Fight for it now'. The pressures for protecting the countryside date back before the Great War.[12] Abercrombie had been at the forefront of the lobby to protect the countryside after the First World War and had been a founding member of the Council for the Preservation (now Protection) of Rural England and he carried this view into the 1944 Plan — 'Let urbanism prevail and preponderate in the Town and let the Country remain rural. Keep the distinction clear'.

However, as Professor Peter Self has stated, 'The widely accepted arguments for "containing" London had to be squared with another at least as strong political imperative — namely to provide decent homes and associated facilities for very many deprived Londoners. The London Blitz had stoked these social aspirations, which were unlikely to evaporate (and did not evaporate) nearly so quickly as did "homes for heroes" after World War One'. This extract from a Labour Party leaflet of 1943[13] shows the clear link between thoughts of a forthcoming victory and the rewards that might be reaped in terms of housing conditions. This combination of a need for redevelopment brought about by war and a belief in both countryside protection and decent homes for all can start to explain the form that the Abercrombie Plans — and, in particular, the 1944 Greater London Plan — took.

Some may assume that, given the contexts above, the spatial vision for London sprang fully formed from Abercrombie's fertile brain. Let us examine this in a little greater detail. First, the origins of the idea of stopping the outward growth of the city. The GLP itself quotes a proclamation from Elizabeth I made over 360 years before the Plan.[14] Next the idea

of a green belt. That Elizabethan proclamation contained such thinking implicitly and this was made explicit in a plan for London produced by landscape designer John Claudius in 1829 showing concentric and alternating rings of open land and development.

Then the idea of the green belt combined with self-contained satellite towns. This is where Ebenezer Howard comes in. In his book, *Tomorrow — a Peaceful Path to Real Reform* published in 1898, Howard spelt out his ideas for a series of self-contained settlements, each separated from the next by open land and each being limited to a given population size — termed the 'social city'.

Abercrombie has a direct line to Howard through Raymond Unwin, Howard's architect for his first Garden City at Letchworth and Abercrombie's colleague. Unwin produced the first report for the London Regional Planning Committee in 1929, which posed the question 'Should London be provided with something which might be called an agricultural belt, so that it would form a dividing line between Greater London as it is and the satellites or fresh developments that might take place at a greater distance?' Abercrombie himself had set out such thinking before he undertook the London Plans. In his plan for the coalfields of East Kent in 1925, he proposed eight small new towns set within a green belt, which, as Peter Hall has pointed out, is 'a prophetic echo, down to the precise number, of his strategy eighteen years later for Greater London'.[15] In 1935 the London County Council voted £2m for buying up green belt land — and brought nearly 100 square miles by 1938.[16]

Whilst none of the ideas in the Abercrombie Plans may have been original, it was in the bringing together of them in one unified vision that genius lay. Added to this, the vision was brought together in a graphic — some would say 'cartoon' — form and was thus far more assimilable than text. As Peter Hall has pointed out, 'Abercrombie … was trained as an architect … that background shows in everything he did. He always thought in design terms, and to him a planning commission was very much like an architectural commission: he produced a one-shot, partly intuitive design solution to a problem'.[17]

This emphasis on design was also reflected in the level of detail to which both Plans went. At the one end there was a spatial vision for a very large proportion of the South-East, at the other

were detailed plans for the redevelopment of parts of London at lower densities and for new satellite settlements outside the built up area. A proposal for an area of Bermondsey reflects the themes of the Plan itself: neighbourhood units 'each with its own schools, local shops and smaller open spaces'; roads canalised to avoid cutting up the neighbourhood units; an increase of open space and a re-ordering of land use to form a 'compact zone' of industry.

How the Plans were received and implemented

The Plans were subject to a degree of publicity and fame that modern planners can only dream of. The County of London Plan was exhibited in the Royal Academy in November 1943 whilst the 1944 Plan was issued in a Penguin paperback.[18] The approach to planning espoused in the exhibition at the 1951 Festival of Britain was based on the principles put forward in the Abercrombie Plans. The Festival of Britain Guidebook to the town planning exhibition in Poplar stated that, 'On this ground, so recently a derelict and bomb-scarred wilderness, has risen not a tangle of Jerry-built and pokey dwellings, but a new urban landscape in which the buildings are growing together as a community' — a direct link between buildings and communities which would gladden Abercrombie's heart.[19]

The Plans received an equal share of praise from Abercrombie's peers. In their continuing exchange of letters, Lewis Mumford wrote to Frederick Osborn, 'I don't know which to admire more about Abercrombie's work: its intellectual penetration, its political skill, its beauty of presentation, or its all-round comprehension of the planner's and the citizen's job'. Osborn replied, 'The broad principle of the Plan is what we have been fighting for all these years. Everybody is talking Dispersal, Satellite Towns, Green Belts, Location of Industry, etc.'.[20]

As Peter Self has pointed out, the 1944 Plan, '…offered something for everyone. Rural interests were given the prospect of strict curbs upon London's growth geared to rural and agricultural protection. Urban interests, especially the long queue of people for public housing, had the prospect held out of a much improved and more attractive living and working environment geared to rural and agricultural protection. The GLP was both radical and conservative, romantic and traditional'.[21]

But this adulation of the Plan did not extend to those most directly affected by the creation of the new towns and the implementation of the Abercrombie Plan was not without resistance. The American magazine *Time* in 1946 reported a visit by the Minister of Town and Country Planning to Stevenage, 'That night, when Mr. Silkin rose to speak at the town hall, he was greeted with yells of "Gestapo!" "Hark, the dictator!" "We want our birthright!" Red-faced Mr. Silkin shouted back: "Really, you are the most ungenerous people." … Late that night Mr. Silkin rode gloomily back to London in a borrowed car. Some ungenerous soul had let the air out of his tires'.[22] Later that year, the same magazine reported that, 'Town & Country Planning Minister Lewis Silkin also got his share of panning. Sly residents of the little hamlet of Stevenage, which had furiously opposed Silkin's plans to reconstruct the town along model Socialist lines, Russified their railroad station signs and signposts leading into the town to read "Silkingrad".'[23]

Despite such opposition, we can see the fundamental implementation of the Plans in the structure of London today. The green belt has not only held, but has been extended and has become, to some, almost sacrosanct. The eight 'Abercrombie' new towns around London were joined by Milton Keynes on 23 January 1967 and while his other plans for town expansions did not fulfil their potential, we can see the Plans legacy in Peterborough and Northampton. The road proposals were not implemented in full but, for better or for worse, the M25 follows the line of Abercrombie's D ring road.

At the more local level, we can see the thinking of the Plan in the arts and office centre on the South Bank, in Thameslink, in the current plans to link London railway stations by cross rail, and in some of the estates that did get built at the densities of 136 persons per acre that the Plan had proposed. The best known of these is the Lansbury Estate in Abercrombie's Stepney and Poplar redevelopment area. This estate became the basis for the Festival of Britain's Live Architecture Exhibition.[24]

Lost opportunities

So why have I have subtitled this talk 'lost opportunities'. This is not because the Plans, like so many today, lay unimplemented on bookshelves. The preceding section has shown

how untrue this is. It is partly because the ideals in the Plan started to be compromised by changes that Abercrombie did not — and, perhaps, could not — have foreseen, but also due to the fact that the thinking in them and the boldness of vision they contained were not taken up by a new generation of planners.

The first of the unforeseen forces of change was that of changes to population and to jobs. The 1944 Plan was based on five assumptions:

> If the Port of London ceases to thrive, London will decay;
> that no new industry shall be admitted to London & the home counties except in special cases;
> the [population] numbers in the centre will decrease, those in the outer area will grow;
> the total population of the area will not increase but … will be slightly reduced;
> it is assumed that new powers for planning will be available, including powers for the control of land values.

In assuming that the population would not rise, Abercrombie was taking the best possible advice at the time. For example, the 1940 Barlow Commission on the Redistribution of the Industrial Population assumed that the population of the UK would rise from 46m to 47m and then decline to 46m by 1971 (54m actual).[25] But the population did rise and so, despite the dispersal out of London, the densities in the urban area did not fall. Indeed, they rose and this changed the nature of London from a planned-for city with a high proportion of houses with gardens to a higher density metropolis, and London started on a path of tower block construction that took them from the LCC Architects' Department Roehampton Estate in 1958 to the collapse of Ronan Point in 1968.

Nor did Abercrombie foresee that the new towns did, for a period, damage the economy of London. The Plan warned that, 'A number of entirely new satellite towns will be located … It must be made clear that not the whole of this population … will consist of the lower-paid workers. It is now an accepted fact that for the success of these towns they should contain all types of income and age groups'. This statement was prophetic but not in the way that Abercrombie had assumed. The London New Towns became too successful in attracting not the 'lower-paid workers' but those who were skilled and semi-skilled. In studies in the mid-

1970s, this was given as an important reason why some inner urban areas were in a process of rapid economic and physical decline.[26]

A third element of unforeseen change was the rise of, and effects of, increased car ownership and use. Professor Peter Hall has stated that, 'If we had really pressed ahead on all these fronts then, if we had built the London Ringways and introduced road pricing and Buchanised the neighbourhoods, then we would have had a London in which the car was civilised. Alas we blew it completely. Our failure to handle the problem of the car was the greatest disaster of our post war planning of London'.[27] But, as Hall continues, Abercrombie 'subscribed, like virtually all his contemporaries, to the idea that the car was the liberator and that it must be planned for'.[28] In the Greater London Plan, for example, Abercrombie states that 'new motorways can be things of beauty to the user and can drop into the landscape unobtrusively and enchantingly'.

I also regret that Abercrombie did not look more explicitly at the options for the form of London. In Copenhagen in the same era (1948), the 'finger plan' had taken Abercrombie's emphasis on 'green wedges' to its logical extreme and planned for fingers of countryside to enter the city — whilst the growth was guided to corridors served by public transport. One aspect of the relationship between the green belt in London and the built up area has been expressed pithily in a history of London. 'Children playing in London's increasingly busy streets, and without most of the new local parks that [the Greater London Plan 1944] had promised, could console themselves with the thought that 10 or 15 miles away was a belt of agricultural land that they would never be able to spoil.'[29]

Finally, and importantly, Abercrombie did not see the rise of community involvement in planning and, in particular, the protests that would both see an end of plans to build his grid of roads in and around London and the protectionism that thwarted attempts to make the green belt a more dynamic tool for guiding growth.

But perhaps the greatest lost opportunity is that, as a nation, we seem to have lost the boldness and the ability to express and implement a vision that epitomised the Abercrombie plans. Some would blame the planning profession itself. 'At the end of the Second World War there were 1,700 members of the Town Planning Institute; now there are 10 times that number. Therein lies the rub. Most modern planners fill endless files, form study groups, and spend their time on Committees. It is impossible to imagine an Abercrombie emerging from a world buried under paper. Yet we need new Abercrombies, if only to interpret the needs of modern society and give it a sense of direction.'[30] I would look more to a loss of that consensus for national endeavour that epitomised the period in which these plans were prepared.

The Government White Paper on *The Control of Land Use* in 1944, covered the new welfare, health and education services, the need for housing and for rebuilding our economic base, for recreation and access to the countryside, and finished by stating that, ' … all these related parts of a single reconstruction programme involve the use of land, and it is essential that their various claims on land should be so harmonised as to ensure for the people of this country the greatest possible measure of well being and national prosperity'.

You don't hear planning talked about in that vein any more.

NOTES

1   P Abercrombie *Greater London Plan 1944* (1945), 20.
2   J Forshaw & P Abercrombie *County of London Plan 1943* (1943).
3   *op cit* (note 1).
4   'The picture which these maps and this written Report attempt to present to the mind, or perhaps more properly to the imagination (for it relies on that) of the Londoner, is a direct extension of that already offered in the County of London Plan' GLP 1944, 20.
5   P Hall *Cities of Tomorrow* (1990).
6   White Waltham in Berks; Chipping Ongar, Harlow and Margaretting in Essex; Stevenage, Redbourn and Stapleford in Herts; Meopham in Kent; and Crowhurst and Holmwood in Surrey. Only eight towns were designated, with only the sites at Stevenage and Harlow remaining from Abercrombie's sites, the other satellite towns being Basildon, Bracknell, Crawley, Hatfield, Hemel Hempstead, and Welwyn.
7   Coloured pl 1, facing p 21 'Social and Functional Analysis'.
8   ' … in the hands of a skilful landscapist this valley … could be turned into a miniature Norfolk Broads: there is still time to rescue it ….' GLP 1944, 11.
9   L Esher *The Rebuilding of England 1940–1980 — A Broken Wave* (1983).

10 Quoted in P Hall *Abercrombie's Plan for London — 50 Years On: A Vision for the Future* Report of the 2nd Annual Vision for London Lecture 1994 (1994).

11 *op cit* (note 9).

12 'Every two and a half years there is a County of London converted into urban life from rural conditions and agricultural land. It represents an enormous amount of building land which we have no right to allow to go unregulated.' House of Commons 12.05.1908, quoted in J B Cullingworth 'The evolution of town and country planning' in J B Cullingworth & V Nadin *Town and Country Planning in Britain* (13th edn, 2002), 14–33.

13 Labour Party *Your Home Planned by Labour* (December 1943), available on http://library-2.lse. ac.uk/collections/pamphlets/document_service/ HD7/00000366/doc.pdf .

14 '… her Majestie … doth straightly command all manner of persons, of what qualities soever they be, to desist and forbeare from any new buildings of any house or tenement within three miles of any of the gates of the said cittie of London … where no former House hath been known to have been in the memorie of such are now living ….', Proclamation by Elizabeth I, 7 July 1580, quoted in GLP 1944, 29.

15 *op cit* (note 5).

16 P Self 'The evolution of the Greater London Plan, 1944–1970' *Progress in Planning* 57 (2002), 145–75.

17 *op cit* (note 10).

18 E Caplan, foreword to Hall, *op cit* (note 10).

19 Quoted on www.museumoflondon.org.uk/archive/ exhibits/festival/neighbourhoods.htm.

20 These quotes come from the wonderful www. haroldhill.org website.

21 *op cit* (note 16).

22 *TIME* magazine, 20 May 1946.

23 *TIME* magazine, 30 December 1946.

24 For a detailed account of the development of the Lansbury Estate and its role in the Festival of Britain, see http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report. asp?compid=46490#s4 .

25 'It surprised me looking back on it that Abercrombie did not point out that after the war there would be a lot of very fierce young men coming back from the battle who would grab themselves a wife and have a baby or two.' Sir Peter Shepherd, member of the GLP team, speaking in 1994.

26 'Families in their thousands have moved to owner-occupied houses in the suburbs and beyond, or to new and expanded towns. The point is that the bulk of this movement has been by middle class or skilled working-class people. The less skilled have much less opportunity to go.' G Shankland, P Willmott & D Jordan *Inner London: Policies for Dispersal and Balance: Final Report of the Lambeth Inner Area Study* (1977).

27 *op cit* (note 10).

28 *ibid.*

29 S Inwood *A History of London* (1998), quoted in A Evans 'Green belts, growth controls and urban growth boundaries' in *Economics and Land Use Planning* (2004), 59–74.

30 Professor Gordon Stephenson, member of the GLP team, writing subsequently, quoted in Self, *op cit* (note 16).