



Public Housing in Bath, 1890-1925

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Introduction

In response to both national legislation and local need, Bath City Council has for more than a century provided, maintained and administered a large proportion of the housing stock within the city.¹ This study sets out the story of the provision of purpose-built municipal housing in Bath, and covers the period from the late 1890's to a time of major change at the end of the First World War and the early 1920's.

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National Legislation and Acts of Parliament.

Several items of major legislation were passed in the second half of the nineteenth century aimed at alleviating the twin evils of poor public health and acute poverty, it being well understood that the common factor that linked them was inadequate housing. There is not space here to go through all the bills in detail, but rather to consider the two cornerstone nineteenth-century Acts of Parliament that have had an enduring effect on public health, and launched the programme of Council House building throughout the nation.

The Magna Carta of public health, the Parliamentary Act of 1875, introduced a code of sanitary law, covering the supply of wholesome water and sewage removal, housing standards, regulation of the streets, control of epidemic diseases, and burial of the dead. It remained on the statute book for the next sixty years, and immediately gave rise to model byelaws regarding aspects of town planning to be drawn up to provide guidance to local authorities.² Thus byelaw housing, privately funded terraces in tightly packed patterns, were built at most city perimeters. These late-Victorian terraces are still to be seen in every large town.³ The Act also enhanced the powers of the local Medical Officer of Health, one of whose functions was to notify the council

when the standards set out in the act were not being observed.

In 1890, the Housing of the Working Classes Act placed a duty on local authorities, having given them sufficient powers, to demolish inadequate housing and to replace it with new. This Act stretched to sixty pages, repealed fifteen previous acts, and its main thrust was as follows-

'where it appears to the Local Authority that the closeness, narrowness, bad arrangement or bad condition of any buildings, or the want of light, air, ventilation or proper conveniences, or any sanitary defect in any buildings are dangerous or prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants, either of the buildings themselves or neighbouring buildings, and that demolition or reconstruction is necessary to remedy the above evils it is the duty of the Sanitary Authority to act by passing a resolution to the above effect and prepare a scheme for the improvement of the area'.⁴

The main provisions were that any houses inspected by the Medical Officer of Health and thereafter declared 'unfit for human habitation' for want of the amenities given above, and if discussions with the owners proved fruitless, these should be compulsorily purchased and demolished and the occupants re-housed. However, the cost would not be borne by central government, but through a local government loan to be repaid by an increase in the local rates. It was this requirement that caused local councils and their planners nationwide to wrestle with the problem of how to provide housing at low cost. Councils did not merely replicate the Victorian tenements that had already degenerated into slums. They charged a rent that was affordable to those re-housed, and asked their fellow ratepayers, who were not affected, to fund a class of people many believed were undeserving of charity or of much sympathy. Compensation was even paid to slum landlords.

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Bath City Council's response to the legislation at the turn of the century

In response to the 1875 Public Health Act, densely arranged terraces were built speculatively on green field sites on the edge of the city over the

next twenty-five years, to meet the needs of the growing artisan population. These were located in South Twerton around Moorland Road, in Larkhall, and in Fairfield above Camden. Whilst these developments alleviated some of the overcrowding in the city centre, they had little impact upon the poorest members of society. The Act reiterated that the office of Medical Officer of Health be set up to provide local authorities with data upon which to act to sustain and improve good community health. Bath's first Medical Officer of Health, Dr.C.S. Barter, had been appointed nine years earlier in 1866, and some of his duties were concerned with his assessment of the housing stock:-

5. He will make out a list of houses in which deaths may occur from zymotic (epidemic) diseases with a view to make a special enquiry into their condition as regards drainage, ventilation, cleansing, water supply, etc. and report to the Board as may be needful.

7. When so many as three deaths occur in any one house in a year, it will form an object for special enquiry and inspection with a report to the Board if it should appear needed. These enquiries will have their first application in the poorer and most densely inhabited districts.⁵

These, and his other duties, such as preparing regular reports, were contained within the Act. Firstly Dr. Barter and thereafter Dr. Anthony Brabazon, Medical Officer of Health from 1876, throughout his twenty-year tenure, prepared monthly and annual reports to the Sanitary Committee. These reports, included statistics on causes of death, categorized by age and district, with brief explanatory notes, as well as data on external factors - national epidemics, weather conditions and flooding. Dr. Brabazon had a long and distinguished career, having served at the Crimea and later as a physician at the Mineral Water Hospital, in addition to his duties as a private practitioner. A memorial window is to be seen in St. Mary's Church, Bathwick, where he served as churchwarden for most of his thirty-five years in the city. He died, still working at the age of 76, and his funeral and achievements were reported effusively.⁶

In reading Dr. Brabazon's reports one gets no sense that urgent remedial action needed to be taken to improve the health of Bath's citizens at the end of

the century. To paraphrase from a memorandum written by his successor, Dr. Symons, placing Bath in a national context:

Bath is not now an overcrowded city, as it was in 1851...While the number of houses in the central city parishes remain practically the same, the population has decreased 35%; overcrowding has vanished. The migration to the suburbs has resulted that, according to the Registrar General's return for 1891, 4.1% of the population of Bath were considered to be living in overcrowded tenements as against 11.2%, the English average for town and country.⁷

Dr. Brabazon, by contrast, in his report for 1894, several years after the passing of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, wrote:

I have endeavoured to carry out with the assistance of the Inspector and the Surveyor the duties imposed upon me under the Act for the Better Housing for the Poor, and at the request of the Sanitary Committee I have personally visited and inspected houses let in tenements in those streets known to me as requiring strict investigation....209 houses were thoroughly inspected. I have seen enough to prove that much can be done to obtain the object of the Act. Were I asked to point out localities where I considered the houses most unfit for healthy human habitation, I would mention... (Here he gives a short list, and hopes that a new project to improve Milk St will be carried out).⁸

This gives the impression that he regarded this Act as not altogether relevant to Bath, and its tenor, involving eviction, compulsory purchase, demolition, rehousing the dispossessed, architects, builders and contracts, implied an effort out of proportion to the scale of the problem. To this must be added the damaging effects on tourism, and increases in local rates. It would not be surprising if a gentleman then in his seventies had wanted little to do with it.

So why did Bath, which advertised itself as a health resort, with few areas of overcrowding, and a good record on public health, become one of the first cities in the country to introduce local authority housing?⁹ One answer lies in

examination of the personalities of two officials who were intimately concerned with the housing problem.

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Dr. William Symons and Charles Fortune

Dr. Brabazon's successor in Bath, Dr. William Symons, was appointed in 1896 when aged 42, having held several important posts in London. There the first major national municipal housing scheme had been prepared in 1893 for the London County Council and the dwellings opened by the Prince of Wales in March 1900.¹⁰ This new estate of five-storey tenements at Bethnal Green on a 15-acre site involved the demolition of over 700 houses.¹¹ Dr. Symons would have been well aware of this programme to provide decent housing for the poor and, furthermore, he maintained contacts with influential colleagues from which he often derived support during his career in Bath. He was a forceful character who was determined to bring about change, and as *The Bath Chronicle* in his obituary pointedly wrote, 'soon after his election it became evident that developments were to be expected.'¹² This caused unease among some members of the Sanitary Committee, and led to complaints that the new MOH was 'expensive and extravagant'.¹³ Immediately, he concerned himself with the housing issue, and by comparing their reports on Lampard's Buildings, one can contrast the approach towards the condition of slum dwellings from their views on one of its courts:

Viners Court is improperly termed a Court being a wide open space containing 11 two storey houses, generally having three rooms, one on the ground floor and two above. The drainage is outside the houses - there are 6 W.C.s and a tap for a separate water supply. The houses in this Court, as in the others, labour from a very serious defect - the want of through ventilation; they are exactly in this respect under the circumstances as back-to-back houses and thus cannot be pronounced to be in accordance with the Laws of Sanitation. Here again I would advise the Committee to give instructions to ascertain what steps can be taken towards improving or rather removing this insanitary

condition. In many of these houses there are structural defects, on which the Surveyor's opinion would be valuable.¹⁴

To refer more particularly to ten of the cottages in Viner's Court (excluding No. 7). These were originally 2-roomed, but the upper has been divided in two by a wooden partition; the smaller has a capacity of about 370 cubic feet, and is very badly ventilated, and open space from 7 to 15 inches in height over the door providing the double purpose of illumination and ventilation. In such cabins as this two or three children sleep in six of the cottages. As regards water supply, one tap provides the wants of 54 persons. The W C's are in the front garden, one being common to two houses, are fully exposed to view and are difficult to access by night or in bad weather. This leads to the retention of excrement in vessels in rooms, which are otherwise filthy. The three rooms are connected directly one with another, so there is one atmosphere, and a sickly odour pervades the dwelling. The walls of the cottages are in my opinion dangerous; a small plot of garden gives an air of comfort, and has probably saved them from earlier demolition. All this within a stone's throw of some of the best property in Bath. As a result of my inspection I feel justified in representing the Lampard's Building Courts... to be a unhealthy area within the meaning of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890.¹⁵

Dr. Brabazon's assessment indicates that their situation was not beyond repair; Dr. Symons' opinion six years later, was that the situation had not improved and hence the full powers given under the Act should be applied. Dr. Symons carried out an appraisal and his conclusions are contained in his memorandum which set out the state of housing for the local urban poor. Whilst the city's overall population density was well below the national average, it was very unevenly distributed. For example, there were 7.4 persons per acre living in Bathwick, compared with ten times that number in the central parishes. The M.O.H. quoted the 1891 Census, which included details of overcrowding for the first time, showing that there were over three thousand people living as families of three or more in tenements of one or two rooms, and

thirty nine families living four, five or six in one room only.

The M.O.H. identified three areas of particular deprivation - Milk Street, (patched up from time to time, but no radical action taken), the Dolemeads, (prone to regular flooding), and Lampard's Buildings above Julian Road, (identified as early as the 1840's as the location of the highest mortality rates in Bath). Thus, in 1896, the Council when faced with the twin pressures from the Acts and periodic reports from the new Medical Officer that many of the properties in the latter two areas were unfit for human habitation, sanctioned the preparation of two schemes to provide municipal housing.

Bath Council was fortunate in employing Charles Fortune as city surveyor from 1888 until his death in 1915, a man who 'did immense work in connection with the undertakings that have had far-reaching effect in our city'.¹⁶ The surveyor was responsible for drawing up plans for all new public authority schemes, for example road widening, new sewerage systems, refuse collection and disposal, electric street lighting, demolition of unsafe houses, and new roads as the city expanded. However, he always described the work he did on public housing, in particular the Dolemeads, as his 'Magnum Opus'. His superb drawings now in the Bath Record Office, of the Dolemeads and Lampard's Buildings, testify to the imagination and care he took in providing houses with between one to four bedrooms to meet a range of accommodation needs. Another project worthy of mention, but not carried out until his death, was the elimination of sewage entering the Avon upstream of central Bath, by piping it directly to the Treatment Works. He was described as one of the 'strong men' of the city, conscientious, indefatigable, robust and plain spoken in pursuance of getting his own way.¹⁷ He and Dr. Symons would have been a formidable pair on the issue of social housing provision.

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The Scheme for Lampard's Buildings

In response to the Sanitary Committee's instruction, Charles Fortune prepared a scheme that required compulsory purchase and demolition of all the cottages on the eastern side of the street, most of which had been shoddily built on the gardens of houses in Morford Street. These, together with commercial properties such as a brewery (another haven for rodents), were to

be replaced by a terrace rising up the slope to Mount Pleasant at the top, the land contours requiring that the basic house designs be adapted to fit in the space. New dwellings were also scheduled for the other side at the junction with Mount Pleasant. [fig. 1]. It took four years for the necessary orders, eviction notices and appeals to be dealt with, such that thirty six houses were erected from 1905 at a cost of £13,500 - nearly half of which was the expense of purchase of existing properties and clearing the site.

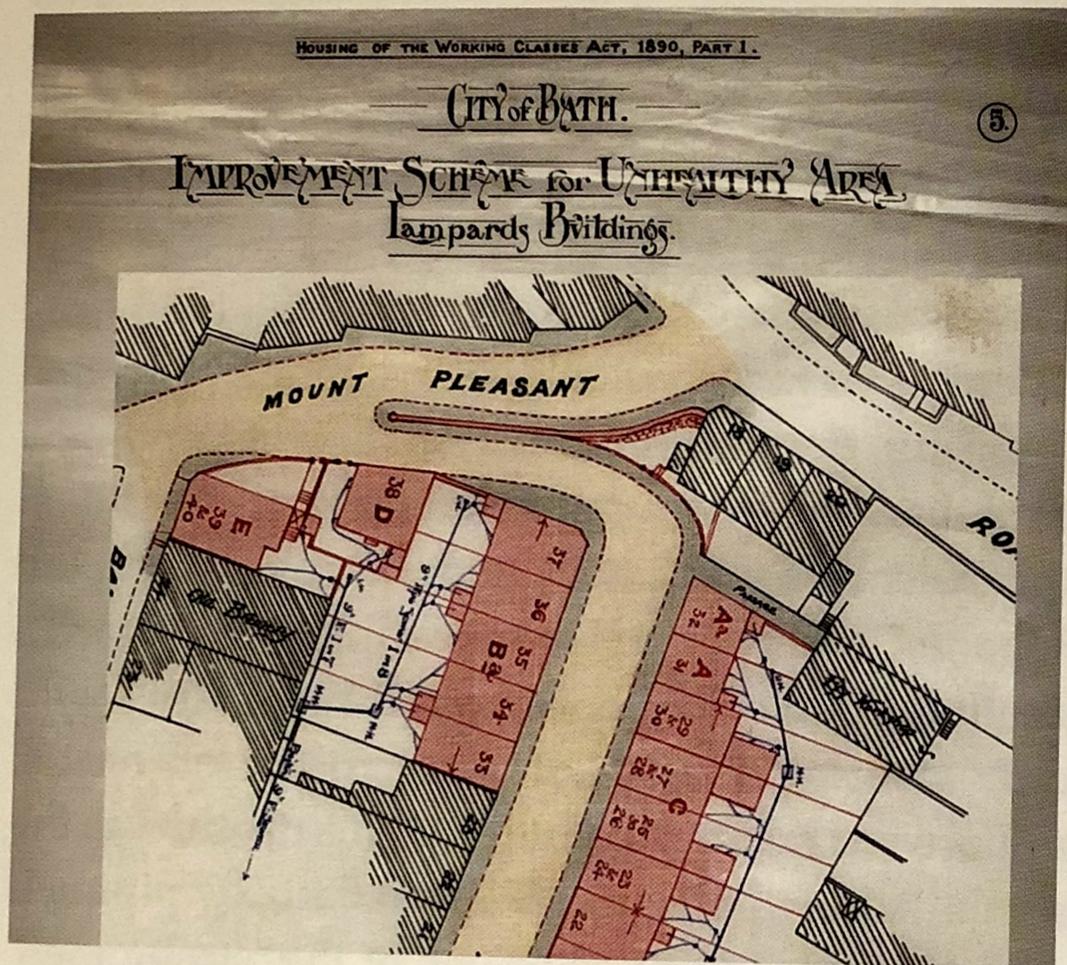


fig 1: Detail from Improvement Scheme for Unhealthy Area, Lampards Buildings, 1899. Part of the site plan, showing building types A, B, C, D and E. Bath Record Office, Bath & North East Somerset Council

The dwellings themselves were two-storeyed terraced houses of 15-foot frontage. Type A had two and Type B three bedrooms. There were also four double tenement one-bedroom designs one above the other and with separate entrances (Type C) and two four-bedroomed houses (Type D) on Mount Pleasant. The ground floor two-room layout comprised a living room and a scullery/kitchen equipped with a sink and a washing boiler (separately vented to prevent vapour entering the room), and the pantry and coalhouse located under the stairs. The WC was outside as a lean-to extension. Upstairs there were two or three bedrooms in most dwellings.. The one-bedroom maisonettes were similarly equipped. All rooms had fireplaces, with a range in the scullery for cooking, and gas provided illumination. None of the houses had a bathroom, and drawings of the internal room arrangements for the three-bedroomed houses are shown as [fig. 2].

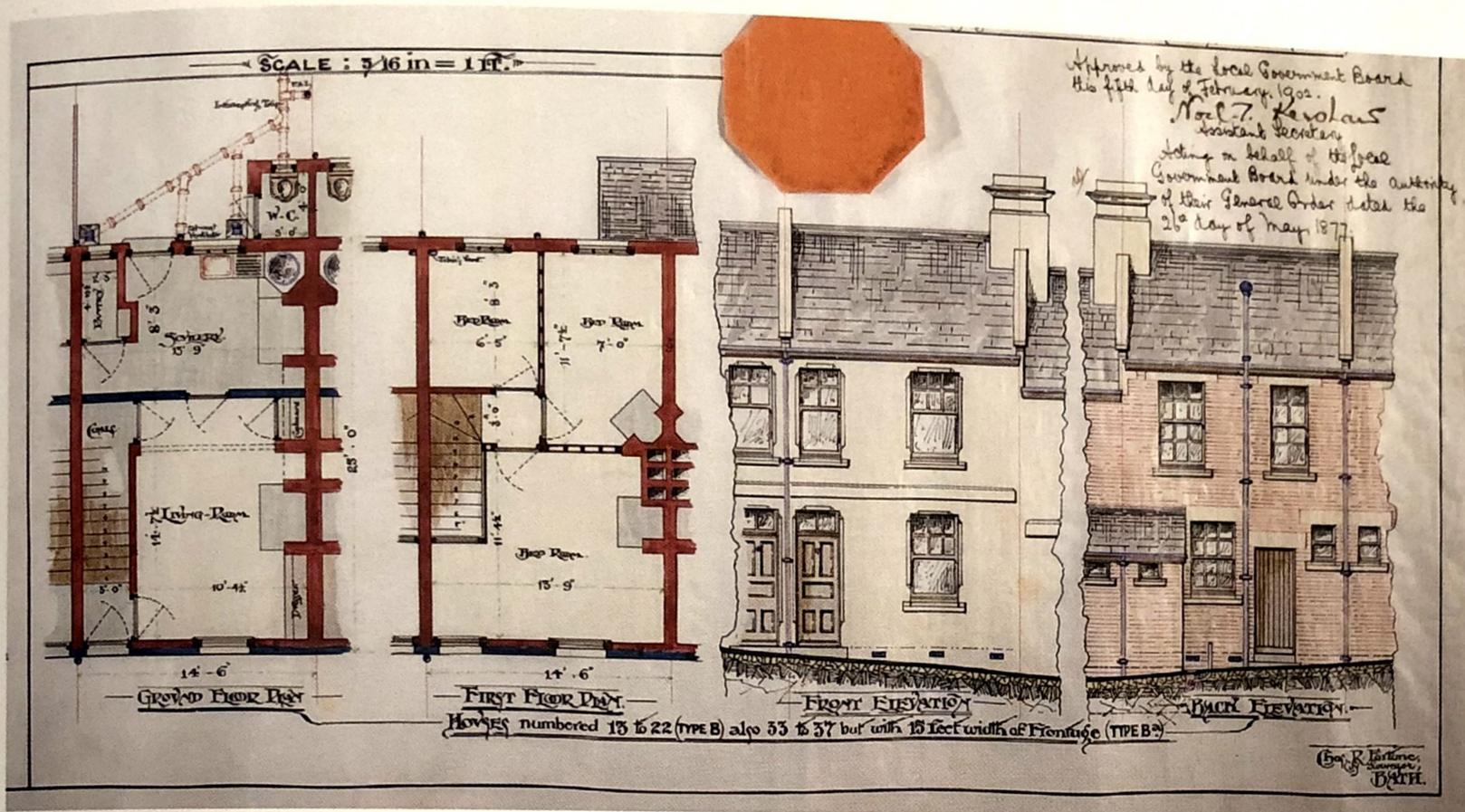


fig 2: Detail showing Plans and Elevations of 3 bedroomed type B housing, 1902. Double Tenement Houses of 3 rooms each were planned for Lampards Buildings. Approved by the Local Government Board, Feb. 5th 1902.

Bath Record Office, Bath & North East Somerset Council

It was calculated that the site would accommodate 176 people, always assuming that two people occupied each bedroom. The drawings bear the stamp and seal of approval from the Local Government Board, to whom all applications had to be addressed. A photograph of the street taken before all properties were demolished in 1970 to make way for the Ballance Street housing scheme is shown as [fig. 3].

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The Dolemeads Scheme

The Surveyor prepared a scheme for the Dolemeads to build municipally-funded houses after slum clearance which covered a much bigger area, some seven acres, to be cleared in stages as finance would allow. The first phase was finally approved in early 1900; a further three phases followed this, such that it took forty years to reach the northern extremity of Ferry Lane. Flooding of the lower town by the river Avon in the nineteenth century and the devastation caused was a perennial problem,¹⁸ and Fortune included a basic requirement



fig 3: The Ballance Street redevelopment site, July 1970. The neat row of Lampards Buildings still stands, shortly before their demolition as part of the Lansdown Clearance.
Bath in Time – Bath Central Library Collection

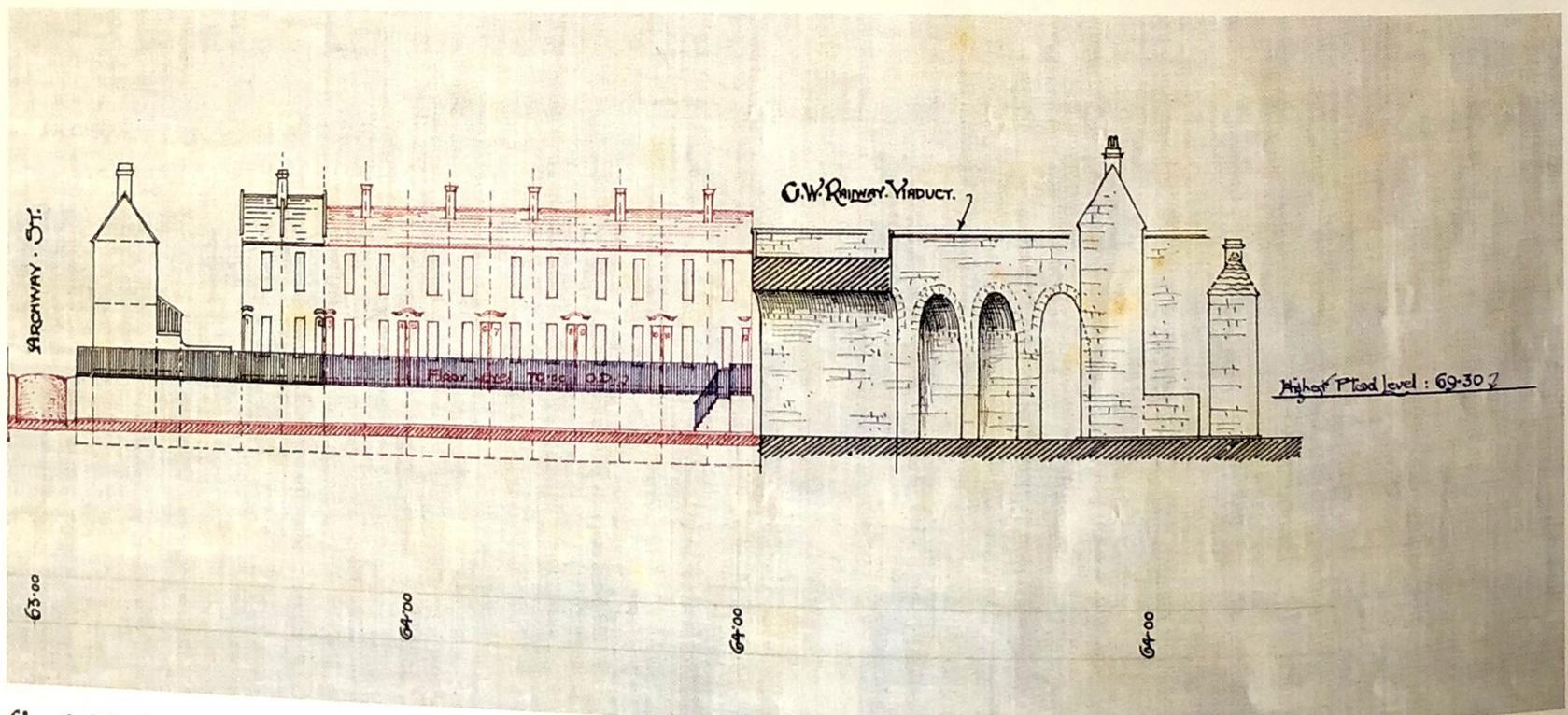


fig 4: Dolemeads Housing & Improvement Scheme, 1906. This section along Middle Lane shows the housing raised to be above the highest indicated flood level.
Bath Record Office, Bath & North East Somerset Council

that the new houses would have their ground floors nearly one foot above the highest recorded flood level of the river. To accomplish this, massive foundations were provided for the houses and 13,000 loads of infill material were imported into the area in the first phase to raise ground level by some thirteen feet. A drawing showing the groundworks is shown as [fig. 4].

In the first phase, ground was cleared and building took place on the relatively open space of about one acre, then occupied by part of Princes Buildings and gardens south of Middle Lane, to allow Excelsior Street and the west side of Archway Street to be constructed. The first of the forty two houses were opened with great ceremony in June 1901 by Dowager Lady Tweedmouth. Her son, Lord Tweedmouth, who as an Alderman on the Housing Committee of the L.C.C. in a speech at the reception afterwards, spoke upon the deprivation in London, where he stated that over 900,000 people were living in contravention of the Public Health Acts. An account from *The Bath Chronicle* of the ceremony and the luncheon afterwards gives a strong impression that Bath was in the vanguard of municipal housing provision.¹⁹ The houses and the opening ceremony are shown as [fig. 5].

The houses were almost identical in style to those at Lampard's Buildings, two storeyed terraces of fifteen-foot frontage, and identically equipped internally. Most had two-bedrooms, however, four, three-bedroomed dwellings were built at the end-terrace, one storey higher to accommodate two extra bedrooms. The rents were set at 5/- per week for the smallest to 6/6d for the 4-beds – scarcely affordable by the average unskilled labourer. Indeed, Dr. Symons wrote afterwards: 'There will no doubt be a ready demand for them at these rentals; but it is obvious that they will be occupied by the well-to-do artisan classes and cannot be considered as making provision for the very poor.'

The next phase took place just before the Great War, when another 18 houses were constructed to become the final terraces of 'red brick houses'; the eastern side of Archway Street with mini-front gardens to set them back from the road, and another to be built after several existing short terraces had been demolished on Middle Lane. A photograph taken prior to this, [fig. 6], shows the first pair on the left having been built at least ten feet above the roadway, with railings provided to prevent accidental falls and access ramps installed at each end, with Moorfield Place and Poplar Terrace beyond soon to be demolished to make way for the remaining houses planned. This new terrace overlooked cottages, St. George's Place and Plato's Buildings on the other side,



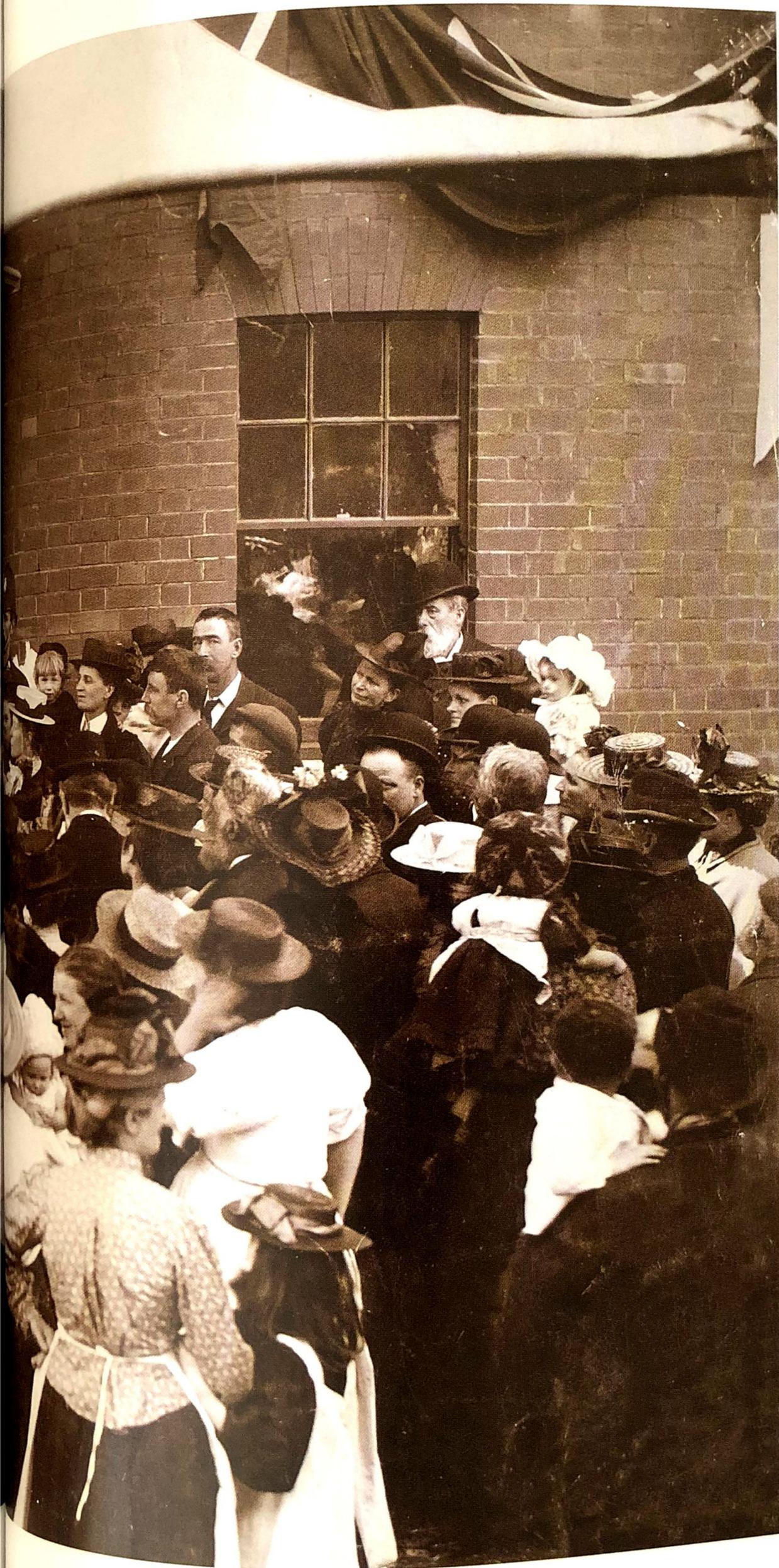


fig 5: The opening of the Dolemeads new housing, July 1901. The 'model dwellings for artisans' erected by the Corporation were opened on Monday, Midsummer's Day 1901.
Bath in Time – Bath Central Library Collection

which themselves were demolished after the First World War and the road widened, raised and renamed Broadway in the third phase of building.



fig 6: Middle Lane (later Broadway), Dolemeads, c.1901. On the corner of St. George's Place and Peto's Buildings, the first new cottages on the left are raised above the muddy flood-affected streets.

Bath in Time – Bath Central Library Collection



fig 7: The New Workman's Dwellings, Dolemeads, 1901. Cheaper brick was chosen rather than Bath stone for these dwellings.

Bath in Time – Bath Central Library Collection

House Construction

The Specification for the houses on the Dolemeads site drawn up by Charles Fortune in his own hand, in Bath Record Office, shows that they were well constructed to a high standard, and that traditional methods and top grade materials were employed throughout. [fig. 7]. All building work was put out to tender, and F. W. Toogood (a local firm still in business) selected as the lowest at £10,500. Here brick was chosen rather than Bath stone as it was cheaper. Members of the Housing Committee had visited other sites outside Bath to ascertain building costs at first hand. This was supported by advice given nationally in trade magazines such as *The Builder*. The details and Specification for Lampard's Buildings has been lost; however since this was also Fortune's it is reasonable to assume that the work was to an equally high standard. One difference was that the frontage of Lampard's Buildings was faced with stone to be in keeping with the neighbourhood.

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Change in Direction at the end of the Great War

Lampard's Buildings was complete by 1912 and the Dolemeads terraces soon afterwards. Thereafter, all plans for future development in Bath were shelved until the end of the Great War. However, the attitude towards housing provision was about to change, since during the early years of the twentieth century, British town planners and industrial philanthropists had concluded that the expansions involving high density identical terraces in the previous century had been an error. Whilst they met the physical requirements of the population, they did little for their spiritual needs. One the most influential advocates of change was Raymond Unwin, who having studied model towns at home and abroad, advocated low density layouts of varied design in a semi-rural environment.²⁰ He stressed the importance of the land contours, open spaces, of aspect with respect to the sun, and provided patterns of properties to deal with specific issues, for example road junctions and access roads. This philosophy led to the concept of the Garden City, and were put into practice for the first time at Letchworth, where a new town was created in conjunction with Barry Parker.²¹ Symons and Fortune visited the site during the course of its

construction.²² However, Unwin's book, first published in 1909 and republished immediately after the War was over, did not deal in great depth with actual house design, and so a manual arising out of a Government Enquiry at the end of the War, The Tudor Waters Report, was produced giving a range of designs and floor plans to assist local authorities to put his ideas into practice.²³ One of the designs that was used as a model in Bath is shown in a semi-detached house with three bedrooms that could also be adapted to a short terrace block. [fig. 8].

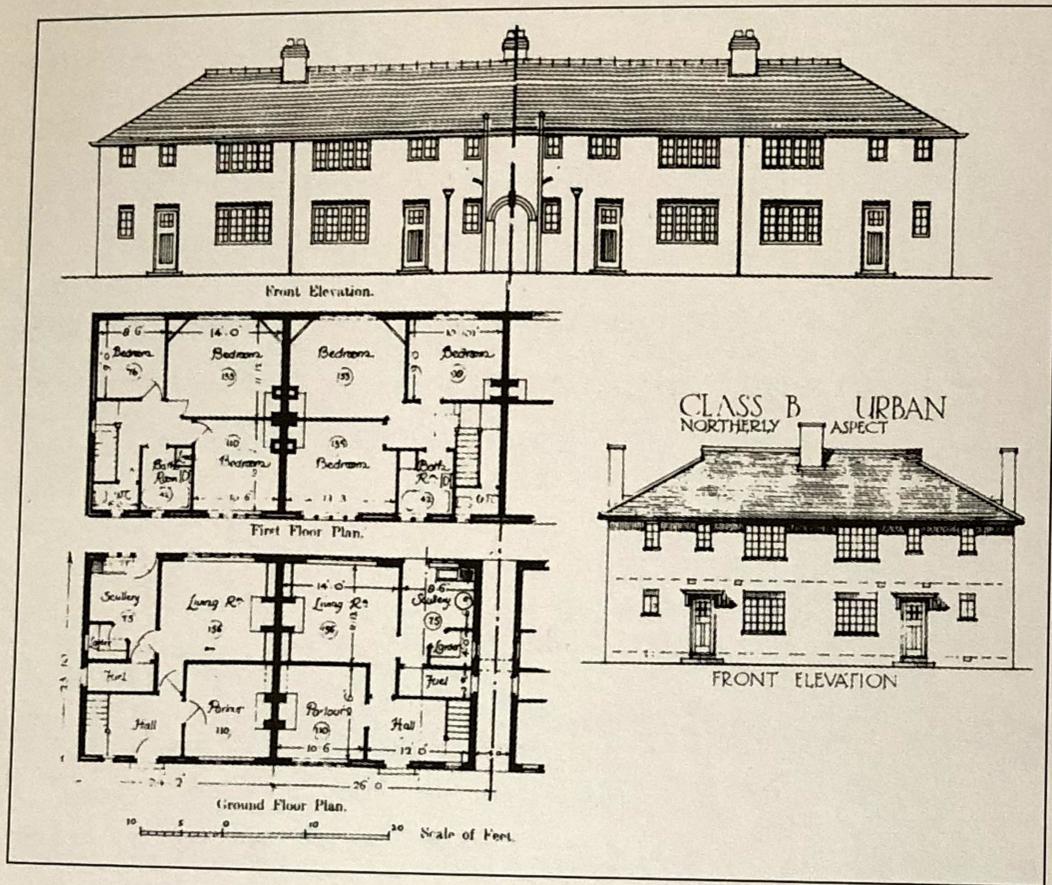


fig 8: Social Housing Plans 1919. A three-bedroomed semi-detached house, featured in The Local Government Board Housing Manual on the preparation of State-Aid Housing Schemes.

Bath in Time – Bath Central Library Collection

All this activity would have come to nothing without a national desire to reconstruct the country and give it a better future after the cataclysm of the Great War. The Lloyd George Government set itself the task of eradicating inadequate housing once and for all by building 'Homes fit for Heroes', by passing another great Parliamentary Act, the Housing, Town Planning, & Act on July 31st 1919 (thereafter known as the Addison Act, after the then Minister of Health). From then on, the Government would fund local authorities by underwriting any losses after deduction of a one penny rate. In return, they would for the first time have a definite obligation to make adequate provision for housing need, and complete the work on time.²⁴ Bath councillors were left in no doubt that this task was of the highest priority, meeting an urgent need and providing valuable employment for men returning from the front. They appointed a professional architect, A.J. Taylor, to undertake the design, and a full-time Housing Officer in 1921, and bought 25 acres of land between

Englishcombe Lane and the Somerset & Dorset railway, adjacent to the allotment land they already owned. Then they resolved to increase this to 40 acres at a meeting in September, and there to erect 230 houses for those displaced from Little Corn Street after demolition. A proposal to extend the city boundary, to encompass Twerton and also expand towards Weston, was passed in 1925 to provide for future housing development. Also, it was agreed to proceed with the next phase in the Dolemeads, clearing the remaining houses and thereafter building on the other side of Middle Lane.

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Englishcombe Lane, the first semi-detached houses

The architect's site layout for the Englishcombe Lane estate is shown as [fig. 9], and one can immediately see a radical change of approach. Coronation Avenue, the last of the Victorian-style terraces, was built at a density of 40 houses per acre between 1902 and 1909. These houses strode uncompromisingly in a straight line up the steep slope, soon set beside a community of semi-detached dwellings at 12 houses per acre in a flattened oval pattern broadly running along the contour, with a large green space at the centre and small closes leading off it. This was Bath's first garden suburb - the rural nature emphasised

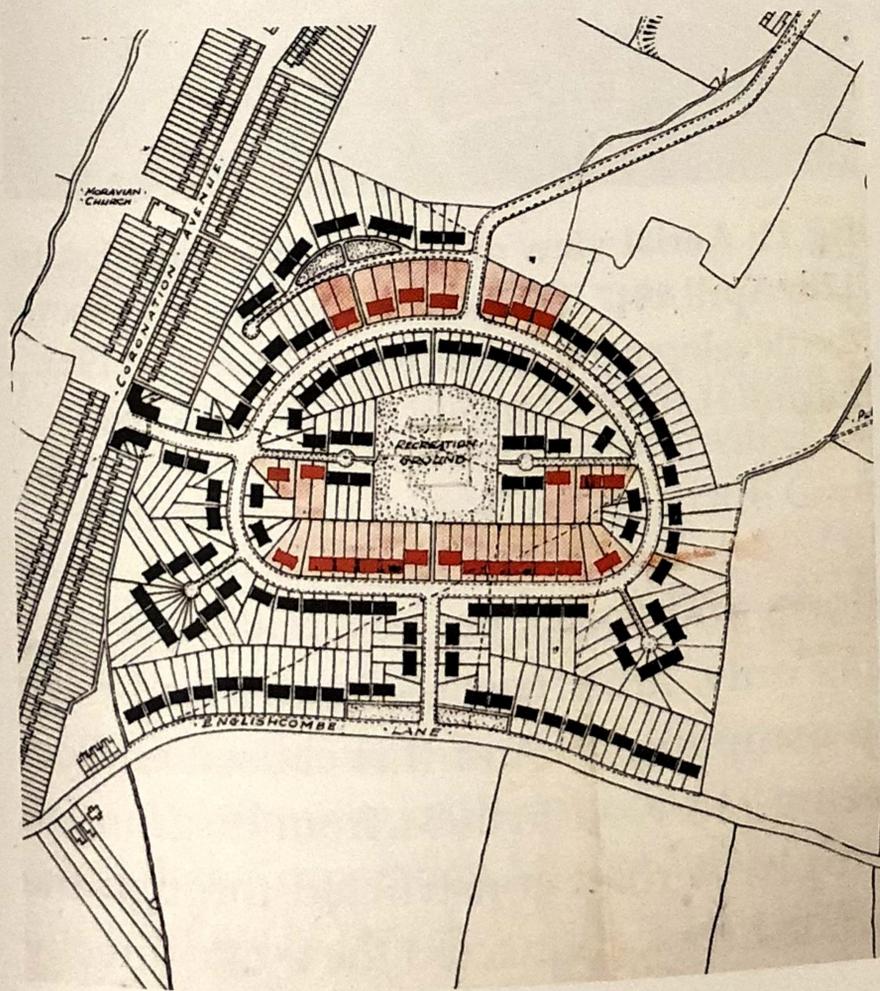


fig 9: Site layout for the Englishcombe Estate, 1920. Bath's first Garden Suburb, all the closes were given arboreal names.
Bath Record Office, Bath & North East Somerset Council

in that all the closes were given arboreal names. The house designs owed a great deal to the Manual; they were to be three-bedroomed, and the downstairs rooms were reversed when necessary to ensure that the living room received the sun, regardless of which side of the street they were placed. The bathroom and separate toilet were upstairs. The Manual suggested two styles of downstairs living quarters should be built; some should have a living room and a separate smaller parlour, and for others (110 houses in all at Englishcombe), the parlour was dispensed with and the kitchen enlarged. In this case a lower rent was charged. A drawing of one of these houses is shown as [fig. 10].

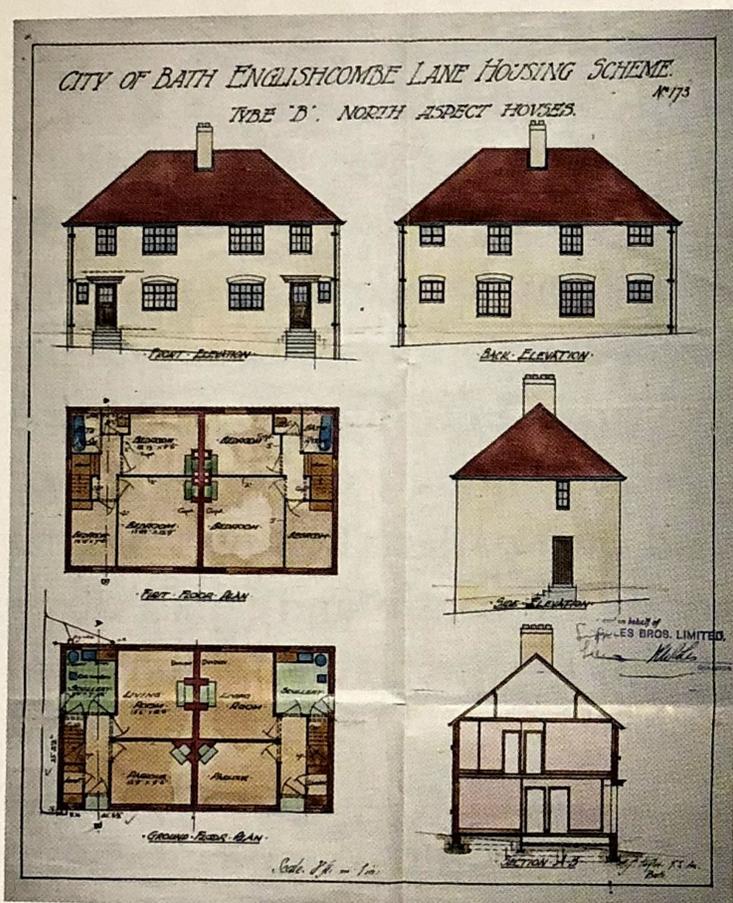


fig 10: City of Bath Englishcombe Lane Housing Scheme, undated. Type 'B' three-bedroomed north aspect houses designed by Alfred J. Taylor, architect.
Bath Record Office, Bath & North East Somerset Council

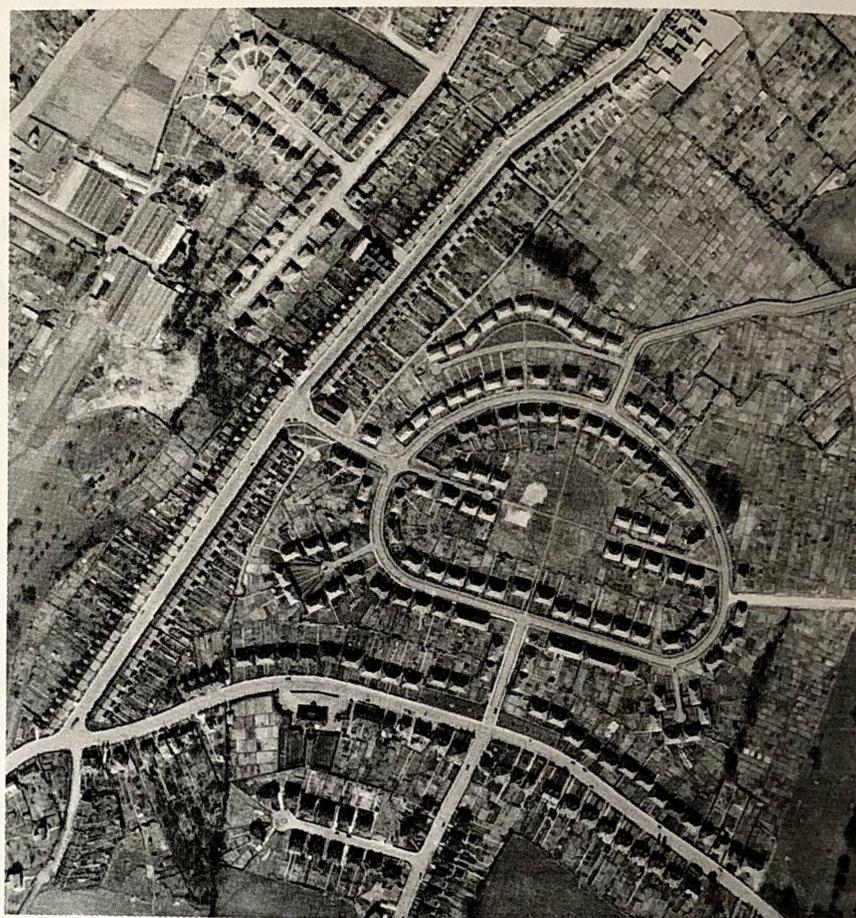


fig 11: Aerial view of the Englishcombe Estate, 12th April 1947. This post-war aerial survey shows the development, completed at the end of 1925.
English Heritage – National Monuments Record

The exterior walls were built of Bath stone, and again, the best materials were used. The houses were fitted with gas only, after cost estimates had been received from both gas and electricity companies,²⁵ and this caused endless trouble in later years, with petitions being received in 1934 from disgruntled residents demanding an electricity supply. A road constructed through the allotments down the line of the Monksdale Brook connected the estate directly

with the lower town,²⁶ and eight Bath-based building contractors, in order to give the maximum amount of local employment, were commissioned to build the first batch of 42 houses in the summer of 1920. Work continued through the following years, with allocations of 50 houses being released periodically, such that the estate was complete by the end of 1925. An aerial photograph showing its final appearance is shown in [fig. 11].

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Concluding Remarks

Many more estates were to be provided by Bath City Council over the next twenty-five years. Throughout that period, the principles laid down at Englishcombe – low density plus open space, good quality materials, and sympathy with the environment – were always observed. The story of public housing in Bath has its unsung heroes in the figures of Dr. Symons and C.R. Fortune. Bath was fortunate in having local officials of real calibre in the pioneering developments in public housing. Their contribution to the implementation of subsidised housing, part of a truly significant, national movement, was to transform the living conditions of thousands of Bath citizens during the twentieth century. Today, problems with the supply of affordable housing remain unresolved and a few councils are now looking at a modest return to council houses as a solution.

Notes

1. Somer Community Housing Trust took over the provision of Municipal Housing in 1999 and currently administers over 9,500 dwellings, most of which are in Bath, and only 10% of which are Georgian or Victorian town houses which pre-date this study.
2. Local Government Board, *Local Byelaws for the use of Sanitary Authorities. IV New Streets and Buildings*, 1877.
3. Stefan Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (Yale, 1982).
4. The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890.
5. Bath Corporation Minute Book, *Medical Officer of Health. Statement of Duties as defined by the Town Council*. Jan. 1866. Bath Record Office.

6. 'Death of Dr.Brabazon', *The Bath Chronicle*, March 19th, 1896.
7. W.M. Symons, M.O.H. for Bath, *The Housing of the Working Classes*, 1900.
8. Dr. Brabazon, Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1891. Bath Record Office.
9. Statistics for the last ten years of the century showed that death rates caused by three groups of diseases associated with inadequate living conditions - zymotic infections during childhood, tubercular, and bronchial / pneumonia were 60 per cent, 80 per cent and 80 per cent respectively of the national average for England and Wales. 'Dr.W.M. Symons; Founder of Bath's Health Department. Obituary', *The Bath Chronicle*, March 19th 1916.
10. 'Boundary-Street Buildings, Bethnal Green', *The Builder*, March 10th 1900, p.237.
11. For a description of the evolution of this estate, some of which has now been demolished, refer to Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner. *The Buildings of England London 4 North*, (1998) p.587.
12. 'Dr. W.M. Symons, Founder of Bath's Health Department. Obituary', *The Bath Chronicle*, March 19th 1916.
13. He had many other interests beside the link between housing and well-being, as can be seen in his Annual Report to the Sanitary Committee, transforming it from three or four pages of copperplate handwriting by Dr. Brabazon into a typed document of some 50 pages crammed with statistics and other data covering all aspects having an impact on public health.
14. Dr. Brabazon, M.O.H. Report, April 1892.
15. Dr. Symons, M.O.H. Report, October 1898.
16. 'C.R. Fortune. A Man of Energy and Efficiency. Obituary', *The Bath Chronicle*, October 30th 1915.
17. C.R. Fortune, Obituary.
18. R.A. Buchanan, 'The Floods of Bath', *Bath History* Vol. VII, p.167.
19. 'Workman's Dwellings in the Dolmeads. Report of the Opening Ceremony', *The Bath Chronicle*, June 24th 1901.
20. Raymond Unwin. *Planning in Practice*. 1909, revised 1919.
21. A description of this movement is to be found in Arthur Evans, *The Design of Suburbia* (1982), and its application to Bath in Christopher Pound, *The Genius of Bath* (1986).
22. Dr. Symons and Charles Fortune visited the new town of Letchworth in Hertfordshire in October 1905. Although they found the overall planning of the site good, and some of the fittings ingenious, particularly the kitchen range and bath, they considered the building standards inferior to those in Bath, with an absence of durability and finish. They considered the overall concept was not applicable to Bath, as it required large areas of cheap land.

23. Local Government Board, *Manual on the Preparation of State-Aided Housing Schemes*. HMSO, 1919. This document emphasized in its Introduction the pressing urgency of the need to provide new homes: 'The Government and the Country are looking to Local Authorities to start at once on schemes rightly regarded as forming the most urgent part of the Restructuring Programme'.
24. In a Report from the Bath Town Clerk to the Housing Committee, Feb. 1921, he stated that Dr Addison estimated that approximately 200,000 houses per annum would be needed nationally over the next few years. The latest returns showed that contracts had been executed between Local Authorities and builders for 145,000, and he was concerned as to whether there were sufficient resources to sustain such a programme, both nationally, but more particularly in Bath itself. This then caused much soul-searching amongst councillors who would then have to find £500,000, the estimated Government subsidy, if the first post-war programme could not be completed in time. The strict timescales were relaxed later, the estate taking over four years to complete.
25. Local Government Board, *Manual on the Preparation of State-Aided Housing Schemes*. HMSO, 1919. The figures were, for installation per house:- Gas only lighting, and water heating to geyser, copper and cooker £43. Lighting by electricity and hot water circulation from range £97. Dual system- electric light and gas water heating £69. Gas was selected, subject to Ministry of Health approval.
26. This land had been purchased ten years earlier to install municipal allotments in response to The Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1908 which placed an obligation on local Authorities to provide for the urban poor. Refer to *Journal of the Survey of Old Bath and District*, Nos 21&22.

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