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Summary: *I want to argue that the juncture between urban and rural is the basis of modernity in the metropolis. The complex dynamic between landscape and nature associated with pre-industrial societies, and rational planning as an indicator of capitalistic urban environments, comes to the fore in London during the opening decades of the nineteenth century. This is evident in the mixture of public and private enterprise and metropolis at this time. My focus here is on the confluence and antipathy between architecture and landscape; tradition and modernity in London. I am particularly interested in how the nuts and bolts issues of estate development were in fact a blue print for the modern city in the latter's concern with issues such as hygiene, public open spaces and rational plans. My intention is to show that the beginnings of modernity so readily attributed to cities such as Paris and Berlin and theorised in the texts of thinkers such as Ebenezer Howard and Camillo Sitte, can in fact also be found in London in the early nineteenth century. Moreover, London was an important example for the rest of Europe - not least Paris.*

Keywords: London, Paris, urban planning, parks, squares, modernity

Résumé : *Cet article voit la base de la modernité de la métropole dans la jonction de l'urbain et du rural. La dynamique complexe existant entre paysage et nature associée aux sociétés pré-industrielles et la planification rationnelle caractéristique des environnements urbains capitalistes sont deux phénomènes marquant les premières décennies du XIX^e siècle londonien, évidents surtout dans le brassage des engagements privés et publics et de la métropole. Je focaliserai ici sur la confluence et l'antipathie entre architecture et paysage; tradition et modernité à Londres, pour montrer à quel point le développement immobilier annonce la ville moderne et ses soucis d'hygiène, d'espaces publics ouverts et de planification rationnelle. Je voudrais démontrer que les débuts de la modernité, fréquemment attribués à Paris ou à Berlin et théorisés dans les textes des penseurs tels que Ebenezer Howard et Camillo Sitte se trouvent également dans le Londres du début du XIX^e siècle. De plus, Londres était un exemple important pour le reste de l'Europe, et notamment pour Paris.*

Mots-clés : Londres, Paris, urbanisme, parcs, squares, modernité

I want to argue that the juncture between urban and rural is the basis of modernity in the metropolis. The complex dynamic between landscape and nature associated with pre-industrial societies, and rational planning as an indicator of capitalistic urban environments, comes to the fore in London during the opening decades of the nineteenth century. This is evident in the mixture of public and private enterprise and the importance placed on open spaces and well being in the evolution of the metropolis at this time. My focus here is on the confluence and antipathy between architecture and landscape; tradition and modernity in London. I am particularly interested in how the nuts and bolts issues of estate development were in fact a blue print for the modern city in the latter's concern with issues such as hygiene, public open spaces and rational plans. My intention is to show that the beginnings of modernity so readily attributed to cities such as Paris and Berlin and theorised in the texts of thinkers such as Ebenezer Howard and Camillo Sitte, can in fact also be found in London in the early nineteenth century¹. Moreover, London was an important example for the rest of Europe - not least Paris. Part of the story of the modernity of London in the period under review here is to do with the confluence of the capitalistic urban ambitions of the developers of the great estates and the state's vision of a metropolis fit to be first city of empire. This public/private dialogue is an important dynamic in the evolution of the city. Behind these contrasting interpretations of the metropolitan environment is the fundamental notion that urban topographies have a moral purpose as they can work for the public good. And I would argue that landscape and nature are germane to this notion of morality. Land, which the ultimate symbol of capitalism and of social elitism, can also function as a palliative or antidote to these undemocratic systems.

My interrogation of early nineteenth-century London aims to question our concept of modernity and its fixity in time and indeed space as a continental European phenomenon with its beginnings in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Modernity, it is often argued results in the diminution of landscape in favour of rational streetplans and maximum commodification of land as building sites². London's modernity is more of a complex mixture of public and private enterprise where methods of making land profitable that were used in the country were brought in to the city. The lessons learned by the land owning elite in the development of their rural estates included the use of middle men to oversee much of the work- a role filled by the speculative developer for their urban estates. Contingent with this is the view that yields from land, whether it be in the country or the city, could be long term possibilities. Get rich quick was not necessarily the intention. Instead, just as woodland was planted to deliver profit from timber after a few decades, so leases on land were sold to speculative builders yielding both rents and property once they expired³. This mixture of public and private enterprise continues in the laying out of the metropolitan infrastructure where rationality was imposed by state intervention as well as the capitalistic imperative. In the West End the construction of roads, sewers and drains frequently comprised part of the contractual arrangements for the development of the Great Estates between aristocratic landowners and speculative developers. In addition the building of new bridges, fundamental interventions in the circulatory patterns and economic links, were left to private enterprise. Strand (later Waterloo), Vauxhall, and Southwark Bridges were expensive capitalistic ventures whose

profits were anticipated from tolls. In contradistinction to the building boom landscape remains important, as does the aesthetic and public access to open spaces. And these aspects of London became hallmarks of the modern city which could work to improve people's lives. It is here that we find the complex set of tensions and interactions between capital, memory and nature that comprise the metropolis at this time and which provide three discrete themes to explore the making of London's modernity.

Capital (and capitalism)

In the early nineteenth century the governance of London retained the memory traces of the complex system that had endured for several centuries. London comprised the cities of London, Westminster and the borough of Southwark, each hugged the River Thames the former two to on the north side the latter on the south. (Fig 1) The City of London, the oldest part of the metropolis, had its own government and enjoyed better political and economic connexions with the outside world than with the rest of the city. Southwark was seen as the demographically poorer side of the river where merchants and traders lived. The City of Westminster was the location of the national government and included the expanding area known as the West End, which had become the fashionable part of town for the elite. Rather than being a process of demolish and rebuild, the increasingly rapid growth of the West End covered the Great Estates owned by the elite, and previously used for pasture. The implementation of modernity in London was, then, on green field sites but the absence of a centralised metropolitan authority led to unchecked and somewhat haphazard development. Control over the infrastructure including roads, sewers and drains - elements essential to the modern notions of transport, hygiene and health - remained piecemeal. Indeed, the first body to have governance across London had nothing to do with planning or urban infrastructure, despite the exponential growth of the city in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Civil order was seen as a more pressing priority than rational planning and the Metropolitan Police District, which straddled the tripartite divide of London's governance, was established in 1829⁴.

The urban development of the West End of London (Fig 1) remained largely in the hands of the owners of the great estates and their speculative developers who built on their land. In addition the selective interventions on behalf of the crown and state, known as the Metropolitan Improvements, began in the 1810s with the plan for Regent Street⁵. (Fig 2) This street imposed a north south thoroughfare through the metropolis running from Marylebone Park (later Regent's Park) at its northern end to Carlton House Palace and Charing Cross at its southern terminus. This substantial layering of modern infrastructure over old is almost unique in London at this time and there was certainly no similar intervention of an equal scale. Compulsory purchase, albeit in the face of the vigorous objections of the elite who owned the land, enabled the state to carve a new line through the metropolis. Regent Street provided the modern necessities of circulation and vista, spaces of social interaction and commerce and, not least, a brand new sewer which ran beneath it. Equally famous are the grand projects including the redevelopment of Regent's Park, the royal parks and Hyde Park Corner as a royal

processional route and entrance to London from the west and the fabulously expensive transformation of Buckingham House into Buckingham Palace⁶. This did not mean that the London streetplan remained static or that state intervention in the urban plan ceased - indeed the 'corrective' planning of the Office of Woods to improve routes across the city continued. For instance in 1838 as part of the continuing, though now comparatively modest, Metropolitan Improvements the Office of Woods proposed the laying out of the aptly named Wellington street to connect Waterloo Bridge with Holborn via Longacre⁷. It was not only better connections across the city that preoccupied the commissioners as, for instance, only two years later James Pennethorne and Thomas Chawner, two of the leading architects involved in the redevelopment of London throughout the second quarter of the nineteenth century, sought permission from the Treasury for the laying out of 4 new streets which were also laid over the existing urban fabric⁸.

By 1834, however, the lack of centralisation of governance and urban planning was recognised by the architect Sidney Smirke in his pamphlet *Suggestions for the Architectural Improvement of the Western Part of London* which called for the systematic management of streets and roads, the formation of wide commodious avenues and the provision of clean air and proper drainage⁹. Smirke also wanted to see the establishing of a permanent board or metropolitan commission which should take care of these issues and replace the local systems of governance and any outdated building acts. London was left outside of the swathe of reforms city governance of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. As the political and administrative clout of the City of London waned a patchwork of parish councils and special commission for lighting, paving and drainage administered the expanding metropolis. By the mid nineteenth century around 250 Acts of Parliament had been passed in relation to particular districts of London and an army of some 10,000 commissioners¹⁰. But London was exempt from the local government reforms of 1835 and from pioneering social administration such as the Public Health Act of 1848. Despite or because it was one of the largest and most complex cities in the world no-one dared to try to implement reform. Indeed, even the active social reformer Edwin Chadwick was defeated in his attempt to have London's water supply and drainage controlled by a small executive Commission appointed by the crown. He was opposed equally by those with vested metropolitan interests, and by those who opposed such Benthamite centralisation. It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that the established geography and governance of London began to be undone. In 1855 the Metropolitan Board of Works was established it covered an area of about 117 square miles. London was larger than this and was still expanding and the Board's boundaries were drawn up on the basis of mortality statistics and drainage facilities; the city beyond its aegis became known as greater London¹¹.

The unique governance of London caught the attention of foreign observers who looked to the city for inspiration for the *implementation of modernity*. For instance Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann remarked

'...l'organisation des services, non seulement dans la Cité, que son antique autonomie, jalousement défendue, maintient, au centre, ainsi qu'une sorte de monde à part ayant son existence propre, mais encore dans la nuée des paroisses qui gravitent autour

d'elle. Ces paroisses forment autant de communes indépendantes, administrées dans les affaires municipales ...elles constituent ce qu'on nomme, assez mal à propos, *La Métropole*.¹²

The memory trace of the long standing discrete systems of governance, patterns of land ownership plus the wish for capitalistic development proved a potent mix. When combined with the increasingly active state interest in the aesthetic and functionality of the capital as metropolis and symbol of nation the push towards modernity was irresistible.

Memory and modernity

Memory, history and architecture combine or repel each other to make powerfully evocative urban environments. Re-planning or planning a city offers the chance to erase history and tradition and to write it afresh. And certainly when those moments are seized the results are often seen as a step towards modernity - a new era in the life of the metropolis. In the nineteenth century the rapid development of metropolitan environments fostered an association of the city with the obliteration of memory. Haussmann's Boulevards literally wiped out huge sections of the architectural past of Paris and the large number of migrants to the city were left with only a memory not an actuality of the rural values by which they had formerly lived. These aptly named *percées* both cut through and reformed the tangle of medieval streets to create a new metropolis. The anonymity of the city and the individual's dislocation from the urban environment, so evocatively described by Charles Baudelaire, was part of the eradication of a personal past¹³. Indeed, Baudelaire saw modernity as change and old Paris was certainly transformed to create the new. London stands distinct from this as the memory trace of land and nature remains in its modern fabric. And, with the notable exception of the construction of Regent Street, very little of its architectural past was destroyed in pursuit of the new modernity.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century London grew both geographically and demographically covering the green field site of the western edge of London. This expansion of London offered the possibility of building a rational and coherent urban plan without the obliteration of memory or of a previous way of life. But the vistas and architectural set pieces seen in rival cities such as Bath, Buxton and Edinburgh were resisted by the landowners and speculative developers who were responsible for the planning of London such as it was. Instead a patchwork of poorly connected garden squares formed the new part of the metropolis. Indeed S. E. Rasmussen recognised this as he described London:

'The English square or crescent... is a restricted whole as complete as the courtyard of a convent. They form fine geometrical figures in the town plan, they are regular and completely uniform on all sides, and a series of such squares may be linked together in any order....It is as if the traditions of the Middle Ages had been handed down to the present day in the squares in these domestic quarters. But the narrow courts of the old town have been transformed into the open squares of the newer quarters'.¹⁴

The memory trace was not erased but inscribed in these new urban spaces, not only by the continued use of enclosed courts, but also as the nomenclature

of the squares and streets reflected names, estates and dynasties of the great landowning families who had leased the land to speculative developers. (Fig 2) For instance, Grosvenor and Bedford Squares reflected the names of the landowners, whilst Cork Street and Southampton Row indicated other estates, both urban and rural, owned by this elite. The landscaping of these garden squares by great designers such as Humphry Repton in the case of Russell Square provided not just a memory trace of the fields they had once been, but also of the grand landscapes of the country estates¹⁵.

Partly as a result of this pattern of development London's urban planning has rarely received accolades. Indeed, the glance of the urban planner has always seemed to be a backwards one favouring tradition instead of innovation, continuity in preference to novelty. The endurance of the memory trace was preferred to the obliteration of the architectural and social values of the past. The idea that the planning of London in the eighteenth century is indicative of the modernity of the city might then seem slightly absurd. But the aesthetic of the garden square, together with the intricate building arrangements covering leases, and the provision of roads, sewers and drains represented at the same time the vested interests of a purely capitalist driven society. And this is evident in the process through which the open fields in the West End were developed. Mumford in his seminal work *The City in History* argues that the urban layout can be a symbol of capitalism or a new commercial spirit whose main attributes were '...the emphasis on the regular and the calculable on one side, and, of speculative adventure and audacious expansion on the other [which] found their ideal expression in the new city extensions.'¹⁶ He goes on to argue that as a result of this capitalistic activity the individual parcel of land became a commodity for sale or purchase that stood outwith the considerations of the historic use of the land or indeed the social needs of the urban population as a whole. In this way the municipality lost control of the land needed for its proper development and the urban plan developed regardless of human need¹⁷.

If land becomes a commodity it needs to be quantified in a rational way and we see this in the individual building plot and its expression in terms of the measure of its street frontage. The narrower the frontage the better to fit in more houses but this denied light and air to the occupants. This pattern of the capitalistic, rational grid, units of land and of commodified rows of tightly jammed town houses, halted only by rivers, roads or boundaries of land ownership, became endemic across Europe and the Americas from seventeenth century onwards. London in the early nineteenth century presents an interesting case study not least through its anomalies which make it no less capitalistic and no less modern¹⁸. Here the human need for space, air and vista was taken into account in the development of the enclosed garden square which was an important part of the urban fabric, often forming the centrepiece of a development of luxury town houses which were ranged around it. The creation of distinct rural environments in London could be seen as an extravagant if not profligate use of prime land. Indeed, these private landscaped spaces were jealously guarded by residents and were not open to any kind of visitor regardless of social class. Despite their exclusivity garden squares made a substantial impression on both the city's topography and foreign as well as home visitors. Indeed Prince Pückler Muskau,

a German aristocrat travelling in the 1820s was prompted to remark

‘...the grudging inhumanity with which the opulent classes shut up their charming pleasure-grounds’ which he attributed to ‘the moroseness of the rich [which] it is difficult for people on the Continent to imagine’.¹⁹

Yet for some this kind of urban space could have a potentially moral purpose. Baron Haussmann and his Emperor took a somewhat different view from Pückler Muskau and the London garden square made an important impression on them both and their plans for the modernisation of Paris.

‘Le nom de *square* signifie, en anglais; *carré*. Nous désignons ainsi à l’instar de nos voisins d’outre-mer, les jardins presque toujours clos de grilles, entourant ou côtoyant certains de nos édifices, occupant le milieu de la plupart de nos Places, ou bien utilisant des espaces laissés libres par le tracé de nos voies publiques nouvelles et par le plan de lotissement des parcelles de terrain demeurées en dehors des alignements de ces voies et livrées à la reconstruction.

...

Pendant son très long séjour en Angleterre, L’Empereur avait été frappé du contraste de la bonne tenue des squares de Londres, et de l’état sordide que présentaient les bouges où les familles d’ouvriers vivaient entassées.

...

Aussi, me prescrivit-il de ne manquer aucune occasion de ménager, dans tout leur arrondissement de Paris, l’emplacement du plus grand nombre possible de squares, afin de pouvoir offrir avec largesses chez nous, comme on le faisait à Londres, des lieux de délassement et de récréation à toutes les familles, à tous les enfants, riches ou pauvres.²⁰

Indeed Haussmann’s development of the garden square or rather the notion of public open space in Paris was seen by some as far more successful than his London examples. The garden writer William Robinson praised open spaces in which the people of Paris were ‘seated ... reading, working or playing’ which in his view compared favourably to the ‘few privileged persons’ who enjoyed access to the ‘costly green toys’ of London’s Squares²¹.

Nature

The royal parks in London tell a different story from the gated, intensely private garden squares. The long established royal parks: Hyde, St James’s and Green Park remained largely private spaces up until the 1820s, as did the newly established Regent’s Park. (Fig 1) The latter was laid out over the farmlands of Marylebone Park in the 1810s and was described by Sir John Summerson ‘as a private garden city for the aristocracy’²². But the moral purpose of its landscape, by this I mean its potential to give guidance to visitors and viewers on how to behave decently, was soon remarked upon by contemporaries:

‘A noble Park is rapidly rising up...laid out with groves, lakes and villas, with their separate pleasure- grounds, while through the whole there is a winding road, which commands at every turn some fresh feature of an extensive country prospect.... The plan and size of the Park is in every respect worthy of the nation. It is larger than

Hyde Park, St James's and Green Park together [and the author] cannot recommend a better thing...than a day spent wandering amidst the union of stately objects and rural beauty which constitute the charm of Marylebone Park.²³

The park only opened fully to the public in August 1841. Such was the interest in the visual pleasure and edification that this natural environment could offer that only twelve days later the Office of Woods complained that the lack of footpaths had led to a great deal of damage. Moreover the cattle grazing on the slopes of the lake, doubtless an image of a rural ideal, needed to be fenced in to stop them wandering and creating damage to the public areas.²⁴

The accessibility of St James's Park, which had been partially open to the public for some time and was remarked upon by Prince Pückler Muskau

‘ I daily inspect...St James's Park....It is characteristic, that while the laws which protect private property are so strict that a man who climbs over a wall into a garden runs the risk of being hanged... with the public, wherever they have a shadow of a claim, it is necessary to go to work as gingerly as you would with a raw egg. This park is the property of the Crown, but has been open to the public since remote ages; the Government does not dare to close it, even temporarily, notwithstanding the improvements that the King is now carrying on, (at the nation's cost, it is true).’²⁵

The access to royal land was seen as a great bonus for city dwellers and it stands in distinct and perhaps surprising contrast to the inaccessibility of the gated garden squares. The parks provided the experience of large landscaped spaces that evoked the memory trace of those surrounding the country houses of the elite. Work to improve the royal parks and to make them more accessible to the public began in the early 1820s. The benefit these spaces offered the populace was soon noticed and remarked on by guidebooks such as Percy's *History* ‘It is fortunate for the inhabitants of London that the parks are royal demesnes’ as they were, not least, ‘the lungs of the metropolis’²⁶. The overall benefits for the population and the general feeling of well being were seen to be such that concern was expressed that the western half of London was well endowed with the public open spaces, whereas the north and east had very few. **(Fig 3)** These feelings found official voice in The Committee on Public Walks 1833 which called for more land owned by the crown and the Duchy of Cornwall in these areas to be turned over for public use. It also summarized the aims and achievements of the development of the royal parks and their status within the urban fabric which affirmed their moral purpose.

‘St James's Park, Green Park and Hyde Park...afford to the inhabitants of this Western portion of the Metropolis inestimable advantages as Public Walks. The two latter Parks are open to all classes. St James's Park has lately been planted and improved with great taste, and the interior is now opened, as well Kensington gardens, to all persons well-behaved and properly dressed. Your Committee remark with pleasure the advantage they afford to the Public, as also the great facility of approach to this beautiful Park, caused by opening a handsome stone footway from the bottom of Regent-street: for this accommodation it is understood the Public are indebted to His present Majesty.’²⁷

These sentiments were echoed by the landscape designer and theorist J C Loudon who despite his indignation that certain classes were kept out of Kensington Gardens on account of their dress (an indicator of social rank)²⁸, recognised the benefits the democratising principles of the public open spaces offered the metropolitan working class. In his evidence to the Inquiry into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts in 1843 Loudon remarked

‘The working classes in and about London have improved immensely within the last 40 years, in consequence of good example.... In the year 1804, it was necessary to have men in Kensington Gardens all the summer, on every Sunday morning as early as four o’clock, to prevent persons from climbing over the walls to gather branches from the trees; but for the last 20 years nothing of the kind has taken place, and there are no watch men on Sundays, any more than any other day. I do not believe that there is even so much quarrelling in crowded courts and alleys as there used to be. Even the manners of the St Giles’s are ameliorated.’²⁹

This notion of mingling upper and lower classes in the pursuit of educating the latter and improving their manners and morals had been seen before in Europe - for instance in Karlsruhe laid out by the French architect Berceau for the Margrave Charles William in 1715. We have already seen how Haussmann’s Paris drew in turn on the developments in London’s urban plan in his adoption of the ‘square’. But the influence of London’s landscapes and more broadly those of the English country house was also felt in Napoleon III’s vision for his modern metropolis. The Parc des Buttes Chaumont is one of the largest urban parks in Paris, commissioned by the French Emperor Napoleon III after the land occupied by a former quarry was annexed to Paris. The park was developed by Baron Haussmann and the engineer Jean-Charles Alphand and opened in 1867 as part of the festivities of the Universal Exhibition. Influenced by the Emperor’s stay in England, the park combines many familiar elements from the royal parks in London and English landscape design including bridges, a grotto which enclosed a waterfall, a lake, and several English and Chinese gardens. The undulations of the former quarry site also afforded the inclusion of cliffs to create a more ‘natural’ landscape effect.

The introduction of nature into the metropolises of London and Paris was as much an affect of modernity as the speculative developers’ garden squares. Like the new streetplans, nature was seen as a means by which capitalistic urban development could be rationalised by the state to express national identity through a modern metropolis. The growth of a city along capitalistic lines can rupture the established relationship between the built environment and landscape and has the potential to destroy the uplifting aesthetic the latter lent to the metropolis. In London this was countermanded through the confluence of tradition and modernity, urban and rural. In this way capital, memory and nature combined to make London’s modernity in the early nineteenth century which in turn influenced Paris through the inclusion of various kinds of urban landscapes spaces in Napoleon III’s and Haussmann’s modernising vision.

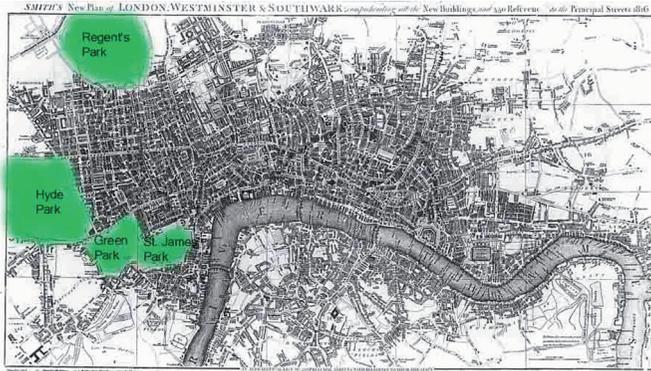


Fig 1 Smith's New Plan of London, Westminster and Southwark, 1816. This map shows the Cities of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark on the south side of the Thames. The West End is defined at its western edge by the Royal Parks which have been highlighted but at the time of this map Regent's Street which formed its eastern boundary had yet to be constructed.

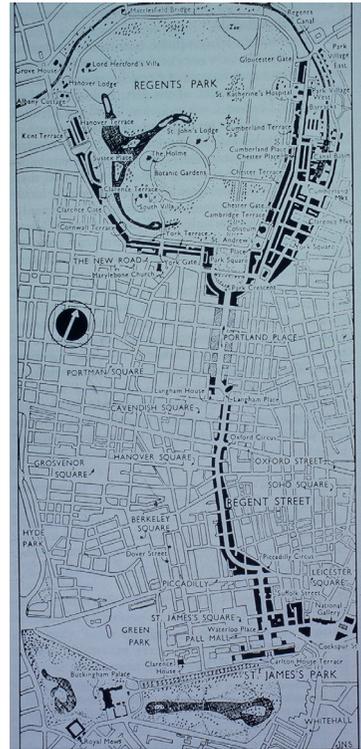


Fig 2 Plan of The New Street, later known as Regent Street showing how it cut through the existing infrastructure of streets and squares of the West End. Some of the Great Estates named after their landowning families are also marked.



Fig 3 Thomas Shutter Boys, View of Hyde Park near Grosvenor Gate, 1842.

Notes

¹ For instance Ebenezer Howard's ideal of the garden city promoted the value of small towns, open spaces and efficient modern communications via streets and railways and public access to these open spaces. See E. Howard (1898) *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* and the revised ed. (1902) *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*. London.

² See for instance Lewis Mumford (1961) *The City in History*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

³ I discuss the similarities between the uses and development of land for profit in the my book Dana Arnold (2005) *Rural Urbanism: London landscapes in the early nineteenth century*. Manchester: MUP, ch 1 esp.

⁴ In addition to the fifteen mile radius from Charing Cross an extra nine parishes came under the Metropolitan Police's jurisdiction. Civil unrest was of great concern in the opening decades of the nineteenth century and the urban plan did respond to this. See D Arnold (1995) 'Rationality, Safety and Power: The street planning of later Georgian London' in *The Georgian Group Journal*: 37-50.

⁵ The idea of building a street to bisect London on a north south axis cutting through existing estates was first articulated in the Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, 1812. This received the royal assent in June 1813. 53 Geo. III, c. 121 as 'An act for a more convenient communication from Mary le Bone Park and the Northernmost parts of the Metropolis ... to Charing Cross ... for the making of a more convenient sewage for the same.

⁶ The excessive cost of the latter prompted the moratorium on these grand improvements in 1828. National Archives, London, Work 4/1 f 16.

⁷ National Archives, London, Cres 2: 905 letter dated 22 May 1838.

⁸ National Archives, London, Cres 2: 1734, letter dated 27 Jan 1840.

⁹ Sidney Smirke (1834) *Suggestions for the Architectural Improvement of the Western Part of London*. London Priestley and Weale: 23-29 esp.

¹⁰ Asa Briggs (1963) *Victorian Cities*, Harmondsworth, Penguin: 319.

¹¹ Asa Briggs (1963) *Victorian Cities*, Harmondsworth, Penguin: 30

¹² Georges Eugène Haussmann (1979[1893]) *Mémoires du Baron Haussmann, Grands Travaux de Paris*. 2 tomes: reprinted Guy Durier éditeur: Paris: vol 2: 68.

¹³ Charles Baudelaire (1859) *Le Peintre de la Vie Moderne*. Paris.

¹⁴ S. E. Rasmussen (1982) *London the Unique City*. Cambridge, Mass.:MIT: 198-200.

¹⁵ There is some consideration of the land in London in G Tindall (2002) *The Fields Beneath*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.

¹⁶ Lewis Mumford (1961) *The City in History*. Harmondsworth: Penguin: 480.

¹⁷ Lewis Mumford (1961) *The City in History*. Harmondsworth: Penguin: 481.

¹⁸ The development of London by speculative developers working in concert with the aristocratic owners of the great estates has been widely discussed. See for instance, Sir John Summerson (1st ed 1946) *Georgian London*. Harmondsworth: Penguin and Dana Arnold (2005) *Rural Urbanism, London landscapes in the early nineteenth century*. Manchester: MUP, ch1 and 2 esp. The work of builders and developers is also discussed in E. McKellar (1999) *The Birth of Modern London* Manchester: MUP.

¹⁹ EM Butler (éd) (1957) *A Regency Visitor, The English Tour of Prince Pückler-Muskau Described in his letters 1826-1828*. London: Collins, letter dated 8th April 1827: 244-5.

²⁰ Georges Eugène Haussmann (1979[1893]) « Ch 6 Promenades et Plantations. Squares et Places Plantées. », *Mémoires du Baron Haussmann, Grands Travaux de Paris*. 2 tomes: reprinted Guy Durier éditeur: Paris 1979: vol 1: 239-240.

²¹ William Robinson (1869) *The Parks, Promenades, and Gardens of Paris*. London: 82, 85 and xxi-xxii.

²² Sir John Summerson (1949) *John Nash, Architect to King George IV*. London: Allen and Unwin: 17.

²³ Horace Wellbeloved (1826) *London Lions for Country Cousins and Friends about Town, New Buildings, improvements and amusements in the British Metropolis Illustrated with wood engravings* by. London: 20 and 22.

²⁴ National Archives Cres 8; 23 f 123 letter from Office of Woods to Treasury 27 August 1841 requesting £522 5s 6d for new walks, £242 10s to fence off slopes of lake approved 21 Sept 1841.

²⁵ EM Butler (ed) (1957) *A Regency Visitor, The English Tour of Prince Pückler-Muskau Described in his letters 1826-1828*. London: Collins: letter dated 8th April 1827: 244.

²⁶ S and R Percy (1823) *The Percy History and Interesting memorial on the rise, progress and present state of all the capitals of Europe*. London: vol III: 355.

²⁷ 1833 Committee on Public Walks, p. 5.

²⁸ *The Gardener's Magazine*, 12 (October 1836): 550.

²⁹ First Report on the State of Large Towns, Parliamentary Papers 1844, pp. 55-60. The Parish of St Giles comprised many slum dwelling including the notorious Seven Dials and was the focus of attention for the improvement of the urban fabric to make policing more effective. On this point see D Arnold (1995) 'Rationality Safety and Power: The streetplanning of later Georgian London', *Georgian Group Journal*.

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