

Thesis for the MSc in Sustainable Urban Development:

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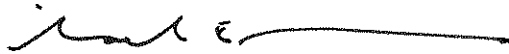
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27 / 9 / 2012

A.J. Penty and the Spaces of Hope

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In writing this thesis I am grateful to my supervisor, the Rev. Dr. William Whyte, who commented on a draft of the manuscript.¹

Arthur Penty's daughter, Mrs. Mary Williams (1923-), gave complete access to the archives in her possession of her father – whom the family called “AJ”.²

There was the need for archival research and other assistance. The (largely anonymous) librarians at the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, were very helpful; as were those at the National Library of Australia, Canberra. Elizabeth Martin, Librarian, and Clare Kavanagh, Assistant Librarian, Nuffield College Library, Oxford, answered queries and sourced relevant material from the G.D.H. Cole archives there. Ella Molenaar of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam copied correspondence between Max Beer and A.J. Penty. Bob Wolven, Director of Library Systems and Bibliographic Control, Columbia University, put me in touch with US library and journal resources which proved useful in tracking certain references. Bridget Howlett, Senior Archivist, and Wendy Hawke, Senior Archivist, London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, checked through material of interest. Sonia Murray-Kydd, the Local & Family

¹ Dr Whyte is Dean and Tutorial Fellow in History, St. John's College at the University of Oxford. His first book was William Whyte *Oxford Jackson, Architecture, Education, Status, and Style 1835-1924*, (Oxford Historical Monographs), Clarendon Press, Oxford (2006) - the first biography of T.G. Jackson, an architect who transformed the image of Oxford, rebuilt public schools, and became a leading architect of the arts and crafts movement.

² About the Penty family archives, see the introduction to the bibliography. Some of Mary's insights about her father, conveyed directly and with the assistance of her daughter, Kate Williams, are included in the thesis. Both provided great help in assisting the annotation of Penty's Diary, written between 1899 and 1923. This considerably helped in the understanding of the development of Penty's thought. The feisty, independent and ecologically conscious tradition of “AJ” seems to live on in the family. Mary told me that she was brought up to respect nature and live 'green'. Kate, an academic study skills adviser at Oxford Brookes University, seems to follow the same precepts. Two of Mary's eco-conscious grandsons founded in Brighton 'espresso mushrooms' collecting used coffee grounds from cafes to recycle compost for growing mushrooms. The idea being that, as decaying coffee beans emit a high level of methane, recycling enables a drastic reduction in the carbon footprint. See: www.espressomushroom.co.uk/, accessed September 2012.

History Advisor, Libraries and Archives, City of York Council, assisted in finding cuttings and references to Penty in their archives. Justine Sambrook, Assistant Curator, RIBA Library Photographs Collection, Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), searched for and made copies of material relevant to Penty, including photographs of his work.

Professor Mark Swenarton, the James Stirling Professor of Architecture, Liverpool University, answered inquiries; as did Peter C. Grosvenor, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Pacific Lutheran University. Dr. Race Mathews sent on a copy of his manuscript of a proposed introduction to a book by Grosvenor on Penty. Dr. Margaret A. Rose, a Life Member of Clare College, University of Cambridge, and author of *The Post-Modern and the Post-Industrial: A Critical Analysis*,³ was someone I had not expected to meet on this intellectual journey. When in 1975 she was a Lecturer in German at the University of NSW, Australia, she read over and commented on a draft of my BA Hons. thesis on Karl Popper. I remembered her as a very serious scholar with a gentle sense of humour and it was a delight to be back in touch with her again. Her book referred to a work, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Arthur J. Penty, editors, *Essays in Post-Industrialism*.⁴ But a search at Princeton, where most of Coomaraswamy's manuscripts are held,⁵ the Bodleian Libraries, WorldCat (the world's largest bibliographic database), COPAC (UK), and Trove (Australia) showed that the

³ Dr. Margaret A. Rose *The Post-Modern and the Post-Industrial: A Critical Analysis*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, (1991). The book has extensive references to Penty.

⁴ Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Arthur J. Penty, editors, *Essays in Post-Industrialism*, Foulis, London (unpublished, page proofs circa 1914).

⁵ The Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy (1877-1947) papers and most of his book collection were donated in the 1970s to Princeton University by his son, Rama Coomaraswamy (1929-2006). See: Ananda K. Coomaraswamy Papers Catalogue C0038, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Firestone Library, Princeton University Libraries.

book had never been published. There was a brief account given by Lipsey in his book on Coomaraswamy of this work,⁶ and this was what Dr Rose referred to.⁷

This led to a search for the ‘missing book’ or, at least, a surviving copy of the manuscript. Christopher Yurkanin, honorary, part-time curator at the Coomaraswamy family Library in Austin, Texas, the United States,⁸ found there a bound proof of the book, scanned and put the Coomaraswamy/Penty book online.⁹ He told me: “As you mentioned, this doesn’t appear anywhere on the web that I’ve found, either and it also doesn’t appear in the AKC bibliography I have listing all of his published writings. Inside the front cover is handwritten ‘uncorrected proofs’ and there are pencil corrections throughout the text in addition to some odd spacing. Quite a source indeed...”¹⁰ Thus, as a result of his discovery, this publication can be known to the community of scholars, including a ‘lost’ Penty’s essay on ‘Architecture and Industrialism’.

I would like to thank my wife, Mary Easson, who inspired me to return to further studies. The Rev. Brendan Callaghan SJ, Master, Campion Hall, University of Oxford, accepted me for enrolment. Neither of us knew that I would choose a thesis topic on Penty. It is a small world. Callaghan had known, contributed to

⁶ Roger Lipsey *Coomaraswamy: His Life and Work*, volume three of a series of three, the earlier books collecting and editing certain of Coomaraswamy’s writings, Princeton University Press, Guildford (1977): pp. 111-116.

⁷ One assumes therefore that Lipsey looked at the entirety of the collection, before it was split up between Princeton and the family’s library.

⁸ Some books were kept by the family and housed in a small library in a house in Austin, Texas. See: <http://www.coomaraswamy.com/>, accessed September 2012.

⁹ See: <http://essaysinpostindustrialism.blogspot.com>, accessed May, 2012.

¹⁰ Email: Christopher Yurkanin to Michael Easson, May 9, 2012. The bibliography he consulted is presumably James S. Crouch *A Bibliography of Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy*, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi (1974).

and served on the editorial board of *Law and Justice*, a journal co-founded and edited by Michael Penty (1916-2002), Arthur's son.¹¹

To Dr David Howard, the inaugural Course Director, and his colleagues past and present, including John Lee, Lindsay Campbell, Fiona Herd, Lisa Goode and the library staff at Rewley Hall, I am most appreciative, as I am to all of my fellow students, a quizzical and supportive lot. We all did several presentations to class on our proposed thesis topics and shared ideas. I appreciated the feedback from the academic staff, particularly Dr. Idalina Baptiste.

As for other readers of the thesis, Dr. Margaret A. Rose, Dr. Damian Grace and Catherine Harding read through parts of an earlier version and provided comments and insights. Despite the benefit of all of the above, the confronting conclusion is that the flaws and weaknesses of the thesis are all mine.

¹¹ Michael Harvey Penty (1916–2002) was a solicitor, Catholic apologist and writer. See: John Duddington 'Michael Harvey Penty [Obituary]', *Law and Justice – The Christian Law Review*, No. 149 (Trinity/Michaelmas 2002): pp. 72-76. Michael Penty once tried to procure interest in a biography of his father, but nothing came from that. See: Michael Penty [Letter to the Editor] 'Arthur J. Penty', *Catholic Herald* (May 16, 1941): p. 2.

Chapter 1 Why Penty's Ideas Deserve Being Taken Seriously

At first blush it might seem deeply eccentric to suggest that a near-forgotten writer and architect should be recalled in the context of modern debates on the meaning and significance of sustainability. Arthur Joseph Penty (1875-1937) famously sought to 'look backwards', suggesting a revival of guilds modelled on those of medieval times. Yet to dismiss Penty's ideas as quaint, reactionary and irrelevant is to deprive ourselves of an understanding of just how modern his suggestions were. Ways of bringing about change to the world are at the heart of contemporary debates on sustainability. Penty's vision and view of society call attention to this essential point. For at the root of arguments about sustainability is a critique of existing society, a view on remedies to fix perceived flaws, and the demand for societal change. Radical political movements demand nothing less than a significant alteration in the way things are done. To do that requires a perspective on the organisation of society. Penty's *The Restoration of the Gilds* (1906) stimulated debate about what it means to be modern and democratic; Penty helped to inspire several political movements, as well as several practical efforts to create local building guilds.¹ These experiments briefly flourished

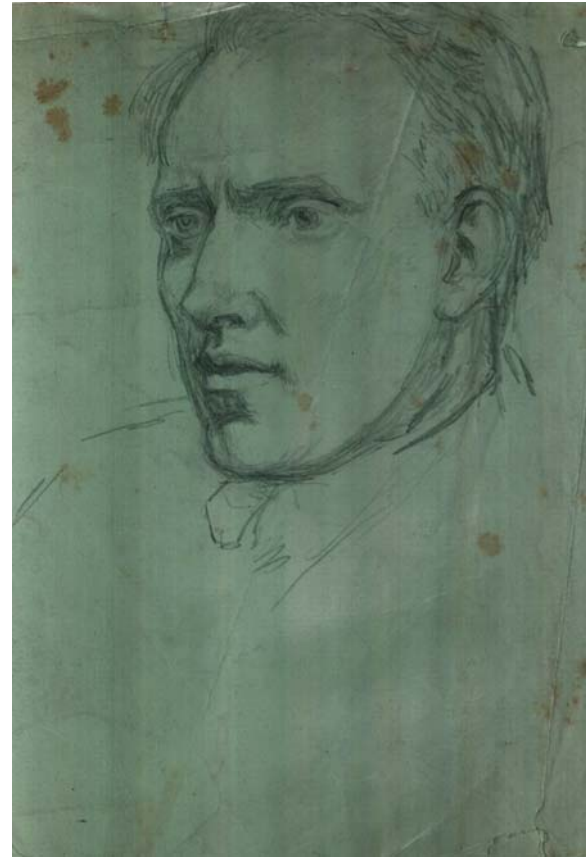


Figure 2 Sketch of Penty, unknown artist, possibly a self-portrait, in the family archives, Oxted.

¹ An account of Penty's thinking is at: S.T. Glass *The Responsible Society*, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., London (1966): pp. 17-21. See also: Frank Matthews 'The Building Guilds' in Asa Briggs and John Saville *Essays in Labour History 1886-1923* Archon Books (1971): pp. 284-331; and, Frank

during and immediately after World War I. They all ended in failure, but their example and influence upon other movements was profound. This Chapter outlines Penty's ideas and relates them to the question of whether, in looking back, the modern movement for sustainability can learn from the past.

For Penty, architecture was more than a debate whether it was an art or a profession, as if that defined the boundaries of possibilities.² To him, architecture mattered supremely. As Robert Hughes expressed the thought: "The home of the Utopian impulse was architecture... building is the art we live in: it is the social art par excellence, the carapace of political fantasy, the exoskeleton of one's economic dreams."³

Penty was an important Edwardian theorist of architecture and social policy, developing the 19th century writings of Ruskin and Morris into a discussion of radical political possibilities. For Penty, guilds were an alternative to industrial capitalism, restoring spiritual independence and freedom to workers. Society would also benefit with better quality goods, connection to a living aesthetic tradition, and a greater sense of community. These proposals distinguished Penty from other groups on the left like the Fabian Society, the Liberal Party, the Labour Party, and the Marxists.

Matthews 'The Ladder of Becoming: A.R. Orage, A.J. Penty and the Origins of Guild Socialism in England', in David. E. Martin and David Rubinstein, editors, *Ideology and the Labour Movement* Croom Helm, London (1979): pp. 147-166. For the period more generally, see: J. Vowles, 'From Corporatism to Workers' Control: the Formation of British Guild Socialism', PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1980. For a contemporary critique of guild socialism there is: Niles Carpenter *Guild Socialism: An Historical and Critical Analysis*, D. Appleton and Company, New York (1922).

² Cf. R. Norman Shaw and T.G. Jackson, editors, *Architecture. A Profession or an Art. Thirteen Short Essays on the Qualifications and Training of Architects*, John Murray, London (1892).

³ Robert Hughes *The Shock of the New, Art and the Century of Change*, BBC Books, London (1980): p. 164.

As a traditionalist architect who craved for a revival of craft consciousness, Penty's notions of the vernacular, the use of crafts and local materials, make him an interesting harbinger of concepts that would now be considered 'sustainable'. S.T. Glass summarises Penty's thinking in these terms: "Speaking as he did in the authentic accents of William Morris, Penty expressed unabashedly the tradition of localism and small-scale production from which guild socialism sprang."⁴ Penty, in this sense, belonged to an English tradition of sustainability. This is discussed in Chapter Three.

It is appropriate to briefly consider the meaning of sustainability. The Brundtland Report defines sustainable development as that "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."⁵ This requires living in ways that responsibly use the earth's resources so as to ensure that future generations are not disadvantaged or damaged by the contemporary use of those resources. This idea is often, though not always, bound up with arguments about preserving the best of the past for the future enjoyment of generations. Sustainability is not a narrow concept; it usually is joined together in economic, social and environmental terms. This is how Penty saw things, linking the practical with the

⁴ S.T. Glass (1966), Loc. Cit., p. 20.

⁵ See: www.unece.org/oes/nutshell/2004-2005/focus_sustainable_development.html. The Brundtland Report is the colloquial name for the report on environmental issues published by the intergovernmental commission set up by the UN system in the mid-1980s under the chair of Gro Harlan Brundtland - World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) *Our Common Future*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1987).

ideal, living simpler and less intrusively upon the environment, conserving the best of the past in adapting creatively to new ideas, and protecting ecology.⁶

There are deep, indigenous British roots to the development of consciousness about sustainability. A brief overview is apposite, linking some major thinkers, all of whom influenced Penty – Ruskin, Pugin, Morris, Webb, Shaw and Lethaby.

John Ruskin (1819-1900) was a critic of Victorian morals, aesthetics and architecture. His writings include *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *The Stones of Venice* (1853). He used his inherited wealth to promote idealistic social causes, and his powerful rhetoric, and striking insights, were utilised against formal, classical styles. Ruskin reawakened interest in elaborate Gothic architecture, seeing this as the most creative outlet for building work. He disdained machine-made goods, and paved the way for the Arts and Crafts movement. In Ruskin's time, he encouraged Augustus Pugin (1812-1852), architect and designer, who pioneered a revival of Gothic design in England. Pugin "was not afraid of the hard facts of building, and recognized the crafts."⁷ He worked with Charles Barry (1795-1860) on the creation of the new houses of parliament buildings in Gothic style.⁸ Ruskin's most inspired follower and developer of his ideas was William Morris (1831-1912), designer, poet and novelist, painter and architect, who began working in the Gothic Revival style, in

⁶ Arthur J. Penty review: Thomas Sharp *Town and Countryside – Some Aspects of Urban and Rural Development* [Oxford University Press], *The Criterion*, a Literary Review, Vol. XII, No. 49 (July, 1933): pp. 689-691.

⁷ W.R. Lethaby *Philip Webb and His Work*, Godfrey Rubens, editor, Raven Oak Press, London (1979): p. 66.

⁸ Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright *Pugin, A Gothic Passion*, Yale University Press, New Haven (1994). The old Parliament had been damaged by fire in 1836.

which he designed a number of original churches; and domestic work in the Old English and Queen Anne Revival styles. Apprenticed to an architectural firm and supervised by Philip Webb, he later founded Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co., an association of fine art workmen based on the medieval guild. In 1884 he co-formed the Socialist League. In 1877 he co-founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. Morris praised the art of medieval craftsmen, sculptors and carvers whom he believed were free to express their creative talents. Whilst Ruskin pronounced on what should be done, Morris was both a creative thinker and a *doer*. He was an activist in socialist, environmentalist and preservationist battles. A colleague from his activities in the socialist movement, commented: “Though in no degree favouring asceticism or parsimony of living, he nevertheless believed that in the main the greater the simplicity of our mode of living, the greater would be the happiness and the nobler the achievements of our lives.”⁹ The building of a New Jerusalem would not occur through gas and water socialism, or parliamentary means, but by a revolution in the minds and practices of men and women. Initially, in architecture, Morris worked closely with Philip Webb (1831-1915), architect and designer, who in 1856 was made responsible for a new pupil, William Morris.¹⁰ In 1859 Webb set up an independent practice, and as his first job, in that year, designed Morris's new home, Red House, Bexleyheath, Kent.

Overlapping with Morris was Richard Norman Shaw (1831–1912), architect, who influenced and led the Gothic revival in architecture in the 1890s; he

⁹ J. Bruce Glasier *William Morris and the Early Days of the Socialist Movement*, Longmans, Green and Co., London (1921): p. 144.

¹⁰ On Webb generally, see: W.R. Lethaby *Philip Webb and His Work*, Godfrey Rubens, editor, Raven Oak Press, London (1979).

emphasised the vernacular in now famous works now known as the English Domestic Revival, though then rather confusingly called the Queen Anne revival. Shaw's biographer noted that: "Everyone regrets (and regretted) the inaccuracy and vagueness of the name given to this bastard offspring."¹¹ He meant the description, not the buildings. Penty commented:

It is not evident how this movement became known as the Queen Anne revival. The appellation is anything but descriptive. So far from the taste of the movement being confined to the period of Queen Anne, it was eclectic, and borrowed freely from a wide range of tradition, English supplemented by Dutch. The movement was also something more than a revival, inasmuch as its aim was less to revive any particular period of architecture than to get back to the basic principles underlying all styles, accepting the vernacular traditions as the starting point.¹²

Shaw's buildings, with their use of local materials and vernacular details had a profound effect on the evolution of domestic architecture, including the arts and crafts movement. In Penty's summation: "in inculcating lessons of simplicity and restraint in design, Shaw had removed the greatest of all obstacles to the revival of architecture..."¹³

Early in 1883, pupils of Norman Shaw, including William Lethaby and E.S. Prior, formed the St. George Society, which a year later, became the Art Workers'

¹¹ Andrew Saint *Richard Norman Shaw*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, Revised Edition (2010): p. 151.

¹² Arthur J. Penty 'Authority and Architecture in Liberty ii: The Vernacular Movement', *The Architects' Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 1654 (September 29, 1926): p. 382.

¹³ Arthur J. Penty 'Authority and Architecture in Liberty ii: The Vernacular Movement', *The Architects' Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 1654 (September 29, 1926): p. 383.

Guild.¹⁴ William Richard Lethaby (1857-1931), architect, historian and theorist, came to work in Norman Shaw's practice from 1879-1889; he was one of the founders of the Central School of Arts and Crafts where he taught architecture and was principal 1902-1911; in 1900 he became the first Professor of the Royal College of Art, a post he retained until 1918. He was a leading member of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and wrote various books including *Architecture, Mysticism, and Myth* (1892), *Mediaeval Art* (1904), *Architecture* (1912), and *Form in Civilization* (1922). Ruben says that Lethaby learnt from Webb that "architecture was not mere designs, forms and grandeurs, but *buildings* honest and human, with hearts in them."¹⁵

Also influencing Penty, were various rural, back-to-nature, movements. A close friend was Montague Fordham (1864-1948), barrister by training, whose earliest influences and activities were with the arts and craft movement. Fordham commends Penty's writings on social reconstruction.¹⁶ It was the idea of Rural Reform that led Fordham in 1908 to co-found the Land Club Union which aimed to establish model farms, organise farmers banks for loans and financing of machinery, and revive traditional life and festivals in the country. The same year, Fordham published *Mother Earth: A Proposal for the Permanent Reconstruction of our Country Life* (1908) as an effective manifesto. He attacked what he believed was the anti-farmer nature of the economic system; he promoted the organic movement and became involved with a number of rural

¹⁴ Peter Davey *Arts and Crafts Architecture*, Phaidon Press, London (1995): pp. 53-54.

¹⁵ Godfrey Rubens 'Introduction' to W.R. Lethaby *Philip Webb and His Work*, Godfrey Rubens, editor, Raven Oak Press, London (1979): p. iv.

¹⁶ Montague Fordham *The Rebuilding of Rural England*, Hutchinson & Co., London (1924): pp. 203; 206.

reform groups such as the Agricultural Organisation Society and Land Clubs League. In 1926 he started a twenty-year reign as Secretary of the Rural Reconstruction Association. Penty became involved in this movement. The *Architects' Magazine* in 1928 highlighted Penty's role as popularising respect for the land.¹⁷ Common themes were the dangers of soil erosion, over-exploitation of limited resources, in fishing, harvesting and agricultural practices generally. Alas, this rural movement has not been thoroughly explored in the academic literature.¹⁸

These various movements were significant precursors to today's pro-environment campaigns, and the idea of building communities that respect those principles in a communitarian spirit. In all things, to use Morris's phrase, 'Fellowship is Life'.¹⁹ This is part of the context into which Penty's contribution can be understood.

Penty's critique of industrial society was always relevant to his ideas on architecture. Swenarton notes that: "The central notion in the building guilds ...was the Ruskinian belief that by doing away with a system of production based on profit the guilds would restore the joy of labour and level of craftsmanship associated with the middle ages."²⁰ This is where Morris stood too. Penty looked

¹⁷ See: feature photograph and short biography of Penty in 'Who's Who in the Rural Preservation Movement', *The Architects' Journal*, Rural England Number (November 14, 1928): p. xxx.

¹⁸ But see: Philip Conford 'Finance versus Farming: Rural Reconstruction and Economic Reform, 1894-1955', *Rural History*, Vol. 13, Issue 02 (October 2002): pp 225-241.

¹⁹ Morris's phrase is quoted in: Fiona MacCarthy *William Morris. A Life for Our Times*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York (1995): p. xviii. MacCarthy cites Clement Atlee (1883-1967), Prime Minister, 1945-1951, saying that this phrase by Morris was his favourite phrase in stating what the labour movement then stood for.

²⁰ Mark Swenarton *Artisans and Architects: the Ruskinian Tradition in Architectural Thought*, Macmillan, Basingstoke (1989): p. 167.

back and saw the future: "It was thus the communal tradition of design, the common inheritance of architecture in which all shared and each made use of according to his ability, came to an end..."²¹ This points to a never-ending debate on how to make work more inspiring, something explicitly discussed in Chapter Four in the context of the kind of post-industrial society that Penty envisaged. For any such society was *for* something; it was not just 'after' or 'post' the present. Penty in *A Guildsman's Interpretation of History* (1920) criticised the idea of linear progress and made the case for a reversion to simpler modes of social and economic organisation.

The most consistent and distinctive feature of Penty's work was his antipathy to the modern liberal capitalist state. He believed that modern life lacked any genuine community. He proposed a different way of life in which people work together. This resonates, today, with the writings of Richard Sennett, who has addressed these themes; this is discussed in Chapter Four. In thinking through his position Penty noted that:

By profession I am an architect, and as a young man I met with great deal of success. Opportunities came to me when I was barely out of my teens; illustrations of my work appeared in the architectural papers, and I came to be regarded as one of the coming men in the profession. Then after several years of prosperity my fortune changed. The ground slipped away under my feet. Commissions ceased to come my way, and from being somebody I fell to the position of being nobody; ...economic changes had

²¹ Arthur J. Penty 'Authority and Architecture in Liberty i: The Gothic Revival', *The Architects' Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 1652 (September 15, 1926): p. 323.

destroyed the prosperity of that section of the middle class who had been accustomed to give me work.²²

Penty saw that architects were forced onto a Procrustean Bed of mass production, isolation and capitalist exploitation; major challenges included the separation of craft and building expertise. His writings on these issues have faded from view, probably because of his eccentric political leanings.²³ Much of what he had to say, however, on architecture, modernity and the need to struggle for an alternative vision are surprisingly fresh and informative to present debates. But there are these obstacles to better appreciating Penty's ideas: First, there has never been a systematic presentation of his thinking, linking the political and architectural. Accounts that do exist, by Sokolow²⁴ and Kiernan²⁵ for example, were published in the early 1940s; they are discursive rather than critical, and barely mention his work in architecture and theories on design. Peter Grosvenor's thesis on Penty's ideas is a comprehensive introduction to his thought, but underplays the ecological consciousness of Penty's thinking and situates his ideas on architectural matters in the context of the Arts and Crafts movement, which is a partial and incomplete view. Grosvenor's description of Penty as a "reactionary conservative"²⁶ is unfortunate. This sits oddly with the fact that until the mid-1920s Penty was aligned with the British labour movement and published numerous articles in union and Labour Party-

²² Penty's *Memoirs* (1934), Loc. Cit., p. 22.

²³ Penty veered considerably rightward in the 1930s, evincing admiration for Mussolini's fascists. If I initially knew he adhered to such sympathies, I doubt I would have started this research. But I am glad I did for the reasons manifest in this thesis. Penty is worth understanding even, sometimes, despite himself.

²⁴ A.D. Sokolow *The Political Theory of Arthur J. Penty*, *The Yale Literary Magazine*, New Haven (1940).

²⁵ E.J. Kiernan *Arthur J. Penty: His Contribution to Social Thought*, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington [D.C.] (1941).

²⁶ Peter C. Grosvenor (1997), Loc. Cit., p. 2.

supporting newspapers and periodicals. Further, Penty's approach to architecture was never reactionary; he believed that: "...architecture lives by experiment rather than precedent."²⁷

Second, even though there have been recent efforts to more thoroughly explicate Penty's theories from within the Ruskinian tradition (Swenarton)²⁸ and in the context of the English tradition of domestic architecture (Thistlewood),²⁹ as well as Grosvenor's systematic evaluation of his political and theoretical life, the discussion of Penty's ideas as vigorously relevant to the broader ecological movement has been almost non-existent.

Third, Penty's archives, including his letters and diaries, published and unpublished articles, his memoir and unpublished draft texts of essays, have for largely remained in private hands, without ideal resources for scholars to copy and utilise them.³⁰

Fourth, in the last decade of his life Penty veered rightward, burning bridges connecting him to thinkers from the broad labour and socialist movements, and also from the Liberals. Even certain Christian conservatives, such as T.S. Eliot, who admired Penty's thinking, considered his views as outliers in the realm of political debate. This led to further neglect of an admittedly difficult thinker.

²⁷ Arthur J. Penty 'Authority and Architecture in Liberty i: The Gothic Revival', *The Architects' Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 1652 (September 15, 1926): pp. 323.

²⁸ Mark Swenarton 'A.J. Penty and the Building Guilds', chapter in *Artisans and Architects: the Ruskinian Tradition in Architectural Thought*, Macmillan, Basingstoke (1989).

²⁹ D. Thistlewood, 'A.J. Penty (1875-1937) and the Legacy of 19th Century English Domestic Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 46 (1987): pp. 327-341.

³⁰ Though, to be fair, since the 1980s the collection of his papers on microfiche at Hull have been freely available. Grosvenor warmly thanked Michael and Antonia Penty for their assistance and access to papers. The family have provided access to scholars of the papers in their possession; but these have been hard to copy.

Fifth, it must be said that Penty's writings are often poorly set out and cannot be championed as literary masterpieces.³¹

Sixth, Penty's works as an architect have been inadequately recorded since his departure in early 1902 from York to London. So his achievement as a creative architect is mostly lost from view.³²

The case for taking Penty seriously is that: (a) his vision of the future calls attention to a particular type of utopian thinking that is relevant to today's debate about sustainability. To establish this point requires some explication of utopian thought in the context of Penty's ideas. This is done in Chapter Three; (b) his enormous influence on his contemporaries is interesting to compare with modern debates about changing society to a more pro-sustainable outlook; (c) as outlined in Chapter Four, his discussion of the meaning and utility of post-industrial society stands in contrast to those theories of technological change that found sympathy in the works of Daniel Bell. Penty's outlook is truly a perspective that resonates with ideas of a simpler and less intense impact on – in modern terms what would be called - the ecological footprint of modern life; and, (d) his thought is situated within and adds to the English tradition of sustainability; this proposition is defended in this and the next Chapter.

There are some significant major, negative myths concerning Penty that have mitigated against many scholars engaging with his thinking. Sometimes Penty

³¹ Grosvenor describes Penty as a rather pedestrian writer who would have received greater recognition if the quality of his prose had been better. Peter C. Grosvenor (1997), *Loc. Cit.*, p. 15.

³² Chapter Two hopes to partly correct the deficiency in the public record.

himself contributed to this problem of dismissed irrelevance. These myths can be summarised:

First, there is the view that Penty wanted an actual restoration of the Middle Ages. As G.K. Chesterton quipped, this myth was “as if he had merely recommended us to wear pointed shoes or to practice archery.”³³ To dismiss his ideas like this is to assume that the title of his first work – *The Restoration of the Guild System* - said it all. It did not. That book was more than its cover.

Second, is the idea that Penty opposed mechanisation and wanted curbs on the use of labour-saving machinery; that Penty was opposed to ‘progress’. This charge was partly true, but not all of it; there was considerable ambivalence in what he wrote on the issue. Certainly some passages in his work suggest a critique entirely unsympathetic to the use of modern machinery. For example, he proposed reforms that: “...involves nothing less than an entirely new attitude towards the problems of life, work and industry, ...and what goes with it, a restriction of the use of machinery.”³⁴ Penty believed that mass unemployment was exacerbated and created by mechanisation. On progress, Penty perceptively remarked,

When the Modernist says “We can’t go back” he thinks he has delivered the Mediaevalist a knock out blow, entirely overlooking the fact that if what he says means anything at all it means we have entirely lost control of the social machine; for if we had not it is manifest we could go in any

³³ G.K. Chesterton ‘Preface’ to Arthur J. Penty *Post Industrialism* (1921): p.7.

³⁴ Arthur J. Penty ‘Industrialism, Guilds and Fascism’, *Memoirs*, mostly typescript manuscript, with numerous holograph insertions, dated October 1934, p. 82. Hereafter referred to as Arthur J. Penty *Memoirs* (1934). The *Memoirs* are in possession of the Penty family; now held by Mrs Mary Williams, daughter, of Oxted.

direction we chose, and that if we have lost control the most foolish policy imaginable is that of Modernists – to put on the accelerator.³⁵

Lethaby made a similar comment: “‘We cannot go back’ – true; and it is as true that we cannot stay where we are.”³⁶ Penty wanted his contemporaries to see the present as not permanent, but malleable, able to be inspired and changed by our actions and the best traditions of the past.

Third, is the idea that in architecture Penty believed in returning to an idealised Queen Anne style, as if producing buildings in this form was the epitome of beauty. Such a view deprecates Penty’s own works and writings, which were subtle and far different from this caricature. For he believed in tradition *and* creativity. He was not stuck in time; he wanted his time to appreciate the past, without merely mimicking it. This was a nuanced view of tradition. Although “[e]very building is built for a specific use in a specific place and for a specific society,”³⁷ such buildings belong to a particular context. Trystan Edwards argued that the character of a street, a row of buildings, were more important than the style of an individual building. He asserted: “For what constitutes a city is a group or association of buildings which, while expressing their appropriate differences in form and function, yet have a social relationship by virtue of which they become members of one large, but companionable, architectural family.”³⁸

On Lethaby’s reckoning, “We must give up designing the broken-down

³⁵ Arthur J. Penty *Memoirs* (1934), Loc. Cit., pp. 19-20.

³⁶ W.R. Lethaby *Form in Civilization, Collected Papers on Art & Labour*, Oxford University Press (1922): p. 213.

³⁷ Peter Zumthor *Thinking Architecture*, Birkhauser, Basel, Boston and Berlin, second, expanded edition (2006): p. 23.

³⁸ A. Trystan Edwards [Letter re Arthur J. Penty] ‘Authority and Liberty in Architecture’, *The Architects’ Journal*, Vol. 65, No. 1670 (January 19, 1927): p. 146.

picturesque which is part of the ideal of make-believe.”³⁹ He too wanted an architecture that respected its environment.

Fourth, Penty’s embrace in his last years of Italian fascism discredited his thinking forever. The references to fascism in his memoir are slight; in his introduction he says:

Catholic Socialism was primarily a movement for protecting small producers, craftsmen and trades-people against the competition of large commercial firms, the growth of which it recognized economic liberty favoured. Yet it is only to be understood as a part of that larger movement which ... sought to rejuvenate life and society by seeking a fresh source of inspiration in the Middle Ages where it was believed the spiritual well-springs of life were to be found.⁴⁰

Several books appeared extolling the similarities between guild principles and the then contemporary debate on the emergence of Italian fascism. Even labour intellectuals such as G.D.H. Cole published literature friendly to assessments of this kind. Penty was undoubtedly flattered by Odin Por’s estimation that certain Italian fascist intellectuals drew inspiration from his Guild ideas.⁴¹ Penty overlooked certain evils and saw his Italian friends in idealistic form, as

³⁹ W.R. Lethaby *Architecture*, Williams & Norgate, London (1912): p. 251.

⁴⁰ Arthur J. Penty *Memoirs* (1934), Loc. Cit., p. 7. In this respect, he refers to: Francesco S. Nitti *Catholic Socialism*, translated by Mary MacIntosh, Swan Sonnenschein & Co, London (1908).

⁴¹ Odon Por (1883-?), the Hungarian-born economist who lived in Italy, extolled the virtues of the Italian fascists. On February 25, 1921 Penty received a letter from Por asking permission to translate *Old Worlds for New* into Italian. Penty’s Diary also notes that on February 3, 1922 he received Por’s book *La Politica Delle Gilde* which he lent to Mrs. E. Townshend who got permission to translate it and with certain chapters omitted and others added appeared as Odin Por *Guilds and Co-Operatives in Italy*, The Labour Publishing Company Ltd., London (1923); see also, Odin Por *Fascism*, E. Townshend, translator, Labour Publishing Company Limited, London (1923). Interestingly, the publishing company of this book was associated with Cole, one of the founders of the publishing firm.

recovering the Catholic traditions of medieval guilds. This is not to excuse his naivety and willful complacency about such people.⁴² One can agree with the observation that all those thinkers who championed fascist ideas discredited themselves,⁴³ and still find true Race Mathew's observation that:

Overtaken as were Penty's later years by the disappointment and frustration with the delays and compromises of parliamentary democracy... he was attracted increasingly, if in qualified terms, to authoritarians of the stamp of Benito Mussolini and Francisco Franco... It was a sad conclusion - in my estimation, at any rate - to so notably productive a career, but in no way detracts from his previous achievements or makes less welcome their retrieval and re-evaluation.⁴⁴

The latter is what this thesis achieves.

Fifth, is the idea that Penty's life was a disorganised failure. Margaret Cole described him as "...a shaggy-looking architect with a fearful stammer..."⁴⁵ Certainly, he experienced long periods of unemployment and itinerant employment and he never succeeded in forming a strong, coherent movement around him. He found himself as a critic and outsider, rather than as a leader, but his intellectual output and influence was immense. On this last point, referring to Penty's thinking, Duff notes: "the nature of post-industrial society, for a few

⁴² Penty is described as a fascist fellow traveler in: Kenneth Lunn, Richard C. Thurlow *British Fascism: Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-War Britain*, Taylor & Francis, London (1980): p. 34.

⁴³ Peter Grosvenor "The British Anti-Moderns and the Medievalist Appeal of European Fascism", *Chesterton Review: The Journal of the G.K. Chesterton Institute*, Vol. 25, Nos. 1-2 (February-May, 1999): pp. 103-115.

⁴⁴ Race Mathews, manuscript dated October 2007 of the 'Foreword' to Peter Grosvenor *The Medieval Future of Arthur Joseph Penty*, IHS Press, unpublished. Mathews, an influential figure in the Australian labour movement, and a former MP, has written voluminously on the overlap and characteristics of cooperative, Christian, socialist and mutual traditions.

⁴⁵ Margaret Cole *The Life of G.D.H. Cole*, Macmillan, London (1971): p. 50.

thoughtful individuals, was already a matter of normative speculation.”⁴⁶ This attributes to Penty a precocious perceptiveness in thinking about political forms and change that eluded his contemporaries. The very use of the phrase ‘post-industrial’ begs consideration of what society we might yet become. In Penty’s view, “as Ruskin failed to formulate any practical scheme showing how the Gilds could be re-established...”⁴⁷ he would take up the challenge.

Penty was published in a wide variety of journals, including *The New Age*, *The Architects Journal*, *The Architectural Association Journal*, *The Journal of the Association of American Architects*, *The Daily Herald*, *The Guildsman*, *The Guild Socialist*, *GK’s Weekly*, *The New Witness*, *The New English Weekly*, *Nineteenth Century*, *The Criterion*, *The American Review*, *The Crusader*, and other publications. He wrote one major book on his architectural thinking - viz, *The Elements of Domestic Design* (1930) as well as many journal articles on architecture. He published 15 books in his lifetime.⁴⁸ In a summation of Penty’s achievement, James comments: “Steadily, on firm foundations, out of the rubble of that confusing period he was building... a social philosophy capable of standing all weathers.”⁴⁹ This was the aim, but the achievement is less certain. Some other judgements are that he was an influential Edwardian architect.⁵⁰ Hardy describes Penty as a Christian architect with direct experience of the

⁴⁶ Alastair Duff ‘The Normative Crisis of the Information Society’ *Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2008): on-line:

[http://cyberpsychology.eu/view.php?cisloclanku=2008051201&article=\(search in Issues\)](http://cyberpsychology.eu/view.php?cisloclanku=2008051201&article=(search%20in%20Issues))

⁴⁷ Arthur J. Penty *The Restoration of the Gild System*, Swann Sonnenschein, London (1906): p. vii.

⁴⁸ The bibliography cites the publishing details of each.

⁴⁹ Stanley B. James ‘Arthur J. Penty - A Christian Sociologist’, *Catholic Herald* (January 29, 1937): p. 5.

⁵⁰ Alexander Stuart Gray, Jean Breach, and Nicholas Breach *Edwardian Architecture: a Biographical Dictionary*, University of Iowa Press, Iowa City (1986): pp. 27; 283-284.

garden city campaign.⁵¹ More strongly, Egbert sees him as an important figure in the garden city movement.⁵² Chesterton, in his preface to Penty's *Post-Industrialism*, described him as "one of the two or three truly original minds of the modern world."⁵³ The *Times* obituarist comments that: "As a practising architect Mr. Arthur Joseph Penty ...was less important than as a writer upon the arts and crafts in relation to society."⁵⁴ Geoffrey Ostergaard, in *The Tradition of Workers' Control*, highlights Penty's intellectual leadership in formulating in the early 20th century a strong theory of worker representation and self-government.⁵⁵ Thompson sees Penty's emphasis on decentralisation as a significant corrective to centralist collectivist beliefs in the UK Labour Party.⁵⁶ The Zwicks concluded that, along with R.H. Tawney, G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, Penty was an influential Christian intellectual who helped shape the political and social thinking of Dorothy Day, the American 'Catholic worker' activist.⁵⁷ Lyon describes Penty as "an anti-industrialism social critic."⁵⁸ Duff acknowledges Penty's books of 1917 and 1922 as containing the first use of the term 'post-industrialism'.⁵⁹ He also describes Penty as the "unsung inventor of

⁵¹ Dennis Hardy *Utopian England: Community Experiments, 1900-1945*, Routledge, London (2000): p. 210.

⁵² Donald D. Egbert 'English Art Critics and Modern Social Radicalism', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Autumn, 1967): pp. 479-480; 487. The Garden City movement is discussed in the next Chapter.

⁵³ G.K. Chesterton 'Preface' to A.J. Penty *Post-Industrialism*, Allen and Unwin, London (1922): p. 7.

⁵⁴ [Anonymous, Obituary] 'Mr. A.J. Penty' *Times* [London, England] (January 23, 1937): p. 17. *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed January, 2012.

⁵⁵ Geoffrey Ostergaard *The Tradition of Workers' Control*, selected writings, edited by Brian Bamford, Freedom Press, London (1997): p. 56.

⁵⁶ Noel W. Thompson *Political Economy and the Labour Party: The Economics of Democratic Socialism 1884-2005*, (1996): p. 9.

⁵⁷ Mark Zwick and Louise Zwick *The Catholic Worker Movement: Intellectual and Spiritual Origins*, Paulist Press, New York (2005): p. 135.

⁵⁸ David Lyon 'The Idea of a Christian Sociology: Some Historical Precedents and Current Concerns', *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (1983): pp. 227-242.

⁵⁹ Alistair Duff 'The Sickness of an Information Society. R.H. Tawney and the Post-Industrial Condition', *Information, Communication & Society*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (2004): pp. 403-422.

the post-industrial brand.”⁶⁰ Smart argues that by introducing the concept of post-industrialism, to some extent Penty anticipated views later expressed by writers advocating a ‘small-is-beautiful’ position.⁶¹ Wollenberg, however, saw Penty as inconsistent, referring to him as an “egregious example of ...political naivete” attached to “a rarefied intellectualism.”⁶² On the latter, there is more than a touch of that in a note, full of *ferverino*, he once wrote in the early 1920s to the socialist historian Max Beer, Penty makes a request for ‘information’ on the revival of medievalism in Germany.⁶³ As a leading interpreter of continental and British Labour and socialist movements, Beer might have been amused. Much darker forces there, however, were slowly emerging.

Penty today is now best known for his views on guild socialism. Penty revived a neglected proposal of Ruskin, that the trade unions should emulate the guilds of the Middle Ages and take over control of industry. Ruskin asked in *Fors Clavigera*: “The wealth of the world is yours; even your common rant and rabble of economists tell you that – ‘no wealth without industry’. Who robs you of it, then, or beguiles you?”⁶⁴ Ruskin meant to cajole the working class to do more than form self-protection societies, but to actually organise work through

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1369118042000284632#preview>, accessed July 2012.

⁶⁰ Alastair Duff ‘The Normative Crisis of the Information Society’ *Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2008): on-line:

[http://cyberpsychology.eu/view.php?cisloclanku=2008051201&article=\(search in Issues\)](http://cyberpsychology.eu/view.php?cisloclanku=2008051201&article=(search%20in%20Issues))

⁶¹ Barry Smart *Modern Conditions: Postmodern Controversies* Routledge, London (1992): p. 30.

⁶² Bruce Wollenberg *Christian Social Thought in Great Britain Between the Wars* University Press of America, Washington (1997): p. 42.

⁶³ Letter: *Arthur J. Penty to Max Beer*, December 29, 1924, in the Max Beer Papers, the International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam.

⁶⁴ John Ruskin ‘Whose Fault Is It?’, Letter 89, *Fors Clavigera, Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain, Vol. VIII*, George Allen, Orpington [Kent, England] (1884 [first published September 18, 1880]): p. 140. Letter 89 was the first addressed to the “trade unions of England’.

cooperative guilds. This was easier said than done. In practice, however, this is what Morris set out to do. And what Penty strove to accomplish.

Through his first book, Penty was a progenitor of guild socialism, a political movement that briefly flourished in trade union and radical political circles during World War I, and quickly faded from prominence from the early 1920s onwards. Penty believed: "...Guild theory was built on a framework of architectural theory. Architecture was the microcosm."⁶⁵ Grosvenor notes that: "In the academic literature he appears mainly as an original but ultimately marginal figure in the history of guild socialism."⁶⁶ The ideas and the traditions that the guild socialists inspired have recently seen a revival in respect, if not adherence.⁶⁷

One interesting aspect of Grosvenor's interpretation is that he sees Penty as an original thinker wanting to radically return to the past, and as someone likely to misinterpret contemporary movements in the light of that adherence. Grosvenor believes the emphasis on Penty's guild socialism misclassifies him, stating that he wants "...to historically recast Penty: to present him not as a marginal guild socialist but as a central and influential figure in twentieth-century British

⁶⁵ Penty *Memoirs* (1934), Loc. Cit., p. 47.

⁶⁶ Peter C. Grosvenor 'Penty, Arthur Joseph (1875-1937)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oxford University Press (2004) [online edition, May 2009 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53509>, accessed January 2012].

⁶⁷ David Richards and Martin Smith 'Back to the Future: New Labour, Sovereignty and the Plurality of the Party's Ideological Tradition', *British Politics*, Vol. 5 (2010): pp. 239-264. The political scientist Lord Glasman has cited Penty's work in the context of a new political movement called 'Blue Labour'. Professor Marc Stears has written extensively on Edwardian England, and the first few decades of last century, and the radical political ferment in which Penty's ideas were fashioned and championed. See: Maurice Glasman 'Labour as a Radical Tradition', *Soundings*, No. 46 (Winter, 2010): pp. 31-41. Marc Stears 'Guild Socialism and Ideological Diversity on the British Left, 1914-1926' *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol. 3, Issue 3 (October, 1998): pp. 289-305.

medievalist thought.”⁶⁸ But this objective runs the risk of making Penty’s views seem even more marginal than they actually were.

Grosvenor, however, sees that “Guild Socialism whilst drawing its inspiration from the medieval guilds as a form of industrial organisation, was a libertarian and modernist creed, reconciled to the permanence of twentieth-century technology which it ought to democratize and control but not to abolish.”⁶⁹ He believes that Penty was never reconciled to the 20th century. But this exaggerates matters. Penty and the guild socialists generally were more producer than consumer focused. There seemed to be a benign belief in the superiority of ‘co-operative’ over ‘profit’ management. This was to wish for good behaviour and a less selfish psychology. They wanted to find out in action.

An epiphany occurred as he thought through his philosophy:

Though the idea of restoring the Guilds had from the time I first made its acquaintance a natural appeal for me, something more than an academic interest was needed to make me work for it; and that something was supplied by a conversation I had with the then secretary of the Fabian Society, Mr. E.R. Pease one day in July 1902 which “got my goat” as they say in the vernacular. The new building of the School of Economics in Clare Market had just been completed, and as the scheme had been promoted by Mr. Sidney Webb, the Fabians surveyed it with a sense of possession. “What do you think of our new building?” said Mr. Pease to me. Knowing it to be a piece of very incompetent architecture I hesitated

⁶⁸ Peter C. Grosvenor (1997), *Loc. Cit.*, p. 6.

⁶⁹ Grosvenor, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 8.

for a moment, wondering what to say, for I wanted to let him down as gently as possible. But Mr. Pease had no intention of being let down gently. He did not wait for me to reply, but went on "I suppose you are thinking about the architecture. Well, we didn't take much trouble about that. We got our architect through a competition which we decided on the statistical method." "What!" I exclaimed. "Well", he continued, "we invited three architects to compete. [We] measured up the floor areas of each of the designs, and we selected the one with the greatest area in the class rooms." That did it. I had been attracted to Socialism by the writings of Morris, and I had somehow managed to persuade myself that the Socialism of Morris and that of the Fabian Society had something in common. But any illusions I might have were now entirely dispelled. I saw that the principles of Morris and Fabianism were opposed ...possible means could Fabian policy eventuate in the Utopia of Morris. ...now my eyes were wide open. I saw Fabianism as ...complacent and arrogant; its ideal could be defined as efficient emptiness.⁷⁰

Rarely has a building had such a singular, decisive, political impact!

This introductory Chapter provides a brief outline of Penty's ideas, arguing how they are relevant to contemporary debates about sustainability and, indeed, why certain of his ideas are vital to that debate.

Grosvenor notes of Penty that: "[h]e was not a diarist, and his collection of personal papers are unhelpful from a biographer's point of view."⁷¹ But, in fact,

⁷⁰ Penty *Memoirs* (1934), *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 28-29.

⁷¹ Peter C. Grosvenor (1997), *Loc. Cit.*, p. 9.

Penty did keep diaries. Based on his Diary written from 1899 to 1923, Chapter Two provides a comprehensive and critical overview of his life and architectural and theoretical record.

Although the word was not commonly used during his lifetime, Penty's ideas fit into a distinct English tradition of sustainability. This is discussed in Chapter 3, along with various meanings of the term.

One of the most original of Penty's ideas was the concept of Post Industrialism. This is discussed in Chapter 4, together with Sennett's suggestion of four stages to the arousal of creativity - imagination, adjacency, surprise and gravity. Sennett writes on some of the major themes that pre-occupied Penty, and serves as a useful marker of his views.

Chapter Five, the Conclusion, sums up Penty in relation to his own record and in comparison with contemporary debates on sustainability. Various potential research issues and topics are also put forward.

The proposition of the thesis is that Penty is relevant to the modern debate on sustainability. Just as 'post-industrial' society means nothing without thinking about what might change, so too 'sustainability' calls attention to what needs to be done, by whom, and the implication of particular courses of action.

Chapter 2: Making Sense of Penty

Now that we have Penty's Diary, contra Grosvenor's assessment, we can better trace his life and story. This Chapter will briefly but critically illustrate the experiences and intellectual development that made Penty the complicated man he became by the mid-1920s.¹ Rather than a narrative of his life, this account concentrates on the development of Penty's thinking, the array of contacts he made, and the context of his theoretical work. Based on the research underpinning the thesis, this story can be comprehensively and confidently stated for the first time.

Arthur Penty was born in York, the second son of Walter Green Penty (1852-1902), architect, and his wife, Emma Seller. Walter, a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA),² had been a pupil of George Styan, City Engineer of York, 1867-1871, and was principal draughtsman with W. Tomlinson Walker, Artistic Iron Founder & Smith of York, 1871-1873. From 1873 to 1898 he created an independent practice which, from 1888, Arthur joined having been pulled out of St Peter's School in York to begin his apprenticeship. For the decade between 1893 and his departure for London in 1902, Penty designed or co-designed with his father many of the grand buildings of York. His Diary indicates that he was significantly more involved in many of

¹ As mentioned in Chapter 1, this thesis is not much interested in Penty's later thought, as he developed it in the 1930s.

² Conferred on March 11, 1889. RBIA Nomination Papers L v.13 no. 827, Archives of RIBA. See: [Anonymous] 'Obituary [Mr. Penty]', *The Builder*, Vol. 82, No. 3080 (February 15, 1902): p. 163.

the major works of the town than previously known.³ Pevsner notes: “In the 1890s Arthur Joseph Penty (1875-1937) joined his father and there is a marked improvement in the quality and originality of the firm’s work.”⁴

For example, one of the most distinctive buildings of York, Leetham’s warehouse with Water Tower, was designed by Penty in 1895. First called Leetham’s Mill and then Navigation Warehouse, it housed agricultural product bound for Hull, shipped along the Foss River. The tower rears up over rooftops in this part of town. As one observer noted, “...an inexplicable sight of mysterious import. Close up it is even more spectacular and incongruous.”⁵ Pevsner argues: “[this is] the best industrial building in York. Brick, set between the Foss [River] and a basin forming a sharp angle. It is five-storeyed, the angle emphasized by a tower with battlements and a higher stair-turret. At the back a shaped gable... Now flats and offices, it was the flour warehouse for Leetham’s Mill which was burnt down 1931.”⁶

Penty’s diary is replete with notes of buildings he saw including in 1895 visiting ‘Adcote’ by Norman Shaw, seven miles off Shrewsbury.⁷

³ Diary of Arthur Joseph Penty, holograph manuscript; apparently written between 1899 to 1923. In possession of Penty family. See explanation in bibliography; hereafter referred to as the ‘Penty Diary’. There were later diaries, copies of which are now held at the Hull Archive Centre; but in this thesis they are not drawn on.

⁴ Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, Yale University Press, The Buildings of England Series, New Haven and London, second edition (2002): p. 91.

⁵ Jayne Rimmer and Ian Milsted ‘Industrialism in Hungate: Leetham’s Flour Mill and Bellerby’s Sawmill’, *Yorkshire Archeology Today*, No. 17 (Autumn 2009): pp. 5-9. See: http://issuu.com/york_archaeological_trust/docs/yatmag17-web, accessed May 2012, and [Navigation Warehouse](#), accessed June 2012.

⁶ Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding, Op. Cit.*, p. 219

⁷ The house, designed in 1879 by Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912), known as Norman Shaw, was to a Tudor design and stands in 27 acres. See: Andrew Saint *Richard Norman Shaw*, Yale University Press, New Haven (1976), pp. 100-2, 110-1, and p. 416. It was listed in 1987 as Grade II: <http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-259218-adcote-lodge-montford>, accessed May



Leatham's Mill and Water Tower; source: <http://whyisthishere.co.uk/warehouse.jpg>

One notable design in 1897 was the Shopfront, Feasegate, York, for Mr. M.R.

Bullivant.⁸ This design was highly prized. A book commented on this game and fish dealer's shop:

A better design for a fish-monger's shop could scarcely be conceived. The whole design is full of purpose and expression, and no hesitancy need be marked in ascribing to it many superlative merits. The admirable modeled and paneled plaster frieze is artistic and interesting. The windows simply contrived for opening and closing and low in their height are surely the best for the limited display of fish and game. Again, notice must be given to, and praise tendered for, the artistic simplicity of the

2012.

⁸ Horace Dan and E.C. Morgan Willmott *English Shop-Fronts Old and New, Examples by Leading Architects*, B.T. Batsford, London (1907): Plate 36 shopfront of Mark, Relph, Bullivant; Feasegate, York, Penty and Penty, Architects.

wrought-iron-work which comes in front of the stall-board; also for the cleverly detailed carving. In fact, all that is required in this front to tell of name and business is characterized by the front itself in a quiet and telling fashion that is wholly delightful.⁹

On October 30th 1897, together with his father, Penty visited Glasgow to see George Walton's work¹⁰ prior to employing him¹¹ on Elm Bank, his most beautiful work. Pevsner comments: "Unexceptional exterior but memorable interiors done in 1898 for Sidney Leetham by Penty & Penty (A.J. Penty) and George Walton, one of Mackintosh's Glasgow group. However, the features of Walton have nothing of the Mackintosh tension. The stained glass is Art Nouveau in an international way and very good of its kind, and the wall paintings by Walton in one of the main rooms are rather of a late Pre-Raphaelite kind, influenced by Crane more than Glasgow. The room has pretty ceiling decoration. The hall of the house has a tunnel-vaulted ceiling, stenciled."¹²

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁰ George Henry Walton (1867-1933), architect, interior decorator and furnisher maker, a pioneer of the distinctive Glasgow Style, and his decorating company George Walton and Co (1888-1905), ecclesiastical and house decorators, redecorated numerous houses and shops in Glasgow and later in London and across the UK. Walton was influenced by both the painter James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) as well as William Morris when, in 1888, he established his own workshop-based decorating company. Walton designed in almost every area of decorative art, including stained glass, stencilling, furniture, fabrics, carpets, cutler, glassware and graphics. He specialised in harmoniously integrated interiors, which were internationally admired. Wider recognition followed after he was commissioned in 1896-7 to fit out Miss Catherine Cranston's Buchanan Street four-storey tea-room, Glasgow. The overall interior design was by Walton with Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928), his more famous contemporary, contributing the stencilled mural decoration. See: Karen Moon *George Walton: Designer and Architect*, White Cockade Publishing, Oxford (1993; reprinted with illustrations, 2001).

¹¹ Penty's Diary, p. 13.

¹² Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding, Op. Cit.*, p. 256. Penty's Diary records his excitement purchasing Crane's *Claims of Decorative Art*. Walter Crane *The Claims of Decorative Art*, Lawrence and Bullen, London (1892). The book was illustrated with arts and crafts style decorative headpieces including the illustrators' thoughts on the place of art in relation to commerce, labor and quality of life. Walter Crane (1845-1915), socialist, craftsman, artist and illustrator, was part of the English Arts and Crafts movement. See: Morna O'Neil *The Arts and Crafts, Painting, and Politics*, Yale University Press, New Haven (2010).

Early in February 1897, Penty delivered a paper to the York Architectural Society where the first glimpses of Penty's sociological theories can be seen. Penty comments:

Today the builder has nothing in common with himself which means he has ceased work in a tradition. He works and lives for utilitarianism alone, excelling only in the technique often at the expense of the artistic, which latter quality he does not profess to understand¹³

This neatly sets out Penty's developing sympathy for lost traditions; it also was compatible with Ruskinian and Morrisite views about the organisation of work and the notion that "[a]rt is thoughtful workmanship."¹⁴

In the last years of the century, friends introduced Penty to the ideas of socialism. Visits to museums, readings and immersion in the practical arts also caused him to rethink his views on architecture and politics. He confides in his Diary about one visit to the capital: "I took to studying Socialism."¹⁵ He frequented the Arts & Crafts School, Regent Street,¹⁶ founded by Lethaby, and he took lessons in *repousse* work at Essex House, Mile End.¹⁷ So he was keen to extend his practical knowledge.

¹³ *Yorkshire Herald*, Thursday, February 25, 1887.

¹⁴ W.R. Lethaby *Form in Civilization, Collected Papers on Art & Labour*, Oxford University Press (1922): p. 213.

¹⁵ Penty's Diary, p. 11. This entry is dated March, 1897.

¹⁶ The School of Arts and Crafts in Regent Street, eventually transferred to Southampton Road and renamed Central School of Art and Craft, had opened in Regent Street, London, on November 2, 1896. See reference: Dr. Richard Evans 'A Short History of Technical Education, Appendix 1850-1899', www.technicaleducationmatters.org/appendices/shorthistory/chronology/1850-1899/, accessed June 2012.

¹⁷ Penty's Diary, p. 11. Repoussé work is an ancient art of embossing or pressing shapes into metal by hammering from the reverse side; ornamental metal is work fashioned in this way.

Penty identified with and sought to develop Ruskian and Morrisite ideas. In October 1897, he went around the Morris & Coy factory at Merton Abbey.¹⁸ In 1865 Morris and the firm moved to 26 Queen Square, Bloomsbury. The ground floor was converted into workshops and offices whilst Morris and family lived on the first floor. In the scullery Morris and Thomas Wardle first started experimenting in the revival of vegetable dyeing, starting with embroidery silks. In 1871 Morris and Rossetti took out a joint tenancy of Kelmscott Manor by the banks of the Thames in Oxfordshire. When, in the early 1870s Morris wanted to expand, he set up a new firm under his own control, Morris & Co. The new company opened up a shop at 449 Oxford Street, London. Morris in turning attention to woven fabrics opened a new hired workshop at Great Ormond Yard, near Queen Square. In the autumn of 1878 Morris and family moved to Upper Mall, Hammersmith, renamed Kelmscott House.¹⁹ He set up several carpet frames in the coach-house and stables. By 1881 needing premises large enough to manufacture all his goods under one roof, and, determining that the water of the River Wandel was suitable for dyeing, Morris located to Merton Abbey Mills, a complex on 7 acres which included several buildings and a 18th century dyeworks. Various buildings were adapted for stained-glass, textile printing, and fabric and carpet-weaving. He refused to pull down any of the existing buildings.²⁰ This way of living deeply impressed Penty. On October 25, 1897 he gave a paper to the Salem Chapel (York) reading circle on 'William Morris as An

¹⁸ Morris & Co. (1875-1940) and its predecessor, Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. (1861-1875), were manufacturers and retailers led by William Morris, whose design-flair and respect for traditional arts and crafts had a profound influence on the decoration of churches and houses into the early 20th century. Morris & Co. continued in operation until its closure in 1940. See: J.W. Mackail *The Life of William Morris*, in two volumes, London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co. (1899); Linda Parry *William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement: A Sourcebook*, Portland House, New York (1989).

¹⁹ This is now the headquarters of the William Morris Society; see: www.kelmscottmanor.org.uk.

²⁰ See: www.mertonpriory.org/history/, accessed June 2012;

Artist'.²¹ On January 29, 1899 Penty gave a paper on William Morris to the members of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), the forerunner to today's Labour Party, in York.²² Through the ILP, and the Fabian Society, the 'state action' socialists, whose executive he joined,²³ Penty met many of the leading figures, including Philip Snowden, the future Chancellor.²⁴ He was beginning to distill his political outlook. In December 1899 Labour Leader Keir Hardie visited York and Penty dined with him at Davy Hall Restaurant, which he had designed.²⁵ Kier Hardie, Bruce Glasier,²⁶ Philip Snowden attended. Pevsner states: "The magnificent Art Nouveau restaurant interior of c. 1899 by George Walton and A.J. Penty was destroyed when the rear was rebuilt in the 1950s."²⁷

²¹ Penty Diary, p. 12.

²² Penty Diary, p. 19.

²³ Penty Diary, p. 17. He was elected a member of the Fabian Society, at the November 1897 meeting.

²⁴ Penty met him on February 19th 1899. See: Penty Diary, p. 19. Philip Snowden (1864-1937), politician, was an outstanding representative of the Christian socialist type who did much to popularise the UK Labour Party in its early days. In the short-lived first Labour Government in January 1924, Prime Minister MacDonald appointed Snowden as his Chancellor of the Exchequer. He returned to this office in 1929. Believing extreme austerity measures were required to face the economic crisis, in 1931 Snowden suggested that the Labour government should introduce new measures including a reduction in unemployment pay. This precipitated a crisis, the resignation of Ministers and the formation of a new, national government. Snowden and MacDonald were expelled from the Labour Party. Snowden continued as Chancellor to the 1931 election, which he did not contest. He set out his philosophy in: Rt. Hon. Philip Snowden *The Faith of a Democrat*, Ernest Benn, London (1928), but those philosophical foundations were unequal to the challenge of the Great Depression. See: Keith Laybourn *Philip Snowden: A Biography, 1864-1937*, Temple Smith, Aldershot (1988).

²⁵ James Keir Hardie Sr. (1856-1915), known as Keir Hardie, in 1906 became Leader of the UK Labour Party. See: Kenneth O. Morgan *Keir Hardie, Radical and Socialist*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London (1975).

²⁶ John Bruce Glasier (1859-1920), known as J. Bruce Glasier or Bruce Glasier, was a Glasgow-born radical who, after apprenticeship as an architectural draughtsman, worked as a designer in ornamental ironwork. He became one of the important early leaders of the UK Labour party. In 1893 he married Katharine Glasier, née Katherine St John Conway (1867-1950). In 1897 Glasier was elected to the National Administrative Council of the ILP - along with Hardie, MacDonald and Snowden - becoming one of 'the big four'. In 1900 Glasier replaced Hardie as chairman of the ILP. He wrote memoirs on the early days of the socialist movement, viz., Bruce Glasier *William Morris and the Early Days of the Socialist Movement*, Longmans, Green & Co., London (1921); an excellent biography is: Laurence Thompson *The Enthusiasts. A Biography of John and Katherine Bruce Glasier*, Victor Gollancz, London (1971).

²⁷ Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding, Op. Cit.*, p. 215.



Davy Hall Restaurant in Davygate. Built by George Edwin Barton in 1904, demolished in the 1950s. The restaurant was designed by W.G. Penty and A.J. Penty in distinctive art nouveau style with a much-talked-about stained glass canopy. Source: Archive image, 1929, from the [York] Evening Press, www.yorkpress.co.uk/pics/lookback/view/gallery_238020.Archive_images_from_the_Evening_Press/, accessed July 2012.

By 1898 the firm became a partnership, Penty & Penty. In November 1899 the Pentys featured in the 'Men Who Build' Series in the *Builders Journal*.²⁸

Architectural commissions were still plentiful.

In September 1899 Penty met for the first time Alfred Richard Orage (1873-1934), editor, journalist, political iconoclast and literary critic.²⁹ With Holbrook Jackson, from 1907, Orage took over and edited the new series of *The New Age* and turned it into the literary and political 'must read' intellectual journal of his time. This is where many of Penty's first essays were to be published.

²⁸ [Anonymous] 'Men Who Build. No. 61. Messrs Penty and Penty' *Builders' Journal and Architectural Record* 300 (November 7, 1900): p. 267.

²⁹ Penty Diary, p. 25. Orage sold *The New Age* in 1922. He spent most of the next eight years in America where he remarried. He returned to England in 1930 to found and edit *The New English Weekly*. He died unexpectedly in 1934. See: Wallace Martin *'The New Age' Under Orage*, Manchester University Press, Manchester (1967).

On January 20, 1902 Penty left for London. A few days later, January 23, Penty senior suddenly died,³⁰ causing him to rush back to York for the burial on January 25.³¹ Arthur's brother, Frederick Thomas Penty (1879-1943), also an architect, took over the family business.³² Swenarton notes that "...a move to London in 1902 proved adverse to his career and architecturally he disappeared into obscurity."³³ From 1902 to 1908 Arthur Penty struggled to make a living with intermittent work in architecture and furniture design and, from 1906 to 1907, as a furniture restorer in New York.

In the first few months of that year,³⁴ in London Penty came to know the future Prime Minister J. Ramsay Macdonald,³⁵ and other political leaders, as well as leading artists and craftsmen, architects and socialist thinkers of his time including the designer Edward Spencer,³⁶ the water colorist Nelson Dawson,³⁷

³⁰ [Anonymous] 'Obituary [Walter Green Penty]', *Royal Institute of Architects Journal*, Vol. 9 (1902): p. 164.

³¹ Penty's Diary, p. 30. Penty was then living at Knaresboro, just outside of York. Cf. [Obituary to Walter Green Penty] *RIBA Journal* Vol. 9 (1902): p. 164.

³² [Anonymous] 'Obituary [Harold Frank Penty]', *Royal Institute of Architects Journal*, Vol. 61 (March 1954): p. 207.

³³ Mark Swenarton *Artisans and Architects: the Ruskinian Tradition in Architectural Thought*, Macmillan, Basingstoke (1989): p. 167.

³⁴ Penty's Diary, p. 30. Swenarton mistakenly suggests Penty left his father's practice earlier, in 1901. *Ibid.*

³⁵ James Ramsay MacDonald (1866-1937), known as Ramsay MacDonald, served as Labour Prime Minister (PM) in 1924 and again from 1929 to 1931, thereafter as a National Coalition leader and PM to 1935. See: David Marquand *Ramsay MacDonald* Jonathan Cape, London (1977).

³⁶ Edward Spencer (1873-1938), designer, architect and jeweller, having trained with the architect Henry Wilson, joined the Artificers' Guild as an assistant designer, became chief designer under Montague Fordham, and then succeeded him as director in 1906. The Guild was founded in 1901 by Nelson Dawson in Chiswick, and in 1903 it passed to the care of Fordham, director of the Birmingham Guild of Handicraft, establishing itself in Maddox Street, London. The Guild went on to set up premises in Conduit Street as well as the King's Parade, Cambridge. Spencer was director until his death in 1938. See: www.thegoldsmiths.co.uk/collections-library/library/research-collections/artificers'-guild-design-archive/, accessed July 2012.

³⁷ Nelson Dawson (1859-1942), water colour painter, silversmith and jeweller, trained as an architect, then studied painting at the South Kensington Schools. See biographical reference: Isabelle Anscombe and Charlotte Gere *Arts & Crafts in Britain and America*, Academy Editions, London (1978): p. 142.

the arts and crafts architect C.R. Ashbee³⁸ and indefatigable suffragist and campaigner for the preservation of old buildings, Miss E. Sparks.³⁹ In this ferment of discussion and debate, Penty turned his mind to serious reflection. With Spencer he began to co-write a publication on Architecture & Politics.⁴⁰ This apparently never saw the light of day as in July 1903 he dissolved partnership with E. Spencer over the book.⁴¹

In 1903 Penty joined C.F. Short⁴² and competed for Chipping Wycombe Town Hall and Free Library Fenton.⁴³ He noted: "The design for this building I left ...in the twopenny tube."⁴⁴ But he won the competition for the commission anyway.⁴⁵ That year Penty studied woodcarving in winter at Arts and Crafts School, Regent St.⁴⁶ He attended the ILP Conference at York at Easter. On June 4, 1903 he was elected member of the Junior Art Worker Guild.

³⁸ Charles Robert Ashbee (1863-1942), architect, designer and socialist, was a prolific writer in the arts and crafts tradition. See: Alan Crawford *C.R. Ashbee, Architect, Designer & Romantic Socialist*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London (1985); and, F. MacCarthy *Simple Life: C.R. Ashbee in the Cotswolds*, Lund Humphries, London (1981).

³⁹ This is Miss E. Spark who is mentioned as one of the "active" members of the Survey Committee in: Ernest Godman, editor, *The Old Palace of Bromley-by-Bow*, Third Monograph of the Committee for the Survey of the Memorials of Greater London, Edward Arnold, London (1902): p. 4.

⁴⁰ Penty puts in brackets in his Diary note: "see detailed explanation in last pages of this book." Penty Diary, p. 31. Whatever this note refers to – "last pages of this book" - is missing (or perhaps never written) in the diary. Perhaps, however, this was more likely to be the last pages of the book referred to. This note was evidently added later in different ink and in neater script.

⁴¹ Penty Diary, p. 35. It was not clear what were the reasons for this, though Spencer's papers in the Archives at Goldsmith might shed some light.

⁴² Charles Frederick Short. (1872-), architect. See: Antonia Brodie, Alison Felstead, Jonathan Franklin, Leslie Pinfield and Jane Oldfield *Directory of British Architects, 1834-1914, Vol 2: L-Z*, Continuum, London and New York, updated and expanded edition (2001): p. 607.

⁴³ Proposed Public Library, Fenton, Staffordshire, architects: Charles F. Short & Arthur Penty. See: www.archiseek.com/2009/1903-proposed-public-library-fenton-staffordshire/, accessed July 2012.

⁴⁴ Penty Diary, p. 33.

⁴⁵ Presumably through a fresh drafting of a proposal.

⁴⁶ Penty Diary, p. 34.

On September he was appointed Architectural Secretary to the Garden City Association, resigning in October 1904.⁴⁷ In 1899 this Association was formed by Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) to promote the propagation for and the development of Garden Cities. Howard had written *Tomorrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, 1898 (later revised as *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* in 1902). He and the Association advocated the creation of small, economically self-sufficient cities throughout the country, with the aim of halting urban sprawl and overcrowding. The Association was formed with a site at Letchworth, in Hertfordshire, chosen as the site of the first Garden City.⁴⁸ The Garden Cities Association later became the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA), an independent charity working to improve the art and science of planning. As such, it is England's oldest environmental charity.⁴⁹

There were looming problems in his professional life. In 1904 Penty confessed in his Diary that he had "great difficulty in getting architecture work."⁵⁰ So, through an introduction from Montague Fordham he joined Charles Spooner's⁵¹ furniture business, trading under the name of Elmdon & Co.⁵²

⁴⁷ Penty Diary, pp. 35; 37.

⁴⁸ Alexander Stuart Gray, Jean Breach, and Nicholas Breach *Edwardian Architecture: a Biographical Dictionary*, Wordsworth Editions Ltd., Ware [Hertfordshire, England] (1988): pp. 24-25.

⁴⁹ See [Garden City Association] *Letchworth* [Hertfordshire], First Garden City Ltd./Halton House, London (n.d., circa 1911).

⁵⁰ Penty Diary, p. 36.

⁵¹ Charles Sydney Spooner (1862-1938), architect, furniture-maker and teacher, was an adherent to the political and aesthetic ideas of William Morris. He co-wrote: Sir Charles Nicholson and Charles Spooner *Recent English and Ecclesiastical Architecture*, Technical Journals, Ltd, Westminster, London (1911). Charles Nicholson (1867-1949), was an extremely successful church architect. For a biographical sketch on Spooner, see: Alec Hamilton 'Who was Charles Spooner?', on-line biography (2009), www.ryeharbour.net/pdf/257.pdf, accessed June 2012.

⁵² Penty Diary, p. 36.

Penty was becoming agitated about what ailed the world. On November 24, 1904, he gave a lecture to the Junior Art Worker's Guild entitled the 'Present Situation in the Arts'.⁵³ In it he pointed out that the failure of the Arts and Crafts was due to the fact that they had created a supply of craftsmen and had left demand to take care of itself. This was the danger that Morris had countered through applying business skills to his work. In August 1905, Penty finished the book entitled *The Restoration of the Gild System* "after being at work on it after 3 years."⁵⁴

In April 1905 Elmdon & Co. held an exhibition of furniture at the Hall of Alpine Club.⁵⁵ But by August it was clear that the business would not be profitable. Penty attributed the failure of the application of Arts & Crafts ideas to the archaic nature of the design practiced; the circumstance that such work was not catalogued; and, the prejudice against the legitimate use of machinery, which made the work unnecessarily costly.⁵⁶ On the last point, Penty observed:

I found to my sorrow that machinery could not reduce cost except when used on an extensive scale and that [to] do the best we could the work could only be reduced slightly in cost⁵⁷

Penty wondered about the causes of his difficulties: He could not take seriously the theory that beauty could look after itself:⁵⁸ "I fear the difficulty ...[is] that the real cause is that commercialism has destroyed the market for well made

⁵³ Paper not yet found if, indeed, it survives.

⁵⁴ Penty's Diary, p. 38. The book was published early the following year.

⁵⁵ Charles Spooner and Arthur J. Penty *A Catalogue of Furniture made by Elmdon & Co. from designs by Charles Spooner & Arthur J Penty*, Martlet Press, London (circa 1905).

⁵⁶ Penty's Diary, p. 39.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁵⁸ W.R. Lethaby 'What Shall We Call Beautiful?' (1918), quoted in Brian Keeble, editor, *On the Nature and Significance of the Crafts*, W.R. Lethaby, Edward Johnston, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Temonos Academy, London (2005): p. 21.

furniture & that all the efforts of the Arts & Crafts towards new design has been to create a market for tasty rubbish. Side by side with the improvement of taste has gone a lowering of prices & it is no longer possible to make furniture properly & sell it.”⁵⁹ So he began to think about how to change the world.

In the *Restoration of the Gild System*,⁶⁰ Penty reflects that: “Success in architecture depended upon prestige, upon knowing the right people, the right sort of social contacts.”⁶¹ But he was not well connected. Thus:

It was while passing through these experiences that the Guild idea came to me. It was evident that the decline of the prosperity of that section of the public which was accustomed to give me work was immediately due to the spread of limited liability companies and the growth of big business...”⁶²

Penty resented the ‘system’ of work and social relationships. Whether he was unemployed or under-employed, however, he was never inactive. On March 21, 1906, E.S. Prior advised Penty of his election as a member of the Arts & Crafts Society.⁶³ In May, Orage gave a lecture to the Junior Art Worker’s Guild on ‘Gilds and Guilds’, proposing the formation of a Gilds’ Restoration League. It sparked some interest, but this fell away, because as Penty notes: “...neither of us had any money it could not be organised.”⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Penty’s Diary, p. 41.

⁶⁰ Arthur J. Penty *Restoration of the Gild System*, Swan Sonnenschein and Co. Ltd, London (1906).

⁶¹ Penty’s Memoirs (1934), Loc. Cit., p. 23.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Edward Schroeder Prior (1857-1932), architect and theorist, was a major figure in the arts and craft movement; he helped form the Art Workers’ Guild. As Slade Professor of Art at Cambridge he formed an architectural department there; his most famous work was *A History of Gothic Art in England*, George Bell & Sons, London (1900).

⁶⁴ The “it” in this sentence presumably means that the Guild Restoration League (GRL) floundered as its principals were penniless and unable to do much.

Penty's mind turned to potential new ways of living. He was not merely proposing to tinker around at the edges of liberal capitalist society; his goal was to fundamentally transform it. He did not believe that this could happen quickly or easily; and indeed it may not happen at all. But he believed that it would be a disaster for humanity if the effort was not attempted. "By advocating a restoration of the Guilds", he comments: "we challenged the ideas of progress and social evolution, which are at the root of the political fatalism and intellectual imbecility of the modern world. The breaking of that spell was a precedent condition of doing most things that were worth doing; it was the way to stop the rot."⁶⁵

In March 1908, Penty started as an assistant to Raymond Unwin⁶⁶ on the Hampstead Garden Suburb development, for which Edwin Lutyens⁶⁷ was consultant architect. The Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust was formed to counter the potential deleterious impact of a new extension of the Charing Cross to Hampstead Tube Railway to Golders Green.⁶⁸ Penty remained with Unwin until 1914. He noted:

The first job I did for him was the sketch design for Temple Fortune House & Arcade. But I did not do the working drawings at the time. Next

⁶⁵ Penty Memoirs (1934), Loc. Cit., p. 39.

⁶⁶ Andrew Saint 'Unwin, Sir Raymond (1863–1940)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2004). Raymond Unwin, M.H. Baillie Scott *Town Planning and Modern Architecture at the Hampstead Garden Suburb*, T. Fisher Unwin, London (1909). This section of the diary was clearly not written at the time. The reference to 1911 suggests it was written after this – so it is more of a review than an immediate record.

⁶⁷ Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944) was one of the greatest British architects of the 20th century. See: Arthur Stanley and George Butler *The Domestic Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, Antique Collectors' Club, (1950); Elizabeth Wilhide *Sir Edwin Lutyens: Designing in the English Tradition*, Pavillion (2000).

⁶⁸ A. Stuart Gray, Loc. Cit., p. 26. The local community invited the Garden City Association to become established there.

year I started with drawings of first block (Temple Fortune House). The second block (Temple Fortune Arcade) was not designed until 1911.⁶⁹

Of the vernacular style, Penty was to later observe: "The Hampstead Garden Suburb shows the influence of this purified tradition, which is to be seen at its best in the domestic work of Sir Edwin Lutyens."⁷⁰ He gave credit to Unwin, saying:

...interest in this subject began with the garden city movement and the propaganda of Dr. Raymond Unwin, who directed the attention of architects in this country to the literature of German and other Continental town planners. And what is more significant is that this literature was more particularly concerned to understand the principles underlying the planning of medieval towns which they had concluded were the result to a large extent of conscious planning and not a mere fortuitous arrangement.⁷¹

Thus he saw the adaption of old traditions as a dynamic process and never an experiment in replication.

In the summer 1908 holidays he attended the Fabian Summer School Llanbedr,⁷² where he met the Christian socialist and economist R.H. Tawney,⁷³ the pacifist

⁶⁹ Penty's Diary, p. 51.

⁷⁰ Arthur J. Penty 'Authority and Architecture in Liberty iii: The Arts and Crafts Movement', *The Architects' Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 1656 (October 13, 1926): p. 442.

⁷¹ Arthur J. Penty [Letter re A. Trystan Edwards] 'Authority and Liberty in Architecture', *The Architects' Journal*, Vol. 65, No. 1669 (January 12, 1927): pp. 788-789.

⁷² The Fabian Summer Schools were held in a large house in Llanbedr, North Wales. Beatrice Webb confesses in her diary about frustration with Mary Hankinson, the camp's organiser, gymnastic instructor and captain of the Fabian cricket team. Webb complained that too much time was spent on trivial pleasures and not enough on lectures. Ward and Hardy note that: "With a wonderful unconsciousness of the difficulty of organizing anything for anyone, Beatrice Webb wrote in her diary that the trouble with Miss Hankinson as general manager was that she wanted 'a co-operative country holiday made up, in the main, of organised games, excursions and

and campaigner for respect for the disabled, Mrs. Constance Smedley,⁷⁴ and Violet Leonard Pike (1885-1978), his future wife, whom he was to marry on January 15, 1916. Pike, a graduate of Vassar College and then an official of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, based in New York, was in the country for the Fabian School.⁷⁵

evening entertainments, with a few lectures and discussions thrown in to give subjects for conversation,' whereas 'Our conception is that of an organised school – teaching, learning and discussing, with some off-days and off-hours for reaction and social intercourse...'" Colin Ward and Dennis Hardy *Goodnight Campers!: The History of the British Holiday Camp*, Mansell Publishing Limited, London (1986): p. 21.

⁷³ Richard Henry Tawney (1880-1962) was the English economic historian and Christian socialist intellectual. For biographical assessments, see: Ross Terrill *R.H. Tawney and His Times: Socialism as Fellowship*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (1973); Anthony Wright *R.H. Tawney*, Manchester University Press, Manchester (1987) and Gary Armstrong and Tim Gray 'Three Fallacies in the Essentialist Interpretation of the Political Thought of R.H. Tawney' *Journal of Political Ideologies* Vol. 15, No. 2 (2010): pp. 161-174.

⁷⁴ Constance Smedley (1881-1941), author of over forty publications, was a pacifist, feminist, Christian Scientist and disabled. See: Grace Brockington 'Smedley, (Annie) Constance (1876–1941)', *Oxford Dictionary of Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2004).

⁷⁵ Violet Pike was the daughter of Henry Harvey and Edith Roe Pike. In the American civil war, Edith family, the Roes, were Empire loyalists; she was born of a bank manager father in London, Ontario. The Pikes were a family of British naval officers who had hailed from the Portsmouth area in England. For generations the eldest son of the Pike family went into the British Royal navy as an officer. Henry Harvey was the second son, and did not go into the navy. His father, as eldest son, was a naval officer who settled in Canada (New Brunswick) and brought his family over towards the end of his career. Violet's uncle Ned had a farm there, where she and her brother Harvey spent their summers; she regaled her children with vivid stories of canoeing on the Kennebecasis River, a tributary of the Saint John River in southern New Brunswick, Canada. Henry Pike made the family fortune in sugar importing from Cuba to New York; Harvey took over the family business. After marriage, Violet assisted AJ with some of his books and, financially, her family supported them. Henry and Edith braved German submarines to come over to the UK for the wedding in January 1916. As Henry knew Penty was an architect, he gave them the money to build their dream house. Penty designed and started to build the house, Hillway House, at Ditchling, Sussex, a centre of the arts and crafts, and then decided he wanted to live in London. (In later life, apparently, Violet would laugh that they never could have afforded to live there.) Penty oversaw the completion of Hillway. The house was bought by the artist A.J. Rowley and was eventually completed in 1930 with modifications to meet Rowley's requirements. See: www.rowleygallery.com/History.aspx, accessed August 2012. Arthur J. Penty's *The Elements of Domestic Design* extensively refers to the detail from this house. AJ and Violet eventually bought 59 Church Street, Old Isleworth. They moved in March 1926 following extensive modernisations including running water and electricity.) Violet became a Catholic in 1927. She wrote articles for Dorothy Day's *Catholic Worker* newspaper [New York] under the pseudonym of "Mary Richard". Sources: Notes of Conversation between Mrs. Mary Williams and Michael Easson, April 2012; supplemented by recollections of Mary Williams through an email: Kate Williams to Michael Easson, August 23, 2012. See: [Obituary] 'Henry Harvey Pike, Sugar Importer, 88, Executive of New York Firms, in Business Since 1876', *New York Times* (February 1, 1944): p. 19; 'Death Notice: Penty, Violet Leonard', *The Times* [London, England] (July 19, 1978): p. 32.

He continued with Unwin and made working drawings and details of Temple Fortune House which were then carried into execution.⁷⁶ In the middle of 1911, Penty designed Arcade House, Temple Fortune.⁷⁷ In 1912 he also designed Temple Fortune Court for Unwin.⁷⁸ Jackson notes that “Penty was an expert on medieval building and was probably given a free hand by Unwin.”⁷⁹ He identifies Penty with the first block of flats and stairtower.⁸⁰

Into an uncertain economic climate, in March 1914, Penty left Unwin having been with him for nearly six years. Apart from working with his father’s firm, the work with Unwin was the only other period of continuous employment that Penty experienced. He observed:

When I went to him Lutyens, who was the consulting architect to the suburb, would not pass his designs, he had to redraw them 3 or 4 times over before he would pass them – which suggests the aim of Lutyens was to kick him off the suburb, but when I began to design for him everything went through with scarcely an alteration.⁸¹

But there was another building slump; he was not to know it, but World War I was about to break out. In September 1914 Penty got a job at the Architects’

⁷⁶ One account of Unwin’s plans for Temple Fortune notes: “Penty is said also to have designed Temple Fortune Court, a tall plum-coloured block of flats at the entrance to Temple Fortune Lane, in which the Georgian conventions are enlivened by a bold diagonal chamfering of the gables.” See: Hampstead Garden Suburb tour, www.hgs.org.uk/tour/tour00045000.html, accessed June 2012.

⁷⁷ Penty’s Diary, p. 56. Temple Fortune is a place in the now London Borough of Barnet to the north of Golders Green; it became principally a shopping district used by residents of the Hampstead Garden Suburb. Temple Fortune Court 1-16, Hendon, is a Grade II listing, English Heritage Building ID: 462825. See: www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-462825-temple-fortune-court-1-16-hendon, accessed June 2012.

⁷⁸ Penty’s Diary, p. 57.

⁷⁹ Frank Jackson *Sir Raymond Unwin, Architect, Planner and Visionary*, A. Zwemmer Ltd., London (1985): p. 92.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁸¹ Penty’s Diary, p. 60.

Department (Housing Section) of the London County Council staying to July 1915.⁸² This was not a happy experience. He wrote: "...the architects who do the actual designing receive no recognition and have therefore no status anything may happen to them."⁸³ Then in November 1915 he got a job in Advertising Section of the Underground Railway. In this world of unsatisfactory employment experiences, Penty searched for influence; he wanted to meet like-minded intellectuals. He observed: "I first met Ramiro de Maeztu⁸⁴ ...at the Café Royal. He was with Hulme.⁸⁵ It would be in the autumn I began to frequent the Café Royal because I heard that the young National Guildsmen frequented it and I wanted to get in touch with them."⁸⁶

In June 1917, Penty left the Underground to join the staff of the Coal Controller (Board of Trade). While there, in the summer of 1918, he wrote *Guilds & The*

⁸² Penty's Diary, pp. 63-64.

⁸³ Penty Memoirs (1934), Loc. Cit., p. 47.

⁸⁴ Penty's Diary, p. 67. Ramiro de Maeztu (1874-1936), social theorist and journalist, wrote 84 articles for *The New Age* journal and claimed sympathy for the Guild Socialist ideas of the time. Articles he wrote from 1915 to 1916 were included in his book: Ramiro de Maeztu *Authority, Liberty and Function in the Light of the War*, George Allen and Unwin, London (1916). In July 1936, in the early days of the Spanish Civil War, de Maeztu was arrested near Madrid by leftist militias and thereafter imprisoned without trial. A report in *The Times* referred to this: "He knows of no charge against him." On October 29, 1936 de Maeztu was executed by a firing squad of Republican soldiers. His wife and teenage only child escaped to England. An only son, Juan Manuel de Maeztu Hill (1918-1999) returned to Spain during the Civil War to fight the Left and avenge his father's death. De Maeztu's grand-daughter assisted on biographical detail: Email: *Almudena de Maeztu to Michael Easson*, January 28, 2012 and subsequent emails. See also: Anonymous] 'An Uncensored Dispatch: Madrid in War-Time. City of Nerves' *The Times* [London, England] (August 22, 1936): p. 10. Martin Nozick 'An Examination of Ramiro de Maeztu' *PMLA* Vol. 69, No. 4 (September, 1954): pp. 719-740 and Ricardo Landeira *Ramiro de Maeztu*, Twayne Publishers, Boston (1978).

⁸⁵ Thomas Ernest Hulme (1883-1917), British critic, poet, philosopher and soldier, contributed to *The New Age*, translated Sorel and other writers, served in the Great War, having volunteered as an artilleryman in 1914. He was injured in 1916 and returned to battle, dying in action in Nieuport, Belgium, in 1917. In *The New Age* his 'Notebooks', being a collection of diary entries, thinking aloud thoughts on philosophy and side notes on the war, published pseudonymously, were widely read. For a collection of his *oeuvre*, some published as "North Staff" and "Thomas Gratton", see: *The Collected Writings of T.E. Hulme*, edited and with an introduction by Karen Csengeri, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1994). For a survey of his life and intellectual significance, see: Edward P. Comentale and Andrzej Gasiorek, editors, *T.E. Hulme and the Question of Modernism*, Ashgate, Aldershot (2006).

⁸⁶ Penty's Diary, p. 65.

Social Crisis which was published in 1919.⁸⁷ Later in 1918, Penty commenced writing *A Guildsman's Interpretation of History* which began to appear serially in the *New Age*. In March 1919 he left Coal and got a job with another firm,⁸⁸ but he mostly he devoted himself to writing. How to translate ideas into something practical, consumed intellectuals, unionists and socialists. Penty noted that on June 17, 1919 he met Malcolm Sparkes⁸⁹ and Thomas Foster of Building Trade Parliament.⁹⁰ There was about to be an opportunity to put ideas into motion. Early in 1920 Penty became excited by the development of building guilds – the first substantial move to new guilds since the Middle Ages. He excitedly noted that in February 1920, the Manchester building trade operatives formed a Guild and began to execute a housing scheme. This was announced in the *Manchester Guardian*.⁹¹ On February 16, 1920, there was a meeting in Kingsway Hall to found a Building Guild in London. Penty wanted to become involved. On February 23, he met Sparkes and the Coles' to discuss his scheme for the London Guild, whose formation was announced in the *Daily News* on May 27, 1920. On July 6, Penty was elected to its executive. On May 28, he was elected President of the Architects' and Surveyors' Assistants' Professional Union.⁹² At the May

⁸⁷ Arthur J. Penty *Guilds and the Social Crisis*, G. Allen & Unwin, London (1919).

⁸⁸ Parr & Sons. Thomas Henry Nowell Parr (1864-1933) created an architectural practice with his son, John Nowell Parr (d. 1975). See biographical reference in: Lynn F. Pearson *British Breweries: An Architectural History*, Hambleton Press, London (1989): p. 183.

⁸⁹ Malcolm Sparkes (1881-1933), was a Quaker social reformer and organiser of the Manchester Building Guild. He wrote various pamphlets extolling worker control of industry, including: Malcolm Sparkes *A Memorandum on Industrial Self-Government. Together with a Draft Scheme for a Builders' National Industrial Parliament*, Harris and Sons, London (1917); *How Socialists Would Run Industry: ILP Program, Pamphlet No. 5*, Independent Labour Party, London (n.d., circa 1920s); *Modern Industry: The Christian Line*, Student Christian Movement, London (1927).

⁹⁰ Cf. Garfield V. Cox 'The English Building Guilds: An Experiment in Industrial Self-Government' *Journal of Political Economy* Vol. 29, No. 10 (December, 1921): pp. 777-790.

⁹¹ 'The Guild Building Project', *The Guardian* [Manchester, England] (January 21, 1920): p. 6; 'The Building Guild', *The Guardian* [Manchester, England] (January 31, 1920): p. 9.

⁹² Formed in 1919, the Architects' and Surveyors' Assistants' Professional Union became the Association of Architects, Surveyors and Technical Assistants (AASTA) in 1924. In 1942 it became the Association of Building Technicians (ABT). On 1 July 1970 it amalgamated with the

National Guilds League Conference, Penty was elected to the Executive but resigned on December 12, after a pro-Soviet resolution was passed. In early 1921 Penty began to write *Guilds, Trade & Agriculture*.⁹³ The early chapters were published in the *Daily News*. In autumn 1921 he wrote *Post Industrialism* and Chesterton agreed to write the preface.⁹⁴

There were dark clouds ahead. On November 13, 1922, a receiver was appointed for the National Building Guild.⁹⁵ On May 12, 1923, the National Guild League, at a Conference held in Caxton Hall, passed a resolution to wind up. It was a consequence of the failure of the Builders Guilds. For Penty, this was a source of deep depression.⁹⁶ In Penty's mind, the building guild organisations tended to become strangled by committees.⁹⁷ He later summed up:

The success which attended National Guild propaganda led, immediately after the War, to the organization of Building Guilds by the workers in the building trades, for the purpose of executing the housing schemes, which were being promoted by the Government and municipalities, to make good the housing shortage consequent upon the suspension of building operations during the War. At first the Building Guilds met with success.

Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers (ASW) and the Amalgamated Society of Painters and Decorators (ASPD) to form the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers and Painters (ASWP). On 1 July 1971 the society amalgamated with the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers (AUBTW) to form the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, Painters and Builders (ASWPB). In December 1971 the Society changed its name to the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT). The records are held in the Archives of Warwick University. See: www2.warwick.ac.uk/services/library/mrc/catalogues_old/unions/078bt.pdf, accessed July 2012.

⁹³ Penty's Diary, p. 76. Arthur J. Penty *Guilds, Trade & Agriculture*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London (1921). Most of the book had been published in *The Daily News*.

⁹⁴ Penty's Diary, p. 77. G.K. Chesterton 'Introduction' to Arthur J. Penty *Post-Industrialism*, G. Allen & Unwin Ltd., London (1922): pp. 7-10.

⁹⁵ Penty's Diary, p. 80.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Houses were built for various municipalities at prices below those asked by private contractors and the standard of work was beyond question. Nevertheless after functioning for about three years they came to grief. Experience of the Building Guilds throws grave doubt upon the validity of National Guild theory, for though the Building Guilds were a variation of the National Guild idea, yet for all who had eyes to see there could be no doubt that the failure disproved National Guild theory.⁹⁸

Aspects of Penty's analysis here need to be treated cautiously, as he was writing towards the end of his career, cranky and disappointed with erstwhile colleagues and dismissive of democracy and worker participation – the very ideas he had spent the previous thirty years championing.

Penty's life did not end in the mid 1920s. He continued to develop ideas and write on various subjects. He continued to develop his perspective on industrialism. Much of his writings on economic matters and the advocacy of an autarky are weakly argued. But space here does not allow a critique. At his best, Penty prompted people to think afresh about the society they lived in. Just as the word 'post-industrial' means little on its own, sustainability also requires thinking about a vision and associated action. The next Chapter discusses this.

⁹⁸ Penty's Memoirs (1934), Loc. Cit., p. 64.

Chapter 3: Sustainability Now and Then

The Idea of Sustainability

The scope of this thesis limits what can be addressed on sustainability, which may take many forms including the humble respect for existing structures and adapting their use, the recycling of materials, the sourcing and use of natural and passive energy sources. At a more elaborate level, sustainability includes computerised systems to detect and respond to the efficient use of a building's energy needs. These are specific instances of the application of the principle. Although a prevailing idea is that sustainable solutions require technical solutions, Dittmar notes that, in contrast, there is "[a] second, smaller strand of thought [that] views sustainability as being associated with the 'less-is-more', 'back-to-the-land' movements of the sixties and seventies."¹ Actually, much earlier, in Penty's time, there was a similar approach to frugality and living within our means within our environment. This Chapter will sketch what it means to be sustainable and relate that to Penty's ideas.

Without reference to real examples, sustainability becomes a buzzword, an all-encompassing idea onto which many different aspirations and agendas have been projected. Sustainability relates to actions. All relevant decisions potentially touch on conflict and choice. Peter Marcuse suggests that 'sustainability' can be

¹ Hank Dittmar 'Sustainability and Tradition: Two Sides of the Coin', in [various] *Tradition & Sustainability*, The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment/Compendium Publishing Limited, London (2011): p. 8.

“a camouflaged trap for the well-intentioned unwary.”² As a general guide, the more sweeping the statement about the term, the less it might actually mean. Therefore, one should always ‘look behind’ statements or claims for implications and unintended consequences. There are always distributive, political and cultural dimensions to dealing with environmental problems.³ Specific actions need to consider such implications. Importantly, “[i]n the first place, sustainability is not a goal; it is a constraint on the achievement of other goals”, so “[n]o one who is interested in change wants to sustain things as they are now. Taken as a goal by itself, ‘sustainability’ only benefits those who already have everything they want.”⁴ This is to radically tackle any complacent interpretation of the Brundtland Commission definition.⁵

When defined loosely, sustainability can brush over the many conflicts between generations now living, not simply between generations now and in the future. Sustainability, defined narrowly, disguises the conflicts that lie behind particular practices and can become an alibi to ignore the implications and wider settings of such proposals. Indeed, sustainable urbanism is a way of life: “The pattern of land use, of land values, rentals and ownership, the nature and functioning of the physical structures, of housing, of transportation and communications facilities,

² Peter Marcuse ‘Sustainability is Not Enough’, *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (October 1998): pp. 103-112; reprinted in Marco Keiner, editor, *The Future of Sustainability*, Springer, Dordrecht (2006): pp. 55-68.

³ Alf Hornborg ‘Zero-Sum World Challenges in Conceptualizing Environmental Load Displacement and Ecologically Unequal Exchange in the World-System’, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 50, No. 3-4 (June/August, 2009): p. 237.

⁴ Peter Marcuse (2006), Loc. Cit., p. 58.

⁵ See Chapter 1 of this thesis, p. 10.

of public utilities – these and many other phases of the physical mechanism of the city are not isolated... but are affected by and affect the urban mode of life.”⁶

Marcuse argues that: “How nice it would be if we could ... escape the unpleasant business of facing conflicting interests, having to deal with the unequal distribution of power, the necessities of redistribution, and the defeats that accompany the victories? No wonder ‘sustainability’ is an attractive slogan!”⁷ This strikingly emphasises that all change is political.

The goal is to consider holistically the context and implications of a proposal.

‘What to do?’ can be elusive. The problem of lip-service or ‘green wash’⁸ and confusion about specific objectives are manifest. One study observed that:

“Despite the wide usage and popular appeal of the concept of sustainability in UK policy, it does not appear to have challenged the status quo in urban regeneration...”⁹ For example, in a case-based research study of the regeneration of Eastside in Birmingham, UK, the authors conclude that the “[d]ocuments guide, but people implement regeneration - and the disparate conceptualisations of stakeholders demonstrate even less coherence than policy.”¹⁰

⁶ Louis Wirth ‘Urbanism as a Way of Life’ (1934), in Louis Wirth *On Cities and Social Life, Selected Papers*, edited by Albert J. Reiss, Jr, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London (1964): p. 79. In this quote Wirth was merely referring to urban life; but in all the aspects he details, there is a connection to potential sustainable options.

⁷ Peter Marcuse (2006), *Loc. Cit.*, p. 62.

⁸ On green wash, the misleading dissemination of information that inaccurately presents policies and/or actions as positive for the environment, see: Catherine A. Ramus and Ivan Montiel ‘When are Corporate Environmental Policies a Form of Greenwashing?’, *Business Society*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (December 2005): pp. 377-414.

⁹ D. Rachel Lombardi, Libby Porter, Austin Barber and Chris D.F. Rogers ‘Conceptualising Sustainability in UK Urban Regeneration: a Discursive Formation’, *Urban Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (February, 2011): p. 273.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

This suggests that a robust concept is to think in terms of 'resilience'. Buildings should be "built for change."¹¹ Sustainable urban form must be robust enough to withstand change and also adapt to it; to respond to change, and be able to change over time; to be retrofitted or converted. This is true whether in reference to a building or to an organisational form in a city; all need to be able to adapt or be flexible in response to environmental change.

One can distinguish between Deep and Soft Sustainability, between a radical change in ways of life versus tinkering with and moderating the impact of unsustainable practices.¹² This is the classic dilemma – to reform or to prevent, reverse or stop problems manifest in existing ways of life. Penty had his foot in both camps; his ideal was extreme, but he especially wanted to drive his community to change here and now.

Penty and the English Tradition of Sustainability

A visit to the United States in the early 1920s saw him opining on the contrasting Gothic and Classical revivals underway there and he notes the phenomenon of the skyscraper, at first almost unaffected by either tradition:

Owing its existence to purely commercial considerations it apparently defied architectural treatment. It remained 'the packing box on end', ugly

¹¹ Stewart Brand *How Buildings Learn, What Happens After They're Built*, Viking, New York (1994): p. 190.

¹² This is to elude to Arne Naess's nomenclature of Deep and Shallow Ecology. See: Arne Naess 'The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement: A Summary', *Inquiry*, Vol. 18 (1983): p. 95.

and unashamed, and doubts were expressed whether the problems of design it presented could ever be fully overcome.¹³

One might expect thereafter some eloquent denunciation; instead, Penty observes that “...the skyscrapers that have been built of recent years are no longer gaunt utilitarian buildings with no pretensions to beauty or covered with meretricious ornament, but buildings of real architectural merit.”¹⁴ He comments that:

One of the things that is apt to puzzle the English architect when he visits America is to see how well architecture and industrialism appear to get on together. For in England industrialism has always exhibited a spirit inimical to the very existence of the arts, while it has been accompanied by the apotheosis of mediocrity and stupidity, and has therefore presented itself to him as an enemy to be cajoled if not to be fought.¹⁵

In the United States he saw economic and zoning forces driving value – and also creativity in design:

...this architecture is finally a purely economic creation, owing its existence to the development of mechanical invention, advertisement, the desire to capitalize ground values and the new zoning law, which limits the height of the cornice line on the street while permitting the building to rise to any height the site will allow, so long as it lies within a line drawn

¹³ Arthur J. Penty ‘Where Architecture is Alive, Part I’, *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 3, No. 25 (November 1924) p. 23.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Arthur J. Penty ‘Where Architecture is Alive, Part III’, *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 3, No. 27 (January 1925): p. 116.

at a certain angle, and thus encourages a pyramidal shape for the upper storeys which is extremely effective and fruitful of architectural effect.¹⁶

While Penty provides admiring remarks about this building form in New York, Chicago and elsewhere in the United States, he does not advocate skyscrapers in London, referring to the evil of traffic generation and “[t]hen there are the problems of lighting, ventilation and sewerage...”¹⁷ This was to put matters in environmental terms. So Penty thinks that the amenity of the structure and its clash with the local vernacular mitigates against its imitation. Whereas it might be said that “[i]f Gothic architecture can be adapted to the skyscraper it can be adapted to anything”,¹⁸ this does not license universal replication of what the Americans had achieved. Penty’s arguments are akin to modern sustainability terms in the sense that his discussion considers economic factors, the impact of a building, its relationship with its surrounds and its environmental consequences; all of which are aspects of sustainable practice.

Penty came to think that:

...there can be no remedy apart from a return to fundamentals, to a new way of life and simpler conditions of society; in a word to what we call the ‘Normal Society’. The social structure would need to be rebuilt from its basis in agriculture, art and handicraft revived, the subdivision of labour abolished, the use of machinery restricted, and the whole supported and controlled by organization on a Guild or Corporate basis.¹⁹

¹⁶ Arthur J. Penty ‘Where Architecture is Alive, Part I’ (1924), *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

T.S. Eliot described this option as “the only salvation for society is to return to a simpler mode of life, scrapping all the constructions of the modern world that we can bring ourselves to dispense with. This is an extreme statement of the neo-Ruskinian view, which was put forward with much vigour by the late A.J. Penty.”²⁰

Mass production theoretically should lower the cost of production; but there are associated conflicts. Elhanani comments that “...the principle conflict is between the uniformity, whole or partial, that is essential to wholesale/mass produced housing and the ideal ...concept of ‘the right and the overriding value of individual expression’.”²¹ Referring to Penty, Elhanani says that in modern industrialisation: “[a]rchitecture is ousted from society, and since it is the mother of the arts – the other arts which depend upon it will be ousted alongside it. This is bound to happen once the appreciation for the ugly becomes decisive, for experience has shown that none of the arts can withstand the impact of the machine and mass production.”²²

Penty’s take on modernity was original. Though his scholarship sometimes earned derision,²³ it was his insight that mattered most. Penty stood on the moss at the bottom of modernism’s great waterfall, cursing its tragic arc, diminishing neither its great height nor its pathos. For it was a great height. Suddenly as a

²⁰ T.S. Eliot *The Idea of a Christian Society*, Faber and Faber Limited, London (1939): p. 31.

²¹ Abba Elhanani ‘Architectural Problems of Large-Scale Building’, Paper to the Housing and Architecture Session, 1st World Congress of Engineers and Architects in Israel (1967); p. 2.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²³ Hearnshaw dismisses Penty’s scholarship and knowledge of the ancient and medieval worlds, commenting that: “of any detailed knowledge... he is obviously entirely innocent.” F.J.C. Hearnshaw, editor and contributor, *Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilization*, G.G. Harrap & Co, London (1921): p. 15.

result of increasing industrialism, architecture was shackled in new chains. Penty put this down to modernism's roots, its place as a rich man's luxury. We can agree with Levenson that the term modernism denotes "... an oppositional culture, a heterogenous minority culture;"²⁴ but also "the self-succeeding, self-cancelling pursuit of novelty."²⁵

In contrast, Penty wanted to rewrite the rules of the world so as to save it. For a man of deeply cultivated and even elitist tastes, Penty was eloquent in his defence of ordinary people. He was poor himself. Life had dealt him harsh blows, and he survived through the charity of friends and his wife's family's good fortune.

Penty recognized that his restoration of the guilds "came to be associated with the Arts and Crafts movement; and it was there that I found it like a disembodied spirit – a sentiment in favour of Guilds, but nothing more."²⁶ He continues that:

...it was becoming evident that the Arts and Crafts movement would be defeated if it pursued its aims in isolation. The revival of handicraft challenged economic evolution, the trend of which was not to unite the artist and craftsmen but to separate them still further; and it would not be long before the choice would have to be made between abandoning the revival altogether, and broadening the basis of the movement by the inclusion of political and economic objects.²⁷

He saw the need for politics. In Harvey's phrase, "Utopias of spatial form get perverted from their noble objectives by having to compromise with the social

²⁴ Michael Levenson *Modernism*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London (2011): p. 214.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

²⁶ Arthur J. Penty *Memoirs* (1934), Loc. Cit., p. 9.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

processes they are meant to control.”²⁸ But Penty bit off more than he could chew. He was not proficient at economic interpretation or understanding. Some of Penty’s works were disparaged as anti-free trade and economically unsophisticated. The *Economist* noted of Penty’s *Protection and the Social Problem* (1926) that: “This book aims at showing that Free Trade is ‘... a superstition indefensible in theory and mischievous in practice.’ If this prepares the reader for a deluge of economic fallacy of a well-worn type, he will not be disappointed.”²⁹ A saving grace was Penty’s awareness of some of the problems of Protection.

Penty argued against those in the Arts and Crafts movement who believed in “the deduction which so many did at the time – that the production of work of aesthetic excellence, especially in architecture, is impossible apart from the practice of handicraft; for such is demonstrably not the case.”³⁰ He notes that:

Even Ruskin in his calmer moments did not assert this. On the contrary in *The Nature of Gothic* he emphatically says, that while “on a small scale and in design which cannot be mathematically defined one man's thought can never be expressed by another, on a large scale, and in work determinable by line and rule it is indeed both possible and necessary that the thoughts of one man should be carried out by the labour of others.” Unfortunately however in a peroration a little later on he says “the Architect should work in the mason’s yard with his men.” And that bit of extravagance

²⁸ David Harvey *Spaces of Hope*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh (2000): p. 179.

²⁹ [Anonymous] ‘Books Received’ *Economist* [London, England] (June 5, 1926). *The Economist Historical Archive 1843-2006*, accessed January, 2012.

³⁰ Arthur J. Penty *Memoirs* (1934), Loc. Cit., pp. 10-11.

became the faith of the Arts and Crafts movement while his considered judgment was ignored.³¹

Although it would not be necessary for the architect to be a craftsman to produce good design, it was necessary that he should know how things are made, how his designs could be carried into execution. In that way, like Morris, Penty thought that building quality would improve “...in sharp contrast to the ostentation and pretentiousness of much mid-Victorian building.”³² In such ambitions there was a need to think through how society might facilitate such an outcome. So this is where we shall now turn – to discuss Penty’s idea of ‘post-industrial society’.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³² Charles Harvey and Jon Press *William Morris, Design and Enterprise in Victorian Britain*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York (1991): p. 32.

Chapter 4 Penty's Post Industrialism

Penty believed that “society [had] plunged light-heartedly into the perils of industrialisation, with little thought as to the future.”¹ He wanted a post-industrial world to reverse some of its deleterious consequences upon modern life.

In contrast, Daniel Bell in his introduction to *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (1973) says that in finalising his manuscript he had come across Penty's views in an obscure and forgotten publication, noting the coincidence that they both used the same phrase in different ways: “I have recently discovered that the phrase occurs in the title of a book by Arthur J. Penty *Old Worlds for New: A Study of the Post Industrial State* (London, 1917)...”, noting that “[he] called for a return to the decentralized, small workshop artisan society, ennobling work, which he called the “post-industrial state!”² The exclamation mark was for emphasis. For Bell saw industrialisation in positive terms, as technological progress, innovation, positive change, in contrast to ideas of exploitative capitalism and Marxist interpretations including the so-called inevitable emisseration and a breaking down of society due to the internal contradictions of capitalism.

Where did Penty's concept come from? How does it differ from Bell's? First, it might be useful to note the origin of the phrase. Marien notes that “the earliest reference to post-industrialism that I have been able to find is in an

¹ Arthur J. Penty *Old Worlds for New: A Study of the Post-Industrial State*, Allen and Unwin, London (1917): pp. 161-162.

² Daniel Bell *The Coming of Post Industrial Society. A Venture in Social Forecasting*, Basic Books, Inc., New York (1973): Fn 45 at p. 37.

advertisement for an anthology, *Essays in Post-Industrialism* edited by Coomaraswamy and Penty, that appeared in the end pages of a 1913 edition of Hilaire Belloc's *The Servile State*.³ In Penty's Introduction to *Post-Industrialism* he acknowledges Coomaraswamy, the geologist, art historian and social theorist, for coining the phrase.⁴ Penty's Diary mentions an earlier date; September 1912, when he met A.K. Coomaraswamy⁵ and they apparently agreed to co-operate on a volume 'Essays in Post-Industrialism'.⁶ This was to be published by T.N. Foulis,⁷ a firm that had published numerous, high-quality books, including Dr. Oscar Levy's ten volume complete edition of Nietzsche's works. In 1914 however, Alfred Orage admonished the publisher for disfiguring a cheap edition of *Beyond Good and Evil* with its note describing Nietzsche as "the Preacher of War"⁸ – as if wartime obliged some crack at German militarism. The publishing business encountered economic difficulties during the War, including extra expenses, paper supply shortages and an uncertain market. One assumes that this is why the publication was 'pulled', although it must have been a close run decision, as

³ Michael Marien 'Two Visions of Post-Industrial Society', *Futures*, Vol. 5, Issue 5 (October 1977): p. 417. Marien was referring to the US second edition of Belloc's work, LeRoy Phillips, Boston, (1913). See Fn9, p. 428 of Marien. None of the UK editions feature this or a similar advertisement. In the United States, LeRoy Phillips was to be the publisher for the anthology edited by Coomaraswamy and Penty. T.N. Foulis was to be the UK publisher.

⁴ Arthur J. Penty *Post Industrialism*, George Allen and Unwin, London (1922): p. 14.

⁵ Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy (1877-1947) was born in Sri Lanka (then called Ceylon) of Ceylonese Tamil and English parents and in 1879 moved to and was educated in England, obtaining in 1906 a D.Sc from UCL for his work on Ceylonese geology. He wrote widely on metaphysics, art, philosophy and social theory. For an assessment, mainly from a literary perspective, see: Vishwanath S. Naravane *Ananda K. Coomaraswamy*, Twayne Publishers (1977); Roger Lipsey *Coomaraswamy: His Life and Work*, volume three of a series of three, the earlier books collecting and editing certain of Coomaraswamy's writings, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Guildford (1977).

⁶ Penty Diary, p. 57. Penty dates his meeting with Coomaraswamy as on September 16th, 1912.

⁷ T.N. Foulis was the Scottish publishing house founded in 1903 by brothers Thomas and Douglas A Foulis. By 1905 it had adopted the title of T.N. Foulis and was based at 3 Frederick Street, Edinburgh. The firm slumped during World War I and in 1924 was taken over by G.T. Marshall (Henley printers). The new company was called G.T. Foulis & Co. See: www.booksandwriters.co.uk/writer/F/foulis-t-n.asp, accessed June 2012.

⁸ Alfred Orage [published as "R.H.C."] 'Readers and Writers', *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 16, No. 6 (December 10, 1914): pp. 149-150. Perhaps Foulis thought that the caricature in the blurb might boost sales – perhaps a sign of economic desperation in a hitherto high brow firm.

we now know it reached an advanced stage of production for a book in those days – page proofs.⁹

Rose refers to the volume of essays jointly edited by Coomaraswamy and Penty¹⁰ Her brief account rests on Lipsey's work¹¹ and perceptively states that "[Penty's] use of it ...counter[ed] the criticisms of some Marxists that the true target of socialism was not industrialism but capitalism."¹² Penty wanted to suggest that Marx had a too optimistic view of modern machinery. Rose wryly notes that usually theorists "...of the post-industrial society have used the prefix 'post' to designate a development of industrialism rather than a break from it."¹³ But the latter was Penty's meaning. He was thinking of industrialisation in terms of mechanisation and exploitative capitalism; for him, post-industrial meant a society of a simpler form, literally what comes after the world we now live in. So, with various uses of the phrase, it is essential to be on guard for its various meanings. For example, and in contrast to Penty, Reisman refers to the post-industrial in terms of affluence, rather than scarcity.¹⁴ Ferkiss suggests that in many uses, the phrase is almost meaningless.¹⁵

⁹ See pp. 8-9 of this thesis and: <http://essaysinpostindustrialism.blogspot.com>, accessed May, 2012.

¹⁰She relies on Lipsey. Email: Margaret A. Rose to Michael Easson, May 3, 2012. Twenty years ago, unlike today, it was almost impossible to comprehensively check, through libraries across the world, whether a book had actually made it to publication.

¹¹ Margaret A. Rose (1991): p. 22.

¹² Rose, Loc. Cit., p. 23.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ David Reisman 'Leisure and Work in Post-Industrial Society', in E. Larrabee and R. Meyersohn, editors, *Mass Leisure*, Glencoe [Illinois] (1958): pp: 363-385.

¹⁵ Victor Ferkiss 'Daniel Bell's Concept of Post-Industrial Society: Theory, Myth, and Ideology', *The Political Science Reviewer*, Vol. 9 (Fall 1979): pp. 61-102.

Part of Penty's thinking on industrialism was covered in his essay 'Architecture and Industrialism' which was to be published in the Coomaraswamy and Penty book.¹⁶ There he discusses the direction in which a conscious rejuvenation of the traditions of the architecture of the past might lead the profession:

It was held that such differences of opinion as did exist among architects would gradually be overcome by a closer and closer study of old work. In fact, architects were to aim at mastering the old styles of architecture so completely as to rise superior to the trammels of any: so that while their work would draw its inspiration from the great works of the past, it would gradually ...take on a quality of the present and the future. [thus] architecture would become once more instinctive and free in its expression.¹⁷

But he suggests a crucial limitation of this seemingly optimistic perspective: it seems merely to apply to those architects engaged upon ecclesiastical and domestic work. But the world had changed. In the late 19th century onwards there was a decline of church building while there was a demand for commercial buildings of a more expensive kind. The major architectural opportunities were increasingly associated with city work while the bulk of domestic work was conducted by local builders. Penty states:

The fact that sites in the city are so expensive, makes it necessary to sacrifice everything to the one aim of securing a maximum of accommodation if the buildings are to be a commercial success, for if they

¹⁶ As one is dealing with the uncorrected page proofs, in fairness to Penty, he might have revised and altered certain passages and thoughts. Some grammatical and spelling errors have been corrected in the quotations from this essay.

¹⁷ Arthur J. Penty 'Architecture and Industrialism', in Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Arthur J. Penty, editors, *Essays in Post-Industrialism: A Symposium of Prophecy Concerning the Future of Society* (1914): p. 121

are not, the architect will not be employed again. Further, as the structure and framework of the building are made up of steel and concrete, it becomes impossible for the architect to make his architectural treatment the natural expression of structural necessity ... Hence, it has come about that architectural treatment of city buildings has assumed the form of a decorative veneer.¹⁸

Penty is extreme in his characterisation that the “success which [the architect] obtains in practice is proportionate in every case to his skill in concealing the fraud.”¹⁹ This is surely a ridiculous exaggeration. He found form without substance aesthetically appalling and wasteful.²⁰ He assesses that:

The present age is abnormal... It is industrialism which has aggregated us in large towns and thus created the problems which engineering seeks to solve. ...[T]he worship of speed and money has its roots in the utter emptiness of modern life – in its spiritual and moral bankruptcy.²¹

Penty concludes: “These insoluble problems with which architecture is faced are due to industrialism and to nothing else.”²² He proposes that:

The art of reason demands an architecture. An art of instinct demands a race of craftsman. The craftsman then was an artist and the artist a craftsman. The class division between them which the modern world takes for granted was then unknown. In the building of our cathedrals no

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 122-123.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 123.

²⁰ A.J. Penty ‘Competitive Waste in Architecture’ *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 1, No. 18 (August 29, 1907): pp. 277-278.

²¹ Arthur J. Penty ‘Architecture and Industrialism’, Loc. Cit., p. 128.

²² Ibid.

architect in the modern sense – that is, a man who designs and supervises every detail from start to finish – was employed.²³

Penty lamented that in modern training, the student “having been taught to regard architecture as the profession of the superman, and imagining themselves as of the elect they appear to think it beneath their dignity to give their thought to mere building...”²⁴ In contrast, he argued that architecture throughout the Middle Ages was a communal art – “the visible embodiment of spiritual traditions and aspirations.”²⁵ In Lethaby’s words: “Step by step with the assumption of power by the craft guilds in the Free Towns, architecture, that is, the harmonious association of all the crafts – progressed, until the towns of Europe were not mere squalid heaps of brick and mortar, but great organic works of art.”²⁶ Penty sees that “it is better to have many skilful and free craftsmen than a few brilliant architects”²⁷ – an essentially democratic instinct. But there are practical questions associated with adapting the world to this critique. So Penty argues that:

... the architecture of the Post Industrial State [will] be based upon widespread traditions of craftsmanship, but it will in addition resemble the architecture of the past in so far as it will base its treatment upon the use of materials which are organic in their nature, it will not necessarily discard modern inventions and discoveries, but it will “keep its head” when faced with them, seeking to put them in their proper sphere by

²³ Ibid., pp. 131-132.

²⁴ Arthur J. Penty ‘Authority and Architecture in Liberty v: The Outlook’, *The Architects’ Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 1660 (November 10, 1926): p. 562.

²⁵ Arthur J. Penty ‘Architecture and Industrialism’, Loc. Cit., p. 132.

²⁶ W.R. Lethaby *Form in Civilization, Collected Papers on Art & Labour*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1922): p. 213.

²⁷ Arthur J. Penty ‘Architecture and Industrialism’, Loc. Cit., p. 132.

discovering their true relationship to the needs of architecture as a whole.²⁸

This is to suggest a heavy emphasis on the process of creative expression as well as localism:

...the treatment he gives to each building will be conditioned by the locality in which he builds. He will necessarily have a respect for local style, for local style is the treatment which craftsmen in the past have gradually evolved by actual contact with material in particular localities.²⁹

Penty makes this pithy summary of the critical spirit of architects learning from the past:

...I would urge that if the architect is to achieve greatly, there will need to be in his taste a certain element of asceticism. It is this quality brought to bear upon and tempering the exuberance of the craftsman which must ever underlie his success in making the co-operation of different craftsmen possible.³⁰

This interpretation is consistent with the development of Sennett's argument about the creative process, which suggests that intuitive leaps occur "because specific practices prepare the ground on which people might stumble. Intuition begins with the sense that what isn't yet could be."³¹ By adjacency Sennett says, "[t]wo unlike domains are brought close together; the closer they are, the more stimulating seems their twined presence."³² By surprise, "...you begin dredging up tacit knowledge into consciousness to do the comparing – and you are

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

³¹ Richard Sennett *The Craftsman*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London (2008): p. 209.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 210.

surprised. Surprise is a way of telling yourself that something you know can be other than you assumed.”³³ Then “[t]he final stage is recognition that a leap does not defy gravity.”³⁴ He describes it as reformatting, adjacency, surprise, gravity.³⁵

Relevant here is Hegel’s distinction between *Sittlichkeit* and *Moralitat*; the former is our inheritance of customs and traditions, the material stuff of moral conduct. *Moralitat* is the critical morality that we bring to the revision of *Sittlichkeit*.³⁶ Moral development occurs when we bring our criticism to bear on our traditions. It is not hard to think of examples: human rights, the equality of the sexes etc. Hegel’s criticism of Kant was that reason cannot just conjure up moral principles or imperatives. They are developed from experience.

Sennett, without referencing Penty, draws attention to a conclusion that Penty would have endorsed: “Craftsmen take pride most in skills that mature. This is why simple imitation is not a sustaining satisfaction; the skill has to evolve.”³⁷

Penty saw this creative presence as based on skills acquired by careful cultivation. In *The Elements of Domestic Design*, Penty tried to explain a complicated idea: The development of a dynamic practice that respected the past yet was innovative: “The aim of every architect of real vocation is the recovery of ...a communal tradition.”³⁸ In each generation, this tradition is renewed,

extended and reinvented, constantly moderating or improving. Developing from

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

³⁶ Hegel introduced these notions in his *Phenomenology of Spirit*. See Philip J. Kain *Hegel and the Other: A Study in the Phenomenology of Spirit*, SUNY Press, New York (2005): pp. 89f; Mark Readhead *Charles Taylor: Thinking in Deep Diversity*, Rowman & Littlefield, London, Boulder, New York and Oxford (2002): pp. 88-89.

³⁷ Sennett (2008), Loc. Cit., p, 295.

³⁸ A.J. Penty *Elements of Domestic Design* The Architectural Press, Westminster (1930).

a tradition is an unpredictable exercise, dependent on the instinct and creativity of the particular person. Thus: “Exactly what modifications would have to be made must remain entirely a matter of judgment. No rules can be given.”³⁹ In his book on architecture, *The Elements of Domestic Design*, Penty tried to explain his thinking. In the design of Hillway House, Ditchling, he tried to link theory and practice.⁴⁰ Penty observed that “[a] master of language is not a man who sets out to invent new words, but one who enriches a language by the way he uses those already existing.”⁴¹

The actuality of cooperation is a craft, learnt and developed, and never easy. Sennett recognises though, that “[i]t requires of people the skill of understanding and responding to one another in order to act together, but this is a thorny process, full of difficulty and ambiguity and often leading to destructive consequences.”⁴² “For all the virtues of indirection and silence, the nub of co-operation is active participation rather than passive presence.”⁴³ This fits with Penty’s views when he was sympathetic to the Left:

To understand the Socialist movement, it must be realized that it is primarily a moral revolt. The movement draws its recruits from among those who are outraged by the corruption and injustices of our industrial system, and if we are to see the movement in its proper perspective this

³⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁰ Hillway House, Ditchling: <http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-446347-hillway-cottage-including-walls-steps-an>, accessed August 2012. The British heritage listing refers to the structure as being in the Vernacular Revival style.

⁴¹ Arthur J. Penty ‘Authority and Architecture in Liberty v: The Outlook’, *The Architects’ Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 1660 (November 10, 1926): p. 561.

⁴² Richard Sennett *Together. The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London (2012): p. x. A third volume to *The Craftsman* and *Together* hopes to draw on the first two to show that “understanding material craftsmanship and social cooperation can generate new ideas about how cities might become better made.”

⁴³ Sennett (2012): p. 233.

fact must never be forgotten. Its great achievement is to have given to the world a social conscience.⁴⁴

This conscience extended beyond economic matters to the physical world, including the avoidance of waste. Penty wanted to produce more than a nagging conscience. He wanted to change the world. Indeed, Lipsey notes that:

The ecology movement of our decade has made a more damaging case against industrialism than Coomaraswamy ever made, and its language is often identical with Coomaraswamy's and Penty's in the years before and after World War I.⁴⁵

What Penty argued for is timeless. As Coomaraswamy put matters: "It is hardly fair to complain that Mr. Penty does not work out his scheme in every detail: he does present a living idea."⁴⁶ This idea, and the questioning of industrialism, is once more relevant today.

⁴⁴ Arthur J. Penty *Towards a Christian Sociology*, London (1923): p. 14. Also quoted in W.H. Greenleaf *The British Political Tradition, Volume Two: The Ideological Heritage*, Methuen, London and New York (1983): p. 412.

⁴⁵ Roger Lipsey *Coomaraswamy: His Life and Work*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Guildford (1977): p. 114.

⁴⁶ Ananda Coomaraswamy 'In Defence of Mr Penty', *The New Republic*, Vol. 14, Issue 176 (March 16, 1918): p. 208.

Chapter 5 Conclusion: Architecture and the Spaces of Hope

Penty learnt from the ideas of John Ruskin and William Morris, and the practical examples of architects such as Augustus Pugin, Norman Shaw, as well as the architectural theories of William Lethaby, with whom he was sometimes to dispute. They were radically dissatisfied with the way architecture and work was conducted at the time they lived. Probably Morris influenced him the most, as there are many references in the Diary and Memoir to him and criticisms of the impracticality of some of Ruskin's ideas. Penty's thinking was bound up with notions of adapting the best of the past to the present: "Mere rebellion against traditional forms of architecture avails nothing...He will tend to go from one extreme to the other and remain incapable of that balanced judgment which we know as the 'golden mean'."¹ This suggests that, in finding the golden mean, judgement requires an understanding of tradition and perspective; as such, tradition is a guide and not a shackle on thinking freshly. In his summation, there was a critique and assessment of the urge to expression. These urges, the traditional, the utopian, and the expressive, were manifest in Penty's view of life, rooted in a sense of what could be achieved.

Between lip and cup, the objectives of sustainable development and their achievement encounter a host of conflicts. So much so that it is worth wondering if the concept, while appealing and complex, is also intangible. Alas, it can be said: "Despite ...near universal recognition that sustainable cities ...are a desirable policy goal, there is less certainty about what this might mean in

¹ Arthur J. Penty *Elements of Domestic Design*, The Architectural Press, Westminster (1930): p. 5.

practice.”² Within the discourse of sustainable cities there are competing ‘visions’ of sustainable urbanism; instead of adopting a ‘one model fits all’ approach it is important to understand, value and encourage the variety of socially-constructed potential futures. The aim of this thesis is to recover Penty’s significance to this debate and to argue what his thinking and example represents to contemporary discussions on sustainability.

In many respects Penty was the intellectual disengagé who promulgated ideas and solutions without giving sufficient recognition to practical issues. But a thinker does not deserve repudiation merely because his ideas and dreams are not translated by his own actions into reality.

Calls for significant societal change are always utopian. Oscar Wilde captured this sentiment perfectly, stating:

A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity lands there, it looks out, and, seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realisation of Utopias.³

This suggests a restless searching for better landings; in contrast, Penty wanted to settle down and work things through. He did not seek a faraway adventure.

The realisation of a radically different, guild-shaped, world, as we have made it and could yet change, was what Penty strove for.

² H. Bulkeley, and M. Betsill ‘Rethinking Sustainable Cities: Multi-Level Governance and the Urban Politics of Climate Change’ *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2005): p. 42.

³ Oscar Wilde *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*, Arthur L. Humphreys, London (1912): p. 42; partly quoted in David Harvey *Spaces of Hope*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh (2000): p. 133.

Orwell once had a pithy putdown of arts and craft thinking, commenting that Morris's "*News From Nowhere* is a sort of goody-goody version of ... Utopia. Everyone is kindly and reasonable, all the upholstery comes from Liberty's, but the impression left behind is of a sort of watery melancholy."⁴ This is a witty comment, alluding to the worry that paradise, an alternative utopia, might be boring. Would it also be impractical? T.S. Eliot regarded Penty's ideas as too radical, too much of a break from the present and not enough of a gradual change, writing that:

When one considers the large amount of determination in social structure, this policy appears Utopian: if such a way of life ever comes to pass, it will be – as may well happen in the long run – from natural causes, and not from the moral will of men.⁵

Such criticisms highlight how ambitious his vision was. Raymond Williams in *Culture and Society* (1958) described Penty as a direct inheritor of Ruskin and Morris who rebelled against "the prejudice against mediaeval society which has been created by lying historians in the 'past'."⁶ He saw this critique as a direct attack on a particular historical interpretation, and recognition of the political potency, in the present, of views of the past. For Penty, history was not another country; it pointed to where we had come from and what might yet become again. Penty argued: "To Mediaeval social arrangements we shall return, not only because we shall never be able to regain complete control over the economic forces in society except through the agency of restored Guilds, but because it is

⁴ George Orwell 'Can Socialists Be Happy?', *Tribune* (December 24, 1943), reprinted in Peter Davison, editor, *The Complete Works of George Orwell, Vol. 16, I Have Tried to Tell the Truth, 1943-1944*, Secker & Warburg, London (1998): p. 40.

⁵ T.S. Eliot *The Idea of a Christian Society*, Faber and Faber Limited, London (1939): pp. 31-32.

⁶ Arthur J. Penty *Guilds and the Social Crisis*, (1919): p. 46; also quoted in Raymond Williams *Culture and Society*, Chatto & Windus, London (1958): p. 187.

imperative to return to a simpler state of society...”⁷ In this call for simplicity, Penty was then writing at a moment of extreme stress in the UK body politic. World War I was continuing. Progressive forces wanted to think through how a new society, reconstructed after the War, might work.

Penty disagreed with the Fabian approach to collectivist socialism because, at best, it would merely make capitalism more tolerable without challenging its essence. The guild programme offered an alternative, proposing the abolition of the wage-system and the establishment of self-government in industry through a system of national guilds working in conjunction with other democratic functional organisations in the community. As a programme, however, the establishment of guilds became immensely difficult in thinking through problems of detail. Of the guild socialists, Penty concludes that “[t]heir idealism [was] pitched in too high a key.”⁸ There was the question of the compatibility of ‘self-government in industry’ with a high degree of economic concentration. There was also the challenge of developing a new community, perhaps new communities, alongside and in contrast to existing society. As a warning - as criticism in the broad left tradition - there have been few more potent critiques of the purpose of state action. Raymond Williams endorses that conclusion in stating:

The dangers of powerful central authority, and of a general bureaucratic organization, to which the Guild Socialists drew attention, have become increasingly obvious since they were writing. Further, the dangers of

⁷ Arthur J. Penty *Guilds and the Social Crisis*, (1919): pp. 46-47.

⁸ Penty’s Diary, p. 82. Penty was writing in 1923.

socialism conceived merely as 'machinery' have become increasingly apparent, and have already produced a restlessness, particularly in matters of industrial organization, among the working class. The gradual dropping of the reliance on mediaeval ideas and patterns was of course inevitable, but the line of thinking which is summed up in the word 'community', rather than in the word 'state', remains an essential element of our tradition.⁹

Voluntary associations and their collective experience are part of the ideal of democracy. Williams comments that "[t]he Guild Socialists failed in their effort to extend this over society as a whole, but their emphasis was, and remains, creative and indispensable."¹⁰

The thesis should enable other researchers to explore Penty's contribution and continuing relevance to the on-going narrative and debates on 'creative change' in the built and social environment – including suggesting areas for further research. The thesis, by drawing on original archival material, has presented new evidence of Penty's ideas and a fresh perspective on Penty's thinking. In relating his thought to contemporary discussions on sustainability, there has been a critical analysis and synthesis of a wide array of material. This thesis contributes to the state of knowledge both through the comprehensiveness of the research, in its coverage of key issues and perspectives, and in uncovering new material never discussed or systematically revealed in the academic literature.

⁹ Raymond Williams (1958), *Loc. Cit.*, p. 189.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

Penty's advocacy of simplicity is implicitly connected with sustainability within a specific English tradition. His rejection of the Fabians was due to their rationality and rejection of the past, in their haste to move forward. Yet on Penty's reckoning the past stays with us whether we recognise it or not. That is what is irksome about the LSE building - its indifference to heritage; its originators' indifference to anything in the past in their rush forward. The human, whether aesthetic or compassionate, is left behind. So are the notions of work as noble and association as participatory.

To aim so high and be brought so low: it is impossible not to be struck by the spectacle of Penty's own falling arc, from scion and star, through the spray of a falling plunge to the bottom. We might be disappointed by his ultimate end, his futile splutterings in resentful obscurity, but the footsteps of his journey, the grand sweep of his critique of modernism and his call for new worlds, from the old, echoes to this day. Penty's person is less interesting than his message.

Honest, passionate and occasionally eloquent, his was a voice that called attention to grand and different ways of organising society. Just as in modern times there is a debate about the value of learning from the past in the new, so Penty discussed this in his *Old Worlds for New* (1917). He saw change as a network of economic, social and environmental processes – the three foundations of sustainability. These are the strengths in Penty's writings that make him of permanent interest.

Bibliography

Introduction

One aim of the research was to compile a reasonably comprehensive bibliography, reference notes and suggestions for future researchers.

From 1925 to 2002 the Penty papers were kept at the family home at 59 Church Street, Old Isleworth, Middlesex, England. After Michael Penty's death, the Penty papers were sent to his sister, Mary Williams, née Penty, of Brookway, Sandy Lane, Oxted, Surrey RH8 9LU, where they are now housed in 9 large archival boxes.

Sometime in the 1980s, The University of Hull obtained copies of certain of the family's Penty material and placed this on microfiche. An Index to the 'ARTHUR J. PENTY PAPERS', held by in Hull indicates that certain material may have gone missing from the family's collection, such as certain diaries dated 1928, 1930, 1932, 1933, 1934 and 1935. So that this thesis can be a reference for a potential future researcher, the Hull list is included as an Appendix to this thesis. Alas, it was not possible in the period of the conception and writing of this thesis to check and compare the Oxted and the Hull archives for Penty. Thus, a more comprehensive research effort would check for overlap and omissions between the two collections of Penty material.

A more thorough scouring of relevant magazines in which Penty appeared would also be appropriate, not only for accurately and fully noting his publication details, but also to understand the controversies and debates generated, including what Penty responded to.

Even so, the bibliography here of Penty's writings is the most comprehensive ever published; on occasions, however, where clippings have been found in the Penty papers, page numbers and certain other detail sometimes has not been able to be identified or transcribed.

A more comprehensive research project would source and evaluate numerous archival papers. For example, Glasgow University's archives of the Art Workers' Guild, shows Penty as speaking at various events, including:

'The Apprenticeship Problem' (1910).

'Reversal of Architectural Judgements in our Lifetime' (1929).

'Ruskin Reconsidered' (1929).

'Architecture Today and Tomorrow' (1931).

'Psychology of Art', 1933.

'Artistic Collapse in the Reign of Victoria' (1935).

There are also references to him in: Art Workers Guilds Annual Reports, 1901-1912; see: www.sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/reference.php?id=msib2_1215425759, accessed August 2012. These have not been consulted but are indicative of his participation in a wide array of literary, artistic, architectural and political organisations.

One person of potential interest is Edward Spencer, with whom Penty once proposed to write a book on Architecture and Politics.

Archives

RIBA Drawings and Photographic Collections, and RBIA Nomination Papers L v.13 no. 827, Archives of RIBA.

Penty Papers, University of Hull: A collection of publications, cuttings, and correspondence on microfiche, copied from the Penty family papers then in the hands of Michael and Antonia Penty. See the Appendix following the bibliography for a listing of the Hull material.

Penty Papers, in family collection of Mrs. Mary Williams (1923-), daughter, in 9 boxes, which includes:

‘A Guildsman’s Criticism of Guild Socialism’, unpublished typescript manuscript (March, 1923).

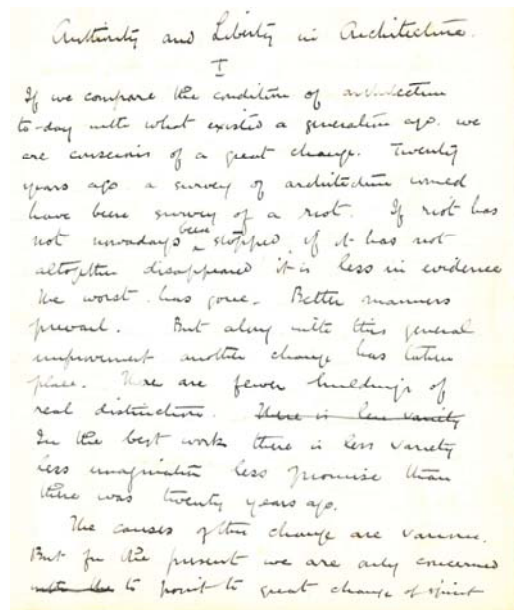
‘Architecture and the Building Guilds’, unpublished typescript manuscript, nd, circa 1920.

Diary, holograph manuscript, in exercise book, commenced March 10, 1899-1923. Referred to in the thesis as ‘Penty’s Diary’. [As part of the research for this thesis, with the assistance of Mary and Kate Williams, this Diary has been retyped and annotated].

‘Industrialism, Guilds and Fascism’, unpublished manuscript, mostly typed, part holograph format, October 1934. Referred to in the thesis as ‘Penty’s *Memoirs* (1934)’. [As part of the research for this thesis, this Memoir has been retyped and annotated.]

Unpublished: ‘Authority and Liberty in Architecture’, a holograph, handwritten draft in two exercise books, n.d., circa 1930s. [As part of the research for this thesis, this document has been retyped.]

The following is an extract from the front page of the manuscript on ‘Authority and Liberty in Architecture’:



Extract from Penty's unfinished 'Authority and Liberty in Architecture', undated, in the Penty family archive, Oxted.

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Arthur J. Penty *Guilds and the Social Crisis*, G. Allen & Unwin Ltd., London (1919).

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A. Cotgreave *Views and Memoranda of Public Libraries: Containing 450 Illustrations, Portraits and Plans*, Truslove, Hanson & Comba, Ltd. (1901).

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24 listings of buildings by Penty on the British Heritage register:

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Ditchling: <http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-446347-hillway-cottage-including-walls-steps-an>, accessed August 2012. Describes Penty's design of a building he constantly refers to in *Elements of Domestic Design*.

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Appendix 1: The Penty Papers at Hull

Introduction

This is a list found in the Penty family papers at Oxted. These include material collected by Michael Penty (1916-2002), who was custodian of his father's papers.

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- 1/1/4 Authority and Liberty in Architecture. Red exercise book. Continues on from "Art and Crafts Movement" above.
- 1/1/5 Chapter VII. The Challenge of Class-War Communism. p183-264. Typed.
- 1/1/6 Architecture/Architectural (?) Socialism. Hand-written, undated. Includes the hand-written note "as given to Harrwell (?) ILP".
- 1/1/7 Memorandum on Credit. Hand-written, undated.
- 1/1/8 XVIII. The Reaction against Industrialism in India. Typed, undated. "Cancelled" hand-written on front page.
- 1/1/9 The Question of Size. Hand-written. 2 foolscap pages.
- 1/1/10 Propaganda and the Left. Hand-written. 6 foolscap pages.
- 1/1/11 Propaganda and the Left. Hand-written. 2 foolscap pages, double sides.
- 1/1/12 Chapter 1. The Degeneration of Socialism. Hand-written. 20 foolscap pages. "Final" hand-written on front-page.
- 1/1/13 "Napoleon". Hand-written notes. 1 page.
- 1/1/14 "Are Reformers Romantics". Single sided, hand-written foolscap. On reverse, the start of "Is the Guild State a reliable (?) Ideal".
- 1/1/15 The New Deal by A.J. Penty. Typed manuscript, 13 pages.
- 1/1/16 Red's Challenge to Civilization. Hand-written in pencil. 15 foolscap pages. Includes additional page not bound with main text.
- 1/1/17 The Root of Trouble. 4 hand-written foolscap pages of notes. Possible first chapter of larger work.
- 1/1/18 Unemployment at the Top. 6 Hand-written foolscap pages. Includes note "final" on front page.
- 1/1/19 Hand-written notes on foolscap including the headings "First chapter" and "Chapter 3 - Fascism".
- 1/1/20 Constructive Socialism. Hand-written notes. 4 pages.
- 1/1/21 The Case Against Communism. Typed long article.

- 1/1/22 Towards Mediævalism. I: The Nemesis of Bolshevism, II: Communism and Currency, III: Bribery and Property, IV: Industrialism and the Future, V: The Forgotten aim of Socialist Activity. Collection of articles by AJP pasted to blank pages. Front page includes the reference to *The New Witness*. 17 Feb. 1922.
- 1/1/23 "Speech on Rural Conference". Possible speech by AJP 23 Jan. 1926.
- 1/1/24 Reducing Wheat Acreage. Draft of letter by AJP to *The New English Weekly*. Includes copy of *The New English Weekly*, 25 July 1935 with published letter.
- 1/1/25 XV. Co-operative and Regulative Guilds. Typed, undated. Includes the hand-written note "cancelled" on front page.
- 1/1/26 Medieval Guilds. Hand-written notes.
- 1/1/27 IV. From New Art to Modernism. Hand-written 19 double-sided foolscap. "draft" written in top corner.
- 1/1/28 IV. From New Art to Modernism. Hand-written. 21 foolscap pages. Marked "final" on front page.
- 1/1/29 The ___ (?) Applied/appeal (?). Hand-written. Relating to architects and Modern architecture.
- 1/1/30 V. The Riot in the Suburbs and Countryside. Hand-written foolscap, 18 pages. "draft" written in top corner.
- 1/1/31 V. The Riot in the Suburbs and the Countryside. Hand-written. 25 foolscap pages. Marked "final" on front page.
- 1/1/32-34 Beauty Does Not Look After Herself. Typed manuscript (2 copies) in response to Eric Gill's *Beauty Looks After Herself*. Also printed version of it with invoice dated Nov. 1933.
- 1/1/35 Beauty does not Look after Herself. Notes on Eric Gill's book *Beauty Takes Care of Herself*, the specialisation of architecture, and includes chapter headings under the title "Beauty does not Look after Herself".
- 1/1/36 Architecture and the Building Guilds. Hand-written. 20 foolscap pages. Pencil note on the front page "American Institute of Architects".
- 1/1/37 Architecture in the Modern World. Typed. 10 pages.
- 1/1/38 Modernism and Progress. Hand-written. 2 foolscap pages.
- 1/1/39 "Notes on Modernism". 2 foolscap pages.
- 1/1/40 Art and Reconstruction. c18 hand-written foolscap pages.
- 1/1/41 Socialism, Poverty and Art. Chapter 2- The Revival of Architecture and Craftsmanship. Typed manuscript with hand-written annotation.
- 1/1/42 The Confusion in Architecture. Hand-written. 3 foolscap pages.
- 1/1/43 The Confusion (?) in Architecture. Hand-written. Two pages.

- 1/1/44 Exercise book, blue. Includes notes on Pugin and *True Principles*, New Zealand Chambers, Ruskin, articles on Philip Webb by Lethaby (*The Builder*, 1925), articles by C.H. Reilly on McKim, Mead and White (July 1897), and notes from reviews of a Penty book.
- 1/1/45 Collection of hand-written notes under the headings, Architecture and Industrialism, A + B, The Question of Size, Large Organizations.
- 1/1/46 Miscellaneous notes mainly on architecture under various headings inc. Modernist Architecture.
- 1/1/47 "Last Chapter". Hand-written, one foolscap page double sided. p.14 on second side.
- 1/1/48 Ramiro de Maeztu. Reminiscences by AJP. Hand-written. 5 foolscap pages.
- 1/1/49 A hand-written list of subscribers to *Old Worlds for New*. Names include, Barry Parker, C.R. Ashbee, Ebenezer Howard, Mrs Mears (no address) and T.M. Heron (Leeds Arts Club- indicating interest in 36 copies).
- 1/1/50 Notes on 3 postcards from the Rural Conference 23 Jan. 1926.
- 1/1/51 Notes on a card from the Rotary Club of London 4 May 1921.
- 1/1/52 Misc. notes on 13 pieces of paper and card.
- 1/1/53 Exhibition of Empire Timbers. Cutting of an article by Penty on the Exhibition of Overseas Empire Timbers. c1926?
- 1/1/54-55 The Philosophy of Mr J. M. Keynes. Long typed version. Also copy of the article from p386-398 of *The Criterion* (undated).
- 1/1/56 "Swedish Architecture". Letter to the editor of the *Observer* 2 Oct. 1932 by AJP. Includes a letter on the same by W.G. Collier.
- 1/1/57 "Tradition and Modernism in Architecture". Photocopy of an article by AJP from *The Criterion*.

1/2. Lectures

- 1/2/1 Guilds and Law in the Middle Ages. Lecture to the Medieval Society Oxford, 21 Oct. 1919. Hand-written. 35 foolscap pages.
- 1/2/2 Architecture and the Guild Revival. A lecture given to the Architectural Association (London), 26 Apr. 1920. Hand-written. 28 foolscap pages.
- 1/2/3 A Guildsman's Criticism of Guild Socialism. Lecture given to Individual members section of N G (?) Council, 16 March 1923.
- 1/2/4 Lecture to Sir Thomas Moore Society Oxford, 24 Feb. 1925. 8 hand-written foolscap pages.
- 1/2/5 Art from the Machine. Art Worker's Guild, 6 March 1925. Possible notes for a speech.
- 1/2/6 Industry in a Revived Christendom. Lecture given to the Anglo-Catholic Summer School at Keble College, Oxford, 31 July 1930. Hand-written. 24 foolscap pages.
- 1/2/7 Tradition in Relation to Modern Architecture. A paper given to the Design (?) and Industries Association, 29 Jan. 1931.
- 1/2/8 Tradition and Modernism in Architecture. A lecture delivered to the Art Workers' Guild, 29 May 1931 and published in *The Criterion* April 1933. Typed copy.
- 1/2/9 Tradition and Modernism in Architecture. A lecture delivered to the Art Worker's Guild, 29 May 1931. Hand-written. 25 foolscap pages. Marked "as sent to Criterion".
- 1/2/10 Tradition and Modernism in Architecture. A lecture delivered to the Art Workers' Guild, 29 May 1931. Typed long version.
- 1/2/11 Tradition and Modernism in Architecture. A lecture delivered to the Art Worker's Guild, 29 May 1931. Typed manuscript with hand-written annotation.
- 1/2/12 Architecture To-day and To-morrow. A paper read to the Art Worker's Guild 29 May 1931. Hand-written. 16 foolscap pages. Draft of above lecture.
- 1/2/13 Communism. Lecture to the World Friendship Church, 12 Jan. 1933. Hand-written. 19 foolscap pages.
- 1/2/14 Communism. Lecture to the World Friendship Church, 12 Jan. 1933. Hand-written draft.
- 1/2/15 Critique of Industrialism and Commercialism. Lecture given to the Conference of Clergy under the auspices of the Industrial Christian Fellowship at 'The Hayes', Swanwick, 21 Feb. 1933. 21 foolscap pages. Hand-written.
- 1/2/16 Craft Guilds and How to Restore Them. Lecture I.-Industrialism and Craft Guilds, Lecture II- The Arts and Crafts Movement, Lecture III- The Economic Problem in the Movable Arts, Lecture IV- The Economic Problem in Architecture, Lecture V- The Revival of Patronage, Lecture VI- The Economic and Political Implications of a Craft Revival.

1/3 Reviews of and writings on AJP

- 1/3/1 Byron Scott. "A.J. Penty". *New Democracy*, 1 June 1935.
- 1/3/2 Press cuttings of reviews of Penty's *Post-Industrialism, Guilds, Trade and Agriculture* and *A Guildsman's Interpretation of History*. c1920-1922. Includes a letter from George Allen and Unwin Publishers to AJP dated 6 May 1924.
- 1/3/3 "Arthur J. Penty: An appreciation". Recollections of AJP. Unsigned. 3 pages, typed.
- 1/3/4 Review of *Protection and the Social Problem* from the *Liverpool Post and Mercury*, 5 June 1926.
- 1/3/5 Page from a 1933 calendar with a quote by A.J. Penty.
- 1/3/6 Proposal for the fixing of a commemorative plaque on the front wall of 59 Church Street.
- 1/3/7-8 "A.J. Penty (1875-1937) and the modernization of English architecture". Typed draft of an article by David Thistlewood. 2 copies.
- 1/3/9 "A.J. Penty (1875-1937) and the condition of English domestic architecture". Typed draft of an article by David Thistlewood.
- 1/3/10 "A.J. Penty (1875-1937) and the Legacy of 19th-Century English Domestic Architecture" by David Thistlewood. Loose leaf pages from the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, December 1987, pp327-341.
- 1/3/11 Photocopy of A.J. Penty's entry in the RIBA Drawings Collection printed catalogue.
- 1/3/12 Hand-written note bearing the name F.D. Matthews with a list of books and papers of AJP's and a list possibly of drawings of buildings by APJ.
- 1/3/13 *Stones of Liberty*. Chapter 6: A.J. Penty and the Building Guilds 1906-1923. Mark Swenarton, June 1986. Photocopy of text.

2. Correspondence

2/1 Letters to and from AJP

- 2/1/1 Letter from Hope Bagenal, Architectural Association Library. 22 Apr. 1921.
- 2/1/2 Letter from Miles Ca__ (?), Cambridge. Massachusetts. 31 Dec. 1922
- 2/1/3 Letter to Mr Charny (?), Chiswick, from AJP. July 1921.
- 2/1/4 Letter from Thomas Derick, Royal College of Art. 23 Mar. 1925.
- 2/1/5-8 Letters from T.S.Eliot, *The Criterion* and Faber and Faber Publishers. Dec. 1931-Sept. 1935.
- 2/1/9 Letter from V Spencer Ellis, Liverpool. 21 Jan. 1932.
- 2/1/10 Note from R.H. 20 The Common, Ealing. Feb. 5 1933.
- 2/1/11 Letter from Hübener, Englisches Seminar der Universität Bonn. 18 July 1931.
- 2/1/12 Letter from Jakasm (?), 9 Muswell Hill Road N10. Nov. 6 1923.
- 2/1/13-17 Letters from Ramiro de Maeztu, London correspondent for the Madrid daily *El Sol* during WW1. Jan. 1933- Sept. 1933.
- 2/1/18-26 Letters from A.R. Orage. Dec. 1911- Mar. 1932.
- 2/1/27 Letter from H.H. Pite, NY. Nov 30 1915.
- 2/1/28 Invoice from T.R. Rodger re: Temple Fortune Court. July 1923.
- 2/1/29 Memorandum of Agreement between A.J. Penty and Sheed and Ward publishers re: *Tradition and Modernism in Politics*. 13 Jan. 1937.
- 2/1/30-31 Letters from Charles Smyth, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. 3 Advent 1931, 25 Jan. 1932.
- 2/1/32-33 Letters from Fr. W.P. Witcutt. Nov. 1936.
- 2/1/34-36 Letters to Fr. W.P. Witcutt from AJP. Nov. 1936.
- 2/1/37 Invitation to a discussion on "Tradition in Relation to Modern Architecture" at The Design and Industries Association, Thursday Jan. 29th 1931 at The London School of Economic. Speakers: Beresford Pite and A.J. Penty. Invitation addressed to Mrs Agnes E. Anson, 19 Pleydell Ave W6.
- 2/1/38 Invitation to a debate on "Statutory Limitation of Interest" at the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland, Industrial Committee, Wednesday June 13th. Proposer AJP, opposer Mr. McLagan.
- 2/1/39-40 Letters from the National Federation on Building Trade Operatives. June 1920.

- 2/2 Letters post 1936. To and from Mrs V. Penty and M. Penty.
- 2/2/1-2 Letters to and from Marguerite Alpin. Apr. 1975.
- 2/2/3 Letter from Ida Bedford to Mrs (?) Penty. 26 Jan. 1937.
- 2/2/4-5 Letters from William Bell to M. Penty 18 May, 29 Aug 1941.
- 2/2/6 Letter from Geoffrey Benson to Mrs Penty re: death of AJP. 21 Jan. 1937.
- 2/2/7-11 Letters to and from Rev. Ian Boyd, *The Chesterton Review*. June 1985- Oct. 1991. Includes copies of *The Chesterton Society* and correspondence to and from David Thistlewood.
- 2/2/12 Letter from H Bridge, photographer, York re: photographs of C.B. Penty grave. 25 June 1958.
- 2/2/13-15 Letters to and from C.P. Cook of the British Library of Political and Economic Science. Sept.- Nov. 1973.
- 2/2/16 Letter from Robin Cox, Austin/Desmond Contemporary Books re: the possible location of the original woodblock of AJP's bookplate by David Jones. 9 August 1991.
- 2/2/17-26 Letters to and from Prof. John L. Finlay. University of Manitoba. Apr. 1972-Nov. 1973.
- 2/2/27 Letter to Michael Fordham from M. Penty. 3 Jan. 1992.
- 2/2/28-29 Letters to and from A.S. Gray. October 1971.
- 2/2/30 Letter from Tom A. Greeves to M. Penty. 13 Feb. 1992.
- 2/2/31-36 Letters to and from Peter Grosvenor. Oct. 1991- Jan. 1992.
- 2/2/37 Letter from Rod Hackney (ARIBA) to M. Penty. 2 Jan. 1986.
- 2/2/38 Letter to Dale Harris, *Architectural Digest* from M. Penty. 16 Jan. 1993 (photocopy of original).
- 2/2/39 Letter to Conrad Jameson from M. Penty. 7 Feb. 1977.
- 2/2/40 Letter from C.H. Lay (FRIBA) to M. Penty recollecting AJP. 1 June 1941.
- 2/2/41-47 Letters to and from Alfred W. Lester. Sept. 1977- Feb. 1978. Includes a copy of a letter dated 22 Jan. 1964 from RIBA Librarian to Mrs V. Penty thanking her for donating a selection of A.J. Penty's drawings to the RIBA.
- 2/2/48-55 Letters to and from Angela Lowman. Jan.- July 1978.
- 2/2/56 Letter from Philip Mairet to M. Penty. 8 May 1941.
- 2/2/57-62 Letters to and from Frank D. Matthews. Jan. 1964- Nov. 1969.
- 2/2/63-71 Letters to and from Raphael Santervas, Leon Spain. July 1974- Sept. 1975. Includes a copy of *The Times* obituary notice for Philip Mairet and a letter from M. Penty to the Editor of *The Times* dated 21 Feb. 1975.

- 2/2/72-74 Letters to and from Robin L. Schiesser, Editorial Assistant, *Architectural Digest*, Nov.- Dec. 1992. Re: an article by Dale Harris in March 1992 issue.
- 2/2/75-82 Letters to and from Rev. Brocard Sewell. Feb.- May 1982.
- 2/2/83 Letter to Rt. Rev. David Sheppard, Bishop of Liverpool from M. Penty re: designs for a church (unbuilt) by A.J. Penty 1930s. 16 Jan. 1992.
- 2/2/84-86 Letters to and from Gavin Stamp. Feb.- Mar. 1982.
- 2/2/87-99 Letters to and from Dr Mark Swenarton. Apr. 1986- May 1991. Includes letters to David Thistlewood (from M Penty) and from Ian Boyd (to M Penty) re: *The Chesterton Review*.
- 2/2/100-110 Letters to and from David Thistlewood, University of Liverpool. Mar. 1984- Aug. 1987.
- 2/2/111 Letter from Cosme Beccar Varela, Buenos Aires to M. Penty. 25 Apr. 1952.
- 2/2/112-114 Letters to and from Dr Jack Vowles, Political Studies Department, The University of Auckland. June 1981- Nov. 1990.
- 2/2/115-119 Letters to and from David Watkin, Peterhouse Cambridge. Jan.-May. 1978, Feb. 1985.
- 2/2/120-130 Letters to and from Jeffrey Weeks, British Library of Political and Economic Science. Nov. 1973- Apr. 1976. Includes some copies of letters between M. Penty and John Finlay of the University of Manitoba.
- 2/2/131 Letter from Fr. W.P. Witcutt thanking Mr Penty for the return of his letters. 17 Mar. 1941.
- 2/2/132-134 Letters from S.B.J., Alton, Hampshire to Mrs Penty. July 1938, June 1939.
- 2/2/135 Letter from Maurice Blo__ (?), Guilford to M. Penty. 6 Mar. 1941
- 2/2/136 Letter from Revd. W. G. Peck (?) to M. Penty (?). 20 May 1941.
- 2/2/137 Letter from Brigid Graftan Green, The New Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust Ltd. to M. Penty. 22 Sept. 1975.
- 2/2/138 Letter to The Golgonooza Press from M. Penty. 22 May 1978.
- 2/2/139 Letter from John and Ann, Wivelsfield, Sussex to M. Penty. 18 July 1991.
- 2/2/140 Letter to The Ditchling Press from M. Penty. 25 July 1991.
- 2/2/141 Letter to Austin/Desmond Fine Art from M. Penty. 8 Aug. 1991.
- 2/2/142 Letter from Geoffrey and Mary, Harrisonburg, Virginia to M. Penty. 18 Dec. 1991.
- 2/2/143-147 Letters to and from Liverpool Record Office and the Bishop of Liverpool re: a church design by AJP. 12 March 1992.
- 2/2/148 Christmas card from Pat and Henry, Iver Heath, Bucks.. Undated.

3. Photographs and drawings

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| 3/1-2 | Negatives of "Kingsend" by AJP. 2 exterior images, 1 interior image. |
| 3/3-19 | Photographs of general external and internal architectural views, furniture. |
| 3/20-22 | Photographs of Hampstead Garden Suburb. |
| 3/23-24 | Photo of bronze bust of AJP (2 copies). |
| 3/25 | Envelope of cuttings of photos of plasterwork by G.P. Bankart. |
| 3/26 | Pencil sketch, possibly of or by AJP |
| 3/27-28 | Photocopy of a drawing of Arcade House, Hampstead by AJP. 2 copies. |

4. Documents relating to "Longridge" Sussex,

5. Diaries and sketch books

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| 5/1 | Sketchbook. AJP. Sept. 1898. |
| 5/2 | Sketchbook. AJP. June 1899. |
| 5/3 | Sketchbook. AJP. 13 Apr. 1901. |
| 5/4 | Sketchbook. AJP. 1 Grove Park Avenue, Clifton, York. Undated. |
| 5/5 | Sketchbook. AJP. Arundel Street, WC. Undated. |
| 5/6-10 | Sketchbooks. Undated. |
| 5/11 | Diary, 1899. |
| 5/12 | Diary, 1928. |
| 5/13 | Diary, 1930. |
| 5/14 | Diary, 1932. |
| 5/15 | Diary, 1933. |
| 5/16 | Diary, 1934. |
| 5/17 | Diary, 1935. |
| 5/18 | Exercise book with notes on events in A.J. Penty's life in chronological order. |
| 5/19 | Eric Gill. <i>In a Strange Land</i> . Jonathon Cape; London, 1944. |

6. Journals, pamphlets and newspaper cuttings

6/1 Journals and pamphlets

- 6/1/1-6 Art and Reason. Vol. 1 n. 1-6, Nov. 1934- April 1935.
- 6/1/7 G.K.'s Weekly. Vol. 3 n. 61, 15 May 1926.
- 6/1/8 G.K.'s Weekly. 31 Jan. 1935 (incomplete).
- 6/1/9 G.K.'s Weekly. Vol. XXI n. 545, 22 Aug. 1935 (incomplete).
- 6/1/10-11 G.K.'s Weekly. Vol. XXIII n.593, 23 July 1936 (2 copies).
- 6/1/12-13 G.K.'s Weekly. Vol. XXIII n.594, 30 July 1936 (2 copies).
- 6/1/14 G.K.'s Weekly. Vol. XXIII n.595, 6 Aug. 1936
- 6/1/15-28 The New English Weekly. Vol.1 n.1-8 (21 Apr. 1932- 9 June 1932), Vol. n.11 (30 June 1932), n.16-17 (4 Aug.- 11 Aug. 1932), n. 23, (23 March 1933).
- 6/1/29-42 The New Age. Vol. XVII n.17-22 (26 Aug. 1915-23 Sept. 1915), Vol. XXIII n.25 (17 Oct. 1918), Vol. XXIV n.1 (7 Nov. 1918), Vol. XXIV n.3 (21 Nov 1918), Vol. XXIV n.12, n.16, n.19, n.23-24, Vol. XXV n.4.
- 6/1/43 Simple Furniture. W. R. Lethaby. Undated pamphlet.
- 6/1/44 Official Register of Harvard University, Department of Social Ethics. Vol., XVIII n.16, & April 1921.
- 6/1/45 Rural Economy. Vol. 15 n.3, March 1948.
- 6/1/46 The Case for The Full Development of Agriculture. Jorian Jenks.
- 6/1/47 Current Thought. Vol. II n.5, Feb. 1926.
- 6/1/48 Daily Mirror. 12 May 1926.
- 6/1/49 Evening News. 13 May 1926.
- 6/1/50 The Daily Telegraph. 12 May 1926.
- 6/1/51 The Village Community and Modern Progress. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. The Colombo Apothecaries, 1908.
- 6/1/52 National Guilds League Annual Report 1919-20.
- 6/1/53 National Guilds: an appeal to trade unionists. Pamphlets of the National Guilds League n. 1.
- 6/1/54 The Mirror of History: in which may be observed some reflections of The Achievements of the Middle Ages compared with The Futility of Modern Civilization. A lecture by A. W. Haggis. London, MDCCCXXI. Includes two letters from the author to AJP dated December 1921 regarding the enclosed (above?) book, an address for Messr. Wade of Temple Fortune Hill and reference to the enclosure of March Phillipp's *Form and Colour*.

- 6/1/55 The Industrial Council for the Building Industry: Minutes of Proceedings. November 1920.
- 6/1/56 York and its Buildings: The Capital of the North. Country Life Ltd.: London, 1931.
- 6/1/57-59 Architectural Association Journal. Oct. 1920, Nov. 1920, Apr. 1921.
- 6/1/60 Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects. 6 March 1937.
- 6/1/61 Catalogue of carriage and hand gates, lynch gates etc in wood by John P. White, The Pyghle Works, Bedford. n. 2 Nov. 1905.
- 6/1/62-63 The Builders' Journal and Architectural Record. 29 Aug. 1900, 12 June 1901.
- 6/1/64 ABC. Madrid, Miercoles 20 de Julio 1960.
- 6/1/65-66 The New Leader Book. Woodcuts and drawings in a portfolio, with sketches, stories and poems from *The New Leader*. 1924, 1925.
- 6/1/67 The Architects' and Builders' Journal. Vol. XLVII n.1212 27 Mar. 1918.
- 6/1/68 Everyman. 23 Feb. 1934.
- 6/1/69 The Listener. 28 Nov. 1934. Includes hand-written notes on the top of front page "Blomfield on modernism". Blomfield's Church of St. Esprit, Paris is illustrated on the cover.
- 6/1/70 Catalogue of James Gibbons Ltd, locks and brassfoundry. 1926.
- 6/1/71-72 The Burlington Magazine. Vol. 1 n. 1 Mar. 1903, Vol. 1 n. 2 Apr. 1903.
- 6/1/73 Country Life Architectural Supplement. 19 Apr. 1913.
- 6/1/74-75 Cartoons. Will Dyson. Cartoons from the *Daily Herald*, Apr. 1914. Two copies
- 6/1/76 Albrecht Dürer. Das Leiden Christi. Filcher and Franke: Berlin, nd.
- 6/1/77 The Future of "the Guild Socialist". Two and a half typed foolscap pages.
- 6/1/78 The wages system and the way in. Typed notes from Kingsway Hall 19 Feb. 1920.
- 6/1/79 National Guilds League. Pamphlet dated March 1918.
- 6/1/80 Parliaments or Soviets. A National Guilds League Lecture delivered by Mr. H. N. Brailsford. Kingsway Hall 18 Dec. 1919.
- 6/1/81 National Guilds and the Coal Commission. Pamphlet published by the National Guilds League, no date.
- 6/1/82 The Industrial Chaos: the labour crisis and the way out- National Guilds. National Guilds League Leaflet n.8.
- 6/1/83-84 Observations on the interim report of the reconstruction committee on joint standing industrial councils. Published by the National Guilds League, 1917. Two copies.

- 6/1/85-87 Notes for Trade Unionists. Published by the National Guilds League, 1918. Three copies.
- 6/1/88 The Guildsman. Loose pages from Jan. 1919.
- 6/2 Newspaper cuttings
- 6/2/1 Scrapbook of newspaper cuttings, mainly reviews of AJP's books.
- 6/2/2-4 Bound scrapbooks of newspaper cuttings.
- 6/2/5 Scrapbook of newspaper cuttings, mainly articles by AJP.
- 6/2/6 Scrapbook of newspaper cuttings, mainly articles and letters by AJP re: art and architecture.
- 6/2/7 Misc. loose news cuttings. (in two archive folders).