



# Port Sunlight's Built Heritage in a Global Context

Prepared by:

Heather Alcock, Project Officer (World Heritage), Port Sunlight Village Trust

Graham Child Scholar, Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain

PhD Researcher, Liverpool School of Architecture, University of Liverpool

2022



## Contents

## Page

Acknowledgements	3
Executive Summary	4
Chapter 1: Port Sunlight's Outstanding Universal Value and Criteria for Inscription	11
Chapter 2: Global Comparative Analysis and Influence of Port Sunlight	19
Chapter 3: Integrity and Authenticity	37
Chapter 4: Community Engagement Report by PLACED	60
Bibliography	77
Contact details	85

## Acknowledgements

Port Sunlight Village Trust and the Port Sunlight Steering Group are grateful for the time and expertise of the peer review panel who read and refined these reports and the research that supported Port Sunlight's bid to the Tentative List. While there were others who supported this research, we would like to specifically thank Andrew Croft, Michael Shippobottom, Professor Iain Jackson, Professor Simon Pepper, Dr. Ataa Alsalloum, and Dr. Cheryl Hudson. Your contributions improved both the writing and our understanding of Port Sunlight. We would also like to acknowledge and thank archivists Claire Tunstall and Will Meredith who along with their teams at UARM and Wirral Archives provided access to collections and insights for our work. No matter the outcome of the Tentative List bid, we now have a deeper understanding and wider view of Port Sunlight's global influence and its unique characteristics.

Thank you.

## Funding

Heather Alcock's is funded by the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain through their Graham Child Fund and the University of Liverpool, Liverpool School of Architecture.

*Front cover: Port Sunlight was developed to enable all its residents to live in a beautiful, healthy environment at a time when working class communities were typically urban slums or rural hovels. Lever recognised that environmental improvements would take time. While he invested in Port Sunlight for his workers, he also invested beauty for in their children and grandchildren. Port Sunlight school children, c1902. From the Edward John Jenkins Photographic Collection, Port Sunlight Village Trust.*

# Executive Summary

## Introduction

In January 2021, Port Sunlight Village Trust (PSVT) commissioned research to improve understanding of Port Sunlight in a global context. The research is part of a wider, strategic initiative to learn about the legacies and transnational associations of the village.

The Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) announced its review of the Tentative List (TL) for World Heritage Site inscription in the spring of 2022. The Tentative List (TL) include sites selected by the United Kingdom as potential, future World Heritage Sites. Only sites on the Tentative List can be put forward to UNESCO for full inscription. Review of the Tentative List happens once every ten years and the process is managed by DCMS and Historic England, with the support of UNESCO UK.

The United Kingdom is required to develop a Tentative List that meets UNESCO's aims to balance the list, which includes both the type or era of heritage proposed for inscription and its location. At present European and Western cultures are over-represented on the World Heritage List. Acceptance to the Tentative List is highly competitive and uncertain. Full inscription by UNESCO is even more so.

The global significance research completed by June 2022 was used to prepare Port Sunlight's application to the Tentative List. The application was submitted on 5<sup>th</sup> July 2022. As the Tentative List application form is limited to succinct responses (250 words) to complex questions, this report was written to supplement the Tentative List application and to provide further information for the Tentative List review expert panel, interested researchers, heritage practitioners and other interested people.

The focus and methodology of this report was based on the requirements for World Heritage Site inscription; Outstanding Universal Value and Criteria for Inscription (Chapter 1); Global Comparative Analysis and Influence (Chapter 2); and Integrity and Authenticity (Chapter 3). A separate report (Chapter 4) summarises PSVT's stakeholder engagement work begun prior to submission of the Tentative List application. This Executive Summary includes the information shared in the Tentative List application. For more details on specific topics, please see the chapters referenced below.

Ambitions for World Heritage site inscription were expressed in the Conservation Management Plan (2018-2028) for Port Sunlight and in PSVT's Strategic Plan (2018-2023). PSVT consulted with stakeholders for the development of both significant forward planning and site management frameworks. Additional consultation was held in June 2022 on the potential impacts and opportunities for World Heritage Site inscription. The results of these engagement processes demonstrate overwhelming support for Port Sunlight's World Heritage ambitions. The consultation also provided stakeholders with an opportunity to share their wider concerns and priorities outside the World Heritage framework. The results of this engagement have been captured in a report and are included in Chapter 4. If Port Sunlight is successful in its bid for the Tentative List, a programme of consultation and engagement initiatives around World Heritage and the community will be developed.

## Description

Port Sunlight is a globally influential planned community of 900+ houses and supporting facilities in northwest England. Built for Lever Brothers soap factory workers between 1888-1938, it housed over 4000 people at its peak. Founder William Lever (1851-1925) managed the design of the village for the first thirty-seven years of its development. After his death, Unilever and later Port Sunlight Village Trust worked in partnership with stakeholders to manage the estate.

The landscape and buildings themselves were designed by twenty-nine architectural practices, which transformed marshland into a parkland estate, combining Picturesque (1888-1909) and City Beautiful-inspired (1909-1938) site planning. Port Sunlight is characterised by hand-crafted architecture, tree-lined streets, communal greenspaces and low density, [single-family housing in a variety of styles](#) arranged in superblocks around central green spaces. No two housing blocks are alike. Leading architects contributed designs, including Thomas H. Mawson, Charles Riley, Ernest Newton, Ernest George, and Edwin Lutyens.

Layering curvilinear and informal site planning, gardens and architecture in the Arts and Crafts tradition with neo-classical landmarks and formal, axial developments, Port Sunlight looks radically different from earlier working-class communities. Housing was designed so “*little or no distinction could be perceived among the individual houses of each group externally. What it amounted to visually was a street of mansions... The Shavian country house had become the multiplex*”.<sup>1</sup> Public art, sport, education, medical, community, and cultural facilities, including the world-renowned Lady Lever Art Gallery, brought urban amenities to this northern village.

## Brief History

Founded in 1888, Port Sunlight was part of Lever Brothers Prosperity Sharing programme which provided employees and their families with opportunities and benefits for well-being and “betterment”. Promoted globally from its inception, Port Sunlight attracted millions of visitors, including heads of state, designers, planners, and industrialists. The village hosted the Garden City Association’s influential 1902 conference, a precursor to the founding of Letchworth.

The first houses were completed in 1889 and facilities opened from 1891. In the early years, a Picturesque site developed around The Dell park, a former tidal ravine. When the village expanded, metropolitan designers contributed housing (1898-1906). Civil engineering works to reclaim undevelopable land were completed between 1901-1909. This enabled the introduction of a City Beautiful-inspired village centre (1909-1938).

---

<sup>1</sup> Walter Creese, *The Search for the Environment*, 122.

Founder William Lever died in 1925 and in 1929 Lever Brothers merged with Dutch company *Margarine Unie* to form Unilever. Second World War damage was corrected by 1952 through a sensitive programme of salvage and reconstruction. Houses across the estate were internally refurbished by Unilever from 1950s-1970s, but with only exterior alterations at the rear. Between 1979-1999, Unilever sold 600+ houses to sitting tenants. In 1999, Unilever created independent charity PSVT to manage the village in partnership with stakeholders.

## Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) (Chapter 1)

Port Sunlight was a radical innovation that created a community where all residents, from labourers to the founder himself, benefitted from bespoke architecture, gardens and sports facilities, fine art, healthcare, and education. In an era of austere, monotonous housing and gridded site plans, Lever Brothers invested in *beauty for everyone*.

Port Sunlight's 29 different architectural practices, including leading architects of the day Lutyens and George, created a community with incredibly varied designs and rich decorative details such as leaded light windows, figurative parquetry, stonework and woodwork, terracotta mouldings, stone roofing and authentic half-timbering.

Developed first along Picturesque lines with curvilinear streets and informal landscapes, a formal, axial City Beautiful-inspired village centre and neo-classical landmarks were later introduced to ensure Port Sunlight benefitted from improvements to community design. This layered approach to community development was replicated around the world, including Hampstead Garden Suburb, New Delhi, and Atascadero, California.

Port Sunlight served as a direct model and inspiration for decentralised, low density, Garden City site planning and suburban development around the world from the nineteenth century and through the first decades of the twentieth century. Its multi-faceted approach to placemaking, investments in beauty and well-being continues to inspire designers today.

## Criteria for Inscription (Chapter 1)

The World Heritage Site inscription process requires applicants to align the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) for their site with at least one criterion for inscription. Port Sunlight appears to meet two of UNESCO's criteria for inscription, Criterion ii and Criterion iv.

Criterion ii): Port Sunlight secured its place at the apex of the development of working-class communities through its commitment to beauty for all; bespoke, individualistic, architect-designed housing and facilities, Picturesque and City Beautiful-inspired site planning, superblock layout and integrated landscapes. Maintained as an environment for well-being, productivity and upward mobility, it was also globally promoted as a visitor destination. Port Sunlight welcomed millions of visitors from around the world. It served as a built model and architectural classroom for both the Garden City movement and suburbs, making it internationally significant for historic developments in town planning which continue to influence society today.

Criterion iv): Port Sunlight is an outstanding example of a model worker settlement that both reflects and inspired prominent architectural and urban planning trends of the late nineteenth century as well as emerging social concepts and aesthetic ideals for civic improvement in the twentieth century. It is both a radical innovation – bespoke design and investment in beauty for working-class people – and marks the transition from paternalistic approaches to the creation of place through to the more diverse and complex spirit of Garden Cities and suburbs.

## Comparative Analysis (Chapter 2)

At present there are no inscribed or Tentative List sites that express Port Sunlight's OUV. Port Sunlight would be the first site to be inscribed specifically as a model for and precursor to the Garden City movement, and for its environment designed to be beautiful to support the well-being and productivity of working-class people.

Port Sunlight's investment in beauty and well-being makes it more comparable to Bedford Park (1875) and Hampstead Garden Suburb (1907) than New Lanark (1790), Saltaire (1850), or other worker settlements.

Unlike Picturesque middle-class housing estates, Port Sunlight was developed for working-class people, without hierarchical zoning or socio-economic segregation. Also, Bedford Park and Hampstead expanded beyond their original boundaries and were subject to more alterations due to London's intense development pressure.

Bournville (1895) and New Earswick (1903) are later comparable developments. Bournville adopted many of Port Sunlight's design strategies, including superblock site planning. Unlike Port Sunlight, Bournville's housing was developed to earn an income, so it was less richly detailed. Furthermore, Bournville Village Trust continued to develop social housing, and this is interspersed with historic developments, significantly diminishing the integrity of the original design.

New Earswick is highly significant for site planning and housing developed at very low cost for the working classes but still profitable for Joseph Rowntree Village Trust. However, this resulted in mixed quality housing, with fewer services and austere, repetitive housing.

Port Sunlight remains the most intact and best example of a designed working-class community through its sustained investment in beauty to support well-being and “betterment” for everyone.

Port Sunlight features in recently published global surveys of suburbs and planned worker housing. See *Paradise Planned: The Garden Suburb and the Modern City* (2013); *Villages ouvriers et villes-usines à travers le monde* (Chambéry, 2016); *Architecture at Work: Towns and Landscapes of Industrial Heritage* (Florence, 2020). It is also mentioned in the TICCIH Thematic Study on Industrial Heritage for UNESCO.

With regard to balancing the World Heritage list, worker housing represents 3% of the World Heritage List and there are just two sites inscribed as representative of the Arts and Crafts movement. To reiterate, there are currently no inscribed sites which represent Port Sunlight’s OUV.

## Authenticity (Chapter 3)

Port Sunlight possesses exceptional authenticity in its designed environment, including continuous use of its original housing, community and cultural facilities, and centralised estate management. Port Sunlight retained exceptional authenticity through the gradual transition from tied tenancy to private ownership.

Port Sunlight’s historic buildings, designs, materials, views and vistas remain and express all attributes of its OUV. Lever Brothers’ commitment to *beauty for all* is clearly expressed by public art, Lady Lever Art Gallery, [designed landscapes, and architecture](#). A mix of social and market rate rental housing and privately-owned homes maintains Port Sunlight’s ambitions for an integrated [community](#).

Centralised estate management and collaborative site management utilise three layers of heritage protection (statutory listing, conservation area designation and restrictive covenants) and extensive on-site archival collections to ensure the appropriate management of alterations or enhancements to individual heritage attributes and [wider strategic initiatives](#).

Port Sunlight remains a visitor destination, one where its key stakeholders work together to share the history, [legacies](#), and values of the site with the local community and national and international audiences through exhibitions, events, and [learning programmes](#). This beautiful environment for well-being and productivity continues to inspire the design of new communities around the world.



## Integrity (Chapter 3)

Port Sunlight meets UNESCO's requirements for integrity to a very high degree. Port Sunlight has lost less than 4% of its built heritage and the village continues to represent a unique and exceptional example of site planning and community development for well-being and "betterment".

The proposed WHS boundaries match the historic boundaries, which are fixed by the railway line to the west, the A41 to the east, and the historic factory wall and Lever House to the south. The northern boundary is open to the adjacent community. Key stakeholders Wirral Council and PSVT work collaboratively to manage the development of this area.

All attributes are contained within the proposed World Heritage Site boundaries. Where inappropriate alterations or deterioration exist, there is a plan in place to [work collaboratively with stakeholders](#) to manage improvements. No attributes of the proposed WHS are 'at risk' and Port Sunlight continues to serve as a desirable place to live, work, and visit and an inspiration for the design of new communities.

## Stakeholder Engagement (Chapter 4)

A programme of stakeholder engagement activities were held in June 2022 specifically on the potential impacts and opportunities for World Heritage Site inscription. PSVT prepared an information leaflet, which was distributed to all village residents; created a section of its website specifically dedicated to the Tentative List process and the World Heritage Site programme, which included an on-line survey; managed an impactful social media campaign to raise awareness; and held in-person consultation sessions in Port Sunlight, Lower Bebington and New Ferry. Chapter 4 captures the results of these engagement processes, as a report, and highlights significant support for Port Sunlight's World Heritage ambitions.

If Port Sunlight is successful in its bid for the Tentative List, this campaign represents the start of a future programme of engagement and consultation around World Heritage, co-production and community.

## Conclusions

Research into Port Sunlight's global value and legacies contributes to key strategic objectives for PSVT. The processes of sharing this knowledge (which has only just begun) and these values has enabled PSVT to engage more widely with its strategic partners and neighbouring communities. It has built partnerships with universities and global heritage networks. It provides PSVT, the community and stakeholders with a greater understanding of the place where they live, work or visit. It raises the bar for how we think about the site and how it should be sustainably managed in future.

The Tentative List process is now out of PSVT's hands. No matter the decision, PSVT and village stakeholders have taken time to reflect on the value and contributions of Port Sunlight on a global stage. The answer is undeniably significant. Port Sunlight is unique in time and place. It is the only planned working class settlement developed with individually-designed housing, integrated landscapes, community facilities and works of art to create a beautiful environment for well-being. Port Sunlight gave working class people the rarefied opportunity to live in a beautiful green space. Working together, we can ensure that future generations have this opportunity too.

# Chapter 1: Port Sunlight's Outstanding Universal Value and Criteria for Inscription



*Figure 1: Aerial view of Port Sunlight, 2021. View looking south from the Lady Lever Art Gallery towards the Unilever campus. View shows the axial, City Beautiful-inspired village centre, the generous landscapes, superblock layout, monuments and setting. Photograph courtesy of Stratus Imagery Ltd.*

## Summary

This chapter describes UNESCO's concepts and standards for Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) and Criteria for Inscription. It then defines Port Sunlight's OUV, including the key attributes and how they align with UNESCO's criteria for inscription.

## UNESCO's Concepts (excerpts from the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2021)

### Section 49, Outstanding Universal Value

Outstanding Universal Value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole.

### Section 77, Criteria for the assessment of Outstanding Universal Value

A site has Outstanding Universal Value (see paragraphs 49-53) if it meets one or more of six criteria. We believe that Port Sunlight meets the following criteria.

(ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;

(iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.



*Figure 2: 15-27 Lower Road. Terrace designed by leading architect Sir Charles H. Riley, 1906. Notable local and regional architects contributed designs to the housing and facilities at Port Sunlight in its early stages of development. However, between 1898-1906, leading architects were invited to contribute to the architecture of Port Sunlight. Photograph courtesy of Port Sunlight Village Trust.*

## Port Sunlight's Statement of Outstanding Universal Value

Port Sunlight was a radical innovation that created a community where all residents, from labourers to the founder himself, benefitted from bespoke architecture, gardens and sports facilities, fine art, healthcare, and education. In an era of austere, monotonous housing and gridded site plans, at Port Sunlight Lever Brothers invested in *beauty for everyone*.

Founder William Lever (1851-1925) embraced the Progressive message of positive environmentalism expressed through the Arts and Crafts Movement and later City Beautiful Movement. The ambition to improve people's lives through high quality designed environments was maintained in Port Sunlight after Lever's death, through estate management practices, development control and continuous investment and occupation.

Port Sunlight's 29 different architectural practices, including leading architects of the day Lutyens, Riley, and George, created a community with incredibly varied designs and rich decorative details such as leaded light windows, figurative pargetting, stonework and woodwork, terracotta mouldings, stone roofing and authentic half-timbering.



*Figure 3: View of the Dell Bridge (1894) and the Lyceum (1894), both designed by Douglas & Fordham. The Dell Bridge spans a Picturesque parkland created out of one the estate's former tidal inlets. Today, the Lyceum Complex accommodates three important uses: a community social club; an architectural practice; and SoapWorks, a new family interactive experience that explores why we need soap, how it gets made and all the different ways we use it. Photograph courtesy of Port Sunlight Village Trust, 2019.*

Developed first along Picturesque lines with curvilinear streets and informal landscapes, a formal, axial City Beautiful-inspired village centre and neo-classical landmarks were later introduced to ensure Port Sunlight benefitted from improvements to community design. This layered approach to community development was replicated around the world, including Hampstead Garden Suburb, New Delhi, and Atascadero, California.

Port Sunlight served as a direct model and inspiration for decentralised, low density, Garden City site planning and planned suburban development around the world from the nineteenth century and through the first decades of the twentieth century. Its multi-faceted approach to placemaking, investments in beauty and well-being continues to inspire designers today.



*Figure 4: Bridge Street and Park Road terraces. This view shows terraces 'turning the corner'. This design strategy was employed to separate the public facing aspects of Port Sunlight from the private courtyards contained within the superblocks. These terraces include both smaller 'kitchen cottages' and slightly larger 'parlour cottages' and epitomise the integrated community along with the best practice standards for community planning developed in Port Sunlight. Photograph courtesy of Port Sunlight Village Trust, 2022.*



*Figure 5: Family in the Dell. Port Sunlight was developed for the employees and families of the workers at the Lever Brothers Sunlight soap factory. Today, the village remains an inspiring place to live, work and visit. It is estimated that there are 2,000 residents, 3,000 employees working for a number of different businesses, and 300,000 domestic and international visitors per year. Photograph courtesy of Port Sunlight Village Trust, 2019.*

The village has been continuously occupied since its development and benefits from a tradition of responsible stewardship. It retains exceptional integrity and authenticity in its built environment and usage, and it remains a popular visitor destination and desirable residential community of 900+ terrace and semi-detached houses set in superblocks around communal green spaces.



*Figure 6: Lever Library, Greendale Road. Port Sunlight was shared widely in popular press and trade journals. Key texts that included views of the village and its social objectives included *Das Englische Haus* (1904) by Hermann Muthesius and Alfred Richard Sennet's *Garden Cities in Theory and Practice* (1905). Image from Raffles Davison's *Port Sunlight* (1916), Plate 17.*



## Attributes for OUV

The attributes contributing to Port Sunlight's OUV and criteria for inscription are:

- Picturesque and City Beautiful-inspired site planning, with both formal and informal gardens and streetscapes;
- block planning, including integrated (not socio-economically zoned) low-density housing arranged in 'superblocks' with open front gardens and terrace site planning designed to 'turn the corner';
- comprehensive community facilities designed in the Arts and Crafts, Queen Anne, and neo-classical traditions;
- an outstanding, internationally significant art gallery at the heart of the village;
- outdoor art, public realm features and recreation spaces creating an aesthetic environment for productivity and well-being of working class people;
- cottage housing designed by twenty-nine different architectural practices in the Arts and Crafts tradition reflecting English revival style designs, continental influences, and individual architectural expressions;
- centralised stewardship, which maintained the site as both a quality residential estate and a visitor destination; and
- on site museum and extensive collections that document the history, heritage and development of Port Sunlight from the founding of the village to the present day.

## Criteria for Inscription

*Criteria (ii) to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design.*

Response:

Port Sunlight secured its place at the apex of the development of working-class communities through its commitment to beauty for all; bespoke, individualistic, architect-designed housing and facilities, Picturesque and City Beautiful-inspired site planning, superblock layout and integrated landscapes. Maintained as an environment for well-being, productivity and upward mobility, it was also globally promoted as a visitor destination. Port Sunlight welcomed millions of visitors from around the world. It served as a built model and architectural classroom for both the Garden City movement and suburbs, making it internationally significant for historic developments in town planning which continue to influence society today.

*(iv) to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.*

Response:

Port Sunlight is an outstanding example of a model worker settlement that both reflects and inspired prominent architectural and urban planning trends of the late nineteenth century as well as emerging social concepts and aesthetic ideals for civic improvement in the twentieth century. It is both a radical innovation – bespoke design and investment in beauty for working-class people – and marks the transition from past paternalistic approaches to the creation of place through to the more diverse and complex spirit of Garden Cities and suburbs. Port Sunlight was one of the first meetings on any scale internationally of two important urban traditions: that of the Picturesque affluent suburb with that of the utopian planned worker community.

# Chapter 2: Global Comparative Analysis and Influence of Port Sunlight

## Summary

This chapter summarises work to identify global inscribed or Tentative List sites similar to Port Sunlight ('harmonising the list') and broadens the view to identify Port Sunlight's influence in the development of global planned communities.

UNESCO's requirements for 'harmonising the list' and comparative analysis are included for reference. Neither UNESCO nor DCMS require a full comparative analysis at the Tentative List stage. The Tentative List application requires a list of comparable sites, but no further dialogue.

## UNESCO's concepts

### *Harmonising the list and comparative analysis*

To 'harmonise the list' the global World Heritage List (WHL) and Tentative List (TL) were reviewed to identify comparable sites.

### *Requirements for a full comparative analysis (not required at the TL stage)*

To be inscribed, the nominated property must be considered in relation to similar properties at the international level. This should include the approach for comparison (main elements for the comparative framework, such as the geo-cultural area and type of cultural phenomenon that the potential nominated property represents); a list of the most relevant comparable sites; the importance of the proposed WHS in the international context; a description of how the proposed WHS is similar to and differs from those on the list (including TL/and WHS); and how the proposed WHS contributes to achieving a more balanced and representative WHL.

## Summary of global harmonising and comparative analysis

Port Sunlight was one of the first meetings on any scale internationally of two important traditions: the affluent parkland suburb and the paternalistic planned worker community. Port Sunlight served as a direct model and inspiration for decentralised, low density, Garden City site planning and suburban development around the world from the nineteenth century and through the first decades of the twentieth century. Its multi-faceted approach to placemaking, investments in beauty and well-being continue to inspire designers today.

At present there are no inscribed or Tentative List sites that express Port Sunlight's OUV. Port Sunlight would be the first site to be inscribed specifically as a model for and precursor to the Garden City movement, and for its environment designed to be beautiful to support the well-being and "betterment" of working-class people.

## Approach for comparison and organization of findings

The comparative analysis was completed in two stages, both considering the global design, development, and management of planned settlements for working class people along with wider design traditions for planned community development. The first stage includes global examples of planned worker settlements and garden suburbs founded before 1888. Although all types of planned worker settlements were reviewed, special emphasis was placed on planned model worker settlements. The second stage considered the global influence of Port Sunlight from 1889-1940. The attributes contributing to Port Sunlight's OUV were used as the parameters for comparison.

Port Sunlight's wider architectural contexts, including model tenement and bye-law housing for the working classes; temporary housing camps for enterprise (typically related to agriculture or extractive industries); and social or state-funded housing, were included in the research, but are excluded from this report since they are less relevant for the WHS comparative analysis. These community developments and housing types (particularly those that pre-date Port Sunlight) demonstrate how radical and progressive Port Sunlight was in its provision of high quality, low density, sanitary and artistically designed housing for working class people.

The chapter is organised into three sections. The first situates Port Sunlight in the global continuum of planned settlements, with an emphasis on planned model worker settlements, garden suburbs, and Garden Cities. The second section describes the most relevant sites to Port Sunlight's emergence and development while the third section defines Port Sunlight's influence (post 1890) on these settlement types, citing a selection of global examples.

This chapter clearly demonstrates that Port Sunlight was both influenced by (and is an outstanding surviving example of) three significant nineteenth century traditions. It also demonstrates that Port Sunlight influenced the development of a range of decentralised, low density garden communities – developed for private industry, speculative housing, and social housing. It is this combination of exceptional survival of a representative example and influence on global communities that distinguishes Port Sunlight and underpins its Outstanding Universal Value (OUV).

## SECTION 1: Gazetteer - Global comparative analysis 1770-1940

The research findings demonstrate that most planned settlements, including Port Sunlight, were developed in responsive phases, with transformed practical considerations (i.e. sanitary and heating systems) as well as aesthetic, social and spatial ideals resulting in differences in the designed environment, management, and use. The fate of planned settlements after development, including decline, abandonment or convergence with adjacent settlements was also studied. These aspects of site history are relevant to the integrity and authenticity criteria for World Heritage Site inscription.

Although Port Sunlight was developed with architecture and landscapes from established design traditions, its radical contribution was its audience – working-class people.<sup>2 3</sup> According to architectural historians Nikolas Pevsner and Edward Hubbard (1971), and later Michael Shippobottom (again with Hubbard), Port Sunlight’s significance to planning history lies in its marriage of two significant traditions.<sup>4</sup>

At Port Sunlight two separate traditions in the history of town planning met for the first time. On the one hand there was the Picturesque visual tradition derived from eighteenth-century landscape design as translated into the semi-urban terms of Nash’s Regent’s Park and the Regency suburbs, spas and watering places, with their villas and terraces in silvan settings... The other tradition – a social one – was that of materially decent conditions for the urban working classes.<sup>5</sup>

The current research extends this comparison for Port Sunlight to settlements outside the United Kingdom and demonstrates that it is in fact the earliest surviving, low-density, planned worker settlement developed with individualistic, architect-designed housing and community facilities in a Picturesque setting with generous and integrated greenspaces.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Worker settlements created explicitly for middle- and upper-class employees are included in the study, but the intended audience is integral to my understanding of the historical and architectural values for a model worker settlement.

<sup>3</sup> Port Sunlight appears to have introduced ‘superblock’ site planning and to be one of the first to combine cottage architecture with axial City Beautiful site planning. However, further research is being done to confirm these points.

<sup>4</sup> Pevsner writes: At Port Sunlight two separate traditions in the history of English town planning met for the first time. On the one hand was the movement for improved working-class dwellings, reaching back to New Lanark, Styal, Saltaire, and significantly to Price’s s Village, less than a mile away across Bromborough Pool. On the other hand, were the Picturesque pleasures of Blaise Hamlet, Old Warden, Ilam and Edensor. Nash brought housing and parkland together at Regent’s Park and again significantly so did Paxton a few miles away at Birkenhead Park, but these are for the well-to-do. P 533, *Cheshire (Pevsner Architectural Guides: Buildings of England)*

<sup>5</sup> Edward Hubbard and Michael Shippobottom, *A Guide to Port Sunlight Village*. Third Edition (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), 6.

<sup>6</sup> Separate parks were not introduced at Port Sunlight (as they were in Noisiel, France; Saltaire, England and elsewhere) since communal active and passive greenspaces were central to village design.

## SECTION 2: Predecessors

The survey data for planned worker settlements and garden suburbs (founded before 1888) was organised in a spreadsheet and plotted on a current world topographic map. This information demonstrates considerable alignment by industry type as well as commonalities for regional and even global strategies to address basic functional needs (bringing labour to decentralised sites of production or extraction) and for the benefits of community facilities and welfare practices for human capital.<sup>7</sup> Regional clusters, often in common ownership and with similar expressions in the built environment were typical, particularly for extractive industries, manufacturing processes requiring specific power supplies, agricultural enterprises or sites of production or extraction that relied on the work of enslaved or imprisoned peoples.<sup>8</sup>

Site planning, housing typologies and densities, and architectural expressions revealed by this research illustrate trends and traits that could be considered 'typical' and expressive for specific industries. For example, textile mill towns were connected or influenced by their power supply (water ways), industrial technology, multi-generational labour force, and global human interactions and relationships. As a result, nineteenth century mill towns in the United Kingdom resemble mill towns in Italy, the Americas, and Estonia.<sup>9 10</sup>

Similarly, site planning strategies for planned worker settlements, from the earliest permanent mining towns to early twentieth-century confectionery company towns, embraced hierarchical zoning and gridded site planning, with its long tradition in ancient settlements, early European colonies, and military settlements.<sup>11</sup> Orderly rows of cottages, low-rise multi-family blocks, terraces, tenements, and apartment blocks epitomize planned worker settlements around the world.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> The following attributes were recorded for planned worker settlements: site name, location, industry, company, notable personalities, designers, years for development, current condition (extant, altered, lost), current industrial affiliation, statutory protections, site plan form, architectural character and where found, information about estate management, socio-economic or ethnic zoning, and community transformations. Analysis included review of the data and spatial information.

<sup>8</sup> Examples include (respectively): the Arizona copper mining and smelting towns of Ajo, Clarkdale, Kearny, and Morenci; Lowell, Massachusetts mill towns or Derwent Valley Mill towns; Polish State Owned Farming enclaves; and coal mining towns in the American south, such as Aldrich, Alabama.

<sup>9</sup> See Krenholm, Estonia; Leumann and Schio, Italy; Lowell, Massachusetts, USA.

<sup>10</sup> By the twentieth century some global enterprises were inclined to develop communities and production facilities to align with international 'Modernist' principles or conversely, local contexts. See the Bata towns (Baťovany, Slovakia; Zlin, Czech Republic; Bataville, France; East Tilbury, UK; Belcamp, USA; Batanger, India) as a remarkable example of global corporate community development in the twentieth century.

<sup>11</sup> See Robert K. Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (London: Spon, 1997); and Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, eds., *Urbanism: Imported or Exported* (Chichester: Wiley Academy, 2003).

<sup>12</sup> For a wide historical and geographic spread of planned worker settlements with gridded site plans see Caetanopolis, Brazil; Maria Elena, Chile; Roebing, New Jersey; Docena, Alabama; Hershey, PA; Hershey, Cuba; and Großsiedlung Siemensstadt, Germany for just a few examples.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, with the dominance of the Picturesque and later the Arts and Crafts movements in the United Kingdom, aesthetic and environmental improvements were seen as strategies for mitigating the impacts of capitalism and industrialisation. The emergence of speculative residential parks in the Americas and Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century translates to the emergence of planned worker settlements designed to evoke Picturesque settings.<sup>13</sup>

## Model Worker Settlements

The comparative analysis revealed global exceptions, ‘model worker settlements’, with atypical site plan forms, low housing density, integrated green spaces, exceptional aesthetic investment, and extensive community facilities. Some of the most prominent examples are inscribed as World Heritage Sites (WHS).<sup>14</sup> As these aspects are central to Port Sunlight’s attributes for OUV, planned model worker settlements were explored in greater detail.

‘Planned model worker settlements’ were identified through comparative analysis, with key sites demonstrating architectural and spatial excellence alongside industrial innovations and improved living conditions and facilities for working class people, such as the court architecture of La Saline Royale at Arc-et-Senans (1775-78) by Claude-Nicolas LeDoux for King Louis XV, the phased but unified urban site planning and Italianate expression of Saltaire (1850-1876) by Henry Francis Lockwood and William Mawson for Titus Salt; and the compelling timber-framed silk factory and communal housing at Tomioka, Japan (1871-1873) by the Frenchmen Paul Brunat and Edmond Auguste Bastán for the Japanese (Meiji) government. These planned worker settlements are inscribed WHS.

Noisiel-sur-Marne (France, 1870-1896) and New Schio (Italy, 1872-1888) merit special mention as both are significant planned worker settlements for their architecture and site planning, but neither is inscribed as a WHS or a TL site.<sup>15</sup> They share a gridded layout, hierarchically zoned site planning and the ambition of providing each family with its own small garden.

Noisiel-sur-Marne’s gridded layout and small, multi-family housing blocks by Bonneau and Jules Saulnier for the Menier Chocolate Company were designed to allow separate entryways for each family and architectural plan forms that provided privacy for the family unit.<sup>16</sup> The socio-economic range of house types and hierarchical site planning developed at New Schio by Antonio Caregaro Negrin for Francesco

---

<sup>13</sup> Steinway Village (1873-1890), Port Sunlight and Agneta Park (1882-1927) are three early examples (none of which are inscribed or on the TL) that reflect the example of Riverside (1869-1960) and Bedford Park (1875-1915) and their predecessors.

<sup>14</sup> All inscribed planned worker settlements (to June 2022) include aspects of their industrial heritage. Although the office building (Lever House, 1895, William and Segar Owen. Rear block, 1913-14, J. Lomax Simpson) for Lever Brothers at Port Sunlight is including in the proposed WHS, no manufacturing, transportation, energy, or warehousing heritage is included in the proposed Port Sunlight WHS.

<sup>15</sup> The magnificent Menier factory building by Saulnier is currently on France’s TL, but the associated planned worker settlement is not included in the proposed WHS.

<sup>16</sup> The housing at Noisiel-sur-Marne follow the example established in Mulhouse, France (1853-1897)

Rossi and his son Alessandro Rossi resulted in terrace rows and a more urban setting than the community at Noisiel-sur-Marne.

Negrin used a mix of architectural details to relieve the monotony of the long terraces of housing for unskilled workers and the development was significant for its estate management practice of selling (rather than renting) the houses it developed.

Other worker settlements are notable as physical expressions of utopian, socialist and cooperative principles, such as Robert Owen's New Lanark (1790-1855), the *cités ouvrières* at Mulhouse (1853-1897) by Émile Muller for the coal miners at Ronchamp; and Jean-Baptiste André Godin's *Familistère de Guise* (1859-1880). New Lanark was inscribed as a WHS in 2001. These worker settlements remain landmarks to the stages of the industrial revolution. They represent, high quality and significant architectural expressions of philosophical principles for community development and labour-resource management.

Although undoubtably influential and highly significant, the architecture at Mulhouse has been heavily altered, and does not appear to possess the integrity and authenticity required for World Heritage Site inscription. There are currently thirty-six sites on France's Tentative List, however the *Familistère de Guise* is neither a WHS nor on the TL, despite its undeniable value as a surviving and influential utopian barracks settlement that retains remarkable integrity and authenticity.

## Picturesque residential parks

The most directly comparable planned communities that precede the development of Port Sunlight were those designed in the affluent residential park tradition, including the speculative development at Glendale, Ohio (1851) by civil engineer Robert C. Phillips; Olmsted's influential and widely published residential park at Riverside, Chicago (1869); Jonathan T. Carr's Bedford Park, London (1875) by Richard Norman Shaw and others; and Stewart Hartshorn's remarkable Short Hills, New Jersey (1877) where its investor-designer stipulated that no two houses be built alike.<sup>17</sup>

Two industrial worker settlements in this tradition merit particular mention for their contribution to the design of planned worker settlements before the development of Port Sunlight; Steinway village (1873-1890) and Agneta Park (1882-1927).

Steinway was a remarkable Picturesque settlement developed in Queens, New York by the Steinway Piano Company. Although not exclusively for its employees, most of Steinway's residents (who bought their homes from the company) were employees. The housing stock and community were diverse, but socio-economically zoned. Generous landscaping softened the distinctions in the site plan's hierarchical zoning. Steinway built facilities for the community and generations of German immigrants grew up there. However,

---

<sup>17</sup> Short Hills had buildings designed by McKim, Mead & White, M. H. Baillie Scott and others in a wide variety of architectural styles. Hartshorn, however, managed both the business and aesthetic aspects of the development. His sign-off was required for architectural plans and siting to ensure the houses were integrated with and did not damage the setting.



most of Steinway has been lost to New York City's development pressure, with only a few disparate sections remaining.<sup>18</sup> Steinway lacks the integrity and authenticity required for WHS inscription.

Agneta Park in the Netherlands was designed in two phases for Jacob Cornelis van Marken and his wife Agneta for the workers at any of the four companies of the Industrial Companies of Hof van Delft, including the Gist and Spiritusfabriek distillery. The first phase (1882-1884) was designed by landscape architect Louis Paul Zocher and the architects F. M. L. Kerckhoff and E. Gugel. It was built on ten acres of land and included seven blocks of four back-to-back houses under one roof; semi-detached houses and community buildings situated in a park-like setting around a lake.<sup>19</sup> Over time, schools, library (1894), a park (1882) open to the public but owned by the van Markens, community halls (1879,1892), gymnasium (1892), shops, bath house and playground were developed.

By 1900, Agneta Park was managed along cooperative lines (by yet another company, Collective Property Company, Limited), where the directors and staff of the Industrial Companies of Hof van Delft funded development of community facilities, shops and even the houses themselves.<sup>20</sup> Although significant (and unquestionably inspired by both Mulhouse and English cottage house design), the development was small in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with only 74 families (or 386 people) living there by 1900.<sup>21</sup> For comparison, by 1898 Port Sunlight village had 278 houses across 140 acres.<sup>22</sup>

Jan Gratama designed the second phase (1925-1929) of development which included a further 156 houses. The development of Agneta Park was part of the company's wider social welfare programme, which included a compulsory savings scheme, pensions, profit sharing, a works committee, and company magazine.

There are many similarities between Port Sunlight and Agneta Park, but the small scale of the first phases of development at Agneta Park (that pre-date Port Sunlight), its repetitive housing and its higher density differentiate it from the proposed Port Sunlight World Heritage Site. Additionally, there is evidence that Port Sunlight influenced the development of Agneta Park.

---

<sup>18</sup> These surviving sections are not protected by local landmark designation, which was refused by its residents.

<sup>19</sup> The housing reflects the Mulhouse typology.

<sup>20</sup> The company was created to "buy, build and lease sanitary houses, workshops, shops, washhouses and baths on the land belonging to the Company in Agneta Park; to manufacture and sell by retail articles of daily consumption; and to manage establishments serving for physical and intellectual development for the profits of the directors and staff of the Industrial Companies of Hof van Delft", 16-17.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 17-19.

<sup>22</sup> "The Progress of Port Sunlight", in *Illustrated London News*, 15<sup>th</sup> October, 1898, Vol 113, Issue 3104, p564.

## Conclusions: Comparative Analysis - Predecessors

While there are two classes of accommodation in the village, there are no standard or repeated housing types in Port Sunlight, no hierarchical zoning for socio-economic exclusion and no dip in the investment for moralizing environmental development. Furthermore, when best practice in both site planning and stylistic principles transformed, Lever Brothers responded to introduce these new ideals in the village.<sup>23</sup>

This layered approach to community development demonstrated that neo-classical and formal civic grandeur, inspired by the City Beautiful movement, could be successfully combined with domestically scaled, vernacular cottage housing. With its civic centre at The Diamond and The Causeway, Port Sunlight moved beyond a Picturesque village environment and became something more ambitious and urban.

Port Sunlight was a radical innovation that created a community where all residents, from labourers to the founder himself, benefitted from bespoke architecture, gardens and sports facilities, fine art, healthcare, and education. In an era of austere, monotonous housing and gridded site plans, Lever Brothers invested in beauty for everyone. Comparative analysis demonstrates that Port Sunlight remains the most intact and best example of a designed working-class community through its sustained investment in beauty to support well-being and “betterment” for everyone. This influenced decentralised, low-density developments around the world.

---

<sup>23</sup> In 1909, Lever supported a design competition for architecture students at the University of Liverpool, awarding a cash prize and (partially) implementing the winning design to transform a section of the village into a City Beautiful inspired civic centre, with formal gardens, public art and neo-classical facilities. This winning design was created by Ernest Prestwich and partially implemented over the next twenty years.

## SECTION 3: Successors to 1940

This section describes the modes, agents and key moments for Port Sunlight's influence and then identifies a selection of specific communities (developed post 1890) influenced by Port Sunlight. The communities included in this report are planned model worker settlements, garden suburbs, and 'garden cities' in a global context.

Port Sunlight's ambitious social aims, ideal reforming environment and impact on its residents were transmitted by Lever Brothers through company publications, William Lever's speeches, journal and newspaper articles and by the millions of people who toured the works and village over the years. Lever and Lever Brothers courted 'state' visits by British and foreign royals, celebrities, and heads of state to further amplify publicity of the company's products and its model worker settlement.

Other significant modes of influence include association with the University of Liverpool, where Lever founded the first Department of Civic Design in 1909 and endowed both its influential *Town Planning Review* and departmental chair. Port Sunlight figured prominently in early civic design pedagogy; a practice that continues to the present day. Lever also provided funding and his considerable influence for early stages of the Garden City Association and the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust.



Figure 7: Delegates from the Garden City Association's second conference, July 1902. View shows delegates congregating in front of Hulme Hall, Port Sunlight. From the Edward John Jenkins Collection, held by PSVT.

For example, at the second conference for the Garden City Association (held in the Liverpool city region) in 1902, William Lever delivered the opening address. He described how the Association needed to appeal to people through the three 'H's': hearts, heads and hands, and encouraged them to work towards creating the first Garden City so that others could follow by example. Ebenezer Howard spoke next and shared images of Port Sunlight and Bournville to illustrate both "Prosperity" and the "Garden City enterprise". Conference delegates toured the Port Sunlight works and village.

Lever's world travels and global corporate empire made both Port Sunlight and Lever Brothers familiar names across the globe. Lever's lectures included reference to the transformative powers of art and architecture, and his investments in both for Port Sunlight. As an MP and later a Peer in the House of Lords, Lever's area of influence extended to politics and policy.

## Comparative Analysis: Influence on Planned Worker Settlements

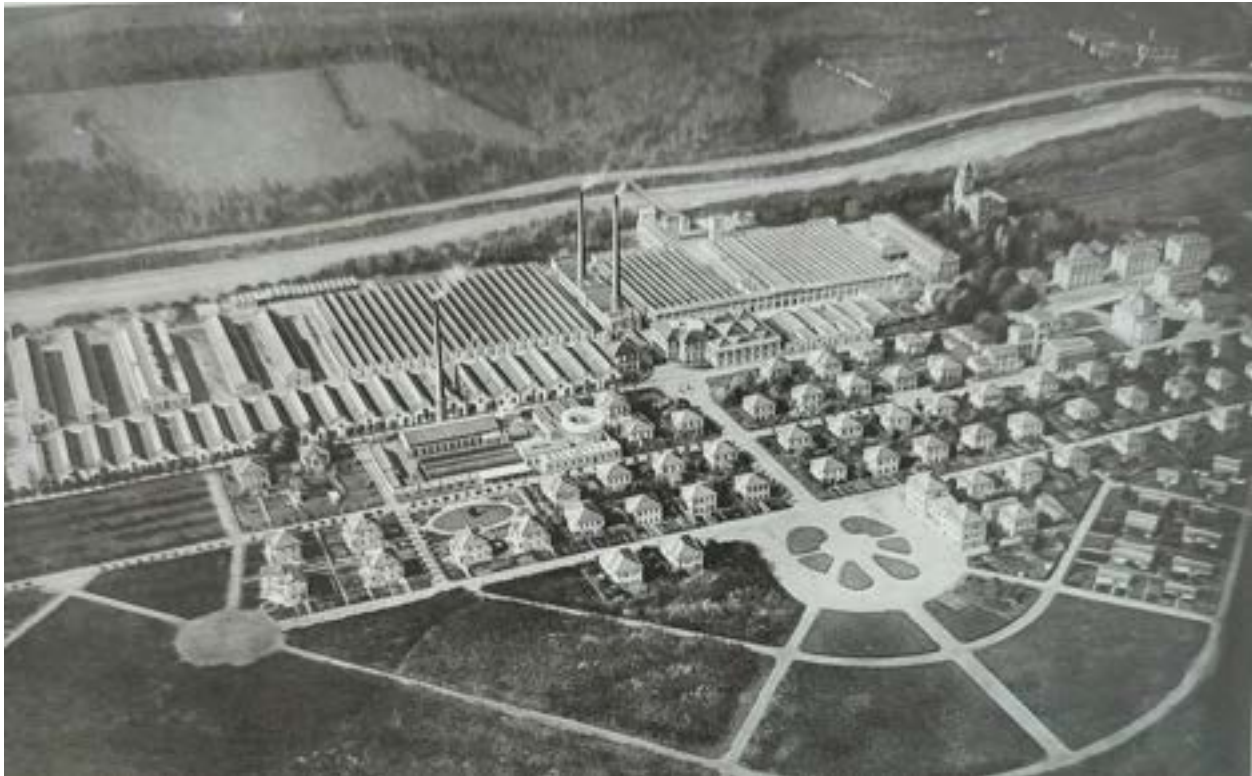
Port Sunlight influenced the design and development of global planned worker settlements. Lever's example at Port Sunlight was emulated by industrialists from America to India. Research to identify settlements influenced by Port Sunlight was structured by Port Sunlight's attributes for OUV, reference in the archival record, and published findings that connect Port Sunlight to other planned worker settlements. Evidence of influence includes explicit statements of influence in the archival record; records of a visit to the village by designer, investor, or developer; and/or credible physical similarities.

The attributes contributing to Port Sunlight's OUV and criteria for inscription are:

- Picturesque and City Beautiful-inspired site planning, with both formal and informal gardens and streetscapes;
- block planning, including integrated (not socio-economically zoned) low-density housing arranged in 'superblocks' surrounding allotments or other green spaces, with open front gardens and terrace site planning designed to 'turn the corner';
- comprehensive community facilities designed in the Arts and Crafts, Queen Anne, and neo-classical traditions;
- an outstanding, internationally significant art gallery at the heart of the village;
- outdoor art, public realm features and recreation spaces creating an environment for productivity and well-being of working class people;
- cottage housing designed by twenty-nine different architectural practices in the Arts and Crafts tradition reflecting English revival style designs, continental influences, and individual architectural expressions;
- centralised stewardship, which maintained the site as both a high-quality community and a visitor destination; and
- on site museum and extensive collections that document the history, heritage, and development of Port Sunlight from the founding of the village to the present day.

Analysis of the information collected for planned settlements developed between 1889 and 1940 revealed trends and patterns for development. Major shifts for worker settlement development occurred with the transformation of industrial processes (energy supply and automation) and with significant geo-political events. For example, while regional consistencies persist, global alignment drops during the inter-war era

with major transformations for industrial technology, diversification of transportation methods and greater disparities in access to technology, healthcare and education between the global north and south. The research also demonstrates a marked difference in both the survival of planned worker settlements established in free-market capitalist societies and those run by the state or situate in socialist or state-controlled societies.<sup>24</sup>



*Figure 8: Aerial view of mill town Crespi d'Adda, Italy in 1927. Crespi d'Adda is a World Heritage Site. Its site plan was gridded with strong geometric shapes at the outer area. The housing was hierarchically zoned. Clerks and managers had villas. Workers had apartments in the blocks of housing. Photograph from *Paradise Planned: The Garden Suburb and the Modern City* (Robert A.M. Stern, 2013). Photograph Credit: Archivi Luigi Cortesi – Marco Pedroncelli, 1927.*

<sup>24</sup>

The transformation of company towns in Italy, Germany and Poland that transitioned from private ownership to state ownership and back to private ownership bear the mark of these transitions and exhibit spatial and aesthetic differences to those outside the former Eastern bloc. This is true for company towns owned by the same global company, such as Bata.

Although gridded and orthogonal site planning persists globally, with the rise of planning as professional practice in the early decades of the twentieth century, site planning for worker settlements includes explicit and more complex strategies for managing residential development, transportation networks, green spaces, civic centres, and commercial districts, with many incorporating both Picturesque and geometric site planning.

Industrialists (or indeed city and suburban developers) claiming their settlements' alignment with the Garden City movement become common after Letchworth, with the development of planned worker communities across the global north and beyond to Japan, Latin America, India, Egypt, and Iran. Of these, there are only two developments described as a 'Garden City' (although neither prescribed to the Garden City Movement's social or economic principles) on the Tentative List (but not yet inscribed): New Delhi, India (accepted to the tentative list in 2012 as part of the wider Delhi – A Heritage City proposed WHS) and the mining settlements of Winterslag, Waterschei, Zwartberg and Eisden in Belgium's Hoge Kempen Rural – Industrial Transition Landscape (accepted to the tentative list in 2011).<sup>25</sup>

For the United Kingdom, Bournville's early garden suburb developments and the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust's first phase of development at New Earswick were influenced by Port Sunlight.<sup>26</sup>

Bournville and New Earswick were developed by British Quaker industrial philanthropists who made their fortunes selling confectionery. Both communities merit particular mention as they were built after Port Sunlight and were often cited in books, and journal and newspaper articles alongside Port Sunlight as 'model villages' and built examples for the Garden City movement's diagrammatic principles and standards.

George Cadbury's community at Bournville (1879, 1893-present) outside Birmingham was initially established as a speculative settlement of houses for sale to working-class people.<sup>27</sup> However, this business model changed with the establishment of the Bournville Village Trust (BVT) in 1900. The BVT was founded to

provide housing to be let to the labouring and working classes in places of easy access to centres of labour...such dwellings may occupy about 1/4<sup>th</sup> of the sites on which they are respectively erected, the remaining portions to be used as gardens or open spaces in connection with such dwellings...<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> "Hoge Kempen Rural – Industrial Transition Landscape" Application to the UNESCO WHS Tentative List. Submitted 25<sup>th</sup> May 2011. Accessed on 25<sup>th</sup> June 2021.  
<https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5623/>

<sup>26</sup> Although neither Bournville nor New Earswick were closed worker settlements (tied to a particular industrial interest), they were developed by industrial philanthropists and housed many workers in their related confectionery works.

<sup>27</sup> George and Richard Cadbury moved their confectionery factory to the countryside outside Birmingham in 1879. George Cadbury personally bought 120 acres of land near the factory in 1893 and housing was developed by 1895. Bournville was not developed as a company settlement, anyone could rent a house in the estate. In 1899 Richard Cadbury died and the following year, George Cadbury established the Bournville Village Trust to ensure that the community he created would remain (after his death) an affordable and healthy place to live.

<sup>28</sup> BVT Deed of Foundation, 14<sup>th</sup> December 1990, page 2. Wolfson Centre, MS1536 Box 5.

Although the community is often called 'Bournville', the area is in fact a collection of many different smaller estates; intended for varied audiences and developed with a wide range of housing styles, differing densities and accommodation, from alms houses to large, detached homes. Although less richly detailed and individualistic (there were repetitive 'types' designed for all but one of Bournville's neighbourhoods) than Port Sunlight, it shares many of its attributes, including landscapes and architecture in the Arts and Crafts and Picturesque traditions, low density housing, integrated landscapes and even utilised Port Sunlight's superblock site planning in the 1890s stages of BVT development.

Bournville was not a closed worker settlement and private gardens were critical to Cadbury's vision for a healthy, productive working-class community. Each house had its own garden plot, and BVT supplied fruit trees to encourage cultivation. Cadbury wanted to improve manufacturing environments and invested in landscape and environmental improvements for the manufacturing premises themselves. The aim was to create a 'factory in a garden'. This initiative was supported by Bournville's facilities and sports grounds, which were (initially) limited to employees (rather than for village residents).



*Figure 9: Beech Road, Bournville, 1924. Note the suburban nature of the settlement, but also the repetitive housing blocks. From "Bournville", a Bournville Village Trust publication printed by Cond Brothers Press (1924: Birmingham), p.8. From the BVT collections held at the Wolfson Centre of the Birmingham Library.*

Although BVT (and Cadbury) did print promotional materials for the community, particularly to celebrate anniversaries or significant Royal visits, Cadbury promoted the chocolate works and Selly Manor as visitor attractions and left the residential estate to manage its own affairs. Estate promotional materials were published, but these were created to attract tenants rather than to advertise the communities as a visitor destination. Cadbury's (and his successors') membership in the Garden City Association (later the Town and Country Planning Association) and Bournville's continuous development of working-class housing kept the community in contact with both design and social housing professionals.

Although Bournville's major community facilities and the earliest extant houses from both the pre- and post-BVT development are listed and the oldest sections of the area are included in a designated conservation area, Bournville's continuous development and mixed growth (new housing introduced to early 20<sup>th</sup> century streetscapes) has resulted in mixed integrity and authenticity for the development.

Unlike Port Sunlight, where both the works and village were promoted as visitor attractions and Bournville, where the works and Selly Manor (which sits near the heart of the village) were promoted as visitor attractions, the 'garden village' at New Earswick, which was located a mile from the chocolate works, was not developed or promoted as a visitor destination.<sup>29 30</sup> The Joseph Rowntree Village Trust, which required a 3.5% return on investment for its housing estate at New Earswick (1903-present) by Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin, cut costs to build housing that would return a profit and be affordable for its working-class tenants.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> The works was not immediately adjacent to the residential development, so it lacked Bournville's appeal as a confectionery town.

<sup>30</sup> Records in the Borthwick Institute for Archives, New Earswick archives ((JRF/1/2/8/3), Draft Press Statements, 1904) demonstrate that Rowntree believed New Earswick should be called a 'Garden Village'. The archives revealed an edited press release announcing the estate in 1904, where the words 'model village' were crossed out and replaced with 'Garden Village'. The edits also revealed Rowntree's desire to separate the estate from the paternalistic tradition (again – paternalism was edited out) and to emphasise association with 'the Letchworth Garden City designers'.

<sup>31</sup> Although press statements and Rowntree's public statements indicate a 3.5-4% return on capital investment, financial records illustrate a more variable return, ranging from 3.4-5.1%. See: JRF/4/1/9/2/14 - Cost of Developing Housing/ Rent Projections Dated; Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York.





Figure 10: Example of housing at New Earswick. Identified as 'Type II', this block of housing had four separate residences. The lounge extended from the front to the back of the houses with a scullery to the side of the lounge opening to the back of the property. Although practical, this type of house was not popular with tenants and its design was modified to suit their preferences. From "New Earswick, York" by the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust (1913), p16. held in the JRVT Collection at the Borthwick Institute, University of York, reference NE 21/15.

Rowntree created a housing trust and rented the houses to a range of people from the working and artisan classes. Although highly significant for site planning strategies, including cul-de-sacs, and credited with introducing 'open plan living' (by doing away with the 'formal' front room), the results were variable.<sup>32</sup> By the inter-war era, housing developed in New Earswick was austere and of a lesser standard than pre-war housing, built without hot running water or baths, on less desirable sites and constructed with the most basic materials required to be watertight and structurally sound.<sup>33</sup>

Further afield, Altenhoff I (Schmol's first Krupp colony), and Gartensiedlung Gronauerwald were influenced by Port Sunlight's early site planning, housing density and combination of Picturesque architecture and environment for working class people before the widespread transmission of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City principles.

After publication of *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* in 1898, Port Sunlight's influence on planned worker settlements was magnified by association. Port Sunlight and Bournville were identified as examples or models of garden worker village development that could be replicated on a grand scale for the development of Garden Cities.

<sup>32</sup> Examples of an architect-designed type of 'open plan' house were illustrated by Bath architect, John Wood, the Younger in his 1781 book *A Series of Plans for Cottages or Habitations of the Labourer Either in Husbandry or the Mechanic Arts, Adapted as well to Towns as to the Country*.

<sup>33</sup> Given the post-war labour and material shortages, which along with government mandated rent controls contributed to inflation and poor rates of return for housing development, this is not surprising. However, the JRVT received government subsidies to develop their inter-war housing. See 'Rents and Costs of Building; Conference between G. Harlock, BS Rowntree and E Remmer. 15 January 1907', JRF/4/1/9/2/1/4; Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York.



*Figure 11: Example of senior manager's house at Hershey, Pennsylvania, USA. Wilton Hershey invested in a significant civic centre and community facilities for his confectionery worker settlement. Employees could buy plots and either develop their own house or buy one from the company. Photograph by Heather Alcock, 2022.*

Planned worker settlements such as Hershey, Pennsylvania and Kohler, Wisconsin in the USA; Pallenberg Siedlung, Emscher-Lippe and Margarethenhöhe in Germany; Jamshedpur in India; Pioneer Vila Operária, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; and Het Lansink and Philipsdorp in the Netherlands were influenced by Port Sunlight through its association with the international Garden City movement. Writers such as George Benoit Levy, Alfred Richard Sennett, Bernhard Kampffmeyer, and Hermann Muthesius reinforced the connection between effective garden settlement design (including garden suburbs and cities) and Port Sunlight, with each highlighting the village as an ideal or model for community design.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Notably, Port Sunlight was the antithesis of Howard's cooperative principles for community ownership and management. However, Howard embraced many of Lever's strategies for community design for well-being, including productive landscapes (Lever introduced allotments as a central feature for the design of the village and the well-being of its residents), provision of community facilities for education, health care, cultural enrichment and fitness as well as practical considerations for sanitary systems and low housing density.

## Influence – Garden suburbs and garden cities

After its initial stage of development, Port Sunlight served as both a direct and indirect model for the global development of garden suburbs and garden cities. It was a tangible and evocative counterpoint to Ebenezer Howard's diagrammatic principles and Raymond Unwin's site planning 'manual'. Lever's involvement in the garden suburb and Garden City movements, as well as international publications, conferences and association with the University of Liverpool's Department of Civic Design magnified Port Sunlight's influence.

The research completed to date demonstrates that Port Sunlight influenced the design of garden suburbs and 'garden cities' directly (with evidence of information exchange in the archival record or explicit in the designed environment) in the United Kingdom, including Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb, Billerica Garden Suburb, Massachusetts and Forest Hills, New York in the USA; Pacaembu garden suburb in Brazil; New Delhi in India; and Colonel Light Gardens in Australia. Indirect influence was much wider, with developments in Japan, China, Mexico and Canada to name just a few.

However, Port Sunlight was not frozen or forgotten after its 'completion'. Continuous use and commitment to maintaining and enhancing the quality and character of the community sustained its image and example so people from around the world can today experience the benefits and opportunities created by aesthetic environments for productivity and well-being. Port Sunlight continues to inspire and influence the design of communities in the United Kingdom and around the world.

## Conclusions

This chapter summarises the evidence gathered to date regarding both Port Sunlight's place in the global continuum of planned worker settlements and its influence on three settlement typologies: planned worker settlements, garden suburbs and garden cities.<sup>35</sup> The findings clearly demonstrate both Port Sunlight's unique OUV and its influence on a global scale.

*Port Sunlight is an innovative community development, where sustained aesthetic investment resulted in the creation and subsequent re-creation of a working-class environment for well-being and productivity. The village served as an enduring influence on global community development from the late nineteenth century to the present day.*

At present there are no inscribed or tentative sites that express Port Sunlight's architectural, social, and historical values. Port Sunlight would be the first site to be inscribed specifically as a model for and precursor to the garden city movement, and the first for its environment designed to support the well-being and productivity of working-class people.<sup>42</sup>

This was an all-encompassing goal, covering health, exercise, exposure to the natural environment, education, religion, art, music, theatre and policies to support a sustainable work/life balance. These values remain in the extant built environment with a remarkably high degree of integrity and authenticity. They are clearly expressed within the proposed World Heritage Site boundaries. If inscribed, Port Sunlight would be unique for the World Heritage List.

---

<sup>35</sup> Research is ongoing for Port Sunlight's influence on the global development of munitions housing and social housing. Its place in the continuum for British social housing is understood, but the next phase of research focuses on global social housing. We did not believe that this research was required to demonstrate Port Sunlight's comparative value since it was so influential for the other planned settlement typologies.

## Chapter 3: Integrity and Authenticity



*Image 1: Port Sunlight's original designed environment remains and retains remarkable integrity and authenticity. This terrace of housing on Bath Street illustrates the extant architectural, landscape and public art found throughout the proposed WHS. Photograph by Heather Alcock, 2022.*

## Summary

This chapter includes UNESCO's concepts and standards of Authenticity and Integrity and describes how Port Sunlight meets these criteria for inscription.

## UNESCO's Concepts

*Test for Authenticity:* Does the extant design, material, setting, workmanship, and use(s) or function(s) for the proposed World Heritage Site adequately express its Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) and criteria for inscription?<sup>36</sup>

*Test for Integrity:* Is the site whole and intact enough to express its OUV? Is it of adequate size to represent the features that comprise its OUV and does it suffer from neglect or inappropriate development?<sup>37</sup>

## Summary Statement of Authenticity for Port Sunlight

Port Sunlight possesses exceptional authenticity in its designed environment, including continuous use of its original housing, community and cultural facilities, and centralised estate management. Port Sunlight retained exceptional authenticity through the gradual transition from tied tenancy to private ownership. Port Sunlight's historic buildings, designs, materials, views and vistas remain and express all attributes of its OUV. Lever Brothers' commitment to beauty for all is clearly expressed by public art, Lady Lever Art Gallery, designed landscapes, and architecture. A mix of social and market rate rental housing and privately-owned homes maintains Port Sunlight's ambitions for an integrated community.

Centralised estate management and collaborative site management utilise three layers of heritage protection (statutory listing, conservation area designation and restrictive covenants) and extensive on-site archival collections to ensure the appropriate management of alterations or enhancements to individual heritage attributes and wider strategic initiatives. Port Sunlight remains a visitor destination, attracting over 300,000 people each year (before the pandemic), one where its key stakeholders work together to share the history, legacies, and values of the site with the local community and national and international audiences through exhibitions, events, and learning programmes. This beautiful environment for well-being and productivity continues to inspire the design of new communities around the world.

---

<sup>36</sup> According to UNESCO, "Outstanding Universal Value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity.

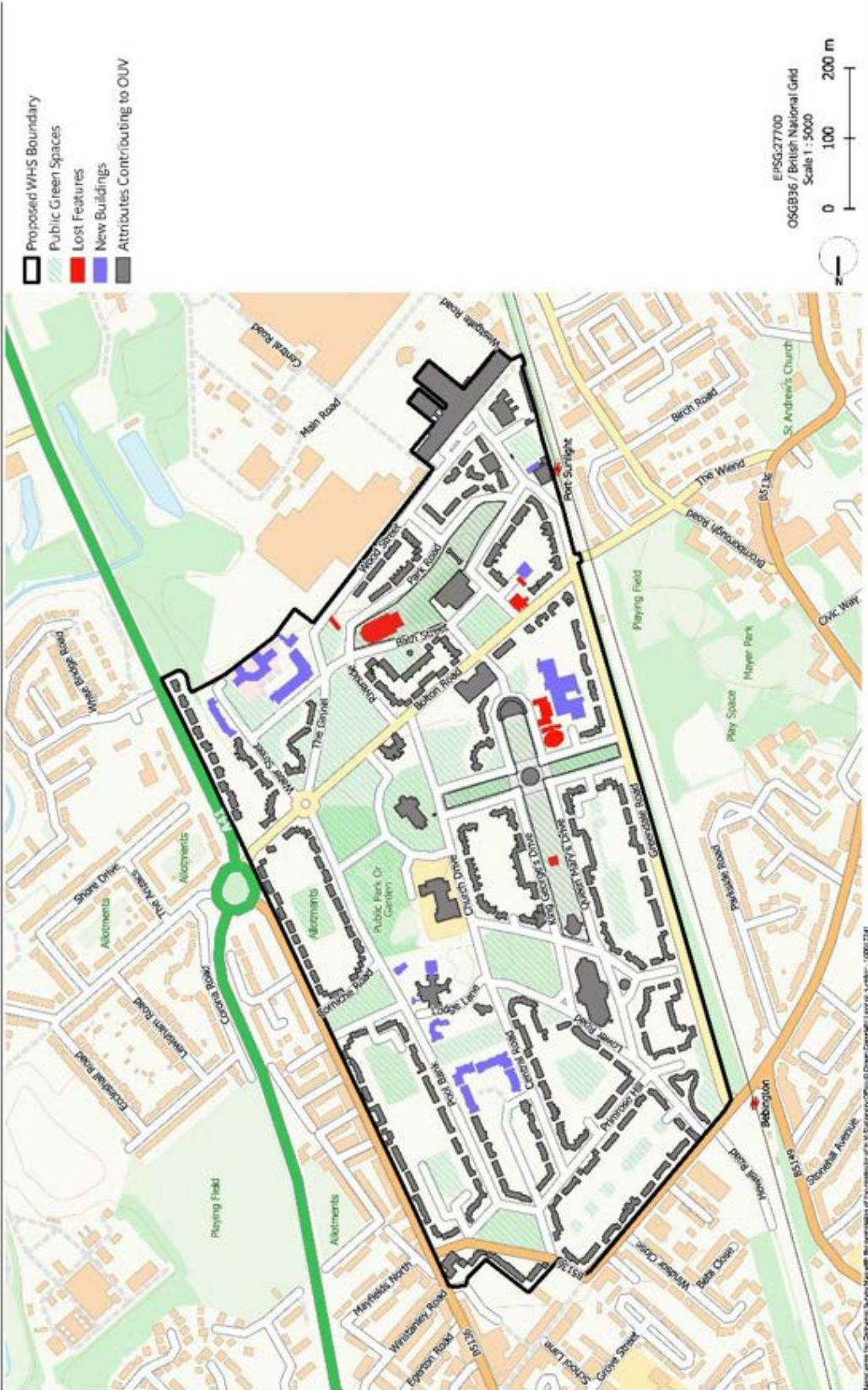
<sup>37</sup> According to UNESCO's *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (2021), "the physical fabric of the property and/or its significant features should be in good condition, and the impact of deterioration processes controlled. A significant proportion of the elements necessary to convey the totality of the value conveyed by the property should be included. Relationships and dynamic functions present in cultural landscapes, historic towns or other living properties essential to their distinctive character should also be maintained."

## Summary Statement of Integrity for Port Sunlight

Port Sunlight meets UNESCO's requirements for integrity to a very high degree. Port Sunlight has lost less than 4% of its built heritage and the village continues to represent a unique and exceptional example of site planning and community development for well-being and "betterment". (See Illustration 1.)

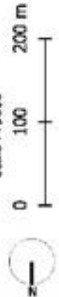
The proposed WHS boundaries match the historic boundaries, which are fixed by the railway line to the west, the A41 to the east, and the historic factory wall and Lever House to the south. The northern boundary is open to the adjacent community. Key stakeholders Wirral Council and PSVT work collaboratively to manage the development of this area. Continuous occupation coupled with responsible estate management (see Conservation Management Plan 2018-2028) and statutory protections have ensured that the designed environment in Port Sunlight has been well maintained. Where deficiencies exist, there is a plan in place to address concerns in future.

All attributes are contained within the proposed World Heritage Site boundaries. Where minor inappropriate alterations or deterioration exist, there is a plan in place to work collaboratively with stakeholders to manage improvements. No attributes of the proposed WHS are considered to be 'at risk' and Port Sunlight continues to serve as a desirable place to live, work, and visit and an inspiration for the design of new communities.



- Proposed WHS Boundary
- Public Green Spaces
- Lost Features
- New Buildings
- Attributes Contributing to OUV

EPSG:27700  
 OSGB36 / British National Grid  
 Scale 1 : 5000



**ILLUSTRATION 1**  
 AUTHENTICITY AND INTEGRITY



## Demolition and Losses

Out of 192 different buildings (counted as blocks of housing and facilities rather than separate houses or parts of a complex) developed during the period of historical significance (1888-1938), six were altered or demolished during founder William Lever's (1851-1925) lifetime to enable new aesthetic, civil engineering, or site planning features to be introduced to the village. These changes are considered part of the Port Sunlight's sustained investment in aesthetic placemaking for wellbeing and productivity and contribute to (rather than detract from) its OUV.



*Image 2: Tidal creeks covered 25 acres of the Port Sunlight estate. By 1901, Lever Brothers started work to dam and divert the waterways that crossed the estate. This work took nearly nine years for the company to complete and enabled the introduction of a City Beautiful-inspired site plan at the village centre. This view shows the dam under construction c1903. Victoria Bridge became redundant during this work and was buried. Reproduced by kind permission of Unilever PLC from an original in Unilever Archives.*

Six additional buildings were demolished and are considered minor losses for the authenticity of the proposed World Heritage Site. Comprising less than 4% (3.6%) of the development, the lost buildings are: The Auditorium, Poet's Corner, 14-18 Bolton Road, Swimming Pool and Gymnasium. Of these, three were lost to due to bomb damage during the second world war, leaving only four buildings demolished for estate management, economic or other reasons.

**Table 1: Summary of demolished buildings in Port Sunlight village**

<b>Era</b>	<b>What was demolished</b>	<b>Why?</b>	<b>By When?</b>	<b>Replaced?</b>
During William Levers lifetime	Victoria Bridge (1897 – William and Segar Owen)	Redundant when ravines infilled, and watercourses channeled through underground culverts	1909	No. Buried, partially disassembled, and fragments reused elsewhere.
	3 blocks of housing on Windy Bank and Greendale Rd By Grayson & Ould (1901 and 1902)	To complete City Beautiful-inspired axial site plan and open views from Greendale Road to Lady Lever Art Gallery.	1924	Yes. Road realigned and developed with 35 new houses in 1925.
1930s – City Beautiful inspired civic centre redevelopment	Bandstand (James Lomax Simpson, 1906)	Initially built at north end of The Diamond. Moved to centre of The Diamond in 1910 to align with Prestwich plan. Demolished for J. L. Simpson’s sunken rose garden plans.	c.1932	Yes. The space was redeveloped with an analemmatic sundial in 2012 to mark the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee.
	Landscape and public realm features at The Diamond and The Causeway	Sunken rose garden and paths created to align with Ernest Prestwich’s City Beautiful-inspired plans for the village centre. Designed by J.L. Simpson.	1936	Yes. Developed to complete Lever’s vision for a City Beautiful-inspired civic centre for the village
1930s – Cost savings and obsolete buildings	Auditorium (Grayson & Ould, 1903)	Redundant. Too expensive to maintain.	1937	No
	Shakespeare Cottages, Poet’s Corner (Edmund Kirby, 1896)	Road widening and undesirable as offices or housing.	1938	No
Destroyed during the Second World War	14-18 Bolton Road (William & Segar Owen, 1889)	Bomb damage	1940s	Yes. 1950s design by JL Simpson.
	Collegium (Douglas & Fordham, 1894)	Bomb damage	1940s	No. Currently small surface car park and landscaped area.
	Swimming pool (William & Segar Owen, 1902)	Redundant and too expensive to repair/maintain/improve	1975	No. Excluded from 1965 statutory listing campaign. A modern (indoor)

Era	What was demolished	Why?	By When?	Replaced?
				swimming pool was built by the local council nearby and serves the Port Sunlight community.
Late 20 <sup>th</sup> century losses	Elm Trees	Dutch elm disease decimates Port Sunlight's tree stock, over 1000 trees are lost	1976	Yes. Landscape management plans and tree management plans implemented by 1978 to restore treescape and improve wider landscape. More than 1800 trees (of varied species) were planted. PSVT is currently (2022) developing a 50-year tree strategy with the local authority and the Tree Council.
	Gymnasium (William & Segar Owen, 1902)	Originally built on the site of present war memorial. Moved in 1910 to a site near the swimming pool to align with Prestwich plan. Damaged in Second World War, redundant and too expensive to repair/maintain/improve	1982	No. Excluded from 1965 statutory listing campaign. Modern facilities were built nearby by the local council and these serve the Port Sunlight community.
	Poplar trees on the corner of Church Drive and The Causeway.	The advanced age and poor condition of trees posed a significant health and safety risk.	2022	Planned replacement. New trees to be planted 2022-23, and likely to be native tree species and spring flowering trees to support wildlife and reduce risks posed by climate change and new diseases.



*Image 3: View of the road and inter-war housing (1924-25, James Lomax Simpson), developed during William Lever's lifetime to introduce a City Beautiful-inspired vista from the railway line and main road to the Lady Lever Art Gallery (William and Segar Owen, completed 1922). The road and housing replaced earlier Lever Brothers developments. The monument is the Leverhulme Memorial, completed in 1933. Photograph by Heather Alcock, 2022.*



*Image 4: 14 - 16 Bolton Road, c. 1951, James Lomax Simpson. Replaced an original terrace that was destroyed by bombs during the Second World War. Photograph by Heather Alcock, 2022.*

Although loss of these attributes has a minor impact on two of the attributes of the OUV (sustained investment in aesthetic placemaking for wellbeing and productivity; and community facilities in the Arts and Crafts and City Beautiful traditions), remaining attributes express these attributes. (See Table 5.)



*Image 5: Detail view of the subsidised inter-war housing developed by Lever Brothers (designed by James Lomax Simpson, 1924) to introduce axial site planning and vistas both to and from the Lady Lever Art Gallery. This housing replaced earlier terrace blocks and a street plan developed by Lever Brothers. Photograph by Heather Alcock, 2022.*

## Impact of Statutory Listing and Conservation Area Designation

Only seven village buildings and monuments were not listed in 1965 or later in 1986: the swimming pool, gymnasium, stables, stable-keepers lodge, bakery, Nurses' Lodge (today known as Manor Lodge) and 14-16 Bolton Road. The 1965 foreword to the listing descriptions prepared by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government describes Port Sunlight as "a complete and virtually unaltered museum-piece of planning and architecture, unique of its kind, in the country".<sup>38</sup> The proposed World Heritage Site was designated as a Conservation Area in 1978. In 2002, The Dell and The Diamond and The Causeway were listed in the Register of Parks and Gardens in England at Grade II.

Through Unilever's estate management practices, Port Sunlight Village Trust's (PSVT) heritage site management practices (from 1999) and Wirral Council's development management controls, the designed environment retains exceptional authenticity and integrity.<sup>39</sup>

Notable alterations are described below (Table 2). Change and dynamic responses to community needs (population size, demographics, facilities) have been part of Port Sunlight's estate management practice since William Lever's lifetime. Changes were introduced without compromise to the quality, character, workmanship, and environment of the village.

There were two significant phases of rebuilding or refurbishment: post-war reconstruction of heavily damaged properties and a mid-twentieth century modernisation programme. Both programmes were designed and implemented to be suitable for the village. The post-war rebuilding works were completed using salvaged and new materials to complement the existing historic architecture. Unilever's in-house architects and estate management department used the original drawings to reconstruct the war damaged buildings. This tradition continued throughout the twentieth century and carries forward for enhancement and repairs of village assets today. See [Drawn Together](#), an online archive and catalogue of over 1500 original Port Sunlight drawings.

---

<sup>38</sup> The Ministry of Housing and Local Government included powers of the later Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England (created by the National Heritage Act of 1983). In 1970, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government merged with the Ministry of Transport, creating the Department for the Environment, which is a predecessor to the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport.

<sup>39</sup> PSVT owns 292 residential village properties, 323 garages, all monuments (except those on the grounds of Christ Church), all formal gardens and open spaces, 1350 trees and all front gardens in the village.



Image 6: 8-14 Bridge Street. This terrace was heavily damaged by bombs during the Second World War. Unilever rebuilt the terrace using salvaged and new materials. Photograph by Heather Alcock, 2022.

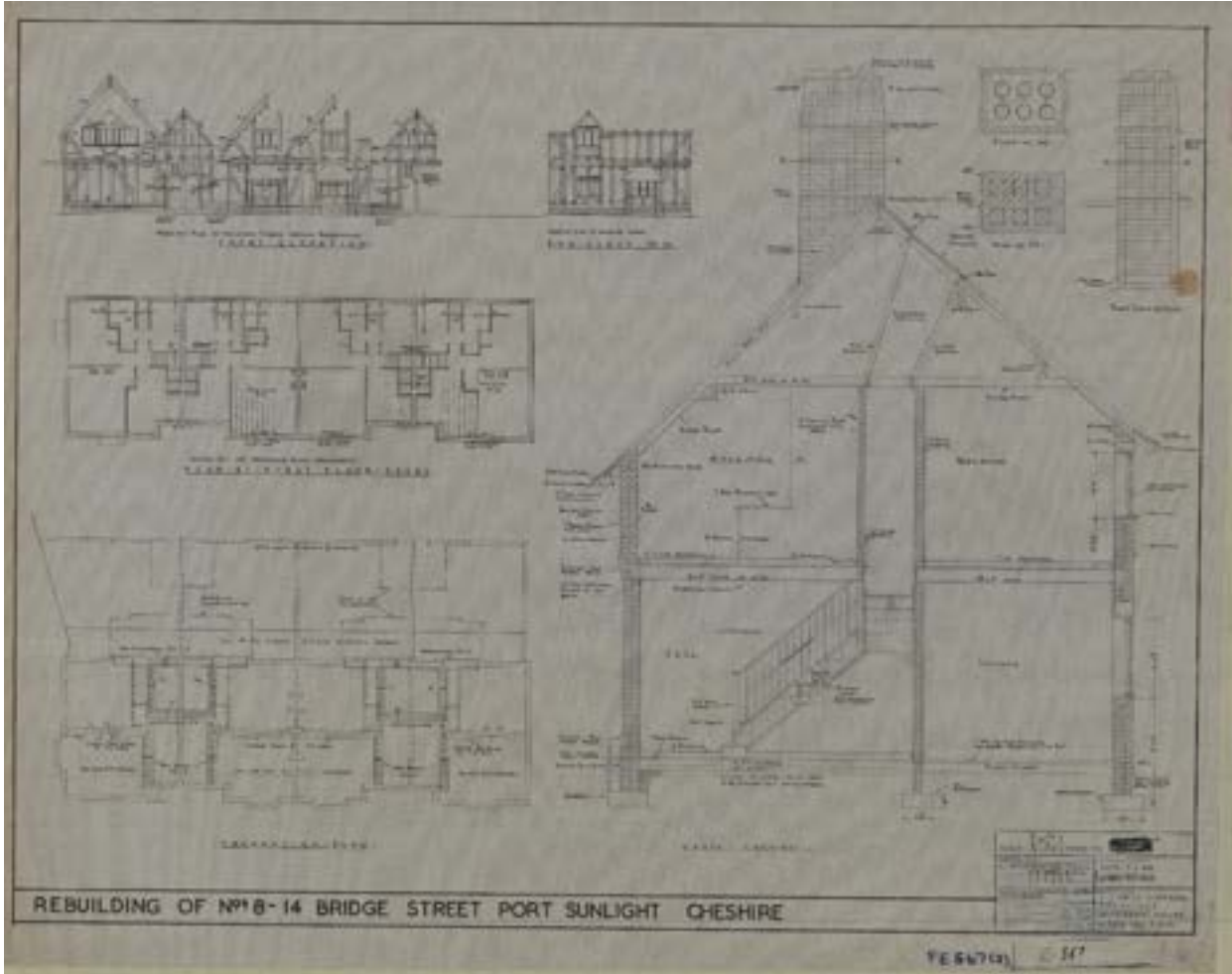


Image 7: Example of rebuilding plans for 8-14 Bridge Street. Copyright CC-BY-NC-ND through National Lottery Heritage Fund project Drawn Together. Copyright remains with Unilever, plc for all other uses.

The mid-twentieth century refurbishment works were completed ‘behind-the-scenes’ at the interiors with alterations to fenestration at the ground floor, back of the houses (which are largely concealed behind original brick or stone yard walls). Although heritage site management practices have been introduced (see [Port Sunlight Local Listed Building Consent Order](#)) to improve the heritage character for the ‘backs of houses’, superblock site planning has been shown to support adaptations that are necessary for the long-term sustainability of the heritage while ensuring that key attributes (at the primary and secondary facades and in the public realm/landscape) contributing to Port Sunlight’s OUV remain intact.

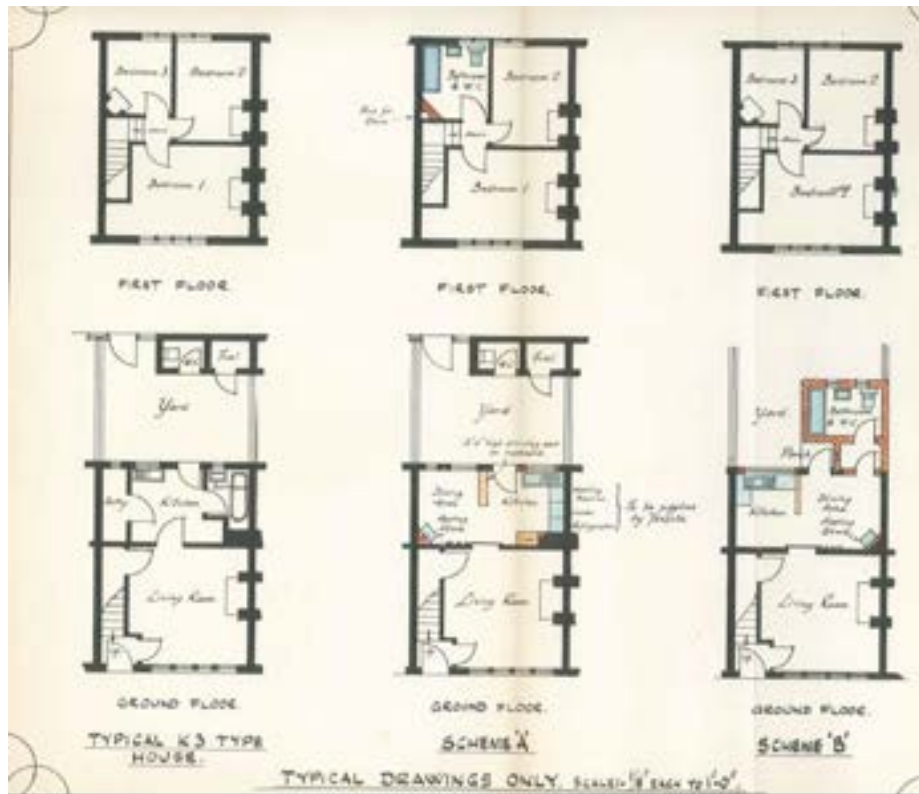


Image 8: Extracts from “The Future of Port Sunlight Village”, November 1960 by B. D. Rungay and J. Emmerson, from the Port Sunlight Museum collection. Shows the original and refurbished floor plans for the mid-twentieth century renewal work.



**Table 2: Summary of alterations to the designed environment**

Area	What was altered?	When?
Post-war reconstruction of bomb damaged properties (works completed by 1951). Works completed using salvaged and compatible new materials.	1-11 Boundary Road	1940s
	8-14 Bridge Street	1940s
	6-13 Church Drive	1940s
	27-39 Pool Bank, 19 Pool Bank 55 Pool Bank	1940s
1945-1980 Renewals	Widespread (over 700 houses). Introduced modern kitchens (hob, oven, sink, cabinets), removed range cookers and introduced central heating; introduced 3-piece bathrooms at a first-floor bedroom. Some single or two-storey additions built at backs of houses. Retained integrity at front and side facades but altered fenestration at ground floor rear of properties.	Completed in phases from one-off improvements in late 1940s through comprehensive programmes completed in the 1970s.
	Individual gardens, access roads and garage blocks were introduced at the interior of the superblocks, reducing or replacing allotments. Grassy lawns replaced some allotments.	Completed in phases from the 1950s through the 1970s.

## New Development

Port Sunlight remained a living, multi-generational community and desirable place to live after tied tenancy ended.<sup>40</sup> To meet demand, particularly for senior housing, new housing was built within the boundaries of the proposed World Heritage Site. The new developments were built in two sections of the village; on land bounded by Central Road, Pool Bank and Lodge Lane and on reclaimed land at the former wharf and dock site at the southeast corner of the village. The housing was designed and built to be in keeping with the architectural character, materials, massing, and site planning of the historic settlement. Although housing density is higher in these developments than it is for the historic housing (see Table 3), this is mitigated by their appearance as two-storey terrace cottage blocks.



*Image 9: Osborne Court, a senior housing complex comprising 40 sheltered housing units, was completed in 2000 to the designs of Paddock Johnson Partnership. The development included distinct terrace blocks of arts and crafts-inspired detail and was built in a superblock form. Photograph courtesy of Paddock Johnson Partnership.*

---

<sup>40</sup> Village houses were first sold in 1979, with Unilever transferring ownership of its remaining village assets to Port Sunlight Village Trust in 1999.



*Image 10: Woodhead Row, Water Street. 21 rental senior apartments completed in 2009 to the designs of Paddock Johnson Partnership. The development reflects the design, materials and massing of the original three-storey terrace blocks on Water Street. Photograph courtesy of Paddock Johnson Partnership.*

A garden centre was built in stages by Unilever Merseyside Limited (UML) on the land formerly occupied by the swimming pool and gymnasium.<sup>41</sup> Although the current garden centre does not enhance or contribute to the architectural values of the proposed World Heritage Site, it does sustain a long-standing use for the site. Glass houses and other facilities for maintaining and improving the landscape were sited in this location from the 1930s, with a large estate nursery developed there in the 1950s. Therefore, the garden centre represents both a popular (independent) commercial enterprise today, and a continuation of a historic use.

There is one additional facility that does not contribute to the architectural values of the proposed World Heritage Site. That is the c1965 two-storey block and connecting corridor for the Lever Club (on Greendale Road near the Port Sunlight station). A two-storey corridor connects the 1960s building to the original at the central bay of the east façade. The north bay is obscured by the new development, but the rest of the original building remains intact.

---

<sup>41</sup> UML was created in 1960 to manage the Port Sunlight estate.

A landscape depot was also built at the southeast corner of the village. This is minimally visible as it was developed behind a brick wall, extending the historic brick factory wall which defines the southern boundary for the village. This does not detract from the values of the proposed World Heritage Site.

A new development of family homes was approved for a vacant plot of land at Wharf Street and Water Streets in the southeast corner of the village. This housing proposal was developed by PSVT to the designs of Paddock Johnson Partnership and approved by Wirral Council in 2010. However, the development was not built. Since then, PSVT has revisited the housing proposal and decided to consult with residents and stakeholders about the feasibility of building environmentally sustainable family houses at the site. As of 2022, community consultation had taken place but no application had been made to Wirral Council.

**Table 3: Summary of New Developments in Port Sunlight village**

Replaced?	Building	What?	When?	Designer
Vacant land	Lever Club extension	Two storey modern extension connected to the original building with a two-storey corridor.	c1965	Unknown
Swimming pool	UML Green Hand Garden Centre	Shop with fertilizer, bulbs, seeds, garden tools, 5 green houses, and a florist's shop	1976	Unknown
Gymnasium	UML Green Hand Garden Centre	Expansion of earlier shop and greenhouses	1982	Unknown
Football pitch	Osborne Court (Central Road and Pool Bank)	40 sheltered apartments with communal facilities across 5 lodges	2000	Paddock Johnson Partnership
Apprentices training centre (post war building)	Philip Leverhulme Lodge (Lodge Lane & Pool Bank)	10 apartments	2003	Paddock Johnson Partnership
Vacant land	Woodhead Row (Water Street)	21 apartments	2009	Paddock Johnson Partnership
1979 low rise office and storage	PSVT Landscape Depot (Wood Street)	A 265 sq m building that serves as offices, stores and facilities for the village landscape team	2012	Paddock Johnson Partnership
Vacant land	Darcy Court (Wharf Street)	58 affordable apartments	2015	Paddock Johnson Partnership

## Function or Use

All historic housing blocks (172 blocks of housing) remain in use as housing.<sup>42</sup> Three terrace blocks were converted from large single-family homes into apartments for social housing in the 1970s. These were improved in the 1990s.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Only one block of housing was demolished and not rebuilt – Shakespeare Cottages on Poet's Corner.

<sup>43</sup> The terraces altered to become social housing apartments are: 2-24 Central Road/11-21 Primrose Hill; 54-58 Greendale Road, and 13-17 The Causeway/47-50 Queen Mary's Drive.



*Image 11: 13-17 The Causeway/47-50 Queen Mary's Drive (James Lomax Simpson, 1913) were converted from single family homes into flats in the 1970s. The development was sensitively refurbished in the 1990s (See Image 12) with no alterations to the primary or secondary facades. Photograph by Heather Alcock, 2022.*



*Image 12: View of the backs of social housing flats at 13-17 The Causeway/47-50 Queen Mary's Drive. These improvements, including small extensions, were introduced in the 1990s. These improvements are sensitively designed and concealed from public view. Photograph by Heather Alcock, 2022.*

One terrace block of three very large homes was converted into market rate apartments.<sup>44</sup>



*Image 13: View of 17-21 Bolton Road, which was converted from three large terrace houses into apartments. Photograph by Heather Alcock, 2022.*

These alterations were introduced in a sensitive way, retaining original exterior materials, entrance doors, windows, and details at the primary and secondary facades. Rear facades (at the interior of the superblock) were altered in minor ways but in keeping with the character of the historic buildings and their context. Additionally, in the 1970s 2-12 Bolton Road, an early terrace of six very small cottage houses, was remodeled into three larger cottages. Again, exterior materials, fenestration and even entrance doors were retained to preserve the architectural character of the early terrace housing.



*Image 14: View of 8-12 Bolton Road, which was converted from six, small terrace houses into three larger cottages in the 1970s. Photograph by Heather Alcock, 2022.*

---

<sup>4444</sup> This terrace is located at 17-21 Bolton Road.

The original Nurses' Lodge (1939, James Lomax Simpson) was adapted for use as market rate rental apartments (seven units) known as Manor Lodge in 2002.



*Image 15: View of Manor Lodge (1939, James Lomax Simpson), which was converted from the Nurses' residence into seven apartments in 2002. Photograph by Heather Alcock, 2022.*

The sixteen, extant original (non-residential) facilities either retain their function as community or commercial buildings or were sensitively adapted for new (compatible) uses.



**Table 4: Summary of Uses or Functions for Extant Non-residential Buildings**

<b>Building</b>	<b>Original Use(s)</b>	<b>Current Use(s)</b>
Gladstone Hall	Men's dining room, event venue	Community theatre and event venue
Lyceum	Village schools, event venue, religious services	SoapWorks Gallery (part of Port Sunlight Museum); Lyceum Club (social club); Professional offices
Bakery	Bakery and MacFisheries shop	Church hall; meeting space; flexible exhibition space; learning facility; event space
Fire Station	Housed carriages and equipment for the LB Fire Brigade	Vacant
Hulme Hall	Women's dining room, event venue, art gallery	Event venue
Christ Church	Non-denominational church	United Reformed Church
Bridge Inn	Temperance inn	Inn with bedrooms
Church Drive Schools	Village schools	Primary school
Cottage Hospital	Hospital for village residents and Lever Brothers' Port Sunlight employees	Boutique hotel
Hesketh Hall	Technical Institute	Apartments with communal facilities
Shops	Shops; post office	Tea Room
Girls' Club	Meeting space, classrooms, event space for girls and women	Port Sunlight Village Trust Museum and offices
Girls' hostel	Housing for young, unmarried women. This concept failed to attract tenants, so it was adapted for use as a library, bank and museum.	Port Sunlight Village Trust offices and professional offices
Lady Lever Art Gallery	Art Gallery	Art Gallery
Stables	Horse stables	Vacant
Lever Club	Men's social club	Social club
Boys' Brigade	Meeting space and facilities	Vacant
Bowling pavilion	Storage and facilities for bowling	Storage and facilities for bowling



*Image 15: View of Boundary Road façade of Hesketh Hall (1903, J.J. Talbot), which is currently market rate senior apartments. Restoration and conversion completed in 2016. The building experienced earlier changes of use. It was originally built as a Technical Institute, but then was adapted for use as the headquarters for a branch of the British Legion. Photograph by Heather Alcock, 2022.*



*Image 16: New Chester Road view of Hesketh Hall. Photograph by Heather Alcock, 2022.*

## Setting and buffer zone

The setting of the site is currently protected by its status as a Conservation Area and only six buildings with the proposed WHS are not listed. Port Sunlight maintains its historic boundaries, with the Lever Brothers works site to the south (now Unilever), railway line to the west, New Chester Road (A41) to the east and New Ferry community to the north. The areas surrounding the site to the west and east comprise suburban housing and parks, and New Ferry to the north is undergoing regeneration as a low-rise, mixed-use community. This has been designed in consultation with PSVT to ensure compatibility with the attributes of the proposed WHS.

There are no major developments (including tall buildings) proposed within the environs of the site and no significant threats to its setting. Wirral Council as the local planning authority actively engages with PSVT and Historic England on developments around the site to ensure that any change is sympathetic to the setting of the village.

Work is ongoing to describe and analyse the wider setting of the site and this will be used to define a Buffer Zone for the proposed WHS. This setting and Buffer Zone can then be incorporated into the Local Plan.

## Conclusions

Port Sunlight meets UNESCO's tests for authenticity and integrity to a very high degree. Port Sunlight has lost less than 4% of its built heritage and the village continues to represent a unique and exceptional example of site planning and community development for well-being, upward mobility, and productivity from the late Victorian era through the start of the Second World War.

Estate management practices and statutory protections ensured that new developments and alterations to the original built environment were in keeping with the heritage character, materials, craftsmanship, height and massing, site planning and uses for the village. Where inappropriate alterations were made, a strategy and policy were established to improve the heritage character and lessen the impact of the alterations.

Continuous occupation coupled with responsible estate management and statutory protections have ensured that the designed environment in Port Sunlight has been well maintained. All attributes are contained within the proposed World Heritage site boundaries and no attributes are 'at risk'. Where inappropriate alterations or deterioration exists, there is a plan in place to work collaboratively with village stakeholders to manage improvements. Port Sunlight continues to serve as both a desirable place to live or work and a high-quality visitor attraction.

# Port Sunlight: Bidding for a place on the UK's Tentative List for World Heritage Site inscription

PLACED Community Engagement Report

Chapter 4: Community Engagement Report by PLACED

# Port Sunlight World Heritage Site Tentative List Bid - Stakeholder engagement

In preparing our bid for Port Sunlight to be recognised on the Tentative List for World Heritage Site inscription, we have engaged with our key stakeholders to share information and understand what they think of the opportunity.

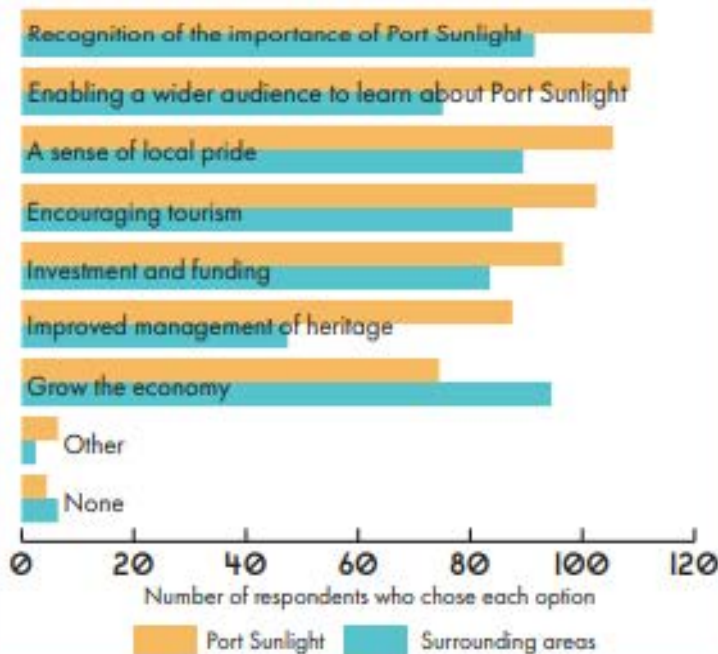
We have:

- Issued a media release making our stakeholders aware of our ambitions.
- Created an information booklet and hand delivered it to every household in Port Sunlight, provided hard copies in our public venues, and disseminated e-copies through social media and digital networks.
- Hosted pop-up exhibitions in Port Sunlight and neighbouring communities.
- Held face-to-face and online meetings.
- Promoted an online survey.

What benefits do you think World Heritage Site status would bring for Port Sunlight and surrounding areas?

The most popular potential benefit identified for Port Sunlight was 'recognition of the importance of Port Sunlight'.

The most popular potential benefit identified for the surrounding areas was 'grow the economy'.



30k

people reached through Facebook and Instagram



250

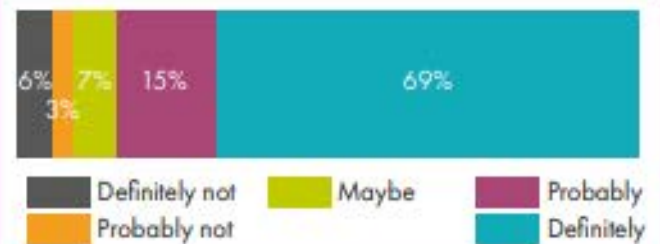
people visited a pop-up event or completed the online survey

We asked online participants to describe Port Sunlight in 3 words, these are the 3 most popular words given.

Beautiful  
Historic Unique

Overall, do you think World Heritage Site status would be good for Port Sunlight and the surrounding areas?

84% of people who responded online or in person felt World Heritage Site status would be good for Port Sunlight



"As someone who owned his very first home in Port Sunlight Village, I think that this is long overdue. It's a fabulous area with such rich history and diverse architecture."

LinkedIn comment

"An exciting opportunity to cherish and develop an exceptional early 20th century social concept and to make it known to a wider audience."

Local resident at pop-up event





Figure 1 shows a photograph of engagement during a pop-up event in Port Sunlight, Thursday 30<sup>th</sup> June 2022

# Introduction

In July 2021, Wirral Council, National Museums Liverpool, and Unilever plc., led by Port Sunlight's custodians Port Sunlight Village Trust (PSVT) and supported by MP Alison McGovern, formed the Port Sunlight Steering Group (PSSG).

The group's first significant project together is a partnership bid for a place on the UK's Tentative List for World Heritage Site Inscription. This is the very earliest phase of a process that only happens once every ten years.

PLACED was commissioned to support the engagement and information sharing process with residents of Port Sunlight and the surrounding area as part of the Tentative List bid.

In June 2022, we delivered three engagement pop-ups in Port Sunlight and the surrounding areas, along with an online survey that was open between 16th June and 19th July.

## Project promotion

The stakeholders that PSVT reached out to were residents of Port Sunlight and the wider local community, local businesses (owners and employees), volunteers, academics with an interest in the village, visitors, professional networks and marketing/tourism agencies such as Marketing Liverpool.

The project was promoted through: a brochure, display boards at various venues around Port Sunlight, posts on LinkedIn, a social media and email campaign, a dedicated page on the PSVT website, and briefings to local councillors. Through the social media campaign, PSVT reached a further 30 000 people.

The information brochure was printed and distributed to all village households before the consultation and made [available online](#) to introduce the project and invite residents to complete the survey, attend the pop-up events or email Port Sunlight Village Trust directly.

The pop-up events and the online survey followed similar structures, including the following questions:

- **What benefits do you think World Heritage Site status would bring to Port Sunlight?**  
(Multiple choice question: A sense of local pride, Enabling a wider audience to learn about Port Sunlight, Recognition of the importance of Port Sunlight, Improved management of heritage, Investment and funding, Encouraging more tourism, Grow the economy, None, Other)



Figure 2 shows an image of a board used at our pop-up events, populated with voting tokens

- What benefits do you think World Heritage Site status would bring to the surrounding area? (Multiple choice question with the same options as the previous question)
- Overall, do you think World Heritage Site status would be good for Port Sunlight and the surrounding areas? (Likert scale with five options: Definitely not, Probably not, Neutral, Probably, Definitely)

Additional questions were:

**In the online survey:**

- Please describe Port Sunlight in three words.
- What heritage benefits would you like to see from World Heritage Site status?
- How would you like to be involved in Port Sunlight’s future management and development?
- Do you have any concerns about the bid?
- Is there anything else we should be considering?

**At the pop-up events:**

- Thinking about the World Heritage Site bid, tell us about opportunities you see or challenges and concerns you might have.

**The pop-ups were as follows:**

Date	Location
Monday 27 <sup>th</sup> June	New Ferry
Wednesday 29 <sup>th</sup> June	Bebington
Thursday 30 <sup>th</sup> June	Port Sunlight

Data was collected at pop-up events through a series of interactive activities and discussion. When discussing the project with participants, PLACED staff members would write down comments or concerns on post-it notes, before sticking these onto the display boards. This allowed for participants to monitor the way their contributions were recorded. Some participants also wrote their own comments.



Figure 3 shows a photograph of engagement during a pop-up event in New Ferry, Monday 27<sup>th</sup> June 2022



# Findings

## Respondents

In total, PLACED's activities engaged with 250 people, both face-to-face and online.

At the pop-up events we spoke with Port Sunlight residents, residents of the surrounding area, visitors to Port Sunlight, older people, and young families.

The online survey allowed us to collect quantitative data on respondents, and the distribution is shown in Figure 4 below.

Multiple choices were allowed, with some people indicated they both lived and worked in Port Sunlight, for example. People who selected 'Other' were residents of other nearby areas, people who volunteer in Port Sunlight, academics interested in the village, and former residents.

The majority of people who took our online survey were residents of Port Sunlight.

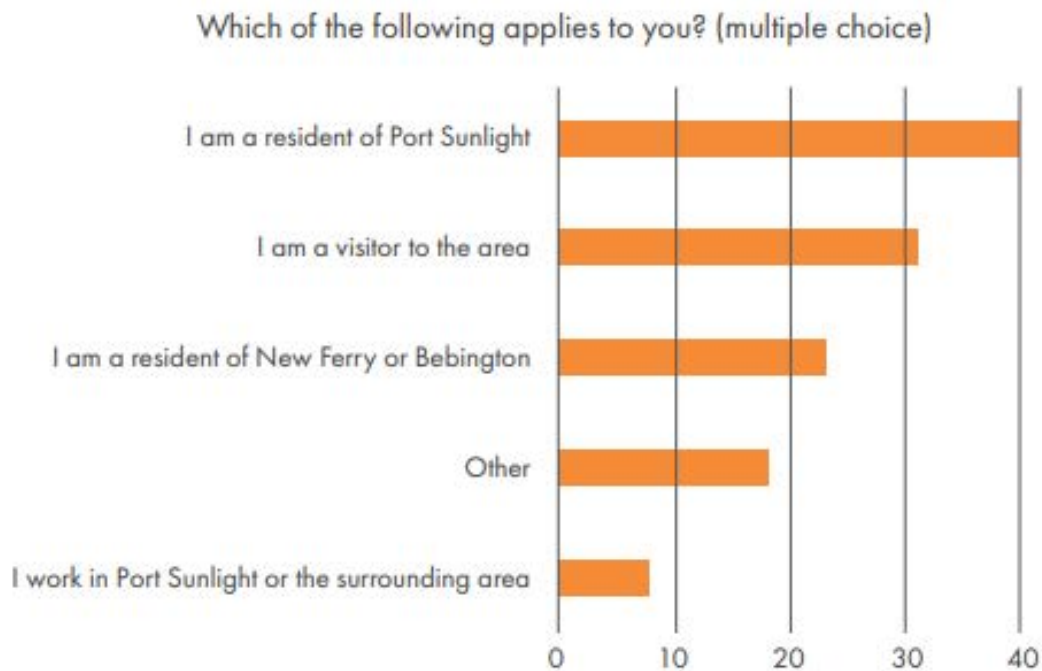


Figure 4 shows distribution of respondents to the online survey, by their location

## General feeling towards the area

We asked survey respondents to describe Port Sunlight in three words.

The following word cloud represents the most frequent words, and shows the attachment residents and visitors feel towards the village:

Word	Count
Beautiful	48
Historic	42
Unique	25
Peaceful	17
Community	8
Interesting	8
Tranquil	8
Green	7
Architectural	6
Inspiring	6
Picturesque	6
Clean	5
Charming	4
Home	4
Pretty	4
Special	4
Village	4



Figure 5 shows a word cloud and table summarising answers to 'Please describe Port Sunlight in three words'

## Overall support for the project

There was overwhelming support for bidding for the UK's Tentative List for World Heritage Site inscription.

The following graph combines data collected through the online survey and at our pop-up events and shows that over 80% of participants were in favour of the project, with just under 70% of participants who selected the 'Definitely' answer.

Response	Count
Definitely not	12
Probably not	7
Neutral	15
Probably	33
Definitely	152

Overall, do you think World Heritage Site status would be good for Port Sunlight and the surrounding areas?

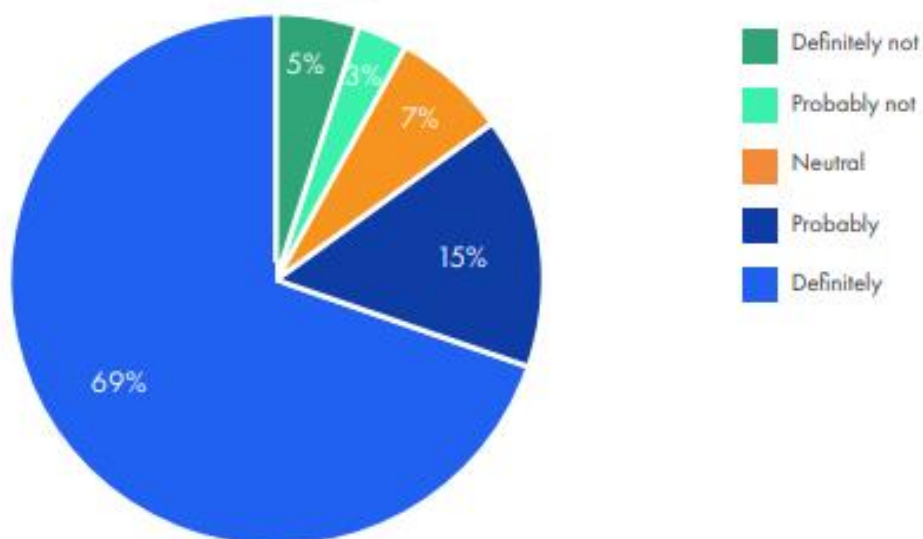


Figure 6 shows a bar chart and table summarising answers to the question 'Overall, do you think World Heritage Site status would be good for Port Sunlight and the surrounding areas?'

## Benefits and opportunities

### Port Sunlight

When asked 'What benefits do you think World Heritage Site status would bring to Port Sunlight?', people selected 'Recognition of the importance of Port Sunlight' more often than any other answer.

Other popular answers show that most participants considered that an inscription on the UK's Tentative List for World Heritage Site status would contribute to raising the profile of the village, adding prestige, and therefore local pride. This was echoed by conversations we had at our pop-up events, with participants conveying a sense of pride, and a happiness to see local history and heritage celebrated and protected.

People thought the status would promote the area and make it more visible to a wider audience.



Figure 7 shows post-it notes with contributions in support of the bid from people who took part in our pop-up events

### What benefits do you think World Heritage Site status would bring to Port Sunlight?

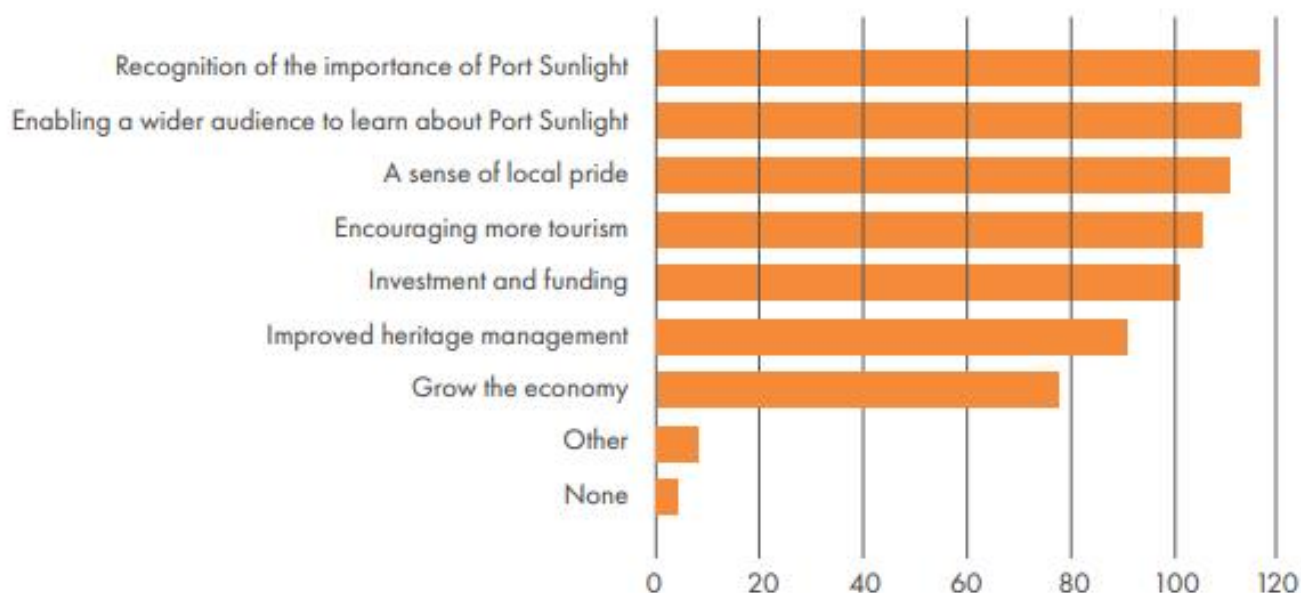


Figure 8 shows responses to the question 'what benefits do you think World Heritage Site status would bring to Port Sunlight?'

### The wider area

The benefits that participants thought an inscription on the UK's Tentative List for World Heritage status would bring to the wider area are mostly economic and due to the anticipated development of tourism in Port Sunlight.



Figure 9 shows a photograph of people touring Port Sunlight

What benefits do you think World Heritage Site status would bring to the wider area?

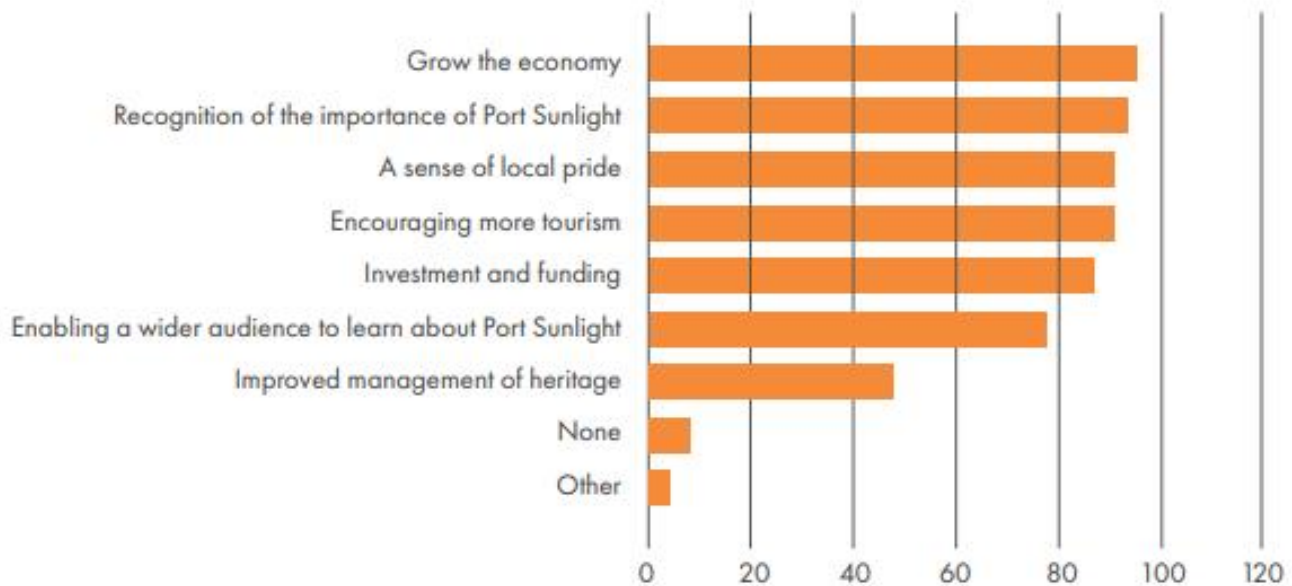


Figure 10 shows responses to the question: 'what benefits do you think World Heritage Site status would bring to the wider area?'

## Economy

Participants also considered that an inscription on the UK's Tentative List for World Heritage Site status would also improve local economy by:

- Encouraging more tourism;
- Bringing potential new funding to the area;
- Attracting new businesses such as cafés;
- Creating new work opportunities and apprenticeships, particularly in the field of construction and retrofit.

Existing buildings that are currently vacant were thought to be an opportunity to support this economic development, by providing spaces that could be used for new activities and businesses.

## Social benefits

People considered that getting this status would have social benefits, by:

- Encouraging partnership working within the area;
- Creating education opportunities;
- Improving the community feel and helping people to do more as a community.

It was also said that the village should engage with its difficult history of forced labour at Lever Brothers plantation sites abroad.

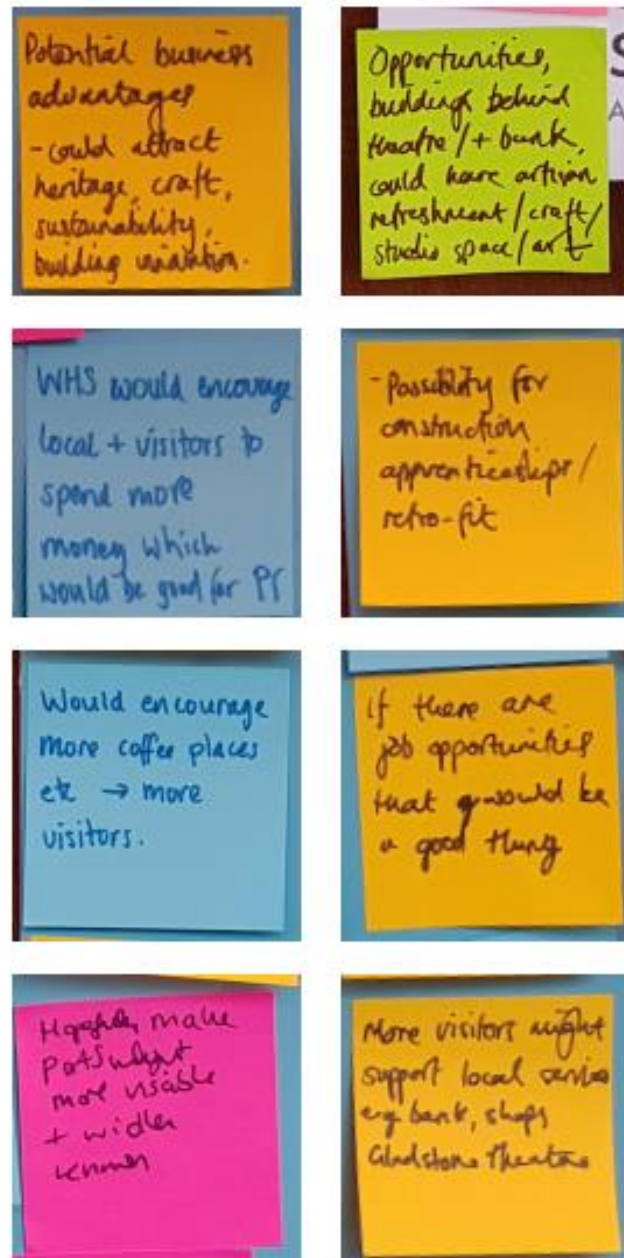


Figure 11 shows post-it notes with contributions detailing potential benefits from the World Heritage Site status

## Improvements and maintenance

Participants thought that an inscription on the UK's Tentative List for World Heritage Site Status could help getting funding needed for maintenance around the village, including:

- General cleaning
- Repairs, including the fountain
- Improving signage
- Clearing weeds

The bar chart below shows answers to the survey question 'What heritage benefits would you like to see from World Heritage Site status?' and helps to

quantify opinions.

More funding, followed by an improved management of heritage, were thought to be the main heritage benefits to see from an inscription on the UK's Tentative List for World Heritage Site status.



Figure 12 shows a photograph of the village fountain - repairing this was a common example of the maintenance needed

### What heritage benefits would you like to see from World Heritage Site status?

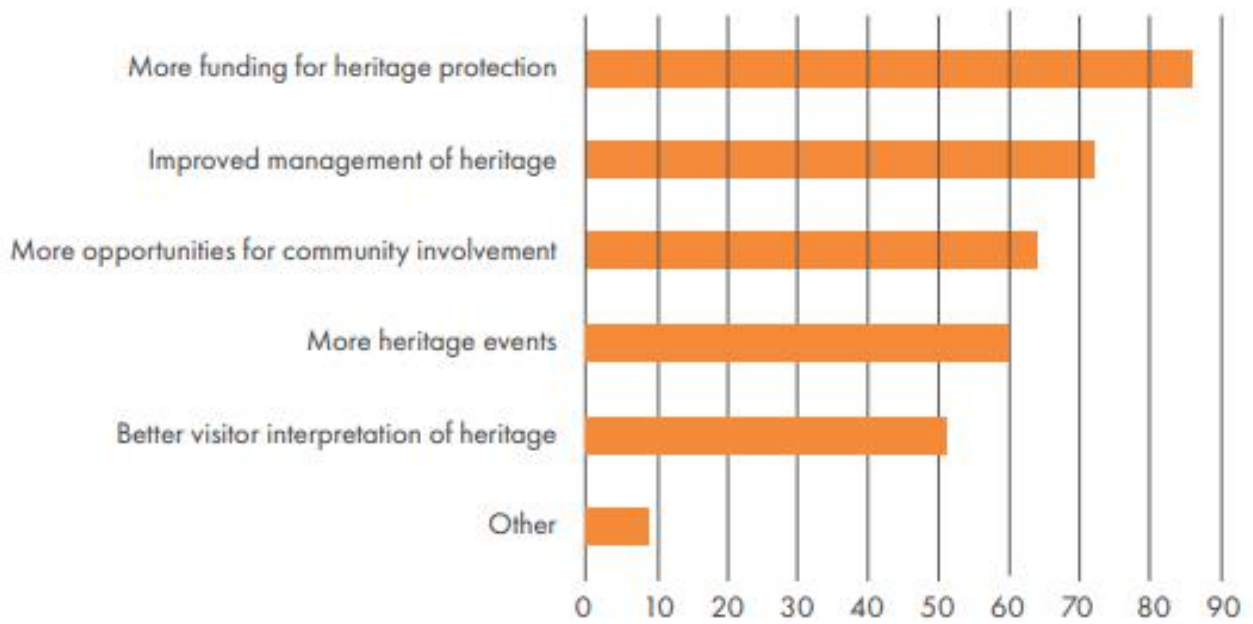


Figure 13 shows responses to the question 'what heritage benefits would you like to see from World Heritage Site status?'

## Concerns

### Tourism

The main concern expressed by participants is possible nuisance due to increased tourism, in particular:

- Traffic and car parking were considered to already be an issue in the area, and participants worried that the situation would worsen if there were more visitors. People would like car parking to remain free.
- Litter could also be an issue, and people thought that more bins would be needed.
- In general, people thought that logistics should be in place to accommodate an increased number of visitors. In particular, toilets, bins, refreshments and maintenance should be provided.

### Economy

- Participants also worried about an increase in house prices and an uncontrolled increase in holiday rentals / Airbnb's.
- It was also asked whether there would be an ongoing cost to having World Heritage Site status.
- People also would like measures to ensure that the money from tourism would benefit local people. For example, it was suggested that local refreshments options should be provided.

### New constraints

Participants thought the obtention of this status could lead to obstacles to maintenance, with UNESCO being too protecting of the area.

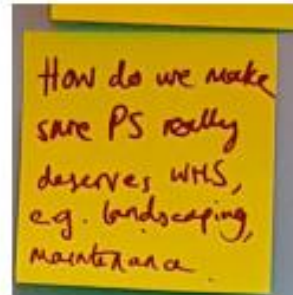
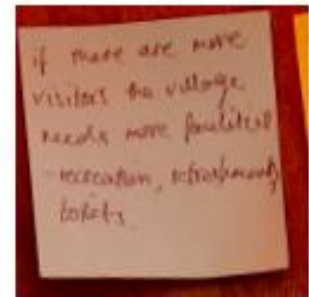


Figure 14 shows post-it notes with concerns from people who took part in our pop-up events



## Other requests

As the engagement conversations we had with participants were only lightly guided, people also shared general feedback that fell outside the remit of the Tentative List bid.

We thought these would still be of interest to PSVT, Wirral Council and the other members of the Port Sunlight Steering Group (PSSG).

## Current issues

People spoke of issues that they would like to be addressed:

- Maintenance, in particular weeds clearance and repairing the fountain;
- Traffic, with traffic markings being currently insufficient, and traffic calming measures needed;
- Parking, which is thought to be already dominated by visitors and commuters;
- Poor quality signage.

## Surrounding areas

Participants thought there were inequalities between areas, and wanted to see the UK's Tentative List World Heritage Site inscription benefit the wider area too.

## Sustainability

Participants questioned what measures were in place in Port Sunlight to tackle climate change. Some suggestions were made:

- To provide charging points for electric cars;
- To support eco-conversions / retrofits;
- To have a green energy offer.



Figure 15 shows a photograph of engagement during a pop-up event in Port Sunlight, Thursday 30<sup>th</sup> June 2022

## Future involvement

Participants enjoyed taking part in the engagement pop-ups and expressed the wish to stay in contact with Port Sunlight Village Trust, to receive more communications and take part in more decisions.

This was echoed in our online survey, through the answers to the multiple-choice question 'How would you like to be involved in Port Sunlight's future management and development?', where 60% of respondents indicating they would like to be informed of changes, and over a quarter of respondents stating they would like to participate in decision making.

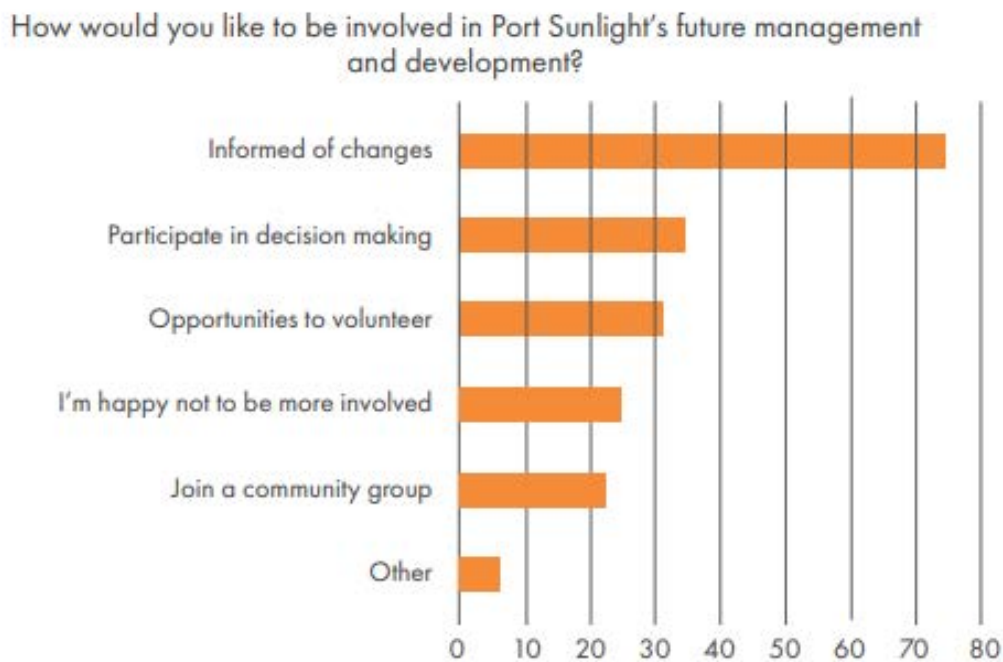


Figure 16 shows responses to the question 'how would you like to be involved in Port Sunlight's future management and development?'

## Conclusion

Over 80% of respondents were in favour of the project, with a general sense of surprise that Port Sunlight village did not have World Heritage status already.

Participants felt that the benefits of getting World Heritage status would be the recognition of the importance of Port Sunlight at a larger scale, a wider audience knowing about the village, and local pride.

People also thought the wider area would benefit from this, as an increased tourism in Port Sunlight would have rippled effects and bring more investment, businesses and work opportunities to the surrounding areas.

Furthermore, participants expected the project to bring in social benefits and additional funding for heritage protection, improvements and maintenance around the village.

The concerns expressed by participants mainly related to risks arising from increased tourism: traffic, litter and management issues.

The conversations we had with people also revealed other concerns and requests for the village. It is noted that responsibility for some of these concerns falls to a range of organisations including PSVT, but also Wirral Council, MerseyRail and the other members of the Port Sunlight Steering Group (PSSG).

Participants feel involved in this project and 60% of them would like to be informed of changes in the village, while a quarter of them would like some opportunities to volunteer.



## Contact us

[info@placed.org.uk](mailto:info@placed.org.uk)  
[www.placed.org.uk](http://www.placed.org.uk)  
Twitter: @PlacedEd  
Instagram: @Placed\_Ed  
[Facebook.com/place.org](https://www.facebook.com/place.org)

**PLACED**  
PLACE EDUCATION

## Bibliography – Select Sources

\_\_\_\_\_ “The Progress of Port Sunlight”, in *Illustrated London News*, 15<sup>th</sup> October 1898, Vol 113, Issue 3104, p564.

\_\_\_\_\_ ‘Chronicle of Passing Events, Port Sunlight’. 1910. *The Town Planning Review*, 1: 171-72.

\_\_\_\_\_ ‘Port Sunlight’s Growth: From Marsh to Garden City: An English Tourist Attraction’. 1938. *The Irish Times (1921-)*, 1938 Mar 04, pp. 8.

\_\_\_\_\_ “Preserving Port Sunlight ” In. 1966. *The Field*, 200. Bath: Future Publishing Ltd.

Abercrombie, Patrick. 1910. ‘Modern Town Planning in England: A Comparative Review of “Garden City” Schemes in England’, *The Town Planning Review*, 1: 18-38.

\_\_\_\_\_ 1910. ‘Some Notes on German Garden Villages’, *The Town Planning Review*, 1: 246-50.

\_\_\_\_\_ 1910. ‘Modern Town Planning in England: A Comparative Review of “Garden City” Schemes in England Part II’, *The Town Planning Review*, 1: 111-28.

\_\_\_\_\_ 1911. ‘A Tour of the Garden Cities’, *The Town Planning Review*, 2: 229-33.

Adshead, S. D. 1911. ‘The School of Civic Design at the Liverpool University 1911’, *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, 1: 105-09.

Alanen, Arnold R., and Thomas J. Peltin. 1978. ‘Kohler, Wisconsin: Planning and Paternalism in a Model Industrial Village’, *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 44: 145-59.

Andrews, Richard M. 1995. ‘The Development of the Residential Suburb in Britain 1850-1970’, *Urbanis Izziv*: 15-27.

Archer, John. 1983. ‘Country and City in the American Romantic Suburb’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 42: 139 - 56.

Bailey, Adrian R., and John R. Bryson. 2006. ‘Stories of Suburbia (Bournville, UK): From Planning to People Tales’, *Social & Cultural Geography*, 7: 179-98.

Batchelor, Peter. 1969. ‘The Origin of the Garden City Concept of Urban Form’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 28: 184-200.

Baxter, Jane Eva. 2012. ‘The Paradox of a Capitalist Utopia: Visionary Ideals and Lived Experience in the Pullman Community 1880–1900’, *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 16: 651-65.

Beevers, Robert. 1988. *The Garden City Utopia: A Critical Biography of Ebenezer Howard* (Macmillan: London).

Benoît-Levy, Georges. 1904. *La Cité Jardin* (Henri Jouve: Paris).

\_\_\_\_\_. 1927. "The Garden City." In *The Theosophical Path (1911-1935)*, 363. Point Loma: Center for Research Libraries.

Bigon, Liora. 2013. 'Garden Cities in Colonial Africa: A Note on Historiography', *Planning Perspectives*, 28: 477-85.

Bolz, Cedric. 2010. 'From 'Garden City Precursors' to 'Cemeteries for the Living': Contemporary Discourse on Krupp housing and Besucherpolitik in Wilhelmine Germany', *Urban History*, 37: 90-116.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2011. 'Constructing "Heimat" in the Ruhr Valley: Krupp Housing and the Search for the Ideal German Home 1914-1931', *German Studies Review*, 34: 17-43.

Borges, Marcelo J., and Susana B. Torres. 2012. 'Company Towns: Concepts, Historiography, and Approaches.' in (Palgrave Macmillan US).

Bowen, Dawn S. 2019. 'In the Shadow of the Refinery: An American Oil Company Town on the Caribbean Island of Aruba', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 36: 49-77.

Buckley, Cheryl. 2008. 'From York to New Earswick: Reforming Working-Class Homes, 1899-1914', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 16: 92-106.

\_\_\_\_\_. 2010. 'Modernity, Tradition and the Design of the 'Industrial Village' of Dormanstown 1917-1923', *Journal of Design History*, 23: 21-41.

Buder, Stanley. 1990. *Visionaries and Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (Oxford University Press: New York).

Chance, Helena. 2019. 'Chocolate Heaven: Productive Consumption and Corporate Power in the Recreational Landscapes of Cadbury, Bournville and Hershey, Pennsylvania in the Early Twentieth Century', *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 39: 22-39.

Chu, Cecilia L., and Calvin Z. Liang. 2019. 'Tianyuan Dushi (田園都市) The Garden City, Urban Planning, and Visions of Modernization in Early-Twentieth-Century China', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 31: 39-54.

Cooke, Catherine. 1978. 'Russian Responses to the Garden City Idea', *Architectural review*, 163: 355 - 76.

Cornes, James. 1905. *Modern housing in town and country / illustrated by examples of municipal and other schemes of block dwellings, tenement houses, model cottages and villages, also plans and descriptions of the cheap cottage exhibition, by James Cornes* (B.T. Batsford: London).

Crawford, Margaret. 1989. 'Bertram Goodhue, Walter Douglas and Tyrone, New Mexico', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 42: 25.

\_\_\_\_\_ 1997. 'John Nolen, the Design of the Company Town', *Rassegna*, 19: 46-53.

Creese, Walter L. 1966. *The Search for the Environment: The Garden City Before and After* (John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore).

Crinson, Mark. 1997. 'Abadan: Planning and Architecture Under the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company', *Planning Perspectives*, 12: 341-59.

Crouch, Christopher. 2001. *Design Culture in Liverpool 1880-1914 : The Origins of the Liverpool School of Architecture* (Liverpool University, Press: Liverpool).

Davison, T. Raffles. 1916. *Port Sunlight: A Record of Its Artistic and Pictorial Aspect* (B.T. Batsford Ltd.: London).

de Gier, Erik. 2016. 'Victorian England From Coketown to Port Sunlight, Bournville and the Garden City Movement.' in, *Capitalist Workingman's Paradises Revisited* (Amsterdam University Press).

Devinatz, Victor G. 2012. 'Reevaluating US Company Paternalism from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-first Centuries', *Labor History*, 53: 299-304.

Dinius, Oliver J., and Angela Vergara. 2010. *Company Towns in the Americas. Landscape, Power, and Working-class Communities* (University of Georgia Press).

Duany, Andres, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Jeff Speck. 2000. *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (North Point Press: New York).

Fishman, Robert. 1987. *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (Basic Books: New York).

Ford, George B. 1908. 'Eighth International Housing Congress, London', *The American Architect and Building News (1876-1908)*, 93: 171.

Freestone, Robert. 1989. *Model Communities: The Garden City Movement in Australia* (Nelson: Melbourne).

Garner, John S. 1971. 'Leclaire, Illinois: A Model Company Town (1890-1934)', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 30: 219-27.

\_\_\_\_\_ 1988. 'Architecture and Philanthropy in a Model Company Town [North Easton, Massachusetts]', *Places*, 5: 23-35.

\_\_\_\_\_ 1992. *The Company Town : Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age* (Oxford University Press, Incorporated: Cary, UNITED STATES).

\_\_\_\_\_ 1997. 'The Company Town: Industry and Territory in the 19th Century', *Rassegna*, 19: 30-37.

George, W. L. 1909. *Labour and Housing at Port Sunlight* (Alston Rivers).

Girouard, Mark. 1977. *Sweetness and Light: The "Queen Anne" Movement 1860-1900* (Oxford University Press: New York).

Goldberg, David J. 2011. 'The Company Town: The Industrial Edens and Satanic Mills that Shaped the American Economy', *The Historian*, 73: 819-20.

Hall, Peter. 2014. *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Planning and Design Since 1880* (Wiley Blackwell: Oxford).

Hardy, Dennis. 1991. *From Garden Cities to New Towns: Campaigning for Town and Country Planning, 1899-1946* (E & FN Spon: London).

Harvey, William Alexander. 1906. *The Model Village and Its Cottages: Bournville* (Batsford).

Hayden, Dolores. 2003. *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (Pantheon Books: New York).

Home, Robert K. 1990. 'Town Planning and Garden Cities in the British Colonial Empire 1910-1940', *Planning Perspectives*, 5: 23 - 37.

\_\_\_\_\_ 1997. *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (Spon: London).

Howard, Ebenezer. 1902. *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (Swan Sonnenschein: London).

Hubbard, Edward and Michael Shippobottom. 2019. *A Guide to Port Sunlight Village* (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool).

Hudson, Cheryl. 2013. 'The "Un-American" Experiment: Jane Addams's Lessons from Pullman', *Journal of American Studies*, 47: 903-23.

Johnson, William R. 1971. 'The Kohlers of Kohler. Acculturation in a Company Town', *History of Education Quarterly*, 11: 219-48.

Jackson, Kenneth T. 1985. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford University Press: New York).



- Kikata, Junne, Ken Nakae, Haruka Yokogawa, and Hanna Okada. 2016. 'Assimilation of the Industrial Village concept by Japanese business circles at the turn of the 20th Century', *International Planning History Society Proceedings*, 17: 355-357.
- Klaus, Susan L. 2002. *A Modern Arcadia: Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. and the Plan for Forest Hills Gardens* (University of Massachusetts Press: Amherst).
- Kling, Blair B. 1998. 'Paternalism in Indian Labor: The Tata Iron and Steel Company of Jamshedpur', *International Labor and Working-Class History*: 69-87.
- Koush, Ben. 2004. 'Dow By the Sea: Modern Architecture's Moment in Brazoria County', *Cite*: 24-27.
- Lister, M. D. 1980. *The Industrial Railways of Port Sunlight and Bromborough Port* (Oakwood Press: Dorset).
- Mabel Tuke, Priestman. 1907. 'Port Sunlight: A Significant English Experiment in Village Building', *American Homes and Gardens (1905-1915)*, 4: 395.
- Macartney, Mervyn. 1910. 'Mr. Lever and Port Sunlight', *Architectural review*, 28: 43-46.
- Magnusson, Leifur. 1917. 'Employers' Housing in the United States', *Monthly Review of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics*, 5: 35-60.
- Maudlin, Daniel. 2007. 'Robert Mylne, Thomas Telford and the Architecture of Improvement: The Planned Villages of the British Fisheries Society, 1786-1817', *Urban History*, 34: 453-80.
- Mawson, Thomas A. 1911. 'Landscape Architecture in England', *Landscape Architecture*, 1: 110-14.
- Meacham, Standish. 1999. *Regaining Paradise : Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London).
- Miller, Mervyn. 1989. *Letchworth: The First Garden City* (Phillimore: Chichester, UK).
- Morris, A. E. J. 1971. 'History of Urban Form - 4: Philanthropic Housing', *Official Architecture and Planning*, 34: 598-600.
- Mortimer, Raymond. 1947. 'A MODEL VILLAGE IN UPPER EGYPT', *The Architectural Review (Archive : 1896-2005)*, 102: 97-99.
- Morton, R. R. 1972. 'Maintenance history of Port Sunlight: house renewal', M.A., The University of Liverpool (United Kingdom).
- Mullin, John R., and Zenia Kotval. 2021. 'Towards the Creation of Model Mill Cities in New England: The Planning Contributions of the Boston Manufacturing Company in Waltham, Massachusetts', *Planning Perspectives*: 1-8.

- Muthesius, Hermann. 1904. *Das Englische Haus*. ( )
- Muthesius, Hermann. 1987. *The English House* (Rizzoli: New York).
- Muthesius, Stefan. 1982. *The English terraced house* (Yale University Press).
- Nasr, Joe and Mercedes Volait, eds. (2003) *Urbanism: Imported or Exported* (Wiley Academy: Chichester).
- Newcomen, Ted. 1998. 'Pullman, Illinois: Changes in Community Planning from the 1880s to the 1990s', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 4: 10-29.
- Nugent, Peter Daniel. 1976. 'A Typology of Planned Worker Communities in the United States and Great Britain, 1820-1920', Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Oberdeck, Kathryn J. 2000. 'From Model Town to Edge City: Piety, Paternalism, and the Politics of Urban Planning in the United States', *Journal of urban history*, 26: 508-18.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2010. 'Of Tubs and Toil: Kohler Workers in an Empire of Hygiene, 1920-2000', *International Review of Social History*, 55: 447-83.
- Oshima, Ken Tadashi. 1996. 'Denchōfu: Building the Garden City in Japan', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 55: 140-51.
- Pepper, Simon. 1978. 'Introduction: The garden city legacy', *The Architectural Review (Archive : 1896-2005)*, 163: 321-24.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. 1971. *Cheshire: Pevsner Architectural Guides: Buildings of England*. (Yale University Press: Connecticut).
- Rees, Amanda. 2012. 'Nineteenth-century Planned Industrial Communities and the Role of Aesthetics in Spatial Practices: The Visual Ideologies of Pullman and Port Sunlight', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 29: 185-214.
- Reiff, Janice L. 2000. 'Rethinking Pullman: Urban Space and Working-Class Activism', *Social Science History*, 24: 7-32.
- Roth, Leland M. 1979. 'Three Industrial Towns by McKim, Mead & White', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 38: 317-47.
- Rydell, Robert W. 1993. *World of fairs : the century-of-progress expositions* (University of Chicago Press).

- Salinas Chavez, Eros, Frank A. Delgado Mesa, Tony L. Henthorne, and Mark M. Miller. 2018. 'The Hershey Sugar Mill in Cuba: From Global Industrial Heritage to Local Sustainable Tourism Development', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 13: 426-39.
- Saunders, William S. 2005. *Sprawl and Suburbia: A Harvard Design Magazine Reader* (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis).
- Schuchardt, Wm H. 1913. 'The Fibre of the Nation. Part 1: Some Observations on the Housing Problem in this Country and in Europe', *The American Architect (1909-1921)*, 103: 137.
- Scott, M. H. Baillie, and Raymond Unwin. 1909. *Town Planning and Modern Architecture at the Hampstead Garden Suburb* (T. Fisher Unwin: London).
- Sennett, Alfred Richard. 1905. *Garden Cities in Theory and Practice: Being an Amplification of a Paper on the Potentialities of Applied Science in a Garden City Read Before Section F of the British Association* (Bemrose and Sons: London).
- Sies, Mary Corbin, and Millard F. Rogers. 2003. 'John Nolen and Mariemont: Building a New Town in Ohio', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 62: 533-35.
- Smith, Joanna. 2008. "'Work collectively and live individually': The Bata Housing Estate at East Tilbury", *Twentieth century architecture*: 51-68.
- Sood, Ashima, and Sharadini Rath. 2016. 'The Planned and the Unplanned: Company Towns in India', *India International Centre Quarterly*, 43: 91-103.
- Starr, Fiona. 2012. *Corporate Responsibility for Cultural Heritage : Conservation, Sustainable Development, and Corporate Reputation* (Taylor & Francis Group: London).
- Stephenson, R. Bruce. 2015. 'Models Suburbs and Industrial Villages, 1909-1918' in, *John Nolen, Landscape Architect and City Planner* (University of Massachusetts Press).
- Stern, Robert A., David Fishman, and Jacob Tilove. 2013. *Paradise Planned: The Garden Suburb and the Modern City* (the Monacelli Press: New York).
- Stilgoe, John R. 1988. *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939* (Yale University Press: New Haven, CT).
- Tarlow, Sarah. 2002. 'Excavating Utopia: Why Archaeologists Should Study "Ideal" Communities of the Nineteenth Century', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 6: 299-323.
- Tarn, J. N. 1965. 'The Model Village at Bromborough Pool', *The Town Planning Review*, 35: 329-36.
- Tate, Christine. 2002. 'Viscose village: Model industrial workers' housing in Marcus Hook, Delaware County, Pennsylvania', Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania.

Tobin, Dennis Paul. 2005. 'Capital's Utopia: Vandergrift, Pennsylvania, 1855-1916', *The Professional Geographer*, 57: 146-48.

UNESCO, World Heritage Centre. *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. (Paris, 2021). Accessed <https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines> on 20th October 2022.

Unwin, Raymond. 1912. *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding! How the Garden City Type of Development May Benefit Both Owner and Occupier* (P.S. King & Son: London).

van Marken, J.C. (c.1901) *Industrial Social Organisation*. Translated by S. De Jastrzebsi (Van Marken Press: Delft, Holland).

Vuagniaux, Anne. 2019. 'The Settlement in the Salt Meadow: Housing in Steinway Village, 1873-1890', *Art Inquiries*, 17: 423+.

Ward, Stephen V. 1999. 'The International Diffusion of Planning: A Review and a Canadian Case Study', *International Planning Studies*, 4: 53 - 77.

Whyte, William. 2012. 'The 1910 Royal Institute of British Architects' Conference: A Focus for International Town Planning?', *Urban History*, 39: 149-65.

Wilson, Richard Guy. 1979. 'Idealism and the Origin of the First American Suburb: Llewellyn Park, New Jersey', *The American Art Journal*, 11: 79 - 90.

Wood, John (the Younger). 1781. *A Series of Plans for Cottages or Habitations of the Labourer Either in Husbandry or the Mechanic Arts, Adapted as well to Towns as to the Country*. (Architectural Library: London).

## Contact Details

If you have any comments, queries or feedback please contact Port Sunlight Village Trust on 0151 644 4800 or email [admin@portsunlightvillage.com](mailto:admin@portsunlightvillage.com).

Alternatively, the postal address is:

Port Sunlight Village Trust  
23 King George's Drive  
Port Sunlight  
Wirral  
CH62 5DX

Port Sunlight Village Trust is a registered charity (no 1074713) and a registered company in England and Wales (no 3719976).

Registered office: 23 King George's Drive, Port Sunlight, Wirral CH62 5DX