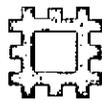


RICHMOND SURVEY REPORT

WASTE AND PLACE:
LATE-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
DEVELOPMENT ON KINGSLAND ROAD
HACKNEY
LONDON E8



OCTOBER 1999



ENGLISH HERITAGE

**WASTE AND PLACE:
LATE-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENT ON
KINGSLAND ROAD**

NOS 302-594 (even) KINGSLAND ROAD

HACKNEY

LONDON E8

Surveyed: March-October 1999
Report by Peter Guillery
Drawings by Andrew Donald
Photographs by Derek Kendall

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PREFACE: SCOPE AND METHOD

This report has a dual purpose. It aims to inform the Kingsland Conservation Area Partnership while also forming part of a wider survey project investigating London's smaller 18th-century houses.

The Kingsland Conservation Area Partnership is a three-year project that is being co-ordinated by the London Borough of Hackney with funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund. It exists to protect and enhance the historic environment of Kingsland Road, the spine of a linear Conservation Area designated in 1998. English Heritage is supporting this and other schemes for regenerative improvement along East London's historic road corridors. Investment aims to secure the future of dilapidated buildings, in particular tapping the potential of under-used upper floors. Among the buildings addressed in this report Nos 540-558 and 592 Kingsland Road are formally identified as 'Buildings at Risk'. The local value of improvement aside, there is, as there was in the 18th century, a desire to enhance the impact these historic roads have on travellers entering and leaving the metropolis. English Heritage is already making specific contributions to conservation work on Kingsland Road. One instance that relates to this report is funding for the refurbishment of the public space that accommodates the Kingsland Waste street market. The Kingsland Conservation Area Appraisal describes this place: 'The unusual building line set back from the main road allows for a separate slip access road to the shops between Middleton Road and Richmond Road. This access road has a good quality granite cobbled surface and has markings for market pitches. The individual architectural quality of the buildings is not outstanding but the relatively consistent scale of buildings presents a coherent townscape composition'.¹ That is one starting point for this report.

As well as its role in supporting conservation English Heritage is responsible for increasing understanding of the past, a primary purpose that in large measure arises from the April 1999 merger of English Heritage with the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. The organisation's work in this area targets both conservation and educational priorities through exemplary research into sites that manifest aspects of the historic environment that are poorly understood and more than usually threatened by change. Increasingly, this work addresses not so much isolated artefacts as historical context. It is important to understand the historic environment as comprising all the interconnected buildings and spaces that make up our surroundings, whether or not they warrant conservation. The historic character of a place is more usually formed from the everyday, accidental or homely, than it is from the heroic, coherent or beautiful.

Under the heading 'London's Smaller Eighteenth-Century Houses' English Heritage Architectural Survey has inherited from RCHME a project undertaking the investigation of a highly vulnerable building type the significance of which has not been widely recognized. London's relatively few surviving lower-status 18th-century houses are much less well documented than the more commonly surviving higher-status houses of the Georgian period. Yet their study is one of relatively few avenues into understanding how life was lived by a large proportion of the population of what was then Europe's biggest city and greatest centre of manufacturing and commerce. In looking at eighteenth-century London, architectural history, 'by concentrating on the physical landscape that was left behind, . . . has offered a false paradigm to those who seek an escape from what they perceive to be the current urban malaise.'² To this it might be added that the falsity of the paradigm can be demonstrated even by concentrating on the physical landscape, by looking at parts other than those that have attracted attention heretofore.

This report is thus intended both as a contribution towards the characterization of the distinctive historic environment of Kingsland Road, to inform the process of regenerative investment, and as a partial exploration of the nature of lower-status housing in and around London in the 18th century. To these ends it presents a history of development on Kingsland Road in the late eighteenth century. This house building was all but entirely concentrated on the east side of the road extending south from Kingsland, the hamlet near the meeting of roads now known as Dalston Junction. The primary focus is on the houses at

Kingsland Waste (Nos 374-512), drawing in accounts of Kingsland Place (Nos 514-594) and Kingsland Crescent (Nos 302-360) to provide essential topographical and architectural context for what is in many respects a typical story of London's late-eighteenth-century margins.

In terms of survey method this is not simply a documentation of fabric. It may well be that at Kingsland Waste little 'original' fabric survives, though that remains unproven as internal access to many of the properties has not been possible. The Listed Buildings at Nos 318-368 (Kingsland Crescent) and Nos 526-592 (Kingsland Place) are considered here without having been recorded *per se*. Their relatively well understood qualities need to be related to those of the less well understood buildings in between to arrive at a balanced understanding of the changing nature of Kingsland Road in the late 18th century. Relationships between differing house types are emphasised, as is the need to address the history of the place as a whole in attempting to understand any one or more of its buildings. Land tenure, early occupancy, scale, siting, and the historical origins of what the Conservation Area Appraisal sums up as 'commercial character' are all discussed and related to architectural form. The building records that are incorporated into the report are a tool to this synthetic end rather than an end in themselves. This is, therefore, less an archaeological record, though its conclusions do in part arise from building recording, than it is a topographical history, tracing the origins of development to address an aspect of the local environment that established a base for all that has happened since.

After the presentation of the buildings there is a brief account of their later history and occupancy, followed by a contextual discussion that relates the first-phase developments to London's late-Georgian 'improvement' initiatives. The latter notwithstanding, the 'vernacular' heterogeneity of Kingsland Waste endured, and has spread to find itself reflected in the wider character of Kingsland Road today. This warrants recognition as an important element in both the area's 'heritage' and its 'local distinctiveness'.

A separate report on early surviving houses in and around Shoreditch includes an account of buildings at Nos 4-44 (even) Kingsland Road.

Photographs, research notes and other material is available for public consultation through the National Monuments Record, 55 Blandford Street, London W1H 3AF (tel: 0171 208 8200). Relevant references are:

Nos 376-80 Kingsland Road

National Grid Reference: TQ 3351 8422

National Monuments Record Buildings Index No: 98910

No. 436 Kingsland Road

National Grid Reference: TQ 3352 8435

National Monuments Record Buildings Index No: 103195

Nos 478-80 Kingsland Road

National Grid Reference: TQ 3552 8446

National Monuments Record Buildings Index No: 98911

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

English Heritage is grateful to Mr Amini, Norris Raymond, and Andreas Solomon and his tenants for kindly granting access to their shops and homes, as well as to Dr Dattani and Mrs Vagjiani for their co-operation. Katherine Owen and Lance Penman at the London Borough of Hackney helped initiate the work on which this report is based, and they and their colleague Catherine Bond have also supplied valuable information. The assistance of staff at Hackney Archives Department is also gratefully acknowledged, as is that of Marion Rae, archivist at St Bartholomew's Hospital.

For English Heritage Peter Guillery was responsible for the building recording, including documentary research and measured survey, as well as for the text of this report. Susanne Larsen assisted with the archival research. The drawings of Nos 380, 436 and 478 Kingsland Road are by Andrew Donald, and the large-format photographs are by Derek Kendall.

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SUMMARY BUILDING ACCOUNTS

This is not a summary of the whole report. It is simply a résumé of facts relating to the buildings covered here, with the principal relevant dates and names. It must be emphasized that the report aims primarily to describe the historical context and interdependence of these buildings (see Preface).

The earliest development on the strip of manorial wasteland that is referred to throughout as Kingsland Waste came in 1758 when 'Upsdell's Row' (Nos 430-6), four small three-room houses, was built amid brickfields by Thomas Upsdell, a brickmaker. No. 436 is the sole survivor. Though substantially altered, it retains important evidence of the scale of the original buildings, and a bold datestone. The rest of the southern part of the waste was built up in the 1770s and 1780s in three- to five-house speculations of what were for the most part small houses for artisans and labourers, the developers being a mix of local and incoming tradesmen. Nos 376-80 of 1776-81, probably built by Thomas Lake, another local brickmaker, and Thomas Brown, a carpenter, also survive. No. 380 is described in detail, presenting further evidence of vernacular housebuilding on a somewhat larger scale. Some other buildings of the 1770s do also appear to survive, at least in part, notably at Nos 416 and 420, though internal inspection of these properties has not been possible.

To the north Kingsland Place (Nos 514-594) was built in the 1770s by George Wyatt, carpenter, and Edward Gray, bricklayer, on a lease from St Bartholomew's Hospital. Conceived as an ambitious high-status development of linked semi-detached houses for well-to-do commuters, the project was only partially realized in what was probably an altered version of a more unified scheme. The evident architectural finesse of these substantial houses and the innovative nature of their suburban serial semi-detachment prompts speculation as to the involvement of an architect, possibly George Dance.

Between the early buildings at Nos 376-438 and Kingsland Place an isolated semi-detached pair of houses (Nos 478-480) was built in 1776-8 on the northern part of the waste, by John Faulkner, probably another bricklayer. This pair is typologically eccentric and intermediate, fascinating in the way that it reflects both the high-status and low-status developments to its north and south.

Finally, Kingsland Crescent (Nos 302-360) and adjoining buildings at Nos 362-370 of 1790-3 are briefly assessed as another speculation on a grand scale, this time more urban than suburban, for which James Carr may have been the architect. Nos 440-472 (Warwick Place) and Nos 486-502 (Lamb Place) of 1802-10 are mentioned in passing, as are Nos 266-298 (Acton Place) of c.1808, and other neighbouring developments.

1 - HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

Kingsland Road was part of Ermine Street, the main route north from Roman London, and it remained a major road in the Middle Ages. In 1713 the Stamford Hill turnpike trust was established to administer what had come to be known as the Great North Road or the Ware Road as a toll road, from Shoreditch, where it left London, to Enfield. A tollgate at Kingsland was the first to the north of London.³ In the 1740s there were virtually no buildings along the road between the upper reaches of Shoreditch/Hoxton and Kingsland, that is Kingsland Road (Fig. 1). Bourne's Framework Knitters' Almshouses of 1734, to the north of the Geffrye Almshouses, marked the extent of London's outward growth. Further north Balmes House stood in elegant isolation away to the west. On the east side of the road the Fox Public House, established in 1723, stood on its own just south of Haggerston Lane; further north towards Kingsland was the equally solitary Lamb Inn.⁴ This was the part of the parish of St John Hackney that was closest to London, but it was also one of its emptiest places. The fashionable settlements at Stoke Newington and Hackney, as well as the smaller hamlets at Kingsland and Dalston were other places as much as was London proper. The land flanking Kingsland Road was not idle though, providing vital support to the metropolis as brickfields, pasture and market gardens - such use could be lucrative providing a disincentive to development. The east side of the road had pasture with brickfields beyond, and some market gardening and nurseries further away around Dalston. The west side was arable. The farms were occupied by cowkeepers.⁵ Since the 17th century land along Kingsland Road had been given over to use as clay pits for brickmaking and Daniel Lysons noted that 'vast quantities' of bricks and tiles had been made around Kingsland by 1795.⁶ The landscape would have been as much industrial as pastoral, punctuated by piles of top earth, drying hacks, clamps for firing the bricks, tile kilns, and other small-scale and ephemeral shed-like constructions. Much of London was ringed by brickfields, and in the 18th century and into the 19th century an abrupt edge separating densely-populated suburbs and open spaces was typical (Fig. 2).⁷



Fig. 1 – Kingsland Road in 1746 (John Rocque, An Exact Survey of the City's of London, Westminster . . . and the Country near Ten Miles Round, 1746).

In such open places some land remained nominally unused. A long thin triangular strip on the east side of Kingsland Road corresponding to the later sites of Nos 374-512 was 'waste'. A 'waste', as the word is applied here, was 'a piece of land not cultivated or used for any purpose, and producing little or no herbage or wood. In legal use specifically a piece of such land not in any man's occupation, but lying common'.⁸ Kingsland Waste was ancient manorial land, but through disuse and disinterest had become common, which, of course, does not mean that it was wholly disused, though any casual use would not have been documented.

Kingsland itself was growing more than Hackney's other hamlets in the 1760s and 1770s, when its ratepaying population more than doubled, and so pressure to develop along the road that separated it from London might be expected.⁹ However, insalubrity seems to have deterred development in this direction, with the notable exception of the innovative and ambitiously conceived, but haltingly realized,

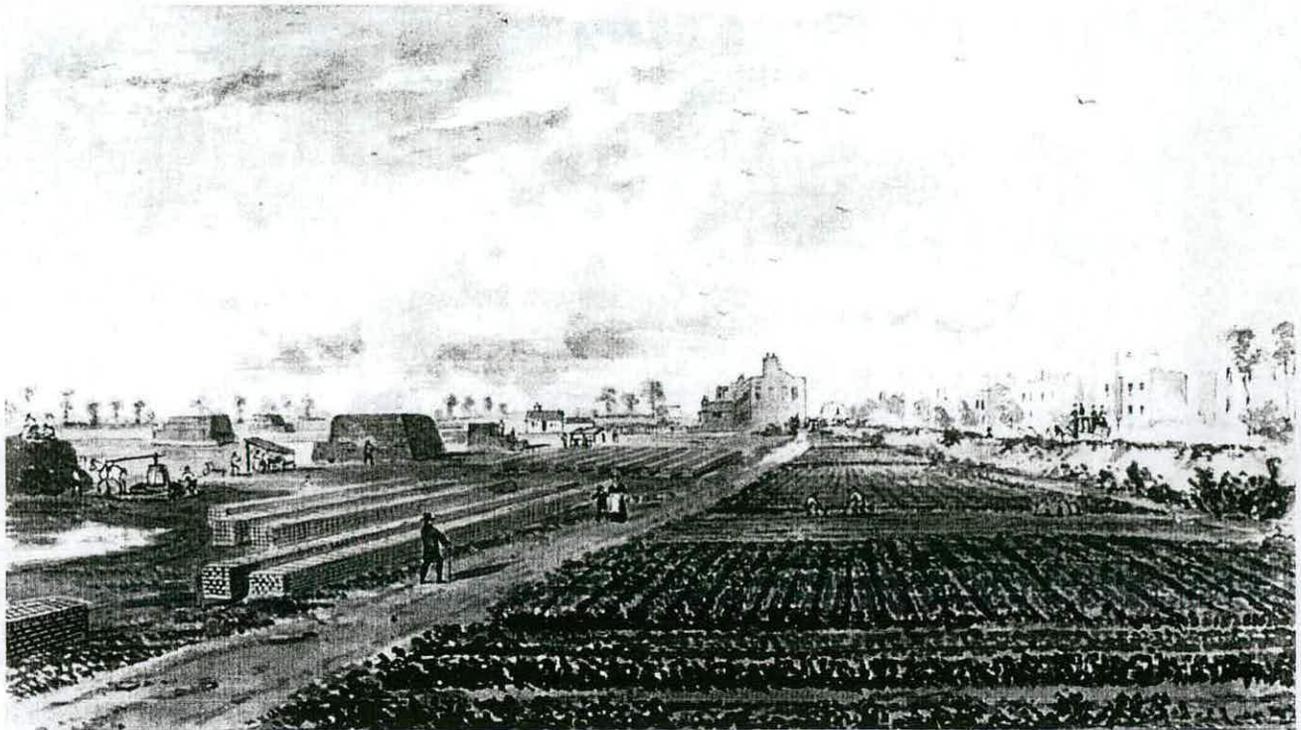


Fig. 2 – Brickmaking and market gardening on the west side of Kingsland Road in about 1825, view to the north showing Acton Place (Nos 268-298), watercolour by C. H. Matthews (Hackney Archives Department).

speculation at Kingsland Place (Nos 514-594) in the 1770s. Shoreditch to the south was already then an impoverished district, perhaps the one the approach to which John Gwynn had in mind when in 1766 he wrote, ‘Remotely, we see nothing but spires of temples, and turrets of palaces, and imagine it the residence of splendor, grandeur and magnificence; but, when we have passed the gates, we find it perplexed with narrow passages, disgraced with despicable cottages, embarassed [sic] with obstructions, and clouded with smoke.’¹⁰ Into the 1780s Kingsland’s growth was predominantly to the north, away from London (Fig. 3).¹¹ The less desirable character of the land along Kingsland Road to the south is indicated by the building of the Shoreditch Workhouse in 1776-7, on what later became the site of St Leonard’s Hospital.¹² The usefulness of the land for brickmaking may also have worked against any temptation to sell it off for housebuilding. The economic equation in this respect did shift; between 1778 and 1798 rents for brickfields trebled, but in relation to housebuilding in that period it is unclear whether this was cause or effect.¹³

Building on Kingsland Waste (Nos 374-512) began in 1758, and gradual development followed in piecemeal stages through the 1770s and 1780s (Fig. 4). With a run of about thirty mostly small artisanal houses the former Waste came to house what was the first urban or at least suburban development that one came to on travelling north from Shoreditch past the Workhouse. Surprisingly, perhaps, given this rather stuttering and humble pattern of development, Kingsland Crescent (Nos 302-360) followed on in 1792-3 to the south as a unified classical composition of bourgeois town houses.

The late 18th century has often been presented as London’s great era of ‘improvement’, something that is particularly evident in the regular nature of the better housing that was erected in large-scale speculations in the suburbs with which the capital was gradually merging. This can be seen elsewhere in Hackney,¹⁴ as well as in Islington, and, classically so, in what were then suburbs to the west and south. Concerted efforts were being made to develop large landholdings with coherent, regular and uniform housing for the ‘middling sort’. But this did not happen everywhere, nor evenly, and Kingsland Road provides an interesting and in some respects typical case study of the margins of this process. Humbler, unimproved



Fig. 3 – Kingsland Road in about 1790 (John Stockdale, *A New Plan of London*, 1797).

or 'vernacular' development was very much a part of the contemporary scene though it rarely survives in recognisable form. The existence side-by-side of late-18th-century housing of the 'vernacular' character represented by that which survives between Nos 374-438 with that of 'polite' character at Kingsland Place and Kingsland Crescent makes a telling contrast. Together these developments exemplify contrasting aspects of late-18th-century London's urban growth, of which, thanks to the disproportionate survival rate of higher-quality buildings, we have difficulty retaining a balanced view. Rarely are they still so neatly juxtaposed.

By 1800 much of the turnpike road of which Kingsland Road formed the southernmost part was built up through Stoke Newington and Tottenham, with few gaps all the way north to Edmonton. This was then much the greatest example of linear or ribbon

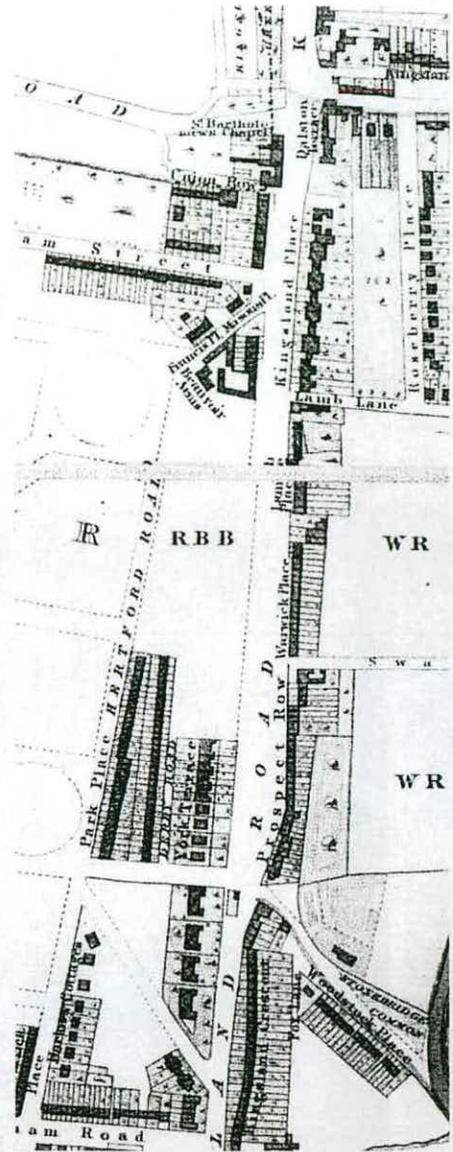


Fig. 5 – The north end of Kingsland Road in 1831 (Starling's *Map of the Parish of St John, Hackney*, 1831, Hackney Archives Department).

development through suburbs anywhere round the metropolis.¹⁵ To some degree it may be precisely because the road was so ancient and so travelled that development along parts of its length were more piecemeal in character than was the case along newer and less seminal roads. Yet well into the 19th century the buildings considered here remained apart from London, set off by fields, still marooned outside an urban *cordon sanitaire* (Fig. 3). When the Regent's Canal was completed in 1819, development along Kingsland Road was still restricted to the east side, extending more or less continuously from Kingsland south to the canal, but not beyond.¹⁶ In the 1820s the Rhodes family at last brought systematic development to the area, but that is another story (Fig. 5).¹⁷

KINGSLAND ROAD

Development to c1800

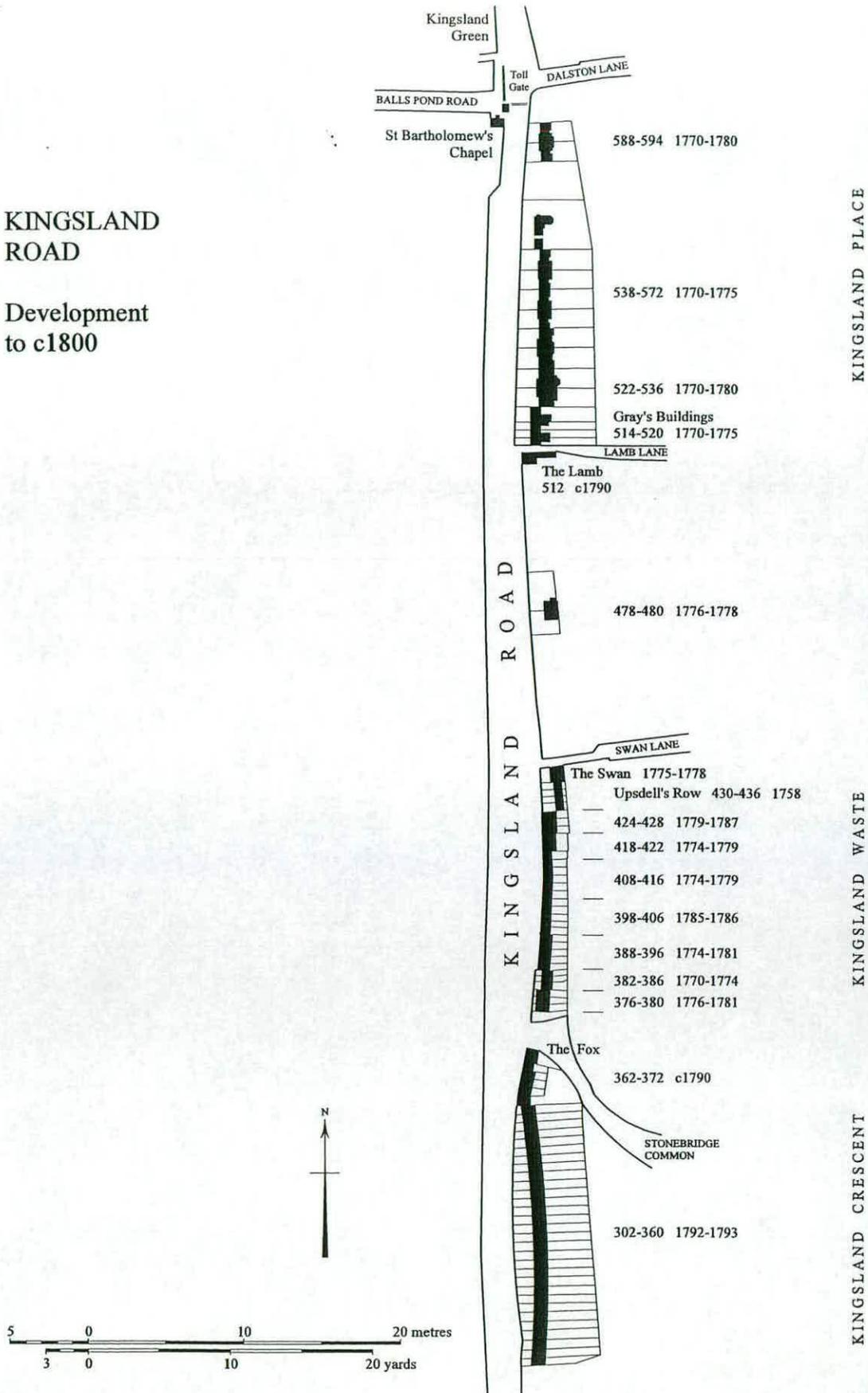


Fig. 4 – Kingsland Road, development to c.1800.

2 - DEVELOPMENT AT KINGSLAND WASTE (NOS 374-438 KINGSLAND ROAD)

Of the first late-18th-century phase of development at Kingsland Waste little survives. However, the distinctly fragmented, small-scale and irregular character of the place has its origins in piecemeal development with modest buildings of the period 1758-87. The focus of what follows here is not so much on a detailed account of the buildings as artefacts comprising 'historic' fabric, but on the historical origins of the character of the place. Two buildings (Nos 380 and 436) are described in greater detail than the rest.

Appropriation of the Land

In 1750 the land on which Nos 374-438 now stand was the southern part of a strip or verge of manorial waste ground behind a causeway running alongside the highway that was Kingsland Road; the causeway must have been used as a shortcut to and from the road to Haggerston (later Fox Lane, then Haggerston Road) (Fig. 1). Thomas Upsdell, a brickmaker of Norton Folgate, who may have been renting adjoining land for brickmaking, had been 'granted' this waste by 1758 when he built 'Upsdell's Row', four houses near its north end (see Nos 430-6). By 1770 Upsdell had effectively enclosed the common land, appropriating it with a lease from Francis John Tyssen, who held the manor, of what was delineated as a 528ft-long strip (20ft wide at its north end, 58ft to the south).¹⁸ Such translations or formalizations of squatted or casual occupation of common land were widespread in this period, and enclosure of the waste was probably a matter of policy for the trustees responsible for the turnpike. In 1763 they were filling in the roadside ditch further north and planning to put up a fence on the footway.¹⁹

In the early 1770s Upsdell lived in a house to the east of the waste amid the brickfields, at the end of a drive on the site of what became Swan Lane (then Richmond Road), not far from the Lamb Inn (see below) (Fig. 6). Upsdell may have died in or shortly before 1774. The brickfields were thereafter occupied by Samuel Scott and Samuel Rhodes, members of eminent families of brickmakers and land speculators who were active in the area from the 1760s onwards. However, the property near Kingsland Road was not part of the substantial Rhodes' family landholding later known as the Lamb Farm estate. In 1774 Peter Upsdell, 'gentleman' and the son of Thomas, took a new 99-year lease of the waste at a negligible rent of £2 a year, renegotiated a year later to take in the 16-

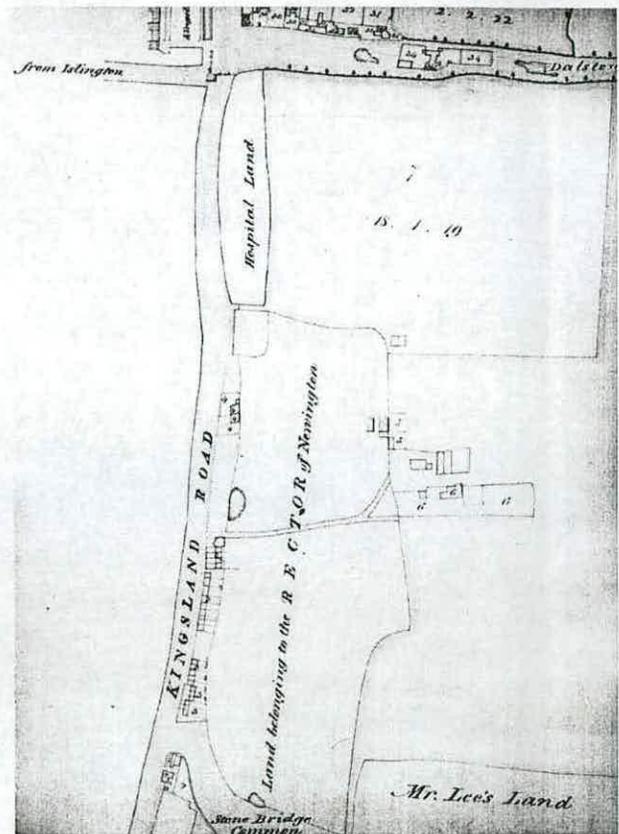


Fig. 6 – Tyssen estate properties near the north end of Kingsland Road in 1785 (J. Bateman's estate plan, as copied in 1838, Hackney Archives Department, D/F/TYS/66).

- 2) Fox Public House, etc, Elizabeth Brooks, tenant.
- 3) Houses, etc, including the Swan Public House, Peter Upsdell, tenant.
- 4) Two houses, etc, John Faulconer, tenant.
- 5) Lamb Public House, etc, Samuel Scott, tenant.
- 6) Two houses, etc, Samuel Scott, tenant.

19ft-wide strip to the west of the waste that was the causeway, thus entrenching and extending the encroachment to be 36ft wide to the north and 77ft wide to the south.²⁰

Peter Upsdell held on to the waste and profited from its further development in the 1770s, but he had ambitions beyond continuing his father's brickmaking business and low-status marginal housebuilding. He was described as being of Hackney in 1774, but a year later, when he mortgaged his lease on the waste to Richard Beauvoir, he was described not only as a gentleman, but also as a surveyor, of Islington. His background in brickmaking had led to a more 'professional' and potentially profitable involvement in housebuilding. Artisanal mobility to the status of surveyor was entirely normal in the 18th century, and in itself not necessarily indicative of a rise in status. More telling of ambition is Upsdell's situation in 1779 when he was living and working as a surveyor in Marybone Street (Soho), and remortgaging his Kingsland Road property. He was deeply in debt owing more than £1000.²¹ In March 1780 Upsdell, now described as a builder, had left his Soho address, bankrupt. His venture into West End property speculation (he also held property in Marylebone) had foundered.²² Upsdell's Kingsland Road property was assigned to John Elkins, a bricklayer and brickmaker of South Street, Mayfair, from which base the Elkins family had been builders since at least the 1720s.²³ In 1785 Elkins turned his attention to Kingsland Waste, paying off Upsdell's mortgages and setting up his own, while undertaking to finish development of the frontage that had been largely built up since 1770.²⁴ Upsdell recovered, practising as a surveyor in Soho, Westminster and Holborn from 1786, and living at No. 23 Gerrard Street from then until 1797. He was still active in 1817.²⁵

The Buildings

This land tenure underlay the development of the waste, undertaken by these people and their undertenants during the period 1758-87, erratically and in small parcels. Many of the first-phase houses went up in the 1770s and were thus part of a London-wide building boom. Upsdell's financial difficulties and other slowing down in the development process at Kingsland Waste c.1780 reflect a general downturn in the market from 1778 until 1785.²⁶ Against this background the development can be considered in more detail. This account presents the buildings in topographical, but not necessarily chronological, sequence, running from north to south. The northern part of the waste remained largely undeveloped. Its single early building (Nos 478-480) is treated separately in Section 4.

Nos 430-438 (formerly Upsdell's Row)

The site of Nos 430-8 was that of the earliest development on Kingsland Waste, 'Upsdell's Row', which name endured well into the 19th century. The row was four 16ft-front cottages on the sites of Nos 430-6, each originally comprising only three rooms. No. 436 survives (see below), bearing an undoubtedly authentic stone panel in its front wall that is inscribed 'Upsdells Row 1758'. The four houses built in 1758 were set back, behind the causeway that was not appropriated until 1774-5, on the strip of waste where it was only 20ft deep (Fig. 4). From at least 1770 one of the Upsdell's Row cottages, probably No. 436, was occupied by Thomas Summers, a scavenger. Scavenging, or the removing of household rubbish and street dirt, was closely linked to brickmaking, as domestic ash, a high proportion of the waste generated by a city dependent on burning coal for heat, was a crucial component in the manufacture of bricks.²⁷ Perhaps Thomas Upsdell built the short row to house Summers and other skilled members of his brickmaking workforce. Brickmaking was not labour intensive and required little capitalization. Most of the labour was casual, seasonal and unskilled.

In 1775, following Thomas Upsdell's death, the site of No. 438, then a stable and garden, was taken by Summers, together with his own house at No. 436, at an annual rent of £13.8.0 on a 30-year lease, a substantial sum that shows that Summers was no mere street cleaner, more likely a cleaning contractor. By 1778 a large building had gone up at No. 438 to be the Swan Public House, with a bay window to the west and its entrance to what became Swan Lane to the north (Fig. 6). This was built by Summers, who by 1779 was being described as a surveyor, holding the lease of all of 'Upsdell's Row' as well as adjoining property to the south. Summers was certainly a builder, though 'surveyor' could be a mistranscription of scavenger. However, it is more likely an accurate reflection of Summers' career,



Fig. 7 – The Swan Public House (No. 438 Kingsland Road), undated photograph (EH, National Monuments Record, BB78/856).

which evidently followed that of his associate Peter Upsdell into speculative building; from scavenger to surveyor within a decade represents a notable degree of social mobility.²⁸

No. 438 remains a public house, until recently continuing as the Swan, latterly renamed Uncle Sam's. The 18th-century building appears to have been wholly rebuilt in the mid 19th century as a large three-storey, yellow-stock-brick block with stucco dressings (Figs 7 and 8).

The three cottages of 1758 on the sites of Nos 430-4 have all been replaced. All the front gardens were built over in the mid 19th century as commercial use became general. The houses were themselves rebuilt in the late 19th to early 20th century. Nos 432-4 housed the Imperial Cinema Company from c.1910-14 to the 1930s, rebuilt thereafter as a bank.²⁹

No. 436 Kingsland Road (Ray's Leather and Sheepskin Centre)

Exterior

The house of 1758 at No. 436 is set well back behind a mid-19th-century single-storey shop extension with a 20th-century shopfront (Fig. 8).³⁰ The house has three full storeys, with cement-rendered brick to a symmetrically fenestrated two-bay front with modern sash windows. The inscribed stone panel that carries the date 1758 is sited between the flush-framed first-floor windows (Fig. 9); the second-floor windows are recessed. The first-floor windows, which have splayed embrasures internally, are tall in their proportions. The shape and regular positioning of these windows is surprisingly genteel given the size of the house, perhaps, like the datestone between, a reflection of the prominence this row once had, standing on its own beside a major highway. There is a string course below a parapet, and a party-wall chimneystack to the south. The stack position suggests that the row of four was built as two pairs with back-to-back chimneys. The roof and the back of the house are not visible from the street.

Interior

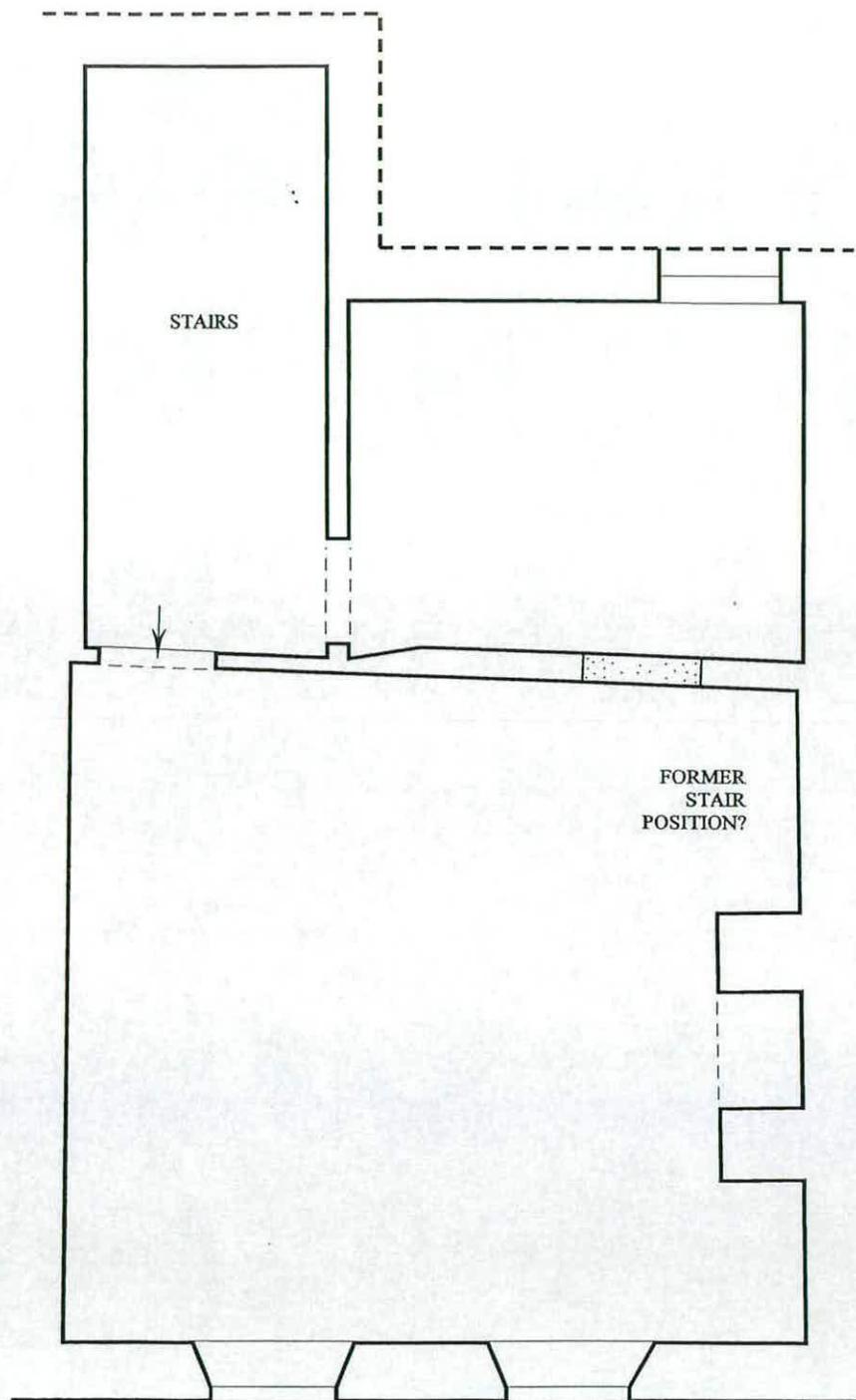
Internally the house has been extensively altered. Nevertheless brick walls still define the original extent of the building, showing it to have been about 16ft square originally, extended to the rear through its full height (Fig. 10). The house was thus simply three rooms,



Fig. 8 – Nos 430-8 Kingsland Road (formerly Upsdell's Row), view from the west in 1999 (EH, BB99/11003).



Fig. 9 – Stone panel on front wall of No. 436 Kingsland Road (EH, MF99/01466/17).



FIRST FLOOR PLAN
(Main block of premises)

436 KINGSLAND ROAD
London E8

Borough of Hackney
Surveyed October 1999
Grid Reference TQ 3352 8435
Buildings Index No. 103195
Surveyed by P.G. drawn by A.D.



Fig. 10 – No. 436 Kingsland Road, first-floor plan in 1999.

one above another. The original rear wall survives on the ground and first floors, with altered openings, perhaps rebuilt towards the north where it is thinner. This former back wall is 15in.(38cm) thick on the ground floor, as substantial as the front wall on the first floor. Knowledge that the building plot was only 20ft deep confirms what the building and maps indicate, that is that there were no rear rooms originally. The original rear wall does not carry up on the second floor. This, the recessed upper windows, and the absence of any roof profile visible from the street tend to suggest that what would originally have been a garret room in the roof slope has been rebuilt under a shallow-pitched roof with the raising of the front wall to make the property fully three storeys tall. There is no surviving evidence for the original staircase position other than the off-centredness of the stack which might indicate that the stairs rose behind it, a conventional layout in one-room-plan houses the deep chimney breast suggests that there may have been fitted cupboards in front of the stack; fireplaces have been replaced. The ground floor has been opened up for shop use, with the original front wall removed and the fireplace replaced by structural piers. There is no evidence that there was ever a cellar. Original room use can only have been kitchen and living space on the ground floor with two chambers above. The entrance is likely to have been away from the chimneystack, to the north.

The house was extended back c.1840 (Figs 5 and 11). An opening in the back wall on the ground floor leads to a later dog-leg staircase, the opening having reeded reveals that are consistent with a date of c.1840. The small added back rooms hold no evidence for fireplaces, though that on the ground floor appears to have been a scullery, retaining remnants of structural support for a copper. On the upper storeys the added back spaces have floor levels that are slightly lower than those of the original building.



Fig. 11 – The north end of Kingsland Road in 1843 (West Hackney Tithe Map, Hackney Archives Department).

Nos 418-428

The whole group from No. 428 south to No. 388 has always fronted onto the forward building line, and was thus all built after the c.1774 encroachment across the causeway (Fig. 4).



Fig. 12 – Nos 418-428 Kingsland Road, view from the north-west in 1999 (EH, BB99/11002).

In 1779, when he appears to have held the whole of ‘Upsdell’s Row’, Thomas Summers, now a surveyor, took further leases on the partially developed sites of Nos 418-28 from Peter Upsdell, with two houses that Summers had probably built. No. 418 had been built on an 18ft-wide plot. The early house was perhaps like those of comparable scale and date to its south (see Nos 408-416). The site is now occupied by a four-storey building, perhaps of the early 20th century (Fig. 12). The site of Nos 420-8 was also let to Summers by

Upsdell in 1779 as an 82ft-wide plot with a single house. This was probably at Nos 420-2 where a frontage of about 36ft appears to have been developed as a single large house, not divided until the mid 19th century. Nos 424-8 had been added by 1787, when two houses were noted as being 'new'. The site of Nos 424-6 may have been projected to have another double-width house (Fig. 6), but Nos 424-8 do appear to have been built as three separate 15-front houses, though rather more substantial properties than those to the south of Nos 420-2 to judge from their rateable value; they were perhaps always two rooms deep (Fig. 11).³¹ The relatively high status of this group is evident from the later enlargement of their gardens. Nos 374-418 all appear to have always had small back gardens (Fig. 5).

No. 420 appears to survive as an 18th-century house in its own right, of three full storeys with a steeply-pitched roof (Fig. 12). It has an asymmetrically composed 18ft-wide two-window front, with brown stock bricks laid to Flemish bond. The brick courses are closed up to the south but not to the north; if this was in fact the southern half of a larger house perhaps it had four window bays, end stacks and a central entrance. On the first floor flat-arched window heads have been covered in render. There are replacement windows in unaltered openings, the upper storey proportioned as an attic below a cement-rendered parapet. Internal inspection might indicate whether the house did extend onto the site of No. 422, perhaps revealing an 18th-century layout and other features. Nos 422-8 are all stucco-fronted three-storey buildings with two-window fronts and a continuous parapet. The window rhythm and rooflines are not as at No. 420 and it may be that these properties have been wholly rebuilt. Certainly Nos 424-8 have centre-valley roofs that are more typically 19th century.

Nos 408-416

Nos 408-16 were built in 1774-9, probably as a row of five small one-room-plan three-room cottages, perhaps put up by Hugh Byrne, a Monmouth Street (Covent Garden) bricklayer, who took leases of 16ft-front plots with houses from Peter Upsdell in 1779; Byrne may previously have worked with Upsdell in the West End (Figs 4, 5 and 6).³² Nos 408-12 were rebuilt to a greater height in the late 19th century, but Nos 414 and 416 survive to indicate the scale and form of the 18th-century houses (Fig. 13). No. 414 is a two-storey building with a two-window front, wholly stuccoed over a modern shopfront. It was reportedly completely rebuilt in 1994.³³ However, it does seem to retain the shape of the earlier building, and the flanking party walls retain ghosts of the former steeply-pitched roofline. No. 416 is more intact, with what are probably the original brown stock bricks laid to Flemish bond still visible on the first floor of the two-window front, the walling closed up to both north and south. The symmetrically placed windows have been given flat stucco architraves and the mansard attic appears to be an enlargement of what would have been more confined garret space. The ground floor is, as with all of these buildings, much altered for shop use, and access to the upper storeys has not been possible. However, it is evident that the house at No. 416 has a double-depth or two-room plan, the rear room perhaps due to mid-19th-century extension, with party-wall stacks to the south, the stair position perhaps being to the northeast. The original front door was probably to the north. There has been a Post Office in No. 416 since c. 1900.³⁴



Fig. 13 – Nos 412-420 Kingsland Road, view from the west in 1999 (EH, BB99/10999).

Nos 398-406

Nos 398-406 were built in 1785-6 by John Elkins as one-room-plan cottages, he having agreed in April 1785 to build five houses by 1 January 1786 to generate rents of £40, these houses to be 'upon the same plan' as that already built to the north (No. 408). The rents were to be paid as an annuity to the Reverend Thomas Carter of Isleworth who had loaned Elkins £400.³⁵ This filled the last 75ft gap in the frontage along the waste (Fig. 5).³⁶ Nos 402-6 remain low three-storey 15-front houses, conceivably partial survivals from Elkins' row of 1785-6 (Fig. 14). However, their plain yellow-stock-brick single-window elevations, with segmental window heads and a stuccoed parapet cornice closely resemble the front walls of Nos 374-8, datable to c.1840. Nos 402-6 are probably mid-19th-century replacements of two-storey houses that might originally have more closely resembled Nos 414-6. The interiors have not been investigated but a drawn section of No. 406 indicates complete reconstruction in the 20th century, suggesting that the main block is still only a single room deep, with lower lean-to-roofed spaces behind.³⁷



Fig. 14 – Nos 400-408 Kingsland Road, view from the west in 1999 (EH, BB99/10998).

Nos 388-396

The 15ft-front plot at No. 388 was leased to David Grantham, a Buckinghamshire carpenter, in October 1774 when a house had already been built and was occupied by John Gracey, a gardener. The rest of the frontage up to No. 396 had been built up with four more 15ft-front houses by 1781; perhaps Peter Upsdell was the initiating builder of this group.³⁸ It is worth noting in passing that Nos 382-96 all had the amenity of privies at the ends of their gardens (Fig. 6); rateable values indicate that these were relatively large houses, perhaps two rooms deep. Nos 388 and 390 now appear as if part of a group with No. 386, all three-storey single-bay houses (Fig. 15) No. 390 has a rear-staircase layout. Differences in window levels and dimensions suggest separate 19th-century rebuilds. Nos 392-400 were rebuilt together in the late 19th century, four three-storey properties replacing five smaller ones, No. 392 being narrower than Nos 396-400. Perhaps this rebuild was carried out c.1890 for Home & Colonial Stores.³⁹



Fig. 15 – Nos 374-392 Kingsland Road, view from the north-west in 1999 (EH, BB99/10995).

Nos 374-386

At the south end of the waste, Thomas Upsdell sublet the site of Nos 374-86 to Mark Milliken, a Bermondsey carpenter, in 1770 (Fig. 16). By 1774 when this plot was assigned to Ann Morgan, a Surrey spinster, with 'premises thereunto belonging', a short row of three small houses, perhaps built by Milliken, possibly with Upsdell, stood at its north end on the approximately 45ft-wide site of Nos 382-6, their fronts well back from the present building line. Morgan



Fig. 16 – Nos 374-384 Kingsland Road, view from the west in 1999 (EH, BB99/10993).

took a new 99-year lease in 1774, the plot slightly lengthened to the south to create a 112ft frontage, and extended further west across the causeway, thus permitting the more forward building line of later development. Another group of three houses, at No 376-80, was joined on to the earlier group in 1776-81, their fronts further forward to align with the contemporary buildings further north at Nos 388-96, though not right at the front of the plots that Morgan had leased (Figs 4 and 6). These three houses may have been built by Thomas Lake, a Hackney brickmaker, with Thomas Brown, a carpenter, Lake taking a 53-year lease in December 1777 of an 18ft-wide strip of land in front of two houses he had lately bought from Brown.⁴⁰ The buildings of 1776-81 at Nos 376-80 survive (see below for an account of No. 380). Nos 376-8 were refronted and perhaps further altered c.1840 when the much shallower single-pile building at No. 374 was added to the end of the row, perhaps in association with the formation of Middleton Road by Sir William Middleton. An outbuilding or shed on the site of No. 374A may have replaced an earlier end-of-row appendage (Figs 5 and 11), conceivably the 'milk house' for which John Stark was paying rates in 1833, a presence that reflects the continuation at this late date of pasture in the vicinity. The fields behind were not opened up to development until Middleton Road was formed.⁴¹

The small houses of 1770-4 at Nos 382-6 have gone, with replacement on the forward building line that leaves these properties with slightly narrower fronts than their neighbours. The first houses may have been two rooms deep, rateable values suggesting they were comparable in scale with those surviving at Nos 376-80. No. 382 may have taken on more-or-less its present stucco-fronted form in 1812-14 in a rebuilding the first occupant of which was Francis Bartholomew, a professional, not a tradesman.⁴² No. 386 was probably brought forward in a rebuild soon thereafter, but No. 384 remained set back until some time after 1843 when it was rebuilt as infill (Fig. 11).⁴³ The relieving arches over the two first-floor windows of No. 382, clumsily repeated on No. 384, are a surprising embellishment on such a humble building. If they are indeed of 1812-14 perhaps they are meant as an architectural echo of No. 362 Kingsland Road, the house of c.1790 at the end of Kingsland Crescent (see below), and perhaps therefore an attempt to imply equivalent status at an equivalent distance from the end of a group of otherwise plain fronts. No. 382 was subsequently embellished with rustication and an upper moulded panel that continues across the narrower two-window stuccoed front of No. 384 so as to reflect common ownership sometime after 1843, when No. 384 was brought forward. No. 382 has been raised since 1969, with upper-storey windows inserted across the moulded panel.⁴⁴

No. 3 Middleton Road, just southeast of No. 374, warrants a mention (Figs 16 and 17). Despite much rebuilding, this building looks as if it might have 18th-century origins, with its steeply-pitched roof and areas of what might be early brickwork including a neat gauged-brick flat arch over a former ground-floor

opening. However, maps indicate nothing on this site prior to c.1840 (Figs 5 and 11). Without internal access this altered building is difficult to interpret. It appears to present evidence of construction conservatism, and oddities of form might suggest that it was not built as a house, but rather as a service or agricultural building, conceivably stabling.

No. 380 Kingsland Road (Bas Bakery)

No. 380 Kingsland Road is the northernmost of the second group of three houses to be put up on the land that Ann Morgan leased from Peter Upsdell. These were built in 1776-81, perhaps by Thomas Lake, a Hackney brickmaker, and Thomas Brown, a carpenter.

The group as a whole has been altered, notably c.1840 when No. 374 was added to the south and Nos 376-8 were refronted; the first leases may have been falling in at about this time.⁴⁵ However, No. 380 remains an intact 18th-century building, its overall form and layout, together with some of its internal features, being consistent with the date of 1776-81 that is suggested by the documents. However, it must be noted that buildings such as this are not readily susceptible to stylistic dating, which is undermined both by conservatism in the construction of housing at this social level and by a paucity of comparative evidence. This caveat notwithstanding it is clear that the building at No. 380 is that put up in 1776-81, and that it provides important evidence as to the nature of the first phase of development on Kingsland Waste.

Exterior

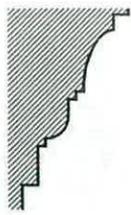
Nos 376-80 are three-storey brick houses with 15ft (4.5m) frontages, that of No. 380 with two window bays in stuccoed brick, those of Nos 376-8 with single window bays in exposed yellow-stock brick (Figs 16 and 18). The existing fronts retain little that can be related to the first build. Nos 376-8 have crudely-formed segmental window heads and Flemish-bond brick courses that are continuous with those of No. 374, indicating that they were refronted c.1840 at the same time that No. 374 was built from new as a comparably fronted three-storey house. A superficially continuous stucco parapet cornice runs from No. 374 through to No. 382, but a little scrutiny shows that the 'improvement' of the fronts in this stretch has been partial and piecemeal. The cornice in fact breaks between Nos 380 and 382, the latter having being raised since 1969, as does a sill-level string course below the upper storey of the two houses. Closing bricks are not visible where Nos 378 and 380 meet, but they could be concealed by the later stucco. A slight realignment of the street frontage of Nos 374-8 that did not extend to No. 380 might explain why the latter was left out of the refronting. This might still have allowed a continuous parapet cornice to be introduced or replicated, more likely the latter as the cornice between Nos 378 and 380 breaks slightly on the side of No. 378. It could be argued that the upper storeys of Nos 376-80 might originally have been garrets in gambrel roofs, raised in the refronting work. But against this the string course on No. 380 is unlikely to postdate the refronting of Nos 376-8, and it makes little



Fig. 17 – Nos 3 and 5 Middleton Road, view from the south in 1999 (EH, BB99/09153).



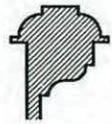
Fig. 18 – Nos 376-380 Kingsland Road, view from the west in 1999 (EH, BB99/10985).



CORNICE
FIRST FLOOR
BACK ROOM



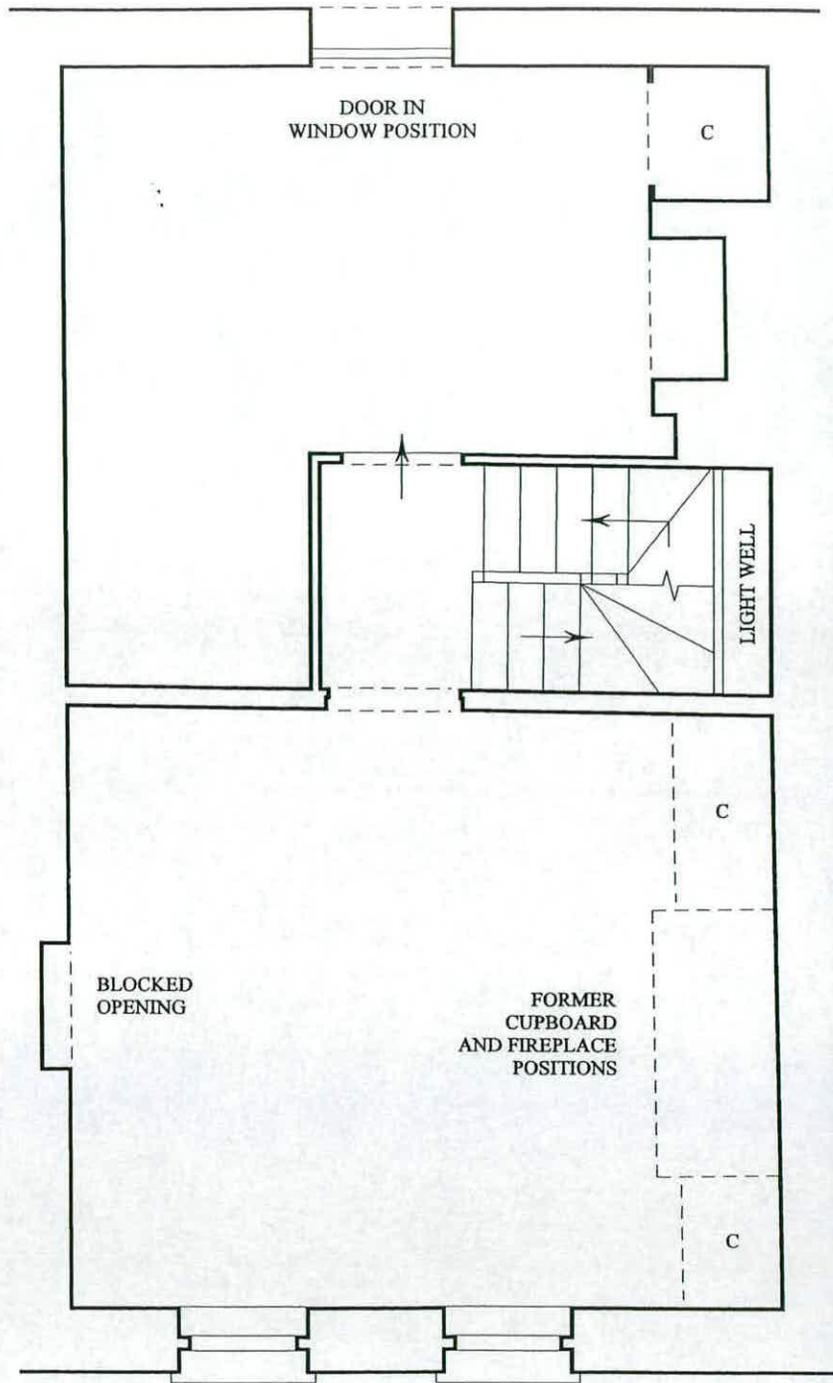
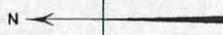
DADO RAIL
FIRST FLOOR
FRONT ROOM



STAIRCASE STRING



STAIRCASE
HANDRAIL



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

380 KINGSLAND ROAD
London E8

Borough of Hackney
Surveyed March 1999
Grid Reference TQ 3351 8422
Buildings Index No. 98910
Surveyed by P.G. drawn by A.D.



Fig. 19 – No. 380 Kingsland Road, first-floor plan and moulding details in 1999.

architectural sense unless below an upper storey. The balance of probability points to Nos 376-80 having always had three full storeys to the front.

This interpretation leaves the two-window front of the upper storeys at No. 380 as surviving from the first build, which accords with internal evidence. What are thus deduced to be original window positions on No. 380 are asymmetrical in relation to the house, though this is disguised by the stucco surface. The plan (Fig. 19) shows that the windows are set towards the north, centred not to the whole house front, but rather to the floor area of the room minus that of its deeply-projecting stacks and cupboards, a vernacular rather than a polite approach that, given the constraints of a narrow frontage, takes internal arrangements rather than external appearances as primary. Assuming that the other fronts originally followed this pattern the group as a whole would not have had elevational symmetry. This contrasts with the treatments of the fronts at Nos 416 and 436.

Nos 378-80 retain much of what were built as M roofs, both hipped to the north with a gambrel profile to the rear where there are remade garret dormers (Figs 15, 16, 18 and 20). The unusual roof configuration is the principal outward evidence of the common origin of Nos 376-80. Centred between Nos 376 and 378 there are two party-wall chimneystacks, suggesting that perhaps the roof (and plan) of No. 376 originally mirrored that of No. 378, though it no longer does. There are red/brown bricks in the shared stacks, differing markedly from those visible to the front, and consistent with an 18th-century build date. No. 380 has internal party-wall stacks on its south side, and its front roof has been removed. The early roofs, originally probably pantiled, are covered with modern clay tiles. The later and shallower building at No. 374 has a single chimneystack and a simple double-pitch roof. The first-floor back wall of No. 380 is stuccoed, with incisions to suggest ashlar, a typically early-19th-century finish. Internal evidence suggests that this wall may be wholly rebuilt.



Fig. 20 – Nos 376-380 Kingsland Road, backs viewed from the east in 1999 (EH, BB99/10986).

Interior

No. 380 has a two-room plan with a depth of about 8.8m (28ft) (Fig. 19). The layout originally comprehended side-wall chimneystacks and a staircase between these stacks; the front chimneystack has been removed. This central-staircase plan is an interesting survival (see below).

Shop use has caused the removal and/or covering of most early features on the ground floor. However, unusually in such a house with longstanding commercial use and a central-staircase plan, both the staircase and the original partition between front and back rooms, with a cyma architrave facing the back room, survive at ground level. There is a blocked door at the foot of the stairs facing rearwards and the stairs commence with winders that suggest that it was from this door (or east) that the stairs were previously approached, not, as now, from the side (or north). This might be an early alteration as the blocked doorway seems to have been cut through panelling. Perhaps it reflects the early-19th-century introduction of a shop in the ground-floor front room, though there might have been some commercial use of this room from the outset. There was said to be a cellar, latterly wholly blocked up. It is not evident that this would have received any or much daylight, and the ground-floor back room is likely to have been the original kitchen.



Fig. 21 – No. 380 Kingsland Road, staircase at first floor viewed from north-west (EH, BB99/10988).

The staircase is framed with twin newels and closed strings. The square-section newel posts are turned as columns on the upper-storey landings, and the strings have ovolo and cyma mouldings. There are 1in.-square stick balusters and the handrails have a pronounced elliptical section (Figs 19 and 21). An original lightwell to the south is railed off between the first and second floors, and the skylight over it remains *in situ*, though blocked. Sections of plain panelling survive on and around the staircase, notably as partitions between the staircase and the upper-storey back rooms.

On the first floor the larger room to the front has lost its deeply-projecting fireplace and flanking cupboards, though their extent is discernible in lines in the walls and breaks in the room's mouldings (Figs 22 and 23). The front-wall windows retain simple cyma surrounds to deep architraves that are probably datable to the 1770s. Below their sills the walling is reduced in thickness, typical 18th-century construction. The door to the

stair landing in the 6in.- (15cm)-thick brick median wall has a comparable architrave. On the north side of the room a blocked doorway to No. 382 has a much thinner architrave, cut on the splay and so Victorian or later. This doorway might have been inserted after No. 382 had been rebuilt at a time of common ownership. However, there might originally have been an opening in this position, though at first a window, as before it was rebuilt No. 382 was set well back (Figs 4 and 6). A dado rail continues round the room, stopping to the south-east where there was another cupboard. This moulding might be dated to either side of 1800, though parts appear to have been replaced. The room's slight cornice and picture rail are typically 19th century in appearance.

The L-shaped first-floor back room, the shape of which allows for a bed alcove, retains its deeply-projecting fireplace, with modern tile infilling and a tall surround, flanked by a cupboard to the rear (Fig. 24). The room has a simple cyma cornice on three sides that is probably pre-Victorian, possibly original. In the back wall, which lacks the cornice and which may have been wholly rebuilt, a door leads out onto a single-storey flat-roofed extension, the door replacing what would have been a window. The doorway to the back room from the staircase landing has been remade and the floor level of the whole room bar the hearth has been raised slightly.

The top-storey front room has been receiled under a flat roof, with no traces of early features. The partition from the staircase to the rear room is early plain panelling into which an additional door has



Fig. 22 – No. 380 Kingsland Road, first-floor front room, view from the north-west (EH, BB99/10989).

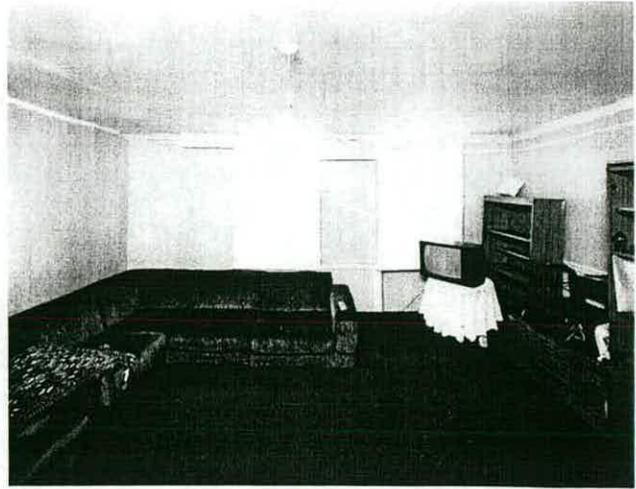


Fig. 23 – No. 380 Kingsland Road, first-floor front room, view from the east (EH, BB99/10990).

been inserted, as the forward part of the L-shaped back room has been divided off to form a bathroom. In the resultant small back room the gambrel roofline survives. It is not clear whether or not these rooms would originally have been heated.

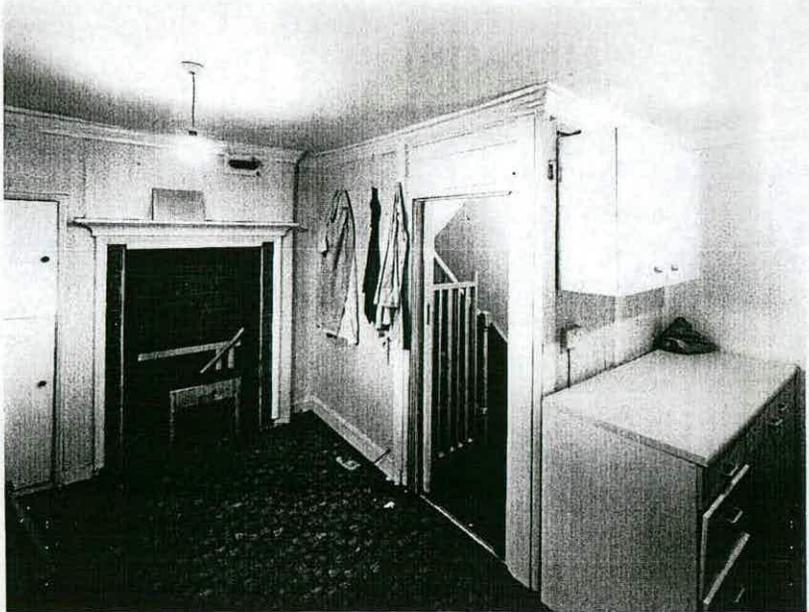


Fig. 24 – No. 380 Kingsland Road, first-floor back room, view from the north-west (EH, BB99/10991).

3 - DEVELOPMENT AT KINGSLAND WASTE IN CONTEXT

By 1787 the southern part of the strip of Kingsland Waste was thus solidly built up with what must have appeared as a fairly motley array of cottages and houses. Elsewhere Kingsland Road remained largely undeveloped, excepting Kingsland Place and Nos 478-80 which had gone up in the 1770s (see below) (Figs 3 and 4).

Thomas Upsdell's first encroachment onto the waste set the tone for the place. The development that followed had no overall coherence even though Upsdell took the whole strip of land out of common use in one parcel before it was built up. With the possible exception of a big house at Nos 420-2, none of the house frontages were wider than 18ft. That is, all the plots were narrow fronted and therefore urban in nature. This suggests that the developers were used to operating in an urban context, and that from the outset they envisaged the whole frontage becoming built up. The row was surrounded by fields, but in terms of the space given to each house it might as well have been in the town.

Many of the leases noted were for 99 years, surprisingly long at this period; the 53-year lease given to Thomas Lake in 1777 is more typical of the term usually granted to builders at this time at this social level. The typical artisanal development was speculative and commercial, but small scale and relatively short term. The houses on the waste went up in groups of three to five. The cost of building a single house was more than most artisans earned in a year, and credit was not easily come by. Some of these small groups of houses may have taken several years to complete, with a hiatus around 1780 when the housebuilding market was in decline. There would have been cashflow problems, though perhaps not for John Elkins, who was evidently a bigger operator.

Peter Upsdell's rise, fall and recovery is typical of countless small-scale building entrepreneurs, buffeted by the vagaries of economic cycles and housing demand. His family's story and its sequel is more unusual for the way it clearly outlines how brickmaking fed into housebuilding and how low-status and peripheral development fed into higher-status central development, and back - an interdependence in which aspiring artisans like the Upsdells would have been crucial.⁴⁶ Upsdell is traced moving from his roots on Kingsland Road to Soho, where he failed, bringing Elkins to Kingsland Road from Mayfair (and perhaps also Byrne from Covent Garden) to finish the modest development that Upsdell's father had started. It is fascinating to see the same people who were developing the West End building cottages amid brickfields. They were businessmen, and they knew that different markets demanded different products, and that both might be made to pay. Amid this process Thomas Summers, the local scavenger, becomes a speculating surveyor. Upsdell and Summers were not so much 'gentlemen in the building line' as 'builders in the gentlemen line'.⁴⁷ The other artisans who are documented as having built on the waste were a mixture of those with local roots and incomers, some from far away, perhaps simply coming to build and move on, as many of the names are not known to recur in a local context.

Though few survive, late-18th-century buildings of the scale and status of those built at Kingsland Waste were formerly widespread around London, though anything but conformable in their particulars.⁴⁸ They were characteristic of peripheral areas, often put up on the edges of earlier development where large-scale development by an estate or speculation for a fashionable clientele were not realistic options. This was not poor housing -- of that nothing survives. These houses would have been occupied by artisans or more fortunate labourers and would have been vastly preferable to much of what would have been available. At the end of the 18th century houses of two 12ft-square rooms were considered perfectly adequate for labourers, and many of the poorest families lived in single rooms.⁴⁹ Of course, artisanal houses were more often built where artisanal people lived and worked, predominantly to the east and south of the City, as in Bethnal Green and Shoreditch where there were numerous weavers dependent on the Spitalfields silk trade.

One-room-plan houses were widespread in 18th-century London. Their rarity now obscures the fact that this was one of the most common house forms, and by no means necessarily poor housing. Late-17th-century examples have been recorded in the City, and early-18th-century one-room-plan houses, some of distinctly high status, survive in Spitalfields, Bermondsey, as well as further afield in Peckham and Deptford.⁵⁰ On Kingsland Road the Geffrye Almshouses are a reminder, albeit exceptionally coherent, of the scale of much early-eighteenth-century housing. Survivals of the original cores of extended one-room-plan buildings like that at No. 436 may be more widespread than is presently recognized. In the later 18th century the one-room-plan house does seem to have lost status, though they were certainly still being built, for still-prospering weavers in Bethnal Green, as well as lower down the social scale. As the ownership of material goods and expectations of privacy spread houses of this type became decreasingly respectable until by the 19th century they came to be associated with mean developments that were always bad housing. Upsdell's Row of 1758, in so far as it survives at No. 436, is an interesting example of the one-room-plan type occurring in conjunction with elements of fashionability at a relatively late date. The regular fenestration with tall first-floor windows not only provided the internal amenity of well-lit bedrooms with views across fields, but also pointed to a desire to make an outward impression that comprehended regularity -- these were not furtive squatters' cottages, but, as the datestone confirms, a proudly proclaimed brickmaker's speculation.

Nos 376-80 represent a larger house type, though one that is still identifiably artisanal in many of its qualities. Its central-staircase plan form is of considerable interest. Through the 18th century higher-status housing in London was most usually built with the rear-staircase plan, that is with the stair behind an entrance passage alongside the back rooms. This form was ill suited to smaller houses as limited frontage meant that a staircase on one side left back rooms that were unappealingly narrow. The lack of direct natural light to a central staircase was less a problem in smaller houses than in larger ones, as borrowed light filtering through small rooms was more penetrative. At No. 380 the stair is framed away from the party wall, leaving a small space that was originally intended as a light well (Fig. 19). In higher-status houses this is a typically late-17th-century feature;⁵¹ its appearance in a substantially later house is of interest. The staircase is not a full-width intermediate 'cell', as it would have been in larger and higher-status central-staircase plan houses of the period (as, for example, in the Adam brothers' speculation at the Adelphi). It is simply a rectangle taken out of the back room, leaving bed alcoves in the upper-storey L-shaped back rooms.

Close to Kingsland Road and a little nearer London, Hoxton was a mixed area through the 18th century, with a range of housing types, some of which have been characterised as 'hybrid'.⁵² Among the smaller Hoxton houses of which we have records are some that may have compared closely to the survivors at Nos 376-80 Kingsland Road. Nos 75-83 Hoxton Street, a row of five late-18th-century houses of two storeys with garret rooms in gambrel roofs stood until recently.⁵³ There were other comparable buildings of 1767-75 at Nos 167-223 Hoxton Street, also demolished.⁵⁴ More houses of this type may survive near Bethnal Green, on Cambridge Heath Road. Numerous similar houses were built elsewhere in East London, as well as south of the river in Southwark, Bermondsey, and Rotherhithe.⁵⁵ Further away, Deptford was a substantial artisanal satellite town. It retains a number of houses of this broad type from the 1770s and 1780s. Nos 32-44, 203 and 227 Deptford High Street, all of 1775-92, the last two probably built to incorporate shops, are closely comparable to No. 380 Kingsland Road.⁵⁶

To a large degree the artisanal house is defined by scale. However, the distinction between classes of housing is not simply to do with size. In terms of plot width and room size Nos 376-80, which were among the larger houses along the waste, are not substantially smaller than the houses of Kingsland Crescent. Yet they were built to look significantly different. They might have been given 'standard' rear-staircase plans and regularly 'classical' elevations, but they weren't. The variability of plan form is not merely to do with convenient circulation, but also to do with manners of living -- where the Crescent was 'emulative', the houses at the waste were not, or at least not in the direction to which that word is conventionally applied.⁵⁷ The appearance of the 'non-standard' central-staircase plan at No. 380 is

fascinating, especially as the builder appears to have been locally based. The plan form may relate to commercial use, and it is recorded elsewhere in the 18th century in 'shophouses', as in Deptford.⁵⁸ A disregard for fashionable town house architectural practice can be seen in elevations as much as in plans. Nos 376-80 were one of several odd-numbered groups of houses to be built together. In building a group of three or five, the economy and/or 'classical' rationality of mirrored pairing could not be applied to all the houses, as the roof configuration of Nos 376-80 shows. Building in threes, common at an artisanal level simply as a reflection of the scale of speculation that could be afforded, inevitably resulted in asymmetry. It is interesting to see asymmetry in the front-wall fenestration of No. 380, but not at No. 416 and 436. No. 416 appears to have been a small house put up by a central London builder. No. 436 was apparently built by an aspirational brickmaker. The asymmetry in the front of No. 420 may be anomalous if it was part of a larger house, or it may show the scavenger-cum-surveyor Summers failing to connect with the exigencies of classical proportionality. In both plan and elevation No. 380 does not partake of emulative fashionability in a way that can only be interpreted as conscious indifference. In houses that were not intended for a bourgeois market artisanal builders who had not been conditioned by that market adhered to customary or vernacular practice. Away from the realm of functionality classicism was more readily used for ornament, as can be seen in the extensively moulded interior of No. 380.⁵⁹

As to early occupancy of the houses, we know little about those whose names appear in the ratebooks before 1800 and their reliability and completeness is not such as to enable the systematic placing of individuals in particular houses. The scale and character of the houses and what we know about rentals indicate that the smaller houses would have been lived in as much as built by artisans and labourers, many no doubt in the brickmaking and gardening trades. At Nos 398-406 Elkins built what were probably three- or four-room houses that he could rent for £8 a year. This might have been affordable for a regularly-employed and well-established tradesman, but it would have stretched a journeyman who, typically, would have had an annual income of about £40, or a bricklayer's labourer who, even in full employment, would struggle to earn £30 in a year. This, of course, assumes single occupancy. Summers' £13.8.0 annual rent for No. 436 with the adjoining site for No. 438 would certainly have excluded any but the more entrepreneurial of artisans.⁶⁰

In 1811, when a census was taken, the houses along the waste (then simply referred to as 'Road Side') were for the most part in single occupancy, suggesting that they always had been, excepting three of the somewhat larger houses at Nos 386, 390 and 392, which housed two and three families in each (see Table 1). The three- or four-room houses north to No. 418 had eight or fewer occupants - the absence of overcrowding indicating a degree of respectability. Householders ranged from a bank clerk (Thomas Northover in No. 376), to labourers in Nos 386-92. There were makers - of combs and mantuas, as well as a warehouseman, a baker (John Spears, whose family had been in No. 378 since the 1790s; Ann Armitage, a widow, had been in No. 380 for a similar time, and was living with one other female in 1811), a Chandler, a leather curer, a carpenter (William Ryder in No. 416), a bricklayer, a nurse, a milkman, and gardeners. The bigger houses at Nos 420-8 all housed bank clerks, William Price living in Nos 420/2, with ten females. Upsdell's Row (Nos 430-6) housed a stonemason, a shoemaker, a coachmaker, and John Rowley, a gardener, in No. 436.⁶¹ The long occupancies of Spears and Armitage at Nos 378-80 were exceptions. In lower-status housing insecurity of tenure was always a factor, and the use of most of the houses along Kingsland Waste was characterized by short-term occupation. Few early occupants continued in the same property for more than a few years at a stretch. This was, therefore, a very fluid 'community', probably incorporating many recent immigrants to London, much as it does today. Many commercial activities would have been undertaken within the houses from the outset, though there were few 'shops' in the modern sense, as before about 1830 there was no built-up hinterland for them to serve.

TABLE 1:
Occupancy and Status at Nos 302-594 Kingsland Road in the Early Nineteenth Century⁶²

	Professional/ Gentry	Trade Retail	Handicraft/ Manufacture	Labourers Agriculture	Servants
Kingsland Crescent (Nos 302-372)					
1811	26	1	3	0 0	-
1831	24	1	2	0 0	39
Kingsland Waste (Nos 374-438)					
1811	5	2	10	10 5	-
1831	5	9	12	7 0	8
(Nos 440-512)					
1811	7	2	11	0 4	-
1831	5	4	12	3 0	5
Kingsland Place (Nos 514-594)					
1811	10	0	1	0 0	-
1831	10	1	4	0 0	24

4 - DEVELOPMENT TO THE NORTH (NOS 440-594 KINGSLAND ROAD)

Nos 514-594 (Kingsland Place)

Kingsland Place (Nos 514-94 Kingsland Road) was built in the 1770s as the first extension of the hamlet of Kingsland southwards towards London (Figs 1, 3, 4 and 25). Of the buildings discussed in this report only the three-room cottages at 'Upsdell's Row' wholly antedate this development.



Fig. 25 – Kingsland Place, view from the south-west with No. 530 Kingsland Road in the foreground (EH, BB99/11225).

(the Corporation of London), granted this land on a building lease to George Wyatt, carpenter, of the parish of St Dunstan in the West, and Edward Gray, bricklayer, of the parish of St George Hanover Square, 'upon application and proposal'. Wyatt and Gray undertook to spend at least £2000 erecting 'substantial' brick buildings on the land within two years, paying a peppercorn rent during that period and £37/year thereafter for the remainder of the 61-year lease.⁶⁴ They failed to meet their commitment. When reminded of it they promised to begin building in early 1770, though by July 1771 only foundations had been laid. Having 'been often admonished' and censured for being 'very negligent' by the Hospital, they were threatened with a lawsuit if progress was not rapid.⁶⁵ Some houses were up by October 1772,⁶⁶ and thirteen had been built by 1775, Wyatt and Gray (by then describing themselves as a surveyor of Fleet Street and a builder of Grosvenor Square respectively) having spent a 'much larger sum' than they had initially specified.⁶⁷

George Wyatt (d.1790) may or may not have been a member of the Wyatt family renowned for producing numerous architects through the 18th and 19th centuries. He was certainly a successful builder, becoming Surveyor of Paving in the City of London in the 1770s and one of the Corporation's Common Councillors. He had a timber wharf at Bankside, and was later a proprietor of Samuel Wyatt's Albion Mills, adjoining which he lived.⁶⁸ His co-speculator, Edward Gray, was also involved in high-profile

Immediately southwest of the toll gate on the west side of the road at Kingsland was the 'Lock Hospital', owned and maintained by St Bartholomew's Hospital until 1760 when it closed, though its chapel continued to serve the local population. A strip of land opposite that had for many years been let as meadow was part of the Hospital's property.⁶³ In October 1767 St Bartholomew's Hospital, which was governed through the City

developments, in his case in the West End. In 1771-5 he worked with both Sir William Chambers, who reproached him for the 'infamous' quality of his bricks, and Robert Adam, at The Albany and No. 20 St James's Square respectively.⁶⁹ At Kingsland Wyatt and Gray were working in association with other established tradesmen of standing, spreading the costs and risks of this large development through the subletting of house plots, as was usual in 18th-century speculations. The other tradesmen involved included Thomas Poynder, a City bricklayer who worked extensively for the East India Company in the years around 1800, as well as at Uxbridge House in the 1780s; Daniel and William Pinder, the latter a City mason; and John Horobin, of the parish of St George, Hanover Square, another mason, who was bankrupted by 1779.⁷⁰

The thirteen houses that were built in the early 1770s were a single large house on the site of No. 572 (demolished), the three linked semi-detached pairs that survive at Nos 540-66, Gray's Buildings, a row of four smaller houses on the sites of Nos 514-20 (demolished), and either the intervening pair at Nos 524-30, or the isolated pair at Nos 590-2. Poynder took the lease of the big house at No. 572, William Pinder No. 566, Daniel Pinder No. 564, Horobin Nos 550-4, the other sites being kept or otherwise sublet by Wyatt and Gray. The plot to the north of No. 572 remained empty in 1775, and the final semi-detached pair at either Nos 590-2 or Nos 524-30 was probably added in the late 1770s. Among the first occupants of Kingsland Place were John Box, a City corn factor, in No. 556, and Robert Campbell, a Westminster merchant, tenant of both Nos 542 and 544.⁷¹

This was an ambitious development, largely comprising linked pairs of substantial 40ft-front middle-class houses, though the scheme was only abortively and partially realized. Clearly Wyatt and Gray had second thoughts about the commercial viability of the commitment made in 1767. When they did get on with the development under duress they left part of the land vacant and mixed house types in an irregular fashion that is unlikely to have followed initial intentions. Nevertheless, the linked pairs of semi-detached houses that survive are and doubtless were always intended to be dominant in this imposing group. Their approach to regularity might indicate that the original scheme envisaged the whole frontage developed with eight pairs of houses, the larger and smaller houses being substituted to give the speculation greater flexibility in marketing terms. The surviving 18th-century houses of Kingsland Place comprise five pairs, one to the north (Nos 590-2), and four connected one to another to the south (Nos 524-566) (Fig. 4). Set well back from the road, the ample front gardens were built over with single-storey shops in the late 19th century. Each pair is an almost cubic four-bay brown-brick block of three storeys with basements, originally with raised ground floors and *piano nobile* first-floor windows (Fig. 26). Gauged-red-brick flat-arched window heads remain visible only at Nos 590-2. Two-storey coach- or chaise-houses and stable blocks flanked the houses, linking the adjoining pairs. These have been largely rebuilt, though that at No. 532 may survive relatively unaltered. There is intriguing elevational variability in the group that may reflect the involvement of different tradesmen on different sites and the breakdown of intended uniformity. Nos 526-30, 550-4, 564-6 and 590-2 all have or had



Fig. 26 – Nos 550-554 Kingsland Road, view from the west in 1999 (EH, BB99/11224).

recessed outer entrance and staircase bays, stepping down in height slightly and so reinforcing the appearance of semi-detachment to what strictly is a continuous row, the northern pair excepted. To front and back these entrance and staircase bays were articulated with radially glazed oculi below lunettes to light the upper-storey stair landings, a classical embellishment that subtly sets off the otherwise stark simplicity of the fronts. This feature is absent at Nos 540-2 which appear to have had more conventional outer entrance and staircase bays, all within the main block. It is possible that this difference reflects an initially intended 2:1:2:1:2 rhythm. More likely perhaps is that it is simply an aberration from intended uniformity. At Nos 524-30, 540-2 and 590-2 there are plain coped parapets, but Nos 550-4 have a finely dentilled cornice carrying traces of what may be original cement render; a similar stuccoed cornice on Nos 564-6 is likely to be an alteration. Nos 550-4 and 590-2 retain fairly tall hipped roofs, still tiled at Nos 550-4 as all would originally have been. All the houses have party-wall chimneystacks. The houses had railed dwarf walls at the fronts and backs of their plots and were approached by short flights of steps up to variously embellished door surrounds.⁷² There are iron relief plaques at the party walls of the pairs at first-floor level representing the crest of St Bartholomew's Hospital.

The surviving interiors have not been seen, but Nos 526-30 were previously recorded as having a 'graceful staircase with carved tread ends, ramped handrail and dado panelling',⁷³ and detailed schedules in deeds of the 1770s record 'fancy' fanlights, Portland-stone and marble chimneypieces, as well as classical plaster enrichments in at least some of the 'parlours' of the principal floors. There were eight large rooms to each of the paired houses, with multiple subsidiary and circulation spaces. Kitchens were in the cellars to the rear.⁷⁴ Nos 540-2 and 590-2 had shallow canted bays across their party walls to the rear, and No. 530 had its own rear canted bay (Fig. 11). Poynder's large detached house at No. 572 had a plot 102ft5in. wide at the centre of which an L-plan two-storey house was grandly approached by twin quadrant flights of stone steps to a central entrance in a symmetrical five-bay front.⁷⁵ No. 4 Gray's Buildings (No. 520) had a 29ft6in. front, the adjoining three houses dividing the remainder of the southernmost 80ft plot with much smaller frontages of about 17ft each.⁷⁶

The undeveloped plot to the south of Nos 590-2 was not built on until 1859 when the four-storey terrace that bears the name Kingsland Place was added at Nos 574-88. The whole group continued in the ownership of St Bartholomew's Hospital, so the terrace of 1859 may have been the responsibility of Philip Charles Hardwick, the Hospital's Surveyor from 1856-1871. Gray's Buildings were replaced in the late 19th century.⁷⁷

The semi-detached houses of Kingsland Place can be paralleled in several other suburban developments of broadly comparable date. The quasi-semi-detached row was a fashionable innovation in the late 18th century, clearly intended to insinuate greater gentility than a 'mere' terrace, without obliging the waste of frontage that true detachment entailed. Nos 123-133 Kennington Road, of 1773-5, and Nos 122-8 Kennington Park Road, of 1788, lack coach-houses having linked two-storey entrance-bays. Elsewhere in south London Michael Searles developed the type in his Paragons on the New Kent Road and at Blackheath of 1788 and later. The Kingsland Place houses appear to be at the beginning of the architectural exploration of the possibilities of semi-detached houses in series. There had been isolated developments of this nature in the late 17th and early 18th century, but the 'semi' in series does not really take off as a suburban house type until after 1800 in developments that follow on from Kingsland Place and its immediate successors.⁷⁸ Certainly, isolated semi-detached pairs were widespread, at differing social levels (see below). The conceptual jump at Kingsland Place was seriation. Its particular innovative twist lies in the way that semi-linkage was used to blur the distinction between isolation and connectedness, carried through with real architectural finesse in the striking articulation of the entrance bays. This was a milestone towards 'that lusty bastard, that misshapen key to the English suburb - the semi-detached house', expressing the 'equivocal blend of dependence and independence [that] is the essence of suburban architecture'.⁷⁹

Perhaps George Wyatt was the architect of Kingsland Place, and he does call himself a 'surveyor' in the 1770s. However, his accomplishments have otherwise only come down to us as those of a builder.

Emanuel Crouch, Surveyor to St Bartholomew's Hospital from 1768-78, had a supervisory role in respect of the completion of Wyatt and Gray's contract, but there is no evidence that he was involved with the design and in general terms he appears to have been even more of an architectural cipher than was Wyatt.[no entry in Colvin.] Wyatt had strong City connections, as did Poynder and Pinder, and both Wyatt and Gray worked with the period's leading architects in other places. Given the innovative nature and architectural quality of Kingsland Place, which may have been designed as early as 1767-8, it is not unreasonable to look for the involvement, perhaps at one remove, of an architect. George Dance the Younger (1741-1825), was the Clerk of the City Works from 1768 to 1815. As such he would certainly have had dealings with Wyatt, as well as with St Bartholomew's Hospital, to the Surveyorship of which he succeeded Crouch in 1778. Among Dance's early interests and accomplishments was innovation in the laying out of town houses, by way of urban improvement in and around London, as at America Square, Minories, and the adjoining Crescent and Circus (1767-74), Finsbury Square (1777), a scheme for a crescent at St George's Fields, Southwark (1785), and the layout of the Camden estate in Kentish Town (around 1790).⁸⁰ Kingsland Place has not previously been attached to this oeuvre, but it may be that the idea for its houses if not their execution derives from George Dance's experimental approach. Summerson has written on the origins of the semi-detached house in series as a widespread suburban type, acknowledging that he lacked evidence for pioneering models. Given Dance's stature and known inventiveness within classical canons perhaps it is ultimately to him that credit for the fashionability of this type is due.

Nos 478-480 Kingsland Road (Sahin Supermarket, Bloxhams Bookmakers and flats)

The road frontage north of the Swan Public House (No. 438) and south of Kingsland Place (No. 514), which corresponds to the northern part of the long strip of manorial waste, was undeveloped in 1785 save for a single pair of houses which survives as Nos 478-80 Kingsland Road (Figs 4 and 27). This pair was probably built following on from the acquisition of the site in 1776 by John Faulkner (alternatively Faulconer), who is perhaps identifiable as the bricklayer of the same name who was involved with the Adelphi Theatre in the early 19th century.⁸¹ Kingsland Place was then newly built, and other building work was underway to the south along the waste. On 14 March 1776 Francis John Tyssen, who held the manor, granted Faulkner a 54-year lease of a plot that would have taken in part of the causeway along the waste. This plot had a 109ft frontage to Kingsland Road, and was 57ft deep to the north, 70ft deep to the south, and 124ft long to the rear. This corresponds to the latter-day sites of Nos 474-484, which appear to have remained in linked tenure into the 19th century. Map evidence suggests that by 1785 Faulkner's plot had two houses to the rear centre, where Nos 478-80 now stand (Fig. 6). In 1794, by when ownership of the property had passed to James Vincent, the heir to Robert Vincent, a Southwark scalemaker, and a substantial landowner along Kingsland Road, the land was relet 'with houses built thereon'.⁸²

The likeliest build date for Nos 478-80 would be soon after the lease to Faulkner in 1776, and they may be identifiable with houses occupied by John Barrow and Samuel Taylor in 1778, the latter succeeded by Thomas Hollingshead by 1780; Hollingshead was a victualler who later occupied the Lamb Public House (see below). Faulkner does not appear to have occupied the houses, which tends to confirm that his involvement with the property was as a builder.⁸³ The shape, scale, layout and internal details of the houses are all consistent with a build date



Fig. 27 – Nos 478-480 Kingsland Road, view from the west in 1999 (EH, BB99/11005).

of 1776-8.

Exterior

Nos 478-80 Kingsland Road were built as a pair of brick houses, freestanding amid brickfields, midway along Faulkner's plot at its back, well away from the road (Fig. 27). They had front gardens with room to the sides for yards and outbuildings. Evidently mirroring each other, each house has a 19ft (5.7m) front, substantial when compared with the waste, modest next to Kingsland Place. From the street they are three storeys tall. They are said to have cellars (not confirmed), and rise only two storeys with garrets in gambrel roofs to the rear. The front wall as visibly constituted owes virtually nothing to the 18th century, and it is possible that the upper-storey front was also no more than garrets originally, subsequently raised. However, the presence of a second-floor window opening on the south flank wall suggests that the fronts may always have been three full storeys, though perhaps not always with a parapet. Single-storey flat-roofed shops with mid-19th-century origins extend forward, and what would have been the original entrance positions at the outer ends of the front endure. There can be no certainty that any of the front-wall window positions are unaltered. The upper storeys of the front wall to No. 478 are cement rendered, incised to imitate ashlar, with wide flat-headed window openings. No. 480 has yellow stock brick, with small windows under red-brick segmental heads, such polychromy in such a context being typical of the later 19th century. The windows of both houses align asymmetrically in the front of each house, in both cases being somewhat towards the centre of the pair. This positioning may be essentially original, as it balances in relation to the outer entrance positions. There is ample room for two-window fronts, but it is improbable that had such ever existed they would have been separately replaced by different single-window fronts. The party wall has a rendered parapet and houses a large chimneystack that served the front rooms in both houses. The roof has an asymmetrical M profile, steeply pitched and clearly visible from Richmond Road to the south-east (Fig. 28). The forward roof of No. 478 has modern tile covering, that of No. 480 appears to have been cut down.



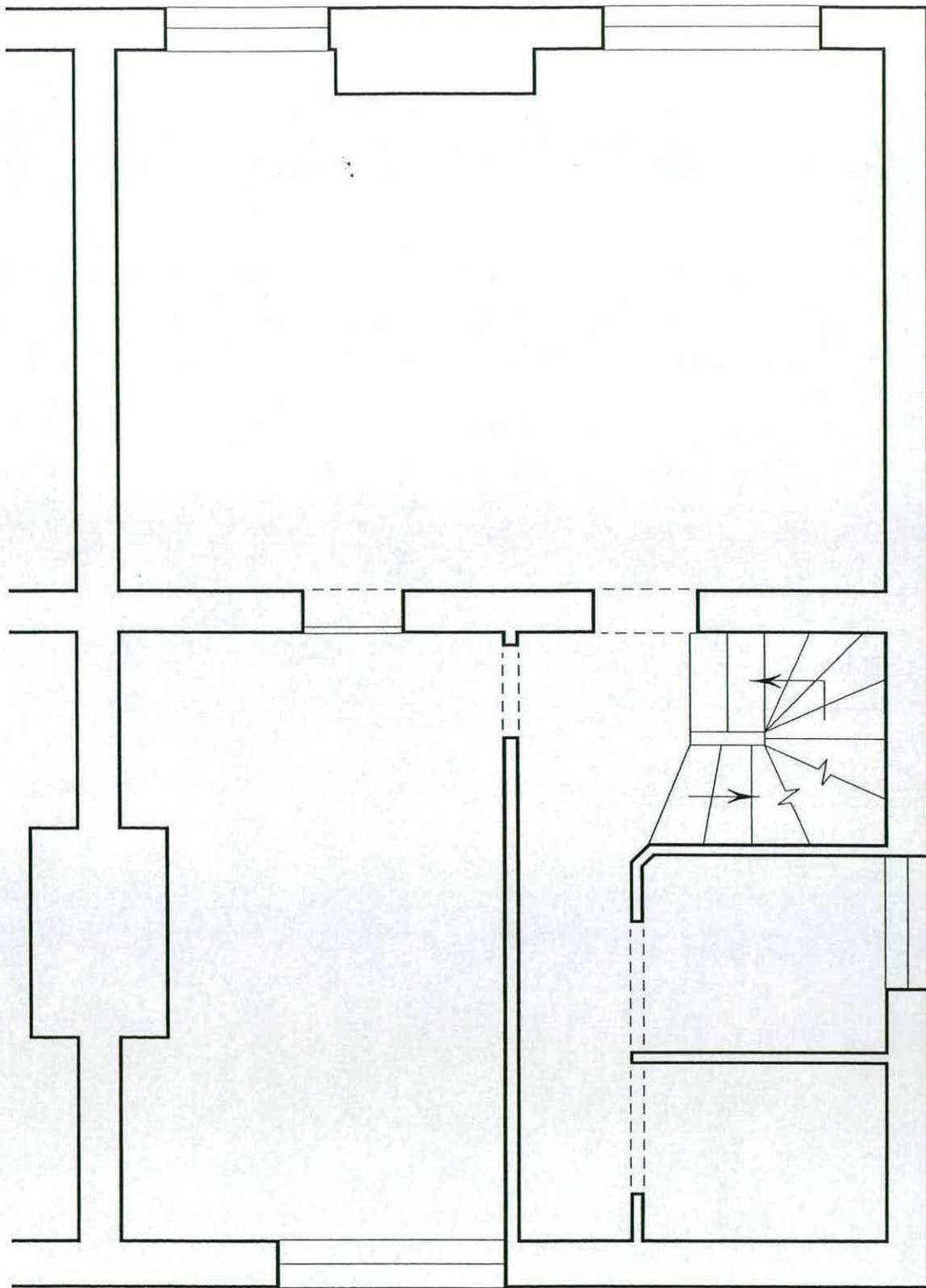
Fig. 28 – Nos 478-480 Kingsland Road, backs viewed from the south-east in 1999 (EH, MF99/01234/14).

The south return or flank wall of No. 478 is still partially open to view from a small yard behind No. 476. This wall is also cement rendered, but segmental-headed window openings just behind the line of the ridge over the forward pile may be original. A much rebuilt two-storey warehouse block with mid-to-late-19th-century origins extends from the rear part of this flank wall behind No. 476, displacing an entrance into the ground-floor back room and a small outbuilding, a wash house that was present in 1843, though not in 1831 (Figs 5 and 11).⁸⁴ The equivalent yard to No. 480 (the site of No. 482) appears always to have had an outbuilding in the corresponding position, perhaps a chaise-house and stables (Figs 4-6 and 11).⁸⁵

To the rear (Fig. 29) the houses are essentially unextended, retaining the line of their original back wall down to ground level. However, this wall has also been rebuilt. No. 480 has mixed yellow-stock bricks with narrow segmental-headed openings in two bays, perhaps all of the 19th century. No. 478 has 20th-century Fletton-brick walling, again with segmental heads and two bays; the more widely proportioned windows here may reflect the original fenestration. There are a few steps up to the ground floor, but no evidence for cellars is visible externally.



Fig. 29 – Nos 478-480 Kingsland Road, rear elevation viewed from the east (EH, MF99/01223/4).



478 KINGSLAND ROAD
London E8

FIRST FLOOR PLAN

Borough of Hackney
Surveyed March 1999
Grid reference TQ 3352 8446
Buildings index no. 98911
Drawn by A.D.

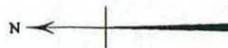


Fig. 30 – No. 478 Kingsland Road, first-floor plan in 1999.

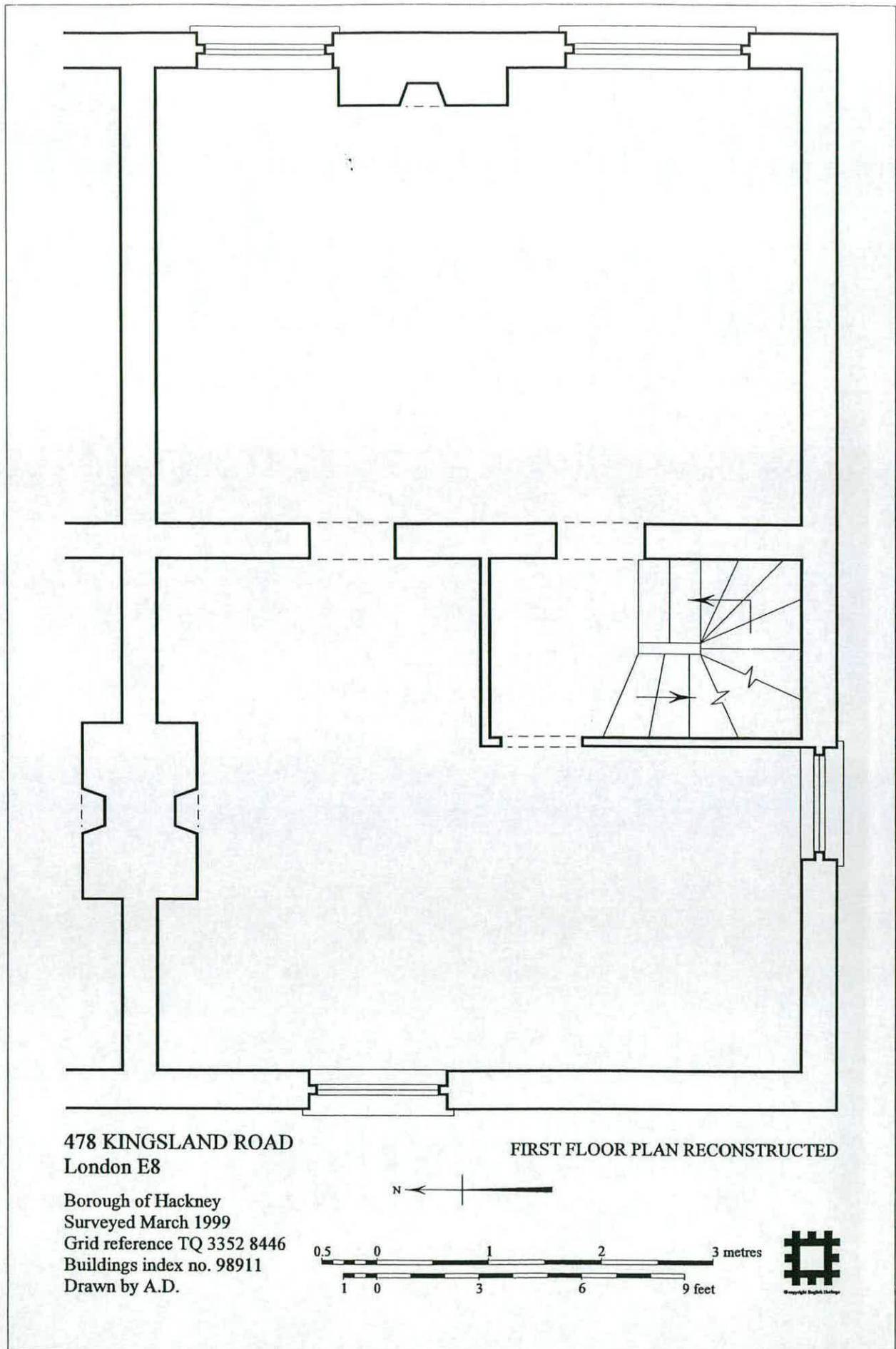


Fig. 31 – No. 478 Kingsland Road, original first-floor plan reconstructed.

There would probably not have been back doors originally as the rear gardens are later acquisitions. Each house retains a rear chimneystack, rising internally between its back-wall windows, somewhat towards the centre of the pair. That on No. 480 remains a substantial piece of yellow-stock-brick masonry, possibly of the first build date, that on No. 478 has been cut down and cement rendered. Remade dormers flank these stacks in the gambrel roofs, covered in slate on No. 480, modern clay tiles on No. 478.

Interior

These houses have a distinctive plan, latterly altered by the insertion of new partitions (Figs 30 and 31). Each house probably had a two-room layout originally, with two big rooms on each floor, those to the front on the upper storeys being L shaped and heated from the party wall, those to the rear large rectangles heated from the back. The stairs are, or were, sited at the back of the forward half of each house, against the outer walls and the masonry median wall. The absence of a third chimney tends to suggest that the plan did not incorporate a third room; unheated closets would be unusual in the late 18th century. Against that deduction it has to be conceded that the layout of the houses is altogether unusual.

Only No. 478 has been inspected internally, and then not entirely or intensively as access time was limited, and some upper-storey rooms and any cellars were inaccessible. The ground floor has long since been converted to shop use, so little can be said of its early form. However, there are remnants of cupboards in the rear room to the west, within the median wall, that may relate to kitchen use. It is highly likely that the kitchen would have been the back room on the ground floor as any cellar can not have been well lit. This room originally had direct access to the yard to the south of the house, subsequently replaced with a door in the back wall leading into the east or rear garden.⁸⁶



Fig. 32 – No. 478 Kingsland Road, staircase from ground-floor entrance hall (EH, MF99/01222/22).

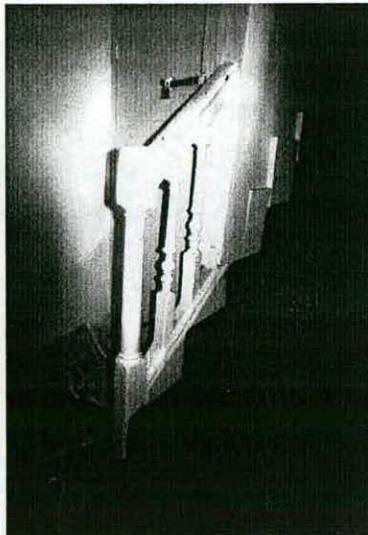


Fig. 33 – No. 478 Kingsland Road, staircase detail at ground floor (EH, MF99/01222/21).

From the original front entrance position into No. 478 an entrance hall arrives at the base of the staircase, as would always have been the case (Fig. 32). This entrance hall was lit from the south. The lower flight of the stair appears to survive from the 1770s. It rises straight for five steps before winding 90 degrees in front of the median wall up to the first-floor landing.

The stairs have moulded closed strings, broad flat



Fig. 34 – No. 478 Kingsland Road, staircase to second floor (EH, MF99/01222/16).

moulded handrails, columnar newel posts, and turned column-on-vase-balusters (Fig. 33).⁸⁷ Above the first flight the stairs wind round a twin-newel frame, though the balustrading has been concealed or removed from the middle flights. This change of direction leaves the south-west corner of the house free for incorporation into the upper-storey front rooms. The uppermost staircase flight retains an original length of balustrading (Fig. 34), with columnar newel posts that are more slender than those on the ground floor. There are stick balusters and a handrail that, though more slight than that below, remains flat and relatively broad. This diminution of scale and quality of finish in a stair at its upper level is entirely normal

as a reflection of the relative importance of spaces within the house.

On the first floor the front room has been subdivided and, the projecting masonry of the chimneystack apart, no early features were visible. In the back room on the first floor most early features have also been replaced, but there is a ghost of a dado rail, and a moulded door architrave survives in the median wall. This apparently original feature would have permitted unmediated circulation between the front and back rooms, unusual in the 18th century. It is not obvious that any of the doorways leading off the stair landings are in their original positions, but it seems improbable that the back rooms would not have had independent access to and from the stairs. On the second floor visible surfaces were entirely refinished and roof spaces were inaccessible.

Architectural Context

Isolated semi-detached pairs of houses were widespread in the 18th century. Sometimes these were high-status buildings of a suburban character, designed for commuters with integrated coach-houses, as at Nos 169-175 Stoke Newington Church Street of 1714, Nos 808-810 Tottenham High Road of c.1720, or, further afield Southside House, Wimbledon, of 1748.⁸⁸ Elsewhere they were humbler pairs, built as such simply because two houses was often the limit of small-scale artisanal speculation. Recorded examples include Nos 37-8 Upper Street, Islington, of the early 18th century, Nos 56-8 Peckham High Street of c.1730, and Nos 809/11 Tottenham High Road of 1763-4.⁸⁹ The semi-detached pair built in series as a 'polite' architectural conceit was a late-18th-century innovation, and Kingsland Place is of considerable interest in this context (see above). Nos 478-80 Kingsland Road have none of the classical refinement of Kingsland Place, nor are they comparable in status or fashionability with the purpose-built commuter 'semis' of early-18th-century Stoke Newington and Tottenham. They are not, however, modest houses, and the plot acquired by Faulkner was big enough to have allowed more extensive development. The lighting of No. 478 from the south does suggest that at the time it was built no neighbouring building was envisaged. Built amid fields with reasonably large frontages these houses might be considered as falling outside the definition of a town house. However, the mirrored pairing and the double-depth arrangement of the rooms is urban or at least suburban in character. The fact that they are a pair taken together with the ratebook evidence strongly suggests that they were built as a speculation. Given their position in both time and space in relation to Kingsland Place it does seem clear that Nos 478-80 were in some respects aping the slightly earlier semi-detached houses of Kingsland Place at a smaller scale.

There are no known close and contemporary parallels for the plan of Nos 478-80 (Fig. 31). Unconstrained by the conventions of narrow town-house plots, it seems equally unaffected by rural building practice. The heating of the front rooms by a stack that straddles the party wall is conventional, but the abandonment of this practice for the back rooms is not. This may reflect the size of the houses, large in a vernacular context. The builder might have thought the outer ends of the back rooms too remote from a party-wall stack - something less true for the L-shaped front rooms for which there was no obvious alternative fireplace position. Back wall stacks do occur elsewhere around 18th-century London, in early double-fronted houses in Spitalfields and elsewhere, as well as later and more eccentrically at No. 581 Tottenham High Road. The siting of the staircase is also unusual. In a 'standard' higher-status 18th-century town house the staircase is to the rear to one side. This means using a good deal of floor space for circulation, something that was tolerated because, in emulative terms, it was deliberate conspicuous consumption. The compression of the staircase into a small space forcing tight, and therefore low-status, circulation in such a large house is interesting. It reflects vernacular practice in smaller houses, as in the contemporary house at No. 380 Kingsland Road, where, more typically, the stair is to the rear of centre on a side wall with the result that the rear room rather than the front room is L-shaped (Fig. 19). At Nos 478-80 there does seem to have been a conscious preference for placing the bigger rooms to the back, possibly because they overlooked fields while the fronts overlooked a major road. This can be paralleled in similar higher-status circumstances, as at Nos 154-170 New Kent Road of c.1790.⁹⁰ Such an interpretation seems confirmed by the siting of the houses at the back of their plot and the likelihood that the back wall was more amply fenestrated than the front. Overall, the oddness of the plan reflects the variability of

vernacular speculative building in late-eighteenth-century London, especially in respect of elements that are of a transitional nature approaching the polite.

The disposition of the spaces and the proximity of Kingsland Place does imply some aim at gentility, that is the appreciation of prospects and amenity in room distribution. However, more than the stair and stack positions point the other way. There is no evidence for any classical proportioning of the front elevation which seems to have been designed to be strongly asymmetrical within each house, and without conventional balance in the pair. Off-centre single-window fronts pay no respect to the dictates of what by the 1770s were the well-established classical conventions for the proportional house front. And here there was ample space to do otherwise. The opportunity of additional lighting from the flank walls made the single window to the front sufficient. Again there seems to have been a conscious preference for customary functionality. Another missing element in terms of 'classical' Georgian town-house design, especially where 'prospects' are being offered, is the raised ground floor. Internal detail can be similarly evaluated. In conventional stylistic terms the mouldings of the staircase appear earlier than 1776, but there are parallels for such joinery at this date in the artisanal context of London's margins.⁹¹ The 'lateness' of the stair mouldings is revealing of 'unfashionability', that is vernacular building practice.

Though it seems to come down to us as something of a freak there may once have been more buildings of this essentially intermediate character. The mixture of aspects of fashionability (the enjoyment of a view in a big house), with the absence of others (a cramped stair with old-fashioned finish and elevational asymmetry) should not be interpreted as arising from ignorance. It is more likely to have been a result of selectivity. The bourgeois town house had not been universally received as something that needed to be adopted in its entirety.⁹²

These were big houses, and certainly not intended for habitation by poor people. Perhaps they were built for commuters, though it is not clear that there were always chaise houses. The outbuilding attached to No. 480 is not confirmed as being such until the 1820s, and no equivalent for No. 478 is indicated, an imbalance confirmed on maps (Figs 4 and 6).⁹³ The pair is contemporary with lower-status development further south on the waste (Nos 374-438), and slightly later than the equally nearby development of a more 'polite' nature at Kingsland Place. In its scale, position and construction it is fascinatingly intermediate, conforming closely with none of the other buildings in the vicinity, though reflecting aspects of what was going on in both higher and lower-status houses. It is difficult to imagine the market at which Faulkner was aiming his speculation - one unconcerned with emulative fashionability, yet able to afford a large house. Perhaps his buyers were locally-based though prosperous artisans with links to the surrounding brickmaking economy. It would be very interesting to be able to identify and place the first occupants of these houses. The site, the builder, the houses and, very probably, the first occupants were between positions, neither bourgeois nor artisanal, neither town nor country. The 1770s were a time when class boundaries and town boundaries were both being redrawn.

Nos 440-472 (formerly Warwick Place)

The strips of waste immediately north and south of Nos 478-80 remained undeveloped through the 18th century. As the house building market picked up in the short peace of 1801-3 following the Treaty of Amiens these last open frontages on the waste came to be built up with more-or-less continuous runs of relatively small houses (Figs 5 and 11). To the south Warwick Place (Nos 440-472) appears to have been developed as such in 1802-8 with 15/16ft-front house plots on what had become James Vincent's land, with Richard Sheldrick as a leading builder, he and others taking 61-year leases at yearly rents of £3.15.0 to £4.4.0. Sheldrick was a carpenter who was active in numerous local speculations and whose success can be gauged by the fact that he had an address at Kingsland Place. The building line at Nos 440-72 was well forward of that of Nos 478-80, but it was still set back slightly, the wider road here still incorporating a thin wedge deriving from the manorial waste. Rating valuations suggest houses of a size comparable to that of those surviving at Nos 376-80, though the speculative development would appear to have been on a larger scale. More or less comprehensive though piecemeal redevelopment seems to have occurred, perhaps focussed in the period when the leases fell in during the 1860s, by when shop use had

become general.⁹⁴ To judge from what can be seen from the street No. 462 may be the last survivor of the development of this stretch in 1802-8. With a single window bay set well to the right of centre in a three-storeyed stuccoed front it is of interest as an evidently late example of the sort of elevational asymmetry that was general in 18th-century vernacular houses.

Warwick Place had single-family small houses that mixed labouring, artisanal, professional and even genteel occupancy when new in 1811 (Table 1). By 1831 there were a few shops, with William Price, a shoemaker, at No. 462, as well as tradesmen dealing in silk, a gilder and a bookbinder, alongside professionals.⁹⁵

Nos 486-512 (formerly the Lamb Public House and Lamb Place)

To the south of Kingsland Place across Forest Road (formerly Lamb Lane) on or about the site of No. 512 Kingsland Road stood the Lamb Inn, a long-standing roadside establishment the story of which is involved verging on opaque. Occupied by William Northover in the 1760s and 1770s, the Inn appears to have been moved to the east at some point between 1746 and 1785, to a property in what were for a time Upsdell's then Rhodes' brickfields to the east (Figs 1 and 6). In 1785 these fields were 'brick earth dug and undivided', tenanted by Samuel Scott, brickmaker.⁹⁶ A new farmhouse on the easterly site is said to have replaced the Inn in 1787-9, when the surrounding estate was purchased by Samuel Rhodes (Fig. 3). This is a reminder that at the time urban encroachment was not necessarily recognized as imminent or inevitable; the farmhouse remained surrounded by fields until the 1820s. From c.1790 Thomas Hollingshead, the victualler who had been living at No. 480, was also the tenant of what may have been a new building on the site of No. 512 that was perhaps a public house succeeding the Lamb Inn. Certainly by 1821 the building at No. 512 had become the Lamb Public House, occupied by John Bumstead who had married Hollingshead's daughter Elizabeth.⁹⁷ Before 1800 there were no other buildings in the immediate vicinity.

The sites of Nos 486-502 were developed in the first decade of the 19th century, as Lamb Place. These were small houses, apparently built in a single speculation (Figs 5 and 11).⁹⁸ Rebuilding appears to be general along this stretch, though No. 486 has a roof pitch that might suggest an early three-storey building behind a refronting. Nos 508-10 remain small in scale, at two storeys. More typical is No. 504, of four storeys bearing the date 1899.⁹⁹

5 - DEVELOPMENT TO THE SOUTH (NOS 302-372 KINGSLAND ROAD)

Nos 362-370 (including the former Fox Public House)

The development of the frontage immediately south of Haggerston Lane on the east side of Kingsland Road is more interesting with knowledge of what preceded it to the north. On the corner the Fox Public House and its outbuildings had been there since 1727 when Edward Fox set up business (Fig. 1).¹⁰⁰ From c.1770 the tenant was William Brooks, followed from c.1780 by his widow Elizabeth. She held leases of the pub and a substantial triangle of land to the south from Robert Vincent, a Southwark scalemaker (Fig. 6). She rebuilt the Fox in 1790, around which date Nos 362-70 were also built (Figs 35-7). The Fox and No. 370 were rebuilt as a larger public house in 1881. The buildings of c.1790 at Nos 362-8 still stand as flat-fronted three-storey two-bay houses, Nos 362-8 as a single build, No. 362 distinguished by greater floor heights, the first-floor 'piano nobile' carrying relieving arches as if to create a sort of visual stop.¹⁰¹ Elizabeth Brooks lived at No. 362, which may explain its distinctive façade.¹⁰²



Fig. 35 – Nos 302-370 Kingsland Road (showing the Fox Public House and Kingsland Crescent), view from the north-west in 1852, watercolour by C. H. Matthews (Hackney Archives Department).

Nos 302-360 (Kingsland Crescent)

This much was perhaps not essentially different to what Thomas Summers had put up at Nos 418-428 a few years earlier. The scale of development changed radically in 1792-3 when Kingsland Crescent (Nos 302-60) was built on Brooks' land.¹⁰³ Elizabeth Brooks remarried in 1794 becoming Elizabeth Blinkworth, at which time the property settlement was mediated by James Carr, surveyor.¹⁰⁴ Carr (c.1742-1821) was an architect based in Clerkenwell. He was responsible for the rebuilding of the church of St James, Clerkenwell, in 1788-92, and put up his own speculative terrace at Newcastle Place, Clerkenwell in c.1793, since demolished.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps Carr was the architect of Kingsland Crescent.

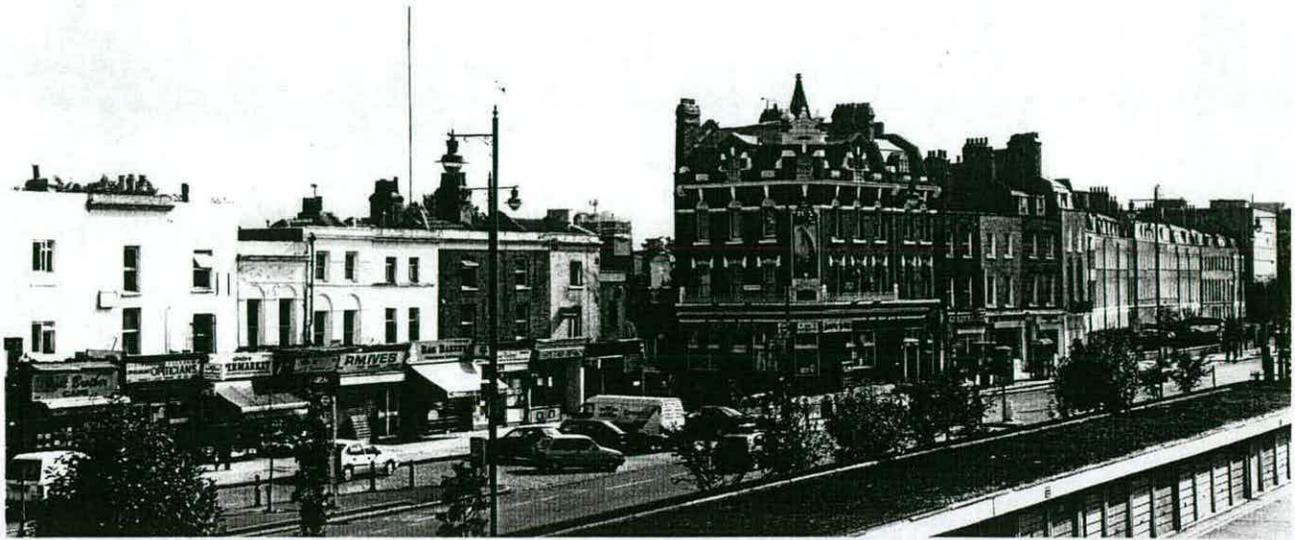


Fig. 36 – Kingsland Waste and Kingsland Crescent, general view of Nos 302-388 Kingsland Road, view from the north-west in 1999 (EH, BB99/11006).

Kingsland Crescent originally comprised 30 stock-brick houses extending south as far as Arbutus Street (formerly Acton Street), and this remained the case into the 20th century (Figs 4, 5, 11, 35-7).¹⁰⁶ Only Nos 318-46 survive, with Nos 348-56 recently reinstated. The houses are all of three storeys with basements and mansard attics; the ground floors have round-headed windows. Nos 358-60 are separately built two-bay houses, altered in the early 19th century. The others were probably built together and are all of three bays, though with large sections of the front walls wholly rebuilt and incorporating some red brick. These houses were clearly aimed at a professional City-based market. In 1811 the houses were single-family homes of two to ten people, predominantly headed by insurance, ship, wine and stock brokers, bank clerks, and gentry. Exceptionally, John Sheldrake, a carpenter (perhaps a relative of Richard Sheldrick), lived at No. 302, and there were schools at No. 308 and 350 (Table 1).¹⁰⁷



Fig. 37 – Kingsland Crescent, view from the north-west in 1999 (EH, BB99/11221).

In the local context and given the tone set at the waste this single long run of uniformly conceived houses was an astonishing speculation, as ambitious as Kingsland Place twenty years earlier. It was development 'on a grand scale'.¹⁰⁸ This time, however, there are no coach-houses; the terrace has nothing of the suburban about it and makes no apologies for its urban appearance. The shallow sweep of the Crescent is obviously inspired by high-status town houses elsewhere, ultimately deriving from Bath's Royal Crescent of 1766 via George Dance's introduction and development of the form to London in 1767-70 at the Minories and in a scheme of 1785 for St George's Field, Southwark. These prototypes aside, Kingsland Crescent is also an intriguing echo of the setback building line of the waste. The houses each had three full storeys with garrets and cellars, that is ten rooms each. So, though the frontages were not significantly greater than those of the waste, the houses were substantially bigger, and in terms of outward appearance, clearly in another league. In its grandeur the Crescent stands alone between the waste and Shoreditch; the outbreak of war in 1793 perhaps put paid to any possible imitations.

Other Developments to the South

While development was extending southwards from Kingsland, London was also slowly growing north from Shoreditch. Another example of an attempt at upping the tone, though perhaps only in terms of nomenclature, was the building of 'Pleasant Row' in 1791-2, with the probably contemporary 'Reputation Row', on the west side of Kingsland Road, opposite the Geffrye and Frameworkers' Almshouses to the south of Shoreditch Workhouse (Fig. 3). This was large-scale development along a 615ft-front piece of manorial land. Pleasant Row was probably built by William Lovell, a Vauxhall brickmaker. The grouping did have something of a crescent-like streetline, and aspirations to respectability are revealed in the names of the rows. Reputation Row has been replaced by Geffrye Court and the north end of Pleasant Row survived into the 1960s at Nos 171-187 Kingsland Road.¹⁰⁹

After 1800 the gap between Shoreditch and Kingsland was all but bridged by Acton Place (Nos 266-98 Kingsland Road), originally ten free-standing semi-detached pairs of large three-storey brick houses, probably built soon after 1808 following an Act obtained by the landowner, Nathaniel Lee Acton (Fig. 2). Though a generation later than Kingsland Place this is still a relatively early example of semi-detached housing in series. Here the pairs are wholly separated without the linking blocks that characterized Kingsland Place, though the recessed entrance bays do seem to reflect the earlier development. A few of these houses survive (Nos 268, 278-80, 282, 290-2), though there are only two pairs, and then with much alteration.¹¹⁰

Behind Kingsland Crescent on the south-west side of Stonebridge Common (Haggerston Road) development came around 1811-12 on land that belonged to James Vincent as a row of small houses later known as Woodstock Place and thereafter bisected by the North London Railway (Fig. 5).¹¹¹

The ribbon that was Kingsland Road was cut by the Regent's Canal in 1819, irrevocably altering the character of development between Shoreditch and Kingsland. There was not a wholesale shift towards the industrial and away from the residential; later housing developments do reflect the dialogue between the vernacular and the polite that had started here in the late 18th century. However, tensions between the urban and the rural, the classical and the traditional, had become more self-conscious, as is evident on the Beauvoir Estate, where fashionability had moved into different idioms. However, in some small developments houses seem to have more to do with their predecessors along the main road. Opposite Acton Place Nos 307-313 (Sarah's Place), six houses of the 1820s, survived until recently, Listed but then demolished.¹¹² Slightly further north the row of seven houses at Nos 319-31 of c.1840 presents surprisingly grandiose classical symmetry with pedimented ends on a confined corner plot adjacent to the canal basin.

6 - LATER HISTORY AND OCCUPATION

The houses on Kingsland Waste from No. 374 north to No. 428, previously simply the 'Road Side', were being called 'Prospect Place' (or Row) by 1831 (Fig. 5); the name 'Upsdell's Row' endured in use for Nos 430-8. The introduction of this bucolic name implies a unity and picturesque purpose that was simply retrospective wishful thinking. The open land to the west may indeed have allowed a prospect, but it was one of brickfields and/or vegetable patches, from houses that for the most part had not even been given gardens worth the name. There was still a 'prospect' in 1821, but it had in fact already been partially blocked by housing on the other side of the road by the time the usage is first recorded.¹¹³

The contrasting significations of 'waste' and 'prospect', both referring to negatively-defined and non-urban space, but from utterly different points of view, reflect ambivalence over time in attitudes to the actual and perceived status of the district. Around 1830 the late-18th-century houses were being subsumed into a much bigger and generally aspirational housing market with new development all around. Architecturally the 19th-century buildings invariably strived for respectability. After 1800 frontal proportionality was utterly *de rigueur*, to the point of taking on board relieving arches, as at No. 382. However, the humble early buildings at Nos 374-438 remained humble, increasingly coming to be devoted to serving the surrounding area with shops, which use has ensured continuity, albeit without much 'prospect'. The name Prospect Place has passed out of use, that of Kingsland Waste has endured. A street market has been held here since at least 1893,¹¹⁴ something of a reminder of the land's former status as common.

In the early 1830s single-family occupation remained the rule in 'Prospect Place' and 'Upsdell's Row'; only Nos 374, 388, 394, 410 and 412 were multiply occupied. Most of the occupants were dependent on trade, with a smattering of both professionals and labourers (Table 1). There was a growing number of shops, several run by women: Martha Spears, widowed, remained at No. 378, continuing as a baker; Mary and Elizabeth Edwards, linendrapers, were at No. 380; James Seear, a grocer, at No. 384; James Edwards, a shoemaker, at No. 394; John Scott, a butcher, at No. 396; James Barton, a fruiterer, at No. 402; Lydia Batten, a greengrocer, at No. 414; and Benjamin Reeves, a cabinet and/or window-blind maker, was at No. 430. Other artisans included two watchmakers, a glasscutter, a painter, a carpenter, and a scalemaker.¹¹⁵ By 1846 virtually the whole row had been made shops, housing a complete array, with little trace of manufacturing: No. 374 had a fruiterer (Robert Morris), No. 384, a butcher (William Smith), No. 386, a chemist (Jonathan Kay), No. 388 a cabinet maker (Henry Legge), No. 390 an ironmonger (Joseph Smith), Nos 392 and 394 a shoemaker (still James Edwards), a plumber/glazier (Henry Edwards), and carpenters (Shearman & Day). No. 398 was a milliner (Maria Ross), No. 400 a baker (William Henry Howard), No. 402 a stationer (Margaret Ouchterlony), No. 404 a furniture broker (George Speller), No. 406 a butcher (Thomas Mylam Morton), No. 408 a comb maker (James Hooper), No. 410 another shoemaker (Frederick Nash), No. 412 a hairdresser (Samuel Rivett), No. 414 another fruiterer (James Plastow), No. 416 another grocer (Henry Seear), No. 418 another butcher (James Scott), Nos 420/2 a china and glass dealer (William Jaye), No. 426 a cheesemonger (Peter Knight), No. 432 a haberdasher (Mary Ann Molloy), No. 434 another fruiterer (Robert Gwynne), and No. 436 a builder (John Henry Wilcox).¹¹⁶

The whole of the east side of Kingsland Road was affected by the building of the North London Railway's Broad Street Branch in the early 1860s. This hemmed in the backs, compromising any vestigial gentility. Rebuildings may well have occurred at the waste in the 1870s at the end of what had been Peter Upsdell's 99-year lease. Many properties had in any case long since been rebuilt, perhaps when shorter leases had fallen in. Others were to be remade for a second or third time thereafter. In the nature of things humble buildings are not long lasting. No. 380 was an undertaker's premises through the second half of the 19th century. Home & Colonial Stores, the national chain of retail grocers, arrived at No. 400 by 1895, a branch post office at No. 416 by 1910, and what must have been a small cinema soon thereafter at

Nos 432-4. A building to the rear of No. 438 (latterly renumbered as No. 440) was erected to be Lenthall Works, the printing works of the Hackney Gazette from 1890-1958, as a plaque commemorates. Across Richmond Road No. 442 at the south end of Warwick Place had been rebuilt c.1864 to be the offices of the Hackney and Kingsland Gazette.¹¹⁷

Further north Nos 478-80 were occupied by John De Ferre (De Fevre) and John Carter, a gentleman, respectively, from c.1811 up to c.1830, with Carter carrying on thereafter. Nos 474-6 had been built by 1831, evidently subsequently rebuilt, and Nos 482-4 were added in the mid 19th century (Figs 5 and 11).¹¹⁸ Most of the adjoining properties had become shops by the 1840s, but Nos 478-80 seem to have held out as residential with front gardens until c.1850.¹¹⁹ Ownership of the larger site (that of Nos 474-84) appears to have passed to George Hayes by 1844 when this section of Kingsland Road comes to be referred to as Hayes Place. Henry Potipher, a carver and gilder, was in No. 480 in the 1850s. In the late 19th century No. 480 had a bootmaker's shop, and No. 478 a zincworker's, then a cutlery warehouse. No. 478 was a 'fancy repository' then a toy shop through most of the 20th century.¹²⁰

Kingsland Crescent's front gardens have not been built over, though commercial use has led to much internal refashioning. With one or two exceptions the Crescent remained middle-class and residential through the 19th century, with light industrial use creeping in from about 1890, manufacturing centring on clothing-related and furniture trades, spin offs from the staple industries of Shoreditch and Spitalfields to the south.¹²¹

Kingsland Place appears to have been adapted to commercial use from an earlier time, entertaining a wide range of enterprises, both manufacturing and retail, with some shops already in the 1840s. The front gardens were largely undeveloped until the later years of the 19th century. The third pair from the south (Nos 550-4) appears to have been made a single very large house in the mid 19th century, with a large rear extension (No. 552) that was reportedly a ballroom of c.1900. There was a cinema at Nos 540-2 in the early 20th century.¹²²

Through the 20th-century the buildings at Kingsland Waste have continued to accommodate a mix of short-term occupants, many of them new immigrants to London. There has been remarkable continuity; the rebuilt two-storey outbuilding at No. 374A has been a boot and shoe repairers since about 1900.¹²³ A typical mix of 'High Street' shopkeepers continues, with the pub staying on the end. At the time of survey in 1999 the shopfronts (from Nos 374A to 438) were those of: Kenny's Shoe Shop; Vicky's One Cut Above, hair salon; Essex Cars, minicab office; Supreme Printers; Bas Bakery; P. M. Ives, family butchers; Waste No, carpets and furniture; Gümüs's Supermarket; Vision Development Opticians; Just Brother Cafe; Spot On Trading Centre; Yeni ülke Gıda Pazarı, food store; Kardesler Restaurant; Near Gold Trimmings; newsagents; Orlando Pizza; Moneywise Furniture; two empty units; Hoover Service Centre; Kingsland Medical Centre; a Post Office and newsagent; New Capital Kebab; an empty unit; Kingsland Chemists; Faulkners Restaurant; Usha Restaurant; Durable Fasteners Ltd; Drakes Group Ltd; Ray's Leather & Sheepskin Centre; and Uncle Sam's at what used to be the Swan Public House. No. 478 is the Sahin Supermarket and Off Licence in 1999, having been renovated in 1996.¹²⁴ Bloxham's Bookmakers occupies the shop under No. 480. The Lamb Public House has endured, and remains a hostelry, latterly known as 'The Village'.

7 - A WIDER CONTEXT

The late-18th-century buildings along the east side of Kingsland Road are intelligible separately, but taken together they tell us more. In terms of the patterns of speculative development and building cycles what happened was in many ways typical. Thomas Upsdell's miniature development of 1758 stood alone until the upbeat 1770s brought both the over-reaching ambition of Kingsland Place and the much humbler development of the waste, which fizzled with the downturn in the building market that lasted to the mid 1780s. Things picked up thereafter with the revival of upmarket ambition at Kingsland Crescent until the outbreak of war in 1793, upon which price rises killed off much speculative building. Another burst of activity after 1802 filled in gaps modestly, and extended towards London more imposingly at Acton Place.¹²⁵ Such stop-start development and the absence of anything remotely resembling estate planning tended to lead to the kinds of cheek-by-jowl juxtapositions of wholly different classes of housing that characterize Kingsland Road. This is typical of many linear late-Georgian suburban developments. That London's 18th-century architecture, especially at its peripheries, was an intertwining of the vernacular with the polite has generally been overlooked, with a few recent exceptions.¹²⁶

The elegant symmetry and proportionality of the Kingsland Place and Kingsland Crescent houses can be readily understood in the context of what is generally known about higher-status late-18th-century housing. However, these assertively external claims on aesthetic attention contrast sharply with what was being built nearby at much the same time, as at Nos 376-80, 436 and 478-80. Architecturally these developments are worlds apart.

Timing and the absence of planning aside why did the developments take the particular forms that they did? Broadly, from Nos 376-380 north to Faulkner's lonely pair and beyond to Kingsland Place the quality and size of the houses built before 1790 increased with their distance from London. The town was something to be kept at arm's length if you had the choice. Kingsland Crescent broke this pattern and in lieu of the suburban semi-autonomy that the pairs of Kingsland Place promised, presented town-house classicism for a drone-like collectivity, at the same time making the first gesture towards linking with the urbanity of London. Where land tenure had dictated the set-back frontages of the waste, the other developments (including Faulkner's) chose to create distance between the road and the houses as an amenity. The front garden was a defining element of the suburban as opposed to the urban house; at Upsdell's Row it was an incidental acquisition nearly twenty years after the houses were built. It is curious, and perhaps no more, that the Crescent also seems to echo the accidentally set back and curving street line of the waste, the houses of which do form a sort of ramshackle crescent. Similarly Kingsland Place seems to pass on the semi-detached idiom to the isolated and eccentric pair at Nos 478-80, the latter an important reminder, along with Thomas Summers, Peter Upsdell, Elizabeth Brooks and Richard Sheldrick, that this was a time and place of great social mobility, and that there can be no clean line separating the artisanal from the bourgeois. In seriating pairs of semi-detached houses Kingsland Place was in fact urbanizing and classicizing an essentially artisanal and marginal building form. Place and Crescent were not simply modelled on comparably high-status developments elsewhere without regard to their environs, but deliberately contextual. The vernacular informed the polite as much as the other way round. However accidentally, this contextualism arrived at a striking overall symmetry. The grammar of the streetscape from north to south in 1800 composed itself, to use a semaphore metaphor, as a series of dots in the relationship polite:vernacular, followed by two long dashes in the sequence vernacular:polite (Fig. 4).

The transformation of Kingsland Road through house development in the late 18th century was a shift from disorder to order, from claypits, scavengers and 'waste' to a grand classical crescent for insurance brokers, by way of an uncompleted experiment in high-status suburban housing, all in the space of about 25 years. On one level the differences between the houses are obviously to do with London's expansion, land ownership and land value, fashion, and the growing willingness of the professional classes to live out

of London and commute. There is, however, another perspective from which to view the changing aspect of London's margins, that is as part of the pervasive campaign of 'improvements' that was aiming to bring order and regularity to a metropolis that had grown to seem frighteningly out of control.¹²⁷ Popular protest concentrated in East London and the City became increasingly effective, violent and political in the late 18th century, ranging from trade-based uprisings in the 1760s to the Gordon Riots in 1780.¹²⁸ In the 1770s the American Revolution provided an unsettling if distant example of where such events might lead. The threat this represented was firmly overshadowed by the French Revolution in 1789. 'Improvement' was not simply motivated by 'taste' or altruism; a capital with a disorderly built environment was vulnerable and dangerous. Roads and bridges were crucial for circulation, access and release. Even the generally highly reactive and anything but aestheticized City of London was induced to institute improvements in these spheres in the 1760s. John Gwynn was a pioneer 'improver' whose *London and Westminster Improved* of 1766 set out an ambitious and influential agenda for ridding London's built environment of chaos. From 1768 George Dance the Younger was Clerk of the City Works and as such a chief agent of urban restructuring, implementing many town-planning schemes. He rebuilt Newgate Prison in 1770-80, only to see it immediately gutted in the Gordon Riots. The huge crescent he designed in 1785 for another marginal part of London, St George's Fields, Southwark, was to have been named after John Howard, the prison reformer. Dance was also intimately involved in the protracted discussions for reforming the Port of London, the river being the imperial capital's most crucial and vulnerable artery. These discussions ran through the 1790s and led to the massive dock-building programme of 1800 onwards, the most far-reaching and radical reconstruction of London's infrastructure since the post-1666 rebuilding of the City.

The Building Act of 1774, said to have been drafted by Dance with Sir Robert Taylor, was a part of this wider campaign to make London a more orderly place. It set out seven rates of building and laid out standards for each, to be enforced by District Surveyors within London as defined by the area covered by the Bills of Mortality, and thus including the parish of Hackney. Most of the houses put up on Kingsland Waste would have been classified as fourth or fifth rate. The Kingsland Place 'semis' would have been first or second rate.¹²⁹ In the developments of the 1770s and 1780s on the waste the Act may have been followed in its stipulations as to fire-preventive construction, though that this was the case should by no means be taken for granted. However, the evident lack of architectural regularity in the group shows that the classically-inspired regularizing aspirations of the Act remained just that when those not subscribing to its ideals were not involved in development.

In attempts to 'improve' London routes into and out of the city were hugely important, as Gwynn recognized in decrying the slovenly impression given by London's approaches (see above). He also argued against building along main roads, to allow clear separation between the city and each of its suburbs within each of which uniformity was imagined. In the 18th century, when 'enclosure' was the general means of bringing land under control, the open highway was a place of crime and disorder, and a potent locus of fear. The Great North Road was a principal route into and out of London, and Kingsland, with its toll gate, was literally a gateway to the metropolis. Whether or not Dance was directly involved, the 'polite' development of Kingsland Place through a major City institution, bringing large houses within railed plots to a frontage immediately inside this toll gate, was an attempt at ordering this environment without breaching the separation from London that Gwynn had desired. That such a noble attempt fell so short of its intended coherence leaving such a prominent signpost to the metropolis to subsequent visual dominance by the haphazard vernacular buildings of Kingsland Waste would have seemed an affront to George Dance and others of his mindset. What had risen up on the waste might have been perceived as something of a thrown gauntlet, the moreso for being on land that had been colonized by custom, such gleanings being at the root of what was regarded as economic subversiveness. With the building of Kingsland Crescent the artisanal houses came to be framed by bourgeois houses, locked into politeness and thereby subdued, a telling if serendipitous reflection of tensions in London's architectural and social development. Further improvement came in 1799 when old cottages at the south end of Kingsland Road were cleared and the road widened (see report on Nos 4-44 Kingsland Road).

Kingsland Place and Kingsland Crescent were obviously utterly different to what was built at the waste. The coherence of the former developments is predicated not only in an understanding of classicism, but much more crucially in lots of money. They had financial backing beyond that available to most aspirational builders, to facilitate a large outlay on materials and a large workforce. In short, there was much greater capitalization. Only a few builders could operate at this level. This is not to say that the speculations of Kingsland Waste were not capitalist in nature, simply that they were small scale. The development of Kingsland Waste in the period 1758-87 represents the last gasp of the vernacular traditions that were an expression of the artisanal ability to participate in a capitalist economy. The outbreak of war in 1793 bankrupted many builders and forced down standards at the lower end of the market in a commodification of house building.¹³⁰ After 1800 small-scale artisanal house building tended to disappear; the small houses of 1802-8 at Warwick Place and Lamb Place were put up in larger and more uniform groups. Kingsland Road's very different classes of 18th-century houses therefore reflect an 'argument' not simply about architectural style, but about control over the economics of housebuilding and who was to live where and in what manner of house. The character of this part of Kingsland Road is based in the varied faces of the commercial dynamics of late-18th-century London's building world. This was also a crucial transitional period during which the image of the edge-of-town suburb was being manipulated away from what for centuries had been seen as slummy overspill, to that of the desirable semi-rural retreat. In these terms Kingsland Road was something of a battleground, with Kingsland Crescent representing a victory for 'improvement' at a highly significant point in 1792-3.

The best attempts of 18th-century improvers notwithstanding vernacular heterogeneity has reasserted its primacy on Kingsland Road. The alterations, rebuildings and conversions that have disfigured the classical purity of Kingsland Place and Kingsland Crescent may be 'losses' in terms of 'taste', but as denials of standardization they need not be regarded so negatively. If we are looking for 'heritage' or 'local distinctiveness' on Kingsland Road we might appropriately identify it in the architecturally erratic, modestly commercial, tenurily transient qualities of Kingsland Waste. Next to this the aspirations of the grander developments to either side appear as short-lived aberrations.

NOTES

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3. *Victoria County History: Middlesex* (hereafter VCH), x (London, 1995), p. 4-5; D. Mander, 'One for the Roads: Highways in Hackney Before 1872', *Hackney History*, ii, 1996, pp. 9-16.
4. VCH, p. 12.
5. T. Milne's *Land Use Map of London and Environs in 1800* (LTSOC publ'n Nos 118 and 119), 1975-6; VCH, pp. 92-5.
6. VCH, p. 96.
7. A. Cox, 'A Vital Component: Stock Bricks in Georgian London', *Construction History*, xiii, 1997, pp. 57-66; C. Miele, 'From Aristocratic Ideal to Middle-Class Idyll: 1690-1840' in (intr.) A. Saint, *London Suburbs* (London, 1999), pp. 31-59; I. Watson, *Gentlemen in the building line: The development of South Hackney* (London, 1989), pp. 16-34.
8. *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*.
9. VCH, pp. 13, 28-30.
10. J. Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved* (London, 1766), title page.
11. VCH, p. 30.
12. D. Mander, *More Light, More Power: An Illustrated History of Shoreditch* (London, 1996), pp. 52-3.
13. VCH, p. 96.
14. VCH, p. 14.
15. see G. B. G. Bull's analysis of Milne's map, *op. cit.*
16. Hackney Archives Department (hereafter HAD), estate map, c.1821.
17. VCH, pp. 14, 30.
18. HAD, M515; Poor Rate and Land Tax Assessment Books for the parish of St John, Hackney (hereafter RB); London Metropolitan Archives, Middlesex Deeds Registry (hereafter MDR) 1774/3/36, 1774/4/150, 1775/2/219; VCH, p. 40.
19. St Bartholomew's Hospital (hereafter SBH), Journal 1757-70, HA 1/13, p. 305.
20. MDR 1774/3/36; 1774/4/151; 1775/2/193 and 219; HAD, D/F/TYS/66; VCH, pp. 30, 75-6, 88.
21. MDR 1775/2/220; 1776/4/433; 1779/3/237; 1779/5/88.
22. MDR 1780/2/391-3.
23. (ed.) F. H. W. Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xl, *The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair: Part II, The Buildings* (London, 1980), pp. 173, 318; (ed.) F. H. W. Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xxxii, *The Parish of St James, Westminster: Part Two, North of Piccadilly* (London, 1963), p. 368.
24. MDR 1785/2/180.
25. (ed.) W. H. Godfrey, *Survey of London*, xxiv, *King's Cross Neighbourhood: The Parish of St Pancras*, pt iv (London, 1952), p. 31; (ed.) F. H. W. Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xxxiv, *The Parish of St Anne Soho* (London, 1966), p.393; H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 3rd edn (London, 1995).
26. F. Sheppard, V. Belcher and P. Cottrell, 'The Middlesex and Yorkshire Deeds Registries and the study of building fluctuations', *The London Journal*, v/2, 1979, pp. 176-217.
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28. RB; MDR 1775/2/219, 1776/4/433, 1779/3/241, 1779/5/88; *Post Office Directory* (hereafter *POD*).
29. HAD, West Hackney Tithe map, 1843; Ordnance Survey (hereafter OS), 1:1056, 1870; RB; *POD*.
30. HAD, West Hackney Tithe map, 1843; OS 1870.
31. MDR, 1779/3/240-1; RB; *POD*.
32. MDR, 1779/3/238-9; RB.
33. Information kindly supplied by Dr Dattani.

34. *POD*.
35. MDR 1785/2/180.
36. Starling's 1831 map (Fig. 5) is misleading in showing three too many houses in this stretch.
37. London Borough of Hackney, planning application, TP/200056.
38. MDR, 1775/5/482; RB.
39. OS 1870 and 1894; *POD*.
40. MDR 1774/4/150-1; 1778/5/159; 1779/2/442; RB.
41. VCH, pp. 31, 85; RB.
42. HAD, P/J/MISC/I, 1831.
43. HAD, West Hackney Tithe map, 1843; RB; OS, 1870.
44. HAD, photograph 3945.
45. MDR 1778/5/159.
46. McKellar, *op. cit.*, passim.
47. Apologies to Isobel Watson.
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61. HAD, P/J/MISC/II, 1811;RB.
62. This table is based on census returns of 1811 and 1831 [HAD, P/J/MISC/I and II].
63. SBHl, Journal 1757-1770, HA 1/13, pp. 179, 194-5, 200, 206.
64. *Ibid*, pp. 501, 528.
65. *Ibid*, p. 601; SBH, Journal 1770-86, HA 1/14, p. 76.
66. SBH, Deed 2521.
67. SBH, HA 1/14, p. 301; Deed 2974.
68. Colvin, *op. cit.*; (ed.) W. H. Godfrey, *Survey of London*, xxii, *Bankside (The Parishes of St Saviour and Christchurch Southwark)* (London, 1950), p. 65.
69. (ed.) F. H. W. Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xxix, *The Parish of St James, Westminster: Part One, South of Piccadilly* (London, 1960), p. 164; (ed.) Sheppard, *Survey of London*, xxxii, *op. cit.*, p. 369.
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79. A. Saint, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
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83. RB.
84. Deed in possession of A. Solomon, Hayes to Giles, 6 April 1848; OS 1870.
85. RB.
86. Deed in possession of A. Solomon, 1848.
87. The time available for recording internally did not permit the measurement of mouldings.
88. NMR, Buildings Index Nos 87750 and 87757; C. Miele, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
89. NMR, Buildings Index Nos 91046 and 97395; information kindly supplied by A. Baggs and S. Gould.
90. Burton, Guillery and Herman, *op. cit.*
91. see No. 205 Deptford High Street in Guillery and Herman, 'Deptford Houses: 1650 to 1800', *loc. cit.*
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93. RB.
94. RB; MDR, 1806/4/144-5; 1806/8/256; 1807/1/8; 1807/2/532-4; 1808/4/40; 1809/6/731; HAD, M403.
95. HAD, P/J/MISC/I and II.
96. HAD, D/F/TYS/66.
97. VCH, pp. 88-9; RB; D/F/RHO/8; HAD, estate map, c.1821; MDR, 1805/5/121; 1808/2/670.
98. RB; HAD, estate map c.1821.
99. HAD, P/J/MISC/II; *POD*.
100. (ed.) D. Mander, *The London Borough of Hackney in Old Photographs* (Gloucester, 1989).
101. HAD, M1137-8, D/F/TYS/66; MDR, 1794/3/501-2; 1794/4/615; RB.
102. HAD, P/J/MISC/II, 1811.
103. HAD, M4267/8; MDR 1792/8/544.
104. HAD, M1139. Elizabeth Blinkworth's son by her first marriage, William Brooks, inherited and lived in Kingsland Crescent. [HAD, M1139, MDR 1808/3/24.]
105. Colvin, *op. cit.*; NMR, B43/812.
106. HAD, P/J/MISC/II; OS 1914.
107. HAD, P/J/MISC/II, 1811.
108. Department of the Environment, *loc. cit.*
109. HAD, D/F/PEA/97-108; R. Horwood's Plan of London, 1799; OS 1960.
110. VCH, pp. 14 and 85; HAD, estate map, c.1821.
111. MDR 1811/10/71; 1812/5/391-2; 1812/7/76.
112. HAD, estate map, c.1821; Starling's map, 1831; West Hackney Tithe map, 1843.
113. HAD, estate map, c.1821; *Robson's London Directory*.
114. VCH, p. 101.
115. HAD, P/J/MISC/I; RB; *POD*.
116. *POD*.

117. D. Mander, *The London Borough of Hackney in Old Photographs* (Gloucester, 1989); HAD, West Hackney Tithe map; OS 1870.
118. RB; OS 1870.
119. Deed in the possession of A. Solomon, 1848.
120. *POD*.
121. HAD, P/J/MISC/I; *POD*.
122. HAD, tithe map, 1843; OS maps 1870, 1894, 1914; *POD*; Department of the Environment, *loc. cit.*
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