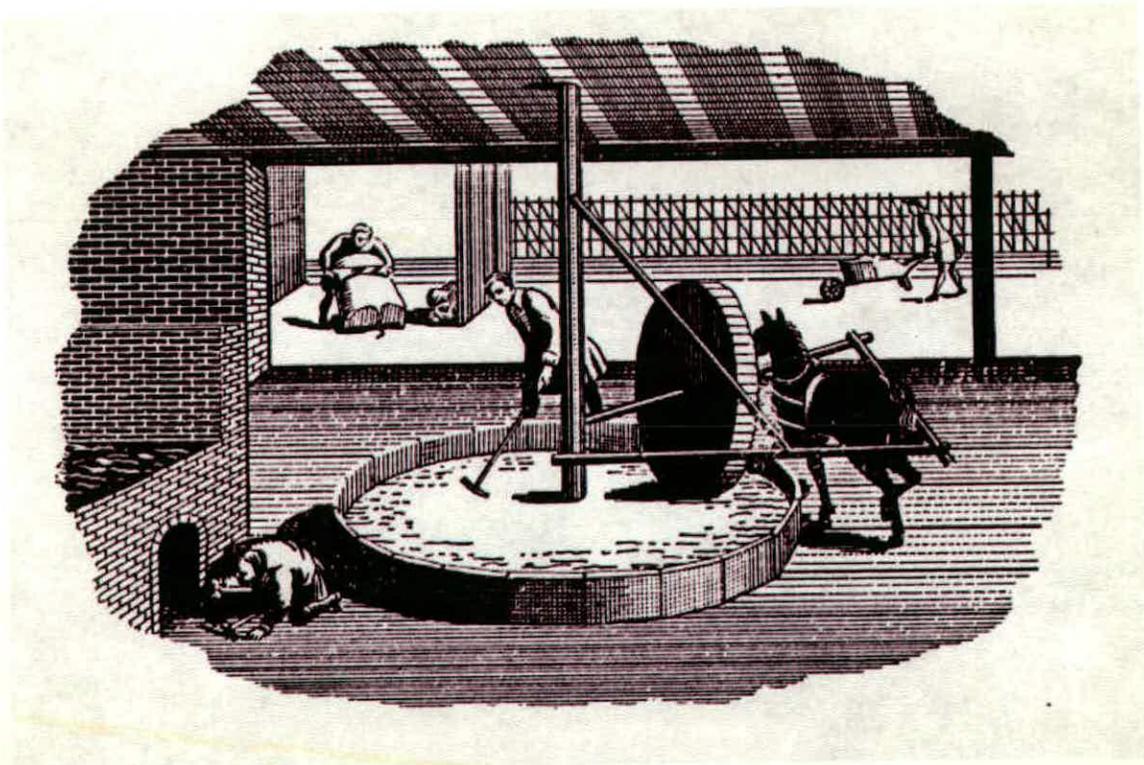
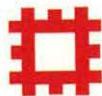


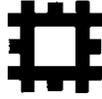
GEORGIAN BERMONDSEY



Architectural Investigation Report
Reports and Papers B/053/2001



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GEORGIAN BERMONDSEY

SOUTH+WARK

ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATION REPORT

August 2001

Surveyed: March 1999 to March 2000

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PREFACE

This report arises from a wider survey project investigating London's smaller 18th-century houses. The project, which is being carried out by the London section of English Heritage Architectural Investigation, was initiated by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England prior to the merger of the organisations in 1999. It aims to record surviving examples of early lower-status dwellings, highly vulnerable buildings the existence and significance of which have not been widely recognised. Other reports have been produced, local case studies examining Deptford, Kingsland Road in Hackney and Bethnal Green, as well as a number of one-off site reports. All these, and the Bermondsey material, are being synthesised to form the basis of a forthcoming English Heritage publication.

The starting point for this report was an assessment of surviving 18th century houses in the historic districts of Southwark, Bermondsey and Rotherhithe. Redevelopment from the 19th century onwards have swept away almost all of the once widespread smaller-scale housing. The location of most of the identified surviving examples within Bermondsey has determined the focus of the report. It is entirely possible that fragmentary remains of early buildings remain unidentified, both in Bermondsey and beyond. Once identified the sites were photographed, externally and, where access was possible, internally and limited hand-measured survey and drawing was undertaken. The number of remaining buildings is not large, internal access to all of the properties was not possible and, of those that were visited, only a few retained much 'original' fabric. But records of demolished structures have provided vital support in amplifying and contextualising the surviving properties. Wide-ranging documentary research, including rate book analysis, has also been carried out. This report should not be taken as definitive but as a first assessment.

The first part of the report consists of a brief account of the area's development, touching on its population, its major industries, land ownership and the form of its housing. Part two contains the accounts of the buildings, including their later history and occupancy. Photographs, research notes, measured drawings and other material related to Architectural Investigation reports are available for public consultation at the National Monuments Record, 55 Blandford Street, London W1U 7HN (tel: 020 7208 8200).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

English Heritage is grateful to Adam Lowe, Mrs Ash, Tony Dayton, Denis Flinn and others for allowing us access to their buildings. Wendy de Silva, of the architectural practice Dransfield Owens de Silva, Aine McDonagh and Frank Kelsall also made valued contributions to the recording and research. Particular thanks are due to Leonard Reilly and the staff of Southwark Local Studies Library, and the assistance of the staff of the London Metropolitan Archives and the Guildhall Library manuscripts department is also gratefully acknowledged.

For English Heritage Joanna Smith was responsible for the documentary research and the text as well as the building recording, assisted by Peter Guillery and June Warrington. The drawings of Nos 74-76 Bermondsey Street, the maps of Bermondsey and the pages of composite plans are by Andrew Donald and the large format photographs are by Derek Kendall. Many aspects of the report are informed by the preceding reports on London's smaller 18th-century houses by Peter Guillery.

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INTRODUCTION

During the Georgian period Bermondsey lay on the fringes of London, an intermediate space that was neither town nor country, formed of open fields, scattered sites of industrial activity, and roadside and riverside developments, the latter in the process of becoming dense urban concentrations. The area's transition from a medieval religious centre and pastoral retreat into a place of great trade and noxious industry began in the 17th century but gained impetus during the 18th and early 19th centuries. The commercial growth was matched by new residential development and the appearance of places of recreation and resort for city dwellers. The principal subject of this report is the form and character of the area's residential development during the Georgian period, with particular emphasis on the smaller-scale dwellings that housed its working population.

Bermondsey's housing growth followed a broadly similar pattern to that of neighbouring districts and London's northern and eastern suburbs, part of the capital's outward expansion in the Georgian period. In Bermondsey this meant predominantly small-scale speculative developments rather than coherent estate development, and the persistence of traditional forms, both constructional and architectural. The range of house types and plan forms that were present here can be paralleled elsewhere in London, but the mix and balance in Bermondsey seem distinctive. Factors specific to the area, such as the concentration of the leather industry here, influenced its development and contributed to its local distinctiveness.

Much of the street pattern of Georgian Bermondsey has survived, with the exception of the side alleys and back courts, but slum clearance, wartime damage and post-war redevelopment have obliterated most of the buildings from this period. Descriptions of the survivors forms the basis of this report, placed in the context of the overall development of the parish, its topography, population levels, and principal industries. Attempts to establish the ownership of the land, and to identify who built and lived in the houses have been made, but the paucity of surviving records makes certainty difficult. The picture that emerges is of a place that was characterised by the persistence of timber construction, by great variety of house layouts and by a general lack standardisation and by piecemeal development.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The district of Bermondsey is abutted by Rotherhithe to the east, Southwark to the west and Camberwell to the south. As the parish of St Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey, its boundaries were determined by water, formed by the River Thames to the north, but elsewhere generally following the lines of once-open streams or water courses. The western portion of this large, irregularly shaped parish was separated from the riverside by eastern Southwark (a strip approximately one quarter of a mile in width), and formed a narrowing promontory of land that stopped short of Borough High Street to the west and Tabard Street and the Old Kent Road to the south. The northern portion of the parish was formed behind less than a mile of riverfront running from St Saviour's Dock to West Lane. The southern areas were more extensive, stretching as far as Southwark Park to the east and Rolls Road to the south.

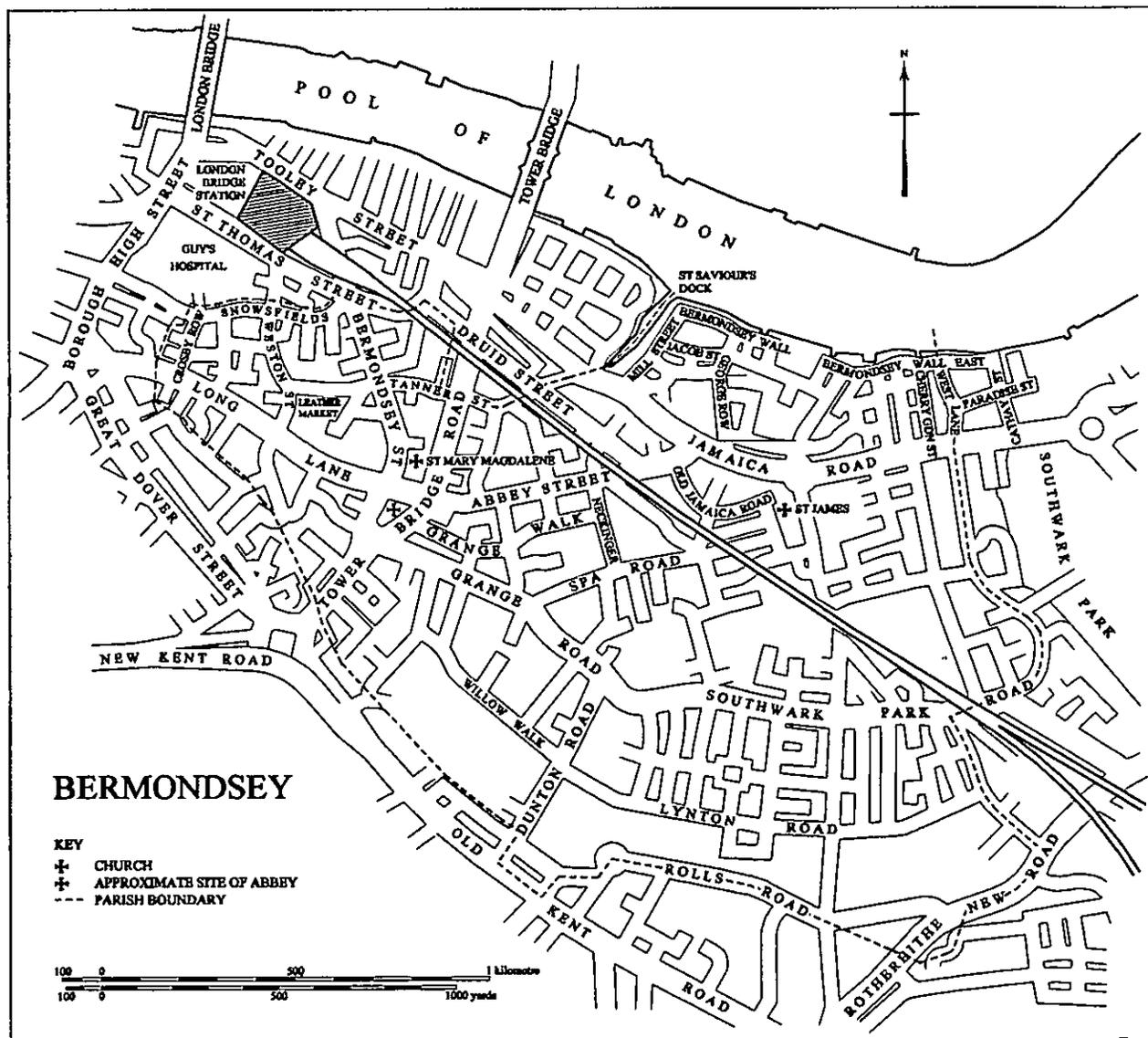


Fig. 1 – Map of Bermondsey (English Heritage).

Early Development

Bermondsey, the name is generally supposed to have been derived from a Saxon landowner, Beormund, with the *ey* denoting water, was once low-lying marshes, dissected by tidal streams, with scattered 'islands' of higher ground (fig.2). This was the character of much of the land to the south of the Thames up to the rising ground at New Cross, Camberwell and Brixton. The more important of the watercourses in the area were the Millstream and the



Fig. 2 – Map showing the land above (shaded) and below the Trinity High Water Mark with parish boundary added (D M Connan, *A History of the Public Health Department in Bermondsey* (London 1935); *Southwark Local Studies Library*).

Neckinger, which, along with their many side branches, followed meandering routes from west to east before flowing into the Thames. As a consequence Bermondsey was often subject to flooding and inundation following high tides or, in the medieval period, to breaches in the riverside embankment. Until proper drainage was carried out in the mid 19th century, the ground was largely unsuited to development. Instead, the ditches and watercourses attracted water-intensive industries, such as tanning, that were increasingly unwelcome in the City from the 12th century onwards, which

settled in Bermondsey and Southwark for geographical convenience.¹ This ensured an industrial aspect to Bermondsey's character almost from the outset. The watercourses remained a persistent feature of the district beyond the Georgian period, it being noted in 1878 that 'they change their way but little from age to age; first a mere waterway, then ditches, "black ditches" ..., then sewers, covered or uncovered'.²

The earliest development was concentrated in two areas, along the river frontage and around Bermondsey Abbey to the south, near the present-day junction of Tower Bridge Road and Abbey Street. In time this led to the designation of 'water side' and 'land side' districts.³ This division might have been eroded as early 19th-century development began to knit the two areas together, but the construction of the London to Greenwich Railway in 1835-6 reinforced the split; the designations land and water continued to be used well into the 20th century.

On the water-side development followed the stabilisation of the riverfront at Southwark and Bermondsey in the 13th and 14th centuries. Much of the land to the east of what became St Saviour's Dock (where the River Neckinger flowed into the Thames) was owned by the Abbey, which maintained a mill that supplied corn to the religious house and a park here.⁴ The lands to the west of the dock, in what became the parish of St John Horselydown, were occu-

pied by mansions, gardens and wharves by the end of the 16th century and the Bermondsey riverside is likely to have had a similarly mixed usage.⁵

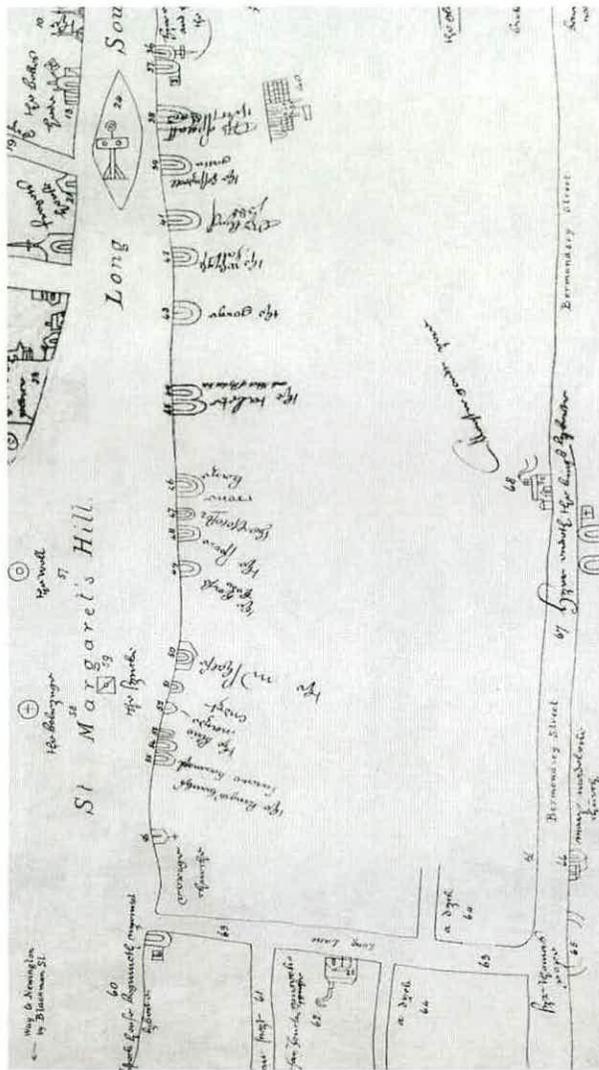


Fig. 3 – Borough High Street, Long Lane and Bermondsey Street c.1542, with the river to the north (William Rendell, *Old Southwark and its People* (Southwark 1878)).

The land-side division of the parish grew up around the dominating presence of the Cluniac Priory of St Saviour, founded in 1082 and re-designated an abbey in 1381. The religious house was established on an island or eyot in the marshes, and eventually came to form a complex of buildings around a large handsomely built church. The presence of the Abbey led to the formation of two causeways or trackways to connect it with the river to the north and Borough High Street to the west. These subsequently became Bermondsey Street and Long Lane respectively, the main thoroughfares of the parish (fig.3).⁶ The Abbey gave the locality an eminence it would not otherwise have had, attracting visitors on pilgrimage and luring wealthy citizens to live amongst its ‘well-cultivated gardens and wealthy velvet meads’.⁷ The medieval parish church of St Mary Magdalen in Bermondsey Street was built by the monks on a site immediately to the north of the Abbey's enclosure to serve the growing lay population of the area. The suppression of the religious house in 1538 had a considerable impact on the area. And, although Sir Thomas Pope fashioned a mansion out of the remains of the religious buildings in c.1541, Bermondsey's attractions as an area of fashionable residence would have been considerably diminished.⁸

Instead trade and industry became the focus of Bermondsey's growth. By the early 1380s a few of the residents in the Bermondsey Street/Horselydown area were already engaged in tanning, an industry with which the locality came to be most closely associated.⁹ Commercial and residential development along Bermondsey Street began in the late 14th century and by the mid 16th century it had numerous inns and taverns along its length, similar in nature to those along its neighbour Borough High Street. It also had at least one substantial stone-built mansion (known as Mister Goodbere's House on a map of c.1542), and a stone bridge, built by Bishop Waynflete in 1473.¹⁰ The street was also beginning to sprout the side courts and alleys that evidenced a growing residential concentration. The development of Long Lane had commenced by the early 14th century especially at its western end near St George's Church.¹¹

By the 16th century areas of Bermondsey would have shared something of Southwark's character as a scrap heap for the City of London, providing a ‘refuge of its excluded occupations

and its rejected residents', and space for its more unsavoury and land-intensive industries.¹² The vitality and growth of Southwark was unstoppable, its population continuing to increase when the City's population was stagnant or in decline. Although Southwark had few of the attributes of a late medieval town or city, having no city walls, few public buildings and a fragmented local government, it was unquestionably urban. Bermondsey was less so, its built-up areas being set amongst open fields; 'a picture of an interlacing network of streams and ditches, crossed by rustic bridges, and here and there expanding into pools, such as the monks' fishponds and the larger pools used by the Tanners'.¹³ By the end of the 16th century two areas, the riverside and the abbey environs, were at varying stages of development into urban communities with networks of lanes, courts and alleys. Increasingly Bermondsey came to be viewed as an extension of Southwark, an attitude that persisted into the 18th century, perhaps reflecting a loss of status and identity following the dissolution of the Abbey, as well as the dominating presence of its neighbour.

Seventeenth-century Development

At the end of the 16th century John Stow, in his description of Southwark, noted almost continual building along the riverfront from London Bridge to Rotherhithe.¹⁴ By 1724, when Daniel Defoe was writing his guide to Britain, this bankside ribbon development had reached Deptford.¹⁵ Like equivalent settlements on the north side of the river such as Shadwell, the

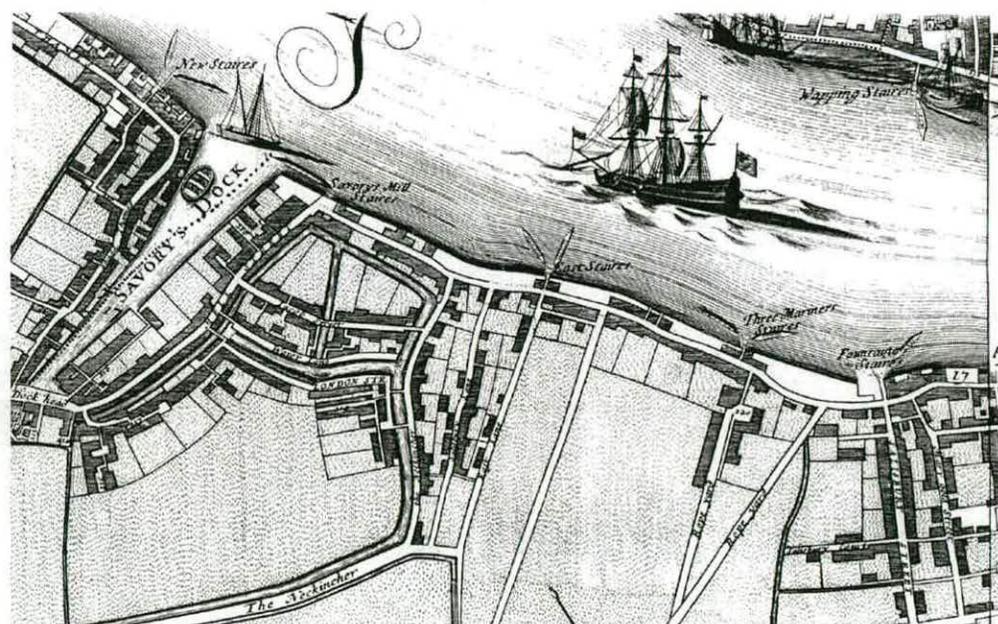


Fig. 4 – Bermondsey riverside in 1682 (William Morgan, Survey of London, 1682).

spur for growth was the burgeoning of river-based industry and sea-borne trade. This prompted the development of wharves and warehouses as well as the emergence of associated industries such as ship- and boat-building, ropemaking, etc. These activities were concentrated along the

Bermondsey riverside but behind this a network of streets including London Street, Dockhead, and the area of Jacob's Island, had grown up to the east of St Saviour's Dock (fig.4). Further east was another concentration of streets, principally Salisbury Street, Marygold Street, Cherry Garden and West Lane. These two residential districts were separated by an area of rope walks, extending back from the river for almost a quarter of a mile. But the area was not entirely taken up with maritime trade. In 1665 and 1667 Samuel Pepys recorded visits to the 'Cherry Garden' and the adjoining Jamaica House, once a mansion but then operating as a tavern and place of resort, where 'the girls did run wagers on the bowling-green, and then, with much pleasure, spent little, and so home'.¹⁶

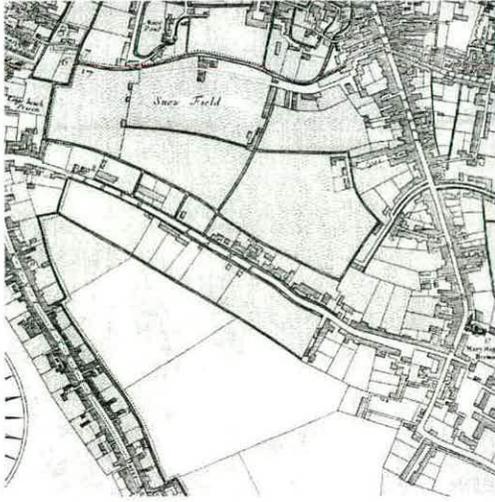


Fig. 5 – West Bermondsey in 1682 (W Morgan, Survey of London, 1682).

Lane (later Russell Street now Tanner Street), fringed by buildings in 1682, a road that followed the path of the river Neckinger, and was named after it, and a rural trackway known as Blue Anchor Lane which meandered through the southern part of the parish before reaching West Lane and the river.

Development from 1700 to 1840

During the 18th century Bermondsey experienced steady rather than spectacular growth. The existing settlements became more densely developed: to the west this was principally centred on Long Lane and Bermondsey Street. The north side of Long Lane was already fringed by tan-yards by 1700, and these expanded, with many new structures being erected during the first half of the 18th century. As Bermondsey Street was already lined with buildings, the industry was forced to encroach on adjoining fields. New areas were also taken over, most notably the Grange lands to the south east; ‘part of which...in the memory of man was from Whiteing grounds, wash grounds, tenter grounds, orchards and gardens is now made tanyards, felmongers yards, and glew yards’.¹⁹

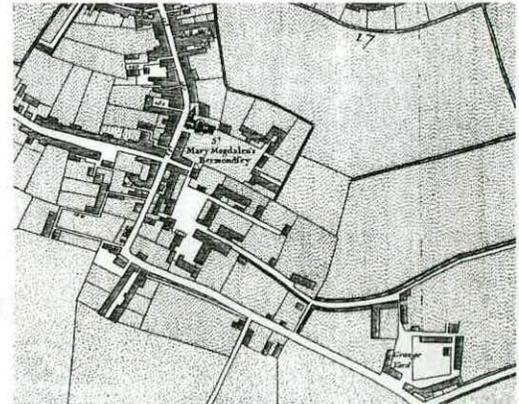


Fig. 6 – The site of the former Abbey and its Grange in 1682 (William Morgan, Survey of London, 1682).

During the 18th century Long Lane underwent residential development, replacing or filling the spaces between existing structures, most particularly on the south side (fig.7). The consequence was a varied streetscape, which partially survived into the mid 19th century when it was noted that ‘some brick dwellings, with richly carved doors of Charles I’s reign, and a clump of timber houses much older, are still visible’.²⁰ In the second half of the century short terraces of houses were also being built on the north side of the road, at the Borough end, including Charlotte Row, and a modest back terrace at Little Charlotte Row (both demolished). This perhaps indicates the emergence of competing demands for the street frontages on this side of the road with domestic buildings and tan-yard frontages perhaps vying for space.

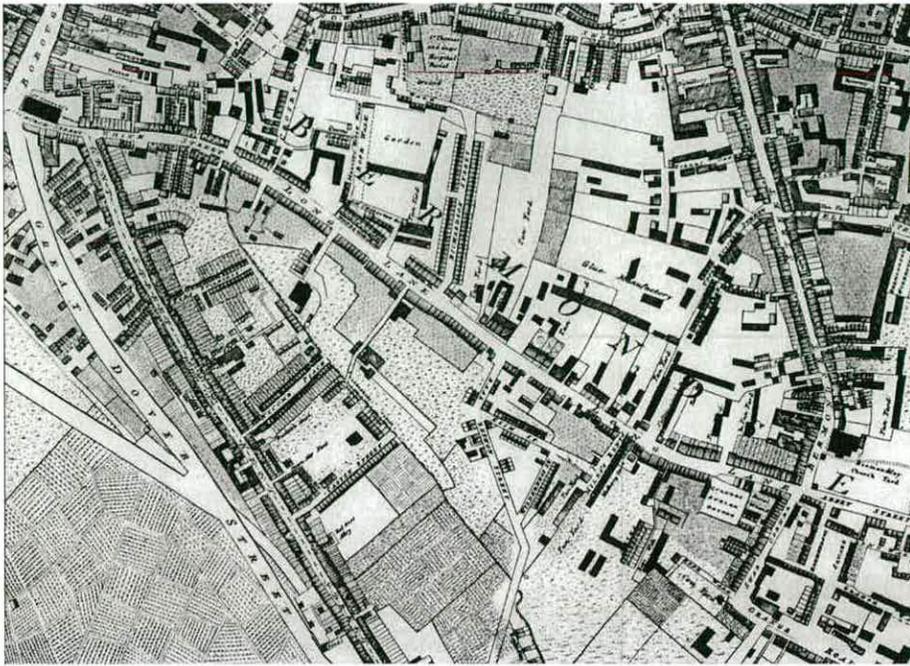


Fig. 7 – The western part of Bermondsey in 1813 (R Horwood, Plan of London, 1813).

The area to the north of Long Lane, known as Snow's Field, saw several *ad hoc* developments in the period. In the early decades of the 18th century a former pathway that ran from an alley off Borough High Street (now Newcomen Street) to Bermondsey Street began to sprout housing along its length. Named Snowsfields, after the area it crossed, this lane had a network of courts and alleys at its east end by the mid 18th century. In and around

the gardens and fields small-scale development occurred, including the construction of a Meeting House in 1736 (see below). During the second half of the century a new north-south cross route, linking Long Lane and Snowsfields, was made at the western extremity of the parish. Known as Crosby Row, the formation of this road seems to have been prompted by the opening of another Meeting House at its north end in 1763-5.

The incremental growth of the western part of the parish, along with the concerted late-18th -century development of neighbouring areas such as Newington and Walworth to the south, and nearby St George's Field, encouraged the laying out of one major new thoroughfare in the 1780s. This was Bermondsey New Road, latterly the south end of Tower Bridge Road. It formed a link between Kent Road/New Kent Road and Bermondsey Street, via Star Corner (now the southern section of Bermondsey Street). The new road was built up by 1790, with an outgrowth of side streets on its eastern side. At around the same period part of the Abbey site, known as King John's Court, was re-fashioned as Bermondsey Square (fig. 8).

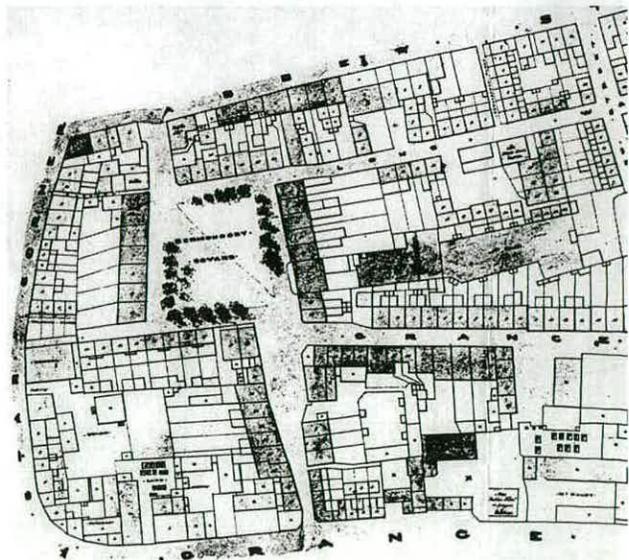


Fig. 8 – Bermondsey Square and the former Abbey lands 1833-6 (George Porter, Survey of Bermondsey Parish, 1833-6; Southwark Local Studies Library)

The riverside area experienced a concentration of building along the existing road network in the first decades of the century. The making of a new roadway in the 1750s was a spur for further development in the second part of the century. This new street linked the east and west areas, running between West

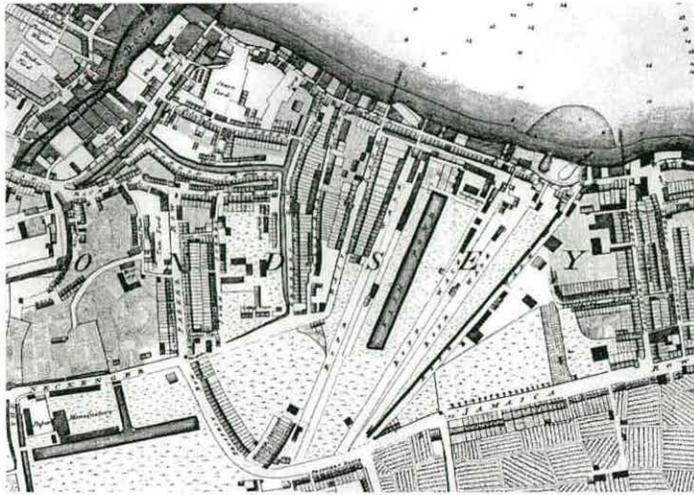


Fig. 9 – Bermondsey riverside in 1813 (R Horwood, Plan of London, 1813).

Lane and Neckinger Road. Its eastern section was called Jamaica Row, named after the nearby mansion/tavern in Cherry Garden Street, whilst the western part was known as Prospect Row. The latter section also joined with Parkers Row and John Street, two parallel residential streets developed in the early 18th century, and thence on to Dockhead. By 1790 the new roadway (the present day Old Jamaica Road) had been built up at its eastern and western ends with rows of houses, along with several smaller domestic developments on lands to the east (fig. 9).

Sometime during the second half of the century a manufactory to convert straw to paper was built by an inlet of the Neckinger, to the east of the new development around Jamaica Road/Prospect Row. This site was taken over around 1800 by Messrs Brevington, becoming one of the largest and most renowned leather factories, known as Neckinger Mills. A short distance to the south east of this manufactory, off Grange (now Spa) Road a pleasure garden was established in the 1760s, becoming a spa around 1770 and remaining in operation until the early 19th century (fig. 10).

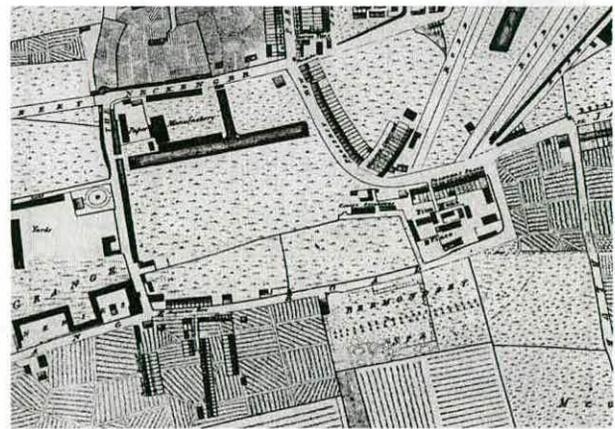


Fig. 10 – Land to the east of the Grange in 1813 (R Horwood, Plan of London, 1813).

The large swathes of open fields that formed the southern part of the parish remained largely undeveloped throughout the period. Several small-scale speculative developments were built on Grange Road and Blue Anchor Road, including Augusta Row, Fort Place, Prospect Row and Charlotte Place, during the latter part of the 18th century (fig. 11).

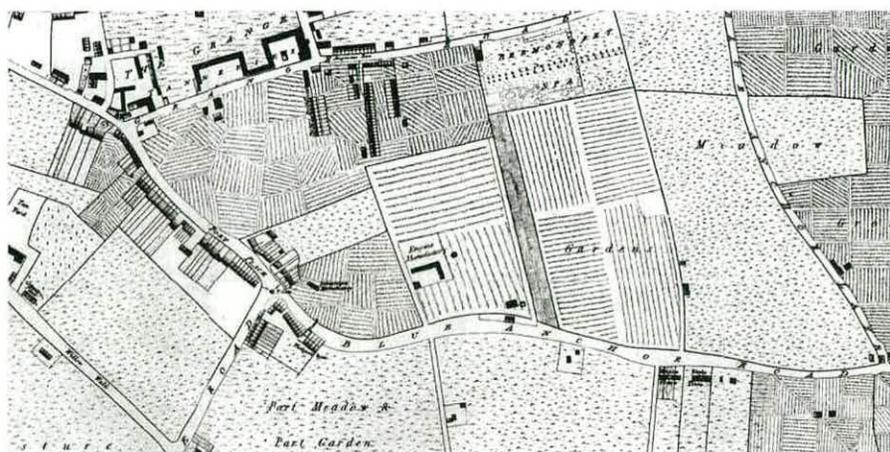
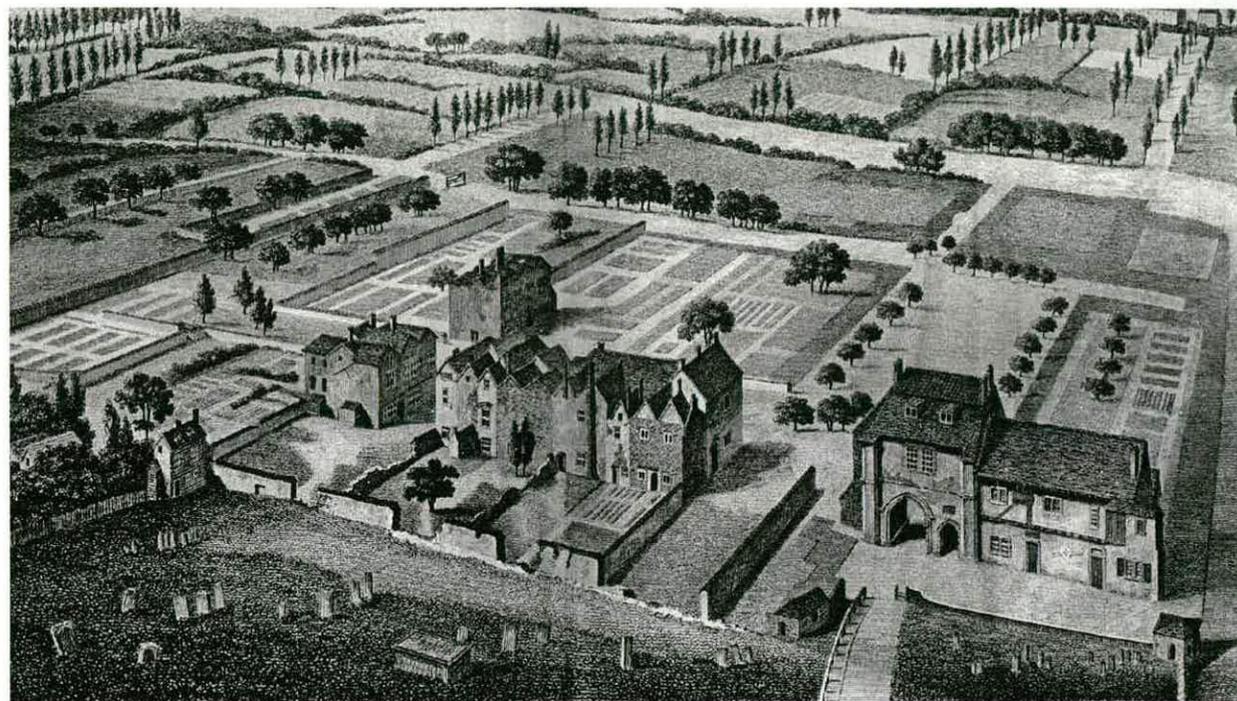


Fig. 11 – The southern part of Bermondsey in 1813 (R Horwood, Plan of London, 1813).

The first two decades of the 19th century followed a similar pattern including the opening of several new roads. The most important of these were Abbey Street and its continuation, George Street, connecting Long Lane and Neckinger Road. The formation of George Street was associated with the laying out of the Fendall estate

to the east of the old Abbey site. Although some development had occurred here in 1804 it was noted that the Abbey remains were 'probably more than any religious edifice in or near London, owing to its remote situation'.²¹ Many of these remnants, including the Great Gate House and adjoining buildings, were swept away in 1806 for the formation of Abbey Street (fig. 12).



A GENERAL VIEW OF THE REMAINS OF BERMONDSEY ABBY, Surrey.
As it appeared in the Year 1803 with the adjacent Country. Taken from the Steeple of the Church of St. Mary Magdalen.

Fig. 12 – A general view of the remains of Bermondsey Abbey, omitting the surrounding buildings (Robert Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata* (London 1819)).

Two new streets leading north from Long Lane, on the site of former tan-yards, were also made in this period. The first was Richardson Street, laid out by 1819 with a continuous length of modest housing to either side. Nelson Street (now Kipling Street), of a similar character, was created between 1819 and 1833, having been intended to benefit from a projected new road between London Bridge and the Old Kent Road that was never executed.²²

In addition to the opening of new streets many of the existing roads were significantly improved during the 18th and early 19th centuries in response to the 'great increase in trade and the number of inhabitants' in the district.²³ In 1765 a Paving Act for Southwark (including Bermondsey) gave priority to improvements to Tooley Street and Bermondsey Street. In 1787-8 the widening of certain roads was ordered, necessitating the demolition of 112 premises on Bermondsey Street, Snowsfields and The Maze. These improvements, supplemented by Acts in 1809, 1812 and 1819 (concerning Bermondsey New Road and Long Lane amongst others), were further advanced later in the 19th century by the covering over of the water courses that ran along many of the streets.

From 1830 the development of Bermondsey began to accelerate, most particularly in the southern part of the parish. This was partly a consequence of improving transport links, including the construction of the London to Greenwich Railway line in 1835-6, but another spur to growth was the proper drainage of the wider area. In 1843 it had been recollected that

in 1809 'the whole of the lowlands between Southwark and Deptford ...were in the winter months frequently covered to a considerable depth with water ... that the cellars and underground apartments of many of the houses ...were partly filled with water of a foul and disagreeable nature'.²⁴ The two sluices serving Bermondsey, the Duffield and Salisbury sluice and the Battle Bridge sluice, were both overhauled in the second quarter of the 19th century (the reconstruction of the former having been ordered in 1811). The adequate drainage of the once-marshy areas of south London, as well as new roads and several new or improved bridges (Southwark Bridge opened 1819, the rebuilt London bridge 1831), allowed for the development of yet unbuilt lands of Bermondsey and its neighbouring districts to commence in earnest.

THE CHARACTER OF GEORGIAN BERMONDSEY

'A Rich Man took up his residence next door to a Tanner, and found the smell of the tanyard so extremely unpleasant that he told him he must go. The Tanner delayed his departure, and the Rich Man had to speak to him several times about it; and every time the Tanner said he was making arrangements to move very shortly. This went on for some, til at last the Rich Man got so used to the smell that he ceased to mind it, and troubled the Tanner with his objections no more'.²⁶

Population

The evidence for Bermondsey's population in the early 18th century is thin, but it has been estimated that in 1710-11 it had perhaps 12,000 inhabitants.²⁷ This made it the equivalent of a large provincial town and comparable with its neighbour Deptford although far less populous than Southwark. According to Defoe, Southwark contained about one sixth of London's population in 1722, which was then in excess of 575,000.²⁸ By 1801 the number of Bermondsey's inhabitants had grown to 17,169²⁹ but during the next hundred years the area experienced a phenomenal increase in its population as the figure leapt to 81,323 in 1901.³⁰



Fig. 13 – Nos 4-29 Jacob Street, Bermondsey in 1927 (*English Heritage, NMR, AP23*).

By the early 19th century the vast majority of the population were engaged 'in trade' (in 1831 6,060 families out of a population of 29,721) and a much smaller number in agriculture (131 families).³¹ The existence of a poor riverside population during the 17th century has been presumed because of a high mortality rate by comparison with the more populous parish of Lambeth.³² Such a population was clearly present by the mid 18th century when the water-side division was noted as having many poor residents.³³ (fig 13) The high Poor Rate in the district, attributed to an increase in the numbers of the poor and the parish being much in debt, suggests that poverty was by no means restricted to the northern area.³⁴ Almost a century later Bermondsey's Poor Rate became for a time the highest in London, implying that it had become one of the poorest districts in the capital.³⁵

Nevertheless Bermondsey still possessed an affluent element, descending in social status from the 'gentle families' or city merchants to the 'middling sort', tradesmen or shopkeepers or manufacturers, and then passing down to the skilled or master craftsmen or 'mechanics' and small shopkeepers. In the early-modern period in London the rich and poor were to a high degree

intermingled, and no area in Bermondsey was likely to have been exclusive to either. The riverside division contained several streets with bigger houses occupied by such people as

barge owners, sea captains and pilots. The grandest was a house, East Hall, at the south end of East Lane, occupied by John Ratcliffe Esquire until his death in 1776.³⁶ When put up for sale in 1821 the house was described as being appropriate 'for the Residence of a respectable Merchant, or other Person, whose avocations require his attendance at the Wharfs or Warehouses on the River side'.³⁷ The former Abbey site, and the grounds to the east and south of the Grange represented the nearest to a 'residential quarter' in the parish, with some neat rows of brick houses, occupied by local manufacturers and other wealthy residents. The nearby presence of noxious-smelling tan-yards seems not to have been considered a disadvantage and some residents may even have considered it beneficial, as ill people were reputedly still being brought there in the mid 19th century 'for the benefit of the air'.³⁸ These southern districts enjoyed a semi-rural setting of market gardens and meadow lands, attracting the noted botanist, William Curtis, author of 'Flora Londiniensis', to live and work here.³⁹ However, the better sort of houses would have shared the landscape with humble cottages and older tenement buildings inhabited by the poor.

To some extent the metropolis continued to be made up of self-contained communities throughout the 18th century. As a result manufactories, shops, taverns and dwellings were intermixed, most particularly on long-established thoroughfares such as Bermondsey Street. The result was an irregular, not to say picturesque, streetscape comprising a jumble of older timber-built buildings, with ground-floor shop fronts or jettied upper storeys, new brick-fronted houses, and industrial premises, often with tell-tale louvred openings in their gable heads.⁴⁰ Less visible were the alleys and courts that extended back from either side of Bermondsey Street and from the south side of Snowfields and the eastern end of Long Lane. In the 18th century the tanner and his workforce would in all likelihood have lived, shopped and drunk within the same locality.

Economy

In 1792 Daniel Lysons summarised the commercial activities of the district:

'Bermondsey is a place of very great trade. The tanners are very numerous, and carry on that business to a greater extent than is known in any other part of the kingdom. From a natural connection between the several trades, there are also many woolstaplers, fell-mongers, curriers, and leather-dressers, and some parchment makers. The water-side is occupied by rope-makers, anchor-smiths, stave-merchants, boat-builders, and persons employed in furnishing various articles of rigging for the navy. There are two small docks. The calico printing and dying business is carried on also in a small degree in this parish, and there are some pin and needle makers'.⁴¹

The leather industry and its associated trades

The leather trade, in all of its various branches and different specialisations, was an industry most commonly associated with Bermondsey in the 18th and 19th centuries. Until 1830 it was divided between the tanners (who treated the hides) and the curriers (who processed the leather once it had been tanned). The industry was long established in the area, perhaps given impetus by the influx of foreign immigrant workers and dealers in leather who settled in Southwark and Bermondsey during the 16th century.⁴² In the 18th century currying was still being carried on elsewhere in the capital, in the City and in Westminster, but tanning was concentrated exclusively in south London. In 1763 every one of the 15 tanners listed in a London trade directory was based in Bermondsey. By 1850 this number had increased to 51.⁴³ The centre of the trade was around Bermondsey Street, the Grange, and along Long Lane.



Fig. 14 – Late 19th century roundel from the Leather Exchange, Weston Street, Bermondsey, depicting the buying and selling of leather hides (English Heritage, AA020707).

while the tanning agent, usually derived from oak bark but sometimes from chestnut or elm in time of shortage or high prices, gradually worked on the hides.⁴⁴ The wood-lined tanning-pits were usually open to the elements although they began increasingly to be roofed over from the 1820s. Once tanned, the hides were hung to dry in lofts or drying-rooms. Almost all of the leather produced was sold for shoe-making (as much as 99% of the heavier leather manufactured in 1816 went for sole-leather) and a plethora of secondary uses including saddles, jackets and hats.⁴⁵ Although traditional methods persisted in the tanning of heavy hides until the late 19th century, some aspects of the industry, such as the splitting of skins and the grinding of bark, were subject to increasing mechanisation from the late 18th century; steam engines were in use in some tan-yards from the 1830s.

The manufacturing of lighter leather skins was developed in the later Georgian period. One area of specialisation, known as Morocco leather, utilised goats' skins tanned with a vegetable substance called sumach.⁴⁶ The Morocco trade was apparently an innovation of the early 19th century, and was dependent on imports for both the hides and tanning agent. The glossy

The reasons for the concentration of tanning in Bermondsey were various. Most crucially perhaps, was its proximity to a huge market for leather goods in London. It also possessed the necessary supply of water, easy access to tanning materials, principally oak bark (initially locally supplied, but by the 19th century from further afield in Kent) and a good supply of hides (from Smithfield Market and local suppliers, but increasingly foreign imports by the early 19th century). The ever growing metropolitan population ensured a regular supply of labour and the development of contiguous industries using tanning by-products would also have supported the industry's growth.

The tanning process was a lengthy one, with the thickest hides being immersed in pits for up to two years (fig. 15),



Fig. 15 – Roundel depicting a hide being agitated in a pit (English Heritage AA020708)

coloured leather that was produced was most commonly used for clothing, belts, bookbindings and hat-linings.



Fig. 16 – Roundel showing a tanned hide being rolled by hand and hides being hung to dry (English Heritage, AA020705).



Fig. 17 – Roundel showing the unhairing and defleshing of hides (English Heritage, AA020706).

Throughout the tanning process the workshops and sheds had to be kept in a wet and sloppy state, which, combined with the dozens of open pits in the yard, made them hazardous places for the casual visitor. The concentration of tan-yards, and the noxious smells that emitted from them, gave the area a highly distinctive character, described by Henry Mayhew in 1850:

‘What may be styled the *architecture* of the district is that rendered necessary by the demands of its chief commerce.



Fig. 18 – Nos 89-95 Bermondsey Street, photograph by Henry Dixon for the Society for the Photography of Old London (English Heritage, NMR).

Long, and sometimes high, and always black wooden structures, without glass windows, but with boards that can be closed or opened to admit air at pleasure, irregularly surround a series of closely-adjacent pits, filled to the brink with a dark, chocolate-coloured, thick liquid’.⁴⁷

The curriers' and leatherdressers' premises were similar in appearance, although without the tan pits. These types of structure would have followed traditional patterns of construction, such as Nos

89-95 Bermondsey Street (demolished), probably of 17th century origin, which sported the characteristic louvred openings (fig. 18).⁴⁸ When the buildings were photographed by Henry Dixon in 1881 they were occupied by, amongst others, William Pettit, a wool-stapler, wool rug and leather manufacturer, and a curriery was located at the rear.⁴⁹

In 1747 it was estimated that a tanner needed anything from £100 to £1000 to set himself up in the trade.⁵⁰ Rents and wages formed only a relatively small proportion of the tanner's costs, the greatest expenditure being on raw materials, principally the hides and tanning agents. The length of the manufacturing period and fluctuations in the cost of raw materials were the main factors affecting profitability. Before the mid 19th century the tanner was likely to rent his premises, in 1710 a tan-yard with a rent of £10 contained 41 pits, a bark barn, drying-shed, kiln house, stable, hayloft, ash-hole, beamhouse and dwelling house.⁵¹ Tanning continued to be conducted on a small scale into the early 19th century, employing an average of 7-8 men per yard in 1813, although some larger firms were operating on a greater scale, employing perhaps up to 35 men. The tanning industry was given a considerable boost by the Napoleonic wars, supplying the increased demand for leather goods by the military, and this in turn may have provided funds for improvements to the buildings and for experimentation with tanning processes. The industry suffered a commensurate slump when the conflict ended in 1815 and over the following decades its character began to change as larger businesses took over from the small-scale operators.

Until the early-to-mid 19th century the tanner would have lived 'in front of the yard' (fig. 19). His workmen and their families would have resided near by in small houses or tenements.⁵²



Fig. 19 – Fireplace, probably from a tanner's house, with a carved mantel depicting the tanning industry, No. 148 Long Lane, Bermondsey, photographed in 1943 (London Metropolitan Archives).

Although the industry was subject to periodic depressions, and profits might fluctuate, the great variety of purposes to which leather was put perhaps gave the trade the relative stability and continuity that more fashion-dependent industries lacked. The nature of the tanner's work, although requiring judgement and experience, was semi-skilled in character and, workmen did not have a reputation for being well-educated, known

rather as being 'miserable, illiberal, sluggish, illiterate bigots'.⁵³ In comparison currying was considered to be a more skilled craft and Mayhew considered the curriers to be both more intelligent and better educated.⁵⁴ Alcohol consumption was high, sustaining many of the local hostleries including the well-known public house in Long Lane, Simon the Tanner. The persistence of traditional methods of production into the 19th century probably ensured the survival of a semi-skilled and highly specialised, if conservative, workforce but there appears

to have been little inclination to form associations, either amongst the tanners (who successfully petitioned for a charter from Queen Anne in 1703 but which appears always to have remained inoperative) or the workmen.

Amongst the other branches of the leather trade to be found in Bermondsey were leather dressing, and fellmongering, the latter being the preparation of sheep skins prior to dressing including the removal of horns and wool. During the 18th century the fellmongers expanded eastwards along Five Foot Lane/Russell Street (now Tanner Street) and in 1840 it was noted that the trade was 'more dirty and disagreeable than even that of the leather-dresser, on account of the methods necessary to be adopted for the separation of the wool from the pelt'.⁵⁵ A closely associated trade was wool-stapling, an activity that seems to have been particularly associated with the main thoroughfare of the parish, as Thomas Pennant commented in 1791: 'Bermondsey-street may at present be called the great Wool-Staple of our kingdom. Here reside numbers of merchants who supply Rochdale, Leicester, Derby, Exeter, and most other weaving counties in this kingdom, with that commodity'.⁵⁶ Some of the men engaged in the trade were affluent, such as the City merchant Henry Goodyere, who lived in a large stone-built house on the west side of the street in the 1540s. In the early 19th century Thomas Moulden occupied a handsome late-17th-century or early-18th-century brick-fronted house in the street with extensive timber-built warehouses behind.⁵⁷ By 1850 the wool warehouses had become 'lofty stone buildings, some of them with considerable architectural pretensions'.⁵⁸

The distinction between tanning and currying may for a time have sustained the small-scale independent businessman, but the de-regulation of the industry in 1830, along with a reduction in excise duty, is likely to have been a factor in the emergence of larger more heavily capitalised firms, one such being Messrs John and Thomas Hepburn, who operated a 2½-acre site in Long Lane that had once comprised five separate tanneries. There was also an integration of activities, with some of these bigger concerns combining the two branches of the trade. An indication of the growing clout of these firms is suggested by the construction of Bermondsey Leather Market in Weston Street in 1832-3, ending the dependence on Leadenhall Market in the City and shifting the focus of the leather trade to Bermondsey. The idea of the building was promoted by several of the most prominent local tanners, including Francis Brewin and B & G Drew, and was paid for by the sale of shares. The resulting company was overseen by a balanced committee of three tanners, five leather factors and three leather buyers.⁵⁹ But the promotion of the district was not purely concerned with profit, as the Drews (or their descendents) were also amongst the subscribers of G W Phillips' meticulous historical account of Bermondsey and its antiquities, published in 1841.⁶⁰

Other allied industries using the by-products of the tanning industry were felt and hat making. Both are likely to have been carried on in Southwark and Bermondsey from an early time, though there is insufficient evidence to estimate their real extent before the 19th century. The manufacture of beaver hats, reputed to have been perfected in Bermondsey around 1660, was the staple of the industry during the 18th and early 19th centuries.⁶¹ One factor in its development here may have been proximity to London's port, to which the Hudson Bay Company was importing beaver pelts from Canada from the 1670s. By the first half of the 19th century hat making had become sufficiently prevalent to earn Bermondsey the epithet the 'Hatters' Paradise'.⁶² The hatters had a long tradition of union activity, perhaps because the trade was workshop-based and required a relatively high degree of skill; the local concentration of the industry seems to have helped foster a cohesion and activism amongst the workforce that the tanners lacked.⁶³ But changing fashions, principally the shift from fur, initially to 'stuff' and

then to silk hats, led to the industry's decline in Bermondsey in the second half of the 19th century. One of the most enduring firms was Messrs Christy & Co, reputed to be the biggest hat manufacturer in the world in 1841, which had premises on the east and west sides of Bermondsey Street.⁶⁴

Sundry other trades were also the beneficiaries of the tanning industry. The horns were sold to comb-makers and for the manufacture of knife handles, etc. The spent tan was made into 'turfs' and used for fuel or manure, and lime was likewise sold as manure or to the building industry for use in foundations. The discarded hide was used for glue manufacture. The sale of by-products represented to some tanners a not inconsiderable proportion of their profits. The leather industry thus sustained a plethora of associated trades as well as broader commercial activities in the district.

In the riverside area of the parish much of the commercial and industrial activity continued to be associated with ship- and boat building and other maritime trade during the Georgian period. It is likely that there were connections with adjoining or nearby riverside districts as much as with the western part of the parish, most particularly with the naval dockyards at Deptford and Woolwich, and other private yards in Rotherhithe. Various tradesmen, including granary-keepers, wharfingers, rope- and sail-makers, anchorsmiths, coopers, and mast- and block-makers, jostled for space with the boat builders on the crowded river front. By the mid 19th century St Saviour's Dock was lined by wharfs and workshops and the area also contained several paper and lead mills. Such was the diversity of activity within Bermondsey by 1841 that one commentator claimed 'that a greater variety of trades and manufactures are carried on in the parish, than in any other throughout the kingdom'.⁶⁵

Throughout the 18th century, a large area in the south east part of the parish remained in agricultural use as grazing land and market gardens (in 1792 Lysons noted 110 acres of garden ground, as well as grasslands occupied by cow-keepers).⁶⁶ Such agricultural districts on the periphery of the metropolis were necessary to keep the capital's population supplied with fresh produce. But, as *The Builder* commented in 1855, these market gardens 'although pleasant to the eye, are dangerous to the health', ascribing the relatively high death rate among the comparatively few inhabitants to insanitary housing conditions and polluted water supplies. Apparently the watercourses were contaminated not only by 'the matters which passed from the closets, the vegetables, dust and dead cats', but, in the case of a ditch on Blue Anchor Lane (Southwark Park Road), the waste from a nearby chemical manufactory.⁶⁷

However, during the 19th century Bermondsey shifted from being an area of food production to one of food processing, partly as a consequence of its close proximity to the imported foodstuffs arriving at wharves lining Tooley Street to the north. One early example being Bryan Donkin's factory, established in Grange Road from 1811, which utilised the then relatively new process of tinning food.⁶⁸ Towards the latter part of the century food and drink manufacturers abounded in the area, included Sarson's Vinegar Factory at the north end of Tower Bridge Road and Hartley's Jam Factory at the south. The most extensive premises belonged to Peak, Frean & Co, established in 1866 in Drummond Road after moving from Dockhead.

Dissent, education and places of resort

The developing suburbs of Georgian London were often strongholds of religious dissent. Many Nonconformist sects found an eager audience for their reforming rhetoric amongst the concentration of semi-educated, self-taught and self-confident artisans in these peripheral

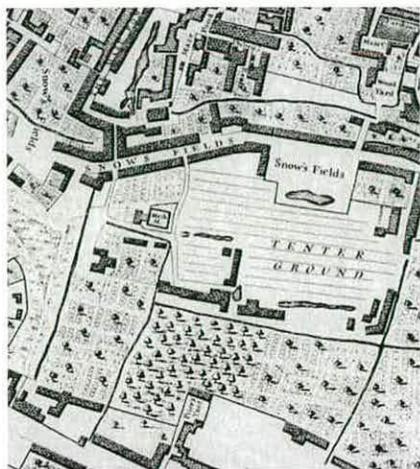


Fig. 20 – Map of 1746 showing the Meeting House on Snow's Fields (J. Rocque, Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and Borough of Southwark, 1746).

districts. There was a number of dissenting congregations in Bermondsey (and Southwark) from the 17th century. Preaching took place in a barn near Jamaica House and within the precincts of the old Abbey buildings. In 1725 as much as a third of the population of Bermondsey was classified as nonconformist, including Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers (who had a burial ground on Long Lane but no meeting in the parish).⁶⁹ In 1736 a Meeting House was erected in Meeting-house Walk, Snows Fields by Sayer Rudd. The building passed into the hands of John Wesley in 1743, and was marked as 'Meth M.' on Rocque's map of 1746 (fig. 20), but twenty years later a schism occurred and Wesley was excluded from the meeting house, forcing him to erect another building nearby on what became Crosby Row. This division within the sect was a great blow to Wesley as 'it occasioned him a loss of no less that six hundred of his members'.⁷⁰ In 1804, Joanna Southcott, the religious prophet, had held a 'three day trial' at Neckinger House during which she

sought to persuade her sceptics of her authenticity.⁷¹

Bermondsey also proved to be fertile ground for obscure religious sects such as the Muggletonians, who had a meeting at Barnaby (Bermondsey) Street in the mid 18th century. This radical and secretive sect grew out of the religious vortex around Ranting, Quakerism and egalitarianism in the 1650s but never achieved a mass following with no more than about 240 members in the 18th century.⁷² It scorned permanent places of worship, as it had no preachers or church-appointed intermediaries, and its meetings took place in individual houses and public houses. The sect pursued a vigorous publishing policy and its members, many of them women, consisted almost entirely of tradesmen, artisans and the less affluent, mostly London-based.

The availability of cheaper and more plentiful sites on the urban periphery drew many charitable organisations to build new premises in the Georgian period. In Southwark the best known was perhaps Bethlem Hospital, which relocated to St George's Fields from Moorgate in 1807, but certain pioneering educational establishments were also founded here. These included a school founded *circa* 1800 by Joseph Lancaster on Borough Road, the germ of the later British & Foreign Schools Society, where non-sectarian teaching was conducted. In Bermondsey the first deaf-and-dumb school in the country was set up in 1792, on Grange Road, also the location of a Free School, founded by Josiah Bacon, that opened in 1718.

The outlying regions of the capital were also home to pleasure grounds, tea gardens and other places of entertainment for Londoners, and Bermondsey was no exception, tanning smells notwithstanding. The meadows and garden grounds of the parish provided a suitably pastoral setting, within a reasonable travelling distance of London Bridge, for those city dwellers with the time and money to spend on such leisure activities. Bermondsey's best known attraction was its spa, opened *c.* 1765 as a pleasure ground and tea garden (fig. 21) by an artist called Thomas Keyse. The pleasure gardens were laid out on what Keyse characterised as 'a mere wilderness piece of waste ground', comprising some 3-4 acres of land traversed by a canal, close to the River Neckinger (on the south side of Grange, later Spa, Road).⁷³ In 1770 it became a spa, following the discovery of a 'chalybeate spring', by which time its attractions

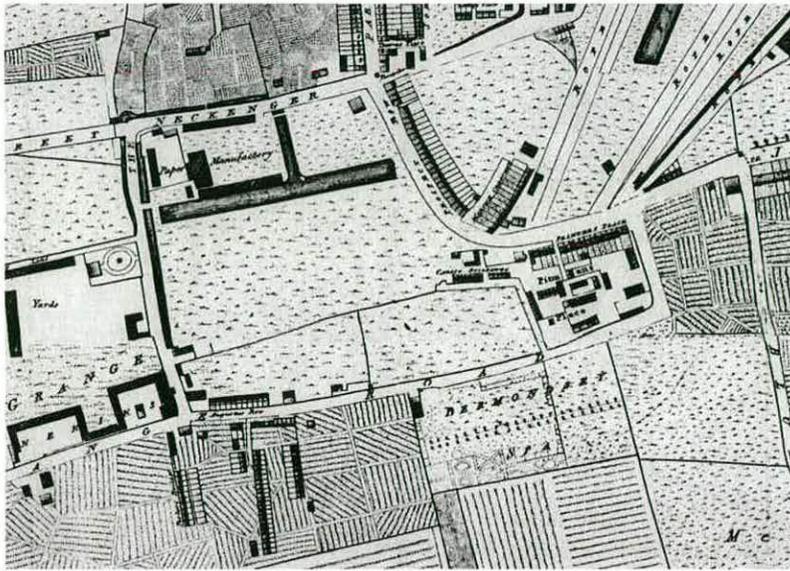


Fig. 21 – Bermondsey Spa in 1813 (R Horwood, Plan of London, 1813).

joining field. These performances continued until the 1790s, and the Spa struggled on for a short time after Keyse's death in 1800. In 1806 the ground was sold for building and the Spa House, a typically modest-looking building (fig. 22), was demolished in 1828.⁷⁴

Bermondsey Spa was compared favourably by some commentators to Vauxhall, one even going so far as to say 'no place in the vicinity of London can afford a more agreeable evening's entertainment', although it was acknowledged that 'it is not easy to paint the elegance of this place, situated in a spot where elegance, among people who talk of *taste*, would be little expected'.⁷⁵

The remoteness of the Spa from rival places of entertainment, Keyse calculated, would provide him with 'a comfortable piece of livelihood'.⁷⁶ But its isolation, at nearly two miles from London Bridge, was not without its disadvantages. The journey to the spa could be perilous, especially after dark, when thieves (or highwaymen) might be active, obliging Keyse to advertise that 'for the security of the public the road is lighted and watched by patrols every night, at the sole expense of the proprietor'.⁷⁷



Fig. 22 – Bermondsey Spa House in the late-18th or early-19th century.

had expanded to include a gallery displaying Keyse's own works. Although spas reached their peak of fashionability in the second quarter of the 18th century they retained their popularity throughout the century. In 1784 Keyse obtained a license for music, in the fashion of more well-established pleasure gardens such as Vauxhall. During the summer, music was performed in a purpose-built stand, and on Grand Nights pyrotechnical displays took place, including re-creations of the siege of Gibraltar, complete with a sham fortress in an ad-

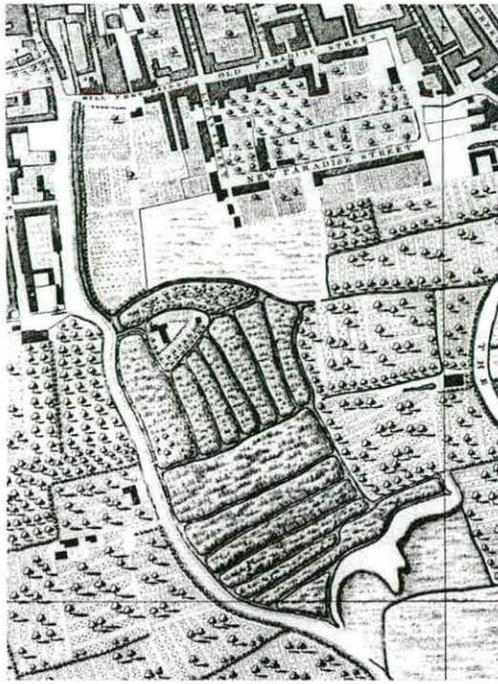


Fig. 23 – ‘Seven Islands’, Rotherhithe in 1746 (J. Rocque, Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and Borough of Southwark, 1746).

Just beyond the parish boundary (to the east of present day Southwark Park) was another watery attraction, the inaccurately titled ‘Seven Islands’ (fig. 23), originally developed to work a flour mill in Rotherhithe. This feature contained many islands, several rented out as gardens and ornamented with fanciful summer-houses, and a public tea-garden, although the tea house burnt down in 1799.

Housing from 1700 to 1830

In 1708 Bermondsey had perhaps about 1,500 houses,⁷⁸ unevenly distributed around the parish. In 1739 the number of houses had allegedly risen to 2,111,⁷⁹ reaching 3,137 inhabited houses by 1801 and 4,918 by 1831.⁸⁰ This represents steady but unspectacular growth in comparison to the rapid expansion that occurred in the mid-to-late 19th century when the number of houses doubled, reaching 10,629 by 1871.⁸¹ However, these numbers do not include the rebuilding of older houses, which would have accounted for a significant proportion of local building activity. The building cycles are likely to

have followed patterns north of the river, with a burst of building in the first three decades of the 18th century, reaching a peak around 1725.⁸² In Bermondsey the number of houses increased by perhaps 611 between 1708 and 1739, with approximately one third being added between 1732 and 1739.⁸³

In the 1740s a combination of financial and political crises contributed to a significant decline in new building, but in later decades there were typical cycles, with activity reaching another peak in the 1760s, followed by down turns in the 1770s probably related to a financial crisis in 1772 and the American war in 1778. Between 1739 and 1792 the number of houses in Bermondsey increased by around 989, a slightly reduced rate than the earlier decades.⁸⁴ During the war with France building activity in the capital seems to have continued, fuelled by increased demand, albeit under increased difficulty (as the war affected timber imports from the Baltic). In Bermondsey, where the leather industry benefited from the conflict, the housing stock continued to increase by about 350 houses between 1792 and 1811.⁸⁵

From 1811 the number of new houses boomed (913 between 1811-1821; 640 between 1821-31 and 756 between 1841-51) although development was not yet of the scale of the later part of the 19th century when the number of houses increased by over a thousand a decade.⁸⁶ This explosion of construction saw the whole parish covered with buildings, as the remaining pasture and grass lands, noted by commentators in the 1840s, finally disappeared under brick.

Land Ownership

In the medieval period almost the entire lands of the parish had belonged to the Abbey, after the Dissolution passing firstly to the Crown and then in 1608 to Robert Cecil, the first Earl of Salisbury.⁸⁷ This ownership was commemorated in Salisbury Street and Salisbury Court in the riverside district. Towards the end of the 17th century the second Earl of Salisbury sold off major portions of the land, resulting in a fragmentation of land ownership and Bermondsey

lost the chance of a more coherently planned development that single ownership might have been imposed.

Portions of the riverside holdings were bought in the early 1700s by members of the Steavens family, apparently then engaged in the timber business.⁸⁸ By the middle of the 18th century further purchases had created a substantial estate which included property in Rotherhithe and in the parish of St John Horselydown. In 1759 the Steavens estate came under the control of James West (1703-1772) through his wife, Sarah Steavens, the daughter of Sir Thomas Steavens. West held the post of Secretary to the Treasury and was a noted antiquary, the property in Bermondsey and Rotherhithe providing him with the wealth to accumulate the 'marvellous library and curiosities of all kinds' that he gathered in his town house in Covent Garden.⁸⁹ West married Sarah Steavens in 1738, the year of her father's death, and apparently acted on behalf of her brother Thomas, the heir to the family estate, described as West's ward in various estate papers.⁹⁰ Following Thomas's death in 1759 the estate passed to Sarah, who managed it with her husband until his death in 1772, and by herself until her own death in 1799. Although substantial parts of the estate were sold in 1821, a large portion, mainly lands to the south of Southwark Park Road, continued to be held by the West family until 1960.

At its greatest extent, the West/Steavens estate included a considerable proportion of the parish. By the early 19th century their lands stretched from Rotherhithe Wall on the river to below Grange Road, and included the site of Bermondsey Spa and the Neckinger Mills.⁹¹ The southern portion of the estate, below Grange Road and Long Lane, stretched to the parish boundary and parts of the Abbey site were also in their possession. In 1768 their holdings in Bermondsey and Rotherhithe, valued at £10,000, comprised 100 messuages, 100 gardens, 40 stables, 200 warehouses, 200 acres of land, 100 acres of meadow and 100 acres of pasture.⁹² At this time the income received from the river and land divisions was roughly equal in amount (over £900 for each district in 1752), but not in source, the rental from the land side being predominantly from land whilst the river side was almost entirely houses.⁹³ This would have changed as the century progressed, as the southern areas became increasingly developed. If the pattern of land ownership in Bermondsey between the 17th and 19th centuries can be said to have resembled a jigsaw, then the West/Steavens Estate represents the largest (and best documented) piece. Many of the smaller pieces remain largely missing.

The form of development



Fig. 24 19th century drawing of buildings on Long Lane, probably the north side (English Heritage, NMR, BB99067771).

In 1935 it was noted that information concerning the structure and planning of early houses in Bermondsey was very scanty, and this remains the case today.⁹⁴ However, a considerable amount of visual material exists giving an indication of how a wide variety of the residential buildings in the parish looked in the 19th century (fig. 24). Such records were made for various purposes. There was a strong antiquarian interest in the surviving remnants of ‘Old London’,

from the carefully observed early-19th - century topographical drawings of J C Buckler (a local resident), to the photographs of Henry Dixon taken from the 1870s onwards. Whilst various campaigning and reforming bodies, including journals such as *The Builder* and philanthropic organisations such as Charterhouse-in-Southwark, sought out examples of shoddy building and insanitary development to record for their own purposes (fig. 25).

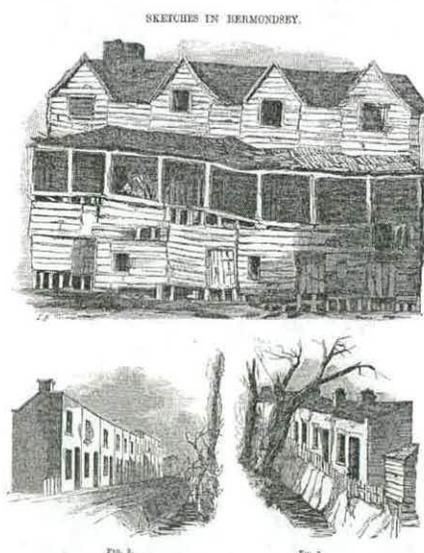


Fig. 25— Insanitary buildings in Bermondsey. (*The Builder*, 21st April 1855, 183).

A significant proportion of building activity in Bermondsey in the Georgian period would have been taken up with the replacing of older houses. Piecemeal rebuilding would have been necessitated by the prevalence of timber construction before the 18th century, wood generally being less robust than brick, and the poor quality of workmanship resulting from

short building leases, terms of 31 or 41 years being commonplace during the 17th century.⁹⁵ Rebuilding occurred along Bermondsey Street throughout the 18th century, although a considerable amount of earlier housing remained standing until at least the 1830s, as recorded by Buckler and George Scharf. One-off replacement of properties was probably the norm, as at Nos 134-5 Bermondsey Street, a single property in multiple occupation rebuilt as two houses in 1788 (and again in 1854).⁹⁶ In the second quarter of the 19th century the pace of rebuilding intensified, some of it on a larger scale, as for example at Nos 124-130 Bermondsey Street, constructed in 1828. The front of the parish church was also transformed at this time and the adjoining rectory rebuilt in 1828.⁹⁷ By 1868 it was noted that the appearance of Bermondsey Street had been greatly transformed, attributed to ‘fires on the one hand, and new houses on the other’.⁹⁸



Fig. 26 – Nos 5-11 Grange Walk in 1967 (photograph by Ken Gravett; English Heritage, NMR).

There is little now standing to give an impression of how Bermondsey would have looked in the early 18th century except perhaps for a group of houses at the west end of Grange Walk (fig. 26). Nos 5-11 are an attractive assemblage of four gable-fronted houses, the westernmost, Nos 5-7, retaining fragments of the Abbey gatehouse behind their stuccoed facades, and a row of three more regularly arranged, brick-fronted residences, the whole group deriving from the late 17th century. A similar juxtaposition of the ‘polite’ and the ‘vernacular’ survived until the mid 20th century a short distance to the east, at Nos 63-67 Grange Walk. Here a large subdivided 17th century house (demolished) stood next to a red-brick dwelling, No. 67, dating from the

early 18th century (extant).

But the demand for houses necessitated expansion into previously unbuilt areas of Bermondsey, part of the remorseless outward expansion of the metropolis. During the second half of the 18th century the development of south London was given considerable impetus by the formation of new roads and the construction of Westminster Bridge (opened 1750) and Blackfriars Bridge (1760-9). The most concentrated growth occurred to the south west of Bermondsey on St George's Fields, although the nearby villages of Newington and Walworth were also under development as genteel suburbs at this time. St George's Fields was in some ways the best candidate for development, its open marshy fields being a *tabula rasa* on which the major landowner, the Bridge House Estate (administered by the Corporation of London), could promote the creation of a new transport infrastructure to open

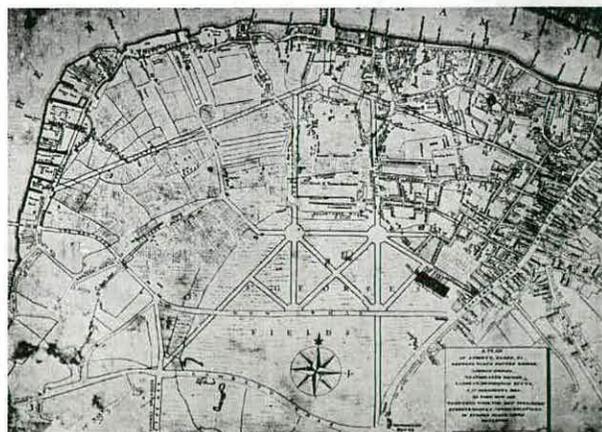


Fig. 27 – Suggested layout of new roads across St Georges Fields, 1768 (Survey of London, vol 25 St Georges Fields (London 1955)).

it up to new building.⁹⁹ Although this was not accomplished on the elaborate scale envisaged in one scheme of 1768, with a criss-cross of roads across the area (fig. 27), and five circuses where they intersected, it did retain some elements of higher-status Georgian developments, with terraces of speculatively built houses radiating out from St George's Circus.¹⁰⁰

Expansion was also occurring along Kent Street (the Old Kent Road) and its environs, facilitated by the opening of a new thoroughfare, the New Kent Road, built under an Act of Parliament of 1751. The street, which ran to the Elephant and Castle, was graciously wide (42 feet), and was provided with several grand terraces. The most notable was The Paragon of 1789-90, a crescent of semi-detached houses designed by Michael Searles for the Rolls Estate and characterised by a 'strict architectural regularity on a rather unusual and decorative plan'.¹⁰¹ This was more modestly mirrored to the north by Union Crescent, also dating from the late 18th century and now demolished. To the south, Surrey Square was being laid out from 1796 off the west side of the Old Kent Road. Because much of the western and northern parts of Bermondsey were already partially built up, the most suitable areas for a grander scale of development were the fields to the east of the Grange and to the south of Blue Anchor Road. In 1789 George Gwilt (Surveyor to the County of Surrey and District Surveyor for St George's Parish, Southwark) drew up plans for a new development on grounds near the Grange for Sarah West.¹⁰² This was intended to be a substantial, and relatively high status, speculation with 25 third-rate houses and 73 fourth-rate houses (both with 20ft frontages and good gardens). Gwilt proposed a semi-hexagonal arrangement, rejecting a Circus layout as too wasteful of ground. By 1790 these proposals had been modified to two streets of 27 third-rate houses and 107 fourth-rate houses (with 17ft frontages), increasing the number of buildings at the expense of the more gracious layout.

Piecemeal, or *ad hoc* development was more typical in Bermondsey during the 18th century, also characteristic of other less affluent suburbs such as Hoxton, Bethnal Green or Deptford. This did not conform to the 'polite' model of Georgian housing, as represented by uniform standardised brick-built, Palladian-style terraces or squares. Instead the new developments were of a less regular arrangement, built singly or in short rows, with varying frontages, rooflines and building heights that freely mixed elements of the vernacular and the polite in their façades. Even quite large speculations, such as the row of twenty-one houses built on

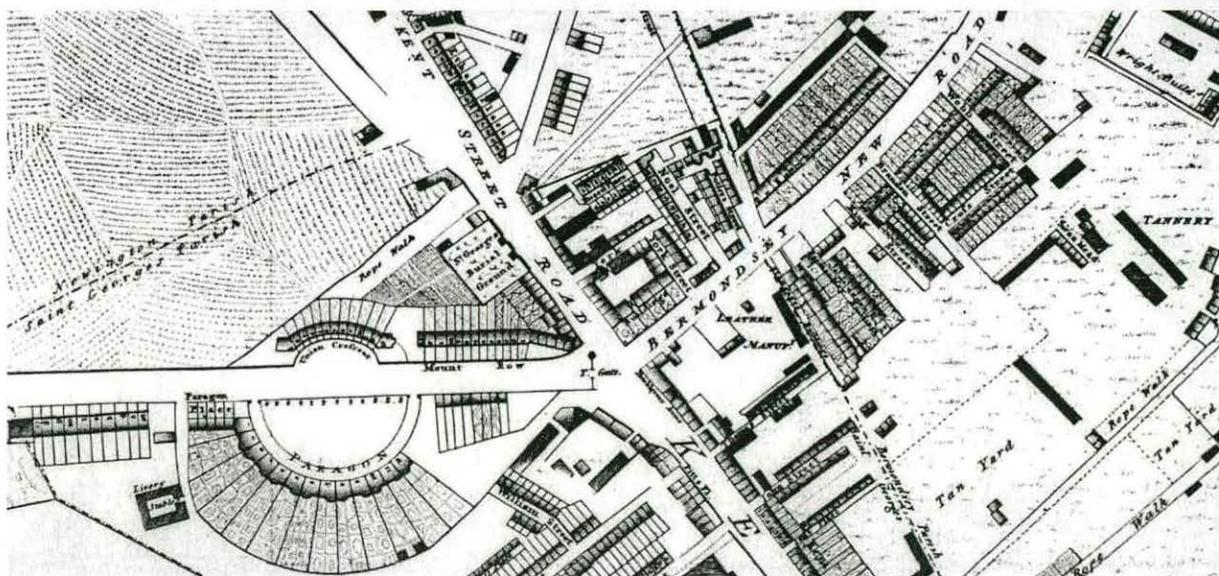


Fig 28 – New Kent Road and Bermondsey New Road in 1813 (R Horwood, Plan of London, 1813).

the west side of Bermondsey New Road (now Tower Bridge Road) between 1780 and 1793 were built in this way. The properties had relatively modest frontages of between 15-16ft, except for two double-fronted houses of 30ft at the south end, and the terrace was set well back from the road with generous gardens to the front and rear. Although a superior development by 18th century Bermondsey standards, the terrace represents a very different model of gentility to the classical uniformity of Searles' Paragon, only a short distance to the south (fig. 28).

The type of small-scale developments to be found in Bermondsey would have been carried out in response to purely local factors. These might have included the opening of a Meeting House, as appears to be the case with Crosby Row (see below). This was constructed around 1763,¹⁰³ followed a short time after, between 1770 and 1773, by a short row of four or five houses to the south. It is likely that it was this group that bore the name Crosby Row, thereby giving the new lane its eventual designation. Less successful were the efforts to promote a parish church for the riverside district on part of the Steavens/West estate as, once built, 'the Ground thereabouts cannot fail of Lotting for Building'.¹⁰⁴ The proposed site was eventually used in 1829 for St James's Church, designed in 1825 by the architect James Savage.

From the early 19th century residential developments in Bermondsey are likely to have followed a more standardised pattern, as the district began sprouting the identical long rows of brown-brick terraces that could be found throughout the capital's expanding suburbs. Along Grange Road or Abbey Street such terraces were built on a larger scale, whilst others, such as Kipling Street and Nelson Street, were lined with more modest rows.



Fig. 29 – South view of London Street, Bermondsey in 1819 (Robert Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata* (London 1819)).

Bermondsey's most notorious district, Jacob's Island in the riverside district, some of the houses were of considerable age. One example being the tenement buildings on London Street, which probably dated from the 17th century and were still standing in the early 19th century (fig.29).

In the side alleys and courts the housing was of an altogether different quality, cramped mean buildings that were often shoddily built and poorly maintained, 'the proprietors of which, looking only to the cash returns, pay little attention to the drainage or cleanliness'.¹⁰⁵

Many of these meaner dwellings dated from after 1800, but in

Builders and developers

The identities of the people responsible for building activity in Bermondsey in the 18th and early 19th century are now obscure. This is partly due to the patchy survival of records, fragmented land ownership, and the character of development within the parish. The Steavons/West estate, does not appear to have employed its own architect or surveyor, unlike the adjoining Rolls estate. Although Sarah West did seek advice in 1789-90 from George Gwilt about a larger-scale housing scheme this seems not to have been typical of the estate's development in this period. More usual perhaps was the development of a parcel of Steavons/West land, bounded by Neckinger Road and Grange (later Spa) Road, which was leased to Joseph Flight. The construction of new housing here was prompted by the laying out of what became Jamaica Road in the 1750s, but when Flight took over the land in 1765 it was still largely open fields, traversed by watercourses, with a few scattered buildings. Over the next few decades small-scale speculative development (see page) took place here although the exact nature of Flight's role is unclear.

At least one of the smaller estates, the Fendall estate near the Grange, was developed in the early 19th century by a prominent local tanner, George Choumert, who was married to a descendant of Fendall. This included the formation of Great George (now Abbey) Street. Occasionally the name of the developer is indicated by the name of the row or terrace, one such being Standiges Buildings, which extended back from the east side of Bermondsey New Road, and where the owner Robert Standige resided in the 1780s (as well as in Norwood Common).¹⁰⁶ Standige also owned a yard and wharf at the end of Stoney Lane in Southwark which also bore his name.

In London's post-Fire building boom a variety of different tradesmen were drawn to try their hand at building houses, usually undertaking one or two properties at a time. At this time the designation builder might encompass the roles of surveyor, designer, contractor and construction manager. Many of the builders are likely to have been local men such as Gabriel Arnold Rogers, described as a bricklayer, who lived in Crosby Row in the 1770s and 1780s. In 1777 he insured two houses in Walworth with the Sun Insurance Fire Office¹⁰⁷ and then a house in Charlotte Row, Walworth and three houses in Doctors Common in 1782.¹⁰⁸ It is possible that Rogers was involved in the development of Crosby Row, although he was only resident here by 1777, and the terrace of houses (now Nos 19-27 Crosby Row) was apparently built between 1770 and 1773.¹⁰⁹

Other Bermondsey builders such as the carpenter William Bottomley ventured further afield, taking leases on four plots in Hackney Terrace, Hackney, in the 1790s.¹¹⁰ His involvement perhaps came through some prior association with the designer of the Terrace, William Felloses, a Southwark-based surveyor and architect.

Regulation and Building Materials

From 1667 to 1774 a succession of Acts regulated new building in London, much of the legislation being aimed at reducing fire risk through the use of brick or stone, and restricting encroachments on to the roads. From 1707 Bermondsey was covered by the Metropolitan Building Acts, which banned timber dwellings, but the lack of enforcement ensured that, like other less prosperous suburban districts of London, timber house construction endured in Bermondsey well into the 18th century. The cheapness and availability of wood had always

made it the preferred material for building houses and in the first half of the 18th century timber-



Fig. 30 – Timber-framed construction visible in the front room, second floor, No. 76 Bermondsey Street (English Heritage, BB000118).

ber-framed construction was probably still widespread as, for example, at Nos 72-4 Bermondsey Street, which retain timber-framed walls behind brick fronts (fig. 29). As the century progressed brick came to be preferred for better quality housing, although timber construction still persisted for humbler dwellings such as Calico Buildings (demolished), erected off Prospect Row (now Old Jamaica Road) probably in the late 18th century.

The Building Act of 1774 sanctioned seven rates or classes of buildings, specifying building materials, wall thicknesses, etc, and established district surveyors to oversee its enforcement. The Act appears not to have covered the alleys and courts in which Bermondsey abounded. However, after 1774 new timber-built houses fronting onto streets or roads would not in theory have been permitted, although how effective the enforcement of the Act was in the latter part of the 18th century remains unclear. The shift from timber to brick during the 18th century may have been related to cost, availability of materials, and changing notions of respectability, as much as respect for legislation. Because the Act exempted certain industrial premises, including those of carriers, fellmongers and tanners, from its control, timber construction remained commonplace for non-domestic buildings in Bermondsey well into the 19th century.¹¹¹

Road Improvement Acts became increasingly common in the latter half of the 18th century, and may have had some impact on the character of certain developments. For example, an attempt to enforce a minimum distance of 60ft between buildings on certain new roads in Bermondsey was made in 1791, requiring that no new building should be erected within 10ft of the road side (if the road was 40ft wide) or within 30ft of the road (if it was less than 40ft wide).¹¹²

PLAN TYPES

Because of the paucity of surviving information for Bermondsey proper this section includes references to buildings in neighbouring Rotherhithe and Southwark. As house-builders were operating within a localised market at this time it is highly likely that equivalent examples of certain plan types, no longer extant, were also to be found in Bermondsey.

One-room-plan houses



Fig. 31 - No. 61 Hopton Street in 1927 (*English Heritage, NMR, B001525*)

One of the most common types of housing in Bermondsey (as elsewhere in London) throughout the 18th century and into the 19th century was the one-room-plan house, of two or three storeys. The meanest of these formed the miserable dwellings ‘huddled around small courts and yards and separated here and there by narrow alleys and passages’ noted in a Paving Act of 1765.¹¹² This description refers to the environs of Bermondsey Street, Snowsfields and Kent Street, but such buildings were also present in the riverside area of the parish, where the often low-lying terraces were liable to flooding. However, during the 18th century one-room-plan houses were not limited to the back alleys but could also be found along the main streets. Such dwellings would have been considered as thoroughly acceptable accommodation for artisans or small tradesmen, one example being the three-storey brick-built row of perhaps eight dwellings on Long Lane (the sole survivor being No 89). Another example being No. 61 Hopton Street in Southwark (figs 31, 35). However the respectability of this type

of accommodation seems to have declined in the latter half of the 18th century. New construction of one-room-plan houses was generally limited to the poorer end of the residential market by the early 19th century.

The meaner housing in the alleys and courts was typically comprised of shoddily constructed brick or timber rows of small ‘one up one down’ houses, separated by a narrow passage containing a central drainage channel. The names given to these alleys or rows were sometimes derived from the owner or developer, for example Mistear's

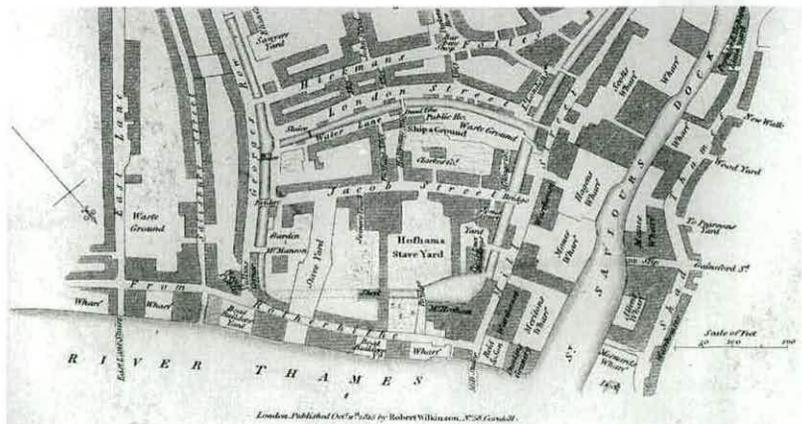


Fig. 32 – The riverside district, including Hinkman's Folly, in 1813 (*Robert Wilkinson, Londina Illustrata (London 1819)*).

Rents and Sparricks Row, or from usage or local associations, such as Calico Buildings (at the site of a former calico works). Unsurprisingly, no examples of this humbler type of dwelling appear to have survived beyond the mid 20th century. Some of the concentrations of alleys or courts were swept away after being designated as insanitary areas under the 1890 Public Health (London) Act. Although most of the dwellings that were cleared had been built after 1800, some were older, as, for example, the area around Hinkman's Folly in the riverside district, which was already partially developed by the 1740s (fig. 32). The cramped and squalid conditions of Hinkman's Folly, were recalled by a former resident thus:

'Two rows of these two-roomed "houses" flanked a courtway paved with flagstones about 10ft (3m) wide. At the back was a yard quite 3ft (0.9m) wide, where reposed the dust pail, impedimenta, clothes line and lavatory. To enter the house was simplicity itself. No front garden or gates to negotiate, one just stepped up to the door ... and entered, taking care you did not knock your head on the framework. And there you were straightaway in the combined reception-drawing-living-scellery-kitchen-and-extra-bedroom. A very convenient arrangement which saved a lot of walking and housework. Opposite the fireplace you opened what appeared to be a cupboard door and ascended the stairs to the remaining room overhead. The steps rising in front of your nose were placed conveniently for putting one's hands on in order to assist the ascent, rendering handrails unnecessary. In the room itself the floor space still remaining was very sensitive to touch, and care was necessary in treading lest the vibrations displaced the cups from their nails in the room below'.¹¹³



Fig. 33— Nos 72-80 Colombo Street in the early 20th century (English Heritage, NMR).

Other evidence of the internal arrangement of one-room plan dwellings includes the records of a row of five cottages at Nos 72-80 Colombo Street (originally Green Walk), Southwark made by the Survey of London and the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, before their demolition in the late 1930s.¹¹⁴ These late 17th century or early 18th century timber-framed and weatherboarded cottages (fig.33, 35) were of two storeys with attics, with a room on each level and a lean-to scullery at the back. The cottages, which had frontages of around 15ft, were built as mirrored pairs, with shared party-wall chimney stacks, each having a winder staircase tucked in behind the chimney to the rear of the building. When recorded, No 78 retained part of the original stair balustrade, which had a moulded handrail and turned balusters, while several buildings in the row had battened doors and ceilings with exposed

beams. Such elements of ornamental finish indicate that these cottages would not have been poor housing when first built.



Fig. 34— No. 89 Long Lane (English Heritage, AA004706)

A later example of a 'respectable' type of one-room-plan house is the row of possibly eight houses at the west end of Long Lane, corresponding with Nos 83-93 Long Lane in the modern numbering sequence although some of these plots are now empty of buildings. Here the location, fronting one of the main thoroughfares and only a short distance from Borough High Street, might have given additional status. This row of buildings was built between 1682 and 1746. A survey of 1833 show them all to be roughly square in plan with varying frontages of perhaps 15ft (4.5m) or 17ft (5.1m). No 89 is the only building to retain sufficient of its original fabric (fig. 34) to indicate a one-room plan house, 17ft by 19ft (5.1m by 5.7m), heated by a stack in the west party wall (see below). As late as the 1830s these properties were described as houses, indicating that although some commercial activity may have occurred within, they were still primarily domestic.

No. 74 Bermondsey Street, a similarly sized property with a frontage of 17½ft (5.2m) and a return of 19½ft (5.8m) dating from the 18th century, also has what is essentially a one-room plan (see below). The survival of some of its interior features provides precious evidence of its original layout (figs 38, 47). The building has the usual arrangement of a side stack and rear corner winder stair but more interestingly the rear parts of the rooms were partitioned to form closets or bed alcoves, back to back cupboards and stair landings. Given the poor survival rate of this type of house in Bermondsey, and indeed elsewhere in London, it is impossible to say if this represents a one-off variant or a once common layout.

More typical of the humbler type of three-room courtyard or alley house, was Mistear's Rents off Rotherhithe Street. This comprised two terraces of twelve houses divided by a 10ft 6in (3.1m) wide passage, named for the owner of a riverside shipyard, and presumed to have been erected around 1800 for the yard workers.¹¹⁵ These terraces had a similar arrangement to that of Colombo Street with one room per floor and a back scullery. The upper rooms, perhaps about 11-12ft square, had no windows in the back wall, leaving the interior of the house poorly ventilated and inadequately lit. Another example of this type of housing was Adam's Gardens (also in Rotherhithe), probably built in 1793 with a ground-floor plan of 150 square feet.¹¹⁶ By this date, such dwellings were 'built principally for the occupation of mechanics, in suburbs of London, in inferior situations'.¹¹⁷

Two-room-plan houses

Plots that faced on to thoroughfares or newly formed roads were most likely to be developed with two-room plan houses in the Georgian period. As in other south London localities such as Deptford, Greenwich and Rotherhithe, these plans can be divided loosely into three types,

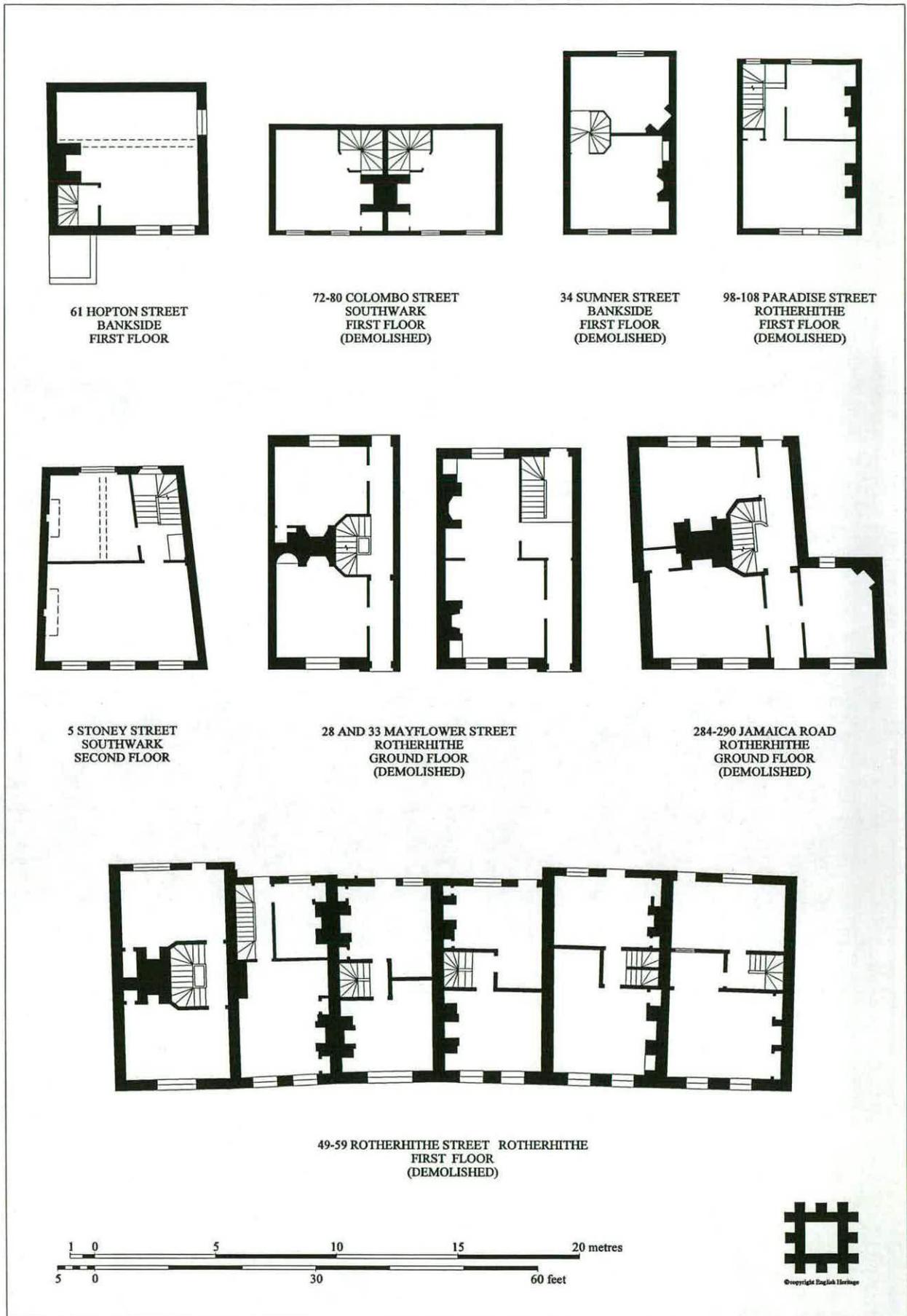


Fig. 35 Plans of late 17th-century and 18th-century houses in Rotherhithe and Southwark (omitting later additions).

those with party-wall stacks and a central stair, those with party-wall stacks and a rear stair, and those with a central chimney stack.

The second half of the 17th century was a period of great variety in domestic planning in London, given impetus by the pressing demand for housing and the rebuilding after the Great Fire of 1666 and fires in Southwark in 1667 and 1689. Contemporary commentators noted the emergence of a new 'London house' in the post-Fire reconstruction of the City and the



Fig. 36 – Ground floor of No. 55 Rotherhithe Street (London Metropolitan Archives).

high-status West End developments following the pioneering development of Covent Garden in the 1630s. This period of planning diversity continued at ever lower levels of the housing market through the 18th century, as the post-medieval urban vernacular forms of the 17th century gradually gave way to the all-conquering terrace house plan with its side stacks and rear stair that had become ubiquitous by the early 19th century. The two-room layout with a central staircase between party-wall chimneys became fashionable in late-seventeenth-century London in high-status houses.¹¹⁸ Whilst this allowed for two rooms of roughly equal size, filling the entire width of the plot at the

upper levels, the staircase compartment added length to the plan and could only be top-lit, thereby creating constructional complexity. The rear-staircase plan appears to have become the standard for higher-status central-London speculative housing by about 1720.¹¹⁹ This form offered certain advantages over the centre-stair plan, being more economical of land, because it omitted the staircase compartment between the rooms, and simpler to construct, as the staircase could be lit from windows in the rear wall. However, in lower-status houses, with a frontage of less than 17ft, the rear staircase layout allowed for only a tiny back room. The emergence of these plan types in higher-status West End developments has long been recognised, but they were also to be found along the thriving commercial thoroughfare of Borough High Street, much of it the consequence of post-fire rebuilding.

Of the two-room-plan houses in Bermondsey that have been recorded or still stand, many fall into the centre-stair type. The more common arrangement, with party-wall chimney stacks, is found at No. 148 Long Lane,¹²⁰ and at No. 210 Bermondsey Street (fig. 38). It was also present at Nos 53-7 Rotherhithe Street,¹²¹ (figs 35, 36) Nos 33-5 Farncombe Street¹²²



Fig. 37 – Nos 32-34 Sumner Street in 1927(English Heritage, NMR, AP13).

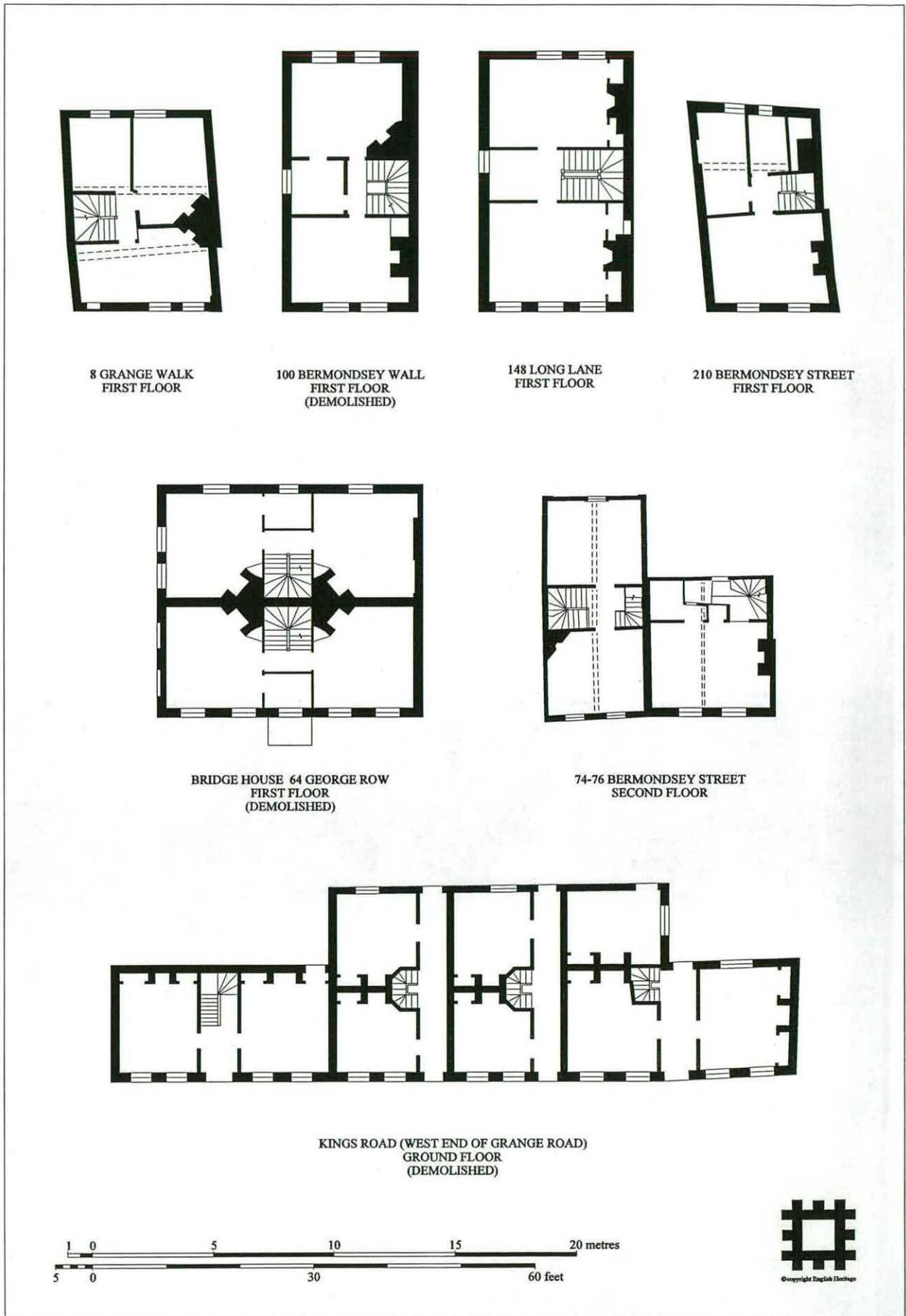


Fig. 38 Plans of late 17th-century and 18th-century houses in Bermondsey (omitting later additions).

and at Nos 35-7 Borough High Street.¹²³ The layout of No. 76 Bermondsey Street is a variant of the type, with an angle stack abutting the staircase compartment. A similar arrangement survives at Cardinal's Wharf, No. 49 Bankside,¹²⁴ and was recorded as having existed at No. 100 Bermondsey Wall (fig. 38).¹²⁵ Other variations on this theme included No. 34 Sumner Street, Southwark (demolished) (fig. 35, 37), which had a winder stair near the centre of the building, with a party-wall stack to the front room and an angled side stack to the rear room.¹²⁶ A late 17th century example survives at No. 8 Grange Walk, with back-to-back angle fireplaces opposite the stair (fig. 38).¹²⁷ The adjoining row of three houses, Nos 9-11 Grange Walk, also of late-17th -century date, appear also to have centre-stair plans.¹²⁸ Perhaps the most unusual two-room centre-stair plan to be recorded in Bermondsey was Bridge House, No 64 George Row, built c.1706 and demolished in the 1950s. This was a pair of large houses with side entrances and angle fireplaces to either side of the stair compartment making a particularly attractive plan (fig. 38).¹²⁹



Fig. 39 – Nos 292-306 Jamaica Road in 1960 (photograph by K Gravett; *English Heritage, NMR*).

Examples of the rear-staircase plan in houses dating from the early 18th century were Nos 98-108 Paradise Street, Rotherhithe (apparently a row of five houses),¹³⁰ No.304 Jamaica Road (originally New Paradise Street) (fig. 39), part of a row of perhaps four houses,¹³¹ and No. 5 Stoney Street in Southwark (fig. 35).¹³² Most of the row of houses dating from the 1770s on Crosby Row, Nos 19-25, were seemingly of this arrangement. One unusual variation was the row of four houses at No 30-34 Mayflower Street (figs 35, 40), where the stair was

placed at the front and not at the rear.¹³³

The centre-stack plan, where the front and back rooms are separated by the stack against which a staircase has been framed, has been interpreted as a transitional layout of the late 17th century although it was present on Borough High Street by around 1595.¹³⁴ It was thought that this plan type may have evolved from the vernacular 'lobby entry' plan of the post-medieval era or as an enlargement of the one-room plan.¹³⁵ An agreement of 1684 for the construction of such a lobby entrance house 'backwards near to Barnaby Street' (Bermondsey Street) exists between Thomas Markham, the owner of the land, and Henry Barrett, a carpenter.¹³⁶ This contract specified a two-storey timber building with an attic, 40ft in length and 13ft in breadth. Its layout followed a



Fig. 40 – Nos 4-36 Mayflower Street, Rotherhithe (*English Heritage, NMR, BB54/1758*).

traditional rural pattern, with a ground-floor parlour, kitchen and buttery. The main entrance

gave on to a lobby and the staircase, which was anchored to the brick chimney stacks behind, providing fireplaces to the kitchen and parlour. The occupant was a fellmonger, Henry Howkins, and, as no street address is given, it is likely that it was intended to be built away from the road, thereby allowing for the wide frontage. That the construction of a timber lobby-entry house was under consideration at this date for a site within two miles of London Bridge can be taken as a measure of London's heterogeneity.

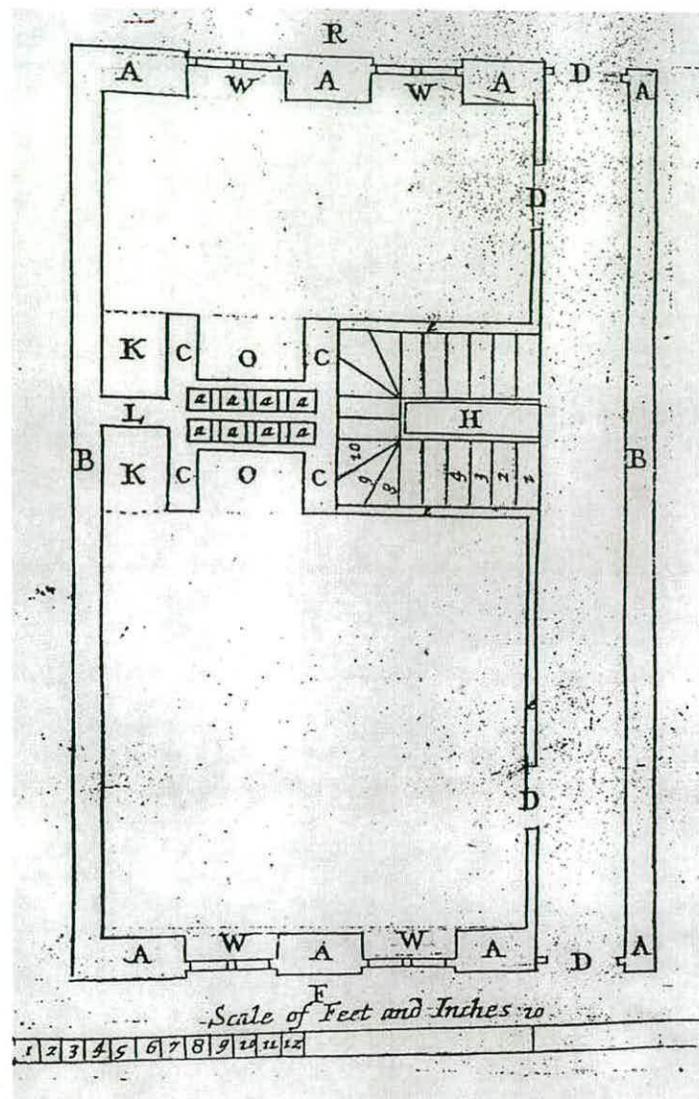


Fig. 41 – A ground-floor plan for a house (J Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, (London 1703)).

The centre-stack plan is, in essence, the lobby-entrance house turned through 90 degrees so as to present its shortest side to the street. One form of the centre-stack plan was codified by James Moxon in 1700, when he added a house plan of this type to his father Joseph's part-work *Mechanick Exercises, Or, The Doctrine of Handy-Works* (fig. 41). This publication was aimed at artisans, or 'mechanics', and it gave a straightforward account of how to build such a house. Although the plan was neither innovatory or unfamiliar it was presented as an 'ideal' for a certain

class of Londoner, whom it was presumed would have no need of Architecture as 'a Gentleman's house must not be divided as a Shopkeeper's'.¹³⁷

Moxon's plan was for a relatively large house, with a frontage of 20ft, with a passage running along the length of the party wall, an open-well, top-lit staircase, and back-to-back chimneys. Small back-to-back closets occupied the remaining space between the stack and the party wall. It had been presumed that such a plan, common in the late 17th century, had dropped out of use during the 18th century, but there are many recorded examples of the 'Moxon' type in Rotherhithe, and several in Bermondsey, dating from both the early and later years of the century. A noted example at No. 27 Mayflower Street appears to have been one of a row of four,



Fig. 42 – Nos 24-28 Cathay Street in 1941 (photograph by H Felton; *English Heritage*, NMR).

part of a terrace that also comprised rear-stair-plan houses.¹³⁸ Other early 18th century examples included Nos 22-28 Cathay Street (fig. 42),¹³⁹ No. 72 East Lane¹⁴⁰ and No. 49 Rotherhithe Street (fig. 35).¹⁴¹ There appears to be one surviving centre-stack plan in Bermondsey, at No. 53 Tower Bridge Road, dating probably from 1780s.

The popularity of the plan is paralleled in Deptford, Greenwich and Woolwich but it seems rarely to have been used north of the Thames after 1700 and would therefore appear to represent something of a local vernacular type for south London. The clear separation of front and backrooms would have suited houses in mixed domestic and commercial use, as well as those in multiple occupation, but the documentation is insufficient to determine whether these were the primary reasons for its prevalence.

A short row of four houses (demolished) that stood at the south west end of the King's Road (later Grange Road) and the junction of Star Corner appears to exemplify the development and variability of the centre-stack plan. In 1673 the land on which they stood, containing six to eight messuages or tenements, was left to St Thomas's Hospital as a charitable gift by John Wright.¹⁴² By 1695 there were two houses and a tan-yard on the land, still standing in 1711 when a repairing lease was given to Nathaniel Smith.¹⁴³ By 1737 there were three houses on the land but when the site was leased to Thomas Saloway in 1795, there were four buildings, two of which appear to have been built on the site of an earlier house.¹⁴⁴ A plan attached to the 1795 lease gives the layout of the houses, comprising two wider properties (30ft (9m) and 31ft (9.3m) frontages) flanking a pair of narrower residences (16ft (4.8m) and 15ft (4.5m) frontages) (fig. 38). Although the evidence is by no means conclusive, it would seem logical to suppose that the wider houses date from the late 17th or early 18th centuries, and that the central pair were a late 18th century rebuilding, squeezing two properties onto the site of one. The latter pair are both of the 'Moxon' type whilst the eastern property has side stacks (here at the rear of the house) and a central stair. The western property appears to be a hybrid, being essentially a 'Moxon' type plan but with a double frontage, making a three-room-plan house.

Three-room-plan houses

The arrangements of the building on King's Road appears to be a rather uneconomical use of land, leaving a space at the rear that could have been used for an additional room. It would be possible to explain away the King's Road house as a one-off but for the documentary evidence of a row of four such three-room-plan houses (with frontages of 31ft), at Nos 284-290 Jamaica Road (figs 35, 43) (originally New Paradise Street) in Rotherhithe, dating from the early 18th century.¹⁴⁵ The existence of such buildings would appear to underline the diversity of building layouts, perhaps the result of enduring local traditions, in suburban London during the 18th century.



Fig. 43 – Nos 282-284 Jamaica Road in 1960 (photograph by K Gravett, *English Heritage*, NMR).

Mixed development

In areas like Bermondsey and Rotherhithe the evidence suggests that unstandardised urban

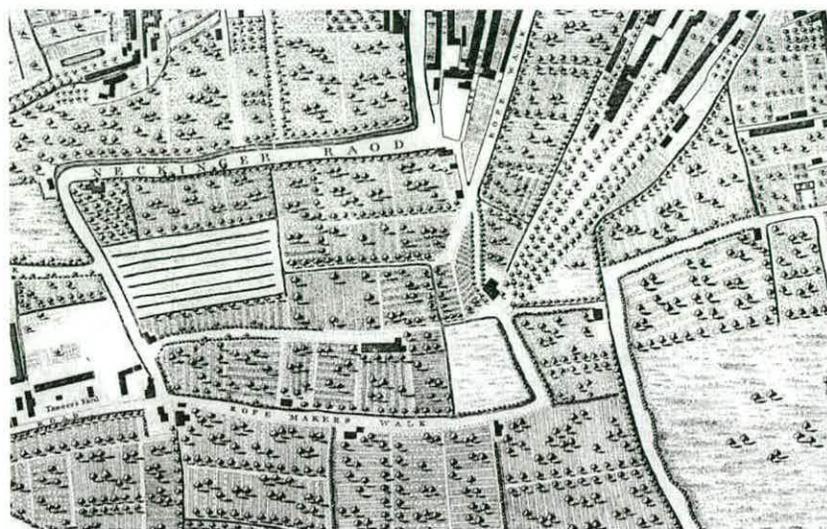


Fig. 44 - Land between the Grange and the riverside in 1746 (J. Rocque, Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and Borough of Southwark, 1746).

vernacular building practices endured throughout the 18th century. Furthermore, a great variety of buildings, of differing plan types and status level, would have coexisted within a single locality. This is illustrated by the development around Printers' Place and Prospect Row on the river side of Bermondsey. The area under discussion was at some distance from the river front, at the southern extremity of Salisbury Lane and East Lane and the adjoining rope walks, with the Neckinger Road to the north and the road from the Grange (now Spa Road) to the south (fig. 44). In the mid 18th century a new road was laid out, running east to west from Mill Pond Street to Blue Anchor Road, known as Jamaica Row (now Old Jamaica Road). This was turnpiked at the junction of Blue Anchor Road after which the roadway continued westward for a short distance before making a 90 degree turn to meet Neckinger Road. This new road cut through part of the Steavens/West estate and led to various medium-to-small scale speculative developments along or back from the road during the latter part of the 18th century (fig. 44).

In 1765 this area was still open fields with a few isolated houses, one an ale-house, along with a range of warehouses and workshops used by calico printers, and two rows of seven and five small tenements respectively.¹⁴⁶ By 1788 the new road had sprouted a row of newly-built houses on the south side, known as Printers' Place, and the piecemeal development of the east side of the road, where it returned to the north, was well underway, designated Prospect Row.¹⁴⁷

This development was complete by 1792, by which time one of the pre-existing rows of tenements, probably that known as Pitman's Place, had grown to form a straggling group. To the north-east of these were Calico Buildings, two rows of extremely modest tene-

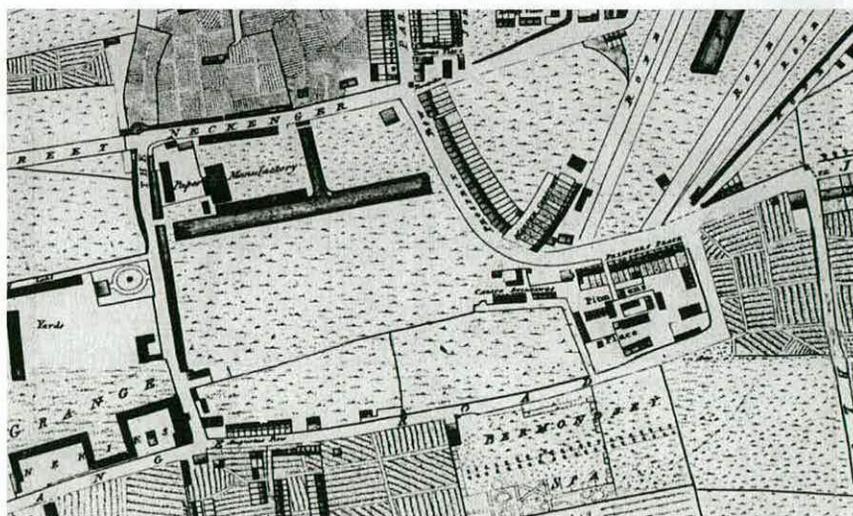


Fig. 45 - Land between the Grange and the riverside in 1813 (R Howard, Plan of London, 1813).

ments. At the south end of Prospect Row, stretching back from the road on an alignment parallel to that of the nearby rope walks, was Marine Crescent, this being a row of 13 houses.

Printers' Place and Prospect Row represented the higher status housing, fronting as they did onto the new road. In 1819 Printers' Place was made up of 12 houses, these were mainly of one type, a three-storey, brick-built dwelling of six rooms with a kitchen 'in the garden', except for a larger house at the east end containing a broker's shop on the ground floor and four rooms on the first floor.¹⁴⁸ More humble accommodation existed in the form of two brick tenements at the rear of the row, each with three rooms.¹⁴⁹ Prospect Row also presented a varied picture, comprising 25 houses seemingly of slightly differing frontages, mostly of three storeys with basements and containing six rooms. Some contained shops on the ground floor and one was a public house. When sold in 1821 the row was split into 17 lots, many formed of single buildings, others of pairs and one group of four, which may reflect how they had been originally developed.¹⁵⁰

Those developments that lay away from the road were all of a more humble character. Marine Crescent comprised a terrace of thirteen two-storey brick houses, each of four rooms with a yard containing the kitchen and washhouse. This modest, although not unrespectable, terrace was likely to have been built as a single development to a uniform pattern.¹⁵¹ Lower in status still was Pitman's Place, a row of eight brick-built tenements each containing three rooms. Around this was an assortment of small rows of a similar character.¹⁵² Lowest of all, perhaps, were Calico Buildings, two rows of eight timber-built tenements containing three rooms each, and by 1819, much dilapidated.¹⁵³

It is interesting to note the absence of any large or grand houses in the development around Printers Place, along with the persistence of timber-framed house construction away from the main road. Bermondsey did possess higher-status dwellings, dotted along Bermondsey Street, Long Lane and around the riverside area, although recorded examples such as East Hall, East Lane and Bridge House, No. 64 George Row all date from the early 18th century. Some larger-scale housing of the late Georgian period was built on the around the former Abbey and Grange lands but it would appear that Bermondsey's acceptability as a fashionably place of residence had long gone. The plentiful supply of land into the 19th century permitted residential and industrial development to continue side-by-side throughout the Georgian period. So, like the other peripheral areas around London, Bermondsey presented a diverse mixture of urban and rural, polite and vernacular, domestic and commercial until it too was swallowed up by the expanding capital to become wholly urban and eventually inner city.

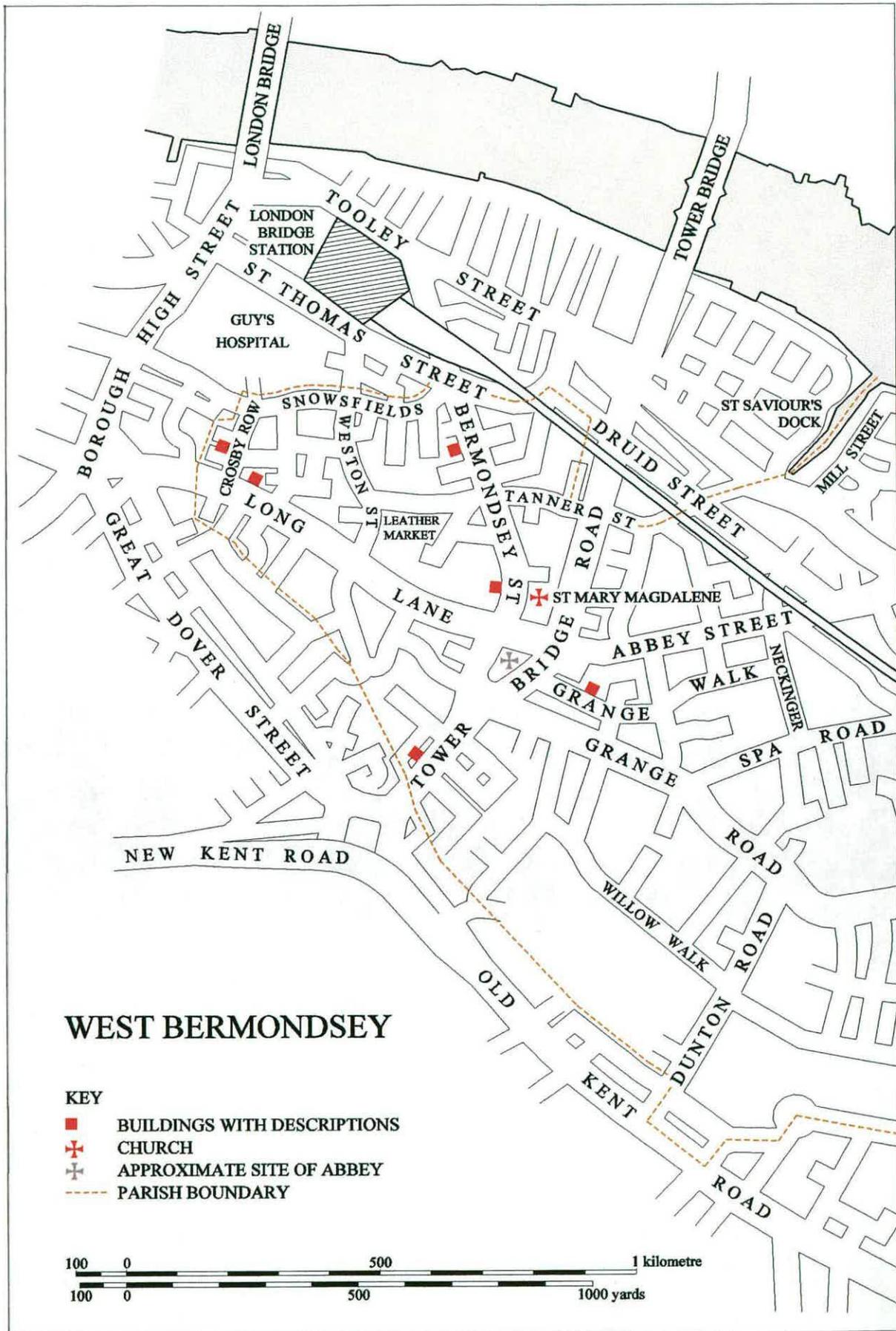


Fig. 46 – Map of west Bermondsey showing locations of the buildings surveyed (English Heritage).

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE BUILDINGS

These descriptions are the result of fieldwork that aimed to identify surviving small early housing in Bermondsey. It does not aim to be an exhaustive list of all the remaining 18th - century dwellings in the area and early fabric may survive unrecorded in other buildings.

Nos 74, 76 and 78 BERMONDSEY STREET

Grid reference: TQ 3322 7979

NBR INDEX NO: 106512

Listed grade II

These three buildings form part of a picturesque group on the west side of Bermondsey Street. The most outwardly distinctive of the group is No. 78, a wide four-storey building with a projecting weatherboarded garret, jettied first floor and pedimented oriel window, hinting at a construction date in the 17th century (fig. 47). In the 1860s this was considered to



Fig. 47 – Nos 74-78 Bermondsey Street in 1963 (photograph by H Felton; English Heritage, NMR)

be one of the oldest houses in the street, but repairs and alterations have removed all traces of the earlier building behind the façade.¹⁵⁴

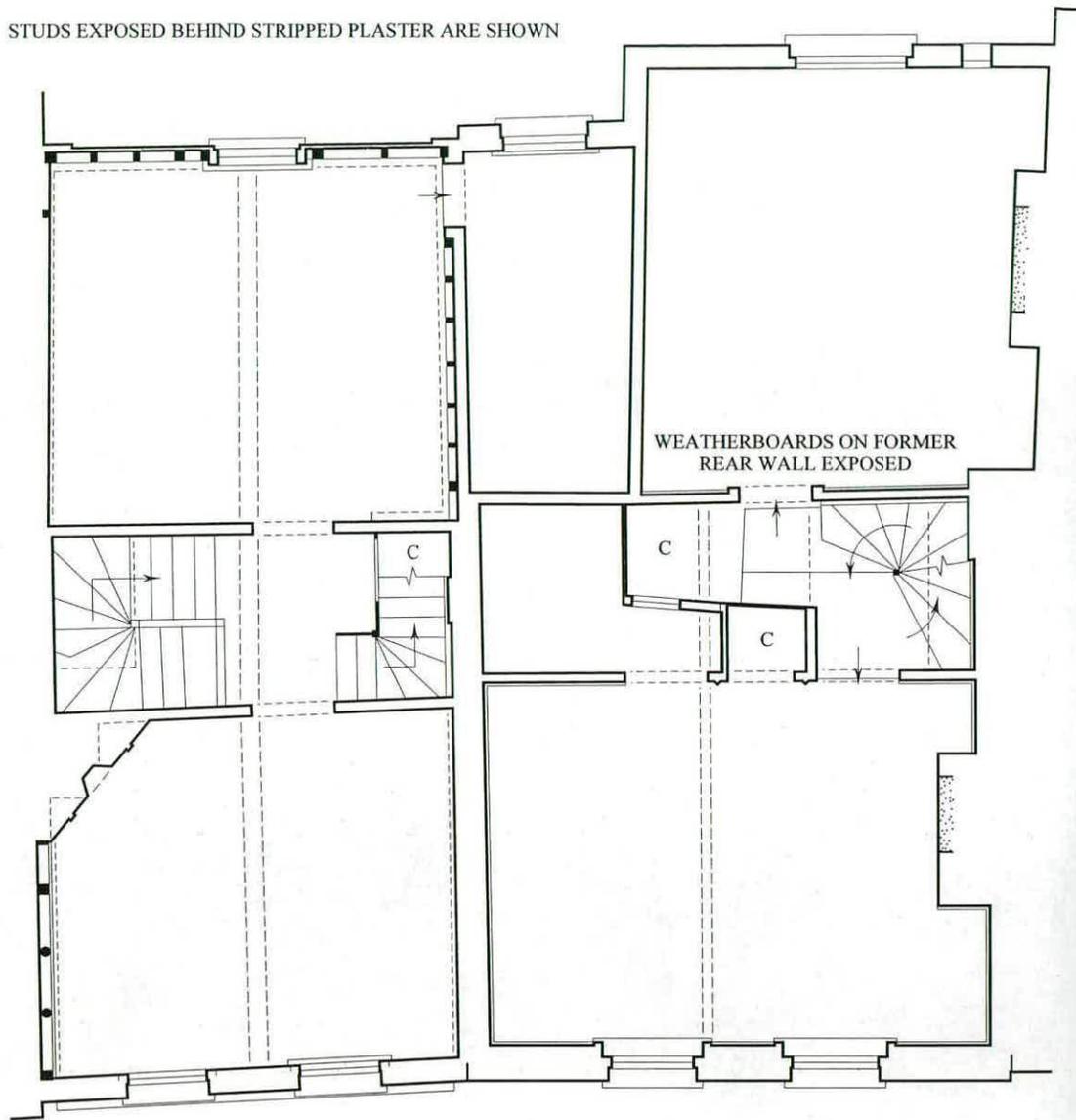
To the north of this are two narrower and shorter 18th century houses, Nos 74-76. These building would not have been the first to be erected on the site, as the block in which they stand, in modern numbering Nos 72-86, was already densely developed by the 1680s.¹⁵⁵

This section of Bermondsey Street was then bordered by a yard to the south, known as

Tyer's Yard (now Tyer's Gateway), and to the north by an entrance to an anonymous yard (later Coxhead Gateway now Carmarthen Place).

Investigation of the properties to the north of No. 78 Bermondsey Street indicated that they had been rebuilt in the 18th century. Nos 72-74 Bermondsey Street may have been constructed as a pair, with a shared chimney stack, while No 76 appears to have been built by itself. These buildings were predominantly of wooden construction and modestly sized, No. 76 being essentially a one-room plan house while No.74 had two rooms to each floor. The evidence as to when, and in what order, the rebuilding occurred, is unclear. When visited both buildings retained thin timber-framing and moulded joinery that are typical of the early 18th century but typological dating for such lower status buildings can be unreliable. The parish rates books reflect a continuous occupation of both buildings from the 1740s, from

STUDS EXPOSED BEHIND STRIPPED PLASTER ARE SHOWN



No. 76

SECOND FLOOR PLAN

No. 74



74-76 BERMONDSEY STREET
London SE1

Borough of Southwark
Surveyed October 1999
Grid reference TQ 3322 7979
Buildings index no. 106512
Drawn by A.D.

DETAIL OF ARCHITRAVE MOULDINGS
ON DOORS IN FRONT ROOM OF No 74
AT 20x SCALE

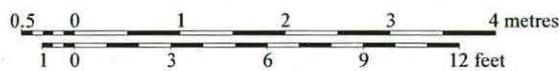


Fig.48

when a more or less continuous run of books survive. Nor is there any obvious increase in rates for No. 74 that might suggest a later rebuilding had taken place. Later subdivision of the properties, and the renumbering of the buildings make certainty difficult but it would appear that in 1775 No. 74 (possibly then No. 216) was occupied by Robert Atkinson, a cheesemonger and dealer in coals and earthenware. In 1778 Atkinson insured his building with the Sun Fire Office for £100 at which time the brick and timber dwelling was described as 'new'.¹⁵⁶ This could perhaps refer to a refronting or extension of an existing building, but such a 'late' construction date, by which time the Building Acts that banned timber dwellings were being enforced in Bermondsey, is not impossible. If the rebuilding of No. 74 did not occur until 1775-8 then it is also feasible that No 76 may date from the latter part of the century, although the date range suggested by an increase in the rates, between 1785 and 1790, would seem improbably late.¹⁵⁷

In 1813 the poor rates for Nos 74-6 (in modern numbering) were paid by David Jones on behalf of ten occupants, suggesting that the buildings were in multiple occupation. Around 1835 Nos 76-78 Bermondsey Street was subdivided, increasing the number of individual buildings in the group from four to five and requiring the renumbering of the houses.¹⁵⁸ These alterations may have been carried out for Thomas East, whose firm of Morocco leather-dressers occupied Nos 76-78 until the end of the 19th century.¹⁵⁹ At some date No. 74 also became the firm's property although the building continued in residential occupation until the 1880s, when the electoral roll described the property as being tenements. The common ownership of these properties presumably facilitated the rearrangement of space within the two buildings as the rooms from one (No. 74) were taken over by the other (No. 76) on all levels. In 1914 Nos 74-6 were functioning as houses and shops, but as the century progressed they came into industrial use; with a succession of printers and stationers in No. 74 and a scale-makers in No. 76.¹⁶⁰ In 2000 the buildings were refurbished for their current owner, Mrs Ash of Ash & Ash Converters Ltd, by the architectural practice Dransfield Owen de Silva.

Both buildings are of three storeys with brick-built fronts, rendered to the upper storeys, and later ground-floor shop fronts. The subsequent stuccoing of the front elevations have given them an early-19th-century appearance: No. 74 has a plain façade, detailed with a simple cornice band whereas No. 76 is slightly more decorated, with raised panels above and between the first-floor windows. The upper part of the façade of No. 76 has been rebuilt; it once shared a cornice and parapet with No 74 that gave the two fronts a more unified appearance.¹⁶¹ Both elevations have pairs of flat-headed windows to the upper floors, with six-pane sash windows. A large, slightly canted, window flanked by two doorways has been inserted into the ground floor of No.74, the southern doorway serving the adjoining building. The entire ground floor of No. 76 is taken up by a half-glazed shop front that extends slightly into the space of the adjoining property, No 78. These later shop fronts are the largely the consequence of the 19th-century subdivisions of the properties. Both No. 74 and No. 76 have pitched roofs, that to No.76 being higher and more steeply pitched with a dormer window at the front. No. 74 has a brick chimney stack in the north party wall at the ridge, suggesting that it may originally have been shared with No 72 and may therefore have been built as half of a pair. No. 72 has been subsequently rebuilt.

Internally both buildings retain evidence of their original layout. No. 74 was originally squarish in plan and essentially one-room deep, with a rear corner winder stair (fig. 47). No. 76 was built on a slightly more generous scale, with a two-room plan and centre stair. By the early 19th century No. 74 had been extended to the rear, making the two buildings of similar depth, although its present stepped arrangements is related to the later reworking of the prop

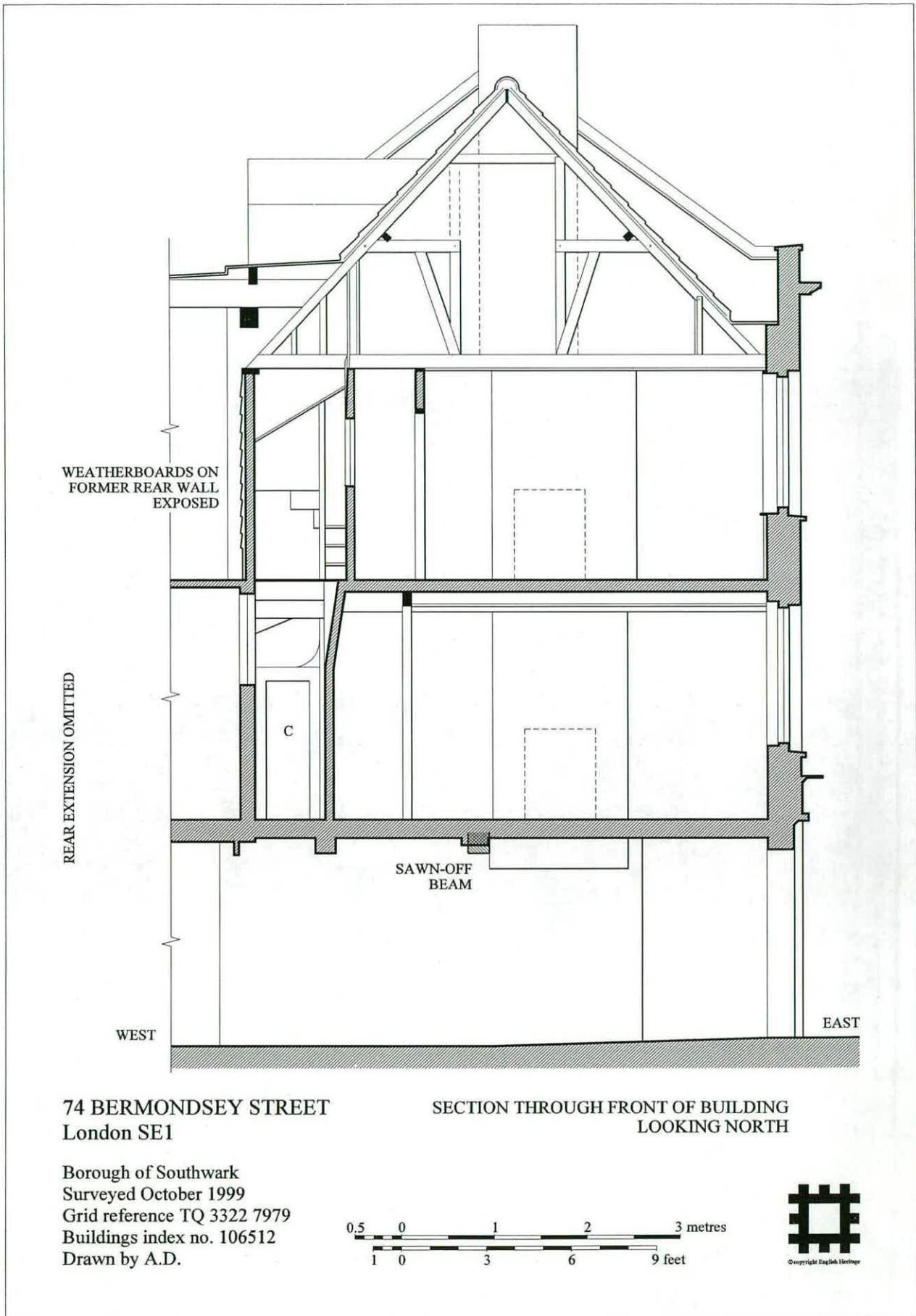


Fig.49

erty. Extensive 20th-century extensions have been constructed at the rear of both properties. The layout of No. 74 is a particularly unusual survival. The stair partition extending across the room with three doorways leading (from north to south) to the stair, to a cupboard and a small unheated back room that was just about large enough for a bed. This may have had its own cupboard behind the main room's cupboard. The original compactly formed arrangement now only survives at the upper levels, most completely on the second floor. Little of the



Fig. 50 – Weatherboarding on former rear wall, No. 74 Bermondsey Street (English Heritage, BB000104).

original joinery remains, as the building has been adapted to industrial use and has been damaged by fire. What does survive is modest in character. This includes a simple winder stair and plain door mouldings on the second floor. Heat was provided by fireplaces roughly centered in the north wall. This wall is presently of brick construction but would have presumably been timber-framed. The south wall retains crudely executed framing, incorporating reused timbers for the larger beams. Part of the timber rear wall also survives, remarkably retaining its original external weather-boarded covering at the second floor (fig.50). Examples of once commonplace form of cladding could still be found in Southwark and Bermondsey well into the 20th century but clearance and rebuilding have left no surviving examples. The attic of the building retains a simple collar-rafter roof, with four pairs of irregularly spaced principal rafters rising to a ridge piece. A modern rear dormer window, at the south end, may reflect an earlier

arrangement, perhaps continued at the lower levels in the form of a back window to light the 'back' room or bed enclosure.

Behind its rebuilt brick front, No. 76 also retains much of its timber-framing construction, and the original layout survives on the second floor. On the evidence of the present joinery and fittings the first floor seems to have undergone a substantial reworking in the mid-to-late 19th century, including the resiting of the chimney breast to the south wall and the addition of a stone chimneypiece. The north wall retains its original timber-frame, in the front room this incorporates a large crossing brace into which the light vertical studs are nailed. In the stair area there are remnants of an earlier frame sandwiched between the walls of No. 74 and No. 76. The layout of the second floor is probably the original arrangement, with the front room heated by an angle stack in the south west corner. The room also retains half panelled with boards and lath and plaster above. At this level is a twin-newel stair, probably the original, with a moulded handrail, turned column-and-vase balusters and column newel, all early-to-mid 18th century in character. The rear room, which lacks any evidence of the original heating arrangement, contains the same timber-framed construction as elsewhere. Despite a 19th century reworking of the garret it would appear to retain the original butt-purlin roof, although its

alignment has been altered at the rear. The high pitch of the roof, the dormer window and the absence of intermediate trusses suggest the space was intended for occupation although it was apparently unheated. A light well over the stairs, of 19th century construction, may reflect an earlier arrangement.

ROSE DINING ROOM, No. 210 BERMONDSEY STREET

Grid ref: TQ 3327 7944

NBR index no: 106513

Unlisted



Fig. 51 – No 210 Bermondsey Street (English Heritage, AA 020702)

This three-storey building appears to date from the early 18th century. Given its location, near the junction of Bermondsey Street and Long Lane, opposite the parish churchyard and close to the Abbey grounds, there is likely to have been something standing on this site long before the 1680s, when the earliest available maps shows the site as part of a dense mass of buildings. So concentrated was local development by this time that the buildings to the north of No. 210 (in modern numbering) extended back from the road to form a narrow court (later Stephenson's Court) and a substantial yard for the Hand Inn. None of this 17th and 18th century development now survives and No. 210 presently forms the northernmost of a row of later properties, with Nos 212-214, while the building plot on its north side has been cleared.

Although the exterior of the building now has an early-19th-century appearance (fig. 51), the M-profile roof and layout, a two-room plan with a central stair, indicate that it has much earlier

origins. However, the interior now retains little of the original fabric and a precise date for its construction is difficult to substantiate. The parish rate books seem to indicate that the building was empty in 1759, after which it was occupied by William Drew and his family from 1760 until around 1795, perhaps hinting at a mid-century rebuilding.¹⁶² There also appears to have been a considerable amount of building activity in the immediate vicinity of No. 210 in the later part of the 18th century. Two houses flanking the Hand Inn Yard were rebuilt circa 1777-8 and what may have been the adjoining property to No. 210, was described as new in 1785, when it was insured by a butcher George Eldridge.¹⁶³

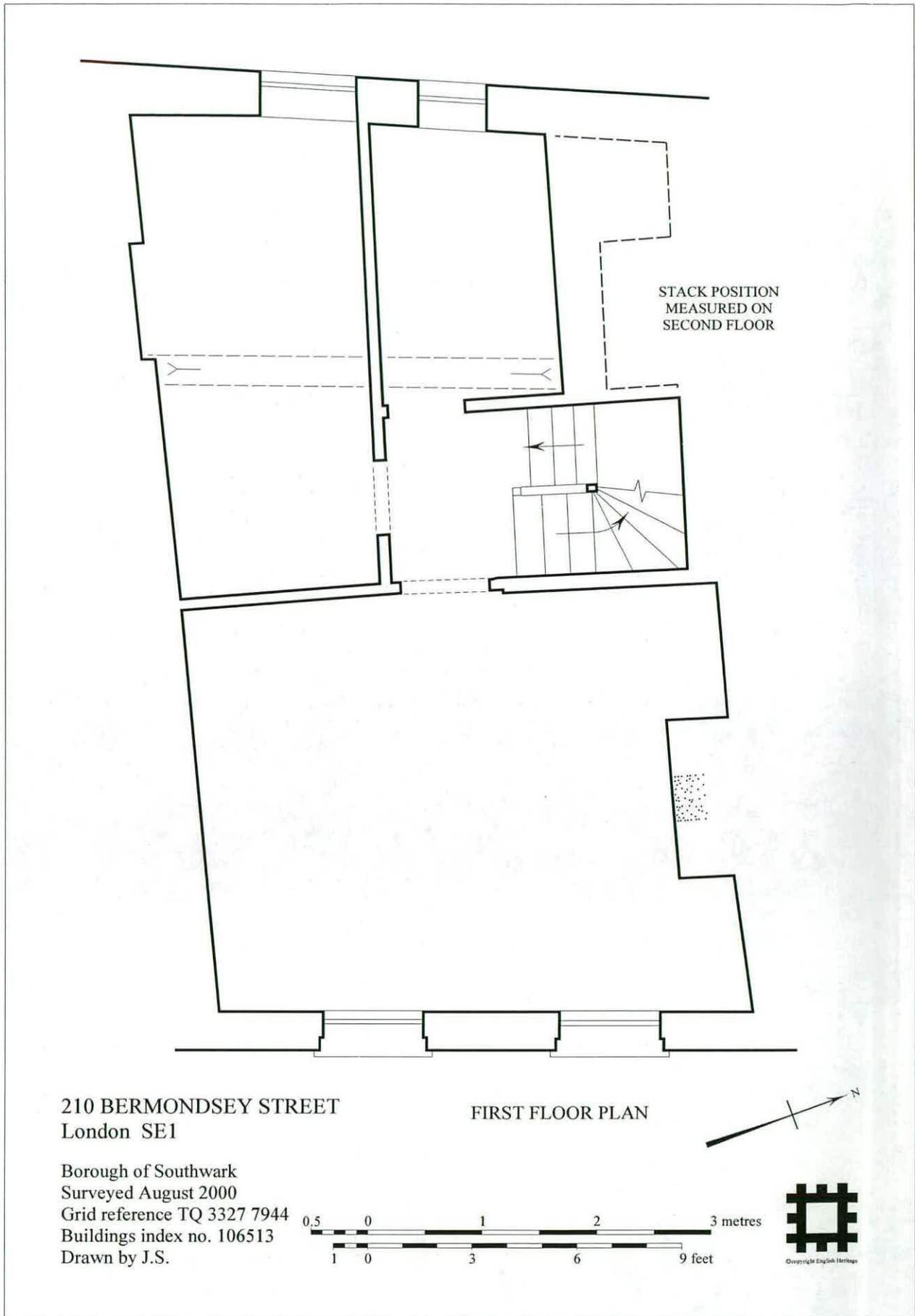


Fig.52

In 1817 a building to the south of No. 210 was destroyed by a fire that also killed the occupants James and Elizabeth Black and their daughter Maria, as commemorated by a memorial tablet in the parish church. The building and an adjoining property (Nos 212-214) were probably rebuilt in 1818, the date on the rainwater heads on the front of the buildings. Around this time the front of No. 210 seems to have been remade, perhaps so as to conform with the adjoining premises. The three buildings may already have been in common ownership by this time, as was definitely the case a century later.¹⁶⁴ In the early 20th century No. 210 was already established in its present use as dining rooms, with residential accommodation above, whilst No. 212 was a workshop, house and mission rooms and No. 214 contained a shop.

No. 210 is a three-storey brick building with a partial basement. The front elevation is painted white, with a modernised ground floor and two flat-headed windows to the upper floors. The flank wall is a mid-to-late 20th century rebuilding of a former party wall, following the demolition of the adjoining property. The building has an M-profile roof, although the two pitched roofs are slightly different, with two chimney stacks to the north side placed unusually inside rather than at the party wall.

Internally the building has a two-room layout with a centre stair at the upper levels, which is probably the original arrangement (fig.52). However few early fittings remain. The twin-newel stair, rising against the north wall, has been much renewed but retains a closed string and has a ramped moulded handrail at the first floor, both characteristically early-18th-century features. On the first floor there is a substantial (30cm/1ft wide) ceiling beam, chamfered to both sides and therefore intended to be visible, ornamented with stops on the west face. Front and back rooms were both originally heated, with chimneys in the north wall. This wall is presently of brick but has been rebuilt, passing behind the chimney stacks, an indication that its predecessor may have been timber framed. The basement of the building, which does not extend all the way to the rear of the building, contains at least one piece of reused stone. Larger amounts of resited dressed stone are also present in the basements of Nos 212-4; the most likely source of these being Bermondsey Abbey.

Nos 21, 23, 25 & 27 CROSBY ROW

Grid ref: TQ 3273 7978

NBR index no: 106514

Unlisted

This row of four brick houses was built between 1770 and 1773 as a relatively high-status development, by local standards. Although apparently lacking gardens, the properties, which are not all of the same width, were given a unified elevational treatment. It is possible that the original scheme was for five properties, as shown in Horwood's map of 1792, but, if so, the southernmost house (No. 19) has been rebuilt. The construction of this short terrace was part of the early development of the street, perhaps itself the original 'Crosby Row', but the first building to be put up here was a Meeting House erected around 1764 for John Wesley (see page). This was followed by two houses immediately to the south of the Meeting House, which were probably standing by 1769.¹⁶⁵ By 1792 there was intermittent development along the west side of Crosby Row, running between Snowsfield and Long Lane, comprising of a row of four houses to the north of the chapel, the meeting house and the adjoining houses, a terrace of four of five houses (including Nos 21-27) and four detached buildings at the south end. Just to the west of these buildings lay an open watercourse that also marked the parish boundary, on the other side of which stood the infamous Marshalsea Prison.

Some of the early residents of the housing on Crosby Row were skilled artisans or relatively affluent men. These included Gabriel Arnold Rogers, a bricklayer who may feasibly have even been involved in the original development (see page 29). He was resident here from 1777, followed perhaps by his son, Gabriel Rogers junior, who lived in the row containing Nos 21-17, although not perhaps in the same house, in the 1790s.¹⁶⁶ In 1779 John Swaine, gentleman, insured his 'new' dwelling house on Crosby Row for £90, as well as his 'printed books therein' for £10.¹⁶⁷ And Thomas Bayley, a haberdasher, was living in an 'apartment' in a new house belonging to a Mr Foster, gentleman, at No. 3 Crosby Row in 1786.¹⁶⁸

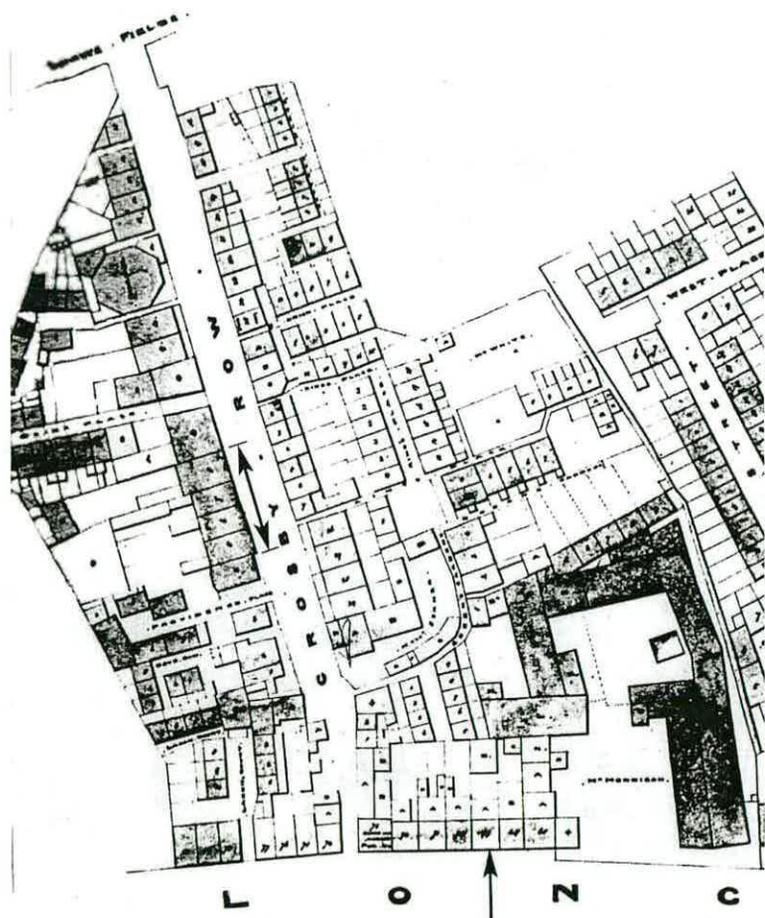


Fig. 53 – Map of Crosby Row and Long Lane in 1833-6 (George Porter, Survey of Bermondsey Parish, 1833-6; Southwark Local Studies Library).

was let to Joseph Bedwin, a collar dresser.¹⁶⁹ It was noted that the building had three rooms on the upper floor, a large front room, a back room and a furnace room on the first floor. The ground floor, which had been much extended, comprised a large room with a double shop front, two back rooms, a yard, engine house and sheds. The presence of a cellar was also mentioned. At this time, Nos 21-25 Crosby Row were seemingly in residential use, let to monthly tenants.

During the latter part of the 19th century the environs of Crosby Row declined into poverty and squalor, resulting in the east side of the road being declared an insanitary area under the 1890 Public Health (London) Act. Before the area was cleared in the 1920s and 1930s it was characterised as badly run-down, filled with the poorest people reliant on hawking for a liv-

During the late 18th century the surrounding areas were undergoing *ad hoc* development, much of it industrial in character, particularly around the long-established tanneries on Long Lane and Bermondsey Street. As a consequence the row of houses became increasingly hemmed in by new buildings (fig. 53). Providence (now Plantain) Place to the south was undergoing development around 1800, while Baden Place had been built up by 1820. The eastward view from the houses, across garden ground and tanyards, also disappeared in the early 19th century when the eastern side of Crosby Row was built-up with less respectable housing.

By the mid 19th century the row was in mixed use, with two bricklayers listed in the 1851 Post Office Directory for No. 27 (modern numbering) Crosby Row. In 1879, when the whole of Crosby Row and several properties on Long Lane were put up for sale, No.27



Fig. 54 – Crosby Row c.1890 (Southwark Local Studies Library; Charterhouse-in-Southwark)

ing.¹⁷⁰ The Charterhouse-in-Southwark Mission was established in the area in 1885 to provide practical and spiritual support to just such impoverished residents. In the 1890s it photographed some of the streets and courts, including Crosby Row, to highlight their condition (fig. 54). The mission, founded by old boys from the famous public school in Surrey, also established a Working Men's Institute and Boy's Club in No. 25 Crosby Row by 1899. By 1910 this had become a girl's club, which later moved to a new building on the site of Wesley's rebuilt Meeting House.¹⁷¹ By the late 20th century No. 25, the least altered building in the row, had become a private residence once again.

In the early 20th century Nos 21-23 were owned by Alfred Denman, who had a tinware manufactory in No. 23 and was apparently using No. 21 as a warehouse, and both buildings had been extended at the rear. The Crosby Engineering Co. occupied Nos 21-3 from the 1940s until at least 1971, when the front of No. 23

was completely rebuilt.¹⁷² By around 1910 No. 27, then a house and shop, was owned by Frederick Rogers and had a two-storey warehouse at the rear.¹⁷³ In the mid 20th century the rear building was being used for eel cooking, but in 1992 the whole building was extensively and sympathetically restored as a house and business premises for its present owner.

All the buildings in the row are of three storeys with brick elevations. These were originally finished in a unified way, with continuous string courses above the ground and first floor and a parapet with a simple cornice band. Each house has two flat-headed sash windows to the upper storeys. However, this regularity has been disrupted by the reworking of the ground floors, with the ex-



Fig. 55 – Nos 25-27 Crosby Row (English Heritage, BB000539).

ception of No. 25, which retains the original arrangement of a single window and a doorway with a simple flat hood carried on brackets (fig. 55). The symmetrical shop fronts to Nos 21-23 date from the late 20th century but the ground floor front of No. 27 dates from the preceding century, being formed of two large sash windows flanking panelled double doors. While the consistent treatment of the elevations gives the row a uniform identity it also serves to disguise a difference in frontage size. In fact, No. 27 is a significantly wider building, with a frontage of 22ft. No. 25 is the narrowest, at 16 ft, whilst Nos 21-3 are both 16ft 6in wide, suggesting they were constructed as a mirrored pair.



Fig. 56 – Front room, first floor, No. 27 Crosby Row (English Heritage, BB000545).

As well as being a larger house, No. 27 seems also to have had a different layout from the other houses. 19th century alterations and the refurbishment of 1992 have significantly altered the original layout, but it seems clear that the building had a two-room plan with a central chimney stack. This feature partially survives, most obviously on the first floor (fig. 56), as does another stack in the south wall serving the back room that was probably added in the 19th century.¹⁷⁴ The twin-newel stair, at the rear of the building to the north side, occupies its original position, and retains square-section balusters, moulded handrails and column newels of the 1770s. The basement of the building does not appear to have been an original feature, rather a 19th century excavation that was deepened in the 1990s. The ground floor was fitted

out as a shop in the mid-to-late 19th century, and still retains matchboard covering to the walls and ceilings and a wooden chimney piece in the rear room. The central chimney stack was reduced in size at this level with iron columns inserted to support its upper parts. On the first and second floors some early joinery has survived. The large first-floor front room retains window architraves, skirting and dado mouldings whilst the second floor has humbler plank and muntin partition walls, a surprising feature in such a large house at this date in London. The panelling on the ground floor stair passage, also early, was resited in its present position in the 1992 refurbishment. At the same time the rear yard was glazed over and the 19th century industrial buildings reworked.

No 23 has been much renewed, but it does appear to retain its original layout, the more standard two-room plan with a rear stair. The position of the twin-newel stair and its decorative treatment of column newels and moulded handrail, are identical to those in No 27. The chimney stacks have been removed but would have been in the south wall and shared with No. 21 Crosby Row, which still retains a reduced rebuilt stack. It has not been possible to inspect the interiors of No. 21 and No. 25 Crosby Row.

No. 67 GRANGE WALK
 Grid ref: TQ 3345 7926
 NBR Index no:106531
 Listed grade II*



Fig. 57 – No. 67 Grange Walk c1937 (photograph by John Summerson; English Heritage, NMR)

cal façade, with red-brick dressings to the segmental-headed windows, and the surviving internal decoration, represent a modest version of higher-status developments of the day. But the building would also have derived prestige from its location, on the grounds of the former Abbey and its successor, Bermondsey House. Grange Walk, said to derive its name from a former path between the Abbey and its nearby Grange, was gradually lined with houses during the 17th and 18th centuries, many of them seemingly quite genteel in character. Only No. 67 Grange Walk, and Nos 5-11 Grange Walk to the west, now remain.

No. 67 was originally built as a single range, one-room deep with a central staircase, but the building was soon extended to give it a double-pile plan c.1730. Although not inspected internally, when the building was recently investigated it retained a considerable amount of original or early joinery, including panelling and cupboards and a staircase with barley-twist newels and column-on-vase balusters (although its alignment has been altered).¹⁷⁵ Some of the building's fabric, notably the squared stonework and worked timbers in the basement, may have come from the former Abbey buildings, some of which endured into the 19th cen-

This brick-fronted house was probably built around 1700, but it has twice been extended, in c.1730 and c.1840. A two-storey building with a basement, it has a wide five-bay front and a pitched roof (fig. 57). It was built abutting a now demolished 17th century range (Nos 63-7) to the east while to the west stood another five-bay house of similar appearance, perhaps coeval in date with No. 67, that has also been replaced (fig. 58). The symmetri-



Fig. 58 – Nos 63-65,67 & 69 Grange Walk in 1937 (English Heritage, NMR, AP 34).

tury. For much of the 20th century the building was in industrial use, during which time the adjoining buildings were cleared and rebuilt, but it was refurbished in the 1990s and returned to domestic occupation.

Fresh Bite/Chez La Mama, No. 89 LONG LANE

Grid reference: TQ 3275 7971

NBR Index no: 106530

unlisted.

Although Long Lane is one of the oldest thoroughfares in Bermondsey it retains few buildings that antedate the 20th century. The most notable survivor is Nos 142-8 Long Lane, built as two relatively high-status houses in c.1732 (fig. 20), but No. 89, a much renewed three-storey brick-fronted building, also has its origins in the early 18th century (fig. 35). The latter building appears to be the remnant of a row of perhaps eight houses (in modern numbering Nos 83-95) that were standing on the north side of Long Lane at its western end by the 1740s. [Rocque] These seem to have been the first buildings on the site, which is shown as empty in the 1680s.¹⁷⁶ The group was bounded by a large tanyard to the east and, from the 1770s, by a narrow entry to Crosby Row to the west (fig. 55).

The buildings were modest-sized dwellings probably intended for small shopkeepers or artisans and their families. Some of the residents of Nos 83-95 are likely to have been engaged in tanning-related activities, although not the owner of the adjoining yard, Robert Bell, who was living in Blackheath in the 1770s.¹⁷⁷ By the early 19th century the western property was operating as a public house, and, like all the other buildings in the group, had been extended at the rear. The 1851 census document a mixture of commercial and residential occupation that probably reflected older patterns of use. By the 1870s there were coffee rooms at No. 89, and the adjoining buildings housed a paint brush manufactory and a day school.¹⁷⁸ The eastern buildings (Nos 93-95) were rebuilt around the turn of the 20th century as a 'Bazaar', now demolished, and the westernmost property (No. 83), latterly a house and shop, was cleared in mid century, presumably for the widening of the south end of Crosby Row. During the latter part of the 20th century Nos 85-87 were rebuilt and No. 91 was cleared, leaving No. 89 as the only part of the original group still standing.

The front of No. 89, which has been much rebuilt, has two closely set sash windows to the upper floors, with red-brick dressings to the flat window heads, and a modern shop-front ground floor (fig. 34). It was apparently built as pair (with No. 87), as the building retains a large side stack that straddles the party wall. The ground floor of the building, presently in use as a cafe, was the only part of the interior to which access was possible. Although modernised it retains a deep chimneystack on the west side and the remnants of the original back wall, partly removed, indicating that the building was originally one-room deep, about 17ft by 19ft (5.1m by 5.7m). Although evidence for the original stair position is lacking, this would probably have been in the rear corner behind the stair, as in comparably planned buildings like Colombo Street and Hopton Street (fig. 35). A survey of the row in 1883-6 show them all to have been of a similar depth at this time.¹⁷⁹ Photographic records indicate the presence of several weatherboarded, and therefore probably timber-framed, houses on Long Lane but the thickness of the rear wall (38cm) suggests that No. 89 may have always been of brick rather than wooden construction, thus perhaps explaining its survival.

Nos 41, 43, 49, 51 & 53 TOWER BRIDGE ROAD

Grid ref: TQ 3315 7915

NBR Index no: 106532

Unlisted

These brick-built properties, all of two storeys with garrets, stand on the west side of Tower Bridge Road at its southern end. When built they formed part of a row of 21 houses (the



Fig. 59 - Nos 51-53 Tower Bridge Road (English Heritage, AA004707)

equivalent of Nos 25-71 in modern numbering) laid out between 1780 and 1791 along a newly made thoroughfare, Bermondsey New Road. Set back some distance from the road by front gardens, the original amenities of the row are now belied by their present appearance – most have been reworked or rebuilt, some are in a poor state of repair, and all have lost their gardens to single-storey shop extensions. Nos 51-53, amongst the least altered externally, have suffered a common fate in what is now an innercity area, with occupation limited to the ground floor and the upper storeys abandoned to dereliction and decay (fig. 59).

Until the mid 18th century the southern part of Bermondsey parish was largely open fields or market gardens but concerted developments in Southwark, around St George's Field and along Kent Street (Old Kent Road), in the latter part of the century opened the area up to building. This was facilitated by the formation of Bermondsey New Road around the 1770s, which linked the expanding urban concentration around Bermondsey Street and Long Lane, via a road named Star Corner, with the Kent Street (Old Kent Road) and the New Kent Road, which had been laid out in 1751. Bermondsey New Road was in existence by 1773, when it was marked on a sewer map, but the adjoining lands were undeveloped and the only buildings to be noted were a long established group known as Old Packthread Ground at the north end, a tanyard on the west side and a public house, the Bricklayers Arms, at the south end.¹⁸⁰ The fields adjoining the western side of the road, the site of the soon-to-be-erected row, were owned by James West. These were bounded by two watercourses, the southern of which formed the parish boundary.

Development seems to have commenced on the east side of the road first. By 1780 several dwellings were standing, including a row known as Bermondsey Buildings which had been laid out at an angle to the new road.¹⁸¹ By 1785 the first five houses of the row (Nos 25-71) on the west side of the road were apparently complete, probably including Nos 51-53.¹⁸² By 1791 the row was complete, and a tanyard was occupying the land at the rear (fig. 28). The majority of the buildings had 16ft 6in frontages although a few were narrower, the smallest being No. 63, which was 15ft 8in wide. However, the end houses of the terrace were larger,

that to the north being 18ft 6in wide, while to the south there were two double-fronted, 30ft-wide properties.¹⁸³ Apart from these larger properties the row houses seem to have had a similar level of accommodation, with either five or six rooms in three storeys, including garrets. Some of the buildings were also provided with basements or cellars. Later surveys of the row suggest that the buildings were constructed in small lots, with perhaps two groups of three or four houses at the north end while others, such as No. 53, were singly built or, in the case of Nos 49-51 as pairs (fig. 60). Although much altered the surviving building façades and rooflines suggest that the row never had external uniformity but always presented a varied appearance. However, the large gardens, front and rear, and the well-connected semi-rural location, would have made this row a marketable development.

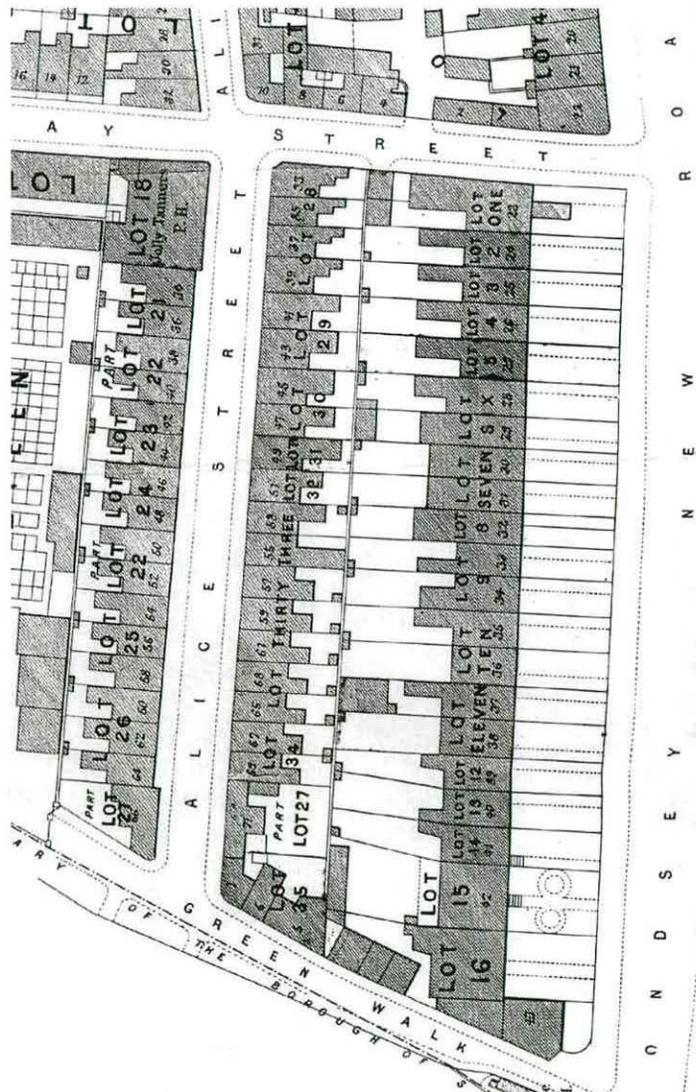


Fig. 60 – Map of Bermondsey New Road in 1879, taken from a sales particular (Southwark Local Studies Library)

When the West Estate was surveyed in 1819 No. 53 Tower Bridge Road was described as ‘a brick-built Dwelling House containing 6 rooms with small Kitchen & Wash house and Plumber’s Shop & Garden’ while No. 51 was noted as having five rooms with the kitchen and wash house in the basement.¹⁸⁴ Soon after the estate disposed of its property on Bermondsey New Road, sold to John Hill Day as part of an extended sale of estate lands that began in 1821. By the mid 19th century ownership had passed from Day to George Drew and Bermondsey New Road had become a lively commercial thoroughfare. Around this time a new road was formed to the rear of the row, named Alice Street, and commercial pressures were also coming to bear on the generous front gardens as one-storey shops were being constructed elsewhere on the road by 1856.¹⁸⁵ The 1851 census returns indicate that most of the row houses were then in multiple occupation, with many of the men engaged in the leather trade, although at least one family, the Clouder’s, had lived at No 47 since 1793.¹⁸⁶ But the properties most affected by the changing character of the street are likely to have been the

two large houses at the south end, occupied in 1851 by a currier and a dealer in glass and lead.

In 1879 the terrace was sold once again, when it was noted that the long forecourts were very suitable for conversion into shops.¹⁸⁷ But any such incremental alterations were overtaken by the impact of the construction of Tower Bridge in 1881-94. This necessitated the making of a

new approach road, incorporating Bermondsey New Road at its south end, resulting in its partial realignment and the shortening of the forecourts of Nos 25-71 Tower Bridge Road, as they became in 1902. Around this time the north and south ends of the terrace were rebuilt, the former reworked to form a corner shop and a substantial lodging house whilst the latter was rebuilt as five smaller properties taken up to the new street frontage. In the early 20th century the road was still a busy shopping street with a costermongers' market on the west side and subject to heavy traffic, but has suffered a decline in vitality, if not traffic volume, during the latter part of the century.¹⁸⁸

Those buildings that retain at least some evidence of their Georgian origins are listed below, although it was not possible to gain access to any interiors.

Nos 41-43 Tower Bridge Road were built as a pair with two large shared party-wall stacks front and back, but seem to have been extensively reworked in the mid-to-late 19th century. The buildings have two flat-headed window openings to each front, and valley roofs behind parapets, with a dormer window each at the rear.

Nos 49-51 Tower Bridge Road are another pair, built with a single shared chimney stack in the party wall. The roof of No. 49 has been replaced but No. 51 retains what was probably the original arrangement, a gambrel roof with a front dormer to light the garret room. They were built with two-room plans, but evidently only the front rooms were heated, the back rooms

being very small, presumably because they shared the space with the stairs.¹⁸⁹ The upper floors of No. 51 are in a poor state of repair.



Fig. 61 – The rear of Nos. 51-53 Tower Bridge Road (English Heritage, AA004709)

No. 53 Tower Bridge Road seems to have been built as a single property. The building appears to have been refronted, but it retains a pantiled gambrel roof, with a front dormer, and a substantial chimney stack at the ridge (fig. 60). This clearly indicates a central-chimneystack plan, perhaps even a 'Moxon' type layout (see page 38). The upper floors of this building are in a bad condition.

NOTES

- ¹ Martha Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, (London 1996), 44-5.
- ² William Rendle, *Old Southwark and its People*, (Southwark 1878), 278.
- ³ Used in the rate books of St Mary Magdalene and in a 1751 letter (British Library (BL), Add 36584 f22).
- ⁴ The dock derived its name from the Abbey which owned the east side. Martha Carlin, 'Four Plans of Southwark in the time of Stow', *London Topographical Record*, xxvi (1990), 23.
- ⁵ Carlin, Four plans, 20-24.
- ⁶ The north end of Bermondsey Street passes out of the parish of Bermondsey into Southwark.
- ⁷ Quoted in Edward T Clarke, *Bermondsey Its Historic Memories and Associations* (London 1902), 193.
- ⁸ This mansion was known as Bermondsey House, set in about 20 acres of land containing orchards, edifices, stables, barns, pasture and ponds. The remains of the mansion were still standing on the east side of Bermondsey Square in the early 19th century, (Rendle, Old Southwark, 296).
- ⁹ Carlin, Medieval Southwark, 178, 186.
- ¹⁰ Rendle, Old Southwark, 278, 281.
- ¹¹ Carlin, Medieval Southwark, 31.
- ¹² Carlin, Medieval Southwark, 254-5.
- ¹³ D M Connan, *A History of the Public Health Department in Bermondsey* (London 1935), 18.
- ¹⁴ John Stow, *A Survey of London*, (London 1603), reprinted 1908, 52.
- ¹⁵ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 1724-6, reprinted 1986, 178.
- ¹⁶ Quoted in Edward T Clarke *Bermondsey Its Historic Memories and Associations* (London 1902), 200.
- ¹⁷ Daniel Lysons, *Environs of London*, vol 1 (London 1792), 553.
- ¹⁸ *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Surrey*, vol iv (London 1912), 18.
- ¹⁹ BL, undated letter (circa 1730), Add 35684 f24.
- ²⁰ *The Builder*, August 7th 1858, 530-1.
- ²¹ G W Phillips *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Bermondsey* (London 1841), 47.
- ²² BL, Add 12551.
- ²³ From the 1787-8 legislation, quoted in Connan, Public Health, 36.
- ²⁴ London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), SKCS 919, Reports relating to the Sewage, with reference to the Observations of the Poor Law Commissioners, on their inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain. Sewers, Surrey and Kent. (London 1843).
- ²⁵ *Aesop's Fables*, trans. V S Vernon Jones (1912, reprinted London 1979), 89.
- ²⁶ Dorothy George, *London Life in the XVIIIth century*, second edition (London 1930), 414.
- ²⁷ Defoe, A Tour, 178.
- ²⁸ George, London Life, 414.
- ²⁹ VCH, Surrey, iv, 19.
- ³⁰ Edward Wedlake Brayley, *A Topographical History of Surrey*, vol iii (London 1841), 204.
- ³¹ VCH, Surrey, iv, 18.

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- ³² BL, Add 36584 f22.
- ³³ Connan, Public Health, 15.
- ³⁴ David R Green, *From Artisans to Paupers. Economic Change and Poverty in London 1790-1870* (Aldershot 1995), 194-5.
- ³⁵ J C Buckler drew the building in the early 19th century see BL, Add 24433 f157.
- ³⁶ Southwark Local Studies Library (SLSL), West papers, box 37, 1821 sales particular.
- ³⁷ *The Builder*, August 7th 1858, 320.
- ³⁸ Rev. W Lees Bell, *The History of Bermondsey* (London 1880), 61.
- ³⁹ See Buckler's drawings of Bermondsey Street from the 1820s, BL Add 24433 f163: SLSL, image collection.
- ⁴⁰ Lysons, *Environs*, 547.
- ⁴¹ *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Surrey*, vol ii, (London 1905) 330-1.
- ⁴² R J Hartlidge, 'The Development of Industries in London South of the Thames 1750 to 1850', University of London Thesis, 1950.
- ⁴³ By 1841 the tanning time had been reduced to eight, twelve or eighteen months depending on the hide. Other tanning processes involved the use of sumach, alum and oil.
- ⁴⁴ Hartlidge.
- ⁴⁵ G Dodd, *Days at the Factories* (London 1843), reprinted 1961, 170. Sumach was derived from a plant grown in Sicily and Hungary.
- ⁴⁶ Taken from E P Thompson & E Yeo, *The Unknown Mayhew* (Harmondsworth 1975), 452.
- ⁴⁷ For the Society for Photographing the Relics of Old London, or SPROL, founded in 1875.
- ⁴⁸ *Post Office Directory* 1886.
- ⁴⁹ R Campbell, quoted in Hartlidge.
- ⁵⁰ Hartlidge.
- ⁵¹ In the 1850s Henry Mayhew noted that tan-yard workers resided locally occupying one or two rooms. Thompson & Yeo, *Unknown Mayhew*, 453.
- ⁵² A description of 1824 by J Burridge in 'The Tanner's Key' quoted in Hartlidge.
- ⁵³ Thompson & Yeo, *Unknown Mayhew*, 460. The carriers may also have been able to afford slightly better accommodation, Mayhew noting that they generally occupied 'two comfortable rooms'.
- ⁵⁴ Dodd, *Days at the Factory*, 175.
- ⁵⁵ Thomas Pennant, *Some Account of London*, second edition (London 1791), 56-7.
- ⁵⁶ Recorded by J C Buckler in 1828, see the drawings in the Guildhall Library.
- ⁵⁷ Thompson & Yeo, *Unknown Mayhew*, 452.
- ⁵⁸ SLSL, West papers, Prospectus of the London Leather Warehouse Company, 1832..
- ⁵⁹ Phillips, *History and Antiquities*. Other subscribers included the Bevingtons, of Neckinger Mills, Mr John Christy (of Christy's the Hatters) and Mr East of Bermondsey Street..
- ⁶⁰ BL, letter from the hat manufacturers, Add 33056 f404.
- ⁶¹ Clarke, *Bermondsey*, 238.
- ⁶² Green, *From Artisans to Paupers*, 130.
- ⁶³ The eastern premises were at No. 102 Bermondsey Street. For a description of the premises see Phillips, *His-*

tory and Antiquities, 105-6.

⁶⁴ Brayley, *Topographical History*, 199.

⁶⁵ Lysons, *Environs*, 547.

⁶⁶ *The Builder*, April 21 1855 184.

⁶⁷ Leonard Reilly, *Southwark: An Illustrated History* (London 1998), 48.

⁶⁸ VCH, Surrey, ii, 19.

⁶⁹ Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses* (London 1814).

⁷⁰ Clarke, *Bermondsey Historic Memories*, 229.

⁷¹ Christopher Hill, Barry Reay and William Lamont, *The World of the Muggletonians* (London 1983).

⁷² Frank Keyse, *Thomas Keyse and the Bermondsey Spa* (Aberystwyth 1986).

⁷³ Keyse, Thomas Keyse.

⁷⁴ Anon, *A Modern Sabbath, or, a Sunday Ramble, and Sabbath-Day Journey...* (London 1794), 109.

⁷⁵ Keyse, Thomas Keyse.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*

⁷⁷ B & H L Phillips, *A short account of the Parish of Bermondsey with Notes on its Boundaries* (London 1868),

4.

⁷⁸ According to Maitland in his *History of London*, quoted in Lyson, *Environs*.

⁷⁹ Brayley, *Topographical History*, 204.

⁸⁰ Connan, *Public Health*, 135.

⁸¹ Francis Sheppard, Victor Belcher and Philip Cottrell, 'The Middlesex and Yorkshire deeds registries and the study of building fluctuations', *The London Journal*, vol 5, no 2, (1979), 176-209.

⁸² B & HL Phillips, A short account, 4.

⁸³ B & HL Phillips, A short account, 4.

⁸⁴ Brayley, *Topographical History*, 204.

⁸⁵ Connan, *Public Health*, 135.

⁸⁶ SLSL, West papers. The Abbey lands were given, along with Hatfield estate in Hertfordshire, in exchange for Theobalds estate.

⁸⁷ Entry on James West, *Dictionary of National Biography*, (reissue London 1909) 1241.

⁸⁸ No. 43 King Street. *Survey of London, St Paul Covent Garden*, vol xxxiv, (London 1970), 167].

⁸⁹ BL, Sheldon papers vol ii, Add 36584.

⁹⁰ SLHL, West estate maps.

⁹¹ SLHL, mortgage from James West to Sir Sidney Medowes, 1768. West papers.

⁹² BL, Add 36548 f22.

⁹³ Connan, *Public Health*, 55-6.

⁹⁴ Francis Sheppard, *London A History* (Oxford 2000), 176.

⁹⁵ *Endowed Charities (County of London)*, vol ii, 1899, 41.

⁹⁶ A picturesque schoolroom, raised above a 'piazza', to the front of the church was removed in 1829.

⁹⁷ B & HL Phillips, A short account, 4.

⁹⁸ Defoe noted the intention that 'St George's Fields should be built into squares and streets in 1724. Defoe, *Tour*, 287.

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- ⁹⁹ *Survey of London, St George's Fields*, vol xxv (London 1955), plate 21.
- ¹⁰⁰ John Summerson, *Georgian London*, revised edition (London 1991), 286.
- ¹⁰¹ SLSL, West papers, box 38.
- ¹⁰² SLSL, Poor Rates for St Mary Magdalene Bermondsey.
- ¹⁰³ BL, Add 36584.
- ¹⁰⁴ Quoted in Brayley, *Topographical History*, 199.
- ¹⁰⁵ Guildhall Library (GL), Sun Insurance Fire Office Policy Register MS 11936/293, 331.
- ¹⁰⁶ GL, Sun Insurance Fire Office Policy Register, MS11936/254.
- ¹⁰⁷ GL, Sun Insurance Fire Office Policy register MS 11936/298, 303.
- ¹⁰⁸ SLSL, Poor Rates.
- ¹⁰⁹ Isobel Watson, *Gentlemen in the Building Line* (London 1989),33.
- ¹¹⁰ CC Knowles and P H Pitt, *The History of Building Regulations in London 1189 - 1972* (London 1972), 50.
- ¹¹¹ Connan, *Public Health*, 41.
- ¹¹² About one fifth of all houses in the borough around 1800 were in alleys or courts according to calculations by Connan. Connan, *Public Health*, 58.
- ¹¹³ FB 'The Autobiography of a Bermondsey Boy', *Seven Years' Harvest An Anthology of The Bermondsey Book 1923-1930*, compiled by Sidney Gutman (London 1934), 305.
- ¹¹⁴ *RCHM London East*, vol v, (London 1930), 68; *Survey of London, Bankside*, vol xxii, (London 1950), 125-6.
- ¹¹⁵ Connan, *Public Health*, 58-9.
- ¹¹⁶ Neil Jackson 'Built to Sell', *The Hidden Iceberg of Architectural History, Papers from the Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, 1998, 89.
- ¹¹⁷ J C Loudon, *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*, quoted in Jackson, *Built to Sell*, 89.
- ¹¹⁸ A F Kelsall, 'The London House Plan in the Later 17th Century', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, vol 8 (1974).
- ¹¹⁹ E McKellar, *The birth of modern London: the development and design of the city, 1660- 1720* (Manchester, 1999).
- ¹²⁰ English Heritage (EH), National Monuments Record (NMR), LCC/GLC Measured Drawings Collection, 96/02309 HB/00631/002.
- ¹²¹ EH, NMR, 96/01455 HB/00279/001-4.
- ¹²² EH, NMR, 96/02197, HB/00591/001.
- ¹²³ EH, NMR, NBR index no 88074.
- ¹²⁴ EH, NMR, 96/07557 HB/02453/01.
- ¹²⁵ EH, NMR, 96/07540 HB/02448/001.
- ¹²⁶ EH, *Survey of London*, GLC/LCC drawings, surveyed 1960.
- ¹²⁷ EH, NMR, 96/04976 HB/01502/003.
- ¹²⁸ SLSL West papers, box 37, sales particular.
- ¹²⁹ B H St John O'Neil, 'Bridge House, 64 George Row, Bermondsey' *Antiquaries Journal* vol 32 (1952), 192-7.
- ¹³⁰ EH, NMR, 96/03389 HB/00959/01.
- ¹³¹ EH, NMR, 96/04705 HB/01391/001.
- ¹³² EH, NMR, NBR index no: 106515

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- ¹³³ EH, NMR, measured drawing 1946/20, donated by G Brian Brown in 1946.
- ¹³⁴ J Schofield (ed) *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, (London 1987), 138, fig.53.
- ¹³⁵ Kelsall, The London House Plan.
- ¹³⁶ BL, Egerton Charter 325.
- ¹³⁷ J Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises, Or, The Doctrine of Handy-Works Applied to the Art of House Carpentry* (London 1694), 128-9.
- ¹³⁸ EH, NMR 96/02718 HB/00943/001-3.
- ¹³⁹ EH, NMR, 96/07579 HB/02462/004.
- ¹⁴⁰ EH, NMR, measured drawing M1946/20.
- ¹⁴¹ EH, NMR, 96/01452 HB/00279/001.
- ¹⁴² LMA, lease HI/ST/E65/1/1/1-12.
- ¹⁴³ LMA, lease HI/ST/E67/19/6.
- ¹⁴⁴ LMA, lease HI/ST/E67/39/14.
- ¹⁴⁵ EH, NMR, 96/3322 HB/00944/01.
- ¹⁴⁶ LMA, lease O/71/1/21.
- ¹⁴⁷ LMA, lease O/71/1/21.
- ¹⁴⁸ SLSL, West papers, box 37, A Survey and Valuation of Messuages, Buildings, Lands & Premises The Property of James Robert West, Esq, 1819. The annual rental value of these properties was around £18 to £19, except for the end house at £32.
- ¹⁴⁹ SLSL, West papers, survey 1819. These buildings had a combined annual value of £15
- ¹⁵⁰ SLSL, West papers, box 37, Bermondsey Estate sales particular, 1821.
- ¹⁵¹ SLSL, West papers, box 37, 1821 sales particular. The buildings had an annual rental value in 1821 of £15 each.
- ¹⁵² SLSL, West papers, box 37, 1821 sales particular. These buildings ranged in annual rental value from around £5 to £7.
- ¹⁵³ SLSL, West papers, box 37, 1821 sales particular. These had an annual rental value of around £4 each.
- ¹⁵⁴ B & H L Phillips, *A short account of the Parish of Bermondsey with Notes on its Boundaries* (London 1868), 4.
- ¹⁵⁵ William Morgan, *Survey of London*, 1682.
- ¹⁵⁶ GL, Sun Fire Office policy register, MS 11936/263. The insurance was renewed in 1780 by a Frances Atkinson, who was presumably the widow of Robert Atkinson.
- ¹⁵⁷ SLSL, St Mary Magdalene poor rates. The sum rose from £15 to £25.
- ¹⁵⁸ SLSL, Survey of St Mary Magdalene, George Porter 1833-6.
- ¹⁵⁹ SLSL, 1851 census returns. No.78 was occupied by two families headed by a leather shaver and leather japper respectively, No. 76 was occupied by a father and son and No. 74 housed a family engaged in the clothing trade.
- ¹⁶⁰ PRO, IR58/78025.
- ¹⁶¹ SLSL, photographic collection
- ¹⁶² SLSL, St Mary Magdalene rate books.

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- ¹⁶³ GL, Sun Fire Office policy register, MS11936/268, 327.
- ¹⁶⁴ PRO, IR 58/78026, 78041.
- ¹⁶⁵ SLSL, St Mary Magdalene rate books.
- ¹⁶⁶ SLSL, St Mary Magdalene rate books.
- ¹⁶⁷ GL, Sun Fire Office policy register MS11936/274.
- ¹⁶⁸ GL, Sun Fire Office policy register, MS11936/336.
- ¹⁶⁹ EH, Survey of London, Bermondsey box, sales particular.
- ¹⁷⁰ W Besant, *London South of the Thames* (London 1912), 54-74.
- ¹⁷¹ PRO, IR 58/78570.
- ¹⁷² EH, London Region, photographic collection.
- ¹⁷³ PRO, IR 58/78570.
- ¹⁷⁴ The rear stack is apparently a later insertion, to judge from the basement, where the brickwork is exposed.
- ¹⁷⁵ EH, HART report, 1990.
- ¹⁷⁶ William Morgan, *Survey of London*, 1682.
- ¹⁷⁷ GL, Sun Fire Office policy register, MS11936/272. Bell paid the poor rates for the tanyard from c.1775 until c.1800, he replaced John and William Thody who had rented the tanyard since the c.1756.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Post Office Directory* 1877.
- ¹⁷⁹ SLSL, Survey of the parish of St Mary Magdalene by George Porter, 1833-6.
- ¹⁸⁰ LMA, SKCS PR/10, Plan of Principal Sewers, George Gwilt, dated 1773.
- ¹⁸¹ GL, Sun Fire Office policy register, MS11936/293,331. The building was probably developed by Robert Standige, a merchant, owned a house here as well as a number of properties in Southwark, Norwood, and Kingston upon Hull, which he insured in 1781 and reinsured in £1785. Subsequently renamed Standige's Buildings this demolished row stood on modern-day Aberdour Street.
- ¹⁸² SLSL St Mary Magdalene poor rates.
- ¹⁸³ SLSL, West papers, sales particular 1879; survey of West estate, 1819. LMA, MBO/PLANS/82, plan of an estate belonging to George Drew, undated (mid 19th century).
- ¹⁸⁴ SLSL, West papers, survey of 1819. The row was then leased to Rev. Dr Smith.
- ¹⁸⁵ *The Builder*, 16 Aug 1856, 448. This was at No. 15 Hargreave Road, just to the north of the row.
- ¹⁸⁶ SLSL, St Mary Magdalene rate books; 1851 census returns.
- ¹⁸⁷ SLSL, PC333.33 Sales Particular, 1879.
- ¹⁸⁸ Besant, *London South*, 63-4.
- ¹⁸⁹ PRO, IR58/78037. Nos 49 and 51 are described as having a small room with no fireplace.

APPENDIX

LIST OF FIGURES

Front cover – Tanning in the 18th century (*Everything in Leather, The story of Barrow*, Hepburn & Gale Ltd. (London 1948))

Fig. 1 – Map of Bermondsey (English Heritage).

Fig. 2 – Map showing the land above (shaded) and below the Trinity High Water Mark with parish boundary added (D M Connan, *A History of the Public Health Department in Bermondsey* (London 1935); Southwark Local Studies Library).

Fig. 3 – Borough High Street, Long Lane and Bermondsey Street c.1542, with the river to the north (William Rendell, *Old Southwark and its People* (Southwark 1878)).

Fig. 4 – Bermondsey riverside in 1682 (William Morgan, *Survey of London*, 1682).

Fig. 5 – West Bermondsey in 1682 (William Morgan, *Survey of London*, 1682).

Fig. 6 – The site of the former Abbey and its Grange in 1682 (William Morgan, *Survey of London*, 1682).

Fig. 7 – The western part of the Bermondsey in 1813 (R Horwood, *Plan of London*, 1813).

Fig. 8 – Bermondsey Square and the former Abbey lands 1833-6 (George Porter, *Survey of Bermondsey Parish*, 1833-6; Southwark Local Studies Library)

Fig. 9 – Bermondsey riverside in 1813 (R Horwood, *Plan of London*, 1813).

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