

**VICTORIAN HEROES:  
PEABODY, WATERLOW, AND HARTNOLL**

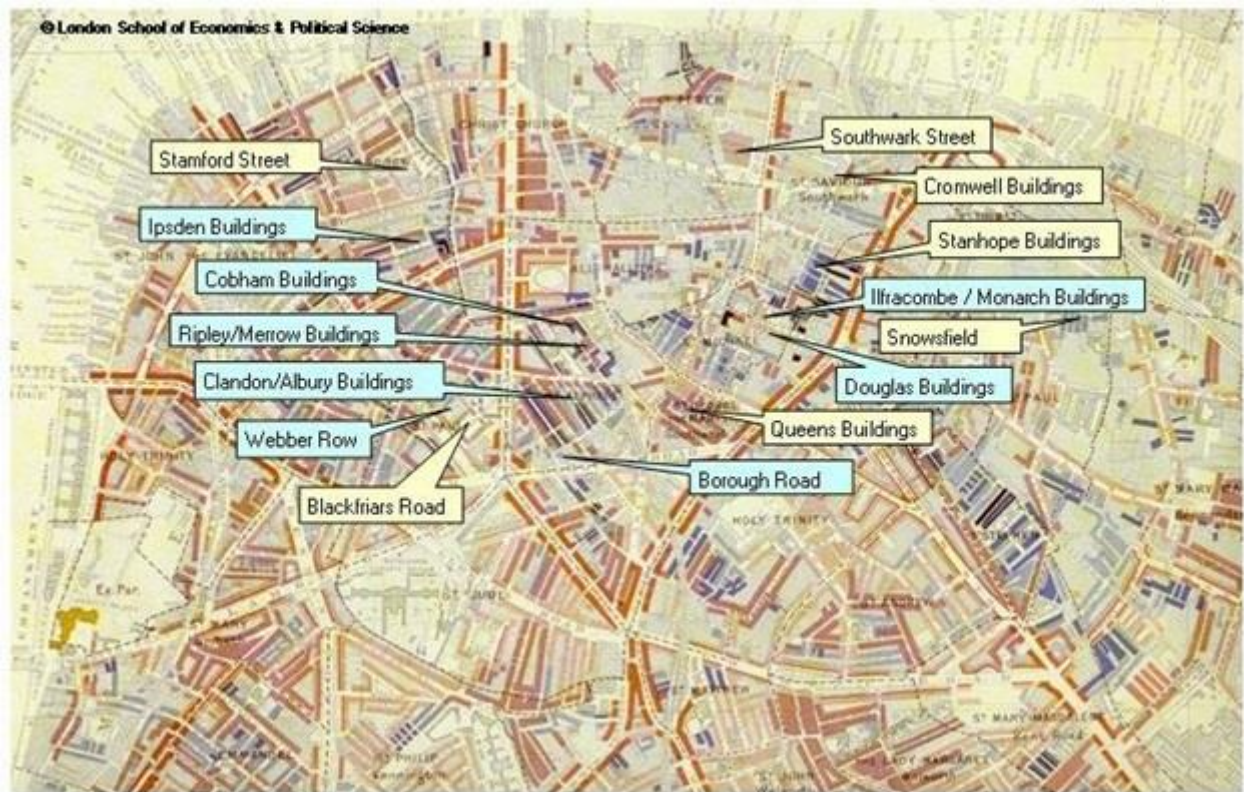
**THE DEVELOPMENT OF HOUSING FOR THE WORKING-  
CLASSES IN VICTORIAN SOUTHWARK**

**PART 2: THE BUILDINGS OF SOUTHWARK**

**MARTIN STILWELL**

This paper is Part 2 of a dissertation by the author for a Master of Arts in Local History from Kingston University in 2005. It covers the actual philanthropic housing schemes before WW1.

Part 1 covered Southwark, its history and demographics of the time.



## Cromwell Buildings, Red Cross Street

1864, Improved Industrial Dwellings Company (IIDC)

18 dwellings, 64 rooms<sup>1</sup>, 61 actual residents on 1901 census<sup>2</sup>

At first sight, it is a surprise that this relatively small building has survived in a predominantly commercial area. This survival is mainly due to it being a historically significant building as it is only the second block built by Sydney Waterlow's IIDC, and the first of a new style developed by Waterlow in conjunction with builder Matthew Allen. They used some ideas from a suggested design by Henry Roberts at the 1851 Great Exhibition, but many features of the blocks are from Waterlow himself. Most of the IIDC buildings erected over the next 20 years have features that can be seen in this early building and which distinguish them from many other developer's buildings. Waterlow wanted each dwelling to be self-contained with a sink and WC; unlike some other developers such as Peabody and the East End Dwellings Company who built "associate dwellings" where these amenities were shared.



Figure 1: Cromwell Buildings, front



Figure 2: Cromwell Buildings, rear

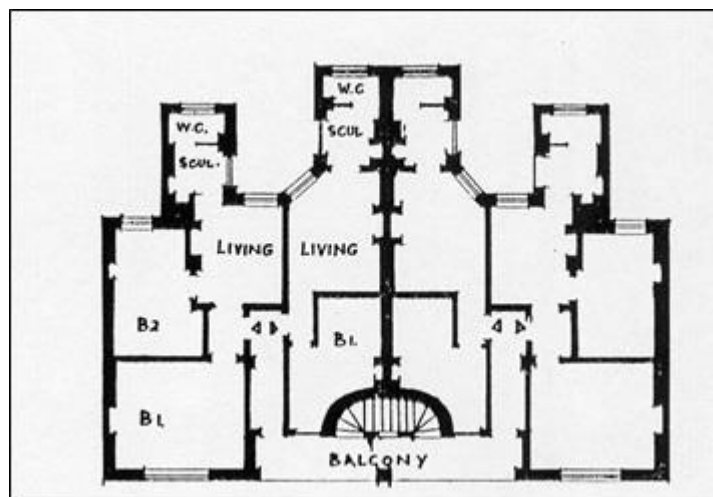


Figure 3: Cromwell Buildings, plan

There are three key features that can clearly be seen in the photographs and plan above: a balcony entrance, accessed from a central spiral stairway; a cramped design for the rear of the building, but

one which allows daylight to as much of the interior as possible; and a WC and scullery for each dwelling.

Although this self-containment would have made rents slightly higher than for more basic dwellings because of reduced density, Waterlow believed that his tenancies would be longer and the tenants more reliable. As he continued to build this type of self-contained dwelling, he must have been convinced that his plans were working.

As a comparison, the photograph below shows another early IIDC buildings where the style can be seen repeated.



Figure 4: Columbia Square, Shoreditch (1872)

With Sydney Waterlow's belief that building better class dwellings would attract better class tenants, due to the slightly higher rents and strict tenancy controls, one would expect that the occupations of the tenants would reflect this.

It therefore comes as a surprise to find very varied occupations recorded in the census returns. Table 1 shows the occupations. Of interest is not just the varied occupations, but the movement away from "mechanic" trades and how few can be connected to Borough Market close by. The table shows the occupations for the same dwelling across the four relevant census returns.

1871	1881	1891	1901
Clerk (tea)	Carman	Watchman	No census details
Unemployed porter	Grocer's assistant	Grocer's assistant	No census details
unoccupied	Engine fitter	Cook	No census details
Brushmaster	Poulterer	Haggler	No census details
Coffee house keeper	Coffee house keeper	Housekeeper	No census details
Railway carman	Packer	unoccupied	Waterside labourer
Brass moulder	Engine fitter	Packer	Stationer's cutter
Porter	Printer	Coppersmith	Carman (flour & grain)
Warehouseman	Engine fitter	Brewer's labourer	Horsekeeper (for builder)
Retired	Railway worker	General labourer	Bacon dryer
Groom	Porter	Porter	Foreman at grain w'house
Engineer	City PC	Groom	Omnibus inspector
Brewer's labourer	Brass moulder	Porter	Porter at wine stores
Carpenter	Porter	Salesman	Bedstead maker
Compositor	Millwright	Driller	Carman (provisions)
Glass/Emery cloth maker	Labourer	Carman	Engineer's fitter
Compositor	Printer	Porter	Labourer (GPO)
Porter	Silver burnisher	Fitter	Grocers porter
Brass founder	Engineer's labourer	Engineer's labourer	Bus inspector
Brass founder	Engine driver	Beer retailer	Fishmonger
Widow	Widow	Unoccupied	Carman (to pie merchant)
Brewer's servant	Waiter	Shopman	Brewer's servant

Table 1: Occupations of Cromwell Building from census returns



## **Blackfriars Road**

1871, Peabody Trust

367 dwellings, 772 rooms<sup>3</sup>, actual residents on 1901 census 1272<sup>4</sup>

This significant development was built on the site of the Magdalen Hospital for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes, and was a purely philanthropic venture with no slums or working-class housing demolished to make way for it.



Figure 5: Blackfriars Rd, published in the Illustrated London News, March 23rd 1872



Figure 6: Blackfriars Rd detail from 1879 OS map



Figure 7: Blackfriars Rd inner courtyard



Figure 8: Blackfriars Rd, typical rear view



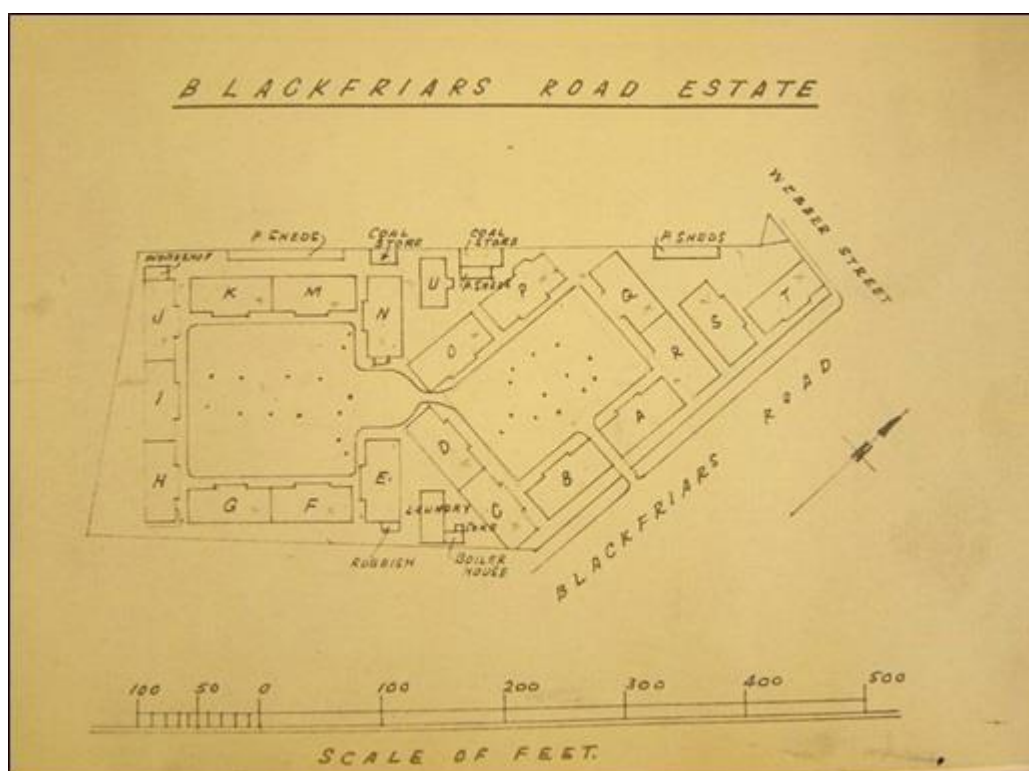


Figure 9: Blackfriars Rd plan. Blocks S, T and U are later additions not on the 1879 map above

The buildings followed a successful style, developed by Henry Darbishire at Essex Road Islington, of large blocks around communal courtyards. The Blackfriars Road development was praised by *The Builder* as being superior to earlier developments by Peabody because the blocks are “*more spread about, less lofty and less barrack*”<sup>5</sup>. The lower density and reduced block height was economically viable on this site because the land purchase price was less than for many areas north of the Thames.

Each block consists of 1, 2, 3 or 4-roomed dwellings, and featured communal WCs and a washroom on each landing shared between 4 dwellings (following the “associate dwelling” principle), and a bathroom on the ground floor of each block.

From the photographs and drawings above it can be seen that the architecture differed noticeably from IIDC buildings. In the Peabody building there is a lack of detail, and the effect is to look more like barrack blocks. There are no external walkways and access is via internal stairs and landings. The sandy-coloured brickwork, broken visually by lighter strips, is common to all Peabody buildings of the period. The construction of the building placed great importance on ventilation, plumbing and waste disposal (chutes) and this attention to detail has enabled most of them to be economically modernised over the subsequent century.

The occupations at Blackfriars Road would be expected to have less of the Artisan and Super Artisan, and more of the manual trades. The census reflects this as can be seen in Table 2. The occupations represent those of the main earner of the family and the categorisation is as a guide only and not to any strict classification, such as to the Booth-Armstrong Occupation Codes.

	1881	1891	1901
Labourer	38	34	37
Porter	26	20	20
Groom/cabman/drayman	27	26	34
Needlework/tailor/dressmaker	20	24	24
Brass/Iron founder/smith	19	22	14
Warehouseman	17	25	15
Printing trade	14	19	18
Stationary trade	14	16	23
GPO/Letter carrier/messenger	13	9	13
Clerk	11	10	4
Painter/paperhanger	10	4	3
Constable	10	10	2
Carpenter/plumber	10	8	5
Char/ironer	9	13	26
Retail/insurance	8	18	9
Packer	6	6	15
Mechanic/engineer/fitter	5	3	11
Furrier	4	3	1
Leatherworker/currier	4	3	2
Nurse	4	4	4
Gilder/goldbeater/watchmaker	4	2	0
Servant/waiter	4	3	11
Railway/stoker	4	4	0
Hatter	3	7	4
Stonemason	3	8	5
Timekeeper/watchman	3	2	6
Bricklayer	3	2	6
Shoe/bootmaker	3	1	0
Mantle maker	3	2	0
Ticket inspector	3	2	1
Cooper	2	1	0
Dairy	2	0	0
Plasterer	1	2	0
Fireman	1	0	0
Brewing/Wine	1	2	4
Baker	1	0	2
Fishmonger	1	1	0
Tobacco worker	0	5	4
Commissionaire/attendant	0	3	5
Missionary	0	3	0
Theatrical costumier	0	2	1
Coffee trade	0	2	3
Seed trade	0	1	0
Sailor	0	1	0
Foreman	0	0	3

Table 2 Peabody, Blackfriars Road occupations of main household earner

The Needlework/tailor/dressmaker and Char/ironer occupations would include many female heads of households, who would mainly be widows. The increase in these occupations through the 20 years is understandable as the buildings benefiting from a stable occupancy and widows often remained, financially supported by older children. The limited options for widows to earn a living makes it inevitable that these two categories are high in the list.

There are some very interesting occupations amongst the three census returns. These include:

1881	1891	1901
Cement tester	Dresser at theatre	Gunsmith (aged 24)
Musical instrument maker	Billiard table maker	Bookmaker's clicker
Licensed appraiser	Assistant artist at pottery	Projectile gauger
Bible woman	Collar button hole maker	Furrier's puller
Church beadle	Glass stainer	Cricket bat maker
Optician	Tent fitter	Medical capsule maker
Corn sampler	Chapel keeper	Borough scavenger
Jewellery case maker	Sugar boiler	House of Commons lamplighter
Photographer	Day man at theatre	Theatrical propertyman
Perfumer	Music teacher	
Mission woman		
Skilled bleacher		
Bonnet shape maker		

Table 3: Some interesting occupations at Blackfriars Road

## **Stamford Street**

1875, Peabody Trust

352 dwellings, 786 rooms<sup>6</sup>, 1462 residents<sup>7</sup>

This development closely followed Blackfriars Road. Although just outside Southwark, it provides a useful comparison as it has approximately the same number of dwellings but on a smaller site than the Blackfriars Rd development. The site was previously a poorly utilised industrial area. All the usual Henry Darbishire features are present in the design of the buildings.

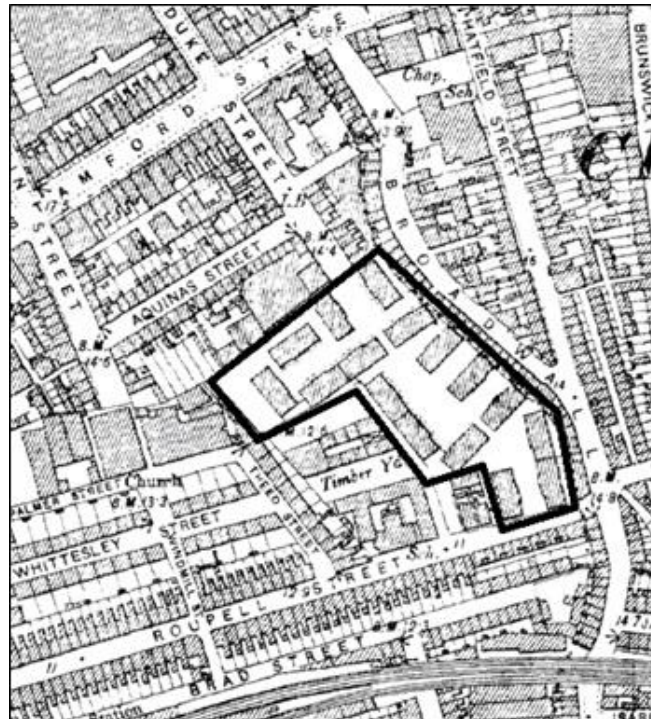


Figure 10: Stamford Street details from 1896 OS map



Figure 11: Stamford Street from Duchy Street



Figure 12: Stamford Street, Roupell Street side



## Southwark Street

1876, Peabody Trust

264 dwellings, 600 rooms<sup>8</sup>, 973 residents<sup>9</sup>

Another Peabody site following the standard Darbishire design. Once again the site was a difficult one to use (it was part of a vinegar distillery) and as much use of the land was made as possible. The site has a particularly restricted entrance as the land in front was used for commercial premises.

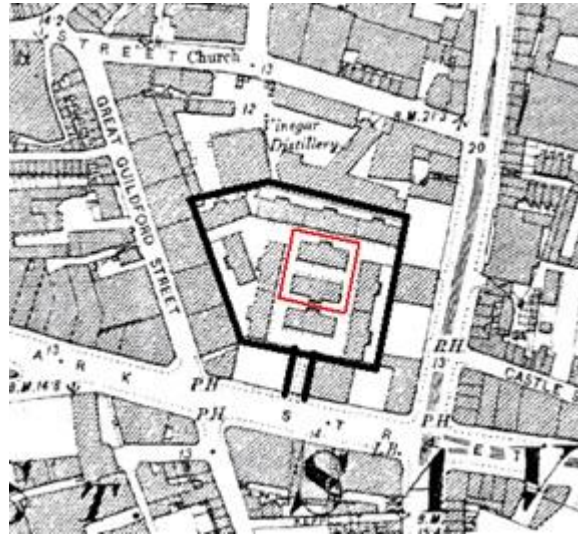


Figure 13: Peabody Southwark Street detail from 1896 OS Map



Figure 14: Inner Courtyard. Swings are where demolished blocks once stood



Figure 15: Peabody Southwark Street, the only road access

Unusually for Peabody, there was no inner courtyard and the proximity of the buildings to each other must have made life for the tenants in the lower floors somewhat claustrophobic. The two inner blocks as marked in red on the 1896 map have since been demolished to make a courtyard and create a better environment for other tenants.

The patterns of tenancies from the 1881, 1891 and 1901 census returns follow a similar pattern to Peabody Blackfriars Road, as expected. There is an increase in brewing occupations, which is no surprise with a brewery close by. On the other hand, the lack of coopers is harder to understand. The char/ironer type trades carried out by women increases through the years as there would be an increase in widows living in the dwellings.

	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>	<b>1901</b>
Labourer	29	32	34
Porter	18	21	18
Groom/cabman/draysman	18	16	10
Brass/iron founder/smith	16	9	11
Printing trade	14	12	11
GPO/letter carrier/messenger	14	7	7
Stationary trade	12	7	14
Warehouseman	12	13	13
Policeman	11	11	3
Brewing/Wine	10	10	9
Needlework/tailor/dressmaker	9	16	7
Mechanic/engineer/fitter	7	15	7
Timekeeper/watchman	7	6	3
Clerk	6	2	5
Packer	6	6	9
Painter/paperhanger	5	0	3
Carpenter/plumber	4	4	6
Char/ironer	4	17	21
Baker/confectioner	4	0	0
Bricklayer	4	2	1
Retail/insurance	3	5	7
Railway/engine driver/stoker	5	11	3
Hatter	3	3	4
Leatherworker/currier	2	0	0
Nurse	2	3	5
Servant/waiter	2	6	3
Stonemason	2	2	1
Shoe/bootmaker	2	0	0
Seed trade	2	0	0
Cork sorter	2	0	0
Ticket inspector	1	1	3
Commissionaire/attendant	1	1	1
Tobacco worker	1	0	1
Missionary	1	0	1
Rent collector	1	0	0
Lighterman	1	0	0
Cooper	1	0	0
Fishmonger	1	0	0
Butcher	0	2	2
Cook	0	1	4
Baker/miller	0	1	1
Plasterer	0	1	1
Mantle maker	0	1	1
Coffee trade	0	1	1
Window cleaner	0	1	0
Furrier	0	1	0
Wheelwright	0	1	0
Mustard trade	0	0	2
Asbestos worker	0	0	2

Table 4: Peabody, Southwark Road occupations of main household earner

The diversity of occupations follows a similar pattern to Peabody estate in Blackfriars Road. The table below shows some interesting occupations as recorded in the census returns.

1881	1891	1901
Paper glazier	Hood cutter for perambulator	Watercress dealer
Seed crusher's pressman	Steam crane diver	Asbestos weaver
Connoisseur	Eel salesman	Jam packer
Attendant of Monument Column		Quill pen cutter
Excavator		Bailiff
Mustard maker		Money taker at baths
Chocolate maker		Chamber woman
Wax modeller		Bed woman to LCC
Brace maker		Pioneer Sgt Scots Guards (aged 24)
Draughtsman		

Table 5: Some interesting occupations at Southwark Road

## Queens Buildings

1881-4 (now demolished), National Model Dwellings Company

667 dwellings<sup>10</sup>, 1,210 rooms, 3,321 residents<sup>11</sup>

This development was the largest and densest in north Southwark prior to the Great War. It was built on the site of the Queen's Bench Prison by MR J.W. Hobbs as a private venture, but the whole site was soon purchased by The National Model Dwellings Company<sup>12</sup>. There is little statistical information available on the construction or design of the site, but what information is available gives conflicting views on the merits of the buildings.

The 1885 report by the Mansion House Council is damning: *"In the planning of this estate, and of the internal details of the dwellings, it is impossible to speak with praise. The closed-in yards, the narrow passages at the back (in which it is, to say the least, surprising to find a public house), all tell of want of proper care for ventilation and due regard for the benefit of sunlight; while the dark staircase, unprovided with that front-to-back ventilation so needful to prevent their becoming carriers of disease from floor to floor, the very defective accommodation for washing and drying, and the still more defective arrangements for dust disposal, are errors of a very serious nature"*<sup>13</sup>.

This contrasts with an article in *The Building News* of 1881. This newspaper was not interested in any social aspects of the building, but just the construction. Reading the article, one gets the impression of a well-designed building, considering the size of the site and the requirement to build as many dwellings as possible. *".....These dwellings called "Queen's Buildings" are, without exception, the largest group of buildings erected in London for the purpose, and consist of several immense blocks, comprising accommodation for 150 families, each dwelling containing a suite of two or three rooms, self-contained and separated from the others in the same group. To be more precise, each floor comprises a 2 room and a 3 room dwelling, access to which is by a stone staircase, common to each block of five stories. Each dwelling is provided with a sink, copper, range, dust-shoot, and w.c.; the rooms are of good size, and furnished as completely as houses of a superior rent. The lower stories are finished as shops, which face the Scovell Road, opposite the rows or blocks. The rents range from 6s 6d to 10s 6d per week.*

*In the planning and construction of these comparatively immense dwellings, we find convenience, economy of space, and substantiality have been the chief objects of the builder. The situation is undoubtedly one of the best which could have been selected. These buildings are in an easy distance of the large warehouses and wharves on the Surrey side of the Thames, and within a mile of the City, not far from the Elephant & Castle, Blackfriars, and close to the Borough Rd stations of the London, Chatham & Dover Railway; the tenants who occupy them are in a very central position in regard to the chief centres of work. The two parallel rows of blocks already built abut at the west – and on the Southwark Bridge Road, and on the east on the main route to London Bridge, to which latter they are at right angles. A new road called Scovell Road is thus formed between. On the south side the buildings are bounded by Borough Road. Another series of blocks, forming a third parallel row, are about to be erected on the north side facing Collinson Street, and these have a series of cross or lateral blocks behind abutting on the back of the present rows, so that the greatest advantage is taken of the area. From what we have said, there are ten sets of dwellings in a block between each pair of party walls, comprising in all twenty-five rooms, without including the shops and basements. These blocks are over 30ft frontage each, and one row contains nine of them. The depth from front to back is 35ft. the entrances and staircases to the dwellings just completed are in the rear, and are placed centrally. On each side we find, on entering, a kitchen or living room, fitted with one of Doulton's stoneware sinks, a copper (Smeaton's patent), a dresser, coal bunker, a dust-shoot, forming a projection on the outside, and a w.c., also projecting and entering from a small balcony. Fronting the roadway are the bedrooms.*



*Cupboards are provided in each room, and the woodwork is grained and varnished. The closets are fitted with Tylor's apparatus. We also find the ventilation of the dwellings has been attended to; the soil pipes are carried up, and each is open at the top; the closets, forms a projection on each side of the open stairs from top to bottom, and have external windows; the windows of the rooms have sashes, but no special mode of ventilation other than the fireplace flue and the windows has been introduced. The roofs form flats, and are constructed of joists, 9in. by 3in., with concrete filling in, and covered by Seyssel asphalte. No special provision to render the dwellings fireproof has been attempted. The floors are of wooden joists, but substantial, and the staircases and landings have been constructed of stone, and rest upon solid walls, so that one great risk is minimised.*

*In the architectural treatment of those dwellings there is little to call for remark. White perforated bricks have been used in the fronts, with main gauged arches neatly executed, in some cases springing from stone skewbacks, or relieved by lintels and labels of stone. The windows are varied in their dressings; the centre windows of each block slightly break forward, and have stone jamb-shafts, skewbacks and labels; the others have stone lintels and arches of brick. There is a stone corbel-table with a series of arches below the cornice, with trusses at the piers; and the elevations finish with a panelled brick parapet, the straightness of which is broken at intervals by ball terminals over the piers. Between the blocks, marking their division, are narrow brick pilasters springing from carved corbels, and horizontal members or stringcourses, break the otherwise vast brick fronts. It is difficult, indeed, to treat in an architectural manner immense rows of dwellings where economical considerations have first regard. Given a front and back wall, with a repetition of internal arrangements of precisely the same kind, it is impossible to do more than vary the windows or employ slight brick or stone relief. More might, we think, have been done with the staircases; but these occupy the rear of each row, and the designer was left to make the best of a long lofty façade of brick with nothing but windows of bedrooms and shops below. In these circumstances the architect is restricted; to give light and shadow, calls for breaks and recesses, and to vary the roof line, gables and expensive roofing are entailed – both out of the question. Lightness, without conforming to any style, appears to have been aimed at, and the fresh new fronts, with their neatly finished windows and black tuck-pointed joints, are at least unpretending. Their backs, with the closet and dust-shoot projections, are perfectly plain, only relieved by red-brick arches, and by the small balconies on each floor which give access from the living rooms to the closets and dust-hoppers. The acute angle at which the ends of the rows are cut off by the Borough Road, made it difficult to obtain a pleasing front to the road. At the other end a coffee-tavern has been built, called the Queen's Bench Tavern, at which tenants and others may get good refreshments of the non-alcoholic kind at reasonable prices. The interior is fitted up in a thorough manner. We see a large coffee-room or dining-room, lined by stained and varnished boarding, with painted glass windows in which are introduced in the centres representations of the Queens Bench prison, with some of the sports in which the inmates delighted. Below is a second-class dining-room while on the first-floor are capital reading, billiard, and bagatelle-rooms. These extensive ranges of dwellings and tavern have passed lately into the hands of the National Model Dwellings Company, which was established for the purposes of providing model dwellings for the working classes, of approved sanitary construction, in the metropolis and other large centres of population. The third row of dwellings, just commenced, will also be acquired by the company on favourable terms. The profits are to be apportioned in paying a half-yearly dividend of 5 per cent., the balance of profits being devoted to a triennial bonus and a contingency-fund. We may add, the buildings have been carried out under the supervision of Mr W. E. Sinclair, clerk of works for Mr Hobbs, and the same gentleman, we hear, has prepared the plans and has carried to a successful completion the details of the blocks we have described.”<sup>14</sup>.*



Figure 16: OS map 1879 showing prison site cleared



Figure 17: OS Map 1896



Figure 18: Queens Buildings, Scovell Road, showing wartime bomb damage



Figure 19: Queens Buildings, view of a rear courtyard shortly before demolition in 1971

As regards the occupations of the tenants of Queens Buildings, many are labourers or tradesman, but with some very interesting and surprising occupations spread around the buildings. Table 6 gives an overview of the numbers of tenants in particular trades or occupations. The lower figures for 1891 are because 35% of the tenancies were unoccupied.

	1891	1901
Labourer	48	86
Groom/cabman/draysman	26	45
Porter/messenger	19	25
Printing trade	19	17
Bricklayer	18	10
Brass/Iron founder	16	8
Constable	11	6
Metropolitan fireman	10	0
Warehouseman	9	14
Timekeeper/watchman	8	8
Plasterer	3	4
Hatter	3	0
Stonemason	3	2
Cheesemonger	3	0
Dock/Wharf worker	1	12
Cooper	0	3

Table 6: Queens Buildings occupations of main household earner

Allowing for the increased occupancy of the buildings between 1891 and 1901, there is a noticeable trend towards the manual labourer and away from the “mechanic”. The Metropolitan

Fireman appear to have moved away by 1901, suggesting the fire brigade had housing arranged elsewhere. There is also a noticeable increase in dock and wharf labourers. These trends suggest that Queens Building was at the lower end of the Model Dwellings market by 1901. Note that the 86 “labourers” in 1901 represents 13% of all tenancies.

Amongst these labouring classes in 1891 are some surprising individuals: beadle, railway inspector, station master, music hall artiste, missionary preacher, and a musician. Of these more interesting occupations, only an “organist” remains in 1901.

## Douglas Buildings

1887, Improved Industrial Dwellings Company (IIDC)

144 dwellings, 383 rooms<sup>15</sup>, 400 residents<sup>16</sup>

This site is the first to be developed in Southwark as a result of slum clearance under an act of parliament (Artizans' Dwellings Act 1875).

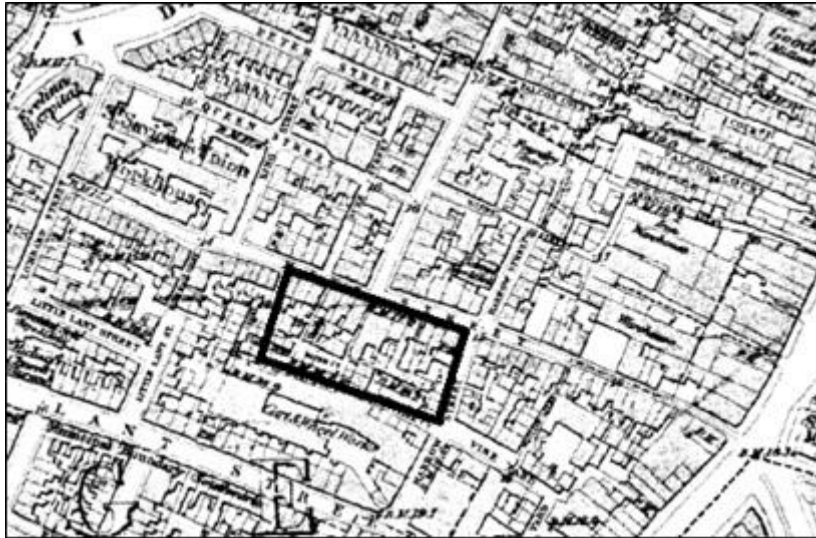


Figure 20: Douglas Bldgs site prior to the slum clearance and the construction of Marshalsea Road (OS Map 1879)

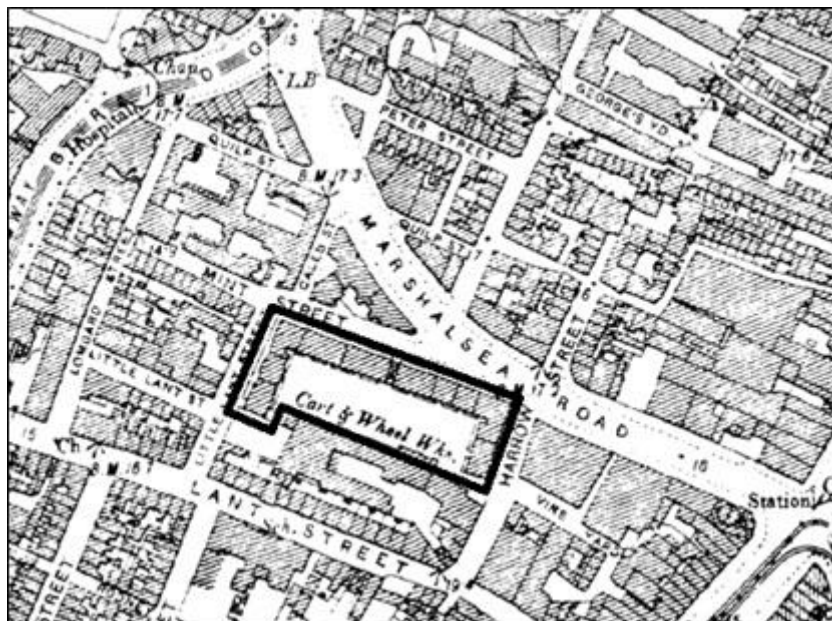


Figure 21: Douglas Buildings detail from OS Map of 1896

This Douglas Buildings differ from IIDC's earlier designs in that it does not have access balconies on the outside, and represents a simpler and more basic design introduced by Waterlow in the 1870's. Many of the earlier visual features are missing and, externally, the block is little different from any other Model Dwelling of the time. The IIDC should be given credit for not building another block in the large yard in the rear, but the temptation must have been there.



The original slums were cleared following reports from Dr Bateson, the local Medical Officer of Health, on the lack of ventilation; the poor state of many of the buildings; and the evidence of low state of health of the inhabitants.



Figure 22: Douglas Buildings front view along Mint Street



Figure 23: Douglas Buildings rear of a side wing

The site was purchased by the IIDC from the Metropolitan Board of Works (MBW) for £5,650, but any buildings erected had to be restricted for use as working class dwellings for a minimum of 10 years. The amount paid by the IIDC represented a fraction of the cost to the MBW as this site, along with two others in the scheme, sold for £14,342 yet cost the MBW £66,785 for the purchase and compensation to owners and tenants<sup>17</sup>.

The outline of classes of occupations are in Table 7 below.

	<b>1891</b>	<b>1901</b>
Policeman	28	14
Iron/metal worker	10	7
Porter	9	3
Mechanic/fitter	8	4
Labourer	7	5
Warehouseman	7	4
Printing trade	6	12
Clerk	6	7
Tailor/needleworker	5	6
Stationery	4	9
Char	4	4
Retail	4	4
Caretaker/housekeeper/attendant	3	4
Engine driver	3	1
Letter carrier/messenger	2	5
Foreman/manager	2	5
Carpenter	2	3
Hatter	2	3
Bricklayer	2	2
Cab/carman	2	1
Missionary	2	1
Painter	2	0
Accountant/book keeper	2	0
Commissionaire	2	0
Leather worker	2	0
Pensioner/Living on own means	1	12
Baker	1	1
Wheelwright	1	0
Shoe/bootmaker	1	0
Blind maker	1	0
Mantle maker	1	0
Pier master	1	0
Upholsterer	1	0
Packer	0	3
Watchman/time keeper	0	3
Inspector/ticket	0	2
Bookmaker	0	1
Electrician	0	1
Omnibus conductor	0	1
Milliner	0	1
Basket maker	0	1
Cork cutter	0	1
Cook	0	1
Nurse	0	1
Silk worker	0	1

Table 7: Douglas Buildings occupations of the main household earner

The differences in the prominent occupations between this IIDC building and the Peabody buildings are very noticeable. Douglas Buildings has more tenants in the Super Artisan and non-manual occupations. The number of policeman suggests an arrangement between IIDC and the police forces. The 1901 census shows a surprising number of tenants “living on own means”, suggesting that either they or their deceased husbands had pensioned occupations, or that the children still living at home were in stable and good earning occupations.

As with the previous buildings, there are some tenants with interesting sounding occupations.

1891	1901
Whip maker's assistant	Chaff cutter
Hosier's assistant	Sewerman
Baptist theology student	Steel girder cutter
City Missionary to the Fallen	Steel girder driller
Instrument maker	
Water meter tester	
Moulder	

Table 8: Some interesting occupations at Douglas Buildings

## Ilfracombe and Monarch Buildings

1888, James Hartnoll

50/20 dwellings, 141/45 rooms (see text), 184/59 residents<sup>18</sup>

These two unusual blocks were built by James Hartnoll either side of the new Marshalsea Road. At first sight the buildings look to be architecturally identical to Douglas Buildings opposite, but closer inspection shows that the windows are different, as are the rear balconies.

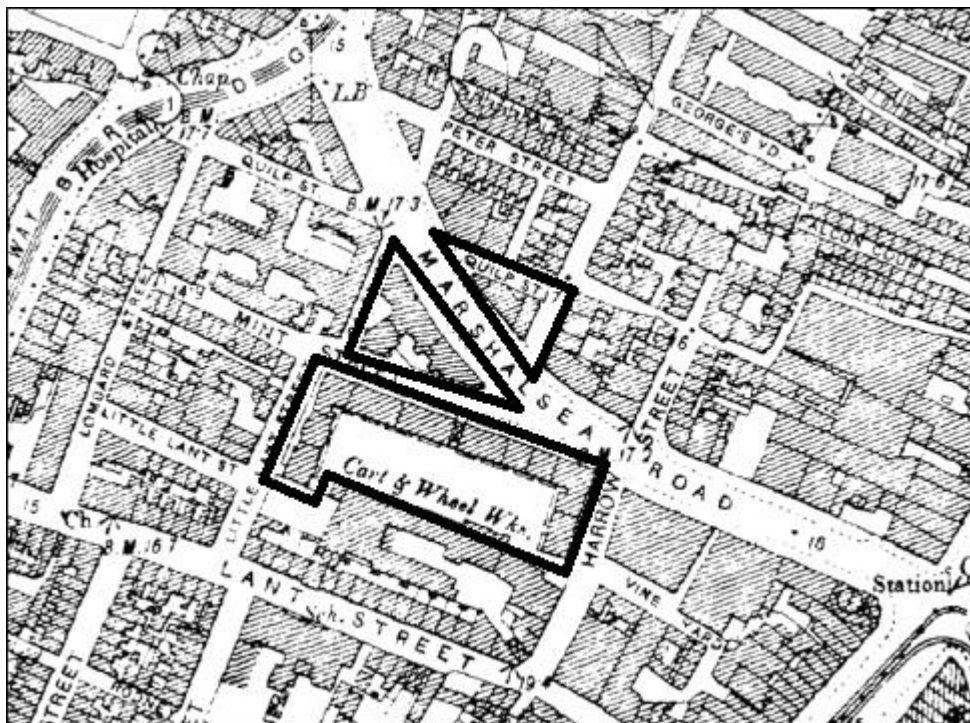


Figure 24: Ilfracombe/Monarch detail from OS Map of 1896

In the map above the Douglas Buildings have been left marked as a reference point. The left triangle is Ilfracombe and the right triangle is Monarch. The triangular shape of the buildings shows how difficult it must have been to erect dwellings on an unpromising site. The curved path of the new road would seem to be unnecessary and, at first sight, could have been built over the existing straight Mint Street, but that would have necessitated the demolition of the Mint Street workhouse and local pressures must have dictated that it could not be demolished or altered.

Unusually for James Hartnoll buildings, they did not originally have Germanic names, but have always been called Ilfracombe and Monarch. No plans or details exist to establish the number of dwellings and rooms, but the 1901 census indicates 6 x 1-roomed; 18 x 2-roomed; 40 x 3-roomed; and 6 x 4-roomed dwellings.





Figure 25: Ilfracombe in the middle and Douglas on the left



Figure 26: Front of Ilfracombe



Figure 27: Ilfracombe - Southwark's own "Flat Iron" building



Figure 28: Rear of Ilfracombe



Figure 29: Monarch Building

In the above pictures note: the severe triangular shape of both sites; the glazing enclosing the original open balconies at the front of both buildings; and the modern lift shaft added to the rear open balconies of Ilfracombe.

Both buildings are now owned by Peabody Trust (as is Douglas) and are in good condition.

As a comparison, the picture below shows a James Hartnoll building in Clerkenwell. On this building (now owned by Camden Council) the front balconies are still open, as originally built.



Figure 30: Another Hartnoll building, on Clerkenwell Road

The occupations of the tenants are, not surprisingly, similar to Douglas Buildings. Table 9 gives a breakdown of the occupations of the main earner of the family.

	1891	1901
Porter	5	1
Sales traveller/Retail	5	6
Letter carrier/messenger	5	3
Policeman	4	15
Mechanic/fitter	4	1
Pensioner/Living on own means	3	7
Tailor/needleworker	3	4
Warehouseman	3	2
Clerk	3	2
Cab/carman/draysman	2	3
Foreman/manager	2	2
Carpenter	2	2
Printing trade	2	0
Labourer	1	4
Watchman/time keeper	1	2
Church official	1	1
Tea/coffee	1	1
Commissionaire	1	1
Brewery/wine	1	1
Bricklayer	1	0
Iron/metal worker	1	0
Stationery	1	0
Ropemaker	1	0
Furrier	1	0
Fishmonger	1	0
Tobacco	1	0
Miller	0	1
Packer	0	1
Dairy worker	0	1
Char	0	1
Watch maker	0	1
Caretaker	0	1
Cooper	0	1

Table 9: Ilfracombe & Monarch Buildings occupations of the main household earner

The more interesting occupations include: colour grinder, tarman, verger, brewers wood vat maker, private enquiry agent, and tea tester & buyer.



### Stanhope & Mowbray Buildings

Post 1881 (now demolished), Victoria Dwellings Association/Metropolitan Industrial Dwellings Company

240/189 dwellings, 911/670 residents<sup>19</sup>

Little historical data or photographs are available for these buildings. Charles Booth writes that they were both owned by the Metropolitan Industrial Dwellings Company at the time, yet there is some doubt over this<sup>20</sup>. Records of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for 1906 state that Stanhope was sold to the Victoria Dwellings Association, and Mowbray to the Metropolitan Industrial Dwellings Company.

The buildings were not popular, according to Booth, with many thieves, but few prostitutes.

*“...then come some blocks of Metropolitan Industrial Dwellings Company houses: the two northern blocks called Stanhope Bldgs: the two southern Mowbray Bldgs: the front blocks are better in both cases than those behind. Rent in the first blocks Stanhope Bldgs single rooms 3/-. 2r 4/6 & 5/6, 3r 7/- & 7/6. Mowbray Bldgs single 3/-. 3/3 & 3/6, 2 rooms 4/6, 4/9, 5/- & 5/6, 3 rooms 7/3 (taken from notice board). Evans place is the dividing line between Stanhope & Mowbray Bldgs: the windows of the back blocks are very bad: many thieves but not many prostitutes in them. They are 5 stories high, dingy, bread & meat & mess in the street.”*<sup>21</sup>



Figure 31: Stanhope/Mowbray site on OS Map of 1879

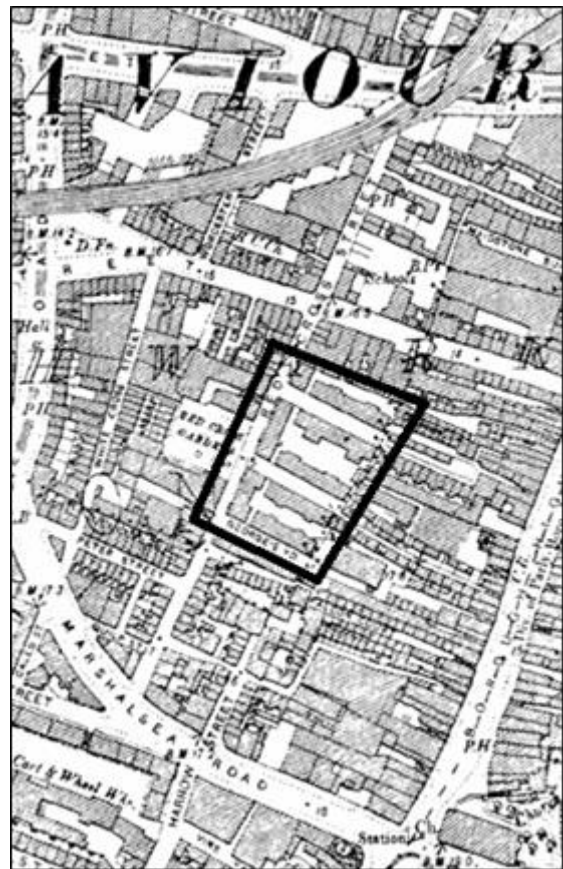


Figure 32: Stanhope/Mowbray on OS Map of 1894



Figure 33: View of one block of Mowbray Buildings from the “Little Dorrit” playground

From Booth walk B363 p213, 7<sup>th</sup> June 1899

*Stanhope Bldgs & Mowbray Bldgs in Red Cross St are managed by Miss Hill. The front blocks are better than the back. “Miss Hill has tried to prevent the low class from leaving them”. Mowbray Bldgs are worse than Stanhope Bldgs. Miss Sewell says that these buildings are so badly planned that they never can be well managed. The dark staircases harbour ruffians at night. Miss Sheepshank said they were so dark that even by day you could not see the numbers on the doors.*

Table 10 gives an guide to the types of occupations carried out by the tenants, as recorded in the 1891 and 1901 census returns. Note that there is no 1891 census for Stanhope Buildings as they had not been fully finished by this time.

	1891		1901	
	Stanhope	Mowbray	Stanhope	Mowbray
Labourer	Census	36	69	56
Char/Laundress	returns	12	12	21
Iron/Foundry/Smith	missing	12	7	4
Groom/Carman		11	19	18
Printing Trade		11	7	2
Porter		9	10	20
Tailor/Dressmaking		7	5	1
Retail/Hawker		6	14	10
Warehouseman		6	2	1
Mat/Basket Weaver		5	5	1
Woodworker/Cabinet/Carriage		5	4	1
Stationery		4	5	1
Engine driver/Fireman		4	1	2
Living on means/pensioner		3	4	1
Mechanic/Fitter		3	4	0
House painter		3	1	5
Leather trade/Tanner		3	0	4
Bakery/Confectionery		3	0	0
Cook		2	2	1
Glass trade		2	2	0
Servant		2	0	1
Brewery trade/cellarman		2	0	0
Wheelwright		2	0	0
Watchmaker/Gold/Jewellery		2	0	0
Caretaker/Attendant		1	3	0
Packer		1	2	1
Meat trade		1	1	2
Hat trade		1	1	0
Shoe/bootmaker		1	0	0
Artiste		1	0	0
Nurse		1	0	0
Mantle worker		0	3	0
Scavenger/Dustman		0	2	1
Fishmonger		0	2	1
Stevedore		0	2	0
Foreman		0	2	0
Cooper		0	2	0
Clerk		0	2	0
Messenger		0	2	0
Asbestos worker		0	1	0
Sawyer		0	1	0
Crane driver		0	1	0
Milkman		0	1	0
Bricklayer		0	0	8
Shoe black		0	0	2
Sack/Basket maker		0	0	2
Tobacco worker		0	0	1
Coffee trade worker		0	0	1
Watchman/Timekeeper		0	0	1
Railway worker		0	0	1
Baker/confectioner		0	0	1
Cork worker		0	0	1
Musician		0	0	1
Telephone linesman		0	0	1
Sweep		0	0	1

Table 10: Stanhope &amp; Mowbray Buildings occupations of the main household earner

The common occupations are similar to Queens Buildings with more of an emphasis towards manual and labouring trades rather than the “mechanic” and clerical trades. The low number of tenants working in the printing and stationery trades is a little surprising considering the number of printing works in the vicinity. There is quite a diversity of unusual trades recorded in the two census returns, as listed below.

1891	1901
Embosser	House broker
Starcher	Sausage maker
Pearl worker	Glass blower
Ballard dancer	Sewer flusher
Gun maker	Bill poster
Lawn tennis bat stringer	Hairdresser (male)
Tin bottle tester	Retired lighthouse keeper
	Horse hairdresser
	Corrugated iron fixer
	Horse slaughterer
	Ice cream vendor
	Scene shifter
	Street musician
	Wood pavior

## Ipsden Buildings

1888, James Hartnoll

85 dwellings, 334 residents<sup>22</sup>

Another James Hartnoll building that follows his standard practice of making as much use as possible of a limited site. The dwellings were originally called Waldeck Buildings which follows Hartnoll's tendency to give his buildings Germanic names. The name was changed, along with many other Hartnoll buildings, to a more Anglicised one during the Great War following the death of the late Mr Hartnoll's only son on the western front.



Figure 34: Windmill-Row detail from 1879 OS map before the site was cleared



Figure 35: Windmill-Row site detail from the 1894 OS map

The site was cleared under the “*Artizans’ Dwellings Act 1875-1882*” as a result of a high mortality rate. The figures have already been stated in Chapter **Error! Reference source not found.**

The plans below show the typical complexity of freehold, copyhold, leasehold and tenancy that had to be negotiated in compulsorily purchasing land and property<sup>23</sup>.





Figure 36: Original plans of Windmill-Row showing landowners and leaseholders

It is interesting to note that the whole western side of the site was already leased by a philanthropic organisation called The London Labourer's Dwellings Society.

Following negotiations with the interested parties, the property was purchased by the MBW for £9,902 giving, with legal and other expenses, a total expenditure of £12,307. The land was cleared immediately in the autumn of 1885. 459 persons were displaced and the replacement buildings were required to house the same number. No mention is made of what should happen to the existing tenants whilst the clearance and re-building took place but it is assumed that, as with all these schemes, they rented other property in the immediate area. The site was improved by widening the roads, and the remaining land sold to James Hartnoll in March 1888 for £3,050 resulting in a net cost to the MBW of £9,778. The dwellings were completed in 1889 and were designed to provide accommodation for 460 people. Despite this official figure, only 372 names appear on the 1891 census and 349 in 1901, illustrating the differences between an official maximum estimate based on occupancy of two per room, and the actual desirable occupancy as set by the tenants themselves.



The new buildings had to be maintained as working class dwellings in perpetuity and are currently owned by the Peabody Trust.

The design of the building shows all the classic Hartnoll features such as maximum use of the site; wide sash windows; and a rather plain exterior alleviated by white-painted stone lines and corners. The buildings make an interesting visual comparison to the Ilfracombe Buildings described earlier.



Figure 37: Ipsden Buildings Front (south)



Figure 38: Ipsden balconies at rear

Table 11 below shows that the tenants were more of the “super artisan” class, with a wide variety of occupations in 1891. However, it is clear that James Hartnoll must have come to a business arrangement with the local Police Forces as there are 35 policeman (mostly constables) in 1901. This represents a remarkable 41% of tenancies. It is probably not coincidence that the single policeman living in the building in 1891 is recorded as being a “Sub Inspector Metropolitan Police”.

	1891	1901
Carman/Groom	10	2
Printing trade	6	1
Foreman/official	6	0
Engineer/Fitter/Electrical	5	4
Retail	5	2
Porter	4	6
Telegraphy/Messenger/Post	4	2
Iron/Brass/Smith	4	0
Labourer	3	4
Caretaker/Watchkeeper	3	1
Carpenter	2	5
Warehouseman	2	2
Miller	2	1
Lightermen	2	1
Hairdresser	2	1
Waiter	2	0
Supervisor/Housekeeper	2	0
Clerk	2	0
Milk carrier	2	0
Dress/Tailor/Machinist	0	3
Engine driver	0	2
Attendant	0	1
Stoker	0	1
Leather worker	0	1
Baker/Confectioner	0	1
Police	1	35
Shoe/Boot maker	1	1
Church official	1	1
Painter/Decorator	1	1
Army	1	1
Stationery trade	1	1
Theatre worker	1	1
Cellarman	1	1
Wheelwright	1	0
Ship building	1	0
Wire puller	1	0
Agent	1	0
Gold beater	1	0
Tram driver	1	0
Cook	1	0
Upholstery	1	0

Table 11: Ipsden (Waldeck) Buildings occupations of the main household earner

The more interesting occupations include: auctioneer's assistant; recruiting Staff Sergeant; clog maker; Salvation Army preacher; barge builder; theatre wardrobe packer; evangelist; steam boiler cleaner; and quill pen cutter.

**Ripley/Merrow & Clandon/Albury Buildings**

1896, London County Council

102 dwellings, 390 residents<sup>24</sup>

**Refer to London County Council publication.**

**Cobham Buildings**

1898, London County Council

60 dwellings, 139 rooms, 232 residents<sup>25</sup>

**Refer to London County Council publication.**

**Guinness Buildings, Snowsfield**

1897/8, Guinness Trust

354 dwellings, 830 rooms<sup>26</sup>, 1678 residents<sup>27</sup>

This block of dwellings in Bermondsey is just outside the north Southwark area but provides an interesting comparison to the other buildings. Guinness was a latecomer to the philanthropic market but was able to learn from the mistakes and successes of earlier developers. The buildings were erected on land purchased privately, and not part of any slum-clearance scheme.



Figure 39: Snowsfield site - detail from 1872 OS Map



Figure 40: Snowsfield - detail from 1907 OS Map

The buildings are plain blocks with few architectural features apart from use of a quality red brick. The main pair of blocks were built in 1897 and the smaller blocks to the east in 1898 (these blocks have since been demolished).



Figure 41: Frontage from Snowfields



Figure 42: Rear of main Snowfield block

Many of the first occupants of this building were displaced by the South East Railway's expansion of their line from London Bridge Station, and the railway had reserved many of the dwellings to temporarily house these people until their own property was ready. As a result it would be expected that many occupations would be of the more labouring classes and, as can be seen in Table 12 below, this is very much the case.



	<b>1901</b>
Labourer	82
Carman/Groom	53
Porter	30
Leather/Cloth/Tanner	25
Char/Laundress	21
Warehouseman	14
Packer	10
Stationery trade	9
Iron/metal	7
Mechanic/Engineer/Fitter	6
Watchman/Caretaker/Time keeper	6
Cellarman	6
Clerk	5
Retail	5
Waiter/servant	5
Bakery/Confectionery	5
Tailor	4
Brush/Basket maker	4
Furrier	3
Fishmonger	3
Bricklayer	3
Attendant	2
Boot/Shoe maker	2
Stoker	2
Glass trade	2
Messenger	2
Colourman	2
Printing trade	2
Bus conductor	1
Waterman	1
Stone mason	1
Foreman	1
Jewellery/Watch maker	1
Street lamp lighter	1
Mantle maker	1
Cook	1
Hatter	1
Rope maker	1
Window cleaner	1
Pavior	1
Wine trade	1
Living on means	1
Painter/Decorator	1
Carpenter	1
Sweep	1
Miller	1
Stevedore	1
Journalist	1
Tent sewer	1
Tram driver	1

Table 12: Guinness Buildings occupations of the main household earner

Such a large building would be expected to yield many interesting occupations, but this is not the case. However, amongst the occupations in the 1901 census returns are: american trunk maker; perambulator hood maker; lawn tennis shoe maker; army accoutrement maker; book manufacturer's colour grinder; journalist and an onion peeler.

**Borough Road**

1900, London County Council

84 dwellings, 278 residents<sup>28</sup>

**Refer to London County Council publication.**

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<sup>1</sup> Home Office; Housing of the Working Classes in London; HMSO; 1903; p396

<sup>2</sup> 1901 census; RG13/361 folios 26-27, St Saviour Southwark, Enumerator District 1 (Note: all volumes of building residencies in this chapter are taken from the 1901 census except for the two developments completed after that date)

<sup>3</sup> Newsholme A; The Vital Statistics of Peabody Buildings and other Artisans' and Labourers' Block dwellings; Private; 1891; p20

<sup>4</sup> 1901 census; RG13/368, folios 79-101, St George the Martyr, ED4

<sup>5</sup> The Builder; XXIX, 1871

<sup>6</sup> Newsholme A; The Vital Statistics of Peabody Buildings and other Artisans' and Labourers' Block dwellings; Private; 1891; p20

<sup>7</sup> 1901 census; RG13/401, folios 82-105, St Andrews Lambeth

<sup>8</sup> Newsholme A; The Vital Statistics of Peabody Buildings and other Artisans' and Labourers' Block dwellings; Private; 1891; p20

<sup>9</sup> census; RG13/362, folios 5-21, St Saviour

<sup>10</sup> Register of Electors for Southwark, St George the Martyr, Division 1, polling district 3A, 1900-1

<sup>11</sup> 1901 census; RG13/366, folios 100-158, St George Martyr, ED5

<sup>12</sup> Dr D.McEwan; personal account and diary; 1886-1910; Southwark Library reference A117

<sup>13</sup> Mansion House Council on the Dwellings of the People; Report; 1885; pp46-47

<sup>14</sup> Extract from *The Building News*; Oct 28, 1881, p550

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<sup>17</sup> London County Council; The Housing Question in London; P.S.King & Son; 1900; p126

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<sup>19</sup> 1901 census; RG13/361, folios 65-79 & 50-61, St Saviour

<sup>20</sup> Charles Booth, walks, B363 pp154-155

<sup>21</sup> Charles Booth, walks, B363 pp154-155

<sup>22</sup> 1901 census; RG13/366, folios 40-43 & 19-20, St George Martyr

<sup>23</sup> LMA: MBW 1838/32

<sup>24</sup> 1901 census; RG13/367, folios 49-51 & 76-80, St George the Martyr

<sup>25</sup> 1901 census; RG13/367, folios 36-40, St George the Martyr

<sup>26</sup> Home Office; Housing of the Working Classes in London; HMSO; 1903; p395

<sup>27</sup> 1901 census; RG13/388, folios 16-29 & 52-65, Bermondsey

<sup>28</sup> 1901 census; RG13/367, folios 133-138, St George Martyr