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# THE METAMORPHOSIS OF BATTERSEA

1800-1914

## A Building History

by

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Subject area - History (Humanities)

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## ABSTRACT

*The Metamorphosis of Battersea* is a study of the process of building development in a London parish during the nineteenth century. Part I reviews existing literature on the subject and looks at the physical and pre-urban background. It also provides a brief overview of the creation of the essential infrastructure of the suburb, from sewers to railways and from churches to music halls, and looks at the social and occupational background of the population as it grew with breathtaking rapidity from less than 3,000 in 1801 to 170,000 a century later.

Part II discusses the evidence for building cycles in Battersea. The myriad men responsible for building the houses are then examined. This was an industry which essentially remained a collection of hand crafts throughout the period, albeit with some increase in the scale of operations after c.1870. Almost all of the thousands of builders and others came from within a five-mile radius of Battersea, and few lasted more than five years, most considerably less. The speculative nature of housebuilding was always at present and left a trail of bankruptcies and lesser failures in its wake.

A classification of building estates according to the occupation of the initiator is proposed. Most were small operators who often failed to make the sure profits they expected when they set out. Case studies in Part III demonstrate that despite the degree of fragmentation in both estates and building, the operation of the various processes tended to produce homogeneous results in terms of the type and quality of housing, and of the tenants who occupied it, at least when new. This convergence often occurred despite the aspirations of landowners and developers, so that the supply and demand equation was usually in balance over a mid- to longer-term period, although there were severe cyclical fluctuations causing casualties among the many groups associated with the transformation of Battersea from an agricultural settlement with a substantial industrial base to a fully-fledged London suburb, larger than most provincial towns.

## CONTENTS

Chapter	Title	Page
	Introduction	1
1.	Literature Review - The Genesis of Suburbia	3
2.	Battersea: Physical and Historical Background	25
3.	Victorian Battersea: The Provision of Infrastructure	38
4.	Society in Victorian Battersea	61
5.	Battersea 1790-1914: Building Cycles & Property Values	72
6.	The Builders of the Suburb 1840-1914	109
7.	Building Estates in Battersea 1790-1914: I General	132
8.	Building Estates in Battersea: II Types 1 & 2	152
9.	Building Estates in Battersea: III Types 3, 4 & 5	171
10.	Building Estates in Battersea: IV Type 6	190
11.	Building Estates in Battersea: V Types 7-10	207
12.	Building Estates in Battersea: VI Composite Types	222
13.	Building Estates in Battersea: VII Case Studies	237
14.	Conclusions	280
	Appendices	288
	Bibliography	344

## FIGURES AND APPENDICES

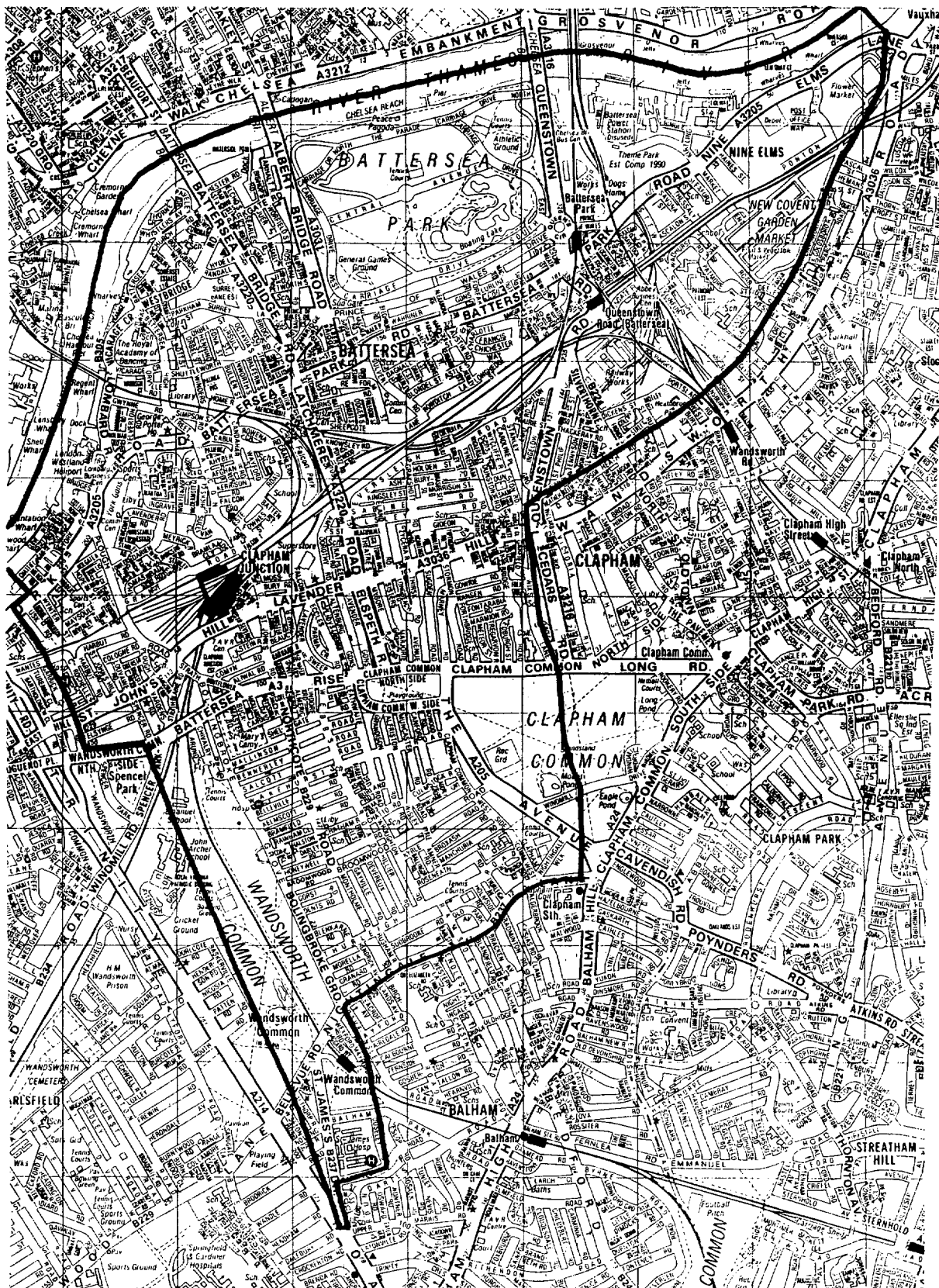
A. Figures	Title	Page
2.1	General Location Map	26
2.2	Drift Geology	27
3.1	Railways	42
3.2	Road and River Transport	47
3.3	Places of Worship c.1900	56
5.1	Housebuilding Cycles c.1790-1915	77-8
5.2	Trend in Land and Property Values	82
5.3	Cumulative Houses by Rateable Value	92-3
5.4	Boundaries of Development Sub-Zones	100
5.5	Mean and Median Centres of Building	101
6.1	Builders and Housing Starts by Period	111
6.2	Builders Addresses	123
7.1	General Map of Battersea Estates	133
7.2	Size of Estate by Period	136
7.3	A Model of Estate Development	141
8.1	Fields & Estates south of Battersea Park Road	155
8.2	Surrey Lane Estate Plan	157
8.3	Job Caudwell's Estate 1864	164
9.1	W.R. Glasier Estates 1852	172
9.2	Harefield Estate	182
9.3	Lombard Estate	184
10.1	Earl Spencer Place	197
11.1	Conservative Land Society's No. 1 Estate	209
11.2	Conservative Land Society's No. 2 Estate	211
12.1	Kambala Road Estate	226
12.2	Corsellis's Lavender Hill Estate	231
13.1	Battersea New Town c.1786	238
13.2	Battersea New Town 1839	241
13.3	Cobb Estate 1839	243
13.4	Cobb Estate 1866	246
13.5	Carter Estate 1894	249
13.6	Battersea Park area 1846	253
13.7	Battersea Park area 1894	256
13.8	Morrison's Estate 1866	261
13.9	Pocock Estate	264
13.10	Alfred Heaver's Estates	268
B. Appendices	Title	Page
1	Booth & Census Classification of Streets	288
2	Building Estates by Sub-Zone	293
3A	Builder Index	297
3B	Selected Builder Biographical Details	323
4	Building Estates by Date	327
5	Building Estates by Area	331
6	Building Estates by Type	335
7	List of Personalities, Battersea New Town	

## ABBREVIATIONS

The following list of abbreviations covers those used throughout the thesis.

BLC	British Land Company
BPAct	Battersea Park Act (1846)
CLS	Conservative Land Society
DBW	Wandsworth District Board of Works
GLRO	Greater London Record Office
GWR	Great Western Railway
LBSCR	London, Brighton & South Coast Railway
LCC	London County Council
LCDR	London Chatham & Dover Railway
LNWR	London & North Western Railway
LSR	London & Southampton Railway
LSWR	London & South Western Railway
LTS	London Topographical Society
MBW	Metropolitan Board of Works
MidR	Midland Railway
Minet	Surrey Collection, Minet Library, Lambeth
SBL	School Board for London
SLP	South London Press
SRO	Surrey County Record Office
TA	Battersea Tithe Award
VCH	Victoria County History
WBN	Wandsworth Borough News
WECPR	West End of London & Crystal Palace Railway
WH	Wandsworth Historian
WHS	Wandsworth Historical Society
WLER	West London Extension Railway
WLHC	Wandsworth Local History Collection
WP	Wandsworth Paper

Battersea: General Street Plan c.1990



## INTRODUCTION

This study has two principal objectives: first, to examine the process of building estate development in the south-west London suburb of Battersea, and, secondly, to look at the individuals responsible for the actual housebuilding itself, their origins and careers. As such, it is designed to examine models of suburban development which have been put forward by historians and geographers over recent decades, and to assess their applicability to a specimen parish. Since many of these studies have focussed on areas which have one or more substantial landed estates, belonging to members of the aristocracy, or to institutions, it was felt that taking Battersea as an example, where such territorial blocks are absent, would enable tentative models and typologies of estate development to be further refined.

The study is in three parts. Part I examines the previous literature on the subject, not only on the process of development and building, but also of the provision of services and infrastructure in suburbia, followed by a background sketches of the history of Battersea since the eighteenth century. Part II looks at the evidence for the history of building in Battersea - the building cycle, the builders and supply industry, and the topography of building. It also proposes a typology of estates based on the agency responsible for initiation. Part III then goes on to examine the various types of estate by means of examples drawn from the extensive range of documents available, with eight more detailed case-studies in Chapter 13. The appendices include a list of identifiable builders working in nineteenth-century Battersea, and details of the date, area and size of building estates, which are intended as a contribution towards a wider database for Victorian development in London.

It was originally intended that the case studies should be rounded-off by a fuller consideration of the population which came to inhabit the houses, and by some appreciation of the evolution of suburban house style, but the steady accretion of new material on the building process, especially related to estates whose history had hitherto remained largely unknown, precluded this. Both the social and architectural history of Battersea merit a study in its own right, but it was felt that work in these fields generally has proceeded further than that on building estates in the last twenty years. For example, my studies of the Carter Estate and Battersea New Town treat the socio-economic background to those estates. The agenda for urban historians sketched out at the Leicester conference in 1968 and subsequently amplified in overviews of progress in urban history has not led to the proliferation of case studies of London suburbs which would provide the materials for a synthesis of developers and their methods across the city, or for comparisons with other cities. This study aims to rectify that omission in part, by providing evidence for the creation of Battersea to put alongside that for Camberwell, Kensington and Hampstead, which are the only parts of the capital to have received comprehensive attention from historians.

I should like to acknowledge the assistance of Tony Shaw at the Wandsworth Local History Library over many years in making available documents, especially those being transferred from other departments/organisations prior to their cataloguing. The same is true of

the staff at the Greater London Record Office, and their willingness to take a liberal view of the fitness of some District Surveyors' Returns, without which the analysis of the building cycle in Battersea would have been severely hampered.

Research began in the 1970s, and owes much to the unique knowledge of the late Professor. H.J. Dyos, in discussion, at seminars, and at meetings of the Urban History Group. The same is true of the late Mr. Rutter, one-time archivist to Battersea Borough Council, who facilitated my first encounters with what turned out to be a very rich vein of source material. I should also like to thank my O.U. supervisor, Dr. David Englander for his comments on emerging drafts and patience in dealing with the minutiae of Victorian Battersea. It was not possible to do more than scratch the surface of the Booth archive in this study, but it is hoped to return to it in future.

# PART I: PREPARATORY

## CHAPTER 1

### LITERATURE REVIEW - THE GENESIS OF SUBURBIA

This chapter examines previous work on the development of London's Victorian suburbs, and discusses certain topics which have received relatively little attention and which form the basis of the present study.

It is necessary at the outset to try to impose some pattern on the plethora of books, papers and theses concerned wholly or partly with the history of suburban London. A rudimentary classification has been used to bring some order into the discussion which follows. It seeks to maximise the between-group differences and the within-group similarities. There are two basic types of study - topographical and thematic. The former has by far the longest pedigree, having been the vehicle for local antiquarian and historical studies for two centuries. The two types have been subdivided, increasing in order of detail:

- |                      |                         |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Topographical     | 2. Thematic             |
| a. County & "London" | a. General Period/Topic |
| b. Parish & Suburb   | b. London Period/Topic  |
|                      | c. Case Study           |

The categories are not exclusive. Thematic studies often employ a topographical framework, while recent topographical studies are often restricted to a small range of topics.

In addition to the secondary works, there is a vast range of primary materials, both official and unofficial, ranging from Parliamentary Committees and Royal Commissions to the surveys of Mayhew and Booth, diaries, and oral history. Fiction too has its place, revealing as it does a wide range of different attitudes and perceptions of the suburban phenomenon, as well as many eye-witness accounts of nineteenth-century life.

From 1830 to the present, there is a continuous development of depth of study, and also cross-fertilisation between the groups. Not all sub-groups are equally well represented. The rest of this section examines the content and merit of the principal items in each group. Thematic treatments have increased in popularity since 1945, reflecting the increasing specialisation within academic subjects. Local topographical work has tended to become the preserve of amateurs, with whom it began in the eighteenth century, producing an unabating stream of work in mainly traditional form.

#### 1a. County and "London" Histories

Although a certain arbitrariness is inevitable, one may say that the transition from the age of the county antiquary to that of the local or regional historian began with Daniel Lysons' *Environs of London* from 1792.<sup>1</sup> He was concerned not only with the then built-up area, but also with the surrounding towns and villages within twelve-mile radius. Cutting across the county



framework, Lysons realised that the city and its environs must be treated as a whole historically. The position of London, where Surrey, Kent, Essex and Middlesex meet led county studies which focussed on more peripheral areas to do scant justice to the impact of London on its hinterland. Alas, Lysons did not set a trend, and single-county histories continued, indeed continue, to appear.

The V.C.H. is a good example of the difficulties facing a modern historian in treating suburban development within an essentially Anglo-Saxon administrative framework. A comparison of recent volumes for Middlesex, covering both inner and outer suburbs, with those of Surrey-in-London which appeared eighty years ago shows that this is not an impossible task, however. Modern parish studies contain 100,000 words or more, and stand in stark contrast to the few pages devoted almost exclusively to matters of the manor and the church which characterise earlier volumes. They have comprehensive accounts of principal estates and their development, but relatively little on the building process.<sup>2</sup>

Lysons not only established a first in topographical writing, but also used some techniques which have since become essential tools for understanding the growth of the city. For example, he sought to establish trends in population growth by analysing the annual average number of baptisms in three decades - the 1580s, 1680s and 1780s. This forms a basis for understanding suburban prehistory, showing for example that nearby Putney, similar in size to Battersea in 1801, had a very different pattern of growth in previous centuries. Lysons also had some full headcounts undertaken c.1790, which form an invaluable prelude to the Census, especially in parishes such as Battersea which were experiencing strong growth at the time. Lysons also comments on socio-economic developments, such as the impact of the building of Battersea Bridge in 1771. His interest in the contemporary scene was not shared by many of his peers or successors.

It is a reflection on the quality of Lysons' work, and often on their own mediocrity, that many nineteenth century historians of London copy him, usually without acknowledgement. Unlike Lysons, they often bring their story to a close in c.1830, ignoring the railway age and suburban development, arguably the most dramatic changes which the region had ever seen.

Examples of traditional county histories of Surrey are Manning & Bray and Brayley.<sup>3</sup> The former adds nothing of relevance to the present study beyond Lysons. Towards 1900, there is little change in the quality of this genre of history, exemplified by the work of Walford,<sup>4</sup> although he did at least give some notice to the great 'tangle' of railways which had such a profound effect on Battersea after 1840.

The best late nineteenth century treatment in the traditional mould is by novelist Sir Walter Besant.<sup>5</sup> Like Lysons, he considers Greater London as a whole. (The London County Council (1889), successor to the Metropolitan Board of Works (1855-88), finally recognised the need for local government to transcend Saxon shire boundaries. Even so, it excluded south-west Essex, and in other areas did not reach the edge of the then built-up area, a failing repeated in 1965 with the Greater London Council.) Besant's account of South London in the 1890s, although not published for two decades, contains many invaluable pen-pictures of fin-de-siecle Battersea.<sup>6</sup>

The four volumes of the Victoria County History for Surrey were among the pioneering volumes,<sup>7</sup> ignoring most aspects of nineteenth century history, although there is at least a list of schools created since 1870 by the School Board for London.<sup>8</sup> Topics such as the building of suburban housing and the provision of infrastructure for the expanding city are virtually absent. The history of Battersea occupies only nine pages, even the many Victorian churches receive only scanty architectural notices. Elsewhere, there is a brief treatment of some local industries.

The period 1919-39 was a fallow one for county histories, and interest in the processes of creating the Victorian suburb was scarcely evident. In view of the massive destruction of the built fabric of much of inner London, including Battersea, during the Blitz, this is especially unfortunate. Many streets have disappeared in their entirety leaving no written or photographic record. After the War, Williams' *South London* in the 'County Books' series appeared in 1949, followed in 1953 by Michael Robbins' *Middlesex* in Collins' 'New Survey of England' series. Robbins, a noted transport historian, produced one of the best concise county histories, and did not disdain to write about the interwar developments which wrought such massive changes in Middlesex. A particularly interesting section discusses the perceived environment of suburbia and the aspirations of its inhabitants as reflected in local toponymy, not only the streets but the individual buildings within them.<sup>9</sup> The naming of estates and streets and their perceptual ramifications in Victorian and later times is a sadly neglected subject. The photographs in this volume include not only mansions and churches, but also interwar speculators' 'Tudorbethan' and Holden's *Underground* stations on the new lines of the thirties which were such a critical element in encouraging the spread of bricks and mortar over the hitherto empty claylands of north Middlesex.<sup>10</sup>

Since 1970, there has been a plethora of general histories of London, few of which pay more than passing attention to suburban growth. Examples include works by Barker & Jackson and Hibbert.<sup>11</sup> More useful is the interest in maps and related material, featured in another book by Barker & Jackson, covering the cartographic history of London from the mid-sixteenth century to the age of the satellite map.<sup>12</sup> It includes examples of thematic maps which developed strongly during the Victorian era, and which form an important part of Charles Booth's work. The *Times Atlas* of London covers the field with extended text and illustrations, including many aspects of Victorian suburban growth.<sup>13</sup>

The 1970s saw two series of volumes in the 'General Thematic' category. Based mainly on secondary sources, they naturally take their emphasis from the particular interests of their authors. Secker & Warburg's 'History of London' contains two studies of the period 1714-1870. George Rudé covers the Georgian period (1714-1808), and is as concerned with popular politics as the processes of urban growth in the Georgian era.<sup>14</sup> Francis Sheppard examines the first half of the Victorian period, and has much to say on local government developments, but less on the building of the city, despite his long period as Editor of the Survey of London.<sup>15</sup> A third volume, covering 1870-1914, was to have been written by H.J. Dyos, but his untimely death prevented this.<sup>16</sup> This is regrettable, since his all-embracing interest in the Victorian suburb would have produced an original synthesis.

The second series, published by Cassell, is more traditionally based in terms of period,

for example Elizabethan, Victorian, Regency London, and also adopts a more popular approach. Priscilla Metcalf's study of the Victorian period,<sup>17</sup> uses a conventional decade-by-decade treatment from 1837 to 1901. As an architectural historian, however, she gives some useful insights into the building of the city, and more on suburbia than would have been the case in an earlier work of this type.

There are, of course, many general works on London which do not have a topographical bias, but use the city as a vehicle for urban, social or economic historical studies. Examples include Seaman's thematic study of the development of London as a world city, and contains useful surveys of transport, the life of the people and so on, providing a basic background for more detailed studies.<sup>18</sup>

One study often seen as belonging in a category by itself is Rasmussen's *London, The Unique City*.<sup>19</sup> This is an essentially iconographic view of London as it developed over the centuries, especially the Georgian and Victorian metropolis. It benefits from the outsider's viewpoint - that of a Danish architect and town planner - showing how the English have translated their own idiosyncrasies into bricks and mortar and other elements of the landscape and townscape. His discussion of many seemingly trivial aspects of the English town house, for example the sash window, that well-known device for ensuring ventilation even when closed, provokes many questions about the symbolism of nineteenth-century suburbia. Many of these issues have scarcely been considered in any kind of detail since Rasmussen wrote sixty years ago.<sup>20</sup>

In recent years, television has provided the impetus for books amplifying that medium's visual and oral bias. A good example is the four series *The Making of Modern London*, covering the period 1815-1985, with progressively more emphasis on oral history to supplement written and other sources.<sup>21</sup> Also typical of the 1980s and 1990s is the use of historic photographs to illustrate the Victorian city, for example the volume by Stamp.<sup>22</sup>

### 1b. Parish and Suburban Histories

This term is used here to describe those studies which treat all aspects of a local community throughout its history. These have generally been restricted to a single parish. They first appeared in the nineteenth century, and may be seen as a development from the county history. The principal feature of these local histories, and not only early examples, is their great, almost obsessive, concern with what may be called "personalities", especially those in the upper echelons of local society. They tend to be anecdotal, derivative and antiquarian in content, and almost universally tend to ignore the tide of suburban building, and also the lives of the remaining 95% of the population. Because of the inexhaustible demand for such histories, only a small sample can be examined here, with special reference to what, if anything, they have to say about the processes of urban development.<sup>23</sup>

Some parish histories have become classics: for example, Feret's Fulham, Blanch's Camberwell and Bartlett's Wimbledon.<sup>24</sup> Their bulk and attention to detail would be out of the question today, although all are characterised by a dearth of contemporary detail. Blanch, for

example, devotes only four pages out of 480 to the growth of Victorian Camberwell, and another four to transport, in strong contrast to the great sections on parochial administration and Dulwich College.<sup>25</sup>

Although Battersea does not have a nineteenth-century history of this calibre, it is paradoxically better served by the work of Henry Simmonds, a local City Missionary.<sup>26</sup> His book, while not attaining the level of Feret or Blanch, nevertheless contains invaluable material on topics such as the then brand-new horse trams, recent churches, and the Longhedge railway workshops.<sup>27</sup> Ramsey's work,<sup>28</sup> is more traditional, based on that hardy perennial trio: church-manor-worthies. Green's study is of this type, virtually ignoring the changes which affected Victorian Battersea.<sup>29</sup> Although ostensibly a history of the parish church, Taylor's study<sup>30</sup> contains information on local industry and on the provision of district churches after 1830.

Many parish histories are now collaborative efforts by local societies, for example those of Hammersmith and Fulham.<sup>31</sup> The former is based upon Faulkner's history of 1839,<sup>32</sup> updated to the mid-1960s in a basically traditional framework. Two of the nineteen chapters are on the manor, and three are devoted to church affairs. Among the few signs of a new approach are 'Industry & Employment' (5pp.); 'Hammersmith since 1860' (23pp.) and 'Public Transport' (13pp.). The second is, however, largely descriptive rather than analytical, and does not discuss the processes of building development. The Fulham history has the same Editor, but there are signs of a more modern approach to local history. Chap. 6 by David Reeder, discusses the growth of Fulham 1851-1901, including the covering of south Fulham with houses which make it a monument to the 1878-83 boom. Chap. 13 on the twentieth century is also rather better than its equivalent in the Hammersmith volume. Although the Census is used to illustrate specific points, there is no evidence of a systematic analysis of the Enumerators' Returns. There are maps to help the non-local reader and a better bibliography, although textual references are minimal.

Since 1960, many commercial local histories have concerned themselves with a limited range of suburbs, mostly in inner London, which share some or all of the following characteristics: (i) surviving village enclaves (Hampstead, Dulwich); (ii) places favoured by situation, and/or by the rich and famous (Chelsea, Greenwich); (iii) places whose earlier decline has been overtaken by a tide of *nouveau richesse* (Islington, Kennington). The main motivation for this surge of what are often little better than illustrated reviews of the last two centuries seems to be the market of incomers in search of instant roots, rather than the interested aborigine. (There has been a parallel mushroom growth in books concerned with the "authentic" restoration of Victorian houses.) As such, this genre compares unfavourably even with the relatively undemanding criteria of Victorian local histories. There are three recent histories each of Islington, Chelsea and Kensington, and no less than six on various aspects of Hampstead.<sup>33</sup>

Charles Harris' *Islington*, and the three *Streets of Hampstead* volumes have been taken at random. Harris is typically personality-centred, with three chapters on "characters" and "men of letters", who also dominate the illustrations. There is, however, a good introduction to medieval and sixteenth-century Islington, and "Ponds and Fields" provides a basic appraisal of

the pre-urban landscape. Ch. 13 on music halls covers an important facet local history, albeit briefly. George Sims (Ch. 16) is of more than local interest, given his contributions to social reportage round the turn of the century.<sup>34</sup> There is no consideration of the transformation of rural into suburban Islington, despite the fact that most readers will live in Georgian and Victorian terraces and squares.

The surveys of the streets of Hampstead and West Hampstead are good examples of how local groups, in this case the Camden History Society, can make a worthwhile contribution to urban history. They include details of the estates over which the streets were built, street-name origins (themselves an interesting by-line of social history), notable buildings and personalities. They are well illustrated and have maps, so that the explorer can use them both in the field and by the hearth. One cannot expect books of this sort to give detailed accounts of urbanisation (Hampstead is well served by F.M.L. Thompson's study, see below), but they do examine the serried rows of villas around West End Lane, as well as the better-known village centre.

This emphasis on inner north London includes Gillian Tindall's history of Kentish Town, which concentrates mainly on the period before major building began c.1850.<sup>35</sup> An interesting departure from the norm was a 'packet' of reproduction documents and maps of Kentish Town, along with an historical commentary, again by the Camden History Society.<sup>36</sup> Increasing demand for local history material from teachers led to Jack Whitehead's book on the growth of Stoke Newington,<sup>37</sup> covering all aspects from underlying geology to postwar municipal housing. It is especially strong on maps and illustrations of house types. It was followed by a similar study of St. Marylebone and Paddington.<sup>38</sup> These studies make instructive contrasts with the relevant parish articles in the Middlesex V.C.H.

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As the nineteenth-century world city, London has naturally attracted the attention of academic historians. Crucial in this process has been the application of new techniques to both existing and new sources. Some of this "new" urban history has been published since 1965, although much remains in unpublished theses. By their nature, the latter tend to cover relatively restricted themes or periods, and this is reflected in the material in print. There are relatively few general studies of individual suburbs, even thirty years after the appearance of H.J. Dyos' study of Camberwell, based on research carried out in the early 1950s.<sup>39</sup> What distinguishes such studies from local histories is a concern with process, and with the period between 1840 and 1914. Sources which have been subjected to more rigorous analysis include the Census enumerators' returns, now available from 1841 to 1891; the District Surveyors' returns and the copious archive of the School Board for London. The sheer bulk of data makes computers and statistical techniques essential for processing and analysis, although this has not progressed as far as one might have expected twenty years ago.

Dyos's pioneer work,<sup>40</sup> has, despite its favourable reception, not been followed by equivalent studies of other suburbs in which the models of development he put forward could be tested and refined using a larger sample of building estates, builders and other sources. One notable exception has been the work of the Survey of London team since 1970, in which the

traditional emphasis of this series on purely architectural history has been broadened to cover social history and builders and developers. The four splendid volumes on the parish of Kensington took fifteen years to complete, and show just how far away we still are from a complete appreciation of the built form of Victorian London.<sup>41</sup>

Dyos set an agenda, subsequently developed at the Leicester conference in 1965,<sup>42</sup> using sources both official and unofficial, such as those of builders and developers, house deeds, sale particulars, directories, and maps. The vital infrastructure of the suburb has also come to play an important part in this type of study. Housing after all is only one element in attracting new suburbanians. The multifarious services required to sustain the residents - gas, water, sewerage, schools, churches, shops, public houses, music halls - and to enable them to get around the rapidly-expanding city for work and leisure - railways, omnibuses and trams - are an integral part of this new approach. No suburb can be a closed system, wholly providing for all its own needs without reference to the rest of the city, despite the contrary aspirations of many residents. The very word *suburb* carries with it notions of dependency, and there has always been a strong two-way flow of people, goods and services, and ideas between the two, from the medieval period to the present day.

Among the relevant theses are B. Taylor's study of the development of Bromley, Beckenham and Penge (the last a detached part of Battersea until 1888).<sup>43</sup> This covers all aspects of the growth of these towns and villages. R. Cox studied the development of the nearby town of Croydon from 1835-1940, using the Census to analyse migrant origins and social class, and featuring oral history to obtain information on the elusive builders of suburbia.<sup>44</sup> More specialised are D.A. Reeder's study of capital investment in the suburbs of west London,<sup>45</sup> and J. Roebuck on local government in Lambeth, Battersea and Wandsworth.<sup>46</sup>

Although clerical-artisan suburbs like Camberwell have received scant attention, development in middle-class Hampstead has been studied,<sup>47</sup> and there is a general overview of the growth of Victorian London by an ardent overseas admirer, D.J. Olsen,<sup>48</sup> who examines themes such as the Victorian reaction to the Georgian legacy, and the increasing tendency both in the suburb and within the house towards segregation between classes and functions. Unfortunately, his work on the Chalcots estate of Eton College in Hampstead is as far as he goes in analysing the microtopography of London.<sup>49</sup> His later work has been concerned with inter-city comparisons of the planned aspects of development across Europe.<sup>50</sup> Concentration on the higher-status parts of Hampstead also characterises Thompson's study, which fails to examine more typical developments in West Hampstead.

A volume edited by Thompson contains three short studies of suburban development in south-east and west London, as well as a thought-provoking introduction by the editor on attitudes to suburbia and its relatively indifferent fate at the hands of historians and geographers.<sup>51</sup> Rawcliffe's survey of the transformation of Bromley from market town to suburb concentrates on estate development and social structure, with apposite plans and views of villas. Carr compares the pre-1914 and inter-war phases in the development of Bexley, which produced a landscape of contrasts, in part reflecting the impact of the railway at different stages. Jahn covers a broad swathe of west London, from Chiswick to Brentford, Acton and

Ealing, examining development in relation to the building cycle and transport. The role of the Goldsmiths' Company in Acton is a good example of the role of an institutional landowner in the many suburbs (cf. Eton College in Hampstead and the Bishop of Rochester in Bromley). Perhaps the most relevant study in this volume is that by Treen of the development of north Leeds,<sup>52</sup> which despite the preponderance of freehold tenure, closely parallels Battersea in the smallness of many building estates and the protracted nature of the process. Treen also offers a framework for classifying the individuals involved in development, which will be discussed below (Chapter 6).

Other studies of the Victorian suburb outside London have tended to concern themselves with middle-class, often exclusive, districts, which do not offer many useful parallels for the kind of place Battersea became.<sup>53</sup>

Few local historical and amenity societies show any signs of using the techniques of the "new" urban history. Not even the Census has been systematically analysed to show the social development of any area during the mid-Victorian years, although there have been one or two limited studies.<sup>54</sup> The use of deeds, District Surveyors' records and similar sources for the processes of development has not attracted the attention of such groups. In transport studies there is still an overwhelming concern with the operational and traction minutiae of railways, trams and buses.

## 2a. General Thematic and Period Studies

These include general surveys of cities, processes and periods, which, while not specifically about London, are nevertheless essential to a proper understanding of the form and function of the city. Important, even after twenty years, are the two volumes edited by Dyos and Wolff.<sup>55</sup> They cover such diverse aspects of London history as street literature; vagrants and other travellers; photography; railways; slums and sanitation. In many ways they were an interim statement, summarising the first decade of the "new" urban history, and provoking thought on new lines of research for the specific suburb. The same is true of Asa Briggs's masterly synopsis which defines the essential features of a range of cities as diverse as Leeds and Middlesbrough, Melbourne and London.<sup>56</sup> The recent three-volume study of British social history naturally includes material on London, including a general overview by Patricia Garside.<sup>57</sup> This is more concerned with demography and governance than with the processes which created the city.

The volume derived from the 1965 Leicester Conference still represents a valid prospectus for any study of the processes of suburban development. The chapters on "An Agenda for Urban Historians"; the analysis of Census data; "A Theatre of Suburbs", and the "Town as Palimpsest" are those of most relevance to the present study.<sup>58</sup> These papers were, of course, delivered at a formative stage of the development of urban studies, and the need for detailed local studies to fill in the skeleton of their framework and test their hypotheses remains undiminished a generation later. The sequel contains papers presented at another Leicester conference in 1980.<sup>59</sup> Book Two examines the city as an economic and social entity, including a study of market forces and urban form by Rodger, concentrating on the Scottish experience.<sup>60</sup>

Daunton explores the relationship between housing types and the lives led by those who had to inhabit them.<sup>61</sup> The progressive extension of public control over the urban system through legislation and its implementation provide interesting bases for comparison in more detailed studies. These themes are further developed in Daunton's subsequent book.<sup>62</sup>

One fruitful field in urban studies has been the study of housing for the working classes, including the work of Chapman, Tarn, Wohl and Gauldie.<sup>63</sup> They tend towards the lower end of the social spectrum: slum housing, Royal Commissions and model dwellings companies feature prominently. Cellar dwellings and back-to-backs are not, however, typical of London suburbs. Equally, the model blocks built by Peabody, Waterlow and the Metropolitan Board of Works after 1850 are atypical of the outer reaches of London, where the typical working-class dwelling was a four-six room two-storey terrace house renting at 6-10/- per week. Despite high densities, each house at least had a front area, a yard and some rudimentary sanitary arrangements.

Stefan Muthesius' study of terraced housing is most relevant to Battersea,<sup>64</sup> containing many useful insights into form and fabric, with special emphasis on plan evolution. The development of decoration is a central theme, as the plain late-Georgian brick box of the 1820s was transformed out of all recognition by the 1890s, although there was then a reversion to a less ornate facade as the influence of the Queen Anne and Arts & Crafts movements percolated down to the level of the speculative builder. Helen Long's study of the Edwardian house takes the story down to 1914.<sup>65</sup>

Other writers have been concerned with the style of suburban housing. Barrett & Phillips examine both interior and exterior features and their evolution and significance.<sup>66</sup> Quiney is concerned with the development of the small English house, and looks *inter alia* at the garden suburb, L.C.C. cottage estates and Georgian Islington.<sup>67</sup> Barnard is concerned with decorative treatments, not merely on housing but on a range of public edifices, such as pubs and shops.<sup>68</sup> Edwards looks design in suburbia from the Georgian period to the 1970s, and is one of the first to discuss the role of local authority housing which became so prominent after 1919.<sup>69</sup> Cruickshank and Wyld survey the development of architecture and style in Georgian London.<sup>70</sup> Although they may have affected to despise Georgian architecture, the Victorians perpetuated its use for small domestic buildings until at least 1870. One of the major innovations was the so-called "Queen Anne" or Domestic Revival style, which informed much of the work by the pioneering L.C.C. Architects from 1890, reviewed by Susan Beattie.<sup>71</sup>

The wider social and economic aspects of the history of housing in Britain are considered by Burnett and Powell.<sup>72</sup> Burnett covers slums, housing the multitude and suburbia in Victorian times, municipal and speculative building since the Great War, much of it relating to London. Powell's more generalised study of the economic history of the British building industry since 1815 also contains many London examples, providing data on prices and wages, and on the trend towards mass-production, although the latter had scarcely begun before 1914 in what remained essentially an industry of master craftsmen working by hand, albeit increasingly using mass-produced materials. Maiwald's study of national building material and wage costs from 1845 provides useful comparative data for the trends observed in the



individual study.<sup>73</sup> Sources for such development are by no means uniform in their availability. Their strengths and limitations have been discussed by several scholars, including deeds;<sup>74</sup> building plans submitted to local authorities,<sup>75</sup> and rate books.<sup>76</sup> Directories are of limited use in studying the builders of suburbia, although they flesh out Census information on addresses.<sup>77</sup>

Public health has been a major subject of research, both the provision of adequate water and sewerage systems, and the fight against epidemic disease. The most comprehensive recent treatment is by Wohl, and forms a sequel to his earlier study of the slums of London.<sup>78</sup>

Historical geographers are also active in the study of Victorian towns and cities. The work of Robson and others in defining urban social areas, using statistical techniques to highlight socio-economic variations within towns on a more objective basis is representative.<sup>79</sup> Dennis has examined the development of Huddersfield and other northern industrial towns,<sup>80</sup> and Pooley and others have studied Liverpool, a city with substantial immigrant populations well before 1914.<sup>81</sup> They have been concerned with the spatial aspects of social rather than physical development, although the work of Pritchard on the growth of Leicester examines the latter.<sup>82</sup> Robson's study of the diffusion of selected "inventions" through the urban hierarchy includes the Starr Bowkett Building Societies which feature in many bundles of house deeds.<sup>83</sup> The Institute of British Geographers has published two collections of essays on the general area of urban history, including London's milk supply, part of a much-neglected subject.<sup>84</sup>

David Englander's study examines the all-important landlord-tenant relationship in Victorian and Edwardian times, at a time when private renting accounted for up to 90% of all housing.<sup>84a</sup> Rents and land values have been examined in a general paper and subsequent book by Offer.<sup>85</sup> In the former he discusses Ricardo's Paradox that as population and wealth increase, landlords appropriate an increasing share of wealth through rent. Offer suggests that repairs and depreciation account for about 33-40% of rent, the opportunity cost of refinancing another 25-35%, so that the pure rent residual is only 20-40% of the gross. His book provides much valuable data on property values derived from the records of the London Auction Mart.

Studies of individual architects and styles have proliferated since 1960, although they are generally of limited relevance to this study, where the buildings were neither designed by prominent members of the profession, nor in the stylistic vanguard. Examples include biographies of Norman Shaw, Lutyens and Burgess,<sup>86</sup> and surveys of Victorian and Edwardian architecture, with a more detailed treatment of the Queen Anne Revival.<sup>87</sup>

## **2b. London Thematic and Period Studies**

This label covers works concerned with a specific theme or period, in a London context. Pre-eminent early examples are studies by Summerson and George,<sup>88</sup> a complimentary pair, the former concerned with building history and the latter with social history. Summerson develops some of the themes explored by Rasmussen, and provides in a succinct review of the first generation of London's mass suburbs. A seminal book on a subject which has all too often been cursorily dismissed or pejoratively handled by historians and sociologists alike is Alan Jackson's study of semi-detached suburbia.<sup>89</sup> He deploys a wide range of sources to produce a definitive view of the subject. The focus, apart from a glance at Edwardian

Golders Green and Ilford, is the physical explosion of London after 1919 and how the aspirations of the first generation of mass-homeowners were met in pebbledash and Tudorbethan by an army of spec. builders. Jackson develops from the tentative beginnings of Michael Robbins' *Middlesex* to give substance to the suburbs whose onward march across the fields was only halted by the Green Belt and the onset of another war. This topic was eloquently surveyed by J.M. Richards in the late-1940s.<sup>90</sup> His criticism of the planners who were attempting to force their perception of the ideal environment on a population happy with its Acacia Avenues, plaster ducks, Hoovers and gardens is both perceptive and accurate in relation to some of the horrors which came in the 1950s and 1960s. Unfortunately, this approach has never been applied to the Victorian suburbs.

Recent studies on building itself include one by Summerson,<sup>91</sup> which examines both men and materials, although the myriad of small men who created the suburbs do not find a place. Subsequently, he provided an agenda for research into the wider London building world.<sup>92</sup> Many of the lacunae he highlighted still await detailed treatment, although the study of building materials has advanced somewhat recently.<sup>93</sup> Hermione Hobhouse's study of Thomas Cubitt,<sup>94</sup> throws light on the early Victorian period and the history of areas as diverse as Pimlico and Stoke Newington. Unfortunately, Cubitt was atypical of London builders in the nineteenth century. David Viles has studied the organisation of London building workers to the 1870s.<sup>95</sup>

Studies of the process of development at a local level have produced several examples for Battersea, including Metcalf's study of Park Town, a failed grand design of the 1860s.<sup>96</sup> The general background, Battersea New Town and the Carter estate have been investigated by the present writer.<sup>97</sup> There are examples for other suburbs, including Bromley, Bexley, Hampstead and west London noted above. One study which seeks to cover both the evolution of the building industry from the haphazard craft arrangements of the eighteenth century to greater organisation in the nineteenth and the manifestation of this in a specific area is to be found in Clarke's account of Somers Town, St. Pancras.<sup>98</sup>

Doyen in the field of architectural history is the Survey of London, although the depth of its treatment has meant that less than fifty volumes have appeared in almost a century.<sup>99</sup> Apart from Lambeth and Kensington, however, it has been restricted to the inner London area, and has excluded the Victorian suburbs. Pevsner and his collaborators, Betjeman and numerous local publications, both official and unofficial have examined the subject of building in London.<sup>100</sup> Guides to London buildings, seldom concern themselves with the terrace house and suburban villa.<sup>101</sup> Public buildings feature prominently in the works of Stamp & Amery and Cunningham.<sup>102</sup> The latter, like Girouard's study of the Victorian pub,<sup>103</sup> is on a national rather than metropolitan canvas. A perceptive study by Marshall & Willox surveys the suburban home from the building stage, through the interior to the garden, not forgetting that particularly Victorian concern, the servants.<sup>104</sup>

Transport is a theme which has attracted disproportionate attention. Fascination with movement in the expanding metropolis began with the Victorians themselves, although they largely ignored the distribution of goods and services. Ahrons, Sekon and Moore are good

examples,<sup>105</sup> along with the official surveys of the London County Council in the 1890s, concerned as it was with the provision of good working-class housing and cheap fares to encourage the dispersal of population from the inner slums.<sup>106</sup> Central government too visited the question of transport and housing on more than one occasion before 1914.<sup>107</sup>

In the present century, the railways have been a never-ending source of inspiration. Three main strands may be discerned within the vast corpus of railway literature: (i) company histories which touch peripherally on the London area; (ii) studies treating London as an entity, cutting across company boundaries, and (iii) biographies of some of the leading protagonists. The first are often biased towards locomotive matters, use few primary sources and generally ignore the socio-economic impact of the railway. Examples include work by Nock, Allen, Hamilton Ellis and Dendy Marshall.<sup>108</sup> More recent examples do pay more attention to the processes of creating and funding the railways, and their impact on commerce, for example studies by Williams, Howard Turner, Dow and Jackson.<sup>109</sup> The work of White and Course, and Jackson's study of the great termini may be taken as examples of the second.<sup>110</sup> Local studies of the impact of railways on the suburbs have also appeared.<sup>111</sup> More specialised is Jackson & Croome on that uniquely London phenomenon, the deep tube railway.<sup>112</sup> The official history of London Transport and its predecessors by Barker and Robbins,<sup>113</sup> naturally concentrates on that organisation, but covers all modes, and is good on the politicking which has always formed an important part of transport policy and history. Sir Herbert Walker of the Southern Railway and Frank Pick, the man responsible for the corporate image of London Transport are the most notable examples of the third genre.<sup>114</sup> The men involved in the Great Central and Metropolitan Railways in the 1890s and 1900s are treated by Dow and Jackson from their respective viewpoints.<sup>115</sup>

Much less attention has been paid to the impact of the railway on the physical structure of the city and its social role as a mass carrier and destroyer of working-class housing. Kellett's comparative study of the former, and some early work by Dyos on housing and workmen's fares are rare exceptions.<sup>116</sup> Even allowing for the scarcity of statistical information, pricing, demand and quality of service have scarcely been considered.

Since 1960 there have been several major studies of London's vast tramway networks, including that of the L.C.C., which was used as an instrument of social policy, and the London United and Metropolitan Electric Tramway Cos., providers of an extensive system in Middlesex, north and west London, mostly well in advance of building.<sup>117</sup> Construction and traction, fares and financial affairs, and the sometimes difficult relations between companies and local authorities are among the topics considered. With the exception of Barker & Robbins, most studies of buses are vehicle-oriented, unconcerned with social and economic impact. Equally, the history of the steamboat services which provided cheap transport from Thames-side suburbs to the City from the 1820s have not received the attention they deserve.<sup>118</sup>

Stedman Jones' notable survey of "Outcast" London,<sup>119</sup> deploys a mass of statistical information to analyse the problems of poverty in the metropolis and its effect, especially in the last quarter of the century. Crossick examined the role of the so-called "labour aristocracy" in

metropolitan Kent, an area is atypical of Victorian London, with its emphasis on large-scale, public sector employment.<sup>120</sup> The volumes produced by the History Workshop have tended to be orientated towards slums in the East End and inner north London.<sup>121</sup> The work of Charles Booth has recently been critically reviewed, revealing how his agenda and those of his collaborators influenced the published results.<sup>122</sup>

### 2c. Area Studies

It is not proposed to discuss these in detail. Many studies in earlier sections are illustrated by local case studies or are part of multi-volume studies of London history. Many small-scale studies have been produced by local historical societies and, almost by definition, are ephemeral and difficult to obtain, although there were attempts in the 1970s to produce bibliographies of them.<sup>123</sup> Even less accessible are the journals of such societies, although few are relevant to this study, for the Victorian suburb has not attracted much attention from the sixty-plus societies in Greater London. Much depends on the predilections of local researchers. Especially active are Wandsworth Historical Society, Hornsey Historical Society, Camden History Society, and Pinner Local History Society. The continuing failure to address the themes of suburban development is the more regrettable given the reservoir of manpower available for data extraction and processing in such societies, and also the spread of accessible computing power which facilitates analysis. Isobel Watson's work on south Hackney is an unusual in-depth study of the suburban process.<sup>124</sup>

At a more academic level, the *London Journal* has contained many papers on suburbia over the years. For example, Patricia Malcolmson on the slums of Kensington; Bedarida on Poplar, and Saint on Jonathon Carr, the originator of Bedford Park.<sup>125</sup> The *London Topographical Record* and the *Transactions* of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society have also touched on suburban themes, for example the role of the railway in certain areas, and the development of Battersea.<sup>126</sup> The work of the London Topographical Society in publishing maps and views of London is invaluable, although there has been a tendency to concentrate on the period 1600-1850, rather than the Victorian period.<sup>127</sup>

### 3. Contemporary Sources - Fiction and Non-fiction

There is a vast corpus of Victorian literature touching on London. Two important varieties are the work of novelists and social explorers, an anthology of the latter was edited by Keating.<sup>128</sup> The explorers of the submerged strata of Victorian London saw themselves as counterparts of those opening up Africa and other *terræ incognitæ* for "civilisation". Phrases such as 'into the abyss' and 'darkest England' neatly characterise the approach of these intrepid explorers in Seven Dials and Bethnal Green, Soho and Bermondsey. The earliest exponents were often journalists or employed a journalistic approach: Henry Mayhew and Charles Dickens were pre-eminent before 1860. Their visits and interviews set the tone for many which followed, and revealed the true costs and horrors of London for many of its newly-arrived inhabitants. Mayhew displayed the almost obsessive concern with social statistics which typified many Victorians.<sup>129</sup> Other writers in this genre, include Sala, Godwin, Hollingshead, Sims, Meams

and General Booth.<sup>130</sup> Their characteristic use of hyperbole was not only a feature of Victorian literary style, but also necessary in order to have any effect on complacent middle-class readers. This audience can have had little accurate perception of the true conditions *inside* the slums which they passed above in their trains and which hid behind the facades of the new shopping thoroughfares traversed by carriages and omnibuses - already a feature of the large English town when Engels wrote about Manchester in the 1840s.<sup>131</sup>

Surveys based on more rigorous statistical recording and analysis soon developed, notably Parliamentary enquiries into housing conditions, public health and working conditions. In London, it was a private individual, Charles Booth, who initiated the first comprehensive survey of poverty and social conditions. He produced the famous maps illustrating the social structure and analysed various features relating to the life of Londoners, one third of whom were shown to live in poverty.<sup>132</sup> He comments on areas which had deteriorated into slums scarcely a generation after building, for example Carpenter Street in Battersea (see below). Booth was not the first in this field, however, as Dr. John Snow's work in tracing the origins of the cholera outbreak in Soho in 1848 shows.<sup>133</sup> Similarly, the work of Edwin Chadwick and other sanitary reformers depended on the amassing of data to provide a catalyst for the legislators.<sup>134</sup> Mrs. Pember Reeves' survey of thirty families in Edwardian Lambeth, based on household budgets and interviews, reveals how precarious existence was for millions of Londoners in the Imperial capital.<sup>135</sup>

Diaries throw valuable light on people, events and attitudes. Arthur Munby was an extraordinary man, even by the notorious double standards of the time.<sup>136</sup> His secret marriage to his maid and his fetish for working girls contrasts with his society contacts. His comments on the changing face of London and its suburbs are those of subjects which struck an interested observer at the time. George Gissing's diary, covering the period 1887-1902, has few observations on London.<sup>137</sup> Autobiographies also contain relevant material. Battersea was the home of Edward Ezard before 1914, and he records many vignettes of the Nine Elms area.<sup>138</sup> Mary Hughes' trilogy takes us back to the middle-class suburbs of the last quarter of the century.<sup>139</sup> C.H. Rolph writes of the life of a late-Edwardian policeman's family in Fulham and elsewhere.<sup>140</sup>

In fiction, London appears in countless novels, poems and plays. Two authors in particular, however, capture the spirit of the city at key points. Dickens, whose novels reflect the Georgian city at the threshold of its great growth after 1860, a city of atmospheric fogs and criminal dens in the ancient rookeries, brought a journalistic eye to the subject.<sup>141</sup> Gissing, born in Dickens' heyday, is concerned with two principal themes in his novels:<sup>142</sup> the relationships between the middle and lower classes, especially those who fail to escape from the necessity of earning a living through grinding hard work, and life in the poorer districts of the city, both in the centre and in the inner suburbs. After 1890, the suburb became a subject for authors as diverse as H.G. Wells, and Arnold Bennett.<sup>143</sup> Both of these had the knack of depicting the life and mores of the middle class suburb. In a class by itself, however, is the Grossmiths' *Diary of a Nobody*,<sup>144</sup> a kindly lampoon of the Pooters and their pretensions, which must have been echoed in thousands of terraced "villas" across London, including many in parts of Battersea

and Camberwell.

London suburbia did not attract so much attention from poets, for the rural idyll retained its strong attraction throughout the century. Indeed, these localities had to await John Betjeman to find their recorder in verse.<sup>145</sup> There are some earlier, mostly pre-Victorian examples, including a piece on Battersea in *Punch*.<sup>146</sup>

Coverage of London suburbs in drama is even more stylised and it is difficult to be certain to what extent the writer's view is based on observation, or whether the action could have taken place anywhere.

## II

The content and relevance of some previous studies have been discussed, and it remains to highlight some topics which have attracted relatively little attention despite their intrinsic interest. In many ways, there has been a failure to marry together the topographical and thematic strands sufficiently. General histories of London and individual suburbs have tended to remain unconcerned with the detail of process and form in their chosen area, whereas studies of specific themes have tended to eschew detailed topographical analysis.

The "topographical school" retains a traditional approach to suburban history. The "new" urban history has had little impact here. On the other hand, the objectives and methods of thematic studies have undergone significant changes since 1960, although estate development and the building world have not received much attention in areas where large landed estates do not predominate. Urban geography has tended to study selected topics within the context of specific nineteenth century towns and cities, for which more recent data are not available.

Thompson commented on the generally negative press which suburbs have received almost from their first major manifestation in the eighteenth century.<sup>147</sup> The intellectual disdain of formless sprawl and the allegedly dreary lives of suburbans is a cliché, with the suburb representing the disadvantages of both town and country life.<sup>148</sup> This is belied by the manifest popularity of the suburb as the home to millions, who trade off the cost and inconvenience of home:workplace segregation for the benefits of owning and managing their own space. In any case, Battersea clearly had a distinct existence in the eyes of its late-nineteenth century rulers, and by 1914 had a fine town hall, central library, polytechnic and theatre, as well as an electricity generating station and a reputation for radical politics.

The present study agrees with Dyos's premiss that the building of the suburb and the life lived therein is far from dull, and adopts a combined topographical and thematic approach to examine a few of the thousands of fragments making up the mosaic of south London, each an identifiable entity created in an explicable, if often very complex and protracted way.<sup>149</sup> The main concern is with the process of building Victorian Battersea, with a limited overview of local society as it developed from a village in 1801 to the equivalent of a large provincial city in 1901. This emphasis results from the availability of an extensive, but by no means unique, corpus of material on estate development, and to a lesser extent on the personalities involved in creating the suburb.<sup>150</sup> The complete mosaic of building estates can be identified, and the

physical structures can in many cases be related to specific individuals and policies, and in turn to the kind of families which came to inhabit them and make use of the services provided. The Census presents snapshots of local society from 1841-1891, albeit at wide intervals in relation to essentially dynamic processes, which added more than 50,000 people in some decades.

It is this virtual completeness of coverage of building estates which represents a departure from most previous studies of suburban growth. A glance at the map of Camberwell at the back of Dyos's volume shows that there is only patchy coverage of the northern third of the parish, which is precisely the kind of area most similar to north Battersea - socially mixed and with a strong industrial presence. Similarly, Thompson's work on Hampstead does not cover all building estates, but concentrates on the major ones such as Eton College and Maryon Wilson. Except for a small area of eastern Brompton, the Survey of London's Kensington volumes do cover all estates, but these number less than eighty for a parish with much more potential building ground than Battersea. Treen's work on north Leeds presents the small mesh of developments, with many blocks of one acre or less, but it appears on closer inspection that many of these were the result of piecemeal sales of landed estates over several decades, rather than of the intensely fragmented landownership which characterised Battersea both before and during its transformation to a suburb.<sup>151</sup>

Battersea had one of the densest railway networks in London, and as may be contrasted with company towns such as Crewe, Swindon and Wolverton.<sup>152</sup> A study in terms of the interaction between railways and other factors was considered, but rejected in view of the plethora of transport histories of London, even though most treat the subject in a vacuum, without consideration of the interrelationships with other aspects of the community. On balance, the study of the building world in Battersea appeared likely to be more instructive and productive. Not only is it a substantial subject in its own right, but also contributes to the study of the creation of Victorian London, adding another case study to the limited stock of precedents. Transport developments are examined in Part I, as an important part of the suburban infrastructure.

Another feature of nineteenth-century Battersea setting it apart from many of its contemporaries is its substantial heavy industrial base.<sup>153</sup> As in neighbouring Lambeth and Wandsworth, a long river frontage enabled the cheap import of raw materials and outward shipment of finished products by ship and barge. From 1600 Battersea attracted many new industries: whitelead making, brewing, lime burning and sugar refining, at first concentrated in the north-east at the hitherto uninhabited Nine Elms.<sup>154</sup> By 1840, much of the riverfront around the Village and York Place was also industrialised, land values as yet being unaffected by the demand for housing. Many firms moved to Battersea from congested locations closer to London, among them Price's candles and Morgan's crucibles.<sup>155</sup> Public utilities were also attracted to Battersea, including a gasworks and a waterworks with its reservoirs drawing on the already-polluted river. Three major railway companies in the area built a complex of lines, works, sheds and freight facilities in and around Nine Elms and at Clapham Junction.<sup>156</sup> Building itself was one of the largest local employers after 1850.

Industry attracted thousands of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers and their

families to Battersea, moulding the character of the suburb as surely as clerks and shop assistants did in Camberwell and Holloway. In 1889, 28% of the population were artisans, and 20% were in semi-skilled and unskilled industrial occupations. Despite the prominence of railways, only 7% worked in transport (excluding those engaged in engineering and construction); the service sector accounted for 18%, and employers for little more than 1%.

The demand for labour created by often very large enterprises was a catalyst in the creation of building estates in Battersea from 1780. There are no known examples of company housing to compare with those associated with a dominant employer, such as Saltaire, Bourneville, Port Sunlight and the railway towns. Migrants to Battersea had to rely on the operation of a complex private enterprise housing market in order to get a roof over their heads at a price they could afford. Many of course worked locally and did not therefore require transport to take them to the city centre. The 1871 Census, for example, shows that the streets off Church Road were full of workers in the nearby plumbago crucible works, notably Morgan's, and that the Plough Lane area was the home of many employees of Price's. Manufacturing has not been treated in depth, except where it has strong links with building. The proper study of Battersea's industrial history requires its own detailed analysis. Part I does, however, discuss the occupational structure and its relationship to local housing provision.

Although its transport and industrial history set Battersea apart from many nearby suburbs, it is nevertheless filled with the same sorts of houses, schools, churches and shops which produce a townscape which is recognisably Victorian London, distinct from almost all other large towns in Victorian Britain. That this was so suggests some kind of underlying rationale, not only a function of the building regulation, but perhaps partly unconscious, which drove the pattern of building in London as a whole. It will, of course, take many more case studies before that particular hypothesis can be tested fully.

Then there are questions raised by the buildings themselves. The attitudes and perceptions of landowners, developers, builders, buyers and tenants must all have played some part in the evolution of vernacular building styles, which in Battersea after 1840 owe little to developments in mainstream architecture, although all of the idions of classical, gothic and revival styles are to be found sooner or latter in varying combinations and degrees of debasement. The implications of suburban style will be considered in Part II, albeit in a very preliminary way.

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The principal concerns of this study may be summarised as follows:

1. How did Battersea evolve as a suburb, both temporally and spatially? What form did it take?
2. What can be learned about the methods by which the fabric of the suburb was created?
3. Is there an underlying system of building development? How does this relate to the wide range of initiators?
4. What is the nature of the community which occupied the houses thus provided?

Part I examines the history of Battersea to 1800; the infrastructure necessary for the



successful creation and functioning of the suburb; and the development of local society in the Victorian period. Part II is concerned with the actual building process, estate development from c.1780 to 1914, and with the men who laid out and built the suburb. Part III concludes the study with a series of case studies, mainly related to individuals who made a significant contribution to the creation of Battersea, but including New Town, the pioneer green-field development whose complex and protracted development, involving scores of men and women from all walks of life served as a template (but not a warning) to much of what followed.

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## CHAPTER 2

### BATTERSEA: PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter has three aims: (1) to describe the geological and topographical background of Battersea, setting the stage for the vast transformation which began in 1790; (2) to sketch eighteenth-century Battersea, the end of an essentially agricultural parish, albeit one with an unusually large amount of industry; and (3) to analyse the Tithe Map and Apportionment of 1839 and the Spencer land sales of 1835-6, which form a datum just before the onset of the first main phase of building.

#### I: Geology and Topography

Battersea parish covers 2315 acres (excluding 770 acres at Penge, which although part of Battersea until 1888, is not treated here), similar to Wandsworth, Streatham and Putney, larger than Clapham, but smaller than Lambeth and Camberwell. There are four landscape units, defined by superficial geology and relief (Fig. 2.1).

The largest unit (57%), is the Thames Flood Plain Terrace. These gravels, loams and sands are the lowest of several such terraces, marking a progressive lowering of the river during and since the Ice Age.<sup>1</sup> The Flood Plain lies between 10 and 30ft. O.D., producing generally fertile soils which formed the basis of Battersea's Common Field, covering c.400 acres east of the ancient village. This fertility was the basis for commercial horticulture after 1600.<sup>2</sup> By 1800, Battersea was renowned for its asparagus and lavender.<sup>3</sup>

Parts of the Flood Plain were covered with loess, a fine wind-blown clayey loam, known as brickearth.<sup>4</sup> The paradox of first-rate farmland which carried the seeds of its own destruction is repeated across London, and several estates evolved from market gardens to brickfields to housing. Brickearth was used for commercial brickmaking long before the Victorian era. In 1638-9, Robert Taylor was licensed to make 445,000 bricks at a kiln on Latchmere Common, of which 195,000 were used in rebuilding the tower of St. Mary's church.<sup>5</sup> Most surviving pre-1800 houses in Battersea are brick-built, probably using local sources.

A small area around Nine Elms and a strip along the river is formed from the most recent alluvial deposits (4-5% of the total). Essentially marshy, it was subject to flooding until embanked from medieval times to the 1840s. Nine Elms was noted for its willows and generally Dutch aspect as late as the 1830s.<sup>6</sup>

The third component is the London Clay (12% rising to 22% in SW Battersea). It is exposed in the slopes of the north-south Falcon Brook valley, and in the prominent east-west bluff from Queenstown Road to Usk Road. Erosion has produced steep slopes 30-35ft. high. London Clay tends to be very heavy when wet and hard when dry and therefore not ideal for arable farming.<sup>7</sup> Much of the clay was used for grazing and for the grounds of large houses before development. The east-west bluff divides north and south Battersea, and also generally working-class housing from that aimed at the middle classes. The London & Southampton Railway, built across the Flood Plain in 1834-8, does not form a major social demarcation. Despite their steepness, the clay slopes did not form a barrier to the Victorian builder.

The higher ground is covered by two further terrace deposits (27%), the Taplow and

Fig. 2.1 - Battersea - General Location Map

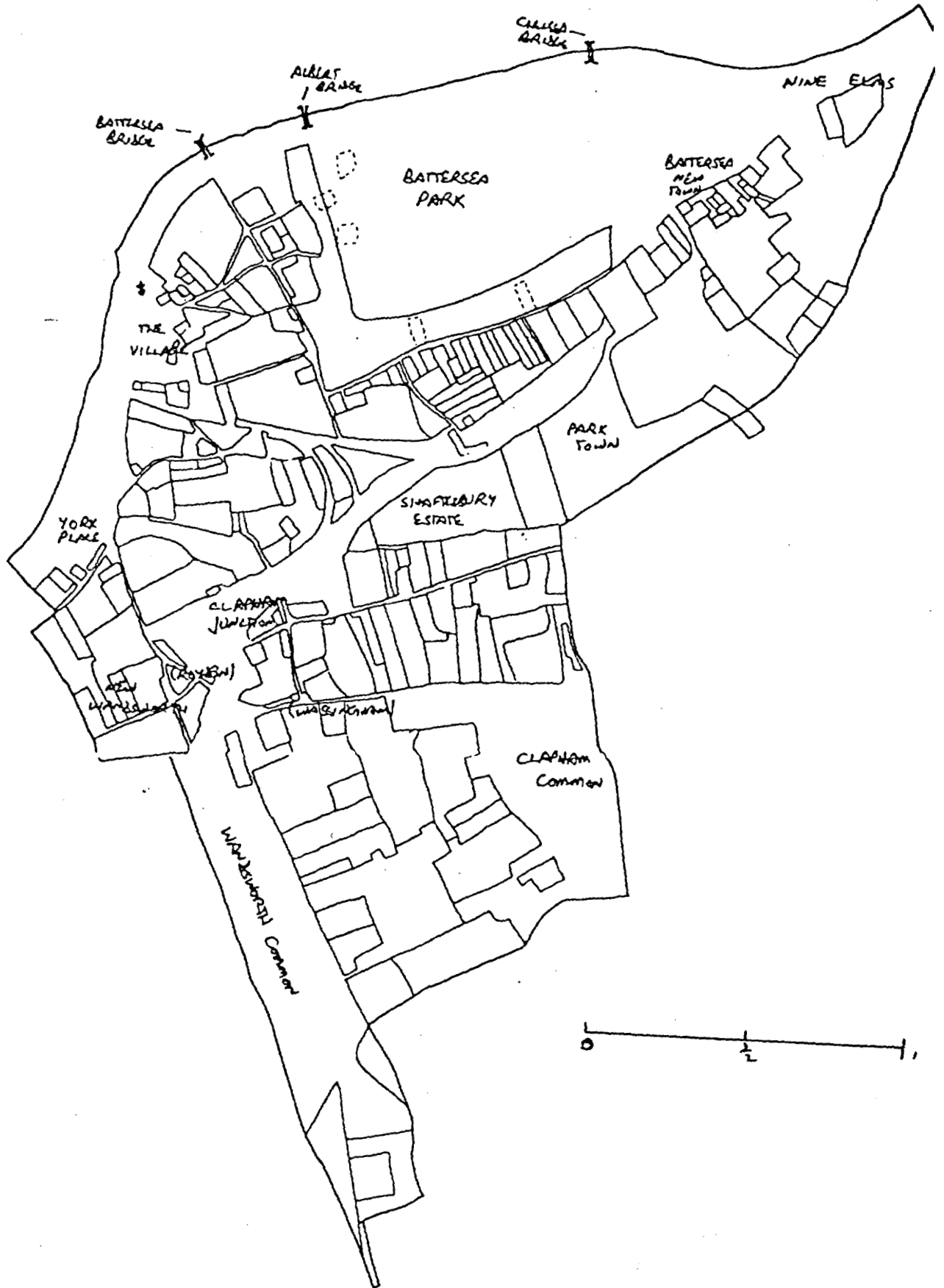
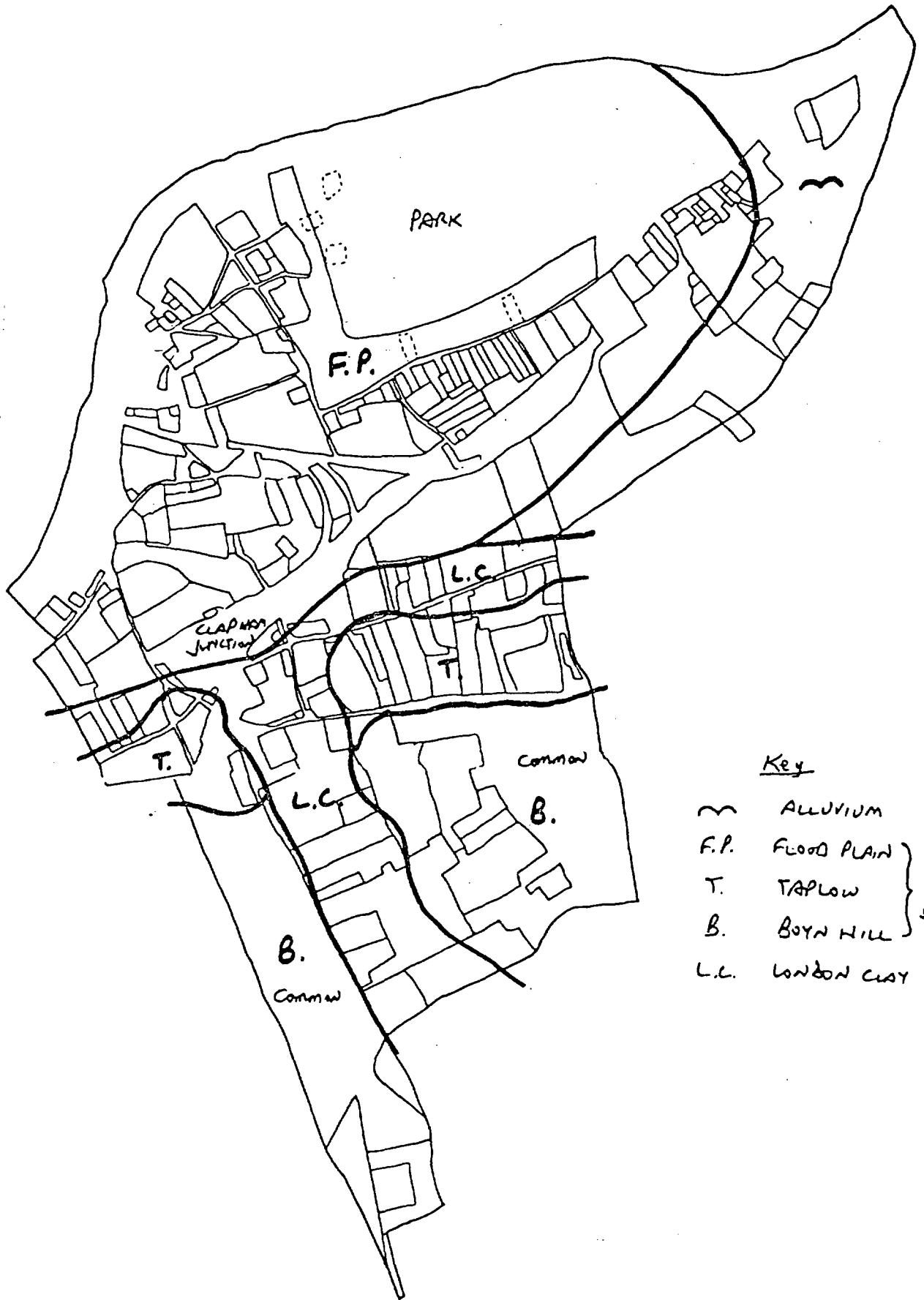


Fig. 2.2 - Drift Geology



Key

- ~ ALLUVIUM
  - F.P. FLOOD PLAIN
  - T. TAPLOW
  - B. BOYN HILL
  - L.C. LONDON CLAY
- } TERRACE



Boyn Hill Terraces, at about 45-60ft. and 80-100ft. O.D. respectively.<sup>8</sup> They are an assortment of sands, gravels and loams, but longer erosion has rendered them less fertile and attractive for agriculture, especially the Boyn Hill deposits which underlie the extensive tracts of manorial waste (now Clapham and Wandsworth Commons). The northern part of the Taplow Terrace was enclosed early, and may never have been open field. These areas have long been regarded as the most salubrious, combining an elevated position with fine views over London and good natural drainage. Almost all of the mansions built after 1750 were around the commons, their estates not developed until after 1880.

In summary, the topography of Battersea may be likened to a "T", in which the crossbar is the low-lying north of the parish, the site of the medieval village and its common field. The commercial horticulture which developed after 1600 delayed widespread enclosure until the onset of housebuilding from 1840. The downstroke is formed by the Falcon Brook, whose valley is bounded by steep London Clay slopes capped by flat expanses of gravel. This area was relatively sparsely settled before 1700, and not finally covered by the tide of suburban building until 1914.

## II - Battersea in the Eighteenth Century

In 1740, Battersea had over 400 acres of open field, the rest being enclosed or waste. This early enclosure may relate to the disappearance of Anglo-Saxon Wassingham in the centre of the parish.<sup>9</sup> Battersea village lay along the Thames and the High Street. It contained about 170 houses in 1740. The rest of the parish had only 150 houses, many in clusters representing medieval hamlets such as York Place, and Roydon.

Nine Elms was first mentioned in 1645 and developed as a riverside industrial area. Brewing was carried on there until the 1960s, and 'Mr. Dawes the Whitinge Maker' of 1649 was the forerunner of another long-lived industry.<sup>10</sup> The area was noted for its windmills, which processed not only corn, but also white lead and colour.<sup>11</sup> Timber was important here, with docks rented from the parish, and formed the basis of the later shipbuilding industry, which lasted until the general collapse of that trade in London in the 1860s.<sup>12</sup> Sugar and lime manufacture were other local industries relying on the carriage of bulky goods by river. A tidal mill with a large storage pond was a feature of Nine Elms from 1770 until 1860.

Industry was not confined to Nine Elms, however, and 1750 saw the opening of the Battersea enamel works at York House, once the residence of the archbishops.<sup>13</sup> It failed in the 1770s, and was replaced by a distillery, one of several in Battersea and Wandsworth catering for the demand for gin in London.<sup>14</sup> A silk manufactory was set up nearby in the 1780s. Close to the manor house, the so-called "horizontal mill" was built in the 1790s, being used for corn- and saw-milling during a varied career.<sup>15</sup> Nearby, Marc Brunel, father of I.K., had a factory for the mass-production of army boots during the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>16</sup>

The impact of all this activity on the local population is unclear. Lysons suggests that the population in the 1580s may have been only 400-500, rapidly increasing to c.2,000 in 1690.<sup>17</sup> (Cf. estimated growth from 600 to 1,800 in Putney, 1620-1700.<sup>18</sup>) Thereafter, Battersea's population stagnated, despite continued industrial growth and the movement of

wealthy Londoners into the area, both of which provided employment in a wide variety of jobs. Lysons suggests a total of 2,100 by 1790. The population of 3,365 in 1801 reflects very rapid growth during the 1790s, much of it at Battersea New Town (see Chap. 13).

This view of stagnation during the eighteenth century is supported by the Poor Rate assessments. In the 1760s, there were 340 houses in Battersea, of which half were in the Village, with the rest more or less equally divided between York Place, The Rise/Commons and Nine Elms. In 1794, the figure was 390 houses, the increase being at York Place (31) and The Rise (19). Taking the average of 6-6½ persons/house which is typical throughout the nineteenth century, we have a population of 2,070-2,240 in the 1760s and 1794, close to Lysons' estimates. The significant growth at York Place was caused by the erection of thirty-odd cottages for silk weavers. Around the Commons, several substantial houses for the gentry and mercantile classes had been put up after 1770.

The reason for the cessation of growth in Battersea is unclear. Putney continued to grow during the eighteenth century, albeit more slowly than before. Lysons adduced poor communications with London, and saw the opening of Battersea Bridge (November 1771) as a catalyst of renewed growth.<sup>19</sup> This is difficult to accept. Battersea had always been served by two major roads from London and by the Thames. Londoners in search of country retreats did not find it inaccessible.

The Chelsea-Battersea ferry was far less important than that at Putney, and was not part of a important route from London.<sup>20</sup> Agitation for a bridge in 1661 was defeated, as at Putney, by the watermen's lobby. Putney acquired its toll bridge in 1729, but Battersea had to wait for Earl Spencer, recently arrived as lord of the manor, to obtain an Act in 1766.<sup>21</sup> Poor access from the south meant that receipts were disappointing. The relevance of Battersea Bridge to the prospects for local industrial and population growth must remain questionable. When the area did finally emerge from the doldrums after 1790, it owed much more to the stimulus of the war economy, and the centre of growth was at Nine Elms.

Rate books also provide data on house values and hence the social geography of Georgian Battersea.

Table 2.1

Battersea: House Numbers and Value by Area 1760-9

<u>Area</u>	<u>% Houses</u>	<u>% Value</u>
Village	49.4	35.5
York Place	15.7	11.1
The Rise	19.4	27.8
Nine Elms	15.5	26.6

Source: Battersea Poor Rate assessments 1760-9 (WLHC)

Even in the 1760s, marked differences existed between the various parts of Battersea. The Village, with half the houses, had only one-third of the rateable value, and York Place was also an area of low-value property. The Rise was valued at 43% more than might have been expected from the number of houses. The excess value at Nine Elms, on the other hand, reflects the fact that many houses had industrial premises alongside, which were not

distinguished separately. The average assessment 9/7 in the village; 11/- at York Place; 19/5 at the Rise and 21/9 at Nine Elms. The overall average was 13/3.

### III - Battersea in the Early Nineteenth Century

Battersea experienced its most rapid population growth yet in the 1790s (40% - 2,400 to 3,365), a harbinger what was to come. The number of houses, however, grew from c.360 to 605 (68%), implying much overcrowding before the upsurge in building after 1792. The only new area of building was Battersea New Town, separated from Nine Elms by the mill pool. Eastern Battersea had 150-175 houses in 1801 (cf. 50-55 in the 1760s). The remaining 120 new houses since 1790 were divided equally between the Village and York Place/Rise, where infilling and accretion continued without the creation of many new building estates.

The principal stimulus for this growth seems to have been the war with France, and expansion continued after 1800 at only a slightly reduced rate (31% 1801-11). There was a dramatic slowing of growth to only 8% 1811-21, with the end of the war and subsequent depression. The 1820s were also years of low growth - 11.5% to 5,311 in 1831 (cf. 40% growth in Clapham in the 1820s), suggesting that Battersea was too far from the suburban frontier to offset the industrial depression by purely residential development.

Table 2.2

Battersea Population Trends 1801-1831

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Nos./Ho.</u>	<u>Ag.Emp.</u>	<u>Ind.Emp.</u>
1801	3365	605	5.56	387	228
1811	4409	714	6.18	198	342
1821	4764	801	5.95	235	867
1831	5311	915	5.80	187	374

Note: \* = inhabited houses

Employment data in the early Censuses are not very accurate, although they suggest the importance of industry in Battersea compared with traditional land-based occupations. Most people must have been locally employed during this period. The scanty public transport was expensive. Boat hire before the steamboat era was beyond the reach of most people, as were the twice-daily short-stage coaches.<sup>22</sup> Battersea had far fewer services than, for example, Camberwell and Chelsea. As late as 1836, Battersea had only eight trips to/from London, offering 120 places each way (cf. 1,224 to Clapham, 1,770 to Camberwell and even 501 to Wandsworth).<sup>23</sup> Only after 1840 did competition and improved mechanical reliability produce a frequent, cheap steamboat service, with fares as low as 2d.<sup>24</sup> Even walking to work in Chelsea was expensive for the working-man, the tolls amounting to 6d. per week. Carters faced charges of 4d. for a one-horse cart and 1d. for a laden pack animal.<sup>25</sup>

Battersea also developed slowly in other respects. In 1819, for example, the Brougham Committee found only two schools - Sir Walter St. John's grammar school (1700) and the National Schools (1814) for fifty boys and fifty girls.<sup>26</sup> Despite the fact that there must have been at least 500 children of school age in Battersea, the Committee found that there were more places than pupils being offered, and that the poor were 'generally indifferent' to school

attendance, no doubt preferring to set their children earning in field or factory. The Battersea Charity School, founded under the aegis of the Baptist Chapel in York Road in 1799, seems to have been overlooked. The roll was 88 in 1843, but attendance averaged only 64.<sup>27</sup>

Provision of additional church facilities was equally slow. The parish church was rebuilt 1775-7, but could only accommodate a small proportion of the population by 1800.<sup>28</sup> There was a 'chapel' of unspecified denomination at New Town in 1813, but the first new church was St. George's, built in 1829-30 for about £2,500.<sup>29</sup> No more established churches were built until the late 1840s.

There was no integrated drainage provision in London until the Metropolitan Board of Works took the matter in hand after 1856, although the generally well-drained subsoil of Battersea no doubt helped to avoid the worst health problems. Flooding east and south of the village remained a problem, however. Water supply was from local wells and watercourses. The Southwark & Vauxhall Water Company took its supply from the polluted waters of the Thames west of Nine Elms, and the quality and regularity of supplies were far from good.<sup>30</sup>

#### IV: Battersea in 1839

The first large-scale map of Battersea relates to the Tithe Apportionment in 1839. It provides an invaluable basis for the study of subsequent development. Apart from Battersea New Town, there was still no significant housing development outside the ancient settlements which had absorbed most of the additional 4,000 inhabitants between 1790 and 1840. In September 1839, 422 out of 1,029 houses were in the Village (41%, cf. 49% in the 1760s). New Town had c.160 houses in 1839. The survival of the open fields further underlines the continuity with the past. Apart from the incomplete southern approach to Battersea Bridge, the Southampton Railway, running straight across many furlongs is the only modern intrusion. The terminus was at Nine Elms, passengers proceeding to London by road or river. Land use in 1839 is summarised below.

Table 2.3

#### Land Use of Titheable Land, Battersea 1839

<u>Land Use</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>%Titheable Ac.</u>
Arable	346.99	16.4
Meadow/Pasture	615.12	29.1
Market Garden	379.32	17.9
Pleasure Grounds	92.08	4.4
Private Garden	<u>109.29</u>	<u>5.2</u>
Sub-total	1542.80	73.0
Sites of Houses &c.	179.31	8.5
Commons/Roads	<u>391.90</u>	<u>18.5</u>
Sub-total	571.21	27.0
Total	2114.00	100.0

The impression is of an overwhelmingly open landscape, with almost two-thirds of the land given over to various forms of agriculture. Even taking the sites of houses and grounds together, the built-up area accounts for only 18% of the total. Most of the arable land was in the Common Field, as was much of the market garden ground. The strips were ideal for labour intensive horticulture. This may account for the failure to progress enclosure, although Putney

had a similar emphasis on market gardening and was fully enclosed by 1750. Meadow and pasture represent the major land use on the higher, poorer soils, producing hay and fatstock for the London market. The infertile soils in the south-east and south-west account for the substantial area of wastes and common, although these too were used for grazing. In all essentials, this pattern of land use is the same as in 1800.<sup>31</sup> Milne shows the patchwork of arable and market gardens in the open field and the great blocks of pasture in the Falcon Brook valley and north side of Clapham Common.

The first railway made little physical impact. The industrial zone at Nine Elms gave way abruptly at the tidal mill to marshland dotted with mills, taverns and gardens such as the notorious "Red House",<sup>32</sup> a pigeon-shooting ground and the more genteel Flora Tea Garden. Battersea New Town had still not reached anything like its final form, despite fifty years of building. Most of the houses there had rental values of £10 or less. Between New Town and the Village were open fields, with no hint of the first surge of building which was to come after 1840.

Battersea Common Field consisted of thirty-eight furlongs, cultivated on an individual basis, and not grouped into two or three fields for rotation:

Arable	218.94ac. (54.42%)
Market Garden	60.56ac. (15.05%)
Meadow	122.80ac. (30.53%)

Only Midmoor and Oaken Stub Shots were mixed (arable/meadow and market garden/meadow, respectively). The marshy ground north of Battersea Park Road was mostly meadow, soon to be converted into Battersea Park. Market gardening in the open fields was concentrated in the south-west, astride the railway south of the Village, reflecting the additional fertility of the brickearth. Virtually no houses were located in this whole area. Those working the land lived either in the Village or New Town, or in the isolated farms on the enclosed land to the south, Longhedge, Pays Bas and Poupart's.

The demarcation between open and enclosed areas is followed closely by the Southampton Railway, the area southwards to the Heathwall Sewer, which effectively made north Battersea into an island, being enclosed. The layout of building estates on both open and enclosed land was heavily influenced by field boundaries. East of the village enclosed market gardens, such as Howey's and Juer's, eventually became building estates. Between the site of Albert Bridge and the Wandsworth boundary, most of the Thames frontage was given over to industry. The large houses with extensive grounds around Clapham Common witness the attraction of this area for wealthy Londoners, and although several of the houses have survived the onslaught of the speculative builder, their grounds were too valuable and were built over in several waves between 1865 and 1910.

The Tithe Apportionment provides almost complete information about land ownership on the eve of urbanisation. There were 165 owners in 1839, of whom 65 owned more than five acres and eighteen more than twenty acres. Ownership details are not given for the small plots of ordinary houses, and the Commons are excluded. The remaining titheable area was 1741.75

acres. Of this, the ten largest owners held 829.38 acres (47.62%). This is not to say, however, that holdings of less than ten acres were too small for viable building developments. Many "building estates" covered less than one acre.

Far fewer landowners are identified in the 1839 Rate Book and the 1841 Census. Many landowners were absentees, living anywhere from the neighbouring parishes of Clapham (John Lucas) and Lambeth (Henry Beaufoy, a vinegar manufacturer), to much further afield, such as Richard Southby in Berkshire and Timothy Cobb, a Banbury banker.

Table 2.5

Battersea: Thirty Major Landowners in 1839

<u>Name</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Absentee</u>	<u>Occupation*</u>	<u>Age*</u>
R.W. Southby	264.94	✓		
Thomas Ponton	100.14	✓		
J. & M. Dent	70.72		Indept.	60
Abp. of York	62.86	✓		
Earl Spencer	61.60	✓		
Thomas Carter	61.49		Mkt. gardnr.	60
John Lucas	60.62	✓		
Henry Willis	57.56		Indept.	60
Edward Pain	45.20	✓		
Thomas Cubitt	44.24	✓		
Eliz. Graham	40.01		Indept.	75
Andrew McKellar	39.66		Indept.	80
Henry Beaufoy	32.24	✓		
Southampton Rly.	29.78	✓		
J. & S. Smith	21.52	✓		
Timothy Cobb	21.38	✓	(Banker)	
Geo. Hollingsworth	20.74		Indept.	65
Wm. Howey	20.31	✓	(Mkt. gardner.)	
Wm. Pearce	19.46	✓		
Miss Bowers	19.05	✓		
J. Wilson	19.04	✓		
J. Betts	17.36	✓		
Charles Wix	17.20	✓		
C. Pilkington	16.46		Indept.	65
Glebe	16.06			
Chas. Chabot	15.76	✓		
Hy. Jeur	15.49		Indept.	30
Hy. Thornton	15.44		Banker	40
Wm. East	15.08	✓		
Geo. Carter	14.96		Mkt. gardnr.	45

\*Details from 1841 Census, ages rounded to five years.

Source: Battersea Tithe Apportionment, 1839 (WLHC)

Even in 1839, there is evidence of an interest in the building potential of Battersea's fields and market gardens. Edward Pain was to develop several small estates in north Battersea from the 1840s, and Thomas Cubitt was of course the main builder of Pimlico just across the Thames. His holdings in Battersea were not, however, developed until after his death. Much of the land was on the site of the park which he actively promoted after 1840.<sup>33</sup> The advanced age of many resident landowners is noteworthy, and their deaths during the ensuing decade or so played a part in releasing land for building.

## V: Property Values in 1839

The Poor Rate assessment of September 1839 details all houses and industrial premises, and most of the land in the parish, together with their estimated gross rental and rateable values. Data are given for 1,006 occupied (cf. 1,090 in the 1841 Census, confirming the impression of slow growth in the 1830s).

Table 2.5

### Battersea: Estimated Gross Rental Values, Sept. 1839

<u>Rental £</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total Value</u>	<u>%</u>
1-10	427	42.44	3710	10.62
11-20	279	27.73	3877	11.10
21-30	82	8.15	2086	5.97
31-50	75	7.45	2930	8.39
1-50	863	85.78	12603	36.08
51-100	54	5.37	3810	10.91
101-150	25	2.49	3047	8.72
151-200	28	2.78	4937	14.14
201-300	24	2.38	5916	16.94
301+	12	1.19	4613	13.21
51+	143	14.22	22323	63.92
Total	1006	100.00	34926	100.00

Source: Battersea Poor Rate Book, Sept. 1839 (WLHC)

These data confirm those from the eighteenth-century examined earlier, with 70% of a greatly increased number of houses worth less than £20 p.a., although contributing only 22% of the total value. In contrast, the 6% of houses assessed at more than £150, yielded 44%. The total value, including industrial premises and the newly-arrived Southampton Railway which had overnight become the largest ratepayer with land and assets valued at £4,780, was £61,636, of which houses accounted for 57%: Battersea was still in the early stages of transition to a suburb. The modal E.G.R. was £10 (about 3s 10d/week), with 161 houses (16%). The £9-12 range included 387 houses (38.5%). Only 25% of houses were worth more than 10/- per week. The geographical distribution of houses in Battersea in 1839 bore a close resemblance to that of 1790, and hence to the traditional village and hamlet pattern.

Table 2.6

### Battersea 1839: Distribution of Houses

<u>Area</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Av. Value</u>
Village	440	43.74	9020	25.83	20.50
York Place	80	7.95	2523	7.22	31.54
Rise/Commons	157	15.61	14654	41.96	93.34
Lavender Hill	45	4.47	3131	8.96	69.58
Fields	42	4.17	1101	3.15	26.20
New Town	172	17.10	2598	7.44	15.10
Nine Elms	70	6.96	1899	5.44	27.13
Total	1006	100.00	34926	100.00	34.72

The Village remains predominant, with 41% of houses added since the 1760s (271 out of 663). York Place had increased by almost one-half, but remained mainly market gardens, with industry along the Thames. There had been substantial building in the St. Johns Hill-Rise-Commons area, however, which had 171 more houses than the 1760s, many of them mansions

with substantial grounds, and E.G.Rs. of £200 or more. Lavender Hill had also attracted this kind of development to an area virtually uninhabited in 1770. The Common Field and adjacent enclosures remained largely untouched by building in 1839. To the east, however, Battersea New Town had 172 houses where none existed before. Nine Elms, in contrast, had acquired only 27 houses. The Village and New Town stand out as low value areas. South Battersea had half of the value but only 20% of the houses. Even here, however, small cottage properties lay close to the great houses.

#### VI: The Spencer Sales of 1835/6

In certain respects, the pattern of landownership in 1839 was a relatively recent one, a reflection of the sale of much of Earl Spencer's freeholds in 1835 and 1836. These broke up a hitherto substantial estate, in several cases transferring ownership to existing tenants. The 1st. Earl Spencer had purchased the manor of Battersea and Wandsworth from the St. John family in 1763.<sup>34</sup> He also acquired the even larger manor of Wimbledon through his Churchill/Marlborough connexions. There is no evidence that he saw these estates as other than sources of agricultural rents and the site of a seat close to London. Financial difficulties forced the 3rd. Earl (d.1845) to sell in the 1830s.

The sales were conducted by Mr. Rainy, 14 Regent Street in four portions, of which three were concerned wholly or partly with Battersea. The first was on Tuesday, 23 June 1835 and consisted of sixty-one lots, mostly in Nine Elms and the eastern part of the open fields. The second, on Friday, 30 October 1835 and featured land in north-central Battersea in sixty-five lots. The third portion, on Friday, 8 July 1836, lay in north-west Battersea (26 lots) and Wandsworth. No demesne land lay in central or south Battersea, apart from the manorial wastes.

Table 2.7

Battersea: Spencer Freehold Sales 1835-6

<u>Land Use</u>	<u>1st.Portion</u>	<u>2nd.Portion</u>	<u>3rd.Portion</u>	<u>Total</u>
Manufactories &c.	0.55	-	5.29	5.84
Waste/Docks &c.	22.11	-	-	22.11
Encl. meadow	30.99	52.33	-	83.32
Open meadow	42.82	-	-	42.82
Encl. arable	5.78	-	0.47	6.25
Open arable	31.34	30.94	-	62.28
Encl. mkt. gdn.	50.66	64.34	47.56	162.56
Open mkt. gdn.	-	28.83	-	28.83
Hos./gdns. &c.	0.98	27.61	2.99	31.58
Encl. pasture	-	1.00	-	1.00
Total	185.23	205.05	56.31	446.59

The sales covered almost one-fifth of Battersea, and therefore mark a significant redistribution of land. One-third of the open field changed hands. It is impossible to tell whether this change of ownership was a pre-condition for the housebuilding boom which began in the mid-1840s, or that Earl Spencer would not have followed that course in the absence of the enforced sales. It is true, however, that several developments did soon take place on land released by these sales, which is unlikely to have been purely coincidental.

The majority of the land sold in was agricultural (87%), of which enclosed meadow



(18.7%), enclosed market gardens (36.5%) and open-field arable (13.8%) were the most significant. A substantial number of so-called docks, used inter alia for timber storage, remained in manorial hands until this time, as did the land on which the "Red House" stood. Two substantial industrial premises were included: a vitriol manufactory at Nine Elms, and the silk factory at York Place, a three-storey building with associated offices and thirty-nine four-roomed cottages, covering five acres.

An annotated copy of the particulars for the Second Portion gives invaluable information on the prices paid.

Table 2.8  
Second Portion Sale, 30 October 1835

<u>Lot</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>£/ac.</u>
4	Encl. mkt. gdn.	0.72	130	179
5	Encl. mkt. gdn.	0.83	170	205
8	Open field mkt. gdn.	0.89	125	141
11	Open field mkt. gdn.	2.69	240	89
43	Cott., grds.	0.63	440	697
46	8 cotts., gdns.	0.98	605	617
48	Ho., gdn.	1.87	685	367
49	Meadow	0.89	165	185
50	"Falcon", 2 cotts., gdn.	0.51	1190	2350
51	Building ground	6.25	1000	160
52	2 hos., 6 cotts., land	15.75	3450	219
54	Ho., offices, land	11.26	1730	154
55	Meadow	1.94	420	217
56	Meadow	4.36	610	140
57	Ho., land	6.15	1000	163
59	Open field mkt. gdn.	5.66	550	97
61	Ho., 5 cotts.	0.92	360	389
61a	Ho., grds.	2.74	400	146
62	Open field mkt. gdn.	4.03	490	122
63	3 meadows	6.71	800	119
64	2 meadows	2.36	360	152
65	3 meadows	7.71	940	122

Most of the prices fetched suggest that the purchasers saw the land continuing in agricultural use for the foreseeable future. Even land considered to have building potential (Lot 51 on St. John's Hill), realised little more than nearby meadows. The contrast between the value of open and enclosed market garden ground confirms the view of many agricultural writers. Taking the purely agricultural parcels in Table 2.8, the sale yielded £6,000 for 45.03 acres, an average price of only £133/acre, about one-sixteenth of its value when laid out for building two or three decades later. This gives some idea of the extent to which Earl Spencer sacrificed long-term gain to solve a short-term cash crisis.

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30. F.W. Sheppard, *The Infernal Wen*, 296; J. Roebuck, *Urban Development in 19th-Century London*, 1979, 106, 108.
31. T. Milne, *Land Use Map of London & Environs in 1800*, London Topog. Soc. 118-9 (1975/6), introd. G.B.G. Bull.
32. R. Logan, 'The Red House', *Wands. Hist.*, 12 (1975), 1-4.
33. H. Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt Master Builder*, 1971, 435-41.
34. Taylor, *op. cit.*, 92.

### Chapter 3

#### VICTORIAN BATTERSEA: THE PROVISION OF INFRASTRUCTURE

The creation of any Victorian suburb involved the provision of a wide variety of services, by both private and public enterprise. This chapter examines briefly some major elements (local government; transport; schools; churches; shops and public houses, and entertainment), as a background to the analysis of the building process. Some aspects have been studied more than others. Local government at the London-wide and local levels is thoroughly examined by Owen and Roebuck.<sup>1</sup> Transport, and railways in particular, has generated a vast literature, although we have already noted in Chap. 1 that little of it is concerned with their physical and social consequences. Schools - especially the work of the School Board for London from 1870 - and the rash of new churches and chapels erected after 1850 have received little notice from local historians, and the same is true of retailing, the drink trade and the various forms of entertainment which were provided in Battersea, ranging from the tropical gardens in Battersea Park to music halls and the Shakespeare Theatre.

#### Local Government

Until 1855, apart from some limited county involvement and the local application of national legislation, notably the Poor Law, the Vestry dealt with matters such as paving and lighting. Drainage was the prerogative of the Kent & Surrey Commissioners of Sewers, a Tudor creation essentially concerned with the maintenance of natural and man-made watercourses.<sup>2</sup> Battersea was outside the scope of the London Building Acts until 1845 and the Vestry had no concern with housing quality. Equally, the small population before 1850 meant that no Commissions or Trusts for paving, lighting or policing had been found necessary. A turnpike road (Lavender Hill-St. Johns Hill) reflected long-distance transport requirements, and probably deterred development along this corridor prior to the abolition of tolls in 1865.<sup>3</sup> From 1829, law enforcement was by the new Metropolitan Police.

The onset of major building activity locally coincided with the creation of the Metropolitan Building Office (MBO) in 1845, whose District Surveyors were responsible for the enforcement of standards. Their records form an invaluable basis for any study of the progress and timing of building.<sup>4</sup> The MBO and the Commissioners of Sewers were absorbed in 1856 by the Metropolitan Board of Works, a new non-elective London-wide body.<sup>5</sup> Its principal task was to provide London with an adequate main drainage and sewerage system, which it did over the next fifteen years through its engineer Joseph Bazalgette,<sup>6</sup> an essential framework into which the drains of thousands of new dwellings and streets could debouch. The MBW freed the local Thames bridges from toll in 1879-80, thereby helping to fuel the building boom of 1878-82, by reducing the cost of travel outside the area. The Board and its successor the LCC assumed the management of Clapham and Wandsworth Commons and later of Battersea Park.

District Boards of Works were also created in 1856. The Wandsworth Board covered Battersea, Clapham, Putney, Streatham, Tooting and Wandsworth, 11,500 acres, whose population in 1855 was only c.65,000. Its main functions related to lighting and paving new and existing roads, public health and consideration of plans for new buildings. The DBW had Local

Committees in each parish, along with a medical officer who reported on the health of the local community. A key player from his appointment as Clerk to the Board in 1856 until he retired in 1885 was Arthur Alexander Corsellis, a local solicitor.<sup>7</sup> He also acted for the Wandsworth Guardians, and was well-placed to take up estate development in the late-1880s and 1890s.

The DBW was a generally conservative body, its membership drawn from a wide spectrum of local tradesmen, including builders, the clergy and professions and minor gentry. It made great difficulties for the new tramway companies after 1875, extorting considerable highway improvements from them.<sup>8</sup> Although the two-tier structure of Boards of Works was essentially bureaucratic rather than democratic, they managed the huge upsurge in new road and house building after 1856 reasonably well. By 1889, when the MBW gave way to the London County Council, a fully-elected body, the population of the Wandsworth DBW area had grown to c.300,000, a figure exceeded outside London by relatively few major towns, most of which enjoyed County Borough status.

Battersea regained its independence in 1889 as a Metropolitan Vestry.<sup>9</sup> This was a radical and progressive body, a tradition inherited by the Metropolitan Borough after 1900, whose anti-royalist stance caused a furore in the Edwardian period.<sup>10</sup> By then, Battersea had a splendid Town Hall costing £30,000 (1892, architect E.W. Mountford),<sup>11</sup> and a Central Library (1889). Their location in Lavender Hill confirmed the shift of the commercial centre of gravity from the old village to Clapham Junction, which began in the 1870s and was complete by 1900. The Vestry had built a public baths, wash-house and mortuary complex on Latchmere allotments in 1887, followed by Nine Elms Baths in 1899. Municipal housing began modestly with a few houses by the Town Hall in the 1890s, and rapidly expanded with the Latchmere Estate in 1903-4. These were unusual on being on virgin ground, rather than slum clearance schemes.<sup>12</sup> Public conveniences, or "chalets", appeared at Clapham Junction and outside Battersea Park during the nineties. The Borough continued to espouse municipal socialism, building its own electricity generating station in Lombard Road by direct labour.<sup>13</sup> Battersea Polytechnic was opened in 1894 (architect E.W. Mountford<sup>14</sup>).

Battersea was generally well-served by its local government. The Building Acts and the MBW's main drainage ensured a reasonably high standard of working-class housing. Overcrowding in some areas did create slums, but most of the area in 1914 consisted of well-paved and lit streets with houses or maisonettes occupied by single families. In terms of civic amenities, Battersea stands comparison with many a provincial city.

#### Local Government at Work 1850-1900

The minute books of the Boards provide detail week by week of applications for new roads, drains and houses and the response of the Superintending Architect of the M.B.W. who agreed to or amended them. The adoption of what had been private estate roads during the construction phase and the provision of street lights often caused debate between the DBW and builders and developers, as did the tendency of the latter to circumvent the width stipulations. In one notable instance a builder laid out a street 20 feet wide instead of the regulation 40ft., because the field on the other side of the boundary had an unharvested crop.<sup>15</sup>

In 1879, there were questions about why the parish was watering and repairing Altenburg Gardens, a private road belonging to a vestrymen, Mr. Hiscox, who also owned one of the sites which was being considered for the planned Vestry/public hall.<sup>16</sup> He was not the only member with such vested interests. The Vestry election of May 1872 saw Messrs. Appleton, Edwin Lathey, C.W. Todd, George Chadwin and Knipler elected, all involved in estate development, surveying or building.<sup>17</sup> Alfred Heaver, a major developer after 1875, served a term on the DBW after 1880.

Private developers were not the only ones involved. In May 1863, the Office of Works, which had created Battersea Park and the surrounding roads wrote regarding Victoria and Park Roads (Chelsea Bridge Road and Prince of Wales Drive). The Treasury paid £1,272 for their adoption, including the Circus and Octagon, a grand piece of town planning for this area.<sup>18</sup> In September 1860, Mr. Hunt wrote to the DBW asking that Parkside Street be lighted, as he had already erected nearly fifty houses there. The matter was referred to the Battersea Committee.<sup>19</sup> In 1891, when the Vestry was paving St. John's Hill and Battersea Rise, it was agreed that footpath flagging should be charged to frontagers, including St. Mark's church.<sup>20</sup>

The transition from farmland to suburb produced some unpleasant health problems. The as-yet open sewer in Falcon Lane was said in September 1865 to be 'blue and inky, gurgling through refuse and garbage... the effluvia arising... disgusting in the extreme'.<sup>21</sup> Bazalgette's main drainage solved this problem, and Battersea's ancient watercourses disappeared below ground. By October 1865, 19,220 feet of sewers had been laid in the parish, although they only drained 530 houses at first.<sup>22</sup> In the days before the automatic linking of new houses with the sewer system, previously-built houses had to be specially connected. In April 1865 Mr. Holland, owner of 37 houses in Hope Street, mostly built between 1857 and 1860, applied for early construction of a sewer, and also for repair of the road and footways.<sup>23</sup>

The slow progress in health is highlighted by the local Medical Officer's report for 1868-9, which records 1975 births and 964 deaths, of which 631 were children under ten. In October 1868, the Board took legal proceedings against William Snelling, who kept 32 pigs in Latchmere Grove, a street noted for this activity and hemmed in since 1863 by railways.<sup>24</sup> The battle was not new, and continued for years. In January 1859, the *Clapham Gazette* had reported fever in York Road, Sleaford Street, George Street and Latchmere, attributable to the large number of pigs kept there. In 1872, the pigkeepers went to the Home Office saying that only 49 pigs were kept in poor conditions, but revealing no less than 232 piggeries. The D.B.W. was worried about smallpox and found 2,948 pigs, although the true number may have been three times that.<sup>25</sup> In August 1874, Battersea had the worst incidence of scarlet fever and diarrhoea deaths in London, while later that year, a highly contagious disease broke out in local piggeries.<sup>26</sup>

The various organs of government did not always agree. In December 1874 Battersea Vestry opposed an attempt by the M.B.W. to compulsorily purchase 18 acres at Latchmere for gas storage, saying that it was an open space providing useful allotments.<sup>27</sup> By 1886, however, the Latchmere Allotments Committee was saying that the most profitable use would be for artisan dwellings, and recommending a layout providing 476 plots with a ground rental of

£1,925 p.a. at 5/- per foot frontage. Of the proceeds, £500 were to go on technical scholarships and the balance on a free library and reading rooms. Although this accurately foreshadowed the ultimate use of Latchmere, the scheme was premature. Only the M.B.W. had powers to erect dwellings at this time, as the Local Government Board pointed out to the Vestry in November 1886.<sup>28</sup>

Battersea Vestry adopted the Public Libraries Acts in 1887, providing reading rooms in Battersea Park Road and Latchmere Road. The first lending library was in the Lammas Hall (October 1888), followed by the Central Library and Lurline Gardens in 1890. The book stock was 28,000 volumes in 1891, issues were c.250,000 p.a. and the cost £4,500.

London street-names often changed, mainly to avoid confusing duplication. In December 1883, the MBW ordered the renaming of the politically *maladroit* Zulu Crescent on Alfred Heaver's Falcon Park estate to neutral Rowena Crescent. In 1887, the residents of Bullen Road objected to its being renamed Dives Road (after the previous owner), and the DBW and MBW agreed to change it to Ilminster Gardens.

Street traders were a perennial problem and the DBW employed a Street Keeper to regulate them. In October 1887, he seized a barrow, board and onions outside the "Princes Head" belonging to Richard Gould of Knowsley Road, and also a barrow and oil cloth in Totteridge Road. Trouble was not confined to the pavements, as the Board received a memorial from 33 residents of Falcon Road in November 1887 objecting to the nuisance caused by organ grinding, swings and shooting galleries at Hallett's timber yard. This was followed by a letter from Battersea Tradesmen's Club demanding an end to the same nuisance.

### Public Transport

Whatever the relationship between public transport and the timing and pattern of suburban growth (see discussions by Kellett, White and Jackson<sup>29</sup>), its development had a very significant impact on the landscape of Battersea after 1840. The minimal short stage and omnibus services of the 1820s and 1830s did not affect the essentially local orientation of employment. Those who lived in villas and mansions around the Commons could afford their own transport.

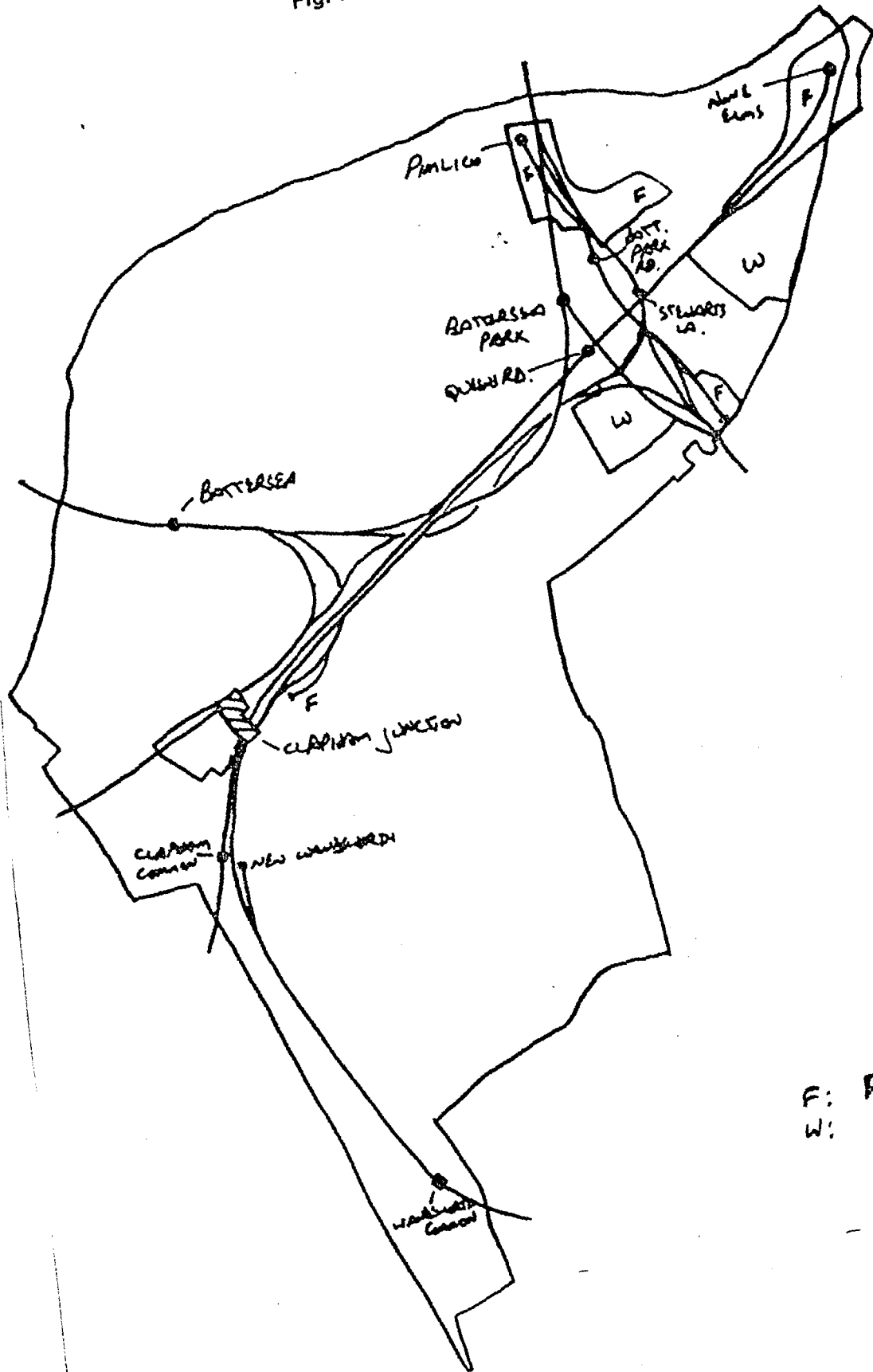
Battersea was well served by railways and trams, but studies of their socio-economic and physical impact are few,<sup>30</sup> and services and traffic, both passenger and freight, have received scant attention.

### Railways (Fig. 3.1)

The London & Southampton Railway opened in stages from May 1838. In Battersea bridges were provided only for the few pre-existing roads, which affected the pattern of development after 1850. There was a station at Battersea Rise; called "Wandsworth", and later "Clapham Common", it set a precedent whereby railways tended largely to ignore the existence of Battersea. This difficult site was probably chosen because St. John's Hill was still a turnpike.

Services began with six down and five up trains (four each way on Sundays). Third-class passengers were not carried. Fares from Wandsworth to Nine Elms were 1/6 first- and 1/- second-class for three miles.<sup>31</sup> The Southampton was not a suburban railway but a trunk line.

Fig. 3.1 - Battersea Railways



F: FREIGHT DEPOTS  
W: WORKS

The average journey in late 1839 was 21 miles. Like its contemporaries the Great Western and the London & Birmingham, it was not interested in what little suburban traffic might be on offer.<sup>32</sup> The high fares were reduced in January 1839, allegedly to attract business, rather than because of public complaints. Nine Elms was typical of the peripheral termini of early main-line railways in London. When the line was extended to Waterloo Bridge in 1848,<sup>33</sup> Nine Elms then became the principal goods depot. The locomotive works and largest engine shed had been here since 1843.<sup>34</sup>

In July 1846, the Richmond Railway opened from a junction with the LSR at Falcon Lane through Wandsworth and Putney to Richmond, clearly intended as a suburban line. Two additional tracks were provided to Nine Elms and Waterloo, but no interchange station at the junction.<sup>35</sup> Only six dwellings were affected in Battersea, the rest being gardens, meadows or market garden ground.<sup>36</sup>

Apart from its physical presence, and employment at Nine Elms, railways had had little impact on Battersea by 1850. In 1851, 64 railwaymen lived there, 56 at Nine Elms. The largest group were a dozen engine drivers, the rest ranged from Richard Eaton, locomotive superintendent to porters and labourers.

The first Railway Mania collapsed in the late-1840s, and the next line did not open until 1856. The West End of London & Crystal Palace Railway connected the rebuilt Great Exhibition at Penge with the West End. It reached a temporary terminus at Battersea Rise on 1 December 1856.<sup>37</sup> It was extended to "Pimlico" station, in Battersea next to the new Park and Chelsea Bridge in March 1858, finally reaching Victoria on 1 October 1860.<sup>38</sup> Although adjacent to the LSWR for almost one mile, no immediate steps were taken to provide a station, nor were the lines physically connected.

The 1860s saw furious railway-building activity in south London, and the local network was completed by 1867, along with additional locomotive sheds, goods facilities and workshops. Scores of acres were acquired by the various companies, virtually untouched by development. Empty, flat land was the principal reason for the choice of Battersea for these facilities, the nearest to Waterloo and Victoria.

Table 3.1

Battersea: New Railways in the 1860s

<u>Company</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Section</u>
LCDR	25 Aug. 1862	Beckenham-Victoria
WLER	02 Mar. 1863	Kensington-Clapham Jcn.
LSWR/LBSCR	02 Mar. 1863	Clapham Junction stations
LCDR	01 Apr. 1866	Clapham Jcn.-Wandsworth Rd.
LCDR	10 Dec. 1866	High Level Line
LBSCR	01 May 1867	South London Line
LBSCR	01 Dec. 1867	High Level Line

The WLER was the first link between the northern and southern systems in London, owned by the GWR and LNWR (one-third each), LSWR and LBSCR (one-sixth each). (The



GWR had obtained powers for a similar route in 1845.) The WLER ended with four spurs, one to each side of Clapham Junction, to Waterloo and to Victoria (LCDR). There was a wide range of passenger and freight traffic.<sup>39</sup> The spurs to Victoria and Clapham Junction (LBSCR) had mixed standard/broad gauge tracks for the GWR. Clapham Junction station was partly built in 1860,<sup>40</sup> and was always an interchange station, rather than a true junction. It retained separate LSWR and LBSCR buildings and staffs until 1923. The companies enlarged and rebuilt the station several times. It reached its final form in 1910.<sup>41</sup> The high-level viaducts were built to obviate the gradients from low-lying north Battersea up to Grosvenor Bridge, which presented problems to the locomotives of the day.<sup>42</sup>

Battersea's nodal position on the south London rail network, as well as the rapidly-growing local population, meant that it was well provided with passenger and goods stations. Building materials and coal were two major traffics.

Table 3.2

Battersea - Passenger and Goods Stations

1. Passenger

<u>Name</u>	<u>Company</u>	<u>Opened</u>	<u>Closed</u>
Nine Elms	LSR	21 May 1838	11 July 1848
Wandsworth/Clapham Common	LSR	21 May 1838	01 Mar. 1863
Wandsworth	WECPR	01 Dec. 1856	28 Mar. 1858
New Wandsworth	LBSCR	29 Mar. 1858	01 Nov. 1869
Pimlico & Battersea	LBSCR	29 Mar. 1858	31 Oct. 1860
Stewarts Lane	LBSCR	29 Mar. 1858	30 Nov. 1858
Battersea Park & Steamboat Pier	LBSCR	01 Oct. 1860	31 Oct. 1870
Battersea	WLER	02 Mar. 1863	21 Oct. 1940
Clapham Junction	LSWR/LBSCR	02 Mar. 1863	
Stewarts Lane	LCDR	01 May 1863	31 Dec. 1866
York Road/Battersea Park	LBSCR	01 May 1867	
Battersea Park Road	LCDR	01 May 1867	03 Apr. 1916
Queen's Road	LSWR	01 Nov. 1877	

2. Goods

Nine Elms	LSR	21 May 1838	29 July 1968
Battersea Wharf	LBSCR	30 Apr. 1862	04 May 1970
New Wandsworth	LBSCR	29 Mar. 1858	07 Oct. 1968
Stewarts Lane	LCDR	15 Jan. 1862	02 Nov. 1970
Falcon Lane	LNWR	01 June 1869	03 June 1968
Wandsworth Road	Midland	19 Jan. 1874	30 Apr. 1978
South Lambeth	GWR	1911	1980

Sources: C.F. Dendy-Marshall, *History of the Southern Railway*, 2 ed. (1963), Appxs.II, V, VI; SLP; T. Sherwood, *Change at Clapham Junction* (1994), Appx. 1.

In addition, the three principal companies had large engine sheds in Battersea. The LSWR built locomotives at Nine Elms from 1843 to 1909, and the LCDR at Longhedge Works from 1869 to 1911. Railway employment was important to the local economy, although not as prominent as the building industry.

Table 3.3

Battersea - Railway Employment 1851-1891

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1891</u>
Traincrew	13	70	326	675	818
Terminals	5	30	205	440	595
Track, &c.	5	35	59	118	132
Signalling	2	18	67	166	175
Eng. Shed	1	10	74	147	244
Works	4	7	79	140	338
Shed/Wks.	4	21	142	208	414
Clerk	3	10	43	144	146
Labourer	13	145*	76	76	107
Other	<u>15</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>197</u>	<u>161</u>
Total	65	367	1142	2311	3130

\* includes c.120 labourers associated with the construction of the WLER.

Despite the large growth in absolute numbers after 1871, it was during the formative years, between 1840 and 1867, that the growth of railway employment outstripped that of the total population. There was a heavy concentration of railway workers in Nine Elms and adjacent areas, although this declined sharply from 92% in 1851 to 79% in 1861 and to 55% in 1871 (58% in 1891) as the Clapham Junction area generated employment. There was no company housing in Battersea, although some compulsorily purchased houses were retained, notably the eight houses in Brighton Terrace, whose fronts were less than six feet from the LBSCR's South London Line viaduct. Railwaymen relied on the speculative housing market for accommodation. An example of local concentration is provided by Sussex (later Wadhurst) Street, begun in 1850 and with an entrance to Nine Elms works at the end. In 1851, nine railwaymen lived there, in 1861.

The housing provided in Battersea was eminently suitable for this skilled working-class market. Higher than average and regular wages placed them in a secure position in the housing market. Booth indicates that there were about 2,600 railway workers in Battersea, 5% of the total. He understates the position by excluding some unskilled workers (cf. 1891 Census 3,130). The Board of Trade survey of 1887 had 9.5% employed on the railways, although it tends to be biased towards the upper end of the working-class hierarchy, and does not identify those in railway engineering precisely.<sup>43</sup> With earnings of 30s 5d, engine drivers came 13th in the earnings league in 1887, paying 7s/week in rent and occupying three rooms, slightly more than average. No less than 97% were in regular employment, a figure matched only by other railwaymen and the police.

In 1861 158 men were engaged in constructing the WLER: 138 navvies, 7 excavators and 3 carmen, a forgerman, horsekeeper, enginewright and two clerks of works. Most came from rural southern England (54% from the Home Counties and South West, 18% from East Anglia), attracted no doubt by the high wages; only one was born in Ireland.

#### Train Services

Space precludes a detailed analysis of services, which had a relatively limited impact on the timing and nature of housing development.<sup>44</sup> There is also no coherent series of data on fares and carryings to relate to the timetable. Bradshaws for September 1875, August 1887,

April 1899 and April 1910 have been analysed to chart the development of the completed network. The LCC survey of 1895 provides some data on workmen's trains.<sup>45</sup>

Table 3.4

Train Services at Clapham Junction, 1875-1910

<u>Service</u>	<u>1875</u>	<u>1887</u>	<u>1899</u>	<u>1910</u>
Waterloo	95	128	144	169
Victoria	137	96	116	137
Ludgate Hill	11	11	12	10
Kensington	38	41	33	43
Windsor Lines	62	71	102	87
LSWR Main	31	58	39	77
LBSCR Main	26	50	59	87
LBSCR C.Pal	<u>51</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>55</u>
Total	451	518	565	665

The 25% growth in services between 1875 and 1899 appears modest in relation to population growth, but conceals rapid progress on the mainly suburban lines, notably the Richmond-Windsor line and from Balham and Streatham out to Croydon. Services expanded much more rapidly in the Edwardian era, with 18% more trains in 1910 than 1899. The development of larger carriages and longer trains probably doubled capacity between 1875 and 1910. The South London line (LBSCR) was electrified in 1909 to counter tramway and motor bus competition. This was extended to Croydon and Sutton in 1911. The LSWR followed suit with its inner suburban services in 1915/6.<sup>46</sup>

Road Transport (Fig. 3.2)

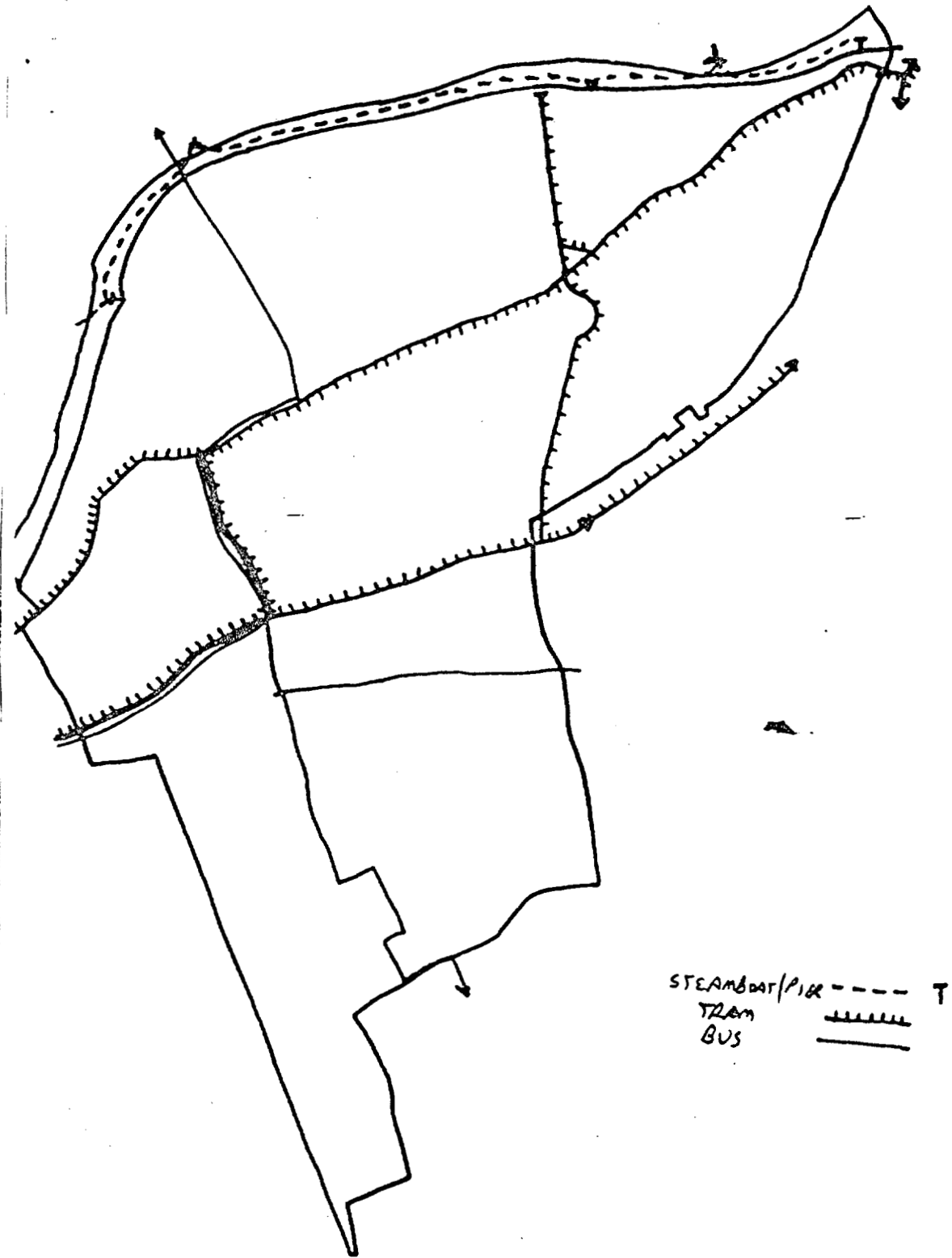
As with local railways, the bus network developed only slowly after 1840. In May 1851, Battersea was served by the following:<sup>47</sup>

1. "King William IV" Wandsworth Road-Battersea New Town-Gracechurch St.; every 30 mins, 0930-2200; journey time 30 min.; fare 6d.
2. "King's Head" Wandsworth-St. Johns Hill-Lavender Hill then as 1. 22 buses 0800-2130; fare 1/-.
3. Wandsworth Road-Oxford St. 4 buses 0930-1930; fare 6d.
4. "King's Head" Wandsworth-Battersea Bridge-Bank. 3 buses 0845-1900; journey 70 min.; fare 9d. - Wandsworth-Battersea 4d.; Battersea-Charing Cross 4d.

Times, frequencies and fares put these services out of the reach of most clerks or artisans. Despite the formation of the London General Omnibus Co. in 1856 and the rapid expansion of the system, Battersea remained poorly served. In December 1870, John Martin was running one bus between Battersea Bridge and Gracechurch St. via Vauxhall, with four round trips on weekdays and five on Saturdays. The first bus did not leave Battersea until 0900.<sup>49</sup> In April 1876, when Battersea's population was c.90,000, the Suburban Omnibus Co. began a service between Wandsworth and Vauxhall via York Rd. and Battersea Park Rd. It ran hourly, but would have been of little use to the people living in the densely-packed streets along its route. This company also ran a 2d. feeder from the "Northcote", Battersea Rise, an area of lower-middle class estates, to the "William IV", Wandsworth Road, starting point of the traditional services.<sup>49</sup> Growth in south Battersea in the 1880s saw the takeover of the Clapham-Balham-Tooting service by Thomas Tilling of Peckham, who reduced the fares.<sup>50</sup>

By 1895 bus services in Battersea had improved in quantity and price, although their timings and high relative cost ensured that they still catered for an essentially middle-class

Fig. 3.2 - Road and River Transport



market:

- (20) "Northcote"-Battersea Bridge-Knightsbridge LGOC ; every 10-12 mins.0730-2224; journey 39 mins.; 26 seats; 4.6mph.
- (120) Bedford Rd. Clapham-Rise-Wandsworth-Putney Tilling 0.88d/ml; every 20 mins. 0930-2100; journey 50 mins.; 28 seats; 5.4mph.; Clapham-Falcon 2d., Leathwaite Rd-Clapham Jcn. 1d.
- (122) Clapham Jcn.-Balham Stn. Tilling 1.14d/ml.; every 15 mins 0800-1230/1330-2205; journey 15 mins.; 12 seats; 7mph.

Assuming a twelve minute frequency on service 20, the total number of seats/day in each direction was: (20) 1950; (120) 900; (122) 650. This is tiny in relation to a population of 160,000. Local transport was dominated by trams and trains. The concentration of buses in central and south Battersea reflects their higher status and the failure of trams to penetrate south of Lavender Hill.

After a false start in 1861, the tramway age in south London began in earnest in 1870, and by 1890 a network radiating from the bridges had been created by several private companies.<sup>51</sup> The South London Tramways Co. (SLT) sought approval for a line from Vauxhall to Lavender Hill in 1877-8,<sup>52</sup> but the DBW objected. The SLT obtained an Act in 1879, with £70,000 capital and powers to construct lines from Vauxhall to Lavender Hill and from Plough Lane to Nine Elms, the latter was not permitted to cross the LSWR lines.<sup>53</sup> The DBW obtained clauses for its "protection", including paving the whole roadway at passing places, and conveying excavated material free to its yard. The 1880 SLT Act authorised lines from the "Falcon" to the "Princes Head", and from Plough Lane to Wandsworth.<sup>54</sup>

Work did not start until August 1880. The contractor was Turner of Chelsea, supervised by four DBW clerks. Public service began on 1 January 1881, between the "Princes Head" and the "Royal Rifleman", extended from 12 March to give a "Falcon"-Nine Elms service, 2.75 miles of mainly single track with passing places. The first trams were twenty-eight forty-seat double-deck cars, about 50% larger than contemporary buses. They were pulled by a stud of 108 horses, and housed in a depot in Queens Road.<sup>55</sup> As the network grew, additional depots were provided at Clapham Junction station, Gonsalva Road, and Jews Row, Wandsworth. The following services were offered in 1882:<sup>56</sup>

1. "Falcon"-Nine Elms ev. 10 mins. 0745-2210 (2355 Sats.). c.6 mph; jny. 20 mins.
2. "Princes Head"-Chelsea Steamboat Pier ev. 10 mins. 0755-2145 (2335 Sats.)

A five-minute headway was provided along Battersea Park Road (c.6,700 seats each way), far better than the parallel railway, although the starting times were akin to those of the buses. Workmen's tickets were apparently available in 1882. Ordinary fares were 1d.-2d., about 1d/ml.

The "Upper Road" opened in June 1882, from East Hill, Wandsworth to Westbury St., Clapham, extended to Vauxhall in 1883. The York Road-Wandsworth section also opened in 1883, along with extensions to Westminster Bridge and the Hop Exchange, Borough, which gave access to the City. The piecemeal opening led to poor financial results. Passing places were criticised as being poorly sited and insufficient, and nine more were added in 1886-7. By the 1890s, the whole of Falcon Lane was double track. In 1895 the horse tram network was at its peak, soon to be taken over by the L.C.C. and electrified:

Table 3.5

Battersea Tram Services, 1895

A. All Day Services

- 60 (Blue) Wandsworth-York Rd.-Battersea Pk. Rd.-Westminster Bridge
- 61 (Green) Wandsworth- as 60 -Hop Exchange
- 62 (Yellow) East Hill-Lavender Hill-Westminster Bridge
- 63 (Brown) East Hill- as 62 -Hop Exchange
- 64 (Choc.) Chelsea Bridge-Clapham Junction
- 65 (Red) Chelsea Bridge-Queens Rd.-Lavender Hill

<u>Service:</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>65</u>
Distance (mils.)	4.75	5.88	4.50	5.63	2.06	1.31
Pence/ml.	0.63	0.51	0.66	0.53	0.97	0.84
Journey time (mins.)	51	66	55	68	14	11
Frequency (mins.)	5	5	5	10	10	10
Start	0735	0730	0730	0715	0722	0747
Finish	2250	2140	2250	2145	2222	2217
Seats	40	40	46	46	40	40

B. Workmen's Trams

30 Wandsworth-Borough, 7 departures 0515-0715; 2d; 40 mins. Very overcrowded in 1894, five additional trams provided.

31 Wandsworth-Westminster 0530, 0600; 2d; 45 mins. Often overcrowded, especially in summer.

32 Lavender Hill-Chelsea Bridge 0605, 0635, 0705; 1d. Average loadings 13, may be withdrawn.

The SLT also ran horse buses from Chelsea Bridge to Sloane Square, the nearest point on the Underground. Workmen's trams ran only along the "Lower Road", reflecting the higher social status of Lavender Hill. The total number of seats provided was 480/day, far less than on local workmen's trains, indicating that in this area at least the tram did not provide a mass-transit system for artisans. It did, however, provide a very good off-peak service, with a tram every couple of minutes between the "Princes Head" and Queens Road (17,920 seats) and every 2½ minutes along St. Johns Hill/Lavender Hill (11,488 seats). Most local trips cost 1-2d.:

Plough Rd-Battersea Park Stn.	1d.
Latchmere-Vauxhall	1d.
Clapham Jcn.-Vauxhall	1½d.
Chelsea Bdge.-Lavender Hill	1d.

The L.C.C. bought out the SLT in 1902.<sup>57</sup> Conversion to electric traction began in 1903, using the expensive conduit system, forced on the L.C.C. by the hostility of local councils to overhead wiring. The local network was converted between 1906 and 1911, and slightly extended, along Battersea Bridge road and across to Chelsea.

Other improvements included the reduction of local tramwaymen's hours to sixty/week and the raising of their wages from 4d. to 6d./hour. New ½d. fare stages were introduced, reducing the cost of certain journeys, for example Wandsworth-Westminster from 3d. to 2½d.

Steamboats (Fig. 3.2)

By 1851, regular services between Battersea and the City via intermediate piers were provided by the London, Westminster & Vauxhall Iron Steamboat Company (founded 1837) and the City Steam Packet Co. (founded in 1845 with a capital of £30,000, and referred to

generally as the Citizen Steamboat Co.).<sup>58</sup> A ten-minute service was offered for 3d., far more frequent than bus and train and about one-third the price. Battersea had piers at Nine Elms (embarking point for rail passengers until 1848), the "Red House", the "British Flag" and the "Old Swan" next to Battersea church. Citizen had a boatyard close to Battersea Bridge from the late 1840s, where its fleet of vessels was maintained and in some cases built, for example the replacements for *Citizen A-F, & J* during the 1860s.<sup>59</sup> In 1862 the London Steamboat Co. was registered with a capital of £100,000 to take over the Iron and City SB Cos.<sup>60</sup>

After 1880 railway and tram competition seems to have told, and also the freeing of the toll bridges in 1878-80. The London SB Co. went into liquidation in 1884. In 1887 regular services between Battersea and Woolwich ceased and thirty vessels were laid-up.<sup>61</sup> By 1890 services were virtually restricted to the summer pleasure business.

A LCC committee recommended the provision of a service and free the piers from tolls.<sup>62</sup> The radical Council favoured this direct solution (cf. its tramway policy) and sought powers in 1901. An Act was finally obtained in August 1904, when the extension of trams along the Embankment was imminent, and electrification was sowing some of the seeds which caused the steamboat service to fail after a few years. Thirty vessels were built, an operations began in June 1905. Battersea to London was 2-3d. single and 3-5d. return, undercutting rail, bus and tram. A workmen's boat ran from Hammersmith at 0500, calling at all piers; the regular fifteen-minute service ran from 0700 until 1915. Some express boats called only at Westminster, Nine Elms and Battersea between London Bridge and Putney. There was a loss of #30,000 in 1905 and the service became a political issue between the Progressives and the Municipal Reformers. It was suspended in winter 1906-7, and ceased after September 1907. Despite carrying 3.2 million passengers in 1906 and 2.3m in 1907, the service lost nearly £74,000 in three years. It was the final attempt to provide a full service on the Thames.<sup>63</sup>

### Retailing

Pre-urban Battersea possessed few shops and a scattering of traditional inns. Much of the food and commodities required by the population were no doubt produced locally, or brought from itinerant traders. Even in 1840 the High Street had scarcely any shops. All this soon changed dramatically, however, and most new estates included purpose-built shops and additional public and beer houses. Rate books provide a more accurate measure of these developments than early directories.

Table 3.6

Battersea: Shops, Public/Beerhouses 1852-1871

<u>Date</u>	<u>Shops</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>Pubs &amp;c.</u>	<u>Change</u>
Nov. 1852	168	-	62	-
Nov. 1854	181	+13	60	-2
Nov. 1858	199	+18	60	-
Oct. 1862	261	+62	75	+15
Oct. 1865	431	+170	106	+31
Oct. 1869	680	+249	154	+48
<u>Nov. 1871</u>	<u>818</u>	<u>+138</u>	<u>155</u>	<u>+1</u>
1852-1871		+650		+93

Between 1851 and 1871, the population increased from 10,560 to 54,016 (412%), almost matched by shop provision (+387%), the ratio of inhabitants to outlets rising slightly from 62.9 to 66.0. It is the late-1860s which saw large-scale shop building, almost doubling between 1865 and 1871. The characteristic parades of shops lining some, but not all, of the main roads in Battersea began to appear. Battersea Park Road and York Road were the first of these, followed after 1870 by Lavender Hill, Falcon Road, St. John's Road and Northcote Road, the last with a street market, decisively moving the commercial centre of gravity to the south of Clapham Junction. There were, of course, large numbers of corner shops on most estates, along with new public houses, beerhouses and off licences. The rate of growth of the latter was much less spectacular, however: 150% 1852-1871. The threshold rose from 170 persons/establishment to 348 in this period. How much this was due to the temperance movement and the restriction placed on such outlets by some estate developers and magistrates is not clear, neither is their usage quantifiable.

In 1891 (population 149,558), there were 1,656 shops and 280 drink outlets - increases of 177%, 102% and 81% respectively since 1871, bringing the threshold population for shops to 90, and for pubs and off licences to 534. It does not follow, however, that the total size of retailing outlets available had not matched growth in numbers. By 1891, Battersea had its own department store - Arding & Hobbs at Clapham Junction, and there were several other stores offering a wide range of goods, some in multiple adjacent premises, others on several floors.

Table 3.7  
Principal Retail Groups, 1891-2

<u>Type</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>No.</u>
Grocer	185	Variety/Genl	179
Greengrocer	125	Clothing	172
Butcher	116	Furniture	95
Confectioner	106	Tobacconist	95
Baker	98	Chemist	38
Fishmonger	65	Stationer	34
		Jewellery &c.	30
Public ho.	73	Pawnbroker	20
Off lic. &c.	207	China/Glass	16

Food shops (49%) were vital to managing the average Victorian working-class budget.<sup>64</sup> and the need to make repeated small purchases of the commonest items such as bread, tea and potatoes contributed to the proliferation of these shops. The large number of clothing and variety/general stores reflects intense competition between small shopkeepers in an age before multiple retailers became firmly entrenched. The socio-economic difference between the average small shopkeeper in Victorian Battersea and many of his customers was slight, and he depended on their often erratic income for his own livelihood.

The Board of Trade returns of 1887 throw some light on workers in retailing.<sup>68</sup> "Shop trades" had average earnings of 29.45s./week, ranking 15th out of 27. Bakers (27.61s./wk.; 18th.) and butchers (24.07s./wk.; 24th.) were less well placed. This is confirmed by the proportion of outgoings on rent ("shop trades" 24.24%, 8th.; bakers 22.60%, 12th.; butchers 29.16%, 2nd.) The variation seems to have been a direct function of regularity of employment.



While 78.5% of shopmen were regularly-employed (9th.), for bakers this fell to 71.0% (11th.) and for butchers to 67.7% (17th.) In Battersea the so-called "labour aristocracy" was found in industry, rather than distribution.

In Booth's survey,<sup>66</sup> shopmen belonged predominantly to Classes E (ordinary standard earnings - 62.47%) and F (highly paid - 17.98%). For small shopkeepers the figures were 58.54% and 23.47%, respectively. Among large shopkeepers 53.44% belonged to Class F and 41.70% to Class G (lower middle class). Coffee, boarding and licenced house keepers were evenly spread between Classes E, F and G. Street sellers, who were often in conflict with residents and authority, were a numerous group of much lower social status. 63.62% of them belonged to Booth's classes B, C, and D (casual earnings; irregular earnings; regular minimum wages), with 35.68% in classes E and F. "Dealers" of all kinds accounted for 5.9% of the population in 1889, shopmen and assistants for another 2.9%.

Table 3.8

Employment in Retailing: Battersea 1889

<u>Category</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>Total</u>
Street sellers	9	149	509	141	378	70	-	1256
Gen. dealers	-	53	308	35	202	35	-	633
Small shops	-	17	246	246	1686	676	9	2880
Large shops	-	-	-	-	123	1835	1432	3434
Cof./bding Hos	-	-	17	17	123	61	-	218
Licensed Hos.	-	9	17	26	141	255	176	624
Shop assts.	-	<u>17</u>	<u>246</u>	<u>580</u>	<u>2776</u>	<u>799</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>4444</u>
Total	9	245	1343	1045	5429	3731	1643	13489

Only 1.9% belonged to Booth's "very poor" (cf.5.6% of the total) and 17.7% were "poor" (27.8%). In contrast, 67.9% in distribution were "comfortable" (cf. 54.1%).

Education

There was relatively poor provision of schools in pre-urban Battersea (Chap. 2), and, despite the massive increase in demand after 1840, little was done to provide more facilities until the creation of the School Board for London under the 1870 Education Act. The state of education in Battersea was surveyed by Paynter Allen in 1870.<sup>67</sup>

He assumed that the population in was 70,000, whereas it was only 54,000 in 1871. His estimates should be deflated by a quarter, but this does not detract from his conclusions. Battersea was seen, correctly, as pre-eminently a parish of the wage classes, and one in which there were pockets of overcrowding and poverty. Allen comments on the disproportionate burden which fell on the small wealthy group, not least in terms of funding schools through the rates. In 1870, Battersea had 24 National and British schools, run by eleven committees. Some were in ordinary houses, and the total number of places offered was 4,160, although the average attendance was only 3,141 (131/school). The cost per pupil was £1/2/0? p.a., of which 7/- came from Government, 4/4 from voluntary contributions and 8/1 from school pence, leaving a deficit of 2/6. Allen assumed that 18% of the population was aged between five and twelve, giving a school demand of 12,600 (*recte* 9,720). Of these, some 5% were "on the streets", giving a demand for new school accommodation for 7,800 children (6,050).

Private schools were much more numerous than denominational ones. Allen found 101 of them, four were brand new with no pupils, and seven had recently closed, 'without being noticed locally'.<sup>68</sup> Setting up such an establishment required 'neither capital, experience, professional ability, nor special aptitude of any sort.... A card placed on Saturday will raise the nucleus of a school by Monday'. Many appear to have been child-minding facilities, occupying only one room, the mistresses alternating "teaching" with mangling and shopkeeping. Allen considered that as few as twelve were really schools, although twice that number claimed to be "select". Attendance was irregular, averaging 1,833 (1,064 girls and 769 boys), 19/school. Charges ranged from 2d.-1/- per week, mostly 3-6d. Average weekly income was 5-6/-, less than half what a washerwoman could expect to earn.<sup>69</sup>

A further 700 children attended Industrial Schools, and 200 were educated outside Battersea. The total number at school in 1870 was therefore about 5,900, of which 500 were older than twelve and 590 under five. Using the corrected population data, this gives a balance of 3,820 with no school places, about 40%. During the 1870s, a further 9,500 children of school age were added to the local population, followed by 7,700 more in the 1880s. The arrival of the School Board was none too soon for Battersea.

Allen sampled 200 households to ascertain earnings levels. He found 1,228 people (average 6.14, very close to the 1871 Census), with 546 children aged 3-14, of which 285 were not at school (52%). Average earnings were just £1/week, with severe unemployment during the winter, made worse by the collapse of the building boom in 1869-70. Many households were headed by women, chiefly in laundry work, and Allen made the advanced suggestion that provision of nursery schools would release them to work more, and protect the children.<sup>70</sup>

The new School Board wasted no time in identifying the size of the problem and commencing a building programme which lasted thirty years, providing Victorian Battersea with its most characteristic buildings, whose great bulk - three-storied blocks with large windows in a generally "Queen Anne" style - towered above the small houses even more than local churches and chapels.<sup>71</sup> By 1900, the Board had provided 25,054 school places, compared with a church school provision of only 4,683, hardly changed since 1870. 84% of local children received their primary education in a recently-built school. The costs given below are for the initial contracts, including ancillary works such as playgrounds and schoolkeepers' houses. Extensions and alterations, which often transformed the size and capacity of the school, are excluded, as is the cost of land purchase included except where indicated. Table 3.12 shows the number of children at each school in 1904, when they had reached their maximum size, as well as the number of pupils on the rolls in 1882.<sup>72</sup> Two schools were built after 1900 in areas which still had room for new houses - Wix's Lane 1901/2; Broomwood Road 1905-9.

Table 3.9

Battersea Board Schools: Basic Data

<u>School</u>	<u>Opened</u>	<u>Arch.</u>	<u>Contractor</u>	<u>Cost £</u>
Bolingbroke Rd	1 Dec. 1873	Walton	Spink, Battersea	7070
Winstanley Rd	5 Jan. 1874	Coldwell	Stephenson, Chelsea	7948
Batt. Park	14 Apr. 1874	Coldwell	Shepherd, Bermondsey	6728
Sleaford St	10 Aug. 1874	Robson	Higgs, S. Lambeth	8400
Gideon Rd	15 May 1876	Robson	Wall Bros., Kentish Tn.	9921
Mantua St	16 Oct. 1876	Robson	Kirk/Randall, Woolwich	11337
Tennyson St	22 Jan. 1877	Robson	Cooper, Camberwell	7590
Holden St	5 Feb. 1877	Robson	Wall Bros.	10305
Belleville Rd	13 Aug. 1877	Robson	Thompson, Camberwell	10166
Raywood St	18 Apr. 1882	Robson	Downs, Walworth	9428
Shillington St	26 Feb. 1883	Robson	Oldrey, Kensal Rise	12100
Latchmere	27 Aug. 1883	Robson	Oldrey	14270
Basnett Gro	26 May 1884	Robson	Cox, Hackney	10580
Surrey Lane	9 Mar. 1885	Robson	Wall, Chelsea	14630
Ponton Rd	23 Aug. 1886	?	?	?
Plough Rd	10 Nov. 1890	Bailey	Cox	14525
Lavender Hill	5 Sep. 1892	Bailey	Belham, Victoria	23701
Honeywell Rd	27 Feb. 1893	Bailey	Lovett, Wolv'hampton	18959
Ethelburga St.	4 May 1896	Bailey	Stimpson Brompton	19545

The cost of building increased markedly between 1870 and 1900, although there was a tendency for average size to increase. The average for the 1870s was £8,829; for the 1880s £12,589, and after 1890 £20,735. Land alone represented a significant outlay, especially in those areas which had already been developed. For example, the Gideon Road site cost £3,405 and that in Holden Street £3,075 in 1876-7. Both were market garden ground five years earlier. Sleaford Street School site cost £2,543 (1874) and Tennyson Street £2,377 (1877); both lay in developed areas of north-east Battersea. Near Clapham Junction, the sites in Mantua Street (1876) and Winstanley Road (1874) cost £2,334 and £3,152 in an area largely built over by 1870. Belleville Road, by contrast, was less built-up and the cost of the site in 1877 was only £1,661. There is no evidence that the SBL obtained land for new schools at less than the full market rate.

The schools were rarely built both by local firms, large-scale contractors such as Higgs (later Higgs & Hill) of South Lambeth, and Oldrey and Wall Bros., from north London were more typical. At a time when the prime cost of the average terraced house was only £150, undertaking a three-storey school and ancillary work required a considerable capital base. The large contractors were not always successful, however. Fifteen firms tendered for Bolingbroke Road school in December 1872, Higgs had the second-lowest tender at £7,620, compared with John Spink's £7,070. Peto, the well-known railway contractor put in a tender of £7,670.<sup>73</sup>

Table 3.10

Pupils at Battersea Board Schools - 1882 & 1904

<u>School</u>	<u>Pupils 1882</u>	<u>Pupils 1904</u>
Bolingbroke Road	-	1092
Winstanley Road	1127	1008
Park	-	1488
Sleaford Street	1055	1463
Gideon Road	776	1150
Mantua Street	1105	1562
Tennyson Street	1237	1489
Holden Street	1101	1065
Belleville Road	828	1231
Raywood Street	-	1404
Shillington Street	-	1616
Latchmere	-	1840
Basnett Grove	-	1092
Surrey Lane	-	1592
Ponton Road	-	233
Plough Road	-	1363
Lavender Hill	-	1595
Honeywell Road	-	1634
Ethelburga Street	-	1174
Total	8717	25054

The sheer numbers of children accommodated in the average Board School are difficult to envisage nowadays, although it should be remembered that with few exceptions, they provided a complete education from the age of five to thirteen. Overall, the number of children at school in 1904 represented about 18% of the population, identical to Allen's estimate of 1870.

Private education was still available in Battersea during the School Board era, including the long-established Sir Walter St. John's and Battersea Grammar Schools, but affected only a tiny proportion of children. Local directories for 1891/2 list 26 "schools", located in ordinary dwelling houses, mostly small terraced properties. Only two of them were run by men - Thomas Montelli's preparatory school at 43 Bennerley Road and the Rev. J. Parr's Halbrake School at 21/3 Park Road, New Wandsworth. The rest were run by women, virtually all spinsters. Ten were for "ladies", two for "girls" and four were "preparatory". Sixteen of these establishments were located in or to the south of Lavender Hill-St. Johns Hill, and none in the typically working-class streets of north Battersea except Miss E. Adams' ladies' school (54 Cabul Road) and Mrs. Mary Hannington's (114 New Road). It is unlikely that these schools accommodated more than 20-30 pupils on average, providing in total less than half of one typical board school.

Churches and Chapels (Fig. 3.3)

As with education, so with religious provision. Battersea in 1840 had few additions to the parish church of St. Mary (rebuilt 1775<sup>79</sup>), either by the Established church or nonconformists. By 1914 there was a vast array of places of worship to suit all tastes. Space precludes more than an outline of the changes between 1840 and 1900. Mudie-Smith's survey of 1902-3 provides evidence of the use made of them at their zenith.<sup>74</sup>

In 1837, Battersea had two Anglican churches - St. Mary and St. George (1829-30),

Fig. 3.3 - Places of Worship, c.1900



and the Baptist chapel in York Road (1770, founded 1736). By 1901, there were 25 Anglican churches and missions and 44 nonconformist places of worship. Attendance at these in 1902-3 was 7,116 and 8,824 respectively (deflated to allow for those attending more than once<sup>75</sup>), averages of 285 and 201 persons/establishment. This represents one-tenth of the population (4.23% Anglican; 5.25% other) and explodes the myth of Victorian religious observance in this suburb at least. The proportions of men, women and children under fifteen were: Anglican 22.2%; 42.8% and 34.9%; and Nonconformist 29.1%; 37.4% and 33.5%. Children were unlikely to have been present voluntarily, and the proportion of church attendees was 7.8% of men and 11.9% of women.

Table 3.11

Battersea: Religious Observance 1902-3

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Churches</u>	<u>Total Att.</u>	<u>%</u>
Anglican	25	11665	44.64
Methodists	11	5440	20.82
Baptist	8	2849	10.90
Roman Catholic	2	1737	6.64
Congregational	3	1641	6.28
Salvation Army	2	622	2.38
Presbyterian	2	474	1.81
Brethren	3	371	1.43
Reformed Episcopal	1	227	0.87
Others	12	1104	4.23

Although attracting almost half of all churchgoers, the Church of England generally made a poor showing in Battersea. One third of its congregation attended just three churches: The Ascension on Lavender Hill (total attendance 1,296) was noted (and notorious) for being High Church, and doubtless attracted people from a wide area;<sup>77</sup> St. Luke and St. Barnabas (1,001 and 1,315) served the middle class areas around Wandsworth and Clapham Commons. Other Anglican churches and missions had congregations far below their capacity.

Table 3.12

Battersea Anglican Churches

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Capacity</u>	<u>Max. Att 1902</u>	<u>% Cap.</u>
St. Mary	-	-	-	369	-
All Saints	1884	-	-	316	-
Ascension	1873	-	870	769	88
Christ Church	1849	5586	-	267	-
St. Andrew	1886	-	550	229	42
St. Barnabas	1898	-	-	698	-
St. Bartholomew	1891	-	-	241	-
St. George	1830	-	720	182	25
St. John	1863	3300	750	214	29
St. Luke	1889	-	-	525	-
St. Mark	1874	6500	600	390	65
St. Mary le Park	1883	-	-	199	-
St. Matthew	1876	-	500	264	53
St. Michael	1881	-	-	308	-
St. Paul	1868	6300	600	405	68
St. Peter	1876	10000	800	345	43
St. Philip	1870	13000	700	227	32
St. Saviour	1871	4000	700	181	26
St. Stephen	1885	-	700	187	27

These figures confirm the impression that despite substantial investment in buildings and manpower, the Church of England failed to reverse the trend towards a secular society.<sup>77</sup> Even counting attendance at other places of worship, Battersea in 1900 was hardly a Christian community. Even in the most obviously churchgoing parts of the parish, scarcely 10% of the population attended church or chapel.

### Entertainment

Battersea was well-endowed with public houses, offering recreational facilities, as well as absorbing money and creating social problems. Concerts at the bandstands in Battersea Park and on Clapham Common formed counter-attractions for the more genteel, although many of their entertainments were no doubt home-based. The principal form of mass-entertainment in late-Victorian Battersea was the music hall, although none of the best-known were local. Central London halls and theatres were easily accessible after 1880.

Battersea had ten music halls (or at least pubs licensed for music) at various times.<sup>78</sup> All were associated with the working-class area of north Battersea; not all were active at any one time:

1. Battersea Palace (Washington Music Hall 1886-1900), 32 York Road, 1886-1924.
2. Commercial P.H., Battersea Park Road, 1881-8.
3. Crown P.H., Lavender Hill, 1870-1875.
4. Grand Theatre, 21 St. Johns Hill, 1900, capacity 3,000; opposite Clapham Junction.
5. Green Lane Music Hall, c.1880. (Also known as St. Mary's Temperance Hall); capacity 430.
6. Greyhound P.H., 1868-1871.
7. Magpie P.H. & Music Hall, Battersea Park Road, 1869-1880.
8. Park P.H., Battersea Park Road, 1870-1873.
9. Queen Victoria P.H., 82 Falcon Road, 1868-1885.
10. Queen's Theatre, Queens Road, c.1890-1897.

Battersea also had two much grander places of entertainment, although one was a shortlived commercial failure. The Albert Palace was opened in 1884 and closed in 1888.<sup>79</sup> It was on an undeveloped part of the Crown estate. It was based on the shell of the 1872 Dublin Exhibition, and belonged to the Crystal Palace tradition of glass and iron show places. The ten acres of grounds could accommodate 4,000 people. Its attractions were more than outweighed by the mean streets to the south, however, and 1884 was too late for it to succeed.

The Shakespeare Theatre and Opera House opened in November 1896 close to the new Town Hall and Library in what might be termed the cultural centre of Battersea. The architect was W.G.R. Sprague, and there were seats for 1,205, of which two-thirds were in the pit and gallery. The middle-class clientele of the Clapham Common area sustained this alternative to the music hall until the Great War, but thereafter it became a cinema.<sup>80</sup>

Clubs and societies blossomed amongst the skilled artisans of Battersea, not to mention the trades unions which formed an important part of local working-class culture.<sup>81</sup> A Battersea Working Men's Club was founded in 1864. It was defunct by 1867, when an attempt was made to resuscitate it.<sup>82</sup> Price's Candle Co. had its own Workmen's Industrial Society in the 1860s. For the politically-inclined, the Battersea Liberal association was founded in June 1868.<sup>83</sup> The Bolingbroke Tradesmen and Ratepayers' Club was founded in July 1879 in response to the "enormous" charge proposed by the District Board for adopting Northcote

Road.<sup>84</sup> It met first at the Invitation Tavern, moving to the Railway Tavern in late-1887. It met fortnightly, and the subscription was 5/- p.a. Despite politics being strictly excluded, the Club was active in the nomination and election of vestrymen, guardians and other local representatives, including the free library movement and the Wandsworth Common Conservators. The inaugural meeting was attended by Alfred Heaver, at that time just beginning his career as a major developer. Other social and sporting groups included the "Good Intent" Buffalo Lodge, which met at the Prince's Head, and the United Railway Cricket Club.<sup>85</sup> The Battersea Tradesmen's Club met at the Royal Arms in Battersea Park Road. Its president in 1889, Mr. Bloor, was a butcher and vestryman. His predecessor Coulson Laceby had been a driver on the underground railway, but later owned a chain of four pubs.<sup>86</sup> The aims and objectives seem to have been very similar to the Bolingbroke Club's.

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**Chapter 4**  
**SOCIETY IN VICTORIAN BATTERSEA**

**Class and Occupation**

This chapter reviews briefly the social and occupational structure of Battersea between 1850 and 1900. The analysis is based on the Census Enumerators' Returns for 1851-1891, supplemented by the 1887 Board of Trade survey and that of Charles Booth (1889-90). Given the extremely rapid growth of Battersea during the period (1851 10,560; 1891 149,558), the Census analysis is based on 10% households (1851, 1861, 1871) or 5% (1881, 1891) household samples, which provide data on social class, occupation and birthplace, and give a clear idea of the distribution of various groups across the parish, which can be related to housing types. This analysis uses the Armstrong's classification, with Class III divided into manual and non-manual.<sup>1</sup>

Table 4.1

Battersea 1851-1891: Social Class (%)

Class	1851 (195)	1861 (369)	1871 (1167)	1881 (1164)	1891 (1644)
I	5.64	1.63	1.71	1.63	1.22
II	18.98	18.43	16.45	8.94	10.64
III NM	17.95	18.70	18.34	24.74	26.92
III M	24.10	28.18	37.88	36.23	34.70
IV	11.79	13.55	11.48	13.40	16.55
V	21.54	19.51	14.14	13.06	9.97
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The number of upper- and middle-class households (Class I) in Battersea was always very small, the figure for 1851 being a legacy of its earlier attraction for such residents. A decline of two-thirds during the 1850s was followed by little change until the 1880s. These families were always concentrated around the two Commons, and to a lesser degree on the fringes of the Village. The original proposal to surround Battersea Park with detached villas and substantial terraces,<sup>2</sup> would have increased the proportion of these groups in the late-nineteenth century. Instead, the Park was largely surrounded by mansion flats after 1890, with few Class I households.

Class II, the lower middle-class, included retailers and some professionals as well as employers of labour in a variety of callings. It retained its relative importance until 1871, when it was overtaken by an upsurge in Class IIINM. The attractions of Battersea for Class II paled as industry developed and the environment of the northern parts compared unfavourably with nearby suburbs such as Wandsworth and Streatham.

The true nature of Victorian Battersea is represented by Class III. In 1851 it accounted for 42% of households, rising to 47% in 1861, 56% in 1871, and 61% in 1881. During the 1880s, however, growth all but ceased. This is the group at which most new (as opposed to "second-hand") housing was aimed. In 1891 93,000 people in this class needed housing. From 1851-1871, Class IIINM declined from 43% to 33% of the total, reflecting the rapid growth of industry and building. Thereafter, however, it increased rapidly to 39% in 1881 and 48% in 1891, with many of the newcomers working in the service sector, both locally and in London.

Semi-skilled workers (Class IV) consistently formed one-eighth of the workforce between 1851 and 1881, increasing to one-sixth in 1891. Certain areas were noted for their concentrations of laundry workers and charwomen. The unskilled declined from one household in five in 1851-61 to one in seven in 1871-81 and one in ten in 1891. There was much labouring work in the gas,

building and transport industries, albeit often seasonal and prone to unemployment.

Table 4.2

Battersea 1851-1891: Occupational Structure (%)

Group	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
AG	3.59	1.90	0.86	0.52	1.16
B	10.26	13.55	18.85	18.73	16.45
D	11.28	9.48	13.02	14.26	13.87
DS	14.87	11.65	7.20	7.39	6.87
IS	13.85	14.09	10.97	8.33	10.46
M	1.03	0.54	0.51	0.26	0.43
MF	27.69	27.37	28.28	26.55	25.79
PO	2.05	4.61	1.97	2.92	4.81
PP	7.69	9.76	7.63	8.33	9.64
T	7.69	7.05	10.71	12.71	10.52
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Key: AG - agriculture, &c.; B - building; D - distribution; DS - domestic service; IS - industrial service, incl. labourers; M - mining; MF - manufacturing; PO - private means; PP - professions; T - transport.

Agriculture had ceased to be a major source of employment in Battersea by 1851, although market gardening and grazing required labour until the 1880s. The increase in 1891 reflects rising employment in the provision of horses for public and personal transport. The building industry (strictly, trades) grew rapidly after 1850. The trough of the late 1880s caused a slight decline, while the virtual completion of housebuilding by 1900 saw the proportion fall to 13.5% in 1901. Retailing and distribution declined slightly during the 1850s, but recovered as new shops and pubs were provided. Domestic service not only includes those directly engaged as indoor and outdoor servants, but also trades such as laundering. The decline of upper- and middle-class households saw this sector lose half its importance 1851-91. Industrial service includes clerks and unspecified labourers, and its decline over the period in part reflects better job-definition by the enumerators.

"Mining" employment refers mainly to the brickmaking industry. Although tiny, it grew appreciably after 1850, utilising local reserves of clay and brickearth. These were exhausted by 1880, however, and the land backfilled and built upon. Manufacturing was always the largest sector, covering everything from gasmaking, building railway locomotives and chemicals to domestic shoemaking and tailoring. The proportion of manufacturing workers remained remarkably constant at 26-28%. People with private means were never significant in Battersea, although the economic impact of the very wealthy was considerable. Many were relatively poor, for example widows living on rents from houses built by their husbands. There was a sharp increase in this category during the 1880s, many on newly-built estates in central and south Battersea. Public sector and professional employment grew in absolute terms, but never exceeded 10% of households. Employment in transport, on the other hand, grew progressively to become the fourth largest group in 1881. Railways took the lion's share, although in earlier decades river work, both passenger and freight, was important.

Charles Booth's survey was based on earnings and their regularity, rather than on a division of society into classes based on status criteria, albeit one in which income clearly played a significant part.

Table 4.3

## Battersea, June 1889: Classes

Class	Type	No.	%
A	Lowest/Semi-Criminal	714	0.5
B	Casual Earnings	7737	5.1
C	Irregular Earnings	22856	14.9
D	Regular Minimum Earnings	19783	12.9
E	Standard Earnings	58718	38.4
F	Highly Paid Artisans	28420	18.6
G	Lower Middle Class	11593	7.6
H	Middle Class	3064	2.0
Total		152885	100.0

Booth's total overstates the actual figure by about 5,000 (1891 Census 149,558). It is possible to align his eight groups with the six used above. The 20.5% in Classes A-C, together with half of Class D, may be equated with unskilled and semi-skilled workers, making 27% in total (26.5% in Classes IV/V in 1891). Class III (Classes E and F, with the rest of D) gives 63.4% (cf. 61.6% in 1891). Booth Class G equates to Class II, and H to Class I (9.6% cf. 10.6%). These proportions compare closely with those in the 1881 Census, showing little significant change in local social structure during the 1880s, and suggesting that an equilibrium had been reached after the all-time peak in building activity between 1878 and 1882.

## Origins and Household Structure

The Census data on birthplace reveal some basic details of migration to Battersea, although many household heads born outside London reached the area indirectly.<sup>3</sup>

Table 4.4

## Battersea 1851-1891: Birthplace of Sample Household Heads (%)

Parish/Area	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Battersea	10.15	6.23	3.41	4.53	5.03
Adjacent phs.	6.60	7.86	4.31	5.73	2.52
Lambeth/S'wark	7.11	4.07	5.56	6.84	7.42
Chel/West'r	5.58	7.59	9.87	9.49	13.50
London	3.55	7.05	4.67	6.15	7.36
Other Surrey	7.11	7.32	8.26	5.13	4.05
Other Middx	6.09	8.67	9.34	8.55	6.56
Surrey/Middx	46.19	48.79	45.42	46.42	46.44
Home Counties	26.90	15.72	18.67	22.65	20.55
South West	9.14	7.32	8.62	9.40	9.65
East Anglia	3.55	9.76	5.39	5.73	6.13
East Mids.	3.05	2.17	3.41	3.08	2.93
West Mids.	4.57	5.15	4.49	4.02	3.87
North West	1.01	2.17	2.15	1.11	0.85
North East	1.02	3.25	1.80	1.28	2.27
Rest of England	49.24	45.54	44.53	47.27	46.25
Total England	95.43	94.33	89.95	93.69	92.69
Wales	0.51	1.08	0.90	0.17	0.55
Scotland	1.01	0.54	1.80	1.62	2.52
Ireland	0.51	2.98	4.85	2.31	2.02
Total U.K.	97.46	98.93	97.50	97.79	97.78
Overseas	2.03	1.08	1.25	1.79	1.66
Not Known	0.51	-	1.25	0.43	0.55

Allowing for the random effects of sampling, the pattern of birthplaces remained remarkably constant throughout the period. Almost half of household heads were always born in Surrey and Middlesex, with around 20% from the Home Counties, and the same proportion from the rest of England. With the exception of Irish-born heads in 1871, the rest of the United Kingdom provided very few migrants. The transformation of village to suburb led to a halving of the numbers born in Battersea, and the same is generally true of neighbouring parishes. The proportion born in Chelsea and Westminster, however, more than doubled after 1851 and rose by 42% in the 1880s. Many were earlier migrants moving to newer housing on the suburban frontier. The westward bias reflects Battersea's position in London and intervening opportunities for those from the north and east.

In both 1881 and 1891 about 17% of Battersea families took in either lodgers or boarders. Servant-keeping was less unusual than might be expected: in 1881 8% and in 1891 7% of households had living-in servants, and the proportion of the lower middle classes who had daily help was doubtless much greater. These families were not evenly distributed across the parish. Lodgers were concentrated in the Village area and in the streets south of Battersea Park Road, while boarders were significant in New Town. Lodgers and boarders were present in significantly less than expected numbers in estates inhabited by the skilled working class and clerks/shopworkers, where the pressure on finances was reduced by regular earnings. Servant-keeping was a feature of New Wandsworth, the Lavender Hill area and south Battersea generally, and was conspicuous by its absence in north-west and north-east Battersea, and in most artisan estates.

#### Battersea in 1887

The Board of Trade survey of 1887 included a sample of 8,260 from Battersea, about one quarter of the total workforce at that time. Earnings data were only returned for 6,382 (77.3%), and are divided into six bands:

Table 4.5  
Battersea 1887: Usual Weekly Earnings

Shillings	No.	%	Booth Class
< 15	262	4.1	AB
15-19	413	6.5	BC
19-21	810	12.7	CD
21-25	1230	19.3	DE
25-30	1183	18.5	E
> 30	2484	38.9	EFGH

The weighted average is about 30/- per week, showing that the choice of bands was not derived for a comparatively prosperous working-class suburb like Battersea, although it confirms the impression gained from Booth and the Census that it was very much the home of the skilled, highly-paid artisan, with small groups at the top and bottom of the social hierarchy. In March 1887, however, 18.6% were unemployed, of whom three-quarters had been out of work for more than twelve weeks. A further 21% were in irregular employment, only 61% could claim to work regularly. The impact of seasonal, cyclical or long-term unemployment on income and expenditure could be severe, and underlay the poor quality of life endured by up to a third of the population of late-Victorian Battersea (and London).<sup>4</sup>

The 1887 Survey contains data on thirty occupational groups of widely differing size.<sup>5</sup> Each group apart from the unskilled includes workers of a variety of types, earnings levels and lifestyle. Overall, 23% of income was paid in rent, with a statistically significant relationship (correlation coefficient  $r=-0.59$ ) between earnings level and the proportion going in rent. Engineering workers paid only 18.8% for rent, whereas sugar refiners paid 25.6%. Policemen are the most obvious anomaly being regularly, but relatively poorly, paid (22/27) and spending 27.7% of their wages on rent, reflecting a conscious desire for good accommodation.<sup>6</sup> In Lambeth in c.1910, the poorest families spent 30% on rent, and was probably true a generation earlier in Battersea.<sup>7</sup> On average, this outlay bought the use of 2.85 rooms, ranging from 3.47 (postmen) to 2.28 (exterior building workers). There was a general correlation between wages and space, heavily influenced by regularity of employment. The average rent per room was 2.30 shillings (13/- per house), ranging from 2.05 (sugar refiners) to 2.86 (exterior building workers). Average family size in 1887 was 5.27 (ranging from 6.49 for the small group of watchmakers to 4.45 for sugar refiners; cf. 4.79 in 1891). Overall density was 1.85 persons/room, equivalent to ten people per two-storey house.

Despite being a better-than-average suburb in terms of earnings, the standard of living in Battersea in the late-1880s does not seem to have been especially high, and for every family living in the relative luxury of Shaftesbury Park or a street between the Commons, there were many more eking out an unpleasant existence in crowded, often insanitary premises in north and north-east Battersea. Even with supplementary earnings from wives, children, lodgers and boarders, many household budgets were fully-committed to rent and food outlays, and 40% ran the risk that earnings might be irregular, or even cease altogether for three months and more at a time. Unfortunately, unlike the Census and Booth, the Board of Trade data are not geographically disaggregated and it is impossible to relate them to other sources, or to housing types.

#### **The Social Geography of Battersea**

The grouping of enumeration districts into blocks with clear boundaries is less easy in 1851 and 1861 because of the small population and the large size of some districts in less densely-settled areas. There were only twenty or so districts, increasing to 43 in 1871, 82 in 1881, and 114 in 1891, keeping pace with the rate of population growth, and each containing broadly equal numbers of people and houses.) To make the data comparable, the Location Quotient (LLQ) has been used, which entails calculating the percentages of the total population and each class/occupational group in each area and dividing the latter by the former to provide an index of concentration. Classes and groups more than one standard deviation above or below the average, show significantly more or less concentration.

Table 4.6

## Battersea 1851-1891: Concentration by Area

## A: Social Class

Area	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Bridge R/Church R	2	-	4	4	5
Carter/York R	3M	3N	5	5	5
New Wandsworth	-	1,2,3N	1,2	1,2	2,3N
Battersea Park R	-	-	3M	-	4
New Town	5	3M	3N	5	4
Nine Elms	4	5	5	4,5	4,5
Lavender R/Cubitt	-	-	3M	3M	-
Clapham Junction	-	-	3N	4	-
Clapham Com/Rise	1,3N	1,2	1	1,2	1,2
Park Town	-	-	3N	3M	3M
Shaftesbury Est.	-	-	-	3N	-

## B: Occupation Group by Area

Area	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Bridge R/Church R	AG,MF,PP	B,PP	AG,DS	-	IS
High St/Village	B	AG,DS,T	AG,D,IS	B	B
Carter/York R	-	MF	IS,MF	IS,M,MF	AG,IS
New Wandsworth	-	-	AG,D,PO,PP	D,IS,PO,PP	-
Clapham Com/Rise	DS,M,PO	D,M,PO	DS,PO,PP	AG,D,DS,PO,PP	D,PP
Battersea Park R	IS	B	B,PP	B	DS
New Town	IS	IS,T	IS,T	MF,T	T
Nine Elms	D,T	IS, T	IS, T	IS	MF
Colestown	-	-	-	AG,DS	B
Lavender R/Cubitt	-	-	B,MF	IS	-
Clapham Junction	-	-	-	T	T
Park Town	-	-	T	B	MF
Shaftesbury Est.	-	-	-	PP	-

- = not yet developed

These figures show that while some areas were able to retain high status, others declined as they ceased to attract the upper and middle classes. The area east of the Village and along Bridge Road had many higher-quality houses in the 1830s and 1840s, attracting a disproportionate number of Class II by 1851. By 1871-81, however, they had been swamped by the emergence of slums nearby, with concentrations of the semi-skilled. The Village itself always remained socially mixed. The Carter Estate, developed from 1840, had a concentration of skilled manual workers in 1851, reflecting its convenience for riverside industries. In 1861, skilled, non-manual workers were over-represented, but by 1871 the area had deteriorated as such groups moved to newer, better appointed estates and been replaced by the unskilled. "New Wandsworth", developed on high ground north of Wandsworth Common, was able to retain high status, with Classes I and II over-represented 1861-1881.

The area between Battersea Park Road and the LSWR developed 1850-1870 and had a concentration of Class IIIM in 1871, declining to Class IV by 1891 as the housing aged and new estates further south attracted skilled workers. Battersea New Town experienced an improvement after 1851, followed by a decline in the 1870s, while Nine Elms was always the province of the semi-skilled and unskilled, many of them employed in the gasworks. The Lavender Road/York Road area was marked by a concentration of skilled manual workers in 1871-81, but thereafter declined in status along with other estates north of Clapham Junction after their first flush of

newness in the 1860s. Clapham Common retained high status throughout the period 1851-1891, the grounds of its mansions not falling to the speculative builder until the mid-1890s. Park Town, an estate specifically aimed at the middle class, as evidenced by its grandiose three-storey terraces, was unsuccessful, and became the home of large colonies of skilled workers, as did the purpose-built Shaftesbury estate (1872-77). The latter had single-family houses, many owner-occupied from the start, in strong contrast to the multiple occupancy in Park Town.

The concentration of occupational groups reflects both their social status and the pattern of employment opportunities. Agricultural workers remained concentrated in and around the Village as late as 1891. Building workers were present in large numbers throughout Battersea after 1850, although there was a short-lived concentration south of Battersea Park Road and in Park Town 1871-81. Those employed in distribution were mainly shopkeepers, found along the principal thoroughfares and on corner sites elsewhere. The concentration in New Wandsworth and by Clapham Common reflects the presence of City merchants. These areas also had a predictable emphasis on domestic service.

Labourers show concentrations on the Carter Estate and Nine Elms/New Town, clerical workers in central and south Battersea. Manufacturing employment was concentrated in districts close to the Thames. The New Road-New Town area was favoured by those employed in the railway workshops. Those of private means and the professional classes were well represented in the high-status areas by the Commons, while policemen and government clerks and messengers were found in the Shaftesbury Estate and the Church Road area in appreciable numbers. By 1881, transport workers (essentially railwaymen) clustered around Clapham Junction and Nine Elms/New Town, the latter already apparent in 1861.

By 1881 a strong polarisation between north and south Battersea had become apparent, although it was the LSWR embankment rather than any natural feature which formed demarcated areas of high and low status. The Battersea Park area, developed after 1875, provided the only relief in a sea of two-storey terraced houses inhabited by Classes III, IV and V. In the south, the higher ground was largely the preserve of the upper and middle classes throughout the Victorian era, terrace housing not spreading here until after 1880, and inhabited by the upper echelons of Class III, non-manual.

Battersea in 1891 was a microcosm of London as a whole, the two areas into which it was divided being as different as two nations. Booth amply confirms the Census in showing the stark contrast between the poverty endured by tens of thousands in north Battersea and the relative - even absolute - comfort of the privileged few in the south. The crucial role of the two commons in maintaining social status in the face of the speculative builders' insatiable demands is as clear in 1890 as it had been in 1790, and the same is true of Battersea Park. Had Battersea East and West Heaths been enclosed before the area became attractive residentially in the mid-eighteenth century, the evolution of Battersea as a suburb would undoubtedly have been very different. The Park prevented all of north Battersea disappearing under a tide of houses, factories and railways, although it was a "close run thing", since embryonic development began there c.1840.



## Contemporary Views

Two contemporary descriptions help to flesh out the dry statistics and provide glimpses of life in late-Victorian Battersea: Booth's general survey and accounts of specific streets, and the vivid pen-pictures in Walter Besant's *London South of the Thames*, published in 1912 but written in the 1890s.

Graham Balfour saw Battersea as atypical in certain respects, 'combining industries of its own, "down by the river-side", with the most perfect specimen of a working-class residential district in the "Shaftesbury Estate", where we seem to see realised the ideal of South London'<sup>9</sup> He noted the unusual blocks of flats around Battersea Park, and saw the most typical area as that between the LSWR and the river. He wrote, 'the aspect to travellers, north of Clapham Junction, is a wilderness of houses, chiefly of two storeys, with church spires, a fringe of factory chimneys, and the conspicuous masses of the Board Schools rising high above the dead level of the roofs'.<sup>10</sup> Although still true in parts, postwar redevelopment has largely changed this vision.

Railways and riverside industry were the main local employers, but most had to leave the area for work, on foot, by train, or by tram.<sup>11</sup> The local Charity Organisation Society noted that many applicants came from south-west England, while others had been displaced from Chelsea. Building work was said to be decreasing, even though it grew by one sixth in the 1880s (see Chap. 6). Important local employers offering regular work were Price's (candles), starch and sugar, crucibles, gas and water. The largest Shrewsbury-Talbot cab yard was in Battersea (cf. the increased importance of quasi-agricultural employment - grooms, horse-keepers, etc. - in 1891). Laundry work employed large numbers of local women, mainly at home, although the well-known catering firm of Spiers & Pond had its laundry in Battersea Park Road.

By 1890, the market gardens and piggeries for which Battersea had been noted were largely a thing of the past. Gipsies wintered in their caravans locally, for example at Donovan's Yard, sandwiched between railway lines - it still contains a few caravans in the 1990s.<sup>12</sup> In 1900 it housed two long lines of wagons and some firewood-sellers' huts. The travellers arrived in October, selling their horses to save on keep. They paid 2-3/- per week for a pitch. Some yards had vans with no wheels used as fixed dwellings. The sites were abandoned at the start of the flat-racing season. Some children went to local Board Schools, and a Ragged School Union was run by John Dyer in a railway arch. In the 1890s, 'apart from a few chance waiters and German bakers, foreigners (are) almost unknown in Battersea'.<sup>13</sup>

The failure of the Albert Palace (1884-8) left Battersea with relatively few places of entertainment. Balfour noted only one music hall. The public houses licensed for entertainment before 1890 had all ceased.

Shaftesbury Park was the apogee of working class housing, paying high dividends to its owners. Rents ranged from 7/6 (four rooms) up to 12/-, although a simplified purchase scheme produced many owner-occupiers. Balfour noted that 'the intelligent portion of local socialism (is) here, and the colony represents perhaps the high water mark of.... the intelligent London artisan'.<sup>14</sup> At the other end of the spectrum, the worst elements took refuge in areas cut off by blank walls or railways - a phenomenon noted by Dyos.<sup>15</sup> Little Europa Place, close to the river off Church Road and hemmed in by factories, was known as "Little Hell", although the attentions of the police and

School Board visitors had improved things somewhat. In 1871, only seven of the 108 children living there had gone to school, four in the family of the only teetotaler. The log books of Bolingbroke Road School record continuing problems with health, truancy, crime and bad language.<sup>16</sup> Other pockets of Classes A and B were found in Nine Elms, where the Ponton Estate was virtually cut off from the rest of Battersea by railways, gas and water works; Britannia Place and nearby streets off Plough Lane - self-contained developments with poor external access; Latchmere Grove, hemmed-in by two branches of the WLER and once the location of many insanitary piggeries; Brougham and Berkley Streets off Culvert Road - another isolated estate turned in on itself, and the Linford Street area, surrounded by railway works and factories. All of these were classic slums, and although some had been built as long ago as the 1820s and 1830s, most were typical two-storey terraces built after 1860, and not necessarily jerry-built or predestined to decline.<sup>17</sup> Environment was the crucial factor, and often changed during the life of the houses, leading to progressive drift down the social scale as artisans moved out to more salubrious areas. No less than 45% of Class B households were headed by widows, most of them employed at charring, laundry work or needlework.<sup>18</sup>

The Nine Elms enclave, with houses mostly built 1860-70 and unusually (for London) flush with the pavement, had 'broken windows, cracked plaster, dirty children and drink-sodden women'.<sup>19</sup> Barefoot, even naked, children were common, and people often slept in the streets in summer to avoid the vermin. The gasworks provided well paid, but seasonal and dangerous work, while many worked as costermongers. Orville Road, off the High Street was another pocket of poverty and crime, where the Church of England deaconesses had little impact.<sup>20</sup> An older house and its grounds had been 'turned into cheap rented accommodation by a speculator a few years ago' (Henry Corsellis, father of the clerk to the D.B.W.).<sup>21</sup> Each house had three floors, separately occupied and with three rooms. The earliest occupants in 1884-5 were artisans, but after a year 'some bad lots got in (on) the odd-numbered side and change set in... families with little or no furniture... continually on the move, going hopping in summer'. Street gamblers were common, with pickets posted at the ends of the street to warn of the police.

Carpenter Street, built in the late 1870s, was another street which 'was more poverty stricken than its particulars imply'. It and neighbouring Longhedge Street were 'both sorry places'.<sup>22</sup> Speke Road on the Clapham Junction estate of the Conservative Land Society, a body unconcerned with the type and quality of housing, despite the conditions attached to the sale of plots,<sup>23</sup> contained poor three-storey houses, many 'out of repair and wretchedly built... at least four windows show "mangling done here"'<sup>24</sup>

Victoria Dwellings in Battersea Park Road was prosperous but not popular. Its rules and relatively high rents restricted its appeal, as did the small size of many of the flats. In 1882, 62% of the tenants belonged to Class III, while 30% were semi-skilled and unskilled.<sup>25</sup> Two of the three blocks were intended for labourers, containing 90 1- and 2-roomed tenements. The artisans' block had 98 3- and 4-roomed tenements. Average rents were 2/4? per room, offering little advantage over more orthodox housing in the area.<sup>26</sup> Lodging houses were not common in Battersea, Balfour says there were about six,<sup>27</sup> a figure confirmed by the 1891 Census, where they appear for the first time, suggesting a shortage of housing in the late 1880s. All the common lodging houses were in

and around the old village, although there is no obvious explanation for this. 111 Westbridge Road housed 43 men, 32 of whom were labourers, and six building workers. One quarter were born in Battersea, almost five times the average for the whole population. More than fifty men were crowded into 116-120 Battersea High Street, but the enumerator was unable to obtain any details for individuals. Other lodging houses nearby at 37-41 and 65-67 Surrey Lane, housing 56 and 29 men respectively. None of these premises were especially large, so the degree of overcrowding is difficult to imagine, with six or more men per room.

Novelist Walter Besant presents a survey of Battersea c.1890. The actual perambulation of the streets was by J.C. Geikie,<sup>28</sup> whose acute observations are invaluable in recapturing the atmosphere of late-Victorian Battersea. The sharp contrasts over short distances which characterised the area are shown by comparing the streets near Battersea Bridge containing the Shrewsbury-Talbot cab barns, a Salvation Army salvage wharf, the Imperial Oil Company's stores, Wellington's refinery, Ransome's Dock and a brass foundry, with those south of the Park with their large houses and blocks of flats, although bakeries and catering firms were colonising Battersea Park Road, soon to be followed by the Polytechnic.<sup>29</sup>

Large tracts of homogeneous housing and social groups were the exception. The Carter Estate (Chap. 13) was 'a region of small streets, badly kept, with poor shops and a poor class of people'<sup>30</sup> (Booth C and D), whereas Harbut and Maysoule Roads 'are new and well built' (1881-4). East of Plough Lane 'all the roads are lined with... commonplace terrace houses... the roads and footways crowded with playing children'.<sup>31</sup> Many worked locally, on the railways or in riverside industry. Alfred Heaver's Falcon Park estate was 'better... clean and regularly built' (Booth E), but Pocock's and other estates (Booth D) contained 'drab little houses, generally more or less sublet to lodgers'.<sup>32</sup> There was a fundamental social distinction between Classes D and E, in effect the upper and lower ends of the great mass of Census Class III. Geikie confirms the view of Little Europa Place as a slum, 'a very poor neighbourhood, dirty and with poor houses'.<sup>33</sup>

The only area of active housebuilding around 1890 was between Lavender Hill and Clapham Common, an 'entire district cut up with new roads and others in the making'.<sup>34</sup> Nine Elms was 'a mass of small streets at all angles... inclined to squalor... overrun by children'.<sup>35</sup> Battersea New Town and the area off Thessaly Road were generally better, although Linford Street and its environs were 'small and mean and in places filthy... shops of the worst type ministering to poorly paid wage-earners... among them are evil-smelling fish bars and the inevitable small squalid public houses with their attendant secondhand dealers'.<sup>36</sup> The great mass of streets of Battersea Park Road were 'small and mean, eminently squalid... some soulless being has named them after romantic kings and English premiers'.<sup>37</sup> Broughton and Stanley Streets, grandiose terraces on the Park Town estate were 'shadeless and swarming with children', a far cry from the aspirations of their developers only a generation before.<sup>38</sup> Contrary to Booth, Geikie saw Carpenter and Blondel Streets as very clean, whereas the average street in this area was full of small, dirty houses, 'the people far from cleanly, while troops of children are obliged to play in the gutters'.<sup>39</sup> Knots of idlers adorned each corner along the main road. Conditions within the average house were doubtless a strong incentive to live much of life outdoors.

These contemporary views of Battersea society show clearly the basic dichotomy between

the middle classes and the skilled artisan on the one hand and the semi-skilled and unskilled on the other. In some respects this was a simple north-south divide along the LSWR, but on closer examination this breaks down into a highly complex residential pattern in which the key determinant is ability to afford rent on a continuing basis, itself a reflection of the regularity of employment and earnings. The degree of social mixing in most streets belies the superficial similarity of the housing types. Only members of Class I, always rare in Battersea after 1850, appear to have consciously occupied or preserved small pockets of exclusivity, notably around the Commons. Even so, their continued presence in the old Village core in close proximity to some of the worst slums shows that segregation was far from being the norm, in this suburb at least.<sup>40</sup>

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## PART II

### BUILDING THE SUBURB: GENERAL

#### Introduction

Having set the historical, social and economic background to Battersea as a Victorian suburb in Part I, attention now turns to the building process and the men involved. Even, perhaps especially, at the parish level, this is a complex task, as a glance at the mosaic of building estates on Fig.7.1 confirms. While estates are numbered in scores, however, builders are numbered in hundreds and houses in thousands, and although statistics bulk large in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the men behind them will be kept in view as far as the sources permit. It is regrettable that in more than thirty years since H.J. Dyos' pioneering work on the development of the "ordinary" suburb, no attempt has been made to provide an overall statistical framework of estates and builders for Victorian London, into which case studies such as this may be fitted, and there are precious few studies of individual suburbs with which to compare Battersea.

Chapter 5 examines housebuilding trends and building cycles in Victorian Battersea and how it resembles and differs from the wider London pattern. Different aspects of land and property values are also analysed, as are the relationships between the chronology of estates and their distance from Central London, both absolute and relative to neighbouring estates. Chapter 6 presents quantitative evidence for those involved in the actual building of Battersea. Where possible, biographical information is included, together with data on how operations were financed. The patchy sources and the absence of large-scale operators like Thomas Cubitt and Edward Yates, inevitably mean that this is far from complete, although the basic principles are clear enough.

Chapter 7 presents a typology of estates, based on those responsible for initiating development, which is compared with other attempts to break down the complexity of the urbanisation process. Selected examples are discussed in Part III.

Note: Numbers in [ ] are those of the building estate, listed chronologically in Appendix 4.

## CHAPTER 5

### BATTERSEA 1790-1914: BUILDING CYCLES AND PROPERTY VALUES

#### I: Sources

No one source provides information on the number of houses built year by year for the whole period. From 1790 to 1850, the poor rate assessments offer such a sequence, although there are problems with empty houses and "tenements", and until the late-1830s with the precise location of new houses, and of course no details of builders are given. Between 1845 and 1852, and from 1871, the District Surveyors' Returns give numbers, location, builders' names and addresses. Between 1857 and 1870, applications for new houses appear in the District Board of Works minutes, giving some indication of the trend in building, but they are incomplete and do not indicate if the houses were actually built. The rate books once more provide the best indication of development during this period. Drainage plans for many houses survive from the late 1870s onwards, enabling the builders of specific houses to be identified.

To summarise, the sequence of annual figures uses the following sources:

1791-1844 Poor Rate Assessments at the end of the year (usually November), calibrated to the total of occupied and empty houses in the Census 1801-1841.

1845-1852 District Surveyors' Returns; Census 1851.

1853-1870 Poor Rate Assessments; applications to Wandsworth Board of Works (from 1857) are used for comparison only, as they understate the number of houses built by up to one-third;

Census 1861/1871.

1871-1915 District Surveyors' Returns; Census 1881-1911; in the case of flats, actual numbers have been taken from local Directories closest to completion and added into the relevant years - including half-houses erected by the Council in 1903/4, but not other such houses, which are in any case rare in Battersea.

Sources of data on land and property values are similarly diverse. For pre-development land values, the Spencer sale (1835/6) and those associated with the creation of Battersea Park (1853-5) provide the best information. The value of land prior to and after housebuilding is often indicated in auction particulars and leases, notably on freehold land company estates. Foot-frontage values can be derived from details of ground rents and plot sizes in leases. The value of houses comes from sales of leases, freehold sales and auctions, and is found in deeds and in the *Builder*, and occasionally in the local press. Poor rate assessments give estimated gross rental values between c.1835 and 1870, providing a comprehensive picture of the types of house erected. They have been examined for sample dates.

#### II: The Building Cycle in Battersea

The concept of cycles in economic activity is well known, and within the series of up- and down-swings in the national economy from the early eighteenth century, the building industry has always played a prominent role, both as an agent of change and in response to it. Parry Lewis provides a convenient general treatment of the subject from an economic point of view.<sup>1</sup> Table 5.1 sets out annual house output in Battersea, 1791 to 1914, cross-referenced to the Census. (The figures make no allowance for demolition of existing houses, and the total therefore diverges

progressively from the Census figures.)

Table 5.1  
Housebuilding in Battersea 1791-1914

Year	New Building	End-Year Total
1791	-	335
1792	25	360
1793	22	382
1794	32	414
1795	5	419
1796	8	427
1797	66	483
1798	45	528
1799	52	580
1800	36	636
	Census 1801	648
1801	18	654
1802	6	660
1803	4	664
1804	0	664
1805	5	669
1806	6	675
1807	8	683
1808	5	688
1809	22	710
1810	18	728
	Census 1811	735
1811	9	737
1812	11	748
1813	45	793
1814	3	796
1815	2	798
1816	14	812
1817	10	822
1818	0	822
1819	3	825
1820	14	839
	Census 1821	842
1821	12	851
1822	14	865
1823	8	873
1824	9	882
1825	7	889
1826	11	900
1827	8	908
1828	15	923
1829	21	954
1830	16	970
	Census 1831	972
1831	6	976
1832	21	997
1833	19	1016
1834	16	1032
1835	10	1042
1836	7	1049
1837	9	1058
1838	11	1069
1839	18	1087
1840	33	1120
	Census 1841	1134
1841	18	1138
1842	30	1168

1843	59	1227
1844	36	1263
1845	47	1310
1846	128	1438
1847	66	1504
1848	130	1634
1849	154	1798
1850	186	1984
	Census 1851	2007
1851	167	2151
1852	163	2314
1853	153	2467
1854	36	2503
1855	8	2511
1856	118	2629
1857	162	2791
1858	43	2834
1859	218	3052
1860	171	3223
	Census 1861	3276
1861	170	3446
1862	313	3759
1863	564	4323
1864	676	4999
1865	495	5494
1866	588	6082
1867	1067	7149
1868	1114	8263
1869	585	8848
1870	279	9127
	Census 1871	9305
1871	195	9322
1872	262	9584
1873	347	9931
1874	642	10573
1875	695	11268
1876	728	11996
1877	681	12677
1878	707	13384
1879	1132	14516
1880	1548	16064
	Census 1881	15847
1881	886	16950
1882	1076	18026
1883	698	18724
1884	707	19431
1885	669	20100
1886	695	20795
1887	571	21366
1888	312	21678
1889	285	21963
1890	414	22377
	Census 1891	21492
1891	396	22773
1892	371	23144
1893	458	23602
1894	536	24138
1895	417	24555
1896	247	24802
1897	216	25018
1898	452	25470
1899	259	25729
1900	212	25941



Fig. 5.1a - Housebuilding Cycles 1792-1850

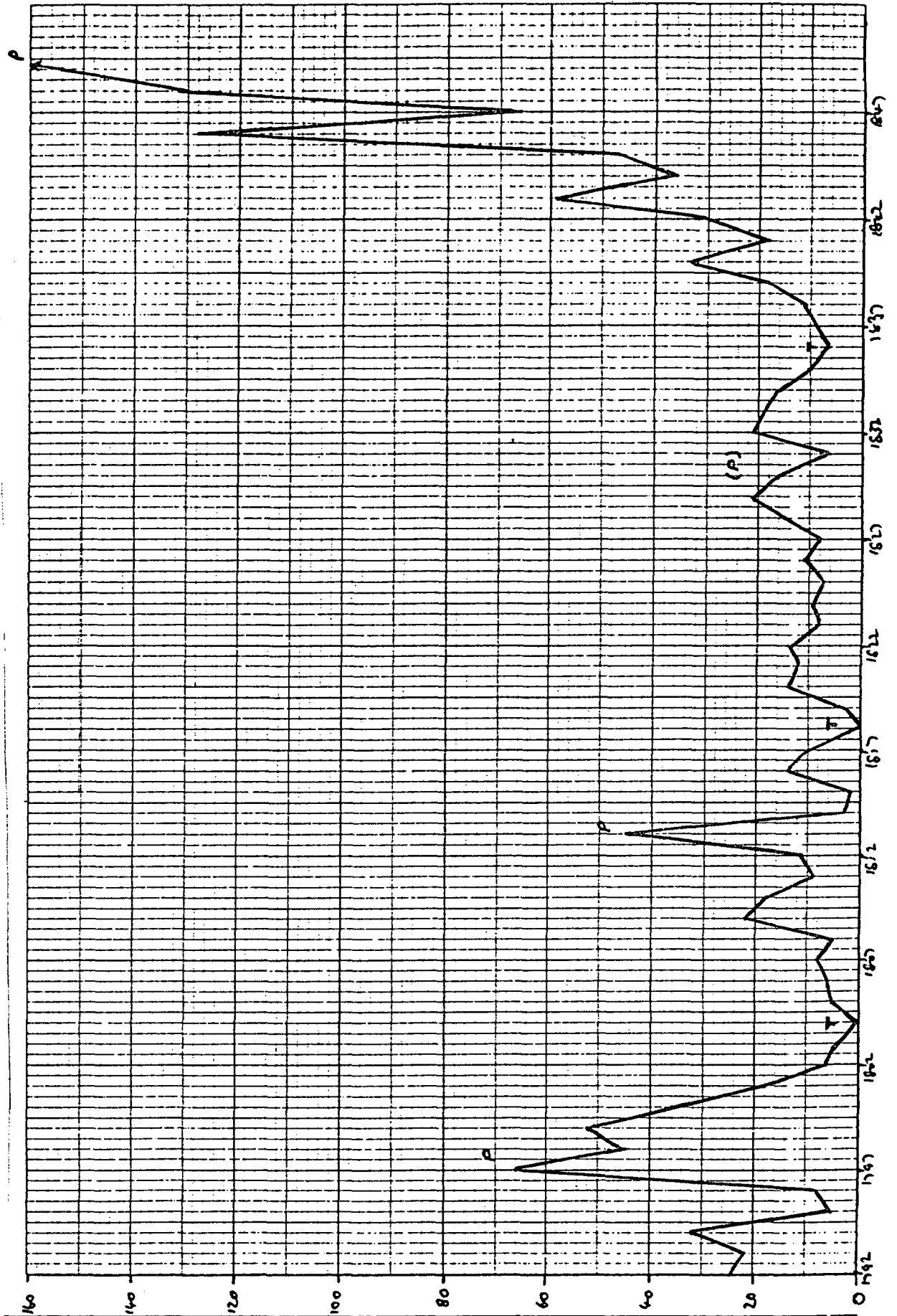
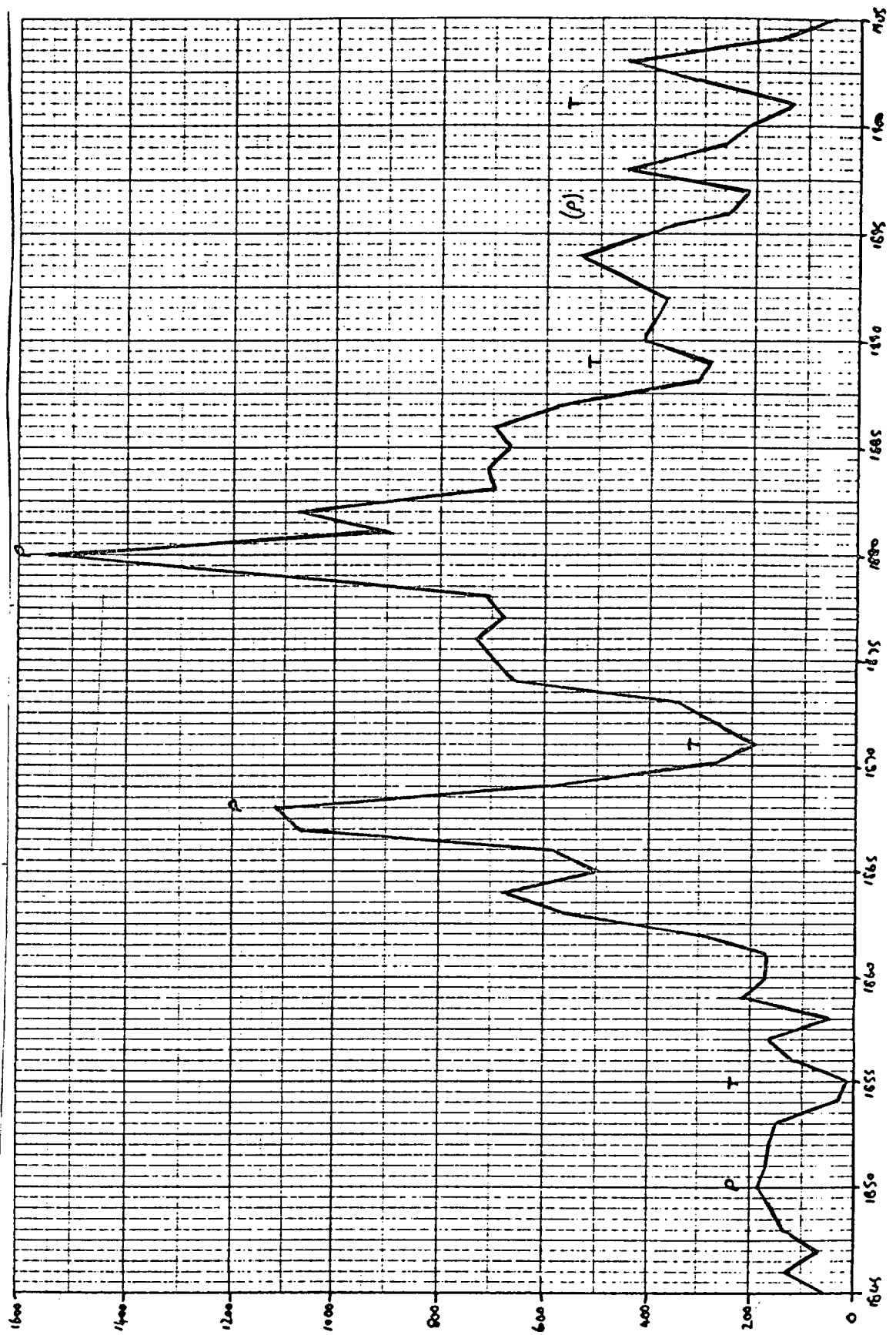


Fig. 5.1b - Housebuilding Cycles 1845-1905



	Census 1901	24132
1901	128	26069
1902	288	26357
1903	449	26806
1904	162	26968
1905	50	27018
1906	16	27034
1907	20	27054
1908	149	27203
1909	106	27309
1910	51	27360
	Census 1911	26476
1911	48	27408
1912	51	27459
1913	72	27531
1914	56	27587

The Battersea data may be compared with the peaks and troughs identified for the whole of London by Parry Lewis, and for Camberwell by Dyos.

Table 5.2

Building Cycles - London, Battersea and Camberwell

	Peaks			Troughs		
London	Battersea	Camberwell	London	Battersea	Camberwell	
1792	1797	n.a.	1798	1804	n.a.	
1805	1813	n.a.	1816	1818	n.a.	
1825	1829	n.a.	1832	1836	n.a.	
1840	1843	n.a.	1845	1844	n.a.	
1850	1850	n.a.	1856	1855	1861	
1867/8	1867	1868/9	1876	1871	1871/2	
1880/1	1880	1878/80	1890	1889	1891	
1899	1894/98	1898	1910	1901	n.a.	
-	1903	n.a.	-	1906	n.a.	

Before 1845, there is only a weak correlation between Battersea and London, reflecting its relative isolation from the metropolitan housing market. Local building after 1770 was related to local factors such as the growth of industry and its attractions as a country retreat for the wealthy. Thus the upsurge in building during the 1790s is a function of rapid industrial development, itself prompted by the growth in demand under wartime conditions, and, to a much lesser extent, improved communications such as Battersea Bridge (1772) and the turnpiking of the (Upper) Wandsworth Road.<sup>2</sup> Battersea New Town, the first large-scale greenfield development in the parish commenced in 1789, and contributed 60-80% of the new housing before 1801.<sup>3</sup> The population had stagnated since the 1680s, and this very rapid growth was not seen again until the 1840s.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the local peak of building in 1813 reflects renewed activity in New Town, and the start of Charles Stewart's estate [7] just to the south.

After 1845, Battersea came firmly into the orbit of London and rapidly grew into a suburb. The London and local building cycles thereafter exhibit a much closer degree of parallelism, with two exceptions. Following the peak of activity in 1867-8, all-London building declined over the usual eight-nine year half-cycle, whereas in Battersea it fell dramatically for only three years before rising again equally sharply in the mid-1870s. This was a purely local phenomenon, caused by the building of 1,200 houses by the Artizans' & General Labourers' Dwellings Co. at Shaftesbury Park [138] between 1872 and 1877. They built by direct labour, and no doubt

achieved considerable economies in land and building costs by building then, using tradesmen who would otherwise have been unemployed. Camberwell also had its peak in 1868-9, falling sharply to a trough in 1871-2.

The all-time peak in Battersea and Camberwell was in 1878-80, with two-three times the output achieved in other peaks. In London as a whole the peak was 1880-1, followed by a decade of decline. London at large took the whole of the 1890s to reach the next peak, whereas in Battersea recovery took only until 1894, followed by a fall to 1907 with a separate sharp peak in 1898, matched in Camberwell. The 1894 surge again reflects local conditions, in this case the start of building blocks of mansion flats around Battersea Park, on land which had been vacant since the late-1850s. Several hundred dwelling units were thereby added to a district otherwise largely built up by 1880. By 1900 so little land remained for new housing in Battersea, that comparison with the wider building cycle is less meaningful, although there were still ups and downs in local building, with a peak in 1908 (Table 5.1; Fig. 5.1).

Battersea's housing stock grew from 335 in 1790 to 1,130 in 1840 (16 p.a.), although one third came in the 1790s (30 p.a.). After 1845 Battersea "took off", and by 1900 there had been four major peaks of activity, each of the first three increasing in intensity. The peaks (1849-53, 1866-9, 1879-82 and 1893-5), accounted for 39% of all building 1841-1914 in only 22% of the period - with 823 (3.1%), 3,354 (12.7%), 4,642 (17.5%) and 1,411 (5.3%) of dwellings respectively.

Troughs were associated with a shortage of capital for building and also the effects of overbuilding: during the Crimean War, and following the collapse of several financial houses in the late-1860s. Overbuilding in the mid-1860s and around 1880 was followed by decline, albeit not very long-lived, since there was substantial output in the mid-1870s and across central and south Battersea down to 1888. Each year from 1883-7 saw enough new houses built to accommodate the entire population of 1801. Similar trends are apparent in Camberwell, and house styles and new street approvals suggest that they obtain in wide areas of suburban London.<sup>5</sup>

Table 5.3  
Housebuilding in Battersea 1840-1915

Period	Houses Built*	Annual Av.	Total*	Population+	Density
1841-45	190	38.0	1310	6617	5.83
1846-50	674	134.8	1984	-	-
1851-55	527	105.4	2511	10560	5.32
1856-60	712	142.4	3223	-	-
1861-65	2271	454.2	5494	19600	6.08
1866-70	633	26.6	9127	-	-
1871-75	2141	428.2	11268	54016	5.92
1876-80	4796	959.2	16064	-	-
1881-85	4036	807.2	20100	107262	6.68
1886-90	2277	455.4	22377	-	-
1891-95	2178	435.6	24555	149558	6.68
1896-00	1386	277.2	25941	-	-
1901-05	1077	215.4	27018	168907	6.51
1906-10	342	68.4	27360	-	-
1911-15	227	45.4	27587	167739	6.13
Total	26277	350.4	-	+161122	-

Totals 1876-80/1891-1910 include flats and half-houses counted separately

\* Includes extant in 1841

+ Population in Census 1841, 1851, etc.

Sources: Poor Rate Books 1838-71; District Surveyors' Returns 1845-52/71-1910.

During the 1870s and 1880s, 96,000 people were born in, or migrated to Battersea, but even so builders managed to keep pace with demand, despite the inevitable lead-lag of the building cycle. The average number of persons per inhabited house increased from 6.3 in 1861 to 7.2 in 1891 and 1901, but the size of the average terraced house increased at the same time. The endemic overcrowding of inner London, which so exercised contemporaries, was not found here, although there were pockets of severe overcrowding in Battersea with fifteen or more people crammed into four small living rooms.

Before 1840, most new houses were accretions around existing settlement nuclei, or infilling of gardens and other spaces within them, notably the Village. Between 1750 and 1820 many villas and mansions were built for wealthy Londoners, mostly around the commons.<sup>6</sup> After 1840, the vast majority of the 26,000 new dwellings were in two/three-storied terraces, with 15-20ft. frontages by 60-100ft. deep. The only significant departure was the flats around Battersea Park. The principal differences between houses built in New Town in the 1790s and off Clapham Common in the 1890s are size - two living rooms on average - and style, although significant stylistic changes only began in the 1870s as new features filtered down to mass-housing.

### III: Land Values 1830-1900

Deeds and sale particulars, reveal something of the growth in land values. The prospect of rapid capital gain was one of the most important factors inducing landowners to exploit the potential of their estates. Data are fragmentary, however, and often include houses and buildings which distort the value of land per se. It is possible, however, to observe the sudden and dramatic effect which conversion from agricultural to urban land uses had on values. In practice, things were not so straightforward, as C.H. Sargant, writing in 1886,<sup>7</sup> noted: 'as London... gradually spreads its network of houses over a larger and larger area, the owner of land for the time being on their outskirts is placed in a position of considerable perplexity and anxiety.... he has probably received and rejected numberless tempting offers from land speculators, land companies and others to purchase his land at prices which would yield him many times the rent from agricultural tenants. And now, having preferred to forgo a large portion of this income, in the expectation of the ultimate profit to be derived from personally superintending the development of his land as a building estate, he finds a good deal of difficulty in deciding how best to realise this profit'. As Thompson noted, the willingness to speculate on rising values and hence to release land for development, was less a product of recent acquisition or business connexions, although these did play a part, than of non-residence and advice on estate management.<sup>8</sup> Certainly, absentee owners were the most prevalent in Battersea, and the profit-maximising aims of low-status developers essentially set the tone for new housing before 1800, with little counterbalancing higher-status housing from gentry or corporate landowners.

The Spencer sales of 1835-6 averaged £141/acre for enclosed arable, meadow and market garden ground, whereas land in the Common Field yielded only £89/acre, reflecting the problems of fragmented holdings. The beginning of development in earnest after 1840 had an immediate and dramatic effect on values (see Fig. 5.2).

Fig. 5.2 - Trend in Land and Property Values

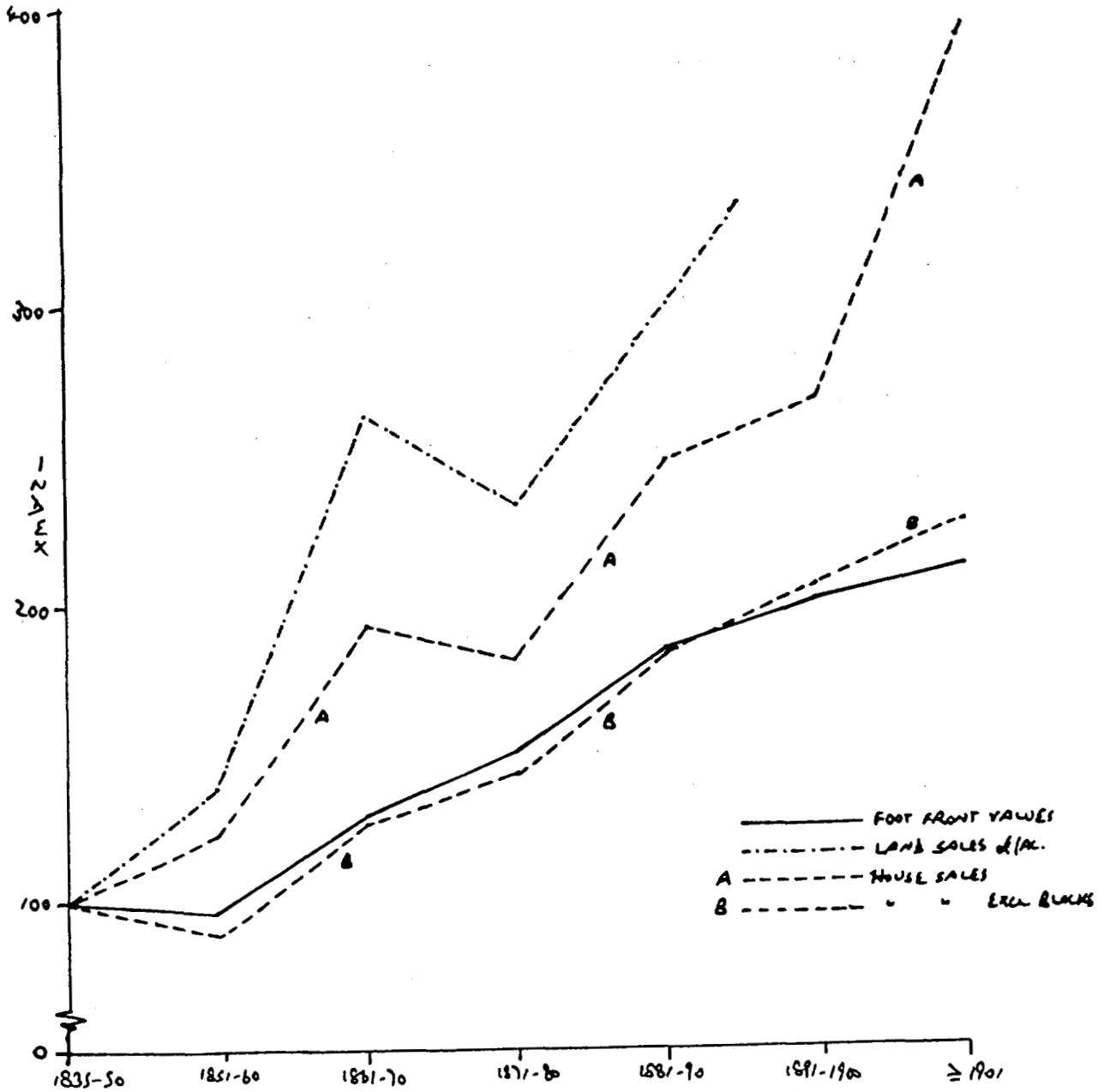


Table 5.4  
Battersea - Sale Value of Land 1841-1900

Period	Examples	£/ac.	Index
1841-50	12	868	100
1851-60	15	1200	138
1861-70	23	2282	263
1871-80	12	2026	233
1881+	7	2885	332

With an instant six- to tenfold increase in value, it is little wonder that local market gardeners like the Carters and Francis Lithgow [20; 23] started to build houses on their land. Even the depressed 1850s saw values rise by 38%, followed by 90% growth in the feverish sixties. Overbuilding led to a depression in the 1870s, a decade in which land values fell by 10%. This was followed by a 42% rise in the boom years of the 1880s. Data on land values after 1890 are insufficient for analysis.

Very occasionally, one may trace the value of the same piece of land over time. Eighteen acres off Plough Lane fetched £2,520 in 1835, reselling for £3,000 in 1842, and again for £3,025 in 1850. Building did not take place until the 1860s, and this area retained essentially agricultural values well after 1835. Much more startling was the change off Lavender Hill, where the house and seven acres which became Altenburg Gardens [119] were sold in 1867 for £13,150. A decade later, albeit with the addition of thirty substantial houses, the estate fetched £47,600 at auction. Similarly, plots on the Conservative Land Society's Clapham Junction estate [92] which fetched £53 when first sold in 1864 had risen to £68/5/- three years later, a 29% premium. By 1867, two 115 sq. yard plots were worth as much as an acre of land in 1840 - a sixteenfold increase. In 1869, the Chatham railway sold 2a 3r 20p of freehold building ground 'near Wandsworth Road station' for £1,700, equivalent to only £591/ac., about one quarter of what might have been expected at this date<sup>9</sup>

#### IV: Ground Rental Values

Data on ground rents from leases are much more plentiful, with 2,719 examples spanning the period 1835-1915. Ground rents also show an increase throughout the period, again with a slight reversal in the 1850s.

Table 5.5  
Battersea 1840-1915: Frontage Values in Leases

Period	Examples	Av. Sh./Ft	Index	σ Sh./Ft.
1835-50	117	3.93	100	1.48
1851-60	166	3.82	97	1.23
1861-70	807	5.08	129	1.78
1871-80	823	5.92	150	1.51
1881-90	692	7.25	184	2.22
1891-00	102	7.86	200	1.94
1901-15	12	8.29	211	0.94

The standard deviation ( ) measures the degree of dispersion around the mean. It shows that in most decades ground rental values clustered quite closely, although there was a wider range in the 1880s and 1890s. The 3% decline 1851-60 reflects the severe depression in building, as developers reduced their expectations in order to move property. The trend in ground rents continued to mirror the movements of the building cycle. They increased by 33% in the 1860s, but

only 16% in the depressed 1870s. Rentals rose by 23% in the 1880s. The 1890s were years of lower activity, and rentals grew by only 9%. After 1900, fewer deeds are available, but they confirm the slowing in growth - to 5.5%.

The doubling of foot-frontage values between the 1835 and 1900 demonstrates vividly the value of development to landowners on the suburban fringe. During the same period, the price of a basket of consumables measured by Phelps Brown<sup>10</sup> declined by 3% and the plight of rural landowners in the post-1870 agricultural depression is well known. In part, the growth of rentals reflects the larger size of houses. The "typical" Battersea house pre-1850 era had two storeys and probably three living rooms, by 1880 this had changed with the advent of full tunnel-back to four or five larger rooms, and by 1900 to houses which often had three storeys at the rear.<sup>11</sup> Since frontages had scarcely changed - increasing from 15 ft. on average in 1840 to 17 ft. in the 1890s, but always close to the "ideal" of one rod (16½ ft.) - owners used the rental mechanism to ensure that their returns were maintained or increased.

This simple picture is belied, however, by individual leases. The standard deviations in Table 5.5 (about 30-35% ± mean in most decades) show that developers were far from consistent in their approach to rents, and it is appropriate to examine in more detail some of the evidence for variations within decades and types of estate (see Table 7.10 for the classification). It might be thought that an owner developing his property would ensure that a competent architect or surveyor drew up the ground plan so as to maximise the number and value of houses, consistent with by-laws and the requirements of the District Surveyor, and that his solicitor specified the conditions of building to achieve the desired social structure. That, after all, is the way in which the great estates owned by the nobility and institutions proceeded, in theory at least. Even they did not always achieve their goals, however, being frustrated by factors such as the exigencies of the housing market, the presence of undesirable neighbours and their socially damaging developments and the fickleness of tenants who persisted in moving to newer houses with better amenities, creating a downward social spiral which even the greatest landlord found difficult to reverse.<sup>12</sup> Since Battersea did not contain such an estate prior to suburbanisation, and the Crown Estate ([141] created 1846-53) was not developed in that way, it follows that the strategy of developers left a lot to be desired, not least because their knowledge of the market and the willingness of builders and tenants to fulfil their aspirations was often imperfect. Even the clear tendency for north Battersea to be industrial (from 1700) and criss-crossed by railways (from 1835), did not diminish the desire of many owners to provide middle-class housing. The Flowers at Park Town [88] were the classic case, where the estate was laid out in 1863 at the time of maximum disruption by railway building.<sup>13</sup> Builders, however, often knew better and most Battersea housing at any given time was built with a reasonably accurate perception of its likely first tenants. That, reinforced by the fact that estates developed directly by builders formed one of the largest categories, provides some clue as to the progress of rental values. Data relating specific estates to the average for their period are set out below, along with estimates of the surplus/foregone rental on each estate, extrapolating the sample to the whole estate.



Table 5.6

## Battersea Ground Rental Values by Estate

No.	Estate	Type	Period	Index*	±£ p.a.	Standard+
22	Pain/Mendip	1b	1842-57	88	-1.19	3.50
25	Lucas		1857-71	62	-48.90	
96	Pain/Orkney		1868-77	85	-4.24	
86	Todd	2a	1865-73	108	+1.87	5.71
98	Neate		1867-69	99	-0.08	
29	Morrison	2b	1845-46	150	+5.44	
61	Spicer		1848-68	108	+2.43	
66	Havelock T.		1856-63	75	-4.41	
68	Alfred St.		1860-61	85	-4.16	3.23
72	Culvert Rd.		1862-63	74	-1.53	3.75
80	Nine Elms		1862-70	84	-6.27	
93	Caudwell		1866-77	127	+28.37	
128	Jennings		1867-72	96	-0.21	5.27
133	Lavender H.		1872-80	86	-6.28	
140	Wandsworth R.		1875-79	86	-12.40	
141	Crown		1879-94	95	-26.38	
169	Latchmere G.		1881-84	35	-8.02	
51	Pocock	3	1853-82	85	-12.54	5.00 (1870s)
90	Rollo St.		1864-74	72	-9.45	3.50
114	l'Anson		1872-80	111	+7.99	
150	Croft		1879-81	108	+2.27	
46	J.C.Park.II	4	1850-73	95	-5.75	
63	R. Jones		1858-61	98	-0.15	
112	Cubitt I		1868-79	111	+6.37	6.25
117	St. Jas. Gro.		1866-68	120	-1.15	
139	Freake II		1882-87	87	-4.05	6.00/7.41
146	Blondel St.		1877-78	84	-4.61	5.00
153	Falcon Park		1879-86	101	+1.47	6.25
158	Clapham Jn.		1880-83	111	+11.80	6.67/7.71
165	Lavender Sw.		1882-84	122	+11.38	
177	St. Johns Pk.		1886-87	131	+25.65	
178	Lavender Gd.		1888	126	+4.91	
182	Chestnuts		1887-88	115	+4.29	
192	Kyrle		1893-03	104	+6.66	
33	Green La.	5	1846	88	-0.34	3.50
129	Harefield		1871-80	60	-19.12	3.53
152	Colestown II		1879-80	104	+4.86	
53	Frances St.	6a	1852-54	96	-0.57	3.33
100	Corunna P.		1865-69	54	-3.30	2.72
105	Manor Ho.		1868-75	59	-18.24	
134	Gwynne		1873-81	98	-0.70	
135	Carpenter		1873-80	93	-1.81	5.00
193	Thirsk R.		1894-95	110	+4.51	8.82
73	Mackley	6b	1862-70	138	+13.29	
77	Acre St.		1862-64	93	-1.54	
85	Lucy		1868-82	117	+9.40	6.00/6.67/7.33
88	Park Town		1866-99	116	+67.30	
118	Bishopp		1871-82	95	-1.78	
97	Britannia P.	6c	1866-70	105	+0.60	4.92
107	Lavender H.		1866-69	111	+5.60	6.00/6.25
151	Falcon Tce.		1879-80	45	-11.79	
194	Eukestons		1894-96	106	+2.35	
195	Sisters II		1894-97	117	+6.96	8.82

20	Carter	6d	1840-70	60	-49.47	
92	CLS 2	8	1864-76	118	+12.33	
125	CLS 3		1871-78	109	+14.78	6.67
113	Olney Lo.	9	1868	102	+0.56	
154	Beaufoy	1b/4	1880-84	85	-22.25	
60	Wilson	2a/b/5	1854-59	112	+1.67	4.42
209	West Side	2b/3	1910-16	92	-13.73	
155	Gonsalva	2b/4	1880-84	98	-0.65	6.25
170	N'gale Pk.		1882-86	99	-0.52	
171	Kambala		1882	101	+0.38	7.33
172	Chatto		1882-87	112	+30.66	7.65
201	Springwell		1898-01	115	+10.94	9.06
143	Clapham CG	2b/4/6b	1876-78	125	+6.07	
181	Broomwood		1886-96	99	-3.06	
111	Colestown I	2b/5	1869-74	103	+2.12	5.16
176	Orville Rd.		1885-86	116	+2.52	8.00
179	Marney Rd.		1887-88	114	+9.90	8.24
180	Spencer T.		1886-88	97	-0.22	7.00
184	Lav. Hill		1889-90	121	+10.34	8.82
188	Bol. Gro.		1891-94	106	+6.40	8.25
191	Mysore Rd.		1892-94	111	+10.24	8.75
75	Palmerston	2b/5/6b	1863-65	119	+6.90	
110	Wayford	2b/6b	1867-70	121	+3.71	6.25
189	Northfields	3/6a	1891-94	100	-0.19	7.65-7.70
166	Lav. Sweep	4/6b	1882-83	112	+9.39	7.65/8.00

Notes: \* 100=Overall average for the period covered by the deeds on each estate;

\* Clear evidence of a standard plot/frontage value throughout the estate

With over a dozen different types of developer, it is not surprising that estates display a wide variety of approaches to the price demanded for the lease of a plot. The documents show that many owners - most of them only recently having acquired the land which they were about to develop - did indeed produce a plan and a set of covenants to ensure the maximum value of their estates, and the data in Table 5.6 show that on many estates there was a fixed rental per plot (for example £5; £6/6/- p.a.) and hence a standard foot frontage value, which increased over time in line with property price inflation. Equally, scores of estates do not appear to have followed this approach and the effect of now invisible negotiations between owners, their representatives and builders shows in the wide fluctuations on estates where the plots are largely identical. At the extremes, landowners could achieve a 50% surplus over the predicted value or a two-thirds shortfall. About 77% of estates have rentals in the  $\pm 1\sigma$  range, however, indicating a peaked distribution. About one quarter are within  $\pm 5\%$  of the average, and may be said to have achieved their "target". The largest anomaly is estates with 10-20% above the expected level. Eight are "composite" developments, three Type 2b/5 involving the Corsellis family. Eleven estates fall in the -10-20% range, including two Type 1b and four Type 2b, absentee owners who might be expected to have an imperfect appreciation of potential rental values.

Estates producing more than 20% above the contemporary average include three by Alfred Heaver around Clapham Junction. Himself a former builder, he clearly set out to maximise his return on the cost of purchase and laying out of roads and drains. In the case of St. Johns Park

[177] and Chestnuts [182], the proximity of the new commercial centre enabled him to charge a premium for ordinary house plots, which led in some streets to the erection of three-storey houses. Lavender Gardens [178] was a high-status scheme, with link-detached houses having frontages up to forty feet. Ingram, Brown and Bragg's Clapham Common Gardens [143], with rentals 25% above average also had substantial three-storey houses. High rentals did not always mean high status development, however. Park Town (88; +16%), Wayford Street (110; +21%) and Orville Road (176; +16%) all pitched high and ended up crowded with artisans and, in the latter, Booth's Classes A-C. Indeed, Booth used Orville Road as a specific example of jerry-building leading to rapid social and structural decay. By implication, high rents charged by builders and subsequent owners to recoup their commitments to the landowner encouraged a shifting population.<sup>14</sup>

The following types have higher-than-expected ground rents: 2a; 4; 6b; 6c; 8; 9; 2b/4; 2b/5. In the case of the land companies, of course, this profit went to those who purchased the freehold plots prior to building. Types which made less than expected were: 1b; 2b; 3; 5; 6a; 6d. There were wide variations within Types. Original owners and early developers with a background in market gardening, such as John Lucas [25] and the Carters [20] settled for much less than they could have obtained - about £50/year in each case, thousands of pounds over the life of a lease. Previous experience of agricultural values, where £10/acre/year was a high rent, no doubt had some influence, since that could be obtained from a handful of houses. Furthermore, such developers seldom changed their policy during the protracted process of completing their schemes. Lucas was still charging Henry Menhinnick less than 3/6 per foot on houses in the late-1860s, probably reflecting his anxiety to complete a scheme started in the late-1840s, and also the builder's ability to strike a favourable bargain in exchange for erecting several complete streets. As elsewhere, awkwardly-shaped plots attracted a very low rent - e.g. 14-18 Tidbury Street, leased for about 1/1 per foot, with barely room for a house on the tapering plots.

More surprising were men like the architect/surveyor Charles Lee, who settled for only 72% of the going rate on his Rollo Street estate [90] in the 1860s boom, although this was not out of line with contemporary developments south of Battersea Park Road, where cheap leases filled a score of estates with two-storey brick boxes. Solicitor Evan Hare used the technique of selling plots on his railway-bound estate [129], usually for £45 (about £1,925/acre). The severe depression after 1870 caused the new owners to reduce their aspirations, hence the low ground rents, foregoing an average of 2/4 per foot. Unlike many cul-de-sac estates, Harefield retained its artisan status. James Bennett of Downton, Wilts., who completed Latchmere Grove [169] was also confronted with a blind end surrounded by railways and some awkward plot shapes, forcing him to settle for less than 3/- per foot. Bennett, then a Balham draper, had been involved at nearby Wayford Street in the late-1860s. In that case he and his partner were able to get 6/3 per foot. Benjamin Edgington, a Southwark marquee maker, also made far less than he could have done on his two estates - Corunna Place [100] and Manor House [105] - netting £22 p.a. less than the average for the period. This may be explained in the first case by the close proximity of industry and yet more railways, and in the second by the estate being cut in two by the WLER embankment.

Most estates developed after 1880 in central and south Battersea had high ground rents,

which did produce middle-class housing, for example: Eukestons and Sisters Avenue II [194; 195], both owned by Members of Parliament, and the Corsellis estates of Marney Road, Lavender Hill, Bolingbroke Grove and Mysore Road [179; 184; 188; 191].

William Howey's market garden just north of Clapham Junction provides a good illustration of the trend in ground rents. It was bought by Job Caudwell [93], for whom George Todd drew up plans for 350 plots, almost all with 16ft. frontages and appropriate reservation of corner sites for shops, etc.<sup>15</sup> Caudwell operated a high rental policy, for he appears to have seen it as the home of lower middle-class railway users. In fact, it was filled with railway employees and workers in local industry, belonging to Booth's Class D. The average rental obtained was 6.97/- per foot, which forced builders to maximise the use of the land. Booth confirms this in his account of Speke Road,<sup>16</sup> where most houses had three storeys, some with semi-basements, many 'out of repair, ... all wretchedly built'. In 1867, their estimated gross rentals were mostly in the £25-30 range (9/6-11/6 per week), confirming their larger-than-average size (rentals for small two-storey houses were in the £8-15 range) and pre-ordained tendency to overcrowding and social decline.<sup>17</sup> None of this of course would have concerned the ground landlord at such an early stage in the 99-year lease period. Caudwell made 1.86 sh/ft. a year more than the 1860s average for Battersea, which represents an increment of £574 p.a. for the whole estate (£2,143 cf. £1,569 p.a.), a substantial income in its own right.

As always, however, averages conceal variation, and Caudwell profited from builders prepared to pay over the odds for plots. George Reeve of Camberwell took at least eleven plots in Grant Road in February 1866 for £6/6/- p.a. (7.875 sh./ft.), 15% higher than his peers in the same street such as Frederick Rimell. In March, 1867, Reeve paid only £5 p.a. for four plots in Grant Road. His initial miscalculation doubtless contributed to his bankruptcy in January 1870.<sup>18</sup> The glut of houses in the area probably meant that he was unable to let houses at rents sufficient to pay the inflated ground rents and building costs. Henry Shillito took at least sixteen plots in Speke Road in 1868 at £5 p.a., virtually identical with the Battersea average for the 1860s. It is clear that Caudwell (and/or Todd) were unable to make high rents "stick" if a builder was prepared to negotiate a lower figure for a substantial block. Such trading evidently went on continuously, but the details are denied to us in the absence of any written record - if such was ever made.

This variability of ground rents within and between estates was not unique to Battersea. Somers Town in St. Pancras also started out with high expectations, influenced in part by its southern neighbour the Bedford Estate.<sup>19</sup> In the fifty years from 1786 which it took to complete, the bargaining ability of each side changed frequently, as did ground rents, at a time when the nature of the building industry itself was undergoing significant change. The social class of the end-product did not match the aspirations of those who initiated the development.<sup>20</sup> Treen indicates a wide range of plot prices on the Brown Estate in north Leeds (1883-1904), not necessarily related to date or position.<sup>21</sup>

The outcome of a high ground rents: overcrowded houses tending to slums, or successful middle-class development, was not necessarily a foregone conclusion. Henry Corsellis achieved both: the former at Orville Road (1884) and the latter in central and south Battersea (1886-96). This may be explained by the involvement of John and Walter Stanbury, builder and architect, in

most of the latter, again showing that those most directly involved in the building process could exercise the degree of control needed to achieve the prize of respectability. In other words, to replicate the success of the great landed estates at local level.

#### V: House Prices

Evidence for rising house prices can be obtained from the "consideration" money paid by purchasers of leases from builders and developers, from the sales of blocks of property by landowners to insurance and land companies and to various individuals, and from notices of sales in the *Builder*.

Table 5.7

#### Battersea 1840-1915: House Prices

Period	Examples	Av. £*	Index	Av. £+	Index
1840-50	48	106.17	100	183.36	100
1851-60	60	129.50	122	164.00	89
1861-70	79	205.36	193	230.95	126
1871-80	127	191.95	181	260.61	142
1881-90	69	262.35	247	333.68	182
1891-00	142	283.41	267	376.47	205
1901-15	4	415.00	391	415.00	226

Note: \* Refers to all sales, including multiples; + Excludes block sales

On the basis of all sales, values rose almost fourfold between the 1840s and the Edwardian era. Excluding sales of more than two houses, the resultant increase is 126%. As with land values and ground rents, on which many sale/assignment values were of course based, the 1860s and 1880s stand out as periods of rapid growth (58% and 36% respectively). The essentially middle-class developments of the Edwardian period were of larger houses, hence the 46% increase in prices at a time when ground rents rose by less than 6%.

It is possible here to mention only a random sample of purchasers, in order to indicate variations at this stage of the Victorian housing market. The data are arranged chronologically to facilitate comparison with Table 5.7

Table 5.8

#### Selected House Prices: Battersea 1849-1895

Date	Est	Hos.	Price	Av.	Purchaser
1849	20	9	935	104	Geo. Gunner, Wimbledon, fruiterer
1855	60	2	275	138	Hy. Eastgate, Bloomsbury, gent.
1859	66	2	305	153	Hy. Dunning, Whitehall, gent.
	20	9	962	107	Miss Emma Shore, Folkestone
1860	66	2	330	165	Hy. Dunning
1866	46	2	540	270	Geo. Starling, Chelsea, lic. vict.
	51	10	2640	264	J&A Rodger, Greenock; W. Scott, Worthing
1867	91	1	265	265	John Darby, Pimlico, piano maker
	46	1	270	270	Geo. Nippard, Southwark, gent.
	46	2	470	235	Thos. Best, Battersea, contractor
1868	92	2	700	350	Rich. Callingham, Vauxhall, wine mcht.
1871	107	9	2000	222	Trustees of Mr. & Mrs. Matson, Batt'sea
1872	20	19	2470	130	Hy./Robt. Gadd, Exeter/Vauxhall, chemist
1875	92	6	800	133	Prudential Assurance
	73	1	350	350	Eliza Dobson, Regent's Park
1877	143	1	525	525	Susan Mitchell, Kennington, widow
	126	6	950	158	House Property & Investment Co.

1878	114	1	320	320	Thos. Barnett, Battersea, plumber
1878	114	1	320	320	Marcus Goddard, occ., sol'r. clerk
1879	152	1	270	270	Hy. Bonett, Battersea, carpet planner
	143	1	550	550	Hy. Nevill, Herne Hill, gent.
1880	152	1	230	230	Rich. Basker, Battersea, carp./joiner
		92	11558	126	Rev. J.S. Holden, Aston-on-Trent, Dbys.
		1	250	250	Geo. Searie, Chelsea, slater
1881	153	1	275	275	Wm. Fish, Battersea
	158	2	460	230	David Forrester, Battersea, carpenter
		3	725	242	John Drinkwater, Battersea
	154	1	335	335	Chas. Bye, occupier, bricklayer
1883	163	1	250	250	J. Hunt, Kennington, flour factor
1888	141	1	425	425	Montague Kemp, occupier, club steward
	161	1	500	500	Hy. Oram, Battersea
	154	13	2205	170	Ann Beaufoy et al.
1889	161	1	320	320	Robt. Sunman, occupier
1894	191	24	5311	221	Garton Bros., Battersea, glucose mfrs.
		35	5925	169	Gartons

The bulk purchase of houses for investment purposes was a good bargain for the buyer - Gartons paid an average of only £190 for 59 houses in Mysore Road in 1894, when they would have fetched £300-350 individually. The complex transactions behind the Revd. Holden's acquisition of almost one quarter of the Colestown II estate will be discussed in Chapter 9.

The *Builder* provides information on the proceeds of property sales, aimed at prospective buyers and sellers. Data are given on the number of years' purchase and the length of lease left to run, which often formed the basis for price calculation. A sample from the years 1885-1888, but covering houses built at any time from the early 1850s to the mid-1880s, shows a wide range of purchase values, from 17 to 82 years, and there is no correlation between these and the length of lease still to run. The weighted average is 37.4 years' purchase, which at an average ground rent of £6-8 gives prices of £224-299 per house, lower than indicated by contemporary deeds (Table 5.8). These data may be compared with those in Offer's analysis of sales at the Auction Mart,<sup>22</sup> where the mean was 9-11 years' purchase, based on average gross house rentals. Between 1892 and 1912, the latter averaged £45 in Fulham and Hammersmith, and sales yielded from 6.38-11.25 times this value ( $\sigma=2.09-5.02$ ). In Camberwell and Peckham, the range was narrower (5.12-7.75 years' purchase,  $\sigma=1.97-2.91$ ).

In Battersea estimated gross rentals in the 1850s were £20.36 (Table 5.14), and yields from sales £130-164, between 6.36-8.06 years' purchase. In the 1860s the figures were £24.42, £205-231, and 8.39-9.46 respectively. These data suggest that there was an underlying relationship between EGRs and sale prices throughout the Victorian period in a variety of suburbs, evidence of a unified, if not homogeneous housing market. Comparable Battersea data are not available for the period after 1870.

## VI: Rateable and Estimated Gross Rental Values

Rate assessments provide parish-wide information on the notional gross rental values of houses, estimated by the surveyors as the basis of rateable values. After 1870, only rateable values are given. This analysis is based on ratebooks from 1839, 1851, 1861 and 1871. Comparison between the various years shows that there was little or no inflation in estimated

rental values in this period, the great majority remaining unchanged once set, although there was underlying growth reflecting the increasing size and value of new houses.

The March 1766 assessment provides a datum before the first upsurge in building for more than a century.

Table 5.9  
Battersea Property Values - March 1766

District	Houses %	Assessment %
Village	50.42	31.68
York Place	15.49	15.49
The Rise	19.15	26.65
Nine Elms	14.93	26.19

The Village was still the dominant settlement, although recent growth around the Commons and at Nine Elms already accounted for 34% of houses. The Village contained large numbers of small houses, many inhabited by the poor. There is nothing in 1766 to suggest that Battersea was other than a rather sleepy backwater dependant on farming and market gardening, albeit firmly within the metropolitan sphere of influence and with an industrial base.

The pattern in 1839 was not dramatically different (see Table 2.6). There were 1,006 houses with a total EGR of #34,926. The Village had 271 of the 663 houses built since 1766 (41%). York Place had increased by 45%, but was still mainly market gardens, with industry along the Thames. The Rise/Commons/Lavender Hill area (the last virtually uninhabited in 1766) had three times as many houses, many substantial mansions with grounds, and EGRs of £200 or more. The Common Field and adjacent enclosures remained emptying 1839. To the east, Battersea New Town had added 172 houses where none existed, but Nine Elms had only 17 more (32%).

The Village and New Town were low value areas, with EGRs of £20 and £15 (7/8 and 5/9 per week). Most houses in New Town were very small, four-roomed properties with 12-15ft. frontages. In contrast south Battersea had 42% of the rental value but only 16% of the houses. Even here, however, small cottage properties were to be found, for example two estates on former waste ground on the north side of the Rise [11; 16].

In 1839 (Table 2.5), houses with EGRs of £1-10 formed 42% of the total, but only 11% of the EGR. Houses worth less than £20 p.a. (7s 8d./week) account for 70%, contributing only 22% of the value, whereas the 9% of houses with EGRs of more than £100 yielded 53%. Houses accounted for only 57% of the total rental value of £61,636, Battersea had scarcely begun the transition to a suburb, industry and agriculture accounting for the balance. The modal EGR was £10 (3s 10d/ week), with 161 houses (16%); 387 houses (38.5%) fell in the £9-12 range, indicating that the kind of property for which Battersea was later noted was already present in large quantities. The median, lower and upper quartile EGRs were £12, £9 and £27.

By 1851, the number of houses more than doubled to 2,196, although the total EGR was only 75% higher. £11-20 houses had increased threefold, those in the £21-30 band fivefold, setting a pattern which continued until the 1880s.

Fig. 5.3a - Cumulative Percentage of Houses by Rateable Value: 1839-1871

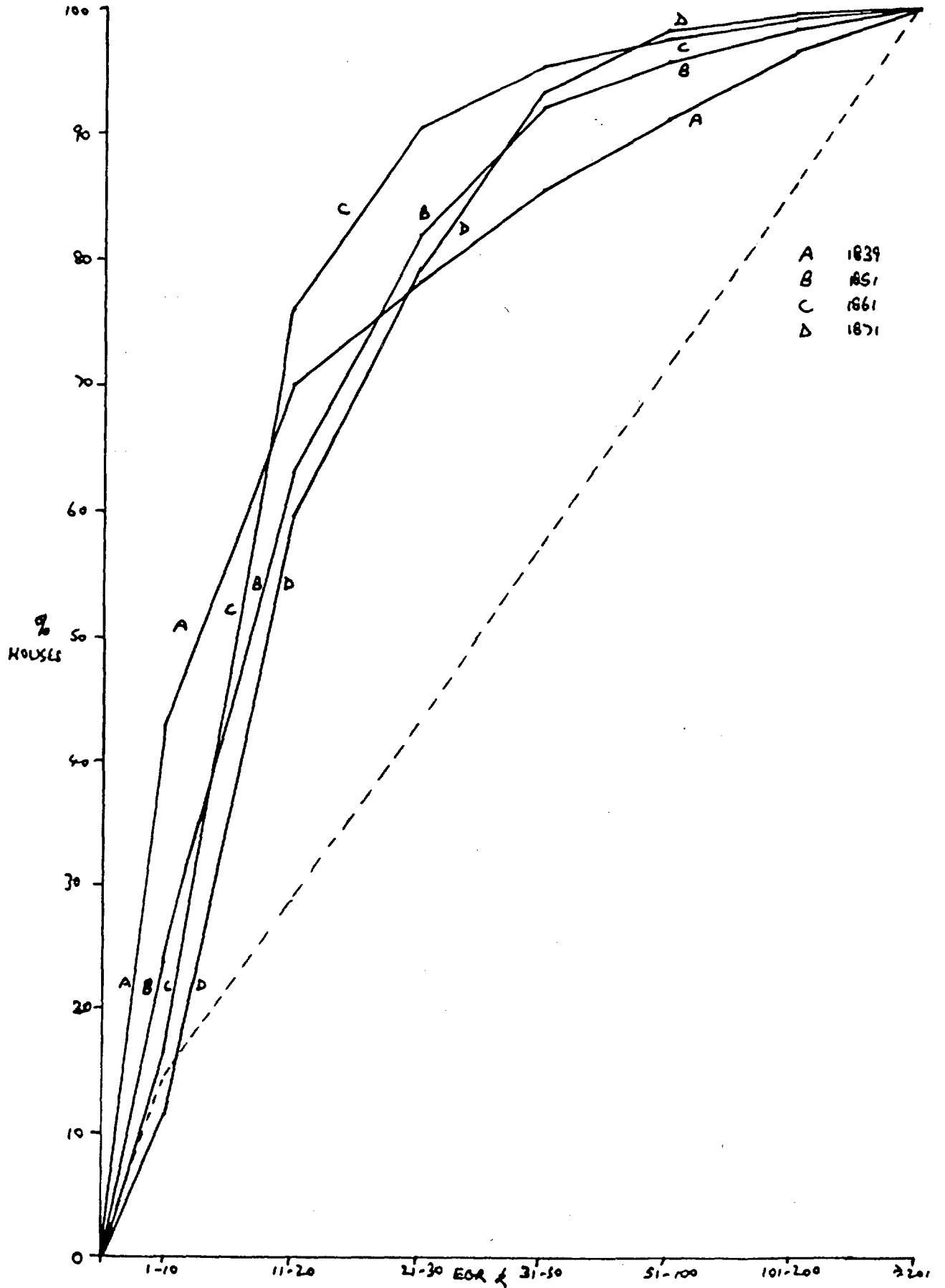




Fig. 5.3b - Cumulative Percentage of Rateable Value by Band: 1839-1871

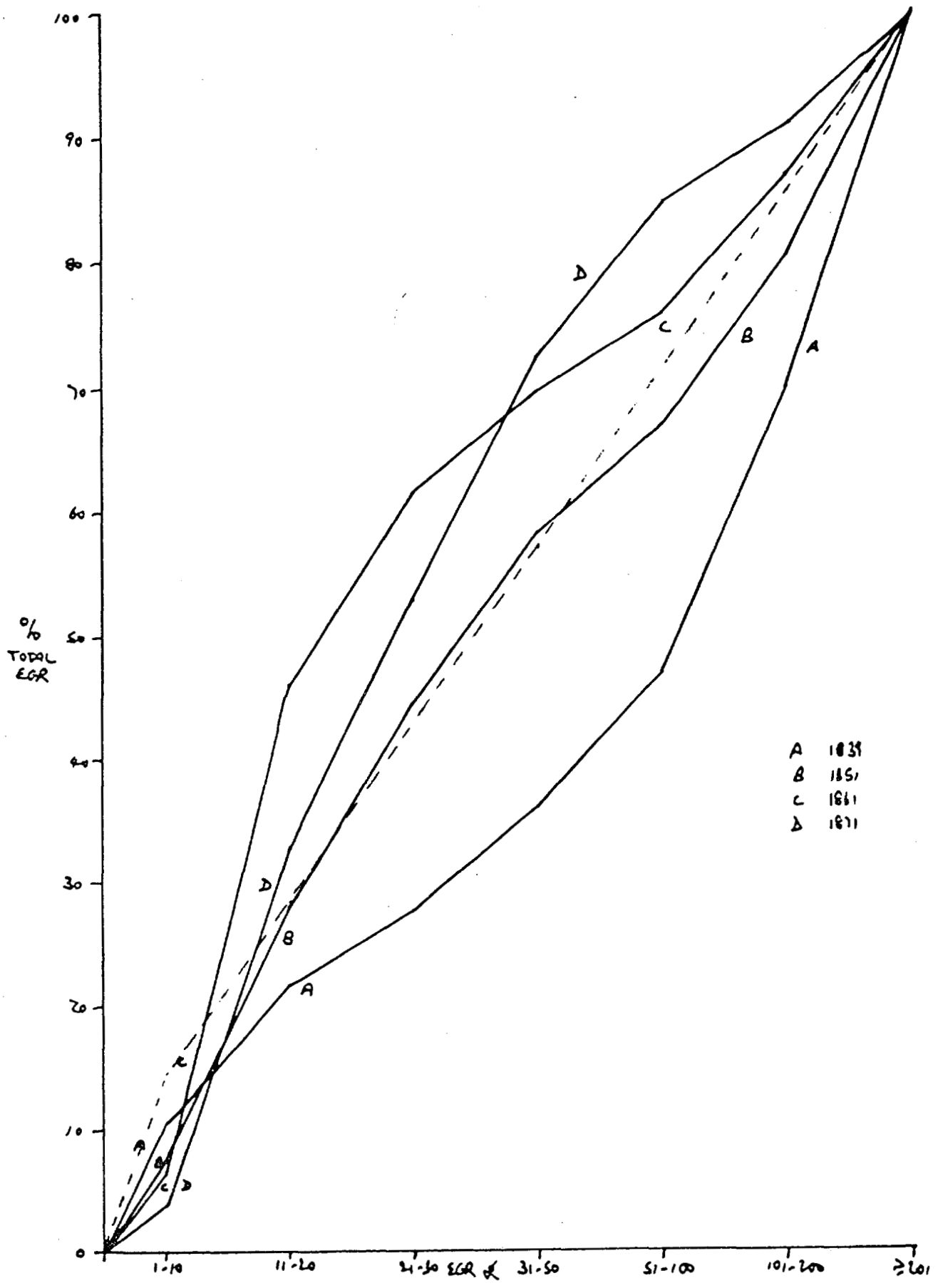


Table 5.10

## Battersea Estimated Gross Rental Values: November 1851

Rental (£p.a.)	Houses		Value	
	No.	%	£	%
1-10	523	23.82	4639	7.59
11-20	863	39.30	12551	20.55
21-30	417	18.99	10090	16.52
31-50	221	10.06	8313	13.60
1-50	2024	92.17	35593	58.27
51-100	78	3.55	5368	8.79
101-200	54	2.46	8166	13.37
201+	40	1.82	11957	19.57
51+	172	7.83	25491	41.73
Total	2196		61084	

Despite the addition of 96 £1-10 houses, their share fell sharply from 42% to 24%; £11-20 houses rose from 11% to 39%, and £21-30 houses from 6% to 19%. There had been little change in numbers of high-value properties, although those worth >£101 had fallen from 9% (53% of value) to 4% (33%).

Despite the depression after 1854, 979 more houses (+45%) had been built by 1861.

Table 5.11

## Battersea Estimated Gross Rental Values: May 1861

Rental (£p.a.)	Houses		Values	
	No.	%	£	%
1-10	521	16.41	4734	6.53
11-20	1899	59.81	28744	39.65
21-30	455	14.33	11139	15.37
31-50	152	4.79	5926	8.17
1-50	3027	95.34	50543	69.73
51-100	63	1.78	4495	6.20
101-200	53	1.67	8040	11.09
201+	32	1.01	9405	12.98
51+	148	4.66	21940	30.27
Total	3175		72483	

The trend of the 1840s is continued. No new £1-10 houses were built, and their share fell to 16%. The £11-20 band, on the other hand, increased by 120% to 60% of houses (40% EGR). £21-30 houses did not maintain the momentum of the 1840s as demolitions for the creation of Battersea Park reduced their number. The largest houses were not yet thus affected, but now contributed only 24% of EGR (cf. 33% 1851).

The number of houses increased 216% 1839-61, but EGRs grew by only 108%, as the small terraced house became firmly established as the norm: 1,620 houses with EGRs of £11-20 p.a. (4/3-7/8 per week) were built in this period, along with 373 £21-30 (8/0-11/6 p.w.) houses. Given the large variety of owners and developers involved, these figures show that the nature of the local housing market had largely been determined by 1850, if not earlier. Even developers who sought to cater to a middle-class market, created a remarkably similar product. This applies equally to the appearance of houses. After 1870, however, house style and value became more wide-ranging, and by 1880, new housing was clearly aimed at the higher artisan and lower middle

class tenant/owner.

More than 6,000 houses were built during the first major peak in Battersea, two-thirds of them with £1-30 EGRs. Overbuilding towards the end of the 1860s meant that 1,400 houses were empty in the 1871 Census, falling to around 700 that autumn.

Table 5.12  
Battersea Estimated Gross Rental Values: Autumn 1871

Rental (£p.a.)	Houses		Value	
	No.	%	£	%
1-10	983	11.45	8714	3.89
11-20	4136	48.18	65876	29.42
21-30	1694	19.73	43977	19.64
31-50	1180	13.74	43480	19.41
1-50	7993	93.10	162047	72.36
51-100	429	5.00	27994	12.50
101-200	105	1.22	14212	6.35
201+	58	0.68	19691	8.79
51+	592	6.90	61897	27.64
Total	8585		223944	

Note: EGRs derived from rateable values using a multiplier of 1.41, based on the 1867 assessment which gives both figures.

A total of 3,938 £1-30 houses were built in the 1860s, almost four times the *total* number in 1839 (462 £1-10; 2,237 £11-20, and 1,239 £21-30). The strongest growth in the #21-30 band confirms the gradual upward movement of house rentals decade by decade; many of them were retail premises off the principal thoroughfares. The erection of many hundreds of houses on a swathe of new estates south of Battersea Park Road, from the Ponton estate in the east to Colestown in the west accounts for the majority of properties worth up to £30 p.a., with many of the rest in new developments north of Clapham Junction. Houses in the few estates to be developed south of the LSWR tended to fall in the £31-75 bands. (Quite a significant proportion of new building in the £51-100 bands represents shops along the main roads and new public houses which sprouted on many corner sites, unaffected by landowners' covenants to any great extent.) Since 1839, the housing stock had grown by 753%, total EGRs by 540%. The average EGR fell from £34.72 to £26.09 (25%). Properties worth more than £50 p.a. shrunk from 14% to 7%, their value from 64% to 28%, although numbers had still increased more than fourfold.

The nature of local houses has been analysed by period, estate type and zone (see Chap. 7 for estate typology; Zone 1E: Nine Elms and Battersea Park; Zone 1W: the Village and York Place; Zone 2E: the Common Field south of Lower Wandsworth Road; Zone 2W: York Rd.-Clapham Junction; Zone 3E: between the LSWR and Clapham Common; Zone 3W: the late-Victorian commercial centre and New Wandsworth, and Zone 4 the area south of the Rise; the E:W division follows Bridge, Latchmere and Elspeth Roads (see Fig. 5.4 and Appendix 2 for details of estates in each sub-zone).

Table 5.13

## Battersea 1780-1870: Estimated Rentals by Period, Estate Type and Zone

## A: Period

Period	Ests.	Av. EGR	£σ
<1800	7	12.16	6.62
1801-1820	6	13.09	3.10
1821-1840	6	14.28	9.25
1841-1850	26	19.68	6.62
1851-1860	20	20.36	12.57
1861-1870	50	24.42	8.69

## B: Type of Developer

Type	Ests.	Av. EGR	£σ
1a	8	17.99	9.46
1b	7	20.99	8.42
2a	4	26.09	11.77
2b	15	21.55	6.72
3	10	22.61	10.27
4	17	18.61	5.82
5	5	23.84	5.96
6a	8	14.03	4.63
6b	12	19.07	11.72
6c	4	19.32	5.25
6d	12	17.37	4.34
8	6	34.15	18.40

## C: Zone

Zone	Ests.	Av. EGR	£σ
1E	5	21.24	3.70
1W	27	17.23	5.34
2E	44	19.33	8.39
2W	17	19.44	5.62
3E	7	22.74	5.50
3W	12	29.11	17.65
4	4	3.47	9.45

Average EGRs doubled between 1770 and 1870, whereas commodity prices rose by only 40-50%. The generally negative correlation between rents and the price of consumables is apparent from the start of housing expansion in Battersea: 1790s rents +8%, prices +80%; 1801-20 rents +8%, prices +74%, both these periods being affected by wartime inflation; 1821-40 rents +9%, prices -19%. The sharpest increase in rents occurred in the 1840s (38%), the first decade in which substantial areas were developed. The 1850s stand out as a decade of slow rental growth, as with other measures of property value (3.5% cf. general prices +36%). Strong upward movement of house rents recommenced after 1860, when general prices were virtually static (+20% cf. +1%). It must be remembered that the increasing cost of building and house size accounted for some of the growth in EGRs, but the proceeds from renting houses provided a good income for a wide spectrum of landlords, albeit rarely the original landowners. House agent James Griffin of Battersea Square built up an extensive portfolio of properties across north Battersea. His son William (d.1918) owned at least 62 houses, although most produced less than £10 p.a.

There is little variation between various types of estate, all but the Freehold Land Companies falling in the range £14-26 p.a. Type 8 estates were usually very mixed, with piecemeal building by a wide variety of owners. The EGR on the Conservative Land Society's first estate [67] (£16.77), however, was virtually identical with that (£15.85) on Lithgow's estate [23],

from which it had been detached. Their second estate (EGR £26.30, with many three-storey houses) was also in line with its neighbours. The National Freehold Land Co.'s Chatham Road estate [67] (EGR £18.16) was an unusual departure from the normal high status of south Battersea. The lowest EGRs were Type 6a (manufacturers) estates, generally small cottages, but rarely for their own workers. Market gardeners (6d), original resident landowners (1a) and builders (4) also aimed at the £15-20 market (5/9-7/8 per week), other types at the slightly higher £21-25 band (8/0-9/7 per week).

The Zonal data confirm the importance in the northern two-thirds of Battersea of £17-23 p.a. houses (6/6-8/10 p.w.). Zones 1W, 2E and 2W include 88 estates begun before 1870 whose rentals can be calculated, representing *par excellence* the norm for this suburb of two-storey terraced houses with four living rooms, often occupied by two families, or one family with lodgers/boarders. Almost 7,000 houses (27% of the total) are to be found on these estates. Zones 3W and 4 have a higher average EGR for new houses, virtually all later than 1860. Although few estates had appeared in south Battersea by 1870, they set the trend of aiming at various middle-class occupiers, from clerks and shopkeepers to professional men and merchants.

Table 5.14A  
Battersea Houses and EGRs by Zone: 1839-1871 - Absolute Values

Zone	1839		1851		1861		1871	
	Ho.	£	Ho.	£	Ho.	£	Ho.	£
1E	135	3407	354	8871	211	5504	331	10070
1W	433	9551	839	18174	1031	19043	1489	31897
2E	184	3062	447	7205	504	9345	2455	54470
2W	40	661	240	3755	790	12339	2091	41156
3E	62	5646	92	6885	203	8773	1113	28147
3W	119	5344	191	6409	320	10028	567	26845
4	30	7205	39	8148	48	7561	539	31319
Total	1003	34876	2202	59447	3107	72593	8585	223944

Note: The discrepancy in totals cf. Tables 2.5 and 5.10-5.12 reflects houses too vaguely described to be allocated to a Zone.

Table 5.14B - Percentages

Zone	Houses				EGRs			
	1839	1851	1861	1871	1839	1851	1861	1871
1E	13.46	16.08	6.79	3.86	9.77	14.92	7.58	4.50
1W	43.17	38.10	33.18	17.34	27.39	30.57	26.23	14.24
2E	18.34	20.30	16.22	28.60	8.78	12.12	12.87	24.32
2W	3.99	10.90	25.43	24.36	1.89	6.32	17.00	18.56
3E	6.18	4.18	6.53	12.96	16.19	11.58	12.09	12.57
3W	11.86	8.67	10.30	6.60	15.32	10.78	13.81	11.83
4	2.99	1.77	1.54	6.28	20.66	13.71	10.42	13.99

The predominance of the Village and its environs (1W) remained throughout the early years of suburban development, but halved in the 1860s as other areas attracted the builder. Zone 1E shows clear signs of "take-off" in the 1840s, as might be expected from its proximity to London, to the river and local industrial employment. Thereafter, more than half its area was frozen by the new park, and although 120 houses were built on the fringes in the sixties, serious development did not begin until after 1875. Zone 1W remained low value, although the differential declined as more houses in the £11-30 range were provided elsewhere; the average EGR in this area was £22.05 in 1839 and £21.41 in 1871.

The number of houses in Zone 2E grew almost fivefold in the 1860s (36% of the total).

The average value in 1839 was only £16.64, mostly small cottages in New Town, increasing to £22.19 in 1871. The most spectacular growth between 1841 and 1860 was in Zone 2W, paradoxically one of the furthest from London, neatly demonstrating the failure of urban growth to follow a regular annular pattern. In 1839 this area contained little but a few farms and public houses, but its fate was sealed when the Carters began build in that same year [20], followed by fellow market gardener Francis Lithgow in 1847 [23], and builder-developer John Cornelius Park after 1850 [46]. These were, however, low-value estates, containing by 1861 25% of houses, but only 17% of rental value, a pattern which changed hardly at all in the 1860s, despite the addition of 1,300 houses. Average EGRs grew from £16.63 to £19.68, 1839-71.

Zone 3E remained virtually empty in 1861, apart from the Stewart and Lucas estates [7; 25], but growth was rapid thereafter (910 houses) as Lucas completed his estate and the first phase of Park Town was built. Average EGRs in this area fell from £43.22 in 1861 to £25.26 a decade later, as farms were replaced by the ubiquitous "Battersea box". Zone 3W began from a small base of isolated hamlets and roadside building, doubling in the 1860s. With relatively high value of estates such as Thomas Mackley's, the average EGR remained consistently high - £44.91 in 1839, £46.71 in 1871, 2.5 times that of Zone 2W to the north, separated only by a railway embankment, which nevertheless formed a crucial social barrier, with only three crossing points.

South Battersea (Zone 4) was virtually untouched by building before 1861, when it had 10% of the value in only 1.5% of the houses (average EGR £157.52). The activities of the freehold land companies had begun to transform the area by 1871 (+491 houses, a tenfold increase). EGRs fell dramatically to £58.12 on average, despite the fact that only a handful of the first-generation houses and their estates had succumbed to the developer. The changing structure of EGRs within zones is summarised below.

Table 5.15  
Battersea Houses by EGR by Zone: 1839-1871

A: Numbers								
EGR 1-10								
Zone	1E	1W	1E	2W	3E	3W	4	Total
1839	28	207	116	24	7	42	2	426
1851	24	227	146	82	7	28	9	523
1861	5	244	126	98	6	41	3	523
1871	3	379	157	314	18	75	30	976
EGR £11-20								
1839	63	136	23	6	19	32	-	279
1851	110	333	196	125	32	68	-	864
1861	95	573	300	644	85	114	13	1824
1871	77	578	1505	1158	644	49	125	4136
EGR £21-50								
1839	31	61	36	9	2	16	-	155
1851	202	234	98	31	15	71	1	692
1861	94	188	69	34	74	134	2	595
1871	226	457	678	562	393	261	298	2875
EGR £51+								
1839	13	29	9	1	34	29	28	143
1851	18	45	7	2	38	24	29	153
1861	17	26	9	4	38	31	30	155
1871	26	66	115	59	58	182	86	592

B: Percentages								
Zone	1E	1W	2E	2W	3E	3W	4	Total
<b>EGR £1-10</b>								
1839	20.74	47.81	63.04	60.00	11.29	35.29	6.67	42.47
1851	6.78	27.06	32.66	34.17	8.54	14.66	23.08	23.85
1861	2.37	23.67	25.00	12.41	2.96	12.81	6.25	16.89
1871	0.90	25.61	6.40	15.00	1.62	13.23	5.57	11.38
<b>£11-20</b>								
1839	46.67	31.41	12.50	15.00	30.64	26.89	-	27.82
1851	31.07	39.69	43.85	52.08	39.02	35.60	-	39.42
1861	45.02	55.58	59.52	81.52	41.87	35.62	27.08	58.90
1871	23.19	39.05	61.30	55.33	57.86	8.64	23.19	48.21
<b>£21-50</b>								
1839	22.96	14.09	19.56	22.50	3.23	13.44	-	15.45
1851	57.06	27.89	21.92	12.91	18.29	37.17	2.56	29.74
1861	44.55	18.24	13.69	5.57	36.45	41.88	4.16	19.21
1871	68.07	30.88	27.62	26.85	35.31	46.03	55.29	33.51
<b>£51+</b>								
1839	9.63	6.70	4.89	2.50	54.84	24.37	93.33	14.26
1851	5.08	5.36	1.57	0.83	46.35	12.57	74.36	6.98
1861	8.05	2.52	1.79	0.51	18.72	9.69	62.50	5.00
1871	7.83	4.46	4.68	2.82	5.21	32.10	15.96	6.90

The most notable features are the increase in £11-20 houses (+3,857) and £21-50 houses (+2,720). The lowest band doubled and the highest grew fourfold, although their proportions fell by 73% and 52% respectively. The Zones which made the greatest contribution to this dramatic change in the structure of the local housing market were, for £11-20 properties: 2E, 2W and 3E (1,482, 1,152 and 625 (84% of the total 1839-71)); and for the £21-50 band: Zones 1W, 2E and 2W (396, 642 and 553 (58%)). The importance of the LSWR embankment as a dividing line between higher and lower status working-class housing was already apparent by 1861, and was further emphasised in the the following decade. In 1871, 66% of houses in the north were worth less than £20 p.a. (representing 49% of all houses in the parish), whereas in the south this figure was only 42%.

The basic trend in the first three decades of suburban development in Battersea is, therefore, towards an increasingly homogeneous housing stock, with properties valued at less than 10/- per week built in large quantities across all but the southern extremities of the parish (although they were far from uncommon even there). The main difference between houses built before 1840 and those erected in the 1860s' boom was one of size, although it could be argued that the operations of the District Surveyors after 1845 had improved their structural qualities, and those of the M.B.W. after 1856 in the field of drainage their sanitary status. The high status areas in the south were not by any means swamped by this tide of bricks and mortar, however, and most lasted until the late-1880s. Their survival, and that of the Commons, ensured that when the first generation villas and mansions were swept away by advancing regiments of terrace houses, the latter were of a considerably better type than those in north Battersea, even if their lower-middle-class occupants were only one or two rungs higher up the social ladder than the highly-paid artisans in earlier estates. Battersea Park created an island of higher class housing, a classic example of an specially-created amenity overcoming the natural tendency for such an area to develop in line with its neighbours, although whether the taxpayers of the 1840s and 1850s who paid for the Park would have appreciated this piece of social engineering is open to question.

## VII: Property Values 1835-1914 - A Summary

Each measure of property values reveals a different rate of growth. In some the building recessions of the 1850s and 1870s slowed or even reversed the upward trend, followed by strong upward surges in the 1860s and 1880s. Between 1840 and 1900, the sale value of land grew by about 250%, ground rentals by 100% and property prices by 167% (105% excluding multiple sales), during a period when general prices fell by 11% (26% between 1840-90, followed by a decade of little change, then a sharp upturn to 1914).<sup>23</sup> Taking Battersea as a whole, and ignoring existing buildings and non-residential activity, the value of land rose from about £0.14m. in 1835 to £3.11m. in the 1880s. The value of property built 1840-1900 was about £6.97m. at 1900 prices. Construction costs, at £100-200 per house represent an investment of £2.55-5.10m, giving a return of 37-173% (1.0-4.6% p.a. at the average length of purchase), confirming the relatively low and uncertain profits to be made from housebuilding.

Estimated gross rentals also grew over the years, albeit much less than the housing stock, as thousands of low-value properties built after 1840 progressively swamped the great pre-urban houses. The smallest properties worth less than £10 p.a. were characteristic of village Battersea, and few were built after 1840. Average EGR fell from £34.72 in 1839 to £26.09 in 1871 (-25%). Taking the average "years purchase" from sales data in the *Builder*, the value of property based on EGRs was £1.29m. in 1839, £2.26m. in 1851 and £8.29m. in 1871.

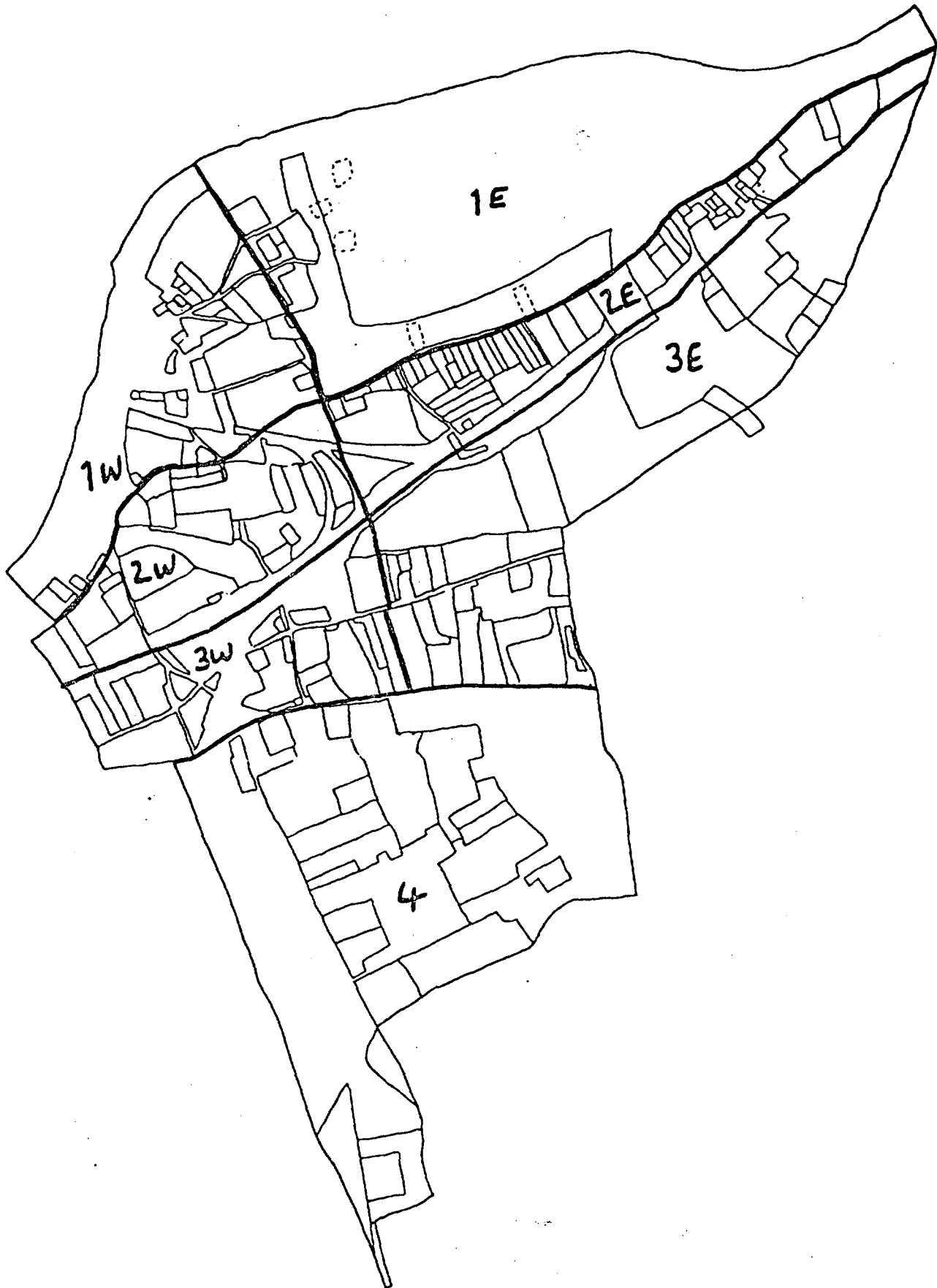
## VIII: Spatial Aspects of Building Development

In the previous sections, the chronology of housebuilding in Battersea has been considered, along with various measures of land and property values. Here we examine some of the spatial relationships, in order to see how much, or how little, suburban building in this area matches models of city development proposed inter alia by urban ecologists and geographers.<sup>24</sup> These models suggest that the age of housing in a city decreases outwards from the centre, which is surrounded by concentric rings of broadly coeval development. Superficially, this is undoubtedly true: Victorian London encompasses Georgian London and is surrounded by vast tracts of suburbia created between 1918 and 1939. Such simplicity is, however, distorted below the macro-level by large numbers of pre-existing settlements, each of which potentially acted as a focus for its own annular pattern, producing an effect similar to throwing many stones into a pool. In addition, there are the random effects of the willingness or otherwise of landowners to develop their land, the impact of industry and transport (in Battersea a major landowner affecting the availability of land for housebuilding). Coupled with the ups and downs of the building cycle, such factors disrupt the ripple effect, and it is possible to measure the relationship between time and distance in development.

In this analysis, the distance of the centroid of each estate (most are square/rectangular and few really irregular in shape) from the Bank of England has been used, and the date is always that of the onset of development. The basic measures are the mean and median point in each decade. The first is the point of average distance from the City in each period (all estates before 1840, thereafter by decade), while the second are the coordinates which separate the estates in



Fig. 5.4 - Development Zone and Sub-Zone Boundaries



- A < 1840
- B 1841-50
- C 1851-60
- D 1861-70
- E 1871-80
- F 1881-90
- G 1891-1900
- H 1901-08

- MEAN CENTRE
- ⊙ MEDIAN CENTRE
- ⊙ OVERALL CENTRE

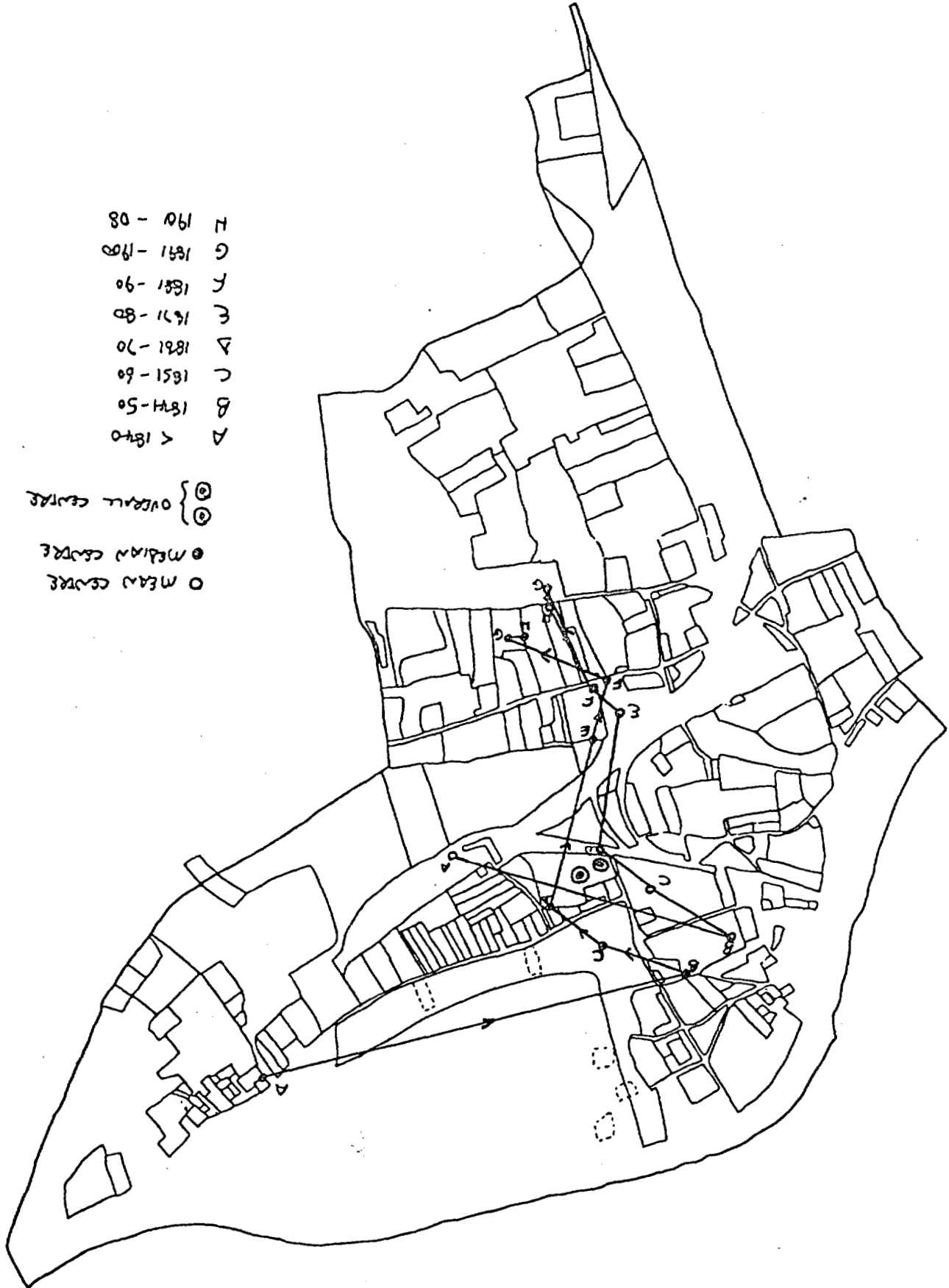


Fig. 5.5 - Mean and Median Centres of Building Activity 1780-1910

each period into two halves. These points are shown on Fig. 5.5.

Table 5.15

Battersea 1780-1914: Mean and Median Centres of Development

A - Mean Centre				
Period	Mean (Kms) <sup>0</sup>	Grid Ref.	Change Kms	Components
<1840	6.46	2826 7624	-	-
1841-1850	7.05	2705 7659	+0.61	W 1210; N 350
1851-1860	6.91	2737 7637	-0.14	E 320; S 220
1861-1870	6.86	2759 7619	-0.05	E 220; S 180
1871-1880	7.29	2755 7566	+0.43	W 40; S 530
1881-1890	7.34	2763 7556	+0.05	E 80; S 95
1891-1900	7.53	2781 7510	+0.19	E 180; S 460
1901-1908	7.41	2784 7519	-0.08	E 30; N 90
All Estates	7.04	2774 7625		
B - Median Centre				
<1840	5.42	2902 7713	-	-
1841-1850	6.94	2725 7671	+1.52	W 1770; S 420
1851-1860	6.71	2763 7655	-0.23	E 380; S 160
1861-1870	6.68	2784 7643	-0.03	E 210; S 120
1871-1880	7.25	2767 7579	+0.57	W 170; S 640
1881-1890	7.51	2760 7553	+0.26	W 70; S 260
1891-1900	7.32	2805 7533	-0.19	E 450; S 200
1901-1908	7.41	2794 7537	+0.09	W 110; N 40
All Estates	6.90	2774 7625		

Note: <sup>0</sup> from Bank of England; <sup>0</sup> +=move west; -= move east.

The overall mean and median centres lie close together, the mean in the south-western corner of the municipal Latchmere Estate [204], the median in its centre. The paths of the mean and median for individual periods are also broadly similar, with a sharp westward movement in the 1840s - the first decade of intensive development in Battersea - followed by a move eastwards (towards Central London) and then progressive southward drift, finishing just the north of Clapham Common.

The mean centre before 1840 was 6.46 kms. (4 mls.) from Bank, on the line of the LSWR and between the Battersea New Town cluster and estates within and around the old settlements in the west of the parish. The median point for this phase lay 1km. Further east, on the edge of New Town, reflecting the large number of very small developments there. In the 1840s, the mean moved 1.1 kms. north-westwards, close to the Village centre. This move was caused in part by several ultimately abortive estates within Battersea Park (see Chap. 13) and a clutch of estates around York Road. The median moved even further (1.5 kms. south-west), to Surrey Lane. During the 1840s, development around the foci of the Village and other old settlements was at least as important as that moving outwards from Central London, if not more so. The reasons for this lie in the expansion of riverside industry, and certainly not to any improvement in accessibility: Battersea Bridge charged tolls until 1879, there was no local railway access to the centre until 1848, and bus services were infrequent and expensive.<sup>25</sup>

After this substantial shift westwards, both mean and median centres moved east in the 1850s by 0.38 kms., to just west and east of Bridge Road respectively, close to Lower Wandsworth Road. This change reflects the start of development of the Common Field, also continued building in the north-western corner of the parish. Chatham Road (1855) marked the

beginning of development in south Battersea. Apart from the villas on the Clapham Station estate [62], almost all building in the 1850s, generally a depressed period for building (see Section II), was working-class tenants, employed locally in new and expanded industries such as Price's Candles in the west and the water and gasworks in the east, and also the transport and building sectors.

During the 1860s there was a further small shift south-eastwards of the mean and median (0.27 kms. each), to the south-west and north-east corners of Latchmere Common respectively, very close to the overall centres (Fig. 5.5). This move reflects large numbers of estates off Battersea Park Road, developments further east, such as Park Town, and the first building along Lavender Hill, counterbalanced by an expansion of bricks and mortar over the remaining market gardens north of Clapham Junction (1863). There was still little activity in south Battersea apart from the British Land Co. and Conservative Land Society estates. Even after 1860, new estates were developed in the north-east, in pockets of land left by railways, gasworks and industry. Again, there is no evidence of sequential development radiating from London, more a random response to local factors triggered by the general movement of the building cycle.

The 1870s were marked by a decisive shift of 0.46 kms. (mean) and 0.70 kms. (median), sharply southwards and slightly west to bring them just east of Clapham Junction in what emerged during this decade as the new commercial centre of the suburb. Although new estates continued to appear in the north - notably the Crown Estate where building finally started in 1874, there was much more activity in the centre and south of Battersea, with many estates aimed at the middle classes taking advantage of the completion of the railway network in 1867. Relatively few open spaces remained north of the LSWR by 1880.

Between 1881 and 1890, the mean moved 0.15 kms. south-eastwards, while the median centre moved 0.25 kms. south-west, placing them both on Lavender Hill opposite the later public library, roughly at the geographical centre of the parish. The 1880s saw many developments between Lavender Hill and the Rise, and the first real surge of building between the Commons. There was still infilling in older-established areas, however, such as Orville Road [176] and the Princes Estate [183] either side of the Village and two tiny schemes by industrial concerns in the north-east (6 houses in Sleaford Street by an iron foundry [173], and 11 in Stewarts Lane by the London Stone Sawmill Co. [187]).

In the 1890s, the mean centre moved slightly east and sharply south (0.49 kms.), while the median moved 0.46 kms. south-east, once more contradicting the assumption that development proceeded consistently outwards from the centre. The mean was now on the north side of Clapham Common, the median close by on the Sister House estate. Most new estates in the 1890s were in central Battersea. Only six estates appeared in the Edwardian era, and the centres moved only 60 metres - the mean to the north and the median to the west. Several of these estates were infilling of the last remaining vacant areas in Battersea, such as Latchmere Common and Lavender Lodge, the latter in the heart of the shopping centre, its owner having held out against the builder for decades as his neighbour's gardens and fields succumbed.

Between 1840 and 1910, the mean had moved 0.95 kms., with a westerly component of 420m. and a southerly component of 1,045m. The median shifted more than twice as far (1.99

kms.) - 1,080m. west and 1,760m. south. Although the centre of building activity did therefore move away from Central London in a south-westerly direction, it did not do so systematically, and the influence of existing local settlement and industry seem to have been at least as significant until the 1870s, if not later.

This complex relationship between distance from the centre and the timing of development may also be measured using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient ( $r_s$ ), in which the location of estates may be compared with their date of inception, both treated as ordinal values (ranks).<sup>26</sup> On this basis, the value of  $r_s$  for all estates is +0.224, only weakly positive and demonstrating little correlation between position and age. Disaggregated data for periods, types of estate and broad zones of development are given below, and most confirm this general impression.

Table 5.16

Battersea Estate Development 1780-1914: Correlation of Distance and Age

A: Period

Decade	$r_s$
<1840	+0.356
1841-1850	+0.020
1851-1860	-0.210
1861-1870	+0.210
1871-1880	+0.221
1881-1890	-0.440
1891-1900	-0.187
1901-1908	+0.400

B: Zone

Zone	$r_s$
1E	+0.151
1W	+0.079
2E	+0.547
2W	-0.276
3E	+0.637
3W	-0.368
4	-0.468

C: Type of Estate

Type	$r_s$
1a	-0.405
1b	-0.476
2a	+0.600
2b	+0.389
3	+0.291
4	+0.500
5	+0.238
6a	+0.036
6b	+0.605
6c	+0.139
6d	+0.115
8	-0.089
9	-0.700
2b/4	-0.114
2b/5	+0.560

- Note: 1. The Zones are shown on Fig. 5.6.  
2. Estate types with less than five examples are excluded.

The highest positive correlations occur before 1840 and after 1901, when the bulk of

estates was located in north-east and south Battersea, closest to and furthest from central London, respectively. By 1900, the latter had the only significant areas of building land, apart from Latchmere Common, which was covered by council houses in 1903-4. Between 1851-60 there is a negative age:distance correlation, caused by the National Freehold Land Company selecting sites in the extreme west and south, well beyond any other building activity, at a time when the attention of most developers moved east from the Village to the Common Field. From 1880 to 1900 there was a similar contrast between increased activity in central Battersea, which would have been "expected" on the annular model of development, and estates not only in the east in areas otherwise long since built on (e.g. Mundella Road, 1881 [162]; Garfield Road, 1882 [168]), but even some close to the Village (e.g. Grove House, 1884 [176]; Princes Estate, 1888 [183]). The 1880s in fact show the strongest negative correlation between date and distance. Between 1861 and 1880, the correlations were weakly positive, with the building of new estates in east Battersea counteracted by continued development around Clapham Junction.

By grouping estates into zones, the level of "noise" inherent in smaller areas is reduced and correlations are correspondingly stronger. Zone 1 (47 estates (22%) - 14 East/33 West) shows the weakest relationship. It includes the industrial riverside, Battersea Park and the Village, and new building was as likely at the very beginning (e.g. Ford's Buildings of 1780 [1] and Isaac Pennington's 1805 estate [8] in the far north-west) as at the end of the era (e.g. Princes [183] and Winstead Street [202]). The dynamics of this zone seem to be related to local factors above all. There is some evidence that the area acquired for Battersea Park (1846-53) would have been covered by estates of the usual pattern had the Government not intervened (see Chap. 3). The very low correlation between Zone 1W and distance from the centre shows that the original settlements acted as centres of growth in their own right.

Zone 2 (79 estates (38%) - 55 East, 24 West) includes myriad small estates at New Town and south of Battersea Park Road, as well as larger blocks of market garden ground north of Clapham Junction. In the east, the correlation between date and distance from the centre is distinctly positive (+0.547). Building began in the 1780s in New Town, largely missed the 1840s, and progressively colonised the strips of the Common Field between 1851 and 1870. This pattern is reversed in Zone 2W, as development oscillated across the area, starting in 1839 with the Carters in the far west and finishing in the centre with Falcon Park [153] and Kambala Road [171].

Zone 3 (60 estates (28%) - 32 East, 28 West) demonstrates this east:west dichotomy even more strongly. In 3E, the correlation is +0.637. Estates begun before 1870 lay in the north-east, or along Lavender Hill from east to west. This trend continued from 1870 to 1900 as Central Battersea filled up, with few of the reversals caused by infilling observable in other zones. In 3W, however, the age-distance correlation is negative, reflecting early building in the Rise-Falcon Lane area, even though most land around the new shopping centre was undeveloped before 1880.

Zone 4 (23 estates (11%)) has an even stronger negative correlation (-0.468), with some of its earliest estates (Chatham Road [64]; Nottingham Road [91], and Old Park [102]) remote from any contemporary activity. The first two were land company estates, whose concern was more with the acquisition of cheap land to be subdivided into small plots for sale to freeholders, although building did commence shortly after laying out in both cases.

Estate types also exhibit wide-ranging correlations with distance from the centre. The most negative relationship is that of the dwellings companies, some of whom acquired land left behind by earlier waves of building, for example the Artisans' & General Labourers' Co. at Garfield Road [168]. Original landowners, both resident and absentee, also show negative correlations, in this case reflecting their small scale, often infilling or accretion around existing settlements. This is also true of manufacturers (Type 6a), few of them locally based, and of market gardeners and nurserymen, who clearly responded to local, rather than metropolitan pressures. In contrast, secondary landowners show positive correlations (resident +0.600; absentee +0.389), indicating that they sought out building land for other than local considerations, although it seems that absentees were less good at judging these matters. Architects/surveyors and lawyers often failed to fit the "annular model" when setting out estates, whereas builders displayed a more positive correlation (+0.500). Those engaged in commerce achieved the a correlation of +0.605. Among the joint-developer groups, absentee owners/builders, concentrated in Zones 3 and 4, had a slightly negative correlation, whereas absentee owners/lawyers had a strongly positive relationship. The Corsellis family seem to have had a deliberate policy for sequential development of land in central Battersea from 1885 to 1895.

Types of estate were not distributed evenly. The following table compares the "observed" value in each zone with the "expected" number of each type, assuming an even distribution based on all estates.<sup>27</sup>

Table 5.17  
Distribution of Estate Types by Zone

Type	I		II		III		IV	
	O	E	O	E	O	E	O	E
1a	2	2	1	3	5	2	-	1
1b	2	2	3	3	3	2	-	1
2a	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	1
2b	9	8	14	12	8	9	2	4
3	3	4	10	6	2	4½	1	2
4	8	8	14	14	11	10½	4	4
5	4	2	3	3	-	2	1	1
6a	6	3	5	6	4	4	-	2
6b	4	3	7	6	4	4	-	2
6c	1	2	2	4	7	3	-	1
6d	3	3	8	5	1	3½	-	1
7	-	½	1	1	1	½	-	-
8	-	2	2	3	1	2	4	1
9	1	1	1	2	3	1½	-	-
10	-	-	1	½	-	-	-	-
2b/4	-	1	1	2	2	2	3	1
2b/5	3	2	-	3	3	2	2	1
Other	-	2	3	3	2	2½	4	1
Total	47	46½	78	78½	58	57	23	24

The chi-square test, gives the following results: Zone 1 -  $\chi^2=12.21$ ; Zone 2 -  $\chi^2=12.30$ ; Zone 3 -  $\chi^2=19.24$ ; Zone 4 -  $\chi^2=33.50$ . Only in Zone 4 is there a significant chance (99%) that the result could not have arisen at random. This reflects a concentration of Types 8, 2b/4 and 2b/4/6b (most of the last two involving Thomas Ingram), and under-representation of Types 2b and 6. This

is partly a function of the chronology of the various types. Hardly any development had occurred in Zone 4 before 1860, and large-scale building postdates 1880. In the remaining Zones, there is a more than 10% chance that the results could be random.

The distribution of observed and expected values by age and Zone is as follows:

Table 5.18

Date of Estate by Zone

Period	I		II		III		IV	
	O	E	O	E	O	E	O	E
<1840-45	4	4	10	7	4	5	0	2
1841-1850	16	7	5	11	8	8	0	3
1851-1860	4	5	14	8	1	6	1	2
1861-1870	10	14	39	24	9	18	5	7
1871-1880	6	7	5	11	12	8	6	3
1881-1890	5	6	4	10	13	8	5	3
1891-1900	1	3	0	5	8	4	4	1
1901-1908	0	1	1	2	3	2	2	1
Total	47	47	78	78	58	59	23	22

These data give the following  $\chi^2$  results by zone: 15.81; 30.81; 18.49, and 20.40. In this case, there is a significant chance in each case that the age-profile is positively associated with the zone (90% Zones 1 and 2; 99% Zone 3 and 99.9% Zone 4). Zone 1 is over-represented 1841-50, but has fewer estates than expected after 1880. Zone 2 is under-represented in 1851-60, but very significant 1861-70; it too has few estates after 1870. Zone 3, by contrast, has only 22 estates before 1870, compared with an expected 37, whereas thereafter it has 36 compared with 22. Zone 4 only "took off" after 1870. At this coarse level of analysis, therefore, the general model of decreasing age away from central London is borne out, although at finer degrees of division, as discussed above, this relationship does not hold.

The proportion of each Zone which was covered with dwellings also varies considerably, ranging from a mere 26% in Zone 1 to 70% in Zone 3. In Battersea as a whole only 50% of the parish was given over to housing and associated roads. This may be compared with data from the Ground Plan of London (1892-1915), which showed that of 114.5 sq. mls. in the L.C.C. area, 20% was occupied by roadways, 8% by estates larger than 320 ac. and 33% by estates of five acres or more (total 58%).<sup>28</sup>

Table 5.19

Proportion of Zones with post-1780 Housing

Zone	Area	Housing	%
1E	490	93	18.98
1W	237	98	41.35
1	727	191	26.27
2E	188	115	61.17
2W	175	127	72.57
2	363	242	66.67
3E	336	255	75.89
3W	183	107	58.47
3	519	362	69.75
4	560	285	50.89

The major factor in Zone 1E was Battersea Park, which sterilised more than 200 acres.



There is every indication that this land would have been covered by housing after 1840, increasing the proportion with housing to 65-70%. East of Chelsea Bridge Road, virtually all of this sub-zone was given over to railways, waterworks and industry. Zone 1W contained most of the housing extant in 1780 (c.70 acres), as well as a substantial amount of industry.

Zone 2 contained little pre-urban housing. Even so, only two-thirds was taken up by new developments, with the western half more densely occupied than the east. Despite including Nine Elms and Longhedge works and numerous other railway activities, Zone 3E was the most highly-developed. It included the very large Park Town and Shaftesbury estates, and a solid residential block between Heathwall and Clapham Common, with only scattered schools and churches to relieve the serried ranks of terraces put up between 1865 and 1900. By contrast, Zone 3W contains both Clapham Junction and the commercial centre, and only three-fifths of the land was used for housing. There was a mixture of substantial villas and terraces more typical of northern Kensington than Battersea, four-roomed brick boxes of the 1850s and 1860s and their more ornate successors of the 1880s. Much of Zone 4 was of course taken up by the Commons, leaving only half for building. Apart from the mansions round Clapham Common, there was virtually no building before 1860, and most estates date from the period 1880-1914. Many of the first generation houses survive, albeit stripped of their grounds.<sup>28</sup>

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## CHAPTER 6

### THE BUILDERS OF THE SUBURB 1840-1914

#### Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the hundreds of individuals who created the suburban fabric of Battersea after 1840, the scale of their operations, financing, successes and failures. Before 1840, the sources are insufficient for detailed analysis. The District Surveyors' Returns, District and Metropolitan Boards of Works' minutes, rate books, deeds and mortgages have been used to compile a *Builder Index 1840-1915* (Appendix 3a).

Three important provisos must be made at the outset. (1) There are gaps in the data, mostly during the 1860s boom, which conceal many short-lived builders and the full duration and extent of others' activities. (2) Many described as "builders" belonged to other trades or professions, for example surveyors and architects acting for the estate owner or developer. Others were individual building tradesmen, who cooperated together in erecting houses. Yet others, more difficult to detect, were not in the building industry at all, but were investors, tradesmen and others who held the head lease of the property. They often appear in the sources as "builders", although they sub-contracted the work to third parties, often the sub-lessee of the house. In compiling the *Builder Index*, the first and third of these categories have been omitted where it has been possible to obtain a definite cross-check on true occupations. Building tradesmen have been left in. (3) Concerns the activities of builders outside Battersea, before, during or after the period when they built locally. A brief examination of DSRs for neighbouring areas (Fulham, Clapham and Lambeth), suggests that a significant proportion were active in more than one area, albeit over a relatively short range. Such building has been ignored here because a comprehensive statement of the output of any builder would require a complete indexing of DSRs for London, and of comparable records for adjacent areas of Surrey, Middlesex, Kent and Essex before one could be certain that *all* the work of any individual had been traced.

Other sections examine the financing of building operations, the socio-economic profile of builders from the Census and the Board of Trade and Booth surveys of the late-1880s, and the supply of building materials.

#### **Battersea Builders: Duration and Scale of Operations**

The *Builder Index* includes 1423 individuals or firms, who built 24,351 houses, flats and maisonettes, an overall average of seventeen each, reinforcing the view that the Victorian building world in London was pre-eminently the preserve of the small operator.<sup>1</sup> Table 6.1 is a matrix of the duration of builders by houses built, Table 6.2 summarises the data on the number of builders and houses by size category, and the average output by each builder.

Table 6.1  
Battersea Builders 1840-1915: Duration by Number of Houses  
(a) Numbers

Hos.	Years						Total
	1	2	3-5	6-10	11-20	21+	
1-2	393	5	7	2	3	0	410
3-5	208	38	27	18	4	0	295
6-10	140	41	25	14	12	1	233
1-10	741	84	59	34	19	1	938
11-25	72	58	72	22	34	5	263
26-50	8	13	39	26	25	9	120
51+	2	6	13	33	26	22	102
Total	823	161	183	115	104	37	1423

(b) Percentages

Hos.							Total
1-2	27.62	0.35	0.49	0.14	0.21	0	28.81
3-5	14.62	2.67	1.90	1.27	0.28	0	20.73
6-10	9.84	2.88	1.76	0.98	0.84	0.07	16.37
1-10	52.07	5.90	4.15	2.39	1.33	0.07	65.92
11-25	5.06	4.08	5.06	1.55	2.39	0.35	18.48
26-50	0.56	0.91	2.74	1.83	1.76	0.63	8.43
51+	0.14	0.42	0.91	2.32	1.83	1.55	7.17
Total	57.84	11.31	12.86	8.08	7.31	2.60	100.00

Table 6.2

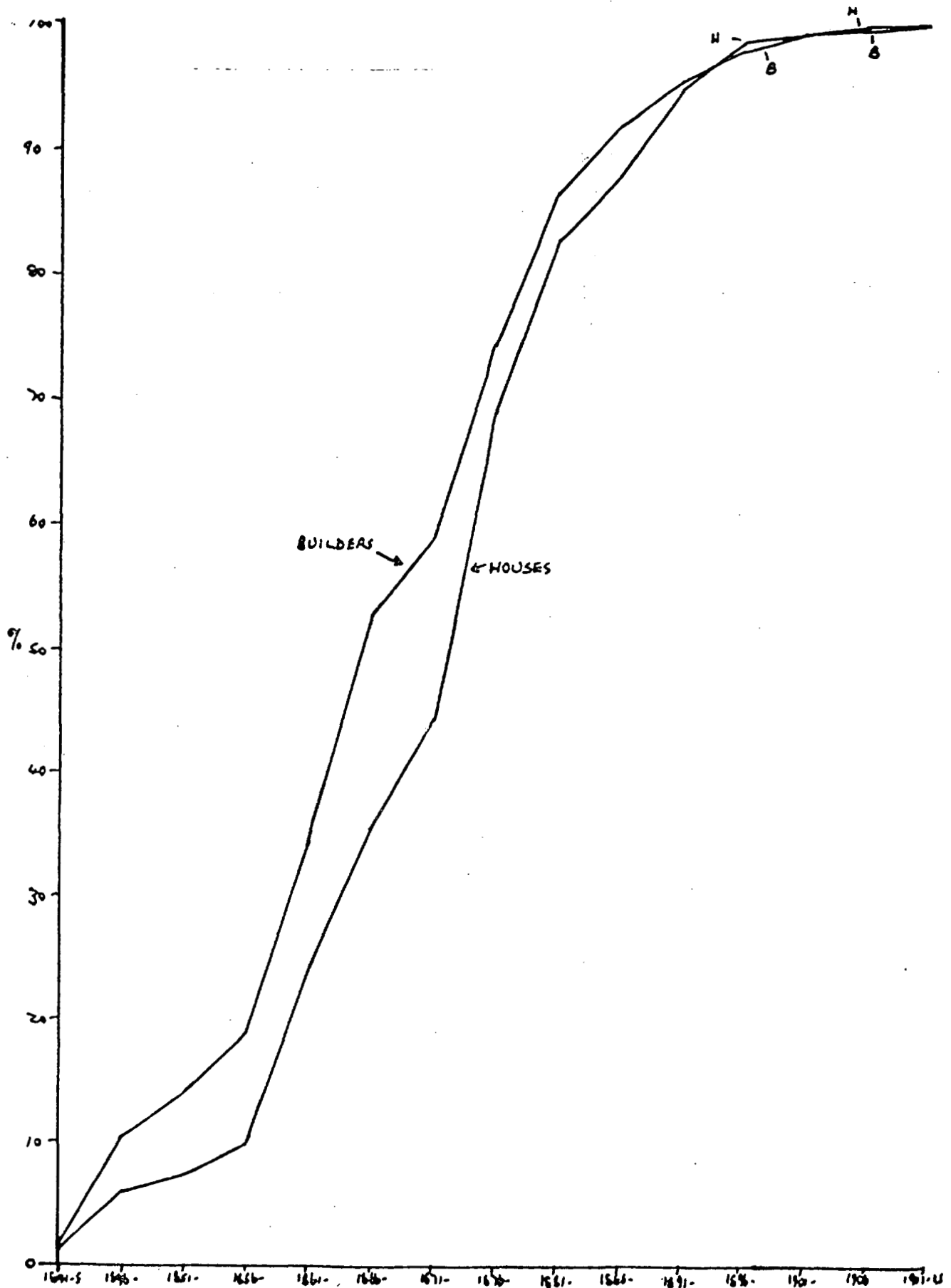
Summary of Housing Output by Size Category

No of Hos.	Builders		Houses		Av./Bldr
	No.	%	No.	%	
1-2	410	28.81	619	2.54	1.51
3-5	295	20.73	1159	4.76	3.93
6-10	233	16.37	1748	7.18	7.50
11-25	263	18.48	4231	17.38	16.09
26-50	120	8.43	4228	17.36	35.23
51+	102	7.17	12366	50.78	121.23
Total	1423	100.00	24351	100.00	17.11

The overwhelming number of small-scale builders and the balancing importance of a few large-scale builders in providing houses is clear. Almost 30% built only one or two houses, 96% of them in a single year, contributing just 2.5% of the housing stock, whereas the 7% who built more than fifty houses provided 51% of the total, half lasting for ten years or more. Relatively few could ride out the swings of the building cycle, by virtue of accumulated funds, even workload or creditworthiness. Battersea never had builders of the stature of Cubitt or Yates.<sup>2</sup>

The well-known risks of speculative housebuilding never deterred potential recruits, however, and the stream of new entrants continued unabated until the 1890s (Table 6.3). The trend towards mechanisation and increased scale of production characteristic of many sectors of the nineteenth-century economy had little effect in building, which was still essentially a handicraft industry in 1914. The traditional division of labour was unaffected by the mass-production techniques used by Cubitt and the spread of prefabricated joinery work and decorative embellishments after c.1850.<sup>3</sup> This did not, however, mean that Victorian housebuilding was a

Fig. 6.1 - Cumulative Percentage of Houses Built and New Builders



slow process (see Chap. 5).

Table 6.3

Battersea Builders 1841-1915: Starting Dates

Quinquennium	Number	%	Quinquennium	Number	%
1841-45	25	1.76	1881-85	171	12.02
1846-50	122	8.57	1886-90	76	5.34
1851-55	51	3.58	1891-95	49	3.44
1856-60	70	4.92	1896-1900	35	2.46
1861-65	220	15.46	1901-05	22	1.55
1866-70	263	18.48	1906-10	5	0.35
1871-75	87	6.11	1911-15	5	0.35
1876-80	222	15.60			

The appearance of new builders fluctuates markedly. During peaks in the cycle, a greater-than-expected number of new builders start out, attracted by the lure of quick gains in a rising market. In 1846-50, this excess was 1.8%, in 1861-70 20.7%, and 1876-85 14.3%. Conversely, during the troughs, there were fewer new entrants than expected: 4.8% 1851-60; 0.6% 1871-5 and 12.6% 1906-15. The cycles of new houses and new builders are compared in Fig. 6.1. As significant as the total numbers, of course, is the output achieved by each builder. One man averaging fifty houses a year for two years could match the efforts of dozens of small men over a long period.

Table 6.4

Average Output per Builder 1845-1910: By Quinquennium

Period	Builders	Houses	Average
1841-45	25	345	13.80
1846-50	122	1115	9.14
1851-55	51	320	6.27
1856-60	70	627	8.96
1861-65	220	3414	15.52
1866-70	263	2769	10.52
1871-75	87	2177	25.02
1876-80	222	6017	27.10
1881-85	171	3370	19.59
1886-90	76	1260	16.58
1891-95	49	1586	32.37
1896-1900	35	954	27.26
1901-05	22	170	7.73
1906-10	5	173	34.60
1911-15	5	54	10.80
1841-1915	1423	24351	17.11

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Table 6.5

Average Output by Builder 1845-1910: By Duration

Duration	Builders	Houses	Average	Av./Yr.
1	823	3871	4.70	4.70
2	160	2208	13.80	6.90
3-5	183	4560	24.92	6.73
6-10	115	5190	45.13	5.88
11-20	104	5042	48.48	3.30
21+	37	3480	94.05	3.54

There is no correlation between the building cycle and the average output per builder. Over the period, the average increased from about 10 houses in the 1840s to 20 in the 1870s and

30 in the 1890s. The annual average of houses per builder never exceeded seven, and the majority only achieved four or six houses each year, equivalent to two or three pairs of typical tunnel-back houses.

Given the nature of the industry, this probably represents the maximum achievable by small operators. It is appropriate to summarise the basic data at this point.

Table 6.6

Builders - Duration and Houses 1841-1915: Summary

Duration	Builders		Houses	
	No.	%	No.	%
1	823	57.84	3871	15.90
2	160	11.31	2208	9.07
3-5	183	12.86	4560	18.73
6-10	115	8.08	5190	21.31
11-20	104	7.31	5042	20.70
21+	37	2.60	3480	14.29

Even builders who lasted only one or two years contributed 25% of the houses, equivalent to twenty average-sized building estates. Longevity did not necessarily denote large output - many builders had spells of inactivity. More important were those who lasted between six and ten years and who kept up a good annual average through one of the peaks in the building cycle. These findings may be compared with the sample of all District Surveyors' Returns made by Dyos.<sup>4</sup>

Table 6.7

Houses and Builders: London and Battersea

Houses	London %	Battersea %
1-2	33	29
1-6	59-75	56
7-12	15-22	15
13-24	7-14	13
25-60	2-7	10
61+	0-3	6

Battersea is over-represented at the upper end of the scale, with 16% of builders achieving 25 houses or more, compared with 2-10% for London as a whole. The figures for builders of 1-6 houses are more in line, showing that the small-scale builder was predominant throughout the capital.

**Origins of Battersea Builders**

The addresses of 1,086 (76%) builders can be identified. Most of those missing are from the 1850s and 1860s. In view of the localised nature of Victorian building, it is not surprising that the great majority lived in Battersea and adjacent parishes, and relatively few moved into and out of Battersea during the course of their work locally. Alfred Heaver, was born in Camberwell in 1841 and lived in Lambeth and Clapham before moving to Battersea in 1869, thence to Brixton, Balham and Tooting as the focus of his operations changed. Table 6.8 gives initial addresses making clear the rapid decline away from Battersea. Only fifty builders whose addresses are known came from outside the M.B.W./L.C.C. area (4.6%).

Table 6.8

## Battersea Builders: Initial Addresses, 1841-1915

	Parish/Place	No.	%
	Battersea	496	45.67
	Clapham	83	7.64
	Chelsea	49	4.51
	Wandsworth	45	4.14
	Westminster	39	3.59
	Camberwell	38	3.50
	Pimlico	37	3.41
	Brixton	32	2.95
	Lambeth	21	1.93
	Fulham/Hammersmith	21	1.93
	City/Holborn/&c.	21	1.93
	Balham	19	1.75
	Stockwell	16	1.47
	Kennington	16	1.47
	Putney	13	1.20
	East London	13	1.20
	Southwark	12	1.10
	Vauxhall/S. Lambeth	10	0.92
	Tooting	7	0.64
	Streatham	7	0.64
	Norwood	7	0.64
	Sub-total	1002	92.27
	Other Places	84	7.73
	Total	1086	100.00
Summary:	Battersea	496	45.67)
	Adj. Parishes	402	37.02) 82.69
	SE London	73	6.73
	Other SW London	39	3.59
	NW London	22	2.03
	N/NE London	50	4.61
	Outside London	4	0.37

There is no link between origin and scale of operation. Henry Johnson, who built almost 500 flats in the 1890s came from Wood Green in Middlesex, whereas S. Miller of neighbouring Tottenham built only eight houses in 1891. While Johnson may be seen as a precursor of today's nationwide contractors, Miller seems to have been seizing an opportunity remote from his normal area in order to maintain a workload, despite the risks and the need to tap fresh supplies of labour and materials (and credit). Only 81 builders moved into or out of Battersea, the great majority from neighbouring areas, notably Clapham, Chelsea and Pimlico. Far more common was movement within Battersea from one estate to another, occupying a succession of new, or almost-new houses.

The limited evidence for work by local builders in other places reinforces the view that the Victorian suburban building world consisted of an ever-changing nucleus of locally-based men in each place, a small proportion of whom came from or went to work in other, mostly adjacent, localities. In fact, more surprising is the fact that so many originated, and remained, outside Battersea.

## Large-Scale Builders

Only 39 builders (2.74%) constructed more than one hundred houses or flats, totalling 7,766 dwellings (31.94%).

Table 6.9

### Battersea: Builders of 101+ Dwellings 1841-1915

Number	Name	Period	Houses	Av/Yr.
954	Thomas Penny	1874-1876	768	256.00
676	Henry Johnson	1893-1902	485	48.50
1132	John Smith IV	1882-1908	397	14.70
83	Battersea Council	1898-1904	361	51.57
1170	John Stanbury	1887-1898	350	29.17
131	Alfred Boon	1879-1901	324	14.09
461	William George	1891-1914	323	13.46
935	Jonathan Parsons	1863-1874	301	25.08
950	Walter Peacock	1878-1897	276	13.80
984	Abel Playle	1880-1910	218	7.03
713	Walter Kerven	1885-1914	211	7.03
1177	John Statham	1884-1893	209	20.90
884	Edward Newman	1865-1882	199	11.06
458	James George	1878-1890	171	13.15
1058	John Rowe I	1878-1887	159	15.90
368	Frederick Easton	1897-1902	157	26.17
440	George Frost	1874-1884	154	14.00
732	Lacey & Flexman	1864-1869	154	25.67
601	Jas. Holloway/Bros.	1876-1890	145	9.67
1185	William Steer	1879-1890	143	11.92
623	Henry Hubbard	1894-1902	142	15.78
1016	Samuel Rashleigh	1881-1914	141	4.15
714	David Kettle	1878-1900	139	6.04
845	John Miller	1877-1886	138	13.80
184	Albert Bussell	1880-1905	132	5.08
788	George Lower	1880-1894	131	8.73
521	William Halstead	1867-1878	130	10.83
1247	Daniel Thompson	1885-1900	126	7.88
78	George Bass	1843-1872	121	4.03
1211	William Stubbs	1876-1878	114	38.00
56	Arthur Balls	1889-1905	113	6.65
361	Peter Duplock	1879-1885	112	16.00
1209	George Stringer	1882-1890	107	11.89
147	Henry Bragg	1874-1900	105	3.89
77	John Barwell	1880-1882	104	34.67
326	John Dickeson I	1867-1883	102	6.00
900	Edward Nixon	1875-1885	102	9.27
1208	George Street	1875-1898	101	4.21
1304	James Ward	1865-1899	101	2.89

Two features are apparent: the very wide range of total and annual output and the concentration in the period 1875-1910. The average total output was 199 dwellings, twelve times that for all builders, while the annual output was 12.37 houses, compared with 4.68 overall. Several large builders worked in special circumstances. Thomas Penny wholly and Jonathan Parsons mainly worked on the Shaftesbury Park Estate as part of a direct labour programme. Similarly, Battersea Vestry and Borough Council built mainly maisonettes in a concentrated burst of activity at Latchmere after 1901. Lacey & Flexman built only on the Park Town estate in the 1860s, while John Barwell's 104 houses on the Lands Allotment Company's New Road estate (1880-2), and William Stubbs' 114 houses on the House Investment Company's Wandsworth Road



Estate (1876-8) were probably financed direct by the two companies. Henry Johnson built only mansion flats overlooking of Battersea Park, 500 dwellings 1893-1903. Twenty-one (54%) built less than 150 houses, only eight achieved more than 300. Fourteen builders averaged 10-16 houses/year (i.e. 5-8 "pairs" of houses), which may represent the limit for traditional techniques, requiring an outlay of £1-2,000 for labour and materials. Five builders averaged 20-40 houses/year (£2-5,000 outlay). John Stanbury's 29 houses/year over twelve years represents a significant proportion of those on estates which he and his family developed jointly with the Corsellises in central and south Battersea. The outlay of £3-4,000 per annum would have been out of the question for the average builder. F. Easton of Wandsworth built almost exclusively on the Northfields and Springwell Estates off Clapham Common, including 135 houses (52%) on the latter in 1897/98 and 1900, when his output reached 51 houses/year, more typical of post-1945 than late-Victorian building. More representative was John Smith, who took 27 years to build 397 houses. From a small beginning on Gillott's Estate in 1882, he moved to a sequence of developments between the commons, from Dent's estate in 1883 to Heathfield after 1903. His average of 14.7 houses/year conceals a range from one house in 1888 to 30 in 1904. Smith moved between Stockwell and Battersea until 1890. His output was not very closely related to the building cycle. When a builder crossed a certain financial threshold he seems to have been able to some extent to ignore such fluctuations, especially if building in an area where demand was strong, as it was in south Battersea in the decade after 1895. Alfred Boon, born in Brompton in 1857, began building in 1879 in a small way, but as early as 1882 undertook to develop part of the Crown Estate. He also built several blocks of flats here after 1895. Walter Peacock never moved to Battersea. Starting in Brixton, he was based mainly at 30 Orlando Road, Clapham. Most of his activity was on the Beaufoy and Park Town estates, next to the Clapham boundary.

The starting dates of these builders have a very different profile from that of the whole group (Table 6.10, cf. Table 6.3). George Bass was the only one to appear before 1860, and took thirty years to build 121 houses (4.03/yr.), although he worked on a large scale on the Carter Estate in the late-1840s and 1850s.

Table 6.10  
Commencing Dates of Builders of 101+ Houses

Quinquennium	No.	%	% All Bldrs.
1861-1865	4	10.26	15.53
1866-1870	2	5.13	18.48
1871-1875	5	12.82	6.11
1876-1880	14	35.90	15.60
1881-1885	6	15.38	12.02
1886-1890	2	5.13	5.34
1891-1895	3	7.69	3.44
1896-1900	2	5.13	2.46

The 1860s saw the arrival of 34% of all builders, but was not so important for large operators (15%). Lacey & Flexman lasted only from 1864-69, whereas four (John Dickeson, William Halstead, Edward Newman and James Ward) survived at least until the 1878-82 boom, but did not achieve large annual totals.

The 1870s were *par excellence* the decade for the appearance of large builders (49%);

more than twice the expected number in each half of the decade. Many remained active into the Edwardian period. The 1880s saw a secondary peak (20.5%). Given that the flood of small-scale, shortlived builders continued unabated in both decades, these individuals can only be seen as exceptional. Unfortunately, there is insufficient information to define the characteristics which made them so. *Prima facie*, a "critical mass" of finance is likely to have been the most important reason. Many of these builders either had a special relationship with one organisation (for example, the Artisans' & General Labourers' Dwellings Co.), or were restricted to a certain area, or to a special type of building, such as flats. The Census provides few clues about the size of their concerns. In 1881, James Holloway employed 29 men, William Steer 24 men and a boy, James Ward twelve men but David Kettle only five.

Another difference between large-scale builders and their peers is that they lasted much longer on average. Only three went within five years (7.7% cf. 82% of all builders), fourteen lasted 11-20 years (35.9% cf. 7.4%) and twelve more than twenty years (30.8% cf. 2.5%). This reinforces the view that it was longevity rather than high annual output which produced large totals, and this almost certainly reflects the difficulty of raising large sums of money except in special cases.

### **Individual Builders**

Little evidence is available to flesh out the bare statistical data. The Lathey brothers alone seem to have left any personal record.<sup>5</sup> The Census provides some data on age and birthplace, but misses the great majority of transients, and does not even catch all those operating in the relevant years. Equally, it mentions "builders" of whom there is no trace locally. Alfred Heaver is discussed in Chapter 13. (See Appendix 3b for brief biographical notes on selected builders.)

Edwin Lathey was born at Berwick St. John, Wiltshire in 1832, and moved to Battersea Fields in Spring 1851 with his elder brother Samuel, born 1819. They were carpenters who turned to housebuilding. In 1859, they purchased some land from Mr. Greenaway, a market gardener-cum-laundryman in New Road. The site was fully planted with cabbages and spinach, which were sold to Fletcher, a local greengrocer. Work began in the autumn on 1-4 St. Georges Road. The mild winter meant that roofing-in took place in early Spring 1860. The total cost was £832, of which their father Robert contributed £330, Samuel £282, Edwin £100, and various other relatives the balance of £120. Edwin moved to No.1 in Summer 1860; 2 was let to Mr. Bray, engine driver at the waterworks and Wesleyan lay preacher; 3 was occupied by George Banks, a LSWR engine driver, and 4 was let to Charles Lucas. Edwin married in 1861 and moved to No.2.

In 1862, the Latheys successfully tendered for St. George's vicarage, a £1,400 job, designed by Ewan Christian. Between 1862 and 1867, they built 43 houses, ranging from small cottages in Aegis Grove to substantial villas in Park Road, New Wandsworth. More public works - parochial schools in Chatham Street - followed in 1866. After 1870, they concentrated on work for the London School Board and the Metropolitan Police. Both brothers became Vestrymen. Edwin died in 1907, and his son took on the business. As with so many building firms, however, domestic troubles, including drunkenness, soon led to bankruptcy (1910). One of the firm's last works was a mission room for St. Andrew's behind 117-9 New Road (October 1908) - just a stone's throw from their first work fifty years earlier.

Many men involved in building and development were Conservative supporters in the

election of 1868 - the first held under the Second Reform Act. They include Robert Anslow, George Bass, William Coomer, Charles Dungle, Samuel Everett, Joshua Kaley, Philip Knipler, Jesse Nickinson, Edward Pain, John Pearson, Christopher Todd, George Todd senior and junior, and John Trott.<sup>6</sup>

## Finance

In the absence of business papers, information on how builders financed their operations is spasmodic. Most data relate to mortgages, which may over-emphasise the proportion of capital obtained from building societies. The data used here may best be considered as a random sample. Commonly, the builder mortgaged a house within a few days of being granted a lease, either to repay advances on the materials used in its construction, or to provide capital for the next house. A sample of 505 mortgages (about 2% of all houses) over the period 1840-1915 totals £75,965 (£150.43/house). Throughout the period, 5% is by far the most common rate of interest, the 4-6% range rarely being breached.

Table 6.11

Battersea 1840-1915: Sources of Mortgage Finance

Source	Amount	Houses	%£	%Hos.	Av./Ho.
Building Societies	24,003	148	31.60	29.31	162.18
Gentlemen	27,447	193	36.13	38.22	142.21
Women	5,925	35	7.80	6.93	169.29
Legal Professions	6,029	27	7.94	5.35	223.28
Church	1,750	25	2.30	4.95	70.00
Other Professions	5,200	29	6.85	5.74	179.31
Tradesmen	5,611	48	7.39	9.50	116.90
Total	75,965	505	100.00	100.00	150.43

Building societies and "gentlemen" account for two-thirds of these mortgages. The legendary spinster of independent means channelling savings into bricks and mortar did exist: Mary Clark of Ramsgate advanced £200 at 5% to Henry Weeks in 1859 on two houses in Havelock Terrace, while Musah Vigoreux of Brixton lent William Iles £1,000 on three houses in Rosenau Road in 1885. They were not, however, significant players overall. Clergymen are poorly represented in this sample, although they participated elsewhere in the market (see Chap. 10). The legal profession appears as a conduit for other people's money. Tradesmen lent on mortgage, for example Cuthbert Axtens a Kennington draper (£200 in 1880) and Jasper Knight, floorcloth manufacturer of Bloomsbury (part of £900, also 1880), but they are more likely to feature as purchasers of leasehold property, either as an investment or to live in, especially in central and south Battersea after 1880.

A wide variety of building societies operated in the Battersea housing market, including several Starr Bowkett societies.<sup>7</sup> The Reliance Permanent Benefit Building Society was founded locally in 1851, associated with Battersea Chapel. The Rev. May Soule was chairman in 1855, when the annual meeting reported the issue of 572 shares, of which 450 were paid-up. The total capital was £5,985, and mortgages had been advanced on 66 leasehold and seven freehold houses in Battersea, Blackfriars, Camberwell, Clapham, Homerton, Islington, Southwark and Wandsworth, demonstrating that the Society operated on a London-wide basis.<sup>8</sup> In 1866, a 7%

dividend was declared, and £24,913 had been advanced on £60,000 worth of freehold and leasehold property.<sup>9</sup> Societies usually lent on the basis of the number of shares held by the member. In 1868/9 the Civil Service Benefit B.S. lent £1,060 to Henry Jinks at £20/share, while in 1880 the London & Suburban General Permanent B.B.S. was much more generous to George Evans, lending £50/share at only 4%. Other institutions lending to local builders included the St. George Hanover Square Investment Association (£290 to John Drinkwater on two houses in Maysoule Rd., 1881), and the National Temperance Land & Building Co. Ltd. (£275 to Frederick Swinford on two houses in Tidmore St., 1869). The Conservative Benefit B.S. featured on the estates of its sister land society, as did the National Freehold Land Co. on its schemes. Although the amounts are not specified, architect/developer William Pocock advanced bricks and materials to builders on his Falcon Lane estate at 5%, making handsome returns: "in helping others, I helped myself", a fitting epitaph for any Victorian entrepreneur.<sup>10</sup> Only one loan involving a building supply firm has been noted. In 1868, Pickworth & Sharp, brick and tile merchants of Nine Elms, loaned Isaac Kerridge £446 at 5% on 108-112 Livingstone Road.<sup>11</sup>

Another source of money for builders was the outright sale of completed property and of ground rents at so many years' purchase, although the latter was more applicable to the ground landlord. Occasionally, however, builders did own freeholds. Henry and Robert Gadd of Kennington raised £2,470 in 1872 by selling 19 houses built in the late-1850s to James Stonehewer, a Wandsworth auctioneer (£130/house). Alfred Heaver operated on a far larger scale, but still needed to raise capital for further ventures. He sold three parcels of property near Clapham Junction (355 houses) to the Prudential for £102,180 between 1886 and 1894, an average yield of £288/house, reflecting not only the increase in the size and cost of houses since the 1850s, but also their proximity to the new commercial centre. Assuming an average value of £210/house, the total sale value of houses in Victorian Battersea would have been £5.10 million.

It follows from the cyclical nature of building and the demands for capital before any chance of returns from rents or sales that the risk of financial disaster was ever-present for the Victorian builder. An analysis of reports of bankruptcies in the *South London Press* over the period October 1865 to January 1870 shows 37 local builders and tradesmen affected. The incidence is clearly related to the peak of the building cycle and the rapid decline when the bubble burst in 1866-67, allowing for the inevitable lag between start and completion of houses:

Oct.-Dec. 1865	2
1866	6
1867	0
1868	10
1869	15
Jan. 1870	4

Bankruptcy affected builders across the spectrum, from well-established to newcomers, and from large-scale operators to those erecting less than six houses. John Pinn was declared bankrupt in July 1866. He built at least 23 houses 1849-66, including the surviving Pinn's Terrace in Church Road (1862). John Gooderson of Grayshott Road built only two houses in 1867, and went out of business in January 1869. In December 1869, Ebenezer Bryant, building materials dealer of Meyrick Road went bankrupt, no doubt reflecting the rapid slump in demand for his products. This was only a temporary setback, however, for he built two houses in 1870. Several

builders returned after bankruptcy in the late-1860s: William Mulliner of Wandsworth (eight houses 1862-66, bankrupt August 1868, reappeared 1877); William Thornton of Battersea Rise (41 houses 1847-69, bankrupt February 1869, built six houses in Wandsworth 1870-76) and Frederick Swinford of Tidmore Street (bankrupt December 1869, built 25 houses 1871-4).

Several bankrupts seem to have been operating on an over-ambitious scale. Thomas Downard applied for 22 houses in 1868, but was bankrupted in March 1869, while George Reeve of Camberwell, builder of 84 houses near Clapham Junction 1866-68 went out of business in January 1870. It seems that defaulting on mortgage debts was often a prime cause. Reeve mortgaged nine houses in Grant Road to William West of Clapham for £1,200 in March 1866, and three to the Birkbeck Building Society in January 1869 for £800. Failure to achieve quick sales or leases probably contributed to his downfall. George Glasspool, who worked at various locations across north Battersea between 1863 and 1875, was born at Southampton in 1817, and was described only as a carpenter in 1871. In the autumn of 1877, a fire occurred at his premises, serious enough to destroy his livelihood, it would seem, for he thereafter suffered frequent fits before dying on 9 November.<sup>12</sup>

Individual tradesmen also went out of business, including R.M. Heath, carpenter (Dec. 1867); Joseph Lock, decorator (Jan. 1868); John Somerville, plumber (Nov. 1868) and J. Sexton, carpenter (Aug. 1869). Those who lived in Battersea and were declared bankrupt did not necessarily build there - although the records of the 1860s are incomplete - and sixteen of the 37 cannot be traced. Of the rest, fourteen definitely, and seven possibly built in Battersea.

#### Building Employment in Battersea, 1851-1891

This analysis is based on the Census Enumerators' Returns 1851-1891, together with the data on building trades in the surveys of the Board of Trade (1887) and Charles Booth (1890s). The growth in this sector was more rapid than that of the total population from 1861-81.

Table 6.12  
Battersea 1851-1901: Building Trade Employment

Year	Building Trades		Population	
	No.	Index	No.	Index
1851	359	100	10560	100
1861	641	179	19600	186
1871	2286	637	54016	512
1881	5542	1544	107262	1016
1891	6343	1767	149557	1416

If it is assumed that each building worker represents four other people, their importance is clear, amounting to nearly 20% of the population by 1891. The principal trades are summarised below: each heading includes labourers, foremen, etc., minor trades are grouped at the end. Fractions indicate those giving more than one trade, which have been included only where both were in the building industry. In a few combinations such as carpenter/undertaker and builder/licensed victualler, the building element has been counted as one.

Table 6.13  
Battersea Building Trades, 1851-1891

A - Numbers	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Trade					
Arch/Surv	12	12½	45½	102	146
Bricklayer	77	151½	410	1029½	993
Brickmaker	14	20½	19	23	15½
Builder	19	20	115	149½	167
Builder &c.	3	20	47½	215½	328½
Carpenter	124½	201½	599	1247	1084
Carp./Joiner	1	11	78	194	256
Carp. &c.	2	8	12	58	67
Decorator	-	6½	57	173	281½
Gasfitter	-	6	36½	123	137
Joiner	-	2	13½	190	277½
Mason	16	34½	160½	404	418½
Painter &c.	25	53½	276	718	1028
Paperhanger	1	4½	24½	51	74
Plasterer	33½	49	227	388	322
Plumber	5	21	85	320	466½
Others	26	19	80	156½	281
Total	359	641	2286	5542	6343

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B - Percentages

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Arch/Surv.	3.34	1.95	1.99	1.84	2.30
Bricklayer	21.45	23.63	17.94	18.58	15.66
Brickmaker	3.90	3.20	0.83	0.42	0.24
Builder	5.29	3.12	5.03	2.70	2.63
Builder &c.	0.84	3.12	2.08	3.89	5.18
Carpenter	35.52	34.40	30.14	27.05	22.18
Decorator	-	1.01	2.49	3.12	4.44
Gasfitter	-	0.94	1.60	2.22	2.16
Joiner	-	0.31	0.59	3.43	4.37
Mason	4.46	5.38	7.02	7.29	6.60
Painter &c.	6.96	8.35	12.07	12.95	16.21
Paperhanger	0.28	0.70	1.07	0.92	1.17
Plasterer	9.33	7.64	9.93	7.00	5.08
Plumber	1.39	3.28	3.72	5.77	7.35
Total	92.76	97.03	96.50	97.18	95.57

Five major trades predominate: bricklayers, carpenters, masons, painters and plasterers. They accounted for 80% in 1851, 82% in 1861 and 77% in 1871, declining to 73% in 1881 and 66% in 1891. The number of trades differentiated in the Census grew rapidly: 1851 - 37; 1861 - 47; 1871 - 83; 1881 - 104; 1891 - 156. For example, builder's labourers rise from nil in 1851 to 144 in 1891. Two key groups, bricklayers and carpenters, declined from 59% of building workers in 1851 to 38% forty years later, eclipsed by the growth of new activities, such as painting, decorating and paperhanging (1851 7.5%, 1871 15.7%, 1891 21.8%), representing not only the vast increase in the housing stock, but also the higher quality of product needed to attract and retain tenants. The growing incidence of gas for lighting and cooking is reflected in the rise of gasfitters from nil in 1851 to 137 in 1891. The increasing amount and complexity of sanitary fittings and more reliable water supply saw plumbers and allied trades grow from only 5 in 1851 to 466 in 1891. The change to mass-produced, prefabricated woodwork made off-site, accounts for the huge increase in the number of joiners. This trend became marked after 1871, and was one of the few significant

changes in working practices in Victorian housebuilding.

The number of architects, surveyors and allied professionals kept pace with the rise in the building industry, although most of their work would have been outside Battersea. The same is not, however, true of two vital activities - the supply of materials and work on roofing. Except for bricks, some of which were locally made, all of the materials required for the thousands of houses and other buildings and structures in Victorian Battersea had to be obtained from elsewhere. And yet, not only the Census, but also street and trade directories record very few suppliers locally. Taking builder's, cement, stone and timber merchants, the numbers were always an insignificant and diminishing element : 1851 - 12; 1861 - 12½; 1871 - 33; 1881 - 26; 1891 - 66½. This activity was mainly on wharves along the Thames and most of these men worked as labourers, carters and so on.

Much more difficult to explain is the dearth of slaters and tilers. Apart from the London & North Western Railway's Falcon Lane Depot, opened in 1869, the means by which millions of Welsh and other slates reached Battersea are obscure. Some no doubt came to local wharves by coastal ships. The tiny handful of slaters mentioned 1851-1871 cannot have kept pace with demand in the 1860s boom, and even as late as 1891 there were only 40. Given the amount of timber which formed the basis of every roof, some carpenters may also have hung slates and tiles, as may some masons.

The demographic profile of Battersea building workers is presented in tables 6.14-6.17 (1881, 20% sample; 1891, 10% sample).

Table 6.14  
Battersea Building Workers 1851-1891: Age Groups

Years	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
	%	%	%	%	%
10-19	10.42	13.54	9.75	12.61	7.46
20-24	14.37	13.23	13.76	15.33	9.37
25-29	14.08	10.22	14.22	13.43	12.86
30-34	14.93	12.78	15.22	15.33	15.40
35-39	11.83	11.43	12.23	12.25	12.06
40-44	8.73	12.63	12.11	9.62	11.27
45-49	8.17	10.98	8.42	8.08	10.79
50-59	10.14	9.02	10.11	8.44	13.33
60+	7.32	6.17	5.20	4.89	7.46
10-24	24.79	26.77	23.51	27.94	16.83
25-34	29.01	23.00	29.44	28.76	28.26
35-44	20.56	24.06	24.34	21.87	23.33

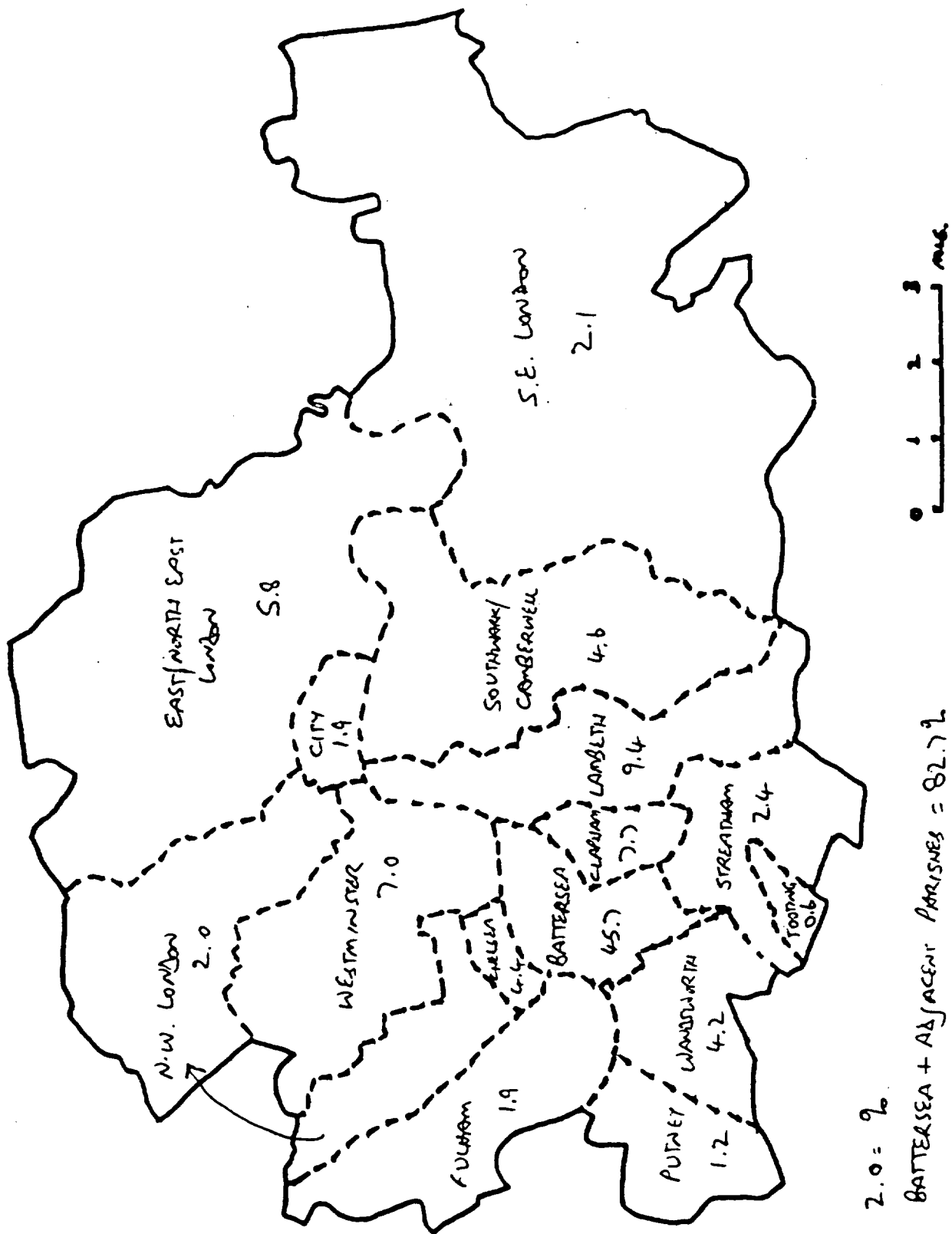
Given the arduous nature of building work, much of it outside, it is not surprising that the age profile is skewed towards the lower age groups. Except for 1891, about 55% were aged below 35. The sharp decline to 45% in the latter year suggests that the building sector had become less transient, and less concerned with new construction.

Table 6.15  
Battersea Building Workers 1851-1891: Household Status (%)

Status	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Head	63.38	68.72	73.38	69.21	76.51
Family	19.15	21.35	20.39	21.28	16.98
Lodger/B'der	17.47	9.93	6.22	9.51	6.51

The proportion of heads increased by 21%, reflecting the growing stability of the industry.

Fig. 6.2 - Initial Addresses of Battersea Builders (LCC Area)





This was matched by an erratic fall of about 20% in family members after 1861. The number of lodgers and boarders changed much more dramatically, however, falling by 43% in the 1850s and 38% in the 1860s. The rise in 1881 reflects the intensity of building activity at that time, and probably a relative shortage of houses. The pattern in 1891 is that of the mature suburb.

Table 6.16  
Battersea Building Workers 1851-1891: Marital Status (%)

Status	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Single	28.45	31.13	23.38	28.01	21.11
[Heads	0	4.81	0.84	0.73	1.24
[Family	89.71	93.66	88.55	92.10	91.26
[Lo/Bdr	64.52	78.79	75.66	83.90	73.33
Married	66.76	64.96	73.01	69.10	74.13
[Heads	95.11	91.68	95.98	96.49	94.61
[Family	4.41	3.52	8.63	6.63	6.80
[Lo/Bdr	32.26	12.12	13.16	9.66	8.89
Widowed	4.79	3.91	3.60	2.88	4.76
[Heads	4.89	3.50	3.18	2.79	4.15
[Family	5.88	2.82	2.81	1.61	1.94
[Lo/Bdr	3.23	9.09	11.18	6.44	17.78

Most single workers were family members, usually sons or brothers, or lodgers/boarders. Apart from 1861, unmarried household heads are virtually absent, since a certain economic position was necessary before contemplating marriage, often in the late-twenties. Overall, 65-75% were married, but for household heads the proportion was 90-95%. Except in 1851, few lodgers and boarders were married. Many who were lived alone, their wives and families supported by remittances. Only 3-5% were widowed, mainly elderly relatives, and a few household heads. The proportion among lodgers/boarders was higher, rising sharply to 18% in 1891.

Table 6.17  
Battersea Building Workers 1851-1891: Birthplace (%)

Parish/County	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Battersea	12.78	8.47	5.60	6.53	8.93
Adjacent Gp.1	8.52	7.41	4.68	3.47	4.23
Adjacent Gp.2	7.67	10.14	14.81	15.20	16.93
Lamb/Swark/CambL	6.53	5.30	7.33	7.29	4.86
Central London	4.83	4.39	3.29	4.22	4.55
Rest of Surrey	4.55	7.26	4.49	3.58	2.82
Rest of Middx.	4.55	4.84	7.04	7.64	6.90
Total Surrey/Middx.	49.43	47.81	47.24	47.94	49.22
Home Counties	20.44	19.65	18.27	17.88	19.12
East Anglia	6.25	7.25	6.62	6.33	6.74
East Midlands	1.42	1.96	2.01	2.02	2.82
West Midlands	4.25	6.51	7.05	5.66	5.48
South West	9.66	9.69	10.61	10.71	10.34
North West	0.85	1.05	1.30	1.31	0.47
North East	0.85	1.36	1.98	2.13	1.57
Wales	1.14	0.45	0.87	0.87	0.94
Scotland	0.85	0.76	1.23	2.29	1.72
Ireland	3.69	2.57	1.73	1.53	0.78
Overseas/Unknown	0.89	0.79	0.97	1.06	0.80

Note: Adjacent Gp.1 - Wandsworth/Clapham/Fulham/Putney  
 Adjacent Gp.2 - Chelsea/Pimlico/Westminster  
 Home Counties - Bucks/Sussex/Kent/Berks/Herts/Beds/Essex/Oxon/Hants/IoW  
 East Anglia - Suff/Norf/Camb/Hunts  
 East Midlands - Derby/Notts/Lincs/Leics/Rutl  
 West Midlands - Warw/Worcs/Heref/Salop/Staffs/Glos/Northants

South West - Wilts/Dorset/Som/Devon/Corn  
 North West - Ches/Lancs/Cumb/Westmid  
 North East - Yorks/Durh/Nbld

As with the population as a whole, few building workers were born locally. The proportion declined from 13% in 1851 to 9% in 1891. Those born in neighbouring parishes, which remained at 16-21% throughout. The proportion born in Surrey and Middlesex remained remarkably constant, although those from Middlesex increased from 19% in 1851 to 28% in 1891, reflecting the importance of the built-up area north of the Thames as a source of migrant workers.

Those born outside the London area accounted 51-53%, of which two-fifths were born in the Home Counties, notably Kent, Sussex and Hampshire. Confirming the geographical bias in migration patterns, another fifth came from the South-West. Other regions were less significant, apart from the agricultural areas of East Anglia (6.5%) and the West Midlands (6% on average). Northern England, the East Midlands and the rest of the United Kingdom, regions with their own substantial building industries, provided very few migrants to Battersea. Only in 1851, in the immediate aftermath of the Famine, was the percentage of Irish-born building workers noteworthy.

Although the concept and definition of "unemployment" was not systematic in the Census, the data do provide some indication of those out of work at a time of year when building work was not subject to marked seasonal effects.

Table 6.18  
 Battersea Building Workers 1851-1891: Unemployment

Year	Number	Percentage
1851	1	0.28
1861	1	0.15
1871	71	2.94
1881	97	1.75
1891	11	0.17

The numbers involved are always tiny, even in 1871 and 1881, following major building booms when unemployment was a reflection of falling activity. The incidence of unemployment was not uniform across the industry. In 1871 among the major trades, 4.90% of carpenters and 5.56% of plasterers were without work, but less than 2% of bricklayers, painters and plumbers. In 1881, it was gasfitters (3.25%), carpenters (2.57%) and painters (2.51%) who were worst affected, although two of the eleven paviours (18.2% - both mosaicists) were without work. Plasterers (0.68%) and builders and associated trades (0.60%) were the principal sufferers in 1891, a year of almost full employment in the industry.

The true incidence of seasonal unemployment is revealed in the Board of Trade survey (March 1887), with 428 men out of work (25.63%). This varied between the three major groups:

Carpenters	115	20.87%
Exterior Trades	162	27.93%
Interior Trades	151	28.01%

These figures reflect both the date of the survey, and the generally low level of building activity at the time. The winter of 1887 (and of 1886) was characterised by low temperatures - a mean of less than 40°F from December- February - which doubtless increased hardship.<sup>13</sup> Carpenters not engaged in housebuilding probably reduced the unemployment in that group. Only shipbuilding (in decline in 1887), domestic service and unskilled labour had unemployment levels of more than 20%, and many of the latter will have been building labourers. Information is given

on the duration of unemployment since 31 October 1886:

Table 6.19

Battersea Building Workers: Duration of Unemployment 1886-87 (%)

Weeks	Carpenters	Exterior	Interior
<4	3.54	5.30	4.00
4-8	17.70	10.60	4.67
8-12	15.93	5.96	10.00
>12	62.83	78.14	81.33

The picture is one of severe hardship caused by at least three months without work in most cases. It is this which helped to depress the position of building workers in the local labour hierarchy. Irregular earnings affected 35% of carpenters, 26% of exterior workers and 37% of interior workers, compared with 22% of the sample as a whole.

Stedman Jones comments that this seasonal unemployment affected small, speculative firms, rather than large ones, and it is the former which comprised the vast majority of enterprises in Battersea. Some compensation was gained from laundry work performed by wives and daughters in winter. The peak periods for building work were March-May and August-September, the slack period from November-February.<sup>14</sup>

**The Building Industry in Battersea 1887-1900**

The Board of Trade survey and Charles Booth's investigations provide much useful data on the local building industry, albeit when most housebuilding had finished. Of the 8,260 workmen in the survey, 580 (7.02%) belonged to the exterior building trades, 539 (6.52%) to interior trades and 551 (6.67%) were carpenters and joiners, a total of 1,670 (20.22%), plus an unspecified proportion of the 2,081 unskilled workers. Even excluding the latter, building was the largest employment sector in Battersea, followed by manufacturing (18.5%) and transport (17.5%). A sample of 955 occupations drawn from various local parish registers during the period 1876-87 gives 24.0% in the building industry. Booth's study, tends to push labourers into Classes B and C, and to understate employment in this sector, which accounted for 16.1% of Battersea's population.

Table 6.20

Battersea Building Workers 1887: Income, Accommodation and Rent

Income	(Sh/Wk )	Carpenter s %	Exterior %	Interior %	Total %
	<21	4.20	5.91	10.32	23.27
	21-25	3.10	3.28	6.42	19.27
	25-30	10.40	7.66	19.27	18.54
	>30	82.33	83.15	63.99	38.92
Rooms	1	8.19	13.05	17.41	13.59
	2	16.95	27.69	16.63	20.38
	3+	74.86	59.26	65.96	66.02
Rent (Sh/Wk)	0-3	5.21	6.32	10.36	9.40
	3-4	4.10	9.93	9.02	9.50
	4-6	25.88	31.23	22.65	31.22
	6-8	24.77	26.17	27.45	22.12
	8+	40.04	26.35	30.52	27.76

Building workers were better paid than average, although interior trades earned almost one quarter less than others. High earnings must, of course, be offset against seasonal unemployment and the effects of booms and slumps. High wages are matched by the amount of accommodation rented, especially by carpenters. The other trades were evidently affected by cyclical reductions in earnings, and the 40% of exterior and 34% of interior tradesmen occupying two rooms or less with their families cannot be described in any way as "comfortable". In terms of rent, carpenters and interior workers are higher than average, 65-68% paying more than six shillings/week, compared with 50% for all workers. Exterior building tradesmen approximate much more closely to the norm. Without detail on the location of the property rented, it is impossible to comment on its quality. In view of the fact that the incidence of seasonal unemployment is no different between indoor and outdoor trades, the apparently lower standard of living of the latter may be a reflection of higher drink consumption, especially as they were better paid.

Taking 32/11 as the weighted average earnings/week for all building workers and a rent of 6/10, 21% went on rent, leaving just £1/6/- for food, clothing, light and other expenditure. The weighted average size of builders' households in 1887 was 5.3, compared with 5.0 for all workers, giving a per capita allowance of only 4/11 per family member. That it was possible to live within this kind of budget is shown by Mrs. Pember Reeves' survey of the lower paid in neighbouring Lambeth.<sup>15</sup>

Considering all the elements of the 1887 survey, building workers generally occupy a low position in the local labour hierarchy, despite high average earnings which place outside trades and carpenters second and third respectively in the wages league table. Irregularity of employment more than compensates for this, and overall (based on earnings; rent; space occupied; family size and unemployment), out of twenty-six groups, carpenters are 8th., inside and outside building workers 21st. equal. In the last two, of course, the large amount of labourers in many trades will have depressed the ranking.

Charles Booth's survey of June 1889 is not so detailed and contains far less quantitative data. It also includes wives and children in the various categories, making direct comparison with 1887 and the 1891 Census difficult. Booth placed 19,832 people in the building industry, which at an average of 5.3/household gives only 3,742 workers, compared with 5,542 in the 1881 Census and 6,343 in 1891. Even if his data are adjusted to allow for non-household heads, the total only comes to 4,612, and it is clear that, as in 1887, many of unskilled labourers are included in his "Labour" category, rather than building. In 1891, 728 building workers described themselves as labourers, which would reduce the total to 5,615, still well above Booth's figure.

Even so, at 13% the building trades formed Booth's largest single group, accounting for almost half of the artisan class.<sup>16</sup> They formed about 5% of Class B, but were more prominent in Classes C and D (13%). However, it is Class E (Ordinary standard earnings) where building tradesmen were concentrated, 58.6% being located there (cf.38.5% of the total). Builders and other high status workers formed almost 19% of Class F, the highest working-class group. Some 73% of building workers earned average wages (cf.72% earning - 25/- per week in 1887). Booth also underscores the significance of irregular earnings, placing almost a quarter of building workers in this category, compared with 15% of the whole population.

Booth's notebooks provide information on the living conditions of some building workers. In Orville Road, which had already deteriorated into a slum despite having been built only in 1884-5, an unemployed sawyer lived with nine other people in three first-floor rooms (B); three doors away, a builder's labourer with a drink problem and a family of seven lived in two rooms (B). Slightly higher up the scale was Carpenters Road, where the only building worker in ten houses was a plasterer, whose family of five lived in three rooms (C). At 25 Benfield Street, lived a builder's labourer, one of nine crammed into two rooms (C), while next door was an unemployed builder's man (6 people, 2 rooms) with a drink problem (A). At 56 Speke Road, a paperhanger (3 people, 3 rooms - E), enjoyed a vastly better standard of living.

### **Suppliers of Building Materials**

The supply of building materials in Victorian Battersea (and, indeed, in London as a whole) is a much-neglected subject.<sup>17</sup> The Census persistently records very few in this sector of the industry, and even allowing for supplies obtained outside the parish, there seems to be a great gap between the demand and supply. Locally made bricks, although important on one or two individual estates, can never have met all demands, and after 1880 diminished rapidly as suitable land was exhausted and built over. Not only were materials required for more than 24,000 dwellings between 1840 and 1915, but also for dozens of churches and chapels, for industrial premises, public buildings, sewers and above all for railways, whose demand for viaducts, stations and workshops between 1838 and 1875 would have required millions of bricks.

Pocock's brickfield operated from 1845 until c.1882, producing bright yellow bricks which weathered to the usual brown of London stocks. Unfortunately, Pocock does not give any estimate of output, nor of their use other than on his own estates in Brompton and Battersea. Assuming 25,000 bricks/house on average, and a total of 400 houses, output would have been ten million bricks, about 0.27m/year. (This compares with a total demand of at least one billion bricks across Battersea.) In 1851, nine brickmakers were employed by Pocock. In 1871 and 1891 there were fifteen brickmakers in Battersea, although their place of work is unclear.

There is even less information on other brickfields. William Morrison operated a small one off Bridge Road to supply the estate which he began in 1845, and another existed about the same time on John Alder's land north of Battersea Park Road. Part of the never finished, Earl Spencer Place off the same road was let for brickmaking. John Bailey agreed to pay the developer, Henry Hart Davis, £196 p.a. for land on both sides of the road, and to make at least three million bricks, paying a royalty of 4/- per thousand after duty.<sup>18</sup> Although the measurements on the plan are imprecise, this suggests an anticipated yield of c.2.5 million bricks/acre, equivalent to 15-bricks depth. On the same basis, Pocock would have produced 20-25m bricks (see above).

Two brick dealers are mentioned in the 1861 Census - Alfred Powell in the High Street and John Blake at Falcon Villas - neither had any employees, but the latter may have worked for Pocock. John Merritt certainly did. Born at Egham (Surrey) in 1831, he was a brickwork contractor in 1871, having been the foreman/manager at Falcon Brickfield since the 1850s.

The 1884 Directory records three brick merchants in Battersea. Alfred Lavers had operated a wharf for building materials at Nine Elms since at least 1871, and probably imported

his supply from the brickfields of the Medway/Thames estuary. West Brothers, who supplied "all kinds of building and paving bricks and tiles" operated from Lombard Wharf in west Battersea. P.J. Dawson & Co. Ltd. were based at Mendip Wharf, with yards at Durham Wharf, Jews Row, Wandsworth, 143 Falcon Road and the LNWR yard at Falcon Lane, where they remained until the 1980s. In 1897 they advertised the landing and cartage of bricks to any part of the district. Eastwood & Co., based at Lambeth with yards at Wandsworth and Fulham were prominent after 1900, trading mainly in bricks, lime and cement, owning several brickfields in the Medway area and Bedfordshire.

The Barham Brick Lime & Cement Co. Ltd. was based at Victoria Wharf and Draw Dock Nine Elms, and taken over by Associated Portland Cement in 1900. In December 1870, the stock in trade of a previous brick, tile, lime and slate merchant had been sold by auction at Victoria Wharf, and the sale particulars provide the only detailed survey of this kind of business.<sup>19</sup> The principal item was 170,000 new bricks, including stocks, place, grissells, red and white Suffolks, gaults, facings and copings. Many of these would have been used even on houses built of local brick, for decorating the facades. Roofing materials comprised 32,000 tiles and 31,000 slates. Specialist bricks and tiles, for example firebricks, came from as far afield as Staffordshire and Yorkshire, brought by rail to the nearby Battersea Wharf goods yard as well as by coaster. Other items for sale included plasterer's hair, laths, garden edging, locks, barrows and lime baskets. Distribution from the yard to its local customers involved eight horses, all named, two four-ton vans and three carts. The owner had enjoyed a brougham. The wharf office was fully-equipped with mahogany desks and fixtures. The almost-contemporary OS Plan shows Victoria Wharf with a long range of buildings, comprising storage bays and stables along the east and south sides, a large yard and an inlet from the river for unloading barges. In 1851, there had been a cement works at Nine Elms, and also John Thornton's whiting and lime works, employing thirteen men and five boys. Other white lead manufacturers were based near the Church, including John Trott, aged 39, from Somerset, employing four men and two boys.

Building material suppliers were also involved directly in building. J. Mussett of Winstanley Road, for example, was a horticultural builder and gas engineer. He supplied equipment for greenhouses and hot-water apparatus. In October 1889, he tendered for replacing the pipes in Battersea Vestry Hall for £37.<sup>20</sup> No doubt many local builders took used firms like Young & Marten of Stratford, established 1872, and William Cooper of Old Kent Road, Hatcham.<sup>21</sup> They supplied a host of decorative and useful features, the former specialising in interior fittings, the latter in garden supplies, but also extending to corrugated iron churches, school rooms and even cottages. The tiled grates and stained glass which graced many a late-Victorian house in Battersea could be obtained in a huge variety of styles from Young & Marten, and used to make each ostensibly identical terraced house seem different to prospective tenants.

General suppliers of building materials in the late-Victorian period include Hall & Co. at New Wandsworth goods depot and Harwood & Jones of 481 Battersea Park Road, both of whom survived until 1914. Lime for cement and mortar was supplied by firms such as the Dorking Lime Co. in Victoria Road (in the LB&SCR goods yard) and Marshall & Co., coal, lime and cement merchants who began at Wandsworth Common Station c.1879 and moved to Balham by 1884.

There seems to have been a considerable element of "recycling" in the supply of materials. In March 1868, an auction was held at the corner of Plough Lane, mostly of timber, including scaffolding poles and 500 planks.<sup>22</sup> That June, George Todd advertised the sale of one million bricks from demolitions for the new Law Courts, priced at 11/- per thousand in carts, or 15/- loaded in barges or railway wagons.<sup>23</sup> Locally, the sale of effects at Bolingbroke Farm in advance of the laying out of the CLS's third estate, 100,000 stock bricks, bressumers, girders and long joists were offered for sale.<sup>24</sup> Todd sold materials at Gwynne Wharf in October 1868, as the area was cleared for James Lord's estate.<sup>25</sup> Interior fittings were also sold, for example twenty marble chimney pieces, stoves and ranges, next to the 'Lord Auckland', Clapham Junction.<sup>26</sup> During the depression of the early 1870s, George Todd auctioned contractor's plant at the 'Latchmere', including a 4 h.p. engine, two pumps, seven carts, 18 barrows, a timber carriage, elm and other timber, 2,000 sq. ft. of old weatherboarding and a blacksmith's forge.<sup>27</sup> A sale held at Cairns Road in September 1870 included five horses and eight carts.<sup>28</sup> 3-5 Newcomen Rd. were demolished in 1878, releasing 70,000 bricks, joists, flooring, tiles and shop fronts to be reused.<sup>29</sup> The building of Battersea Park Road Board School in 1881 necessitated the demolition of 147-9, two substantial properties with outbuildings and stables, yielding 200,000 stock bricks.<sup>30</sup>

Timber merchants were long-established locally, the so-called Church Docks along the riverfront of Battersea Marsh having been leased as timber ponds from at least the seventeenth century.<sup>31</sup> This timber would have been used in the local boat- and ship-building industry, as well as for building, and it is impossible to quantify the latter. The number of merchants and others in the timber industry grew from seven in 1851 to 17 in 1871 and 1891. After 1870, shipbuilding had disappeared, and thereafter it is probable that construction took the bulk of local imports.

Also significant were the manufacturing joiners, who supplied mass-produced skirtings, dados, staircases and roof trusses. Although this type of prefabrication was developed by large-scale builders such as Thomas Cubitt from the 1840s,<sup>32</sup> and several "staircase makers" are recorded in locally from 1861, it is not really until the 1900s that factory-made joinery becomes prominent, as local directories show:

G.R. Mackenzie & Co.	Queens Road	1908
Chas. Peacock & Co.	St. Andrew St.	1902-10 (steam joinery)
Henry Roach	Hope St.	1909-10
James Welch	Ingrave St.	1905-10 (a builder in 1902)

Before this, such wood was probably supplied by timber merchants, or made on site by joiners.

As already noted, the supply and fixing of roofing materials is even less well documented, except for the Victoria Wharf sale of 1870. John Jones of Sussex Terrace, New Road, was a slate merchant in 1871, aged 49. He may have worked at one of the local railway goods depots, or at a wharf in Nine Elms. By 1884, Hall & Co., and George Smith of 147 Falcon Road dealt in slates, the latter very close to the LNWR goods yard with direct access to North Wales slate. In 1905, Bingley, Son & Follitt Ltd., slate merchants, slaters and tilers of Millbank had depots at Chelsea Basin, Falcon Lane and Mold Junction (Flints.), all connected by the LNWR. Their steam works in Fulham was called Velinheli Wharf. The London Steam Stone Saw Mills Co. operated off Stewarts Road in the 1880s and 1890s, no doubt providing for the growing market in architectural embellishment.

Although not supplying purely local needs, apart from new mansion flats and commercial premises, it is notable that Battersea contained all three specialist lift and hoist manufacturers listed in London Directories of the Edwardian period. George Johnson had first appeared in Battersea as a builder in 1858, and has been based at 227 St. Johns Hill ever since, specialising in lifts from the 1880s. James Ritchie & Sons were at 9 Henning St., and Archibald Smith & Stevens built lifts at Janus Works, Queens Road.

This necessarily partial discussion of building materials and their supply, makes it clear that substantial quantities must have been obtained outside Battersea, especially during the peaks of the late-1840s and mid-1860s, when there is little or no mention of local suppliers. The railways no doubt transported not only materials for their own lines and buildings, but also for other local construction. The northern railways which developed goods yards in Battersea and other south London suburbs after 1860 were not merely in the business of carrying coal, as evidenced by the fact that it is these yards and Thames-side wharves which were the location of the majority of builder's merchants and suppliers after 1880. The LNWR tapped not only Welsh and Pennine slate, but also the brick and tile works of the West Midlands (e.g. Minton at Coalbrookdale), while the Midland served the brickfields of Bedford and Derbyshire, as well as several stone-producing districts. The LCDR may have carried some bricks from the Medway area, although most seem to have come by barge, while the LSWR brought materials from the south-west, such as granite and Portland stone. Many of the sailing barges noted in the various Censuses came from Rochester and other ports on the Medway/Lower Thames, and some at least probably carried cargoes of bricks, and possibly other building materials.

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## CHAPTER 7 BUILDING ESTATES IN BATTERSEA c.1790-1914: I - GENERAL

### I: Introduction

Excluding a few houses built along existing roads and within existing settlement nuclei, all new building between 1790 and 1914 was on green-field sites developed as "building estates", ranging in size from less than ten to more than one thousand houses. (The term "estate" is used here to denote any discrete group of dwellings conceived as an entity, laid out and built at the instigation of an individual or corporate body. It does not carry the connotation of landed property.) There were, moreover, no substantial properties belonging to institutions such as City livery companies or Oxford and Cambridge colleges, nor to members of the aristocracy, which were so significant in other parts of London, and in many provincial towns and cities.<sup>1</sup> (The Crown estate of Battersea Park was only created 1846-53 by purchase [see below]; the Archbishop of York's estate, built up piecemeal since the sixteenth century, was fragmented and scattered across north Battersea (63 acres in 1839), almost all sold before building.) Excluding the Crown Estate (1552 houses and flats), the largest developments in Battersea were Park Town (1346 houses; 1863-1900) and Shaftesbury Park, by the Artizans' and General Labourers Dwelling Co. (1217 houses; 1872-7).

Despite not having the advantage of the Middlesex Deeds Registry,<sup>2</sup> Battersea has a good coverage of deeds in various archives,<sup>3</sup> enabling more than two hundred estates with 25,700 dwellings to be identified. Of Battersea's 2,169 acres, no less than 1,000 acres were occupied by the Thames, open spaces, industry and railways. Building estates covered 1,071 acres, the remainder being the built-up area c.1780. A few eighteenth-century developments around the village should probably be accorded the status of "estates", but no documentation survives. The date and size of estates are summarised below. All building is allocated the period of inception, although completion often took decades.

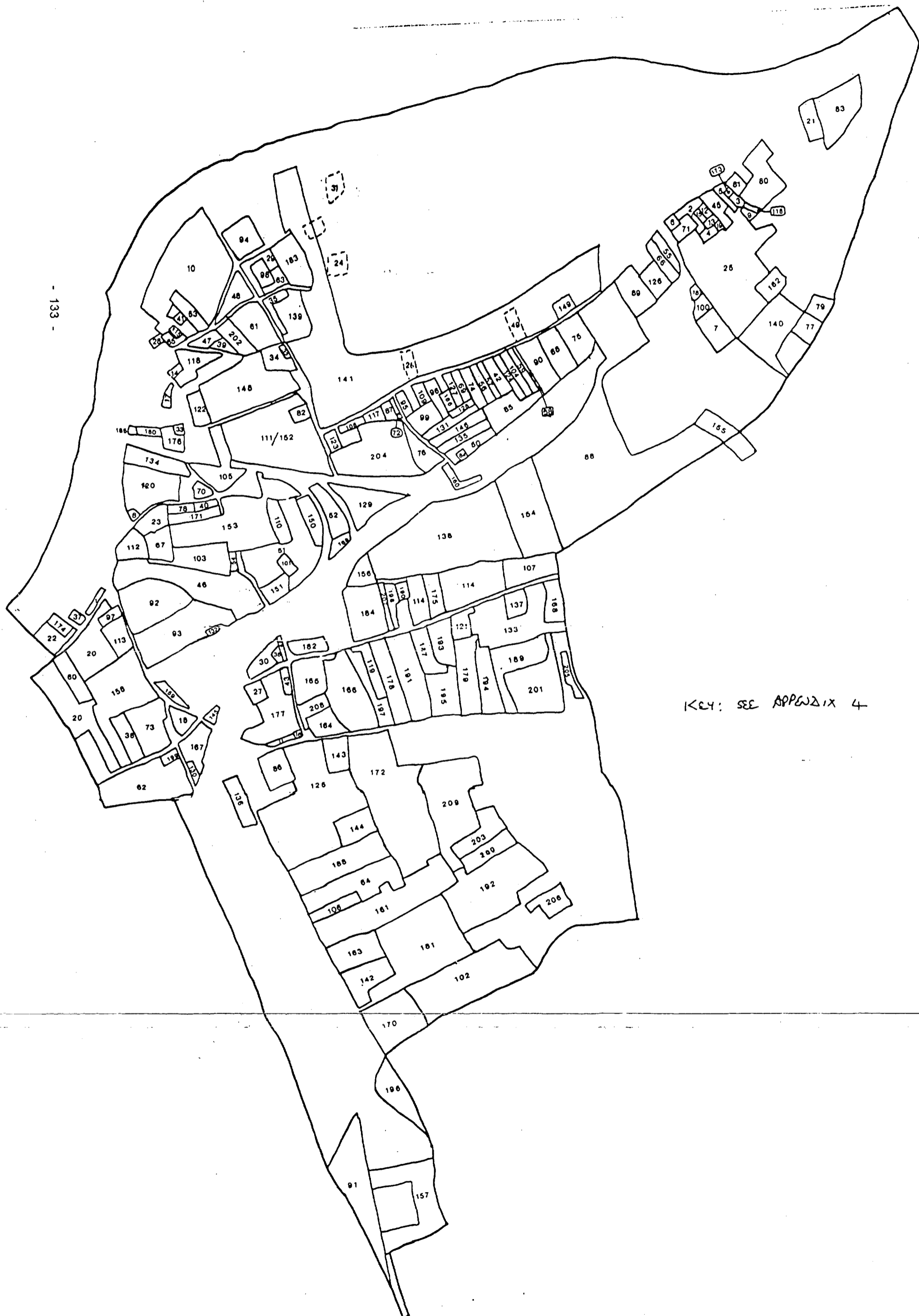
Table 7.1  
Battersea Building Estates by Period

Period	Estates		Area		Houses		
	No.	%	Ac.	%	No.	%	Av,
pre-1840	20	9.57	48.53	4.53	1247	4.84	62
1841-1850	29	13.58	91.38	8.53	1853	7.19	64
1851-1860	20	9.57	71.68	6.69	1604	6.23	80
1861-1870	63	31.14	301.99	28.20	7357	28.57	117
1871-1880	29	13.88	271.27	25.33	7285	28.29	251
1881-1890	28	13.40	164.14	15.33	3902	15.15	139
1891-1900	14	6.70	79.50	7.42	1669	6.48	119
1901-1908	6	2.90	42.44	3.96	837	3.25	140
Total	209		1070.93		25754		123

Sources: MBW/LCC Minutes 1856-1910; Deeds, Plans and Rate Books in Wandsworth Local History Collection, Battersea Library; Deeds in GLRO and Minet Library; O.S. 25-inch and 5-ft. plans 1866-70 and 1893-6.

The process began slowly enough, with 49 estates (23%) started before 1850, and 20 more (10%) 1851-60. Furthermore, these were mostly small developments, containing only 4,700 houses (18%). This reflects Battersea's peripheral location before the mid-1860s - a decade which saw 63 new estates (31%) with 7,357 houses (29%). Estate formation continued apace until 1890, by which date 88% of the developable land was committed. Estates started 1861-1880 account for

Fig. 7.1 - Battersea Building Estates: Key Map



KEY: SEE APPENDIX 4

54% of the area and 57% of houses. Before 1870 estates averaged 3.89 acres, thereafter 7.27 acres. Very small estates still occurred after 1880, however, reflecting the complex mosaic of landownership. (See Appendix 5) The same is true of the number of houses, although in this case the change occurred after 1860, from an average of 68 houses to 150 (125 excluding estates with <u>1,000 houses). The doubling in average size in the 1870s is an aberration, caused in part by the Shaftesbury Park and Crown estates. Even so, the average for 1871-80 estates was 167 houses, due to a clutch of large estates begun after 1877.

Table 7.2  
Battersea Building Estates by Size

Houses	Estates		Acres		Houses		Ho/Est
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1-25	49	23.44	30.09	2.81	786	3.05	16
26-50	38	18.18	71.57	6.68	1417	5.50	37
51-100	51	24.40	151.77	14.17	3612	14.02	71
101-150	29	13.88	165.91	15.49	3547	13.77	122
151-250	18	8.61	140.50	13.12	3553	13.80	197
251-500	14	6.70	194.13	18.13	4847	18.82	346
501-1000	7	3.35	161.16	15.05	3877	15.05	554
1001+	3	1.44	155.80	14.55	4115	15.98	1372
Total	209		1070.93		25754	123	

As with builders, scores of small estates were balanced by a few large developments: 42% had up to fifty houses (9% of houses), 24% had 51-100 houses (14%), whereas the 11.5% with <u>251 houses accounted for 50% of houses. The method of building, however, by myriad small builders and sub-contracting tradesmen, was the same irrespective of the size (or date) of development, with few exceptions (see Chap. 6).

## II: Landownership and Estate Areas

The large number of very small estates in Battersea is partly a function of the late, *ad hoc* enclosure of the Common Field, which in some instances was contemporary with building, preventing the concentration of continuous blocks of land in a single ownership. The Tithe Apportionment (1839) lists 165 landowners (Table 7.3), of whom only two had more than one hundred acres. The ten largest owned 830 acres, about one third of the parish area, while one hundred had less than five acres apiece. Two of the three largest building estates (Park Town and Shaftesbury) were on land enclosed before 1760, if it had ever been farmed communally, and parcelled into large fields. The third, the Crown estate, extinguished large numbers of open field strips in the late-1840s, giving a broad swathe of development land around Battersea Park.

Table 7.3  
Battersea Landownership, 1839

Name	Acres	% Titheable	Average
R.W. Southby	264.94	15.21	
T. Ponton	100.14	5.75	
J. & M. Dent	70.72	4.06	
Abp. of York	62.86	3.61	
Earl Spencer	61.60	3.54	
T. Carter	61.49	3.53	
J. Lucas	60.63	3.48	
H. Willis	57.56	3.30	
E. Pain	45.20	2.60	
T. Cubitt	44.24	2.54	
Sub-total	829.38	47.62	82.94

11th-20th	264.15	15.17	26.15
21st-30th	162.85	9.35	16.28
31st-40th	123.12	7.07	12.31
41st-50th	91.39	5.25	9.14
Sub-total	1470.89	84.45	29.42
51st-100th	212.36	12.19	4.25
101st-165th	58.46	3.36	0.90
Total	1741.71	100.00	10.56

Of the ten largest owners, only Lucas and Ponton developed their land without subdivision, although large areas were taken by railways and industry. Pain retained ownership of his land outside the Park until the onset of building. Cubitt, noted elsewhere for his very large developments, held only scattered parcels of land, much of it was sold to the Crown for the new park. The lord of the manor's small estate reflects the sales of 1835-6 (see Chapter 3), and also how far ownership had fragmented since the transfer from ecclesiastical to lay control in 1539. Many building estates contained only a quarter- or half-acre strip.

The Camberwell Tithe Apportionment (1837) provides an interesting comparison.<sup>4</sup> There were 173 landowners with 3,612 acres, an average holding of 20.88 acres, almost exactly double that for Battersea. If the massive Dulwich College estate (about 1,500 acres) is excluded, however, the average in Camberwell was just over twelve acres, little different from Battersea. Camberwell was however more urbanised in the late-1830s, and there were even more very small owners, with 35% owning less than one acre, compared with 25% in Battersea, but owning 1% of the land in each case. Conversely, in Hampstead, with only 49 owners, three (6%) had less than one acre.<sup>5</sup> The 25% of Battersea owners with more than ten acres accounted for 80% of the land, compared with 20% (excluding Dulwich College) holding about 50% in Camberwell. In Hampstead, twenty-two owners (45%) had more than ten acres, accounting for 93%. There were two major landed estates, Maryon Wilson with 416 acres and Eton College's Chalcots with 227 acres.

Table 7.4  
Landownership in Battersea, Camberwell and Hampstead c.1835-40

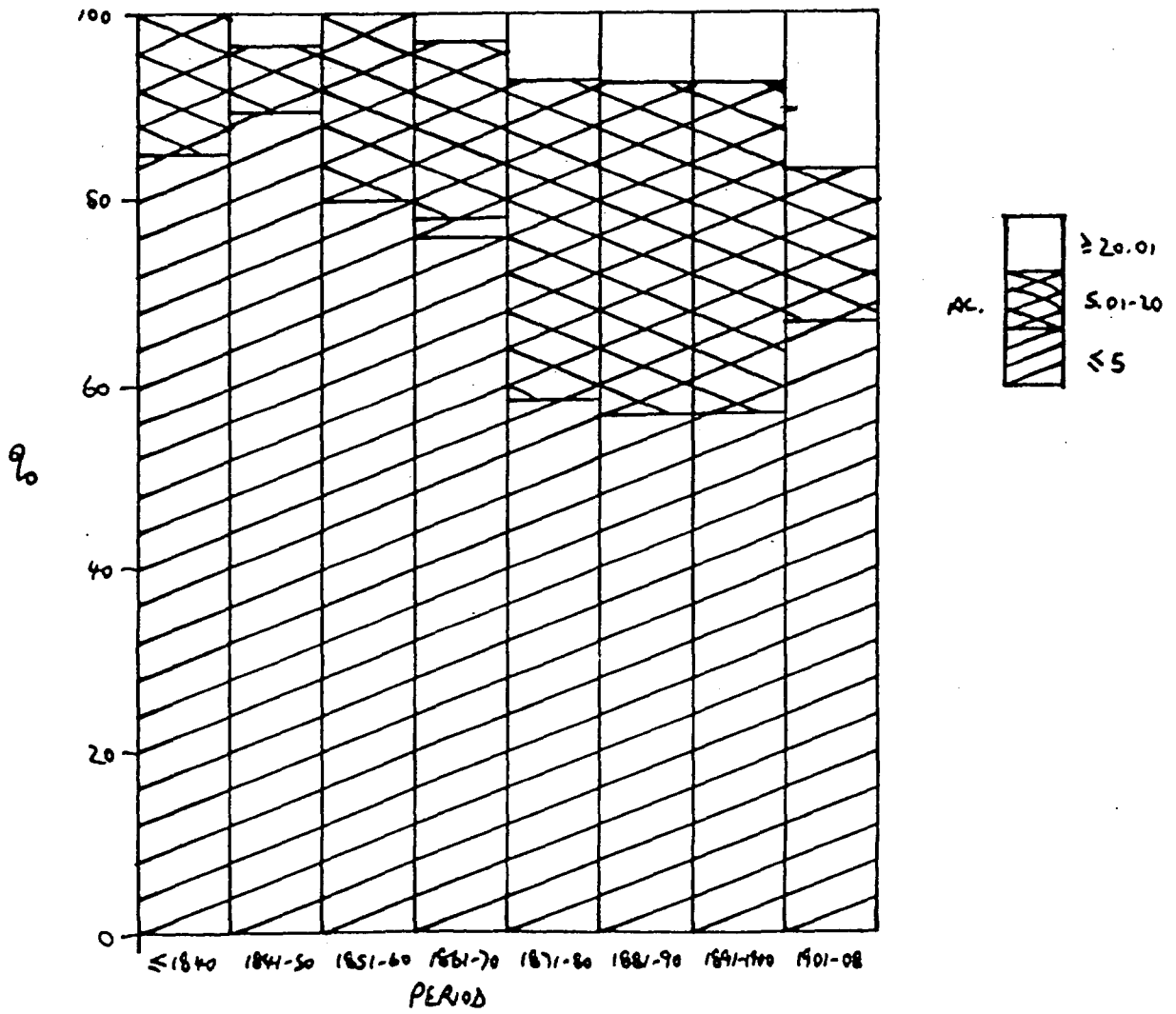
Acres	Battersea				Camberwell				Hampstead			
	Owners		Land		Owners		Land		Owners		Land	
	N	%	Ac.	%	N	%	Ac.	%	N	%	Ac.	%
0-1	41	24.9	20	1.2	61	35.3	29	0.8	3	6.1	3	0.2
1-4	49	29.7	117	6.7	57	33.0	124	3.4	14	28.6	40	2.4
5-9	33	20.0	199	11.4	19	11.0	132	3.7	10	20.4	75	4.5
10+	42	25.4	1405	80.7	36	20.7	3327	92.1	22	44.9	1169	92.9
Total	165		1741		173		3612		49		1287	

Just as the pre-urban landownership pattern in Battersea was one of small, generally fragmented properties, so building estates were generally very small (Appendix 5).

Table 7.5  
Battersea Building Estates 1780-1914: Area

Size (Ac.)	Estates				Houses			
	No.	%	Ac	%	No.	%		
1.00	52	24.88	28.96	2.70	1029	4.00		
1.01-2.00	35	16.75	52.45	4.90	1520	5.90		
2.01-5.00	66	31.58	212.33	19.83	5479	21.27		
5.01-10.00	26	12.44	178.36	16.65	4038	15.68		
10.01-20.00	21	10.05	289.82	27.06	6376	24.76		
20.01-50.00	7	3.35	191.26	17.86	4414	17.14		
50.01+	2	0.96	117.75	10.99	2898	11.25		
Total	209		1070.93		25754			

Fig. 7.2 - Building Estate Size by Period



The estate map of Battersea is a veritable mosaic (Fig. 7.1): 73% covered less than five acres, a quarter less than one acre. The average size is 5.21 acres, even less than might be expected from the 1839 data (Table 7.3). The mode is 2.01-5.00 ac. (five estates contain 2.29 ac.), and the median 2.35 ac., forcibly underlining the negative skew of the distribution. Large estates are emphatically not typical of Battersea, in contrast to some areas, for example the Bedford Estate in Bloomsbury, the Eton Estate at Chalk Farm, the Grosvenor Estate and those of Thomas Cubitt.<sup>6</sup> Kensington, which was developed over much the same timespan as Battersea, had only eighty building estates, some very large (Portobello Farm [170 ac.] and the Quintin estate [188 ac.].<sup>7</sup> The size profile in Battersea resembles neighbouring parishes such as Wandsworth, Putney and Tooting.

The largest Battersea estates in 1839 were seldom discrete blocs. Some were further broken up prior to development, either because of the time which had elapsed, especially in south and central Battersea, or because of the impact of railway building, which took not only long strips for running lines but also large areas for works and depots, disrupting the previous ownership pattern. Some surplus railway land was resold to different owners. Ten-fifty acre estates were critical in providing housing (46% of area; 43% of dwellings). The size-profile of estates changed significantly over time.

Table 7.6  
Battersea Building Estates: Area by Period

Period	% 0-5.00 Ac.	% 5.01-20.00 Ac.	% 20.01 Ac.+
<1840	85.00	15.00	-
1841-1850	89.65	6.90	3.45
1851-1860	80.00	20.00	-
1861-1870	76.19	19.05	3.23
<1870	81.82	15.91	2.29
1871-1880	58.62	34.48	6.90
1881-1890	57.14	35.71	7.15
1891-1900	57.14	35.71	7.15
1901-1908	66.66	16.67	16.67
>1871	58.44	35.06	6.49
Total	73.21	22.49	4.31

The proportion of 0-5 acre estate declined by 29% after 1870, offset by a 104% increase in 5-20 acre estates and fourfold growth over 20 acres. By 1870 much of the available land in north Battersea was built-up, thereafter most new estates were in areas long-enclosed where ownership was less fragmented - although the average size was still only 7.27 ac. The virtually identical size profiles of the period 1871-1900, compared with 1851-1870, indicate that this was indeed a significant shift.

Housing density generally declined as estates grew, as more space was given over to streets - most very small estates fronted existing roads - the upturn on the largest estates reflects the flats on the Crown Estate. Overall, there were 24 houses (about 150 persons) per gross acre.

Table 7.7  
Density of Development by Size of Estate and Period

Size	Hos./Ac.	Period	Hos./Ac.
<1.00	35.53	<1840	25.70
1.01-2.00	28.98	1841-50	20.28
2.01-5.00	25.80	1851-60	22.38
5.01-10.00	22.64	1861-70	24.36
10.01-20.00	22.00	1871-80	26.86
20.01-50.00	23.08	1881-90	23.77
50.01+	24.61	1881-90	20.99
Total	23.61	1901-08	19.72

The high densities achieved before 1840 reflect the absence of tight regulation and the small number of new streets. Those of 1860-90 represent the perfection of the Victorian developer's ability to cram the maximum number of dwellings into an area, consistent with the demands of the District Surveyor. After 1890 densities fell again as houses aimed at the middle classes were built in south Battersea.

Landowners could of course influence the course of development through restrictive covenants in leases, especially those relating to the type and value of houses and the prohibition of status-reducing land uses. Freeholds could be similarly affected before assignment<sup>8</sup> The vast majority of estates in Battersea fell into what the Select Committee on Town Holdings of 1887 termed "ordinary leaseholds", those for terms of up to 99 years.

Evidence of the impact of tenure on housing quality is inconclusive. There is a suggestion that freehold produced lower quality because of builders seeking to recoup the higher capital outlay in acquiring plots through higher densities.<sup>9</sup> Daunton, however, says that the plots were rarely paid for in full at the outset, builders paying only interest during construction or before sale. This deferral meant that there was little practical difference between freehold and leasehold from the builder's viewpoint.<sup>10</sup> In Battersea, the great majority of freehold sales were on land company estates, but there is no evidence on the terms on which plots were sold.

The size of pre-urban landholdings affected the relationship between the rural cadastre and that of the suburb. Large properties could achieve layouts of streets and houses unrelated to field patterns, although there was always the problem of allowing or denying interconnexion with one's neighbours, trading off the dangers of the cul-de-sac with those of contamination and excessive through traffic.<sup>11</sup> All three of the largest estates in Battersea benefited from the freedom to adopt a layout unhindered by previous internal boundaries. Park Town used Queen's Road, part of a grand approach linking Chelsea Bridge and Clapham Common, as a spine around which a relatively spacious layout of streets with long three-storey terraces was disposed, a square and its church at the centre. The proximity of several railway lines and works, and the working-class nature of its neighbours meant that only a fraction of the projected 2,000 houses had been erected by the end of the 1860s boom, and they were almost all subdivided by 1871. The central area was not filled until 1900, with much less ambitious half-houses.<sup>12</sup> Shaftesbury Park also ignored old field boundaries, and was only connected to the outside world at two points (three after 1881), presenting an almost wall-like facade, emphasised by houses with turrets at some corners. The Crown estate came to occupy sixty acres from which all trace of the old common-field strips had been erased. Medium-sized estates between the Commons were also planned to maximise the



use of land, sometimes at the price of awkward links with neighbours.

In Battersea as elsewhere, however, small plots and piecemeal development were the norm. In Bradford 85% of holdings were of six hectares (14.8 ac.) or less,<sup>13</sup> which compares with 93% in Battersea. In the Leeds Tithe Apportionment (1847), the average size of 54 fields described as building ground was 1.25 ac., typical plots being 120-200ft. wide by 600ft. deep.<sup>14</sup> The average size of the 153 Battersea estates covering 0-5 acres was 1.92 ac., many of the smaller ones comprising single quarter- or half-acre strips in the Common Field. (80% of Leeds holdings pre-development were less than 10 ac., cf. Battersea 87%.)

After 1870, many building estates in Battersea were in fact second-generation developments, replacing the substantial houses and grounds which had been built from 1760 around Clapham Common, and along Lavender Hill. This phenomenon was common around London as the original spacious semi-rural suburbia gave way to the inexorable demand for working- and middle-class housing. Dyos gives the example of Worlingham Road, East Dulwich, and there are others in Hackney.<sup>15</sup> The process of building in village backlands is matched by the filling of burgage plots with courts of small cottages, called *repletion* by Conzen.<sup>16</sup>

### III: Types of Building Estate

Although it is true that all estates originated in the solution 'at a particular time of an equation (by the developer), involving the potential of the site, its location, building costs and housing demand',<sup>17</sup> there is clearly a need to subdivide the mass of estates for the purposes of analysis. One approach is to concentrate on decision-making processes, in order to try to ascertain the contributions of the various players to the built form,<sup>18</sup> even though one might question the assertion that every building 'arose from a carefully premeditated decision'. Fig. 7.3 presents a simplified model of the decision-making process, in which the key players are the landowner and the builder, with various professionals and sources of capital performing a facilitatory role, although one individual often fulfilled more than one of these roles in practice.

Thompson saw the advance of the suburban frontier and its effect on the secondary housing market as crucial, and although that is generally so, in the sense that Battersea before the mid-1840s was too far from London to experience take-off, the evidence presented in Chapter 5 on the timing and location of individual estates shows that progress was often only indirectly related to the position of that frontier at any given time. As he says, no one type of landowner was more prone to develop than any other, the crucial factor being the willingness (and legal ability in some cases) of the pre-building owner to release land, usually intending to speculate on rising values.<sup>19</sup> In many towns and suburbs the onward march of the builder was often delayed or deflected by unwilling owners, for example 18th.-19th. century Nottingham constrained by its fragmented common fields, and Arundel, where an aristocratic owner manipulated the shape of the town.<sup>20</sup> Absentee owners, a very important group in Battersea, were often imperfectly informed about the time to develop, and also about the type of housing which would satisfy the market, given the common dream that suburbs would be middle class. The building cycle and financial imperatives often led to developments being protracted and interrupted, a very common phenomenon in Battersea, leaving its mark on the urban fabric.<sup>21</sup>

There is no generally accepted model of estate development against which to test the Battersea experience. Any typology must therefore be tentative. H.J. Dyos identified four principal ways in which land could be developed for building:<sup>22</sup>

1. Landowner acting on own account, using sub-contractors for building;
2. Landowner making a contract with one or more builders, the houses then being sold or leased (no examples in Camberwell);
3. Landowner leasing land, either in one lot or piecemeal to builders, land societies or housing companies, subject to covenants contained in a building agreement. In many cases the lessees subcontracted the building, especially if the lease was an investment;
4. Outright sale, in which the landowner had several options -
  - a) sale in exchange for a perpetual rent charge
  - b) sale to an estate development company
  - c) sale direct to builders, either in a lot or piecemeal.

Types 1-3 reserved control of the estate in the hands of the landowner, who received ground rents for the duration of the lease (usually 80 or 99 years) and the reversion of the property at its conclusion for rack-renting or profitable redevelopment.<sup>23</sup> Method 4 trades-off long-term potential against short-term capital gain, often in a rising land market before values have reached their highest point. It is, however, free from the risks attendant upon development, which was often protracted and far from straightforward. Applying this scheme to Battersea, three-quarters of estates are in Group 3, reflecting standardised development by building agreement. Whether an estate is Group 3 or 4c, however, requires definition of the term "landowner". If the pre-urban owner is meant, most Battersea estates would be 4c, being sold by the original owners before development. If the owner responsible for development is meant, they do belong to Group 3.

In his study of the building of north Leeds,<sup>24</sup> Treen used deeds to produce a classification of individual roles to facilitate comparison. Chalklin's study of Georgian development in provincial towns also employed an initiator-based scheme, and this has been done here, with some amplification of the number of types.<sup>25</sup> As Treen says, attention to the role played by individuals enables in turn an assessment of the relative importance of each, the combination of roles and changes in process by time and place. Unfortunately, the large array of estate papers available for the study of the Brown estate are not matched by those for the great bulk of Battersea estates, although the key role of surveyors and land/estate agents in providing advice to owners on the optimum time to build is apparent enough, as is the need to match the timing of development with demand, an equation all too often upset by lack of information and the vagaries of the building cycle.<sup>26</sup> His scheme has five major categories, each subdivided:

Fig. 7.3 - A Model of Estate Development  
(Source: Carter & Lewis [1990], Fig. 10.1)

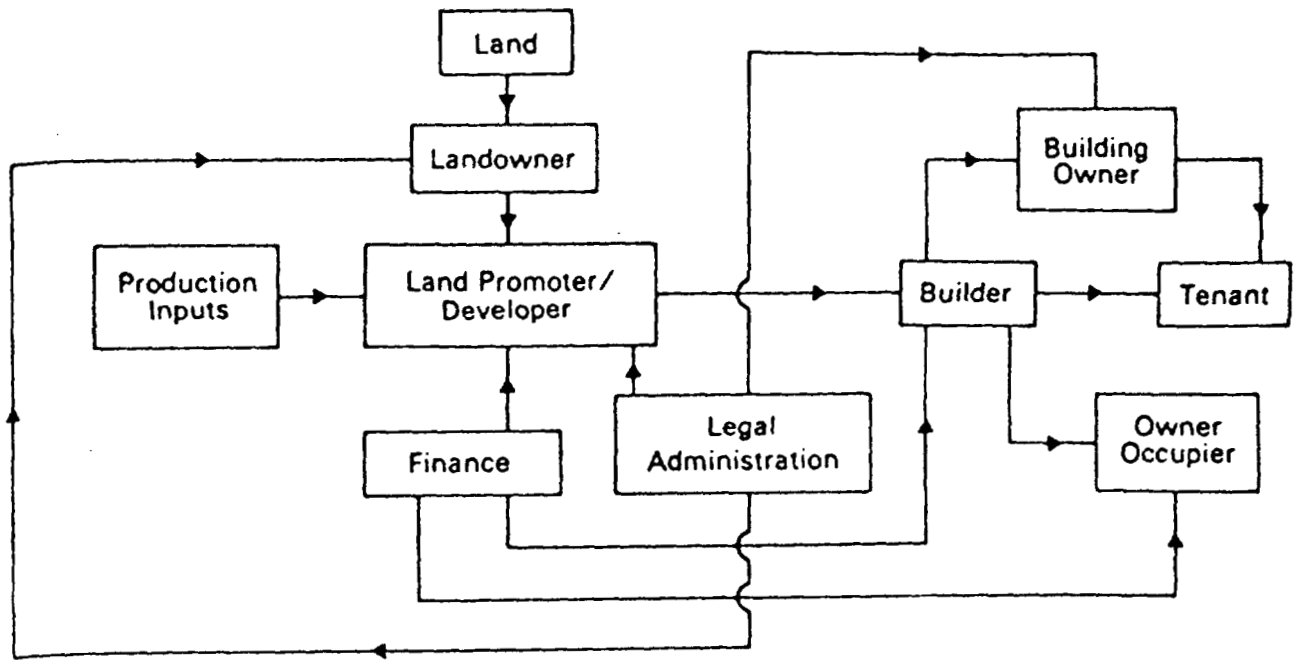


Figure 10.1 The decision-making process.

Table 7.8

Roles in the Suburban and Residential Development Process

A	Pre-development Landowner	A1	Agricultural estate owner
		A2	Land Speculator
B	Developer	B1	Agricultural estate owner
		B2	Builder
		B3	Associated professions (lawyer surveyor estate agent)
		B4	Entrepreneur
C	Builder	C1	Speculative builder
		C1a	Builder as landlord
		C1b	Builder erecting for sale
		C2	Contractor
D	Building Owner	D1	Landlord
		D2	Owner-occupier
E	Resident	E1	Tenant
		E2	Owner-occupier

Source: Treen, *op. cit.*, Table 14, p.160.

Category A includes those who purchase without developing; resale of the property without subdivision, and land speculation with subdivision and sales. In terms of the classification used in this study (Table 7.10), Category A includes Types 1 and 2 (Primary and Secondary landowners); B covers Types 6d, 3-5; C Type 4, while Categories D and E do not figure as initiators. Treen identifies the principal developers in terms of trade/profession, and also the ten largest contributors to the building of 578 acres in north Leeds in the last quarter of the century (very similar to the 557 acres developed in Battersea after 1871).

Table 7.9

Types of Developer in North Leeds & Battersea

Trade, &c.	Purchases %		Purchasers %		Land %	
	Leeds	Leeds	Batt.	Leeds	Batt.	
Builder	39	29	20.0	42.0	20.0	
Manufacturer	14	12	7.5	18.5	3.0	
Land/Estate Agent	16	15	-	19.0	-	
Architect/Surveyor	7	6	9.0	2.0	8.0	
Lawyer	5	9	6.0	4.0	6.0	
Merchant	4	6	9.0	0.5	11.0	
Others	7	12	48.5	7.5	52	
Insufficient data		7	12.0	-	6.5	

.....

Developer (Leeds)	Land %	Developer (Batt. post-1871)	Land %
Retired builder	15.4	Crown	10.9
Woollen manufacturer	8.9	Dwellings Co.	6.8
Builder	8.0	Owner/Builder/Merchant	4.7
Estate Agent/Contractor	7.8	Owner/Builder	4.5
Builder/Brickmaker	5.8	Builder	3.9
Estate Agent	5.6	Owner/Surveyor	3.9
Builder/Brickmaker	5.1	Builder	3.4
Boot/Shoe mfr.	4.8	Lawyer	3.0
Ret'd publisher's agent	4.4	Owner/Builder	2.8
Builder	2.9	Owner	2.6
Total	68.7		46.5

Source: Treen, *op. cit.*, 180-1.

The developer-profiles for the two areas are quite different. No land or estate agents initiated development in Battersea, and more than half of all estates were the responsibility of

Treen's "other" category - most of them "ordinary" landowners, but also including corporate bodies of various kinds. Merchants (including bankers) were much more important in Battersea, builders-as-developers less so than in north Leeds. The ten largest estates in Leeds cover 68.7% of the land, whereas in Battersea they account for only 46.5%, about one-third less.

For virtually all Battersea estates the initiator (developer) may be identified. The classification used here has ten basic categories, three of them subdivided: primary and secondary landowners into resident and absentee, and trades/ professions into four sub-groups. In some cases, members of different categories were associated equally, and these are treated separately. Most combinations were of a landowner and an architect/surveyor, builder or lawyer. "Primary landowner" estates are restricted to those initiated by the original owner if begun before 1840, or the owner in 1839 if later. Type 1 and 2 estates include owners named in deeds as "gentleman" and "esquire", many of whom probably had a specific profession or trade. The distinction between Types 1a/2a and 1b/2b is sometimes blurred where individuals owned land inside and outside Battersea, or where they moved before or during development. Alternative schemes could have been used. For example, the Croft, Harefield and Elsdon Estates were all on surplus railway land, as well as being in the architect/surveyor, lawyer and builder categories respectively.

Although developed by Reading geographers in the rather different building environment of the 1980s, another model provides some useful parallels for the categorising of Victorian developers.<sup>27</sup> The processes of land search and acquisition are twofold: 1. Saturation/systematic; 2. Opportunist/selective. The first may be applied to Alfred Heaver, who purchased land from a variety of owners to develop a block of estates around Clapham Junction in the decade after 1879, and to the Corsellis family's group of estates east-central Battersea after 1886. Many original owners belong to the opportunist group, for example market gardeners such as Francis Lithgow and Charles Stewart, and Edward Pain and Charles Wix, all of whom seem to have reacted almost by chance to the potential of their property. Small builders and secondary owners buying speculatively also behaved opportunistically for the most part. Business and social contacts were as important in 1880 as 1980, and information sources were always vital, including:

1. Estate (and land) agents
2. Advertisements/auctions
3. Direct contact with landowners
4. Other builders/developers
5. Solicitors/other professional contacts

Connexions with landowners could be initiated either way, but there is unfortunately little evidence for Battersea to enable one to ascertain the nature of these contacts. The recent trend for large-scale developers who can build up banks of land to ensure continuity of activity is not typical of the Victorian period, although it seems that Heaver acquired land before current developments were completed, for example Lavender Gardens and St. Johns Park (1885) and Chestnuts (1887), at a time when he was active in Fulham, Tooting and later Balham.

The fourfold classification of builders in relation to the planning process also has relevance to the 19th-century experience.<sup>28</sup> **Cautious builders** develop only one or a few estates, and do so only when success is guaranteed, i.e. in the upsurge of activity between troughs and

peaks of the cycle, a situation found in Battersea in the 1860s, especially on the former Common Field, where small strips minimised risk to small entrepreneurs. Naive builders have defective understanding of the processes involved and fall victim to economic reverses. Henry Hart Davis (see Chaps.9 and 13) is a good example of this type, as are the numerous Victorian builders who went bankrupt through over-reaching themselves in periods of high activity (see Chap. 6). **Negotiators** are closely involved in the planning process and are prepared to compromise to achieve results. Heaver fits this model, selling Chatto's estate which he bought and planned in 1881, presumably because the downturn in the building cycle would have left too many empty plots on his hands. In the mid-1880s he favoured smaller, rapid-turnover sites. **Aggressors** are impatient of procedures and hence have a higher failure rate. There are no obvious examples of this type in Victorian Battersea, although individual builders who sought to circumvent the regulations often fell foul of the District Surveyor.

Table 7.10  
Estate Development Classification

Type	Initiator	Estates	%	Houses	%	Acres	%
1	Primary landowner:						
1a	Resident	8	3.83	206	0.80	9.87	0.92
1b	Absentee	8	3.83	1290	5.01	50.64	4.73
		16	7.66	1496	5.81	60.51	5.65
2	Secondary landowner:						
2a	Resident	5	2.39	238	0.92	11.25	1.05
2b	Absentee	32	15.31	4044	15.70	173.62	16.23
		37	17.70	4282	16.62	184.87	17.28
3	Architect/Surveyor	18	8.61	1508	5.86	67.88	6.34
4	Builder	39	18.66	3881	15.07	167.14	15.62
5	Solicitor/Lawyer	8	3.83	1201	4.66	41.72	3.89
6	Other Occupations:						
6a	Manufacturing	15	7.18	877	3.41	28.67	2.68
6b	Retail/Commerce	16	7.66	2494	9.68	99.11	9.25
6c	Professional	10	4.78	784	3.04	31.17	2.91
6d	Agriculture	12	5.74	980	3.81	42.22	3.94
		53	25.36	5135	19.94	201.17	18.78
7	Local Authority	2	0.96	241	0.94	10.06	0.94
8	Land Companies	7	3.35	1605	6.23	97.81	9.13
9	Other Organisations	5	2.39	1647	6.39	47.78	4.46
10	Charity	1	0.48	41	0.16	0.92	0.09
Combinations:							
1b/4		1	0.48	445	1.73	15.37	1.43
2a/2b/5		1	0.48	76	0.30	3.18	0.30
2b/3		1	0.48	436	1.69	21.91	2.04
2b/4		6	2.87	1329	5.16	54.11	5.05
2b/4/6b		2	0.96	589	2.21	29.44	2.75
2b/5		8	3.83	1085	4.29	40.74	3.80
2b/5/6b		1	0.48	137	0.53	4.67	0.44
2b/6b		1	0.48	68	0.26	2.74	0.26
3/6a		1	0.48	312	1.21	11.23	1.05
4/6b		1	0.48	240	0.93	7.68	0.72
Total		209		25754		1070.03	

(Full details of estates by date, type and size are given in Appendices 4-6; Fig. 7.1 shows estates by number.)

Primary landowners played an insignificant role in Battersea, accounting for one estate in

fourteen (6% of houses). Two-thirds predate 1850, 19% began in the 1860s boom, and none after 1876. Half the owners were resident. (The Ponton family had already become absentees.) The great majority of those owning land in 1839 sold up long before development, either because of changed family circumstances, or failure to forecast the eventual fate of the area, or, conversely, an all-too-accurate perception of that fate. Far more significant were secondary owners (17.7% of estates; 16.6% of houses), of whom 85% were absentee. Most bought land in Battersea solely for its development potential, although there was often a delay between purchase and building. Only 27% of Type 2b estates predate 1860 (cf. 33% of all estates). Absentee owners are characteristic of the 1860s and 1870s.

Architects/surveyors and especially builders were prominent initiators (27% of estates; 22% of development land; 21% of houses). Architects are more typical of the period 1851-70 and builders of the high peak periods (1861-90). The latter were not, however, concentrated in any one decade. Members of the legal professions were much less important as initiators (3.8% of estates and houses). If developments by the Corsellis and Colestown I, in which lawyers were co-partners, are included, this proportion doubles.

Other trades and professions were responsible for 25% of estates, 19% of land and 20% of houses. These estates were smaller than average (3.86 cf. 5.14 ac.), and were especially prominent before 1840 (65%, cf. 10% overall). Manufacturers were evenly spread from Ford's Buildings c.1780 to Thirsk Road in 1893, whereas those from retailing and distribution were heavily concentrated in the 1860s (60%, cf. 31% overall). Their housing contribution is distorted by Park Town, without which the mean size was 81 houses, two-thirds of the overall figure. Few were local men: John Trott, an ironmonger, George Bishopp and Samuel Poupart jun., both licensed victuallers. Professional men were concentrated after 1865. Henry Townsend, a Clapham surgeon, had two strongly contrasted estates: Lavender Hill, a series of substantial terraces on the main road, with parallel "groves" running down to the Heathwall Sewer, and Britannia Place, effectively a cul-de-sac, with long rows of small houses on each side. The Eukestons estate had been owned by the Dickson-Poynders for many years, but was developed by John, an M.P. Nearby Sisters Avenue II was owned by Sir Herbert Shepherd-Cross M.P., who lived at Bishops Stortford. Most Type 6d initiators were members of local farming and market gardening families, cashing-in on the very rapid rise in values. Seven (58%) predate 1850, and are concentrated in the north-east and north-west of the parish.

Local government housing only began after 1890. Although the newly-established Borough Council erected 218 maisonettes on Latchmere Allotments after 1903, this type of development accounted for less than 1% of output 1780-1914. Land and industrial dwellings companies initiated 6% of estates, but covered 13.5% of the land with 12.7% of dwellings. The Conservative Land Society and the Artizans' & General Labourers' Dwellings Co. were especially noteworthy - 2,130 houses in total. Type 8 estates tended to be built to lower densities, often on the fringes of Battersea.

Apart from Types 2b/4 and 2b/5, none of the composite categories was significant. Most of the former involved Thomas Ingram, a Brixton builder, John Brown, a Dulwich timber merchant and Henry Bragg, gentleman, also of Brixton. Type 2b/5 includes those where deeds were issued

by Henry Corsellis, gentleman, but where Arthur Alexander Corsellis, a solicitor and key figure in local administration, was the guiding hand. He was clerk to the Wandsworth District Board of Works from its inception in 1856 until retiring in 1885 with a salary of £500, of the Wandsworth & Clapham Union Guardians and of Battersea Vestry. He was therefore uniquely placed to observe the progress of development and to intervene where land became available.

Table 7.11  
Summary of Estate Types: Houses, Size and Density

Type	No.	Av. Hos.	Av. Ac.	Hos/Ac.
1a	8	25.75	1.65	0.87
1b	8	161.25	6.33	25.47
1a/b	16	93.50	3.78	24.72
2a	5	47.60	2.25	21.16
2b	32	126.38	5.42	23.29
2a/b	37	115.73	5.00	23.16
3	18	83.78	3.77	22.22
4	39	99.51	4.29	23.22
5	8	150.13	5.22	28.79
6a	15	58.47	1.91	30.59
6b	16	155.12	6.18	25.09
6c	10	78.44	3.12	25.15
6d	12	81.67	3.52	23.21
6*	52	72.63	2.77	26.19
7	2	120.50	5.03	23.96
8	7	229.28	13.97	16.41
9	5	329.40	9.56	34.47
2b/4	6	221.50	9.02	24.56
2b/5	8	135.63	5.09	26.63
All Estates		123.22	5.12	24.05
Average		131.71	5.40	24.67
$\sigma$		76.09	3.13	4.06

Note: \* excludes Park Town

Most types fall into the  $\pm 1\sigma$  range in each category. Types 1a and 2a have significantly fewer houses than average, Types 8, 9 and 2b/4 have more. Types 1a, 2a and 6a are below  $-1\sigma$  and Types 8, 9 and 2b/4 all exceed  $+1\sigma$  in area. Density shows a different pattern of anomalies, with Type 8 below  $-1\sigma$  and Types 5, 6a and 9 above  $+1\sigma$ . There is a contrast between the land companies, which sold off individual plots freehold and exercised little control over building, generally producing low-density development, and the dwellings' companies, which were clearly adept at maximising the use of, even setting aside Victoria Dwellings. Estates developed by resident landowners were as small in every respect, one-third to one-quarter the size of those developed by absentees.

Carter and Lewis state that there was no standard procedure for transforming a greenfield site into streets of houses, in which the decision makers went about their affairs separately and in a well-organised sequence.<sup>29</sup> While it is true that landowners could oversee the whole process, or that very many individuals could become involved, especially as certain areas became more defined and professionalised during the nineteenth century, notably architects, surveyors and engineers, it is clear that in Battersea the basic method of development was very similar regardless of the initiator. The framework of the long (usually 90-99 year) lease and myriad small builders operating on often slender finances, and with more or less intermediaries between the



owner and eventual occupier of the houses thus built was already established in Battersea before 1800 as part of the process of urbanisation around London, and remained essentially the same in 1915. The capital market was as fragmented as the building world, and renting was the ubiquitous form of tenure, with the only notable exception being the Shaftesbury Park estate where artisan owner-occupation was encouraged. Although some builders retained their houses for letting, most sold out of the species of small capitalist who made a living from the proceeds of ten houses or less. Solicitors acted as the focus for each of these complex financial relationships, as well as being involved in every aspect of the documentation of changing titles. Even estates which proceeded by the freehold sale of plots were generally indistinguishable from the rest, except possibly in terms of density and heterogeneity of building types.

#### IV: Duration of Development

It will become clear in the discussion of individual estates and their building that progress from the initial decision to develop to completion of the last house was highly variable and often lasted decades rather than years, even on quite modest estates. The vagaries of the housing and financial markets meant that many an owner, developer and builder soon discovered that they had misread the signs and entered into the process with over-optimistic aspirations. Even discounting the often protracted process of getting as far as laying out the streets, building could last long enough to see changes of owner, layout and house type. Data are not available for all estates in this respect, although the sample is large enough to reveal the underlying patterns.

Table 7.12  
Duration of Building

Years	Deeds	DSR	Total	%
1- 2	14	6	20	17.09
3- 5	19	18	37	31.63
6-10	18	12	30	25.64
11-15	13	1	14	11.96
16-20	5	1	6	5.13
21+	8	2	10	8.55
Total	77	40	117	100.00

Although one-sixth of developments were completed within two years, and a further third within five years, more than half the estates took six years or more to build - a quarter more than a decade. It is possible to examine the size, date and type of each estate to see whether any specific trends emerge.

Table 7.13  
Building Duration by Date, Size and Type

#### A. Starting Date

Period	No.	Av.
Pre-1850	17	19.67
1851-60	11	11.91
1861-70	37	8.49
1871-80	25	6.12
1881-90	22	4.36
1891-	11	4.67

## B. Number of Houses

Houses	No.	Av.
1-25	6	3.67
26- 50	15	4.73
51-100	33	6.12
101-150	25	10.36
151-250	16	7.50
251-500	13	11.38
501+	10	16.50

## C. Type of Estate

Type	No.	Av.
1b	4	13.75
2a/b	20	8.10
3	7	13.14
4	18	7.28
5	5	7.40
6a	8	5.25
6b	7	12.14
6c	9	3.44
6d	6	22.00
8/9/10	9	9.22
Comp.	23	5.65

## V: Some Contemporary Views of Development

Despite, or perhaps because of, its ubiquity, the suburban building revolution in Victorian London attracted relatively little notice from what might be called contemporary "laymen", that is those who witnessed the process going on around them, rather than as part of some official or quasi-official study or exercise in gathering statistical data. The columns of the *South London Press*, which started in 1865, just as a major surge in building was getting underway, do contain occasional editorial comment and letters from local observers about the mushroom growth of Battersea in the 1860s and 1870s.

In October 1866, under the headline "Building Operations at Battersea", 'A large town of shops and dwellings on what was once Battersea Fields from Nine Elms to York Road' was reported. At the corner of High Street, 'seven handsome shops (are) being built, and by the railway station close by land is announced for sale' (the Manor House estate [105], see Chap. 10). Even though only three years old, 'extensive additions are being made to the junction station, which has become a most important railway link and around which builders are hard at work'.<sup>30</sup>

Three years later, the fruits of builders' labour meant that Battersea town station had experienced so great an increase in traffic that 'a new building is being contemplated'.<sup>31</sup> In the same issue, however, "A Tradesman" wrote about the distressed state of trade in Battersea, caused by high rents in relation to house values. He continues, 'in the old days when houses were not rabbit hutches, and not built on the Japanese plan, of paper, 8% was a reasonable return on outlay. Now, with fictitiously large ground rents, ingenious surveyors and grasping lawyers, the poor hard-working good-natured speculative builder has to swallow his conscience and his figures. He is a sort of lightning conductor, a conduit pipe..... to play the cat to the monkey of Dives'. It is not difficult to see where "Tradesman" fitted into the complex mosaic of the building world! A week later, he wrote again to the Editor,<sup>32</sup> claiming that there were 'one thousand empty houses in Battersea... eating themselves up with ground rents, as well as becoming dilapidated.... £7,000 and more is being lost to the rates. Battersea is becoming a byword for extortion, muddle and

miserery'. There was undoubtedly much overbuilding in the late 1860s, with 1,345 empty houses in 1871, and 435 still under construction, and the economic effects on those involved in the industry were severe, often disastrous. The spec. builder, usually the object of criticism himself had plenty of potential scapegoats among greedy landowners, financiers and lawyers.

In November, 1869, however, "Another Tradesman" from Battersea Park Terrace commented on these letters,<sup>33</sup> saying that there were already good effects. 'In the Queen's Road extension and adjacent streets [viz. Park Town], superior house property which has been empty for years because of high rents is now letting at one-half to two-thirds of the previous rents', attracting 'West End businessmen who want low rents and railway facilities'. In fact, this estate was essentially the home of the lower middle class and skilled artisan, as were most of its neighbours.

The Editor returned to the issue in April 1870, by which time the boom was largely over.<sup>34</sup> He said that the population of Battersea had grown tenfold in eighteen years (in fact the increase 1851-71 was only fivefold), that there were 238 streets in the parish containing 9,188 houses of which 7,036 were occupied, 1,348 empty and 534 under construction. The number of houses occupied was 608 more than March 1869. Battersea was a 'most elastic parish'.

Not surprisingly, the deep depression in the building industry in the early 1870s attracted the attention of the press, under the headline "A Blighted Suburb - New Battersea".<sup>35</sup> It was said to be a 'neglected area, despite the railways and the park.... (and) has brought many builders to bankruptcy. Some have seriously considered pulling down their property for the sake of the bricks and timber', although it is unlikely that the latter would have sold well in 1873. Meetings had been held with a view to getting Battersea populated, 'in some cases policemen, wharfingers, labourers and their families with only enough to fill one or two rooms are the sole inhabitants of six-eight roomed houses. The marbled chimneypieces and flowered cornices are unappreciated, room bells never rung except by dirty urchins at play.... stairs are uncarpeted.... the upstairs unoccupied and begrimed'. The paper alleged that the tolls on Chelsea Bridge could cost a family up to 2/- per week, and that freeing it would 'greatly entice people from over the water'. 'The expression "Go to Battersea" has arisen as one of general contempt.' Local people apparently whitened the windows of empty houses and shops to give the impression of occupation. All kinds of inducements were being offered to lure tenants, such as free rent for the first month and then 7/- p.w. for an eight-room house (4/6-5/- was a common rent for only 2-3 rooms). Still 'no City clerks pass the "To Let" signs, no newly-weds for the first-floor fronts'. This review is perhaps unduly pessimistic, since the population of Battersea grew by 53,000 in the 1870s, and the empty stock of 1871 would soon have attracted tenants, albeit often of a lower class than the developer and builder might have wished.

The press faithfully reflected the first signs of an upturn, the first issue of 1876 noting the 'rapid increase of South London... the outlying parts are swelling and developing prodigiously'<sup>36</sup> Lavender Hill from Wandsworth Road station to Clapham Junction was 'a long series of green fields only three-four years ago, now a small town in itself.... buildings on either side being appropriated to trade purposes. Branching off (Queen's Road) are thousands of houses.... and from the brow lateral roads lead to the Shaftesbury Park Estate, laid out three years ago for two thousand (sic) houses. The Bolingbroke (Park) Estate and the bare ground north of Clapham

Junction, as well as the district towards Wandsworth have all been covered with buildings in three or four years'. Progress was often far from smooth on many of the estates covered by this description, however, as we shall see below.

That 1876 was something of a false dawn is confirmed by a report almost two years later.<sup>37</sup> Speculative builders who, 'in view of (the new) Queen's Road station and freeing of the bridges have run up tenements, have not found them filling quickly because of high rents of 15-16/- per week for six-roomed houses (cf. the position in 1873)'. Rents for existing houses had also increased. In the same issue a correspondent complained of the poor service at the new station (which is still the case 115 years later), suggesting that a board "wanted, trains" be put up.

Early in 1877, the *Builder* referred to a letter which the Rev. John Toone, Vicar of St. Peter, Plough Lane, had written to the D.B.W., complaining about the quality of houses being built in certain parts of Battersea 'on rubbish and dust shoots, without basements and with boarded floors close to the earth... scarcely any houses have ventilation under the floors', causing much local sickness.<sup>38</sup> Henry Hansom, District Surveyor for north Battersea had replied, casting grave doubts on the manner of building in some suburbs compared with central London. 'Speculative builders appear in the former, a creation or organism unknown to science or art, the outcome of the growth of London and the compulsory (sic) removal of the working classes to the suburbs in such large numbers... Architects for houses disappear... Estates have to be floated, frequently by capitalists or financial agents distinct from the freeholder. (The) sole object is a quick return. The speculative builder is often no builder at all, but a bricklayer, carpenter, labourer, mechanic, tradesman, butler or retired policeman, even clergymen.' (cf. Chapter 6) One built five houses in Livingstone Road and forgot to pay Hansom's fees! The object 'is gain without labour... houses are often built long before sewers are laid... (the) drains are then inserted casually. Sewage often gathers under the floors'. All in all, a damning indictment of the worst elements in the creation of Battersea, although in fairness, the quality of most houses was not this bad. The complexity of the chains linking freeholders and tenants is one to which we shall return.

By the Spring of 1878, building seems to have turned the corner at last. The press reported a great increase in "To Let" signs over the previous year.<sup>39</sup> 'Property owners have had a comfortable time to compensate losses following the last speculation. Time was when large numbers of carcasses without roofs or windows stood empty.... Battersea six or seven years ago was a huge waste with hundreds of half-completed terraces, left unfinished for years because of reckless builders running up laths and bricks not paid for, speculators trading entirely on advances from ground landlords.' The same was true of Nunhead, Brixton and Clapham. However, 'rapid change ensued.... families who shared two or three to a house got their own, tradesmen and builders rejoiced'. There were three outlets for capital: Government stocks, only 3%; trade, now a lossmaker because of the recession; and property. There is a 'strong rush thence to the benefit of freeholders, but this has caused overbuilding again, especially of houses worth about £40 p.a. People (are) falling into rate arrears. Single family houses are being divided, lodgers are increasing'. The tendency for jeremiahs to bemoan the state of the building industry clearly has a long pedigree!

The following chapters review in more detail the development process, taking each

category of estate in turn. Some are better served with sources than others, but the pattern is clear. Indeed, despite the wide range of initiators, the methods employed were remarkably constant throughout the 130 years examined here, confirming the impression of standardisation which is obtained using Dyos' fourfold scheme (see p. 139).

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## Part III

# Building Estates in Battersea

### Introduction

We have now established the chronological and topographical framework within which the fields and gardens of eighteenth century Battersea, or at least those of them that escaped the attention of the railway builder, the industrialist and the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, were colonised by an army of developers and builders.

Chapter 5 showed that this was not a straightforward process, but one subject to strong cyclical fluctuations, and to local eddies within the overall outward flow of the tide of bricks and mortar from central London, so aptly depicted by Rowlandson in his cartoon *London Going Out Of Town*. Chapter 6 demonstrated that many thousands of men (and a few women) were involved in creating the accommodation demanded for tens of thousands of newcomers after 1840, without any overall plan, minimal intervention from authority, and the financial support of another army of individuals. Chapter 7 proposed a scheme for analysing estates according to their initiators, and the Chapters in this Part attempt to provide a selection of examples for each of the categories so identified.

The object of Chapters 8-12 is to provide a series of overviews of the creation of individual building estates, based mainly on deeds. The examples are to some extent self-selecting in that the coverage of sources is not uniform. The evidence suggests, however, a strong degree of homogeneity in the development process. In other words, the typology developed in Chapter 7, based on the occupation/type of initiator, is a convenient way of breaking down the very large number of developments, rather than a way of describing different types of estate creation. Indeed, almost all of the evidence examined in the following chapters shows that, with the possible exception of the freehold land and dwellings companies, the use of long leaseholds, minimal landowner involvement in detail, and a myriad of small builders operating an essentially handicraft industry, was universal, with little change over time or space. Chapter 13 looks at eight estates or groups in more detail, these being of wider interest, or better endowed with source material. These studies reinforce the picture.

In so far as there have been detailed studies of the development of other London suburbs, and towns and cities in the provinces, they too show that the pre-municipal phase of housing provision was similar to that in Battersea. This should not occasion surprise, as it was obviously fit for purpose in delivering accommodation for millions of new urban dwellers and returns, albeit modest and often risky, for those who decide to replace fields and gardens with crops of houses, shops, schools, churches and factories, not to mention the all-pervading railway.

## CHAPTER 8

### BUILDING ESTATES IN BATTERSEA: II - TYPES 1a/b & 2a/b

The object of this chapter is to examine in more detail the creation of building estates by original landowners, and by those who subsequently acquired land for the purpose of developing it, including all those whose occupation is not specified. Landownership in Battersea was highly fragmented (see Chap. 3), and the active land market evidenced in the late-eighteenth century is likely to have its origins several centuries previously. This is in strong contrast to other areas of London, where one or two great estates dominated the process of housebuilding. It is apparent, however, that the methods employed in Battersea tended to be the same as those used in such areas, with the exception that there was much less control over the appearance of streets and buildings, and the keeping out of undesirable trade and industry was not often achieved.

Original landowners, defined as those who owned the land in 1839, or for at least thirty years thereafter, rarely initiated development. Most opted to sell on to others, often for a fraction of the potential value. This was in part a function of the high level of absentees, their remoteness from day-to-day events in Battersea making it difficult to gauge when to develop. These were not the sort of men to employ full-time resident agents.

#### **Type 1a - Primary Resident Landowners (8 estates; 9.87 acres; 206 houses)**

These were very small estates: seven covered less than two acres (87%, cf. 41% overall); six had 25 houses or less (75%, 23% total). They are concentrated in the early years: three pre-1840 (38%, 9% total) and four were started in the 1840s (50%, cf. 14%). None lies south of Battersea Rise.

In the late-1840s boom, two owners started a trio of developments close to the "Falcon" inn [30; 43; 44], all small (5.48 ac., 75 houses), and triggered in part by the promise of a railway station at the junction of the Richmond Railway (1846) and the original Southampton line, which reached Waterloo in 1848. Unfortunately for Charles Wix and John Alder, this promise was unfulfilled, and Clapham Junction did not open until 1863. Wix's New Road was largely demolished over the years for extensions to the station, but John Alder's houses in St. John's Road were converted into shops as it became the commercial centre of Battersea after 1870. This microcosm displays well the risks of a premature start.

Alfred Place [14], on the Archbishop of York's estate, and Ashton's Buildings [28], were short culs-de-sac in the Village, typical of the infilling of former gardens which marked the early stages of suburban development, and examples of Conzen's "repletion" process.<sup>1</sup>

St. Johns Place lay between two arms of Plough Lane. It had been part of Roydon hamlet,<sup>2</sup> and formed six lots in the Spencer freehold sale on 8 July 1836. Lots 2, 3, and 4 contained old houses. On Lot 1 were two new brick houses, with gardens and a carpenter's shop, leased in 1828 to Edward Parsons (60 years; £10/10/- p.a.). Lot 5 contained five new cottages, rented to Parsons, who probably built them, for £2/2/- p.a. each. Lot 5a contained two cottages and two seven-roomed houses, leased for three lives in 1836 and 1833 respectively, implying that

they too were recent.

All were acquired by Charles Wix, owner of much land in the area. Lot 3 (TA 295) was leased to the Revd. George Cockerell on 8 August 1838 (60 yrs.; £18 p.a.). The plan was prepared by Charles Lee (see Chap. 9), acting for Wix.<sup>3</sup> Three further houses were leased to Cockerell by Samuel Wix in December 1850. Cockerell sold them to Alfred Jones of the City (father of Horace Jones the architect) in 1867, who in turn sold them for £1,155 to lawyer James Lord, who was involved elsewhere in Battersea (see Chap. 9).

### **Type 1b - Primary Absentee Landowners (8 estates; 50.64 acres; 1,290 houses)**

This type made a much larger contribution than Type 1a. Only two had less than fifty houses, three more than 200. One predates 1840 ([11] on roadside waste at Battersea Rise by Earl Spencer after 1810), and three started in the 1840s (38%, 14% total). Some represent landholdings amassed long before any prospect of building - for example those of John Lucas of Clapham [25] and Thomas Ponton [83]. Others arose from piecemeal purchase in the mid-nineteenth century, notably Edward Pain's 1876 Surrey Lane estate [148].

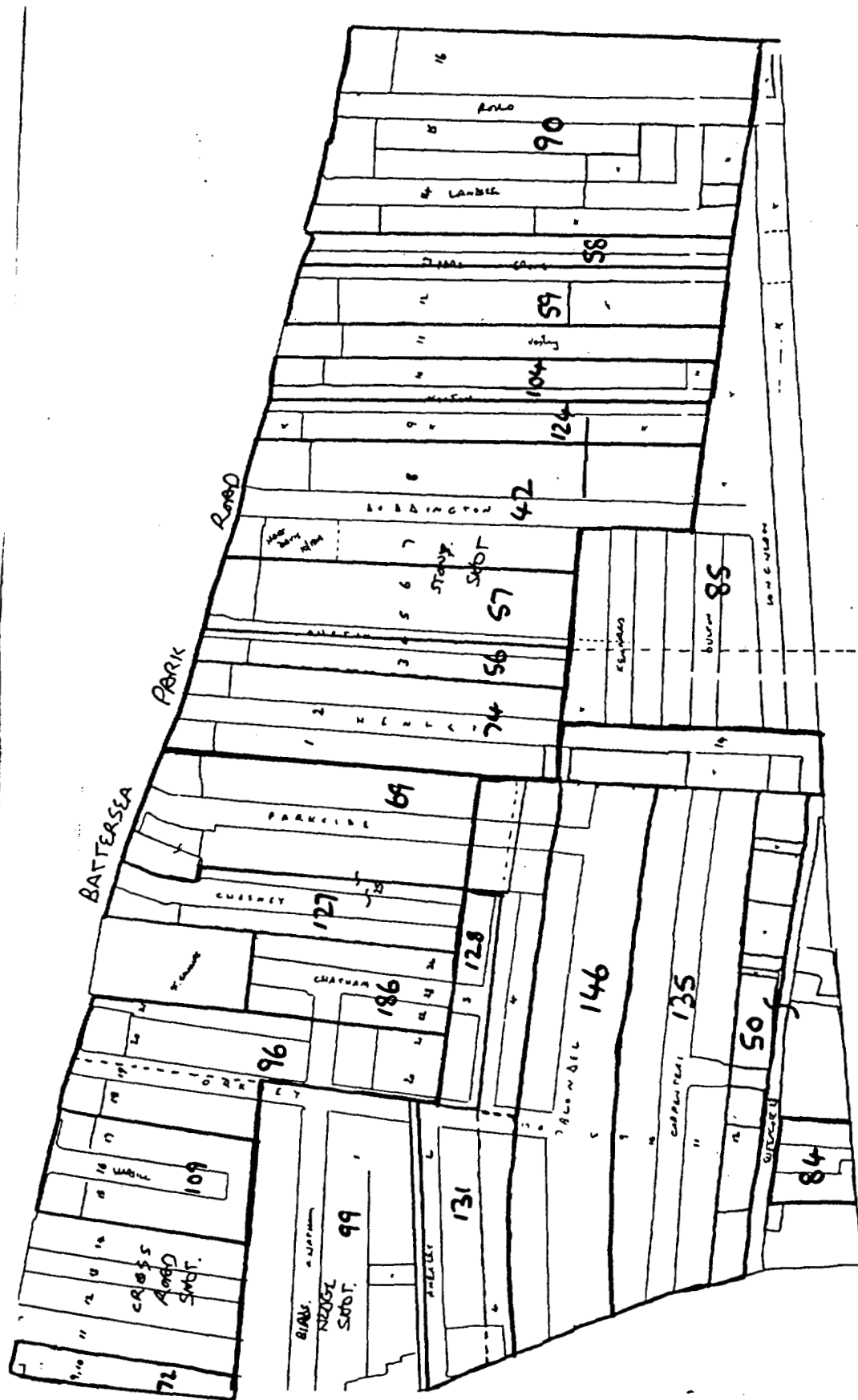
The involvement of Pain in three developments spread over thirty-five years (Mendip Road [22] 1842; Orkney Street [97] 1865, and Surrey Lane) shows the element of calculation (and luck) necessary to make a success of this business. Mendip Road was close to riverside industry and its demand for workmen's housing. Orkney Street was part of a complex mosaic of small estates built on former open field strips in the 1850s and 1860s, the first real surge of suburban growth in Battersea. Surrey Lane was intended to be a higher status development, inspired by the nearby Crown Estate. Despite consisting mostly of semi-detached villas, however, Surrey Lane was no more middle-class than the terraces of its neighbour Colestown [152]. In Booth, both belong to Classes E and F.

Pain first appeared in the local land market in the late-1830s, when he purchased some scattered lots in the Spencer sales, mostly in Battersea Fields. He may also have intended to develop a two-acre strip in Long Hedge Shot (TA 650/13; BP Act 301). In 1846 it was arable, but had eighteen separate occupiers. It lay to the west of an existing roadway, north of Battersea New Town in an industrialising area. Land to the east of this track was already being used for brickfields (BP Act 303/305).

Despite the local market for working-class housing, the development of Mendip Road was a slow process.<sup>4</sup> Pain acquired Lot 23 (1a 3r 31p) from Spencer for £325 (£167/10/- acre). On 28 July 1842, he leased a 90x120ft. plot on York Road, next to the Wandsworth boundary, to Jacob Hart, a Pimlico builder, for £13/10/- p.a. (£55/acre, ten times its agricultural value). On 25 June 1849, Pain leased 3 & 4 Mendip Road to James Stedman, builder at the direction of Samuel Moxey, bricklayer, both of Battersea for £4/4/- p.a (£101/ac.). These tiny houses had only twelve-foot frontages; 1/2 and 5/6 were leased to John Roles, a local victualler on the same terms. 7-10 Mendip Road, by George Cockell, were leased in August 1853 to John Dover, City, brass finisher, frontages were a more typical 16½ft., and rents from 2/6-4/- per ft.. Pain was clearly anxious about the rate of progress, and in April 1857, the depths of the trough in the building cycle, he leased fifteen house plots to Richard Slocombe for only £30 p.a.



Fig. 8.1 - Fields & Estates South of Battersea Park Road



— FURLONG BOUNDARIES  
 1,2,3... STRIP NOS.  
 90, 52... ESTATE NOS. (APPENDIX 4)

Canterbury Place, a court off Mendip Road, had even smaller plots, with 11½ft. frontages. 1-4 were leased to Robert Spencer, at Moxey's direction in November 1850/May 1851, at £2 p.a. each. Moxey was born in Wandsworth in 1802, and in 1851 was a builder employing two. In 1861 he had reverted to being a bricklayer. 5-7 were leased in March 1852, to William Catley, coachman. George Cockell built 8-14, leased to George Broughton of Middlesex, gentleman, in August 1853 for £24/11/-. The eastern strip of the estate remained unbuilt under Pain's ownership, and had to wait for the arrival of George Churchyard of Brixton in 1883.

Notwithstanding this experience Pain tried again in the 1860s with two estates laid out on open field strips in Cross Road Shot (TA 612/18-21), 2a 0r 13p of arable land. Building began hereabouts in 1848, although most dates from the 1860s. (Fig. 8.2 shows the pattern of furlongs, strips and building estates between Russell Street and Culvert Road, two former field paths, illustrating the complexity of fragmented ownership). The south-western corner was owned by Pain, as part of a quite separate estate [131; Type 2b]. The south-east part of Orkney Street was part of Pain's Millgrove Street development.

Pain somehow avoided getting M.B.W. approval for Orkney Street. The first notice is in leases, issued 1868/9, but for 99 years from Michaelmas 1865.<sup>5</sup> The plans were by Arthur Coard Pain, surveyor of 5 Victoria St. The complex transactions whereby Henry Beauchamp and Messrs Foot & Cross undertook to build many of the houses are now lost. In most cases, they acted as intermediaries, with other builders and tradesmen actually erecting the houses.

Although Edward Pain was not the primary owner of 2 and 4 Bird's Hedge Shot, it is sensible to deal with this development here. In 1839, they belonged to the Archbishop of York. Pain first appears as one of the parties to a six-part lease dated 30 September 1841.<sup>6</sup> There was no attempt to build until the late-1860s. The north side of Anerley Street [99] was laid out in 1865 by F.E. Knowles. The roadway was at first only 20ft. wide, the rest remaining in cultivation. Pain's leases are for 99 years from Midsummer 1870. The plans were again by Arthur Pain and a block plan of c.1873 details the lessees:<sup>7</sup> 1 Ambrose Collis; 2/3/10/11 George Collis; 4-9 Foot & Cross; 13-15 John Kemp.

As in Orkney Street, Foot & Cross were probably the original lessees in all cases, certainly 2, 3, and 14 were leased by Edward Pain at their direction. John Kemp is described as a tobacconist in the lease of 14, although he is also said to have built the house! The Collises, on the other hand, were builders from Pimlico. In March 1873, Edward Pain sold 1-15 to Coard Squarey Pain of Salisbury for £875. Foot & Cross built all five houses in Culvert Road.

The eastern part of 4 Bird's Hedge Shot was not developed until 1874. Pain had evidently been caught by the rapid downturn in 1870-1. Originally, he had intended to develop both this and strip 3 as a complete new street (Millgrove Street), and a plan to that effect was submitted to the DBW by Arthur Pain in December 1868.<sup>8</sup> The north side is shown as belonging to Foot & Cross, late F.E. Knowles. It acquired yet another owner, John Jennings of London, who developed it from 1869 [128]. In May 1875, local builder William Halsted submitted a plan for 13 new houses, the marginal plans in the leases were by A.C. Pain.<sup>9</sup> The ground floors contained two rooms and a kitchen. Halsted built all of these houses, leased for 99 years from Christmas 1874.<sup>10</sup> Purchasers included John McConochie, a tailor's cutter and Alfred Brown, brazier, both from Chelsea, who

paid #180-190 per house.

Pain was also the secondary owner of 1½ac. on the west side of Park Grove, purchasing strip 12 in Stony Shot from Hayden and Joseph Aldersey on 30 Sept. 1841. In 1839 it had belonged to the Archbishop of York. Although some houses were built in the 1850s, the seventeen plots for 21-37 were not leased until October 1871-January 1872 (99 years from Lady Day 1865 - 21/22 to George Smith, the rest to William Halsted, for £6 p.a.). George and William Smith built at least 35-37 as well, as sub-lessees of Halsted. The whole block was sold to Coard Squarey Pain in March 1873 for £1,200 (cf. Anerley St. above).

Surrey Lane was yet another false start by Pain. A plan was submitted by A.C. Pain in January 1869,<sup>11</sup> and a few houses were erected before the depression of the early 1870s. The main body of the estate was laid out in 1877, however, and there was correspondence in November/December that year over the routeing of the sewer in Octavia Street, with complaints about the extra cost to Edward Pain.<sup>12</sup> The estate was divided into 28 blocks for leasing, with house plans and elevations by Carr, Fulton and Carr of Vigo St. (see Fig. 8.2). The key plan stresses the proximity of Battersea W.L.E.R. station, which would have borne the clerks by a roundabout route to the City.

Despite being the second largest owner in 1839 (100 acres), Thomas Ponton only developed a small area at Nine Elms for housing [83], about 7½ acres. The 233 houses were packed closely, and, unusually for Battersea, most had no front areas, but opened directly onto the street. Most of Ponton's land here had been acquired by railways, the gasworks and other industries by the time building started in 1863. The estate became a classic slum by virtue of its isolation. By 1890 it was notably poor, full of gas stokers, costermongers and labourers, many of them Irish. Booth classed it AB, and Besant commented on the insanitary houses, not thirty years old, which forced the occupants to spend much time out of doors.<sup>13</sup> An undated lease of thirteen houses fronting Nine Elms Lane was granted to Frederick Sellar, a local grocer. Sellar also built 12-15 Ponton Street, leased to George Howlett, a van proprietor from Vauxhall (99 yrs.; Christmas 1862),<sup>14</sup> and 10-13 Ponton St., 1-6 Everett St., and 1-4 Currie St., all leased to Howlett in 1866.<sup>15</sup>

Thomas Ponton also sold plots to intermediaries who then built or contracted with others to erect the houses. Francis Woodgate, the Army captain who appears in the background of numerous Battersea estates of the 1860s, is here commemorated by a street-name. On 2 July 1864, William Standing, brick, lime and cement merchant of Bourne Valley Wharf Nine Elms, leased 1/3 Ponton Street to James Selden, a Hammersmith ironmonger (89 yrs.; Lady Day 1864; £5/5/- p.a. + £600). Edwin Taylor of Southwark built 1-5. Another important developer, Samuel Everett, also gave his name to a street. He was born in 1813 at Bermondsey, and by 1851 was a cooper living in nearby Haward St., employing 25. 32-52 Everett Street were leased to George Glasspool in June 1865 (70 years; £38/10/- p.a.).<sup>16</sup> These ten houses were rapidly sold to David Plenderleith, a Chelsea builder, in May 1866 for £1,400. Everett also built himself, selling leases to a variety of individuals, including: Arthur Cook, coffee house keeper of Southwark; Thomas Dean, engineer from Yeovil in Somerset; William Anwell, a foreman in the LSWR locomotive works, Edmund Johnson, steamer captain.<sup>17</sup>

### **Type 2a Estates - Secondary Resident Landowners (5 estates; 11.25 acres; 238 houses)**

Like Type 1a, these made a only small contribution. Two (Battersea Rise [86, 1863] and Chivalry Road [135, 1872]) were developed by Christopher Todd. The first was on four acres adjacent to the new Battersea Cemetery, formerly part of Henry Willis's large estate. The land had been purchased in January 1859 by David and Samuel Mitchell, and Todd was initially responsible only for the layout.<sup>18</sup> In June and December 1865 he was the lessee of 5 & 11 Auckland Road, but in June 1866 he issued the lease of 15 Auckland Road, and in 1867-68 those of 1 and 15 Buckmaster Road. John Lane of New Wandsworth (later Peckham) & John Gibson built many of the houses, including 1 Buckmaster Road, which was bought for £174 in May 1867 by Thomas Crapper, a Chelsea plumber, well known as the inventor of an early w.c. George Todd auctioned eight houses in Middleton Rd. in August 1869. They were seven-roomed houses with 'ornamental stone bay windows up to the second floor', let for 80 years at £6/6/- p.a.<sup>19</sup> Such bays were a novel feature in this area in the mid-1860s.

Chivalry (originally Phoebe or Mabel) Road was laid out next to the LBSCR's New Wandsworth goods yard (a passenger station March 1858-November 1869), on land surplus to railway requirements. It was auctioned on 21 February 1862.<sup>20</sup> Todd paid £3,290 for lots 35-40, with a 154ft. frontage to Battersea Rise, and 700ft. to Bolingbroke Grove, along with two twenty-foot strips to form the new road along the western edge. Todd purchased the sites of 20-28 Chivalry Road and 1-10 Stevens Terrace on Bolingbroke Grove in May 1867.<sup>21</sup> In 1839 this was part of Wandsworth Common, and remained scrubby heathland in the mid-1860s. Todd borrowed £2,000 on the security of the land from two Gloucestershire gentlemen in June 1867.<sup>22</sup> Development did not commence many years, although an undated plan by Tunley & Boyle, surveyors of Clements Lane, E.C. shows a layout of 35 plots.<sup>23</sup> Robert Dootson erected a terrace of fourteen houses in Chivalry Road in 1877, and work was still progressing in 1884, when Stephen Martin of Hackney was granted leases on 1-4 Stevens Terrace which he had lately erected, for £22 p.a.<sup>24</sup> A rating apportionment of March 1880 shows that nineteen houses had been erected.<sup>25</sup> F.S. Brereton of Lincoln's Inn Fields, acting as Todd's agent, held a block of building land 174ft. by 68ft.

Evidently attracted by building activity north of Lavender Hill, which began in 1865, Ebenezer Bristow of Clapham Common decided to build on part of the gardens of his house opposite (TA 431), covering just over two acres with 38 detached and semi-detached houses with distinctive grey brick fronts. The collapse of building after 1870 ensured that the rest of the grounds survived the attentions of the builder, in this case until the Corsellis family completed Sugden Road after 1886, with much higher density terraced houses. The boundary wall south of Bristow's houses and the bend in Sugden Road remain as tangible signs of the hiatus.

### **Type 2b - Secondary Absentee Landowners (33 estates; 175.14 acres; 4,081 houses)**

This group accounts for one-sixth of all Battersea developments. Only five predate 1851 (15%, 23% overall; only one, in New Town, is pre-1840). Only four more appeared in the 1850s, followed by an upsurge to eleven in the 1860s. Some individuals initiated more than one estate: Frederick Haines of Maida Vale - four [66; 68; 72; 80]; the Spicer family - three [36; 48; 61];

Francis Knowles of Pimlico/Oxford Circus - two [74; 99]; and Edward Pain - two [59; 131]. The largest estate in Battersea, 61 acres with 1,552 houses and flats, almost all aimed at middle- or upper-class tenants, was developed by the Crown after 1874. Apart from this, however, only six estates contained more than one hundred houses. At the other end of the scale, seven (21%) had 1-25, and ten (30%) 26-50 houses, confirming the tendency for the estates of "ordinary" landowners to be small: excluding the Crown estate, the average was only 3.55 acres.

Frederick Haines's estates are typical: Culvert Rd. and Havelock Tce. were very small - 1.98 acres; 61 houses; Arthur Street (4.12 ac., 141 houses), and Nine Elms, (5.44 ac.; 151 houses) more substantial. All were south of Lower Wandsworth Road and were started between 1856 and 1863. In late-1856, Haines laid out Havelock Terrace [66] on the site of Pavilion Villa and its garden, belonging to William Plank in 1839 (TA 717), with a pleasantly rural outlook to the river and adjacent farmland. A decade later a typically complex series of transactions began, ultimately leading to building. On 25 March 1848, Plank sold part to James Bailey, silk mercer, Charles Hodgson, painter and Thomas Longborough, gentleman for £630. In March 1850, he sold further land to Samuel Etches of Clapham for £270. In September 1851, Bailey, Hodgson and Etches were involved in a deal with John Lucas of Charing Cross (d. Oct. 1852), in which Etches agreed to pay Lucas and other members of his family £500. In March 1854 Etches sold the land to Haines for £1,310, a transaction endorsed by the Lucases in April. The rapid upsurge in value may be attributed to the 1853 Act for the West End & Crystal Palace Railway from the relocated Great Exhibition building at Penge to the projected Chelsea Bridge, all opened in 1858, making the area ripe for development, and beginning the cat's cradle of railways which ensured that all such housing would be for the working-classes.

On 9 January 1857 Haines leased 5-7 Pavilion Terrace and the Pavilion Tavern on the main road, and the sites of 1-12 Havelock Terrace to Benjamin Chamberlain, a Lambeth contractor (99 years; Christmas 1856; £50 p.a. + £525.) The plots for 13-32 were leased to Henry Matthews a local builder in January (23-32) and September (13-22) 1862 for £40 p.a.. Chamberlain and Matthews both sublet plots to other builders. Thomas Weeks, a Lambeth joiner, took 9-12 for £8 in April 1858, and assigned them to Henry Dunning of Whitehall, gentleman, in April 1859 (9/10) for £130+£200 mortgage and in July 1860 (11/12) for £305. For 9/10, Weeks laid down a condition that should the houses be sold to any railway company within five years, then Dunning was to repay half the purchase money. This did not happen, although the LBSCR's high-level line into Victoria (1867) passed just west of Havelock Terrace.

Matthews sublet 13-16 to John Richardson of Lambeth, stonemason, in October 1862 (99 years; Mid-1862; £12/12/- p.a. (4.04sh/ft. - 58% above his own rent to Haines)). Richardson, who built the houses in late-1862/early-1863, then let 15/16 to Alfred Clarke, plumber and glazier of Blackfriars Road in March 1863 for £8 p.a. (+27%). On 16 April 1863, Clarke mortgaged them to the National Industrial Life Assurance & General Deposit & Advance Co. for £200. Richardson retained 13/14, mortgaging them to the Sun Permanent Benefit BS for £250 on 7 August 1863, and to T.W. Neave, grocer of Goswell Road. By January 1874, this mortgage had passed through William Cooper of Camden Town (see below) to G. Badham of the City for £400, Richardson having defaulted on the payments. Alfred Clarke assigned 15-18 to Simeon Cornish of Waterloo,

licensed victualler, in January 1878 for £700. Cornish acquired 13/14 from Badham in May 1878 for £230, and assigned all six houses to James Croft, a Southwark brush manufacturer in August 1880 for £1,065.

Francis Knowles, himself a developer, entered the arena in November 1863, when Matthews mortgaged some of 23-32 Havelock Terrace to him for £350. Matthews, like Richardson, defaulted and the ground rents of 13-16/19-32 were assigned by Knowles to Cooper of Camden Town in December 1865 for only £305, equivalent to less than eight years' purchase, suggesting that he was anxious to be rid of a liability: he seems not to have been too successful in his own schemes further west. The number of leases, subleases, mortgages and assignments for Havelock Terrace provides concrete evidence for the tortuous processes involved in covering even a single acre with less than forty houses at a time of peak building activity. The fate of Henry Matthews and John Richardson, losing their stake in the houses they had built was commonplace, even when all the factors should in theory have conspired to give them success.

Arthur and Alfred Streets, patriotically named after the Queen's second and third sons, were laid out in 1858 on 17-22 Stony Shot (five different owners in 1839). Building proceeded slowly. 2-5 Alfred St. were not granted by Haines' widow Anne until June 1866 to Jane Jones, another widow (88½ years; £21). 3/4 Alfred Tce. shops in Lower Wandsworth Rd., were leased to David Jones in October 1866 for £22 p.a. Earlier Frederick Haines granted leases in mid-1860 to a variety of builders for strangely assorted terms: 20 Alfred St. to William Collins (98 yrs.; Lady Day 1860; £2/10/-); 21/22 to Daniel Tubb (97½ yrs.; Christmas 1860; £5); and 23-26, also to Tubb (99 yrs.; Mid-1859; £10).

In 1862, Haines moved west to strips 9/10 Cross Road Shot. Five parties were involved:<sup>26</sup> Joseph Clarke Esq., Riverhill near Sevenoaks; Arthur Pott of Tunbridge Wells and William Williams of Lincolns Inn Fields, gent.; Henry Stevenson, Shepherds Bush, gent.; and Francis Woodgate, captain in the Life Guards, of Underriver, also near Sevenoaks. Haines paid £970 for 1a 0r 34p (approximately £800/ac.). There was no expense in laying out roads, although drainage would of course have been required. 1-6 Culvert Road were leased to George Bateman, a Brixton builder, in Nov. 1862 to March 1863 (99 yrs.; mid-1862; £3 each). In June 1863, Bateman still owed £120 to James Carr and William Hudson, timber merchants of Vauxhall, for materials. An extra house - 1a - was inserted and leased to Robert Rice on 23 December 1867 for £4. 1-5 Carlton Cottages in the main road were leased to Henry Hunt, builder, for £21/10/- on 20 January 1866.

Haines's last estate was also his largest. He acquired two parcels of enclosed land, occupied by Henry Shailer and - Graham, for £380 on 16 April 1862, involving the same parties as at Culvert Road. 1a 3r 6p was next to St. George's parsonage and 4a 3r 24p lay between there and the LSWR (TA 786-790 parts). The plan, by Glasier & Son, was approved in May 1862.<sup>27</sup> No time was lost, the earliest lease being for 1-3 Haines Street (Haines having given up patriotism for immortality!) in August 1862 (99 yrs.; Midsummer or Michaelmas 1862; £2/16/- (3/8 per ft.)).<sup>28</sup> The first ten houses involved five builders. 11-13 were not let to James Brooker until 17 May 1869 (93 years; Michaelmas 1868; £10 p.a. (4/4 per ft.)). Brooker, of New Kent Road, was one of two major builders here, with 24 houses: 11-13 and 43-57 Haines St.; 26-31 Tweed St., and 26-38 Ceylon St.

South. 43-50 Haines St. were sold to Robert Hawkins, a wholesale grocer of Borough, who paid £1,420 (£177.50 each) in June 1866. By 1892 he was farming at Slinfold (Sussex) and handsomely rewarded, selling them to the Gas, Light & Coke Co. for £2,450.<sup>29</sup>

The other major builders were William and Frederick Croaker of Great Dover Street, Southwark, who erected at least 22 houses in Moat St. and Battersea Park Road. 15-21 Moat St. were leased to William Henry Croaker by direction of William Croaker of Brixton, gent., on 5 May 1864 for £19/12/- (3/6 per ft.). 4-7 were built by William Young of Brixton, leased by Haines at the Croakers' direction in September 1865.<sup>30</sup> The Croakers assigned 11 houses in Moat St. to Brooker in November 1869 for £950, and mortgaged 14 to William Haines of Chichester for £900 in February 1870.<sup>31</sup>

Henry Nixon of Clapham Road leased 58-61 Haines St. on 11 November 1862 for £11/4/-. Trades prohibited included dogskinning and boiling horseflesh, an interesting commentary on the activities undertaken in some developments.<sup>32</sup> Nixon assigned the lease to Richard Meager, gent., of Kennington in August 1863 for £660.<sup>33</sup> 11/12 Moat Terrace in the main road were leased to Elizabeth Knowles, widow, on 30 December 1863 (99 yrs.; Lady Day 1863; £11 (6/8 per ft.)). In May 1864, they were assigned to Frederick Sellar (see above), for £650. He conveyed them to Benjamin Love, builder, and Haines in September 1868 for £400, whereupon Haines lent Love £700. Sellar leased 11 to the occupier James Dell, butcher (21 yrs.; £50). Prohibited trades here included catgut spinning and bagnio-keeping.<sup>34</sup>

On 10 March 1870, W.R. and W.H.B. Glasier acquired 83 houses on the estate for £3,880, an average of only £47 each, equivalent to 18 years' purchase.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps Haines was tired of the lengthy process of building, taking advantage of an offer from his surveyor in an attempt to cut his losses. The following day, W.R. Glasier mortgaged them, along with 25 houses in Culvert Rd. and Sheepcote Lane (in the latter case, Haines had bought plots on an estate developed by Glasier!), for £5,000 to John Fitzherbert and Francis Wright of Derbyshire; Gerard Meynell of Rutland Gate; and Hampden Clement of Belgrave Square.<sup>36</sup>

The experiences of Frederick Haines clearly demonstrate that however alluring the prospect of acquiring cheap land at the outset of a building boom and reaping short- and long-term gains therefrom, the reality could be very different. The plethora of builders, both as lessees and sub-lessees, and of other trades and professions mean that almost every house, or small group of houses, has its own individual history, even within five years of the start. Also significant is the role of builders and others from older established suburbs - in this case notably Southwark - in developments at the urban frontier.

The Spicer family's principal estate dates from 1852, and contained 128 houses on 5½ acres (TA 545-547, Thomas Bingham and 548, William Ashpitel, all occupied by John Chancellor). In August 1844, Ashpitel leased 2½ac. of meadow to William Everitt (90 yrs.; Michaelmas 1844; £55 p.a.). Everitt mortgaged to Agnes Bazing, spinster of Vauxhall on 9 Nov. 1844 for £1000, and by January 1846, four houses had been built on Bridge Road, two at the northern extremity and two at the southern end, with 20ft. and 33ft. frontages respectively. William Morrison of Streatham, just developing his own estate on the east side of Bridge Road, acquired the land from Ashpitel in May 1846, and discharged £650 of Everitt's mortgage to Miss Bazing. In January 1847,

Henry Lingwood, a Westminster labourer, paid her £120 for the house on the corner of Hyde Lane.

The Spicers had acquired this land by August 1848, when Charles, of Brook St. Mayfair, and John Lethbridge Esq. of Westminster leased 4-6 Prescott Place, Marsh Lane to John Harley, a Brixton builder (96 yrs.; Michaelmas 1847; £12/15/- p.a.). They had two rooms, a back projection and a w.c. In March 1849, Harley mortgaged them to Charles Smith of Greenwich and William Mackrell of Westminster, gentlemen, for £300. Mackrell obtained some kind of controlling interest in at least the northern part of this estate in 1849-50, as in the Spicer's neighbouring Farnborough Estate. In November 1851, he leased 2 Hyde Cottages by direction of Charles Spicer, to Fred. Rowley, a local stonemason. Rowley built 1-8 Somerton Terrace, Hyde Lane in 1855 (he was born at Somerton in 1823, and employed three men in 1851). The standard terms on this estate were 85 years from a variety of quarter days, between three months and two years before the granting of the lease. William Spicer, a barrister, leased Grove Ho. and 5-8/12-13 Harley St. in 1851-53. In Jan. 1853, he raised £600 at 5% from Mrs. Caroline Chambers of Greenwich.

John Lethbridge leased 9-11 Harley St. to John and James Davy, builders, at C. Spicer's direction in August 1852, and of 12/13 to W. Spicer in the same month. The Davys mortgaged 9-11/14-19 to Harry Parker of Bournemouth for £1,200 at 5% in February 1853. They defaulted, no doubt hit by the depression, and Parker assigned them in July 1855 to Charles Spicer, having paid £1,605 for the nine houses at auction. Building ended where it had begun, on Bridge Road, albeit more than twenty years later. Lansdowne Place was begun by John Taylor of Regents Park in 1853 (82 yrs.; mid-1853; £5 p.a.). He went bankrupt in December 1855, owing Spicer £1,431 (£1,200 plus interest), and the carcasses remained unfinished until 1865, when Edward Chamberlain of Fulham in 1865-6, was granted new leases by Spicer (99 yrs.; Lady Day 1865; £6 p.a.). These were shops, and Charles Holmes of Chelsea, butcher, paid £530 for no.2 in December 1865. John Ritter, baker, paid only £150 for no.4 in July 1867. Further south, Milan Terrace exhibits a similar two-part history: 1-6 were built by William Snook in 1851-52, and mortgaged to Spicer for at least £1,840 between 1851 and 1856. After a hiatus, 7/8 were leased in March 1859 and May 1863, but 9/10 were not built until 1868 by Thomas Gray of Fulham, when leases were being granted by Spicer's executors.

Job Caudwell of Haverstock Hill's Clapham Junction estate (12.26 ac.; 386 houses) was immediately north of the station. The district was ripe for development, although the aspiration for what would today be called "commuter" housing, became in reality streets of tightly-packed terraces inhabited by various levels of the working classes.<sup>37</sup> About 17.75 acres had been leased by Earl Spencer to William Howey and Benjamin Davies in May 1836. By 1839, Howey was the owner (TA 268/9). Part was taken by the LSWR in 1864, but the rest was laid out for Howey by George Todd in 357 lots. According to a deed of covenant dated 23 November 1864, Lots 1, 88, 101, 143 and 325 could be used for public houses or hotels, worth at least £400, the rest being for houses of not less than £100. Streets and sewers - the latter of great importance on this low-lying site - were to be laid out at Howey's expense before 25 March 1865. Todd's plan for Murdoch, Livingstone, Speke, Grant and Berger Roads, was approved in July 1864, subject to a slight alteration in August, when Berger Road became a continuation of Winstanley Road.<sup>38</sup> Scarcely any building occurred under Howey's ownership, however. Then living at 28 Denbigh Place,



# CLAPHAM JUNCTION ESTATE.

TO BE SOLD OR LET ON BUILDING LEASES  
FOR 99 YEARS,  
Apply or Address the Freeholder as above.  
*The Plots tinted black are disposed of.*

THE FREEHOLD PROPERTY OF  
**Job Caudwell Esq. F. R. S. L.**  
Albion Villa, New Wandsworth, s.w.

KEY PLAN.

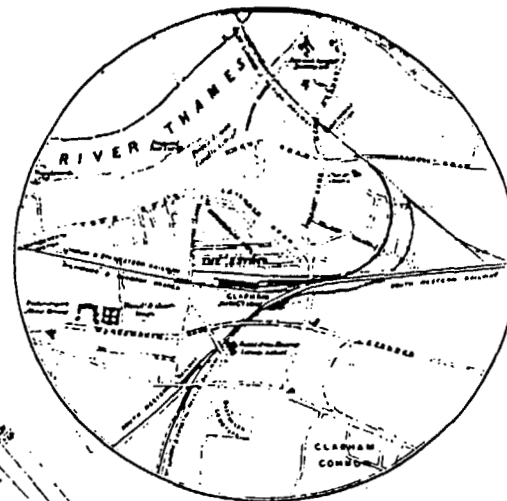
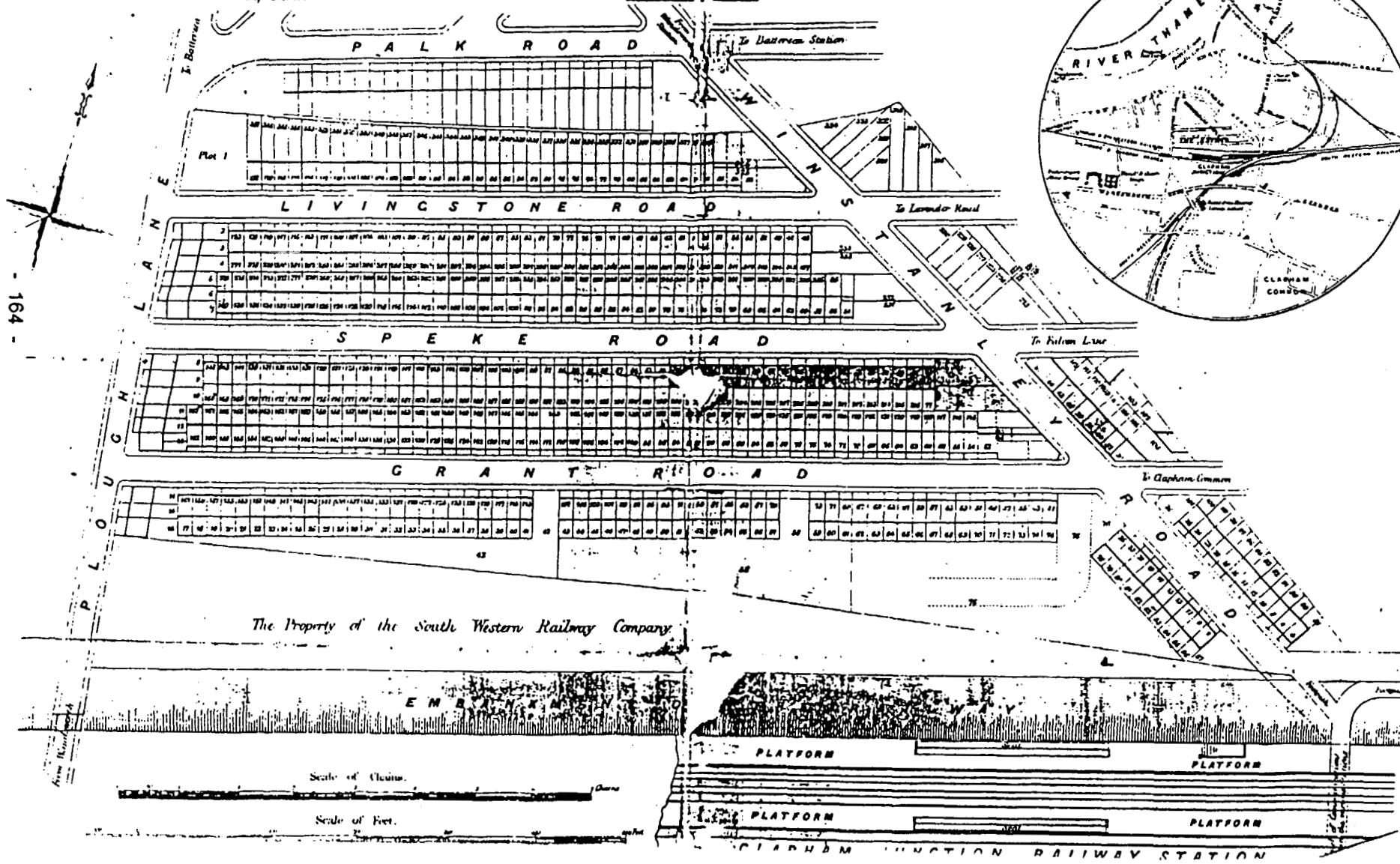


Fig. 8.3 - Job Caudwell's Estate, 1864



Pimlico, he made his will on 1 June 1864,<sup>52</sup> subsequently moving to Barnstaple, Devon, where he died in March 1866. The original intention was to sell plots, as on the adjacent CLS estate, but the change of ownership put an abrupt end to this policy. Lots 143 (Grant Road) and 191/192 (Speke Road) were sold by Howey through Frederick Chester of Newington, his lawyer, in December 1864 to Henry Smith, a Wandsworth publican, for £190.<sup>40</sup> Smith conveyed the sites and houses to Thomas Graves of Euston, lead merchant and builder, in October 1867 for £450. On 11 September 1865, Howey sold Lots 9/10 in Plough Lane to Charles Garrood of Penge, gentleman, for £80 (£3,300/ac.).

The estate was bought by Caudwell (1820-1908), at a sale held by Todd in June 1865. The conveyance from Howey and Chester was not, however, completed until 14 February 1866. Caudwell was to be paid £10,000 at 5% by Kirkman Hodgson M.P. of Bishopsgate, Octavius Coope of South Weald, Essex and George Fuller of Lombard Street, to be repaid by 10 August 1866. In May 1868, the sum was still outstanding, but the lenders were "sure that the value of plots is sufficient to meet the debt". The datum for leases was Michaelmas 1865. Caudwell clearly lost no time in recouping his outlay. Standard printed leases (an early example of their use locally) were issued in the names of Caudwell, Hodgson, Coope and Fuller. Redevelopment has left deeds for about half the houses, and only the main features are summarised here. Caudwell adopted a high-rental policy, which led to difficulties for at least one builder, George Reeve of Camberwell (see Chap. 6), who gave notice of sixty houses in Grant Road on 21 March 1866. Other significant builders were: James Loud (49 houses 1867-70); Frederick Rimell of Peckham (44); Isaac Kerridge (61 in 1868), and Henry Shillito (at least 25). Rimell, living in one of his early houses, was still building in Speke Road in May 1870.<sup>41</sup>

Sources of finance were as usual varied, and included William West of Clapham (£1,200 to Reeve, March 1866); the Planet Building Society (£900 to Rimell against 19½ shares; £658 to Kerridge, 1868)); Eden Greville, gent., Southfields (£495 to Loud, 1868-70); George Pickworth and Joseph Sharp, brick and tile merchants of Palace Wharf Nine Elms (£446 at 5% to Kerridge, 1868). A sample of transactions is summarised below.

Table 8.1  
Caudwell Estate Finances

Date	Address		Details	
03/66	48-54/62-70 Grant R.	M	Wm. West, Clapham	£1,200
08/67	117-9 Grant R.	M	John Freeman	550
10/67	143 Grant/191/2 Speke R.	S	Thos. Graves, bldr., Euston	450
01/68	59 Plough R.	M	Temperance PBBS	270
01/68	47-49/59 Speke R.	M	Henry Jones, gent., Batt.	630
03/68	55 "	M	102 Starr Bowkett BBS	300
05/68	79 Grant R.	M	Planet Benefit BS	164
06/68	96-102 Livingstone R.	M	Planet BBS	658
07/68	108-12 " "	M	Pickworth & Sharp, Nine Elms	446
08/68	92-96 Grant R.	M	Eden Greville, gent., Wands.	320
08/68	71 Speke R.	M	West London Perm. Mutual BBS	230
12/68	47 "	A	John Wien, mason, Pimlico	90
01/69	93-99 Grant R.	M	Planet Benefit BS	736
02/70	131-5 Speke R.	M	Planet BBS	460
09/75	48/56/60/2 "	A	Thos. Bolton, Hastings	670
02/76	55 Speke R.	S	Wm. Ricketts, ry. clk. occ.	250
04/76	93-101 Livingstone R.	M	Liberator Permanent BBS	900
12/77	93-101 Livingstone R.	A	Parker Todd, gent., Islington	1,200

A=Assigned; M=mortgaged; S=Sold

Long before the estate was finished, sales of houses and shops took place, many by George Todd.

In the best tradition of estate agents some houses were described as 'contiguous to the great station' or 'seven minutes from Clapham Junction', while the shop at 41 Grant Rd. was aimed at 'drapers, butchers, stationers and oilmen'.<sup>42</sup> One unusual amenity was the 'capacious swimming bath (which) has been erected by John Dickeson of Speke Rd.'. <sup>43</sup> It had several private hot and cold baths, and drew its water from wells on the site, which contained 'iron, &c.'.

Francis Knowles' Anerley Street development [99] was closely associated with those of Edward Pain (Orkney St.) and Frederick Haines (Culvert Rd.). It was laid out between them in 1863 on strip 1 in Birds Hedge Shot - 3½ acres which had belonged to Thomas Ponton in 1839. Knowles had purchased the land from Francis Woodgate on 6 November 1862. The plan was approved in January 1863 by the MBW, along with the names Chatham St. (Richmond Terrace having been rejected) and Annerley (sic) St.<sup>44</sup> Fig. 8.1 shows that Anerley St, lay along the boundary between two strips, as did Orkney St., part of which belonged to Knowles, the rest to Pain. Knowles's segment was approved on 31 July 1863. Some months later, the Battersea Local Surveyor reported that he had received a letter from Mr. Knowles about forming Orkney St. to only half its width, as the adjoining owner intended to provide the rest. The surveyor was instructed to inform him that it must be formed to the full 40ft. width *before* any houses were commenced.<sup>45</sup> In July 1864, the Battersea Surveyor reported that a Mr. Ing wished to commence building in Sheepcote Lane before widening the road, 'in order to save him[self] the expense of purchasing the crops now standing upon the ground', the Board declined to meet his request.<sup>46</sup>

Building proceeded in a leisurely fashion. Knowles leased 15/16 Anerley St. to Alfred Jarman of Dulwich on 1 May 1867 (99 yrs.; mid-1866; £6),<sup>47</sup> who also built 10-14, and conveyed them to Thomas Homewood, a Westminster draper for £1,250 in February 1876. George Foot and David Cross, active on Pain's estate, also worked on Knowles's part of Orkney St. They paid £250 for the site of the Surrey Tavern (64½ft. by 245ft.), on 30 November 1868, and conveyed the freehold reversion to James Bailey, beer retailer, in March 1877, for £1,000, a handsome return even if they had spent £700 on the building.<sup>48</sup> Knowles leased 14-20 Millgrove St. to local builder Henry Hunt in May 1865 (99yrs.; Mid-1863), who in turn leased them to William Halstead in 1875. There was a proviso in Hunt's will that the houses could be sold fifteen years after his death. This occurred on 24 Aug. 1890, and 14-17 were duly sold for £390 to Edwin Evans, surveyor of Wandsworth Common in Feb. 1906 by J.C. Bell, land agent and surveyor of 411 Battersea Park Road.<sup>49</sup>

Lavender Hill Park was owned by John Westwood of Tottenham in 1871 (at the Manor House, Dulwich by 1879). It was part of Elizabeth Graham's estate in 1839. When complete, it contained 225 houses and two churches. J. Barnett, architect and surveyor, produced plans in April 1872, followed by changes of names and alignments.<sup>50</sup> Despite the recession, work began promptly in the Spring of 1872. By late-August, 54 houses had been completed. Work then ceased abruptly, not resuming until February 1875: 56 more houses were built by the end of 1876. Only in 1877 did output accelerate, with the uptum in demand, with 105 houses added by the end of 1879.

Although 26% of the houses were built in 1872, half belong to the peak after 1877, and not

that of the 1860s which was the key factor in Westwood's decision to develop. Three builders contributed 48% of the houses: Mark Chamberlain 34; James Holloway 47; and Henry Conning 27. A typical lease, using a standard printed form, was granted to James Holloway, of 703 Wandsworth Road, on 11 October 1878 for 21 Marmion Road (99 yrs.; Christmas 1871; £6/6/- p.a). The frontage of 18ft. was wider than usual for Battersea and indicative of the target middle-class market.<sup>51</sup> Holloway assigned the lease to Adolphus Harvey, of Vauxhall Bridge Road, master mariner, for £425, who mortgaged it to Henry Nevill of Hermé Hill, Welsh bread manufacturer. Henry Conning built all the houses at the east end of Freke Road. Many of the houses were re-leased in August 1894 to the Metropolitan House Investment & Agency Co. Ltd. by Selina Parriss of Willesden (80 yrs.; mid-1894; £5p.a.), including 32-68 Gowrie Road, 111-121 Lavender Hill and 26-46 Freke (now Nansen) Road.<sup>52</sup>

The Wandsworth Road estate of Richard Strong of Camberwell and Henry Smallman of Brixton Rise, gentlemen [140] also started in the unpropitious early 1870s. Their architect was W. Adams Murphy of Church St., Camberwell, who submitted plans in late-1873 for Dashwood, Sterndale, Stockdale and Kenneth Roads (the latter an extension of Stewarts Lane).<sup>53</sup> Murphy later tried to squeeze even more houses into the SW corner of the estate, in two culs-de-sac called Ker (earlier Trellis) and Dampier Roads, each with only twelve houses, approved in June 1874 after exchanges with the DBW.<sup>54</sup> This was the only undeveloped land in this area by 1873. As befitted its location and the nature of surrounding estates, Murphy opted for a high density - 29.44 houses/ac. (about 190 persons).

The prehistory of the estate is straightforward. In 1839 it formed part of two meadows covering 22 acres surrounded by drainage ditches in this low-lying area prone to flooding - one (TA 705) belonging to R.W. Southby and the other (707) to Thomas Ponton, both occupied by Edward Matson. By 1862 they belonged to Francis Woodgate, one of his land speculations in east Battersea. On 1 June that year, he sold this land to Charles Hilton and George Cobb.<sup>55</sup> Despite the boom in railway and house building, and the example of their neighbours John Lucas and John Brooks, they did not build, and the land was bought in turn by the LCDR on 28 April 1870, not for running lines, but to extend their goods facilities. Only the western part was used, however, by the Midland Railway, the rest being sold to Strong and Smallman on 2 February 1874, *after* the streets had been sanctioned.

Standard printed leases were used, increasingly common after 1870, and evidence of a production-line approach to development. The terms were for 90 years from Lady Day 1874, with frontages of 14-17 ft. Rents were low - about 3-4/- per foot on the side streets and 5/9 on Stewarts Road.<sup>56</sup> Typical was the lease of 1-5 Stockdale Road to Isaac Pentecost on 14 October 1875. He paid £8/5/- p.a. for his plots. The houses were leased on 6 December that year to George Webb, gent., of Brixton (88½ yrs.; Michaelmas 1875 (i.e. the residue of the original term); £12/12/- and £900 consideration, a 53% mark up). Webb mortgaged them to Pentecost for £500 at 5%.<sup>57</sup> Pentecost built 1-27 and 2-14 Stockdale Rd. He purchased the irregular site of the latter (frontage 300ft., but maximum depth only 35ft., reflecting the meadow boundary) in February 1878 for £278/11/- (£1620/ac.).<sup>58</sup> In April 1880, he mortgaged the seven houses which he had crammed in to R.M. Jones of Brixton for £1,000, from whom he had already obtained £2,000 on 7-27 in 1879.<sup>59</sup>

Eight plots in Patmore St. were used for St. Andrew's C. of E. church. A temporary iron church was consecrated in November 1878, the permanent structure followed in 1886.<sup>60</sup> Booth classified the whole estate as C - moderate poverty, in contrast to the adjacent Lucas estate, which was EF - fairly comfortable.

Having reviewed the evidence for Type 1 and 2 estates, it remains to summarise the common threads. The group includes the largest (Crown) and some of the smallest developments and contains many begun in the 1860s and 1870s, including a range along the south side of Battersea Park Road in the old Common Field. It is clear that in very many cases, no matter how small the scheme, the process of converting fields into houses was far from straightforward. Lothair Street is a good case in point, where it took several changes of ownership and planned layouts to achieve a very modest result. Even the Crown Commissioners took almost fifty years from the opening of Battersea Park before they finished their scheme. The vagaries of the building cycle repeatedly caught developers, lawyers, financiers and builders by surprise, often with disastrous results for some or all of the parties concerned. The late-1860s collapse caused by over-building and financial crises was significant in this respect, catching some absentee owners who had just decided to get on the bandwagon unawares.<sup>61</sup> Strangely, the choice of locations remote from the main frontier of suburban building, for example at Old Park and St. Johns Hill Grove, did not necessarily prove a rash decision.

Resident primary and secondary landowners made an insignificant contribution to the creation of the suburb - 444 houses on 21 acres, less than 2% of the total. This reflects the essential fluidity of the local land market, and also the suddenness with which the tide of development swept across Battersea after 1840. Many of the owners of 1839 seem to have been repelled by the sea of bricks and mortar so memorably depicted in "London Going out of Town" by George Cruickshank, and unwilling to get themselves involved in this allegedly lucrative business. This is true even if landowners allocated to the "agricultural" category (6d) and those belonging to specific professions are included. The vicissitudes suffered by many of their absentee peers suggest that this failure to espouse the new order was not necessarily mistaken. The majority were content to wait for a buyer who could see the potential of their property, and taking an ever-increasing sum per acre as the process became irreversible. Absentee landowners, primary and secondary, provided 21% of houses (5,300 on 226 acres), the largest single contribution.

It is evident that the innocuous terms "esquire" and "gentleman" conceal a wide range of backgrounds and circumstances. For example, James Bennett was a Balham draper in 1865, but by 1882 was a Wiltshire gentleman. Similarly, one member of the Spicer family was a barrister, and may well have played a critical role in financing their various developments. There are some common strands across the spectrum of Type 1 and 2 estates:

1. Virtually all absentee owners came from the greater London area.
2. Most set out the land for building within five years of acquisition.
3. Many sold off some or all of the property as soon as it was completed.
4. There is a strong element of speculative purchase, with some estates changing hands one or more times between 1839 and the onset of building.

5. Several estates originally in unitary ownership were divided, either before or during the building process.

6. Building often spanned two, or even three, building cycles, taking 25-50 years to finish even quit modest estates.

Many of these factors relate to the remoteness of the developer from the estate, and to imperfect flows of information. To some extent men like Edward Pain, Frederick Haines, Francis Knowles and Charles Spicer acted on the assumption that real estate development in Victorian London had to succeed, despite the evidence all around of bankruptcy and areas which took a generation and more to complete. In some respects they were justified in their optimism, making often considerable gains and contributing significantly to the provision of houses in Victorian Battersea. They and others, however, just as often found that the risks outweighed the chances for a quick, guaranteed profit.

As Thompson has written, overoptimism about the market for middle-class housing was endemic, and continually flew in the face of the real demand from this sector<sup>62</sup> In fact, only Altenburg Gardens amongst the estates in these groups actually put this theory into practice. The vast majority of houses provided on the 54 estates in these groups were more or less ordinary terraces of two-three storeys, fringed by shops and pubs along the principal thoroughfares, with a very thin scattering of semi-detached houses of modest proportions.

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## CHAPTER 9

### BUILDING ESTATES IN BATTERSEA III: TYPES 3, 4 and 5

The chapter examines sixty-four estates initiated by three quintessential groups of entrepreneur: architects and associated professions, builders and lawyers, all three associated in some way with every other building estate, of course. Like those developed by landowners, however, they were small-scale (31% of estates, but only one quarter of the land and houses). This is probably a reflection of the difficulties of capital accumulation facing small entrepreneurs, especially builders, and the fact that it was preferable to let others take a share of the risks involved. The examples of these types confirm the similarity of methods of creating and building estates, irrespective of original ownership and the occupation of the initiator. They underscore the vitality and significance of small-scale entrepreneurial enterprise in Victorian urban development.

#### **Type 3 - Developed by Architects, Surveyors, etc. (18 estates; 67.88 ac.; 1,508 hos.)**

Architects and surveyors, involved in most estates in one capacity or another, occasionally took prime responsibility for development. William Pocock (see Chap. 13) and Edward l'Anson each covered more than ten acres, with 520 houses between them (39%), but the average size of the rest was only 2.21 ac./58 houses. The first five date from the late-1840s, three by W.R. Glasier. The 1860s boom produced another six (one by Glasier, two by Charles Lee). Only one comes in the 1877-81 peak. Edward l'Anson's Lavender Hill estate probably relates more to his position as District Surveyor for Clapham than to his architectural practice.<sup>1</sup>

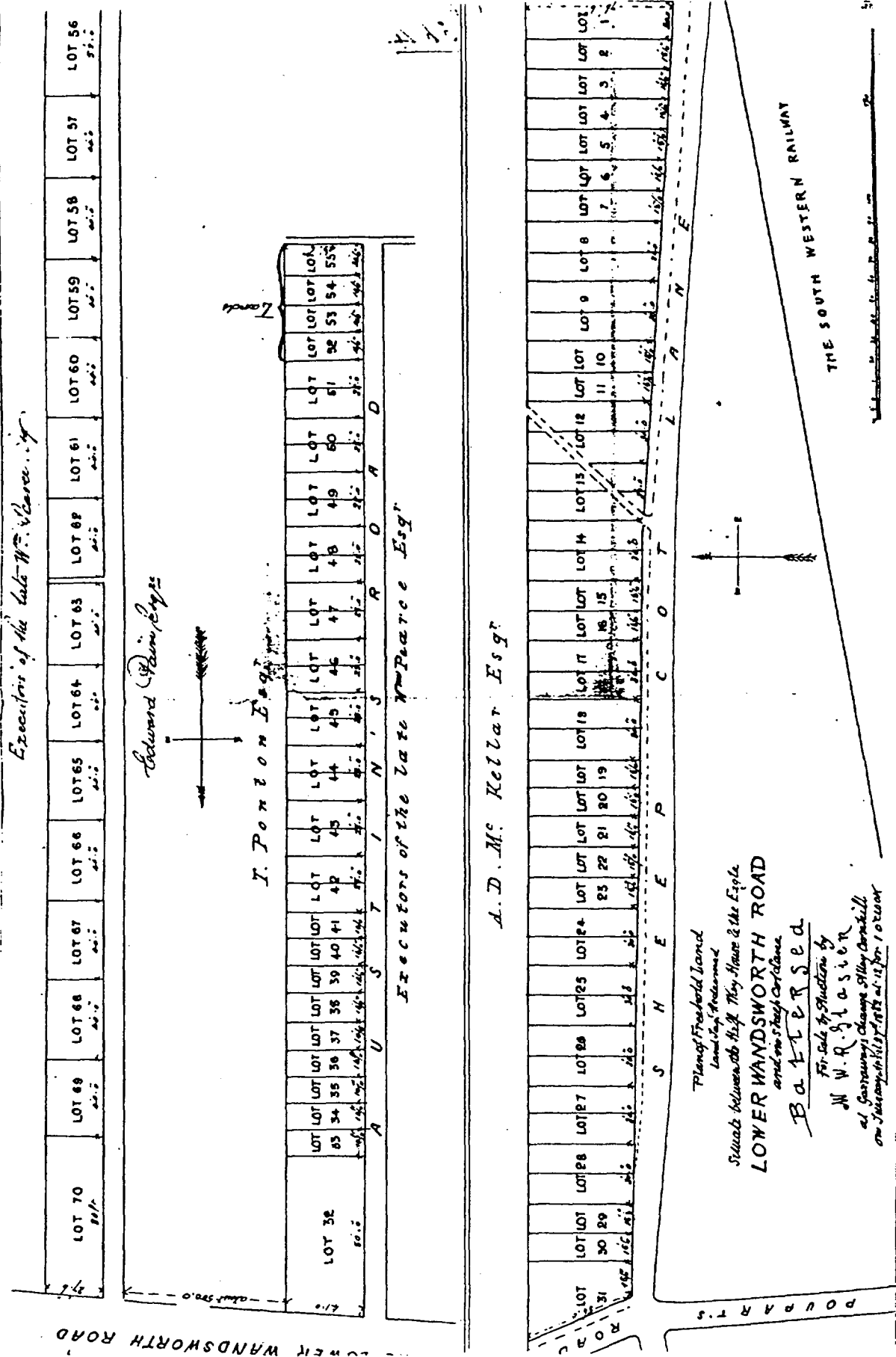
W.R. Glasier, auctioneer and surveyor of Charing Cross, was involved with various local landowners from 1845 to the 1860s. He also acted on his own account. Three of his estates were in the Common Field (1851-2). Two (Austins Road (E) [57] and Park Grove (E) [58]) were strips in Stony Shot acquired in 1852. He laid out the streets and plots, and then sold them off. On 27 April 1852, 31 lots in Sheepcote Lane (north) [50], 24 in Austin's Road and 15 in Park Grove were sold.<sup>2</sup> The ability to maximise the packing of houses was already fully developed by 1852, with the more typical 15ft. by 55-75ft. plots in Sheepcote Lane contrasting with those in Park Grove where the shape of the strip produced plots 40ft. wide by only 27½ft. Those in Austins Road were 14x41ft., equivalent to 76 houses/ac. net.

In July 1851 Glasier purchased 43 perches on the south side of Sheepcote Lane from Samuel Poupart, market gardener, for £105 (£391/ac.).<sup>3</sup> He retained this land, leasing a messuage and yard to John Attreed a Chelsea builder in December 1852 (99 yrs.; mid-1852; £5 p.a.). In July 1854, James Smith, builder, leased 33/35 a semi-detached pair with three rooms on the ground floor (99 yrs.; Christmas 1851; £5 p.a.). Glasier leased 18 and adjacent land to Smith in May 1869 (90 yrs.; Michaelmas 1868; £5 p.a.).

Glasier's last and largest estate [76] (3.38 ac., 110 hos.) was a triangular area next to Latchmere Common (TA 619 and a strip of roadside waste). 32-38 Brougham Street were built by William Huggins, a Pimlico horsekeeper and leased to him in Dec. 1867/Jan. 1868 (99 yrs.; Michaelmas 1867; £10 p.a.).<sup>4</sup> Edward Raybould, slater of Waterloo Road, paid Richard Glasier (son of W.R.) £300 in October 1868 for a plot at the corner of Bagley Street and Culvert Road (about £2,400/ac.).<sup>5</sup> Raybould built the Bagley Arms beerhouse, and let it subsequently to Tom



Fig. 9.1 - W.R. Glasier's Estates, 1852



Paine in December 1883, who mortgaged it to Charrington's Brewery for £710.<sup>6</sup> The mixture of leasing and selling here as elsewhere does not suggest a coherent policy of development by Glasier & Sons, rather an opportunistic approach. All these estates were low status (Booth Classes C and D), suffering from their proximity to railways.

Edward l'Anson's was the largest estate (14½ac.), although the housing, aimed at the lower-middle classes, was low-density and there were only 235 houses (16.12/ac.). In 1839 these fields were owned by Elizabeth Graham (TA 483/4/5 pt./8), a mixture of osier beds, meadow and nursery land. His plans and names were approved in October 1867.<sup>7</sup> In 1873, Eland and Grayshott Roads were extended into the Shaftesbury Park estate, a relatively low risk socially, given that this was "Workmen's City". l'Anson's original names were used in applications from builders to the DBW *before* formal approval by the MBW. These include four houses in Elstead (Grayshott) Rd.; 29 houses (John Johnson 12; C. Creasey 13) in Farnham (Tipthorpe) Rd., and 38 houses (34 from Samuel Bowker) in Thursley Rd./St. (Pountney Rd.). Otherwise only five houses in Gideon Rd. (1868), seven in Grayshott Rd. (1872) and ten in Lavender Hill (1868-71) appear in the records. The original datum for leases was Christmas 1867. 1/2 Glynde Tce., Lavender Hill were leased to John Martin on 25 March 1872 (94 yrs.; Lady Day 1872; £9/9/-).

Charles Lee (1805-1880) was an architect and surveyor with a long career who worked across London from Holloway to Putney.<sup>8</sup> He was a pupil of Nash, and worked on the Regent's Park/Street schemes. He surveyed the line of the Richmond Railway in 1844, and the Putney Tithe Map (1846), and was involved in the assessment of land values for Battersea Park, and the architect of Christ Church, Battersea (1847). As such, Lee was well-qualified to observe trends in suburban development, although he only acquired two small properties on his own account. The first of these was 4.5 ac. in Stony Shot [90]. Rollo and Landseer Streets were approved in April 1864.<sup>9</sup> This was a high-density, working-class development, with 134 houses (29.58/ac.). The plans were by Lee Brothers & Pain of Whitehall Place. ("Pain" may have been the Arthur Pain who worked for his relative Edward (Chap. 8).) 19-29 Landseer St. were leased in November 1867 to Charles Young of Chelsea, gent., and William Austin of Westminster, builder (99 yrs.; Christmas 1863; £16/16/-). This apparently ordinary transaction marks the first venture of the newly-established (Jan. 1867) Artizans' & General Labourers' Dwellings Co., Austin's own creation which was later taken over by others.<sup>10</sup> These houses were notified by the Secretary, Mr. Swindlehurst on 24 April 1867.

Charles Lee's other estate comprised 16 houses-cum-shops in Clock House Terrace, west of that tavern in Lower Wandsworth Road [108] (1867). James Hancock, mason, who also ran the tavern, paid Lee £288 for 449/451 in October 1868 (99 yrs.; mid-1867; £16 p.a.).<sup>11</sup> The builder was William Gammon of Latchmere Road. Joseph Watkins built 8 Clock House Tce. in 1867 and sublet it to George Allen of Euston, zinc worker for three years that May. Allen was declared bankrupt in March 1869. James Hancock, now a builder, moved to 467 Battersea Park Road, which he sold to the West Brompton & Chelsea Labouring Classes Dwellinghouse Co. for £430 in February 1876.<sup>12</sup>

Messrs. F.R. & F. Vigers, auctioneers and surveyors of Old Jewry, developed an estate between Havelock Tce. and the LSWR in 1869 [126].<sup>13</sup> In 1839 it had been Daniel Sturdy's garden

(TA 711). The land was sold as surplus by the LCDR upon completion of their high-level approach to Victoria (1867). The Vigers were involved directly in this process, being responsible for the sale of the 7th. Portion of LCDR land on 19 February 1868, including 0.44ac. in Stewarts Lane.<sup>14</sup> 1-12 Park place were built by Frederick Snelling of Stockwell & William Nash of Brixton in 1876-7 for John Pilcher, Esq., of Stockwell (99yrs; Lady Day 1876; £4/6/8). The frontages were narrow (14ft 2in, no.1 only 10ft 4in). Snelling & Nash assigned the leases of 1-3 to the House Property & Investment Co. in April 1877 for £475; 11 was leased to Robert York a Spitalfields builder in the same month.

The Croft Estate (Stainforth Road) was originally planned as Maxwell Road by George Todd c.1871 for T.O. Todd of Lewisham & William Hurd of Peckham, who, with John Walls, had purchased the land from the WLER on 25 July 1871.<sup>15</sup> Stainforth Road was approved at an unpropitious time,<sup>16</sup> and no building took place. Exactly seven years later, on 24 July 1878, Todd & Hurd sold the land to Alpheus Morton, architect & surveyor of Chancery Lane for £3,000 (£1,310/ac.) Morton had to negotiate access from the south end onto Pocock's land to avoid the cul-de-sac problem. He called on Pocock, who asked £400 for the right of way, writing later 'that he had as many pence might be doubtful, but he was a talkative member of the Local Board, and worked to get his communication'.<sup>17</sup> Morton persuaded the DBW to assert a right to an old occupation road which ran across the site, and they pulled down part of Pocock's boundary wall. Not to be outdone, Pocock 'fought them off, till I had made such arrangements... as would give me the £400, and then I made it'. 'Poor Morton had ruined his estate, but I don't suppose he had a feather to fly with... if he thinks he has got the better of me, he is welcome.' Morton ended up with an awkward dog-leg and some very constricted plots at the south end of Stainforth Rd., although he and Todd still managed to cram in 89 houses (39/ac.). Clearly there was no professional love lost between the two architects - perhaps Pocock had failed in an attempt to buy the land. The leases standard printed leases were for 90yrs. from mid-1878, and the rents £4/10/- p.a. (6/5 per ft.).<sup>18</sup> Edward Newman, a prominent local builder, erected all the houses. Investors included Charles Salmon of Tooting and Henry Hambling, a Battersea bank manager.<sup>19</sup>

The Princes Estate was laid out by Frederick Wheeler FRIBA for the Pryce family in 1888-9, including Thomas Pryce, architect of Grays Inn Square, Miss Ann Pryce of Shrewsbury and Lucy Pugh of Bridgnorth.<sup>20</sup> It had been part of Juer's market garden (TA 581), scheduled in the Battersea Park Act, but never purchased by the Crown. Juer died in November 1878, when Richard Pryce, his trustee, assumed the name Juer. Pryce died intestate in May 1883.<sup>21</sup> Juer and Worfield Streets were laid out with long north-south terraces, and were mostly incomplete on the OS plan of 1893. Most were built by William Stewart, who had previously worked in Rosenau Rd. on the Crown estate, immediately to the south. Terms were 99 yrs. from Lady Day 1888, ground rent £8 for 19-20ft. plots in Park Road, or £6 for 18ft. plots in the side streets. Stewart raised at least £1,100 by mortgaging 34-38 Park Rd. to Edward Fooks of Carey St. in 1895. These houses comprised three self-contained flats, letting for 9/6 p.w. (ground/second floors) or 10/6 p.w. (first floor). Stewart sold some land to the School Board for London in November 1894 for £500, originally sold to Edward Thompson in February 1889 for £500, and conveyed to Stewart in late-1891. The Pryce family followed suit with a larger plot in February 1895 for £1,650. The 0.75ac.

for their new school cost the SBL the equivalent of £2,800/ac.

**Type 4 - Estates Developed by Builders (38 estates; 165.82 acres; 3,856 houses)**

Although all were initiated by a builder (or building tradesman), estates and developers display a wide range of size and scope of operation. They account for 18% of estates, and about 15% of development land and houses. Alfred Heaver's six estates (1,157 houses - 30%) will be considered in Chap. 13. The Trustees of Thomas Cubitt (three estates, only 245 houses) were also unusual in having more than one development. Given the financial risks involved, the great majority of builder-developers were responsible for only one, usually small estate. The average size of Type 4 estates is 4.36 acres, with 101 houses (about 15% less than the overall average). Treen's study of Leeds showed that builder-developers accounted for 42% of developments, with an average size of 11 acres, almost three times the Battersea figure.<sup>22</sup> This is distorted by four especially large builders, however. If they are excluded, the average is only three acres. In Camberwell, also, the work of Edward Yates in Nunhead vastly inflated the real contribution of builders as developers.<sup>23</sup>

Table 9.1  
Type 4 Estates: Date and Size

a. Estates										
Acres	<1840	-1850	-1860	-1870	-1880	-1890	-1904	Total	%	All %
0-1	2	2		3				7	18.92	24.88
1-2		1	3	3				7	18.92	16.75
2-5		2	1	3	5	2	1	14	37.84	31.58
5-10						4		4	10.81	12.44
>10		1			2	2		5	13.51	14.36
Houses										
1-25	2	3		3				8	21.62	23.44
26-50		2	2	3	1	1		9	24.32	18.18
51-100			1	1	4	3	2	11	29.73	24.40
101-250			1	2		2		5	13.51	22.49
251+		1			2		1	4	10.81	11.49
Total	2	6	4	9	7	6	3	37		
%	5.41	16.22	10.81	24.32	18.92	16.22	8.11			
b. Size										
Area	<1840	-1850	-1860	-1870	-1880	-1890	-1904			
0-1	0.68	0.77		1.90						
1-2		1.05	5.10	3.93						
2-5		6.34	3.63	11.67	15.49	4.46	2.63			
5-10						25.01				
10+		17.88			32.52		34.90			
Total	0.68	26.04	8.73	17.50	48.01	29.47	37.53			
%	0.40	15.50	5.20	10.42	28.58	17.55	22.34			
1-25	35	26		51						
26-50		77	55	110	44	48				
51-100			71	55	314	210	126			
101-250			108	234		370				
251+		426			929		476			
Total	35	539	234	450	1287	628	602			
%	0.93	14.28	6.20	11.92	34.09	16.64	15.95			

Type 4 has an age-size profile generally similar to all estates. It is under-represented before 1840 and 1861-70, in the <1 acre and 101-250 house categories, but over-represented 1871-90, two-five acres and 26-100 houses. As with other types, the *modus operandi* varied little

over time, the standardised system which had evolved in the suburbs of Georgian London was merely transplanted to the fields of Battersea.

Industry Row and Meeting House Row (15 houses) were built c.1805 on 0.4 ac. at the corner of York and Lombard Roads by Ezekiel Pennington, a carpenter who later became parish clerk of Battersea. He died childless, and his brother Joseph held a life interest in the houses, being enfranchised in 1844 by Earl Spencer for £150. By 1858 they were owned by Martha, widow of Thomas Steadman, a Clerk in the Lunacy Office, who sold them for £730 to Joseph Quick, a Lewisham engineer. He sold them in February 1859 to Henry Abel, a City rag merchant for £650. They were demolished in the late-1860s and replaced by Lombard Market.

John Cornelius Park was active in locally from the early 1840s until 1880. He owned 9½ac. in 1839, increasing to 14½ac. in 1846, when the land was scheduled for purchase in the Battersea Park Act, putting paid to what would have been a substantial development. Park began to erect villas on Marsh Lane and Marsh Wall (later Park) Road c.1844. His compensation is not known, but was substantial enough for him to embark on the purchase of almost eighteen acres of meadow between Falcon Lane and York Road (TA 261-5/7/270-4 - 264 was an osier bed), previously owned by George Hollingsworth and occupied by Mr. Taylor (except 265 - James Surrey; 274 - Robert Neal).

A 65-page Abstract of Title takes the history of the property back to 1750,<sup>24</sup> when it formed part of a larger estate leased by the Archbishop of York to Lord Edgcumbe and Henry Furnesse. From 1787 the land was leased to members of the Poyntz family. In 1813, the Archbishop obtained an Act entitling him to sell lands at Bridge Court manor, on the grounds of their inconvenient remoteness from his main estates.<sup>25</sup> This was followed by the lease/release of the estate to Earl Spencer, who paid £10,416/19/- for the balance (a previous Earl had purchased the manor of Battersea from Viscount Bolingbroke (St. John) in 1763/4, for £25,000). George Hollingsworth of Clapham Common purchased Lots 55, 63-65 at the Spencer sale in October 1835 for £2,520 (about £128/ac.). In March 1837, the land was leased to Charles Stokes and Nathaniel Hollingsworth, a City gentlemen, Stokes having agreed to lend George £1700 for a year on the security of the land. He did not repay the loan on time, but continued to pay interest until 1842, when he tried to sell the land to fellow Battersea landowners Joseph and Henry Tritton, bankers of Lombard St., for £2,999/10/-. George Stokes (Charles' son) agreed to the sale. On 16 March 1850,<sup>26</sup> Joseph Tritton sold the land to J.C. Park, for £3,025 (£153.65/ac.), a very small gain for eight years' ownership, but 20% more than Hollingsworth had paid in 1835. None of the various owners before 1850 seem to have contemplated building in what was still a relatively inaccessible, ill-drained area. Park, however, was intent on making a good return, and laid out Lavender Road and Creek Street almost immediately.

The first four houses in Lavender Road, by C. Tilly, appeared in late-June 1850, followed by nine in 1851, and 24 in 1852, many in Creek Road by Alfred Horscroft of Clapham, who also built 1/2 York Terrace (187/9 York Rd.), leased to George Edwards a Southwark corn merchant in May 1852 (75 yrs.; Michaelmas 1851; £7/4/- p.a. + £470).<sup>27</sup> 4 York Tce. was let to George Hedger, merchant of Russell Square in October 1851, and had a front room - used as a shop - two smaller rooms and a w.c. on the ground floor.<sup>28</sup> The end of the boom led to the usual hiatus, and building

was not resumed until the mid-1860s. Baxter Villa, 88 Lavender Rd., was conveyed to its builder Gilbert Baxter, a Walworth gasfitter, on 6 July 1865 for £95.<sup>29</sup> The impact of the slump is seen in the lease of three unfinished messuages to Jeremiah Clark in October 1857 (75yrs; Christmas 1855; £16 p.a.), followed in August 1858 by two houses under construction (73¼yrs.; Michaelmas 1857; £5).<sup>30</sup> John Wyatt built 1-6 Cornelius Tce., leased in Sept./Oct. 1862 (74yrs.; Mid-1862 - Park used an eclectic dating system for his leases, as well as rather short terms; £4/10/-).

As building resumed new estates laid out nearby affected Park's development. He agreed to the extension of Livingstone, Meyrick, Speke and Grant Roads onto his property from the adjacent CLS and Caudwell estates, and building continued into the early 1870s. For example, 3-11 Livingstone Rd. were leased to George Johnson of St. Pancras in May 1871 (80yrs.; Mich. 1868; £22/10/-, consideration £644).<sup>31</sup> Even later, on 4 June 1873, Joseph Stapleton agreed to complete 67-71 Meyrick Rd. within three months (80yrs.; Mich. 1869; £12 p.a.).<sup>32</sup> Park sold ten houses in Meyrick Rd. to Charles Spurgeon, the well-known Baptist minister, in Nov. 1879 for £692/15/-, and the "Northampton Castle", The Baths and 19/21 Speke Rd. to John Dickeson, a local builder, for £830 in March that year.<sup>33</sup> In 1868 George Todd had sold the six-roomed carcasses of 21-24 Meyrick Rd., the "Northampton Castle" and its contents, 'with the advantage of passenger traffic to and from the tunnel at Clapham Junction', on the bankruptcy of builder Francis Green.<sup>34</sup> 24-40 Speke Rd., built by Dickeson in 1869, were sold to Thomas Greenwood, Esq., of Brixton in Feb. 1880 for £837.<sup>35</sup> The amounts thus raised (£70-95/house) represent about 15-20 years' purchase, suggesting that Park, by now living at Gothic Lodge Teddington and Lord of the Manor of Sunbury, was anxious to be out of this protracted process.<sup>36</sup>

Charles James Freake (1814-84; baronet 1882), one of the most important builders in mid-nineteenth century London, employing 400 men in 1867 and described as the 'Cleverest of all speculating Builders',<sup>37</sup> bought a 5½-acre meadow (TA 578) in the mid-1840s, although it was not filled until six years after his death. Freake began work in Belgravia in 1839, but is best known for his work in the Onslow Square district between the 1840s and 1870s. He bought Fulwell Park, Twickenham in 1872, and by 1884 had extensive estates there and in Kingston-upon-Thames.

The Bridge Road frontage was the initial attraction and Freake himself built at least 11 substantial four-storey houses with semi-basements here in 1847-8 (Myddleton and Eden Terraces). Denbigh Terrace was built in Marsh Lane by Robert Jones c.1849, along with three pairs of semi-detached villas, two of which lay well back from the road with their own drive. This land was not affected directly by the Battersea Park proposals, although its amenity value would undoubtedly have been enhanced. A gap had been left in Bridge Rd. for a side street.

In the event Freake did nothing further through the 1850s and 1860s. The belated start of building on the Crown estate in 1873-4 led to a plan in June 1874 from Henry Cooper, surveyor, for a new road through to Albert Bridge Rd.<sup>38</sup> Bolan St. was approved in May 1876, although the semi-detached Watford Villas did not follow until January 1887.<sup>39</sup> Even then, the first houses only appeared in early 1880, and work proceeded at a very leisurely pace until April 1891. Only a handful of builders worked here, of whom Ronald and Samuel Lyon were the most important (62 houses), Austin & Emery and Thomas Pugh, all of Battersea, built ten houses each.

Terms for leases on the Freake II estate were 99 years from Christmas 1879, ground rents

£6 to £6/10/- for 17-21ft. plots (6/- to 7/5 per ft.). After Charles's death in 1884, Dame Eliza Freake and Charles Murdoch M.P. of Pall Mall issued the leases. Henry Aylett paid £280 for 4 Barton Villas, Bolan St. in Sept. 1887, while 2 and 4 Watford Villas went to Emerson Groom and Henry Burton, a clerk from Chelsea, in Sept. 1885 for £265.

In December 1867, West Lodge and 7¼ acres of land, one of a series of strip estates between Clapham Common and Lavender Hill (TA 419/420, owned and occupied by John Nixon), was sold by Charles Sumner, who had moved to Rodborough, Glos., to Joseph Hiscox & James and Samuel Williams (building) contractors for £18,150. Messrs. King & Smith laid out Altenburg Gardens thereon.<sup>40</sup> Two terraces of substantial shops were built on Lavender Hill, stood in splendid isolation for almost 20 years. West Lodge survived until the mid-1890s. Its grounds were used for imposing villas with bow windows, although work stopped after only sixteen had been built. (The Williams, of Shepherds Bush, were at work in Notting Hill in the mid-1860s, which probably accounts for the type of house built here; Samuel died in 1875.<sup>41</sup>) Charles Ford agreed to lend £15,000 at 5% on those houses completed by July 1869. There were probably several reasons for this cessation: the building boom was over by 1870; such large villas, costing in excess of £1,000 each, were not a highly lettable proposition in Battersea, and the Hiscox/Williams partnership broke up after a Chancery case in 1873.

After the break-up, Hiscox bought West Lodge and 22 houses for £47,600 in July 1877. He in turn sold them to Sydney Stern, Lord Wandsworth, in March 1882 for £23,267 - the difference being accounted for by a £31,733 which Hiscox had contracted with members of the Wormald family, and which was paid off by Stern in November 1885. These matters rested until February 1895, when plans to complete Altenburg Gardens were submitted by H.A. Rawlins [195].<sup>42</sup> All the houses were built by William Kerven, and the contrast between the grandiose villas of the 1860s and the red-brick terraces of the 1890s bears eloquent testimony vicissitudes of estate developers.

Thomas Cubitt amassed a medium-size estate in Battersea, but did not aim to replicate Belgravia, Pimlico or Clapham Park there. Most lay in the area affected by the new Royal park. A scatter of plots not so used remained untouched until after his death, and were developed by his trustees. The first estate comprised four acres of meadow (TA 249). Barmore, Benfield and Ingrave Sts. were laid out by W.S. Smith, and approved in May 1867.<sup>43</sup> 10-16 Benfield St. were leased to Thomas Eames of Wandsworth (90yrs.; Mid-1867; £5 p.a./16ft. plot),<sup>44</sup> and 10-16 Barmore St. on the same terms to George White of Battersea, who raised £230 on them from the West London Permanent Mutual BBS.<sup>45</sup>

Despite being in an area which was rapidly built-up in the 1850s and 1860s, Blondel Street was not approved until January 1869, and not built until the late-1870s.<sup>46</sup> Strips 5-8 in Birds Hedge Shot were not owned by Cubitt in 1839. He may have acquired them with the Park in mind. In the event, Lower Wandsworth Road was the limit of the Crown estate. Leases were for 99 years from Mid-1876 and ground rents were low at £4 for 16ft. plots. A variety of builders was responsible for the 97 houses, including William Halstead, active elsewhere in the same area, and William Iles, who went on to greater things on the Crown Estate. Investors buying leases included George Owen, an Oxford St. hatter (11), Charles Charlton, a Battersea bootmaker (2/29-35) and Henry Covington, a Pimlico contractor (65-79).<sup>47</sup>

Rush Hill House on the south side of Lavender Hill was owned by John Ashlin in 1839 (TA 463). Surrounded by the Graham estate, which became Lavender Hill Park in 1872, Rush Hill's 2¼ acres succumbed after H.C. Bunkell's application for a new road and mews was approved in October 1873.<sup>48</sup> There was no coordination, however, and Rush Hill Road remains a cul-de-sac, closed off at the south end by St. Matthew's church (1876). Its two long, rather severe terraces were aimed at the middle classes (Booth classified them "fairly comfortable" in the 1890s), and had the customary terraces of shops on Lavender Hill, served by trams from 1881. Development was by Thomas Graves. In 1867 he was a lead merchant, based at Euston, but by the 1870s was a builder living in Lavender Hill.<sup>49</sup> 25 Rush Hill Rd. was leased in Nov. 1874 by Edgar Garland of Essex, Graves' mortgagee, and Graves to James Mulvey, compositor of Euston Rd., who built it (98 yrs.; Christmas 1873; £6 p.a. for a 16'4" by 144'3" plot). The DSRs show that Mulvey built all the houses in Rush Hill Rd., and two in Lavender Hill, whereas Graves built a solitary house. The rest of the shops and the stables in Crombie Mews were built by local man Mark Chamberlain.

The last vacant area in north-west Battersea was the Clapham Junction estate of builder George Butt of Red Lion Works, Barbican. From 1835 to 1 June 1874, it had been part of the Tritton family estate. They made no attempt to develop, selling it to Joseph May Soule in a complex eight-part transaction involving four Trittons, thirteen May Soules and six Gurneys (probably of the banking family). The sale of the 'pastoral estate and house of H.M. Soule.... (the) purchasers intend to develop it as the "Clapham Junction Estate". Its large area, close to the station, renders it suitable for small houses at moderate rents. It will increase local trade.... An urban farm and open space is to be absorbed by the mercenary and speculative builder. "One old landmark the more obliterated from the suburban chart"<sup>50</sup> The final sale by May Soule to Butt did not take place until 12 April 1880, although it was reported earlier. Butt mortgaged the estate to the Hon. Montague Mostyn, Roger Eykyn, Richard Taylor and Ernest Humbert the next day, and conveyed it to Taylor in June 1882, although building was not yet complete in Harbut Road and St. Johns Hill Grove. The *Builder* noted that the purchaser's intention was 'for small and middle-class houses at a moderate rental, suitable for clerks and others with limited incomes'.<sup>51</sup> The estate was divided by a railway embankment and was developed in two parts - Maysoule Road to the north and Harbut Road to the south - totalling 342 houses.<sup>52</sup> Plans by A. & F. Carter, auctioneers, surveyors and valuers of Wandsworth, were approved in May 1880.<sup>53</sup> Fourteen tenders for construction of the roads and sewers ranged from £3,800 to £6,197. Hoare & Son of Blackfriars (£3,967) won the contract.<sup>54</sup>

In Maysoule Rd. the term was 99 years from Christmas 1879, ground rent £5 for 15ft. plots, rather small for the intended lower-middle classes, although reflecting the low status of the adjacent Carter and Olney Lodge estates.<sup>55</sup> Plots in Harbut Road were a more generous 17-18ft., and rents £6/10/- or £6/15/-, this being an elevated area with better neighbours. Butt himself did not build any of the houses.

Six builders contributed 60% of the houses: Thomas Barr 63 (all Maysoule Rd.); James & T.J. George 39; Joseph Lewry 32; Daniel Pitt and J. Collis 24 each; Turtle & Appleton 23. Barr subcontracted at least eight houses to Alfred Geard of Camberwell. This phenomenon of a large output on one estate became more common from the mid-1870s. Two designs were widely used,



irrespective of builder. That in Harbut Rd. is widespread across south London in the 1880s, featuring locally on Heaver's estates in Battersea, Fulham and Tooting. In Maysoule Rd., the bay projections had iron, rather than brick or stone, supports.

Socially, the estate was also divided: In Maysoule Rd., Booth found mainly Class D, matching the neighbouring, but much older, Carter estate. In Harbut Rd., on the other hand, the planned-for lower middle classes of Classes EF were indeed in occupation. A sample of local school and parish registers for 1881-1900 (N=280) shows that in Maysoule Rd. there were no Class I and II households; III (Manual) accounted for 54%, III (Non-manual) for 17%, confirming this as a typical new Battersea estate peopled by artisans, many of whom no doubt moved from older properties nearby. Semi-skilled workers (15%) and the unskilled (14%) made up the balance. The main occupational groups were: manufacturing 30%; building 21%; transport 20% and labouring 18%, suggesting that the majority worked locally.

The death of Tom Taylor (1817-1880), civil servant, author and dramatist released the Lavender Sweep estate onto the market at an extremely propitious time, for this was the all-time peak year for housebuilding in Battersea and the area was becoming the new commercial heart of the suburb. His wife was left the estate in trust for her lifetime, but by October 1880 it was reported as being for sale by Messrs. Beal & Son.<sup>56</sup> For some reason, development was in two unequal parts - by Frederick Snelling of South Lambeth, and Ingram & Brown (87 and 145 houses). Snelling's streets were approved in June 1881.<sup>57</sup> The application was by W. Newton Dunn, an architect/surveyor active locally in the 1880s and 1890s, although the plans were by Charles Bentley of Wandsworth. Neal of Wandsworth won the contract for laying out roads and sewers for £780 against six competitors.<sup>58</sup> 2 Hafer Rd. was leased to Henry Graham, gent., of Gowrie Rd. in November 1882 (99yrs.; Lady Day 1881; £6/15/- p.a. 18ft.10ins.), by direction of the builder, John Miller of Clapham.<sup>59</sup> It was immediately mortgaged to the London & County Unity BS for £325. The lease was assigned three times in quick succession in 1888 for £340-415-420, the last to Mrs. Eliza Pile the occupier.

In the eastern angle of Lavender Hill and Latchmere Road, was the last piece of the jigsaw to be completed in Central Battersea. In 1839 (TA 492/3), a Mr. Boot had occupied just over two acres, a typical villa-cum-grounds. On 27 April 1872, it was sold by Earl Spencer to Henry Whiting of Battersea Rise for £2,400. Whiting died in December 1894, but the property was not acquired by John Jenkins, Esq., of Hove until 21 October 1903, for £10,000. He promptly demolished the house and filled the site with 37 three-storey houses (with shops on Lavender Hill). All were built by J.H. Jenkins & Co. of Balham, operating from a temporary address at 174 Lavender Hill, and it seems reasonable to assume that if not the same person, they must have been closely related.

#### **Type 5 - Developed by Barristers & Solicitors (8 estates; 41.72 acres; 1,201 hos.)**

Members of the legal professions were of course involved in every estate. Occasionally, however, they developed land in their own right. Three estates date from the late-1840s, and four from the 1860s boom; all but one were north of the LSWR. James Lord, Charles Chabot and Jesse Nickinson each initiated two estates. By far the largest was solicitor Jesse Nickinson's Colestown II (1878), with 501 houses on 16½ acres. Nickinson was involved in several other

developments from the mid-1860s, including E.R. Coles' original scheme.

Henry Hart Davis of Chelsea, civil engineer turned builder/developer, was involved in Battersea Park. In his case the failure of the Crown to pay compensation quickly enough was a significant factor in his bankruptcy in 1851.<sup>60</sup> He was chosen to develop strips 7/8 in Stony Shot by Robert Chambers of Grays Inn and Chelsea, who had bought them for £240 from Spencer in October 1835 (£91/ac.). They were the first of a long series of such developments south of Lower Wandsworth Road. Chambers leased land to Hart Davis for the erection of six brick messuages within four years "in the villa style" on 30 April 1846 (110yrs.; Michaelmas 1846; £63 p.a.).<sup>61</sup> This unusual term was characteristic of Hart Davis's developments. He sublet land for a pair of houses to Thomas Hird, upholsterer of Oxford St. (105yrs.; Lady Day 1847; 1/- p.a., consideration £280, to be paid in money *and goods* as soon as Hird has covered in a pair of messuages, before mid-1850 [1848 crossed out]).<sup>62</sup> Hird was one of many tradesmen associated with Hart Davis, who apparently had little or no connection with the building industry. The lessee was to pay half the cost of making up the road and the provision of a three-foot sewer.

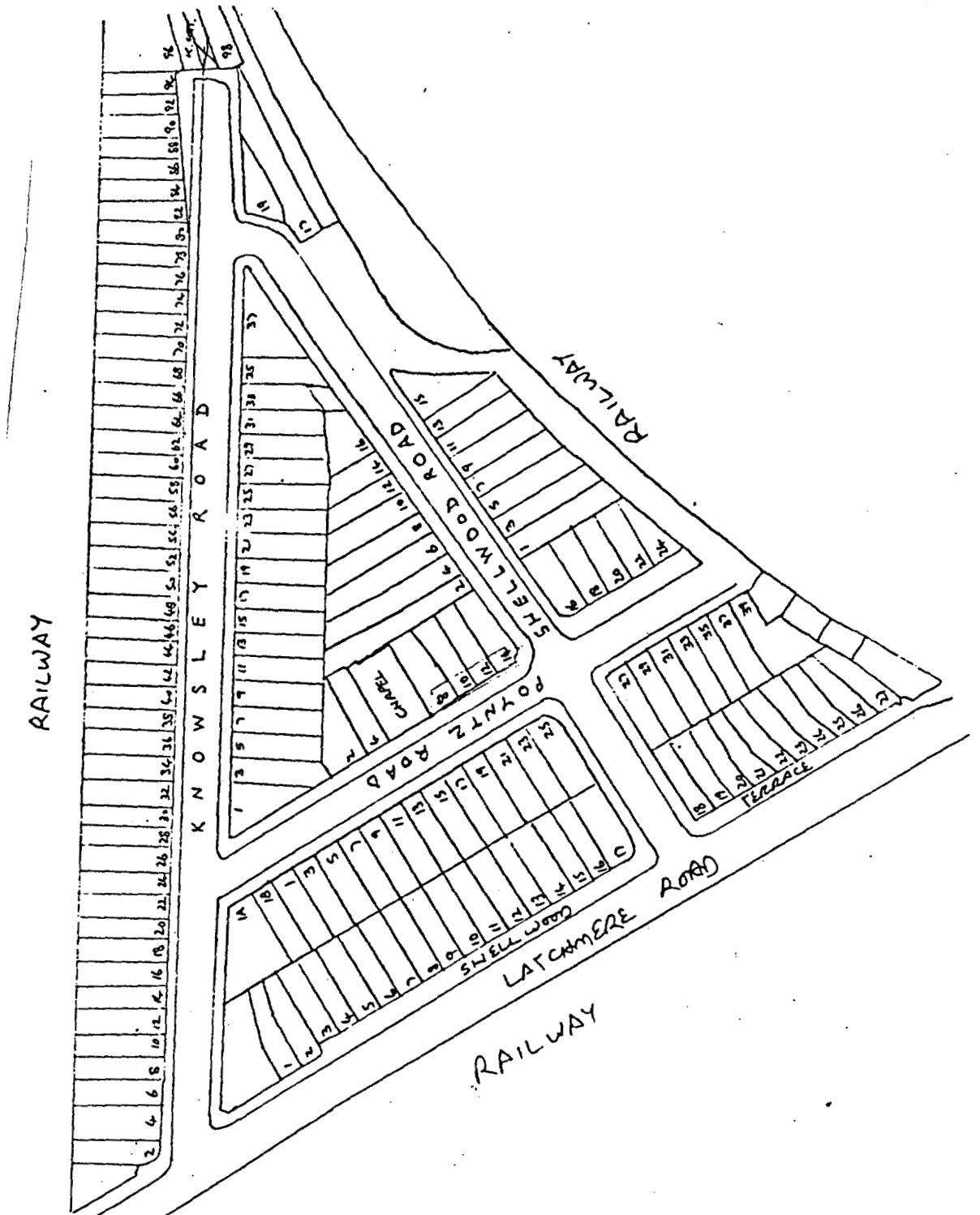
A 64 by 170ft. plot in the NW corner was leased to Hart Davis in Oct. 1848 (108yrs.; Michaelmas 1848; £12 p.a.), on which he was to build a house within twelve months. Doddington Lodge did not last long: in 1865 there were four shops on the main road (1-4 Dawsons Buildings), although the gardens were intact; by 1894 they had been filled with eight houses. The rest was to form Victoria Place, leased en bloc to Hart Davis in Oct. 1848 for £51 p.a. He was to erect five good brick messuages by Michaelmas 1851. Hart Davis sub-leased a 45ft. plot to James Butcher, a Wandsworth pawnbroker in Jan. 1849 (105yrs.; Christmas 1848; £1 p.a., £149 consideration). Butcher was to erect at least one six-roomed house by March 1851. A building agreement was made in Feb. 1848 with William Benham, a Chelsea builder, who was to cover in a pair of semi-detached fourth-rate houses with not less than six rooms by 31 May 1848, on a 57 by 150ft. plot (104 yrs.; Mich. 1847; £18 p.a., consideration £220).<sup>63</sup> Benham agreed to build two more pairs within two years. All this produced little actual building, however.

Hart Davis raised £300 at 5% from Edward Mackeson of Lincolns Inn in Feb. 1849, in addition to £550 from Lumsden Mackeson in Nov. 1848, on which no interest had yet been paid. A petition for bankruptcy was filed against Hart Davis on 5 July 1851, when he was described as a builder, living at Doddington Lodge.<sup>64</sup> The hearing was on 3 Jan. 1852, at which his solicitor, Frederick Smith of Bedford Row, revealed another £500 advanced by the stockbrokers of his client Miss Willett.<sup>65</sup> Hart Davis disappeared from the scene. Edward Mackeson cut his losses by assigning Doddington Lodge to John Hunt for £225 in March 1854.

Robert Chambers died on 12 March 1854, his son Robert in March 1873 and his widow Eliza in May 1874. Her trustees sold the ground rents of 1-56 Doddington Grove and 293-299 Battersea Park Road (108yrs. from Michaelmas 1848) in Oct. 1908, when their gross rack rental reversion was worth £1,862 p.a. 57-64 Doddington Grove and 301-307 Battersea Park Road were worth £544/8/- p.a. All 72 properties were sold by Herbert Chambers of Shirenewton, Mon., to the Phoenix Property & Investment Co. Ltd. of Hackney in 1908 for only £1,400.

James Lord, an Inner Temple barrister, paid £2,400 for 3½ acres of the National Freehold Land Company's Chatham Road estate on 10 Jan. 1866. This development had started in 1855 in

Fig. 9.2 - Harefield Estate



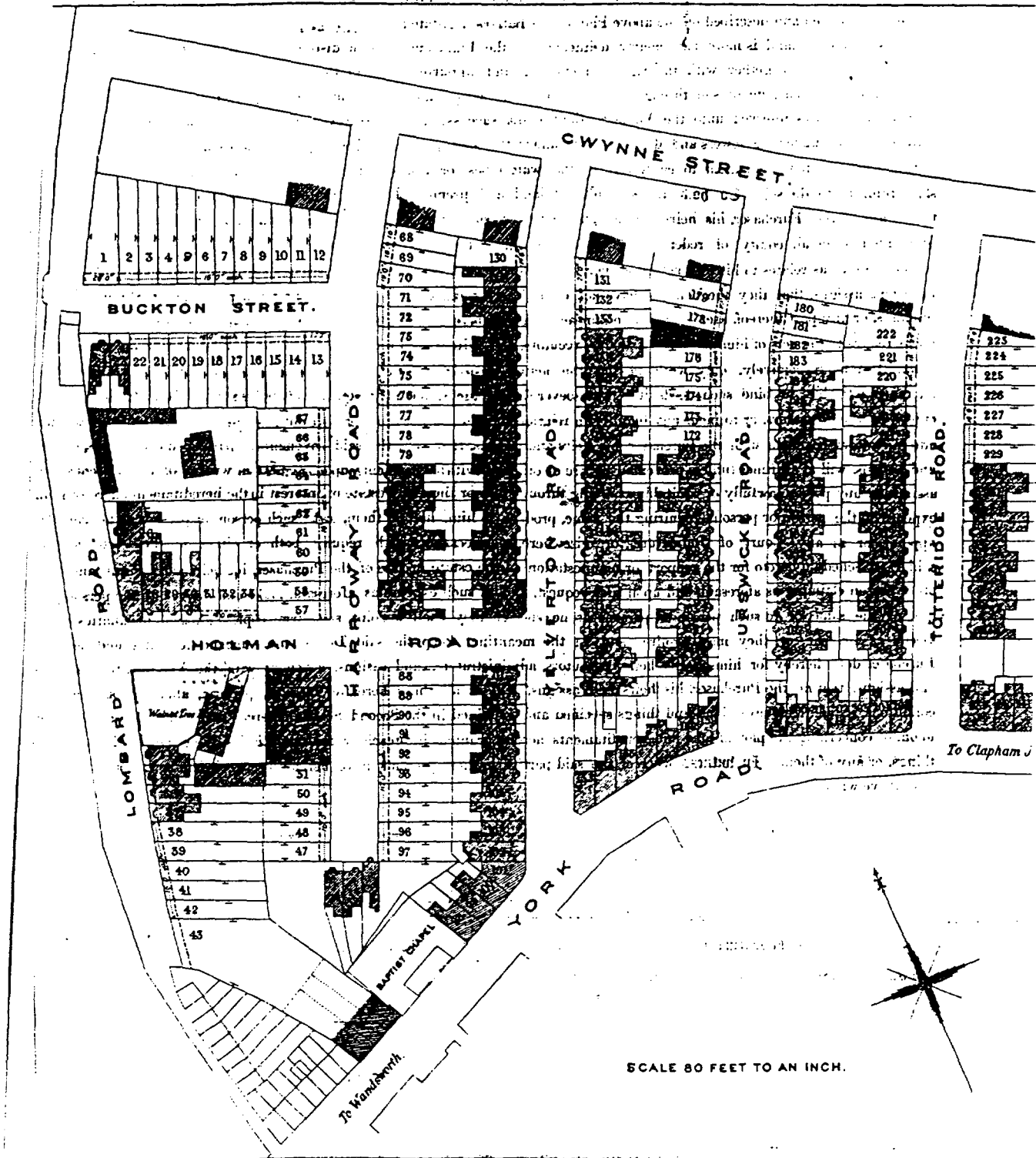
a remote area, and they must have welcomed the opportunity to sell a quarter of it. George Todd's plans for three new streets were approved in June 1866.<sup>66</sup> No building took place for several years. 5 Darley Road was leased to Samuel Best of Brixton in Nov. 1874 (99yrs.; mid-1874; £3 p.a.). A plan to extend Skeldon Road was submitted by Lord and Evan Hare (see below) in June 1875, but the whole street was soon abandoned.<sup>67</sup> Houses in Darley and Swaby (Northcote) Roads were still being built by Edward Coates for Alfred Heaver in 1886.

Lord's Lombard Estate [120] was also laid out by George Todd, and approved in May 1868.<sup>68</sup> Covering 7.5 acres, it eventually contained 185 houses, only three-fifths built under Lord's ownership. The estate was not completed until 1890. The first phase finished in 1871, when 106 houses were occupied.<sup>69</sup> In 1839 the land had belonged to Catherine Pilkington (TA 199a, 200, 321) and Andrew McKellar (TA 201, 320), both buying from Earl Spencer in 1836. James Lord purchased his land in April 1868 from Mary & Louisa McKellar, although it had been auctioned by Todd in October 1867, when it was described as '9a 1r 27p of valuable freehold building land fronting York and Lombard Roads, with sites for villas, houses and shops commandingly situate near Battersea Town station on the WLER, whence Cannon St. (is reached) in 20 minutes (sic), also Victoria, London Bridge, Ludgate Hill and Waterloo... worthy of the attention of land societies, builders, speculators and capitalists.<sup>70</sup> The delay was probably occasioned by dividing the property in two (see Type 6a, Gwynne Estate).

Lord mortgaged his estate to Edward Mulkern and John Runtz, trustees of the Birkbeck Permanent Benefit Building Society for £12,100 over 21 years on 7 Jan. 1869. Leases were granted to builders in quick succession in 1868, the estate being close to riverside factories. On 10 Feb. 1869, Lord, Mulkern and Runtz conveyed the site of Lombard Market to Robert Smith, a local builder for £550. (This was a courtyard with commercial-cum-industrial premises on the ground floor and galleried dwellings above, and it is difficult to see why the District Surveyor allowed such a scheme.) Smith immediately borrowed £550 from Evan Hare and Alfred Dryden, barrister. In June 1872, he raised a further £393/12/- from Hare at 10% over six months. In 1873, Hare supplied another £2,483/6/8 on various properties in Lombard Market, Harroway Road and York Road. Thomas Swain a Lambeth carpenter (b.1842) and Charles Hall of Battersea formed a partnership, building 33/5 Harroway Rd. and 30-34 Yelverton Rd. in 1869 (99yrs.; Mid-1868; £5 p.a.). They mortgaged these and other houses in Dec. 1869 to Dr. Charles Taylor of Camberwell and Reeves Lovell, gent., of Covent Garden for £2,400. In May 1877, Beale was advertising six-roomed houses, with kitchen and scullery, to let in Totteridge Rd. for 12/- per week, although this had dropped to 11/- by October.<sup>71</sup>

Lord had agreed with the Birkbeck that they could sell the estate under certain circumstances, and they did so in 1885, when the whole estate was offered in 241 lots. (42 plots had been advertised for sale in May 1881 in Harroway, Holman, Lombard & Buckton Rds.<sup>72</sup>) Vacant plots were sold to builders and others for £88-98, freehold. Francis Ravenscroft of St. Johns Wood bought Lots 73/4 (15/7 Harroway Rd.) and leased them to William Drudge & Henry Wood, two Battersea plasterers, in August 1886 (99yrs.; Lady Day 1886; £5 p.a. each). Richard Cox a builder living on the estate, purchased plots 132/3/176-80 between May 1885 and May 1886. As with many other local developments, the Lombard Estate had taken a generation to

Fig. 9.3. - Lombard Estate



complete, with a change of ownership along the way, even though conditions must have appeared highly favourable to James Lord when he bought from the McKellars in 1868.

Evan Hare, solicitor (1826-1918), was born at New Hampton, Middx. He lived at Putney from 1838 until his death, apart from the 1880s.<sup>73</sup> He developed the Harefield Estate east of Pighill Lane (Latchmere Rd.) from 1870, a triangle completely surrounded by railways, which bore no relationship to the previous pattern of ownership. Harefield was laid out by George Todd.<sup>74</sup> The land was conveyed to Hare on 19 April 1870 by the WLER. Unusually for a non-institutional landowner, he sold plots outright, to builders or to investors who let the land to builders. The price of a plot was £45, which would have produced £7,200 for Hare, a tidy capital sum, but equivalent to only fifteen years' ground rents. Purchasers included Charles Webb of Bishopsgate, oilman (23-25 Shellwood Tce.); William Bellingham of Clapton, Esq. (8 Shellwood Tce.); John Adams of Ladbroke Grove, Esq. (4 Shellwood Rd.) and Edmund Vallack of Ealing (21 Shellwood Tce.).<sup>75</sup> Despite this varied ownership, Daniel Tuhey, a local man, built all of Shellwood Terrace.<sup>76</sup> The 17 by 60ft. plots were leased at £3 p.a., for 99-years.

Colestown II was developed 1878-81 by solicitor Jesse Nickinson (d.8 Jan. 1907). He had been so closely involved with Edward Coles of Rochester in Phase I, that he was in effect the driving force behind the whole 650-house estate. In 1839, it had been in Lower Rowditch and Walworth and Oaken Stub Shots, the latter straddling Lower Wandsworth Road, as Colestown did. There was no dominant owner, and the area was disrupted by the West London Extension Railway, 1859-63. The surplus from this and other land was bought by Coles, no doubt using Nickinson's local knowledge; his partner Robert Prall had family links with Rochester, which doubtless explains Coles's appearance here. The shortlived partnership of Pocock, Corfe and Parker laid out these 21 acres. Ten new streets were approved in April 1867.<sup>77</sup> Although this was a peak year, progress was very slow. Only 31 houses were noted by the DBW in 1868, 29 of them along the south side of Home Road (later Abercrombie St.).

Few surviving deeds relate to Phase I, and not all were issued by Coles. 27 and 18 Home Road were leased on 21 Sept. 1874 to William Davis, licensed victualler (99yrs.; mid-1874; £5 and £4+£150 consideration, respectively). There is no record of Davis building these, although he did build six houses in Hatherley (recte Atherton) St. in 1876. Nickinson acquired some plots freehold from Coles. He leased 14-18 Latchmere Rd. in May 1868 to Edwin Price of Chelsea (99yrs; Michaelmas 1866; £5/5/- p.a.) and 26-30 in August 1872 to Edwin Johnson (same terms, £5 p.a.). Most building before 1875 was in Home Road and Battersea Park Road. Coles sold the estate to Nickinson on 24 June 1878, when only 138 houses had been built, not much to show for ten years' work. Nickinson mortgaged the estate to Coles on 25 July 1878. Building was about to reach its all-time local peak. The street plan was amended slightly, and approved in October 1878.<sup>78</sup> Leases in Phase II were for 99 years from Midsummer 1878, the day the estate changed hands.

Work proceeded much more rapidly now, and by the beginning of 1881, 501 houses had been erected - 52 in 1878; 196 in 1879; 211 in 1880. Ten builders provided 61% of them: George Evans, coffee-house keeper from Poland Street, 30; Arthur Rundle 19; Emery Nutting, a local corn merchant, 30; William Steer 30; Austin & Emery of Battersea 28; Peter Ward 54; J.R. Bailey 14; Henry Bensley, father and son, 21; Thomas Hines, a Battersea carpenter 47, and J.R. Ward (d.22 May 1881) 35 (see Fig. 9.3). As usual, sources of finance were very varied:

Table 9.2  
Colestown II: Finance

Address	Mortgagee	Mortgagor	Amount	Int
1-3 Victoria T	J.R. Ward	Jas. Eldridge, Batt., baker	582 <sup>*</sup>	
4-5 Victoria T	Ward	Temperance Perm. BS	320	
76-86 Aberc'bie S	T. Hines	G. Baker, Cork; S. Spires, Mx.	1000	
6-8 Atherton S	Hines	Alliance Land, Bldg., Invt. Co.	500	2.5
20-22 Batt. Pk. R.	J.R. Ward	Th. Diplock, City, gent.	1150 <sup>*</sup>	
12 Bullen S	Austin/Emery	3rd. Boro. of Lambeth BS	270	3.25
36 Bullen S	Austin/Emery	Miss E. Bryan, Brighton	250	
38-44 Bullen S	Austin/Emery	J. Knight, Bloomsby. floorcloth mfr.;	900	5.0
		Jos. Hall, Croydon, gent.		
38-44 Bullen S	Austin/Emery	Hy. Prall, solr.; Matt. Adams,	900	
		Maidstone, surgeon		
46-56 Bullen S	Austin/Emery	Knight & Hall	1350	
38-56 Bullen S	Austin/Emery	Neal Bros., Batt., contractors	2250	
3 Colestown S	H. Bensley	Miss K. Seymer, Dorset	200	
14-16 Frere S	Mary Ward	Ed. Holland, Pimlico, carr.bldr.	500 <sup>*</sup>	
14-16 Goulden S	E. Nutting	Ed. Smith, St Johns Wood, gent.	350	5.0
	G. Valentine	Genl. Mutual Invt. BS	450	4.5
18-24 Goulden S	E. Nutting	Genl. Mutual	756	
		J. Mather, Finsbury Pk., gent.	700	
36-40 Goulden S	E. Nutting	Genl. Mutual	675	
3 Horace S	A. Rundle	H. Borrett, Batt., carpet planner	270 <sup>*</sup>	
21-23 Horace S	Rundle	J. Bamberger, Batt., baker	500 <sup>*</sup>	
3-13 Inworth S	T. Hines	J. Nickinson; J. Rogers	1400	5.0
17-29 Stanmer S	H. Bensley	C. Bale, Hyde Pk.; M. Lambarde,	400	
		Sev'ks; E. Newman, Somerset		

\* = sales

Far eclipsing all these was the sale of 92 properties by Nickinson himself to the Revd. James Shuttleworth Holden, rector of Aston-on-Trent, Derbyshire for £11,557/10/- on 24 December 1880. Holden had sold lands under the Ecclesiastical Leasing Acts of 1842 and 1858, valued at £26,000, paid to the Church Commissioners and invested in 3% Bank annuities. £15,706/12/3 was sold for an endowment, and the residue of £11,979/12/- was used to acquire the block bounded by Battersea Park Rd. (28-40), Stanmer St. (2-56), Balfern St. (1-59) and Castle Lane (15-21 Laburnum Tce.), and also most of Balfern St. (W: 6-42). With ground rents totalling £492, Nickinson obtained the equivalent of 23½ years' purchase. The renaming of Castle Lane as Shuttleworth Road marks the association of the Revd. Holden with the estate.

The shops along the main road, served by trams from 1881, were a lucrative investment. Thomas Diplock paid only £575 each for 20/22 in April 1880 (the original ground rents were £9 p.a.), but let them for 21 years at £55 p.a. to Lorenzo Williams, clothier and pawnbroker, and John Bradgate, ironmonger, glass and china dealer.

The principal feature of these three types of estate is once again the extreme complexity of the process of converting fields and gardens into streets of houses. The number of individuals involved in identifying opportunities and then funding and carrying out the building operations ran into dozens, even on the most straightforward schemes. This complexity, together with the operation of the building cycle, meant that many estates took decades to complete, often with a change of developer along the way. This fate affected not only large estates like Broomwood, but small, single-street schemes like Blondel Street, where failure to take off in the boom which led to

the owners' decision to build could produce a decade or more with little or no activity until things picked up again.

Perhaps even more significant than these aspects is the clear evidence for the way in which many individuals acted in different roles over time and across Battersea (and indeed other suburbs). This renders the apparently simple decision-making model discussed in Chapter 7 much more complicated in practice. For example, William Pocock, the architect whose estate off Falcon Road is one of the case studies in Chapter 13, seems not to have performed his professional role there. After an early attempt to have semi-detached villas was seen to be out of line with the emerging nature of north Battersea, Pocock was merely concerned to exploit the brickearth and to fill up the fields with small, plain brick boxes likely to appeal to various levels of the working classes. Charles Freake considerably modified the style of houses which he built in Battersea compared with those for which he is better-known in Kensington. Similarly, not all builder-developers actually erected houses on their estates. George Butt, who had built locally in the 1860s in partnership with Edmund Perfect, did no more than provide a layout for others to complete on his Clapham Junction estate of 1880. The same is true of James Everidge on the Dent's Estate a couple of years later. Even Alfred Heaver built only a small minority of the houses on his various estates once he had made the transition to developer.

One of the most striking features of initiators of these types of estate is the way in which the same names occur in different roles, often simultaneously and over a long period. W.R. Glasier, surveyor and auctioneer, acted in Battersea as the principal vendor of surplus materials from Battersea Park, as the developer of three estates in his own right, and as the planner behind at least two other schemes. Jesse Nickinson, a solicitor, was associated with architect Edward l'Anson's estate, with his partner Richard Prall in Longhedge Field, and was the driving force behind E.R. Coles' grandiose estate from 1865-1878, when he finally bought it and completed the remaining 75% of houses. A.A. Corsellis used his position as a key officer of the District Board to identify land ripe for development, and with his father Henry was responsible for a string of estates between 1885 and 1895.

Equally ubiquitous were certain men who did not actually make the transition from supporting roles to development. George Todd is the obvious example. His name appears on many plans, as the agent for gaining MBW approval for new streets, and as the auctioneer of everything from whole estates to single plots. He worked with landowners (Job Caudwell), lawyers (James Lord and Evan Hare) and others from 1860 to the mid-1870s, and was evidently a catalyst in causing owners to sell or to develop their own land. Charles Lee, architect and surveyor, in a long career contributed two small estates and Christ Church to the Battersea townscape, and was also active in Putney and Wandsworth from 1864-1893 (latterly the firm of Lee Brothers and Pain), as well as playing a supporting role to other Battersea developers. William Newton Dunn also worked in Wandsworth and Balham over the period 1882-1901, and William Poole not only made plans for many of Heaver's schemes in Battersea and neighbouring parishes but also worked for Magdalen College Oxford on their substantial Earlsfield property after 1900. Charles Bentley of the City and Wandsworth also worked for Heaver, but is found planning other estates in Putney, Wandsworth and Balham between 1881 and 1897. Walter Stanbury, architect, on the other hand,



worked exclusively on estates developed by the Corsellis family, from 1886-1898.

A final feature of Type 3, 4 and 5 estates is that, as with "ordinary" landowners, most initiators did not live in Battersea, even among the smaller builders. The importance of information networks is again clearly crucial to the development process - information about land for sale, about surveyors and architects who could provide plans and obtain official approval for schemes, about sources of finance for purchase and preparation, materials and mortgages. Even though many of the key players never actually resided locally, it is evident that once they had established an initial foothold in the evolution of Battersea as a suburb, they often stayed to work on different estates, at the same time extending their activities as the urban frontier moved outwards.

## References

1. R. Dixon & S. Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, 1978 129, 260-1. l'Anson (1812-88) was one of an architectural dynasty; his work includes Royal Exchange Buildings, he was also surveyor to the Merchant Taylors and St. Bartholomew's Hospital.
2. DBW Plans 364.
3. WLHC MSS 1300.
4. MSS 1040.
5. MSS 1029.
6. MSS 1002.
7. MBW Minutes 18 Oct. 1867; DBW Plans 186, 26 Mar. 1867, alternative names: Headley (Eland); Elstead (Grayshott); Thursley (Pountney); Farnham (Tipthorpe); Claremont (Acanthus); Lavender (Gideon).
8. J. Pullen Bury, typescript notes on Charles Lee, n.d. (c.1975); Survey of London XLI mentions Lee's work for the Pettward family of Putney in West Brompton.
9. MBW Minutes 8 Apr. 1864.
10. Artizans' Centenary booklet, 1967, 6-7.
11. Minet 4703.
12. Minet 4669, 4677.
13. DBW Plans 95, 96; MBW Minutes 5 Mar. 1869 Raywood/Pagden Sts., extn. of Gladstone Tce.
14. GLRO P92/PAU1/137.
15. DBW Plans 81, 82; GLRO C/70/1251.
16. MBW Minutes 20 Jan. 1871.
17. Pocock, *Memoir*, III, 87.
18. GLRO C/70/1258.
19. C/70/1238; 1259.
20. DBW Plans 923; MBW Minutes 20 July 1888.
21. C/70/1167-71.
22. P. Treen, 'Development of North Leeds 1870-1914' (1982), 180-1.
23. H.J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, 127-35.
24. WLHC MSS 1062.
25. 53 Geo.III, c.52.
26. Minet 4688.
27. GLRO MBO 303; 356; 409; WLHC MSS 1039.
28. MSS 1110.
29. MSS 1075.
30. MSS 1042.
31. MSS 1046.
32. GLRO B/CHE/355.
33. MSS 1033; 1133.
34. *SLP* 27 Jun. 1868.
35. MSS 998.
36. K.Y. Heselton, *Sunbury & the Thames Valley Railway* (Sunbury, 1975), *passim*.
37. Survey of London, XXXVIII (Museums Area of South Kensington) (1975), 287-8; *Builder*, 21 Dec. 1867, 929.
38. DBW Plans 386.
39. MBW Minutes 26 May 1876; DBW Plans 950 (June 1885) by C.H. Thomas of S. Kensington, MBW Mins. 7 Jan. 1887. Although the name Petworth Street was in use for the southern part

- of Bolan St./Sq. by 1894, it was never approved.
40. DBW Plans 372, Sept. 1874.
  41. Survey of London XLII (Southern Kensington), 244, 281, 283.
  42. DBW Plans 1339
  43. DBW Plans 165; MBW Minutes 24 May 1867, 7 June 1867.
  44. MSS 1142.
  45. MSS 1057.
  46. MBW Minutes 22 Jan. 1869.
  47. MSS 1102; 1074; 1319.
  48. MBW 13 Oct. 1873.
  49. MSS 1014.
  50. *SLP*, 20 Dec. 1879.
  51. *Builder*, 3 Jan. 1880.
  52. Originally Harbut & Maysoule Rds. were to be south of the railway, with Harbut Sq. to the north. The latter was often called Hurstbourne Sq. in the DSR, although such a name was never approved.
  53. DBW Plans 384, 404, 446, 630, 1071; MBW Minutes 7 May 1880.
  54. *Builder*, 12 June 1880.
  55. MSS 1025.
  56. *SLP*, 4 Sep., 16 Oct. 1880.
  57. DBW Plans 609, 834; MBW Minutes 3 June 1881 Hafer, Hauberk & Limburg Roads.
  58. DBW Plans 609, May 1881; *Builder*, 19 Nov. 1881.
  59. MSS 1108.
  60. *Builder*, 3 Aug. 1850.
  61. Minet 4641
  62. Minet 4643.
  63. Minet 4648.
  64. Minet 5830.
  65. Minet 4643; in 1847 Hart Davis's solicitor was Charles Stoddart of Cursitor St., Chancery La.
  66. MBW Minutes 16 June 1866; Darley, Skeldon & Swaby Rds.
  67. Skeldon Rd. was never built; a plan of 18 June 1875 (DBW 355) for Lord and Evan Hare shows it extended to Bolingbroke Grove. Swaby Rd. became part of Northcote Rd. when the latter was extended as a main north-south route.
  68. DBW Plans 17-19; MBW Minutes 17 Apr. 1868.
  69. DBW Plans 367: Buckton St. 2; Holman St. 1; Harroway Rd. 8; Yelverton Rd. 46; Urswicke Rd. 24; Totteridge Rd. 23; York Rd. 12.
  70. *SLP*, 22 Jun. 1867.
  71. *SLP*, 19 May, 20 Oct. 1877.
  72. *SLP*, 14 May 1881.
  73. D.R. Pollock, MSS notes on Evan Hare (n.d., c.1975).
  74. DBW Plans 84; MBW Minutes 1 Apr. 1870, Colbert, Tetton & Mowbray Sts. rejected; MBW 17 June 1870, Shellwood, Poyntz & Knowsley Rds. accepted.
  75. MSS 1044.
  76. DBW Plans 562a.
  77. MBW Minutes 26 Apr. 1867, Colestown, Home, Atherton, Frere, Balfern, Inworth, Abercrombie and Stanmer; Newbattle & Smallbrook not used.
  78. DBW Plans 909, 1056; MBW Minutes 11 Oct. 1878, Newbattle replaced by Colestown, original Colestown abandoned.

## CHAPTER 10

### BUILDING ESTATES IN BATTERSEA IV: TYPE 6

The diversity of occupations covered by this chapter, from bakers and steel makers to bankers and civil engineers, M. Ps. and market gardeners, might seem to have little in common. The small scale of most of their estates, and the methods employed to develop them are, however, very much in line with those of other types of developer in Victorian Battersea. It is clear that the system established in the eighteenth century for leasehold housing development in London had provided a model which could be followed by anybody who felt the allure of suburban property and had the perennial optimism that it was a sure way to wealth - despite the great body of evidence to the contrary. The sole requirements were to own or acquire some land - no matter how small in extent - to be able to raise the money necessary to lay out roads and drains, and to wait until income started to flow from ground rents, sales and possibly tenants' rents also.

#### **Type 6a - Manufacturers (15 estates; 28.67 acres; 877 houses)**

These account for 7.3% of estates, but only 2.7% of land and 3.5% of houses, averaging only 1.91 acres, with 59 houses. They are not concentrated in any one period, spanning more than a century from the cottages built c.1780 for Brunskill's silk manufactory in York Road to the Thirsk Road (1893). Six were associated with local concerns, but virtually none of those involved lived in or near Battersea. Only Brunskill's cottages, Starch Factory Rd., for Orlando Jones' new works (1847), the Steele & May iron foundry in Sleaford St., and the London Steam Sawmill Co. in Stewarts Rd. may have been for their own workmen's accommodation. The rest were typical speculations, by those engaged in manufacturing. (See Chap. 13 for the estates in New Town.)

In 1839 Frances St. was part of a four-acre market garden owned by Timothy Cobb (TA 35). It was broken-up following his death in 1842. The developer was John Allen of Walnut Tree Walk, Lambeth, musical instrument maker. He leased two blocks with 210 and 83ft. frontages (15 and 7 houses) for £49 p.a. (3/4 per ft.) to William Hayman, a Marylebone lace manufacturer on 11 June 1853.<sup>1</sup> (Hayman was engaged in the development of Wilson St. at the same time (Chap. 12).) Hayman leased 37/38 to John Pinn, a Lambeth carpenter in July 1853 (98yrs.; mid-1853; £6 p.a.). Pinn had built the first house in Frances St. in September 1851. He moved to Battersea and was active in this area until his bankruptcy in 1867. Hayman himself built 8-11, leased by Allen in Jan. 1852 (99yrs.; Michaelmas 1851; £10). On 27 June 1853, Hayman took a 90ft. block (54-59 (E) - 99yrs.; Christmas 1852; £15 p.a.). Just to the west, Althorp Grove was created in a back garden by James Tow, a local brewer, in 1856.<sup>2</sup>

Benjamin Edgington, a marquee manufacturer of Duke St., Southwark (also Abingdon Lodge, Lavender Hill, later moving to The Elms, Upper Tooting), initiated two estates in 1865-6. Manor House (120 houses) east of the High Street was bisected by the WLER. It had been acquired by the Rippon family in 1799. In 1839, Cuthbert and Martha Rippon owned 3.75 acres of meadow land, which was acquired by Edgington in August 1843. He made no attempt to develop the land and 2.91 acres were taken by the WLER in April 1861, for £6,500 (£2,232/ac.). Unusually, he repurchased the surplus land, adding some belonging to the Hadfield family, increasing the estate to five acres.

The plans were by George Todd, and two new streets approved in June 1866.<sup>3</sup> Henry

Street, connected to the rest only by a narrow occupation arch, followed in 1868.<sup>4</sup> Much of it was owned by Reuben Winder. William Harris of New Wandsworth leased a 45ft. plot (40-42 Henry St.) in September 1875 from Edgington's executors (he died in Sept. 1869, and his widow in July 1875), led by the Revd. Charles Edgington of Holy Trinity, Bow, paying only 4 p.a.<sup>5</sup> He also built 43-46 (58ft. frontage, £8 p.a.). In December 1875, the executors auctioned remaining plots in Henry St., and Harris paid £270 (about £1,900/ac.) for Lots 10/11 - two 69ft. blocks, one on each side. George Reeve of Camberwell took 9-12 Winders Rd. on 19 July 1868 (90yrs.; Mid-1866; £12 p.a.), subletting to Henry Jinks of Kennington, builder, the next day for £16/10/- - a cool 37% profit. Reeve built five houses in Henry St. and eleven in Simpson St. The Taylor Brothers built 18 houses in Henry St. in 1868-9. Despite being next to Battersea Station, the area was wholly working-class (Booth CDE).

Edgington's estate at Stewart's Lane (Corunna Place and Corunna Terrace (S)) covered only 0.68 acres (28 houses). William Bell of Chelsea took 14 plots (a 106ft. square block) in Feb. 1867 (98yrs.; Lady Day 1866; £15 p.a.).<sup>6</sup> After some correspondence between the MBW and DBW, Bell's application was granted in November 1865.<sup>7</sup> He leased 6-12 Corunna Place (S) to William Bowler, a local builder in May-Nov. 1869 (95yrs.; Lady Day 1869; £2/10/- p.a. each). In Dec. 1875, Bowler mortgaged them to Lydia Trustram, widow, of Uckfield and William Eve, a City surveyor, for £1,050 over five years at the high rate of 6%.<sup>8</sup>

James Gwynne of Essex Street, Strand was an engineer, although usually described in leases as "gentleman" (highlighting the problem mentioned in Chap. 8). His estate lay between James Lord's and the WLER, close to Battersea station. This made little difference to the nature of houses and tenants (cf. Manor House). Local employment was much more significant. James Noble acquired Lombard Lodge and about four acres in Sept. 1845 from David and Ann Ker, paying £3,600. He sold it to Gwynne for £7,000 on 29 June 1864, when its future as an attractive riverside residence was obviously limited. George Todd was responsible yet again for the layout. Although it was approved in Oct. 1868, building did begin until the early 1870s, and was not completed until 1881, yet another estate conceived in one building boom, but not finished until the next.<sup>9</sup>

The principal builders on the Gwynne estate were: R. Howell of Rotherhithe - 13 houses; William Williams, 28; William Poole 12, Robert Smith 10 and William Piper and James Ward, 8 each. Gwynne charged about 5/- per foot in Gwynne Rd. and 8/8 for the High St. frontages. Earlier leases were for 90 years from Christmas 1871, later ones for various terms from 1879-80. Frontages were 16½ to 17½ft. Samuel Went of Thames Ditton, gent., outlaid at least £4,550 on three houses and shops in High Street and ten houses in Gwynne Road in March 1881. 51/53/61/?63 Gwynne Rd. were subleased to Thomas Crapper of water-closet fame.

The Carpenter Estate was also conceived in the 1860s, but not built until the 1870s. It occupied three strips in Bird's Hedge Shot (TA 620/9-11, owned by R.W. Southby and Catherine Pilkington). A plan was prepared in October 1863 by George Legg, a City surveyor, for the trustees of its owner, a dock contractor, and this was approved in November.<sup>10</sup> The first leases were not, however, issued until June 1873, mostly by John Reardon of Bermondsey, gentleman. Terms were 99 years from Lady Day 1872, with ground rents of £3/15/- to £4/10/-.<sup>11</sup> Reardon was

replaced as lessor in March 1879 by James Carpenter of Kensington and his spinster sisters Margaret, Alice and Catherine.<sup>12</sup>

Richard Hales, a Battersea builder, assigned 1-7 while under construction to Mrs. Jane Merriman, an Islington widow for £820 in May 1879.<sup>13</sup> By March 1880, she had married Frederick Meiklejohn, who lived on the Shaftesbury Estate, describing himself as a gentleman. He sold 5 & 7 to Henry Payne, compositor, for £400, who mortgaged them to the 244th. Starr Bowkett Building Society for £520 (4 shares).<sup>14</sup> 9/11/28/30 were sold by the Carpenters to William Croft, gent., of Childs Hill in December 1880 for £357/10/-, while in September 1889, they conveyed 21-27 to estate agents Stimson & Parker for £315.<sup>15</sup>

William Gillott, outfitter and tailor of New Burlington St., developed an estate which had been a jumble of small plots around the Plough Inn and a slip of Wandsworth Common cut off by the Southampton Railway. Gillott had owned the land since at least 1865, when his agent Mr. Hook complained to the DBW about the footpath on Plough Green.<sup>16</sup> Plans were prepared by Charles Bentley of Wandsworth from 1876 onwards, although the final version did not appear until October 1881, approved in November, in the name of Bentley and builder David Kettle.<sup>17</sup> Neal of Wandsworth bid £995 for building the roads and sewers.<sup>18</sup> Building had in fact begun in May 1881, in Vardens Road: 14 houses by Kettle, who built another 24 across the estate, and seems to have been a driving force behind the whole enterprise. Gillott leased 10/12 Strathblaine Rd. in August 1883 at Kettle and Bragg's direction to Goldsworthy & Rickard, the actual builders (99yrs; Michaelmas 1881; £8/8/-). They built 15 houses. William Harris built 17, including Strath Terrace in Feb. 1882.<sup>19</sup>

As the Common Field had been a particular focus of activity in the 1860s, so the Lavender Hill-Clapham Common area attracted developers and builders between 1885 and 1900, filling the gaps between a few pioneer estates. One was the 4½ acres of Combe, Linden and Ashley Lodges (145-9 Lavender Hill) and their grounds (TA 431-4, all owned by Samuel Hill). They were sold by Messrs. Debenham, Galsworthy & Chinnock in 1892 to John Wilson, contractor, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the remotest developer in Battersea, who laid out Longbeach and Thirsk Roads.<sup>20</sup> Leases were for 99 years from Midsummer 1893, ground rent £7/10/- for 17-18ft. plots. Back gardens were tiny, the result of packing 100 houses into less than four acres. Several houses were sold as soon as built: 3 Longbeach Rd. to Charlotte Mountstephen of Salcott Rd. (May 1894 - £335); 6 Thirsk Rd. to Francis Sanders, a Pimlico pianomaker (March 1894 - £370) and 8 Thirsk Rd. to John Dunkin, a Southwark cabinet maker (March 1894 - £375).

Frederick and William Kerven, a butcher from Shepherds Bush and a Battersea builder were among the largest local builders in the 1890s, but only built 14 houses here. Edward Tremble of Putney (43), William Dawson, also from Putney (18), and James Wade of Balham (13) were the major builders. The Joseph Wilson who moved to Combe Lodge was probably related to the developer. He only built four houses, two with shops. Combe Lodge was not demolished until c.1908 and replaced by six shops by Rowe & Co.

#### **Type 6b - Developed by Retailers, Bankers, &c. (16 estates; 99.11 ac.; 2494 houses)**

The contribution of this group is distorted by Park Town (57 ac.; 1,346 houses). The

average size of the rest was only 2.82 ac./77 houses. This was one of the earlier types to appear: four predate 1810, three of them in New Town (27% cf. 5% overall), followed by one in 1848, then a block of nine in the 1860s (60% cf. 30%). Most of the developers did not depend on Battersea for their livelihood, and did not live there. The prime motivation was as usual the financial gain attendant on buying land and exploiting its real estate potential at the optimum time.

Thomas Mackley, merchant of Shoreditch and Battersea Rise (d.6 July 1869) aimed at the middle-class market, with substantial three- and four-storey houses reminiscent of contemporary north Kensington. This reflects the involvement of several builders in both areas: William Parratt in the Addison Road and Ladbroke Grove areas; George Butt (who developed the estate just north of Mackley's in 1880) and his partner Edmund Perfect.<sup>21</sup> This land belonged to Charles Wix in 1839 (TA 233/234/235 pt.). The Wixes seem to have been in two minds about development (see Type 1a), but most of their land remained unbuilt.

Proceedings in Chancery between 1865 and 1870 throw a beam of light on the estate, taking its history well back into the pre-suburban era. These fields had been leased in September 1821 by Earl Spencer to Thomas Crook (d.1831), who was succeeded by his son Thomas II (b.1805). He surrendered the lease to Charles Wix I in May 1832, who bought the land in 1836. He died in November 1845, followed by his eldest son Charles II (d. Nov. 1857) and his wife Elizabeth (d. April 1861). The latter event paved the way for the sale to Mackley and Allpress by Charles I's three remaining sons. Revd. Joseph, Frederick and Samuel Wix sold out to Mackley and Joseph Allpress, silk mercer of Islington on 5 July 1861. Allpress died in March 1862, leaving Mackley as sole owner. Thomas Mundy's application was approved in September 1861, albeit with completely different names from those eventually used.<sup>22</sup> Space was left for a church on St. Johns Hill. (St. Paul's was consecrated in 1868, designed by H.E. Coe (a pupil of G.G. Scott, later involved on the Crown Estate - Chap. 13) for the Revd. David Thompson, it cost £6,300.<sup>23</sup>)

Mackley leased 2/3/5/6 Halbrake Terrace, St. Johns Hill to Lambeth builders Joseph Fincher and William Martyn on 1 Jan. 1863 (99yrs.; mid-1862). In February, they were mortgaged to Joseph Woodger, and in April further money was raised from Thomas and George Mackley, a grindery merchant, also of Shoreditch. Later in 1863, Fincher and Martyn were declared bankrupt, and on 11 August they appointed William Alloway, William Fairfax and Charles Page trustees for themselves and the creditors they were unable to pay. Mackley filed a complaint in Chancery against all five in 1865, referring to considerable sums owed on mortgage (including other houses by Fincher & Martyn). The Vice-Chancellor heard the case on 5 May 1866, giving the defendants until 10 July to pay. On 10 May 1867, Woodger undertook to pay all outstanding debts to the Mackleys. This was not the end of the matter, however, as the case was revived in December 1869, five months after Thomas Mackley's death, the whole sum still owing. Alloway et al. were debarred from all equity in these hereditaments. Finally, on 22/23 March 1870, Amelia Mackley, Thomas' widow, sold these and other properties at auction. Alfred Rex a Covent Garden bootmaker bought Lots 41/42/44/45 for £2,585). Despite these protracted proceedings, the Mackleys profited handsomely from their 1861 investment.

Messrs. Fincher and Martyn built 32 houses 1862-5; William Parratt 28, 1862-4, and Butt & Perfect 13 in 1865-6. Leases were for 99 years from various dates, ground rents for these

substantial houses #7-8 p.a. C.H. Hughes applied for 47 houses in Cologne Road in December 1868, but it is not clear how many, if any, were actually built.

George and Amelia Mackley assigned 13 Cologne Rd. to Eliza Dobson of Regent's Park for £350. In 1870, Amelia sold 9-22 Cologne Rd. to Edward Mackley for £2,135 (about 21½ years' purchase). In June 1870 she sold 17/18 Louvaine Road to yet another relative - George, who lived at Merano in the South Tirol, then Austria, now Italy - for £865. In Feb. 1871 came notice of the sale of six superior 11-room houses, 13-18 Oberstein Rd., with 91 years to run at £8 p.a. each. Rentals totalled £260 p.a.<sup>24</sup>

For once, the estate lived up its developers' aspirations. In 1871 the population in 74 houses was 446 (av. 6.03) in 83 households (av. 5.79). Sixty-four households (77%) had 79 servants: 50 had one, 13 two and one three, about one for every five inhabitants. Only four had lodgers or boarders (4.8%). The status of household heads was: Class I - 17.5%; Class II - 74.6%; Class III 7.9% (only one a manual worker). A high proportion were retired or of independent means. Merchants and manufacturers (including makers of billiard tables and silk ties) predominated over public servants, with the War Office, GPO and Inland Revenue all represented. Things had gone slightly downhill by 1899, when most of the estate was "fairly comfortable", with a leaven of "well-to-do" in Brussels and Louvaine Roads.

John Brooks of Acre Cottage, Wandsworth Road, was a butcher, usually described in leases as "gentleman". His two-acre estate [77] (83 houses) was on the parish boundary at the south end of New Road. This meadowland belonged to R.W. Southby in 1839 (TA 706 pt.). The process of gaining MBW approval was complex for F.G. Mulholland, involving two name changes.<sup>25</sup> Most of the houses were built by Edward Curnick of Wandsworth Road, who also applied, unsuccessfully, to extend the two streets early in 1864.<sup>26</sup> 9-13 Acre St. were leased to him in March 1863 (99yrs.; Mid-1862; £3/10/-, 15½ft. fronts). Curnick took 15-25 and 16-26 Acre St. for the same rent in June 1864 (97 yrs.; Mid-1864).<sup>27</sup> Six houses were assigned to Alfred Matchin, a Clapham coffee-house keeper in June 1866 for £900. He mortgaged them to the Third Borough of Lambeth Permanent BBS for £720.<sup>28</sup> Curnick's lease on 15-25 Etruria St. (Nov. 1864) was assigned to James Lucas, carpenter, for £400 in October 1868. 33-7 Acre St. and 3-7 Etruria St. (Aug. 1864; July 1863) went to Thomas Doubell, licensed victualler of St. Johns Wood for £750.<sup>29</sup> These houses had two bedrooms and an anteroom upstairs, with hall, sitting room, kitchen, scullery and w.c. below. They had only yards at the rear. In March 1867 a portfolio of 43 houses ranging from Brixton and Clapham to Wandsworth (including 2-14 Acre St.) was sold by the Trustees of Daniel Harvey of Brixton (d.22 June 1866) to a Leyton accountant and a City wholesale stationer.<sup>30</sup>

Daniel Lucy, general dealer/fat melter of Hudson's Cottage, Battersea Fields, is another example of a developer making a false start in the 1860s, followed by a decade of inactivity before completion c.1880. In 1839, his 4¼ acres had been two enclosures (TA 621-2, R.W. Southby) and strip 14 in Bird's Hedge Shot (Catherine Pilkington). On 20 October 1857, Philip Southby of Bayswater and other trustees of R.W. Southby conveyed 2a 2r 13p to Lucy and John Cann of Lincoln's Inn for £1,150, including the buildings occupied by Lucy in connexion with his noxious trade - this area was still relatively remote.<sup>31</sup> Lucy immediately mortgaged it for £600 to

James Carpenter, dock contractor of Rotherhithe, and owner of the adjacent estate (see above). Just as the open field survived into the suburban era, so the manorial court of Battersea and Wandsworth still functioned, and Daniel Lucy was admitted to land in Shepherds Shot in February 1858. His son John was enfranchised by Earl Spencer to one acre in April 1860, for which privilege he paid £80. (Daniel died in March 1860, and was buried at the Roman Catholic cemetery in Mortlake.<sup>32</sup>) John carried on the business, living until 1918. Daniel's executors came from Bermondsey and were probably involved in the tanning/leather industry there. A conveyance of 1a 0r 10p from Mary Ann and Louisa McKellar (heirs of Andrew, d.30 Nov. 1859) on 8 February 1861, for £600 bought the estate up to its full size.<sup>33</sup>

In 1863, building was widespread in this area. Charles Bowes drew up plans,<sup>34</sup> but no new streets were approved. In November 1864, the Battersea Surveyor reported Lucy for starting a large piggery at the bottom of Austins Road without permission. The only building in the 1860s was an (unauthorised) extension of Henley St. Five houses in Lucy Road (Longhedge St., not actually authorised until 1879) were leased in March 1868 to Joseph Philbey (99yrs.; Lady Day 1868; £3/5/- p.a.). After this, there was no more building until the late-1870s.

An agreement between Lucy and the LSWR in August 1877 shows that his factory was still in operation then.<sup>35</sup> At last, in December 1879, H. Vulliamy's application for three new streets and an extension of Doddington Grove was approved, although at least one house had been added to Henley St. earlier that year.<sup>36</sup> The standard terms for this phase of building were 90 years from Christmas 1878, at £5-6 p.a. The allocation of blocks to builders ran ahead of formal MBW approval. A plan submitted to the DBW in October 1879,<sup>37</sup> shows Brackley (Kennard) St. Henry Brackley had 16 plots on the north side, and four in Henley St., although the former were actually built by Joseph Lower (6) and Abel Playle (10). Brackley did build 2-6 Sheepecote La. and 90-104 Henley St. James Ludford had 17 houses at the south east end of Lucy Terrace (Longhedge St.), followed by John Wilkinson's 14. On the north side of Lucy Terrace, William Havard built 15 houses.

William Collins mortgaged 63/65 Henley St. to the United Friends PBBS in July/August 1880 for £580. That December, the United Friends assigned 67/69 to Moses Skeats, commercial traveller of Wandsworth, for £200/1/1 at Collins's direction. Skeats promptly mortgaged them to the 4th. City Mutual BBS for £444 - a good example of the intricacies of the local housing finance market. Stockwell builder John Wilkinson raised £235 on 36/7 Lucy Rd. from John Prosser, a City wine merchant in February 1881.

The Flower family developed the Park Town estate, the second largest in Battersea (57 acres, 1,346 houses), around the southern approach to Chelsea Bridge from 1863-1900. Its history was studied in detail by Priscilla Metcalf.<sup>38</sup> The dramatic change in style, from substantial three-storey terraces in Phase 1 (1863-70), to two-storey half-houses in Phase 2 (1890-1900), underlines very clearly how the aspirations of the owners for a middle-class development close to the amenities of Battersea Park was ruined by the railways and the inexorable demand for artisan accommodation in north-east Battersea. Although Park Town was laid out, and the first generation houses designed by James Knowles, the original plan was by R. J. Withers, and it was he who applied for thirteen new streets in 1863.<sup>39</sup> Knowles did not appear in connexion with the estate



until six months later, when the DBW informed him that his plan for 2,000-3,000 houses must be approved by the MBW.<sup>40</sup>

Three small estates were developed in the mid-1860s by local tradesmen. Freeland Street was developed in 1867 by William Ambrose, licensed victualler of the Raven Inn, Battersea Square on land which had belonged to the Cobb family, occupied in 1839 by his father J. Ambrose (TA 40pt.). William Sheppard of Chelsea built 1-3 leased in April 1869 (99yrs.; Michaelmas 1867; £4 p.a.), and sold 1/2 to Lot and Ann Fletcher of Hammersmith for £280, and 3 to Christopher Hubbard of Chelsea, gent., for £140.<sup>41</sup>

George Bishopp, also a licensed victualler, of the Clarence Inn, Surrey Lane, developed a medium-sized estate nearby from 1868 (TA 86a, 93 - David Ker; 538-540 - Nancy Gaines's market gardens). Plans by James Edmeston, a City architect and surveyor, were approved in April 1868.<sup>42</sup> The Gaineses retained an interest as superior landlord in part of the estate. Eight plots in Granfield St. were let by Phoebe Gaines to Bishopp in February 1870 (99yrs.; Michaelmas 1867; £4/10/- p.a.). Bishopp leased 111 Westbridge Road, a detached house-cum-shop, to Charles Gooding, builder, late of Wanstead in March 1871 (90yrs.; Christmas 1868; £8/10/-). The western end of Granfield St. followed much later, after a change of ownership. 6-12 were leased by Peyton Dashwood of Putney to Andrew Lambert, builder, in November 1882 (99yrs.; Michaelmas 1881; £3/10/- p.a.), and assigned to Edwin Bennett, a Piccadilly hosier, for £540 in June 1885.<sup>43</sup>

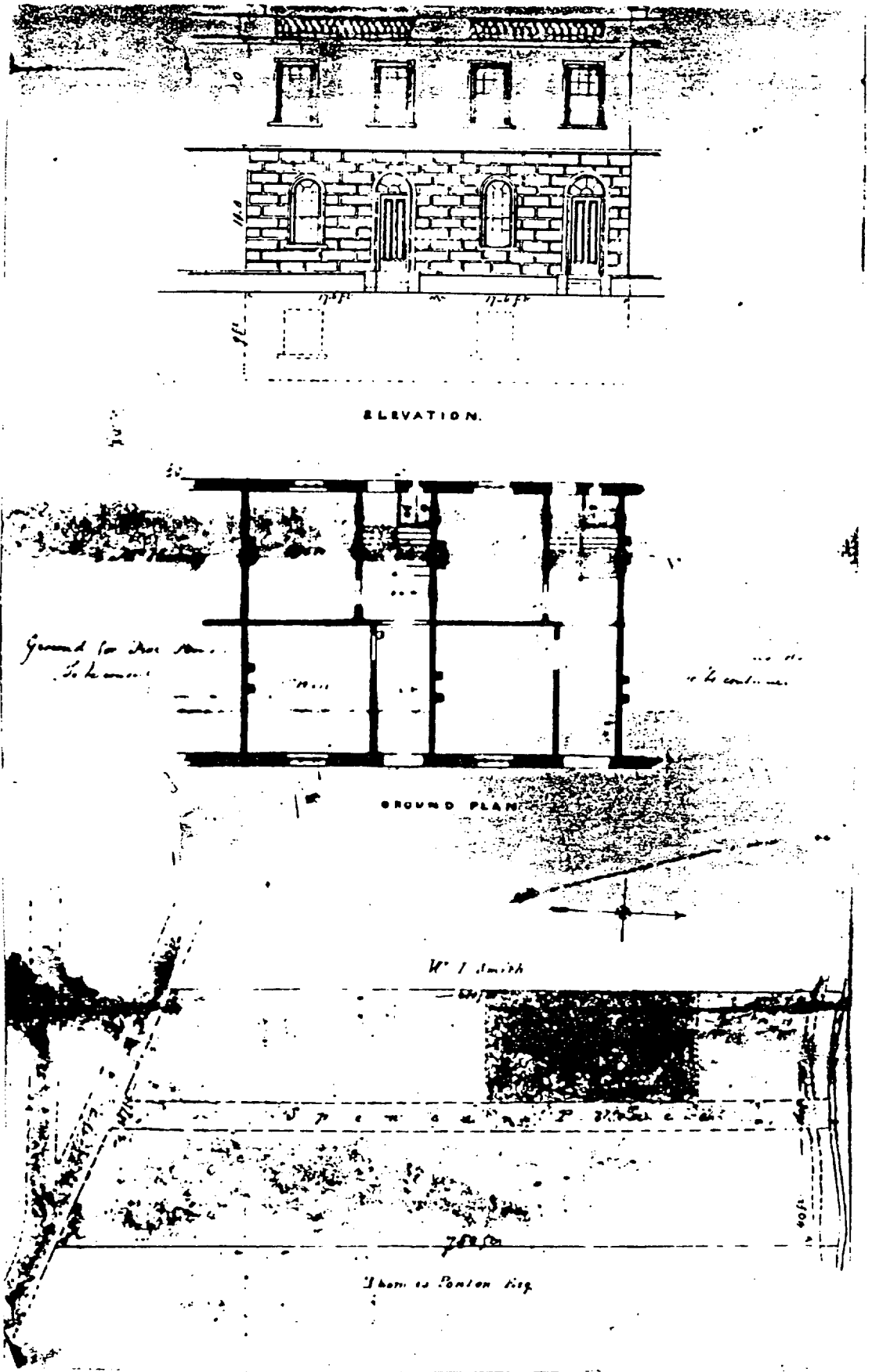
John Trott, smith and ironmonger, acquired 1.75 acres east of the High Street in 1864, including three existing houses. He was enfranchised by Earl Spencer in February that year for £450.<sup>44</sup> Between August 1864 and November 1867, Trott raised at least £3,500 from Ann Banks of Westminster in a series of mortgages. He seems to have been directly responsible for laying out the estate, two new streets were approved in July 1868.<sup>45</sup> He leased 6/7 Trott St. to Edward Taylor of Battersea, builder, in December 1869 (99yrs.; Christmas 1868; £4 p.a.).

#### **Type 6c - Developed by Other Professionals (10 estates; 31.17 acres; 784 houses)**

These estates were small (average 3.12 ac./77 houses), although three did have more than one hundred houses. Two were developed by Henry Hart Davis, civil engineer, and two by Henry Townsend, a Clapham surgeon. Two estates owned by Members of Parliament have been included here, although they were as yet unpaid and very much members of the landed classes.

Hart Davis was ultimately bankrupted by his activities in Battersea (1851) and he brought none of the estates with which he was associated to a successful conclusion. Earl Spencer Place was laid out in 1845, a year before the Battersea Park Act. These three strips (TA 611/18, 624/1 & 2) were owned by lawyer Robert Chambers in 1839 (cf. Doddington Grove). Quite why they were selected for development in 1845 is unclear. Hart Davis merely seems to have laid out the street and plots, letting blocks of land to a variety of tradesmen on unusually long leases at very low ground rents, stipulating the completion of a certain number of houses of a given type within a nominated period. (It is probably this aberrant approach which caused his collapse, with the income failing to match the not inconsiderable start-up costs, not helped by his protracted battle with the Crown for compensation.)

Fig. 10.1 - Earl Spencer Place, c.1846



Mr. Beeston's plan of Earl Spencer Place (Nov. 1846),<sup>46</sup> shows it divided into large blocks for leasing, rather than individual plots:-

A - E. side, 50ft. front (2 semi-detached villas), William Edmonds, Camberwell, gent., 105 years from Michaelmas 1846, £10 p.a. + £80 premium. Lease dated 16 Feb. 1847.<sup>47</sup> Edmonds agreed to build the houses by 29 Jan. 1848.

B - E. side, 156ft. front and return to main road, Robert Spooner, licensed victualler, Strand, £45 p.a. + £200 by bond. The lease, dated 19 Sept. 1845, was for 19 houses and the Earl Spencer tavern, although this seems too many for the size of plot. It had been assigned to Charles Freake the Kensington builder by Nov. 1846 (see Type 4).

C - E. side, 100ft. front, William Rayner, gent., Barnards Inn, a peppercorn. Rayner acquired the lease when Joseph Allen, a Covent Garden licensed victualler, defaulted.<sup>48</sup>

D - W. side, 210ft. front. Joseph Harvey, artists colorman and stationer, Strand. Lease dated 5 Aug. 1845 (105 yrs.; Lady Day 1845; £25 p.a. - reduced from £63 on payment of c.£500 in goods and cash).<sup>49</sup> This was for 12 houses, presumably a terrace since they had only 17½ft. frontages.

E - W. side, 318ft. frontage and return to the eastern extremity of Surrey Lane. Lease to William Peck, builder of Somers Town, St. Pancras on 27 March 1846 (usual term, premium by building and £280 cash to reduce rent to £63p.a.) This lease was for only six houses - two to be erected within one year and four more within five years - and the consideration money was only £100.<sup>50</sup> The rest was let to Stephen Willington, yet another licensed victualler, this time from Clerkenwell on 14 May 1846 (105yrs.; Michaelmas 1845; £30p.a. + £150). He was to build one first-class Gothic house within a year, for use only as a tavern, and two more houses within five years. With Peck's take, this would make a total of eight houses and a tavern.

G - E. side, 50ft. front. Charles Williams, £7 p.a. He paid an unspecified premium to reduce the rent for (sic) 6/- per foot (£15 p.a.).

H - W. side, 190ft. front. John Bailey paid 7/- per foot and £196p.a. with l.

I - E. side, 321ft. front. Bailey agreed to make not less than 3½ million bricks and to pay Hart Davis a royalty of 4/- per thousand, immediately after payment of the duty. This use of part of an estate for brickmaking was not uncommon in Battersea (see Chap. 6).

Hart Davis's predicament with the Commissioners of Woods and Forests led him to accuse Charles Freake of "trespass and ejectment", causing a law suit between them in February-March 1847, which also involved Freake's estate off Bridge Road, although there is no record of Davis there. The outcome of the proceedings is not clear, no doubt it was overtaken by the creation of the Park.<sup>51</sup>

Simultaneously with this unsuccessful venture, Hart Davis leased 1.75 acres at St. Johns Hill from James Arnold on 10 March 1845 (TA 302 - 99yrs.; Christmas 1844; £70 p.a.), with a 278ft. frontage on the Turnpike Road by 267ft. deep.<sup>52</sup> Hart Davis undertook to build houses of not less than ten rooms and to spend at least £1,400 erecting an unspecified number. He laid out the grandly-named St. John's Avenue, clearly aimed at the middle-class market. The only houses ever completed were two terraces of four on St. Johns Hill. Various building agreements in 1847-8 provide for more houses than could be fitted in, and it seems that his perennial ill-luck extended to his choice of builders.

Table 10.1

## St. Johns Avenue; Leases

Date	Lessee	Hos.	Term	GR
18/11/47	Chas. Tilly, Pimlico, builder	3	96 Mich. 1847	30
18/11/47	Robert Thrower, Chelsea, builder	10	96 Mich. 1847	40
15/04/48	William Young, Brixton, builder	4	90 L.Day 1848	40
01/05/48	Young	8	95 Mid. 1848	55
21/06/48	Joseph Humphrey, Hackney, lic. vict.	3	95 Mich. 1848	170
--/--/49	James Cainfield, Clapham, builder	2+	95¼ Mid. 1849	40
11/12/49	Geo. Morgan, Lambeth, builder	15	96 Mich. 1849	90
11/12/49	William Leggo, Lambeth, builder	14	96 Mich. 1849	80

Joseph Humphrey was another of the licensed victuallers favoured by Hart Davis, although in June 1848 he was "now out of business". The land and unfinished messuages were held of James Arnold in chief. Humphrey is to build a coachhouse and stables by Christmas 1848 and thereafter not more than three houses, as well as extending the sewer to St. Johns Avenue. The 29 plots leased to Morgan and Leggo in December 1849 represent the substitution of new builders for old, equating to the 28 leased in 1847-8. No pattern is discernible in the ground rents. Excluding Humphrey's £170, they range from £4-10 (cf. Earl Spencer Pl.).

In May 1850, Hart Davis made another attempt to get the projected hotel built. Its plot was leased to William Collyer, victualler of Battersea Rise, for 21 years at £150 p.a.<sup>53</sup> Still nothing was achieved. In July 1852, Hart Davis's solicitor, Francis Smith, took on the seemingly impossible task of developing this field. He leased four plots to Charles Wyatt, builder (90yrs.; Mid-1852; £145 p.a.), on which he was to build 16 houses by mid-1853, and a further plot - for the hotel (31yrs.; Michaelmas 1852; £60 p.a.), to be finished by 29 September 1852.<sup>54</sup> Wyatt managed to part-erect the two terraces on St. Johns Hill, but in June 1853 surrendered plots 3 and 4 to Smith for an abatement of £96 in the ground rent.<sup>55</sup> Smith seems to have become Wyatt's mortgagor. Wyatt defaulted and in July 1854, nine years after the enterprise began, Smith leased two plots, each with four partially-completed houses to Christopher Forrest, a Bethnal Green builder (88yrs.; Mid-1854; £24/10/- p.a. each block (i.e. £6/2/6 per house)).<sup>56</sup> The backland was left vacant. Francis Smith no doubt realised that the deep recession in building rendered the attempt to interest builders futile.

John and William Streets [79] were developed in 1862 by Frederick Ingoldby, surgeon of Finsbury Square. There is no evidence of MBW approval. In 1839, this land was part of a much larger field belonging to R.W. Southby (TA 706), the rest being covered by the LSWR works. Leases were for 98 years at 60-70/- p.a.<sup>57</sup> William Whaley built 7-31 John Street, while nos. 2-30 were leased to John Davies, a Southwark dairyman, who was soon described as a publican at the Welsh Harp in New Road. He sold 2-30 John St. to Thomas Mason of Lambeth, gentleman, for £1,725 (£115 each).<sup>58</sup> They were six-roomed houses - three upstairs, one with a range, and two parlours connected by folding doors and a kitchen with a copper and sink below. In 1873, 28 houses and two shops - 40% of the total - were offered for sale in seven lots: 1-5 (cons.) and 6-30 (even) John St. and 2-24 William St. The rental value was £557/10/- (£18/11/8 p.a. each) and they had 88 years left to run, with ground rents of £88 (£2/18/8 each), giving a profit of £15/13/- to landlords.<sup>59</sup>

Fellow-surgeon Henry Meredith Townsend of Clapham Rise developed two very different

estates. Britannia Place, was a cul-de-sac off Plough Lane, surrounded by the Carter estate, of which it had once been part (TA 226 pt.) It was a high-density, low-class scheme *par excellence*, cramming 52 houses onto only 0.92 acres. All the houses were built by Robert Wood of nearby Lavender Road; the terms were 90 years from Midsummer 1865, £3/5/- p.a. Plots were leased in blocks of six or seven in February and July 1866.<sup>60</sup> The subsequent market here was as usual an active one. In May 1868, Townsend and Wood leased 28 to a local blacksmith for £8 p.a. In Jan. 1870, C.J. Roby, a City auctioneer, leased 15/16 to a Post Office sorter from Kensington and 17 to a widow from Waterloo, still at £3/5/- p.a. In 1883-4, Arthur Holloway, auctioneer of Old Kent Road, was leasing houses to a variety of investors for 30-year terms at £5/5/- p.a.: 13/14/18 to a Camberwell P.O. sorter; 15-17 to a Bermondsey gentleman; 7-9 to a Chelsea licensed victualler; and 10-12 to a Lewisham bookseller. In Dec. 1884, Augustus Woodley of Plumstead, gent., leased 19-39 on the same terms to John Jones, a City auctioneer.

Townsend's other estate was the first off Lavender Hill, aimed at the middle-class market. Five new "Groves" in two steeply-sloping fields (TA 481a/482 - John Harvey) were approved in July 1866.<sup>61</sup> The topography and the desire to maximise the number of houses (193 - 34/acre) combined to produce an unimaginative layout. Townsend acquired the property in July 1866 from John Levy, Edmund Browne and J.T. Prall, who had bought it from Emma Donaldson in April 1864. Almost immediately, Townsend and his lawyer Jesse Nickinson (partner of Richard Prall) raised £3,800 from G.T. Baker of Cork and S.G. Spires of St. James's Square, followed by a further £1,700 in Jan. 1869. When building was largely complete, Baker, Spires and Townsend decided to capitalise some of their assets, selling 2-28 and 17-25 Basnett Grove to the Revd. Nathaniel Garland of Tulse Hill for £1,860 in September 1870 (only £97 each), and 1-6 Seymour Tce., 1-3 Basnett Tce. and 9-15 Basnett Gro. to the Trustees of Mrs. Lucy Matson for £2,000 (£2,165/15/5 worth of 3% Bank Annuities) in January 1871 (£154 each).<sup>62</sup> Leases were for 99 years from Michaelmas 1866, generally £5 p.a. for 16-17½ft. frontages, although there were some £4 and £4/4/- rents.

A partnership between Edwin Johnson, a Battersea grocer, and James Coulman, a Chelsea builder, lasted from 1867 to October 1869. Both they and George Ugle, a local bricklayer, who built at least 27 houses, including all those in Shirley Grove, raised money on mortgage from Joseph Storey of Fulham in 1867 - two lots of £400. The lease for 2-8 Wickersley Grove to Thomas and Richard Michell of Peckham stipulated that they had to complete the houses in carcass to the approved elevation. It is also annotated with details of many small loans made by Townsend to builders in late-1868/1869, for amounts between £10 and £25.<sup>63</sup> Booth classified it as C, D and E mixed.

"Eukestons" belonged to the Poynder family, who were prominent in Clapham.<sup>64</sup> Its grounds (TA 438-440) were developed from 1894, part of a surge of building in Central Battersea. The plans, approved in April, were by Lee & Pain, architects and surveyors of Lincoln's Inn Fields - names associated with Battersea for fifty years.<sup>65</sup> The initiator was Sir John Dickson-Poynder, M.P. of Hartham Park, Wilts., whose marriage settlement of £15,000 (at 3.75%) in Sept. 1896 included 1-9 Malvern Gardens and 68-70 North Side, 20-66 Marney Rd., and 16-100/47-133 Stormont Rd. He paid John Cook of Cobham (Surrey) and Arthur Empson of Howden (Yorks. ER)

£5,230 for Kirkdale and Brewster Lodge and three acres off North Side in May 1894. The houses on North Side had 19-20ft. plots; 92 was leased to Albert Bussell in August 1896 for £12/12/- (99yrs.; Lady Day 1894). Joseph Lower of Sugden Rd. built 24-32 Stormont Rd. in 1895, paying £7 p.a. for 17-17½ft. plots. C.J. Kerven built 98/100 Stormont Rd. the same year (£7/10/- p.a.).

The northern part of the Sisters Estate had been developed from 1876, but it took two decades and a change of owner before building was completed. The new owner was Herbert Shepherd-Cross, M.P. of Buntingford, Herts, who bought it from Thomas Wallis on 4 September 1894. He wasted no time: plans for the extension of Sisters Avenue and two new "Groves" by local surveyor F.H. Harvey were approved in October.<sup>66</sup> The Clapham Common frontage was occupied partly by Grove Mansions (1896). Leases were for 99 years from Michaelmas 1894, £7/15/- to £8 p.a.<sup>67</sup> Sir Herbert Bartlett bought "Alverstoke" (110 North Side) and plots behind in Dec. 1894. John Burns, the local M.P. lived there for many years.

#### **Type 6d - Developed by Market Gardeners, &c. (12 estates; 42.22 acres; 920 houses)**

From the seventeenth century, the fertile soils of north Battersea had attracted market gardeners and nurserymen, helped by the absence of enclosure and abundance of small plots of land.<sup>68</sup> The presence of brickearth over much of the area, the inexorable spread of industry along the Thames and the general expansion of London presented them with a dilemma after 1800 - to continue supplying an ever growing market for food, or to develop? The relative remoteness of the urban frontier and the small properties meant that most Type 6d estates were very small. Two-thirds predate 1851, and none were started after 1866. All but two initiators (Charles Stewart "yeoman" and Thomas Wayland, nurseryman) were market gardeners. Several had only been acquired by their owners at the Spencer sales of 1835-6, prior to which the Carters, Pouparts and Gaines had been tenants - as they were under other owners such as Richard Southby and the Archbishop of York, until they in turn sold up. The Carter estate is dealt with in Chap. 13.

Stewart's land (TA 721-6) was affected by railway building after 1835, not only reducing its size, but also attracting industry. Stewarts Buildings were started in 1803, but it took until 1881 for all the available land to be covered. James Stewart died in December 1803, bequeathing no.4 (in carcase) to Sarah, and 5 to Charlotte, his daughters. They sold the freehold to their brother Charles in 1813 for £63 and £150, respectively.<sup>69</sup> Building now ceased until 1845. In Aug. 1847, Stewart leased a plot of land with a 94ft. frontage to Thomas Bennett, builder (61yrs.; Christmas 1845; £10/10/- p.a.), probably intended for six houses.<sup>70</sup>

Even then, progress was leisurely. In Jan. 1848 a large plot (40ft. by 200ft.) was leased to William Bennett.<sup>71</sup> He conveyed it to James Court in 1851, who in turn sold to Charles Greenwood of Southwark, gent., in Feb. 1859 for £165/17/7, including a recently-built messuage. On 29 July 1859 it was bought by James Watmore, a Bloomsbury licensed victualler for £250, who immediately raised £220 at 5% from Greenwood.<sup>72</sup> Watmore agreed to erect nine houses within two years, total value only £400 The rest of the land remained in use as a drying ground (the LCDR had yet to build its line west of Linford St.). By July 1860, Watmore had moved to Battersea and was calling himself a builder. He borrowed £300 from Henry Day of Camberwell, gent., to pay off Greenwood, leaving him with £74/10/-. When he died in June 1862, Watmore

was back at his former trade in Covent Garden, showing just how arbitrary occupational descriptions could be in the Victorian building world.<sup>73</sup>

Stewart's trustees included Samuel Linford, husband of his daughter Mary Ann. They laid out Linford St. in the late-1850s. As late as Aug. 1881, however, Mrs. Linford, then living in Hammersmith, leased eleven houses (1-15 Corunna T.; 1/3/5 Linford St.) to James Swann, builder (99yrs.; Christmas 1880; £60 p.a.), who mortgaged them to her for £2,200.<sup>74</sup>

The Hawards market garden was in Nine Elms, next to the tidal mill pond (TA 794). Only part was used for housing, and that too fell prey to the gasworks which had grown up around it since the 1840s. There was a protracted legal dispute (1813-8) after the death of Ann Haward. Wagstaffe, Ann's brother, bought the land in 1784-5, taking his nephew William to train as a market gardener, and promising to leave him the estate. Wagstaffe became deranged in 1791, Ann acquired the estate and gave it to William in 1798, who died in 1809.<sup>75</sup> The Master of the Rolls ordered that Elizabeth Haward be admitted in May 1819.<sup>76</sup> George Elizabeth Haward married William Watson, who sold the land to Edward Haward in April 1830 for £1,875.

Edward leased four houses in Nine Elms Lane to Henry Puttick, a Vauxhall carpenter, in August 1841 (60yrs.; Michaelmas 1840; £17).<sup>77</sup> Haward Street followed in 1849. Edward Haward took out a £1,500 mortgage from his brother-in-law John Johnson of Brompton, corn factor, in March 1848 to fund this operation.<sup>78</sup> Leases were for 90 years at 60-80/- p.a. Haward sold 6.75 acres, two cottages and 25 houses to the London Gas Co. for £10,000 in May 1855. They were to pay £4,000 by Michaelmas, and take possession then.<sup>79</sup> The houses were not demolished immediately, however, leases being bought piecemeal from 1866-1876, for £150-180. Puttick's houses lasted until 1881, costing the Company £1,100.

Francis Lithgow bought a six-acre market garden in York Road from Spencer in 1836 (TA 251). He began to develop in 1844, although only 75 houses were built under his ownership. Most were sold, along with the vacant land, to the Conservative Land Society in 1858.<sup>80</sup> It seems that the catalyst was Charles Lee (see Type 3). The marginal plan in one lease is by him. As usual, building began on the main road. Leases were for 99 years from Michaelmas 1844, although some were sold outright for #50-110.

Lithgow had no consistent policy on ground rents, which varied between 2/10 and 4/8 per foot in York Road, low even for this period, nor on whether he should develop leasehold or freehold. There was an abrupt change from leasing to selling between 1849 and 1852, even extending to recently-leased Victoria Cottages. Most of Lithgow's lessees were only indirectly connected with building. It seems that Charles Lee's involvement did not extend beyond surveying/plan drawing.

The sale of small plots - mostly less than 30ft. by 40ft. - at the equivalent of about £2,000/acre gave Lithgow some capital gains. The main beneficiary, however, was James Griffin, the local tax collector, who leased houses to James de Board for £21 p.a., and got £260 consideration money for 1-4 Francis (later Lithgow) St. Most of the houses in the narrow side streets were built by Roles and Board in 1853-4.

The Spencer Lodge estate of William Howey (TA 570; 573; 580) survived until the mid-sixties, although some houses were built earlier, some before 1839, on Bridge Road. The catalyst

for change was the death of Howey. His trustees - George Hawkins of South Lambeth, Edmund Shaw, surgeon of Marylebone, and Frederick Chester, solicitor - had plans drawn up by George Todd. Three new streets were approved in June 1864.<sup>81</sup> Howey, then a Putney nurseryman, and Alex Dancer of Fulham had acquired the land in 1835 from Earl Spencer for £1,700, including three acres of market garden, four houses (let to lawyer Charles Chabot until March 1843.<sup>82</sup>), stables, etc. and nine cottages on Bridge Road, some built as long ago as 1797. The estate was divided into 110 lots which were sold freehold by Todd, most unusual for a private estate. Lots 11 and 110 could be hotels or public houses worth at least £400, houses in Park[gate] Rd. not less than £150, and all others at least £100. Included in the sale were existing buildings: the *Park Tavern* and two shops (60yrs.; Lady Day 1843; £45); 2 freehold cottages let at 4/- p.w. each; a large freehold house, coffeehouse and ground; seven more cottages let at £18/4/- p.a. and Spencer Lodge itself, £80 p.a. Lot 12, occupying the backland between Bridge Road and Radstock St., was suitable for 'a chapel, livery stable, builder's or manufacturer's business.'<sup>83</sup>

A standard deed of covenant to make up and maintain the roads on the estate was drawn up by solicitors H. & F. Chester.<sup>84</sup> Alfred Compton of Islington (Lot 11) and George Smith of Pimlico (Lot 110), builders, both signed with William Howey jun. in September 1864. Lots 1-53 were sold on 7 June 1864: 47/51-53 were purchased by Thomas Weller, a local cowkeeper, for £175. In March 1866 he leased 51-3 (12-16 Radstock St.) to John Pinn of Church Road, carpenter (99yrs.; Lady Day 1866; £10/10/-).<sup>85</sup> Weller, by then described as a dustman, was declared bankrupt in December 1866, and the houses sold by auction. Henry Callow of Brompton, gent., paid £80 for 49/50 (18-20 Radstock St.) in September 1865. He built the houses himself, mortgaging them in Jan. 1867 to the Belgrave & Chelsea Permanent BS for £260.<sup>86</sup> In Nov. 1867, Thomas Neave, a Clerkenwell tea dealer, bought 64-70 (9-21 Elcho St.), for £360 (£51/8/7 each). The six-roomed houses, leased in May 1868 (99yrs.; Michaelmas 1867),<sup>87</sup> were sold to Francis Knowles of Oxford Circus (Type 2b) for £600 in May 1869.

James Morgan, a Pimlico cheesemonger, bought three lots in Howie St., and drew up a building agreement with John Price & William Saunders of Chelsea, builders, in Jan. 1867, based upon a draft lease dated Nov. 1865 between Charles Lee and Evan Evans (both active elsewhere in Battersea). The builders agreed to erect three houses with six or more rooms, worth not less than £200, within six months, on which Morgan would grant 99-year leases from Christmas 1866 at £15 p.a. Price & Saunders sold the houses to James Barratt, a Chelsea corn dealer, in Aug. 1867 for £655.<sup>88</sup> Lot 89 (20 Elcho St.) was bought by Robert Green of Knightsbridge and sold to Edmund Marshall of Kennington (both gentlemen) in June 1870 for £220 (89yrs.; Mid-1870; £3 p.a.). As usual, it took several years to build this relatively small estate, involving scores of individuals from every walk of life: gentlemen to cowkeepers, and tea dealers to carpenters, in the financing and construction processes. Assuming an average price of £50-60 per plot, Howey's trustees would have made £5,500-6,600 from land which had cost £1,700 in 1835. This may be compared with an annual income of £500-600 from ground rents, supplemented by consideration money from sales. The short-term capital gain was therefore equivalent to only 10-11 years' income or less, all other potential benefit being lost to third parties.



Although Type 6 estates account for 25% of the total (19% of land; 20% of houses), the component sub-groups are in effect so different from one another that an overall summary has little meaning.

With the exception of the silk manufactory and starch works off York Road, and two tiny schemes in north-east Battersea, there is no evidence of any manufacturers providing housing for their own workers at any stage in the creation of the suburb. They relied on the operation of the highly atomised development process to achieve this, as was the case in most suburbs in London and other Victorian cities for which evidence has been published. Given the heterogeneous demand for housing, this is not surprising, and it was clearly more cost-effective to transfer the costs and risks of housebuilding to others.

The remaining industrialists who developed estates did so for the same reasons that any of the other groups studied here - to make as much money as possible in the shortest possible time. Benjamin Edgington, the Southwark marquee maker did live in Battersea at one stage, which doubtless gave him local knowledge of potential sites like the Manor House estate. Daniel Lucy, pursuing his noxious trade as a fat melter in the still-open Common Field in the 1850s obviously saw that the future lay in housebuilding as neighbouring strip-owners began to develop their land like a domino effect. In his case, however, the process was only brought to a conclusion after nearly twenty years by his heirs, showing yet again that there was a wide margin between aspiration and achievement for many a developer. Type 6a estates were mostly small-scale ventures, about 35-45% of the overall average size, but with densities 25% larger, reflecting the fact that many of them were on existing roads, involving the minimum outlay on services.

Retailers, merchants and bankers (excluding Park Town) also made a small contribution to the growth of Battersea. Most were absentees who acquired local estates solely as part of a speculation. The Cobb family, Banbury bankers, amassed a larger-than-usual property around Church Road from the 1780s through marriage, but did little with it until the 1840s, despite the obvious trend to convert the riverside pleasure grounds of the area to industrial uses. Many others in this group obtained their land from original owners, who, as we have seen seldom opted to develop themselves. Type 6b estates were only 60-70% as large on average as those in Type 2, despite the similarity of their initiators.

Professions not included elsewhere were insignificant as developers. In many cases it is clear that they fall in this group only by the fortuitous mention of their calling in the documents. Henry Townsend the Clapham surgeon lived near enough to see the potential in Battersea, and proceeded to acquire two very different properties from original owners who seemed happier to "take the money" than to take risks. Townsend at least was shrewd enough not to waste time on middle-class aspirations at Britannia Place, using Robert Wood to run up long terraces of small brick boxes identical to those on the neighbouring Carter and Olney Lodge estates.

The contribution of agriculturists, mostly market gardeners, was equally small, excluding the Carter estate. They account for 4% of land and houses, about double that of Type 1a and 2a landowners, their closest parallel. The protracted and confused nature of some of these schemes, combining freehold sales with leasing and a generally low ground rent policy, suggests that, despite the involvement of men such as Charles Lee and George Todd, these representatives of

traditional Battersea did not make as much as they could have done from their land. Perhaps the best that can be said of them is that they made more (often much more) than their erstwhile landlords, notably Earl Spencer and the Archbishop of York.

Overall, Type 6 estates show most of the characteristics of those already discussed in preceding chapters. They were subject to the same vagaries of the building cycle and to the failure correctly to identify the demand for various kinds of housing. Everybody from the largest developer - Philip Flower whose estate took almost forty years to complete and including three peaks and troughs of the cycle - to the smallest - for example the Hawards whose seven acre field was ultimately swallowed up entirely by the gasworks, or Francis Lithgow whose scheme petered out half finished and who sold out to the Conservative Land Society - could and did see their apparently foolproof schemes for capitalising on the seemingly insatiable demand for housing falter and all-too-often fail. In this the Battersea experience mirrors that in other suburbs and other cities. Only the most exceptional or determined (and lucky) owner could achieve what he set out to do, although the Bedfords, Calthorpes and Devonshires all had their share of setbacks.

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## CHAPTER 11

### BUILDING ESTATES IN BATTERSEA V: TYPES 7-10

This chapter considers development by organisations and institutions. With the exception of Type 7, however, they all belong to the private sector, and are in reality merely larger entities applying the same methods of estate creation and building as the individuals examined in Chapters 8-10/12. The only exception is the Artizans' Dwellings Co., whose Shaftesbury Park was built by direct labour, and is the only uniform estate in Battersea in terms of style. The freehold land companies had their origin in schemes to create votes, but once the plots had been sold, building took place in the usual way, albeit even more heterogeneous in appearance because of the large number of small ownerships created. The only way in which these estates differ from the norm is in their size - 7% of estates but 12% of houses.

#### Type 7 - Municipal Estates

In 1889, Battersea was separated from the Wandsworth District as a Metropolitan Vestry. Like the contemporary L.C.C., it favoured municipal enterprise, for example electricity generation and housing. The Vestry used powers under the Housing of the Working Classes Act 1890 to build some maisonettes behind the new Town Hall in 1898. Some smaller flats, specifically aimed at the lower-paid were added in 1904.<sup>1</sup> (Town Hall Road was proposed in 1891 as an "ordinary" development by William Willcocks on behalf of the Newcastle contractor John Wilson as Cheam Road. This proposal, predating the completion of the Town Hall, came to nothing.<sup>2</sup>)

The major pre-1914 development was after Battersea became a Metropolitan Borough in 1901. Latchmere Common, latterly used as allotments, had remained parochial property, an island completely surrounded by housing. The opportunity to make an open space was lost when it was largely covered with an estate of 315 two-storey tenements in 1902-4. Schemes to build here date back to 1888, but this one had its origins in 1898-9, when plans for 354 houses and seven streets covering the entire area were prepared. One plan was entitled "Houses proposed to be built in Blocks suitable for two Families for the Artizan and Labouring Classes of Battersea". The plan adopted left a small open space (1.75 ac.), and four new streets, with suitably radical names, were approved in June 1901.<sup>3</sup> The grand opening, by John Burns M.P., was on 1 August 1903. The Borough Council was proud of its achievement, especially the use of direct-labour at union rates.<sup>4</sup>

These projects were small harbingers of municipal enterprise after 1919, when thousands of the houses discussed in this study were cleared as unfit, a process which lasted until the early 1980s, leaving relatively little predating 1870.

#### Type 8 - Freehold Land Company Estates (7 estates; 97.81 acres; 1,605 houses)

Although only 3.3% of estates, these include 9.1% of land and 6.2% of houses (average 14 acres/229 houses, density 16.41 hos./ac.). The National Freehold Land Co. (NFLC) and its successor the British Land Co. (BLC) built two each (692 houses), and the Conservative Land Society (CLS) three (913 houses). Most belong to the period 1853-69. The NFLC/BLC estates were all at the extremities of the parish (two overlapping into neighbours), more or less isolated

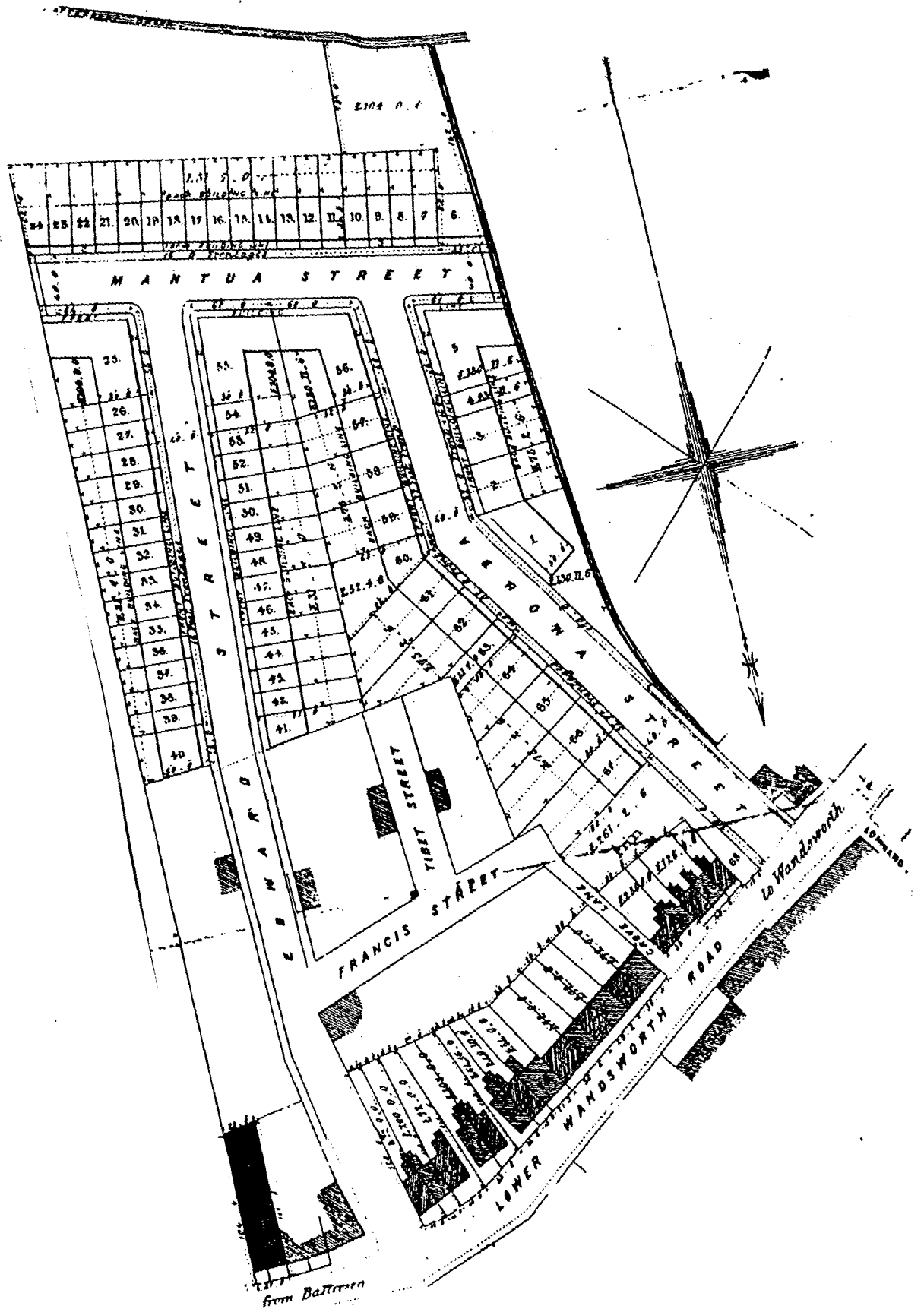
from contemporary activity. This reflects the cheapness of land in such locations, and also that, initially at least, they were concerned with the creation of votes through the sale of minutely-divided freehold land. It was left to the new owners to decide how and when to build, and although road layouts were always provided by the company, building styles were notably heterogeneous, despite the conditions in the prospectuses as to type and value of property. The National Industrial Land and Lands Allotment Companies had only 180 houses between them.

The NFLC's Clapham Station estate belonged to Charles Norris in 1839 (TA 240/2). He sold out to Thomas Morland of Reigate and Conrad Wilkinson of Croydon for the Company in July 1853.<sup>5</sup> The lots were only nine-foot wide, the vote-creating principle being the driving force. They were randomly grouped to form house-plots, mostly for detached or semi-detached houses. Lots 21-25 became 29 Spencer Road, a 45ft. plot bought by Susannah Thompson, a Ramsgate widow, in September 1853 for £150. The timing was misjudged, since building was heading for a severe recession. Lots 189-191 (18 Elsynge Rd.) were not sold until Nov. 1863, to John Brooker, a Westminster dairyman, for £125. He leased them to Richard Down, a Westminster joiner (99yrs.; Christmas 1863; £6 p.a.), to build a £200 house within two years. In October 1863, Down took 16 on similar terms (£6/10/- p.a.) from William Knowles of Hackney, gent. 11 Vardens Rd. was built in 1871, and was let by William Smith of St. Johns Hill, gent., and William Harris, builder, to Frederick Arthur, of Elsynge Rd. (99yrs.; Michaelmas 1870; £8 p.a.)<sup>6</sup> Unusually, the main St. Johns Hill frontage was lined with small plain terraces, many used as shops. Wandsworth Common North Side had the largest villas. The *Railway Tavern* overlooked the station which gave the estate its name. This, however, was replaced by Clapham Junction in 1863, giving local residents an extra half-mile walk.

In November 1853, the NFLC acquired twelve acres between Wandsworth Common and Webbs Lane (TA 340/2 pt.). Once part of the Dent estate, it was bought by Moses Hoper in 1800, passing to his daughter Elizabeth by 1839. It was assigned by Marianne Richards and her husband General Ramon de Morella to Charles Whitmore in 1850, and sold by him to the NFLC with the Countess de Morella's consent. Lots for sale again outnumbered houses. Charles Dungate (d.1899), a Clapham grocer, bought 150-6 Northcote Road in Aug. 1855 and 83-7 Chatham Rd. He raised £290 from the associated National Permanent Mutual Benefit BS in 1855, and another £270 in 1864.<sup>7</sup> In Aug. 1855, Abraham Edmonds, a stereotyper from Camberwell, purchased a 22ft. plot facing the Common for £70 (£1,167/ac.). The BLC sold the north-western quarter of the estate to barrister James Lord in 1866 for £2,400. Lots 100/1 (32 by 208ft.) were sold to George Evans, a Pimlico house agent for £140 in April 1866. (£914/ac.). He sold them in Jan. 1867 to Charles Webb, landlord of the Gardeners Arms nearby, for £150. Joseph Stapleton, just starting out as a builder, acquired Lots 14-16 in Nov. 1859 for £120 (£798/ac.). He built the Bolingbroke Arms beerhouse.<sup>8</sup>

The CLS bought its first local estate from Francis Lithgow in 1857, and laid out two new streets.<sup>9</sup> It was divided into eighty lots for sale, including the existing houses in York Road, but not those in the side streets. Prices ranged from £31/7/- for 16ft. plots in the side streets to £262 for Lot 68, an inn with a large rear plot in York Road and £130/1/6 for the triangular Lot 1 in Verona St. The total yield was £4,547/9/6 (£1,100-1,700 per acre), roundly ten times the agricultural value

Fig. 11.1 - Conservative Land Society's No. 1 Estate



a generation earlier.

Table 11.1

Conservative Land Society No.1 Estate - Purchasers of Plots

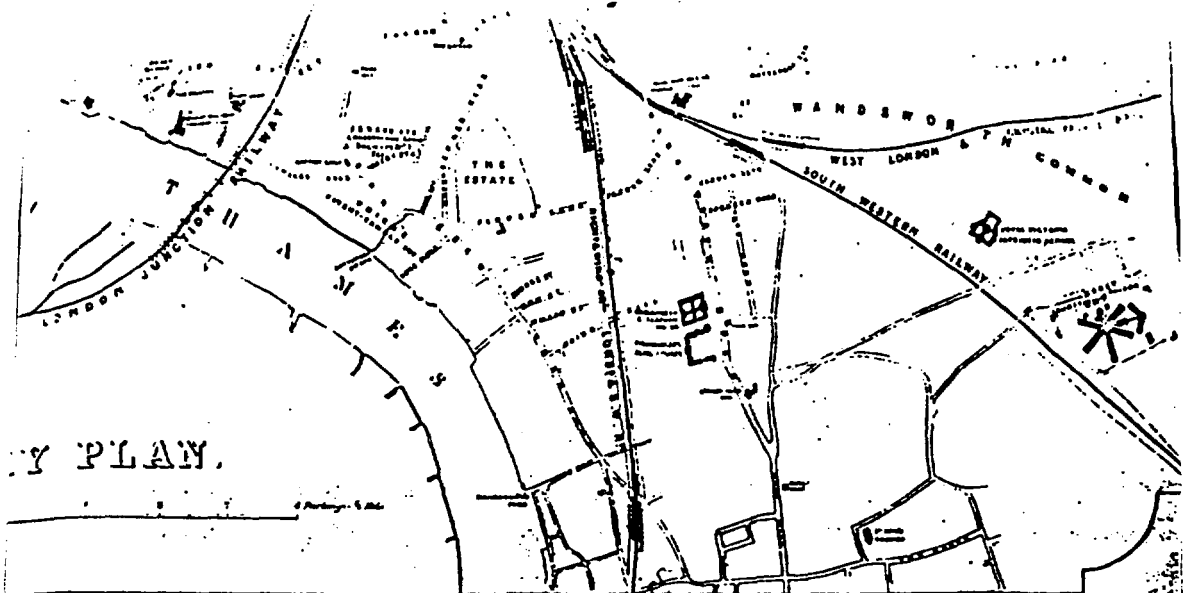
Plot	Date	Purchaser	Price
1	1857	Wm. Darbyshire, commission agent, Mayfair	130/11/6
2		John Hawkins, carpenter, Westminster	73/2/6
4		John Dyre, grainer, Pimlico	36/11/6
5		Joshua Kaley, beer retailer, Westminster	130/11/6
6-24		Fred. White, brewer, Chelsea	667/15/-
14		Revd. Thos. Candy, Cambridge	31/7/-
27-32		John Waller, currier, Bermondsey	188/2/-
33/34		Wm. Griffin, agent, Battersea	62/14/-
39/40		Henry Smith, victualler, Lambeth	62/14/-
41-44		Wm. Haynes, engineer, Battersea	125/8/-
47	1859	Wm. Westley, carpenter, Battersea	31/7/-
48	1857	Wm. Griffin, v.s.	31/7/-
51		Henry Lidyard, plumber, Pimlico	31/7/-
53	1866	Joshua Kaley, builder, Westminster	31/7/-
54	1869	Fred. Roberts, whitesmith, Pimlico	31/7/-
55	1862	Henry Dean, beer retailer, Pimlico	104/9/-
58	1857	Wm. Jennings, innkeeper, Alresford, Hants.	73/2/6
59		Robert Anslow, builder, Battersea	62/14/-
60		Andrew Bright, schoolmaster, Rossington, Yrks.	52/4/6
62		Joseph Cooper, farmer, Lt. Milton, Oxon.	73/2/6
63		Lewis Rigsley, joiner, Chelsea	31/7/-
65		Robert Anslow, v.s.	73/2/6
66/67		John Page, builder, Lambeth	146/5/-
69		Charles Lewis, solicitor, Lincoln's Inn	126/-/-
70		John Kissick, cemetery supt., Finchley	230/-/-
73		Charles Rider, gent., Southwark	72/-/-
75/76		John Berry, lighterman, Isleworth	87/6/-
81		John Mivart, gent., Camden Town	112/10/-

The purchasers fall into two groups: those who invested in order to be enfranchised (44 lots), and those in the building and allied trades, who bought with a view to building (14 lots). Joshua Kaley belongs to a not inconsiderable group which moved between the licensed trade and building. He mortgaged 26/28 Verona St. (Lot 5) to the Commercial BBS in Feb. 1863 for £300 against 15½ shares.<sup>10</sup> William Darbyshire squeezed six houses onto Lot 1: 10/12 Verona St. were leased to Thomas Fell, a Battersea mason, by direction of Chelsea builders Lacey & Flexman (99yrs.; Christmas 1866; £4 p.a. + £55 each), and 2-8 to George Walter of Tottenham Court Road, carpenter on the same terms (he paid £100 for 6/8).

The CLS's second estate adjoined Job Caudwell's (see Chap. 7), and also aimed to capitalise on the demand generated by the new Clapham Junction station. In practice it too was more attractive to local workers (including railwaymen) than to proto-commuters. It was market gardens in 1839 (TA 266/a (Michael Drew) and 267 (George Hollingsworth), all occupied by Glenny). Martha Drew (d. 1837) and Hollingsworth had acquired their land in the usual way at the Spencer sales. Michael Drew sold to Joseph Knight and Thomas Perry in 1846. Knight died in 1855 and the Perry family held the land until reaching an agreement with Edward Coles of Rochester on 29 June 1863. Coles granted the land to Col. A.W.H. Meyrick and Newnham Winstanley of the CLS on 25 February 1864.<sup>11</sup> James Wylson, the CLS Secretary, obtained approval for seven new streets in June 1864.<sup>12</sup> The estate was divided into about 300 Lots for



Fig. 11.2 - Conservative Land Society's No.2 Estate



**Terms and Conditions of Sale.**

**1. PRICES.**—Each number on the Plan represents one Lot, and the sums marked on the Lots are the prices to be paid for them; and these prices include all Fees and the cost of Conveyance.

**2. POSSESSION.**—Of the several plots, possession may be had immediately, excepting the houses and gardens which partly occupy Lots 67, 3, 7, 4, and 9, and are now tenanted (at £40 per annum), but which will be vacated on or before the 1st of July next.

**3. DIMENSIONS, &c.**—The Dimensions of the Lots, and the other statements and descriptions of the Estate, and matters connected herewith, appearing on the Plan and in these Terms and Conditions, must be assumed to be correct; and any discrepancy between these Dimensions and the Lots as stated, shall not avoid the sale or be a ground on either side for compensation.

**4. DEED OF COVENANT AND CUSTODY OF DEEDS.**—Each Purchaser, on completing his purchase, is to execute a Deed of Covenant for regulating the building upon and fencing-in of his land, the repair of the roads, footpaths, and sewers, and securing the performance of the Conditions herein contained;—such Deed providing powers for enforcing the performance of the covenants; and it is stipulated that the Deeds and other instruments of Title to the several Lots, shall remain in the custody of the Vendor or their heirs, who will consent for the production thereof.

**5. INCREASE OF PRICE.**—On and after the 24th of June, 1865, the price of the Lots will be increased at the rate of £5 per centum per annum.

**6. HOTELS OR TAVERNS, &c.**—No Lot, excepting No. 52, shall ever be used as a hotel, public-house, or beer-house, or any house to be used as such; and no Lot shall ever be used as a manufactory or workshop, or any other trade, or business, or any other use, without the consent of the Vendor, or the survivor of them, his heirs, or assigns.

**7. BUILDING VALUE, &c.**—Houses built fronting on the several roads, to cost not less than as follows:—On Plough Lane, any hotel, tavern, public-house, or beer-house on Lot 52, £400, and any house on the remaining Lots, £250; and on the other roads, any house on any Lot, £150.

**8. VALUE.**—In valuing the building-value of any house, it shall be taken to be the amount of the net first rent in hand, or materials alone, and to be estimated by the Vendor's Surveyor, having regard to current prices.

**9. FRONTAGES AND BOUNDING COVERS.**—Of each corner Lot, the shorter external boundary shall be deemed the front, and the longer the side or flank. Bounded corners of Lots 23, 32, 52, and 66, are struck with a radius of 7 1/2 feet.

**10. BUILDING LINE.**—On all the Lots, the building line is to be not less than 4 1/2 feet back from the road-boundary line.

**11. TEMPORARY ERECTIONS.**—No temporary building of any kind is to be erected on any Lot, except sheds or worksheds to be used only for the works incidental to the erection of the houses or other structures to be built thereon, or on some other Lot.

**12. FENCES.**—Each purchaser is to make, when required, and afterwards to maintain, the boundary fences on the sides of his Lot or Lots situated T within the boundary lines. Road-boundary fences, and division fences between road-boundary and building-line, to be not more than 3 feet high; those behind building-line to be not less than 3 feet nor more than 6 feet high. If any Corner shall make default in erecting any such fence as aforesaid within 30 days, or in repairing any such fence within 10 days, after notice requiring him so to do shall have been given to him, or left for him at his residence or at his Lot, by any adjoining Owner or by the Vendor, or the survivor of them, his heirs, or assigns, then such adjoining Owner, or such Vendor, shall be at liberty forthwith to erect or repair any such fence, or to erect and keep in repair a temporary fence; and the Owner making any such default shall, on demand, repay to such adjoining Owner, or such Vendor, all money expended by the former or latter for the purpose aforesaid, and all expenses relating thereto. The fencing to be standing on Lots 68, 7, 4, 8, will not be paid for by these Lots, respectively.

**13. ROADS AND SEWERAGE.**—The Vendor will form the roads, and footpaths, on the Estate; likewise the sewers as soon as the Metropolitan Board of Works have brought their southern main drainage (now in progress) up York Road as far as the junction of Plough Lane therewith, and an outfall shall be by that means available; and every Owner of a Lot and his tenants shall at all times have free use of the same; provided always, that until the public authorities shall take upon themselves the repair thereof, the Owner of each Lot is to pay to the Vendor, or the survivor of them, his heirs, or assigns, his proportion of such repairs and the expenses connected therewith, such proportion to be apportioned by the Vendor's Surveyor with reference to the price of the Lots. The portion of land in Plough Lane, between the road-boundary line and the dotted line in the footpath, is given up for the improvement of the road.

**14. OTHER ROADS OR PATHS.**—No Lot, or portion thereof, is to be made into or used as a road, footpath, or way, without the consent of the Vendor, or the survivor of them, his heirs, or assigns. The dotted line on the reserved land indicates roads contemplated.

**15. RIGHTS RESERVED.**—Of the land now offered, any portion not disposed of at this Auction, the Vendor reserves the power to deal with, without reference to, and independent of, these Conditions. They also reserve the right to carry through any Lot at any time any sewer, drain, or water or gas pipe, or other work of a like nature; and, for the purposes of the roads and footpaths, to take materials of any kind from, or to deposit surplus earth upon, any Lot at any time before the commencement thereof by them; but any Purchaser whose bid may be proved to have been withdrawn or disapproved, may rescind his contract before completion of the Purchase.

**16. LAND TAX AND TITHES.**—The Lots are sold free from Land Tax and Tithes.

**17. RESERVING LOTS.**—The Lots being once stamped out by the Vendor, each Purchaser must undertake the same and be answerable of his boundary marks. Should he at any time wish to have them restored, he may have it done by applying to the Surveyor of the Vendor, and paying the attendant expenses.

**SCHEDULE OF LOTS.**

Fronting on	Lot	Area	Price
Plough Lane,	1	43	60
	2	54, 55, 61	72
	3	56	72
	4	57	72
	5	58	72
	6	59	72
	7	60	72
	8	61	72
	9	62	72
	10	63	72
	11	64	72
	12	65	72
Windsor Rd.,	1	66	110
	2	67 (P.H.)	300
	3	68	600
	4	69, 70	47
	5	71	49
	6	72, 73	37, 50
	7	74, 75	33, 35
	8	76 to 84	45 to 64
	9	85	48
	10	86	47
	11	87, 88	35, 51
	12	89, 90, 91	40, 45, 50, 55
Newcomen Rd.,	1	92	80
	2	93	84
	3	94	84
	4	95	120
	5	96	67
	6	97	67
	7	98	67
	8	99	67
	9	100	67
	10	101	67
	11	102	67
	Meyrick Rd.,	1	103
2		104	47
3		105	47
4		106	47
5		107	47
6		108	47
7		109	47
8		110	47
9		111	47
10		112	47
11		113	47

**NOTE.**—On the day of Auction (Wednesday, April 26th, 1864), the Selection of a Lot will be according to the order of rotation as the Register of Bids of Choice, and one single Bid will take a Lot of any price; but Purchasers requiring the borrowing power of mortgage from the Society will have to adhere to the Society's system.

Any Lots remaining unchosen after the Register of Bids has been called over, will be open to the general public, either by payment of the Purchase-money in full at once, or by applying the borrowing power.

*Arthur Wigham*  
Solicitor

sale, in two portions. The deed of covenant for the first portion was dated 6 April 1864. Only Lot 52 was for use as a tavern, etc., minimum value £400. Minimum house values were £250 in Plough Lane and £150 elsewhere. The second covenant was dated 22 June 1864: Lots 127 and 173 were for public houses (at least £400), the rest £150 houses. The vendors were responsible for forming roads and footpaths.<sup>13</sup> The *Builder* reported the estate as "laid out for nearly three hundred houses and shops for the working classes", with plot prices ranging from £47 to £500. There was said to be keen competition for the latter, which was to have a house (sc. tavern) worth £40 p.a. on it.<sup>14</sup> In July 1865, it was reported that 53-guinea plots, six guineas down, were 'selling rapidly on this improving estate'.<sup>15</sup> As so often, an apparently well-planned scheme took far longer to complete than its originators could have imagined, despite starting in a boom period.

Table 11.2

Conservative Land Society No.2 Estate - Plot Sales

Plot	Purchaser	Price
1-7	Geo. Downham, corn mcht., Walworth	394
8/9	Julius Pearson, LLD, Hyde Park	106
14	Wm. Sharp, solicitor, Warrington	53
15	Wm. Williams, builder, Battersea	53
17	Chas. Friend, bookseller, Alveston, Glos.	53
19/20	Edwin Cox, mason, Battersea	LH
21	Edwin Cox, builder	53
28/9/41	Jas. Wooden, builder, Battersea	LH
30-34	John Tann, builder, Pimlico	261
36	Wooden	53
37	Jas. Ward, builder, Battersea	51
38-40	Wm. Wingate, coal/corn merchant, Battersea	179
44	Thos. Brown, lic. vict., Pimlico	52
47	Rev. Thos. Franklin, Kensington	
54		
49	Thos. Gray, gent., Pentonville	52
57	Rev. Geo. Fielding, N. Ockendon, Essex	?
86/7	Rev. Edwd. Turner, Offord Cluny, Hunts.	104
95	John Smith, gardener, Battersea	52
106/7	Jas. Kennedy, builder, Battersea	104
130/1	Geo. Glasspool, builder, Battersea	104
153/4	Adolphus Solita, builder, Camberwell	104
175	John Oxford, bricklayer, Chelsea	52
176	Rev. Chas. Joyce, Denham, Bucks.	75
181	Thos. Greenwood, stockbroker, City	125
185/6	Joseph Mortlock, builder, Westminster	104
193	Henry Turff, builder, Battersea	85
207	Richard Bishop, builder, Battersea	60
214-6/33	John Mason, gent., Marylebone	233
220	William Brown, gent., Westminster	59
222/3/7	Samuel Ludford, builder, Westminster	172
231/2	Robert Anslow, builder, Battersea	107
240	William Clothier, pawnbroker, Southwark	220

The proportion of plots bought by builders was greater than on the first CLS estate (26 out of 56). Reverend gentlemen from several counties, a couple of Westminster gentlemen, a City stockbroker and a local corn and coal merchant were among the "investors". The outlay of at least £50, on top of the cost of building, may have deterred some from within the industry, who could lease direct on the adjacent Park and Caudwell estates.

Buyers often had more lots than in Table 11.2. John Tann also owned Lots 30/31,

conveyed by him and his mortgagors, two cabinet makers in Tottenham Court Road, for £360 to Joseph Porter, engineer of Meyrick Rd., in August 1874.<sup>16</sup> George Downham leased 182-92 Meyrick Rd. to James Kennedy in April 1869 (80yrs.; Mich. 1868; £5 p.a.) and 1-5 Plough Lane to William Gibbs. In May 1869, Downham raised £800 on 5 Plough Lane from Harriot Dixon.<sup>17</sup> William Wingate leased 102/4 Winstanley Road to Edmund Baker of Chelsea four years after purchase (Sept. 1869 - 99 yrs.; Christmas 1868; £4/10/-). Baker thereupon raised £350 from the Conservative Benefit BS. In Nov. 1877, Wingate sold the plots to Charles Shepherd, gent., for £180, making a profit equivalent to £6/10/- a year.<sup>18</sup>

The Revd. Turner sold his two lots, still vacant, to John Hawkins of Chelsea for £130 in April 1867. They remained thus for 14 more years, before being leased to William Piper, builder, in Aug. 1881 (80yrs.; Christmas 1880; £6 p.a.) by Henry Bool, photographer, of Chelsea and his wife Ellen, Hawkins' daughter.<sup>19</sup> John Oxford, bricklayer turned builder, rapidly capitalised on his £52 investment by leasing the house to Robert Seaman, a Chelsea ironmonger on 27 Feb. 1869 (99yrs.; Christmas 1868; £5 p.a. + £275). Seaman raised £200 from the Wilts. & Western BBS over 14 years, followed by a further £100 in Aug. 1881 and £200 from a Billingsgate fishmonger in 1885. Oxford's involvement ended in July 1871, when he sold the freehold to J.C. Fowler, a Chelsea builder for £100.<sup>20</sup>

The CLS was prepared to lease direct to builders, such as James Wooden. Edwin Cox leased 156/8 Meyrick Rd. (Lots 19/20) in October 1869 (99yrs.; Mid-1869; £4 p.a.), and mortgaged them to the Conservative BBS for £390. The lease and goodwill of the *Duke of Wellington* in Meyrick Rd. were sold in 1872 (90 years; May 1869; £50 p.a.), including a clubroom for 250, stables and a large quoit ground.<sup>21</sup> 18/19 Knox Rd., three-bedroomed houses with parlours, bay windows, kitchen and wash house, renting at 8/- p.w. ('but worth 12/-') were sold in August 1878.<sup>22</sup>

The third CLS estate was on the same lines as its predecessor. In 1839, the land belonged to Henry Willis (TA 328-334). It was sold to Henry Wheeler in Jan. 1859, and by him to the CLS on 11 March 1868.<sup>23</sup> Seven new streets were approved in 1869.<sup>24</sup> The Second Reform Act (1867) removed much of the original *raison d'être* of the freehold land companies, and by June 1869 the CLS had become the United Land Society. The vendors were now Newnham Winstanley and James Goodson, M.P. No lots were allocated for public houses or manufacturing, and values were to be at least £750 (Bolingbroke Grove); £400 (Northcote Rd.) or £350 (other streets).<sup>25</sup> The standard price for plots in the latter was £69-71 (18ft. frontage). In May 1868, the CLS advertised its new estate in the local press '4½ miles from the General Post Office'.<sup>26</sup> The first portion was 113 plots fronting five new streets, 'subscriptions are being raised for the erection of a church nearby (St. Michael, Chatham Rd. or St. Mark, Battersea Rise<sup>27</sup>); water and gas are laid on in the main roads... plans (6d) and instructions from the Secretary, Charles Gruneisen, 33 Norfolk St., Strand'.

Alfred Heaver and his partner Edward Coates, purchased Lots 447-451 (3-11 Salcott Rd.) in Oct./Nov. 1869. They mortgaged Lots 449-51 to the Conservative BBS for £1,125. Some lots were leased directly by the ULC: 452/3 to John Dickeson in Oct. 1872 (99yrs.; Michaelmas 1872; £5 p.a.), mortgaged to the CBBS for £480. The plots were sold in Dec. 1872 to Revd. W.C. Moore

of Devon and Henry Moore of the Strand, for £200. A further 180 plots were sold in October 1872.<sup>28</sup> The estate was extended in 1875, with two new streets and an extension of Northcote Rd. to designs by John Ashdown, the ULC's Surveyor & Secretary. There were 71 lots - of which 16 were immediately sold to the SBL for Honeywell Rd. schools.<sup>29</sup> In March 1875, an auction was held of leasehold and freehold houses and freehold plots, the residue of the ULC estate fronting Northcote, Mallinson, Bennerley and Salcott Roads. Houses could be purchased for 10% down, with the balance payable monthly or quarterly.<sup>30</sup>

Table 11.3  
Bolingbroke Park Estate Sales

Lot	Purchaser	Price
70	Henry Clark, Battersea	71
77	Henry Smith, gent., Strand	71
78	John Graves, builder, Clapham	71
87	Charles Crustra, Gt. Leighton, Essex	71
89	John Mann, builder, Battersea	71
92	Samuel Steel, pattern maker, Battersea	71
94	John Murray, builder, Battersea	71
106	Edward Heaver, builder, Brixton	71
177	William Pether, engineer, Battersea	70
201	Samuel Gifford, architect, Battersea	70
215	Stephen Vatcher, gent., Clapham Com.	73
266	Charles Longworth, builder, Battersea	73
438	William Haynes, gent., Battersea	-
447-51	Heaver & Coates, builders	345
452-3	John Dickeson, builder, Battersea	LH
463	David Kettle, builder, Battersea	110
512	Revd. James Back, Ealing	-
581	Alfred Heaver, builder, Battersea	70
632	Henry Bragg, builder, Stockwell	82

Buyers from outside the building industry were fewer here, and most quickly leased their plots. Charles Crustra leased Lot 87 to George Collis of Pimlico in Feb. 1874 (999yrs.; Lady Day 1874; £5 p.a.); William Haynes leased 10 Salcott Rd. to Edwin Cox (April 1870 - 99yrs.; Christmas 1869; £6 p.a.). The Revd. Back used Robert Smith of Lombard Rd. on lot 512 (99yrs.; Lady Day 1870; £6 p.a.)

In 1839, the long, narrow salient of south Battersea between Wandsworth and Streatham parishes was part of West Common. Earl Spencer probably enclosed it. The southern tip was owned by Henry McKellar (d. 1862), who built Wandsworth Lodge, Upper Tooting. His widow Ann sold 13 acres, overlapping into Wandsworth, to the British Land Co. on 8 Dec. 1863 for £5,150 (about £400/ac.). John Blenkarn lost no time in getting three new street approved, followed by a fourth in January 1865.<sup>31</sup> Part was offered for sale in 54 lots on 2 May 1864. Charles Katters, gent., of Brompton bought 11 Althorp Rd., astride the parish boundary. He leased it to James Jones of South Lambeth, gent., in April 1868 (99yrs.; Lady Day 1868; £5 p.a.).<sup>32</sup> Edward Hill, the station master at Balham bought 10 Nottingham Rd., and leased it to builders John Barker of Kennington and William Ferham of Southwark in Dec. 1866 (99yrs.; Mid-1866; £3/3/- p.a. - very low for an 18ft. plot).

In Dec. 1850, Earl Spencer sold 22 acres of Common for £600 to St. James parish, Westminster, for their Industrial Schools, opened in June 1852. The land surrounding the schools,

about 14½ acres, overlapping into Streatham, was sold by auction on 13 March 1878, the BLC paying £14,500.<sup>33</sup> Henry Mitchell, surveyor, laid out three new streets, plus two in 1880.<sup>34</sup> He auctioned 92 lots (out of 206) on 24 May 1880, the minimum value of houses was to be £350.<sup>35</sup>

#### **Type 9 - Industrial Dwellings and Other Companies (5 estates; 47.78 ac.; 1,647 hos.)**

Apart from Shaftesbury Park (74% of the houses and 80% of the land), this type is not significant in Battersea. Four of the five commenced between 1873 and 1882. Victoria Dwellings (1877) is the only representative of the barrack-like blocks which are more typical of the City and inner suburbs.<sup>36</sup>

The National Industrial Land Co. of New Bridge St., Blackfriars, was first, with the Olney Lodge estate (1867). It belonged to William Carter, senior, in 1839 (TA 227/8), but had not been included in his family's own developments. The plans were by J.R. Gover, a City surveyor. Four new streets were approved in September 1867.<sup>37</sup> Leases were for 99 years from Midsummer 1867, ground rents £4 for 15-16ft. plots.

John Lamb, lessee of at least ten houses on the estate, was a member of the 77th. Starr Bowkett BBS, and mortgaged 1-7 Stockwood St. for £600 in April 1868. In May 1868, Joseph Porter, engineer, paid £435 (£145 each) for 30-34 Benham St. Eight shops (2-7, 9/10 Olney Terrace) were sold in Sept. 1874 by Charles Woodroffe of Blackfriars on behalf of the Company; 6 & 7 were resold in May 1875 for £280.<sup>38</sup>

The Artizans' & General Labourers' Dwellings Co. was founded in January 1867 by William Austin (b.1804), and built its first houses in Battersea in that year, on Charles Lee's Rollo St. estate.<sup>39</sup> Their first large scheme for cottage properties for skilled artisans and clerks, but hardly general labourers, was also local. More than 1,200 houses - but no licensed premises - were built between 1873 and 1877, mostly by direct labour, making the AGLDC the largest "builder" of all. The estate and its layout did not, however, originate with them, but was a product of the 1860s. The area had been in various hands in 1839. Earl Spencer had 35 acres of market gardens, all occupied by Samuel Poupart (TA 674-8/80/85). Spencer never sold this land, which was laid out for building by George Todd, in 1867-8. The so-called Parkfield Estate had 13 streets, broadly on the lines of the later AGLDC estate, approved in May and October 1868.<sup>40</sup>

By early 1871, barrister James Lord had bought the estate, and had new plans drawn up by Earl Spencer's local agents, Beeston, Son & Brereton, which were amended later that year, still using the 1868 names. The estate was now called, with typical disregard of geography, Clapham New Town.<sup>41</sup> Tenders were invited for constructing the roads and sewers,<sup>42</sup> but 1871 was not a good year for getting builders and investors interested in a 38-acre estate remote from the nearest station. Lord was no doubt grateful to sell to the Artizans' Co. in 1872. They got approval for a new batch of names in Jan. 1874, after building had actually begun.<sup>43</sup> The plans and elevations of the various houses and institutional buildings were by the company architect, Robert Austin of Westminster, and generally partook of a Gothic style, with certain corner houses having towers and turrets to relieve the monotony of long terraces. The facades were enhanced by the projecting canopies with the company monogram and the date (only 1873 and 1874 were used, although houses were built down to 1877).<sup>44</sup>

The first stone of their first scheme but by the end of two years the paid-up capital was less than £2,000, although £250,000 had been authorised. The Earl of Shaftesbury and Lords Lichfield and Elcho were associated from the early days of the Company.<sup>45</sup> The Artizans' did not confine their activities to London, and by 1874 had estates in Liverpool, Gosport, Salford, Leeds and Birmingham. In 1871 the dividend was a very healthy 7½%, paid-up capital £18,580. The policy of building for sale, highly unusual at the time, was related to the need to raise money, not merely to the creation of a new class of owner-occupiers. Austin was ousted as Chairman in 1870 and replaced by Dr. J. B. Langley.<sup>46</sup>

The Company paid £28,000 for its principal Battersea estate, about £735/acre, not excessive given that the area was ripe for development. The local paper hailed the "Workmen's City at Wandsworth (sic)" when Lord Shaftesbury laid the memorial stone on 8 August 1872.<sup>47</sup> The Company report for 1872 said that 'it is proposed to erect on this estate 1,200 houses suited respectively for clerks, artisans and labourers, in addition to a lecture-hall, co-operative store, school rooms, baths, wash-houses, etc. A reservation of three acres is allotted for recreation and pleasure grounds. The plans... should be consulted by all desirous of purchasing or renting... due attention has been bestowed on the sanitary arrangements... the Directors regard a healthy house as the cheapest... (and) strict attention has been paid to secure dry and well roofed habitations, with a simple plan of ventilation supplying fresh air to every room. Having regard to economy in cooking and fuel, and seeing the present enormous price of coal... (they) are considering what appliances can be obtained with the least consumption of fuel'.<sup>48</sup>

In 1873, it was reported that a temporary Lecture Hall, seating 800, had been built, and a Working Men's Institute, 'self-supporting lectures, concerts, penny readings, etc.' had taken place. The School Board was using the hall pending construction of its school in Holden St. The Company had its own workshops and sawmills. Each house was a separate tenancy, and also for sale. The co-operative stores, recreation ground and permanent hall were never built. The greatest might-have-been, however, was the planned station on the LCDR, whose Clapham Junction-Brixton-Ludgate Hill line formed the northern edge of the estate. It would have taken the massed ranks of "clerks, as well as artizans" to work. Despite many attempts to goad the railway into action nothing happened. In January 1876, a memorial to the LCDR revealed that the Artizans' Co. had originally undertaken to build the station at their own cost and to guarantee £500 in fares in the first year. No reason is given for the change of heart, but it may not be unrelated to the fraud involving the Secretary, Mr. Swindlehurst, and others, which was revealed in 1877.<sup>49</sup> This fraud led the company to increase rents twice in 1877 and to build houses on the space reserved for the recreation ground. Not until the trams arrived on Lavender Hill in 1881-2, providing frequent and cheap services to Southwark and Westminster, did public transport become adequate. There was not even good access on foot to Clapham Junction, nor, until 1879, to Queens Road (LSWR) and Battersea Park (LBSCR) stations.

By February, 1873, some of the better class houses had been completed, and contracts entered into for 300 more, with roads and services. It was hoped to have them finished by August/September, which was duly achieved (479 houses in the first twelve months), with a great demand reported.<sup>50</sup> A report in November says that the LCDR station had not yet been started,

but about 350 houses were ready, lining 40ft. asphalt-paved roads. There were four grades of house, with five-eight rooms, all having "forecourts with handsome railings". Rents started at 6/- per week, rising to 8/6 for seven rooms (with cellar) and 9/6 for eight rooms (with bathroom - a real luxury in such houses at this date). Purchase prices were £170 to £310, over 5-21 years. Amenities now planned included a library, baths and gymnasium, none of which were built.<sup>51</sup> By April 1874, 237 houses were let for a total ground rent of £787/11/-, 69 were under construction, and the value of the estate excluding road/sewer costs was estimated at £130,922. The company dividend was a very healthy 6%, its capital now £268,000. The north-western part of the estate, with 300 more houses, was opened in July 1874, at a ceremony attended by Disraeli and Lord Salisbury.<sup>52</sup>

The direct labour policy was not adopted immediately, and the first eighteen months saw a variety of builders working to Robert Austin's plans. The great majority, however, were built direct, although almost all the notices to the District Surveyor were by Thomas Penny of 93 Ashley Rd. Jonathan Parsons of Chelsea and George Austin of Rollo St., probably the son of the Company's founder, were the other "front men".

Table 11.4

Building the Shaftesbury Estate 1872-77

Street	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	Total
Ashbury			11	80			91
Ashley/Elsley		111	51		21		183
Birley				51			51
Brassey				16	6		22
Eland			32	3	29		64
Elcho		59					59
Eversleigh				16	14	21	51
Grayshott	7		23	37	16		83
Holden				56	Sch.		57
Kingsley			63	1			64
Litchfield		26	146				172
Morrison				48			48
Sabine			121	26	1		148
Shaftesbury		7					7
Tyneham	60						60
Unspecified		21	40				61
Total	67	224	487	334	88	21	1221
b. Builders							
Artizans' Co.			65			21	86
George Austin		8	43				51
George Bass	7						7
Samuel Bowes		7					7
George Harrold		18					18
Charles Martin			10				10
James Norton			10				10
Jonathan Parsons	60	191					251
Thomas Penny			347	334	87		768
John Southwick			12				12
Wall Bros.					Sch.		1

The Company was responsible for 95%, and benefited from the general depression in building, both in terms of readily available labour, and the absence of competition in the finance

and housing markets. The AGLDC was entirely successful in achieving its aim of a homogeneous estate of skilled workmen and clerks, and Shaftesbury Park was seen by Booth's collaborator Balfour as the quintessence of working-class housing, and was allocated wholly to Class F. The estate was seen as a bastion of respectability. It was also one of the key sources of Battersea radicalism in the 1890s and beyond.

About the time they began Shaftesbury Park, the AGLDC had tried unsuccessfully to obtain part of the Crown Estate. The Commissioners were asking £3,000 an acre in 1872, considered to be far in excess of its real value by the Company, which bid £1,200.<sup>53</sup> It is not clear how much land was involved, but this may explain why the Crown estate had got off to such a slow start once the Park opened in 1858. Given local overbuilding and the depressed state of the market, £1,500-2,000 would have been a more appropriate price in 1872. In 1874, the Artizans' were reported to be looking at sites off Bridge Road, near Battersea Station, between Surrey Lane and the High Street and from the *Latchmere* to Falcon Road. None is readily identifiable with a gap in building at that time.

Eventually, the Company did obtain a second, far smaller estate in Battersea. Garfield Road was laid out in 1882 on 2.75 acres south of Lavender Hill to plans by Rowland Plumble FRIBA.<sup>54</sup> All 62 houses were built by James Holloway of Marmion road. In Nov. 1884, he took no.64 and a plot to the rear of 52-62, with a 45ft. frontage (90 yrs.; Mid-1883; £16/10/- p.a.), and in Oct. 1885 leased 45 (same term; GR only £4).

The Metropolitan Artizans & Labourers Dwelling Company (or Association) did acquire 1½ acres of Crown land, on which it built Victoria Dwellings, 188 flats in three four-storey blocks - one for artisans and two for labourers - to designs by Charles Barry.<sup>55</sup> The substantial artisans' block, with a central courtyard reached by two archways, contained 304 rooms (98 tenements), while the distinctly more spartan labourers' blocks had 90 one- and two-room flats (156 rooms). Rents ranged from 2/6 to 9/- per week (2/5 per room). Flats for artisans were self-contained with corridor access, but the others were "associated", with three sharing one toilet, and outside gallery access. The ground floor rustication on the centre block, thin stone bands between floors and a hipped roof sprouting a mass of chimneys, was the only relief to otherwise barrack-like blocks in yellow stock brick.

A Select Committee in 1882 noted that 180 tenements were occupied by 8-900 people, and provides data for 133 families.<sup>56</sup> Two thirds belonged to Class III (of which three-quarters were skilled manual workers (cf. 56% and 66% for Battersea as a whole in 1881). About one third of household heads were semi-skilled or unskilled (cf. 26% in Battersea). These figures are very similar to those in the 1881 Census. Building (16%), Manufacturing (32%) and Transport (23%) were the major occupational groups, reflecting the close proximity of various railway premises, riverside industry and the high level of building activity at the time. Most numerous were: labourers and tailoring (13 each), carpenters/joiners (12) and railway servants and porters (10 each). The rent per tenement averaged 5/10½ per week (cf. 6/5½ in the 1887 Board of Trade survey<sup>57</sup>), which purchased 2.45 rooms at Victoria Dwellings (2.81 in Battersea as a whole). The impression is that these blocks attracted a representative sample of the local population, although the various regulations and constraints inherent in flat-dwelling no doubt kept away the poorest



classes. Arthur Balfour summed it up succinctly in 1891 as "prosperous, but not popular".

John Lucas sold some of his estate in June 1860 for £3,300 to Henry Parriss (d. 1864), whose sulphuric acid manufactory stood on the east side of New Road, still isolated in the fields.<sup>58</sup> In 1874, Henry Parriss jun., living in Cuba, leased the works and land to Hugh Wallace, vitriol maker, for 35 years (Michaelmas 1864, £575 p.a.). In May 1880, Henry & Jane Parriss sold out to the Lands Allotment Co. Ltd., of Cannon Street for £7,300 (£2,500/ac., a 121% growth in 20 years).<sup>59</sup> Plans by S. Walker, a City surveyor, were approved in July 1880 and April 1881, on behalf of John Barwell, a Croydon builder just starting out locally, built all the houses between August 1880 and May 1881.<sup>60</sup> In November 1882, the estate was sold to the House & Land Investment Trust Ltd., a related company with the same City address, for £3,800 plus a £5,000 mortgage. The Trust was wound up in 1892 by the Official Receiver, and its interest in the estate passed to the Debenture Corporation.<sup>61</sup> These problems led to the houses being re-leased in 1894 (99yrs.; Lady Day 1894; £4/15/- or £5 p.a.).

#### **Type 10 - Charitable Institution**

Although such estates tend to be found closer to the centre, notably that of the Foundling Hospital in Bloomsbury, there is one example in Battersea, not, however, by a local body. The 41 houses in Kilton St. (W) belonged to the Trustees of Stockwell Orphanage (TA 623/9). The Orphanage (or Spurgeon's Homes) began in 1866, when Mrs. Hillyard gave Charles Spurgeon the Baptist preacher £20,000 to start a foundation for fatherless boys.<sup>62</sup> The first phase was built in 1867-8. The Homes were extended in 1880, eventually housing 500 children. It is not known when the Trustees acquired their land here. The ground rents (about £175-200 p.a.) would have been a useful source of income. (Kilton St. itself was laid out by Samuel Poupart in 1866.) The original leases were for 99 years from Lady Day 1869, and were granted between September 1869 and January 1871. An Order was made by the Charity Commissioners on 31 January 1888 under the Charitable Trusts Amendment Act (1885), which prohibited Trustees from making leases in reversion after more than three years of an existing term, or for any term for life, or for any term greater than 21 years. The Order made the new leases by the Trustees legal.

In many ways, the three types of estate discussed in this chapter differ from the "normal" pattern which has been established in earlier chapters, and from the composite types which follow. The prime cause of this divergence is, of course, the corporate nature of the developer, whose policies were in many cases driven by the need to show a return on capital to shareholders. The specialised nature of the freehold land companies as originally conceived tended to produce some of the most varied streetscapes in Battersea as a layer of freeholders was injected into the usual developer-builder relationship, notwithstanding the fact that many purchasers were also builders, an element which increased over time as the franchise was widened. These companies could also be out-of-phase with the building cycle, and many years elapsed between the sale of plots and their eventual building. The attraction of large blocks of cheap land at the very edge of the parish was an important consideration for the National Freehold Land Co., but much less so for the CLS, which chose its sites with more regard to the actual centres of activity.

The Artizans' Company was a local product, and not only its first hesitant steps in 1867, but also its first major cottage estate were in Battersea. The size of the latter - 38 acres, 1,220 houses - and the choice of well-built, architect-designed houses aimed at skilled artisans, shop assistants, clerks and the like make it seem in retrospect a harbinger of the L.C.C.'s Totterdown Estate in Tooting (1903) and thousands of imitators up and down the country down to the present day, as does the use of direct labour. On a smaller scale, Battersea's own first significant municipal scheme (1903-4) clearly owes much to its pioneering neighbour. The Artizans' model was also exported by the Company itself to Queens Park and Wood Green. Council housing in a middle-distance suburb of London was very much the trend of the 1920s and beyond, although Battersea Borough Council was an early proponent, and committed to this and other forms of municipal socialism. Latchmere was, however, the first and last major greenfield scheme, its successors were slum clearances, virtually all block dwellings rather than houses/maisonettes.

The multi-storey block for working-class occupation was also both an aberrant form of housing in Victorian Battersea and a model for the future. The aptly-named Victoria Dwellings were typical of their kind in catering for the upper echelons of the working classes, who could afford the rents and saw the rules as a necessary hallmark of respectability. Paradoxically, these blocks came to share the Crown Estate with hundreds of middle-class flats after 1890 (Chap. 13).

The industrial dwellings companies were not otherwise very important in Battersea, with only two small schemes in the mosaic of estates. Thessaly Square was all built by Charles Barwell, although the Olney Lodge estate was the work of the usual array of builders in the late-1860s. The local intervention of the Stockwell Orphanage - a single half-acre strip - can only have been fortuitous.

#### References

1. A.S. Wohl, *The Eternal Slum*, 1977, 274-9 & Appendix 4; *Surveyor & County & Municipal Engineer*, 17 Mar. 1905, 364.
2. Battersea Vestry Minutes, 13 May 1891; 14 Oct. 1891. The Vestry Cttee. recommended the change to Town Hall Avenue in March 1892, to which the LCC took strong objection, the parties agreed on Road, which was approved by the LCC in May 1892.
3. LCC Minutes 18 June 1901 - Burns, Council, Joubert & Odger; Council St. was changed into an extension of Brougham St., LCC 29 July 1902.
4. P. Thomas, 'A.W. Raynor, Mayor of Battersea 1902-3', *WH*, 37 (1983), 1-4; R. Logan, 'Latchmere Housing Estate, Battersea', *ibid.*, 18 (1978), 8-10.
5. MSS 1320.
6. MSS 1056.
7. MSS 1089.
8. GLRO B/CHE/362-3; 359.
9. MBW Minutes 26 Mar. 1858, also 22 Jan. & 12 Mar. 1858.
10. MSS 1048.
11. MSS 1008; Meyrick was a Crimea War veteran, who retired c.1870 after 26 years in the Scots Guards, he bought the plot of 6 Palace Green in Kensington from Cubitt in 1873, but did not occupy the house (*Survey of London: The Museums Area* (XXXVIII 1975), 46).
12. MBW Minutes 10 June 1864 - Meyrick, Newcomen & Winstanley Rds. only.
13. MSS 1008, 1006.
14. *Builder*, 16 Apr. 1864, 274.
15. *SLP*, 29 July 1865.
16. MSS 1097.
17. MSS 1078.
18. MSS 1065, 1093.
19. MSS 997.
20. MSS 1001.

21. SLP, 30 Mar. 1872.
22. SLP, 17 Aug. 1878.
23. GLRO B/CHE/367.
24. MBW Minutes 19 Feb. 1869 - Salcott & Benerley (sic) Rds.; June 1869 - Abyssinia, Cairns, Mallinson, Shelgate & Northcote Rds.; DBW Plans 30 (22 Jan. 1869 - names Stapylton, Beverley & Wylson Rds. - which became Salcott, Bennerley & Mallinson, respectively), 31 (Shelgate shown as Manners Rd.).
25. MSS 1291, Deed of Covenant dated 16 Dec. 1868.
26. SLP, 9 May 1868.
27. Simmonds, *All About Battersea* (1882), 104, 108.
28. SLP, 5 Oct. 1872.
29. DBW Plans 443 shows Gerald & Haddo Rds. for Wakehurst & Belleville, an earlier version of July 1875 shows the latter as Knatchbull Rd.; MBW Minutes 24 Sept. 1875.
30. SLP 6 Mar. 1875.
31. MBW Minutes 22 Jan. 1864, 27 Jan. 1865; DBW Plans 217 (Aug. 1864, shows Brodrick as Northampton Rd. and St. James Drive as Church-Hill Rd.).
32. MSS 1088.
33. Simmonds, *op. cit.*, 150; DBW Plans 893.
34. MBW 15 Nov. 1878, 28 May 1880.
35. DBW Plans 1000.
36. Wohl, *op. cit.*, Ch.6; J. Tarn, *Working-Class Housing in Britain, 1971 and Five Per Cent Philanthropy, 1973.*
37. DBW Plans 253; MBW Minutes 27 Sept. 1867 - Benham, Wayland, Tritton & Stockwood Streets.
38. SLP, 26 Sept. 1874; 22 May 1875.
39. *Artizans Centenary 1867-1967*, The Artizans' & General Property Co. Ltd. (1967); D.J. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London* (1976), 284-9; Wohl *op. cit.*, 152.
40. DBW Plans 7; 9; MBW Minutes 22 May 1868 - Cattermole, Goldring, Crosland, Dover, Armfield, Sparkford, Pugin, Padworth, Laing & Poynter; 2 Oct. 1868 - addition of Bowerman & Keythorpe, deletion of Laing.
41. DBW Plans 16 (28 Jan. 1871); 78 (11 Aug. 1871).
42. SLP, 4 Mar. 1871.
43. MBW Minutes 16 Jan. 1874 - Tyneham, Sabine, Elsley, Morrison, Brassey, Ashbury, Holden, Birley, Eversleigh, Kingsley, Ruskin, Eland and Grayshott.
44. DBW Plans 1292; 475.
45. *Ibid.*, 8; Austin lived close to Westminster Abbey and was introduced to their lordships by Dean Stanley.
46. *Ibid.*, 9; Austin was unhappy about being replaced, saying 'I was too honest for them, so they hunted me out'.
47. SLP, 10 Aug. 1872.
48. *Artizans' Cent.*, 9, 11.
49. SLP, 8 Jan. 1876; 21 July, 28 July & 27 Oct. 1877 - Swindlehurst was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment.
50. SLP, 22 Feb. 1873; 20 Sept. 1873.
51. SLP, 8 Nov. 1873.
52. SLP 4 Apr. 1874; 18 July 1874.
53. SLP, 5 Dec. 1874.
54. DBW Plans 826; MBW Minutes 14 July 1882.
55. DBW Plans 539; K.A. Bailey, 'Victoria Dwellings, Battersea Park Road', *WH*. 38 (1983), 1-7.
56. PP 1882, VII, Q251.
57. PP 1887, C.5228.
58. GLRO C/70/1148.
59. C/70/1150.
60. DBW Plans 1067 (n.d.); 851 (Nov. 1880); MBW Minutes 16 July 1880 - Mundella Rd.; 8 Apr. 1881 -Thessaly Sq.
61. C/70/456-7.
62. *St. Mary Lambeth Pt.2*, Survey of London XXVI (1956), 85-7.

## CHAPTER 12

### BUILDING ESTATES IN BATTERSEA VI: COMPOSITE TYPES

This chapter brings together a miscellany of estates initiated by two or more individuals acting together. This combination leads for the first time to estates which are larger than average, reflecting the accumulation of land and capital. One-third exceed ten acres, only 9% are less than two acres (cf. 15% and 42% overall); 65% have >101 houses (34%) and 13% have <50 houses (42%). This is also partly a function of their being later in date: only 17% predate 1870 (cf. 63% overall). Composite types are most characteristic of the 1880s and 1890s.

Table 12.1

#### Comparison of Composite and All Estates: Start Date

Period	Composite %	Total %
pre-1860	4.35	33.01
1861-1870	13.04	30.14
1871-1880	13.04	13.88
1881-1890	47.83	13.40
1891-1908	21.74	9.57

Many of those who initiated composite estates were active in Battersea in their own right. The most frequent were Henry Corsellis of Wandsworth (later Torquay), eight estates; Thomas Ingram of Brixton (later Beckenham), five estates, and Jesse Nickinson, two estates. Others include Alfred Heaver, James Griffin and Charles Bentley. The main reason for taking on partners was the more substantial financial requirements of larger estates. A secondary factor may have been the refusal of some original landowners to relinquish completely the chance to take at least part of the increment arising from building.

Ten of the estates involved a builder, and ten a lawyer, but the largest group was secondary, absentee landowners (20), making their overall involvement in building estate creation 53 (25%). The problems inherent in gauging market trends correctly from a distance has already been noted in Chap. 9, so it is not surprising that they took on partners with better local knowledge. At the close of this chapter it will be clear that composite estates are atypical in those characteristics noted above and in the according of equal treatment to more than one individual in the granting of leases, and by inference the decision to develop a particular piece of land. The methods employed are otherwise the same as for the great majority of estates.

#### **Type 1b/4 - Original Non-resident Landowner/Builder**

Henry Beaufoy, whose family was already in the vinegar-making business at Vauxhall, owned Pays Bas farm in 1839 (TA 687-693). Beaufoys later built an acetic acid works there, the rest being used as a brickfield.<sup>1</sup> By 1875, it was completely surrounded by houses, but the Beaufoys did not develop until 1879. Joseph Jones, builder, decorator and blindmaker of Lavender Hill drew up the plans, which were approved in June 1879, on behalf of Mark Beaufoy.<sup>2</sup> Although linked to Park Town and Townsend's estate in the south, the Beaufoy estate was isolated to the north before Eversleigh Rd. was extended to Brougham St. At first, only seven acres were laid out for building, but eventually all 15½ acres were covered, with 445 houses.

Ann, Mark Beaufoy's widow, issued leases to Jones, who then sublet plots to the actual

builders at a premium. Terms for the former were 90 years from Mid-1879, rents £2-4 for 16-17½ ft. plots, and for the latter 88 or 90 years from a variety of dates, GR £4-5, so that Jones made at least 100% return on his outlay.

A few houses were sold in the early stages. Charles Bye, bricklayer, paid £335 for 77 Beaufoy Rd., while Charles Simmonds bought 14 Basnett Rd. from Leonard & Noah Bottoms for £325, both in July 1881.

Table 12.2  
The Beaufoy Estate: Building Progress and Builders

a. Building							
Street	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	Total
Arliss Road			36	15			51
Basnett Road	5	12	30				47
Beaufoy Road		31	48	39	2		120
Hanbury Road	12		18		6		36
Wickersley Road	16	38	10	46	6		116
Wycliffe Road	18	11	8		15	24	76
Total	51	92	150	100	29	24	446
b. Builders							
Walter Peacock		23	22	22			67
Peter Duplock	6	9	16	28			59
J.C. Peters	11	5	28		6		50
Thomas Jenkins		29	8				37
Fred. Pinnegar	6	6	4	7	8		31
William Warren			4	14		8	26
William Kerr			24				24
Robert Saker			8	8	6		22
Sub-Total	23	72	114	79	20	8	316
18 Others	28	20	36	21	9	16	130

The peak was delayed until 1881-2, and the spread of building over six years is typical. The low aspirations of the Beaufoys and Jones may have prolonged things. Cramped plots - many houses had only a yard at the back - produced houses appealing to a market whose local needs were probably fully supplied by 1880. The Beaufoy Estate stands out on Booth's map as a block of relative poverty between the prosperous artisan colonies of Shaftesbury Park and Park Town. The major contribution of a few builders is typical of the 1880s boom: of 26 who worked here, eight built 71% of the houses (77% in the peak years 1880-2). Peacock, Duplock and Peters alone contributed 39%. The largest block was Jenkins's 29 houses in Wickersley Road (west).

#### **Type 2a/2b/5 - Secondary Landowners/Lawyer**

Surrounded on three sides by the Carter Estate, Wilson Street had a completely different history. In 1839, the land belonged to William Butterworth (TA 223). In 1852 it was owned by William Henry Wilson of Battersea Fields, Philip Rose and Henry Norton of Westminster, gentlemen, and Henry Tebbs of Doctors Commons, a lawyer. The houses were small semi-detached villas, very different from the Carters terraced boxes, although the area was beyond being attractive even to the lower middle classes by 1852. Occupants in 1861 included an engine smith, a laundress and a staymaker; in 1871 a nightlight maker, distillery clerk and carriage

cleaner; in 1881 a rent collector and a decorator; and in 1891 a candlemaker and a carpenter. Wilson St. always attracted members of Class III (mostly manual workers), employed locally, and was indistinguishable from neighbouring developments. At least ten houses in phase 1 were built by William Hayman, a Marylebone lace manufacturer, who was also developing on his own account in Frances Street at the same time. By 1859, Thomas Merritt of Islington, gent., had taken over leasing the whole of the west side, keeping the original datum of Christmas 1853, although for 94 rather than 99 years. Ground rents were , although for 94 rather than 99 years. Ground rents were £3/10/- to 5/10/- per house.

Each pair had suitably genteel names - De Boisson; King's; Duke's; Princes Villas. 21/2 were mortgaged by William Howick, printer of Clare Market in Westminster, for £344 in Dec. 1859, indicating a value of about £175/house, considerably more than contemporary houses on the Carter Estate. The Tebbs family retained an interest - Robert & William Tebbs, auctioneers of London Bridge, mortgaged 19-22 to the New Imperial BBS in March 1864 for £442/15/-.

#### **Type 2b/3 - Secondary Non-resident Landowner/Architect &c.**

Battersea's final pre-1914 estate was West Side or Battersea Rise (1908-16), 436 houses on 22 acres. The principal component was the Thornton house and grounds (TA 394-8). In 1793 banker Henry Thornton bought and enlarged a modest villa built for Isaac Ackermann, a City china-dealer.<sup>3</sup> Other parts belonged in 1839 to William Haigh, James Home, and Thomas Potts (TA 392/3/9-404). A later Henry Thornton rounded off the estate by purchasing a field off Broomwood Rd. in April 1881 from John Cobeldick and the Land Securities Co. Ltd. Development was by Henry Corsellis of Newbury and Edwin Evans & Sons, auctioneers, land agents, surveyors and valuers of Clapham Junction. Five new streets were approved in May 1908.<sup>4</sup> Leases were for 99 years from Lady Day 1908, ground rents in the £7-7/15/- range for 18-24ft. plots, modest for this date, indicative perhaps of an urgency in getting the estate built.

The lease for 29 Culmstock Rd., was issued by Evans and A.A. Corsellis, whose involvement is to be expected. Houses were sold in 1912-5 for about £390 each. A proposed church at the end of this road, a typical addition to Victorian middle-class developments, was never built.

#### **Type 2b/4 - Secondary Absentee Landowner/Builder (6 estates; 54.11 ac.; 1,329 hos.)**

Four date from the 1879-82 peak, the others from the late-1890s. The smallest, the Elsdon Estate, overlapped into Clapham. Chatto's Estate had 713 houses, the fourth largest in Battersea.

In 1839 the Elsdon estate had been part of a five-acre meadow belonging to R.W. Southby (TA 703), surrounded by ditches and only 9ft. above sea-level. In July 1861, it belonged to Barnard Graham, and was compulsorily purchased by the LCDR for its line to Victoria, which soon swept across the area on a viaduct. The surplus, a curved strip paralleling the viaduct in both parishes, was sold in Dec. 1867 by William Cooper and Richard Stocker to Grosvenor Hodgkinson of Newark, M.P., and Richard Hodgson of Chingford. It was conveyed for £1,100 to John Hall in December 1869, with the consent of Hodgkinson and Hodgson.

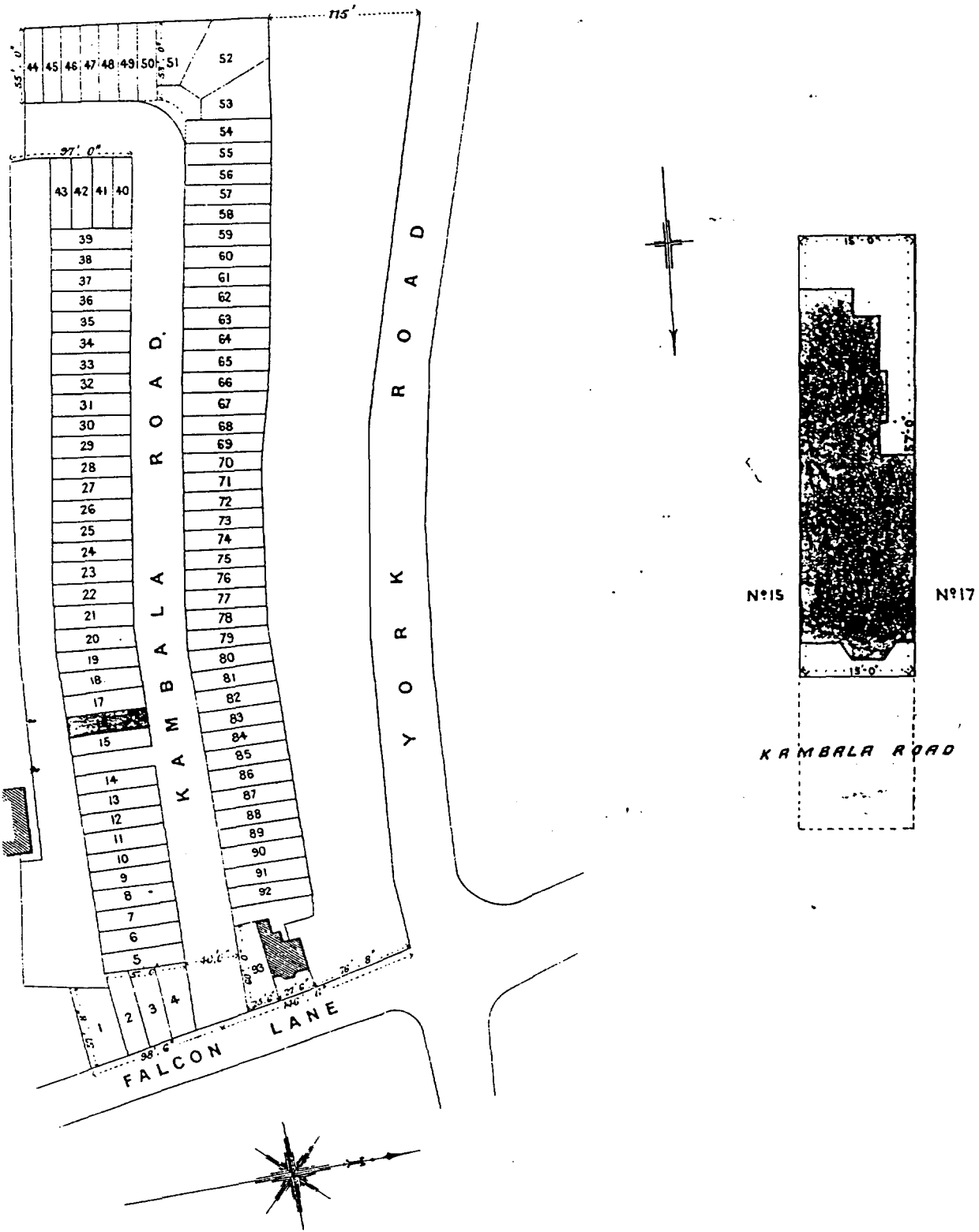
John Hall died in May 1872 at Ramsgate, and his wife Mary Ann that October, leaving the estate to their second son Walter and Mary Ann Kate their daughter. In Feb. 1873, William Adams Murphy, the Camberwell architect and Henry Riches, solicitor of Kings Bench Walk, were appointed trustees by James Prendergast, the New Zealand Attorney-General under the terms of 23 & 24 Vict. c.145. Riches was soon replaced by Michael Manning, architect, of Fleet Street. In June 1874, Walter Hall made a complaint in Chancery against Murphy, Manning and his sister, then aged 17. It seems that the two architects were intent upon developing one of the few vacant areas off Wandsworth Road (cf. Murphy's involvement at the same time east of Stewart's Road (140)). Walter alleged that his father had agreed to let the land in plots to Charles Gooding for building. On 31 July 1874, Murphy admitted the material allegations. On 1 Dec. 1875, Gooding was reported to have given up his interest in the 2a 3r 20p for a paltry payment of £50.

Walter Hall came of age on 27 August 1876, and judgement was finally given on 7 May 1877 that he was entitled to half of the estate and to act as trustee for his sister, who came of age on 31 May 1878. The local press in August 1878 reported seven acres of land "near New Road, Battersea", which had a dubious title.<sup>5</sup> 'The families died out, and the land was got by a railway land jobber for £50 from a man who grazed cattle there. The names of neither appear in the rate books or on maps. the land is worth £1,000 per acre'. Although larger than the Elsdon estate, it seems likely that this is the same property. In the event, the Halls did not develop, but sold the land for £3,900 to William Elsdon, a Clapham builder and his spinster daughter Emma on 27 March 1879, a very handsome return on the sum paid by their father. Emma Elsdon took the leading role, mortgaging the estate for £3,500 at 5% to Maria Perry, a fellow Clapham spinster on 28 March 1879, and raising another £400 from Charles Rhodes of Chancery Lane on the 29th. This money was probably used to lay out Gonsalva and Portslade Roads, approved in May 1879.<sup>6</sup>

Emma Elsdon only paid interest to Miss Perry and Mr. Rhodes for the first six months, and failed to repay the capital on 28 Nov. 1879. Rhodes, however, agreed to lend her another £200, repayable on 29 March 1880, and this was followed by three further advances totalling £651/16/3 between 31 Dec. 1879 and 2 March 1880. Emma was no better at honouring these obligations: on 24 Sept. 1880, she was six months in arrears on the interest on £4,751/16/3. In May 1884 she granted all the land to her father and his partner Sydney Pocock, by which date Charles Rhodes had advanced a total of £1,600. In May 1885, the original £3,500 mortgage was transferred by Miss Perry to Army Captain Francis King of Maida Vale, as was the Rhodes debt. Capt. King agreed with Elsdon and Pocock to reduce the rate of interest to 4½% - he must have had considerable faith in the ability of the estate to generate the necessary cash given the previous history.

Leases were for 99 years from Mid-1879, ground rents £5 (6/3 per foot front), rather high for this area. Most were issued in 1881-2, in the names of Emma Elsdon and her two mortgagors. William Merrifield of Lydon Rd., Clapham built at least 35 houses in Gonsalva Rd. between April 1880 and August 1882. Joseph Evans of Ware, Herts. (11) and George Bentley of Balham (22) built most of the rest. In Aug. 1880, Merrifield raised £200 on 36 Gonsalva Rd. from Maria and Louisa Churchman, two Godalming spinsters, and two months later £300 on 32/4 from Hori Hale, maltster of Haslemere and Ann Hale, widow, of Godalming. Blocks of houses began to be sold

Fig. 12.1 Kambala Road Estate





soon after the estate was completed. In Dec. 1887, a five-part transaction involving Elsdon & Pocock, Frederick Lloyd, a City gentleman (who had taken over the mortgage from Capt. King) and William Langridge, estate agent of Tunbridge Wells saw Edward & Mary White of Paddock Wood acquire 13 houses for £1,445 (about £111 each).

Occasionally, a developer failed to acquire direct control of all the land necessary to produce a well-rounded estate, and this happened to Alfred Heaver in 1881. His Falcon Park estate (see Chap. 13) was nearing completion, but he had not obtained almost three acres to the north-west. This land was bought from Earl Spencer by Abraham Sheppard, a Bermondsey market gardener, for £400 in October 1835 (Lot 61a). He let it in Sept. 1856 to William Watling, a Pimlico provision dealer (99 yrs.; Mid-1856; £60 p.a.), who in turn leased it in March 1865 to Julius Becker and James Townsend of Rotherhithe, fat melters (80 yrs.; £80 p.a.+£200), including piggeries, a house and other buildings. (Despite the obvious trend towards suburban development from 1860, they were all concerned only with the continued agricultural use of the land.)

William Watling died in March 1868, and his son William in Aug. 1873. On 29 Sept. 1880 Abraham Sheppard sold it to John Stephens for £2,000 (£714/ac., very low for this date, although Sheppard made a good return on his original £400). Stephens was Watling's executor, in business as a publican at the *Plough* Notting Hill. He died in October 1881, and the estate passed to his widow Emily, of Park Villas, Shepherds Bush. Although Stephens had obviously agreed to lay out Kambala Road, connecting Falcon Rd. with Musjid Rd. on Heaver's estate, it was Emily who was left to issue the leases. The plans were by William Poole, who often worked with Heaver, and were approved in the latter's name in Oct. 1881.<sup>7</sup> Leases were for 99 years from Lady Day 1882. Ground rents in Kambala Road were £5/10/- for standard 16ft. plots (except 2-6 - £6). The shops in Falcon Rd. commanded a sizeable premium: £8/10/- to £20 p.a. All were built within twelve months. Henry Mundy erected 43 houses, followed by Daniel Pitt (14) and J. Dewing (12) - 73% in all, the rest were by five others.

As was often the case, Chatto's (or West Side) Estate had a false start. Alfred Heaver, just completing his first major estate, Falcon Park, purchased 12 acres in late-1880/early-1881. In 1839 they belonged Thomas Potts (TA 403-6), whose mansion had a rateable value of £296. He was in residence until the 1860s. By 1871 the estate was owned by Thomas Potts Chatto. W.C. Poole drew up plans for a five-street Heaver Park Estate in March 1881, but they were never submitted to the MBW for approval.<sup>8</sup> It seems that Heaver was over-committed, not helped by the downturn in building. By 1885 the land had been added to the 13 acres already being developed to the west by Messrs Bragg and Ingram. (TA 407-9 belonged in 1839 to Joseph Wilson, whose mansion was near Battersea Rise [RV £492, one of the highest in the parish]. By 1851 it belonged to Charles Webb and in 1871 to Jane Webb.)

W. Newton Dunn laid out West Side estate in late-1882. All the streets (apart from Berber and Keildon Roads, created in 1884 when Leathwaite Rd. was added at the eastern end), were extensions of those on the Conservative Land Society's No. 3 estate.<sup>9</sup> Newton Dunn also planned the extension onto Chatto's land in 1885: four new streets and two extensions.<sup>10</sup> He continued to be involved during construction, including correspondence with the DBW in May 1888 over an alleged frontage infringement in Webbs Road by G.H. Stringer, whose shops were said to be less

than 20ft. from the new centre line. According to the architect, they agreed with the plan approved by the MBW.<sup>12</sup>

Table 12.3

Chatto's/West Side Estate Building

Road	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	Total
Bennerley	17	20					37
Berber		12	13				25
Burland				5	23		28
Chatto			15	6	8	8	37
Dulka			20			4	24
Grandison			42	65	33	140	
Keildon		13	26				39
Leathwaite*	20	100	23	38	23		204
Mallinson	21	11		3			35
Salcott	4	19	12	1			36
Shelgate		21	9	7			37
Wakehurst		10	19				29
Webbs			19	10	5		34
Total	62	206	198	135	92	12	705

\* Ashness Rd. began as Upper Leathwaite Rd. and is counted with Leathwaite Rd.

Output during 1884-5 was impressive, given that this was not a building peak. Fifty builders worked here (average 14.1 houses), but the phased and protracted development meant that large builders were not so important as on some contemporary estates. Ten builders erected 380 houses (54%): William Atkinson (58) and Benjamin Gilbert (48) led the field, followed by Abel Playle, Joseph Lower and John Statham (44, 41, 36 respectively). Two large builders from unusually far afield were John Jerrens of Lee (23, Leathwaite Rd., 1884/5) and Angus Ray of Lewisham (20, Webbs Rd., 1885/6). The two phases had 99-year leases from Christmas 1882 and Lady Day 1885, with variable ground rents, of which £6/10/- was the most prevalent (7/8 per foot).

Springwell House (rebuilt 1819, still standing) and Springwell, home of John Carr the biscuit manufacturer, were two more houses on Clapham Common North Side which attracted the developer and builder in the 1890s. From 1839 until sold to Henry Corsellis, this was the property of John Harris and later his executors (TA 450-3). Plans for Springwell and Burnthwaite Roads were drawn up by Weatherall & Green, surveyors of Chancery Lane, in Jan. 1894, on whose behalf is not clear.<sup>12</sup> The plans which were actually executed were by builder John Stanbury, of Worcester Park, who often acted for Corsellis, and approved in Oct. 1896.<sup>13</sup> He managed to squeeze 187 houses onto less than 6½ acres. Although there were some awkward plot shapes and a dog-leg in Jedburgh St., he managed two connexions with neighbouring Northfields, avoiding isolation. Leases were issued jointly for 99 years from Christmas 1896, ground rent £7/12/6 (about 9/- per foot). 21 Meteor St. was sold to its builder, Frank Eaton of Wandsworth for £425 in March 1901. Eaton also built 19 and 46 Tregarvon Rd., which were acquired by Charles Reed, gent., and John Collins, tailor, both of Battersea, for £380 and £395 in March and July 1898. The larger houses facing the Common were let at £12 p.a., for example 79 North Side to George Abbott in Jan. 1899.

**Type 2b/4/6b - Secondary Non-resident Landowner/Builder/Commercial**

Clapham Common Gardens south of Battersea Rise was on three acres formerly occupied by the house of George Ashness (TA 327), sold by Debenham, Tewson & Farmer in

1875 to Thomas Ingram, builder of Coldharbour Lane, Brixton, his partner James Brown of the Sawing & Planing Mills, East Brixton, and George Powell, a City gentleman. Two plans survive, one by Ingram & Brown dated 26 Oct. 1875, the other, undated, by W.H. Rawlings, surveyor of South Lambeth; the two new streets were approved in Oct. 1875.<sup>14</sup>

The three-storey terraces faced with grey bricks were similar in many respects to those of Park Town, built a decade earlier, and were rather *passé* by 1876. The estate proceeded in fits and starts. James Duncanson of Brixton built all 17 houses on Battersea Rise. Although John Miller applied for all 45 houses in Almeric Rd. in June 1877, he did not complete them; James Brown finished the last six (2-12, clearly identifiable on the 1894 O.S. plan).

A printed lease was used, issued in all three owners' names. Terms were unique in Victorian Battersea - 250 years from Christmas 1875, ground rents £6-6/6/- for 17ft. plots. 3 Lindore Rd. was let to John Price of Battersea in May 1876 and assigned by him to Henry Nevill of Heme Hill, Welsh bread manufacturer, in July 1879 for £550. (The freehold could be bought for £135 (22½ years' purchase) before Mid-1877.) 11 Almeric Rd. was leased in Oct. 1877 to John Miller, but actually erected by David Kettle of nearby Wakehurst Rd., who sold it to Susan Mitchell, a Kennington widow for £525.

The Elms/Broomwood Park 2 estate, also developed by Ingram, Brown & Bragg will be considered in Chapter 13).

#### **Type 2b/5 - Secondary Absentee Landowner/Lawyer (8 ests.; 40.74 ac.; 1,085 houses)**

The Colestown Estate was discussed in Chap. 9, since the majority was built under the ownership of Jesse Nickinson, rather than the original owner, E.R. Coles.

The other seven estates were all initiated by Henry Nicholas and A.A. Corsellis, although virtually all deeds were issued only in the name of the former. Their total contribution was 947 houses, 3.7% of the total. The first two were small pockets of land in the Village which had somehow escaped the attention of developers. Corsellis purchased the Grove House estate from Mary Ann Jones on 1 August 1884. It occupied 1.4 acres between High Street and Green Lane, and was laid out by Joseph Lewry, a local builder. Orville Rd. was approved in August 1884.<sup>15</sup> It belonged in 1839 to Thomas Stirling (TA 122 pt.). In Jan. 1859 Stirling was involved in a transaction which included Thomas and Francis Woodgate. The latter was associated elsewhere in Battersea with land deals prior to development, which suggests that development was then in view.<sup>16</sup>

The 43 plots were let for 99 years from Christmas 1884 at relatively high rents - £7 in Orville Rd. for 16-17ft. plots and £12-15 in the High St. The three-storey terraces were built in 1885-6. Although not a particularly isolated or insalubrious area, Orville Rd. went rapidly downhill, and was classed AB by Booth within a decade. He attributed this to the class of tenants, but it is likely that the root cause was the high rents which led to rapid turnover and overcrowding. Corsellis had reduced his involvement by then, selling 19 houses to Walter Clarke of Sidcup and Thomas Clarke of Witley, Surrey, gents., in August 1886 for £3,140/5/-. In March 1886, 2/4 Orville Rd. had been sold to William Marlow, printer, for £320 each.<sup>17</sup> Plots 14/15 were assigned in March 1887 by A.A. Corsellis, then of "Layer Marney", Torquay to J.H. Lewry for £515, then mortgaged

back to Corsellis for £381 at 5%.<sup>18</sup>

To the west, beyond Green Lane Schools, a vacant strip was conveyed by Earl Spencer to H.N. Corsellis in May 1886 for £945 (about £2,000/ac.). On it, Corsellis built 18 houses called Spencer Terrace. Leases were for 99 years from Mid-1886, G.R. £5/5/-, with 15ft. frontages. 16-18 were leased to Scott & Deryck in May 1888. They had worked in Orville Rd., and immediately mortgaged the three houses to Miss Helen Corsellis of Torquay for £600.

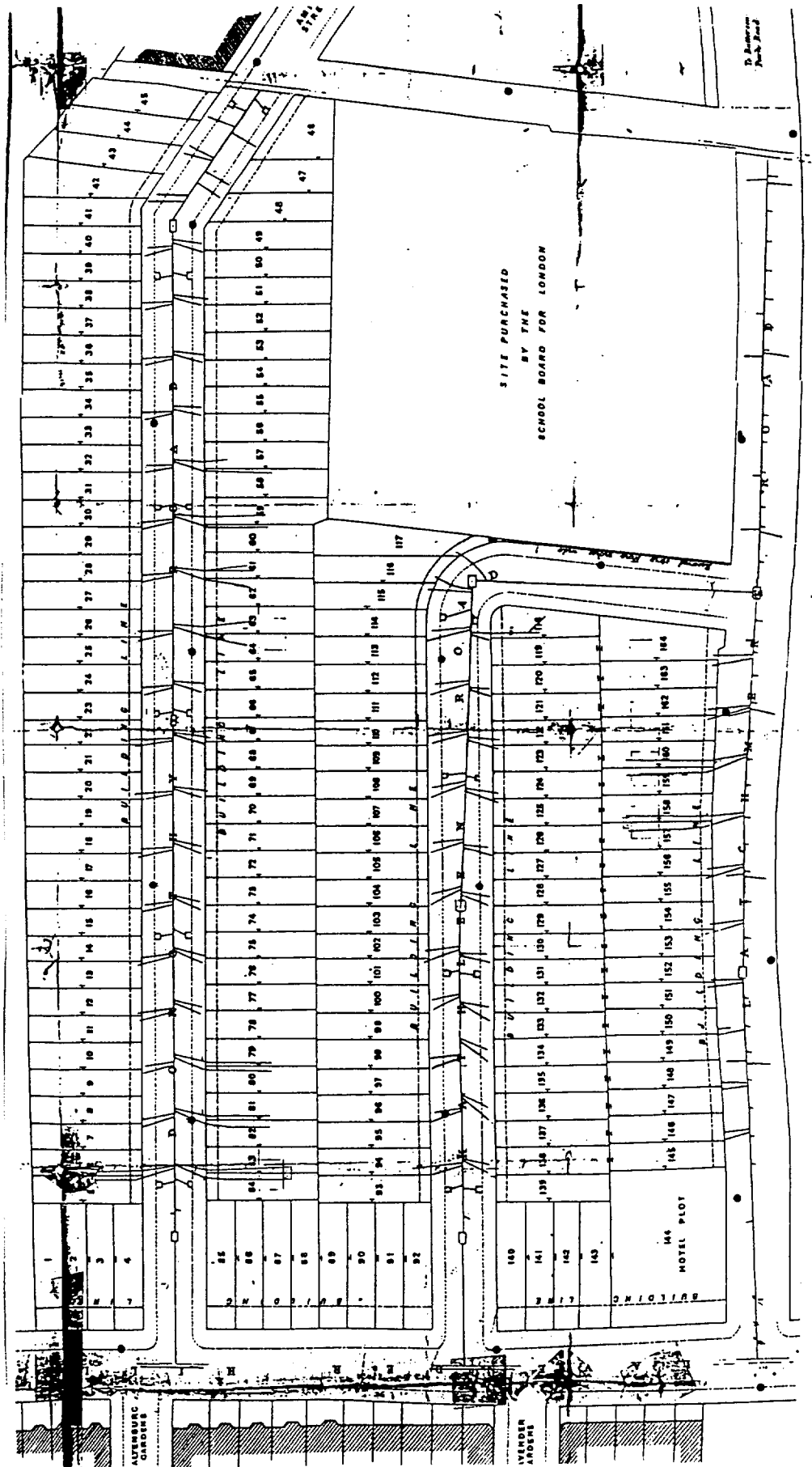
The Mayfield Estate was part of Elizabeth Graham's extensive estate in 1839, and included the extension of hitherto isolated Sugden Rd. Corsellis bought the property from Ebenezer Bristow in June 1886. The plans were by Walter Stanbury, of Wandsworth, architect, whose family were closely associated with the Corsellis for over a decade.<sup>19</sup> This was another high-density development, with 183 houses on 6½ acres. Leases were for 99 years from Michaelmas 1886, GR £7 for 17ft. plots (8/3 per ft.). Blocks taken by builders include: 5-12 Joseph Lower; 13-31 Rowden & James of Tooting; 32-36/78-81 W. Elliott, Battersea; 43-55 Scott & Deryck; 56-67 J. Stanbury; 68-77 George Ugle; 83-92 Ruff (sc. Henry Rough), Pimlico. The estate was rapidly completed, indicating a high level of demand for lower-middle class housing: 1886 - 69 houses; 1887 - 103; 1888 - 15. Fourteen builders were involved. The most significant were James George (35); John & Walter Stanbury (34); F.H.Gilbert (24); J.V. Packe (17) and Rowden & James (15), building 70% between them.

Lavender Hill Estate covered almost six acres on steep slopes overlooking the railway east of Clapham Junction. Originally the sites of three of the many early-nineteenth century villas on Lavender Hill and their landscaped grounds, the whole block belonged to George Taylor in 1839 (TA 494-496). The Taylor family sold two of the plots to William Stafford in 1874 and 1879, and the third to various parties in 1884. Corsellis purchased the whole block on 9 August 1888 for £26,400.<sup>20</sup> This is equivalent to £4,319/acre, whereas the income from ground rents was about £1,030. The plans were by Walter Stanbury, for 164 plots, of which 144 on Lavender Hill was reserved for an hotel (not built). Two streets were approved by the new L.C.C. in October 1889.<sup>21</sup> The terms were: 99 years from Michaelmas 1888, GR £7/10/- p.a. for 17ft. plots (8/10 per ft., continuing Corsellis's high-rental policy). The estate was built rapidly between Nov. 1888 and Sept. 1889. Only ten builders were involved, with six erecting 83% of the houses: John & William Stanbury (33); Samuel Rashleigh (29); James George (26); James Sallows (14) and Joseph Lower (12).

In March 1890, Henry Corsellis sold nine houses in Dorothy Rd. to Henry Dobede of Hyde Park, Henry Bacchus of Warwickshire and Walker Neale of Lucknow for £1,721/5/- (25½ years' purchase).<sup>22</sup> James Sallows mortgaged 42-50 Dorothy Rd. to Corsellis for £1,250 in June 1889, and they were assigned to Cecil Mercer of Victoria, Official Receiver in December. (Sallows was declared bankrupt in Nov. 1889 before he could complete all of the houses he had undertaken, and died shortly afterwards.) Albert Parkhurst of Fulham took over Sallows' leases.

Corsellis's largest estate was Bolingbroke Grove, 11½ acres between Wandsworth Common and Webbs Road. It was laid out by Walter Stanbury, in 295 lots, and two new east-west streets were approved in March 1890.<sup>23</sup> W.H. George took 20 lots in Bramfield Rd. (189-198; 237-246) and George & Son seven in Kelmscott Rd. (5-11). Leases were for 99 years from Lady Day

Fig. 12.2 - Corsellis's Lavender Hill Estate



1890. 173 houses were built in 1890, 63 in 1891 and 37 in 1892, although the last was not completed until mid-1895. Sixteen builders worked here, of whom six (W.H. George (55), W. Stanbury (46), John Stanbury (26), J. Staples (25) and Alfred Eaton and George & Son (24 each)) built 69%.

John Stanbury took 73 Bolingbroke Grove, facing the Common, in Dec. 1891 for £12 p.a., assigning it to William Eames, gent., the following February for £600.<sup>24</sup> William Brown, gent., paid £335 for 23 Kelmscott Rd., built by W.H. George. William Stanbury, currently serving in the army at Shorncliffe Camp in Kent, leased 73 Kelmscott Rd. in August 1891 for £7 + £275. John Myring of Wandsworth built 52 Webbs Road on the eastern edge of the estate, paying £8 p.a. from October 1894.

Eighteen months later, John Stanbury applied for two new streets on behalf of Corsellis, on the Sisters Estate. In 1839, this was two of the typical villa-and-grounds units along Clapham Common North Side (TA 422-425 - 422 George Scholey; the rest Miss Bowers). The plans were by W.H. Stanbury, C.E., based at Shorncliffe in July 1891.<sup>25</sup> Mrs. Elizabeth Bowers was living near Doncaster when she made her will in Nov. 1857, and died in Feb. 1858. Her Battersea estate of just over eight acres passed to Ernest Bowers, her son, who sold it in July 1891, in conjunction with the Hon. F. Worthy of Kensington and Thomas McAdam, Esq., of Ireland. Henry Corsellis paid £32,550 - £27,000 for the main estate between the Common and Lavender Hill and £5,550 for The Sisters, a house and garden on the Common. This represents a substantial sum to recoup - equivalent to £125 for each house.

All 230 houses were built by John Stanbury in only twelve months, from September 1891 (88 houses in Elspeth Rd.) to September 1892 (74 houses in Mysore Rd.), with the result that this is one of Battersea's most uniform estates. Terms were 99 years from Midsummer 1891, G.R. £7/7/- p.a. for 16½-17ft. plots (8/9 per foot). This would have given Corsellis an income of about £1,600 p.a.. The 12 shops on Lavender Hill were leased at £18-23 p.a., adding £235 to the rent roll. Corsellis would therefore have taken about 15 years to recoup his outlay on the estate, before making any profit. As was often the case, however, he soon sold blocks of property. In May 1894, Richard and Charles Garton, glucose manufacturers based at Southampton Wharf off York Road, paid £5,530/16/- for 1-47 Mysore Rd. (£223 each) and the following September £5,925/2/- for 2-70 opposite (£169 each). Andrew Barlow, a Southampton brewer paid £4,212 for eight shops in Lavender Hill (£527 each). Between them, these sales gave Corsellis 57% of his outlay, and there may well have been other sales which have left no record. In addition there were the usual sales of individual houses, for example 27 Elspeth Rd. to its occupier Ingebrigt Elwick for £365 in June 1892, and 60 Elspeth Rd. to Fanny Davis, a butcher's wife for £360 in June 1893 - which incidentally shows the benefit of buying in bulk.

Henry Corsellis's final venture was much smaller - a terrace of 45 houses at the north-eastern end of Broomwood Road. The plans in this case are anonymous, and he applied for the extension himself.<sup>26</sup> This had formed part of the estates of Messrs. Carter and Cavendish in 1839 (TA 370/372 pt.). John Stanbury, now living in Worcester Park, again built all the houses between March 1896 and February 1898, by which time work was in full swing on the Broomwood Park estate opposite.

### **Type 2b/5/6b - Secondary Absentee Landowner/Lawyer/Commercial**

This rather unlikely combination was responsible for an estate called Long Hedge No.1 covering 4.7 acres with 137 houses. The partners were John Levy, gent., and John Coles, merchant, both of Rochester (the latter a relative of E.R. Coles, see Chap. 9), James Griffin, auctioneer of Battersea and the legal firm of Richard Prall and Jesse Nickinson of Chancery Lane. There is no trace of a formal approval by the M.B.W., nor of the original plans. The addition of Palmerston Terrace to the topically-named Russell and Palmerston Streets in 1865 was planned by Thomas Haylock, builder and George Sheppard, timber merchant, both of Pimlico.<sup>27</sup> (Russell St. followed an earlier track, preserved when the LSWR was built, connecting with Park Town.)

Some leases were issued by the partners acting together, others by individuals or pairs. Levy, Coles, Griffin and William Hall, gent., of New Cross, were all involved in leasing 5/6 Russell St. E to Jonathan Parsons, the Chelsea builder responsible a decade later for most of the houses on the Shaftesbury Estate, who also worked on Nickinson's Long Hedge No.2 estate next door, at the direction of Haylock & Sheppard in July 1863 (99yrs.; Christmas 1862; £4 p.a.). Parsons raised £465 from the Temperance Permanent BBS in Nov. 1865 over 12 years at 5%. Levy & Coles alone leased 3/4 Russell St. to Parsons via Sheppard & Haylock in the same month. In July 1864, John Newson, gent., of Pimlico paid £1,500 for 13-18 Palmerston St. W, leased to him by Prall & Nickinson at Sheppard & Haylock's direction, and paid the same for 19-24 the following December.

### **Type 2b/6b - Secondary Absentee Landowner/Commercial**

Wayford Street was one of those estates east of Clapham Junction where the open-field landscape had been disrupted by the creation of the WLER. Most had belonged to Thomas Carter in 1839, but did not pass to W.W. Pocock in the 1850s. John Wilkinson gained approval for the new street in Nov. 1866.<sup>28</sup> T.D. Carter had sold some land in Upper Wilditch Shot to James Griffin, gent., of Dorking and James Bennett, a Battersea draper in Aug. 1865, who were associated with John Foord of Rochester. 5/6 Wayford Terrace in Shepcote Lane were leased to builder John Gowman in Feb. 1867 (99; Mid-1866; £5 p.a.), as were 1-4 on the west side of Wayford St. 5/6 Wayford St. were taken by his partner Mr. Wilkinson. Gowman mortgaged 1/2 to Robert Fell, a City linen draper and Curtis Colson, a Nottingham law clerk for £460 at 5% in June 1867.

Despite this prompt start, building did not proceed smoothly. Foord disappeared in 1867, and was replaced by fellow Rochester men John Levy and John Coles. They and Griffin sold their interest to Bennett in the autumn of 1873. That December, Bennett, by now of Balham, sold some land, including 1/2 Wayford St. to Mrs. Betsey Hue, a Holloway widow, and William Hue for £2,200. The rest was market garden ground in four lots totalling just over two acres. In Aug. 1876, Bennett sold land on the east side (15 southwards) to James Porter, merchant of Gracechurch St., for £1,600. Porter set about finishing the houses, leasing 25/27 in Jan. 1878 to Abraham Isaac (99 yrs.; Christmas 1876; £5 p.a.). (Isaac was one of the largest builders on Pocock's estate.) 38 of the 68 houses on the estate belong to the late-1870s boom rather than that of the mid-1860s when the estate was conceived. In this Wayford St. resembles the adjacent Pocock estate, which

spanned three peaks of the cycle.

### Type 3/6a - Architect/Manufacturer

The Northfields Estate was one of the largest in central Battersea - 11¼ acres, 312 houses. It was developed from 1890 by Charles Bentley, architect and surveyor, formerly of Wandsworth, now based in the City, and John Hill, brickmaker of Whitehall Park, Homsey. Bentley's plans for the main part of the estate were approved in March 1890, followed by Taybridge Rd. in 1894.<sup>29</sup> The printed plan for Phase I stated that the estate was 'for the erection of small and medium sized houses on plots 17ft. wide and 65-70ft. deep'; details from Bentley, Hill and their solicitor W.R.J. Hickman of Cheapside. Building lasted from July 1890 to March 1897. Nineteen builders worked here. Nine built 251 houses (80%), notably Joseph Palmer of Camberwell (56); George Stringer (39); Heard Brothers (33) and J. Gray (30)

Table 12.11

Road	Building on the Northfields Estate								Total
	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	
Cathles	9								9
Fontarabia	4	4	16	20					44
Forthbridge		43	19	12					74
Freke	15		4		14		10		43
Lutherwood	2								2
Marmion	26	6	33	4	7				76
Taybridge						33		21	54
Unspecified	10								10
Total	66	53	72	36	21	33	10	21	312

Leases were for 99 years from Mid-1890, G.R. £6/10/- to £7 p.a. 102 Marmion Rd. was built by John Heard and leased in Dec. 1892. He sold it to William Fisher, civil servant, living on the Crown estate, in Jan. 1893 for £350. Richard Welford, gent., of Brondesbury took leases on 66/68 Forthbridge Rd. in Sept. 1891.

### Type 4/6b - Builder/Commercial

The second, larger part of Tom Taylor's Lavender Sweep estate was developed by Thomas Ingram and James Brown, timber merchant from 1881, this time without Henry Bragg. The three new streets were planned by W. Newton Dunn and approved in October 1881.<sup>30</sup> The curved drive was retained as was the name. Frederick Snelling, the Dulwich builder who had undertaken the first part of the estate was mentioned with Ingram in the M.B.W. minute, but his name does not appear in the deeds. He must have been bought out by Ingram and Brown. He built three shops on Battersea Rise. Tenders for the new streets were received in September 1881, ranging from £1,435 to £2,172.<sup>31</sup>

Building lasted from October 1881 to January 1884: 20 houses in 1881; 188 in 1882; 29 in 1883 and 4 in 1884. The stock- or grey-brick fronts, with their ornate porches represent the culmination of a long tradition of suburban building, which was being overtaken by the introduction of more red brick and tile on the facades of local houses. Twenty-one builders worked here (average 11.4 houses). Seven built 149 houses (62%): Joseph Lower 29; George Frost 28; Walter Stanbury 22; George Stringer 20 were the most important, all of whom were active on other



estates in central and south Battersea in the early 1880s.

Composite estates, though having very heterogeneous initiators, confirm the general pattern of development outlined in previous chapters. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, this is in large part due to the fact that many of those concerned were involved in the development of building estates in their own right, and naturally employed the methods which were seen to bring results, albeit subject to change and delay in many cases. Even some of the partnerships occur in more than one category, for example those between Ingram and Brown and Prall and Nickinson. The unseen personal contacts and information networks clearly played a crucial role.

The activities of men like W. Newton Dunn, William Poole and Charles Bentley, architects and surveyors, should not be underestimated, even if they did not actually own the land and reap the rewards. A good example of such an unequal partnership, which nevertheless endured for ten years, is that between the Corsellis and Stanbury families. The ability to find capital sums of £20,000 and upwards was a key factor in the ability to gain admission to the developers' club by 1880, especially as many of the properties coming on to the market included villas and mansions dating from the first generation of building in Battersea. The pressures to maximise returns, and the fact that virtually no developer actually lived, or wished to live in the area, ensured that few of these survived.

Although larger than average, composite estates were still subject to the fluctuations inherent in building development. Many which were laid out in the 1860s were not finished until the late-1870s, and those started in the 1878-80 boom often took five years to complete. Many of these estates in central and south Battersea, however, were very successful measured in these terms, indicative of a real demand for lower middle-class housing in the area. Henry (and Alexander) Corsellis were beneficiaries of this, reaping large rewards from their high ground rent policy and from sales of blocks of houses. Thomas Ingram, with a variety of partners and eventually on his own, made an even more significant impact on the local townscape between his first appearance in 1875 and his death in 1901. In all, 2,154 houses (8.4% of the total) were on estates in which he had been involved.

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(Jedburgh) Sts.

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30. DBW Plans 617, 633; MBW Min. 21 Oct. 1881 - Parma Cres., Eccles Rd. & Lavender Sweep.
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## CHAPTER 13

### BUILDING ESTATES IN BATTERSEA VII: CASE STUDIES

This Chapter contains eight case studies, providing a more detailed examination of the development process. Battersea New Town includes many tiny estates best dealt with together, as are Broomwood Park, the estates of Alfred Heaver and the three estates developed from Morrison's brickyard off Bridge Road. The Carter estate was the first large-scale enterprise in Victorian Battersea. W. W. Pocock's estate has the unique benefit of his autobiography, while the Cobb family's property around Church Road has a complex history and good sources. The creation of Battersea Park and the Crown Estate represent a complete departure from the pre-urban landscape, and from the customary style of building in the parish. Alfred Heaver grew in less than twenty years from an insignificant builder, indistinguishable from hundreds of his peers into one of the major estate developers, not only in Battersea, but also in neighbouring parishes. The Elms/Broomwood Park Estate was one of the largest and was created in three distinct phases by a variety of individuals over twenty-five years. It is best treated as a whole.

#### I - Battersea New Town

Such is the brave legend which appeared on Stockdale's 1797 map next to a Neptune's trident of new streets near Nine Elms (Fig. 13.1). The name is typical of greenfield developments in the late-eighteenth century (cf. Mile End New Town; Somers Town), but is more a topographical term than an indication of a piece of suburbia executed to the master plan of a single landowner. New Town was conceived in the 1780s, but was not completed until the 1880s, by which time some of the original houses had already been demolished. Large areas were still vacant in 1839 (Fig. 13.2). The Southampton Railway embankment cut off the southern section in 1838. Although there was clearly a ground plan, the policy of auctioning relatively small plots and of granting thousand-year leases, effectively freehold, produced extreme fragmentation, with no fewer than fourteen "estates" covering less than fifteen acres.

Table 13.1

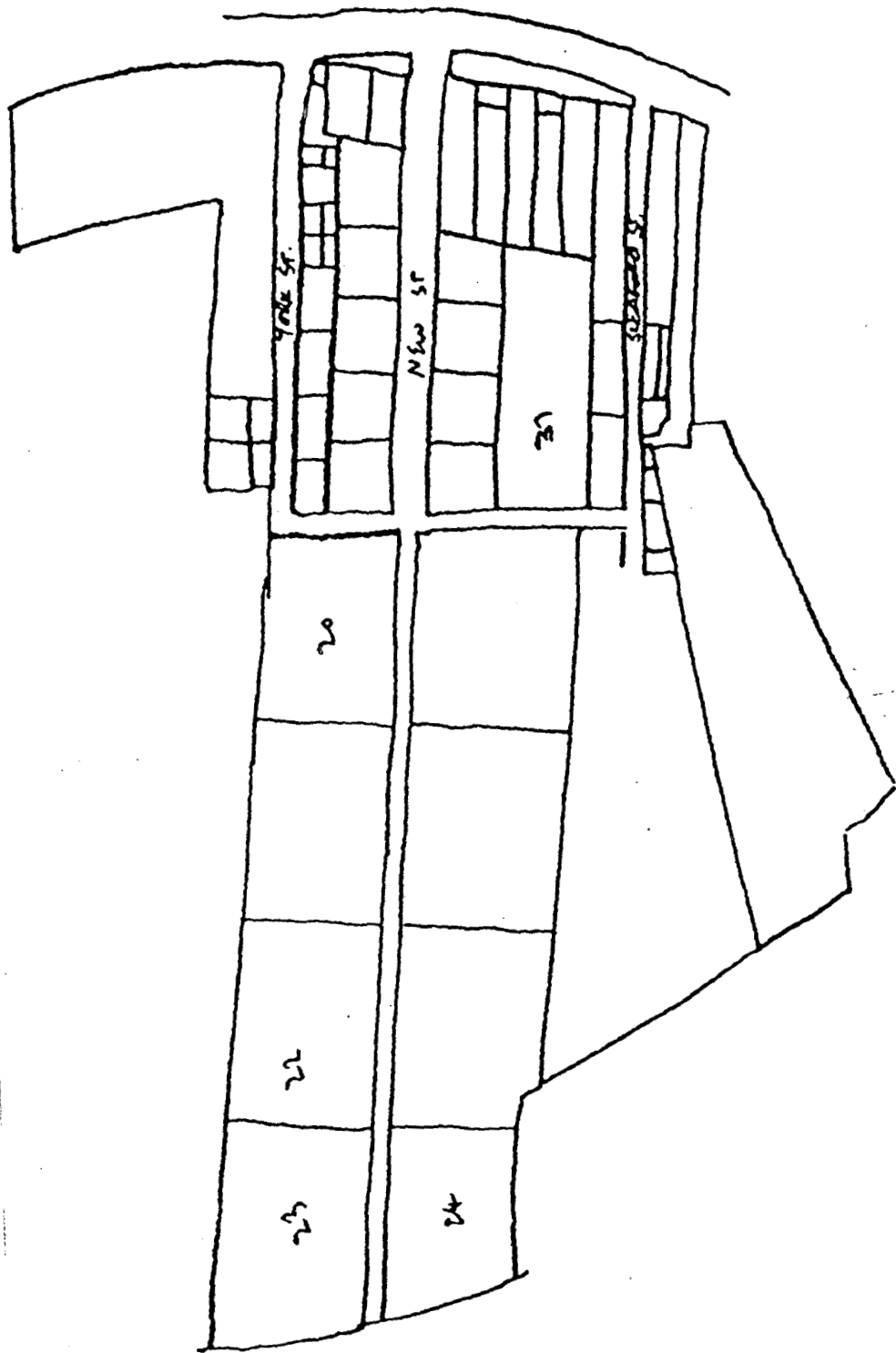
#### Battersea New Town - Component Estates

No.	Date	Type	Developer	Houses	Ac.
2	1789	6a	William Lovell	48	2.29
3	1792	2b	Joseph Cooper	19	0.50
4	1793	6b	Williams & Drury	29	1.65
5	1796	6b	William Sleaford	30	0.97
6	1798	2a	Peter Wooten	8	0.53
9	1806	6b	William Faucitt	11	0.34
12	1812	6d	George Gwynn	10	0.16
13	1819	6a	Edward Kilsby	17	0.73
15	1827	6a	Joseph Lucas	10	0.56
19	1835	2a	Sermon	6	0.25
25 pt.	1845	1b	John Lucas	41	2.48
45	1848	6b	John Patient	63	1.81
71	1861	6b	Samuel Seldon	59	2.29
173	1882	6a	Steele & May	6	0.16
				357	14.72

\* In this case, Lucas was the secondary owner, Type 2b

New Town was a pioneer, with eight estates predating 1820. The seventy or so houses

Fig. 13.1 - Battersea New Town, c.1786



built here in the 1790s represent the first new development outside existing settlement nuclei, after a century in which the local population had been largely stagnant see Chap. 2). Substantial numbers of houses were added during the peaks of the late-1840s and mid-1860s. Manufacturers and those from retailing and commerce initiated nine of the fourteen estates. Some were locally based (Kilsby; Steele & May - who built six houses next to their iron foundry in Sleaford St.). John Patient had acquired one of the first houses to be built, with substantial gardens renowned for their quality. Only after twenty-five years did he succumb to the inevitable and develop them.

The survival of deeds for New Town is patchy, but enough key documents survive to enable the main events and personalities to be discerned (Appendix 7). The genesis seems to have been a transaction between farmer John Harrison and Thomas Ponton on 24 October 1786.<sup>1</sup> In this, Ponton paid £1,050 for 19½ acres (c.£54/ac.) of enclosed land to the west of his already extensive estate at Nine Elms, and east of Richard Southby's Longhedge property. (Harrison only acquired the land in Feb. 1786, and had attempted unsuccessfully that September to sell a more extensive area to Michael Bray of Lincoln's Inn and John Winter of the City, for £4,000.) The price paid by Ponton suggests that he intended only to round-off his estate - certainly he took no part in subsequent building activity. Although much further from London, New Town was almost contemporary with Somers Town in St. Pancras, another area with a protracted building history.<sup>2</sup> It seems that what might be called a "consortium" acquired the land from Ponton in January 1789, including Caleb Smith, gent., of Westminster and Samuel Shergold of Lincoln's Inn. An eight-part indenture dated 5 April 1797 recites a deed of lease and release of 19/20 October 1791 between John Peacock, a Southwark flour factor & William Lovell, brickmaker of Battersea; James Wood of Spitalfields, gent., and Caleb Smith & John Hardcastle of Lincoln's Inn, in which Smith paid Peacock and Lovell £3,000 for the land (£154/ac. - almost three times what Ponton had paid).

Lovell's trade suggests that part at least was used for brickmaking, a pattern repeated in Battersea over the next hundred years and common throughout suburbia. Peacock paid Lovell £3,200 in December 1792 for his moiety, another appreciable surge in value. In Feb. 1793, Lovell entered into a bond with bankers Williams & Drury, securing £3,000 plus interest to Caleb Smith. Lovell & Peacock began building in the main road in 1789, a terrace of typically tall and narrow plain Georgian houses, with the Duchess of York tavern at the corner, and then proceeded down the west side of York St. York Place had very long plots, bounded by a mews to the south, although no stabling was built. Most of the southern ends of the gardens were built over by Samuel Seldon in the 1860s. Lovell was declared bankrupt in August 1793, and an auction of plots was held that December. The growth of industry at Nine Elms was stimulated by the demands of the war economy after 1792, itself a peak in the building cycle, so the omens for New Town were good.

The Kennington surveyor C.T. Cracklow paid £652 for lots 20/22-24 and 37 at the auction (5¼ acres, c.£125/ac.), although he did not develop any of them.<sup>3</sup> A plan of 1797 shows the whole of New Town divided into about 40 plots, together with Sleaford, New, Cross and York Streets. Eight plots of about one acre lined New Road, a pre-existing track, as far as a drainage ditch about 750ft. south of Cross St. (Fig. 13.1).

Peter Wooten built the eight houses in Pavillion Place in 1798. As with York Place, they

are more typical of Islington and parts of Bloomsbury than what followed in Battersea. Leigh's 1830 *Panorama* of the Thames shows 1/2 to have three storeys and exposed rooflines, and 3-8 four storeys, with parapets concealing the roof. The 11 houses of York Row were similar to the latter, but with three storeys. More typical were the long lines of four-room brick boxes which went up piecemeal in the side streets, often with frontages as narrow as 12ft. The main road east of York Street had a random selection of detached and semi-detached houses and short terraces, mostly on Lovell's original holding. At the western corner of New St. was a tavern with a brewery behind.

Williams & Drury took over from Lovell at the south end of York St., building on both sides. Edward Kilsby, a shipbreaker at Nine Elms, had 17 houses abutting theirs in York St. (E) and behind facing New St. George Gwynn erected ten houses on the east side of York St. (TA 741/743) after 1812, the gaps not being filled until after 1850. Joseph Lucas, a brewer at Charing Cross, built ten houses at the north-west end of New St. from 1827, using John Cumick, a Clapham builder associated for many years after 1845 with John Lucas's estate, a small part of which was isolated north of the railway in the 1830s. Cracklow's lots 20 and 37 of 1793 ultimately came to John Lucas, as did lot 27. These were developed from 1863, mainly built by Henry Menhinnick. The long terrace of 30 small houses on the west side of Sleaford St. was run up in 1796-7 by William Sleaford the Southwark butcher. Opposite, Joseph Cooper built two terraces - ten in Sleaford St. and six in Foot's Row. Opposite this was a triangular block developed by William Faucitt, a Southwark flour factor, who had acquired it from Sleaford in 1806.<sup>4</sup> Faucitt also bought five houses in Sleaford St. for £150. In 1825, Robert Faucitt having become insolvent, the five houses passed to James Duneau of the City for only £50. John Sermon's six houses (TA 752) were built at the end of the 1830s.

Plots continued to be auctioned, for example 25/26 York St. (W) which were sold by the Williams to John Webb, a Marylebone coal merchant in June 1797. Charles Cracklow's brother Henry, a Southwark hat maker, was associated with him in building at least six houses on the Williams & Drury property in 1798-9. C.T. Cracklow himself auctioned some of these in 1810, when 31/32 York St. were bought by David Stephenson, gent., of Battersea. They were auctioned again in Sept. 1829, for Stephenson's widow Sarah, and purchased by George Brough, tailor and draper of Holborn.

The history of 7-9 York St. (W) must suffice as an example of how complex the history of a piece of land only 42 by 80ft. could be. After reciting deeds going back to 1725, a seven-part transaction of 9 August 1803, saw Joseph Neeld (d.1828) and Francis Fladgate (d.1821), gentlemen of the Strand, taking a 1,000 year lease on some land from John Esden (d.1812). In 1816, the land was leased to George Gurnell, who died intestate in July 1825. His spinster daughters, Louisa, Catherine and Jane, then of Chelsea, assigned the lease to Henry Sellar and John Holliman, grocers of Nine Elms and Lambeth in July 1839. Sellar paid £260. Also involved was a plot of land on the opposite side of the road (52x50ft.), on which were the foundations of four houses.

George Gwynn and Edward Kilsby acquired land at an auction held in the Duchess of York in May 1819. Gwynn was the highest bidder for lots 1 and 5 (£68/5/- and £34). Thomas

Fig. 13.2 - Battersea New Town, 1839



Bugler had bought lot 4 for £32, but agreed to sell it to Gwynn and Kilsby for £16 each. Gwynn's total outlay of £118/5/- was split three ways: to Robert & William Williams, bankers and Thomas Lane of Goldsmiths Hall; to Robert Williams and to Robert Hunter, Esq., of Kew. Lots 4/5 were 56 by 50ft., enough for four houses.

John Patient, merchant of Kingsland road, Shoreditch, had purchased a house and 1.8 acres of gardens renowned for their quality in May 1822.<sup>5</sup> On 10 Oct. 1853 he conveyed two messuages and freehold ground to Richard Noakes and Joseph Archer, City gentlemen, along with the houses built thereon, some in the 1790s, others since 1848: 6-24 Aegis Grove; 25-35 Aegis Terrace and 2-4 Park Tce. and the Park Tavern in the main road.<sup>6</sup> The 30 small houses were sold to Thomas Holme for £3,700 in Feb. 1857. George Dettmar of Paddington purchased 1-5/25 Aegis Grove and 24-36 Aegis Tce. in July 1853,<sup>8</sup> mostly built by Samuel Hollands of Battersea and Thomas Milner of Westminster between 1848 and 1851.

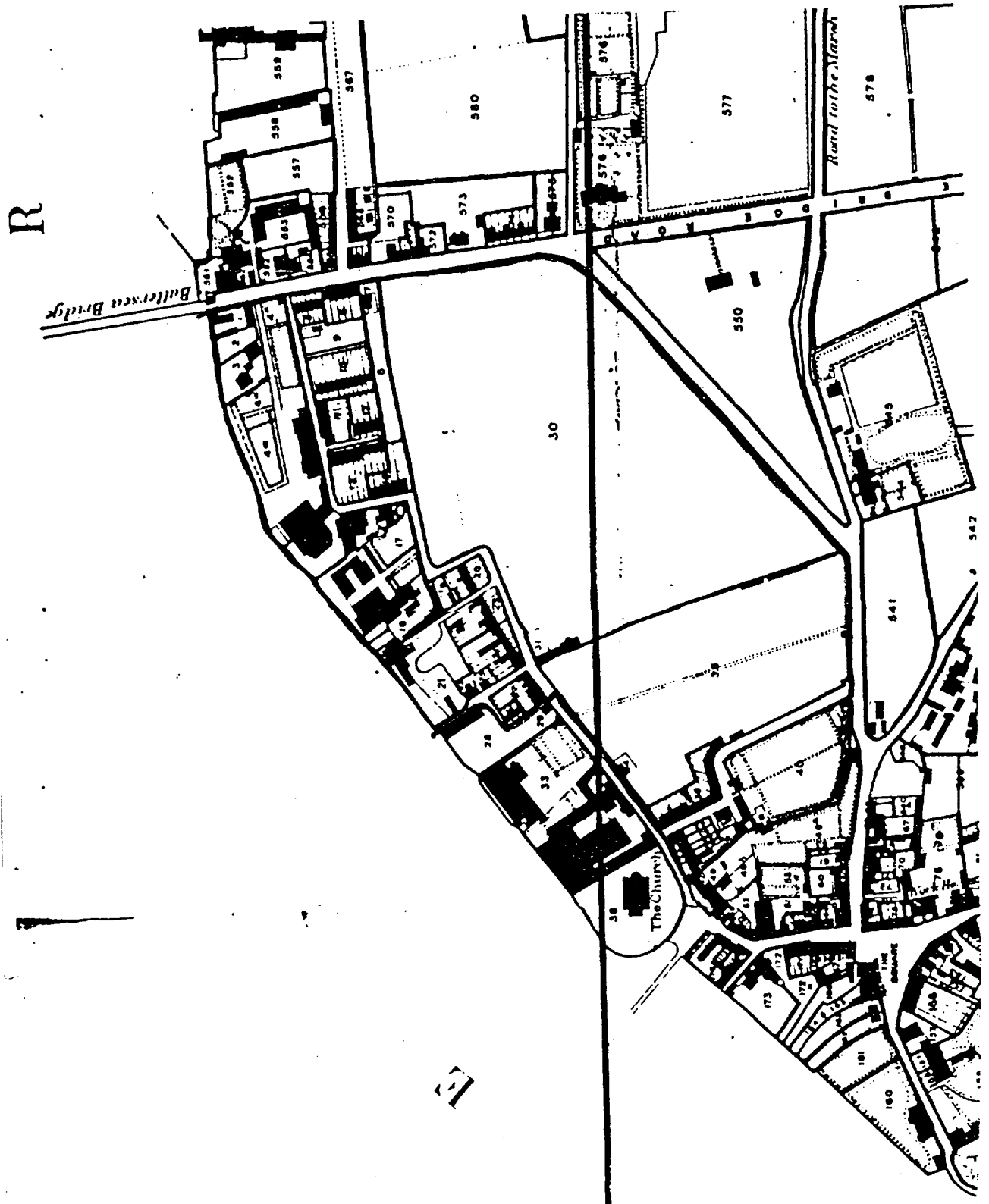
Samuel Selden (d. 18 March 1879) was a fishmonger living at 4 Pavillion Place, which he leased in September 1850.<sup>9</sup> He received £350 compensation from the WECPR in March 1860 because they diverted the road in front of his house. He developed the long gardens to the rear of Pavillion Place and York Place from 1861 as York Mews, together with Selden Street and some houses in Stewarts Lane and Sheldrake St. (TA 728 pt./729-30). The plans for the latter were by architect Joseph Peacock, and were approved in July 1869.<sup>10</sup> Apart from one by Lathey Brothers, all the houses in the Mews were by Selden himself, no doubt subcontracting to building craftsmen. He also erected all sixteen houses in Selden St. in 1871.

Property values in New Town showed an abrupt difference between Battersea Park Road and the side streets. Houses on the main road were estimated to be worth 15/- to £1 per week, those in York and New Streets were barely a quarter of this - 4/3-4/4 - and in Sleaford St. only 2/9. The latter maintained its position as the poorest part of the area. Simmonds reports that one side was called Soapsuds Bay from the number of laundresses, and the other Ginbottle Row.<sup>11</sup>

The social history of New Town has been discussed in an earlier study, and only a brief summary will be attempted here.<sup>12</sup> Between 1841 and 1871, the local population (including John Lucas's houses at the west end of Cross St./Stewarts Lane, not part of the original New Town) grew from 715 to 2,398 (235%), whereas the number of inhabited houses grew only from 162 to 361 (122%) resulting in a 50% increase in density, although most of the houses built in the 1860s had 5-6 rooms as opposed to 3-4 in the older properties. Household size was just below five persons. New Town was always home to the semi-skilled and unskilled (52% of household heads in 1841, 39% in 1871, cf. Battersea as a whole 26%), although by the latter date, one-third of families belonged to Class III manual (38% overall). There was always plenty of employment for labourers, including agricultural work until well into the 1860s when the last fields succumbed to railway and builder. The ever-growing gasworks and riverside industry employed much local labour, with wives and daughters taking in washing or charring. The railways gave work to skilled artisans, engine drivers and guards. In 1861, the principal employment sectors were: Labouring (36%); Manufacturing (17%); Transport (14%) and Retail (10%). The main change to 1871 was a rapid upsurge in building workers (9% to 21% in 1871), mostly in new houses on the Lucas Estate.



Fig. 13.3 - Cobb Estate, 1839



## II - The Cobb Estate: From Twelve Acres to Little Hell

This 12½-acre estate between the Thames, Bridge Road and Westbridge Road can be traced back into the rural past. The principal route from the village to the ferry, from 1772 the bridge, ran along the eastern and southern sides, giving access - albeit with a toll until 1880 - to Chelsea, Westminster and the City. To the west lay Battersea Manor House with its gardens, home of the St. John family from the early-17th. century, and beyond that the parish church. The earliest relevant transaction was a lease and release in April 1763, between Viscount Bolingbroke and the executors of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. In May 1769 the land was leased to Thomas Parker, and in November 1779 it was sold to Earl Spencer as part of a larger estate. A key date was 2/3 September 1782, when fifteen acres, comprising The Twelve Acres and the Shoulder of Mutton Field were leased by Spencer and his son Viscount Althorp to Thomas Rhodes and David Meredith of Walbrook for 88 years from Michaelmas 1782. A map of 1760 shows that they had been a single field, quite recently bisected diagonally by what became Westbridge Road, to give a direct link to the Ferry.

The autumn of 1782 marked the beginning of development, as small parcels were let. The principal purpose was not, as might be expected from the location, to provide villas enjoying the prospect over the Thames and manor grounds, but for industrial premises and wharves, similar to those which had grown up since c.1650 at Nine Elms. Parker, Spencer and Rhodes leased a plot to Edward Bratt in Sept. 1782, and Rhodes alone leased another in the same month to Jonathan Collison, chemist, Joseph Fry, soapmaker, and William Jones merchant. In 1785, Jones let some land to James Chabot, refiner, and he in turn leased to Messrs. Hodgson, Weller, Allaway and Watson, distillers in Sept. 1791. Thomas Rhodes died in 1789 and was succeeded by his widow and daughter, both called Ann. He left his daughter a share in Battersea Bridge, as well as the Bridge House and land, and the use of £1,500 capital. In 1796 Ann Rhodes married Timothy Cobb, a member of a Banbury banking family, who were prominent Unitarians and proponents of Reform there.<sup>13</sup> That July, following a court case between Joseph Hodgetts, a Dudley nail merchant (husband of Rhodes's daughter Elizabeth, who had predeceased her father) and James Cobb, plaintiffs, and Timothy and Ann Cobb, defendants, over nine messuages, five gardens, 10 acres of land and 30 of pasture, the share and Bridge Ho. were transferred to Hodgetts and J. Cobb, who paid 10/- for the freehold of the two fields in 1797. Hodgetts was involved in the area until at least 1824.

Hodgson & Co. built and operated the famous Horizontal Mill. The veneer cutting and sawmill, and later a boot and shoe manufactory which Marc Brunel, father of Isambard, had set up just east of the bridge in 1807 also attracted much attention.<sup>14</sup> The early chemical works here were precursors of the Morgan Crucible Co., which arrived in 1856, taking over the Falcke works, just as housebuilding on the estate was finally completed.<sup>15</sup> In 1792, Chabot's refinery was rated at £75, and Hodgson's mill at £80, together with £200-worth recently acquired from Messrs. Fowler, Chabot & Reid.

James Chabot's son, Charles, was a lawyer, and played a significant part in the development, as well as having estates of his own elsewhere. Chabot, rather than the Cobbs, was the owner of the twelve-acre field (TA 30) in 1839, although it was in their hands again by the time

it was auctioned in 1843.<sup>16</sup> Later, Chabot, had acquired Lot 8, "freehold ground suitable for building", in the High Street when David Ker's estate was sold in July 1845. (Ker died on 23 Dec. 1844.) He paid £350 for the plot and built 14 houses on it, half of them by Samuel Archbutt, William Pocock's father-in-law (see below).<sup>17</sup> Chabot's other tiny estate was on four open-field strips in Surrey Lane, on which a terrace of nine houses and eight pairs of semi-detached villas were built. He was also involved in land purchased by the Government for Battersea Park.

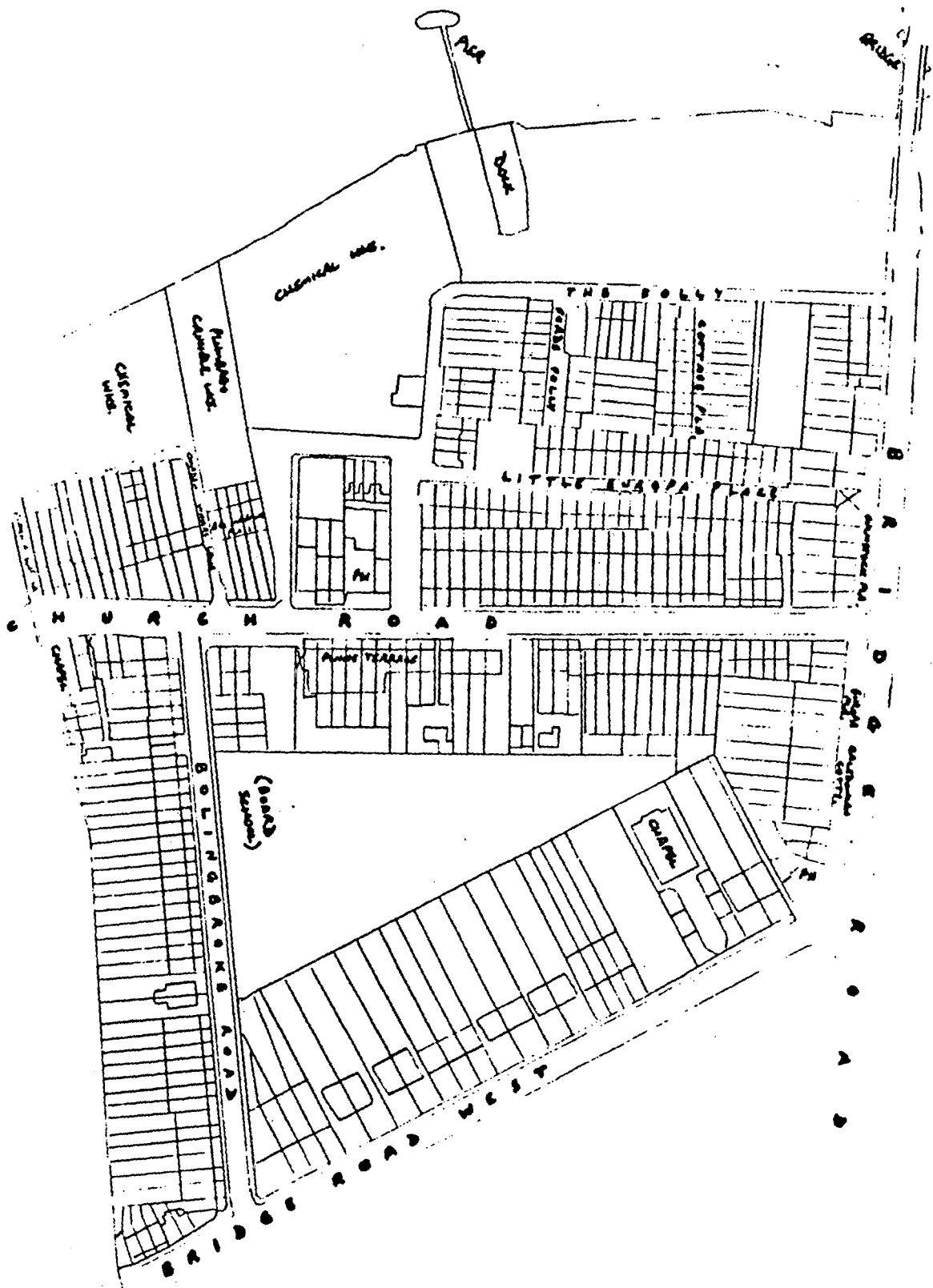
Little building followed in the wake of the new industries, their workers no doubt being housed in overcrowded courts and alleys in the Village. By 1809, only ten houses had been built, mostly for owners and managers. In 1810 there were 22, with an average rateable value of £11 p.a. By 1817 there were 34 houses in the north-west corner of the Twelve Acres. In 1822 the figure had grown to 42, and the following year to 60. Most were small cottages south of a sinuous road connecting Church Rd. with the bridge (see Fig. 13.3), including Ford's Folly (15), The Folly (6) and Cottage Place (12), with RVs of £5-10 p.a. After 1825, there was little building, and it cannot be said that the Cobbs were very active in exploiting the opportunities presented by their Battersea estate. The Shoulder of Mutton field was sold, becoming a market garden (TA 550, George Blunt). In 1839 the bulk of the Twelve Acres, then owned by Charles Chabot, was vacant. All 65 houses were in Church Road, or Bridge Rd. where Gaines Cottages and Russell Place had been built in the late-1820s. The Cobbs' principal holdings lay to the west (TA 35, 40), about 6 acres, also devoid of housing.

Timothy Cobb made his will in Dec. 1834. His daughter Frances was the main beneficiary. His sons Timothy Rhodes and Edward Cobb (both involved in the family bank) were instructed to sell property by auction to discharge this obligation. They were to get £2,500 each at 4%. Any surplus was to be divided into fifths. By May 1835, Frances had become of unsound mind, and her bequest was transferred to the sons. Ann Cobb died in 1836 and Timothy in July 1839, and it is the latter event which marks the beginning of rapid development. In September 1840, Charles Chabot assigned the residue of the Twelve Acres to T.R. Cobb.

The Cobbs duly held an auction on 22 June 1841, at which Richard Gibb, coffee house keeper of Cavendish Square purchased Lots 5/6 off Bridge Rd. (later 52-62) for £204. A six-part indenture of Oct. 1841 involved all of Timothy Cobb's five surviving children, as well as Gibb and William Waghorne, a Southwark builder. Gibb applied for a £1,100 loan at 4% from the Cobbs in Feb. 1844. He then sold the two plots and six houses built by Waghorne. A second sale was held on 24 April 1843, at which Gibb bought Lot 9 for £145. Lots 8/10 were bought by Richard Colven. Chelsea builder John Collett bought Lots 4/21-23 at the 1841 sale, and afterwards contracted to buy Lots 8-15/24-25 for £333 (21-25 were on the south side of Church Road, which had been projected directly to Bridge Road as part of the reordering of the estate, leaving the old houses in the Folly area isolated to the north to become a classic slum in due course, known as "Little Hell". Joseph Watson, Esq., of Chelsea was the largest purchaser in the 1841 sale, and he leased many of his plots to Collett in 1843.

By Nov. 1844, Collett was in business as a licensed victualler at the *Europa* beerhouse in Church Road, where he had also built three houses in Europa Place and 1-4 Europa Cottages behind. A plot of land 150 by 120ft. on the south side was sold in Nov. 1844 to Eliza Collett,

Fig. 13.4 - Cobb Estate, 1866



widow, Abel Birch, a Knightsbridge undertaker, and John Wormsley, carpenter & builder of Chelsea for £221 (£536/ac.). The residue of the 88-year lease from 1782 was vested in Birch. 39-59 Church Rd. were built in a haphazard fashion, some at the front and some at the rear of the very long plots, typical uncontrolled freehold development. John Collett died in Oct. 1852, when Europa Place was reckoned to be worth £936 (16½ years' purchase on net rents of £56/15/- p.a.). Half an acre in Church Road was worth £150, but the tenant had "left the country without trace". Collett also built 34 four-room tenements in Little Europa Place, let for 93 years at only £70/10/-, estimated net value £1,105, whereas the *Europa* alone was valued at £911. Collett's total estate was £3,309. His son Robert, a carpenter, had already died in Aug. 1852 aged only 34.

Bridge Road, on either side of the new Church Rd., Bridge Road West and Bolingbroke Road along the western side of the Twelve Acres were all rapidly built in the 1840s boom - 170 houses were added to the existing 85 between 1841 and 1851, 100 of them in 1845-6. In Jan. 1842, the Cobbs had sold a 75ft. plot in Church Rd. to Thomas & Robert Jones, two Pimlico builders for £112/5/-, which became 1-5 Church Tce. 23-27 were also built by Thomas Jones. Park Cottage and the Hermitage were built at the end of the gardens of Church Tce., only accessible by archways. 1 Sandwich Tce. (32 Bridge Rd.) was leased by William France of Chelsea to William Nash, a local carpenter and builder, at John Collett's direction in Oct. 1846 (99 yrs.; Michaelmas 1845; £6 p.a.). No.2 was leased in May 1846 to George Friend of Islington. The Revd. John Haswell, Wesleyan Methodist, of Sloane Square, had paid £270 for the sites of 1-9 Church Rd. and 1-3 Providence Place in Bridge Rd. at the 1841 auction. The corner shop was leased to its occupier Thomas Broughton, grocer, in April 1859 (60 yrs.; Christmas 1858; £25) by his mortgagees, all Methodist ministers.<sup>18</sup> A Methodist chapel was built in Bridge Road West, its entrance flanked by two detached houses. Nos.2/4 adjacent are two of the most unusual houses in Victorian Battersea, with flint facades and niches occupied by statues of kings. The substantial area in the centre of the estate was surprisingly not used for housing, but stood vacant until acquired by the School Board in the 1870s. 55-71 Church Rd. were called Pinn's Terrace after John Pinn, who worked here from 1846. Born in Devon in 1826, Pinn eventually went bankrupt in 1862, although he reappeared in 1871 as a carpenter.

Only 24 of the 223 houses in the Jan. 1851 rate book had rental values exceeding £30 p.a., 49 (22%) were worth less than £10, and 82 (37%) £11-20. The population was then 1,350. Riverside industry included Howells timber yards, the Citizen Steamboat Co.'s repair yard and stores (1849), Edward Watson's sawmills, and May & Baker's chemical works. A very strong social difference existed between the villas of Westbridge Rd. and the tiny cottages in courts and alleys north of Church Rd. 17% of households belonged to Classes I and II (cf. Battersea 26%), 45% to Class III (41%) and 38% to Classes IV and V (33%). The only major building after 1851 was the completion of Little Europa Place (25 houses, c.1858). There had been a 30% decline in middle-class households by 1861, matched by an increase in artisans and the semi-skilled. The population was now 1,605.

Walter Besant captured the essentials of the area c.1890: 'Church Road winds considerably and from a private residential street becomes one of busy trade... The enormous plant of the Morgan Crucible Co. banks onto the river and is flanked with engineers' yards,

manufacturing chemists, the Condy's Fluid manufactory, maltsters and millers... Behind the parish wharf is a very poor neighbourhood, dirty and with poor houses, known as Europa Place and Folly Lane... Bridge Rd. West, with a respectable class of house, cuts through a neighbourhood of poor streets'.<sup>19</sup> Booth too singles out 'the small courts of Europa Place' for comment.<sup>20</sup> They had been bad enough to attract the name "Little Hell", but had improved with the coming of the police and the Board School. On Booth's map, this street is shown as AC, but the others, some eighty years old, were classed C. Church Road was D and Westbridge Road E, indicating that the latter had come down in the world since the 1850s. The Bolingbroke Rd. School log books confirm the problems in the slum parts of the Cobb Estate with their accounts of ill-health, absenteeism, bad language and violence.<sup>21</sup>

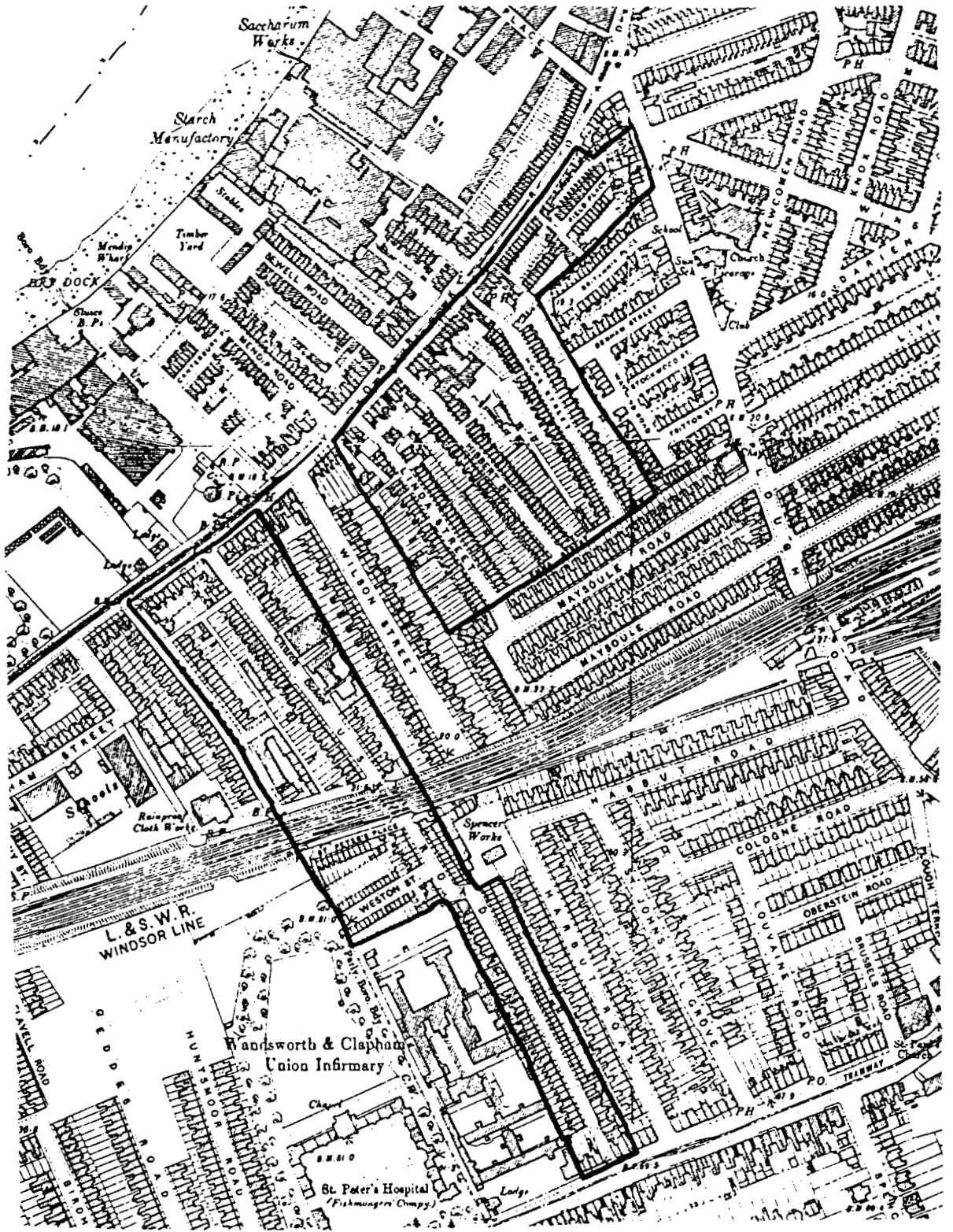
### III - The Carter Estate (Fig. 13.5)

Much the largest Type 6d estate, with 518 houses, this has been the subject of a separate study.<sup>22</sup> The Spencer sales were the catalyst for development. The estate included most of Lots 6-18 of the Third Portion (8 July 1836), "comprising rich meadow, arable and garden ground; several excellent residences... and the 'Nag's Head'". Sitting tenants reaped the benefits of development, denying Spencer, who generally only obtained agricultural prices, the enormous increment in land values. Market garden ground in the open fields fetched £125-150 per acre. On this basis, the Carters would have paid £3,100-3,800 for the land they owned in 1839. The average rental value for such land was £5-6 per acre, suggesting that it was sold at 20-25 years' purchase.

In 1839 the Carters owned almost 42.5 acres in the angle of York Road and Plough Lane, bounded on the west by Wandsworth and on the south by the Richmond Railway of 1846. Apart from five houses, the "Nag's Head" and four cottages, the whole area was given over to market gardening in the 1830s.

A glimpse of the Carters is provided by the Censuses. In 1841, William senior, aged 65 was a market gardener, born in Surrey. He owned a house and five acres, with an annual value of £33. His son, William junior, aged about twenty, owned no land, being a tenant to various landowners. John, aged about fifty, was also a market gardener, born in Surrey. He cultivated ten acres in a block next to the Wandsworth boundary, valued, with his house, at £67/10/- p.a. He died in December 1853, and the land passed to his son Alfred, who lived at Morden. George Carter, born in 1793, had fifteen acres and five houses, which formed the core of the building estate. Its estimated value in 1841 was £123. He died in 1855. Ann St. was named after his daughter, and George St. after himself or his son, born 1834. Thomas Carter, aged about sixty (d. 1842-3), owned two houses and eighty-seven acres of land, most of it in the open fields, with an estimated annual value of £416. Thomas was a son of Daniel Carter, mentioned locally in 1762, and a long-time nurseryman in Fulham (1794-1830).<sup>23</sup> The building history of his estate is quite separate: parts were developed by his son Thomas Daniel (d. 1867). John, George, William senior and Thomas were all born in the two decades or so after 1775. Edwin, John's son, began in horticulture, but became an auctioneer and estate agent from 1856/7, and was active locally for several decades.

Fig. 13.5 - Carter Estate, 1894



In March 1856, Alfred Carter's solicitor, Edward Beckett, declared that John Carter had married Ann Gaines in 1812. They had three sons and five daughters. Ann died in 1840 and John in Dec. 1853, intestate. Alfred then instructed Beckett to divide the property with his brothers and sisters, including terms for payment of two mortgages totalling £1,800. The deeds were completed in October 1854 between Alfred; Thomas Daniel Carter - husband of John's eldest daughter Charlotte (b.1813); Jennet, Barbara and Eliza, all spinsters; and Edwin. Alfred acquired sole ownership of the York Tavern, on which he raised £400 in March 1856 from his solicitor's spinster sisters, Caroline & Rose Beckett, of Bloomsbury. The Inland Revenue valuation of John Carter's property for duty shows ground rents of £64; eight freehold houses let for £119; his original pre-1836 dwelling and three acres worth £24/10/-; interest on a £600 mortgage from Beckett and another of £1,000 from the Revd. Ralph Buckmaster £80; rates & taxes £13, and repairs at 10% p.a. £13, grand total £273/11/-, on which duty of almost £5 was paid.

Building began in York Road in 1838. The first substantial block was Edmund's Place, sixteen houses by Edmund Cock. 1-12 had only 12ft. frontages, and were sold by December 1842 to Thomas Brown for £1,230. In 1867 they were 'in a poor state of repair'. Rents were about 4/6 per week, the rateable value £9. Cock built 13-16 in 1840-1. In 1841, aged about 35, he lived with his family of four and a servant in one of the first houses. He died at the turn of 1841/2. In April 1849 his widow, Anna, sold the "Hope" inn, together with wine vaults, coach house and outbuildings to Young & Bainbridge, the Wandsworth brewers for £1,850, indicating a lucrative trade, despite the close proximity of the old-established "Nag's Head". In May 1861 1-12 Edmunds Place belonged to Frederick Cock, a Lambeth licensed victualler, who was also involved in Union Road (1856), and built eight houses in Hope Street (1857/8).

Most building was along York Road until 1846: George Street appeared in January 1844 (6 houses); Ann Street, April 1846 (3 houses by Jacob Hart); Union Road (north), March 1848 (4 houses belonging to John Carter); Union Road (south) and John Street (then Boundary Road), 1850 - the lease of 4 York Place (361 York Road) refers to the 'proposed new road called John Street'; Hope Street, 1856; Weston Street, off Union Road, 1861, and finally St. Peter's Place, 1862. Thirty-five small cottages were built behind York Road c.1852 in Field Place and Garden Cottages, names evoking a fast-vanishing rural past. In January 1851, 137 houses were occupied, but by the Spring of 1861 there were 353, with nine empty and 14 being built. By 1871 this one estate housed more people than all of Battersea in 1801. With its church, schools, shops and public houses, the Carter Estate was almost a small town in its own right.

George Bass was the largest builder in the 1840s. He was born in Suffolk in and by 1851 employed twelve men. In 1848 he worked in partnership with William Winks, carpenter, born in Middlesex in 1788. Jacob Hart was born in 1787-90 at Bethnal Green, and was active here in the 1840s. (He also developed Hart Street, off Church Rd.) In 1851 and 1871, he was a house proprietor, living on rents.

Most houses were very small, often with 12-13ft. frontages. Only York Road Road, with a mixture of houses, shops and pubs., was significantly different. Rental values were generally £11-15 in the side streets, up to £20-30 in York Road. There was little change over the years as new streets were created, the style of four- or five-roomed brick boxes remaining constant.



Besant wrote,<sup>24</sup> 'from Plough Road to Usk Road on the south side [of York Road] is a region of small streets, badly kept, with poor shops and a poor class of people'. The economic base of the area was north of York Road, which was 'almost entirely taken up with the starch works of Orlando Jones and Price's candle factory'. Watney's gin distillery was just across the Wandsworth boundary. For Booth, the estate was neither particularly poor nor well-to-do. The houses, shops and pubs fronting York Road were "fairly comfortable: good ordinary earnings". Hope Street and Field Place to the rear of York Road are "poor: 18s. to 21s. for a moderate family", while George and Ann Streets are "mixed: some comfortable, others poor", a situation which had obtained since the 1850s. Union Road, Weston Street and John Street were similar.

Apart from drink outlets, service provision lagged behind house building. In late-1852, there were eleven shops and six drinking establishments to serve 800 people. By 1862, when the population exceeded 2,000, there were still only eighteen shops, but nine public/beer houses. St. John's Church was built in Union Road in 1862, 'a cheap brick church... the first attempt to provide for the workers of the factory district of York Road'. It had seats for 750 and cost £3,300. In 1903, the total daily attendance was only 353.<sup>25</sup> Close by were Battersea Chapel (Baptist), Plough Road Baptist Chapel, a Primitive Methodist Church, the Oake Mission and the Railway Mission, all in Plough Road, but their congregations totalled only 700. National Schools for Boys, Girls and Infants were built in 1866-7.<sup>26</sup>

Hope Street, laid out in 1856, was delayed by the depression in building. George Carter had probably planned it in 1851, since he obtained a considerable £1,600 mortgage that July from Richard Thompson.<sup>27</sup> After his death in May 1855, land was auctioned, a change of policy which may reflect dissatisfaction with the slow progress. On 17 March 1857 Charles Gadd, a Vauxhall chemist, bid £155 for a plot on the west side, with 240ft. frontage.<sup>28</sup> In May 1857, it was leased to Joseph Lucas, gentleman of Charing Cross, by Gadd and William Ewood and Edwin Carter, George's executors. The houses which occupied the site were built in 1861 by George Randall. Seven houses (3-9) were built in 1858-9 by William Holland a Kennington ironmonger.<sup>29</sup> In 1865 Holland owned 37 houses in Hope St., and applied to the Battersea Surveyor for the construction of a sewer there, and for the road and footpaths to be put into a proper state of repair,<sup>30</sup> suggesting minimal standards in laying it out only nine years earlier.

The complex transactions relating to 21-39 Hope St. (E) are illuminating. Eight carcasses were leased by W.P. Holland to George Bass in Jan. 1858. They were to be worth at least £100 each. Bass immediately mortgaged them to Holland for £240 plus £460, to be paid in instalments (for each house) - £20 when floorboards laid, ceilings and walls lathed and plastered with one coat; £20 when outhouses complete; £30 on each of two others when roofed; £20 on each of these when floored; £20 when fit for habitation. The lease was assigned by Holland to Miss Emma Shore of Folkestone in Feb. 1859 for £700, plus £206 to discharge the mortgage. By 1877, Holland had moved his business to Hackney, but retained an interest in Hope St., raising £600 from the Perpetual Investment BS on 22 houses.

Western (sic) Street was approved in August 1861. All the houses were built by Robert Wood, carpenter of Lavender Road in 1862. (Wood also built all the houses in Britannia Place in 1867.) On 20 August 1869 George Chadwin,<sup>31</sup> (aged sixty-five, who had lived all his life in

Battersea, being Vestry Clerk from 1829-1859) deposed that the land was sold by Earl Spencer in 1836 to John Carter, who died in December 1853, leaving it to Alfred Carter. It was conveyed to Edwin in October 1854, and laid out for building in 1860-1. A plan for ten houses with 12ft. frontages was approved in January 1863, to be built by Charles Smith in a paved court off Union Road (E). Eight more houses, with 15½ft. frontages were to be erected facing York Road, north of this court.<sup>32</sup>

22-25 Ann St. (W) were leased to Hill & Elworthy in 1851, and assigned to George Wright, a Wandsworth carpenter in Dec. 1853 for £290. He promptly raised £300 from a Tonbridge gentleman. George Carter also sold plots outright, emphasising the lack of any overall plan for the estate. 1/2 Ann St. (E) had unusually large plots (27½ and 30 ft.), and were leased to James Oliver junior in Oct. 1845. The sale of this land in Dec. 1845 for £210 to James Oliver and John Alexander (then boatbuilding in Lambeth) refers to an Act of 1841 "for rendering a release as effectual for the conveyance of freehold estates as a lease and release by the same parties". George Bass built this semi-detached pair as well as the adjacent terrace. A 116x62ft. plot in Ann St. (E) was bought by James Oliver, a Battersea grocer and John Alexander, a Chelsea boatbuilder for £310 in Jan. 1848 (about £1,860/ac.). In May Oliver leased it to Bass & Winks, who built nine houses (3-11). They raised £700 on two mortgages from Thomas Randall, gent., of Holborn in 1848, before assigning the lease to George Gunner of Wimbledon, fruiterer, for £935 in May 1849.

Plots in Field Place were sold in 1856, purchasers including Charles Gadd, the Vauxhall chemist, £243, and William Pentner, architect and surveyor of Hampstead, £50.<sup>33</sup> The plot at the corner of Plough Lane and York Road with two main road frontages fetched £240 (£3,400/ac.). In August 1857, Daniel Carter and Joseph Powell, a solicitor's clerk from Southwark, paid William Ewood (formerly associated with the Carters in Battersea, now a vegetable salesman in Holborn) and Edwin Carter £380 for 1-10 Garden Cottages and two separate shops.

#### **IV: Battersea Park and the Crown Estate**

Paradoxically, the largest building estate in Victorian Battersea was only created after 1846, and arose from the scheme to establish a Royal Park in Battersea Fields. The idea seems to have come from Thomas Cubitt,<sup>34</sup> who saw an opportunity to create a green lung in south-west London before the all-conquering speculative builder covered the area with houses and the rest of the Battersea waterfront became industrialised - Victoria Park fulfilled a similar function in north-east London. Cubitt owned 23 acres here in 1839, but was not interested in building in this low-lying, often marshy area, with its highly fragmented ownership where it would have taken years to amass a substantial estate. Cubitt persuaded the Government to adopt this scheme, and in 1846 an Act was obtained.<sup>35</sup> The project was in the hands of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and James Pennethorne produced plans for a Park with scattered villas and surrounding terraces, very much on the Regents Park model.<sup>36</sup> The Act scheduled 340 acres for purchase 360-plus lots - reflecting the predominance of common field, although seven individuals owned 61% of the land (Fig. 13.6).

Fig. 13.6 - Battersea Park Area, 1846

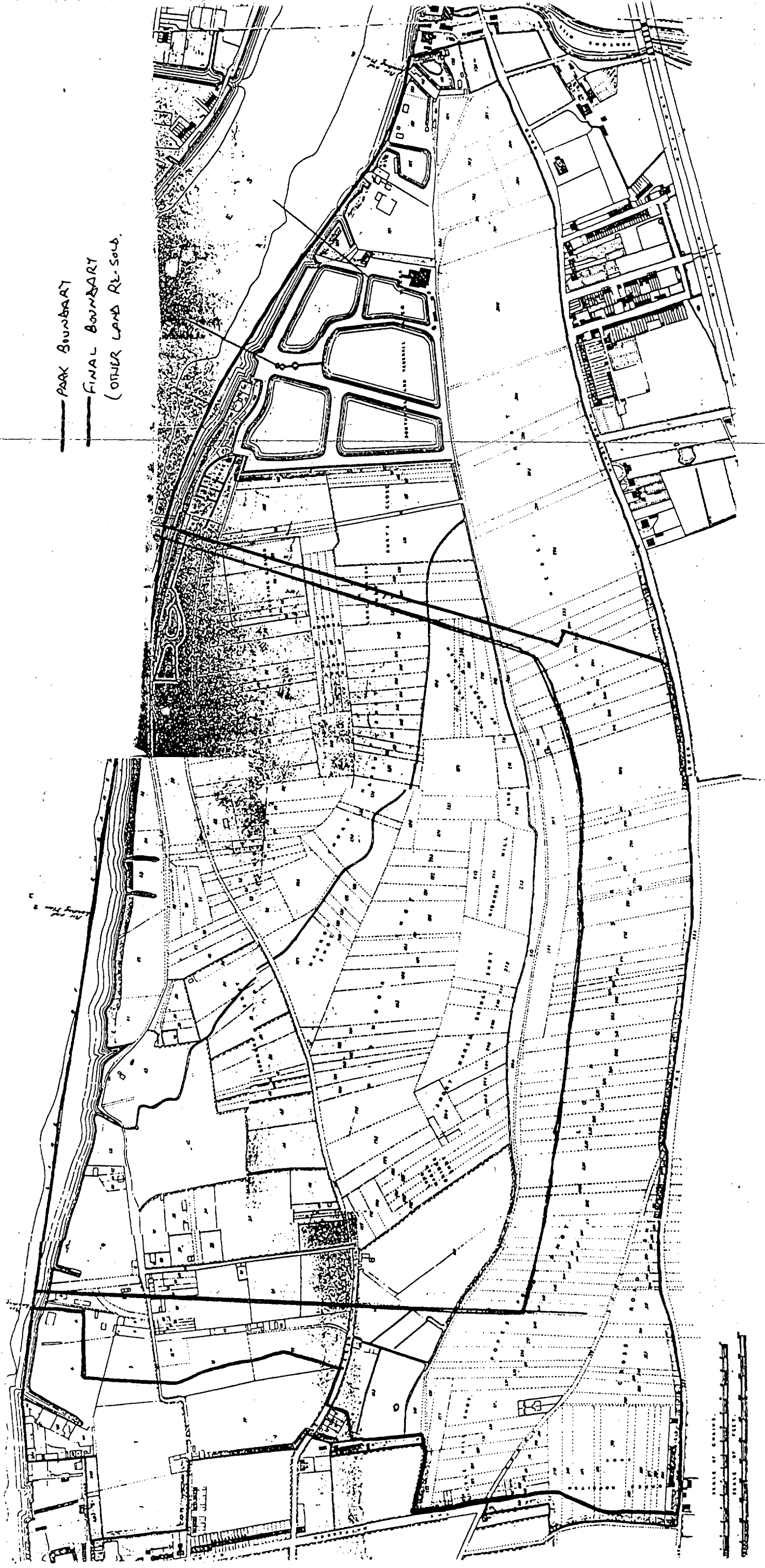


Table 13.2

## Battersea Park - Major Landowners 1839-46

	1839	1846
Edward Pain	31.30	69.10
Thomas Cubitt	23.27	32.96
Thomas Ponton	28.19	28.19
A.D. McKellar	20.41	25.83
R.W. Southby	24.95	24.95
J.C. Park	9.49	14.64
Glebe	11.37	11.37
Total	148.98	207.04

Although Cubitt had acquired ten acres since 1839, he seems vindicated from the charge of buying land speculatively with a view to cashing in on the scheme he proposed.<sup>37</sup> If anybody did this it was Edward Pain, who more than doubled his holding. His land was very scattered, however, and with the possible exception of a strip in Long Hedge Shot (Tithe 650/13; BP Act 301), he seems not to have envisaged building here (see Chap. 8.). Ponton, McKellar and Southby were significant Battersea landowners. John Cornelius Park alone of the seven was actively interested in the potential for building, commencing work in the vicinity of River Wall [later Park(gate)] Road by 1846 (see below), although his houses were eventually demolished.

Only 200 acres were used for the Park. During the slow process of land purchase, levelling and laying-out (the Park finally opened in March 1858), there was a severe downturn in building activity, and the time was clearly not ripe for building. A few grand roads were laid out - Prince of Wales Road on the south, Albert Road on the west, leading to Albert Bridge after 1873, and Victoria Road on the east, leading to Chelsea Bridge which opened on the same day as the Park, and giving access to fashionable areas north of the river, most of them developed by Cubitt, of course. The railway was extended to Victoria in 1860. This and the expansion of the Southwark & Vauxhall Waterworks acquired most of the Crown land east of Victoria Road, nullifying any idea of housing there.

It took another three Acts before the Park finally opened.<sup>38</sup> The final cost was £312,890, of which £246,517 was for land. When the Park opened, 101 acres remained to be developed.<sup>39</sup> (Some of the scheduled land of 1846 was never acquired by the Crown.) So protracted were proceedings that builders had carried on with their work. From 1853 auctions were held as properties were demolished and materials were sold. The Crown paid an average of £800/acre for the land, far less than owners had claimed. The very first case, heard before the Sheriff of Surrey in December 1847 saw Charles Chabot's claim for three acres of Thames bank reduced from £10,212 to £750, despite four surveyors' estimates ranging from £7,115 to £9,499.<sup>40</sup> In a letter to the *Times* Chabot stated that he had filled in the former timber dock with "thousands" of barge loads of earth and stone, but was only allowed £750 for one acre behind the river wall.<sup>41</sup> Charles Lee wrote in support, saying that although Chabot had only paid Earl Spencer £120 for the land scarcely a decade earlier, he had soon been offered £1,000 for it, which had risen to £3,000 by 1844 and £6,000 in 1846. Lee estimated that 520ft. of river frontage at 20 years' purchase was worth £10,400, offset by the cost of embanking (£2,750). Land by Battersea Bridge let for 24-26/- per foot for industrial purposes (at Westminster the figure was 60-100/-), and Lee clearly saw this as the alternative use of the land in the absence of the Park.<sup>42</sup> Edward Pain also had problems. A

jury was called in December 1850 to assess his claim for £94,800 (about £1,375/acre), but he settled for £35,000 (just over £500/acre) before it could be sworn,<sup>43</sup> a very handsome return on his original outlay of £4-6,000.

The *Builder* was no friend to the Commissioners. Late in 1851 it found the 'Battersea wastes still shapeless barrenness'.<sup>44</sup> Despite the optimistic forecast of the *Times* that the Park would be ready by the end of 1850,<sup>45</sup> not until the autumn of 1853 were all claims settled and the final demolitions taking place. The "British Flag" and the "Red House" (for which £11,000 had been allowed) were the last to go before the area was ploughed and manured.<sup>46</sup> One victim of the delay was Henry Hart Davis, a Civil Engineer from Chelsea who set about developing estates with gusto in various parts of Battersea from 1845 (Chap. 10). Unfortunately for him, one was Earl Spencer Place. Perhaps Davis saw the Commissioners as a solution to his problems, for he claimed £4,875 as early as November 1846, sending a plan drawn by Mr. Beeston, a member of the firm which acted for Earl Spencer in the area.<sup>47</sup> The dilatoriness of the Crown was seen as a contributory factor in Hart Davis's bankruptcy in 1850.<sup>48</sup> The *Builder* calls him 'one of those unfortunates affected by the Battersea Park scheme', saying that his underlessees were served with notices not to proceed. A Mr. Budge had actually erected fourteen carcasses and brought a case against the Woods and Forests, claiming compensation, which the judge rejected on the grounds that the Commissioners were acting for the public and were not bound to proceed if they had no funds.<sup>49</sup> All in all, this was a sorry period for developers and builders trying to cash-in on the potential of this area.

Many of the sales of property within the Park were by W.R. Glasier of Charing Cross,<sup>50</sup> himself involved in development locally in the 1850s. In February 1853, 660,000 bricks were sold near the Albert Tavern, probably from a brickfield, rather than demolitions. The Tivoli tea gardens, including a 60-ft. assembly room and two 80ft barges "with houses on top", followed in August, and the Red House and the neighbouring White Mill and cottage in December, yielding around 200,000 bricks. In February 1854, Glasier sold twenty "newly-erected" houses in Park and Albert Roads and Marsh Lane, although some were farm buildings predating 1839. Also sold were fields containing about 700 fruit trees, mostly belonging to the Gaines family. In March/April 1854 the British Flag and its shooting ground came under the hammer, estimated to contain 200,000 bricks. That the Commissioners still envisaged using the whole of their estate is evidenced by the sale of the stock-in-trade of the York Depot Drain Pipe and Tile Works, adjacent to the Southwark Waterworks, in October 1854. This yielded 30,000 tiles, 20,000 firebricks and 300,000 stock bricks to potential developers. In the following month, Glasier sold nine new fourth-rate houses in Carlton Terrace, a new street off Battersea Park Road, developed by Edward Pain as recently as 1852. In August 1855, 1/2 Grove Villas in Surrey Lane and two "newly-erected gothic houses" in Marsh Lane succumbed, producing a further 200,000 stock bricks. The *Hope* tavern lasted until mid-1857, while the materials of the former Albert Tavern, in the north-western corner of the Park were not sold until 1875.

Strangely, the Commissioners took virtually no advantage of the boom in the mid-1860s - a handful of houses were built round the south-western entrance. It was not until 1873 that they started to lease plots. The street plan was only finalised in the 1880s. After 1890, in the wake of





the failure of the Albert Palace, the remainder was given over to blocks of mansion flats, and to non-residential uses such as Battersea Polytechnic. Not until sixty years after the passing of the Act was the area fully developed.

There was no master plan for the estate, new streets were approved piecemeal as and when the Commissioners of Woods & Forests (later Public Buildings & Works) released blocks of land (Fig. 13.7).

Table 13.3

New Streets on the Crown Estate, Battersea Park

Approved	Streets	Applicant
11.10.1878	Anhalt Rd.; Rosenau Rd.	J. Robinson
18.07.1879	Foxmore St.; Kersley St.	Coe & Robinson
02.01.1880	Forfar Rd.	A.B. Mitford
	Meath St.; Warriner Gdns.	Lloyd & Co.
23.01.1880	Kersley Mews	Coe & Robinson/T. Pink
06.08.1880	Alexandra Ave.	-
08.10.1880	Beechmore Rd.; Brynmaer Rd.	E. Turner
28.01.1881	Warriner Gdns. ext'n	A.B. Mitford
20.01.1882	Rosenau Rd.	Robinson/Capt. Williamson
17.02.1882	Warriner Gdns east; Warriner Mews	J.E. Arpin
16.01.1885	Forfar Rd.	F & H Francis
13.03.1885	Warriner Gdns. east	-
20.03.1885	Soudan Rd.; Kassala Rd.	A. Boon
17.04.1885	Kerriemuir Rd.	C.F. Reeks
10.07.1885	Rosenau Cres.	C.F. Reeks
04.02.1890	Lurline Gdns.; Cupar Rd.; Macduff Rd.	H. Griffin/Carden & Mayor
28.03.1893	Cupar Rd. south	A. Boon

Some applications were by the Commissioners' staff (Mitford and Reeks), others by builders (Alfred Boon and Thomas Pink), surveyors (Harold Griffin of Battersea Square, who was acting on behalf of those developing the site of the Albert Palace), and architects (Coe & Robinson). This ad hoc process produced unusual lease terms, adjusted backwards to arbitrary starting dates, and giving different terms for each house or group.

Table 13.4

Crown Estate - Origin Dates for Leases

Streets	Main Lessee	99 Years from
Cupar/Macduff/Meath	Bogue & Allin	Michaelmas 1878
Kersley/Cambridge	Thos. Pink	Christmas 1878
Prince of Wales Dr.	Wm. Iles	Michaelmas 1880
Anhalt/Rosenau	A.H. Williamson	Michaelmas 1881
Soudan/Kassala	Alf. Boon	Lady Day 1885
Brynmaer	Alf. Boon	Michaelmas 1885
Alexandra A	-	Lady Day 1886
Rosenau Rd. South	-	Christmas 1886
Petworth	A.H. Williamson	Midsummer 1890

John Robinson acted for Captain Augustus Hedworth Williamson, who leased a large block in the north-western corner in 1873. In April 1874, Robinson prepared a plan for 161 houses on existing roads and Anhalt and Rosenau Roads (not in fact approved until October 1878).<sup>51</sup> By 1880, Robinson was working in partnership with H.E. Coe, a former pupil of Gilbert Scott.<sup>52</sup> Capt. Williamson, whose address is given as the Army & Navy Club, was a speculator, and plots were leased to builders at his direction. Work finally began in 1882-83 in Anhalt Road, proceeding to Rosenau Road in 1884-86. "Builders" included Samuel Pritchard, a Chelsea joiner (12 Anhalt Rd.,

August 1882, £7); James Clark, painter of Sloane St. (11 Anhalt Rd., July 1883, £7); John Wright, wood broker of Pimlico (15 Anhalt Rd., June 1883, £7). Thomas Wood (12-62 Rosenau Rd, March 1884-Sept. 1885) and William Henry Iles (56/61-67 Rosenau Rd., Feb. 1885-Mar. 1886), both of Battersea, operated on a larger scale, and formed a partnership. Iles obtained £1,000 from Miss Musah Vigoreux of Brixton on the security of 63-67 in June 1885, while Wood mortgaged 50/64 to William Pounsford, a Windsor confectioner in Sept. 1889. Iles also built two villas, 23-5 Prince of Wales Drive, rents £8 and £9 (24ft. fronts): 23 was sold to Richard Harrison of Hayes, Middx., in April 1885 for £700; while 25 was sublet in June 1891 to Robert York, a Bishopsgate builder, for the balance of 89½ years.

Despite the prestige of the estate and the large plots, Williamson granted some leases at virtually nominal rents: e.g. 29 Rosenau Rd. in June 1886 to Henry Iles (95½ yrs.; Lady Day 1885; £2 p.a. (1/9 per ft.));<sup>53</sup> 46 Rosenau Rd. in March 1886 to Iles (94? yrs.; Christmas 1885; £3 p.a.(3/3 per ft.)).<sup>54</sup> Ronald Lyon, builder of most of the houses on the adjacent Freake II estate, took 19/20 Petworth St. from Williamson in July 1890, paying only £1 p.a. Fifteen plots in Rosenau Road (29/39-45/49/51/55/46-54/58/60) were sold by the Commissioners of Works in August 1896 to Henry Russell of Old Jewry Chambers, and Henry Summers & Thomas Barton of Southwark, oil and colour merchants, for £1,075/4/-, about 20 years' purchase.

Thomas Pink's Kersley & Foxmore Sts. and Kersley Mews were very much a "service" area, despite the involvement of Coe & Robinson and Pink's own large houses on the Cadogan estate in Chelsea. The 30ft. mews became a cab yard of the Shrewsbury-Talbot company.<sup>55</sup> The original plan for Pink Road & Mews and Everitt Road was made in April 1879 by W.C. Poole & Jones of Clapham Common, but postponed for some reason.<sup>56</sup> Pink lived in Belgrave Square, and worked with John Tryon of Lincoln's Inn and Edward Hudson of Albert Bridge Road, architect. Hudson leased 24/26 Cambridge Road to James Harris, a Battersea builder in March 1884 for £8 each (8/10 per ft.), and Tryon leased 28 Cambridge Rd. to Pink in September 1886 on the same terms. The Crown itself leased 41 Albert Bridge Road to Pink in August 1879. Despite being a corner site with a main road frontage of 145ft., the ground rent was only £15 (2/1 per ft.), which compares very favourably with the £8 (8/5 per ft.) charged for 6 Kersley St. in July 1881, given their relative status.

Architects Ernest Turner, of 246 Regent St., and John Arpin of 46 Royal Ave., Chelsea worked to the direction of Charles Reeks at the Office of Works.<sup>57</sup> The Albert Palace scheme of 1884 caused Forfar Rd. to be moved further west. (No houses had yet been built on the version approved in 1880.<sup>58</sup>) Alfred Boon, a builder who turned to estate development, started in 1885 with 58 plots in topically-named Soudan and Kassala (originally Dundee, in line with other Scottish names on the estate) Roads. Macduff and Cupar Roads were developed by Boon at the eastern end of the Albert Palace site in 1893.<sup>59</sup>

Most houses in Brynmaer Road were leased to Boon, but the earliest, for 24 (5 Sept. 1884), names James Hilsby of Tooting as the original lessee. He let the house in turn to Boon on 20 Jan. 1885. This indicates a notional start at Michaelmas 1871, and suggests that the Commissioners had planned to start building just as the cycle reached its low point. Hilsby leased 1-17 (cons.) Brynmaer Road from the Crown in 1882, and they were among 34 houses whose



reversions were conveyed to Earl Bathurst and his solicitors in August 1895 for £5,130 (equivalent to 22-23 years' purchase). Boon obtained finance from many sources, including the Revd. William Spencer of Ryde and Howell Edwards of Hyde Park. An early owner occupier was Montague Kemp, club steward, who paid £425 for 45 Brynmaer Road in Jan. 1888.

Charles Bogue and Samuel Allin, the developers of Meath St., were joinery and moulding manufacturers at Nine Elms, although the new streets were approved in the name of Lloyd & Co., who were based near Battersea Bridge and built in Victoria Road in 1879 and Warriner Gardens in 1880. In Nov. 1878, it was reported that Lloyds had bought ten acres on which £500-800 houses were to be built, removing the 'barren aspect of a large tract parallel with Battersea Park'; they had the refusal of more land. The Government 'will not let this land for small tenements'.<sup>60</sup> There were only twenty houses involved, building lasted a few months in 1880. Some houses in Meath St. were built by W. Davies of Chelsea, and others by Fred. Pinnegar of Battersea.

Despite the progress in the 1880s and the early 1890s, or perhaps because of it, there followed a step change in the type and pace of development. After 1892, almost all new dwellings were blocks of mansion flats, more typical of Kensington.<sup>61</sup> The proximity of the park and river were doubtless key factors, as was the chance to make much more per acre in terms of rents and densities. The slightly Bohemian and "godless" image of flats and their inhabitants were noted by Booth.<sup>62</sup>

Table 13.5  
Flat-Building on the Crown Estate 1893-1902

Year	Location	Builder	Total
1893	Prince of Wales Dr.	W.H. Johnson, Wood Green	40
1894	" "	Johnson	30
1894	Albert Bridge Rd.	E. Ridout, Chelsea	14
1894	" "	Ridout	80
1895	" "	Kennedy	10
1895	Lurline Gardens	Alfred Boon, Battersea	80
1895	Prince of Wales Dr.	Johnson	50
1896	" "	J.R. Ward, Battersea	100
1896	Cambridge Rd.	Peacock, Battersea	60
1896	Anhalt Rd.	Ward	10
1897	Prince of Wales Dr.	Johnson	80
1898	" "	Johnson	100
1898	Lurline Gdns.	Johnson	100
1899	Cambridge Rd.	Ward	20
1899	Battersea Bdge. Rd.	Ward	35
1902	Prince of Wales Dr.	Johnson	100
1902	Lurline Gdns.	Johnson	40
		Total	949

This is an impressive achievement, equivalent to eight average-sized estates, 3.70% of all new dwellings 1780-1914. After a slow start in 1893-94, things got under way in earnest, with 140 flats in 1895, 170 in 1896 and 200 in 1898, generally in "blocks" of ten, with a continuous frontage which was then named.

Table 13.6

## Battersea Mansion Blocks

Name	Date	Builder	Flats
Park Mansions	1893	Johnson	40
Albert Palace Mansions	1893-1902	Johnson	150
Norfolk Mansions	1894	Johnson	30
Stafford Mansions	1894	Ridout	14
Albany Mansions	1894	Ridout	80
Cranborne Mansions	1895	Kennedy	10
Cyril Mansions	1895	Johnson	50
Overstrand Mansions	1896	Ward	100
Cambridge Mansions	1896/99	Peacock/Ward	80
Primrose Mansions	1897	Johnson	80
York Mansions	1898	Johnson	100
Connaught Mansions	1899	Ward	35
Prince of Wales Mansions	1902	Johnson	100

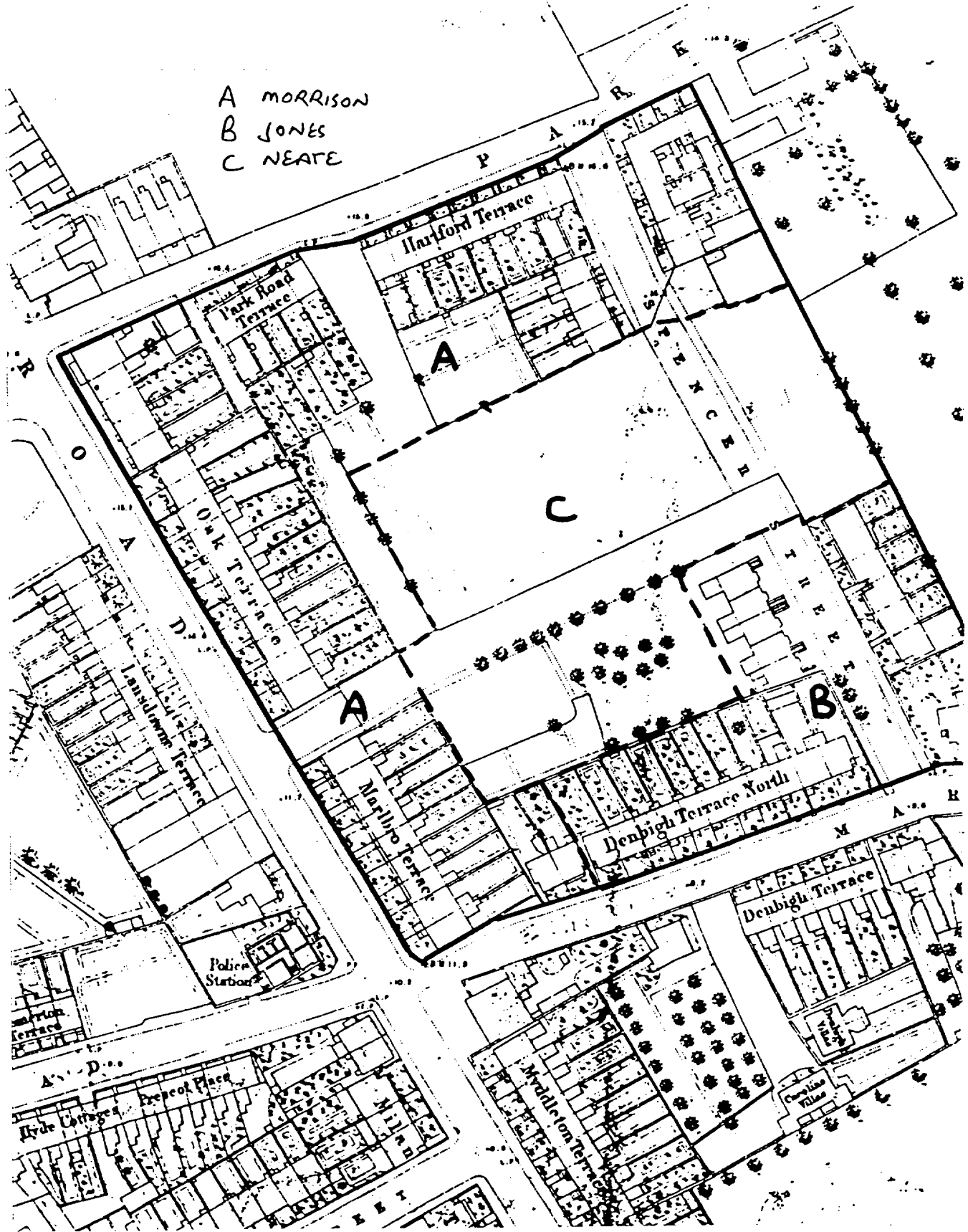
The names, with their emphasis on royalty or nobility, belie the occupiers. Only Albert Palace Mansions, on the site of the exhibition, was local. Overstrand, in Norfolk, was the home of Cyril Flower, also commemorated by Cyril Mansions. The son of Philip Flower, developer of Park Town, he was a Liberal M.P. from 1880, and raised to the peerage as Lord Battersea in 1892. He married Constance, daughter of Sir Anthony de Rothschild, a possible source of finance for some of these blocks. Charles Mills, Lord Hillingdon, a partner in Glyn Mills bank, also lived at Overstrand, suggesting that they too provided some finance.<sup>63</sup>

#### V - Morrison's Brickfield and Its Successors

Few areas of five acres had such a complex history as those which belonged to John Constable in 1839 (TA 576-7). His house, garden and meadow lay in the angle between Bridge Road and Marsh Wall (later Park(gate)) Road, far enough from riverside industry to retain a pleasant prospect of market gardens and orchards, and close enough to the future Park to maintain this status. This idyll was soon shattered, however, as speculative developers of small villas and terraces began their onslaught on both sides of Bridge Road. It was not affected by the Battersea Park Act of 1846, when it was owned by William Morrison of Streatham. He demolished the house and turned the grounds into a brickfield, no doubt making good profits from the builders on nearby estates.

Morrison, too, soon began to build along the key frontages of existing roads, while continuing to exploit the brickearth in the centre. In November 1845, he leased three plots, 16 by 67ft., to James Ullathorne, a Brixton plumber (84 yrs.; Mid-1845; £5 p.a.), who had erected 3-5 Park Road.<sup>64</sup> They were immediately mortgaged to Frederick Chinnock, partner in a well-known firm of auctioneers. In May 1861, the leases were assigned to Stephen Neate when he acquired the rest of the estate. In April 1846, Morrison leased 6-10 Park Road to William Powell, also of Brixton (84 yrs.; Michaelmas 1845; £5).<sup>65</sup> In Bridge Road, Morrison developed an impressive three-storey terrace in the style of the period (stock brick with limited stucco decoration and rooflines concealed by a parapet). 1-9 Oak Terrace were leased to William Everett, builder, of Bridge Road in April 1846 (83 yrs.; Christmas 1844; £5). Morrison laid out Spencer Street down the eastern side of the estate, although it did not reach Marsh Lane under his ownership. Here he leased 7/9 to Henry Brown of Kennington, builder, in October 1846 (84 yrs.; Lady Day 1846; £5).<sup>66</sup>

Fig. 13.8 - Morrison's Estate, 1866



Brown also took 1-5/11-15 to make a terrace of eight. Under Morrison, Marlborough Terrace in Bridge Rd. completed this frontage by 1850. Gaps had been left for two new streets, but these had to await a change of owner.

Morrison sold out in 1855. The southern and central parts (1.7 acres) were acquired by local builder Robert Jones. He developed Denbigh Terrace North along Marsh Lane, leasing 1 to William Stevens, a Pimlico builder (99 yrs.; Lady Day 1855; £4/13/-).<sup>67</sup> In 1866 Peveril Street was approved.<sup>68</sup> Miss Hannah Jones leased 5 Peveril St. to George Collis, builder, in Sept. 1870 (99 yrs.; Lady Day 1870; £4). 4 Caroline Place Marsh Lane was not leased by Miss Mary Jones of Chelsea to George & Ambrose Collis until Nov. 1881 (99 yrs.; Mid-1881; £5/10/-).

Stephen Neate, gent., of Battersea Fields acquired some of the existing houses on Morrison's estate and the balance of the land in 1855 and 1861. He was not a newcomer to development, being associated with builder John Hunt at Carlton Place in Battersea Field in 1852.<sup>69</sup> Neate completed Spencer St., Peveril St. and laid out Ashurst St. in 1867, adding 51 houses on 1.18 acres. He died on 5 June 1869, and was succeeded by his sons Stephen and John. The standard terms for leases were 99 years from Midsummer 1865, with relatively low ground rents of £2/10/- to £5 p.a.

Many of the builders were active elsewhere in Battersea, notably George Foot, David Cross and George Collis. Collis and William Stevens worked indiscriminately on both the Jones and Neate developments. Collis assigned 11/13 Ashurst St. to William Belford a Chelsea butler for £510 in July 1869. He raised two mortgages on 17 - £250 from the 1st. Pimlico Mutual Benefit BS in 1869 and £290 (9? shares) from the Temperance BBS in 1878. Charles Lacy paid £270 for 5 Ashurst St., and John Ragge £600 for 9/11 Spencer St. In Aug. 1868, David Cross assigned 4-8 to Charles Davis, grocer of Westbourne Grove, for £735 (£244 each).

It took almost 25 years, three owners and at least a dozen builders to cover John Constable's land with a great variety of houses. It is changing ownership, however, rather than timescale which distinguishes this area from many of similar size elsewhere in the parish.

## **VI - The Pocock Estate**

Normally, little enough would be known of William Wilmer Pocock's long life (1813-1899), which spanned the Victorian era. Few men, who were not architects or developers of the front rank, have left more than passing references in the sources. Pocock, however, an active Methodist lay preacher, Liberal and one-time Master of the Carpenters Company, set down his autobiography for the edification of his children and grandchildren. A five-volume typescript was prepared by Margaret Powel, a great-granddaughter, in the 1960s (copy in the RIBA Library). It provides vital information about the processes of creating suburbia, and not least some of the motivations of an typical Victorian entrepreneur.<sup>70</sup>

Pocock was born on 14 December 1813 at Knightsbridge, the son of William Fuller Pocock, architect. He was educated at Brompton and the Brewers Company School before becoming a student at King's College, London, taking one of their first degrees in 1833. He chose his father's profession in preference to the Church late in 1832. Pocock joined the newly-founded professional body in 1834, becoming ARIBA in 1837 and FRIBA in 1846. His father refused to

take him into partnership in 1838, but he had already begun to work on his own account.

In November 1840, Pocock married Sophia, daughter of Samuel Archbutt, a Knightsbridge neighbour and substantial builder, who briefly worked in Battersea in the mid-1840s. In 1855 he was a member of St. Margaret's Westminster Vestry, and of Westminster District Board of Works. In 1880 he became a Wandsworth vestryman and served two terms on the Wandsworth Board, although he did not attend regularly, he worked on the Wandsworth Local Committee. Between 1879 and 1881, Pocock served as an Overseer of the Poor in Wandsworth, observing that three-quarters of all poverty was caused by drink. He stood as a Liberal for Guildford at the 1865 election, because of his desire to see more Wesleyans in Parliament. He came third with 228 votes, opposed by the Tories and the clergy. He stood again at the 1866 by-election and polled 301 votes. Despite being asked several times, he did not stand again.

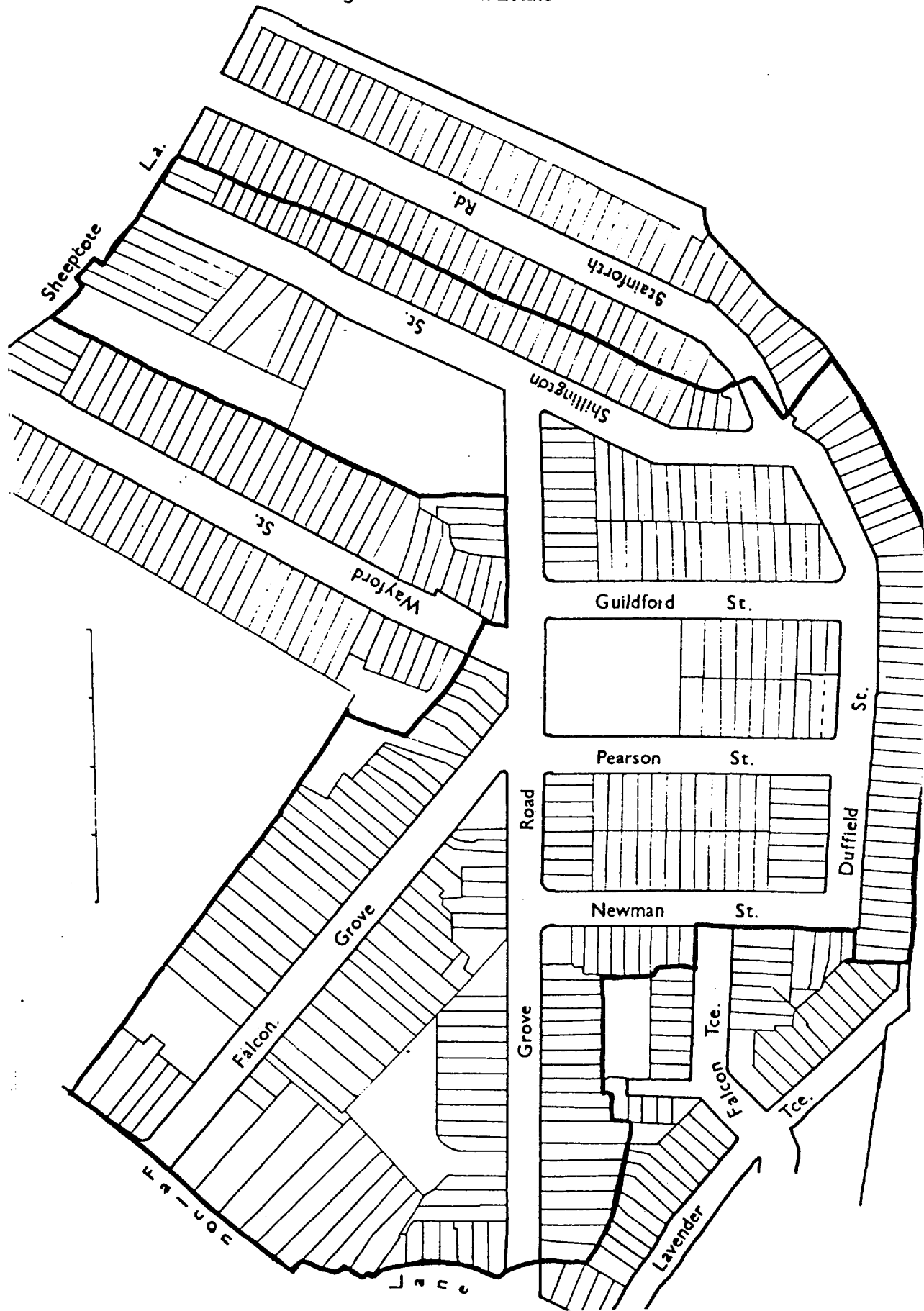
In the early 1870s, Pocock was seeking a house in Wandsworth. He rejected several before finally seeing a board at The Lawn, East Hill. The adjacent ground had already been bought for development by a freehold land company. Clearly resentful that anybody else's speculation should impinge on his privacy, Pocock purchased the offending plots for £1,500, leased the house and fixtures for £200 p.a. He bought the freehold for £4,000 in 1872-3. By 1886 he was discontented with The Lawn, and saw a house, later Guildowne, vacant and for sale. The Lawn was sold to Henry Corsellis for £10,000, and rapidly developed. Pocock died at Tunbridge Wells on 18 September 1899, and was buried in Wandsworth Cemetery.

Pocock's first involvement in Battersea came in 1844, a building peak in London, when bricks 'rose to a fabulous price'. Demand was such that they were even coming from Hull by sea, and red bricks were introduced into London for the first time (sic), alongside the traditional yellow-brown stocks. Pocock saw an advertisement for land containing brickearth for sale in Battersea in the *Builder*, recently founded by his schoolfriend, architect George Godwin.<sup>71</sup> His father told him that he would not be able to buy the land and make bricks, but that he, Pocock senior, could. W.F. bought the land and they agreed to a fifty:fifty division of proceeds, W.W. paying a royalty and sharing the cost of backfilling. The brickfield lay east of Falcon Lane and work began late in 1844. The bricks were not very bright, most going to W.F. for his Chelsea estate, but in 1845 W.W. took his half. W.F. died in 1849, and W.W. took the brickfield at a valuation. His income was then about £1,000 p.a., mostly from leasehold houses subject to mortgages.

It did not take Pocock long to realise the potential for erecting houses once the brickearth had been removed and the pits backfilled. In March 1852, he agreed to take two building plots in Falcon Grove from Thomas Carter and to purchase a further 7.75 acres at £330/acre.<sup>72</sup> Their relationship had its ups and downs. When several houses had been built, Carter wished to claim possession of not less than £1,000 worth of property, but on being paid the rent due by Pocock, he waived the claim. Part of the original land was sold back to Carter and Pocock acquired the freehold of the later Shillington Street in exchange for some of the roadway of Wayford Street.

The land Pocock bought in 1852 was equipped with large sheds for making hollow bricks under licence from a Mr. Roberts. Unfortunately, the clay was not good enough, and although some of the bricks were used in Prince Albert's model cottages at Windsor, the trial was abandoned at a loss.<sup>73</sup> In 1860 the West London Extension Railway compulsorily purchased 3½

Fig. 13.9 - Pocock Estate



acres for £4,600 (c.£1,300 per acre, four times what Pocock had paid). This left him with most of the land and 'put £1,000-1,500 in my pocket'. Another windfall came from selling 0.5 ac. for £800 to the Parish for Christ Church schools, clearly no sentiment here! Some of the remaining land was let for building at £120/acre p.a., in streets such as Falcon Grove and Grove (Este) Road. Bricks were made until the late 1870s, and Pocock estimated that in thirty years he had cleared not less than £500 p.a. profit, with only one or two hours attention a week. The brickworks foreman for many years was John Merritt, born at Egham in 1831 and describing himself as 'builder and contractor' by 1881.<sup>74</sup> The scale of activity may be judged from the fact that seventeen men were employed in 1861, although this had fallen to six by 1871. Six men, including a "clay digger" were still employed in 1881, just before brickmaking ended. In 1882 the School Board paid £2,362 for the site of Shillington Street School.<sup>75</sup>

In 1878 Pocock purchased 0.5 ac. from Mr. [Henry] Hunt for £500. This was a narrow strip adjacent to Guildford Street and was designed to provide sufficient depth to build houses once the road had been realigned. By Christmas 1882 this had been achieved, and Pocock was making £128 p.a. from the ground rents, pushing the value of the land to at least £2,500 (assuming twenty-years purchase). Pocock's method was to advance money and bricks to speculative builders and charge 5%, and in doing so cleared £30-40,000 from the Falcon Brickfield during its life. His remark 'in helping others I helped myself' needs no comment.<sup>76</sup>

Pocock formed a partnership with Messrs. Corfe and Parker in 1865. A seven-year agreement was reached, each giving £250 and sharing the profits, Corfe and Parker to do all the work.<sup>77</sup> Problems soon arose, however, as they were poor attenders at the office. Pocock complains of the risk of 'losing the fruits of decades' because of 'two young men with little to lose'. In January 1872, Corfe and Parker filed for dissolution of the partnership, although proceedings dragged on for three years, costing Pocock £7-800, together with £1,000 lost business. Corfe later alleged that Arthur Goldsmith, a nephew of Pocock, had fomented strife between the partners. The agreement was dissolved in July 1872. In April 1867, Pocock, Corfe and Parker had applied to the MBW for ten new streets on the Colestown Estate (see Chap. 9).

On the land transferred back to Thomas Carter, Pocock had begun to build to villas using bricks called "burs",<sup>78</sup> which resulted in a case being brought by the District Surveyor at Wandsworth Crown Court. It was dismissed. Relations with neighbouring estate developers were not always harmonious. In 1878, Alpheus Morton, architect and surveyor of Chancery Lane began to develop Stainforth Street on land for which he had paid £3,000.<sup>79</sup> He wanted to buy land from Pocock for an exit, for which £400 was demanded. Morton was a member of the District Board and used that body to assert a right to an old occupation road and to pull down part of Pocock's boundary wall. Pocock still got his money, however, and wryly observed that in this case a public road could only be approached over a private one.<sup>80</sup>

Pocock's 285-house estate is typical of larger developments in Battersea, taking more than thirty years and spanning three peaks of the cycle. Before 1845, most of the land was market garden. Most belonged to Thomas Carter, senior (d.1842), who was followed by his son Thomas Daniel (b.1815). They do not seem to have been interested in the development potential, despite the opening of the Southampton Railway, and the activity of other members of the family off York

Road (see above).

Building proceeded from west to east. By 1865, the brickmaking sheds and kilns were located in the vicinity of Pearson Street. The first houses, leased by Pocock from T.D. Carter were in Falcon Lane and Grove, and were built during 1852. Of the former 75-105 survive, ranging from semi-detached stucco villas with characteristic iron-topped verandahs of the 1850s to a terrace of shops called South Crescent.<sup>81</sup> Progress was slow in the depressed 1850s, and there were only 52 houses by 1861.

The five years from 1876 were the most productive of the whole period, with 100 new houses covering the last of the brickfield. The laying out of Shillington St., Lawn St. and the extension of Duffield St. to the east was a complicated business. Pocock produced a plan in May 1878, which was followed by four more in July, and yet more in September and October (by which time Lawn St. had been renamed Lubeck St.). Shillington St. and Duffield St. were approved in December 1878, although the layout was altered to maximise the number of houses in May 1880.<sup>82</sup> With the exception of the earliest phase, when leases were issued by Carter, Pocock is always the lessor

Leases issued by Carter were for 99 years, but Pocock favoured 75/80 year terms from a wide variety of dates. His ground rental policy was on the low side, usually about 5/- per foot. Despite his obvious influence on the first generation houses in Falcon Rd. and Falcon Grove, the design of most was severely plain, owing more to the speculative builders' ideas of what would let, especially Duffield St., where the same brick boxes with rooflines concealed behind parapets were being put up in 1880 as had been the case fifteen years earlier. They would not have been out of place in New Town in the 1810s. In May 1868 1-8 and 10-18 Duffield St. were auctioned, built by John Pearson and "just finishing" and said to be worth £390 p.a. in rents.<sup>83</sup>

Booth classified most of the Pocock Estate as D (Poverty and comfort mixed), and Duffield St. somewhat surprisingly as E. The houses and shops along Falcon Rd. were EF, essentially lower middle-class.

## VII - Alfred Heaver

Alfred Heaver (1841-1901) made a significant impact, not only on the Battersea townscape, but further afield. He was born in Lambeth on 10 February 1841, the fourth child of George Heaver, carpenter (1814-92). In the 1841 Census the family were at 10 George St., in neighbouring Camberwell. Nothing in his origins or early life suggests that Alfred would do other than follow in the footsteps of his father as one of thousands of building craftsmen. He married three times: (1) Isabella Luetchford, a baker's daughter from Tulse Hill, just before his twenty-second birthday, when he was described as a carpenter; Isabel (sic) died in June 1874, aged 34 and Heaver married (2) her younger sister Patience in July 1875, when both he and his father were described as builders; Patience died in 1887, and in December 1888, Alfred married (3) Fanny Tutt of Nettlebed, Oxon. By now he was a contractor, and his father a gentleman. Heaver had eight children (two sons and six daughters), of whom Alfred went into the legal profession, into which two daughters also married. Heaver was murdered by his brother-in-law on the way to church from his country house at Westcott, Dorking in August 1901,<sup>84</sup> cutting short a career which



would doubtless have continued with the development of more estates in south-west London. A hundred employees were said to have attended his funeral, showing just how far he had come.<sup>85</sup>

Alfred Heaver first appeared in Battersea in 1869 in partnership with Edward Coates (b. Lambeth 1845), an association that lasted until Heaver's death.<sup>86</sup> In 1871, they lived in adjacent houses 2/3 Salcott Road which they had built on the Conservative Land Society's Bolingbroke Park Estate. Until 1878, Heaver remained a small-scale builder, with only forty or so houses to his name (about five per year). Thereafter, however, he began to buy land for development, and for the rest of the century was a significant initiator of estates, not only in Battersea, but also in Fulham, Balham and Tooting, as well as continuing to build significant numbers of houses. The source of the capital for this sudden change is unknown. Although he remarried in 1875, his second wife was the sister of his first, both daughters of Lambeth baker. John Luetchford. Heaver was elected to the District Board of Works in Nov. 1879, which 'must have given satisfaction to his numerous friends and supporters.... (We) hope he will oppose jobbery in placing contracts' (implying that this was not an unusual phenomenon).<sup>87</sup>

The scale of his operations progressively increased, with new estates being developed almost annually from 1879:

Table 13.7  
Estates Developed by Alfred Heaver 1878-1898

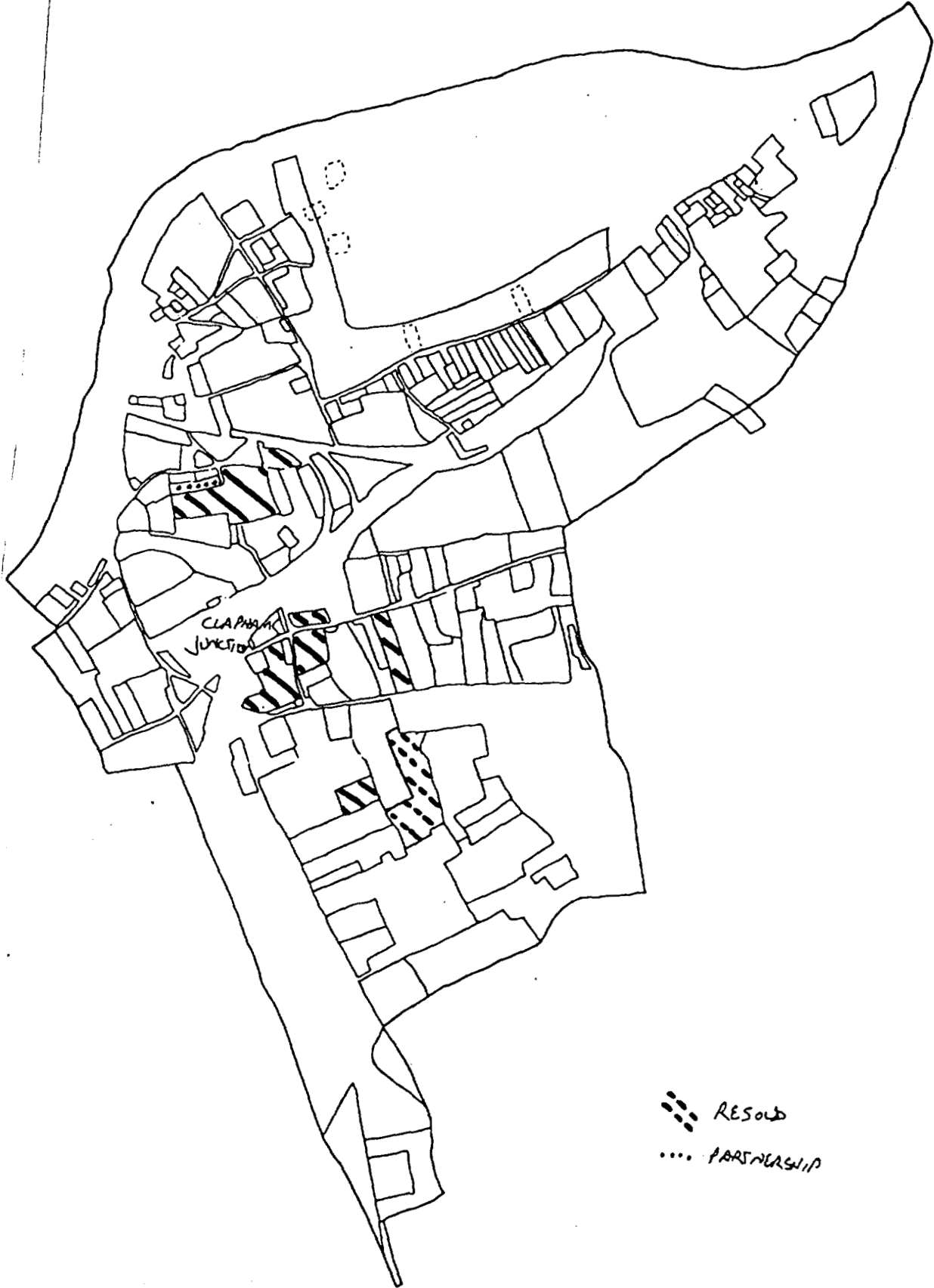
Name	Date	Houses
Belleville Road	1878	70
Falcon Park	1879	587
Fulham Park	1880	405
Heaver Park	1881	resold
Lavender Sweep	1881	145
Rose Park, Tooting	1883	192
Trinity Road, Tooting	1884	103
Shrubbery	1885	52
St. Johns Park	1885	225
Chestnuts	1887	78
Hyde Park, Fulham	1887	388
Balham	1888/92	1262
Hoyle Road, Tooting	1895	253
Totterdown, Tooting	1898	263
	Total	4023

Sources: M.B.W./L.C.C. Minutes; District Surveyors' Returns; O.S. 25in. Plans.

Heaver and Coates were responsible for building at least 730 houses, 530 of them in Balham and Tooting in the 1890s. The ground rents alone would have made Heaver wealthy, but he did not retain them long, selling off blocks of property on earlier developments to finance land purchases, street and sewer construction on the later ones. The Prudential Insurance Company bought three parcels, totalling 355 houses/shops: St. Johns Hill Park (1886-90), £47,610; Chestnuts (1888-91), £30,917; Shrubbery (1888-94), £23,653. These sales raised £102,180 capital over eight years (almost £290 per property).<sup>88</sup> At the time of his death, Heaver's estate was valued in excess of £625,000, about £33m. at 1994 prices.<sup>89</sup>

Heaver's first venture as a developer involved the eastward extension of Belleville and Wakehurst Roads from Northcote Road to Webbs Road [144]. The plans were by William Poole, surveyor, of 22 Belleville Rd., whom Heaver was to employ many times over the years, and were

Fig. 13.10 - Alfred Heaver's Estates



approved in April 1878.<sup>90</sup> (Poole had worked for the CLS, and may have introduced Heaver to the idea of development. Charles Bentley, of London and Wandsworth, was an architect, who worked for Heaver and other developers in Battersea between 1880 and 1900.) The similar style of the houses on many Heaver estates is noteworthy and probably reflects his ideas, together with those of his surveyors. Between 1886 and 1890 there was a change in this basic style, reflecting the transmission of "Queen Anne" ideas to the realms of mass housing. No record survives of the price paid for these 4¼ acres, which had been part of the CLS estate. It would have been at least £2,000, a considerable outlay for a small builder, on top of which making the streets and drains would have added £700-1,000. The seventy houses were semi-detached, with generous 20-21ft. plots. Plot 775 (49 Wakehurst Rd.) was let to William Williams, builder, of Battersea Park, in Jan. 1879 (99 yrs.; Lady Day 1878; GR £6). At that rate, Heaver would have made £420 p.a., hardly sufficient enable him to embark on his next, much more substantial, scheme in 1879.

Falcon Park [153], nineteen acres astride Falcon Road, was laid out in three blocks by Poole and approved in May 1879.<sup>91</sup> There were variations to the names of the streets - many of which commemorated the current Afghan War - not least the substitution of Rowena for the "politically incorrect" Zulu Crescent.<sup>92</sup> Two names not adopted may contain a clue to the sources of finance for Heaver's developments. Ashdown Rd. after John Ashdown, Secretary and Surveyor of the CLS who planned the extension of Belleville and Wakehurst Roads (under different names) in 1875.<sup>93</sup> Heaver may have agreed to take this last portion of the estate, with funds came from the CLS to get him started. Hiscox Square probably commemorates Joseph Hiscox, contractor. It is possible that some of the money required by Heaver to purchase and lay out Falcon Park came from him- they were both members of the District Board.

Falcon Park was part-open field and part-enclosed in 1839, in various hands. Henry Fownes owned 7-8 acres, some of which was bought by the WLER in 1861. The Fownes family capitalised on the resale of surplus land and enclosure to build up a more substantial estate, partly occupied by their glove factory. It was probably here that a crop of mangelwurzels was advertised for sale in 1873, "near Clapham Junction and Falcon Lane".<sup>94</sup> On 24 March 1879, Edward Fownes reached an agreement with Heaver to grant leases for 99 years from Christmas 1878, including the factory site, but not the greenhouses and forcing pits east of Falcon Road. During the summer of 1879, Heaver allowed some of the land to be used by charitable and other societies for fêtes and sports ('a recent Foresters' function had to be cleared by aid of the police').<sup>95</sup> Some land came from the Carter family, probably Phase 2, demand being very strong on Phase 1. Poplar House was demolished in late 1880, 'only a few months since it was a rural oasis amidst bricks and mortar'.<sup>96</sup>

Phase 1 comprised 178 lots on 6½ acres, Phase 2 234 lots on 8 acres west of Falcon Road and Phase 3 62 lots north of Sheepcote Lane. Houses were to be worth at least £250 (£350 in Falcon Rd. and in Candahar Rd. facing Christ Church). Lot 1/82 at the junction of Patience and Khyber Rds. was earmarked for a £700 hotel, but this was never built. Some leases were issued by Fownes at Heaver's direction (e.g. 35 Tugela Rd. in Dec. 1879, GR £5), but most are in the latter's name alone. Timed to catch the greatest surge of building activity in Battersea, forty builders soon covered this last vacant area north of Clapham Junction. In 1879 174 houses were

built in eight months, followed by 375 in 1880 - seven per week. The balance followed over four years. 56% were built by ten men, many of whom went on to build elsewhere in Battersea in the 1880s, including Heaver's estates.

Table 13.8  
Falcon Park - Principal Builders

Name/Origin	1879	1880	1881	1883	1884	Total
John Jenkins, Walworth	4	49				53
Alfred Heaver, Battersea	4	24	21			49
William Rowe, Clapham/Batt.	6	36				42
Edward Nixon, Clapham	6	32				38
Daniel Pitt, Battersea	16	13		4		33
Henry Mundy, Battersea	8	18			1	27
George Frost, Clapham	6	19	1			26
Thomas Spearing, Clapham	7	14				21
Richens & Mount, Battersea	5	10	5			20
Walker & Malenoir, Clapham	12	8				20
Total	74	223	27	4	1	329

The tendency for builders to operate at the suburban frontier is notable, with five of the ten from Clapham. This is the only Heaver estate in Battersea where he built a substantial number of houses himself.

Heaver adopted a policy of large-scale sales early in his career as a developer, showing that capital could not always be raised externally. In January 1880, he sold 28 houses in Tugela Rd. to George Mason, printing-ink manufacturer of Fleet Street for only £2,800 (20 years' purchase). Builders, of course, also needed to raise cash, especially when they were operating on a much larger scale than usual. Edward Nixon obtained £440 on 22/4 Heaver Rd. from the United Friendly Societies BS in May 1881, but used private contacts to mortgage no.6 for £200 to Mrs. Ellen Hannah, a Streatham widow, in April 1880. 3 Heaver Rd. was sold to Mrs. E. Copeland of Wayford St. for £280 (Apr. 1880) and 8/12 Musjid Rd. to Wesley York, a Wandsworth grocer for £500 (Dec. 1885).

Heaver purchased the Chatto Estate west of Clapham Common in late-1880/early-1881 and Poole drew up plans for a five-street layout called Heaver Park in March 1881.<sup>97</sup> These were never presented to the MBW for approval and the estate was resold. Perhaps Heaver overreached himself with Falcon Park, although he immediately proceeded with the Dives Estate (Lavender Sweep). Thomas Dives was the owner of Church Road flour mill, born in 1798 at Lingfield in Surrey, and employing 32 men in 1851. Poole produced the plans for this in April 1881, although they were twice amended before approval in June, and it seems that the sale was not completed until that month, when the local press reported that some of the land was being used by the DBW to widen St. Johns Rd. (Heaver of course being a member at that time).<sup>98</sup> These six acres had long frontages to Lavender Hill and St. Johns Road and Heaver lined both with substantial three-storey shops, the first stage in transforming a hitherto rural area into the commercial centre of Battersea, a good half mile south of the old High St. The corner site was occupied by Messrs. Arding & Hobbs's department store, which expanded to absorb many of the adjacent shops and all the houses on the north side of Ilminster Gardens. (The site had been canvassed as suitable for the new Vestry Hall in the early-1880s, but, as with a similar idea for the Falcon Rd./Battersea Park Rd. corner - also owned by Alfred Heaver - commerce prevailed.<sup>99</sup>)

With the downturn in the building cycle, progress was much slower here than at Falcon Park: 1881 - 29 houses; 1882 - 64; 1883 - 34; 1884 - 19. Only eight builders worked here, of whom Thomas Spearing (the whole block between Ilminster Gdns. and St. Johns Rd.) and John Rowe (21 in Lavender Hill and the east side of Ilminster Gdns.) each built 40 houses, about half in each case with shops, all substantial three-storey buildings. Frederick Bailey of East Dulwich built a block of 24 fronting Lavender Sweep and Bleisho Rd. John Wyatt of Battersea took the whole period to build 19 houses on the south side of Beauchamp Rd. Leases were for 99 years from Lady Day 1881, with high ground rents, even for house plots. 8 Bleisho Rd. was let to Bailey in June 1882 for £8 p.a. and 11 to William Rowe in Nov. 1884 for the same amount (9/1 per ft.). The shops built by John Rowe in Lavender Hill were let to a variety of people, some of whom were tradesmen, such as Charles Anderson, a Pimlico bookseller. The prestigious corner with the Sweep went to Ignatius Pollaky for £12/12/- p.a. (14/3 per ft.), most of the rest were let for £10/10/- (11/- per ft.).<sup>100</sup>

In August 1885, Charles Bentley's plan for the Shrubbery Estate (owned in 1839 by George Scholey, TA 421-2) was approved.<sup>101</sup> The substantial house overlooking the Common survived, having been acquired by Canon Erskine Clarke, Vicar of Battersea for use as a school. St. Barnabas Church was built in front of it in 1898.<sup>102</sup> No building took place until 1887. The houses in Lavender Gardens were very large, mostly double-fronted, albeit terraced. They were in the same style as those on the Dives Estate, with prominent dog's-tooth moulding above the ground floor. (Common on Heaver's estates, but also widespread in south and south-west London 1875-90.) They were faced with red, rather than stock bricks as hitherto. Despite their size, these houses were built rapidly - 40 in 1887 and 12 in 1888. Only four builders worked here: John Rowe (10); John Heaver (19), James Stone of Walthamstow (20) and Thomas & Co. (3). Leases were for 99 years from Christmas 1886. 37 Lavender Gardens was leased to Stone in June 1888 for £18/10/-, and mortgaged back to Heaver in July 1888 for £500. A deed of partition made on 20 March 1893 between Alfred Heaver and his sons Alfred and George allocated 23 properties on this estate to George, with ground rents from £14/10/- to £18/10/-. Most unusually, the shops in Lavender Hill attracted lower rents than some of the houses. These properties were subject to £8,475 worth of mortgages at 5%. (In this deed, 521 houses and shops in Battersea, Fulham and Tooting were mortgaged for £135,691 (average £260.44), interest payments £6,784/11/- p.a.)

Alfred Heaver's next venture was also laid out by Charles Bentley, and approved in April 1886.<sup>103</sup> St. Johns Park contained 225 houses, including parades of shops along the west side of St. Johns Rd. and a few in St. Johns Hill. In 1839, all but a small part of this land had belonged to Matthew Whiting, and although he disposed of these eight acres to Heaver, he continued to live at Lavender Lodge opposite, entirely surrounded by the busy shopping street and houses on three sides until his death in 1903. Whiting had paid Earl Spencer £20 in 1866 for licence to build a road across the common (Boutflower Rd.), which formed the western boundary of the estate. Possibly because of its position and lower status, St. Johns Park was all but finished before work began at the Shrubbery. More than sixty houses were built before formal approval by the M.B.W.: 1885 - 67; 1886 - 100; 1887 - 26; 1888 - 23. John Rowe was by far the most important builder (68, including 28 shops and all 24 houses on the south side of Aliwal Rd.), followed by A. Bennett of

Tulse Hill with 43, William Pierce (28) and John Ashford (23). These four accounted for 75%, but the rest involved only five other builders. Leases were for 99 years from Mid-1885, with grounds rents in the £7/10/- to £8/8/- range in the side streets (8/6-9/5 per ft.). Edward Coates took 5-9 Comyn Rd. in Aug. 1886, mortgaging them in April 1888 for £800 to Canon Warburton of Winchester.<sup>104</sup> In 1893, George Heaver received 20 houses here, subject to mortgages of £6,385. In December 1887, even before St. Johns Park was completed, Heaver sold a large part to the Prudential for £29,687/10/-, of which £2,150 went to lawyer John Steward of the Temple. Heaver was about to embark on his most ambitious project, the Balham estate, and would have needed capital urgently for land purchases and service provision.

Heaver's sixth and final Battersea development was the Chestnuts estate on the north side of Lavender Hill, opposite Lavender Sweep. In 1839 it belonged to William Mellersh (TA 410-12). Part was taken for the LNWR goods yard in 1869. It was the home of Mrs. Stirling the actress before development, and the core of the house still stands. Bentley was once more the surveyor, and his plans were approved in April 1887.<sup>105</sup> All but two of the 87 houses and shops were built in 1887, a sure indication of how well Heaver had created a market round Clapham Junction. All 31 retail premises on Lavender Hill and Falcon Rd. were built by Thomas & Co. of Gunnersbury. The houses in Mossbury Rd. were by five builders, of whom George Collis built a terrace of 17 on the north side. Leases were for 99 years from Mid-1887, ground rents £6-7 (8-9/- per ft.) up to £28 for a prime corner shop site.

Including Kambala Road, where he was the joint developer and prime mover, Alfred Heaver provided houses for upwards of 8,000 people in Battersea, putting a distinctive stamp on large areas, not only of this, but also adjacent suburbs. In addition, no fewer than 175 shops were provided, mostly in the Clapham Junction area and Falcon Rd., making him the largest retail developer in the 1880s, and probably overall. In total, the property on his estates would have produced ground rents in excess of £9,500 p.a., and the capital value of the buildings was at least £400,000.

Many of Heaver's estates were located on the suburban frontier of the time, with the sale particulars stressing the proximity of railways and tramways. For example, Fulham Park was next to the new Parsons Green station of the District Railway, while most of the Battersea estates were within ten minutes' walk of Clapham Junction and on tram routes. Those in Tooting lay close to the terminus of the tramway to Westminster and Southwark, the first electrified by the L.C.C. in 1903.

The 1891 Census reveals the socio-economic composition of his Battersea estates.

Table 13.9

Heaver Estates: Socio-Economic Profile 1891 (% Heads)

Estate	I	II	IIIN	IIIM	IV	V
Falcon Park	-	3.4	25.4	57.6	11.9	1.7
Lavender Sweep	-	30.0	50.0	20.0	-	-
St. Johns Park	5.3	21.1	47.4	21.0	5.3	-
	Bldg.	Dist.	Manu.	Prof.	Trans.	
Falcon Park	23.7	11.9	33.9	6.8	13.6	
Lavender Sweep	-	40.0	20.0	10.0	-	
St. Johns Park	-	26.3	21.1	21.0	10.5	

There is a clear difference between Falcon Park and the others. It is typical of north Battersea, the home of skilled workers, clerks and small shopkeepers, with 70% employed in building, manufacture and transport, the majority of them locally. South of the railway, 70-80% of households belong to the lower-middle classes, with up to 40% in the retail/distribution sector, again working in the immediate vicinity. Booth's view of all these estates was "fairly comfortable", with the retail fringes "wealthy". Only Musjid Rd., where there was an element of poverty, and Lavender Gardens, all red, diverged from the norm. Besant too noted that the eastern part of Falcon Park was the better, 'clean and regularly built'.<sup>106</sup>

### VIII - Broomwood Park/The Elms

W.N. Dunn laid out Thomas Ingram's Broomwood Park estate in 1892, although the piecemeal approval of streets took until 1897.<sup>107</sup> It adjoined an estate of the same name (also known as The Elms) in which Ingram was involved with others, and they are conveniently dealt with together, forming a block of 57 acres containing 1,169 houses, very large by local standards. In 1839, this land was in a variety of ownerships, although in the late-18th. century it had all belonged to the Dent family, apart from some properties fringing Clapham Common. Such low-density first-generation developments are found in other suburbs, including Camberwell and Clapham.<sup>108</sup>

Table 13.10

#### Broomwood Park 1839

No.	Area	Owner
344/374	5.12	John Deacon
345-8	17.36	John Betts
349/a/362/3	13.04	John/Mary Dent
369a	0.88	Hermann Sillum
370/a	1.44	Carter
371-3a	13.73	Cavendish
375-7	3.75	John Ravenhill
378/9	2.91	Ann Thwaites
380/1	2.93	Wm. Leveson Gower
384pt.	c2.00	Lydia Wilson

In October 1834, 17 acres of John Deacon's estate were bought by John Betts. In 1851, Sarah, Betts' widow, sold Broomfield House and grounds to (Sir) Charles Forbes, gent., of Hyde Park and Aberdeen and Frank Barlow of Kensington Square for £7,500. Forbes' death on 2 November 1877 provided the catalyst for development. His son George and other executors sold the Broomwood and Elms estates (41¼ acres) to John Cobeldick, surveyor of Stockwell on 24 September 1880 for £43,000. The next day, Cobeldick mortgaged Plot 1 (Broomwood+19ac.) to Henry Hammack, architect of Bishopsgate, Edward Woolley of Chancery Lane and the Lands Security Co. for £35,000.

Even before completion, Hammack & Lambert had prepared plans, and eight new streets were approved in June 1880, followed in December by an extension of Broomwood Road and Kyrle Road.<sup>109</sup> Leases were from Michaelmas 1880 for 99 years, with ground rents in the £7-10 range for 21-25ft. plots. This was clearly intended to be a middle-class estate, and many of the early houses were detached or semi-detached. The estate was remote from railways - only Wandsworth Common station (LBSCR to Victoria, and by a roundabout route London Bridge) was

within half-a-mile - although a horse-bus service along Broomwood and Wroughton Roads was soon started, linking the area with Clapham Junction and Balham.<sup>110</sup> No provision was made for mews/stabling, only the existing occupiers were carriage folk.

Despite starting at the peak of the cycle, Broomwood Park was not an immediate success. The lower-middle class market in south Battersea had been satisfied by estates developed in the 1870s; equally there was competition from suburbs closer to London and better served by public transport. The first houses were at the west end of Broomwood Road. A proposal for 44 houses from the Workingmen's Co-operative Building Society, in the block bounded by Broomwood and Kyrle Roads, was submitted in June 1881, but never proceeded with.<sup>111</sup>

Of the 172 houses built 1881-6, 77 were in Broomwood Road and 60 in Honeywell Road, generally proceeding from west to east. 129 houses (75%) were built in the first three years. Although 13 builders worked on this phase, 118 houses were built by only four men (69%), 54 by William Steer alone. Only 25% of the eventual total houses was built in 5½ years. A new tendency for a few large-scale builders to provide most of the houses is evident here, as elsewhere in the 1880s.

On 6 August 1886, Cobeldick sold the balance of 30.75 acres (including Broomwood House, not demolished until 1904) to Thomas Ingram, James Brown and Henry Bragg for £45,000 (£1,463/ac. - a premium of 42% on the price paid to Forbes). Ingram and Bragg immediately raised £35,700 on mortgage from various individuals in the City and members of the Grenside family. Builder Abel Playle bought 34-60 Wroughton Road from the mortgagors in May 1890 for £2,707 (c.£5,680/ac.), and borrowed £3,000 from Henry Grenside of Westminster in June.

There was no building under the new owners until late-1887, and it was still concentrated in Broomwood, Honeywell and Wroughton Roads. Work on the other streets laid out in 1880 finally began as follows: Kyrle Rd. - Feb. 1889; Hillier Rd. - July 1889; Devereux Rd. - Aug. 1890; Montholme Rd. - Nov. 1891; Gayville Rd. - Mar. 1893 (after Ingram's own Broomwood Park estate had begun). A total of 509 houses was added in this phase, all but 30 of them by the end of 1894 - the balance being on the site of Broomwood House when it was finally demolished in 1904.

Of the fourteen builders (average 36 houses), four provided 87% of the houses: John Statham (31.2% - including all 85 in Montholme Road (1891-3)); John Smith (26.3%); David Thompson (13.2% - incl. 67 out of 83 in Gayville Rd. (1893-4)) and Abel Playle (9.8% - much of Wroughton Rd). On 18 December, Playle conveyed 25/31/35/39 Wroughton Rd. to the Trustees of Hawley's Almshouses for £663.<sup>112</sup>

Thomas Ingram, now acting alone, acquired the properties to the south of the drive to Broomwood House and five new streets were laid out to designs by W. Newton Dunn in 1892 and 1897, including extensions of Broomwood and Kyrle Rds. to Clapham Common.<sup>113</sup> John Cobeldick had sold a further five acres to Ingram on 10 January 1889 for £7,250, which became Amner, Ballingdon and Roseneath (part) Roads. Ingram raised £4,000 at 4% on this land in April 1889 from Julia Palmer of Southwark. He bought the Grange from George Raller and Edward Hollams in December 1896 and mortgaged it to William Hill of Southampton and George Bousfield of Charlton, Kent, for £6,000. Ingram also bought Leveson Lodge and Brox Ash, with their grounds. On these three properties, long, monotonous east-west streets were laid out. Work



began in Ballingdon Rd. in July 1892, when Abel Playle built 17 houses on the west side. By 1903, 420 houses had been built, with peaks of activity in 1899-1900 and 1902. Roseneath Road, however, was not finished until the eve of the Great War. Thomas Ingram died on 1 March 1901, later leases being issued in the names of his widow Matilda and son Thomas. Another son, William, was an architect and surveyor, and was responsible for the ground plans of houses such as 75 Broxash Road (1903), and probably also for the elevations, which now partook of the red-brick facades associated with the Queen Anne or domestic revival movement.<sup>114</sup>

Of 476 houses on Ingram's estate, only 10% had been built by the end of 1896. The peak years of activity were 1898-1900 and 1902 - 297 houses (62%). Work finally finished in 1913, with the last of Messrs. Chapple & Utting's 40 houses in Roseneath Road. Fourteen builders worked on phase 3. Average output was slightly lower than in the previous period (32 houses), and the five largest contributors built 77% of the houses (John Smith 20.4%; William Rowe 14.5%). Smith and William Steer built 42% of Phase I (1880-6); Smith (26%) and John Statham (31%) were most important in Phase II (1887-1894/1904); in Phase III (1892-1903), Smith built 20% and William Rowe 14.5%. Overall, seven builders erected 64% of the houses: Smith (251 - 21.7%); Statham (159 - 13.8%); Playle (87 - 7.5%), Rowe (69 - 6%); Thompson (67 - 5.8%); Steer (54 - 4.7%) and Thomas Sheppard (53 - 4.6%). After 33 years, three phases, two changes of developer and two building cycles, Broomwood Park was at last complete. The demand for lower- and middle-middle class housing in south Battersea which was apparent in the late-1860s did not really assume large proportions until after 1890. The large estates suffered most, smaller developers managed to complete their one or two streets within a few years. Still, Thomas Ingram's heirs' ground rental income was almost £7,000 p.a. in 1913. The fact that John Cobeldick returned to this area in 1903 with the 48-house Heathfield estate implies a high degree of optimism over a long period.

The protracted process led to a scaling-down of the owners' and builders' aspirations. In the early-1880s, substantial detached or semi-detached houses were common. After 1887, terrace houses with 16-17ft. frontages were the norm, indistinguishable from hundreds elsewhere in Battersea, although many had three storeys and more decorative embellishments. At the Clapham Common end, the long unbroken terraces are only slightly removed from those to be found on the Artizans' Dwellings Co. estate of 1872-7, or those of Park Town ten years before that. The high-lying and salubrious land between the commons did attract a better class of tenant. Booth showed all those streets completed c.1900 as pink edged with red - comfortable to well-to-do. Owner-occupiers included George Coxall, commercial clerk, who paid £425 for 118 Broomwood Road, June 1888; Walter Eastman, commercial traveller (£500 for a 34ft. plot, 91 Broomwood Road, August 1888); John Marshall, a Clapham jobmaster (£400 for 31 Broxash Rd., July 1901); Fred. Wells, a Pimlico joiner (£445 for 217 Broomwood Rd., August 1900); and John Taylor, warehouseman of Mallinson Rd. (£415 for 18 Amner Rd., July 1898).

If the preceding case studies do not provide any new insights into the process of suburban development in Battersea, they confirm the patterns discerned in the foregoing chapters with their necessarily brief reviews of a wide variety of estates across the parish. What they do, given the wider range of sources available in most cases, is to underline the sheer volume of individuals and organisations involved in transforming a thousand acres of rural landscape into two hundred-odd building estates in the course of five generations. An anthill seems to provide the aptest analogy for the sheer effort which went into the creation of fourteen estates on fifteen acres at Battersea New Town, a process lasting all but a century and four swings of the building cycle.

Perhaps the most significant message from these studies, however, is that no matter how large, well-conceived or well-funded, all building projects were subject to the vagaries of a series of not unconnected supply-and-demand relationships. Although the creators of New Town were evidently emulating similar schemes elsewhere round London at a time of strong demand in the 1790s, building proceeded in fits and starts and withdrawal of successive players led to ever greater fragmentation of the land, denying newcomers the opportunity of obtaining worthwhile returns.

The Cobb family clearly had the necessary financial resources to undertake the complete building of their fifteen acres under a single ownership, if not in the 1790s, then in the late-1820s or 1840s, as the nearby Thames bank was industrialised. In fact, it was only after the death of Timothy Cobb in 1839, when auctions were held which fragmented the estate, while at the same time providing the conditions for its completion. This points to the critical role of information in the development process once more. Clearly, a family of Banbury bankers with few local connexions was not well-placed to understand the precise trends in the local housing market. The mixture of small houses in what were to become slum courts and larger ones for factory managers which appeared under their ownership was, however, perpetuated after 1840 by various new owners such as John Collett, who built more of the former north of Church Road at the same time as detached and semi-detached villas went up in Westbridge Road, even though he was much more closely connected with the area. This dichotomy of provision underlines the evidence that Battersea Village, like many pre-urban settlements across London, acted as its own centre of growth, adding housing of all types to an existing core in response to local demands. Battersea was not even connected to the swelling "wen" of London until the 1860s, and always remained relatively isolated behind its barriers of railways, industry and open space.

The Crown too suffered from poor knowledge of the housing market, what to build and when to build it. The money and energy which they had devoted to creating Battersea Park over twelve years seemed to make them uncertain what to do next - it is surprising that they did not opt to sell the balance in the 1860s boom, although there is evidence that when they did sell small portions in the 1870s, they over-valued the land and deterred potential buyers. In the end, it was builders such as Alfred Boon and Thomas Pink who filled up parts of the estate in the usual way with terraced houses. They were followed in the 1890s by the only important departure from the "normal" type of building in 125 years, as the Crown opted for mansion flat blocks to complete the estate, fifty years after its had been created.

The descent from villas to small brick boxes on W.W. Pocock's property indicates a more

accurate perception of local demand. His autobiography reveals a typical Victorian, hard-nosed and litigious, totally aware of the value of his estate and the way to maximise his return, be it making bricks, advancing materials to builders, or selling rights of way to importunate neighbours. Pocock was realist enough to see that there was no market for architect-designed villas around Clapham Junction, devoting his energies to Methodist chapels and other work outside London.

Alfred Heaven was another quintessential Victorian, coming from humble beginnings to be a quasi-millionaire over sixty years. In the absence of personal papers (ex. inf. surviving descendants), we shall probably never know what was the catalyst which transformed him from a very average builder in the mid-1870s to one of Battersea's most important developers five years later. Whatever it was, it put him in a position to play a decisive role in the creation of the new commercial centre of the suburb, and to go on to have a significant impact on neighbouring places like Fulham and Balham. He, alone of the initiators considered in the case studies, was well placed to know what land was becoming available, on what terms, and with what potential. He always lived in the suburbs, albeit moving frequently, and his election to the District Board suggests an involvement in other spheres. Even he, however, was at risk from the vagaries of the building cycle, as evidenced by the rapid reselling of the Chatto Estate in 1881-2, and the need to sell or mortgage very large blocks of property as soon as possible after completion in order to raise funds for the next scheme.

Broomwood Park provides a large-scale example of the vicissitudes facing the developer, even after a century of estate-creation in Battersea with more than 150 examples completed. Its size and location, remote from local stations and further from Central London than vacant land in this and other suburbs, meant that the original speculator - John Cobeldick - was obliged to sell after six years with only a third of his land built on, and even Thomas Ingram, a much larger operator, took the best part of twenty years to complete the task; a salutary note on which to end these case studies.

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95. *SLP*, 16 Aug. 1879.
96. *SLP*, 6 Mar. 1880; 30 Oct. 1880.
97. DBW Plans 801 - Angelo, Chanter, Foulser, Guelph & Leutchford Rds., the last commemorating the maiden name of Heaver's first two wives.
98. DBW Plans 834, 618; MBW Minutes 24 June 1881 - Bleisho, Hespie & Beauchamp Roads. In quick succession, Hespie was changed to Bullen and then Dives Rd. after the late owner, to which the residents objected. It finally became Ilminster Gardens in 1887, MBW Minutes 11 Nov. 1887.
99. *SLP*, 15 Mar. 1879 - at that time a half-acre plot owned by Mr. Hiscox, Vestry and DBW member was the alternative to Falcon Rd. (presumably the site used for th Public Library in 1889). The price of the Falcon Rd. site was £3,000, while Hiscox had reduced his asking price from £4,000 to £3,500. The Falcon Rd. site was noted as 'already sold', *SLP* 4 Dec. 1880. Battersea finally got its fine new Town Hall in 1892.
100. MSS 1318.
101. DBW Plans 899; MBW Minutes 7 Aug. 1885 - Malone Rd. which became Lavender Gds. without formal approval; for the Shrubbery see E.E.F. Smith, *Clapham, an Historical Tour*, 4-5.
102. E.A. Woolmer, *The Story of Battersea*, 1923, 57.
103. DBW Plans 910; MBW Minutes 2 Apr. 1886 - Aliwal, Comyn, Eckstein & Severus Roads.
104. MSS 1023.
105. DBW 852; MBW Minutes 29 Apr. 1887.
106. Besant, *op. cit.*, 167.
107. DBW Plans 1095, 1596.0
108. Dyos, *op. cit.* 107-8; H. Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt Master Builder*, Ch. XII.
109. MBW Minutes 25 June 1880 - Honeywell, Hillier, Montholme, Swaby, Gayville, Devereux & Broomwood Roads; *ibid.*, 3 Dec. 1880 Kyrle Rd.
110. MS notes on horse buses and trams in SW London, J.T. King (n.d.).
111. GLRO MBW 1707, application by Samuel Holding of Eversleigh Rd. on the Shaftesbury Est.; there may have been a link with the Artizans' Co.
112. WLHC MSS 1109.
113. LCC Minutes 3 May 1892, 9 Mar. 1897.
114. WLHC Uncatalogued deeds; S. Muthesius, *English Terraced House*, Ch. 14.

## Chapter 14

### The Building of Battersea - Overview and Conclusions

#### Introduction

The principal objective of this study has been to analyse the processes of building development in Battersea, a south-west London parish covering less than 2,200 acres, during the period 1780-1914, examining the methods employed and the individuals who were involved. The aim is to add to the number of such case studies which have been undertaken in other London suburbs over the last forty years or so, and to see how similar, or how different, things were in Battersea.

While the source materials may not be as comprehensive as those for Middlesex, a large sample of deeds and other sources have enabled a broad cross-section of developments to be analysed, based on a typology which divides estates according to the individual(s) responsible for their initiation. The local evidence for the operation of the building cycle has also been examined, as has that for the builders and other craftsmen who were responsible for the dramatic changes in the Battersea landscape during the period.

The transformation from a mostly rural parish, albeit one with a significant industrial base and already attracting wealthy Londoners to its more favoured areas, with a population of scarcely 2,000 to a fully-integrated part of the Edwardian world city, with 170,000 inhabitants would have been inconceivable to the local inhabitant of 1780, although the opening of Battersea Bridge in 1772 was an early straw in the wind. It was the 1870s and 1880s, however, when the population grew by 53,000 and 60,000, respectively - each equivalent to a goodly sized provincial town - which saw the creation of the mature suburb, with its shops, churches, schools and other vital infrastructure. In this, Battersea was of course no different from dozens of other London suburbs, and this study generally supports the views of development and building already reported from other parts of the Metropolis, and from certain provincial cities such as Leeds, although differences are apparent at a disaggregated level.

#### Common Field and Meadow to Suburbia

Battersea was characterised by extremely fragmented landownership, in large part due to the survival of open fields as late as the mid-nineteenth century, itself a function of the development of market gardening to supply the London market from the early seventeenth century onwards. The quarter-, half- and one-acre strips of the medieval fields were well-suited to this labour-intensive business, enabling a variety of crops to be grown. It is important to note, however, that the Common Field occupied only the northern third of the parish, on the fertile flood-plain and brickearth deposits. The rest was enclosed by 1600 (if indeed it had ever been farmed communally), or formed part of two extensive heaths with poor soils suitable only for rough grazing.

In the north, much of the enclosed land was used for market gardens and orchards, as well as grazing livestock and some arable, all reflecting the dominance of the London market. In central Battersea after 1750, many of the fields became adjuncts to the villas and mansions built

around East Heath, although there is little evidence to suggest that there was any landscaping of note. Most of this first generation of out-of-town residences survived until 1880, but thereafter fell like dominoes to the developer and builder in a thirty-year campaign, which has left only a scattering of the houses, shorn of their valuable grounds, and some street-names to witness this phase of the perennial retreat from the city which is the basis of the English suburban dream.

The fragmentation of ownership is one of the principal reasons for the way in which Battersea developed. In 1839, the 1,742 acres subject to tithe redemption were owned by 165 individuals (average 10.56 acres), but if one excludes the ten largest owners (829 acres - 47.6%), the average for the rest is only 5.89 acres (cf. 5.12 ac. for the average building estate). Even among the largest owners, the survival of open field meant that their "estates" were highly fragmented, only those whose property was concentrated in the south had large discrete blocks at their disposal - for example, the Dent family's 71 ac. and Henry Willis 58 ac. John Lucas of Clapham was unusual in having his sixty acres in a block in the north-east. The bulk of Thomas Ponton's 100 acres lay at Nine Elms. A large proportion of Richard Southby's 265 acre estate formed a band of enclosures between the Lower Wandsworth Road and the Heathwall Sewer. Such concentrations of land in 1839 did not, however, mean that their owners went on to develop the kind of large building estates which characterise areas like Bloomsbury, Marylebone and Hampstead. This was mainly due to the creation of a dense network of railways and associated works, engine sheds and freight facilities between 1838 and 1867, which had the effect of fragmenting many estates and leaving their development to new owners.

The average size of the 209 building estates which were crammed into the remaining 1,071 acres of Battersea was 5.12 acres/123 houses. There was little scope for amassing large blocks of real estate after 1840. The only exception to this rule was the purchase by the Crown of almost 300 acres - mostly open field strips - between 1846 and 1853 for the creation of a new Royal Park. The sixty acres around the fringe of the park formed the largest building estate in the parish, but one with a short history. This, and the fact that much of it was given over to the building of blocks of mansion flats marks it out as unique, although the methods employed were the same as on the smallest quarter-acre property. The second and third largest estates - Park Town (57ac., 1,346 houses) and Shaftesbury Park (38ac., 1,217 houses) were on enclosed land in unified ownership in 1839, although both were more or less affected by railway building and neither was developed by its original owners.

The industrial nature of the northern half of the parish soon established that the demand for working-class, especially artisan, housing would far outstrip that for the middle classes which developers most favoured. The Flower family soon found that their dream of a Pimlico south of the river was unachievable in reality, the presence of railways and factories far outweighing the amenities of the Park. The sharp contrast between the substantial three-storey terraces of the 1860s and the half-houses of the 1890s is physical evidence of how they came to terms with the problem. The Artizans & General Labourers' Dwellings Co. was much more successful, setting out to create a "Workmen's City" for the so-called aristocracy of labour with strict control over licensed premises. Their estate was noted as a bastion of the respectable artisan, a forerunner of the L.C.C.'s cottage estates from Totterdown, Tooting (1903) to Burnt Oak and Becontree in the

1920s and 1930s.

Relatively few Battersea estates retained high status tenants over a long period. There were enclaves such as New Wandsworth and Westbridge Road where Class I and II households were not uncommon, even in the 1890s. In central and south Battersea, railways and industry were less obtrusive, and developers could pitch their aspirations higher, although most tenants (and a few owner-occupiers) belonged to the shopkeeper/clerical/lower professional classes, rather than the upper echelons of the middle classes. The scaling-down of plots at Broomwood Park from 24ft. with detached or semi-detached in the early 1880s to 17-18ft. with long, monotonous terraces in the late-nineties is symptomatic of a growing realism in the face of market demands. The north:south, low-lying:elevated, working-class:middle-class dichotomies were established by 1800 and persisted until the Great War, with few important exceptions.

Since working-class and "clerical" suburbs are clearly more numerous than middle- and upper-class ones, the environmental factors underlying the development of Battersea are probably more likely to represent the norm than those which determined the history of the Bedford, Grosvenor and Cubitt estates. Chief among these influences would seem to be the absence of any major landed or institutional landowner with the resources and persistence to impose conditions on builders and tenants which ensured the maintenance of social cachet over prolonged periods, followed by the existence of a pre-urban industrial base which grew markedly between 1800 and 1850. The third crucial element was the railway, not as a mass carrier of proto-commuters, but as a major landscape element and employer of local labour. Not only the land in direct ownership was affected, but scores of additional acres where their physical presence was significant, or where housing was provided which attracted their employees (north Battersea 1850-75) or their potential passengers (central/south Battersea 1870-1900). Many other London suburbs were affected in this way, of course, from Stratford in the east to Acton, Willesden and Ealing in the west, Hornsey in the north to Croydon in the south.

### **Methods of Development**

The overwhelming impression from this sample of building estates is that the process of converting fields and gardens into streets of houses was extremely uniform throughout the period and everywhere in the parish, and closely mirrors the experience of a wide range of landowners in suburbs across Greater London, from the great landed estates of the West End, Dulwich and Hampstead to the slum courts and alleys of Somers Town and Walworth. Despite the fact that housebuilding was essentially achieved by a congeries of hand crafts (as indeed it still is) organised, with few exceptions, in very small groupings, with myriad sources of finance, it is clear that the model of long leasehold development which grew up and was refined in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London was used on virtually every estate in Battersea between the 1780s and 1914. The only significant deviation from the norm was the freehold land companies in the 1850s and 1860s, where the sale of small freehold lots intervened between the original owner and the builder, although even here the **method** of building was indistinguishable from that used on neighbouring estates. A handful of private owners also employed this method of raising short-term capital at the expense of long-term ground rents and ultimate reversion.



Despite of the wide range of types of owners and the very fluid market in generally small plots of land, development was highly standardised. The most significant feature in the covering of 1,100 acres of Battersea with 26,000 dwellings is the random way in which owners decided to build. There is little evidence of a steady spread of houses from north-east to south-west from the point closest to London, or that this applied in neighbouring parishes (Chapter 5). In some ways, the Village centre acted more as such a diffusion centre, albeit not consistently.

Far more important was the purely local catalytic effect of events such as the death of a long-term owner or the sale of land at auction, bringing in new owners with building specifically in mind. Even when the fate of Battersea as a suburb of London was irreversible (probably during or just after the great boom of the mid-1860s), many landowners showed little or no sign of wishing to capitalise on their assets, leaving the pleasant estates of central and south Battersea to the attentions of the speculative builder. Edward Fownes's estate was virtually surrounded by houses a decade before he sold out to Alfred Heaver in 1879, and Matthew Whiting stayed at Lavender Lodge - a few acres in the commercial heart of the new suburb - until his death in 1904, allegedly so rich that he had no need to develop.

Two crucial agents creating the conditions for estate development were the Spencer freehold sales of 1835-6 and the railway. The first transferred ownership of substantial amounts of land from the lord of the manor to his tenants at a time when housebuilding was just beginning to seem a more lucrative land use than nurseries and market gardens, laid the foundations for many estates. Railways first impinged on the local landscape at the same time, and over the next three decades many acres, not only for lines and stations, but also for goods yards, sidings, locomotive and carriage sheds, and the two great works at Nine Elms and Longhedge. Their compulsory acquisition of land upset ownership patterns in many parts of Battersea, just as the requirement to sell off surplus land laid the foundation of many small estates. The physical impact of embankments and viaducts in the lowlying north of the parish had a profound effect on the aspirations of more than one owner/developer, as well as isolating estates which might otherwise have formed connexions with one another.

A third influence was the creation of Battersea Park, which took more than two hundred acres of potential building land off the market and affected the type of development of sixty more. It prevented the industrialisation of the whole riverfront and the hinterland from becoming several dozen more working-class estates, their otherwise inevitable fate. The Park attracted middle-class houses and flats, the latter decidedly alien south of the Thames, and provided an open space for thousands crammed into more typical estates nearby. Equally important in this respect were the two ancient commons - once Battersea East and West Heaths, but transformed into *Wandsworth* and *Clapham* Commons, even they had only a minority of the land.

Given the highly standardised approach to estate development, it is possible to formulate a simple sequential model:

Table 14.1

## Battersea Estate Development: A Model

Stage	Events
1	Change of ownership/generation
2	Decision to develop
3	Preparation of plans (streets always; houses occasionally)
4	Approval of plans by MBW/LCC (after 1855)
5	Laying out streets and drainage
6	Publicity (including special covenants)
7	Letting of plots (occasionally outright sale)
8	Building
9	Renting houses to tenants/Sale to investors/occupiers

The insignificant number of estates developed by their original owners - resident or absentee (16; 7.7%) - means that virtually every scheme was initiated by a new owner, rarely a member of the same family on inheritance. Institutional estates are absent; the only exception, the Archbishop of York's property, was sold off piecemeal prior to building. In the case of estates involving architects/surveyors, builders and members of the legal professions, the whole object of acquisition was to exploit the development potential of the land, and they were the prime movers on 86 estates (41.1%). The same is true of land and dwellings companies, and probably of those in other trades and professions. It is difficult to see why original Battersea landowners eschewed the chance to make money from their land, especially as many who arrived during the eighteenth century in search of rural retreats from the City had a commercial background. From Earl Spencer in the 1830s (who was constrained to realise assets because of the financial problems of his predecessor) to the Thornton family in 1908, outright sale was the norm, often at prices which were only a fraction of those which could have been achieved if the future use of the land had been accurately forecast.

The decision to develop is usually shrouded in mystery. It was, of course, often taken *before* the land was acquired. The example of neighbours, local employment growth, the railways and later tramways, and approaches from one or other of the groups most directly involved in building appear to have been the principal causes. The role of men like W.R. Glasier (auctioneer and surveyor), Charles Lee (architect/surveyor), George Todd (surveyor), Jesse Nickinson (solicitor) and Alfred Heaver (builder) in approaching landowners and usually influencing them to sell was clearly important, and between them they account for dozens of estates. All but Todd undertook developments in their own right, whereas he always remained a middle man, laying out estates, gaining approval and overseeing the process of selling or leasing plots. Individuals like W. Newton Dunn, William Poole, Charles Bentley and John Stanbury, architects and surveyors also left their mark on many estates, as did the Corsellis family in the period 1880-1900 in central and south Battersea. Edward Pain, Frederick Haines and Francis Knowles, all recorded in surviving documents as "gentlemen" were each responsible for several, generally small estates in north Battersea. More shadowy figures, like Captain Francis Woodgate, appear as speculators in association with several estates.

By the 1850s, most plans were printed, showing plots for rent or sale, conditions attached to the use and value of buildings, and often an inset showing the estate in relation to local railways and amenities. The more detailed layout of streets and drains submitted to the MBW after 1855 ensured conformity with the various legal requirements. Street-names, often completely obscure as to meaning at this remove, were also submitted to the MBW, and occasionally amended, although the campaign to remove confusing duplication between suburbs only came in the 1930s.

The drawing up of plans and their approval often preceded the actual completion of sale, such was the urgency in boom periods to realise the value of land. On the other hand, many estates saw little or no building after Stage 6 had been reached. The sharp downturns of the building cycle in the mid-1850s, the early 1870s and mid-1880s left many a new owner with vacant plots and half-finished houses and builders facing bankruptcy. Even quite small schemes took twenty or thirty years to complete, sometimes changing owners in the process. Large estates suffered from the same vagaries of supply and demand, only the exceptional circumstances of the Shaftesbury Park estate ensured completion and occupation of more than 1,200 houses in only five years. What is more surprising is that dozens' of aspiring developers kept on appearing decade after decade, convinced that their streets must be paved with gold.

Throughout the period 1780-1914, building was in the hands of a multitude of craftsmen, and output exceeding ten houses per annum was unusual, as was a duration of more than two or three years in the local market. To build more than one hundred houses and survive more than a decade was as unusual in the 1900s as the 1840s. Many non-builders took leases and agreed to erect houses of a certain value within a certain time, some successfully, many not. The complex web of sub-contracts to specialists, advances from developers, mortgages and so on meant that almost every house has its own individual history, even on well-controlled and homogeneous developments. It seems that the assiduous agents of the Bedford, Grosvenor and Eton College estates were either absent completely, or ineffective on the great majority of Battersea estates, although Metcalf showed that the Flower family agent fought a long, if ineffective battle to maintain the tone of Park Town. Even the Crown seems to have exercised little control over the appearance of its estate. The restless monotony of long florid terraces built in the 1880s and 1890s on many estates suggests that control and variety of townscape were usually exclusive categories.

Financial failure stalked builders, building tradesmen, owners and mortgagors alike throughout the period. Many are the building societies, lawyers and people of modest means who had sought to profit from an apparently foolproof system who found themselves with carcasses, empty houses and bad debts. Despite this threat, thousands of individuals kept on entering the suburban development lottery in various capacities, spurred on no doubt by the seemingly insatiable demand for housing and associated infrastructure in a city which just carried on growing. In aggregate, their optimism may have been justified, but luck was a dominant theme.

There is evidence that many involved in the development process adopted sub-optimal or satisficing financial behaviour. Landowners might sell for a sum which, although well in excess of the agricultural or "leisure" value, was still below that which could have been obtained taken building potential into account. Similarly, many ground landlords offered plots at rents far less

than their contemporaries, thereby inflicting themselves and their successors with a lower income. (Other developers, however, such as Job Caudwell and the Corsellis family, adopted a "high rent" policy, which does not seem to have especially deterred builders, although it may have contributed to the failure of some.) Sales of completed houses were not so common, and there seems to have been a general rule-of-thumb to ask for 20-25 years' purchase based on ground rents. Many owners, however, chose to dispose of blocks of property, up to fifty houses at a time or more, to financial institutions or other speculators, and in this case the price per house was often only half to two-thirds of what could have been obtained by separate sales to individual investors or occupiers. The need for large injections of capital to fund the laying out of new estates and tide the owner over the fallow years of building and peppercorn rents often underlay this behaviour, however, and men like Alfred Heaver who employed such a method were obviously "speculating to accumulate".

If men (and many women) were prepared to supply a constant stream of new and improved dwellings in Victorian Battersea, others were, generally, ready to occupy them, with periods of over-supply balanced by shortages and overcrowding. As everywhere, owner-occupation by the artisan and lower middle classes who made up the vast bulk of Battersea's population was most unusual. The local press bears witness to the constant flux of tenants moving up (and down) the housing ladder. New estates with the latest styles and built-in features constantly attracted the more prosperous from their slightly passé neighbours, replaced in turn by those who could not afford to pay for novelty, but were happy enough with a ten- or twenty-year-old house. Slums of the worst sort were not common in Battersea, and usually fitted the model of being relatively isolated and badly-built. Some were almost "purpose-built", falling from grace in the first few years, like Orville Road and the Ponton Estate, but others took longer to achieve this fate.

\* \* \* \* \*

In so far as the aim of this study has been to examine the whole estate development process in one London suburban parish with a view to seeing how it compares with other areas which have been partially studied - like Camberwell - or which were dominated by large landed or institutional properties - like Bloomsbury, Mayfair and Hampstead - it is clear that the standardised long-leasehold, speculative system prevailed, regardless of the type of initiator, throughout the period 1780-1914. It also seems that the Battersea experience, with a patchwork of small estates, averaging only five acres, built by hundreds of men operating on a very small scale over a short timespan and on a risky financial base, is likely to apply in those suburbs where great estates are the exception, rather than the norm.

The vagaries of demand and finance ensured that few estates, however small, proceeded smoothly and rapidly from conception to completion. By definition speculative, Victorian estate development was at the mercy of fluctuations in demand, finance and fashion. Developers habitually had high aspirations for the type of houses and tenants they wished to have, and these were equally often dashed by the presence of undesirable neighbours such as railways, factories and slums.

That said, however, the developers and builders of Battersea did provide almost 26,000

dwellings for 170,000 new inhabitants in the period, all but a tiny minority built and funded by myriad individuals working together in an extremely efficient system, almost a production line. There were many casualties, and many failed to make the fortunes to which they aspired, but losers were far outweighed by winners, not least the tens of thousands who enjoyed reasonably-built accommodation at affordable rents thanks to the efforts of men as diverse as William Sleford, the Southwark butcher; the Carter and Gaines families and Francis Lithgow, local market gardeners; Thomas Cubitt, the originator of the idea for Battersea Park; Alexander Corsellis and Jesse Nickinson, solicitors; William Pocock, architect and Alfred Heaver, carpenter turned major developer. Men who saw an opportunity and took it.

## COMPARISON OF BOOTH &amp; CENSUS SOCIAL CLASSES BY STREET

STREET	ESTATE <sup>+</sup>	BOOTH	MODAL CLASS	
			1881	1891
Lt. Europa Pla.	10	AB/C	3N/M	5
Fords Place	10	C	3M/4	3M
Cottage Place	10	C	3M	5
Bridge Rd. West	10	EF	3N/M/4	3N
Westbridge Road	10/48	E	2	3N/M
Church Road	10	D	3M	3M
Church Lane	10	D	3M/5	5
Bolingbroke Rd.	10	E	3M/4/5	5
Freeland St.	115	D	4	3N/5
Francis St.	53	E	3M	3M
High Street	Var.	EF	3N	3N/M
Surrey Lane	Var.	E	3M	3N/4
Hyde Lane	61	D	3N/5	5
Harley St.	61	E	3M/4	5
Randall St.	61	D	3M	3M
Granfield St.	118	BC	5	3M
Parkham St.	118	B	3M	4
Trott St.	122	D	3M	3M
Orbel St.	148	E	3N	3M
Octavia St.	148	E	2/3M	3N
Ursula St.	148	E	3N	3N
Castle Lane	Var.	E	3N	3N
Henry St.	105	C	3N	5
Simpson St.	105	E	3M	3M
Home Road	111	E/D	3N/M	3M
Frere St.	111/152	D	2/3N	3N
Atherton St.	111/152	D	3N/M	3N
Colestown St.	152	E	3N	3N
Stanmer St.	152	E	*	3M
Balfern St.	152	E	•	3M
Inworth St.	152	E	3N	3M
Bullen St.	152	C	3N/M	3N
Goulden St.	152	E	3M	3M
Lombard Rd.	Var.	CD	2/3N	3M
Harroway Rd.	120	D	4	4
Urswicke Rd.	120	D	4	3N/4
Totteridge Rd.	120	D	3M	3N
Yelverton Rd.	120	D	5	4
Gwynne Rd.	134	E	3M	3M/4
York Road	Var.	E	3N	3M
Mendip Rd./Place	22	C	3M/4	5
Canterbury Pla.	22	C	3M	5
Sewell Rd.	174	C	5	

Hibbert St.	20	D	5	3M
Hope St.	20	C	3M/5	5
Field Place	20	C	3M/5	3N/5
Britannia Pla.	97	AB	5	5
Benham St.	113	C	3M	3M/5
Stockwood St.	113	AB	3N/M	5
Tritton St.	113	C	5	3M/4
Wayland St.	113	AB	5	3M/4
Ingrave St.	103	E	3M	3M
Barmore St.	112	C	3M/4	3N/4
Benfield St.	112	C	3N/M	4/5
Francis St.	23	C	3M	
Verona St.	67	D	3M/4/5	4
Wye Street	67	D	3M	3N/M
Lavender Rd.	46	D/E	3M	3M
Creek Rd.	46	D	3M/5	3N/5
Plough Lane	Var.	E	3M	3N/M
Currie Rd.	92	E	3M	4/5
Meyrick Rd.	92	D	3N	3N
Winstanley Rd.	92	D	3M	3N
Livingstone Rd.	92	C	3M	3M
Knox Road	92	D	3M	3M/4
Newcomen Rd.	92	D	3N/M	3M/4
Grant Road	93	D	3N/4	3M
Palk Road	93	C	3M	3M
Speke Road	93	D	4/5	3N
Musjid Rd.	153	D	3N	3M
Heaver Rd.	153	E	3M	3M
Tugela Rd.	153	E	3M	3M
Zulu Cres.	153	E	3M	3M
Afghan Road	153	E	3N	3M
Khyber Rd.	153	E	3N/M	4
Patience Rd.	153	E	3M	3M
Falcon Lane	Var.	F	3N	3M
Grove Road	51	D	2	3M
Shillington St.	51	D	3M	
Falcon Grove	51	E	3N/M	3N
Duffield St.	51	E	3M	4
Pearson St.	51	D	3N/M	3M
Newman St.	51	D	3M/4/5	4/5
Guildford St.	51	D	4	4
Falcon Tce.	101/151	E	3N	3N
Lavender Tce.	101/151	E	3N/M	4/5
Wayford St.	110	D	3M	3M
Stainforth St.	150	C	3M/4	3M
Latchmere Grove	52/169	AB	3M	3N/4
Latchmere Rd.	Var.	D	3N	*
Latchmere St.	123	D	2/3M	3N/M/4
Knowsley Rd.	129	C	*	3M
Poyntz Rd.	129	C	3M	4
Shellwood Rd.	129	C	5	4
St. James Gro.	117	E	3M	3M

Battersea Pk. Rd.	Var.	F	3N	3M
Culvert Rd.	Var.	D	3M	3M
Sheepcote Lane	Var.	D	3N/M	3M/4/5
Brougham St.	76	AB	3M/5	3M
Berkley St.	76	AB	4/5	3M
Carpenters Rd.	135	C	3M	3M
Blondel St.	146	E	3M	3M
Chatham St.	99	E	3M	2/3M
Anerley St.	99	E	3M/4/5	3N/M/4
Orkney St.	96	E	3N/M	3M
Millgrove St.	128	E	3N	3N/M
Warsill St.	109	D	3N	4
Chesney St.	127	E	3N/M/4	3M
Parkside St.	69	E	3M	3M
Austin Rd.	56/57	C	3M	•
Doddington Gro.	42	E	3N/M	4
Kilton St.	104/124	E	3N	3M
Henley St.	74	D	3M/4	3N
Landseer St.	90	E	3M	3M
Rollo St.	90	D	3M	3M
Lucy Rd.	85	C	3N/M/5	
Oulton St.	85	D	3M/4	4
Park Grove	58/59	E	3N	3M
Arthur St.	68	C	5	3M/4
Alfred St.	68	C	3N/5	3N/4
Russell St.	75	E	3M	3N
Palmerston St./Tce.	75	E	3N	3M
Nine Elms Lane	Var.	E	3M	4
Battersea Pk. Rd.	Var.	E	2/3M	3M/4
Ponton Rd.	83	AB	5	4
Ponton St.	83	AB	5	5
Currie St.	83	AB	5	3M/4
Belfour St.	83	A	4	5
Woodgate St.	83	AB	4	5
Everitt St.	83	C	3M/5	4
Haines St.	80	D	3M	4
Arden St.	80	D	3N	3M/4
Tweed St.	80	E	4	•
Ceylon St.	81	E	4	3M/4
Sleaford St.	Var.	D	3M/5	4/5
Savona St.	Var.	C	4	4
Aegis Grove	45	C	3N/4	4/5
Sheldrick St.	71	E	5	3M
New Road	Var.	E	3M	3M
Ascalon St.	25	D	5	4/5
Tidemore St.	25	E	3M/5	3M/5
Tidbury St.	25	E	3N/M	2
Sussex St.	25	E	5	3N
Porson St.	25	E	3N	3N/M/5
Power St.	25	E	4	3M
St. Georges Rd.	25	E	3M	3N
Patmore St.	25	E	3M	3M
Corunna Rd.	25	E	4	3N/M



Sterndale Rd.	140	D	5	3N/5
Dashwood Rd.	140	C	3M	5
Stockdale Rd.	140	C	3M	3M/4/5
Etruria St.	77	D	3N/4/5	3N/M/5
Acre St.	77	D	3M	5
William St.	79	C	4	*
John St.	79	C	5	3M/4
Portslade Rd.	155	CD	3M/5	3M/4
Gonsalva Rd.	155	D	3N/4	3N
Stewarts Rd.	Var.	E	3M	5
Stewarts Rd. W.	55	E	3M	5
Seymour St.	7	AB	3N	3N
Linford St.	7	AB	3M/5	4
Corunna Tce.	100	C	3M	4
Gladstone St.	89	E	3M	3M
Lockington Rd.	89	D	3M	3N
Raywood St.	89	D	3M	3M/4/5
Gladstone Tce.	126	E	3M	4
St. Georges St.	88	E	3N/M/4	3N/M/4
Queens Rd.	88	EF	3N	2/3M/4
Broughton St.	88	D	3M	*
Stanley St.	88	D	3N/M	3M
South St.	88	E	3N	2/3N
West St.	88	E	3M/4	3N/M/4
St. Philip St.	88	E	3M	3M/4
Tennyson St.	88	E	3N	
Dickens St.	88	E	4	3N/4
Queens Sq.	88	EF	2/3M	3N/M
Robertson St.	88	E	3M	3M
Ruskin St.	88	E	3N/M	4
St. Andrew St.	88	E	3M	3N
Trollope St.	88	E	*	4
Motley St.	88	E	3N/M	3N/M
Brighton Tce.	88	E	3N	3N
Lavender Hill	Var.	EF	3N	2
Marmion Rd.	133	E	3N/M	2
Gowrie Rd.	133	E	2/3N/M	3N
Stormont Rd.	133	F	1	3N
Rush Hill Rd.	137	E	1	3N
Sugden Rd.	121	F	3M	
Tyneham Gro.	107	E	3N/M	3N
Shirley Gro.	107	D	3M	3M
Basnett Gro.	107	E	3M	3M
Wycliffe Gro./Rd.	107/154	E	3M	3M
Wickersley Rd.	154	DE	3M/4	3M
Hanbury Rd.	154	E	3M	3M
Beaufoy Rd.	154	E	2/3M	3M
Acanthus Rd.	114	E	3M/4	3M
Gideon Rd.	114	E	3N	3M
Tipthorpe Rd.	114	E	3N/4	2/3N
Pountney Rd.	114	D	3N	

Grayshott Rd.	138	E	3M	3N
Eland Rd.	138	E	3N	3M
Elsley Rd.	138	E	3N	3M
Eversleigh Rd.	138	E	3N/M	3N/M
Tyneham Rd.	138	E	3M	3N
Morrison St.	138	E	3M	3M
Sabine Rd.	138	E	3N/M	3M
Holden Rd.	138	E	2/3N/M	3N
Ashbury Rd.	138	E	3	3M/4
Kingsley St.	138	E	*	3M
Brassey Sq.	138	E	3M	3N/M
Birley St.	138	E	3N/M	3N
Bridge Road East	Var.	EF	2/3M	3M
Ethelburga St.	Var.	E	3N/M	2/3N
Spencer St.	Var.	E	3M	3N/M
Park Road	Var.	E	2	2/3N/4
Pevenil St.	63	E	2/3N	4
Ashurst St.	98	E	3M	3N
Elcho St.	94	C	3M/5	4
Radstock St.	94	D	3M/4	3N/M
Howie St.	94	D	5	3N/4
Albert Bridge Rd.	141	F	2	1/2
Kersley St.	141	F	-	3M
Meath St.	141	E	3M	2/3M
Victoria	149	E/D	3M	3N
Dwellings				

Notes: † see Appendix 4 for details; • no predominant class.

## BATTERSEA ESTATES BY SUB-ZONE

## ZONE I - North of Lower Wandsworth Road/York Road

## A: EAST

No.	Estate	Date	Type
24	W.E. East	1844	2b
26	Earl Spencer Pl.	1845	6c CE
29	W. Morrison	1845	2b
31	J.C. Park I	1845	4
35	C.J. Freake 1	1847	4
49	Carlton Terrace	1850	4
63	Spencer St. [Jones]	1855	4
94	Spencer Lodge	1864	6d
98	Ashurst Street	1865	2a
139	Freake 2	1874	4
141	Crown	1874	2b
149	Victoria Dwellings	1877	9
183	Juer St. [Princes]	1888	3
202	Winstead Street	1897	3

## B: WEST

1	Ford's Buildings	c1780	6a
8	Pennington	1805	4
10	Church Road [Cobb]	1808	6b
14	Alfred Place	1825	1a
17	Crescent Place	1834	4
22	Mendip [Pain]	1842	1b
28	Ashton's	1845	1a
32	Little Hill [Stedman]	1846	3
33	Green Lane [Chabot]	1846	5
34	Surrey Lane [Chabot]	1847	5
37	Starch Factory Rd.	1847	6a
39	Surrey Lane [Gaines]	1847	6d
41	Hart	1848	4
47	Wayland	1850	6d
48	Westbridge Road S.	1850	2b
53	Frances St.	1851	6a
61	Harley Street	1853	2b
65	Althorp Grove	1856	6a
70	High St./York Rd.	1861	2b
82	Banbury Street	1863	2b
104	Manor House	1866	6a
111	Colestown no.1	1867	2b/5
115	Freeland Street	1867	6b
118	Bishopp	1868	6b
120	Lombard [J. Lord]	1868	5
122	Trott	1868	6b
134	Gwynne	1872	6a
148	Surrey La. [Pain]	1876	1b
152	Colestown 2	1878	5
174	Sewell	1883	2b
176	Grove Ho. [Orville]	1884	2b/5
180	Green Lane	1886	2b/5
185	Lombard Road	1888	2b

**ZONE II - Lower Wandsworth Road/York Road to LSWR/Richmond Rly.**

**A: EAST**

2	New Town [Lovell]	1789	6a
3	Sleaford St. SE	1792	2b
4	York Street	1793	6b
5	Sleaford	1796	6b
6	Pavillion Row	1798	2a
9	Sleaford St. [Faucitt]	1806	6b
12	New Town [Gwynn]	1812	6d
13	New Town [Kilsby]	1819	6a
15	New St. W. [Lucas]	1827	6a
19	New St. W. [Sermon]	1835	2a
21	Haward	1841	6d
42	Doddington Grove	1848	5
45	Patient	1849	6b
50	Sheepcote L. [Glasier]	1851	3
55	Stewarts Road NW	1851/2	1b
56	Austins Road [Wyld]	1852	4
57	Austins Road [Glasier]	1852	3
58	Park Grove [Glasier]	1852	3
59	Park Grove [Pain]	1852	2b
66	Havelock Tce.	1856	2b
68	Arthur Street	1858	2b
69	Parkside Street	1860	4
71	York Mews/Seldon St.	1861	6b
72	Culvert Road [Haines]	1862	2b
74	Henley Street	1862	2b
75	Palmerston Street	1862	2b/5/6b
76	Bagley Street	1862	3
80	Nine Elms [Haines]	1863	2b
81	Ceylon Street	1863	4
83	Ponton	1863	1b
84	Eliza Gaines	1863	6d
85	Lucy	1863	6b
87	Carlton Grove	1863	4
89	Lockington Road	1863	5
90	Rollo Street	1863	3
95	Culvert Road [Poupart]	1864	6d
96	Orkney St. [Pain]	1865	1b
99	Anerley St. [Knowles]	1865	2b
104	Kilton Street E	1866	6d
108	Clock Ho. Tce.	1866	3
109	Warsill Street	1866	4
116	Foots Row	1867	4
117	St. James Grove	1867	4
123	Latchmere Street	1868	1a
124	Kilton Street W	1869	10
126	Gladstone Tce.	1869	3
127	Chesney St.	1869	4
128	Millgrove St. [Jennings]	1869	2b
129	Harefield	1870	5
131	Anerley St. [Pain]	1870	2b
135	Carpenters	1872	6a
146	Blondel St.	1876	4
173	Sleaford St. NE	1882	6a
186	St. Saviour's Rd.	1889	2b
204	Latchmere	1901	7

**B: WEST**

20	Carter	1839	6d
23	Lithgow	1844	6d
40	York Road [Musgrove]	1848	4
46	J.C. Park II	1850	4
51	W.W. Pocock	1851	3
52	Latchmere Gr. [Hunt]	1851	4
54	Bramlands [T. Carter]	1851	6d
60	W.H. Wilson	1852	2a/2b/5
67	Conservative Ld. Soc. 1	1858	8
78	St. Johns Terrace	1862	6b
92	Conservative Ld. Soc. 2	1864	8
93	Clapham Jcn. [Howey]	1864	2b
97	Britannia Place	1865	6c
101	Falcon Terrace I	1865	3
103	Ingrave St. [Capps]	1866	4
110	Wayford Street	1866	2b/6b
112	Cubitt I	1867	4
113	Olney Lodge	1867	9
132	Lothair St.	1870	2b
150	Croft	1878	3
151	Falcon Terrace II	1878	6c
153	Falcon Park	1879	4
169	Latchmere G. [Bennett]	1882	2b
171	Kambala Road	1882	2b/4

**ZONE III - Railways to Clapham Common North/Battersea Rise****A: EAST**

7	Stewart	1803	6d
25	Lucas	1845	1b
77	Acre Street	1862	6b
79	John Street	1862	6c
88	Park Town	1863	6b
100	Corunna Place	1865	6a
107	Lav'r Hill [Townsend]	1866	6c
114	l'Anson	1867	3
121	Sugden Road	1868	2a
133	Lavender Hill Park	1871	2b
137	Rush Hill	1873	4
138	Shaftesbury Park	1873	9
140	Wandsworth Road	1874	2b
147	Sister House	1876	2b
154	Beaufoy	1879	1b/4
155	Gonsalva Road	1879	2b/4
160	Culvert Place	1880	6b
162	Mundella Road	1881	9
168	Garfield Rd.	1882	9
175	Drayton House	1884	2b
179	Marney Road	1886	2b/5
187	Stewarts Lane	1889	6a
189	Northfields	1890	3/6a
190	Town Hall	1891	7
191	Elsbeth Road	1891	2b/5
193	Thirsk Road	1893	6a
194	Eukestons	1894	6c
195	Sisters Avenue	1894	6c
198	Theatre Street	1895	3
201	Springwell	1896	2b/4
205	Wix's Lane	1903	6c
207	Latchmere Road SE	1903	2b

**B: WEST**

11	Battersea Rise	1810	1b
16	Rise/Wash Way	1830	1a
18	St. Johns Place	1835	1a
27	Arnold/Hart Davis	1845	6c
30	St. Johns Hill [Wix]	1845	1a
36	St. Johns Hill Grove	1847	2b
38	St. Johns Hill [Martin]	1847	1b
43	St. Johns Rd. [Alder]	1848	1a
44	Falcon Lane [Alder]	1849	1a
62	Clapham Stn.	1853	8
73	Brussels Road	1862	6b
119	Altenburg Gardens I	1868	4
130	Vardens Rd. [Morton]	1870	3
145	Stanley Tce.	1875	2b
156	Amies St.	1880	4
158	Clapham Junction	1880	4
159	Plough Lane SE	1880	6d
164	Lav. Sweep [Snelling]	1881	4
165	Lav. Sweep [Heaver]	1881	4
166	Lav. Sweep [Ingram]	1881	4/6b
167	Gillott's	1881	6a
177	St. Johns Park	1885	4
178	Shrubbery	1885	4
182	Chestnuts	1887	4
184	Lavender Hill	1888	2b/5
197	Altenburg Gardens II	1894	2b
199	St. Johns H. [Dickeson]	1894	4
208	Lavender Lodge	1904	4

**ZONE IV - South of North Side & Battersea Rise**

64	Chatham Road [NFLC]	1855	8
86	Battersea Rise	1863	2a
91	British Land Co. 1	1864	8
102	Old Park	1866	2b
106	Bolingbroke Grove	1866	5
126	Cons. Land Soc. 3	1869	8
136	Chivalry Road	1872	2a
142	Blenkarne	1875	2b
143	Clapham Common Gdns.	1875	2b/4/6b
144	Belleville Road	1875	4
157	British Land Co. 2	1880	8
161	Elms/Broomwood Park I	1880	3
163	Dent's House	1881	4
170	Nightingale Park	1882	2b/4
172	Chatto's/West Side	1882	2b/4
181	Elms/Broomwood Park II	1886	2b/4/6b
188	Bolingbroke Grove	1890	2b/5
192	Kyrle Rd. [Ingram]	1892	4
196	Ravenslea Road	1894	4
200	Broomwood	1896	2b/5
203	Beechwood	1898	2b/4
206	Heathfield	1903	3
209	West Side	1908	2b/3

## BATTERSEA BUILDERS MASTER LIST

No.	Name	Period	Years	Hos.	Address
1	A. Abbott	1850-1	2	18	-
2	G. Abbott	1898	1	13	Brixton
3	J. Abbott	1853	1	3	Battersea
4	T. Abell/R. Smith	1863	1	2	Battersea
5	B. Abrahams	1849	1	1	Chelsea
6	J. Acomb	1862-3	2	3	-
7	B. Adams	1900	1	7	Brixton
8	S.E. Adams	1875	1	25	Battersea
9	Adamson/Son	1863	1	1	Putney
10	W. Adkins	1874	1	1	Battersea
11	A. Ager	1867-9	3	15	Pimlico
12	G. Aitchison	1885	1	5	Clapham
13	J. Allen I	1847	1	1	Covent Gdn.
14	J. Allen II	1891-2	2	11	Fulham
15	Allen/Norris	1898	1	2	-
16	W. Ambrose	1870	1	1	-
17	G. Amery	1880	1	7	Old Kent R/Bat.
18	W. Amos	1879-80	2	4	-
19	C. Ansell	1885-7	3	2	Battersea
20	R. Anslow	1863-76	14	31	Battersea
21	H. Anstee	1904	1	3	Wood Green
22	S. Archbutt	1846-7	2	17	Brompton
23	S.W. Aries	1862	1	2	Putney
24	G. Armall	1881	1	2	Battersea
25	E. Armitage	1871	1	2	Clapham
26	J. Arnold	1845	1	2	Norwood
27	AGLDCo.	1874-82	9	88	London
28	J. Ashby	1867	1	11	-
29	R. Ashby	1848	1	1	Bishopsgate
30	J. Ashford	1881-5	5	65	Battersea
31	Assiter/Sizer	1898-9	2	10	Battersea
32	Atherton/Saefa	1886	1	1	London E
33	B. Atkinson	1877	1	6	Battersea
34	J. Atkinson	1878	1	2	Chelsea
35	W. Atkinson	1868-87	20	74	Wandsworth/Batt.
36	J. Attreed	1852-62	11	2	Chelsea/Batt.
37	G.Austin/A.Emery	1879-82	4	90	Battersea
38	D.B. Austin	1882	1	25	Wandsworth
39	G. Austin	1873-4	2	68	Battersea
40	J. Austin	1859-5	7	7	Battersea
41	W. Austin	1867	1	12	Chelsea
42	Ayre/Kingcombe	1903	1	27	Clapham
43	H. Bagley	1868	1	4	-
44	C. Bailey	1883	1	3	Fulham
45	F. Bailey	1882-4	3	55	Dulwich/Batt.
46	H. Bailey	1884	1	24	Battersea
47	J.R. Bailey	1879-80	2	22	Battersea
48	W. Baines	1876	1	3	Battersea
49	E. Baker	1866-9	4	17	Chelsea
50	J. Baker	1882	1	12	Wimbledon

51	J. Baker/W. Ferham	1866	1	10	Kennington/Swark
52	W. Baker I	1848-52	5	10	Battersea
53	W. Baker II	1874-80	7	56	Acton/Batt.
54	Baker/Simpson	1873	1	11	-
55	Balbeck & Co.	1858	1	10	-
56	A. Balls	1889-05	17	113	Battersea
57	C. Bamford	1882	1	5	Stockwell
58	Banbury/Waldron	1872	1	4	Battersea
59	G. Barker	1897	1	23	Stepney
60	R. Barker	1893	1	2	Battersea
61	T. Barker	1867	1	10	South Lambeth
62	Barlow/Roberts	1887	1	3	Pimlico
63	S. Barnard	1869	1	1	Westminster
64	E. Barnes	1848-50	3	4	Lambeth/Batt.
65	J. Barnes	1879-80	2	6	Battersea
66	Barnes/Everett	1849	1	4	Clapham
67	D. Barnett	1859	1	2	-
68	J. Barnham I	1868	1	1	-
69	J. Barnham II	1902	1	1	Wandsworth
70	T. Barr	1880-1	2	61	Camberwell/Batt.
71	D. Barrett	1859-63	5	5	-
72	W. Barrett	1869-77	9	3	Battersea
73	W. Bartholomew	1893	1	2	Streatham
74	E. Bartingale	1863	1	1	-
75	T. Bartlett	1867-8	2	4	-
76	A. Bartrum	1870	1	8	-
77	J. Barwell	1880-2	3	104	Croydon
78	G. Bass	1843-72	30	121	Battersea
79	G. Bass/W. Winks	1848	1	9	Batt./Chelsea
80	W. Bate	1866	1	2	-
81	C. Bates	1880	1	2	Chelsea
82	G. Bateman	1862-3	2	20	-
83	Battersea Council	1898-04	7	191	Battersea
84	R. Battley	1885	1	1	Old Kent Road
85	R. Bawden	1882	1	7	Clapham
86	J./R. Bax	1898	1	12	Clapham
87	Bax/Ward	1873-9	7	27	Battersea
88	G. Baxter	1865	1	1	Walworth
89	W. Bayes	1852	1	1	Battersea
90	J. Bayley	1865	1	2	-
91	H. Beagen	1863	1	5	-
92	W. Beale	1878-86	9	33	Battersea
93	C. Beardsall	1867	1	4	Clapham
94	H. Beauchamp	1862-7	6	84	Battersea
95	J. Beavan	1879	1	3	Battersea
96	C. Bell	1878-84	7	51	Battersea
97	G. Bell	1860	1	2	-
98	W. Bell	1867	1	7	Chelsea
99	G. Benfield	1870	1	1	-
100	J. Benham	1863-81	19	18	Battersea
101	W. Benham	1848-50	3	6	Chelsea
102	A. Bennett I	1863	1	8	-
103	A. Bennett II	1886-8	3	37	Brixton
104	G. Bennett	1877-8	2	7	Victoria
105	H. Bennett	1884	1	4	Battersea



106	J. Bennett I	1864	1	2	-
107	J. Bennett II	1886-7	2	14	Lambeth
108	J/W Bennett	1846	1	3	Westminster
109	T. Bennett	1846-51	6	5	Battersea
110	H. Bensley I & II	1878-80	3	38	Battersea
111	J. Benson	1864	1	3	-
112	G. Bentley	1879	1	8	Balham
113	G. Bernard	1861-2	2	4	-
114	S. Best	1874	1	1	-
115	R. Bilham	1913	1	1	Battersea
116	M. Billington	1867	1	6	Battersea
117	Birch/Moor	1878	1	4	Battersea
118	H. Bishop	1882-4	3	18	Putney
119	R. Bishop	1866	1	2	Battersea
120	G. Bishopp	1867-70	4	13	Battersea
121	J. Blackbeard	1878	1	2	-
122	A. Blackburn	1874	1	2	Brixton
123	G. Blackmore	1864-9	6	6	-
124	H. Blackmore	1902	1	5	Clapham
125	W. Blackmore	1862-9	8	4	-
126	T. Blenkarn	1867	1	1	-
127	J. de Board	1861	1	12	-
128	A. Bodley	1885	1	2	Battersea
129	W. Bodley	1848-52	5	11	Battersea
130	W. Bolton	1885	1	4	Battersea
131	A. Boon	1879-01	23	164/16F	Battersea
132	R. Boon	1885	1	8	Wandsworth
133	J. Bosbury	1845-6	2	7	Chelsea
134	L&N Bottoms/Bros.	1877-81	5	72	Battersea
135	W. Boughton	1877-9	3	18	Wandsworth
136	T. Bowden	1878-9	2	2	Battersea
137	E. Bowering	1900-3	4	9	Wandsworth
138	C. Bowes	1866-7	2	11	-
139	S. Bowes	1884-91	8	42	Balham
140	S. Bowker	1863-81	19	45	Battersea
141	C. Bowler	1867-8	2	6	-
142	W. Bowler	1867-9	3	8	Battersea
143	H. Brackley	1879-80	2	13	Battersea
144	- Bradbough	1861	1	3	-
145	W. Bradlaugh	1851	1	2	Pimlico
146	W. Bradley	1879-80	2	3	Fulham
147	H. Bragg	1874-1900	27	105	Stockwell
148	D. Brasier	1870	1	1	-
149	F. Bray	1867	1	2	-
150	G. Brighten	1864-9	6	8	-
151	W/J Brittain	1848-9	2	8	Clapham
152	F. Britton	1892	1	4	Highbury
153	J.F. Brockwell	1880-1	2	8	Vauxhall
154	- Brooke	1867	1	1	-
155	J. Brooker	1863-70	8	26	New Kent Road
156	J. Brookes	1847	1	1	Battersea
157	H. Brooks	1893-4	2	19	Putney
158	H. Brown I	1846	1	10	Kennington
159	H. Brown II	1864	1	10	-
160	H. Brown III	1876	1	5	Stockwell

161	J. Brown	1867-8	2	12	Clapham
162	J.J. Brown	1879-80	2	7	Brixton
163	R. Brown	1882	1	4	Wandsworth
164	T. Brown	1865	1	1	-
165	W. Brown	1876-9	4	6	-
166	Brown/Smith	1875-7	3	13	Westminster
167	J. Brunning	1876	1	3	Holborn
168	E. Bryant	1870	1	2	Battersea
169	G. Bryant	1877-87	11	29	Battersea
170	A. Bryce	1877-87	11	46	Stockwell
171	W. Buchanan	1868-71	4	15	Battersea
172	J. Buckell	1877	1	2	Battersea
173	W. Bulbeck	1870	1	4	Battersea
174	G. Bull	1868-76	9	5	Clapham
175	C. Bunting	1876	1	4	Battersea
176	R. Burchall	1862	1	1	-
177	H. Burchett	1878	1	4	Battersea
178	H. Burman	1884	1	1	Kennington
179	R. Burrage	1851	1	1	Westminster
180	E. Burrell	1883-4	2	16	Battersea
181	T. Burtenshaw	1846-9	4	5	Southwark
182	J. Burton	1865	1	4	-
183	G. Bush	1875-7	3	9	Lee
184	A. Bussell	1880-05	26	132	Battersea
185	B. Butcher	1879-80	2	7	Battersea
186	B. Butcher	1871-80	10	9	Battersea
187	Butt/Perfect	1865-6	2	13	-
188	T. Butterfield	1876	1	5	Battersea
189	W. Byford	1886	1	2	Battersea
190	A. Cain	1887	1	6	Clapham
191	F. Cain	1898-05	8	29	Wandsworth/Batt.
192	Caine/Neal	1893	1	8	Lee
193	H. Callow	1865	1	2	-
194	A/D Campbell	1881	1	4	East Dulwich
195	C. Champion	1865	1	1	-
196	H. Camrey	1864	1	13	-
197	J. Cannon	1888	1	12	Putney
198	T. Capps	1866-9	4	18	Battersea
199	H. Carpenter	1867-9	3	2	Battersea
200	J. Carroll	1883	1	1	Battersea
201	D. Carter	1858-63	6	41	Battersea
202	E. Carter	1857-79	23	44	Battersea
203	J. Carter	1852	1	6	Battersea
204	T. Carter	1852	1	4	Battersea
205	W. Carter jun.	1843	1	4	-
206	J. Cartwright	1869	1	6	-
207	E. Cavanagh	1879	1	6	Clapham
208	G. Chadwin	1846-51	6	3	Battersea
209	G. Chaffer	1847	1	3	Pimlico
210	B. Chamberlain	1857	1	12	-
211	E. Chamberlain	1865-8	4	6	Fulham/Battersea
212	M. Chamberlain	1865-76	12	71	Battersea
213	T. Chamberlain	1859	1	1	-
214	B. Chandler	1865-9	5	28	Battersea
215	W. Chapman	1881	1	14	Kennington

216	W. Chappell	1863-75	13	12	Battersea
217	Chapple & Utting	1912-3	2	40	Streatham
218	W. Charlesworth	1882	1	8	Clapham
219	L. Charlton	1881	1	2	Battersea
220	J. Cheek	1852	1	5	-
221	J. Chorley	1867	1	1	-
222	J. Churcher	1876-9	4	8	Pimlico/Batt.
223	J. Churchyard	1862-84	23	62	Brixton
224	H. Clark	1864	1	1	-
225	H.O. Clark	1890	1	12	Brixton
226	J. Clark I	1848	1	6	Stepney
227	J. Clark II	1883	1	1	Chelsea
228	A. Clarke	1867	1	1	-
229	E. Clarke	1864	1	2	-
230	J. Clarke	1857-8	2	9	Clapham
231	J. Clawsley	1851	1	2	Battersea
232	A. Clements	1862-4	3	4	-
233	E. Coates	1885-6	2	13	Battersea
234	E. Cock	1840-1	2	16	Battersea
235	F. Cock	1858	1	8	Battersea
236	H. Cockell	1894-5	2	16	Battersea
237	W. Cockell	1850-80	31	90	Kennington/Batt.
238	T. Cocks	1859-70	12	8	Battersea
239	W. Cole	1864	1	1	-
240	H. Coleman	1868	1	1	Chelsea
241	W. Coleman	1859	1	1	-
242	J.R. Collett	1841-6	6	7	Chelsea/Battersea
243	W. Collins	1859	1	2	-
244	G. Collis	1867-87	21	100	Pimlico/Batt.
245	J & C Collis	1869-71	3	2	Battersea
246	W. Collis	1886-7	2	12	Battersea
247	-. Collyer	1858	1	3	-
248	J. Comber	1850	1	7	Peckham
249	J. Conning	1877-80	4	27	Battersea
250	W. Conroy	1879	1	6	-
251	A. Cook	1867	1	4	Southwark
252	B. Cook	1875-8	4	9	Battersea
253	J. Cook	1879-82	4	55	Battersea
254	M. Cook	1858	1	4	Clapham
255	W. Cook	1867	1	2	-
256	B. Cooke	1882	1	5	Battersea
257	J. Cooke	1866-8	3	7	-
258	Alf. Coomber	1894-5	2	22	Batt./Stockwell
259	Art. Coomber	1895-7	3	26	Battersea
260	G. Coombes	1861	1	1	-
261	W.R. Coomer	1844-68	25	40	Batt./Wands.
262	A. Cooper	1863-8	6	10	-
263	B. Cooper	1866	1	4	-
264	C. Cooper	1877-85	9	32	Battersea
265	J. Cooper I	1846	1	3	Kennington
266	J. Cooper II	1865-73	9	12	Battersea
267	J. Cooper III	1884	1	2	Battersea
268	J. Cooper IV	1895	1	1F	Victoria
269	T. Copes	1867	1	2	-
270	J. Corbet	1869	1	3	-

271	J. Coulman	1866-72	7	22	Norwood
272	G. Cowley	1888	1	1	Battersea
273	C. Cox	1880	1	2	Battersea
274	E. Cox	1869-79	11	12	Battersea
275	H.J. Cox	1875-9	5	15	Battersea
276	R. Cox	1885-90	6	17	Battersea
277	Cox/Pope	1866	1	3	-
278	-. Cranbourne	1895	1	1F	Battersea
279	J. Cranch	1865	1	3	-
280	T. Crapper	1873	1	2	Chelsea/Battersea
281	C. Creasy	1858-67	10	20	-
282	W. Croaker/Son	1862-70	9	26	Borough
283	W. Crosbie	1864-7	4	3	-
284	E. Crosby	1845	1	1	Chelsea
285	D. Cross	1866-8	3	28	Pimlico (Battersea)
286	E. Cross	1894-5	2	8	Battersea
287	W. Crossley	1866	1	6	-
288	-. Crowe	1873	1	2	Malden
289	W. Cullen	1889	1	6	Clapham
290	W. Cummings	1871	1	1	Battersea
291	W. Cunniper	1898	1	1	Battersea
292	E. Curnick	1848-64	17	58	Clapham
293	-. Curnick	1890	1	4	Battersea
294	J. Dale	1862-3	2	6	-
295	E Damer/T Payne	1899-01	3	22	Battersea
296	Darby & Co.	1891	1	5	Battersea
297	M. Dare	1864	1	1	-
298	-. Darvill	1880	1	6	Battersea
299	-. Dash	1884	1	2	Battersea
300	J.& J. Davey	1851-2	2	15	Brompton/Battersea
301	A. Davies	1862	1	9	-
302	G. Davies	1898	1	3	Pentonville
303	-. Davis	1848	1	1	Battersea
304	J. Davis I	1853	1	1	-
305	J. Davis II	1862-4	3	4	-
306	W. Davis	1875-84	10	49	Camberwell/Batt.
307	R. Daw	1864	1	2	-
308	M. Dawden	1850	1	3	Battersea
309	W. Dawes	1876	1	2	New Kent Road
310	-. Dawson	1864	1	4	-
311	W. Dawson	1893-4	2	18	Putney
312	H. Day	1851	1	2	Battersea
313	W. Deady	1868	1	6	-
314	W. Deacon	1881-2	2	8	Peckham
315	-. Dean	1862	1	1	-
316	W. Dean	1881-2	2	12	Battersea
317	G. Deardon	1876	1	3	Battersea
318	J. Dee/Brown	1863-6	4	22	-
319	W. Deer	1867	1	1	-
320	C. Dennis	1880-3	4	17	Battersea
321	W. Denniston	1881	1	12	Battersea
322	C. Derby	1885	1	10	Mortlake
323	T. Devitt	1877	1	2	Battersea
324	T. Dewing	1882	1	12	Fulham
325	R. Dickens	1880	1	4	Battersea

326	J. Dickeson I	1867-83	17	102	Battersea
327	J. Dickeson II	1895-02	8	15	Balham
328	F. Dickins	1890-1	2	18	Battersea
329	- Dike	1862-6	5	3	-
330	G. Dingle	1883	1	2	Kingsland
331	W. Ditchburn	1867	1	2	-
332	R Dixon/J Flexman	1869	1	2	Battersea
333	R. Dobie	1866	1	2	-
334	C. Doggett	1867	1	2	-
335	Doggett/T England	1867	1	2	-
336	H. Donald	1874	1	10	Wandsworth
337	D. Donaldson	1887-9	3	24	Balham
338	- Dootson	1877	1	14	Battersea
339	- Dove	1864	1	1	-
340	M. Dowding	1847	1	3	Westminster
341	R. Down	1863-74	12	5	Westminster/Batt.
342	G. Downham	1868	1	7	Wandsworth
343	W. Downs	1876-8	3	5	Southwark/Batt.
344	J. Dowse	1868-71	4	3	Battersea
345	M. Draisey	1869	1	3	-
346	J. Drake	1886	1	12	Kennington
347	T. Drayton	1877	1	3	Waterloo
348	Drew/Marshall	1882-4	3	12	Battersea
349	T. Driscoll	1899	1	6	Fulham
350	G. Driver	1891	1	5	Wandsworth
351	W. Drudge	1870-86	17	17	Battersea
352	F. Drummond	1868	1	5	-
353	- Duncan	1881	1	4	Battersea
354	J. Duncanson	1876-9	4	23	Brixton
355	C. Dungate I	1855-69	15	12	Clapham
356	C. Dungate II	1890-4	5	5	Merton
357	J. Dunick	1869	1	3	-
358	C. Dunkin	1872-3	2	2	Battersea
359	Dunston/Smith	1884	1	11	Tooting
360	D. Duplock	1884	1	12	Battersea
361	P. Duplock	1879-85	7	112	Clapham
362	G. Durrant	1843	1	4	Battersea
363	J. Eades	1859	1	23	-
364	T. Eames	1859-68	10	25	Wandsworth/Batt.
365	H. Earland	1869	1	2	Battersea
366	J. Eastman	1845-9	5	7	Battersea
367	E. Easton	1850	1	1	Battersea
368	F. Easton	1897-1902	6	157	Wandsworth
369	A. Eaton	1888-90	3	40	Battersea
370	W. Eaton	1879	1	2	Chelsea
371	C. Ebdy	1847-52	6	2	Battersea
372	W. Edmunds	1847	1	2	Camberwell
373	J. Eborall	1866-80	15	15	Chelsea
374	G. Edwards	1852	1	2	Clapham
375	J. Eesden	1848	1	3	Chelsea
376	J. Eggleton	1875	1	2	Clapham
377	H. Ellenor	1881	1	3	Upper Tooting
378	T. Ellenor	1860-71	12	13	Wandsworth
379	Elliott/Wolledge	1879	1	6	Battersea
380	H. Elliott	1869-70	2	19	-

381	W. Elliott I	1866-7	2	4	-
382	W. Elliott II	1886-7	2	8	Battersea
383	J. Ellis	1866	1	6	-
384	Emery/Austin	1879-84	6	96	Battersea
385	T. England	1863	1	2	Clapham
386	E. Evans	1864	1	5	Pimlico
387	G. Evans	1866	1	2	Victoria
388	G.H. Evans	1878-80	3	28	Batt./Westminster
389	E. Evenden	1886	1	1	Battersea
390	W. Evenett	1846	1	9	Battersea
391	S. Everett	1848-67	20	50	S. Lambeth/Batt.
392	Everett/Woods	1845	1	1	Battersea
393	J. Everidge I	1871	1	2	Kennington
394	J. Everidge II	1881	1	1	Wandsworth
395	H. Faggetter	1884	1	8	Peckham
396	J. Fairbrother	1885-6	2	13	Shep. Bush/Brixton
397	G. Fairlees	1886	1	10	Fulham
398	J. Falner	1893	1	2	Battersea
399	P. Farmilo	1851-68	18	23	Brompton
400	T. Featherstone	1845	1	3	Borough
401	T. Fell	1864-80	17	13	Battersea
402	G. Ferris	1862-8	7	9	Battersea
403	R. Finch	1862-6	5	10	-
404	J. Fincher	1876-83	8	33	Battersea
405	W. Fincher	1850	1	2	Lambeth
406	Fincher/Martyn	1862-5	4	32	-
407	J. Fish	1847	1	2	Battersea
408	G. Fisher	1884	1	2	Battersea
409	H. Fleming	1879	1	2	Mile End
410	J. Flexman	1863-4	2	16	Battersea
411	T. Flexman	1888	1	2	Shepherds Bush
412	H. Flimm	1882	1	4	Highbury
413	J. Flitton	1865-81	17	28	Battersea
414	C. Flower	1885	1	16	City
415	Folds/McFerham	1886	1	4	Battersea
416	H. Folkeard	1885-6	2	19	Battersea
417	G. Foot/Cross	1865-70	6	47	Battersea
418	G Foot/W Girdler	1867-8	2	5	Battersea
419	G. Foot	1867-78	12	8	Fulham
420	Ford/Sulley	1867	1	2	-
421	A. Ford	1864-5	2	6	-
422	J. Ford	1863	1	2	Lambeth
423	G. Fordham	1863	1	4	-
424	C. Forest	1888	1	4	Hackney
425	C. Forrest	1854-5	2	8	Bethnal Green
426	J. Forrest I	1846	1	2	Brixton
427	J. Forrest II	1861	1	1	-
428	W. Fowkes	1868-9	2	5	Battersea
429	J. Fox	1846-50	5	3	-
430	A. Foy	1880	1	10	Batt./Pimlico
431	- . Francis	1849	1	1	Battersea
432	M. Franklin	1840-2	3	5	Battersea
433	T. Franklin	1851	1	2	Streatham
434	C. Freake	1847-78	32	13	Kensington/Batt.
435	J. Freeland	1869	1	1	-

436	-. Freeman	1872	1	3	Battersea
437	W. French	1882	1	1	Battersea
438	J. Frewin	1880	1	3	Battersea
439	L. Frisby	1865	1	1	-
440	G. Frost	1874-84	11	154	Stockwell
441	G Frost/D Cross	1868	1	1	-
442	W. Froud I	1865-7	3	25	-
443	W. Froud II	1887	1	4	Kensington
444	Froud/Marshall	1885-6	2	24	Battersea
445	W.J. Fryer	1912	1	6	Paddington
446	J. Fuller	1863	1	4	-
447	T. Fully	1871-84	14	2	Dalston
448	E. Gadd	1909-12	4	44	Merton/Batt.
449	G. Gale	1876	1	1	Battersea
450	T. Gale	1858-71	14	3	Battersea
451	E.B. Gammon	1863-75	13	11	Battersea
452	W. Gammon	1864-8	5	25	Battersea
453	A. Gardner	1848	1	5	Battersea
454	R. Garlick	1861	1	5	-
455	C. Garrod	1866-7	2	12	-
456	J. Gascoine	1866-7	2	5	-
457	A. Geard	1880-1	2	4	Camberwell
458	J. George	1878-90	13	171	Battersea
459	T.J. George	1882-3	2	5	Battersea
460	W. George	1883	1	16	Wandsworth
461	W.H. George	1891-1914	24	323	Battersea
462	W. Gibbs	1868-9	2	4	Wandsworth
463	T. Gidin	1862	1	1	-
464	W. Giffard	1884-90	7	56	Battersea
465	B. Gilbert	1879-88	10	69	Battersea
466	-. Gilbey	1883	1	2	Battersea
467	J. Gilby	1862-8	7	9	-
468	T. Giles	1859	1	7	-
469	F. Gill	1881	1	4	Clapham
470	W. Gilliam	1878-9	2	4	Battersea
471	W. Girdler I	1867	1	1	-
472	W. Girdler II	1880-2	3	5	Battersea
473	G. Glasspool	1865-75	11	55	Battersea
474	J. Glazier	1868	1	2	-
475	T. Glewiss	1871	1	2	Battersea
476	G. Godbolt	1864-7	4	8	-
477	S. Godfrey	1862	1	1	-
478	E. Golds	1895-6	2	30	Wandsworth
479	Goldsworthy/Rickard	1882-5	4	18	Battersea
480	C. Gooding	1869-78	10	70	Battersea
481	J. Goodman	1864	1	2	-
482	W. Goodmans	1878	1	2	Battersea
483	S. Gordon	1880	1	3	Battersea
484	W. Gosden	1867	1	2	-
485	W. Gouge/Hazell	1864-5	2	39	-
486	C. Gould	1888	1	4	Battersea
487	-. Goulder	1886	1	40	Brixton
488	J.M. Gowman	1867	1	6	Battersea
489	Gowman/Wilkinson	1867-8	2	10	Battersea
490	G. Gradden	1876-7	2	6	Battersea

491	G. Graham	1876	1	2	Battersea
492	W. Grant	1849-50	2	2	Battersea
493	J. Graves	1869	1	1	Clapham
494	T. Graves	1866-77	12	62	Euston/Batt.
495	J. Gray	1884-93	10	85	Battersea
496	T. Gray	1876	1	2	Battersea
497	D. Green	1867	1	2	W. Dulwich
498	F. Green I	1865-8	4	31	Battersea
499	F. Green II	1888	1	7	Stoke Newington
500	F.C. Green	1887	1	20	City
501	T. Green	1852	1	2	Westminster
502	T. Gregory	1866-94	29	59	Battersea
503	R. Greig	1859	1	11	-
504	-. Griffin	1866	1	14	-
505	J. Griffin	1857	1	11	Battersea
506	W. Griffin	1877	1	1	Battersea
507	T. Grissell	1847-8	2	3	Battersea
508	S. Grist	1876-80	5	68	Battersea
509	W. Gritten	1859	1	2	-
510	J. Groombridge	1898	1	1	Balham
511	J. Grundy	1862	1	1	-
512	J. Gunnell	1864	1	1	-
513	W. Gurling	1887-8	2	19	Chelsea
514	-. Gurney	1863	1	1	-
515	W. Hack	1884	1	1	Poplar
516	C. Hacking	1890	1	1	Chelsea
517	J/W. Haines	1863-7	5	7	-
518	J. Hales	1881-4	4	25	Balham/Battersea
519	Hall/Haggis	1879-81	3	15	Battersea
520	J. Hall	1891	1	6	Shepherds Bush
521	W. Halstead	1867-78	12	130	Battersea
522	D. Hamblin	1902	1	2	Battersea
523	C. Hammond	1878	1	4	Peckham
524	W. Hammond	1879-98	20	13	Battersea
525	J. Hancock	1868	1	5	Clapham
526	J Hancock/W Gammon	1868	1	3	-
527	S. Hancock	1863-80	18	29	Battersea
528	S Hancock/D Cross	1867	1	2	Battersea
529	T. Handcock	1858	1	1	-
530	T. Hannagan	1851	1	2	Brixton
531	H. Hanson	1868	1	2	Battersea
532	J. Harber	1894-1907	14	8	Battersea
533	M. Harden	1854	1	1	-
534	Hardingham/Waldron	1868	1	9	-
535	J. Harley	1849	1	4	Battersea
536	Harley/James	1848	1	3	Brixton
537	Harling/Bowles	1881-2	2	9	Putney
538	J. Harmer	1848	1	1	Southwark
539	W. Harmer	1886	1	12	Battersea
540	Harris/Hains	1845-6	2	5	Kennington
541	J. Harris	1882-4	3	32	Kilburn/Batt.
542	R. Harris	1877	1	2	Pimlico
543	W. Harris	1869-87	19	46	Battersea
544	G. Harrold	1873	1	18	Battersea
545	J. Hart	1842-67	26	23	Pimlico/Batt.



546	H. Hart Davis	1846	1	6	Chelsea
547	W. Havard	1880-2	3	16	Clapham
548	J. Havill	1869	1	5	-
549	J. Haward	1863	1	1	-
550	J. Hawkins	1864	1	2	Battersea
551	H. Haydon	1876	1	2	Mitcham
552	E. Hayles	1866	1	2	-
553	T. Haylock I	1860-72	13	7	Pimlico/Batt.
554	T. Haylock II	1879-1904	26	41	Battersea
555	W. Hayman	1852-5	4	29	Marylebone
556	J. Haynes	1876	1	2	Battersea
557	W. Haynes	1882	1	3	Battersea
558	R. Hayward	1881	1	3	Newington
559	J. Head	1863-4	2	2	-
560	J. Heard	1891-7	7	35	Battersea
561	Hearle/Son	1878	1	4	Stepney
562	R.M. Heath	1864-77	14	5	Battersea
563	W. Heath	1851	1	2	Battersea
564	W. Heather	1846	1	3	Battersea
565	A. Heaver	1869-81	13	76	Battersea
566	Heaver/E Coates	1869	1	5	Clapham/Batt.
567	E. Heaver	1868-80	13	21	Battersea
568	J. Heaver	1887	1	19	Battersea
569	W. Heffer	1868	1	1	-
570	T. Heigham	1848-9	2	6	Blackheath
571	T. Henderson	1882	1	7	Clapham
572	W. Henderson	1865	1	8	-
573	Henstridge/Fuller	1852-69	18	46	Battersea
574	A. Hester	1867	1	7	Battersea
575	G. Hewitt	1862	1	2	-
576	C/J. Hibberd	1881	1	3	S. Lambeth
577	T. Hickson	1863	1	3	-
578	A. Higgins	1869	1	1	Pimlico
579	Higgs & Hill	1869-1902	34	10+7F	S. Lambeth
580	F. Hill	1877-80	4	23	Herne Hill/Batt.
581	T. Hill	1851-63	13	11	Clapham
582	T Hill/T Elworthy	1850-1	2	4	Wandsworth/Clap'm
583	E. Hilsby	1846	1	6	Vauxhall
584	J. Hilthorpe	1870	1	1	-
585	T. Hines	1876-83	8	94	Battersea
586	H. Hinks	1862	1	1	-
587	T. Hird	1847	1	2	Oxford St.
588	Hiscox/Williams	1868-72	5	11	Battersea
589	J. Hoar	1867	1	3	-
590	Hobbs & Lucas	1872	1	8	Norwood
591	J. Hobern	1860	1	6	New Kent Road
592	Hogg/Phillips	1883	1	21	Battersea
593	S. Holding	1881	1	44	Battersea
594	R. Hole	1883-4	2	21	Battersea
595	T. Holland I	1876	1	12	Earls Court
596	T. Holland II	1898	1	1	Battersea
597	S. Hollands	1848-51	4	26	Battersea
598	W. J. Hollett	1872	1	2	Westminster
599	J. Holley	1850	1	1	Lambeth
600	W. Holliday	1869-72	4	13	Clapham/Batt.

601	J Holloway/Bros.	1876-90	15	145	Clapham/Batt.
602	-. Holman	1867-9	3	6	-
603	J. Holt	1894	1	2	Brompton
604	R. Hook	1889	1	2	-
605	A. Hookey	1868	1	2	-
606	F.H. Hooper	1908-13	6	84	Battersea
607	B. Horegood	1884	1	2	Brixton
608	W. Horn	1882	1	4	New Cross
609	G. Hornsby	1869	1	1	-
610	A. Horsecroft	1850-3	4	49	Clapham
611	J. Hoskings	1849	1	1	-
612	P. Houlden	1866	1	4	-
613	Howard Bros.	1889	1	1	Brixton
614	G. Howard	1880-9	10	24	Battersea
615	H. Howard	1897	1	2	Battersea
616	Howard/Swann	1877	1	5	Chelsea
617	R. Howell	1878-9	2	18	Rotherhithe
618	H.W. Howes	1864	1	9	Covent Garden
619	J. Howes	1879-81	3	37	Battersea
620	W. Howick	1859-63	5	22	Covent Garden
621	W. Howitt	1865	1	4	-
622	G. Howlett	1866	1	18	-
623	H. Hubbard	1894-1902	9	142	Battersea
624	Hubbard/Taylor	1882	1	6	Battersea
625	E. Hudson	1881-3	3	28	Battersea
626	T. Hudson	1879	1	1	Battersea
627	W. Huggins	1867-8	2	4	Pimlico
628	C. Hughes	1868	1	47	-
629	W. Hughes	1860	1	4	-
630	T. Humphreys	1850	1	6	Brompton
631	C. Hunt	1885-6	2	15	Chelsea
632	H.J. Hunt	1863-75	13	37	Battersea/Lambeth
633	S. Hunt	1878	1	1	Battersea
634	T. Hunt	1851	1	8	Hammersmith
635	T.B. Hunt	1850-64	15	8	Battersea
636	C. Hunter	1884	1	4	Forest Hill
637	J. Hussey	1879	1	4	Battersea
638	T. Hutchens	1880-1	2	12	Wandsworth
639	H. Hutchings	1882	1	2	Balham
640	T. Idenden	1868	1	3	Battersea
641	Iles & Wood	1877-93	17	240	Battersea
642	Inch & Sims	1880	1	6	Stockwell
643	W. Ing	1864	1	20	-
644	-. Ingram	1887	1	5	Beckenham
645	T. Ingram	1872	1	6	Brixton
646	J. Ireland	1895	1	6	Clapham
647	W. Ireland	1889-94	6	4	Battersea
648	A. Isaac	1869-91	23	79	Battersea
649	W. Isaacs	1878-9	2	6	Battersea
650	W. Izard	1867	1	2	-
651	J Jackson/J Bell	1868	1	1	Pimlico
652	R. Jackson	1864-76	13	14	Battersea
653	J. Jacobs	1849	1	2	Camberwell
654	G. Jacques	1872	1	4	Bethnal Green
655	E. James	1882	1	2	Brixton

656	H. James	1874-6	3	14	Buckhurst Hill
657	R. James	1869	1	1	-
658	James/Rowden	1886	1	15	Tooting
659	A. Jarman	1866-7	2	12	Dulwich/Batt.
660	W. Jarrett	1864	1	1	Battersea
661	J. Jenkins I	1879-80	2	53	Walworth
662	J. Jenkins II	1903-7	5	35	Battersea
663	T. Jenkins I	1867	1	4	-
664	T. Jenkins II	1879-85	7	60	Clapham
665	T. Jenner	1871	1	2	Paddington
666	S.J. Jerrard	1876-7	2	5	Lewisham
667	J.B. Jerrens	1883-5	3	29	Lee
668	M. Jewell	1886	1	1	Wandsworth
669	W. Jewell	1894	1	2	Battersea
670	H. Jinks	1868-9	2	4	Kennington
671	C. Johnson	1878	1	1	Brixton
672	E. Johnson	1866-72	7	4	Balham
673	E Johnson/J Coulman	1867-9	3	13	Battersea
674	G. Johnson I	1858	1	1	Battersea
675	G. Johnson II	1871	1	5	Bloomsbury
676	H. Johnson	1893-02	10	47+F	Wood Green
677	J. Johnson	1867-8	2	21	-
678	W. Johnson I	1867	1	11	-
679	W. Johnson II	1876-81	6	5	Battersea
680	Jones Bros. I	1883-4	2	3	Battersea
681	Jones Bros. II	1904	1	19	Victoria
682	A. Jones	1878	1	3	Battersea
683	D. Jones	1859-66	8	9	Battersea
684	H. Jones	1894	1	1	Hammersmith
685	J. Jones I	1848	1	6	Lambeth
686	J. Jones II	1868	1	1	-
687	J.L. Jones	1879-80	2	8	Battersea
688	R. Jones I	1847-9	3	13	Pimlico/Batt.
689	R. Jones II	1861-6	6	18	-
690	R. Jones III	1901	1	3	Sutton
691	T. Jones I	1842	1	4	Pimlico
692	T. Jones II	1872	1	2	Battersea
693	W. Jones I	1863-71	9	6	Battersea
694	W. Jones II	1881-2	2	15	Wandsworth
695	J. Jordan	1864-6	3	3	-
696	H. Juer	1864	1	2	Battersea
697	J. Kaley	1862-73	12	9	Westminster/Batt.
698	J. Keast	1881-3	3	22	Stockwell
699	H. Keen	1868-82	15	41	Battersea
700	H. Keep	1883	1	4	Wimbledon
701	J. Kell	1852	1	2	Regent St.
702	Kelsey & Nash	1876-7	2	25	Herne Hill
703	J. Kemp	1868-78	11	13	Battersea
704	Kemp & Townsend	1879-81	3	50	Battersea
705	C. Kemp/J.May	1880	1	10	Battersea
706	-. Kempe	1880	1	10	Wandsworth
707	J. Kennedy	1864-9	6	13	Battersea
708	J. Kennedy/Taylor	1893-4	2	15/8F	City
709	W. Kerr	1874-83	10	74	Balham
710	I. Kerridge	1868	1	61	Battersea

711	C.J. Kerven	1885-95	11	60	Battersea
712	H.J. Kerven	1899	1	8	Wandsworth
713	W.E. Kerven	1885-1914	30	211	Battersea
714	D. Kettle	1878-1900	23	139	Battersea
715	H. Killick	1849	1	8	Clapham
716	-. Kilsby	1846	1	4	-
717	R. Kindley	1880	1	6	Battersea
718	King & Spilman	1871	1	7	Lambeth
719	H. King	1870	1	4	-
720	J. King I	1864-9	6	33	Wandsworth/Batt.
721	J. King II	1879-81	3	26	Battersea
722	M. King	1880	1	3	-
723	W. King	1866-70	5	26	Wandsworth
724	H Kitchin/T Richardson	1868	1	6	Clapham/Brixton
725	J. Knight	1881	1	1	Putney
726	P. Knight	1846-59	14	15	Lambeth
727	W. Knight	1894	1	7	Fulham
728	P. Knipler	1851-67	17	5	Battersea
729	F. Knowles	1869	1	7	Westminster
730	G. Kruse	1882	1	6	Battersea
731	C. Kynock	1863-88	26	11	Clapham
732	Lacey & Flexman	1864-9	6	154	Chelsea
733	J. Lack	1852	1	1	Victoria
734	T. Lack	1871	1	1	Pimlico
735	A. Ladbrook	1885-8	4	19	Battersea
736	J. Lafou	1886	1	10	Battersea
737	J. Lamb	1868	1	11	Battersea
738	A. Lambert/Eaton	1880-2	3	38	Battersea
739	C. Land	1845-63	19	7	Battersea
740	Lander/Bedells	1861	1	2	-
741	-. Lane	1890	1	2	Battersea
742	J. Lane I	1867-75	9	33	Peckham/Stockwell
743	J. Lane II	1879-80	2	5	Battersea
744	Lane & Gibson	1865-7	3	18	-
745	Lane & J. Tanner	1868	1	1	-
746	W. Lang	1889	1	1	Balham
747	Lapthorne & Co.	1879-91	13	16	Lambeth
748	-. Large	1872	1	4	Battersea
749	H. Larner	1859-64	6	19	Battersea
750	Lathey Bros.	1862-1901	40	63	Battersea
751	S. Lathey	1858	1	4	Battersea
752	A. Lathlean	1869	1	2	-
753	J. Laver	1882-3	2	21	Stockwell
754	W. Lawrence	1878	1	2	Chelsea
755	C. Laws	1864	1	8	-
756	W. Lawton	1855-67	13	12	Battersea
757	C.B. Leader	1880	1	2	Balham
758	A. Leather	1903	1	3	Wandsworth
759	L. Ledger	1866	1	1	-
760	G. Lee	1867	1	2	-
761	H. Lee I	1859	1	1	-
762	H. Lee II	1884	1	1	Battersea
763	M. Lee	1867	1	1	-
764	W. Lee	1874	1	1	Battersea
765	H. Leggett	1848	1	2	Chelsea

766	C. Lemon	1889	1	12	Lewisham/Batt.
767	S. Lewis	1877	1	36	Shepherds Bush
768	H. Lewry	1880-3	4	42	Battersea
769	J. Leyland	1862-3	2	10	-
770	E. Liddicoat	1866-79	14	10	Clapham
771	H. Lidyard	1863-5	3	3	Battersea
772	Lillington/Goare	1886	1	4	Clapham
773	Limpus & Co.	1906	1	2	Surbiton
774	A. Lindfield	1890-3	4	35	Wandsworth/Batt.
775	W. Lipscombe	1869	1	2	-
776	H. Livett	1869	1	1	-
777	-. Lloyd	1879-80	2	15	Battersea
778	J. Loat	1869	1	1	(Clapham)
779	W. Long	1859-67	9	5	-
780	J. Longhurst	1846-57	12	2	Battersea
781	C. Longworth	1863-77	15	26	Battersea
782	W. Lorden	1874-85	12	8	Tooting
783	J. Loud	1867-80	14	90	Battersea
784	W. Loud	1878	1	1	Battersea
785	J. Lovett	1863	1	2	-
786	B. Lowe	1863	1	3	-
787	W. Lowe	1880	1	6	-
788	G. Lower	1880-94	15	131	Clapham
789	J. Lower I	1881	1	6	Stockwell
790	J. Lower II	1895	1	4	Battersea
791	J. Lucas I	1845-69	25	53	Clapham
792	J. Lucas II	1880	1	6	Clapham
793	Lucas Bros.	1858	1	1	-
794	J. Lucy	1867	1	6	Battersea
795	S. Ludford	1867-79	13	23	Westminster
796	W. Lusbery	1868	1	5	-
797	J.W. Lyde	1861-8	8	19	-
799	J. Lydiatt	1868	1	9	-
799	Lynes & Rivett	1869	1	2	-
800	C. Lyons	1868-80	13	26	Battersea
801	R & S. Lyon	1877-91	15	87	Battersea
802	J. Macey	1886	1	11	Strand
803	T. Mackay	1867	1	2	-
804	J. Maddison	1864-79	16	12	Battersea
805	J. Maley	1867-71	5	16	Camden Town
806	J. Maltby	1851	1	1	Battersea
807	-. Mandy	1865	1	2	-
808	Manley & Rogers	1871	1	1	Regents Park
809	J. Mann I	1866-9	4	12	Battersea
810	J. Mann II	1887-8	2	3	Battersea
811	T. Mann	1860	1	7	-
812	C. Mannering	1870	1	5	-
813	R. Mansell	1866	1	1	-
814	J. Marler	1867	1	2	-
815	W. Marriage	1885	1	4	City
816	C. Marshall	1876	1	2	Brixton
817	J. Martin I	1864-75	12	14	Clapham
818	J. Martin II	1887-92	6	9	Battersea
819	S. Martin	1882	1	20	Hackney
820	C. Massey	1876-80	5	23	Clapham/Battersea

821	J. Matline	1867	1	3	-
822	S. Mathews	1909	1	33	Merton
823	H. Matthews	1862-4	3	36	Battersea
824	T. Matthias	1879-94	16	6	Battersea
825	A. May	1871	1	2	Camden Town
826	W. May	1877-86	10	17	Battersea
827	J. McCabe	1867	1	1	-
828	J. McCulloch	1879	1	2	Kennington
829	A. McMullen	1863	1	3	-
830	J. Meadows	1882	1	4	Battersea
831	E. Meads	1867	1	8	-
832	W. Mears	1849	1	1	Wandsworth
833	D. Megath	1863	1	4	Battersea
834	H. Menhinnick	1864-71	8	55	Pimlico
835	Mercer & Warwick	1874-5	2	14	Camberwell
836	A. Mercer	1878	1	6	Brixton
837	W. Mercer	1864-70	7	6	-
838	S. Merrett	1906-7	2	9	Putney
839	W. Merrifield	1887	1	3	Clapham
840	J. Merritt	1865-88	24	34	Battersea
841	C. Midmer	1904	1	6	Clapham
842	C. Milburn	1865	1	1	-
843	G. Miles	1858-61	4	8	-
844	Millar & Bowen	1880	1	6	Battersea
845	J. Miller	1877-86	10	138	Clapham
846	S. Miller	1891	1	8	Tottenham
847	S. Milliner	1871-3	3	3	Battersea
848	G. Mills	1876	1	1	Battersea
849	T. Mills	1875-6	2	5	Clapham
850	G. Milner	1864-8	5	3	-
851	T. Milner	1849	1	30	Westminster
852	W. Mindenhall	1850	1	1	Battersea
853	G. Mitchell	1861	1	1	-
854	T. & R. Mitchell	1868	1	4	Peckham
855	T. Mitchell	1871	1	4	Battersea
856	J. Mogford	1866	1	3	-
857	H. Monk	1867	1	2	-
858	H. Montague	1864	1	2	-
859	R. Moody	1878	1	2	-
860	F. Moore	1883	1	1	Battersea
861	R. Moreton	1872	1	1	Battersea
862	C. Morgan	1869	1	6	Lambeth
863	- Morley	1872	1	4	Battersea
864	G. Morris	1853	1	2	Battersea
865	J. Mortlock	1867	1	2	Westminster
866	A. Morton	1870	1	11	-
867	Moslein Bros.	1882	1	2	Chelsea
868	S. Moxey	1846-52	7	12	Battersea
869	W. Mulliner	1862-80	19	34	Wandsworth
870	J. Mulvey	1874-5	2	32	Euston
871	C. Munday	1875	1	3	Wandsworth
872	H. Munday	1878-86	9	88	Battersea
873	W. Munslow	1867	1	4	Battersea
874	J. Murray	1868	1	1	Battersea
875	E Muspratt/J Gowman	1864-74	11	32	Battersea/Victoria

876	-. Mussell	1865	1	1	-
877	G. Myers	1875	1	5	Lambeth
878	J. Myring	1891-5	5	22	Wandsworth
879	F. Nash	1877-88	12	32	Clapham
880	W. Nash	1876-8	3	21	Brixton
881	J. Neale	1879	1	1	Battersea
882	T. Neave	1867	1	7	Battersea
883	F. Newland	1884	1	1	Battersea
884	E. Newman	1865-82	18	199	Battersea
885	F. Newman	1857-65	9	2	-
886	H. Newman	1860-78	19	16	Battersea
887	W. Newman	1869	1	7	Battersea
888	J. Newton	1881-2	2	4	Clapham
889	W. Newton	1858	1	2	-
890	Newton & Trigg	1877-8	2	13	Clapham
891	J. Niblett	1874-5	2	4	Peckham
892	H. Nicholls	1874-7	4	5	Battersea
893	J. Nicholls	1884-91	8	27	Catford
894	J.Z. Nicholls	1882-7	6	30	Pimlico
895	D. Nicholson	1847	1	1	Wandsworth
896	J. Nicholson	1867-9	3	5	-
897	J. Nicks	1896-1906	11	15	Battersea
898	C. Nightingale	1869	1	1	-
899	A. Nixon	1880-4	5	36	Balham
900	E. Nixon	1875-85	11	102	Clapham
901	H. Nixon	1862-84	23	44	Clapham
902	W. Northmore	1878	1	2	Battersea
903	J. Norton	1874-7	4	13	Battersea
904	J. Notley	1867-8	2	3	-
905	G. Nott	1848	1	5	Lambeth
906	W. Nunn	1882	1	2	S. Croydon
907	R. Nurse	1880	1	4	E. Dulwich
908	E. Nutting	1877-89	13	46	Battersea
909	E Oakley/C Remnant	1881	1	3	Battersea
910	Oldridge & Sons	1911	1	1	Kingston
911	F. Oppitz	1868	1	1	-
912	W. Orris	1865	1	4	-
913	J. Osborne	1881-4	4	13	Clapham
914	T. Osborne	1865-84	20	12	Battersea
915	T. Owen	1869-70	2	3	Hampstead
916	J. Oxford	1868-84	17	14	Chelsea/Batt.
917	C. Pace	1861	1	1	Battersea
918	J. Pacey	1876	1	3	Battersea
919	J. Packe	1885-7	3	29	Battersea
920	Padden & Johnson	1885	1	3	Fulham
921	G. Page	1866	1	1	-
922	J. Page I	1857	1	2	-
923	J. Page II	1868	1	2	Lambeth
924	J. Paice	1874	1	2	Clapham
925	J. Palmer	1890-4	5	57	Camberwell/Batt.
926	S. Palmer	1859	1	12	-
927	J.C. Park	1850	1	1	-
928	R. Parker	1866	1	1	Battersea
929	W.J. Parker	1883-8	6	29	Battersea
930	W. Parkinson	1882-3	2	6	Fulham

931	-. Parmour	1862	1	3	-
932	W. Parratt	1862-9	8	99	Battersea
933	C. Parrish	1877-9	3	4	Battersea
934	E. Parsons	1848-77	30	21	Wandsworth
935	J. Parsons	1863-74	12	301	Chelsea
936	J Parsons/R Pinnegar	1865	1	1	Chelsea/Battersea
937	Parsons & Taylor	1874	1	22	Clapham
938	W. Passmore	1854-9	6	5	Battersea
939	J. Patchin	1870-9	10	3	Battersea
940	G. Patman	1884-6	3	9	Ham'smith/Holborn
941	J. Patmore	1870	1	1	-
942	F. Pattison	1880	1	2	Battersea
943	C. Payne	1867-9	3	12	Battersea
944	T. Payne	1902-3	2	14	Battersea
945	W. Payne	1867	1	11	-
946	A. Peacock	1884	1	3	Brixton
947	C. Peacock	1880-2	3	20	Clapham
948	F. Peacock I	1881	1	4	Stockwell
949	F. Peacock II	1893	1	16	Wandsworth
950	W. Peacock	1878-97	20	276	Brixton/Clapham
951	G. Pearce	1892	1	4	Tooting
952	J. Pearson	1861-9	9	51	Battersea
953	W. Peck	1846	1	2	Somers Town
954	T. Penny	1874-6	3	768	Battersea
955	I. Pentecost	1875	1	21	Clapham
956	S. Percival	1869	1	7	-
957	E. Perfect	1866	1	1	Kensington
958	W. Perrin	1882	1	3	Peckham
959	-. Perry	1866	1	1	-
960	Perry & Co.	1894	1	2	-
961	J. Peters	1877-82	6	66	Battersea
962	W. Peters	1883-4	2	17	Battersea
963	Phelps & Rice	1876	1	2	Clapham
964	J. Philbey/Austin	1863-8	6	49	Battersea
965	J. Phillips	1884-6	3	18	Battersea
966	R. Phillips	1868	1	1	-
967	S. Phillips	1862	1	6	-
968	Phillipson/Williams	1875-7	3	30	Lambeth
969	U. Philpot	1869	1	3	-
970	R/H. Pickersgill	1883	1	2	Soho
971	Pickett & Hamilton	1879-80	2	20	Battersea
972	W. Picking	1847	1	3	Battersea
973	G. Picton	1882-94	13	43	Kennington
974	A.E. Pierce	1912	1	6	Putney
975	W. Pierce	1879-87	9	44	Battersea
976	G. Pike	1865	1	2	-
977	Pile & Shapland	1886	1	2	Battersea
978	W. Pinder	1868	1	10	-
979	T. Pink	1879-80	2	52	Harlesden/Batt.
980	J. Pinn	1849-66	18	23	Battersea
981	R. Pinnegar	1863-83	21	39	Battersea
982	W. Piper	1878-80	3	12	Battersea
983	D. Pitt	1879-88	10	95	Battersea
984	A. Playle	1880-10	31	218	Clapham
985	W.W. Pocock	1852-71	20	11	Westminster/Batt.



986	H. Poole	1866	1	5	-
987	W.H. Poole	1879-81	3	15	Battersea
988	Porter & Smith	1892	1	6	Tooting
989	-. Poupart	1867	1	15	-
990	B. Powell	1851	1	2	Peckham
991	J. Powell I	1845	1	5	Brixton
992	J. Powell II	1868	1	2	Slough
993	E. Price I	1867	1	12	-
994	E. Price II	1889	1	3	Battersea
995	J. Price I	1849	1	2	Lambeth
996	J. Price II	1876	1	7	Battersea
997	J Price/W Saunders	1867	1	3	Chelsea
998	R. Price	1859	1	1	-
999	T. Price	1879	1	6	Clapham
1000	F. Priddis	1903-5	3	6	Battersea
1001	Priddle & Harding	1867	1	12	-
1002	W. Priest	1868	1	1	-
1003	L. Prime	1846	1	14	Barnsbury
1004	J. Prout	1900-2	3	14	Clapham
1005	T. Pugh	1882-91	10	54	Battersea
1006	J. Purdy	1862-6	5	17	-
1007	H. Puttick	1841-63	23	9	S. Lambeth/Batt.
1008	W. Pyle	1878	1	1	Battersea
1009	R. Pymm	1866-83	18	44	Battersea
1010	J. Quennell	1880	1	8	Lambeth
1011	F. Ramsey	1867-9	3	11	Battersea
1012	G. Randall	1861-80	20	49	Battersea
1013	T. Randall	1880	1	2	Paddington
1014	J. Rankin	1878-80	3	37	Uxbridge Rd.
1015	Ransford & Co.	1847	1	1	Battersea
1016	S. Rashliegh	1881-14	34	141	Clapham/Batt.
1017	W. Raven	1877	1	1	Balham
1018	A. Rawlings	1869	1	3	-
1019	A. Ray	1885-6	2	27	Lewisham
1020	M. Ray/T. Banbery	1869-71	3	4	Battersea
1021	E. Raybould	1858-76	19	26	Waterloo/Batt.
1022	W. Redmond	1898-1900	3	17	Stamford Hill
1023	G. Redfearn	1867-9	3	3	-
1024	W. Reed	1848	1	10	Smithfield
1025	G. Reeve	1866-8	3	82	Camberwell/Batt.
1026	J. Reeve	1863	1	1	-
1027	J. Reid	1865	1	10	-
1028	Remnant & Hewlett	1881	1	10	Battersea
1029	W. Rentmore	1862	1	1	-
1030	W. Renton	1861-2	2	4	-
1031	D. Rice	1882-5	4	12	Clapham
1032	R. Rice	1867	1	1	-
1033	J. Richardson	1862	1	5	Lambeth
1034	S. Richardson	1875-82	8	32	Dulwich
1035	W. Richens	1866-7	2	4	Battersea
1036	W. Richens/H. Mount	1865-86	22	58	Battersea
1037	T. Riches	1864	1	5	Battersea
1038	H. Rickard	1891-2	2	14	Battersea
1039	A. Ridout	1894-1902	9	4+1F	Chelsea
1040	L. Rigsbey	1863	1	2	Chelsea

1041	F. Rimell	1868	1	12	Peckham
1042	D. Rix	1880	1	4	Battersea
1043	J. Roberts	1876	1	2	W. Brompton
1044	T. Roberts	1883-4	2	16	Mortlake
1045	J. Robertson	1880-6	7	39	Brixton/Batt.
1046	T. Robertson	1882-4	3	35	Battersea
1047	H. Robotham	1865-7	3	2	-
1048	S. Robson	1878-80	3	24	Pimlico
1049	C. Rogers	1876	1	2	Pimlico
1050	L.S. Rogers	1899-1901	3	11	Battersea
1051	J. Roles	1849-50	2	4	-
1052	E. Rough	1859	1	1	-
1053	H. Rough	1886	1	10	Pimlico
1054	A. Rowcliff	1849	1	3	Marylebone
1055	J. Rowden	1887	1	1	Tooting
1056	E. Rowe	1865	1	2	-
1057	G. Rowe	1860	1	4	-
1058	J. Rowe I	1878-87	10	159	Battersea
1059	J. Rowe II jnr.	1885	1	4	Brixton
1060	W. Rowe I	1879-83	5	37	Clapham
1061	W. Rowe II	1899-1908	10	75	Battersea
1062	F. Rowley	1851-66	16	7	Battersea
1063	J. Roy	1877	1	1	Old Kent Rd.
1064	J. Rudeforth	1876-7	2	15	Peckham
1065	G. Rumbol	1877	1	3	Camberwell
1066	A. Rundle	1879-80	2	26	Battersea
1067	W. Rutter	1861	1	1	-
1068	R. Sadleir	1903	1	2	Sutton
1069	R.F. Saker	1881-90	10	37	Battersea
1070	W. & T. Saker	1880	1	13	Battersea
1071	J. Sallowes	1889	1	12	Putney
1072	F. Sanden	1849	1	6	Islington
1073	A. Sanders	1884	1	5	Stockwell
1074	W. Sanders	1865	1	1	-
1075	G. Sanderson	1869-70	2	7	-
1076	C. Sands	1845	1	1	Clapham
1077	H. Sargeant	1905	1	3	Streatham
1078	F. Saunders	1880	1	12	Battersea
1079	W. Savage	1860-8	9	18	Battersea
1080	-. Sawyer	1867	1	3	-
1081	W. Sayer	1891	1	1	New Kent Rd.
1082	W. Schofield	1879-80	2	52	Clapham
1083	H. Schooling	1866	1	1	Limehouse
1084	Scott & Deryck	1885-9	5	43	Battersea
1085	W. Scott	1872	1	4	W. Acton
1086	T. Scotts	1868	1	4	-
1087	W. Scrafe	1880	1	4	-
1088	H. Search	1849	1	4	Rotherhithe
1089	S. Seldon	1862-76	15	36	Battersea
1090	R. Selkirk	1868	1	9	Battersea
1091	F. Sellar	1861-5	5	16	Battersea
1092	H. Sells	1846	1	12	Lambeth
1093	W. Sellwood	1858	1	1	-
1094	F. Serff	1904	1	2	Kensington
1095	C. Sewell	1877	1	5	Strand

1096	J. Sexby	1858-9	2	26	-
1097	F. Shapland	1871	1	1	Westminster
1098	R. Sharman	1882	1	4	Battersea
1099	J. Shaw	1848	1	2	Battersea
1100	C. Sheet	1878	1	2	Stamford Hill
1101	C. Sheppard	1852	1	1	Pimlico
1102	G. Sheppard	1865	1	4	-
1103	T. Sheppard	1899-1908	10	40	Battersea
1104	W. Sheppard	1867-9	3	9	Chelsea
1105	W. Sheppard/T Haylock	1863-4	2	12	Pimlico
1106	H. Shillito	1867-9	3	16	Southwark/Batt.
1107	Shrives/Partridge	1879	1	5	Battersea
1108	G. Simmonds	1868	1	4	Battersea
1109	- Simmons	1888	1	1	Chelsea
1110	E. & A. Simons	1880-2	3	24	Brixton
1111	W. Sizer	1884-6	3	24	Wandsworth
1112	J. Skam	1849	1	6	Kennington
1113	P. Skam	1883-4	2	10	Camberwell
1114	G. Skeet	1882	1	5	Battersea
1115	G. Skerratt	1877-9	3	2	Westminster
1116	R. Slcombe	1847-68	22	27	Battersea
1117	S. Sly	1862	1	2	-
1118	G. Small	1877-8	2	7	Clapham
1119	Smith & Son	1898	1	1	Norwood
1120	C. Smith I	1862	1	18	-
1121	C. Smith II	1884-5	2	8	Pimlico
1122	C. Smith III	1903	1	5	Clapham
1123	D. Smith	1902	1	1	Battersea
1124	E. Smith	1866	1	2	-
1125	F. Smith	1878-80	3	14	Battersea
1126	G. Smith	1883	1	2	Battersea
1127	G.T. Smith	1863-4	2	11	Pimlico
1128	H. Smith	1865	1	8	-
1129	J. Smith I	1852	1	2	Borough
1130	J. Smith II	1864-9	6	17	Battersea
1131	J. Smith III	1879	1	1	Hyde Park
1132	J. Smith IV	1882-1908	27	397	Stockwell
1133	L. Smith	1870	1	2	-
1134	R. Smith I	1851	1	1	Wandsworth
1135	R. Smith II	1863-72	10	12	Battersea
1136	R. Smith/T. Abell	1863-4	2	8	Battersea
1137	T. Smith	1862	1	1	-
1138	W. Smith I	1846	1	8	Rotherhithe
1139	W. Smith II	1858-63	6	4	-
1140	Smith & Camp	1870	1	2	-
1141	F. Snell	1862-4	3	17	-
1142	F. Snelling	1878-83	6	23	Brixton
1143	W. Snook	1850-9	10	17	Fulham/Batt.
1144	J. Snowden	1868	1	5	Chelsea
1145	C. Soar	1867	1	1	-
1146	G. Soden	1901	1	2	Streatham
1147	A. Solita	1867-76	10	4	Camberwell/Batt.
1148	M. Somes	1879	1	4	Chelsea
1149	G. Sorkington	1883	1	2	Chelsea
1150	G. Soughworth	1866	1	1	-

1151	T. Souster	1862	1	4	-
1152	C. Spanter	1865-6	2	4	-
1153	T. Spearing	1879-83	5	66	Clapham/Batt.
1154	T. Spence	1878	1	1	Blackfriars
1155	G. Spencer	1875	1	4	Wandsworth
1156	W. Spencer	1850	1	1	Clapham
1157	D. Spicer	1876	1	2	Chelsea
1158	G. Spicer	1876-9	4	12	Battersea
1159	J. Spicer I	1858	1	1	-
1160	J. Spicer II	1882	1	6	Brixton
1161	W.H. Spicer	1853	1	1	-
1162	G. Spiers	1883	1	1	Strand
1163	J. Spink	1848-63	16	44	Battersea
1164	H. Spinks	1864-8	5	28	Battersea
1165	S. Spinks	1849	1	2	Vauxhall
1166	J. Springfellow	1865	1	1	-
1167	D. Staff	1885-6	2	6	Paddington
1168	R. Stainer	1867	1	6	-
1169	Staley & Walker	1875	1	2	Battersea
1170	J. Stanbury	1887-98	12	350	Worcester Park
1171	W. Stanbury	1882-93	12	93	Wandsworth
1172	B. Standish	1871	1	1	Balham
1173	W. Stannard	1867	1	2	-
1174	J. Staples	1890	1	25	Battersea
1175	J. Stapleton	1858-86	29	26	Battersea
1176	A. Starling	1884	1	8	Bayswater
1177	J. Statham	1884-93	10	209	Battersea
1178	C. Steadman	1846-7	2	7	Battersea
1179	G. Stearman	1850	1	2	Westminster
1180	S. Stearns	1882-5	4	17	Battersea
1181	S. Stedman	1858-68	11	13	Battersea
1182	D. Steel	1863	1	2	-
1183	J. Steel	1874-6	3	5	Dalston
1184	Steele & May	1882	1	6	Battersea
1185	W.H. Steer	1879-90	12	143	Battersea
1186	G. Stent	1849-51	3	6	Ealing/Batt.
1187	-. Stephens	1884	1	1	SE London
1188	H. Stephens	1879-81	3	16	Battersea
1189	G. Stephenson	1875	1	5	Chelsea
1190	G. Stevens	1894	1	1	Stockwell
1191	H. Stevens	1879	1	5	Battersea
1192	J. Stevens	1886	1	2	Battersea
1193	W. Stevens I	1852-67	16	14	Battersea
1194	W. Stevens II	1867-8	2	6	Pimlico
1195	A. Stewart	1868	1	15	-
1196	W. Stewart	1886-97	12	65	Battersea
1197	S. Stiles	1871-9	9	6	Battersea
1198	G. Stone	1858-62	5	11	-
1199	J. Stone I	1887-8	2	20	Walthamstow
1200	J. Stone II	1895	1	2	Balham
1201	R. Stone	1865	1	1	-
1202	Stone/Quittenson	1885-6	2	16	SW London
1203	F. Stoneman	1871	1	2	Battersea
1204	A. Stoner	1851	1	3	Pimlico
1205	-. Stonnell	1865	1	12	Battersea

1206	J. Straw	1848	1	6	Kennington
1207	Street/Merritt	1877-85	9	41	Battersea
1208	G. Street	1875-98	24	101	Battersea
1209	G.H. Stringer	1882-90	9	107	Battersea
1210	G. Stride	1862	1	1	-
1211	W. Stubbs	1876-8	3	114	Lambeth
1212	J. Sugden	1846	1	2	Battersea
1213	H. Sugg	1896	1	10	Battersea
1214	H. Sutton	1845	1	4	Brixton
1215	W. Sutton	1868	1	2	-
1216	J. Swaine	1853	1	3	Battersea
1217	T. Swaine/C. Hall	1869-70	2	5	S. Lambeth/Battersea
1218	T. Swain/Howard	1876-80	5	23	Chelsea/Batt.
1219	Swain & Shelley	1894-5	2	27	Clapham
1220	J. Swan	1870	1	1	-
1221	S. Swan	1853	1	1	-
1222	J. Swann	1881	1	12	Battersea
1223	J. Sweet	1867	1	2	-
1224	T. Sweett	1865-7	3	15	Battersea
1225	R. Swindley	1878-82	5	8	Battersea
1226	F. Swinford	1871-4	4	25	Battersea
1227	J. Sykes	1859	1	2	-
1228	J. Synnett	1865-81	17	24	Battersea
1229	W. Tabery	1896	1	6	Chelsea
1230	J. Tann	1867-8	2	6	Pimlico
1231	H. Tarrant	1870	1	2	-
1232	A. Tattersall	1884-5	2	3	Peckham
1233	C. Taylor	1867	1	1	-
1234	E. Taylor I	1863-70	8	17	Southwark/Battersea
1235	E. Taylor II	1880-3	4	8	Harlesden/Brixton
1236	H. & E. Taylor	1868-9	2	18	-
1237	J. Taylor I	1853	1	4	Regents Park
1238	J. Taylor II	1863-4	2	4	-
1239	J. Taylor III	1868	1	1	-
1240	J. Taylor IV	1879	1	5	Brighton
1241	R. Taylor	1863	1	4	-
1242	T. Taylor	1850	1	11	Battersea
1243	W. Taylor I	1853	1	1	-
1244	W. Taylor II	1869	1	1	-
1245	Taylor & Co.	1880	1	6	Battersea
1246	Thomas & Co.	1887-8	2	28	Gunnersbury/Batt.
1247	D. Thompson	1885-1900	16	126	Battersea
1248	J. Thompson	1845	1	6	Battersea
1249	W. Thompson	1887	1	4	Battersea
1250	W. Thornton	1847-64	18	28	Battersea
1251	J. Tiller	1858-9	2	5	-
1252	C. Tilley	1852	1	6	Battersea
1253	A. Timewell	1864-5	2	48	-
1254	E. Titcombe	1867	1	8	-
1255	H. Titcombe	1872	1	12	Battersea
1256	C.W. Todd	1861-5	5	17	Battersea
1257	G. Todd	1847-67	21	19	Chelsea/Batt.
1258	J. Tomlinson	1871	1	2	Battersea
1259	W. Tomlinson	1862	1	1	-
1260	T. Tompkins	1897-8	2	9	Balham

1261	E. Tremble	1893-4	2	43	Putney
1262	W. Tribe	1849-51	3	2	Wandsworth
1263	J. Trott	1854-68	15	6	Battersea
1264	D. Tubb	1859-67	9	9	-
1265	J. Tubb	1859	1	1	-
1266	T. Tuckwell	1875-80	6	5	Battersea
1267	D. Tuhey	1871-6	6	60	Bishopsgate/Batt.
1268	J. Tull	1871-3	3	6	Forest Hill
1269	G. Tupper	1887	1	2	Stockwell
1270	H. Turff	1861-77	17	12	Camberwell/Batt.
1271	H. Turner	1884	1	3	Tottenham
1272	W. Turner	1872	1	6	Brixton
1273	Turtle/Appleton	1875-87	13	38	Battersea
1274	F. Turtle	1881-4	4	15	Battersea
1275	W. Tutt	1886-8	3	18	Wimbledon
1276	W. Twissell	1869	1	1	-
1277	G. Tyrell	1846	1	2	Westminster
1278	G. Ugle	1866-89	24	68	Battersea
1279	J. Ullathorne	1845	1	5	Brixton
1280	E. Underhill	1849	1	1	Chelsea
1281	D. Varner	1864	1	1	-
1282	F. Verheyden	1890	1	1	Chelsea
1283	A. Vidler	1885	1	2	E. Dulwich
1284	A. Vile	1900	1	8	Wandsworth
1285	H. Vodden	1884	1	10	Battersea
1286	W. Voe	1898	1	1	Battersea
1287	J. Wade	1894-5	2	24	Battersea
1288	W. Wade	1863-72	10	4	Battersea
1289	H. Wadeford	1848-52	5	45	Clapham
1290	W. Waghorn	1841	1	6	Southwark
1291	Waldron & Baker	1868	1	5	-
1292	J. Wales	1878-80	3	22	Brixton
1293	Walker & Malenoir	1879-80	2	20	Clapham/Batt.
1294	J. Walker	1887	1	4	Battersea
1295	W. Walker	1849	1	6	Clapham
1296	R. Walkington	1862	1	4	Southwark
1297	A. Walkley	1880	1	9	Battersea
1298	J. Walkley	1863-77	15	9	Battersea
1299	G. Wallis	1877	1	2	Balham
1300	G. Walter	1866-7	2	4	St. Pancras
1301	B. Ward	1879	1	4	Battersea
1302	J. Ward	1901	1	2	Wandsworth
1303	J.M. Ward	1875	1	16	Battersea
1304	J.R. Ward	1865-99	35	61/4F	Battersea
1305	P. Ward	1878-80	3	50	Battersea
1306	W. Wardman	1876	1	2	Hammersmith
1307	J. Warmsley	1864	1	3	Pimlico
1308	G. Warren	1864	1	4	-
1309	H. Warren	1870	1	1	-
1310	W. Warren	1881-4	4	26	Pimlico
1311	J. Waterhouse	1898	1	8	Battersea
1312	J. Watkins	1866	1	13	Battersea
1313	W. Watling	1859	1	1	-
1314	J. Watmore	1859	1	9	Bloomsbury/Batt.
1315	H. Watson	1859	1	1	-

1316	I/J. Watts	1886	1	3	Battersea
1317	T. Watts	1882	1	2	Wandsworth
1318	C. Way	1884-5	2	11	Battersea
1319	H. Weaver	1888	1	3	Batt./Wandsworth
1320	C. Webb	1869	1	2	-
1321	G. Webb	1865	1	2	-
1322	G.H. Webb	1879-80	2	8	Stockwell/Batt.
1323	J. Webb	1886-7	2	7	Battersea
1324	W. Webb	1848-52	5	2	-
1325	E. Webber	1895	1	7	Highgate
1326	W. Webster	1895	1	18	Paddington
1327	R. Weekes	1881-7	7	21	Battersea
1328	T. Weekes	1872	1	1	Halling
1329	H. Weeks	1869	1	6	-
1330	R. Weeks	1885	1	4	Battersea
1331	T. Weeks	1858	1	4	Lambeth
1332	J. Welch	1848	1	4	Islington
1333	E. West	1881	1	16	Battersea
1334	W. West	1890	1	10	Battersea
1335	West London BS	1883	1	13	-
1336	W. Westley	1859	1	1	Battersea
1337	W. Whaley	1863	1	13	Clapham
1338	C. Wheeler	1866-8	3	5	-
1339	-. Whellery	1877-9	3	3	Batt./Westminster
1340	-. Whitburn	1861-2	2	6	-
1341	F. White	1863	1	1	-
1342	G. White	1866-7	2	20	Battersea
1343	J. White I	1864-5	2	10	-
1344	J. White II	1904	1	4	Wimbledon
1345	W. White	1847	1	1	Chelsea
1346	L. Whitehead	1900	1	4	Clapham
1347	J. Whitehorn	1850	1	6	-
1348	H. Whitlock	1880	1	5	Stockwell
1349	H. Whittaker	1898	1	6	Kennington
1350	G. Wickham	1881	1	6	Camberwell
1351	F. Wigg	1862-5	4	6	Battersea
1352	M. Wiggs	1860-75	16	46	Lambeth
1353	J. Wigmore	1867	1	1	-
1354	J. Wilbraham	1863	1	15	-
1355	J. Wilcox	1867-8	2	8	Chelsea
1356	H. Wilkes	1866-71	6	4	Battersea
1357	W. Wilkins	1847-9	3	9	Chelsea/Batt.
1358	-. Wilkinson	1867	1	2	-
1359	E. Wilkinson	1876-80	5	27	Battersea
1360	J. Wilkinson	1875-80	6	34	Battersea
1361	J & H. Williams	1859	1	4	-
1362	T. Williams	1867-71	5	16	Battersea
1363	W. Williams I	1860-7	8	3	-
1364	W. Williams II	1877-81	5	56	Battersea
1365	W. Williams III	1881-4	4	49	Balham
1366	W.R. Williams	1882-3	2	16	Putney
1367	S. Willington	1846	1	1	Clerkenwell
1368	H. Wills	1898	1	57	U. Norwood
1369	M.D. Wills	1901	1	7	Battersea
1370	E. Wilson	1883	1	3	Battersea

1371	J. Wilson I	1893	1	4	Battersea
1372	J. Wilson II	1901-4	4	15	Wandsworth
1373	J.R. Wilson	1887-8	2	5	Tooting
1374	T. Wilson I	1846	1	7	Westminster
1375	T. Wilson II	1899	1	1	Battersea
1376	W. Wilson I	1852	1	9	Clerkenwell
1377	W. Wilson II	1881-2	2	4	Clapham
1378	A. Wing	1884-5	2	37	U. Norwood
1379	W. Winks	1850	1	1	Chelsea/Batt.
1380	H. Wise	1859	1	2	-
1381	T. Wise	1861-7	7	3	-
1382	J Witcombe/E Palmer	1844	1	2	Kings X/Holloway
1383	G. Wonott	1887	1	8	Battersea
1384	E. Wood	1880	1	4	Finsbury Park
1385	R. Wood	1861-6	6	77	Battersea
1386	T. Wood	1884-5	2	2	Battersea
1387	W. Wood	1863	1	5	Wandsworth
1388	-. Woods	1851	1	4	Battersea
1399	J. Wooden	1865-7	3	5	-
1390	J. Wooden/S. Dash	1882	1	6	Balham
1391	-. Woodings	1866	1	3	-
1392	J. Woodley	1875-7	3	5	Battersea
1393	J. Woodruff	1865	1	4	-
1394	J. Woodward	1868	1	1	-
1395	T. Woodward	1865	1	4	-
1396	A.P. Wootton	1862-4	3	25	Battersea
1397	W. Worley	1867	1	1	-
1398	T. Worrell	1854-5	2	13	Battersea
1399	W. Worrell	1849	1	1	Battersea
1400	E. Worsfold	1893	1	1	Clapham
1401	-. Wright	1857	1	1	-
1402	E. Wright	1887	1	15	Clapham
1403	J. Wright	1866-7	2	16	Battersea
1404	J.G. Wright	1883	1	1	Pimlico
1405	W. Wright	1848	1	2	Battersea
1406	C/J. Wyatt	1846-52	7	17	Battersea
1407	J. Wyatt	1878-84	7	28	Battersea
1408	J.R. Wyatt	1862-3	2	10	-
1409	W. Wyatt	1886	1	2	S. Norwood
1410	C. Wyld	1863-4	2	9	-
1411	G. Wyld	1852	1	9	Kennington
1412	J. Wyld	1865	1	2	-
1413	J. Yallop	1862	1	4	Battersea
1414	R. York	1876-88	13	12	City
1415	C. Young	1883	1	1	Knightsbridge
1416	G. Young	1886	1	1	Catford
1417	J. Young	1846	1	2	Westminster
1418	R. Young	1869	1	8	-
1419	W. Young I	1848-67	20	20	Battersea
1420	W. Young II	1885	1	2	Clapham
1421	Young & Austin	1868	1	8	-



## SELECTED BUILDERS' BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Note: These details derive from the various Census returns, whose data on birthplace and age are not always consistent.

- 35** William ATKINSON:- 1825 Reading; 1871 bricklayer; 74 houses 1868-87.
- 70** Thomas BARR:- 1850 Beckenham; 1881 builder emp. 13; 63 houses 1880-81.
- 78** George BASS:- 1815 Westerfield (Suffolk); 1851 builder emp.12/1871 builder emp.4; 75 hos. 1846-72; son George b.1847 Battersea, builder's clerk 1891.
- 83** William BEALE:- 1848 Battersea; 1871 bricklayer/1881 builder/contr./1891 builder; 33 houses 1878-86.
- 111** Henry BENSLEY:- 1816 Suffolk/1846 Gorleston; 1881 builders emp.27; 38 houses 1878-80. A father-and-son partnership working only on the Colestown II Estate.
- 135** Leonard BOTTOMS:- 1844 Shillington (Beds.); 1881 bricklayer/1891 builder/contr.; 72 houses 1877-81. Partner was brother Noah.
- 140** Samuel BOWES:- 1844 Wandsworth; 1881 builder/1891 master bldr.; 42 houses 1884-91.
- 169** Ebenezer BRYANT:- 1835 Great Missenden (Bucks.); 1871/81 builder/1891 emp. 10; 2 houses 1870. Although settled in Battersea, Bryant was active outside the parish.
- 185** Albert BUSSELL:- 1846 Martock (Som.); 1881 builder emp.8/1891 builder; 132 houses 1880-1905. Bussell is a typical large-scale builder, with a low average output over a generation. He also supplied and installed equipment.
- 209** George CHADWIN:- 1804 Battersea; 1851 builder emp.6/1871 retired builder/publican; 3 houses 1846-51. It seems likely that his output is under-recorded. Typical move to I licensed trade.
- 213** Mark CHAMBERLAIN:- 1838 Coventry; 1871 contractor/builder; 71 houses 1865-76. Worked mostly on the adjacent Caudwell/CLS 2 estates at the height of the 1860s boom.
- 234** Edward COATES:- 1845 Clerkenwell; 1871-91 builder; 4 houses 1885. Although only a minor builder, Coates was Alfred Heaver's partner and manager for many years.
- 238** William COCKELL:- 1836 Old Kent Road; 1871 unemp. builder/1881 builder/contr./1891 builder; 10 houses 1872-80. Son of William who built 67 houses in the York Road area in the 1850s.
- 245** George COLLIS:- 1830 Pimlico; 1881 builder emp.4; 91 houses 1868-87.
- 262** William COOMER:- 1815 Chelsea; 1851 bricklayer/plasterer/1861-71 master builder; 35 houses 1844-68. Also worked in Wandsworth.
- 281** Thomas CRAPPER:- 1837 Yorkshire; 1871 plumber/brassfounder emp.24; 2 ho. 1873. Well-known inventor of an early water closet, building was clearly an ancillary activity.
- 327** John DICKESON:- 1843 Lambeth; 1881 builder emp.40; 1891 builder; 102 houses 1867-83. Was just completing his own estate in 1881, but thereafter experienced a decline.
- 344** William DOWNS:- 1839 Islington; 1881 builder emp.63; 5 houses 1876-8. A large employer evidently working mostly elsewhere.
- 365** Thomas EAMES:- I 1793 Sussex, II 1816 Milland (Sx.); 1861/71 builders; 25 houses 1859-68. Like the Lathey Brothers, father and son migrated to Battersea in the 1850s.

- 367 James EASTMAN:-** 1809 Battersea; 1851 builder emp.2/1861 master builder emp. 4/1871 builder; 7 houses 1845-9. Even though there are probably unrecorded houses in the 1850s and 1860s, Eastman probably relied on repairs and subcontracting.
- 405 Joseph FINCHER:-** I 1826 Bristol, II 1859 Lambeth; I 1871 carpenter/1881 builder emp.2, II 1891 builder; 33 houses 1876-83.
- 459 James GEORGE:-** 1835 Gillingham (Dorset); 1881/91 builder; 176 houses 1878-90.
- 461 William GEORGE:-** 1864 Gillingham; 1881 builder's clerk/1891 builder; 278 houses 1883-1910. Father and son together formed one of the most important firms in late-Victorian Battersea.
- 466 Benjamin GILBERT -** 1838 Marylebone; 1881 builder emp.6; 69 houses 1879-88.
- 474 George GLASSPOOL:-** 1817 Southampton; 1871 carpenter; 55 houses 1865-75. Built mostly north of Clapham Junction and on the Ponton estate at Nine Elms. Died 9 Nov. 1877 after a fire at his premises which had caused frequent fits.
- 503 Thomas GREGORY:-** 1841 Bisley (Glos.); 1881 builder emp.30/1891 builder; 59 houses 1866-94. Apart from Falcon Terrace (1879-80), where he was the main builder, Gregory was typically a long-lasting but small-scale operator.
- 509 Sidney GRIST:-** 1846 Warminster (Wilts.); 1871 carpenter/1881 builder emp.18; 68 houses 1876-80. Grist successfully made the move from tradesman to mid-range builder, working mostly on the Colestown II and Surrey Lane Estates.
- 546 Jacob HART:-** 1787-90 Bethnal Green; 1851/71 house proprietor; 23 houses 1842-67. Hart was in his late-50s when he came to Battersea until. The records of his local output are defective. Had his own minute estate at Hart Street.
- 554 Thomas HAYLOCK I:-** 1809 Mildenhall (Suffolk); 1871 builder emp.12.
- 555 Thomas HAYLOCK II:-** 1847 Pimlico; 1871 assisting father; Thomas senior built only 3 houses in the 1860s, and his workforce in 1871 implies under-recording, subcontracting or public works. Thomas junior was equally low key, with 41 houses 1879-1904.
- 574 James HENSTRIDGE:-** I 1795 Berwick St. John (Wilts.); 1861 bricklayer. II 1817 Soho; 1851 bricklayer. They built 46 houses 1852-69, many with Fuller, an iron moulder. James I came from the same village as the Lathey brothers, and was probably the "pull" factor in their migration.
- 598 Samuel HOLLANDS:-** 1811 Westminster; 1851 master bricklayer; 26 houses 1848-51. Hollands evidently acted as a middleman, using fellow tradesmen to complete houses rapidly at the peak of the cycle in New Town.
- 602 HOLLOWAY BROS.:-** James 1851/Henry 1853 West Lavington (Wilts.); 1881 builders emp.29; 145 houses 1876-90. Also active in Wandsworth and elsewhere, became a major building firm lasting to the present-day.
- 649 Abraham ISAAC:-** 1829 Box (Wilts.); 1871 master mason emp.2/1881 master builder/1891 builder; 79 houses 1869-91. Worked mostly on/around the Pocock Estate.
- 704 John KEMP:-** 1842 Southwark; 1881 builder emp.24; 67 houses 1868-81. A varied career covering two peaks, often with a partner
- 708 James KENNEDY:-** 1821 Colchester; 1871 bricklayer; 13 houses 1864-9. His son James (1842 St. Pancras) may have returned to build 15 houses in 1893/4.
- 715 David KETTLE:-** 1839 Perth; 1881 builder emp.5/1891 builder; 139 houses 1878-1900. Kettle was more active in the early years, notably on Gillott's Estate.

- 757** Walter **LAWTON**:- 1808 Middleton (Lancs.); 1861/71 carpenter; 12 houses 1855-67. Associated with Pocock's earliest work in Falcon Rd., Lawton seems to have acted more as an agent than a builder in his own right.
- 769** Joseph **LEWRY**:- 1851 Sussex; 1881 carpenter emp.7; 42 houses 1880-3. He typifies the rapid rise and disappearance of many middle-ranking builders.
- 784** James **LOUD**:- 1839 Axminster (Devon); 1871/81 builder; 90 houses 1867-80. Worked mostly on the Caudwell and nearby estates. Unusual in having a servant in 1871.
- 801** Cornelius **LYONS**:- 1835 Ireland; 1871 builder; 26 houses 1868-80. A typical two houses-a-year builder on various estates.
- 818** John **MARTIN**:- 1837 Sussex; 1871 builder emp.24; 14 houses 1864-75. A large employer for the date, Martin obviously worked elsewhere, or on public works.
- 841** John **MERRITT**:- 1831 Egham; 1861 brickfield foreman/1881 builder/contr.; 34 houses 1865-88. Responsible for Pocock's long-lived brickfield, Merritt like many local brickmakers came from the Egham/Staines area. His brother Edmund, a brickmaker in 1871, was born at Kingston in 1843. Merritt made the transition to building as the brickfield was worked out.
- 869** Samuel **MOXEY**:- 1802-3 Wandsworth; 1851 bricklayer emp.2/1861 bricklayer 12 houses 1846-52. All on Pain's Mendip Rd. estate. His son Benjamin was born in Kennington 1836, and followed the same trade. Moxey is typical of the craftsman-builder of the early Victorian era.
- 933** William **PARRATT**:- 1821 Stevenage; 1871 builder; 99 houses 1862-9. Many of these were substantial houses on the Mackley Estate. Parratt also worked in Kensington at the same time.
- 974** William **PICKING**:- 1791/2 Battersea or Middlesex; 1851/61 builder emp.5; 3 houses 1847. Picking seems to have worked mainly in the repairs/alterations field.
- 982** John **PINN**:- 1826 Sidbury (Devon); 1851/71 carpenter/1861 master carpenter; 23 houses 1849-66. Another craftsman who undertook building contracts around the old Village. Pinn's Terrace (1862) in Church Road survives. Pinn went bankrupt in 1867.
- 983** Fred. **PINNEGAR**:- 1844 Reading; 1881 builder emp.12; 39 houses 1863-83. Despite his workforce, a pair-a-year builder.
- 985** Daniel **PITT**:- 1853 New Arlesford (Hants.); 1891 builder/contractor/house agent; 95 houses 1879-88. A typical middle-rank builder of the 1880s, mainly around Clapham Junction.
- 986** Abel **PLAYLE**:- 1844 Sutton (Essex); 1891 builder; 218 houses 1880-1910. An important builder in south Battersea, with a peaky output 1885 18/1886 0/1887 24/1888 10. Built 11 houses in Balham 1898-9.
- 1022** Matthew **RAY**:- 1841 Windsor; 1871 builder; 3 houses 1869. Partner of Thomas Banbery, carpenter (1836 Camberwell).
- 1037** William **RICHENS**:- 1843 Southampton; 1871 bricklayer/1881 builder; 62 houses 1865-86. Partner Henry Mount, who employed 40 in 1881 (born 1847 Marylebone).
- 1108** Henry **SHILLITO**:- 1833 Baslow (Derbys.); 1871 builder emp.9; 16 houses 1867-9. Total probably understated. Shillito was one of many middling builders who appeared and vanished on the Caudwell and CLS 2 estates in the mid-1860s boom.
- 1155** Thomas **SPEARING**:- 1838 Kingston/Thames; 1881 builder/1891 auctioneer/estate agent; 66 houses 1879-83. A major contributor at Falcon Park, Spearing made an unusual career move.

- 1177 Joseph STAPLETON:-** 1825 Ampthill (Beds.); 1871 builder; 26 houses 1858-86. Another example of a long-lived local builder who made a minimal contribution. He was also a publican. His son, Joseph, was a carpenter (b. 1852 Middlesex).
- 1187 William STEER:-** 1847 Petworth (Sussex); 1881 builder emp.25; 143 houses 1879-90. Like Playle, a significant operator in south Battersea in the 1880s.
- 1276 Benjamin TURTLE:-** 1857 Battersea/**George APPLETON:-** 1842 Saxlingham (Suff.); 1881 builder emp.40; 38 houses 1875-87. Although major contributors to the southern section of George Butt's Clapham Junction Estate, Turtle & Appleton must have had a large non-Battersea order book.
- 1281 George UGLE:-** 1838 Stisted (Essex); 1871 builder emp.8; 66 houses 1866-89. Built widely in central/south Battersea.
- 1362 Eli WILKINSON:-** 1842 Bulwell (Notts.); 1871 bricklayer; 1881/91 retired builder; 27 houses 1876-80. Typical small builder with a single burst of activity, no doubt retiring to live off his tenants' rents.
- 1363 John WILKINSON:-** 1827 Bulwell (Notts.); 1871 brickwork contractor; 34 houses 1875-80. Like his younger brother Eli, his career was short and sharp, covering only the boom of the late-1870s.

## BATTERSEA ESTATE DEVELOPMENT DIRECTORY

	Estate	Date	Type	Houses	Acres
<b>Pre-1840</b>					
1.	Ford's Buildings	1780	6a Silk Mfr.	40	0.83
2.	New Town [Lovell]	1789	6a Baker/brickmaker	48	2.29
3.	Sleaford St. SE	1792	2b	19	0.50
4.	York Street	1793	6b Bankers	29	1.65
5.	Sleford	1796	6b Butcher/Corn mcht.	30	0.97
6.	Pavillion Row	1798	6b Licensed Victualler	8	0.53
7.	Stewart	1803	6d Yeoman	116	7.69
8.	Pennington	1787	4	15	0.43
9.	Sleaford St. [Faucitt]	1806	6b Corn Dealer	11	0.34
10.	Church Road/Cobb	1808	6b Banker	285	12.49
11.	Battersea Rise	1810	1b	23	0.61
12.	New Town [Gwynn]	1812	6d Market Gardener	10	0.16
13.	New Town [Kilsby]	1819	6a Shipbreaker	17	0.73
14.	Alfred Place	1825	1a	19	0.42
15.	New St. W. [Lucas]	1827	6a Brewer	10	0.56
16.	Rise/Wash Way	1830	1a	10	0.36
17.	Crescent Place	1834	4	20	0.25
18.	St. Johns Place	1835	1a	25	1.81
19.	New St. [Sermon]	1835	2a	6	0.25
20.	Carter	1839	6d Market Gardener	518	15.86
<b>1841-1850</b>					
21.	Haward	1841	6d Market Gardener	42	6.84
22.	Mendip [E. Pain]	1842	1b	53	1.92
23.	Lithgow	1844	6d Market Gardener	75	2.18
24.	W.E. East	1844	2b	10	1.09
25.	Lucas	1845	1b	523	24.17
26.	Earl Spencer Pl.	1845	6c Civil Engineer	60	3.38
27.	Arnold/Hart Davis	1845	6c Civil Engineer	30	1.73
28.	Ashton's	1845	1a	20	0.34
29.	W. Morrison	1845	2b	55	2.29
30.	St. Johns Hill [Wix]	1845	1a	49	4.59
31.	J.C. Park I	1845	4	34	4.32
32.	Little Hill [Stedman]	1846	3	8	0.29
33.	Green Lane [Chabot]	1846	5	14	0.39
34.	Surrey Lane [Chabot]	1847	5	25	1.40
35.	C.J. Freake no.1	1847	4	43	2.02
36.	St. Johns Hill Grove	1847	2b	46	2.88
37.	Starch Factory Rd.	1847	6a Starch Manufacturer	23	0.48
38.	St. Johns Hill [Martin]	1847	1b	6	0.44
39.	Surrey Lane [Gaines]	1847	6d Market Gardener	18	1.02
40.	York Road [Musgrove]	1848	4	15	0.41
41.	J. Hart	1848	4	12	0.36
42.	Doddington Grove	1848	5	63	2.63
43.	St. Johns Road [Alder]	1848	1a	16	0.46
44.	Falcon Lane [Alder]	1849	1a	10	0.43
45.	Patient	1849	6b Merchant	63	1.81
46.	J.C. Park II	1850	4	426	17.88
47.	Wayland	1850	6d Market Gardener	25	1.34
48.	Westbridge Road S.	1850	2b	68	3.04
49.	Carlton Terrace	1850	4	9	1.05

1851-1860

50.	Sheepcote La. [Glasier]	1851	3	63	1.76
51.	W.W. Pocock	1851	3	285	12.99
52.	Latchmere Grove [Hunt]	1851	4	108	3.63
53.	Frances St. [Allen]	1851	6a Musical instr.mkr	81	2.68
54.	Bramlands [T. Carter]	1851	6d Market Gardener	5	1.34
55.	Stewarts Road NW	1851/2	1b	34	1.34
56.	Austins Road [Wyld]	1852	4	26	1.45
57.	Austins Road [Glasier]	1852	3	33	0.61
58.	Park Grove [Glasier]	1852	3	24	0.55
59.	Park Grove [Pain]	1852	2b	40	1.48
60.	W.H. Wilson	1852	2a/2b/5	76	3.18
61.	Harley Street	1853	2b	128	5.39
62.	Clapham Stn.	1853	8	189	14.14
63.	Spencer St. [Jones]	1855	4	29	1.69
64.	Chatham Road [NFLCo.]	1855	8	105	8.51
65.	Althorp Grove	1856	6a Brewer	20	0.68
66.	Havelock Tce.	1856	2b	38	1.29
67.	Conservative Ld. Soc. 1	1858	8	108	2.89
68.	Arthur Street	1858	2b	141	4.12
69.	Parkside Street	1860	4	71	1.96

1861-1870

70.	High St./York Rd.	1861	2b	19	0.63
71.	York Mews/Seldon St.	1861	6b Fishmonger	59	2.29
72.	Culvert Road [Haines]	1862	2b	23	0.69
73.	Brussels Road	1862	6b Merchant	137	7.37
74.	Henley Street	1862	2b	68	1.88
75.	Palmerston Street	1862	2b/5/6b Merchant	137	4.67
76.	Bagley Street	1862	3	110	3.38
77.	Acre Street	1862	6b Butcher	83	2.20
78.	St. Johns Terrace	1862	6b Hosier/Tax Collector	20	0.74
79.	John Street	1862	6c Surgeon	72	1.72
80.	Nine Elms [Haines]	1863	2b	151	5.44
81.	Ceylon Street	1863	4	46	1.10
82.	Banbury Street	1863	2b	26	0.97
83.	Ponton	1863	1b	233	7.47
84.	Eliza Gaines	1863	6d Market Gardener	18	0.31
85.	Lucy	1863	6b General Dealer	179	4.38
86.	Battersea Rise	1863	2a	87	3.96
87.	Carlton Grove	1863	4	22	0.77
88.	Park Town	1863	6b Merchant	1346	56.79
89.	Lockington Road	1863	5	136	4.43
90.	Rollo Street	1863	3	134	4.53
91.	British Land Co. 1	1864	8	136	16.61
92.	Conservative Ld. Soc. 2	1864	8	277	8.89
93.	Howey/Caudwell	1864	2b	386	12.26
94.	Spencer Lodge	1864	6d Market Gardener	93	3.90
95.	Culvert Road [Poupart]	1864	6d Market Gardener	22	0.51
96.	Orkney St. [Pain]	1865	1b	106	2.08
97.	Britannia Place	1865	6c Surgeon	52	0.92
98.	Ashurst Street [Neate]	1865	2a	51	1.18
99.	Anerley St. [Knowles]	1865	2b	79	3.59
100.	Corunna Place	1865	6a Marquee manufr.	28	0.68
101.	Falcon Terrace I	1865	3	34	0.90
102.	Old Park	1866	2b	138	14.43
103.	Ingrave St. [Capps]	1866	4	109	4.26
104.	Kilton Street E	1866	6d Market Gardener	38	1.07
105.	Manor House	1866	6a Marquee manufr.	160	5.02

106.	Bolingbroke Grove	1866	5	117	3.48
107.	Lavender H. [Townsend]	1866	6c Surgeon	193	5.67
108.	Clock Ho. Tce.	1866	3	16	0.87
109.	Warsill Street	1866	4	38	1.46
110.	Wayford Street	1866	2b/6b Draper	68	2.74
111.	Colestown 1	1867	2b/5	138	4.56
112.	Cubitt 1	1867	4	125	4.19
113.	Olney Lodge	1867	9	101	2.53
114.	l'Anson	1867	3	235	14.58
115.	Freeland Street	1867	6b Licensed Victualler	27	0.68
116.	Foots Row	1867	4	6	0.42
117.	St. James Grove	1867	4	23	0.71
118.	Bishopp	1868	6b Licensed Victualler	111	3.39
119.	Altenburg Gardens I	1868	4	26	3.22
120.	Lombard	1868	5	185	7.71
121.	Sugden Road	1868	2a	38	2.11
122.	Trott	1868	6b Ironmonger	65	2.08
123.	Latchmere Street	1868	1a	57	1.46
124.	Kilton Street W	1869	10	41	0.92
125.	Conservative Ld. Soc. 3	1869	8	528	34.31
126.	Gladstone Tce.	1869	3	66	2.47
127.	Chesney St.	1869	4	55	1.37
128.	Millgrove S. [Jennings]	1869	2b	18	0.73
129.	Harefield	1870	5	160	5.12
130.	Vardens Rd. [Morton]	1870	3	11	0.42
131.	Anerley St. [Pain]	1870	2b	60	1.86
132.	Lothair St.	1870	2b	34	0.91
<b>1871-1880</b>					
133.	Lavender Hill Park	1871	2b	225	14.28
134.	Gwynne	1872	6a Engineer	117	3.60
135.	Carpenters	1872	6a Dock Contractor	93	2.06
136.	Chivalry Road	1872	2a	56	3.75
137.	Rush Hill	1873	4	44	2.22
138.	Shaftesbury Park	1873	9	1217	38.05
139.	Freake 2	1874	4	88	3.99
140.	Wandsworth Road	1874	2b	310	10.53
141.	Crown	1874	2b	1552	60.96
142.	Blenkarne	1875	2b	51	7.08
143.	Clapham Common Gdns.	1875	2b/4/6b Timber Mercht.	82	3.22
144.	Belleville Rd. [Heaver]	1875	4	70	4.30
145.	Stanley Tce.	1875	2b	19	0.56
146.	Blondel St. [Cubitt 2]	1876	4	97	2.87
147.	Sister House	1876	2b	83	3.21
148.	Surrey Lane [Pain]	1876	1b	312	12.61
149.	Victoria Dwellings	1877	9	188	1.49
150.	Croft	1878	3	89	2.29
151.	Falcon Terrace II	1878	6c Reverend	73	2.08
152.	Colestown 2	1878	5	501	16.56
153.	Falcon Park	1879	4	587	19.10
154.	Beaufoy	1879	1b/4	Bat. 445	15.37
155.	Gonsalva Road	1879	2b/4	Bat. 81	2.62
156.	Amies St.	1880	4	59	2.11
157.	British Land Co. 2	1880	8	262	12.46
158.	Clapham Junction	1880	4	342	12.11
159.	Plough Lane SE	1880	6d Reverend	29	1.49
160.	Culvert Place	1880	6b Licensed Victualler	41	1.40
161.	Broomwood Park/Elms I	1880	3	172	8.90

**1881-1890**

162.	Mundella Road	1881	9	79	2.89
163.	Dent's House	1881	4	80	5.24
164.	Lav. Sweep [Snelling]	1881	4	87	3.54
165.	Lav. Sweep [Heaver]	1881	4	145	6.13
166.	Lav. Sweep [Ingram]	1881	4/6b Timber Merchant	240	7.68
167.	Gillott's	1881	6a Tailor	113	4.16
168.	Garfield Road	1882	9	62	2.82
169.	Latch. Grove [Bennett]	1882	2b	34	1.69
170.	Nightingale Park	1882	2b/4	131	12.91
171.	Kambala Road	1882	2b/4	95	2.32
172.	Chatto's/West Side	1882	2b/4	713	24.94
173.	Sleaford St. NE	1882	6a Iron Foundry	6	0.16
174.	Sewell	1883	2b	48	1.99
175.	Drayton House	1884	2b	67	2.35
176.	Grove House	1884	2b/5	43	1.37
177.	St. Johns Park	1885	4	225	8.06
178.	Shrubbery	1885	4	52	5.58
179.	Marney Road	1886	2b/5	183	6.54
180.	Green Lane	1886	2b/5	18	0.57
181.	Broomwood Park/Elms II	1886	2b/4/6b Timber Mercht.	507	26.22
182.	Chestnuts	1887	4	78	2.11
183.	Juer St. [Princes]	1888	3	100	4.94
184.	Lavender Hill	1888	2b/5	137	5.83
185.	Lombard Road	1888	2b	8	0.18
186.	St. Saviour's Rd.	1889	2b	37	0.83
187.	London Steam Sawmill	1889	6a Stone Sawmill	11	0.30
188.	Bolingbroke Grove	1890	2b/5	291	11.56
189.	Northfields	1890	3/6a Brick manufr.	312	11.23

**1891-1900**

190.	Town Hall	1891	7	23	0.45
191.	Elsbeth Road	1891	2b/5	230	8.02
192.	Kyrle Rd. [Ingram]	1892	4	490	22.04
193.	Thirsk Road	1893	6a Contractor	110	4.44
194.	Eukestons	1894	6c M.P.	124	5.08
195.	Sisters Avenue	1894	6c M.P.	107	6.69
196.	Ravenslea Road	1894	4	72	10.06
197.	Altenburg Gardens II	1894	2b	63	4.49
198.	Theatre Street	1895	3	22	1.27
199.	St. Johns H. [Dickeson]	1895	4	16	0.58
200.	Broomwood	1896	2b/5	45	2.29
201.	Springwell	1896	2b/4	187	6.39
202.	Winstead Street	1897	3	58	2.77
203.	Beechwood	1898	2b/4	122	4.93

**1901-1908**

204.	Latchmere	1901	7	218	9.61
205.	Wix's Lane	1903	6c Reverend	44	2.41
206.	Heathfield	1903	3	48	4.36
207.	Latchmere Road SE	1903	4	37	1.52
208.	Lavender Lodge	1904	4	54	2.63
209.	West Side	1908	2b/3	436	21.91



## BATTERSEA ESTATE DIRECTORY: AREA

	Estate	Date	Type	Houses	Acres
141.	Crown	1874	2b	1552	60.96
88.	Park Town	1863	2b	1346	56.79
138.	Shaftesbury Park	1873	9	1217	38.05
125.	Conservative LS. 3	1869	8	528	34.31
181.	Broomwood Park/Elms 2	1886	2b/4/6b	507	26.22
172.	Chatto's	1882	2b/4	713	24.94
25.	Lucas	1845	1b	523	24.17
192.	Kyrle Rd. [Ingram]	1892	4	490	22.04
209.	West Side	1908	2b/3	436	21.91
153.	Falcon Park	1879	4	587	19.10
46.	J.C. Park 2	1850	4	426	17.88
91.	British Land Co. 1	1864	8	136	16.61
152.	Colestown 2	1878	5	501	16.56
20.	Carter	1839	6d	518	15.86
154.	Beaufoy	1879	1b/4	445	15.37
114.	l'Anson	1867	3	235	14.58
102.	Old Park	1866	2b	138	14.43
133.	Lavender Hill Park	1871	2b	225	14.28
62.	Clapham Stn.	1853	8	189	14.14
51.	W.W. Pocock	1851	3	285	12.99
170.	Nightingale Park	1882	2b/4	131	12.91
148.	Surrey Lane [Pain]	1876	1b	312	12.61
10.	Cobb	1808	6b	285	12.49
			Banker		
157.	British Land Co. 2	1880	8	262	12.46
93.	Caudwell [Howey]	1864	2b	386	12.26
158.	Clapham Junction	1880	4	342	12.11
188.	Bolingbroke Grove	1890	2b/5	291	11.56
189.	Northfields	1890	3/6a	312	11.23
140.	Wandsworth Road	1874	2b	310	10.53
196.	Ravenslea Road	1894	4	72	10.06
204.	Latchmere	1901	7	218	9.61
161.	Broomwood Park/Elms 1	1880	3	172	8.90
92.	Conservative LS 2	1864	8	277	8.89
64.	Chatham Road	1855	8	105	8.51
177.	St. Johns Hill Park	1885	4	225	8.06
191.	Elsbeth Road	1891	2b/5	230	8.02
120.	Lombard [Lord]	1868	5	185	7.71
7.	Stewart	1803	6d	116	7.69
166.	Lavender Sweep [Ingram]	1881	4/6b	221	7.68
83.	Ponton	1863	1b	233	7.47
73.	Brussels Road	1862	6b	137	7.37
142.	Blenkame	1875	2b	51	7.08
21.	Haward	1841	6d	42	6.84
195.	Sisters Avenue	1894	6c	107	6.69
179.	Marney Road	1886	2b/5	183	6.54
201.	Springwell	1896	2b/4	187	6.39
165.	Lavender Sweep [Heaver]	1881	4	145	6.13
184.	Lavender Hill	1888	2b/5	137	5.83
107.	Lavender Hill [Townsend]	1866	6c	193	5.67
178.	Shrubbery	1885	4	52	5.58

80.	Nine Elms [Haines]	1863	2b	151	5.44
61.	Harley Street	1853	2b	128	5.39
163.	Dent's House	1881	4	80	5.24
129.	Harefield	1870	5	160	5.12
194.	Eukestons	1894	6c	124	5.08
105.	Manor House	1866	6a	160	5.02
183.	Juer St. [Princes]	1888	3	100	4.94
203.	Beechwood	1898	2b/4	122	4.93
75.	Palmerston Street	1862	2b/5/6b	137	4.67
30.	St. Johns Hill [Wix]	1845	1a	49	4.59
111.	Colestown I	1867	2b/5	138	4.56
90.	Rollo Street	1863	3	134	4.53
197.	Altenburg Gardens 2	1894	2b	63	4.49
193.	Thirsk Road	1893	6a	110	4.44
89.	Lockington Road	1863	5	136	4.43
85.	Lucy	1863	6b	179	4.38
206.	Heathfield	1903	3	48	4.36
31.	J.C. Park 1	1845	4	34	4.32
144.	Belleville Road	1875	4	70	4.30
103.	Capps	1866	4	109	4.26
112.	Cubitt 1	1867	4	125	4.19
167.	Gillott's	1881	6a	113	4.16
68.	Arthur Street	1858	2b	141	4.12
139.	Freake 2	1874	4	88	3.99
86.	Battersea Rise	1863	2a	87	3.96
94.	Spencer Lodge	1864	6d	93	3.90
136.	Chivalry Road	1872	2a	56	3.75
52.	Latchmere Grove [Hunt]	1851	4	108	3.63
134.	Gwynne	1872	6a	117	3.60
99.	Anerley St. [Knowles]	1865	2b	79	3.59
164.	Lavender Sweep [Snelling]	1881	4	87	3.54
106.	Bolingbroke Grove	1866	5	117	3.48
118.	Bishopp	1868	6b	111	3.39
26.	Earl Spencer Pl.	1845	6c	60	3.38
76.	Bagley Street	1862	3	110	3.38
119.	Altenburg Gardens 1	1868	4	26	3.22
143.	Clapham Common Gdns.	1875	2b/4/6b	82	3.22
147.	Sister House	1876	2b	83	3.21
60	W.H. Wilson	1852	2a/2b/5	76	3.18
48.	Westbridge Road S.	1850	2b	68	3.04
67.	Conservative LS. 1	1858	8	108	2.89
162.	Mundella Road	1881	9	79	2.89
36.	St. Johns Hill Grove	1847	2b	46	2.88
146.	Blondel St.	1876	4	97	2.87
168.	Garfield Road	1882	9	62	2.82
202.	Winstead Street	1897	3	58	2.77
110.	Wayford Street	1866	2b/6b	68	2.74
53.	Frances Street	1851	6a	81	2.68
42.	Doddington Grove	1848	5	63	2.63
208.	Lavender Lodge	1904	4	54	2.63
155.	Gonsalva Road	1879	2b/4	81	2.62
113.	Olney Lodge	1867	9	101	2.53
125.	Gladstone Terrace	1869	3	66	2.47
205.	Wix's Lane	1903	6c	44	2.41
175.	Drayton House	1884	2b	67	2.35

171.	Kambala Road	1882	2b/4	95	2.32
2.	Batt. New Town [Lovell]	1789	6a	48	2.29
29.	W. Morrison	1845	2b	55	2.29
71.	Seldon	1861	6b	59	2.29
150.	Croft	1878	3	89	2.29
200.	Broomwood	1896	2b/5	45	2.29
137.	Rush Hill	1873	4	44	2.22
77.	Acre Street	1862	6b	83	2.20
23.	Lithgow	1844	6d	75	2.18
121.	Sugden Road	1868	2b	38	2.11
156.	Amies Street	1880	4	59	2.11
182.	Chestnuts	1887	4	78	2.11
96.	Orkney St. [Pain]	1865	1b	106	2.08
122.	Trott	1868	6b	65	2.08
151.	Falcon Terrace 2	1878	6c	73	2.08
135.	Carpenters	1872	6a	93	2.06
35.	C.J. Freake 1	1847	4	43	2.02
174.	Sewell	1883	2b	48	1.99
69.	Parkside Street	1860	4	71	1.96
22.	Mendip [Pain]	1842	1b	53	1.92
74.	Henley Street	1862	2b	68	1.88
131.	Anerley St. [Pain]	1870	2b	60	1.86
18.	St. Johns Place	1835	1a	25	1.81
45.	Patient	1848	6b	63	1.81
50.	Sheepcote La. [Glasier]	1851	3	63	1.76
27.	Arnold/Hart Davis	1845	6c	30	1.73
79.	John Street	1862	6c	72	1.72
63.	Spencer Street	1855	4	29	1.69
169.	Latchmere Gro. [Bennett]	1882	2b	34	1.69
4.	York Street	1793	6b	29	1.65
207.	Latchmere Road SE	1903	4	37	1.52
149.	Victoria Dwellings	1877	9	188	1.49
159.	Plough Lane SE	1880	6c	29	1.49
59.	Park Grove [Pain]	1852	2b	40	1.48
109.	Warsill Street	1866	4	38	1.46
123.	Latchmere Street	1868	1a	57	1.46
56.	Austins Road [Wyld]	1852	4	26	1.45
34.	Surrey Lane [Chabot]	1847	5	25	1.40
160.	Culvert Place	1880	6b	41	1.40
127.	Chesney Street	1869	4	55	1.37
176.	Orville Road	1884	2b/5	43	1.37
47.	Lammas Hall [Wayland]	1850	2a	25	1.34
54.	Bramlands	1851	6d	5	1.34
55.	Stewarts Road NW	1851	1b	34	1.34
66.	Havelock Terrace	1856	2b	38	1.29
198.	Theatre Street	1895	3	22	1.27
98.	Ashurst Street	1865	2a	51	1.18
81.	Ceylon Street	1863	4	46	1.10
24.	W.E. East	1844	2b	10	1.09
104.	Kilton Street E	1866	6d	38	1.07
49.	Carlton Terrace	1850	4	9	1.05
39.	Surrey Lane [Gaines]	1847	6d	18	1.02
5.	Sleford	1796	6b	30	0.97
82.	Banbury Street	1863	2b	26	0.97
97.	Britannia Place	1865	6c	52	0.92

124.	Kilton Street W	1869	10	41	0.92
132.	Lothair Street	1870	2b	34	0.91
101.	Falcon Terrace 1	1865	3	34	0.90
108.	Clock House Tce.	1866	3	16	0.87
1.	Ford's Buildings	1780	6a	40	0.83
185.	St. Saviour's Road	1889	2b	37	0.83
87.	Carlton Grove	1863	4	22	0.77
78.	St. Johns Terrace	1862	6b	20	0.74
13.	New Town [Kilsby]	1819	6a	17	0.73
128.	Millgrove St. [Jennings]	1869	2b	18	0.73
117.	St. James Grove	1867	4	23	0.71
72.	Culvert Road [Haines]	1862	2b	23	0.69
65.	Althorp Grove	1856	6a	20	0.68
100.	Corunna Place	1865	6a	28	0.68
115.	Freeland Street	1867	6b	27	0.68
70.	High St./York Rd.	1861	2b	19	0.63
11.	Battersea Rise	1810	1b	23	0.61
46.	Austins Road [Glasier]	1852	3	33	0.61
199.	St. Johns HI. [Dickeson]	1895	4	16	0.58
180.	Green Lane	1886	2b/5	18	0.57
15.	New Street W.	1827	6a	10	0.56
145.	Stanley Terrace	1875	2b	19	0.56
51.	Park Grove [Glasier]	1852	3	24	0.55
6.	Pavillion Row	1798	6b	8	0.53
95.	Culvert Rd. [Poupart]	1864	6d	22	0.51
3.	Sleaford St. SE	1792	2b	19	0.50
37.	Starch Factory Rd.	1847	6a	23	0.48
43.	St. Johns Road [Alder]	1848	1a	16	0.46
190.	Town Hall	1891	7	23	0.45
38.	St. Johns Hill [Martin]	1847	1b	6	0.44
8.	Pennington	1805	4	15	0.43
43.	Falcon Lane [Alder]	1849	1a	10	0.43
14.	Alfred Place	1825	1a	19	0.42
116.	Foots Row	1867	4	6	0.42
130.	Vardens Rd. [Morton]	1870	3	11	0.42
40.	York Road [Musgrove]	1848	4	15	0.41
33.	Green Lane [Chabot]	1846	5	14	0.39
16.	Rise [Mellersh]	1830	1a	10	0.36
41.	J. Hart	1848	4	12	0.36
9.	Sleaford St. [Faucitt]	1806	6b	11	0.34
28.	Ashton's	1845	1a	20	0.34
84.	Eliza Gaines	1863	6d	18	0.31
187.	London Steam Sawmill	1889	6a	11	0.30
32.	Little Hill	1846	3	8	0.29
17.	Crescent Place	1834	4	20	0.25
19.	New St. W. [Sermon]	1835	2b	6	0.25
185.	Lombard Road	1888	2b	8	0.18
12.	New Town [Gwynn]	1812	6d	10	0.16
173.	Sleaford St. NE	1882	6a	6	0.16

## BATTERSEA ESTATE DIRECTORY BY GROUP

Estate	Date	Houses	Acres
<b>Type 1a - Original Resident Owner</b>			
14. Alfred Place	1825	19	0.42
16. Battersea Rise [Mellersh]	1830	10	0.36
18. St. Johns Place	1835	25	1.81
28. Ashton's	1845	20	0.34
30. St. Johns Hill/New Rd. [Wix]	1845	49	4.59
43. St. Johns Road [Alder]	1848	16	0.46
44. Falcon Lane [Alder]	1849	10	0.43
123. Latchmere Street	1868	57	1.46
<b>Type 1b - Original Absentee Owner</b>			
11. Battersea Rise	1810	23	0.61
22. Mendip [E. Pain]	1842	53	1.92
25. Lucas	1845	523	24.17
38. St. Johns Hill [Martin]	1847	6	0.44
55. Stewarts Road NW	1851	34	1.34
83. Ponton	1863	233	7.47
97. Orkney St.[E. Pain]	1865	106	2.08
148. Surrey Lane [E. Pain]	1876	312	12.61
<b>Type 2a - Secondary Resident Owner</b>			
19. New St. [Sermon]	1835	6	0.25
86. Battersea Rise	1863	87	3.96
98. Ashurst Street [Neate]	1865	51	1.18
121. Sugden Road	1868	38	2.11
136. Chivalry Road	1872	56	3.75
<b>Type 2b - Secondary Absentee Owner</b>			
3. Sleaford St. SE.	1792	19	0.50
24. W.E. East	1844	10	1.09
29. Park Rd. [Morrison]	1845	55	2.29
36. St. Johns Hill Grove	1847	46	2.88
48. Westbridge Road S.	1850	68	3.04
59. Park Grove [Pain]	1852	40	1.48
61. Harley Street	1853	128	5.39
66. Havelock Terrace	1856	38	1.29
68. Arthur Street	1858	141	4.12
70. High St./York Rd.	1861	19	0.63
72. Culvert Road [Haines]	1862	23	0.69
74. Henley Street	1862	68	1.88
80. Nine Elms [Haines]	1863	151	5.44
82. Banbury Street	1863	26	0.97
93. Clapham Junction [Caudwell]	1864	386	12.26
99. Anerley St. [Knowles]	1865	79	3.59
102. Old Park	1866	138	14.43
128. Millgrove St. [Jennings]	1869	18	0.73
131. Anerley St. [E. Pain]	1870	60	1.86
132. Lothair St. [Hatfield]	1870	34	0.91
133. Lavender Hill Park	1871	225	14.28
140. Wandsworth Road	1874	310	10.53
141. Crown [Battersea Park]	1874	1552	60.96
142. Blenkarne	1875	51	7.08
145. Stanley Tce. [St. Johns Hill]	1875	19	0.56

147.	Sister House	1876	83	3.21
169.	Latchmere Grove [Bennett]	1882	34	1.69
172.	Sewell	1883	48	1.99
176.	Drayton House	1884	67	2.35
185.	Lombard Road	1888	8	0.18
186.	St. Saviour's Rd [Filer]	1889	37	0.83
197.	Altenburg Gardens 2	1894	63	4.49

### Type 3 - Architect/Surveyor

32.	Little Hill [Stedman]	1846	8	0.29
50.	Sheepcote La. [Glasier]	1851	63	1.76
51.	W.W. Pocock	1851	285	12.99
57.	Austins Road [Glasier]	1852	33	0.61
58.	Park Grove [Glasier]	1852	24	0.55
76.	Bagley Street [Glasier]	1862	110	3.38
90.	Rollo Street [C. Lee]	1863	134	4.53
100.	Falcon Terrace 1	1865	34	0.90
108.	Clock House Terrace [Lee/Hancock]	1866	16	0.87
114.	l'Anson	1867	235	14.58
126.	Gladstone Terrace [Vigers]	1869	66	2.47
130.	Vardens Road [Morton]	1870	11	0.42
150.	Croft	1878	89	2.29
161.	Broomwood Park/Elms 1	1880	172	8.90
183.	Princes [Juer Street]	1888	100	4.94
198.	Theatre Street	1895	22	1.27
202.	Winstead Street	1897	58	2.77
206.	Heathfield	1903	48	4.36

### Type 4 - Builder

8.	Pennington	1805	15	0.43
17.	Crescent Place [Winks]	1834	20	0.25
31.	J.C. Park 1	1845	34	4.32
35.	C.J. Freake 1	1847	43	2.02
40.	York Road [Musgrove]	1848	15	0.41
41.	J. Hart	1848	12	0.36
46.	J.C. Park 2	1850	426	17.88
49.	Carlton Terrace	1850	9	1.05
52.	Latchmere Grove [Hunt]	1851	108	3.63
56.	Austins Road [Wyld]	1852	26	1.45
63.	R. Jones	1855	29	1.69
69.	Parkside Street	1860	71	1.96
81.	Ceylon Street	1863	46	1.10
87.	Carlton Grove	1863	22	0.77
103.	Ingrave St. [T. Capps]	1866	109	4.26
109.	Warsill Street	1866	38	1.46
112.	Cubitt 1	1867	125	4.19
116.	Foots Row	1867	6	0.42
117.	St. James Grove [Cubitt/Hancock]	1868	23	0.71
119.	Altenburg Gardens 1	1868	26	3.22
127.	Chesney Street [M. Wiggs]	1869	55	1.37
137.	Rush Hill	1873	44	2.22
139.	Freake 2	1874	88	3.99
145.	Belleville Road [Heaver]	1875	70	4.30
147.	Cubitt 3	1876	97	2.87
153.	Falcon Park	1879	587	19.10
156.	Amies Street [Dickeson]	1880	59	2.11
158.	Clapham Junction	1880	342	12.11
163.	Dent's House	1881	80	5.24
164.	Lavender Sweep [Snelling]	1881	87	3.54
165.	Lavender Sweep [Heaver]	1881	145	6.13

177.	St. Johns Hill Park	1885	225	8.06
178.	Shrubbery	1885	52	5.58
182.	Chestnuts	1887	78	2.11
192.	Kyrle Rd. [T. Ingram]	1892	490	22.04
196.	Ravenslea Road	1894	72	10.06
199.	St. Johns Hill [Dickeson]	1895	16	0.58
207.	Latchmere Road SE	1903	37	1.52
208.	Lavender Lodge	1904	54	2.63

#### Type 5 - Legal Professions

33.	Green Lane [Chabot]	1846	14	0.39
34.	Surrey Lane [Chabot]	1847	25	1.40
42.	Doddington Grove	1848	63	2.63
89.	Lockington Road	1863	136	4.43
106.	Bolingbroke Grove	1866	117	3.48
120.	Lombard [J. Lord]	1868	185	7.71
129.	Harefield	1870	160	5.12
152.	Colestown 2 [Nickinson]	1878	501	16.56

#### Type 6 - Other Occupations

##### 6a: Manufacturing/Industry

1.	Ford's Buildings	1780	Silk Manufacturer	40	0.83
2.	New Town [Lovell]	1789	Baker/Brickmaker	48	2.29
13.	New Town [Kilsby]	1819	Shipbreaker	17	0.73
15.	New St. W [Lucas]	1827	Brewer	10	0.56
37.	Starch Factory Rd.	1847	Starch Manufacturer	23	0.48
53.	Frances St.	1851	Musical Inst. Maker	81	2.68
65.	Althorp Grove	1856	Brewer	20	0.68
101.	Corunna Place	1865	Marquee manufr.	28	0.68
105.	Manor House	1866	Marquee manufr.	160	5.02
134.	Gwynne	1872	Engineer	117	3.60
135.	Carpenters	1872	Dock Contractor	93	2.06
167.	Gillott's	1881	Tailor	113	4.16
173.	Sleaford St. NE	1882	Iron Foundry	6	0.16
187.	Stewarts Road W.	1889	Stone Sawmill	11	0.30
193.	Thirsk Road	1893	Contractor	110	4.44

##### 6b: Retail/Distribution

4.	York Street	1793	Bankers	29	1.65
5.	Sleford	1796	ButcherCorn Factor	30	0.97
6.	Pavillion Row	1798	Licensed Victualler	8	0.53
9.	Sleaford St. [Faucitt]	1806	Corn Dealer	11	0.34
10.	Church Road [Cobb]	1808	Banker	285	12.49
45.	Patient	1848	Merchant	63	1.81
71.	Seldon	1861	Fishmonger	59	2.29
73.	Brussels Road	1862	Merchant	137	7.37
77.	Acre Street	1862	Butcher	83	2.20
78.	St. Johns T. [York Rd.]	1862	Hosier/Tax Collector	20	0.74
85.	Lucy	1863	General Dealer	179	4.38
88.	Park Town	1863	Merchant	1346	56.79
115.	Freeland Street	1867	Licensed Victualler	27	0.68
118.	Bishopp	1868	Licensed Victualler	111	3.39
122.	Trott	1868	Ironmonger	65	2.08
160.	Culvert Place	1880	Licensed Victualler	41	1.40

**6c: Professions**

26.	Earl Spencer Pl.	1845	Civil Engineer	60	3.38
27.	Arnold/Hart Davis	1845	Civil Engineer	30	1.73
79.	John Street	1863	Surgeon	72	1.72
97.	Britannia Place	1865	Surgeon	52	0.92
107.	Lav. Hill [Townsend]	1866	Surgeon	193	5.67
151.	Falcon Terrace 2	1878	Reverend	60	2.08
159.	Plough Lane SE	1880	Reverend	29	1.49
194.	Eukestons	1894	M.P.	124	5.08
195.	Sisters Avenue 2	1894	M.P.	107	6.69
205.	Wix's Lane	1903	Reverend	44	2.41

**6d: Agriculture**

7.	Stewart	1803	Yeoman	116	7.69
12.	New Town [Gwynn]	1812	Market Gardener	10	0.16
20.	Carter	1839	Market Gardener	518	15.86
21.	Haward	1841	Market Gardener	42	6.84
23.	Lithgow	1844	Market Gardener	75	2.18
39.	Surrey Lane [Gaines]	1847	Market Gardener	18	1.02
47.	Wayland	1850	Nurseryman	25	1.34
54.	Bramlands [Carter]	1851	Market Gardener	5	1.34
84.	Eliza Gaines	1863	Market Gardener	18	0.31
94.	Spencer Lodge	1864	Market Gardener	93	3.90
95.	Culvert Rd. [Poupart]	1864	Market Gardener	22	0.51
104.	Kilton Street E	1866	Market Gardener	38	1.07

**Type 7 - Local Authority**

190.	Town Hall	1891	23	0.45
204.	Latchmere	1901	218	9.61

**Type 8 - Freehold Land Companies**

62.	Clapham Station	1853	189	14.14
64.	Chatham Road	1855	105	8.51
67.	Conservative Land Society 1	1858	108	2.89
91.	British Land Company 1	1864	136	16.61
92.	Conservative Land Society 2	1864	277	8.89
125.	Conservative Land Society 3	1869	528	34.31
157.	British Land Company 2	1880	262	12.46

**Type 9 - Dwellings Companies**

113.	Olney Lodge	1867	101	2.53
138.	Shaftesbury Park	1873	1217	38.05
149.	Victoria Dwellings	1877	188	1.49
162.	Mundella Road	1881	79	2.89
168.	Garfield Road	1882	62	2.82

**Type 10 - Charity**

124.	Kilton Street W	1869	41	0.92
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**Composite Types**

<b>1b/4</b>	154.	Beaufoy	1879	445	15.37
<b>2a/b/5</b>	60.	W.H. Wilson	1852	76	3.18
<b>2b/3</b>	209.	West Side	1908	436	21.91
<b>2b/4</b>	155.	Gonsalva Road	1879	81	2.62
	170.	Nightingale Park	1882	131	12.91
	171.	Kambala Road	1882	95	2.32
	172.	Chatto's	1882	713	24.94
	201.	Springwell	1896	187	6.39
	203.	Beechwood	1898	122	4.93
<b>2b/4/6b</b>	143.	Clapham Com. Gds.	1875	82	3.22
	181.	Broomwood/Elms 2	1886	507	26.22
<b>2b/5</b>	111.	Colestown 1	1867	138	4.56
	176.	Orville Road	1884	43	1.37
	179.	Marney Road	1886	183	6.54
	180.	Green Lane	1886	18	0.57
	184.	Lavender Hill	1888	137	5.83
	188.	Bolingbroke Grove	1890	291	11.56
	191.	Elsbeth Road	1891	230	8.02
	200.	Broomwood	1896	45	2.29
<b>2b/5/6b</b>	75.	Palmerston Street	1862	137	4.67
<b>2b/6b</b>	110.	Wayford Street	1866	68	2.74
<b>3/6a</b>	189.	Northfields	1890	312	11.23
<b>4/6b</b>	166.	Lavender Sweep [Ingram]	1881	240	7.68

## BATTERSEA NEW TOWN DEEDS CALENDAR

	Name	Date	Occupation	Address
1.	Joseph Archer	1853	Gent.	Tokenhouse Yd., City
2.	Thomas Arnott	1797	-	-
3.	Joseph Bayliss	1811	Brewer	Battersea
4.	James Blackman	1845	Candle Mfr.	Blackfriars Rd.
5.	Richard Bray	1786	Esq.	Lincolns Inn
6.	John Brooks	1845	Butcher	Wandsworth Rd.
7.	George Brough	1829	Draper/Tailor	Gt. Turnstile
8.	Richard Brown	1835	Plumber	Islington
9.	William Brown	1795	Bookseller	Strand
10.	Thomas Buckney	1830	Grocer	York St. Batt.
11.	Thomas Bulger	1819	-	Battersea
12.	Daniel Burnard	1797	Builder	Manchester Sq.
13.	Robert Carter	1857	Revd.	Brantham
14.	Henry Chapman	1857	Gent.	Bath
15.	Richard Chapman	1816	-	-
16.	John Coles	1839	Esq.	Red Lion Sq.
17.	Robert Comyn	1793	-	-
18.	William Corking	1797	Gent.	Manchester Sq.
19.	Charles Cracklow	1793	Surveyor	Kennington
20.	Henry Cracklow	1798	Hat Mfr.	Tooley St.
21.	Edward Curnick	1854	Carpenter	Wandsworth Rd.
22.	Thomas Curnick	1830	Coal Mcht.	Battersea
23.	James Dalton	1792	Gent.	Spitalfields
24.	Samuel Dalton	1791	-	-
25.	Richard Davies	1825	-	-
26.	George Dettmar	1853	-	Paddington
27.	John Drury	1793	Banker	Birchin Lane
28.	James Duneau	1825	Gent.	Throgmorton St.
29.	Amelia Esden	1816	-	-
30.	John Esden	1803	-	(Will 1812)
31.	Thomas Esden	1825	-	-
32.	Samuel Etches	1850	Gent.	Clapham
33.	Mary Faucitt	1820	Widow	-
34.	Robert Faucitt	1825	-	-
35.	William Faucitt	1806	Corn Dealer	Borough
36.	Francis Fladgate	1803	-	- (d.11/1821)
37.	Maria Fladgate	1839	Widow	Westminster
38.	Henry Furnesse	1795	Esq.	Gunnersbury
39.	William Godwin	1803	-	-
40.	John Graves	1798	Gent.	Birchin Lane
41.	Mary Graves	1819	Widow	New Ormond St.
42.	James Griffin II	1857	House Agent	Battersea
43.	Catherine Gurnell	1839	Spinster	Chelsea
44.	George Gurnell	1816	Gent.	Batt. New Tn. (d.7/1825)
45.	Jane Gurnell	1839	Spinster	Chelsea
46.	John Gurnell	1822	-	-
47.	Louisa Gurnell	1839	Spinster	Chelsea
48.	Elizabeth Gwynn	1845	Widow	Battersea Fields
49.	George Gwynn	1819	Gardener	Batt. New T. d.29/7/35
50.	Thomas Gwynn	1819	Gardener	York Row, Batt.
51.	Thomas Hancock	1797	-	-
52.	John Hardcastle	1786	Gent.	Linc. Inn/SymondsInn
53.	John Harrison	1786	Farmer	Battersea
54.	James Harriss	1845	Candle Mfr.	Blackfriars Rd.

55.	George Harvey	1793	-	-
56.	Josiah Harvey	1793	Baker	Cripplegate
57.	William Harvey	1793	-	St. Sepulchre
58.	Thomas Hickson	1862	Carpenter	Battersea
59.	John Holliman	1839	Grocer	Lambeth
60.	Thomas Holme	1857	-	-
61.	Daniel Hubbard	1862	Draper	Blackfriars Rd.
62.	Hugh Hughes	1816	-	-
63.	Chas. Humphreys	1797	Gent. (Solr.)	Southwark (mad 1829)
64.	Robert Hunter	1819	Esq.	Kew
65.	Harriet/Thos. Instone	1839	-	Eaton Sq.
66.	Jane Instone	1839	Widow	-
67.	Samuel Instone	1822	Gent.	Chelsea (d.7/1826)
68.	Charles Jones	1798	Gent.	London
		1819	Gent.	Bedford Row
69.	David Jones	1806	Gent.	Barnards Inn
70.	Richard Kentish	1795	Gent.	Birchin Lane
71.	Edward Kilsby	1819	Ship Breaker	Nine Elms
72.	Richard King I	1819	Cowkeeper	Battersea Fields
73.	Richard King II	1850	-	Battersea
74.	Thomas Lane	1819	Goldsmiths Hall	
75.	William Lovell	1786-93	Brickmaker	Battersea
		1793	Baker	Bishopsgate
76.	Joseph Lucas	1854	Gent.	Charing Cross
77.	Joseph Lucas	1854	Brewer	Hitchin
78.	Rudd Lucas	1854	Surgeon	Long Ashton, Som.
79.	Bryen McDermott	1806	Gent.	Peckham Rye
80.	William Marston	1803	-	-
81.	Daniel Megath	1863	Builder	Battersea
82.	William Millstead	1854	Wheelwright	Batt.>Kentish Tn 1868
83.	Joseph Neeld	1803	Esq.	Grosvenor Sq. (d.12/1828)
84.	Philip Neve	1786	Esq.	Inner Temple
85.	James Nicholls	1797	-	-
86.	Robt. Nicholson	1797	Timber Mcht.	Southwark
87.	Richard Noakes	1853	Gent.	-
88.	Michael Ogden	1793	Baker	St. Giles
89.	William Page	1862	Gent.	Kentish Town
90.	John Patient	1822	Merchant	Kingsland Rd.
91.	John Peacock	1786	Flour Factor	Southwark w. Frances
92.	Joseph Phillips	1811	Attorney	Battersea
93.	Edward Plank	1850	Cutler	W. Smithfield
94.	Thomas Ponton	1786	Esq.	-
95.	Margaret Prosser	1789	Widow	-
96.	Joseph Reeve	1803	-	-
97.	James Rhode	1793	Victualler	U. Deptford
98.	Samuel Ritherdon	1822	-	-
99.	Archibald Russell	1820	Gent.	Southwark
100.	Richard Ryland	1797	Corn Factor	City
101.	Abraham Saward	1822	-	-
102.	Henry Sellar	1839	Grocer	Nine Elms
103.	William Sellar	1863	-	Nine Elms>Adelaide
104.	Samuel Shergold	1789	-	Lincolns Inn
105.	William Sleaford	1796	Butcher	Mint St., Borough
106.	Caleb Smith	1791	Gent.	Westr.
107.	Richard Southby	1786	Esq.	Pangbourne

108.	David Stephenson	1811	Gent.	Battersea (d.1828)
109.	Sarah Stephenson	1829	Widow	Battersea (d.3/1829)
110.	Robert Strutton	1797	-	-
111.	William Tremlett	1797	-	-
112.	Robert Tyler	1798	Gent.	Southwark
113.	Charles Warren	1793	-	-
114.	John Webb	1797	Coal Mcht.	Manchester Sq.
115.	Robert Williams I	1797	Banker	Birchin Lane (d.6/1810)
116.	Robert Williams II	1797	Banker	Birchin Lane
117.	William Williams	1819	Banker	Birchin Lane
118.	John Winter	1786	Esq.	Swithins Lane
119.	James Wood	1791	Gent.	Spitalfields
120.	Robert Wood	1797	Bkr/Flour Factor	Little Britain, City (d.10/1797)
121.	Richard Wooten	1797	Lic. Vict.	Bishopsgate
122.	Philip Worlidge	1754	Gent.	Cornhill
123.	Richard Wright	1786	Esq.	Fenchurch St.

- 23/24 June 1763: Earl Spencer to Worlidge L&R  
7 Apr. 1782: Will of Philip Worlidge  
20/21 Feb. 1786: Devisees of Worlidge to Harrison  
27/28 Sept. 1786: A Neve/Southby; B Harrison; C Bray/Winter  
24 October 1786: A Harrison; B Ponton Sale  
24 Nov. 1786: A Harrison; B Ponton Mort.  
24 Nov. 1786: A Hardcastle; B Smith, Lovell, Peacock Sale  
27/28 Nov. 1786: A Wright/Neve/Southby; B Harrison; C Bray/Winter  
12/13 Jan. 1789: A Harrison (+ Priscilla); B Ponton; C Smith; D Shergold  
13 Jan. 1789: A Harrison; B Smith; C Hardcastle  
19 Feb. 1789: A Wright/Neve; B Southby; C Bray; D Prosser  
1 April 1789: A Southby; B Harrison  
Hilary Tm. 1789: Suit Smith vs. Harrisons  
1/2 Oct. 1791: A Harrison; B Smith; C Shergold; D Peacock/Lovell; E Samuel Dalton  
19/20 Oct. 1791: A Peacock/Lovell; B Wood; C Smith/Hardcastle L&R  
19/20 Dec. 1791: A Peacock/Lovell; B Dalton; C Smith; D Hardcastle  
11/12 Jan. 1792: A Harrison; B Wright/Neve/Southby; C Peacock/Lovell; D J. Dalton  
6/7 Dec. 1792: A Peacock; B Lovell L&R  
26 Jan. 1793: A Lovell; B J. Dalton; C J. Harvey; D W. Harvey :1/2/7-9 York St. W & 5 York Row  
15 Feb. 1793: A Williams & Drury; B Lovell Bond  
14/15 Feb. 1793: A Lovell; B Williams & Drury; C Smith L&R  
23 Aug. 1793: Bankruptcy hearing vs. Lovell  
26 Sept. 1793: A Lovell; B J. Dalton; C Ogden; D Rhode Rel. Land in York Row  
17 Oct. 1793: Sale of hos. to Ryland & Nicholson by Comyn/Warren/Harvey  
7 Dec. 1793: Auction, lots 20, 22-24, 37 to Cracklow  
Trin. Term 1794: Ryland vs. Peecoaks and Lovell  
2/3 Nov. 1795: A Ryland/Nicholson; B Lovell; C Smith; D Williams & Drury; E Kentish; F Peecoaks; G Jones; H Hardcastle; I Graves  
3 Nov. 1795: L&R to Chas. Jones  
16 Nov. 1795: A Brown; B Williams & Drury; C Kentish  
21/22 Oct. 1796: L&R incl. Sleaford.  
5 April 1797: A Smith; B Williams & Drury; C Ryland/Nicholson; D Lovell; E Peacock (+Frances); F Hardcastle; G Cracklow; H Humphreys  
26/27 May 1797: A Williams; B Nicholls  
6 June 1797: Auction of No.25/26 BNT (YS W) Williams to Webb per Corking  
5 July 1797: A Williams & Drury; B Webb; C Corking; D Burnard  
3 August 1797: A Tremlett; B Hancock; C Strutton; D Arnott; E Wooten 4 Pav.P  
27/28 Dec. 1798: A Williams & Drury; B Jones; C C. Cracklow; D H. Cracklow; E Graves; F Tyler; G Kentish; H Humphreys York St. W  
28 Dec. 1798: A Jones/Williams & Drury; B Cracklow 6H York St. W

31 July 1801: A Tyler; B Humphreys; C Cracklows  
 9 Aug. 1803: A Marston; B Reeve; C Harvey; D Godwin; E Esden; F Neeld; G Fladgate; York S.  
 26 Aug. 1806: A Sleaford; B Faucitt; C McDermott; D D. Jones 6-10 con. Sleaf'd St. to B  
 3 Sept. 1810: Auction Lots 1/2 to Stephenson, payable to Cracklow 31/2 YS  
 25 Apr. 1811: A Cracklows; B Stephenson 31/2 YS with Phillips  
 26 Apr. 1811: A Cracklow; B H. Cracklow; C Stephenson; D Bayliss 31/2 YS  
 8 Nov. 1816: A Esdens; B Hughes; C Chapman; D Geo. Gurnell  
 26 May 1819: Auction - Lots 1/5 to G. Gwynn; Lot 4 T. Bulger but sold on 50% each to Gwynn & Kilsby, sale by Williams and Lane; York St. E.  
 28 Sept. 1819: A Jones/Williams & Lane; B King (11-14 YS E>29-35 Savona)  
 28/29 Sept. 1819: A Jones; B Williams/Lane; C R. Williams; D Hunter; E G. Gwynn; F Kilsby; G Bulger; H M. Graves; I T. Gwynn L&R  
 27 Feb. 1820: A M. Faucitt; B Russell 6-10 Sleaford St.  
 30 Apr. 1822: A Seward; B Ritherdon; C G. Gurnell; D J. Gurnell; E S. Instone  
 22 May 1822: Patient acqd. land.  
 15 Apr. 1825: A T. Esden; B Hughes; C Davies; D Gurnell  
 14 Dec. 1825: B Duneau; R. Faucitt insolvent now 1-5 Sleaford St.  
 18 Sept. 1829: Auction Lots 1/2 Brough incl. 31/2 YS  
 8 Nov. 1829: Affidavit Bird/Bowen trustees for Stephenson; Humphreys was solr. to Cracklow  
 26 Apr. 1830: A T. Curnick; B Buckney Rel. 24 Savona St. (W)  
 29 Dec. 1835: A Devises of Wooten; B R. Brown 4 Pavillion Pl.  
 27 July 1839: A Gurnells; B Instones; C Sellar; D Holliman Ld.+3 new hos. York St. W.  
 29 July 1839: A Gurnells; B J. Instone; C Sellar; D Holliman 3H + Ld. YS  
 30 Apr. 1845: A E. Gwynn; B Brooks; C Blackman; D T. Gwynn; E Harriss Conv. to Brooks of 3 plots York St. E, later 11/13/51-55 Savona St.  
 6 Dec. 1850: A King II; B Eliz. King widow; C Etches; D Plank YS E cowyard  
 1 Nov. 1851: A Brooks; B E. Curnick 11/13 Savona St. E  
 25 July 1853: A Patient; B Dettmar sale 24-36 Aegis T; 1-5/25 Aegis G.  
 10 Oct. 1853: A Patient; B Noakes/Archer 6-24 Aegis G; 25-35 Aegis T; 2-4 Park T  
 16 Jan. 1854: A J. Lucas; B R. Lucas; C J. Lucas; D Buckney 1/2 YS>3/5 Sav.  
 21 Apr. 1854: A Etches; B E. Curnick York St. E 4H  
 19 July 1854: A Curnick; B Millstead  
 27 Feb. 1857: A Noakes; B Archer; C Holme sale 6-24 Aegis G; 25-35 Aegis T.  
 25 Mar. 1857: A Archer; B Griffin 6-8; 1-24 Aegis G.  
 6 May 1857: Mort. Archer>Carter/ H. Chapman 6-24 Aegis G; 25-35 Aegis T.  
 7 Nov. 1857: A Archer; B Griffin 11/12/18 Aegis G.  
 8 May 1858: A Archer; B Griffin 9/10/13/14 Aegis G.  
 24 June 1859: A Archer; B Griffin 15-17 Aegis G.  
 27 Feb. 1862: A Page; B Hickson (3H) York St. E  
 19 Nov. 1862: A Griffin; B Hubbard 9-18 Aegis G.  
 7 Oct. 1863: A W. Sellar; B Megath (4H) York St. E (9-15)  
 11 Jan. 1868: Ref. 11-14 (29-35) York St. E lately built

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

The footnotes to the various chapters indicate the wide range of sources for the study of building and estate development in Victorian London. Details are given here of the principal original and secondary sources used. The latter have been divided into those relating to Battersea and its neighbours, and those which treat London, other towns, or specific themes on a wider canvas. The novels of George Gissing, which provide an invaluable feel for the reality of living in London suburbs in the 1880s and 1890s, have not been cited separately.

### Original Sources

#### 1. Wandsworth Local History Collection (Battersea Library, Lavender Hill, SW11)

Both Battersea Borough Council (to 1965) and the London Borough of Wandsworth amassed a substantial archive, which forms the core of this study. The key element is the house deeds, of which there are many thousands, including fifty sacks acquired in 1992 which have not yet been catalogued, and which are used here without specific citation. Drainage applications for houses/groups survive in good numbers from 1879, enabling housebuilders to be identified with their work. Most estates have at least one general plan submitted to the Wandsworth Board of Works, 1860-1914.

Rate books of various kinds survive in a more or less continuous series from the 1750s to 1876, enabling the spread of housing and its value to be traced. There is a good coverage of DBW papers from 1856, along with Battersea Vestry and Borough Council papers.

The *South London Press* (1865- ) is the key local newspaper, throwing many beams of light on the normally unrecorded activities of developers and builders. The *Wandsworth Borough News* (1887- ) is less useful for Battersea affairs. The *Clapham Gazette* (1855-63), although shortlived often mentions Battersea. In addition WLHC has a complete run of *The Builder* since 1843, along with other specialised building/architectural journals.

Most of the map collection is available elsewhere, although the Tithe Map/Award of 1839 and the 1835/6 Spencer Sale Plans are not so easily accessible as here. Microfilm copies of the Census enumerators' books for 1841-1891 provide the raw material for studying Victorian society in Battersea, including builders and allied tradesmen.

#### 2. Greater London Record Office (Northampton Road, Clerkenwell)

The key source here is the run of District Surveyors' Returns (1845-52/1871-1915), which provide the key ingredient for studying the building cycle, the builders and their addresses. Some of those after 1889 are unfit to be used. They are catalogued under MBO (1845-52), MBW (1871-88) or AR/BA/4 (1889- ) references. Like WLHC, the GLRO has a large collection of deeds relating to Battersea estates, mostly in the C/70, B/CHE and B/NTG series. There is also an archive of documents relating to the Archbishop of York's London properties, mostly pre-1830 in the case of Battersea.

The printed minutes and papers of the MBW and LCC provide information on street approvals, name changes and comments on plans by their architects. The records of the School

Board for London cover every aspects from tenders through building to the log books and inspectors' reports, and are a much underused source of local social history. The map, print and photograph collections provide a wide range of images of the local landscape and townscape, indexed generally under Battersea (Metropolitan Borough).

### **3. The Surrey Collection (Minet Library, Knatchbull Road, Brixton)**

Once again, there is a good run of house deeds for Battersea, and also of estate plans and auction particulars, all fully indexed and in some cases calendered.

### **4. Surrey County Record Office (County Hall, Penrhyn Road, Kingston)**

There are a few Battersea deeds, notably three relating to the very first years of New Town. The principal holding here, however, are the deposited plans and books of reference for the many railway schemes affecting Battersea between 1830 and 1870, which provide invaluable information about land ownership and use. They form part of the Quarter Sessions records.

### **5. Parliamentary Papers**

The most important for this study are the Board of Trade survey of London working men (1887, LXXI) and the Select Committee on Artizans' Dwellings (1882, VII). The latter providing a survey of the inhabitants of Victoria Dwellings. The Brougham Committee surveyed local education in 1819 (IX). The Royal Commission on London Traffic produced eight volumes and a mass of statistics in 1905-6 (1905, XXX; 1906, XL, XLI). The Select Committee on Railways (1839, X) provides data on the first year of operation of the LSR.

### **6 Theses**

R.C.W. Cox, 'Urban development and redevelopment of Croydon, 1835-1940', Leicester PhD 1970.

H.J. Dyos, 'The Suburban Development of Greater London, South of the Thames, 1836-1914', London PhD, 1952.

D.A. Reeder, 'Capital investment in the western suburbs of Victorian London', Leicester PhD 1965.

J. Roebuck, 'Local government and some aspects of social change in the parishes of Lambeth, Battersea and Wandsworth', London PhD, 1967.

B. Taylor, 'Bromley, Beckenham and Penge, Kent, since 1750', London PhD, 1967.

D. Viles, 'Workers in the London building trades, c.1830-1870', London MPhil, 1975.

### **Printed Sources - Local (The place of publication is London unless otherwise indicated)**

#### **a. Books**

Anon., *Clapham Junction - A Peepshow*, n.d. (c.1890).

Anon., *Battersea Works 1856-1956*, 1956 (Morgan Crucible).

Anon., *Artizans Centenary 1867-1967*, 1967.

Anon., *Reflections on Battersea*, 1980.

T.P. Allen, *An Enquiry into the Existing State of Education in Battersea*, Supplement to the Jnl. of the Society of Arts, Aug. 1870.

- K.A. Bailey (ed.), *A Charge on the Parish*, WP1, 1974.
- K.A. Bailey, *Battersea New Town*, WP5, 1980.
- K.A. Bailey (ed.), *Wandsworth 1851*, WP6, 1981.
- K.A. Bailey, *The Carter Estate*, 1989.
- H.V. Borley & R.W. Kidner, *The West London Railway and the WLER*, n.d. (c.1968).
- C.S. Dunbar, *Tramways in Wandsworth and Battersea*, 1971.
- R.J. Ensing, 'Directories', *Guides to Local Sources 1*, WHS, 1985.
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