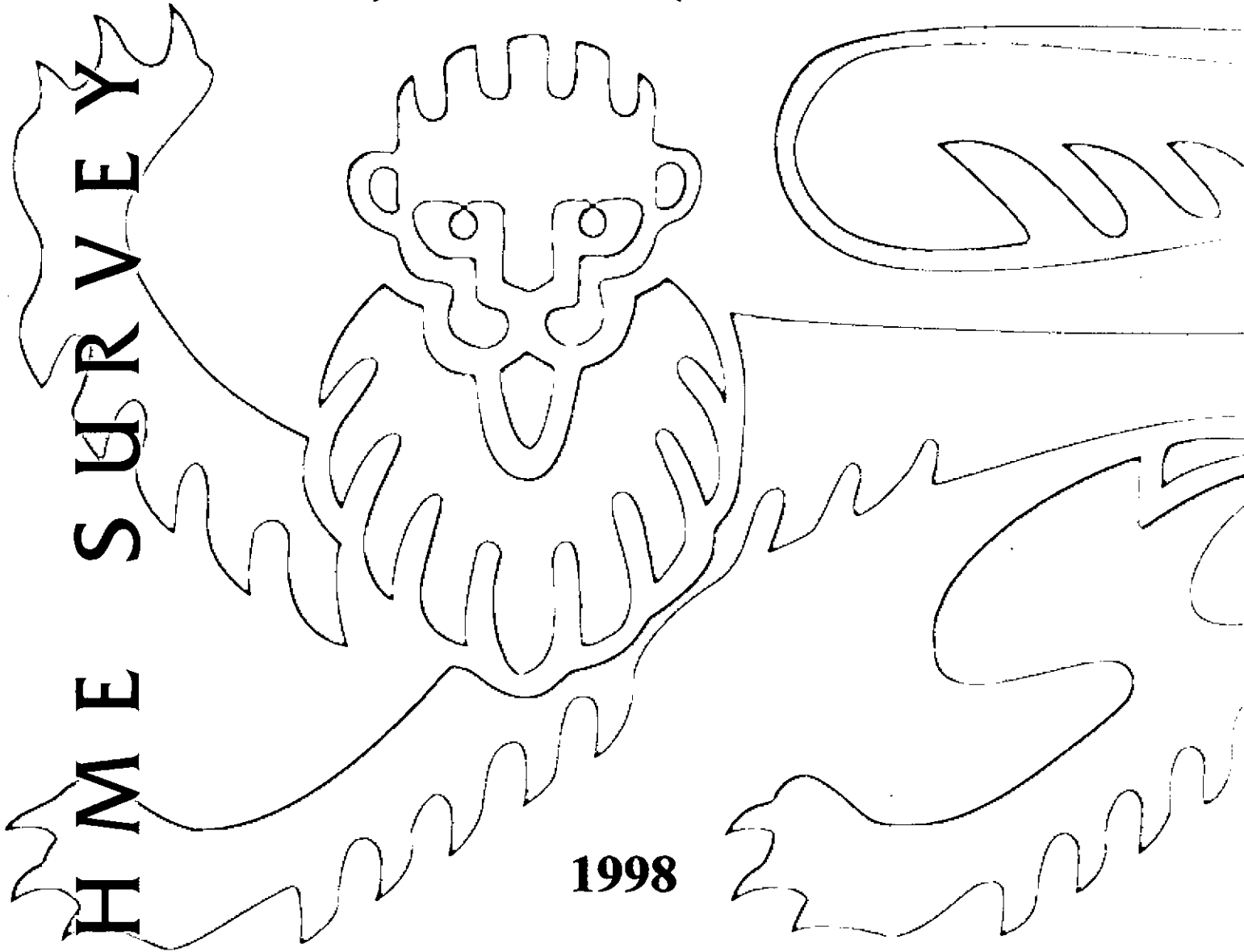
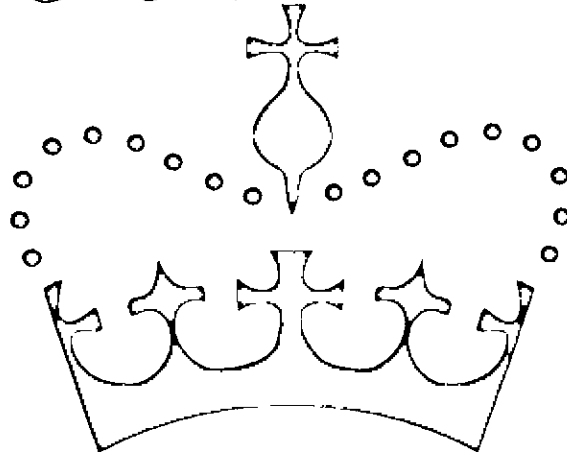


R C H M E S U R V E Y R E P O R T

DEPTFORD HOUSES: 1650 to 1800

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DEPTFORD HOUSES: 1650 to 1800

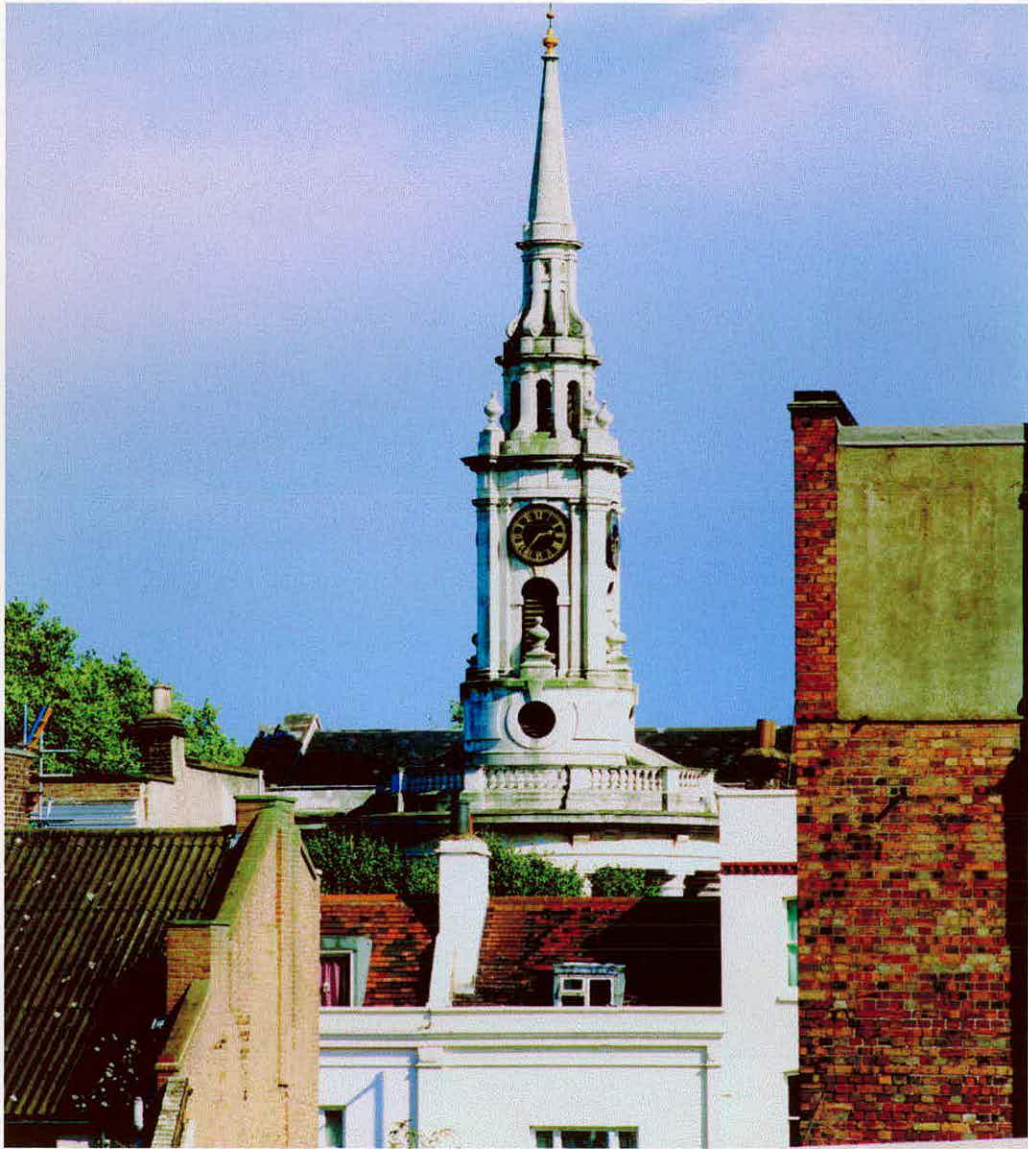
A Report Based on Field Survey in Deptford, London SE8

Surveyed: 1997-8
Report by Peter Guillery and Bernard Herman
Drawings by Andrew Donald
Photographs by Derek Kendall

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PREFACE: SCOPE AND METHOD

This report arises from building investigation carried out as part of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England's emergency recording programme. It is a synthesis drawing from a number of separate site reports on surviving 17th- and 18th-century domestic buildings in Deptford (see Appendix One). These houses have been investigated together and this report written to enable a contextual consideration of the group. The Royal Commission's Deptford survey was carried out in co-operation with English Heritage and the London Borough of Lewisham, from which bodies we gratefully acknowledge financial contributions. Their involvement reflects both national and local concern about and interest in these buildings. Further afield Professor Bernard Herman of the University of Delaware Centre for Historic Architecture in the USA has been a partner in the project. As such he has co-authored this report, contributed to the fieldwork and site reports, and throughout the project injected many valuable thoughts and perspectives, for all of which the Royal Commission is very grateful.

The Royal Commission's work in Deptford was led by Peter Guillery, responsible for research, recording and text. Some measured survey and all the drawings are by Andrew Donald, some based on work by Jeff Klee and Jonathan Clarke. The large and medium-format photography was made by Derek Kendall. Jonathan Clarke, Joanna Smith and Colum Giles have contributed to site recording and reports, and June Warrington has provided invaluable support. Other Commission staff, namely John Bold, Nicholas Cooper, Alan Cox, John Greenacombe, Stephen Porter, and Ann Robey, have provided helpful insights.

The starting points for this project were a Conservation Area Partnership Scheme affecting Nos 11-31 Tanners Hill, the consequent need for historic understanding, and a perception arising from the recording of a threatened building in nearby Greenwich, that the Tanners Hill houses were only the tip of the iceberg in terms of the survival in Deptford of undocumented early houses of unfamiliar types. A rapid survey of all the buildings of Deptford High Street was carried out for RCHME by Colin Burgess and Neville Stankley, post-graduate students on placements to whom we are indebted; their notes and photographs will form part of the project archive. The rapid survey immediately led to more intensive recording at two sites, Nos 62 and 203 Deptford High Street. This much came together in 1997 to make it clear that any meaningful understanding of the wider group of early buildings was highly problematic without further work, a conclusion vindicated by the subsequent chastening discovery that the initial assessment of the probable first build dates of Nos 62 and 203 was wrong by the better part of a century.

The fieldwork was carried out after the separate negotiation of access to individual sites, using conventional hand-measured survey and photography in a range of formats. Documentary research was wide ranging, with ratebook analysis at its core. Important limitations were the lack of access to a number of interiors, and the paucity of historic property records. Material relating to the Deptford survey in the shape of photographs, notes and supplementary information will be archived with the site reports and will be available for public consultation at the National Monuments Record, 55 Blandford Street, London W1H 3AF (tel: 0171 208 8200).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Beyond those directly responsible for carrying out the Deptford survey already named the Royal Commission wishes to thank all those without whose involvement the project would not have reached fruition.

At English Heritage Chris Miele and Richard Bond were instrumental in formulating and directing the project. For the London Borough of Lewisham Anne-Marie O'Hara, Phil Ashford and Jan Mondrzejewski have all been supportive. Archival work was made possible by John Coulter and colleagues at Lewisham Local Studies and Archives, by Julian Watson and colleagues at Greenwich Local History Library, and by Frances Harris in the British Library Manuscripts Department. London Metropolitan Archives, the National Maritime Museum, the Public Record Office, and the Centre for Kentish Studies are among other archives consulted. Elizabeth McKellar of the University of London, Birkbeck College, has kindly given access to pre-publication text and shared perceptions relating to 18th-century Deptford housing and some of the questions it raises. Neil Burton, Brian Gill and Christopher Phillpotts have also advised and made research information available.

We are grateful to the Deptford Forum and the Deptford High Street Traders' Association for their co-operation, and to Charles Edwards and Steve Jones for sharing their local and particular knowledge. The architectural practices of Baily-Garner, Thomas Ford and Partners, and Marden & Knight Architects have been helpful. Above all we are indebted to all the property owners, occupiers, agents and others in Deptford who have been so tolerant of intrusions and accepting of excitement in the face of the outwardly ordinary features of humble buildings: Rachel Berry, Alan Chandler (Percy Ingle Ltd), Sidney Charles, Dave Collett, John Curtis (South London Press: Mercury Group), Reverend Peter Fellows, Mr Francis (Juicy Fruits), Gary's Carpets, Delia Gaze, George and Michael Goddard and Clive Mellor (Goddard's Pie Shop), Catherine Grimshaw, Hair Dome, Mark Husband (Keabeech Amusements), Neville Johnny (Johnny's DIY), Margaret Jones, Andrew Kennedy (Kennedy Sausages), Margaret Kinsley (Kentish Foods), The Lady Florence Trust, Grace Lewis (Adun Society and the African Design Centre), Sanjay Luthra, R. Patel (Kim's Newsagents), John Price, Mr Reed, Joe Santos (Tojo Children's Wear), Barry Shelton (Glen International Ltd), S. K. Thakrar, William Wellbeloved, Rupert Wheeler, and Ernie Witcomb.

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INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

This report centres on about twenty sites in and around Deptford High Street. Broadly, the buildings on these sites are small lower-status 18th-century houses. Though extensively altered and nearly all unlisted they deserve this attention because they are rare survivals of an understudied class of domestic buildings, early-modern town houses for artisans and labourers. As such their significance is wide reaching, with implications for our understanding of Georgian London, as well as that of towns across England and across the Atlantic. This reflects back onto Deptford and is indicative of the wider historic importance of the place. Although long part of London, Deptford grew up a place apart. It still retains some of its historically autonomous urban character; poverty and neglect have inhibited wholesale redevelopment, as the buildings studied here show. The houses and the place are separately and together markedly fragile. The historic evidence that inheres in the houses is threatened, by decay and alteration, and Deptford as a place is under growing regenerative pressures.

The report is based largely on the evidence of standing buildings, supported by documentary research, principally ratebook analysis. Much other evidence has been brought into play; visual records of demolished buildings, a wide range of published and unpublished documentation, and comparison with other buildings elsewhere. However, the resulting synthesis cannot be regarded as a definitive or exhaustive account of Deptford's housing of the period in question. The sample is small and far from random. It is what has survived. Higher-quality buildings do tend to stand longer; the previously well-documented early-18th-century brick houses of Albury Street are the local witness. Most of Deptford's ordinary housing before 1750 was slight and timber built; for obvious reasons virtually none of these timber houses survive, though there are exceptions. Property records relating to humble housing where there was no single dominant landowner also tend to disappear. The loss of most early fabric and the thinness of primary archive remove the possibility of statistical rigour in treating the subject as a whole. Nevertheless, the importance of the insights that the surviving buildings and documents do allow justifies their use in investigating a significant class of buildings for which other avenues into understanding are blocked. The nature of the evidence is a guard against dogmatism or generalization. The buildings make it possible to address many heretofore unanswerable, sometimes unasked, questions revolving around the nature of early-modern lower-status urban housing, but pending further study most of these questions do remain open.

Deptford was, and remains, an exceptional place. Expanding around its Naval Dockyard, an early industrial facility at the heart of the rise of British seapower, it was by 1700 a large town with a population of 10-12,000, close to but not part of London. Among England's provincial towns of the time only Bristol and Norwich were significantly more populous. Yet through the 18th century it retained an edge-like status as an urban satellite, neither a suburb nor an independent town with its own hinterland. Its local economy was, unusually for the time, overwhelmingly dependent on wage labour. The shipbuilding population that walked to work from the town to the Dockyard formed Deptford's backbone. It was highly artisanal - skilled, literate, dissenting, democratized and independent-minded. Towards the end of the century wider social and economic developments, including both prosperity and insecurity channelled by the vagaries of war, began to push Deptford's monoculture in both bourgeois and proletarian directions with a related decline of the artisanal class. The surviving early houses of Deptford illuminate both the artisanal settlement and its later transformation.

There have, of course, always been small town houses - it is just that the older ones do not generally survive. It is the combination of smallness and oldness that is perhaps the most remarkable attribute of Deptford's surviving early artisanal houses. Inevitable alterations and prejudice about what constitutes

historic architecture have meant that when buildings such as these do survive they tend not to be recognised as holding interest. The 18th-century 'urban vernacular' in particular has remained unregarded by British architectural historians who have tended to be interested in either the 'vernacular' or the 'polite', seldom both. With a few notable exceptions buildings such as these have not been embraced by the 'research agendas' of either group, because they do not quite make the cut as being either 'vernacular' or 'polite'. Yet the cusp where the 'vernacular' meets the 'polite' is a compass needle pointing to defining areas of social change.

The houses hold constructional interest, notably in the evidence they present as to the endurance of timber framing well into the 18th century. Plan form is another area in which the houses are particularly informative, defying conventional typologies and expectations. There are late-17th-century and early-18th-century one-room-plan houses, virtually unheard of survivals in London, and two-room plan houses with central chimneys, an ostensibly 17th-century form, that were built in the 1770s and 1790s. 'Vernacular' forms have hitherto been typologically dated early, simply because they are 'vernacular', a circular and baseless reinforcement of the self-evidently improbable assumption that, crudely expressed, has the 'vernacular' winding up in the 17th century to hand the architectural baton to the 'polite' in the 18th century. A study of the plans also permits conclusions to be drawn about room use, circulation and privacy, with ramifications as to both the actual and perceived social status of the occupants, suggestive of the interpenetration of commercial and domestic spaces and multiple occupation. In their overt forms the houses tend to combine an adherence to customary or 'vernacular' architectural practice with a ready acceptance of selected aspects of a fashionable classical or 'polite' vocabulary, in both external and internal features, ranging from the fenestration of façades to the detail of fireplace surrounds. Variety in heights and rooflines is a particularly telling characteristic of the group.

The architecture of the houses seems to speak of an urban existence that would have been familiar to the bulk of the population of London and other towns in the 18th century. The degree to which the Deptford buildings may or may not closely reflect 18th-century London is a subject that needs further research, but there does seem to be both synergy and disjunction. They prompt comparison with the all-but entirely vanished housing of London's 17th- and 18th-century southern and eastern suburbs, and are thereby powerfully suggestive of an alternative housing paradigm to that provided by Summerson in *Georgian London*. Held up against the linear story of the emulative spread of the 'Palladian' Georgian terrace the Deptford houses seem to be telling us about the dog that didn't bark, another 'Georgian London'. They resonate too in a much wider context - throwing up parallels in other places where an English-speaking artisanal culture was strong in the 18th century and where there are greater survivals of early fabric, through England's early industrial settlements and ports, from Gravesend to Bristol, Frome to Coalbrookdale, Whitehaven to Whitby, across the Atlantic to Boston and Philadelphia.

Deptford is exemplary in other ways. In recent times it has become a haven of multi-ethnic inner-city vitality. Deptford High Street is a richly-faceted and increasingly rare shopping 'high street' with a thriving market. The shops accommodate traders from the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, South Asia, East Asia, and Africa, as well as those of British descent many of whose families have long been in Deptford. Choices, an Afro-Caribbean hair stylist, is next to Pet Store, next to Sidney Charles, a Jewish tailor, next to a William Hill betting shop, next to Alpha Cash and Carry, an African grocer, all opposite Percy Ingle's coffee lounge and snack bar, Deptford Dry Cleaner, and Keabeech Amusements; further along Kim's Newsagents is next to Tojo Children's Wear, Heel Bar is next to Robert Walker, cut-price cigarettes, next to Caxton House, a ceramics and gift shop, next to Market Cafe. The Next Best Thing, second-hand appliances is next to Juicy Fruits, greengrocers, next to Bertie Roosters Fried Chicken. Kennedy's Sausages is next to the African Design Centre, and Goddard's Pie Shop is next to American Nail Pashions, Vietnamese manicurists (Figs 36-39, 62 and 64); all these in 18th-century buildings.

Deptford High Street is a place for which the phrase 'local distinctiveness' could have been invented. Its character is fragile as Deptford is subject to intense regeneration pressures, as well as to the standard pressures that changing patterns of travel and shopping have brought to many town centres. Deptford's strengths are in many respects diametrically opposed to those usually marshalled to buttress historic value. It is dis-integrated, scruffy and unplanned, and has been heavily, casually and continuously rebuilt, altered and converted. It continues to be and depends on being in a healthy state of flux. It is highly contingent, unremittingly vivacious, and immensely diverse culturally. None of this makes it any less 'historic' than a National Trust village that has remained (or been obliged to remain) unchanged for a century and more. Deptford exemplifies qualities that have disturbed historians and aesthetes, improvers and conservationists, from John Evelyn onwards. An essentially classical tidy-mindedness has been extraordinarily pervasive, and inappropriately Arcadian ideals of urban space have misled us about the orderliness of Georgian London. Yet disorder, the juxtaposition of the unlike, and tolerance of diversity have surely always been positive factors at the heart of urban life. The brash shop fascias that proclaim 'American Nail Pashions', 'Bertie Roosters', or 'Juicy Fruits' are not out of place alongside Thomas Archer's early-18th-century Baroque Church of St Paul. The 'vernacular' and the 'polite' have always co-existed here.

Deptford forces us to think about what we mean by heritage. Its early houses can be and are appreciated for their importance in terms of the local and typical, their contribution to the strong *genius loci*. At the same time they also hold outstanding historic interest in national and wider contexts. The continuity that is implicit in the word regeneration is not provided by the ritual retention of selected atypical artefacts. It is deeper and more difficult. It depends, above all, on the understanding and valuing of place, something for which historical understanding is primary. In an urban context this can not be site specific, but needs to address the overall nature of areas and questions of context, ensemble, scale and relationships, both spatial and temporal. Conservation legislation has tended to vaunt the particular over the general, the pure or designed over the altered or incoherent, the exceptional over the everyday. The standard Summersonian townhouse will be listable if its plain and symmetrical façade remains plain and symmetrical, so hundreds of these near-clones are protected as being 'special'. Yet the much rarer altered, asymmetrical and unpredictable 'urban vernacular' of Deptford has not been recognized as comparably interesting. There is more than a hint of conundrum here - there would be obvious absurdity in any formal recognition of sublime disorder as being a preservable aspect of urbanism.

Deptford seems poised on the threshold of major change. It is not romantic attachment to poverty and urban squalor that make this seem a threat. Regeneration can bring stultifying acculturation and standardization; in some measure that is what happened in Deptford 200 years ago. There is firm local determination to control incipient change in Deptford. This is based on an understanding of and affection for the existing place that is rooted in history. Instead of 'heritage' being, as is sometimes alleged, socially and racially divisive, it can be an empowering force for inclusiveness. In describing the historical origins of an exceptional urban place it is hoped that this survey will help to give the precious attribute of historical authenticity to some of the positive qualities that make Deptford what it is now.

SECTION 1: DEPTFORD

*'...we came to Deptford, where I think the first House in the Town, like many others, is accounted a Conveniency for his Majesties Water-Rats, when residing upon Land, to Cool their Tails in, when we came a little further into the Town, we might easily discern, by the built [sic] of the Houses, what Amphibeous sort of creatures chiefly Inhabited this part of the Kingdom.'*¹

(1) Early History up to the Seventeenth Century

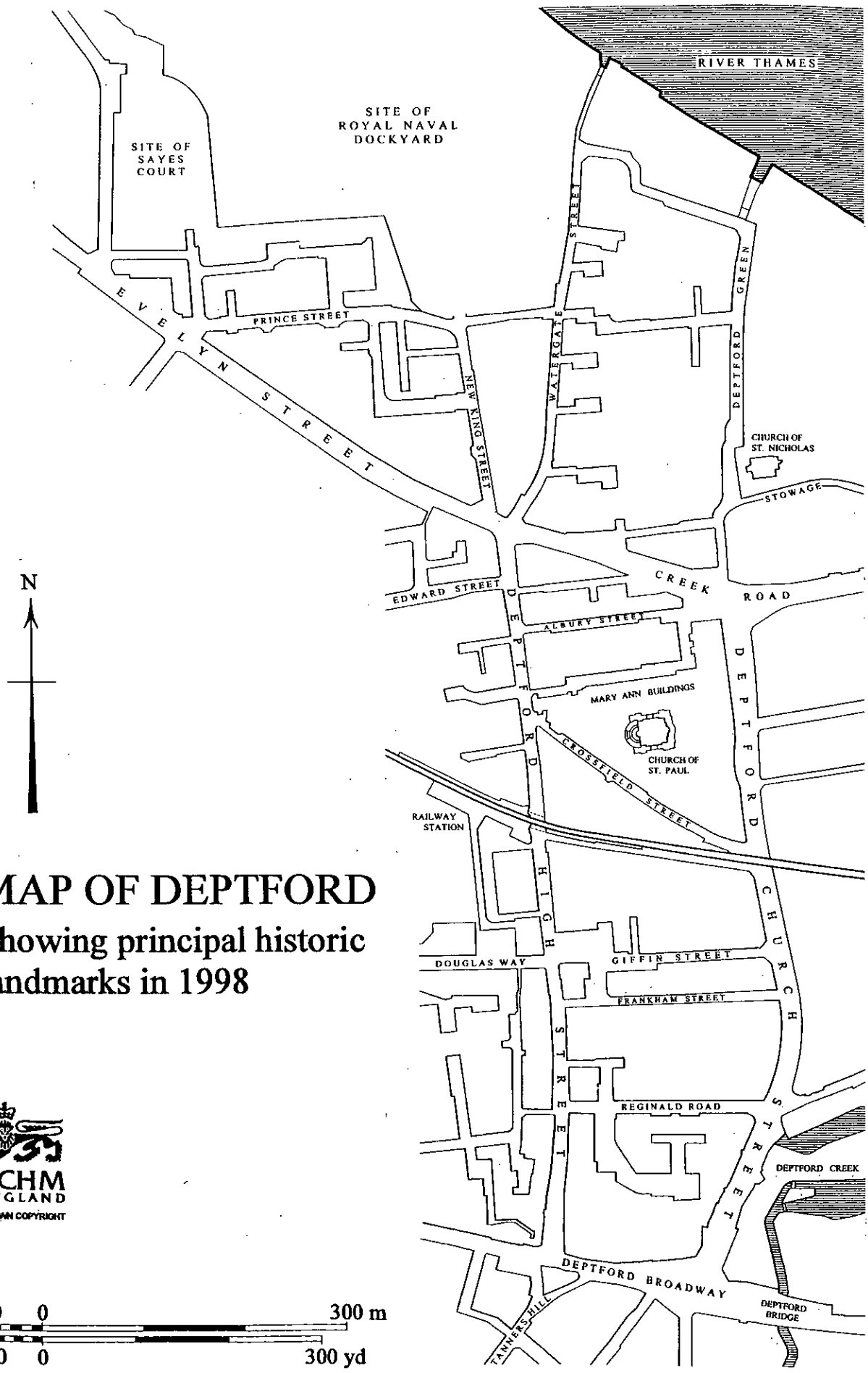
Deptford is situated about three miles (5 km) southeast of the City of London in the northwest corner of the historic County of Kent. Its topography is defined by tidal watercourses; it is on the south side of the River Thames and to the west of a tributary, the Ravensbourne, the northernmost part of which to its confluence with the Thames is known as Deptford Creek. Deptford's beginnings were as two distinct settlements, both perhaps with Roman origins. These grew gradually until the early modern period when more rapid growth caused them to merge to form a single densely-populated industrial town (Fig. 1). To the north a small port or landing point, Deptford Strand or Lower Deptford, was established on the riverside near the mouth of the Creek. By the 12th century the Church of St Nicholas, a dedication associated with sailors, stood on a small promontory here, well inland from the Strand at the end of what became Deptford Green, beyond the reach of floods which were mitigated by embanking. The 14th- and 15th-century church tower survives. To the west there was settlement along what later became Watergate Street, and beyond was Sayes Court, the manor house. The medieval local economy was probably based in fishing, with some shipbuilding by the early 15th century.²

About 750m to the south was another distinct settlement, latterly known as Upper Deptford or more particularly Deptford Broadway, centred on the west side of the northernmost crossing of the Ravensbourne. This crossing was probably the Saxon 'deep ford', under what is now Deptford Bridge. This is on the probable line of the Roman road, later Watling Street, that connected London and Dover. Archaeological finds of Roman and Saxon date suggest continuous and dense occupation here at what must have been an important staging point between London and Kent. In the medieval period there were shops and inns, two-storey buildings and cellars, extending at least as far west as the south end of Deptford High Street, with a tide mill on Deptford Creek.³ A road led northeast from this settlement to Greenwich, in terms of distance, formed something approaching an equilateral triangle with the two Deptfords, though the Creek was a barrier separating Lower Deptford from Greenwich. From the early 15th century Greenwich grew through the presence of what became an important Royal Palace. Lower Deptford was sometimes called West Greenwich and the medieval and manorial history of Deptford and Greenwich are interwoven. To the west open fields and marshland lay between Deptford and London Bridge.

In 1513-20 Henry VIII had a storehouse, basin and dry dock built on the west or upstream side of Lower Deptford's river front, effectively founding a Naval Dockyard for royal ships. There was deep water and as it grew so did the population of Lower Deptford, and state-sponsored shipbuilding encouraged nearby growth in private shipbuilding. A map of 1623 (Fig. 2) shows Lower Deptford as being concentrated between the Royal Dockyard and Sayes Court to the west, and another shipbuilding yard then recently established by the East India Company on the site of the 'Stowage' to the east. There were houses along Watergate Street, Deptford Strand, and Deptford Green, at the south end of which stood the Church of St Nicholas. Nearby were the almshouses of the Corporation of Trinity House, a charitable organization dedicated to shipping and seamen. To the south Butt Lane, the road that became Deptford High Street, was a route through open fields leading to Upper Deptford, shown as having only a single house along its length. It is not clear from which sense of the word 'butt' the name derives; perhaps the name is an

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MAP OF DEPTFORD
 Showing principal historic landmarks in 1998



Figure 1

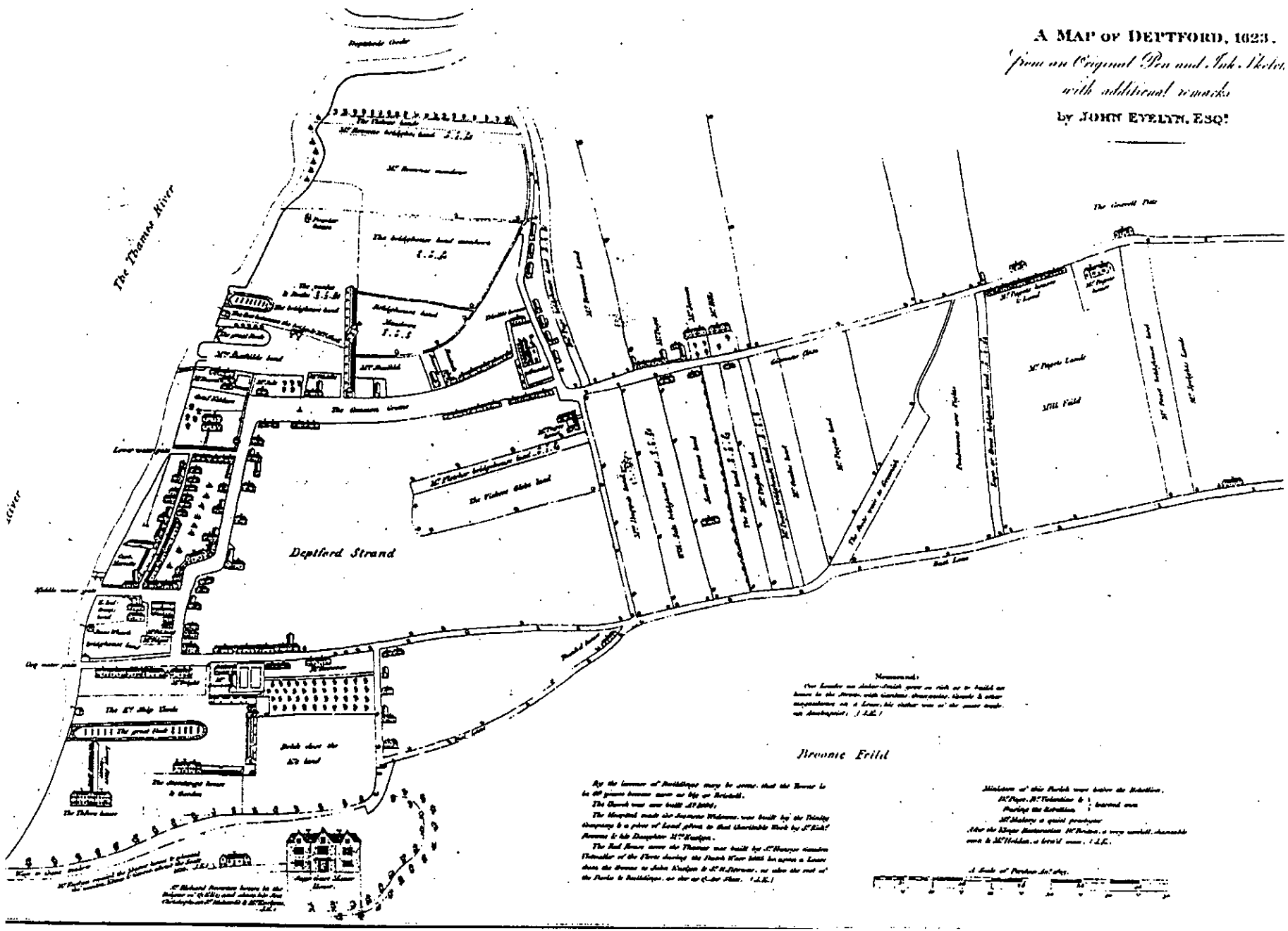


Figure 2 - Map of Deptford in 1623, a 19th-century redrawing of a map copied and annotated by John Evelyn c.1703 (British Library, Evelyn Papers).

indicator of the street's marginality. In the 16th century the fields between the two Deptfords had been used to graze cattle to supply the Royal household at Greenwich. The tidal meadow along the Ravensbourne to the east was gradually industrialized, with gravel pits, osier beds and lime kilns.⁵ Parallel to Butt Lane to the east was Deptford Church Street. More developed, it was the primary link between Upper and Lower Deptford. A manorial survey of 1649 and the Hearth Tax assessment of 1664 maintain Upper and Lower Deptford as quite separate places.⁶ Yet, when in 1672 land was given to Trinity House to build a grand new set of almshouses, erected c.1680 (demolished 1877), the site was on the east side of Church Street, midway between the two Deptfords.⁷

(2) The Naval Dockyard

Before considering Deptford's 17th- and 18th-century growth in any greater depth it will be helpful to look more closely at the Naval Dockyard. It was a defining presence and influence, and it is the key to understanding Deptford's local economy. Its scale as an industrial enterprise made Deptford an atypical early-modern town, unusual in its economic base, population mix and housing density. William Lambarde wrote in 1570 that Deptford 'was of none estimation at all, untill that King Henrie the eight advised (for the better preservation of the Royall fleete) to erect a storehouse, and to create certaine officers there.'⁸ Until the 19th century Deptford and other Naval Dockyards, nearby at Woolwich, and beyond in Chatham, Sheerness, Portsmouth and Plymouth, were the nation's greatest industrial establishments. Around 1700 'they were the industrial centres of England, giving employment to men expert in a wide variety of trades and capable of handling a great diversity of materials. Other communities might be more populous, but none could compete with the multifariousness of skills to be found in and around the naval towns.'⁹ Defoe described Deptford's Dockyard as 'a well order'd city', and Fielding wrote 'The yards of Deptford and of Woolwich are noble sights, and give us a just idea of the great perfection to which we are arrived in building those float-castles and the figure which we may

always make in Europe among the other maritime powers'.¹⁰ These yards were a hugely important part of the early modern world's political economy. Without the Dockyard Deptford would have remained a straggly riverside hamlet and a crossroads until London came to meet it. With it Deptford became a substantial independent town in its own right, albeit one defined by its function as an industrial service facility for the maritime trade generated by London as an imperial capital.

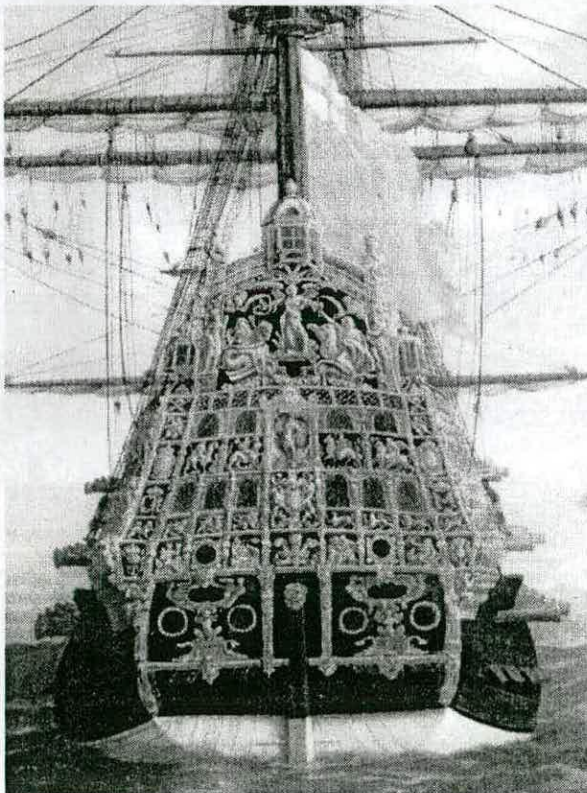


Figure 3 - Late-17th-century ornamental ship carving. The Sovereign of the Seas (built at Woolwich), detail from a painting by Sir Peter Lely (National Maritime Museum).

Important determinants in the size and growth of Deptford were the highly labour intensive nature of shipbuilding, and the fact that employment in the dockyards was relatively secure, although wages were often very much in arrears. Together Deptford and Woolwich built more men-of-war and merchant vessels in the 17th century than anywhere else in Europe. The essential form of ships was not radically altered through the 17th and 18th centuries, though structural refinement allowed bigger ships to be proportionally lighter. English shipbuilding was particularly characterized by sophistication in the draughting of ship plans. Above-decks ornamentation with broadly classical carving - figural, foliate and otherwise, was of a very high

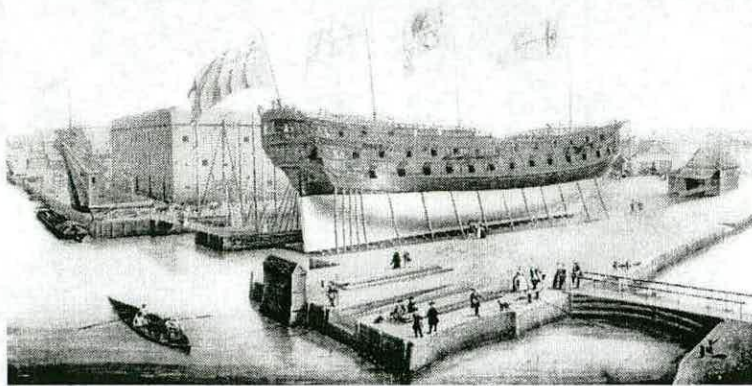


Figure 4 - Deptford Naval Dockyard, HMS Buckingham on the stocks in 1752, by John Cleveley the Elder (National Maritime Museum).

standard, and followed architectural and sculptural fashion (Figs 3 and 4). There was some falling off after 1700 after objections to the lavishness of this practice were made; later ornament was less figural and more architectural, as in balustraded balconies.¹¹ The quality of workmanship in this area is exemplified by recollecting that it was as a ship's carver in Deptford that John Evelyn 'discovered' Grinling Gibbons (1648-1721), the most renowned 17th-century English woodcarver and best known of the many craftsmen who worked with Sir Christopher Wren on the City Churches, St Paul's Cathedral, and elsewhere.¹² While the Dockyard might

have been a haven for the virtuoso, it was not one for the virtuous. There was widespread corruption, jobbery and theft, indeed 'it is quite certain that envy, backbiting, and all uncharitableness reigned supreme'.¹³

There was gradual and piecemeal expansion of the Dockyard through the 16th and 17th centuries, including the establishment of a Naval victualling supply depot to the north in the 1660s.¹⁴ A programme of improvements amounting to substantial rebuilding and enlargement was carried out in 1686-98 almost doubling the value of the Dockyard from £15,761 in 1688 to £28,641 in 1698.¹⁵ The Dockyards at Chatham and Portsmouth were larger, but it was to Deptford that Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia, came in 1698 for almost four months, principally to learn about shipbuilding. Deptford remained a specialist centre for the building of warships, and, close to London, it was the place where innovations were introduced.¹⁶ From 1700 to 1815 Deptford's Dockyard built or rebuilt 121 ships of 14 guns and bigger, more than either Woolwich or Chatham.¹⁷

Until 1662 the Dockyard was managed by the Lord High Admiral, who had a house on Deptford Green. Thereafter management was by the Navy Board; Samuel Pepys, Secretary at the Navy Office, records many visits in his diary of the 1660s. In this period the position of Master Shipwright at Deptford was the senior appointment in the profession, garnering an annual salary of £114.10.0 in 1660, rising to £200 in 1743.¹⁸ Among Deptford's Master Shipwrights were Peter Pett (d.1589), his grandson, also Peter Pett (1593-1652), Jonas Shish (1605-1680), Fisher Harding (d.1705) and Joseph Allin (d.1716), for whom the Master Shipwright's House was rebuilt in 1708 in a form which it retains.¹⁹ Other masters in their trade in the 1740s earned 2/6 or 3/- a day, skilled men 1/8 to 2/6, and labourers 1/- to 1/6. The total wage bill for 1745 was £50,172, probably exceptional in that it was wartime.²⁰ These were not exceptionally high wages. Labourers at Westminster Abbey in the 1750s earned 2/- a day, masters in trades 3/-. Less grandly and more locally, in the building trade in Southwark in the 1720s bricklayers' labourers' wages rose to 2/- a day; in Greenwich in 1770 labourers earned 1/9 a day, tradesmen up to 2/10.²¹ In the 1790s naval dockyards shipwrights on time rates earned as much as 5/3 a day, labourers up to 2/2.²² More important than the rates of pay in Deptford was the relative security and continuity of the work. Skilled workers were not easily replaced and were able to command pay increases, particularly during wars. They were sufficiently secure and well organised across the naval dockyards in the 18th century as to have combined in effective strike action on numerous occasions.²³ To give dockyard rates of pay some context in terms of housing consider that a 'small message or tenement' in a Deptford row (Pound Row, now Tanners Hill) where Dockyard labourers were resident at the time was sold for £35 in 1734.²⁴ This

suggests a rental value of perhaps £2/10s a year, representing about a sixth of a less-well-paid Dockyard labourer's annual income. In other words, it is clear that labourers could afford to live in these houses.²⁵

The total workforce in the Dockyard fluctuated wildly between wartime and peacetime (Table 1). Available figures are not, therefore, an accurate gauge for the growth of Deptford. Numbers of shipwrights, skilled men less easily recruited and less readily dismissed, are probably a more accurate reflection of the Dockyard's expansion in terms of Deptford's permanent resident population. It should also be noted that from the late 17th century into the 18th century several relatively small private shipbuilding yards were established in Deptford in addition to the Naval Dockyard and what had been the East India Company's Dockyard. For example, upstream towards Rotherhithe what later came to be known as Dudman's Dock was built in 1704 by John Winter.²⁶

Table 1 - Deptford's Royal Naval Dockyard Workforce²⁷

	Shipwrights	House Carpenters	Joiners	Bricklayers	Total Men in Pay
1544	80-90*				-
1628	-				37
1663	-				238
1677	113*				-
1688	171*				-
1712	320				647+
1745	403	52	46	23	1813w
1754	-				801
1756	-				1232w
1761	-				1074w
1770	-				788
1772	-				939
1774	430				1265w
1775	-				931+w
1785	-				1105
1799	-				1382w
1814	553	89	47	12	1886w

* includes some caulkers

+following large-scale dismissals

w-wartime

Figuring conservatively on an 18th-century workforce of 800 in the Naval Dockyard at an average 1/6 a day (ignoring overtime and deductions) this represents a total outlay of about £60/day in wages, or about £20,000/year. Even accounting for usurious discounts against the tickets used as payment, and the fact that the wages were not paid out when due, this still represents very substantial spending power. Income from private shipbuilding and payments in kind, legitimate or otherwise (see below), would have supplemented this. Deptford's shipbuilding population was, by 18th-century standards, secure and well paid. Their prosperity would have spilled into other aspects of the town's life. Deptford was unusual in the 18th century in being a wage-labour community.



Figure 5 - A ship-cabin interior, Captain John Bentinck and his son William in 1775, by Mason Chamberlin (National Maritime Museum).

The above-decks fitting out of ships was little different in its essentials to the building of a timber house. An 18th-century captain's cabin might easily be mistaken for a contemporary domestic interior (Fig. 5). Additionally the Dockyards themselves needed buildings. The house carpenters, joiners and bricklayers employed in the Naval Dockyard (Table 1), all working under a salaried Master for each trade, also worked outside the yard in the local area (see below).

The Naval Dockyard was repeatedly enlarged following initiatives taken in 1714, 1725, 1765-74, 1780 and 1796, but by the end of the century its heyday had passed. Silting of the Thames forming shoals in front of the Dockyard had been a problem from the late 17th century and this increasingly limited the establishment's usefulness, particularly as ships became substantially bigger.²⁸ Relative decline would have been evident to Deptford's inhabitants even in the late 18th century.

An important byproduct of the Dockyard, particularly in the context of Deptford's houses, was surplus or waste timber. Timber offcuts were customarily used as a payment in kind for the workforce, worth up to half total earnings. Lengths of timber that could be carried and/or which were below a certain (continuously disputed) size were permitted to be taken out of the dockyard. The volume of this transfer was enormous. Varying estimates all hold that the greater part of timber brought into the dockyard came out as what was known as 'chips'. It does seem highly probable that many of these 'chips' would have found their way into the fabric of Deptford's houses - for stairs, doors, shutters, cupboards, cladding boards, etc. That this was so was asserted at the time, though it remains unproven. Oak was the principal material for shipbuilding through the 18th century, but vast amounts of softwood were imported, principally from the Baltic, with pine for ship's masts coming from North America by the end of the 17th century. The costs, abuses, and attempted denials of the 'chips' system caused a great deal of grievance from the early 17th century onwards, and much has been written on the subject.²⁹ The Admiralty repeatedly tried to clamp down on what it saw as an expensive perk, and what the workforce regarded as part of basic pay. A 1764 attempt at the abolition of 'chips' failed. In 1768 striking shipwrights in Chatham asserted in defence of their 'chips' that 'There is not a man amongst us who would not freely die for King and Country, but we will not tamely suffer ourselves to be made slaves to any particular man's whim, for we are free-born subjects.'³⁰ In the context of such radical rhetoric it is worth noting that it was in the milieu of a naval dockyard, as a shopkeeper in Woolwich in 1757-8 or 1766-7, that the young Thomas Paine (1737-1809) was to be found.³¹

The shipwrights who formed the core of Deptford's 18th-century population would surely have been as proud and independent-minded as their Chatham counterparts. They were self-reliant artisans, alternatively 'mechanics', who owned their own tools and worked with elected 'team leaders'. Their professional skills extended to sophisticated draughting. Evelyn remarked of Jonas Shish that he was 'a plaine honest carpenter, master-builder of this Dock, but one who can give very little account of his art by discourse and is hardly capable of reading, yet of greate abilitie in his calling'.³² Pepys also remarked on Shish's illiteracy; all th/is comment suggests that it was unusual. Indeed William Sutherland and Mungo Murray, both Deptford shipwrights, were not only literate, but they published on their art.³³ More suggestive that literacy was the norm among shipwrights is the will of Nathaniel Pile (d.1735), who lived in a modest house at what became No. 225 Deptford High Street. Pile appears to have written his will himself 'being of sound disposen minde memorey and understanden'.³⁴

In the 1770s pressure for changes in working practices at the Dockyard increased, with growing criminalization of petty transgressions and, crucially, plans to introduce 'task work', that is a

restructuring of the self-elected working groups and the abolition of day rates. These changes brought great volatility and were successfully resisted by the shipwrights, who went on strike during the American War. For the Admiralty Lord Sandwich conceded that 'In this country of liberty, the idea of forcing people to work in a manner they dislike would not be generally approved, and might occasion great uneasiness, possible general commotions.'³⁵ Such patrician scruples were out of place after 1789. In the context of London's increasingly radicalized artisanal class the shipwrights were exceptionally well organized. In 1793 they formed the St Helena Benefit Society, an early trade union. The next wartime attempt at reform was more rigorous. Samuel Bentham was brought in to implement changes being given the newly devised post of Inspector General of Naval Works which he occupied from 1796 to 1807. The younger brother of Jeremy Bentham he had been an apprentice shipwright at Woolwich from 1770. He was unsuccessful as a practitioner so went abroad and became a manager of a dockyard in Russia. Concerned with control and supervision he hit upon the idea of the 'panopticon', later adopted by his brother as an architectural panacea. The younger Bentham's mechanizing and administrative initiatives for the Navy not only succeeded in doing away with the 'chips' system, they also made shipbuilding less labour intensive. Bentham also set out to reform systems of payment, and to make trade specialisms and working groups 'flexible', his approach underpinned by a doctrine of individual responsibility. On top of all this Deptford's shipwrights had 'globalisation' to contend with as Indian-made teak ships reduced the Admiralty's dependence on English shipbuilders. By the end of the wars in 1815, before the advent of metal ships, the artisanal power, prosperity and social structures of the Naval Dockyard shipwrights and other artificers had been decisively broken. What has been called a 'republic of wood' had been defeated, its denizens proletarianized.³⁶

(3) Deptford's Topography, Demography and Development: 1650 to 1750

By 1686 Deptford had grown so as to be depicted as a single town. Robert Morden's map of London and surrounds does not give detail comparable to that of the 1623 map (Figs 2 and 6), but it does show the

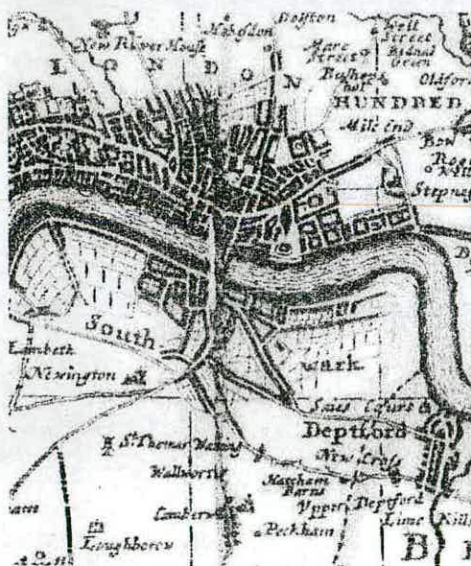


Figure 6 - Map of London showing Deptford (R. Morden, A Map... Twenty Miles Round London, 1686).

built up area of Lower Deptford as extending much further south, to appear as continuous with the separately designated Upper Deptford. To look at this map Deptford was not only no longer binuclear, it had become by some measure the most substantial and densely built-up of the satellite towns of the London region, a status it seems to have retained through the 18th century.

Around 1700 John Evelyn, the diarist and lessee of Sayes Court, Deptford's manor house, recorded that 'By the increase of Buildings may be seene, that the Towne is in 80 years become neare as big as Bristoll'.³⁷ Deptford certainly remained 'not-London', a separate place. In 1668 Pepys had considered going to live there 'to rid my hands of the town . . . in order to our living cheap and out of sight'.³⁸ By the 1720s riverside development did link Deptford to London. Defoe reported that 'the town of Deptford, and the streets of Redriff, or Rotherhith (as they write it) are effectually joyn'd, and the buildings daily increasing; so that Deptford is no more a separated town, but is become a part of the great mass, and infinitely full of people also; here they have, within the last two or three years, built a fine new church, and were the town of Deptford now separated, and rated by itself, I believe it contains more people, and stands upon more ground, than the city of Wells.'³⁹

Deptford was a populous place. A 1690s petition seeking funding for a new church states that the parish of Deptford then had 2300 families.⁴⁰ Average household size in London in 1695 was about 6 people.⁴¹ It

would be misleading to correlate families with households too closely, and there may have been some exaggeration, but this does suggest a population in the order of 10,000 people. Elsewhere it has been estimated that in 1745 Deptford had a population of about 12,000 in about 1900 households.⁴² Hampstead, a place that to Defoe had 'a Magnitude equal to some Cities', has been estimated as having had a population of no more than 1400 in 1720.⁴³ Evelyn's and Defoe's comparisons with Bristol and Wells were not hyperbole. Bristol and Norwich, the largest English provincial towns, were more populous, but Deptford was evidently on a par with Coventry, York, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffield and Leeds. It was bigger than Liverpool and Birmingham in 1700, though not in the 1740s. Unlike all these places Deptford was not a regional centre with a medieval core and its own hinterland and markets. Together with Greenwich and Woolwich it formed a major conurbation, governmental and industrial, by no means a typical town. Compared to other dockyard towns Deptford was bigger than Chatham and on a par with Plymouth and Portsmouth. Whitehaven and Bath, noted Georgian towns, were smaller than Deptford in the early 18th century.⁴⁴

Deptford's 1745 Dockyard workforce of 1,813 was inflated by war, so workforce totals of 238 in 1663, 647 in 1712 and 801 in 1754 may be more reliable measures of both the rate of population growth and dependency on the Naval Dockyard (Table 1). They indicate that in the early 18th century about one in three Deptford families was directly dependent on employment in the Naval Dockyard. Many more would have been employed in private yards, and many others indirectly dependent on the shipbuilding economy.

An umbilical cord of riverside docks and yards did not in any meaningful sense make 18th-century Deptford part of London. Its essential separateness remains evident on maps into the 19th century.⁴⁵ The linkage does perhaps allow use of the term suburb, and in certain respects it may be reasonable to think of 18th-century Deptford as a suburb of London. It did fall within the 10-mile radius of the 1657 Act that unsuccessfully attempted to prevent suburban development, and within the area of regular mail deliveries to and from the capital in the early 18th century.⁴⁶ However, the word suburb is heavily loaded and usually implies dependence, commuting or overflow. Rather than suburban Deptford was perhaps more accurately outer urban. It was a self-sustaining maritime town, not a part of the decanting of industry and the poor into the metropolitan peripheries. Its size and the industrial nature of its economy set it apart from other 18th-century satellites of London. The fields around Deptford were largely brickfields and market gardens, to supply the city, and the Thames did provide a very effective transport link to London; the absence of good road connections was perhaps not very significant. Pepys travelled back and forth regularly - usually by water.⁴⁷ Road connections were improved in the late 17th century, Evelyn obtaining a private enclosure act to allow him to lay out Broomfield Place, the road that later became Evelyn Street.

The substantial and continuing growth of Deptford in the half century from 1680 to 1730 was punctuated by some telling 'events' in the town's religious architecture. These reflect increasing population, of course, but they also hold implications as to the polity and mentality of the place. The medieval parish church of St Nicholas had been slightly enlarged in the 1630s at the beginning of the town's expansion, but it must not have been long before it became inadequate for the growing population. By the 1690s it was said to be 'ruinous and irreparable'. Funding for a new church was unsuccessfully sought from the House of Commons, so money was raised through a voluntary subscription and a hefty rate. This sufficed to permit the inhabitants of Deptford themselves to rebuild all but the tower in 1696-7, though without significantly enlarging the church.⁴⁸ This rebuilding was carried out to designs by Charles Stanton, a Southwark carpenter, to provide a centralized 'auditory' interior, consonant with reformed Protestant worship, employing a 'Palladian' formula that Stanton had also adopted for St Mary Bermondsey in 1675-9, combining a chaste Tuscan interior with a plain brick exterior (Fig. 7). Though usually associated with Wren's post-Fire churches in the City, Stanton's Protestant classicism is in fact derived

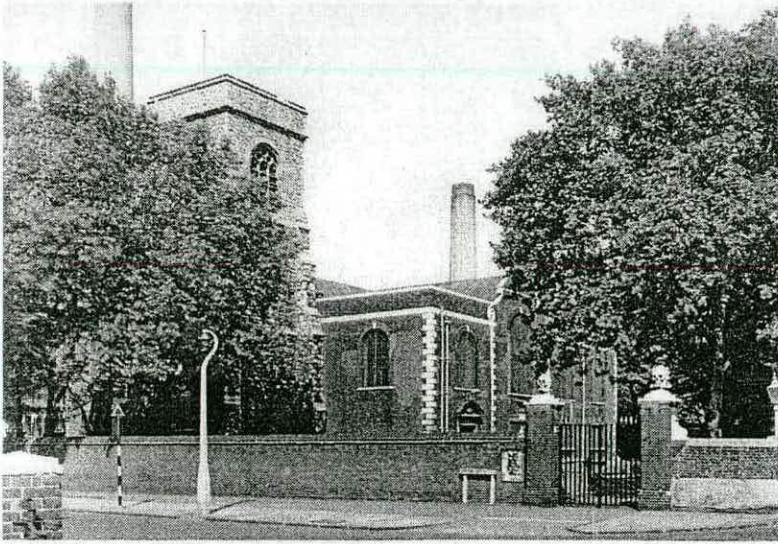


Figure 7 - The Church of St Nicholas, Deptford, viewed from the southwest in 1963 (RCHME, AA75/1720).

Meeting House in this parish, and the Parish Church left exceedingly thin. What this will end in, God Almighty only knows.”⁵¹

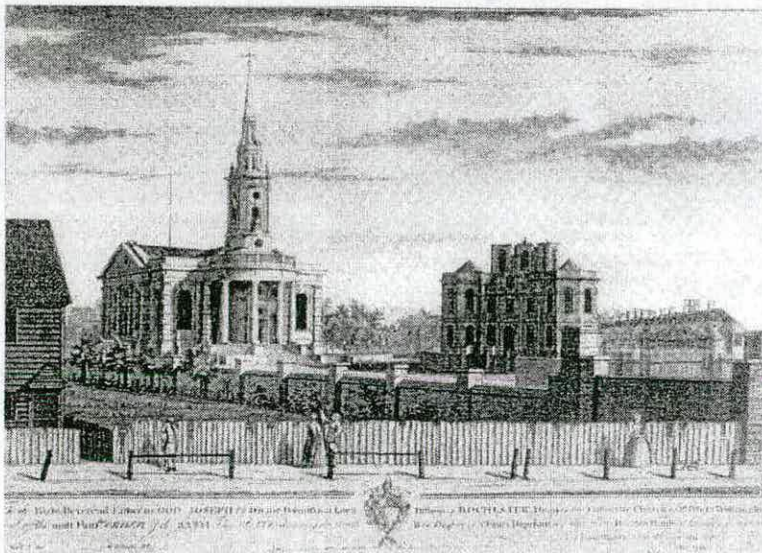


Figure 8 - The Church of St Paul, Deptford, and its Rectory from Butt Lane, a c.1730 view, engraving after T. Allen.

Commission. One of the Commissioners, George Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, was the Vicar of Deptford; its new church gained approval within a month of the Commission’s opening. The south part of the parish, taking in virtually all of Butt Lane, was made into the new parish of St Paul. A field between Butt Lane and Church Street that had been market gardens and orchards was acquired and four houses on Church Street were displaced. In 1713-30 the stupendous Baroque Church of St Paul was erected in Portland stone to designs by Thomas Archer (Fig. 8). It was essential to its extravagantly architectural conception that this building was overwhelmingly out of scale with its surroundings and that it was set off by open space.⁵² Near Butt Lane, on Crossfield Lane to the south of the churchyard, a substantial and extraordinary rectory was also built to a design by Archer. An exotic conceit the rectory was triangular with octagonal rooms and turrets at each angle.⁵³

from churches that had been built by the local inhabitants in other artisanal suburbs, at Westminster Broadway in 1635-42, and Poplar in 1642-54.⁴⁹

A Quaker Meeting House had been established on the east side of Butt Lane in 1695 through the conversion of two houses in a recently-built row (see below), and there was a Baptist Chapel on the west side of Church Street by 1685. Congregationalism also flourished in the late 17th century, a Meeting House being built further south on the east side of Butt Lane in 1702.⁵⁰ In 1687 Evelyn had recorded that ‘There was a wonderful concourse of people at the Dissenters’

Such sentiment in the Church of England led to a desire to affirm its presence more conspicuously. It was not simply population increase that lay behind the division of Deptford into two parishes as part of the work of the 1711 Commission for Building Fifty New Churches. Having taken power from the Whigs in 1710 the Tories wanted the Church to be a bulwark against a potentially disaffected populace. The motivation for the funding of the 1711 church building programme was obviously highly political. It is notable that Greenwich (where the loss of the church roof was the immediate catalyst for establishing the Commission) and Deptford were the first two church-building projects taken forward by the

The decision to build the large new church only fifteen years after the rebuilding of the existing parish church is perhaps unnecessary confirmation of the rate of Deptford's expansion around 1700. But the 1711 Commission's project as a whole and the urgency with which it dealt with Deptford carry other messages. In each of several artisanal suburbs or satellites where local inhabitants had built for themselves humble brick churches with austere 'Palladian' interiors in the 17th century (Westminster, Poplar, Shadwell, Bermondsey, and Deptford) the Commissioners put in place in close proximity to the locally generated buildings astonishingly big stone Baroque churches, deliberately prominent on sites that were specified as having to be free and open. The siting and scale were meant as architectural propaganda, a 'trump' tying munificence, grandeur, charity and piety to authority and power. This can be related to 16th- and 17th-century architectural practice wherein classicism was used to underpin authority in a civic context, as well as to attitudes to grandeur and magnificence in the architecture of charitable



Figure 9 - Map of Deptford and Greenwich in 1746 (John Rocque, An Exact Survey of the City's of London, Westminster. . . and the Country near Ten Miles Round, 1746).

institutions.⁵⁴ Beyond this the simple fact that Deptford and Greenwich were considered priorities for new churches by the 1711 Commissioners tends to identify them as urban places that could not be relied upon; if they were not strictly part of London, then they were very clearly associated in political terms. In considering Deptford's domestic architecture it is important to set it against a cultural climate of dissonance and dissent.

Neither this nor any other climate represents the topography of early-18th-century Deptford. For this John Rocque's map surveyed in the early 1740s and published in 1746 is our best general guide, with ratebook evidence from in and around Butt Lane allowing more specific portrayal (Figs 9 and 10). Like Morden 60 years earlier, though in much greater detail, Rocque shows Deptford as being the most substantial and densely developed of

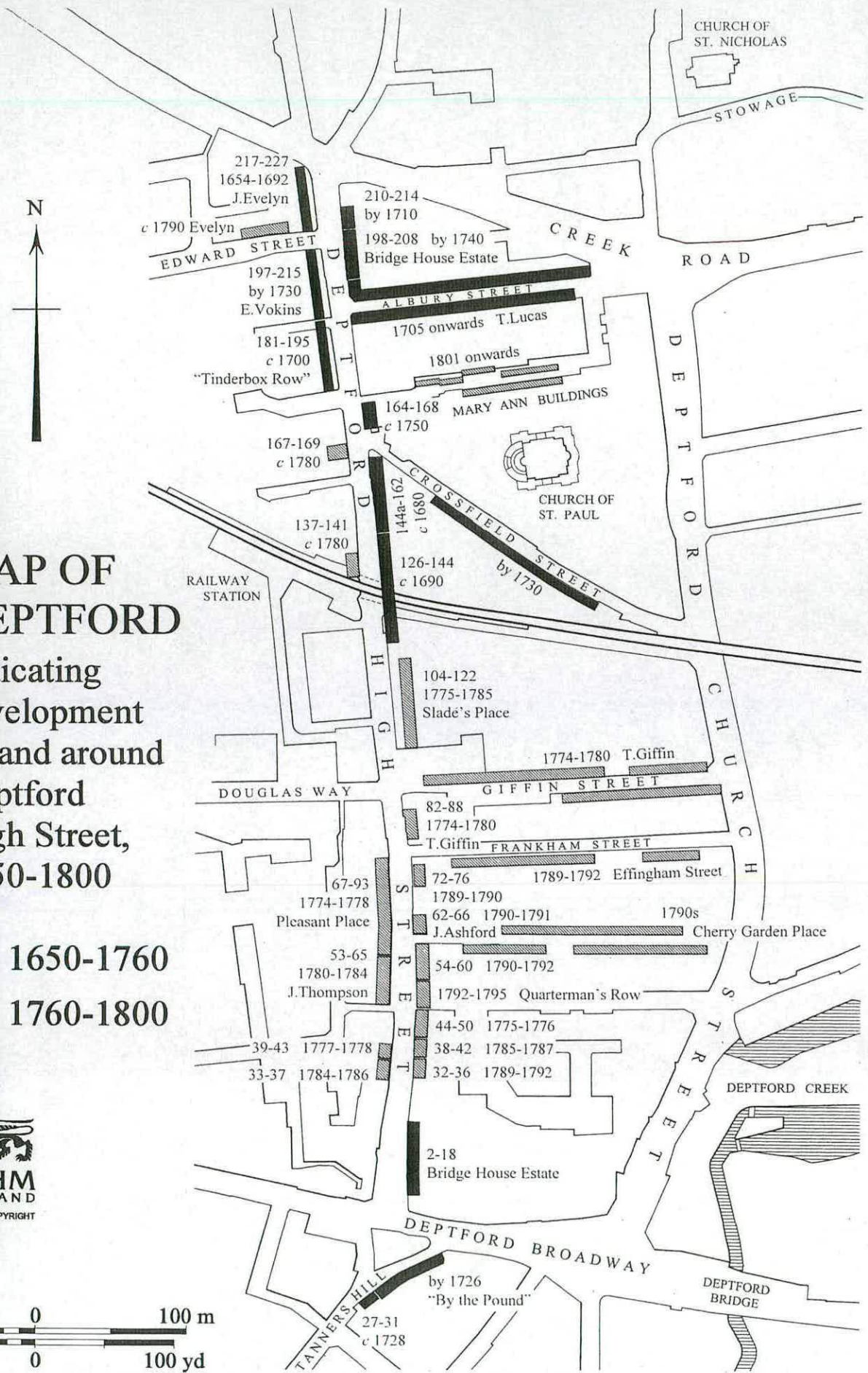
MAP OF DEPTFORD

Indicating development on and around Deptford High Street, 1650-1800

- 1650-1760
- 1760-1800



Figure 10



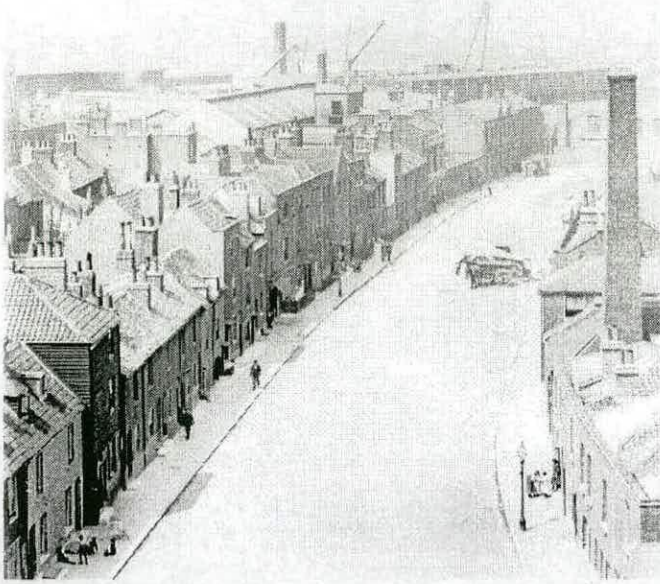


Figure 11 - Deptford Green from the tower of the Church of St Nicholas, c.1900 (RCHME, Philip Norman Album, BB98/05029).

London's satellite settlements, the more so if it is accounted as a unity with the substantial town that had grown up in Greenwich on the west side of what had become Greenwich Hospital. The west side of Deptford Green had been developed with relatively large houses, though perhaps not quite taking the form that survived into this century (Fig. 11). Watergate Street (leading to the Upper Water Gate) became King Street, and between it and the Green were Hughes Field and Black Field or New Street (later Armada Street), developed with modestly-rated houses on what were fields no longer. There were some large brick houses here, a great long seven-bay residence along the west side of the private dockyard east of Deptford Green, and a tall minimally classical early-17th-century box of a house where Admiral Sir Richard Hughes was born, on the west side of Hughes Fields.⁵⁵ Further west Back Lane or Queen Street (later New King Street) led to a new Dockyard entrance,

with the south side of New Row (later Prince Street) also part built up, with a mix of house sizes. To the east the area around Anchorsmith Alley and the Stowage saw more marginal housing development through the period. Everything south of this was considered part of the upper end of the town. Church Street was paved in 1693 by Trinity House, at least in front of the new Trinity Almshouses, and was fairly solidly built up by the 1740s, with the parish Bridewell joining the almshouses on its east side in 1707, becoming a workhouse in 1726.⁵⁶ There was a wide-ranging mix of rateable values on Church Street; with some higher-status properties. In 1700 Church Street had 'some very pretty Houses, whose Gates for Ostentation-Sake, were made with Bars, that each Passenger might Delight his Eyes, with an External Prospect of these their most Creditable and Beautiful Habitations'.⁵⁷

Butt Lane remained more rustic, densely built up at its north end, more sparsely so near the Broadway, with much open land to the centre.

Walking along the east side from the north in 1730 one would have passed the gates leading to the Church of St Paul, the Quaker and Congregationalist meeting houses, and Dean Stanhope's school, in a substantial brick building of 1723 (on the site of Nos 70-72 Deptford High Street - the Revival Café).⁵⁸ From the north end of Butt Lane Flagon Row (latterly McMillan Street) linked across to Church Street. It was perhaps already a street of shops in the early 18th century, 'Flagon Row in former times was *the* business street of the town.'⁵⁹ complementing shops on Church Street at the Green and Hughes' Fields; it was probably much like the rest of Lower Deptford in being largely timber built with modestly rated houses (Fig. 12).

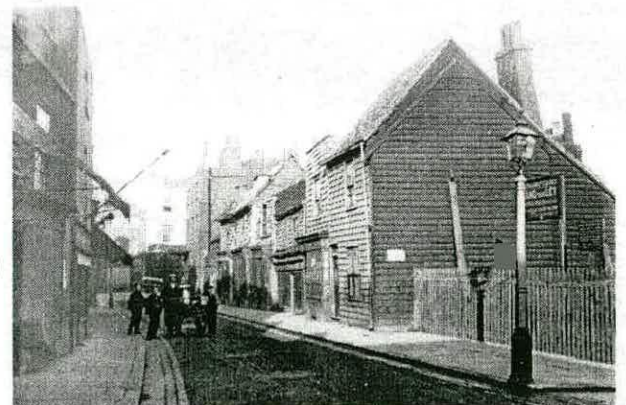


Figure 12 - Flagon Row, view from the east towards Deptford High Street, c.1895 (London Metropolitan Archives, 59/28).

Very different in character, but immediately parallel to the south was Union Street (latterly Albury Street), laid out and developed from 1705 with big brick houses. Crossfield Lane, linking Butt Lane to Church Street diagonally to the south of the new church, had about 90 dwellings along its south side by 1730, of which 36 appear to have been a uniform row. There were about 150 dwellings by 1746. The Broadway was a continuing centre, still with inns and shops. A well in the middle of the wide roadway became the parish pump. There were stocks, a whipping post and a prisoners' cage at the south-east corner of this junction by 1665, beyond which modest housing continued down Mill Lane, and a ducking stool was installed at Deptford Bridge in 1688. By the 1720s the parish pound was on the Broadway, at the foot of Tanners Hill. It was a stone round-house prison within oak fencing, demolished in 1839.⁶⁰ The area that was known as 'By the Pound' had about 70 properties by 1746. The south-west extremity of Deptford was marked by a row of housing that survives on Tanners Hill.

Before attempting to locate some of Deptford's population as householders it is necessary to sharpen the focus on property ownership and housing development, concentrating on Butt Lane which, because of its surviving buildings, is the core of this study. By 1730 there were more than 100 rated properties along Butt Lane (Table 2). They had gone up piecemeal over the previous century, when there was only one building any distance north of the Broadway (Figs 2 and 9). Few relevant property records have proved traceable and there is no surviving ratebook information from prior to 1730. A complete picture of the development of Butt Lane up to this time is not possible, but there are indicative vignettes.

 Table 2
 Estimated Numbers of Properties on Butt Lane/Deptford High Street⁶¹

	East Side	West Side	Total
1730	50	66	116
1744	56	64	120
1758	59	69	128
1765	60	64	124
1775	59	67	126
1785	76	101	177
1795	99	98	197
1805	101	99	200
1825	105	106	211
1870	104	113	217

The manor of Sayes Court was south of the Dockyard and west of the town. Held by the Crown from 1535, Sayes Court was occupied by John Evelyn (1620-1706) from 1648. He moved away in 1694, but he and his descendants continued to lease the estate.⁶² Among this eminent courtier's many cultivated interests was architecture. Even before the Great Fire he was keen on urban improvements, expressing firm views on the desirability of a new city, 'this Glorious and Antient City, which from Wood might be rendered Brick, and (like another Rome) from Brick made Stone and Marble'.⁶³ After the Fire he prepared a rebuilding scheme that showed knowledge of contemporary town-planning ideas.⁶⁴ This is of interest, but it is not evident that Evelyn applied any such thinking to developments on his Deptford estate.

A corner of Evelyn's Sayes Court estate abutted on the west side of the north end of 'the Highway that lyeth between the two Deptfords' (Butt Lane). This land was part of the Broomefield and was pasture in 1649.⁶⁵ In 1654 Evelyn reportedly wrote 'In Butt Lane I have set out and am ditching in some ground which I hope to improve by letting out to building'.⁶⁶ This was not concerted estate development, but marginal encroachment onto manorial land. Butt Lane may then have been taken as extending northwards along what has become New King Street so this can not be categorically related to the present High Street. Nonetheless, Evelyn's approximately 150ft (45m) frontage between present-day Edward Street and Evelyn Street was evidently continuously developed by 1692 with nine buildings set back from the road.⁶⁷ Unfortunately extant property records are not all presently accessible, and available abstracts of leases and rentals do not give clarity as to the development process. It may be that 70ft of this frontage can be related to a 1657 lease of a tenement to William Allwyn. The available abstracts mention no other relevant leases from any earlier than 1672 when John Bowyer took a 30ft frontage that seems to correspond to the site of Nos 219/221 Deptford High Street. A tenement on the site of No. 217 to the south appears to have been leased to Abraham Barber in 1691, as two houses by 1706.⁶⁸ When Evelyn's surviving property records are catalogued and accessible it may be possible to reconstruct more of the late-17th-century building sequence of the north part of the west side of Deptford High Street.

The north part of the block that was depicted as nine houses in 1692 (that is the sites of Nos 223-227 Deptford High Street) was let in 1706 in small parcels of varying sizes, with 15ft- and 30ft-front houses, and, at No. 227, an 11ft9in. front (now measured as 13ft) for two houses. The lessees were William Thornton, Edward Ledger, a shipwright, and Elizabeth Ware.⁶⁹ There may already have been some building forward from the set-back fronts of the row, the greater part if not all of which was apparently timber-built. Rebuildings had brought all the fronts forward by the early 19th century.⁷⁰ An extraordinary aspect of this group and other nearby developments in the early 18th century was the apparent use or adaptation of narrow-fronted plots for twin properties with separately occupied but contiguous front and back houses, each with a one-room plan, a general arrangement that seems to have been widespread in Deptford (see below).

Further south along the west side of Butt Lane was what came to be known as Tinderbox Row, fourteen 14-15ft (4.5m) front timber houses set back from the road along an approximately 200ft



Figure 13 - Tinderbox Row, of c.1700, on the site of Nos 179-195 Deptford High Street, in 1841 (British Library, Add MS 16945, f. 17).

(60m) frontage on the site of Nos 181-195 Deptford High Street and the junction with Hyde Street (Figs 9 and 13). The row was pulled down in 1843 and the frontage redeveloped as Hamilton Place. Tinderbox Row and eight irregularly-rated properties on the sites of Nos 197-215 Deptford High Street had been built by 1726, perhaps in part at least quite a bit earlier.⁷¹ Thomas Sewer (d. 1722) was a major landowner in early-18th-century Deptford,⁷² and the properties on the sites of Nos

197-215 were in the possession of his sister Elizabeth Vokins by 1730 when she wrote her will. Sewer lived in a modestly rated house 'By the Pound' (Tanners Hill), Vokins in a larger house at the south end of Butt Lane on its west side (Fig. 10), owning other property there, as well as opposite, the latter part developed in 1687 by Edward Paine, perhaps with a pair of houses each 16ft by 17ft.⁷³ Vokins also owned farm or garden land further north on the west side of Butt Lane, and other land on Church Street and the Broadway.⁷⁴ At the south end of the west side of Butt Lane, approximately the site of Nos 33-37 Deptford High Street, there would appear to have been a row of twelve lowly rated and therefore small houses from at least the 1720s, and little else but three large houses including Vokins'.⁷⁵ Undeveloped frontages here remained the property of the Sewer family, leased to gardeners.⁷⁶ The fields and most of the property to the north on the west side of Butt Lane had passed into the ownership of John Hyde by the end of the 18th century.⁷⁷

By 1623 land on the east side of Butt Lane had been divided into mostly fairly narrow strips running through to Church Street (Fig. 2). Several of these strips were owned by the Wardens of London Bridge who had acquired parcels of land in Deptford from the 14th century, rents from which were managed by the Bridge House estate, nominally to maintain the Bridge.⁷⁸ Another major owner of land between Butt Lane and Church Street in the early 17th century was Eusebius Paget who had a big house in Mill Field on the west side of Church Street with a nearby row of houses (Fig. 2).⁷⁹ Paget also leased some of the Bridge House strips, as did Peter Pett, the Master Shipwright, up to his death in 1652.⁸⁰ By 1710 Paget's land had passed into the ownership of Richard Wise, a Master Caulker in the Dockyard and brother of Henry Wise (1653-1738), gardener to Queen Anne, who let it as a market garden. He also sold some of it for the site of the new church.⁸¹

The Butt Lane frontage running south from Crossfield Lane had begun to be built on by 1679 when Joseph Hall, an East Greenwich potter, acquired the freehold of a 32ft (9.5m) frontage. By 1687 there were two brick one-room-plan houses with frontages of about 16ft (5m) each on Hall's plot. The north house of what was a row of twelve such houses on the sites of Nos 144A-162 Deptford High Street was built in 1682. No. 150 is an isolated survivor of this c.1680 row (Figs 9 and 10).⁸² Small-scale pottery manufacturing was established in Deptford in the late 17th century to produce general domestic wares, and a John Hall was probably running a pottery on the west side of Deptford Creek near the south end of Church Street in 1680.⁸³ Hall's pair of houses were converted to be the Quakers' Meeting House in about 1692. Here Peter the Great was said to have worshipped during his 1698 Deptford sojourn, while famously staying in Evelyn's Sayes Court and, allegedly, laying waste its precious gardens.⁸⁴ By 1726 a further eleven houses (on the sites of Nos 126-144), with frontages of about 16-17ft each, extended south from the Quakers' Meeting House in the same line (Figs 9 and 10), all but the end properties comparably rated, that to the north having been built between 1679 and 1687, that to the south being the Congregationalist Meeting House of 1702. This was perhaps another uniform row of c.1690 possibly comprising somewhat larger houses.⁸⁵

By far the best understood development in Deptford of this period is that of Union Street (Albury Street).⁸⁶ This street between the north ends of Butt Lane and Church Street was laid out and built up by Thomas Lucas, a local bricklayer, acting as developer, principally in the years 1705-15. Lucas built about 40 substantial brick houses, many of which survive. Their frontages range from 13ft to over 30ft (4-9m), with 18ft (5.5m) being typical. Lucas was perhaps more a businessman than a skilled artisan; he seems only to have entered the building trade in his early 30s, inheriting a business through a second marriage. He carried through his development by acquiring the freehold of the land, letting off house plots for building to be carried out by himself and other bricklayers and masons, granting others first-year peppercorn leases. The financing was perilous, with extensive mortgaging to obtain capital. Lucas lived on the south corner of Butt Lane and Albury Street until his death in

1736. Further development of the street was carried on up to and beyond his death. The Albury Street houses were principally occupied by some of the more affluent of those connected with the dockyard, notably sea-captains and shipwrights; there was as well a dancing master.

It is notable that the Bridge House estate did not develop its strips of land between Butt Lane and Church Street with new streets as did Lucas in the early 18th century. Their biggest strips encompassed the sites of Nos 198-208 Deptford High Street to the north and Nos 2-18 to the south. The Butt Lane frontages of both plots were apparently partly but not systematically developed in the early 18th century (Fig. 6).⁸⁷ The site of Nos 210-214 was evidently built up with three houses by 1710.⁸⁸ In the mid 18th century William Reynolds, a carpenter, held and gave leases of houses on both sides of Butt Lane near Albury Street.⁸⁹ A site on the west side of Butt Lane just north of the entrance to St Paul's Churchyard (the site of Nos 164-8) was redeveloped with a group of three substantial brick houses in about 1750, again redeveloped in the late 1980s.⁹⁰

At the south end of Deptford the settlement around the Broadway was also growing in the early 18th century. The row along the south side to the west, 'By the Pound' (latterly probably Nos 1-25 Tanners Hill), was present by 1726 as thirteen properties, all small houses save for two somewhat larger houses occupied by the widow of Thomas Sewer and Thomas Edwards, a gardener; they were probably all timber built. The row of three houses surviving as Nos 27-31 Tanners Hill was added c.1728.⁹¹ Some if not all of the rest of the group was up by 1718. Houses seemingly on the sites of Nos 15-19 Tanners Hill (one with a 13ft6in. frontage) are recorded as passing in ownership from before this date to 1734 from William Garland to Robert Clarke, both gardeners, to Elias West, a fisherman.⁹² Development of the area around the Pound certainly continued into the 1740s.⁹³ It may be that there was some rebuilding of the east end of the south row (Nos 1-9 Tanners Hill) in the second quarter of the century, perhaps in part to create a more homogenous row of larger one-room plan houses, following the 1745 death of Mary Sewer. Further rebuilding seems to have occurred in the early 1750s on the sites of what are now Nos 19-25 Tanners Hill.⁹⁴

There was much more building development elsewhere in Deptford in the years around 1700, but this has not been systematically researched as it does not relate to surviving buildings. A leading figure who seems not to have impinged on Butt Lane was Isaac Loader, an anchormith and son of a Baptist, who developed property near the Stowage for housing and 'grew so rich as to build an house in the Streete [perhaps at the north end of Church Street], with Gardens, Orangeries, Canals & other magnificence on a Lease', at least so Evelyn seemingly disparaged, notwithstanding that he had himself also laid out elaborate gardens on a lease.⁹⁵ Thirteen houses to the east of Church Street were built by William Taylor and Andrew Parker before 1696 when they were leased to John Timms, a house carpenter who lived on the west side of Church Street.⁹⁶ John Drew (1675-1738) provides a fascinating documented example of a self-improving joiner who worked both in the Dockyard fitting out ships and outside it building houses. In the period 1706-12 he acted as a general contractor, building both brick and timber houses, some on King (Watergate) Street. In 1712 he emigrated to North America.⁹⁷

Deptford's developers were clearly a diverse range of prospering artisans, whether based in the Dockyard and maritime work (like Drew and Loader), or in other local trades (like Hall and Lucas). The builders themselves, where distinct, were not mere skilled labourers. Inventories from the 1730s of the household property of two property-owning Deptford house carpenters, William Baker (d.1732) on Butt Lane, and John Timms (d.1736) on Church Street, include books, pamphlets and a writing slate, as well as a range of luxury goods. Timms's two-storey, garrets and cellars, two-room and closets plan house included a counting house with a writing desk and a bookcase.⁹⁸ Speculative

house building, like shipbuilding, also required developed mathematical skills. It has already been argued from the example of the shipwrights that literacy was the norm among Deptford's skilled artisans. Still, to be a builder did not require mysterious arts, it needed money. It is clear that in London tradesmen with a wide range of skills and backgrounds tried their luck at and invested their money in building houses.⁹⁹ Lucas may have been more ambitious than many of his peers in Deptford, others generally managed to finance only one or two houses at a time, but he was undoubtedly not unique. The principal local source of capital was the wage pool from the Dockyard. Lucas' first mortgage of the Union Street land in 1705 was from Thomas Loving, a local blockmaker. Lucas' son-in-law was Thomas Colls, both a shipwright and a distiller. The financing of house-building may have worked in part through payments in kind,¹⁰⁰ not least 'chips'. With the exception of Lucas at Albury Street speculations appear to have been modest in scale, typically 10-15 houses in a row, with many much smaller development units. Excepting Evelyn there were apparently no big landowners taking a slice from development. Developers seem frequently to have acquired freeholds prior to building, though evidence gathered relating to tenure and the costs of land, houses, and rents is thin and probably inconclusive. Lucas's 1705 mortgage was for £350, on land that had a 200ft frontage to Butt Lane and extended through to Church Street, that is 600ft plus.¹⁰¹ In 1744 another 200ft frontage on the east side of Butt Lane, but further south, and probably only about 300ft deep, was sold for £450. The freehold of the same plot changed hands for £480 in 1775.¹⁰² In 1780 a 108ft-front plot on the west side of Butt Lane with a depth of only 100ft was leased for £226.16.0.¹⁰³ Evelyn rented land on Butt Lane to Allwyn at 1s6d/foot front/year with a 51-year lease in 1657, reducing his rates for Butt Lane property to from 1s4d to 10d/foot front/year with 51-year leases in the 1690s and 1706. New leases in the 1740s and 1750s appear to have kept rents at a comparable level.¹⁰⁴ Lucas let plots for 8d/foot front/year with 99-year leases at the beginning of the 18th century.¹⁰⁵ The pair of one-room plan houses that became the Quakers' Meeting-House was sold in 1687 for £120,¹⁰⁶ and Lucas sold one of the much bigger Albury Street houses for £125 in 1711,¹⁰⁷ suggesting annual rentals might have been about £8-£9.

In the 1740s Butt Lane would have appeared as varied and uneven. Only the north end was densely developed with irregular frontages (Fig. 9). To the east and south there were more regular developments, in Albury Street, and on both sides of the road through Tinderbox Row and the row to the west of the Church of St Paul and its continuation. The south end of Butt Lane had a sprinkling of houses, some broad-fronted and rural in character, and presumably connected to market gardening. The Broadway area was more urban in being a long-standing centre, probably presenting an irregular mix of buildings, new and old, wide and narrow, timber and brick.

The limited frontage implies population density and it is perhaps the starting point in the design of an urban house. With a few exceptions it is clear that house building in Deptford around 1700 was urban in nature. Frontages of more than 16ft (5m) were rare and already in 1706 a twin house was occupying an 11ft6in. frontage at No. 227 Deptford High Street. Such narrow fronts were nothing new near the heart of settlement. Broadway frontages of early origin appear to have been only about 11ft-13ft (3.5-4m), as at Nos 18-19 and 47.¹⁰⁸ Tanners Hill frontages are 11ft-12ft at Nos 11-19, perhaps reflecting modest pre-1720 development. The c. 1728 row at Nos 27-31 Tanners Hill has more generous 14-15ft (4.5m) fronts, more or less the same as those of most of the Butt Lane properties on the Evelyn estate, as well as of the houses in the row to the west of the Church of St Paul and in Tinderbox Row. These 'wide' 15ft fronts were all on the edge of town on green-field sites. Elsewhere in Deptford there appears to have been a comparable range of frontage sizes. Flagon Row, King Street, New King Street, and Church Street had predominantly c. 15ft frontages, with some being smaller. Deptford Green, Hughes Field and New Street seem to have had predominantly smaller houses with 10-12ft (3.5m) fronts.¹⁰⁹ By way of comparison the development of Portsea with

houses near Portsmouth Naval Dockyard in the early to mid 18th century was with frontages of 12ft to 17ft; the developers there included several dockyard workers.¹¹⁰ Plots along Butt Lane tended, rather wastefully in development terms, to be 100ft (30m) deep, the local topography leaving little constraint on plot depth. Albury Street was pushed through at right angles leaving room for plots only 52ft (16m) in depth.

It is now possible to return to consideration of the population for which all these houses were built. Even though names can be found, and in some cases these names can be linked to trades, it is to anecdotal evidence that one must turn to gain any kind of a picture of the people of Deptford. Of Lower Deptford near the river it was said in 1700:

‘The ladies that chiefly Inhabit these Cabbins, were the Wives of Marriners, whose Husbands were some gone to the East-Indies, and some to the West, some Northward, some Southward. . . Many shops we observ’d open in the Streets, but a Brandy-Bottle, and a Quatern, a Butcher mending of a Canvas Doublet, a few Apples in a Cabbage-Net, a Peel-full of Deptford Cheescakes, an old Waste-Coat, a Thrum Cap, and a pair of Yarn Mittings, were the chief shows that they made of their Commodities, every House being distinguish’d by either the Sign of the Ship, the Anchor, the Three Marriners, Boatswain, and Call, or something relating to the Sea. . . The town’s without necessaries, they’ve butchers without meat, ale houses without drink, houses without furniture, and shops without trade, captains without commission. . . a church without religion.’¹¹¹

Thirty years later Deptford as a whole was said to be ‘mostly inhabited by labouring men who are scarce able to provide for their families: that a tenth part of the houses in the said new-intended parish now stand empty’,¹¹² though the credibility of this statement is tempered by the fact that it was made as part of a submission seeking funding for the maintenance of a minister. Sadly, nothing so picturesque or direct has been found to describe the population of Butt Lane. Its nauticality would have been substantially more dilute, being somewhat away from the river and the Dockyard. The population of the street was apparently a mix of the maritime and the agricultural, those who commuted to the Dockyard and those who worked on the land. With Albury Street the immediate area probably housed members of all but the upper ranks of Defoe’s 1709 categorization of the English into seven lots, that is ‘the middle sort who live well’, ‘the working trades, who labour hard but feel no want’, ‘country people, farmers, etc., who fare indifferently’, ‘the poor, that fare hard’ and ‘the miserable, that really pinch and suffer want’. The great and the rich were elsewhere.¹¹³

From the 120 Butt Lane properties in 1744 (Table 2), virtually all houses, it has been possible to identify the trades of 60 householders, principally through transcribed Dockyard records. Of these 51 were paid for working in the Naval Dockyard. Of those 27 were shipwrights. Of the other 60 there were 20 where the ratepayer was a woman, at least half of whom were widows, others perhaps with husbands at sea.¹¹⁴ This suggests that in the 1740s a quarter of the households, perhaps more, were those of shipwrights, while half or more were wage labourers dependent on the Dockyard for income. The ratebook evidence positively identifies only two shops on Butt Lane. In addition there were certainly some public houses, and front-room workshops were no doubt present in the houses of some artisans. It is important to note that before the 19th century the absence of formal shop designation does not necessarily imply the absence of commercial activity. Even so, there is no evidence to suggest that Butt Lane was a commercial street occupied by traders in anything like the sense that it came to be in the 19th century. Deptford’s skilled artisans or ‘mechanics’ were not the workshop-based class found elsewhere, but wage labourers whose workplace was not their home.¹¹⁵ In the 1730s and 1740s occupants of the Tanners Hill row included gardeners and Dockyard watchmen and labourers, with at least one shipwright.¹¹⁶

There were a handful of bigger houses on Butt Lane in 1740, perhaps 10 to 15 paying double or more the rate of the one-room plan, two-storeys, cellar and garret, four-room 'average' dwelling.¹¹⁷ Among these there are likely to have been older broad-fronted 'farm' houses occupied by market gardeners and others whose livelihood was based on the land (Fig. 14); only two of these bigger houses seem to have been occupied by shipwrights. Such buildings and the more 'urban' rows were fairly incoherently mixed; as was the rule in early-modern London rich and poor were not segregated. Probate inventories and archaeology separately confirm the wide commercial contacts, cosmopolitan character, and relative affluence of early-18th-century Deptford.



Figure 14 - Deptford High Street's south end, the west side in 1841, perhaps showing the house occupied by the Vokins and Sewer families in the early 18th century (BL, Add MS 16945, f. 5).

A picture of Butt Lane's occupancy in the early 18th century is best conveyed through a particular example. Thomas Lewis (d.1732) was a literate dockyard caulker who lived in and owned a four-room well-furnished brick house on the east side and midway along Butt Lane (on the site that was No. 96) (Fig. 9). Abutting to the north were two more 15ft7in.-front brick houses which in 1744 were occupied by James Mollinson and John Smallpiece, both shipwrights, the former owning land beyond. To the north there was open land for about 200ft before one came to the Congregationalist Meeting

House. Lewis's wife Sarah appears to have been the daughter of William Baker (d.1733), one of the previously mentioned literate house carpenters. Baker lived a few properties to the south in a somewhat larger house. He had apparently built speculatively in Church Street and he owned other property in Butt Lane.¹¹⁸ His house may have been one of the broad-fronted buildings of essentially rural form that had probably gone up in the later 17th century (Fig. 14). Baker's sister Mary was married to John Sewer, presumably one of the family which owned larger tracts of Deptford, including much of Butt Lane and property near the Pound (see above).¹¹⁹

(4) Late-Eighteenth-Century Developments

It is undoubtedly right to emphasize the years 1650-1730 as the time of Deptford's greatest independent growth. However, after a mid-century period of relative stability there was a substantial 1770-1800 housing boom (see Table 2), with hundreds of new houses being built, of which about 70 were in Butt Lane (Fig. 10). This burst of growth gathers steam in 1774 during the London-wide building boom of 1770-7. It was then checked, but carried through the 1780s across what was a wartime trough elsewhere to link with renewed widespread prosperity in the building market from 1785 to 1792, with a hiatus corresponding to the 1787-9 carpenters' strike. After the 1794 financial crisis it spluttered on with some smaller-scale housing going up in the years up to 1800.¹²⁰ There are obvious reasons, of course, why Deptford might have continued booming through a war while other areas retrenched; indeed housebuilding also boomed in Portsea in the early 1780s.¹²¹ Of this late-18th-century phase of development there is a much higher survival rate. The buildings are of particular interest for what they appear to show about continuity and discontinuity in relation to earlier development (see below). A few new streets were laid out, with some outside money being

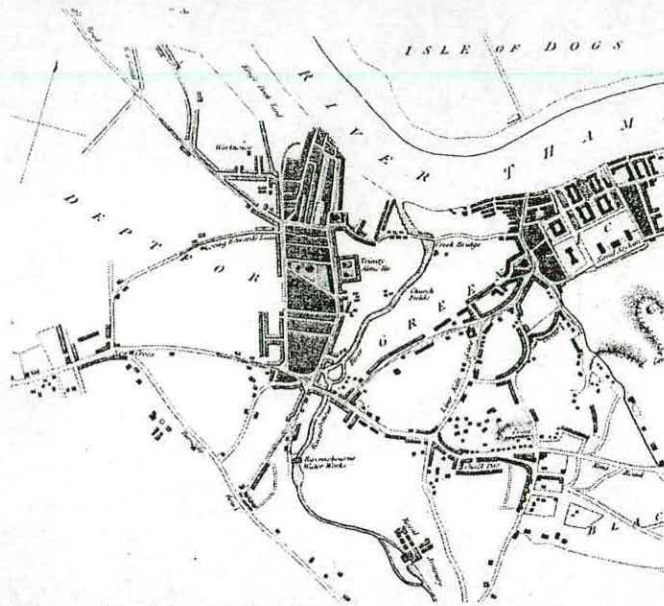


Figure 15 - Map of Deptford in 1809 (Greenwich Local History Library, 'Plan of the Towns of Deptford and Greenwich' showing water supply, 1809).

an orderly range of nearly 40 modestly-rated brick houses, King's Yard Row, was apparently built in 1770-2 during enlargement of the Naval Dockyard (Fig. 16). Loving Edward Lane (Edward Street) was developed with about 20 properties between 1777 and 1793, most probably going up c. 1790 (Fig. 17). There were evidently few houses on Broomfield Place (Evelyn Street) before 1777 and it seems that it too was first seriously developed between then and 1793 with a variety of houses broadly comparable to those on Edward Street (Fig. 18).¹²²

In 1774-80 Giffin Street was laid out and developed as a road linking Butt Lane and Church Street. This development came about through the introduction of outside money, but it was only

partially and haltingly realized. Even so it represents the most ambitious and regular house-building project in Deptford since Lucas' Albury Street of 60 years earlier. Indeed it appears that no other wholly new streets were laid out in Deptford in the intervening years. Again, and of course typically, it is in the laying out of a new street that standardized development is most likely to appear. As before, the fragmentary nature of development along older roads worked against architectural coherence and uniformity. The speculative development of Giffin Street seems to have followed standard practice around London. Unlike in earlier developments in Deptford the freehold was evidently not sold. In 1774 two acres of what had been the Paget then Wise garden ground was leased to William Roper, a rent gatherer of Whitechapel Road. He then leased it to Thomas Giffin, a Southwark builder, and Robert Clark, a Greenwich merchant. Giffin Street was formed and Giffin

invested, and the Bridge House and Evelyn estates were active. However, as before, many of the new houses were put up in small-scale developments by local builders. This is certainly true of the substantial amount of new development along the southern and central parts of Butt Lane. Here there was piecemeal infilling. Groups of from three to ten houses filled up the frontages that had remained open after the earlier phase of growth. Any lingering separation between Upper and Lower Deptford had finally been lost and the town had grown to be a substantially bigger and more unified place than it had been in the mid 18th century (Figs 9 and 15).

To the north the Evelyn family developed parts of the Sayes Court Estate in this period. On the south side of New Row (later Prince Street) an



Figure 16 - Nos 2-46 Prince Street of 1770-2 in 1946 (London Metropolitan Archives, F1322).



Figure 17 - Nos 14-26 Edward Street of c.1790 in 1949 (London Metropolitan Archives, 98/048).

than the King's Yard Row houses, and had two-room plans with about 15ft (4.5m) frontages. Giffin also built Nos 82-88 Butt Lane in 1776-7, with other property on Church Street.¹²³

and Clark let out plots on 61-year building leases, to Edward Wales, Kendrick Cofield, Evan Davis and Mary Church. By 1776 there were apparently 55 house plots on the north side. However the downturn in the property market appears to have compromised Giffin's scheme and he was bankrupted in 1779. Nevertheless, by 1780 58 three-storey houses had been built, 36 on the north side. These were larger



Figure 18 - Nos 357-373 Evelyn Street of c.1779-93 in 1955 (London Metropolitan Archives, 55/1443).

undated Bridge House scheme designed under George Dance projecting a regular palace-fronted terrace of 33 18ft-frontage houses may relate to the 1770s Effingham Street initiative. Alternatively it might indicate consideration of a new street further north, where Lamerton Street is now (In the early 19th century there was a narrow path here with scattered small houses known as the Picce or Bridge Row. This was swept away and laid out as Collier Street c.1850, renamed Queen Street in the 1860s.¹²⁵)¹²⁶ The south side of Effingham Street was built up in 1789-92 with about 40 smaller houses of low rateable value. Cherry Garden Place (Dowling Street) was more gradually built up through the 1790s with up to about 70 comparably small houses. On another Bridge House estate strip running east-west between Albury Street and St Paul's Church a narrow street was laid out as Mary Ann's Buildings (Mary Ann Gardens). The land had been let to John Thompson (see below) in 1777, but was apparently not then developed. In 1795 the property was assigned to John Rogers, a

South of Giffin Street parallel roads, Effingham Street (later Regent Street and Frankham Street) and Cherry Garden Place (by 1793 Dowling Street and later Hales Street), may have been laid out by 1778, but they were not developed until the housing market picked up again. The south side of Effingham Street was owned by the Bridge House Estate, and land to the south was owned by Richard Dowling.¹²⁴ An

carpenter, who was given 61-year building leases in 1797. The laying out of the street and its development with very small (10-12ft front) cottages evidently followed from 1801.¹²⁷ The Bridge House Estate also redeveloped some of its Butt Lane frontages in the late 18th-century, those at the south end in 1787-8.¹²⁸

Development along Butt Lane was contemporaneous with and adjacent to the creation of the new side streets. A run of fourteen houses that came to be known as 'Pleasant Place' (Nos 67-93 Deptford High Street) was built in 1774-8 on what was probably Thomas Sewer's land on the west side of Butt Lane, opposite Dowling Street and up to the line of Effingham Street. This was not, however, a uniform development. Frontages and rateable value were very variable. Surviving buildings at Nos 73-9 and 89 are disparate in form and were clearly separately built. Nos 73-77 are three-storey brick buildings with frontages of about 15ft (4.5m) each. They may have been put up together in 1776-8. Thomas Underwood, a plasterer, was the first occupant of No. 75. No. 77 'burnt down' in 1783/4; following its rebuilding in 1784-7 Edward Pierce, a stonemason, was in occupation.¹²⁹ The single 15-ft front three-storey brick house at No. 79 was built in 1776-7 and was evidently owned and occupied from the outset by one John Hooker.¹³⁰

From 1775 to 1785 ten houses were built at the centre of Butt Lane on the east side (Nos 104-122 Deptford High Street) on the remaining approximately 200ft- (60m)-frontage of the former Paget and Wise land, joining the Congregationalist Meeting House to the north with Giffin's development to the south. Though not entirely uniform this development was the only example in Butt Lane of what would conventionally be termed a Georgian terrace. It provided what was clearly superior housing in local terms, most of the relatively large three-storey brick houses having 18ft (5.5m) frontages. They were set behind 'courts' or front gardens and had raised ground floors and views across open fields that remained uninterrupted until the 1830s. The development appears to arise from people with Dockyard connections. In the scale of its houses and their partial fashionability it seems to be an echo of Albury Street seventy years on. Among the first occupants was Gilbert Ferguson, a surveyor, perhaps previously or also a shipwright. An exceptionally big 30ft (9m)-front house at No. 110 was occupied initially by Mary and Elizabeth Slade, probably members of a property-owning Deptford family; there had long been a Slade's Court near the river. Mary Slade had bought the freehold of the land for £480 in 1775 and appears to have been the developer. She was described as a spinster and shopkeeper of King (Watergate) Street, Deptford. Benjamin Slade, probably the Naval Dockyard's 'Purveyor' in 1792-3, had moved into the adjoining house by 1795 (one B. Slade was the Dockyard's Master Boat Builder in 1802-5.¹³¹); he may have lived in and developed Queen Street between Watergate Street and New King Street in 1770-2. Revd Dr Wilson, Captain Sainway, and Thomas Gooch, gent., were other early residents of what came to be known as Slade's Place.¹³²

Further south on the east side of Butt Lane development of Hyde family land also began in 1775, with more modest two-storey and garret brick houses going up in groups of three to five at a time, most with 16ft (5m) frontages. Four houses were built in 1775-6 on the sites of Nos 44-50, perhaps by John Morgan. After a wartime hiatus three more of comparable size were built in 1785-7 adjoining to the south (Nos 38-42). Another three were added to the south (Nos 32-36) in 1789-92. Finally, a row of five smaller houses, known as Quarterman's Row, went up in 1792-5, all but one initially having women as the named ratepayers. This last group was demolished in 1857 for the making of Reginald Road.¹³³

John Thompson, a carpenter who from 1787 to 1794 was the Master House Carpenter at the Naval Dockyard,¹³⁴ took a building lease from Thomas Sewer in 1780 and by 1784 had developed an 108ft frontage on the west side of Butt Lane immediately south of Pleasant Place with seven houses (Nos

53-65 Deptford High Street). The centre house of this group (No. 59) is a large 18ft (5.5m)-front property flanked by smaller 14-16ft (4-5m) front houses. In standard 18th-century practice whereby a number of building tradespeople worked together in order to spread the financial burden of speculative building Thompson seems to have put himself at the head of a consortium, giving sub-leases to Edward Pierce, stonemason, Joseph Farnell, plumber, and John Morgan.¹³⁵ The early occupants here apparently included Morgan, Thomas Jones, a shipwright who by 1805 had moved to Shoreditch and become a victualler, James Elliott, a tailor, and George Emmett, a market gardener, whose family had long held ground on the west side of Butt Lane. No rates were paid on the big house (No. 59) until 1791 when it was leased to Jones. In 1799 it was leased to and occupied by John Turpin, a linen draper.¹³⁶

Even smaller developments filled out the north and south ends of the road's west side. Nos 167-9 were built c.1780 as an unequal two-storey and garret pair; by 1790 John Omer, a grocer, was in the bigger house at No. 169.¹³⁷ Another group of three houses that was evidently comparable in size and appearance to those at Nos 32-50 was built c.1780 somewhat further south on the site of Nos 137-141, just north of where the railway line now cuts across. John Stotesbury, Master Bricklayer at the Dockyard from 1795 to 1823 was in one of these by 1800.¹³⁸ Nos 33-37 were built in 1784-6, apparently filling one of the last gaps on the west side towards the south with three uniform three-storey 17ft-(5.5m) front houses. Another trio of smaller houses had been put up on the sites of Nos 39-43 in 1777-8.¹³⁹

Back on the east side of Butt Lane John Ashford, a carpenter and undertaker, built Nos 62-66 in 1790-1 just north of Dowling Street on a long lease.¹⁴⁰ He kept the larger house at No. 62 for his own occupation. Just south of Dowling Street Nos 54-60 were also of 1790-2 and of comparable scale. Francis Denham, a haberdasher, was one of the first occupants. On the other side of Dean Stanhope's School north to Effingham Street three more houses of similar size also went up in 1789-90 (Nos 72-76).¹⁴¹ Finally, in 1791-2 John Day, a sailmaker, built and leased a house on the site of No. 22, on Sewer family land.¹⁴²

Elsewhere infill and the rebuilding or improvement of older properties was a significant part of the



Figure 19 - Nos 8-30 Crossfield Street in 1910 (London Metropolitan Archives, 98/049).

late-18th-century development boom in Deptford. This was true on Church Street and Crossfield Lane (Fig. 19), as well as on Butt Lane where the c.1700 twin house properties were rebuilt and made into single large houses, some with shops, at No. 205 in 1774-5 for John Creasy, a tea dealer, at No. 203 in 1775-6, and at No. 227 in 1791-2, with further



Figure 20 - Watergate Street in 1911 (London Metropolitan Archives, 79/6382).

also widespread along both Deptford Green and Watergate Street in the later Georgian period (Figs 11 and 20).

improvements in 1801-2, for Thomas Palmer, a baker (see below). One-room plan houses were elsewhere enlarged. In the c.1680 row west of the Church of St Paul No. 152 was substantially extended to the rear in 1765-70 for Gilbert Ferguson, then a shipwright, and No. 150 was doubled in size with a rear wing in 1771-2 (see below). To judge from photographs refronting if not complete rebuilding was

The particular reasons for the scale of Deptford's late-18th-century building boom are not transparent. Perhaps to a limited degree, notably in the 1770-2 King's Yard Row, new house building reflects enlargement of the Dockyard in 1765-74, but there was apparently no substantial permanent increase in the workforce. Commuting may have become a possibility, though doubtless an unappealing one. Butt Lane itself was controlled by the Bermondsey, Rotherhithe and Deptford Turnpike Trust from 1748 as part of a meandering route to London that had 'more the character of streets than turnpike roads'; there was a toll-gate at the north end of the road.¹⁴³ By 1792 there were ten coaches travelling to the City and Westminster each day from Deptford, six of them from the north end of Butt Lane.¹⁴⁴ While improved road connections and London's overall expansion may have brought some immigration and commuting, Deptford was still separated from London; suburbanization does not appear to have been a major factor. Deptford's new houses were not comparable in scale or status to those associated with suburban growth in this period elsewhere in south London. Another local factor in Deptford's growth may have been the impact of Greenwich Hospital, only completed in 1751 and housing upwards of 2000 pensioners from 1770. The Hospital did organize its own supplies and its effect on the local service economy might well have spread to Deptford.¹⁴⁵

New development in the late 18th century may in some measure reflect social diversification that may have included the transfer of prospering local people to a wider range of enterprise and into upgraded accommodation. It is worth noting that the enlargements of one-room-plan buildings anticipate the burst of new building, perhaps they herald a demand for larger houses. The widespread alteration and rebuilding of older houses suggests that the boom was not simply about housing units. It was at least in part to do with the nature of available housing, in terms of scale, internal space or privacy, as well as of appearance or fashion. It is an area that would need further research, but in the absence of evidence that the price of property increased significantly, it may be reasonable to suggest that prosperity originating in work in the Dockyard facilitated new development and more commodious housing. Inventories do suggest that the household goods a Deptford artisan might expect to have to find houseroom for had increased considerably through the first half of the 18th

century.¹⁴⁶

Economic insecurity as much as prosperity might have been a motor for housing development. In the 1760s and 1770s the Dockyard artisans, particularly the shipwrights, were being pressed to reform working practices and pay structures (see above). At the same time there would have been general and growing awareness of Deptford's relative decline in importance in comparison with other Naval Dockyards. Perceptions of the future may well have altered and cultural continuity been disrupted by individuals seeking new economic footholds. Dockyard artisans are found not only speculating, but shipwrights like Jones and Ferguson seem to be leaving the trade and bettering themselves through other work. The Slade family appear as locals who had been dependent on the Dockyard turning to property speculation not for indigenous artisans but for a new more fashionable bourgeois clientele. Investment in new and bigger houses between the wars, either for oneself or as speculations, might have become increasingly attractive as a hedge against decline and insecurity. Thomas Giffin was an outsider who brought to Deptford a fairly standard London speculation, the like of which had not previously been seen in the town. His houses of the late 1770s were relatively large. Development of the other new streets was left for a decade and more, and the houses of each new street were smaller than those of the last.

The late-18th-century developments seem to show a merging of artisanal investment and self-improvement with activity on the part of a wide range of traders, shopkeepers, bourgeois professionals and gentry. Deptford was becoming less monocultural as prosperity brought about diversification within the local economy. There is certainly incipient commercialisation of Butt Lane which had ceased to be principally a route linking two centres and become a spine for numerous side streets. It may be that shops transferred from relatively small premises along Church Street to bigger houses on Butt Lane as retailing requirements expanded.¹⁴⁷ The shops coming in seem to range from the prosaic, bakers and grocers, to the relatively specialist, a tea dealer. However, while reiterating the caveat that evidence for certain classes of commercial activity may be lacking, it does appear to be the case that shops were few and far between along Butt Lane. Very few occupants of the street in the 1790s feature in Deptford's commercial directory; there are only eight one can confidently identify as shopkeepers.¹⁴⁸

There is, of course, a wider frame within which to view the social changes evident in Deptford at the end of the 18th century. The artisanal class, its loss of independence, its insecurities, and its collapse in status in the context of the industrial revolution and capitalism in the early 19th century, figure large in E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*. The transformation of artisanal tradition at the end of the 18th century has also been more specifically discussed in relation to house building in London.¹⁴⁹ Elsewhere it has been argued that it is reasonable to expect that the early stages of such social transitions might be manifested in changes in housing form before they are more explicitly articulated elsewhere.¹⁵⁰

(5) Later History from 1800

The general absence of growth in Deptford in the first decades of the 19th century is notable in comparison with nearby areas then becoming suburbs, Camberwell for instance.¹⁵¹ In part, of course, this was simply because Deptford was already there and extensively built up. There were developments on Deptford's peripheries in the years up to 1815. Around 1807-8 Charles Street was laid out to the west, off a spur road just south of Thompson's development, with houses of a footprint comparable to those at Nos 32-50 Deptford High Street.¹⁵² To the south of the Broadway the first part of what came to be known as Deptford New Town was laid out. The building of the Surrey Docks

and the Grand Surrey Canal transformed the area to the northwest, and to the north Creek Bridge Road was formed to improve connections with Greenwich, a change that made Flagon Row a more heavily travelled through road.¹⁵³ It is safe to judge that, compared to Camberwell at least, Deptford was less than ever a desirable suburban retreat, highly unsuited to picturesque or sylvan development. Rather than suburbanization it was undergoing proletarianization. Bentham's reforms and wider changes were replacing independent-minded and well-paid artificers with tractable and impecunious workers. This fundamental social change is reflected in developments in the area's housing. Such early-19th-century development as there was around Butt Lane was of small, low-grade housing filling up side streets and creating interstitial courts. Deptford remained a town in its own right and unlike other newer places around London it did not come to be dominated by a suburban bourgeoisie in the mid 19th century. Its elite continued to comprise worthy tradespeople and professionals.¹⁵⁴

In 1825 Butt Lane was renamed Deptford High Street, a change that reflects the rapid commercialization of the street in the early 19th century. Occupancy was passing from shipwrights and mariners to bakers and shoesellers. By 1841 there were 70 to 80 shops along the High Street, concentrated towards either end in the pre-1770 properties; in 50 years the number of shops along the street had nominally increased about ten-fold. The newer and bigger properties remained houses and there were still nine 'gentry' listed as living on the High Street in 1830.¹⁵⁵ Connections with the Dockyard diminished, with only four shipwrights resident on the High Street in 1841, as compared with about 30 a century earlier (see above). A shipwright, a caulker, a sawyer, a carpenter, and a cooper were amongst those displaced by the 1843 demolition of Tinderbox Row.¹⁵⁶

Bentham and others had advised that Deptford's Naval Dockyard be run down to closure, but it endured a little longer.¹⁵⁷ Too distant from the sea and difficult of access the Dockyard was maintained only for minor work from 1821. It closed for ship construction in 1827, 'with the immediate result that a terrible depression settled upon Deptford'.¹⁵⁸ In 1843 shipbuilding recommenced for the building of small steam ships, including experimental ironclads.

Deptford's links with London improved in 1829 when George Shillibeer introduced the London-Greenwich commuter omnibus. Not far behind came the London and Greenwich Railway, the world's first suburban railway line, which obtained its Parliamentary Act in 1833 and opened as far as Deptford in 1836. The station was built on the west side of the High Street on Hyde family land where the Emmett family had market gardens. This still undeveloped frontage on the High Street was utilized by George Landmann, the railway engineer, for an L-plan brick ramp, to allow locomotives and rolling stock to be moved on and off the high-level viaduct. Landmann's ramp is still extant. There was limited demolition on the east side of the High Street, with a bridge bisecting the road. The arrival of the railway provided a new impetus for development and commercialization of the High Street and, more than any other single event, marks a point at which Deptford became a part of London. It was perhaps not initially a commuter line as such. The journey to Greenwich was popular for leisure, and the building of the railway was also overtly linked to property speculation.

In the 1840s there were some relatively regular and standard developments along the High Street that were much larger in scale than neighbouring buildings, as at Hamilton Place (Nos 181-195), which replaced Tinderbox Row, and Elizabeth Place (Nos 22-30). Remaining open space on the west side of the High Street to the centre was filled in the period 1840-60, with Italianate housing at Nos 101-131, and institutional building in the shape of the Roman Catholic Chapel of 1845, and the adjoining Mechanics' Literary Institution and Lecture Hall of 1851-2, the latter embraced by Landmann's ramp. The last open space between the High Street and Church Street was also filling up. Collier

Street (later Queen Street then Lamerton Street) was formed at about this time and Reginald Road was laid out in the late 1850s. Off to the west Douglas Street, Hyde Street, Hamilton Street, and Seymour (later Ffinch) Street were all formed around mid century, and Nos 404-410 Evelyn Street adjoining the northwest corner of the High Street are of this period.¹⁵⁹ Even so market gardening continued on land west of the High Street into the later 19th century.¹⁶⁰ Of this activity an apparently late-19th-century building on Comet Place known as the Granary is perhaps a surviving reminder.¹⁶¹

Commercialization of the High Street was intensive and in 1850 there were as many as 130 commercial properties along the High Street, that is about 65% of the whole. Pubs were rebuilt; in 1846 when the Royal Oak at No. 162 gained its present elegant form and an inscription commemorating an original build date of 1682. By the 1860s the 1770s houses of Pleasant Row (Nos 67-93) were being adapted to be shops. Some of these commercial uses involved small-scale industries or workshops, and Victorian outbuildings or traces thereof survive to the rear of some properties; there are the remains of slaughterhouses to the rear of No. 152 dating from its occupancy as a butcher's shop. By 1886 the High Street had about 190 commercial properties. Only a few houses endured and even the front gardens of Slade's Place had been built over by the 1890s. Off the High Street other early buildings were being made into shops, as in the Tanners Hill row. Large 'General Stores' became a feature of the Broadway in the late 19th century, notably Gardiner & Company and Peppercorn Brothers.¹⁶²

In the Naval Dockyard convict labour kept pay low into the 1850s, then the 1866 Crash all but put an end to private shipbuilding on the Thames. To compound Deptford's misery the enlargement of Chatham Dockyard led to the 1869 closure of the Naval Dockyard devastating the local economy. Much of the Dockyard site was adapted to be the Corporation of London's Metropolitan Foreign Cattle Market, for the slaughter of imported animals. After 1913 this site became a War Office Supply Reserve Depot.¹⁶³

The late 1880s depression hit Deptford and its river-based economy particularly hard. Unemployment at about 33% combined with some harsh winters around 1890 to bring disease and unusually high rates of mortality.¹⁶⁴ A more positive note in terms of local industry was the building of Deptford Power Station by Sebastian de Ferranti in 1887-9. This was the world's first central station from which electricity was generated at high tension for transmission over a long distance.¹⁶⁵

A road improvement scheme in the late 1890s cut diagonally through from Church Street to the top end of the High Street to link Creek Road to Evelyn Street. This necessitated the demolition in 1896 of most of the west end of Wellington Street (Flagon Row).¹⁶⁶ Prior to this demolition Thankfull Sturdee (1852-1934) photographed some of the threatened buildings, along with other parts of Deptford, as part of a wider compilation of local historical information (Fig. 12).¹⁶⁷ The stuccoed cottages at Nos 43-59 Creek Road on the line of what was the east end of Lamerton Street appear to postdate these roadworks.¹⁶⁸

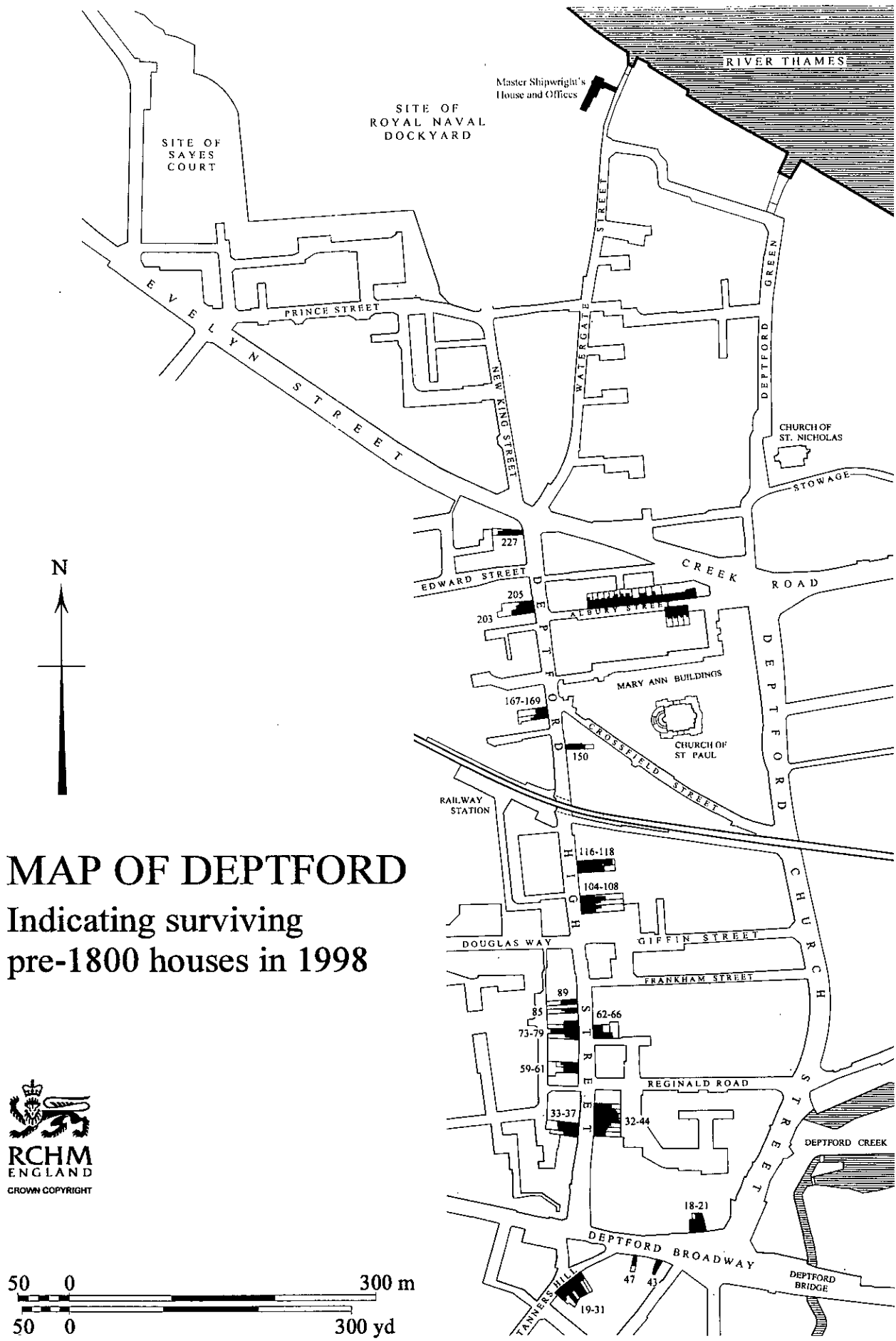
In 1899 Deptford was inspected for Charles Booth's survey of Metropolitan poverty. On the southern part of the High Street it was noted that there were 'Almost as many styles of building as houses, the only agreement being that all have shop fronts, sometimes a part of the original building but more often an addition thereto.' The best shops were near the Broadway, and most of the shopkeepers lived over their shops. Albury Street had declined in status and was mostly 'occupied by labouring people, three or more families in the house.' The north side of Crossfield Lane, only developed in the 1880s, in part with Rectory Buildings, three blocks of five-storey tenements built by the Industrial Dwellings Company, replacing Archer's rectory (demolished 1885), was 'very neglected, broken and

dirty windows, doors open, children playing about. Costers, wood choppers, etc. Squalid poverty.' Giffin Street was dilapidated and boarded up. This general area east of the High Street and south of the railway was an Irish area, amidst which 'an Italian colony is growing up'; here there were 'Slatternly women standing about, some shoeless children. Low class, some prostitutes, hawkers, etc. Some houses let in furnished rooms.' Employment came from riverside and Creek-side factories and wharves. The hinterland west of the High Street was more prosperous.¹⁶⁹ Yet despite the poverty some fine new shop and other premises were going up along the High Street. At Nos 74-78 a six-bay, three-storey building with lavish terracotta ornament was erected to 1899 designs by Louis Jacob,¹⁷⁰ and No. 91 was rebuilt with a picturesque new gabled front with finials and an ornamental panel dated 1898. Somewhat later, in 1914, St Paul's House (No. 125) was built as a new Rectory, an imposing and idiosyncratic essay in a rectilinear Arts and Crafts style.

The clearance of what had become squalid 17th- and 18th-century housing for public housing schemes begins in Deptford with Carrington House (latterly Mereton Mansions), an exemplary London County Council Lodging House opened in 1903 on Mill Lane (Brookmill Road), just south of Deptford Broadway, to house 670 men. Further rehousing through 'slum clearance schemes' was implemented in the 1920s and 1930s by both the LCC and Deptford Borough Council, with redevelopment near the river, around Deptford Green, as well as to the west of Deptford High Street near its south end, and to either side of Church Street with the large Crossfield Estate of the late 1930s. Some of the LCC housing was in characteristic 'neo-Georgian' brick ranges, one of the grandest being Gilbert House on what had been Hughes Field.

Second World War bomb damage was extensive, unsurprisingly given Deptford's proximity to London's major docks. St Nicholas' Church was hit, as was the Stowage, and parts of Church Street, with small bomb sites also scattered along the High Street.¹⁷¹ In the Borough of Deptford as a whole it was claimed that 2,132 houses had to be demolished as a result of bombing.¹⁷² This can be taken to be an exaggeration of war damage in that a great deal of relatively undamaged housing was also cleared. Much of the late-18th-century Evelyn estate housing survived the war and some of the houses on Crossfield Street stood into the 1970s (Figs 16-19).¹⁷³ More new public housing was built to the west of the High Street north of the railway, with more clearance to the south after 1970.¹⁷⁴ North of Creek Road little more than vestiges of the historic street pattern survive from prior to 1900. Church Street was cleared and widened as a dual carriageway in the 1960s and 1970s. The former Naval Dockyard site was redeveloped as a newsprint depot for News International, known as Convoy's Wharf.

Deptford High Street has survived comprehensive redevelopment, thanks to continuing commercial use (Fig. 21). Much was rebuilt; the Quaker Meeting House of c.1680 came down in 1907, with Edwards' Dining Rooms, a tile-fronted commercial building of 1926, taking its place carrying a plaque commemorating the Meeting House and Peter the Great's visit. At the centre of Slade's Place Nos 110-114 were less attractively replaced. Even more has been refronted in the course of the 20th century. Deptford High Street has continued as a lively shopping street with regular markets. The architectural diversity noted by Booth endures with a notable absence of standard late-20th-century retailing patterns. Reuse has followed reuse. Since the 1950s there have been waves of new settlement in Deptford, with the High Street manifesting an explosion of ethnic diversity and multiculturalism through traders who have come to Deptford from the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, South Asia, East Asia, and Africa. Among recent adaptations of buildings are an African Design Centre at No. 62 and a small Buddhist temple set up in 1992. At No. 205 an Anglo-Asian landlord lets a flat to Brazilians and ground-floor premises to Vietnamese manicurists in a shop called 'American Nail Pashions'.



MAP OF DEPTFORD
 Indicating surviving
 pre-1800 houses in 1998



Figure 21

In the 1980s and 1990s a number of sites have been redeveloped through Lewisham Borough Council. In 1992-6 a campaign of repairs and improvement to shops and upper-storey spaces was funded through Deptford City Challenge, a Department of the Environment backed regeneration programme. A symbolic anchor has been placed at the centre of the pedestrianized south end of the High Street where it meets the Broadway. On Douglas Way the Albany Centre building opened in 1982, renewing an older foundation, and to the northeast the Wavelengths Leisure Centre opened in 1991. The Revival Café at Nos 70-72 incorporates a basement gallery, where contemporary fine art is exhibited.

The early-18th-century Albury Street houses were Listed in 1950-1 only to suffer years of decay associated with the LCC and GLC's unrealised plans for redevelopment then refurbishment. Sold off in the 1980s many of the houses have since been repaired, 'Today there are signs of creeping but not rampant gentrification.'¹⁷⁵ The Broadway is above all a major traffic junction and has declined as a shopping centre in the 20th century, though it remains an important local focus. The north end of Tanners Hill retains a few shops, with a number of private dwellings.

SECTION 1: NOTES

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8. As quoted in Phillpotts, *loc. cit.*, p. 32.
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21. E. Gilboy, *Wages in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), pp. 14, 47, 109, 255-7.
22. R. Morriss, *The Royal Dockyards during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* (Leicester, 1983), pp. 99, 101. In the 1850s labourers in London's commercial docks were still paid 2/4 to 2/6 a day. [(ed.) R. Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 71.]
23. P. Linebaugh, 'Ships and Chips: Technological Repression and the Origin of the Wage', *The London Hanged: Crime and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, (London, 1991), pp. 374-6, 381; *VCH*, p. 372, 374.
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26. Phillpotts, *loc. cit.*, p. 35; Banbury, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
27. *VCH*, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-78; MacDougall, *loc. cit.*, p. 125; Morriss, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Dunkin, *op. cit.*, p. 581.
28. *VCH*, *loc. cit.*
29. *VCH*, *loc. cit.*; Banbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 74; Linebaugh, *loc. cit.*, pp. 371-401.
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35. As quoted in Linebaugh, *loc. cit.*, p. 395.
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124. CLRO, Comptroller's Bridge House Plans 57A and 48.c.14; LLSA, Map of the Titheable Lands in the Parishes of St Nicholas and St Paul, Deptford, 1844; OS 1868; RB.
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126. CLRO, Comptroller's Bridge House Plans, 202.23 and 53; Plan of Proposed Steam Docks etc, 1840, copy kindly supplied by B. Gill.
127. CLRO, Comptroller's Bridge House Plans 202.72, 205.24; Plan 48.E.3; OS 1868; RB.
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129. RB; *POD*; OS 1868.
130. Guildhall Library, Hand-in-Hand Insurance Registers, MS 8674/120, f. 36; RB.
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 167. T. Sturdee, *Reminiscences of Old Deptford*, 1895; LMA Photographs.
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SECTION 2: THE HOUSES

*'their Dens were chiefly Wood, all of one form, as if they were oblig'd by Act of Parliament, to all Build after the same Model.'*¹

(1) Materials and Construction

The nature of Deptford's pre-18th-century housing stock and the origins of its vernacular building traditions are obscure. However, an illuminating glimpse is afforded by a drawing of a pair of houses apparently built in 1474-5 near the river on a site that later became Nos 146 and 148 Watergate Street (Fig. 22). The drawing depicts a timber-framed single-storey and garrets building, each house evidently

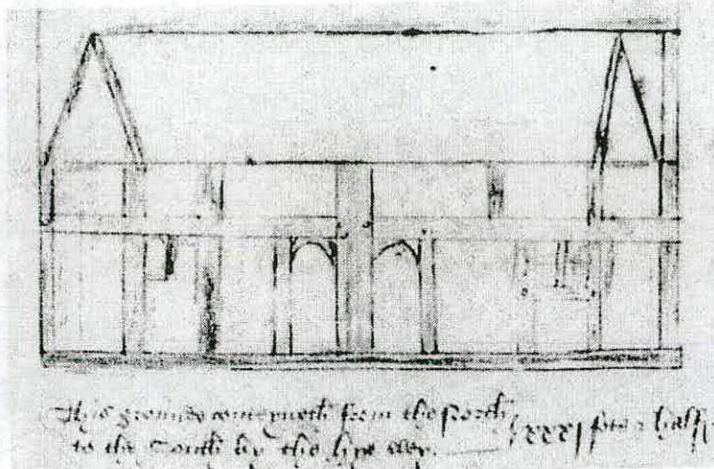


Figure 22 - A pair of houses of 1474-5 on the site of Nos 146-148 Watergate Street (Corporation of London Records Office, Bridge House Small Register, f. 9).

no more than a single cell, with centred entrances in a 31ft6in. (9.5m) frontage. Research has shown that the houses may have been built in association with the use of adjoining land for brickmaking; they had brick chimneys and tiled roofs.² Perhaps they appear towards the north end of a row depicted on the 1623 map (Fig. 2). Though this map clearly shows highly schematized buildings it does suggest that such housing may have been widespread, in rows, small groups or units, intermixed with some bigger buildings. Timber building was not a poor option; even in the 1690s new houses and offices within the Naval Dockyard were timber built.³ This began to change thereafter, but at least one large mid-to-late-18th-century officers' house was timber built.⁴ Eighteenth-century painted views from the river show

Deptford as constituting irregular and dense groups of mixed brick and timber buildings in and beyond the dockyards (Fig. 4).⁵

In Deptford, as in less prosperous or fashionable parts of suburban London beyond the reach of the Metropolitan Building Acts, timber house construction endured more widely and for longer than is generally appreciated. Timber framing evidently remained the dominant form of house construction in Deptford up to the mid 18th century, apparently falling out of use fairly comprehensively after that time, though brick had become gradually less exceptional over the previous century. At mid century boarded timber housing was prevalent though not invariable along Butt Lane, particularly at its north end, on Flagon Row, and along Crossfield Street (Figs 8, 12-14). It is not known that any post-1770 houses were timber built, whereas Nos 19-31 Tanners Hill survive to indicate that timber construction had been acceptable, if perhaps decreasingly respectable, into the 1750s (Fig. 23). The inherent fragility of slight timber buildings, their modest size, and the latter-day poverty of their occupants have caused them to be swept away, obliterating them from historical awareness. Yet these houses were common, no less 'vernacular' than bigger rural houses. If 'vernacular' is understood as ordinary they are more properly so designated than the majority of the timber-framed houses to which the term is conventionally attached. These were modest but respectable houses, built by and for artisans or labourers.

The Building Acts of 1667, 1707 and 1709 which stipulated brick construction for external walls in the City of London and Westminster did not apply to Deptford and seem to have had no widespread collateral impact in this or other respects. The disappearance of timber construction after 1770 might to a small degree be attributable to the influence of the somewhat more draconian 1772 and 1774 Building Acts, though they still had no direct force as Deptford was outside the area of the Weekly Bills of Mortality that defined the reach of the Acts.⁶ Changing attitudes to the choice of timber or brick for house building in the century up to 1770 and in the 30 years thereafter have wider economic and social causes. In



Figure 23 - Nos 21-31 Tanners Hill, c.1728, from the northwest (RCHME, BB98/01656).

the early period there seems to be no meaningful link between either date or quality of housing and the choice of building material. The material used probably simply reflects access and cost. The pair of houses at No. 144A Deptford High Street were seemingly brick-built c.1680 by a potter; Nos 27-31 Tanners Hill are comparable timber houses of c.1728, probably put up by a carpenter. The wide availability through the Dockyard of small amounts of building timber and Deptford's exceptional spread of artisanal skill and wealth were the bases of unstandardized small-scale development most of which was in timber. The shift away from timber construction which coincides with the decline in Deptford's 'republic of wood' reflects changes in the scale of houses and housing development as well as having to do with other aspects of the penetration of fashion and emulative or aspirational behaviour. This is evident in the c.1750 building of a three-storeyed group of three brick houses at Nos 164-8 Deptford High Street, or the 1770s replacement of small timber houses with much bigger brick houses at Nos 203 and 205 Deptford High Street, as well as in the arrival of more standardized large-scale speculative developments, as in the long rows of Prince Street of 1770-2 (Fig. 16) and Giffin Street of 1774-80. By the 1780s John Thompson, a house carpenter, was building brick houses at Nos 53-65 Deptford High Street.

In addressing the particular nature of Deptford's timber houses the evidence is unfortunately thin. Little timber framing appears to survive and of that which does much is not visible in any detail. The 1474-5 pair of houses in Watergate Street (Fig. 22) had exposed and regular panel framing with arched door and window heads, plain and standard late-medieval timber-frame construction. This can not be taken as a model for later buildings. As the survivors and early views seem to indicate 18th-century timber framing was not intended to be seen externally; it was generally boarded, sometimes plastered.

Nos 21-31 Tanners Hill provide exceptional evidence as to the nature of timber-frame construction in 18th-century Deptford, towards the end of the line. In isolation the visible framing here is insufficient basis for general conclusions as to the nature of house carpentry in this cultural context, but the evidence recorded is worth setting out as it will be of great interest in relation to any other framing that might come to be exposed in comparable buildings, in Deptford or elsewhere. Nos 27-31 are a single build of c. 1728 with framing that though largely concealed appears to be of regular scantling and remarkably intact. The frame appears to survive in its entirety at the upper levels, possibly excepting the west end wall. Nos 21-25 were evidently separately and somewhat irregularly all but wholly rebuilt in timber in the early 1750s, or possibly somewhat earlier. Their front and rear walls have been rebuilt since,⁷ but No. 23 in particular retains exposed framing that is particularly informative. More may survive in No. 25, but it is not presently visible. There is much reused timber in No. 23, something that was probably typical. Such reuse is known to be widespread in the wider context of late timber-framed rural houses, so much so that it is generally dismissed as of little interest. Indeed the imposition of an inappropriately architectural set of values writes off this sort of construction as somehow impure. The mixed nature of the timbers in No. 23 holds particular interest not only for what it tells us about low-status housebuilding practice, but also in relation to the proximity of a Naval Dockyard.

The timber used in No. 23 is apparently a mix of cheap softwoods. One beam has been identified as Baltic larch, a wood not generally encountered in higher-status or documented pre-18th-century house building.⁸ Softwood was widely available by the late 17th century in London and so it would have been in Deptford. In a centre of shipbuilding it is likely that an exceptionally wide range of woods would have been available. At No. 20 Deptford Broadway, a late-17th-century brick house, there is softwood in the roof and flooring, incorporating reused oak joists.⁹ Nowhere else in the study was constructional oak positively identified.

As to the details of framing technology No. 23 Tanners Hill provides the best evidence. The external walls to the rear and the side, respectively demolished and concealed, had panel framing with brick infill.¹⁰ The western party wall or cross frame in the same house is the only known currently visible substantial timber framing in a Deptford house (Fig. 24). On the first floor it comprises two panels made of thin rough-sawn and waney-edged softwood studs and 'dado' rails with original lath-and-plaster infill. There are some mortice-and-tenon joints at the stud ends, but iron nails rather than timber pegs or trenails provide all the fixings in these framed panels. This much is crude but unexceptional 18th-century internal framing. However, it is made extraordinary by the presence of substantial tension braces across the lower corners of each panel, to triangulate the assembly and support the rails, an unconventional variant on a range of techniques used for strengthening partitions through triangulation, or in a higher-status context through trussing. At garret level there is a passing brace which approximates more closely to conventional approaches to triangulation in partition construction. The first-floor braces have cleanly-sawn outer faces, but their inner faces are waney edge timber. They vary greatly in depth and curvature and are fixed to the end posts of the panels not by tenons pegged into mortices, but by long wrought-iron nails. On first glance timber braces of this size might suggest an early build date. However, they are not typical of 16th- and 17th-century timber framing in either form or fixing, nor do they seem likely to be reused pieces of house timber. There is an explanation for these unusual pieces of wood that raises the spectre of 'ships' timbers', that is that they are waste timber or 'chips' from the Naval Dockyard (see above). It is known that dockyard artisans were among the early occupants of the Tanners Hill row, and that 'chips' were used in housebuilding. Surprisingly, given its crudity and evidence that the rooms were ceiled and otherwise lined out, the framing of this partition was not hidden from view. No. 23 was certainly a humble house and other details witness to the low status of the construction. There are quarter-round beams, the rounded faces hidden within the flooring. The soffits of these beams have what

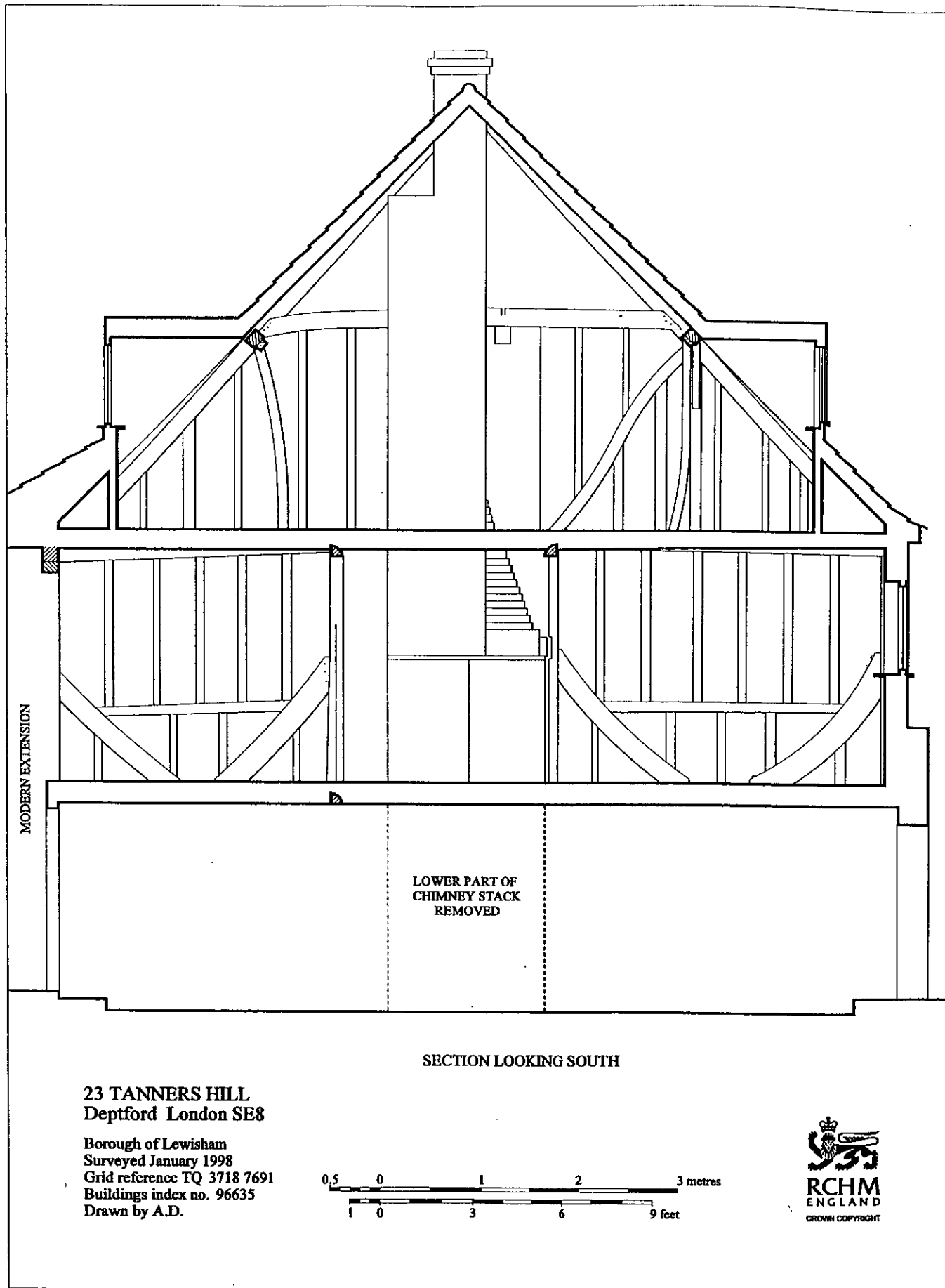


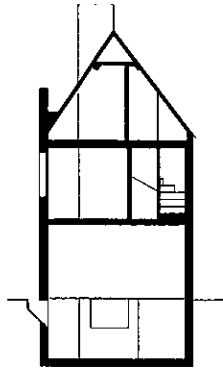
Figure 24

would always have been visible pegs, a feature also present in Nos 27-31 where, with comparable disinterest in the aesthetics of finish, corner posts and wall plates project into the rooms. At garret level No. 23 has extremely low-grade studs incorporating some sapling wood. In the context of attempts to regularize internal timber construction, such as the specified scantlings for structural timbers in the 1667 Rebuilding Act, or recommended practice in early carpenters' manuals, the framing in No. 23 is from another world, one where the principles of architectural order that tend to underpin our understandings of both 'vernacular' house construction and 'Georgian' townhouses were known but handled with insouciance. The first-floor exposed cross frame in No. 23 was even graced with a simple black painted skirting.¹¹ This *coup de grâce* was an aesthetic gesture on a piece of architecture that defies aesthetic classification.

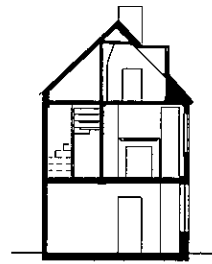
Evidence relating to roof construction is slightly more widespread. A late-17th-century roof survives in part at No. 20 Deptford Broadway. It is substantially built with staggered butt purlins of about 23cm x 13cm (9in. x 5in.) linking untrussed principal rafters of about 20cm x 15cm (8in. x 6in.) that spanned across about 17ft (5.2m) onto brick walls without collars or tie beams, to provide headroom in what was designed to be occupied garret space. The common rafters are tenoned into the purlins, giving additional longitudinal stiffening in the absence of trusses. Similarly No. 150 Deptford High Street of c.1680 has a steeply pitched roof to its original one-room depth, for another occupied garret (Fig. 25). The framing is concealed, but single purlins run above head height just below the ridge, probably carrying common rafters; there may have been nailed collars within partitions. Similar construction is likely in Nos 21 and 27-31 Tanners Hill, which also have one-room plans. At Nos 23 and 25 Tanners Hill (Fig. 24) there are butt purlins into which the common rafters are or were tenoned, but the depth of the two-room-plan building allowed a roof such as to permit both collars and head room, as appears to be the case in Nos 32-44 Deptford High Street of 1775-92. Other late-18th-century roofs are generally gambrels and 'M's, typically with clean-sawn softwood timbers that do not appear remarkable in constructional terms. The hipped roof of No. 227 Deptford High Street of 1791-2 has common rafters rising to a plank ridgeboard without purlins.

The bulk of Deptford's surviving early housing is brick built. This is unrepresentative, but no accident. Scale is obviously a prime factor in differential rates of survival between brick and timber; the atypically substantial houses of Albury Street have remained desirable dwellings. However, in some measure, of course, brick has endured because it withstands poor maintenance better than timber.

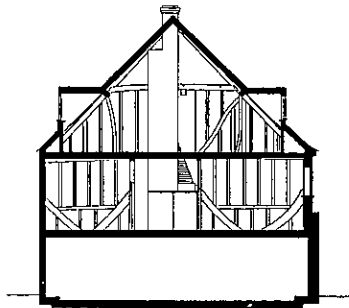
Brick, tile and lime manufacture was a local industry from at least the late 16th century. The local loamy soil was good for brickfields and in 1667 John Evelyn looked around Deptford for brickmaking clays to use in the rebuilding of the City.¹² In the 18th century there was a tile factory on Copperas Lane, near Deptford Creek, producing both plain and pantiles,¹³ and the remains of a c.1700 brick clamp have been excavated nearby at New Cross.¹⁴ Early brick housing might have come about through easy access to cheap brickearth. Speculative builders at this level often obtained the capital necessary for building through the manufacture of materials. Thomas Lucas, the builder of Albury Street, was a bricklayer who made his own tiles locally,¹⁵ and the c.1680 brick row at Nos 144A-162 Deptford High Street appears to have been at least part developed by Joseph Hall, a potter perhaps linked to a pottery on Deptford Creek.¹⁶ Given that transportation was a significant factor in the cost of bricks the presence of a local supply makes the continuance of timber construction well into the 18th century in Deptford all the more interesting, perhaps another pointer to the comparably easy availability of timber. There is no evidence that any roofing material other than plain or pantiles was used in Deptford before the 19th century, the 1474-5 houses included.



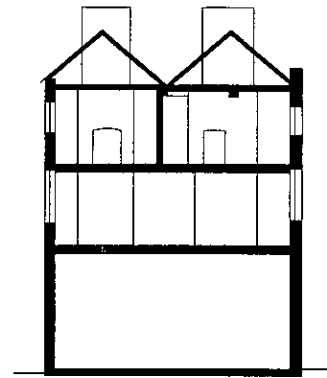
150 DEPTFORD HIGH STREET LOOKING NORTH
c1680



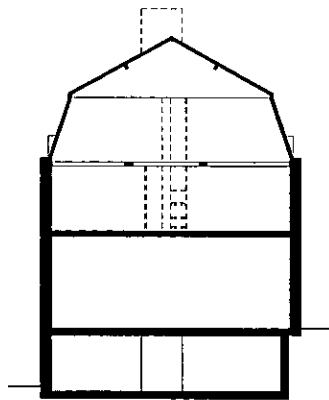
31 TANNERS HILL LOOKING SOUTH
c1728



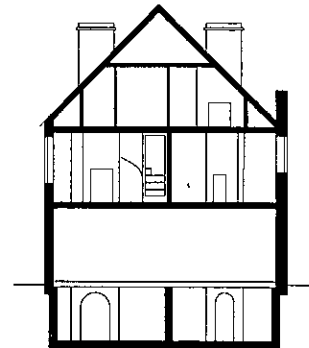
23 TANNERS HILL LOOKING SOUTH
EARLY-MID 18th CENTURY



116 DEPTFORD HIGH STREET LOOKING SOUTH
1775-1785



64 DEPTFORD HIGH STREET LOOKING SOUTH
1790-1791



36 DEPTFORD HIGH STREET LOOKING SOUTH
1789-1792

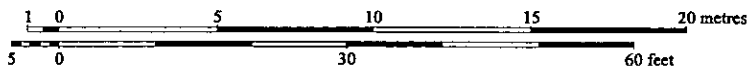


Figure 25 - Sections of early Deptford houses, incorporating some reconstruction.

London stock brick probably came into general use as the cheapest available brick after 1666, when it became possible to incorporate Spanish (rubbish that was largely ash and cinders) in brick making. It was greatly varied in both quality and colour. Around 1700 brownish stock brick is fairly widespread in the London area, often perhaps with a slightly grey or purple aspect, as is widely seen with red dressings in higher-status buildings.¹⁷ In Deptford the Church of St Nicholas of 1696-7, the Master Shipwright's House of 1708, Albury Street of 1705 onwards, and Nos 14 and 16 Deptford Bridge, an early-18th-century distillery building, all survive with good-quality, high-status polychrome brick elevations, the predominant brown brick probably locally made.¹⁸

Of Deptford's lower-status early buildings No. 20 Deptford Broadway retains the best visible evidence



Figure 26 - No. 20 Deptford Broadway, late-17th-century rear elevation (RCHME, AA98/01660).

for 'vernacular' use of external facing brick in its gabled rear wall (Fig. 26). As a surviving domestic gabled wall of this date it is rare in London. This late-17th-century brown stock-brick wall is essentially though not entirely laid to Flemish bond using bricks of 22cm x 6cm (8.75in. x 2.25 in.). It is 1.5 bricks thick at ground and first-floor levels, reducing to single-brick thickness to the garret, and there are plat bands between the storeys at two levels. Similar brown stock brick is seen in several late-18th-century houses along Deptford High Street, though without plat bands. By this date finer stock bricks from north Kent were available and some of the post-1770 houses that aspired to fashionable appearance were given yellow or grey stock brick front walls, as at No. 59 and No. 227. It is notable that the front of Slade's Place (Nos 104-122), a relatively high-status speculation of 1775-85 that in certain other respects aspired to fashionability, appears to have been of local brown stock bricks, as surviving best on No. 106. The front-wall bricks of No. 118 are subtly disguised by a yellow wash that is likely to be an early alteration. Such alterations, whether refronting or simply painting, make any assessment of original front-wall brick colour elsewhere difficult to impossible. Still brown-brick back and flank walls of the late 18th century are visible along the High Street at Nos 33-

37, 73-79, 167-9, 203, 205, and 62-66 (Fig. 21).

Bricks of an orange/red colour generally associated with 16th- or 17th-century construction survive in cellars at No. 21 Deptford Broadway and No. 150 Deptford High Street. It may be that this was a brick in general use before 1700. However, similar brick is also visible internally in late-18th-century buildings on the High Street, in flank walling at No. 203 and in the cellar of No. 36, so perhaps the softer orange/red bricks are underfired place bricks that were used for internal surfaces throughout the period.

(2) Plans

The 'one form' to which Ward referred in 1700 was probably the basic one-room plan which rateable values, early views, and surviving physical evidence suggest was the widespread norm in Deptford until the late 18th century. This was an utterly standard form of housing (see below), but paucity of survival outside the context of almshouses has unbalanced historical perceptions. By 1700 such houses would

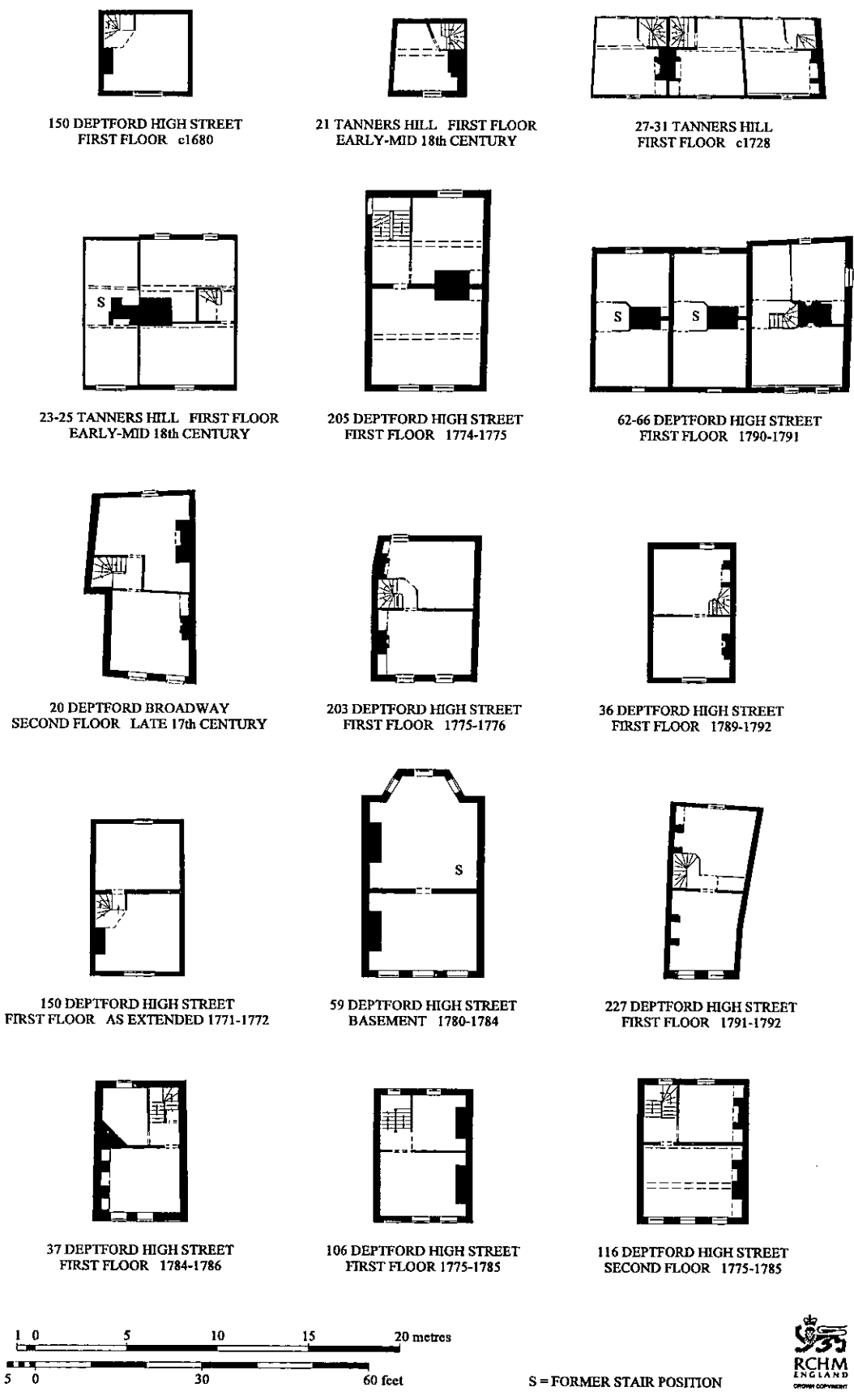


Figure 27 - Plans of early Deptford houses, incorporating some reconstruction.

probably generally have had three rooms vertically arranged in two storeys with a garret, but the 1475 drawing and 1623 map point to antecedents that were lower two-room dwellings, in rows or otherwise (Figs 2 and 22). Surviving examples of the one-room plan are at No. 150 Deptford High Street of c.1680 and Nos 21 and 27-31 Tanners Hill, the former perhaps as late as the 1750s, the latter group of c.1728 (Fig. 27). These houses are closely comparable, having roughly square plans of from 13-15ft (4-4.6m), that is about 200 sq ft (18.5 sq m) of space on each of the ground and first floors - a figure that drops to less than 150 sq ft (14 sq m) with the omission of closets, stairs, and chimneystacks. The rear stair compartments are framed against side-wall chimneystacks, either paired back-to-back or single. In the Tanners Hill examples the doors from the stairs are at canted angles to limit the loss of space in the rooms. The 31ft6in. (9.5m) frontage of the 1474-5 pair suggests that the standard room size was a centuries old norm, though clearly there would have been variability. Another c.1700 example of about 20ft by 15ft (6m by 4.6m) was recorded at No. 62 The Stowage in 1944.¹⁹

These houses were built singly, in pairs, threes, or in long rows; No. 150 Deptford High Street is the sole survivor of a row of twelve. The rear stair position means that the chimneys rise in front of the ridge (Fig. 23). This distinctive external feature means that views of demolished buildings can be compared with rateable values to point to further examples of the type for which there are no plans. One such is Tinderbox Row (Fig. 13), a 14-house row of c.1700 on the west side of Butt Lane, each house with a frontage of about 15ft (4.5m). There were probably other less coherently developed groups of one-room plan houses on the sites of Nos 195-227 Deptford High Street, many of which would have been built in the late 17th century. Another c.1690 row, perhaps 11 houses, on the sites of Nos 126-144 Deptford High Street probably comprised one-room plan houses with 16-17ft (5m) frontages. The south side of Crossfield Street was represented in the 18th century as a regular two-storey and garrets timber-built row (Figs. 8 and 9), given credibility by an early photograph.²⁰ Ratebooks indicate that a row of 36 houses had been built by 1730; their rateable value suggests three or four rooms in each house, thus, given their height, they were very probably one-room plan dwellings. Nos 7-9 Tanners Hill were probably built in the 1720s as houses much like those at Nos 27-31, and a comparable pair stood opposite at Nos 16-18 Tanners Hill.²¹ Many of the early occupants of all of these houses were shipwrights and other dockyard artisans.²²

Deptford's one-room plan houses were not simply arrayed along its streets, as an account of the various rows might suggest. There is evidence that an urban front/back tenemental arrangement was widespread in the early 18th century. Narrow-fronted plots were adapted or first developed to hold separately occupied but contiguous front and back houses, each with a one-room plan. Forty or more paired properties with separately occupied 'fore parts' and 'back parts' were scattered through Deptford, most of them in the more densely occupied parts of the town near the river and dockyard; in Hughes Fields there were eleven such pairs of houses in a row. There were seven on Back Lane and eight on Grove Street, with others on Flagon Row and The Green. To judge from the rating valuations each of these houses seems to have comprised from two to four rooms. They were not standardized, there being variation in their overall sizes and in the relative sizes of the front and back parts.²³ On Butt Lane there were front/back paired houses on the sites of Nos 203 (built 1726-30, demolished 1775), 205 (built c.1700, demolished 1774) and 227 (perhaps a single late-17th-century house with the front house added c.1700, extensively rebuilt 1791-2), as well perhaps as at Nos 217, 219 and 225, all just round the corner from the grand houses of Albury Street. The extension of a recently-built single house to create a pair particularly reflects rapidity of growth and density of population.

A 1755 plan drawn by George Dance, showing the same site that was drawn in 1475 (Fig. 28), depicts what was probably a typical layout of paired one-room plan tenements.²⁴ Here, very near the river, they

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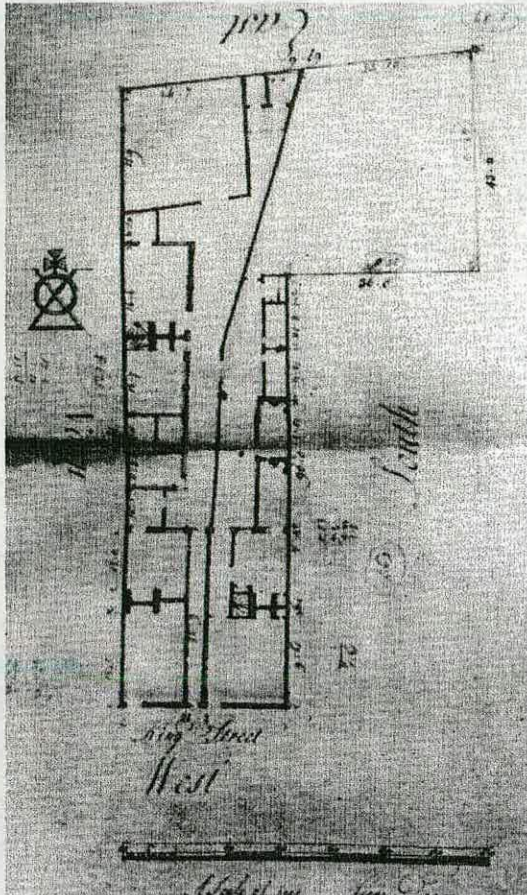


Figure 28 - Houses on the site of Nos 146-148 Watergate Street in 1755 (Corporation of London Records Office, Bridge House estate lease).

are sited off a yard behind what became No. 148 Watergate Street.²⁵ This plan is another good indicator of housing density in Deptford in the 18th century, showing as it does an array of dwellings comparable to that seen in early plans of sites in and around the City of London.²⁶ These houses were about 16ft6in. (5m) by 10-12ft (3-3.6m) and resembled the extant examples of the plan type in having winder stairs behind side-wall stacks. It is notable that here there is evidence for entrances into very small but evidently unenclosed lobbies in front of the stacks. It may be that some if not most examples of the type had entrances away from the stack. An alternative layout for the paired houses may be exemplified by Nos 225-227 Deptford High Street which a 1777 map shows as having had mirrored L-shaped footprints (combining as a T with its base to the street).²⁷ This shape may reflect extension forwards. It suggests a wider back house with independent access via a passage alongside the front house.

As with the other one-room plan dwellings in Deptford many of the front/back paired houses were occupied by shipwrights and other dockyard wage labourers. Seemingly purpose-built pairs they are highly unusual in terms of documented housing in English towns of this period. They were not necessarily poor housing, but their density does perhaps reflect the fact that, exceptionally for the time, Deptford was populated by artisans whose workplace was not their home. Before the late 18th century people of this class would not have accumulated possessions or social habits such as to necessitate houses with numerous rooms. These paired one-room plan houses reflect industrialization and the local absence of a general

need for land or workshop space given the dominance of wage labour. Even so the back house of the pair at No. 203 Deptford High Street did have a workshop. Few if any of these paired houses seem to have lasted out the 18th century; only one pair was still being recorded in Back Lane in 1760. This seems to speak of changing attitudes to privacy and domestic space linked to changes in the local economy.

The absence of evidence for one-room plan houses forming a part of any of Deptford's many housing developments of the 1770s and 1780s seems to indicate that the house type had become less socially acceptable. One-room houses continued to be built widely in towns well into the 19th century, typically around courts in dense agglomerations that were never anything but poor housing. The type does in fact reappear in Deptford in the 1790s, as the late-18th-century development boom fizzled and schemes for larger houses foundered. Quarterman's Row of 1792-5 (dem. 1857) was a row of five near the south end of Butt Lane in which many of the early occupants were widows. Cherry Garden Place was developed in the 1790s with very small houses and Mary Ann Buildings was built from 1801 as rows of tiny (10-12ft front) one-room cottages, clearly housing of a lower social status.

The two-room plan houses of 18th-century Deptford divide into three groups, those with a central

chimneystack and staircase, those with party-wall stacks and a central staircase, and those with party wall stacks and a rear staircase (Fig. 27).

The townhouse plan that separates a front room from a back room with a centrally-placed chimneystack against which a staircase is framed is a general layout that has been interpreted as a post-medieval derivation from the rural 'lobby entry' plan turned through 90 degrees.²⁸ In various forms it was certainly widespread in the 17th-century, in London as well as in many other towns (see below). It has, however, been assumed to have dropped out of use in the 18th century in and around London in favour of the 'standard' rear-staircase plan for reasons of constructional economy and/or open circulation.

The central-chimneystack plan endured in Deptford (and neighbouring Greenwich) right through the 18th century, most notably and widely in a form that was codified by James Moxon (see below) through publication in 1700 of a plan for a brick house (Fig. 29) in an addition to his father's work *Mechanick Exercises*. For convenience this can be labelled the 'Moxon' plan, though this should not be taken to imply that he invented it, or even necessarily that his publication of it directly inspired its frequency in Deptford. The plan has an entrance into a side passage that runs through the house. The staircase, shown here in a large house as having an open well for light, rises against back-to-back chimneys that, though not strictly central, form the heart of the house. The separation of front and back rooms is completed by the provision of small closets or cupboards between the chimneys and the flank wall.

The earliest documented appearance of this plan in Deptford is on the 1755 record of property on Watergate Street (Fig. 28). It is highly probable, however, given the publication of the plan in 1700 and its recorded appearance in London houses in the early 18th century, that the 'Moxon' plan was current in Deptford through the 18th century, perhaps having been present through in the 17th century. The 1755 plan shows that the 1474-5 pair of houses at Nos 146-148 Watergate Street had been rebuilt, perhaps c.1653, though it can only be said with certainty that it was sometime before 1755. The house to the south (No. 146) has a two-room deep 'Moxon' plan. This evidently survived into the 20th century as a two-storey brick building with a shop.²⁹

The best surviving recorded example of the 'Moxon' plan in Deptford is No. 62 Deptford High Street. This was built with Nos 64 and 66, which had the same plan, though the chimneystacks have been all but entirely removed (Fig. 27). The three houses were built in 1790-1 by John Ashford, a carpenter and undertaker. Ashford occupied the larger

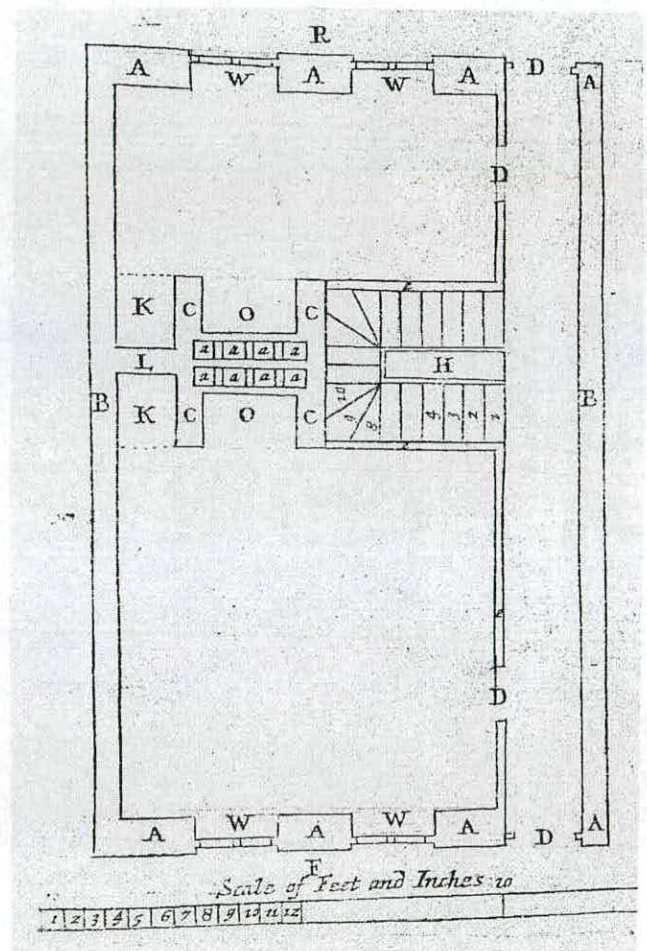


Figure 29 - House plan from Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*: or, The Doctrine of Handy-Works Applied to the Art of Bricklayers-Works (London, 1700).

house at No. 62 himself. The smaller pair were occupied by shopkeepers from an early date. These houses are smaller than that drawn by Moxon. Accordingly in the 18ft (5.4m) fronted No. 62 there is a twin-newel or dogleg staircase, and the 15ft (4.5m) fronted pair at Nos 64-66 have space enough only for winder staircases, that projected slightly into the rectangles of the rear rooms. Moxon recommended 'open newel' stairs because they permit skylighting, but this was in the context of projections for a rather larger house.³⁰ The plan was used in Deptford where there was much less space. The importance of direct light to staircases in houses as small as these is questionable; borrowed light from front- or back-wall windows is ample if a door is open. There is no evidence that the opportunity for flank-wall lighting of the stair in No. 66 was taken. At No. 79 Deptford High Street there is a single house of 1776-7 that was very probably built with a 'Moxon' plan, though internal access to confirm this has not been possible.

Other examples of the type have been demolished, but records confirm their existence. Nos 109-111

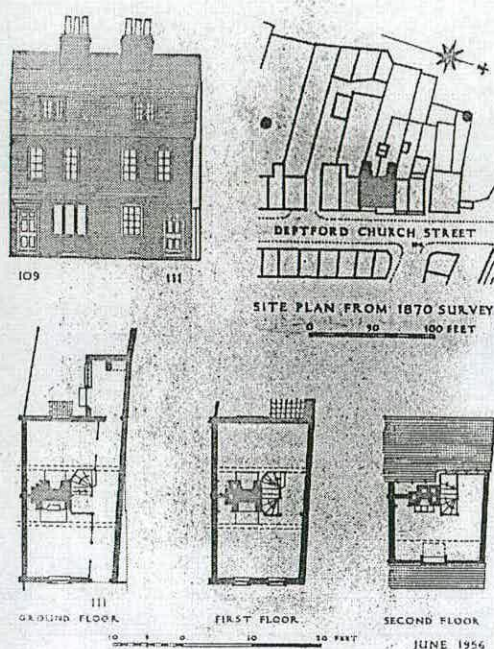


Figure 30 - Nos 109-111 Deptford Church Street (NMR, GLC Drawings Collection, 96/01845).

Deptford Church Street was a pair on a site that had been developed by the 1740s (Fig. 30).³¹ Unlike Nos 64 and 66 Deptford High Street this was a mirrored pair of houses. There were rear closet wings and twin-newel stairs oriented longitudinally. This layout shows more clearly than surviving examples that a spacious stair compartment was more desirable than regularity of room shape. Nos 12 and 16 Crossfield Street (Fig. 19), demolished c.1974, had this plan form in houses that, to judge from their appearance in relation to other dated Deptford buildings were probably of the late 18th century.³² Along Evelyn Street there were others, at Nos 361-7 and 371, that were probably datable to the 1780s (Fig. 18).³³

These were all fairly pure examples of the 'Moxon' type. Many other variations of the centre-chimneystack plan also continued to be built. Nos 23 and 25 Tanners Hill provide two instances. Much less tidily resolved these are probably 18th-century rebuildings of smaller 17th-century houses. No. 23 squeezed a stair against its stack in a 10ft (3m) frontage, and the much more spaciouly disposed No. 25 used a 17ft (5.2m) frontage in an urban manner, laying out three construction bays front to back with that to the centre occupied by a stack and staircase separated by a closet space that was not used for circulation, thus wholly

separating the front and back rooms. No. 23 was paralleled by No. 47 Deptford Broadway, a c.1700 redevelopment of an 11ft (3.3m) frontage.

Another variant of the centre-chimneystack plan appears in houses with a dogleg staircase positioned to the rear, behind an entrance passage. This has been recorded at No. 205 Deptford High Street, a large 22ft (6.7m) frontage house of 1774-5 built for John Creasy, a tea dealer; before 1770 the rear-staircase plan position is a rarity in Deptford. At No. 205 the stack has been removed above cellar level, but the layout is clear (Fig. 27). The compromise with the 'standard' 18th-century house plan meant smaller back rooms, but more spacious better-lit staircases, an opportunity for display that was not passed by at No. 205. In such a large house a centre stair may have been unacceptably dingy. A variant of this variant places the stair towards the front, as was recorded at No. 71 Watergate Street and No. 377 Evelyn

Street.³⁴ There were many other centre-stack plan houses in Deptford, known only from photographs or drawn views, so that staircase positioning can only be guessed at. There was a row of five on the south side of Deptford Bridge, just west of the surviving distillery, perhaps identifiable as houses referred to as 'new built' in a 1719 marriage settlement.³⁵ There were three of c.1750 at Nos 164-168 Butt Lane,³⁶ and other late-18th-century examples at Nos 216-222, 323, 339-45, 349-51 and 357-9 Evelyn Street, as well as along Edward Street (Figs 17 and 18).³⁷

The widespread popularity of the central chimneystack in Deptford through the later 18th century can not be paralleled anywhere except Greenwich. This is mystifying, but it ought not to be immediately dismissed as a local peculiarity though, to some degree, this may be true. It is a plan type that is well suited to commercial use as it provides clear separation between front and back, shop and domestic spaces. No. 205 Deptford High Street can be adduced in support as an example of a building designed to contain a shop. However, many of the documented examples were clearly originally meant to be houses without shops. The cellular nature of the plan might have suited multiple occupation and subletting, perhaps seeming to grant a greater measure of privacy to each room. It was built in a range of sizes and the variety of staircase provision is a rough guide to the social diversity of those for whom this house plan was built. It is unlikely that its choice does not represent conscious preference. One of the principal reasons for the widespread acceptance of the party-wall chimney has been said to be constructional economy. Yet here it is not used at what should have been an economy-minded end of the housing market.

The remaining two-room plan houses have party-wall chimneystacks. Numerous variations on the party-wall chimneys with central-staircase plan were widespread and fashionable in late-17th-century London.³⁸ No. 20 Deptford Broadway (Fig. 27) is an example of a well-finished and substantial house of this period. Its stair position is typical, though the siting on the side away from the stacks is less so. Perhaps it occurs here because the irregular shape of the building plot allowed the stairs to be tucked away on this side. Unusually given the size of the house there were only two rooms with no closets, the L-shaped back rooms having spaces towards the centre that might have served as bed alcoves. No. 59 Deptford High Street, a large house of 1780-4 with an 18ft (5.5m) front, may have had a similar layout, though if so it was dictated by different exigencies. A full-width canted-bay window to the rear removed the possibility of the rear staircase that might be expected in a house of this substance at this date.

For Deptford these are unusually large houses. The remainder of the centre-staircase party-wall chimney plans are in smaller late-18th-century houses, where limited frontage dictated that winder stairs had to be placed between the fireplaces, usually towards the rear to reduce the back rooms to an L plan, again perhaps creating bed alcoves. Examples of this survive at Nos 36, 203 and 227 Deptford High Street (Fig. 27), all with staircases that seem to have been wholly unlit. No. 203 retains cupboards alongside the fireplaces and a canted stair partition as seen in one-room plan houses. Indeed this plan reads as if a pair of one-room plan houses made one with a single stair. No. 227, which was designed to incorporate a ground-floor baker's shop, is narrower but deeper, so has room for a twin-newel stair oriented longitudinally. The much wider but in other respects comparable house at No. 205 was given a far more gracious rear staircase. Nos 167-9 Deptford High Street of c.1780, perhaps always incorporating shops, may have been built with the centre-staircase plan, as were Nos 223-5 of c.1770 and c.1835, subsequently rebuilt. No. 173 Evelyn Street varied the type with a twin-newel stair that took equally from both front and back rooms.³⁹ The Prince Street row of 1770-2 (Fig. 16) had twin party-wall stacks and may have had two-room plans laid out with central staircases.

These houses can have had no ground-floor passages that would have allowed access to the upper storeys

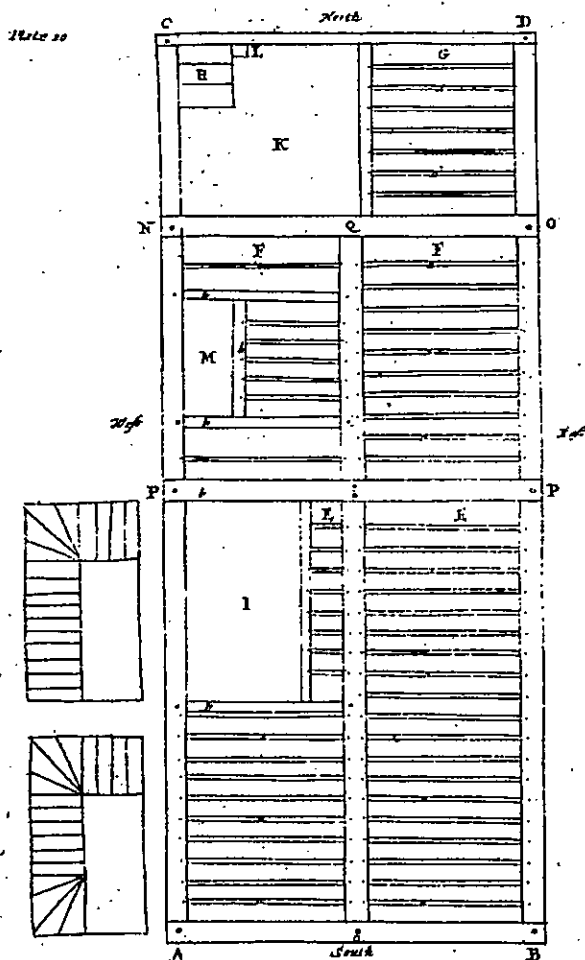


Figure 31 - House plan from Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises: or, The Doctrine of Handy-Works Applied to the Art of House Carpentry* (London, 1694).

sacrificed in frontages much smaller than about 18ft (5.4m); a winder staircase was by far the most economical option in terms of floor space. Another high-status exception to a generalization that the rear-staircase plan was not present in Deptford until the 1770s survives at the Master Shipwright's House in the Naval Dockyard of 1708, a replanning of an early building that incorporated a grand open-string staircase behind an entrance hall that bisected a double-fronted house.⁴⁴ The rear-stair plan was used 'to create, in vertical form, the sort of apartments found in contemporary country houses'.⁴⁵ Its absence from lower status housing may not simply be a question of scale. The more cellular and compartmental centre-chimney layout lacked *en suite* fluidity, perhaps a factor in its favour until bourgeois habits became more widespread.

When the rear-staircase plan does begin to appear in Deptford it is in association with larger speculations and larger houses where fashionability and emulation are likely to have been factors in its adoption. To judge from the staggered window heights in the rear elevations of the Giffin Street houses of 1774-80 they had rear staircases with front-room party-wall chimneys and rear room rear-angle fireplaces.⁴⁶ Nos 33-37 Deptford High Street survive with a comparable plan (Fig. 27). Built in 1784-6 these three houses

without entering at least one of the ground-floor rooms, unless the ground-floor front room was unheated, entirely possible if it was a shop. To this degree this is a less cellular layout than any of the other alternatives. In 1668 William Leybourn published a plan with a central stair and a rear-room party-wall fireplace,⁴⁰ and in 1694 Moxon published a comparable plan to illustrate floor construction, though the stair was taken out of the much larger front-room (Fig. 31); the layout also appeared in the *Builder's Dictionary* of 1734. The relatively cramped Deptford houses should not, however, be closely linked with the more spacious higher-status centre-stair plan, as published by William Halfpenny, and as built widely in the West End through the 18th century.⁴¹

The rear-staircase plan that Nicholas Barbon had popularized in the later 17th century had become the standard for higher-status central London speculative terraces by about 1720, its spread probably fuelled by both economy of construction and fashionability.⁴² This plan was evidently introduced to Deptford on a large scale in Albury Street from 1705, though not uniformly. Of Albury Street it has been said that it was 'like a testing ground for compact urban plans'.⁴³ While this overlooks the truly compact types discussed above there were several variations of the rear-staircase plan in Albury Street in houses of varying frontages, depths and room layouts. Exceptionally in the street a particularly narrow house at No. 24 was given a centre-staircase plan (Fig. 32). This illustrates that the rear-staircase plan was ill suited to more modest housing as the space needed for the dog-leg stair could not easily be

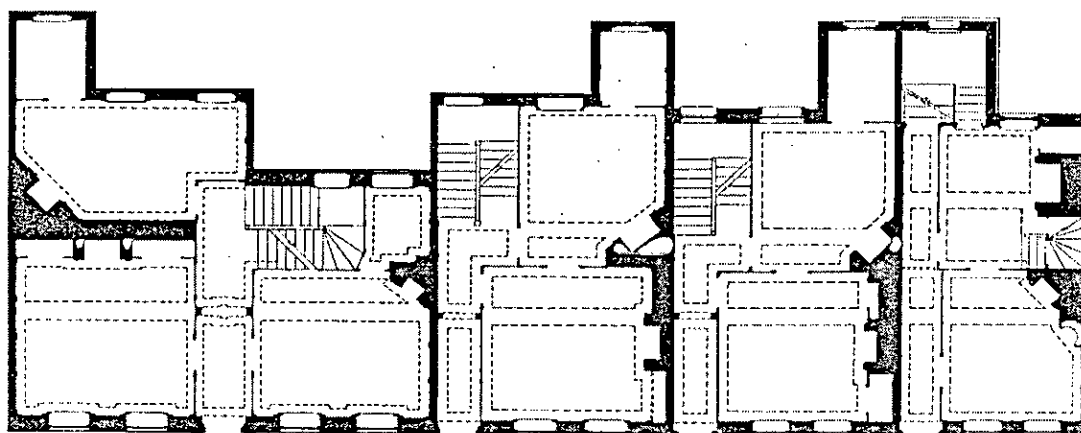


Figure 32 - Nos 18-24 Albury Street, ground-floor plan in 1972 (NMR, GLC Drawings Collection, 96/06918).

have 17ft (5.2m) fronts, but the stair position forces very small back rooms with the angle fireplaces towards the centre. Curiously it is not evident that the stairs were originally lit other than by borrowed light, another reflection that for buildings of this plan type these are small houses. They also retain traditional elements; angle fireplaces are generally taken to have fallen out of favour in the early 18th century. Slade's Place also appears to have had rear staircases; examples have been recorded at Nos 106 and 116 (Fig. 27). Most of the houses in this terrace had 18ft (5.4m) fronts yet the rear rooms were still small. Again there were no stair windows except at attic level, the houses remaining small enough for the stairs to be lit by borrowed light. The absence of windows here does suggest that it is circulation patterns or economies of construction more than light that made this layout attractive. Some houses of this type were also built on Evelyn Street, at Nos 314-320, 369 and 405, late in the 18th century.⁴⁷ The houses at Nos 33-37 and 104-122 Deptford High Street remained in largely bourgeois occupation through much of the 19th century. Socially these houses were clearly a cut above the houses which retained centre stairs, irrespective of size.

A further insight into plan form and other internal arrangements can be gained from probate inventories (Table 3). Plan form as such is never specified in inventories, but it is usually evident how many rooms there are on each storey, and how they are disposed through references to 'front' and 'back'. This is not foolproof, but interpretive tabulation of the evidence may be helpful in giving some sense of the range of housing. However, use of the inventories in this way warrants a comparable caution as is appropriate in relation to the analysis of surviving buildings without regard to the much greater number that have been demolished. Inventories are likely to be unreliable as general indicators as the simplest and poorest buildings must have been proportionally more seldom inventoried than bigger better houses. Fifty-six Deptford house inventories spanning 1687-1762 have been analysed, the majority exhibited at the Pregorative Court of Canterbury, where the houses would have belonged to those with property in more than one parish, itself an indicator of bias towards higher status.

Table 3 Deptford House Inventories, 1687-1762⁴⁸

Number of Inventories Analysed	Rochester	PCC	Total
	25	31	56
Rooms per House:			
Two	2	1	3
Three	6	1	7
Four	2	4	6
Five	6	2	8
Six	5	7	12
Seven	1	6	7
Eight	2	4	6
Nine	0	1	1
Ten	1	2	3
Sixteen	0	2*	2
Eighteen	0	1	1
Average Rooms per House	4.9	7.3	6.2
Median Rooms per House	5	7	6
One Room Plans	9	5	14
Two Room Plans	13	18	31
Three Room Plans	2	5	7
Four Room Plans	1	1	2
Larger Plans	0	2	2
'Urban' Layouts (Front/Back Rms in 2/3 Rm Plans)	12	16	28
Two Storeys+	5	4	9
Three Storeys+	19	23	42
Four Storeys	1	4	5
Cellars Present	8	17	25
Ground-level Shops/Workshops/Public Rooms	11	7	18
Ground-level Kitchens	20	21	41
Range in Value of Household Goods Inventoried (£)	4:240	9:254	-
Houses of those in Maritime Trades (Mariners, Dockyard Labourers, Shipwrights, Captains, etc.)	7	17	24
Houses containing Books	1	18	19

* = public houses

+ = including garrets

It is clear that one-room-plan houses were far from universal, though taken as a whole this evidence does not conflict with the impression otherwise formed that the three- or four-room house was very much an

artisanal norm. Similarly two-room-plan houses were widespread before the post-1770 building boom, but anything bigger, as for example in Albury Street, was exceptional. There were still some essentially rural wide-fronted houses, as is known to have been the case along Butt Lane (Fig. 14), but the great majority of ordinary houses were narrow fronted on urban plots.

Setting aside Albury Street, which was clearly intended for a different class of occupant, the physical and documentary evidence for pre-1760 housing in Deptford largely relates to one-room-plan houses. Ratebooks suggest that these houses were the norm all over Deptford, though inventories show that two-room plans were also widespread before 1760. These were probably very largely centre-chimneystack layouts; excepting No. 20 Deptford Broadway, which was also well above average size, there is no evidence at all for small two-room-plan houses with party-wall stacks from prior to 1770. Everything that survives from after 1760 has at least two rooms, and this does seem to reflect a genuine shift away from one-room plans; the paired one-room-plan housing disappears from the ratebooks at about this time. The extension or rebuilding of one-room plans to provide two-room layouts was widespread, as at Nos 23 and 25 Tanners Hill, and Nos 150, 203, 205 and 227 Deptford High Street (Fig. 27). An early preference for or habit of vertical living in a small number of rooms appears to shift in the third quarter of the century in favour of more rooms and horizontal movement, though not decisively towards the fluidity of the rear staircase plan. The centre staircase layout suits smaller plots better and the persistence of the 'Moxon' plan into the 1790s indicates continuing acceptance of its particular conveniences. Without any habituation to interconnecting 'suites' of rooms there is less impulse to avoid structural separation of rooms. There was probably greater diversity of plan form in Deptford's smaller houses in the late 18th century than there was either 50 years earlier or 50 years later, reflecting other evidence that this was a time of cultural transition.

(3) Exteriors

Deptford's early timber houses were either boarded or plastered under prominent tiled roofs, generally with single-bay fronts (Figs 13 and 33). Ground-floor windows may have been large to the front, for the option of shop or other commercial use. A single-bay front combining a door and a window on the ground floor dictates perpetuation of the traditional functional elevational asymmetry of vernacular housing. By contrast Albury Street uses blind windows over doors to give greater regularity to its elevations (Fig. 34). This is exceptional not just in Deptford but in London as a whole at the beginning of the 18th century. A more typical disregard for regularity is evident in a 1700 plate from Moxon (Fig. 35) showing a substantial three-bay brick house with windows unevenly spaced within the overall rectangle of the front wall. The rebuilt two-bay front wall of No. 20 Deptford Broadway, a late-17th-century brick house, retains asymmetrically placed windows suggesting an entrance position to the west. The c.1728 upper-storey window positions in Nos 27-31 Tanners Hill are of interest in this regard (Figs 27 and 33). The windows are not centred in each house but stand on axes that probably lined through with the original ground-floor windows, placements that result in better light near the fireplaces, where people would sit.

This approach endured in brick building and a comparable effect was achieved late in the century with more glaring asymmetry in the flatter one- and two-bay fronts of Nos 64-66, 79 and 106 Deptford High Street. These asymmetrical brick fronts are broadly contemporary with but strikingly different from that of 'The Terrace' of 1791, a seven-house flat-fronted row inside the Navy's Victualling Depot at Deptford that represents the *beau idéal* of late-Georgian speculative house façade architecture - symmetry, regularity and classical proportions. The front walls of Deptford's smaller late-18th-century brick houses are strikingly various in their window/wall proportions and fenestration rhythms, reflecting



Figure 33 - Nos 27-31 Tanners Hill, c.1728, front elevation (RCHME, BB98/01657).



Figure 34 - No. 34 Albury Street, c.1710, front elevation (RCHME, BB97/1642).

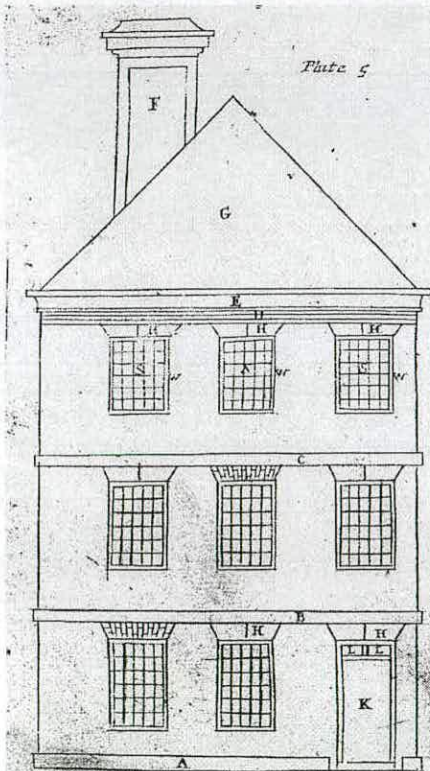


Figure 35 - House elevation from Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises: or, The Doctrine of Handy-Works Applied to the Art of Bricklayers-Works* (London, 1700).

tensions between a classically dictated search for symmetry and the constraints of size, economy and traditional functionalism. Window tax may have been a factor in these designs; the threshold for the payment of this tax was reduced to six windows in the 1780s. At Nos 33-37 Deptford High Street a blind third bay is squeezed uncomfortably tightly into the façades in an attempt to mitigate asymmetry (Fig. 36), while Nos 59, 104, 108, 116-118 have three full bays, one above the entrances. The more modest row at Nos 32-44 Deptford High Street had fronts with asymmetrically placed windows, as surviving on the upper storey of No. 32 (Fig. 37). These were presumably aligned with ground-floor windows to allow for entrances to the south in the traditional vernacular manner. If the entrances were away from the stacks to the north the asymmetry is less explicable. John Thompson's development of Nos 53-65 Deptford High Street in 1780-4 was notably symmetrical, both in having an overall 3:1:3 rhythm of differently-scaled houses, but also in the elevations of each house. No. 59 survives with a regular three-bay front, and the others appear in an early photograph as having had evenly spaced two-bay fronts.⁴⁹ At Nos 62-66 Deptford High Street of 1790-1 John Ashford was less concerned about regularity (Fig. 38). The houses were put up as a group of three with a larger unit at one end. The pair were not mirrored (there would have been no constructional benefit with centre stacks), but had single off-centre windows with north entrances. Elevational asymmetry here coincides with survival of the centre-chimneystack plan. However, if a 19th-



Figure 36 - Nos 33-37 Deptford High Street, 1784-6, front elevations (RCHME, AA98/01676).

Broadway, where it is known or suspected that in earlier guises Nos 18, 20, 43 and 47 had gable fronts, in all but the first case of brick. The prominent and steeply-pitched tiled roofs of Nos 32-44 Deptford High Street show the continuation at the end of the 18th century of traditional practice, scarcely mitigated by parapets (Figs 16 and 37); this is distinctly half-baked fashionability. Elsewhere on the later buildings 'M' roofs on three-storey 'third rate' houses mix with gambrels on two-storey 'fourth rate' houses, sometimes the other way round, with little attempt at the concealment of roofs where upper-storey living spaces remain garrets. Rooflines clash glaringly even where adjoining buildings are contemporary (Figs 17, 38 and 39). The principle of regular height in a street had been a part of the 1667 Rebuilding Act. More than a century later in Deptford it remained a foreign notion.



Figure 37 - Nos 32-44 Deptford High Street, 1775-92, front elevations from the southwest (RCHME, AA98/01663).

Classical ornament was a feature of house fronts in Deptford, in differing degrees. On Albury Street there are richly-carved doorcase consoles, including putti with marine iconography (Fig. 40). This exceptionally high-quality work has been attributed to woodcarvers working on St Paul's Church,⁵¹ but it may be more plausible to suppose a link with woodcarvers from the dockyard (Figs 3 and 4). The lavishness of late-17th-century ship ornament came to be criticized leading to more sparingly decorated ships after 1700 and, perhaps, underemployed carvers in Deptford. Albury Street was not unique. No. 17 Watergate Street had comparable putti, and elsewhere on that street there were simpler acanthus consoles.⁵² Simple classical door and eaves ornament was undoubtedly widespread in the early 18th

century drawing is to be believed No. 62 has been refronted, an asymmetrical two-bay elevation replacing a symmetrical three-bay elevation.⁵⁰

Rooflines were and remain a particularly telling indicator of architectural perceptions as regards standardization beyond the reach of the Building Acts. Early rows had simple and steeply pitched roofs, sometimes gambrelled. Where development was not in rows the gable front was a feature here and there along many of Deptford's streets, whether in timber or brick (Fig. 11). The surviving evidence for gable-fronted buildings is concentrated on Deptford



Figure 38 - Nos 62-66 Deptford High Street, 1790-1, front elevations from the northwest (RCHME, AA98/01665).



Figure 39 - Nos 203 and 205 Deptford High Street, 1775-6 and 1774-5, front elevations from the southeast (RCHME, AA98/01692).



Figure 40 - No. 27 Albury Street, c.1710 doorcase detail (NMR, P. Barkshire Collection, No. 1401, 1981).

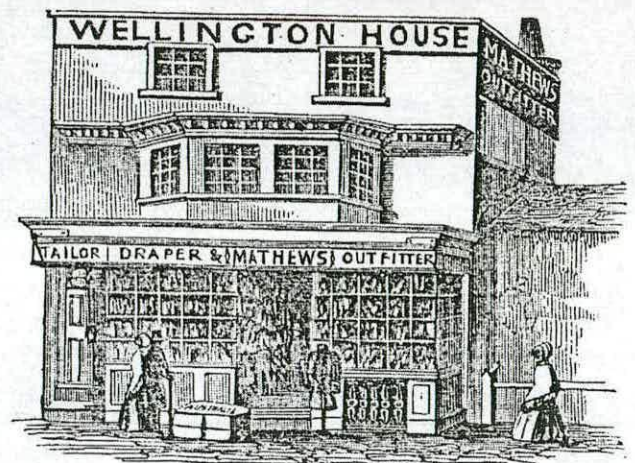


Figure 41 - No. 205 Deptford High Street in the 19th century (Lewisham Local Studies and Archives, PR71/998).

probably more widely. A modillioned eaves cornice survived at No. 210 Deptford High Street in the 1960s,⁵³ and No. 205 as rebuilt in 1774-5 had such a cornice below a parapetted attic, continuing across a canted-bay window, presumably of timber, over a projecting shopfront (Fig. 41). Simple doorcase

entury, and again the London Building Acts had little impact. Tinderbox Row appears to have had a modillioned eaves cornice and simply shaped doorcase brackets (Fig. 13). Nos 27-31 Tanners Hill retain a moulded timber box cornice at the eaves, though it has been concealed behind a skirting board (Fig. 33), a feature that early views suggest was echoed on Nos 7, 9 and 25 Tanners Hill, and

brackets and open eaves were still being used on Prince Street in 1770-2, but by the 1780s pedimented hoods over round-headed fanlight doorways and plain parapets appear to have been widespread, even on smaller houses (Figs 16 and 18). Nos 32-44 Deptford High Street may always have had a parapet cornice, though this could be an alteration. The fine delicately-bowed shopfront on No. 169 Deptford High Street is likely to be an early-19th-century alteration, though the possibility that it is an original feature of c.1780 can not be ruled out.

Of early window forms little can be said, though in timber buildings there were obviously flush-frame windows, probably leaded casements in many cases; Albury Street has flush-frame sash windows. Late-18th-century brick houses appear all to have been built with rebated sashes in reveals in the front walls, usually with finely-gauged brick flat-arched heads. In rear elevations sashes may have continued to be flush-framed in cruder segmental heads, as replacement windows still are at Nos 116-118 Deptford High Street.

(4) Interiors and Room Use

Except in Albury Street few internal spaces in Deptford's surviving early houses have not been radically altered. However, fragmentary evidence can be grouped to point to a few generalizations.

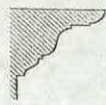
Staircases are particularly informative survivals, for their position, form and, occasionally, ornamentation. At Nos 36, 150 and 203 Deptford High Street, as well as Nos 21 and 25-31 Tanners Hill there are at least partial survivals of confined single-newel winder staircases, using as little space as possible in what are small houses. Those in one-room-plan houses may have been lit through small windows, such as survive in Nos 27 and 31 Tanners Hill. The others were evidently unlit other than by borrowed light. In No. 27 Tanners Hill there survives on the stair newel a sawn cyma-recta and cavetto

bracket, demonstrating that even in such confined and mean spaces classical ornament was deemed appropriate. In the garret of No. 203 there is a run of stick balusters with a rounded handrail.



Figure 43 - No. 20 Deptford Broadway, late-17th-century staircase detail (RCHME, BB98/03090).

Where space allowed, as at No. 227 Deptford High Street, a twin-newel stair was used, not for light but for more comfortable circulation. There are a few ornamental twin-newel staircases, though without any evidence for their having been independently lit. No. 20 Deptford Broadway has been dated to the late 17th century, in part on the strength of its robustly turned stair balusters and broad moulded handrail (Figs 42 and 43). From 1774-5 No. 205 retains a fine rear dogleg staircase with some paired columnar newel posts, column-on-vase balusters, a broad moulded handrail and a cavetto string, detailing that in higher-status housing would normally be classed as having an earlier date. The quality of this stair does not compare



MANTELPIECE
FIRST FLOOR
31 TANNERS HILL
c1728



MANTELPIECE



DOOR ARCHITRAVE
ON SECOND FLOOR



DOOR ARCHITRAVE



DOOR ARCHITRAVE
ON FIRST FLOOR
116 DEPTFORD HIGH STREET
1775-1785



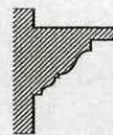
SKIRTING BOARD
FIRST FLOOR
203 DEPTFORD HIGH STREET
1775-1776



MANTELPIECE
BASEMENT
59 DEPTFORD HIGH STREET
1780-1784



CORNICE



MANTELPIECE



DADO RAIL
FIRST FLOOR
37 DEPTFORD HIGH STREET
1784-1786



DOOR ARCHITRAVE
ON FIRST FLOOR
36 DEPTFORD HIGH STREET
1789-1792



DOOR ARCHITRAVE



STAIRCASE STRING



BALUSTER
20 DEPTFORD
BROADWAY
LATE 17th CENTURY



DOOR ARCHITRAVE
CELLAR
64 DEPTFORD HIGH STREET
1790-1791



DADO RAIL
FIRST FLOOR LANDING
62 DEPTFORD HIGH STREET
1790-1791



BALUSTER
205 DEPTFORD
HIGH STREET
1774-1775



Moulding profiles from early Deptford houses

Figure 42

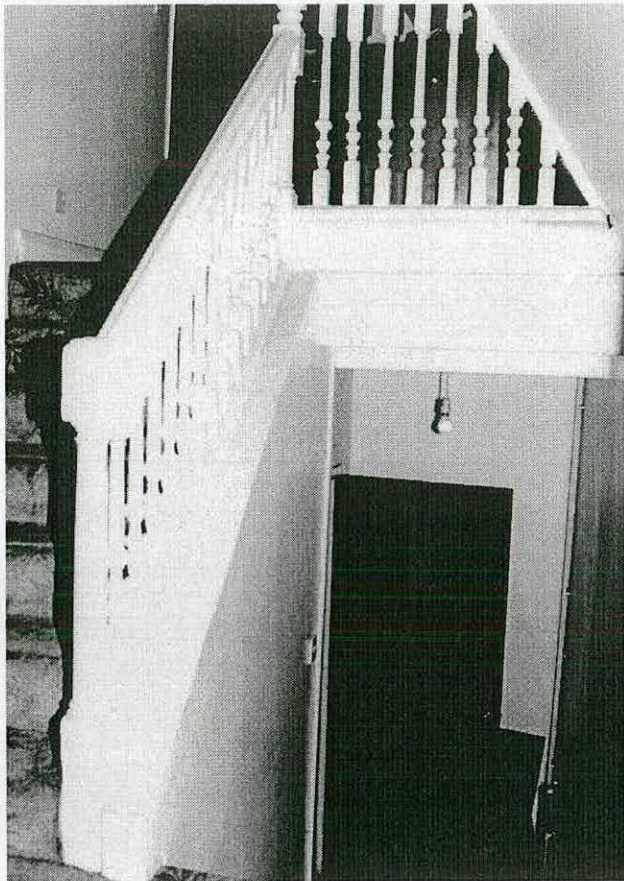


Figure 44 - No. 205 Deptford High Street, 1774-5, staircase detail (RCHME, 283/X/0).



Figure 45 - Albury Street, c.1710, staircase detail (RCHME, BB97/1483).

unfavourably with that of the surviving staircases along Albury Street (Figs 44 and 45). More humbly Nos 62 and 106 Deptford High Street have twin-newel stairs with turned newel posts, simply shaped handrails, stick balusters and, in No. 106, a cavetto-moulded closed string.

Plain panelling is widespread, with surviving sections recorded at Nos 37, 62, 106, 116, 150, 203, 205, and 227 Deptford High Street and Nos 27 and 31 Tanners Hill, sometimes lining walls, more often as partitions between rooms or defining a staircase compartment. A plank-and-muntin partition between the staircase and the back room on the upper storey of No. 106 Deptford High Street is a surprising feature in a terrace house of 1776-7. Mouldings are entirely absent from this panelling. Nos 37 and 227 have simply moulded dados and cornices in their first-floor front room, possibly secondary and not in conjunction with panelling (Fig. 42). Even the relatively large house at No. 116 had no more than a dado moulding to its first-floor front room; the upper storey dado was plain. There are earlier records of more ornamental interiors in some small houses. From c.1700 No. 71 Watergate Street, a two-room centre-chimneystack plan house, had a dentilled cornice and carved window architraves in its ground-floor back room, and No. 62 The Stowage, a one-room plan house, had raised-fielded panelling and a bolection-moulded fireplace surround.⁵⁴ From the late 18th century Nos 12 and 16 Crossfield Street had moulded cornices and dados and deep projecting cyma mantel shelves in a 'Moxon' plan house.⁵⁵ Fitted cupboards flanking chimney breasts have been recorded, at least in part, at Nos 62-66, 203 and 227, No. 31 Tanners Hill and No. 20 Deptford Broadway. They were probably present virtually everywhere else. Plank doors survive in the garret of No. 27 Tanners Hill and in the cellar of No. 205 Deptford High Street, the latter with cyma

mouldings.

Moulded fireplace mantel shelves survive in several houses. No. 31 Tanners Hill of c.1728 has a cyma-recta moulding over a cyma reversa. The same profile is seen at Nos 36, 203 and 227 Deptford High Street, all of 1775-92, and No. 59 of 1780-4 has a cyma recta over a box moulding (Fig. 42). This is remarkable evidence of continuity and conservatism. Given the relative plainness of finish otherwise evident in these houses it is as if above the fireplace was where a particularly bold flourish was expected. Late-18th-century skirting and architrave mouldings that survive in Nos 62, 116 and 203 Deptford High Street have flatter mouldings that seem rather more in keeping with standard typologies for late-18th-century London. Clearly moulding details are in themselves unreliable as dating evidence. The range of mouldings used in Deptford through the 18th century is limited to variants on the cyma, cavetto and ovolo vocabulary that Moxon had described and illustrated.⁵⁶ Mouldings such as beads and quirks that are presented in later-18th-century handbooks are largely absent.⁵⁷

William Baker and John Timms, the two literate Deptford house carpenters who died in the 1730s for whom inventories have been noted, both included 'cornish planes' among their possessions.⁵⁸ To judge from the c.1728 mouldings at Nos 27-31 Tanners Hill such tools were used to produce bang up-to-date and fashionable finish. However, the same building retains a cyma-stop chamfered timber fireplace bressumer in exposed brick, conventionally regarded as rural vernacular detailing, on the ground floor at No. 27; a comparable bressumer survives on the first floor of No. 23. The more public ground-floor rooms were apparently given a rough treatment with the gentility of classicism absent. The more private spaces above were more delicately treated. Still, the coincidence in these same first-floor rooms of

'classical' fireplaces and exposed structural timbers speaks of a disjunction between classical ornament and form, not misapprehension of the classical vocabulary so much as selective acquisition. The manner in which classicism was incorporated into the local vernacular, as a collection of optional parts, is underpinned by the way it was presented by Moxon, tools for the trade rather than an architectural system.

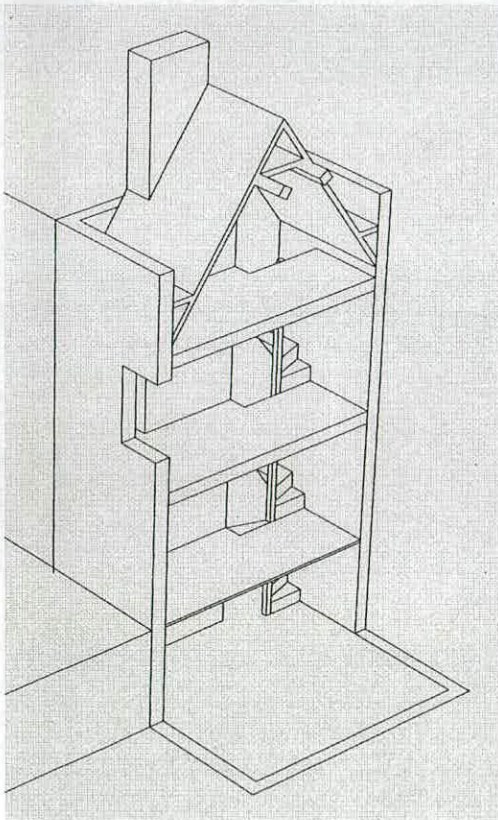


Figure 46 - No. 150 Deptford High Street, c.1680, sketch axonometric reconstruction.

We may find three- or four-room one-room-plan houses such as those surviving at No. 150 Deptford High Street and Nos 27-31 Tanners Hill impossibly small and confined, but in their day they would have been comfortable and respectable, if not generously spacious homes (Fig. 46). Our notions of historic domestic space are distorted by the disproportionate survival of high-quality buildings from every previous century including the 19th century. One not entirely relevant comparison, though one that would have had resonance in Deptford, is shipboard life, a common alternative existence which was highly communal and which afforded no private space for any but the highest ranking. The vertical differentiation of space that would have characterized life in a one-room plan house was also a characteristic of ships. Taking into account the endurance of housing forms such as the one-room plan and the centre-chimneystack in Deptford to later dates than encountered elsewhere it might be noted in passing that shipbuilding was carried out from the 16th- to the 18th century with hardly any

major changes in basic structural form. Ships got bigger, and proportionally lighter, but the shape and constituent parts of a ship at the end of the 18th century were little different from what they had been at the beginning of the 17th century, while surface ornament and fitting out had altered with fashion. This may be a spurious link, but it is obvious that firm separation of spaces was an essential quality of Deptford's urban vernacular housing. A sense of flow between interlinked spaces gained from the entrance hall or upper-storey landing in a rear-staircase house is replaced by one of either/or finality from the equivalent spaces in a centre-stair house. The one-room plan and centre-stack and centre-stair two-room plans provided accommodation that would have been well suited to multiple occupation and the letting out of rooms. The vertical house was built in circumstances where other options were possible. It was not a product of high-cost land or population density. It was built on deep plots, sometimes set back from the road, and sometimes given cellars, even when there was room to put service spaces elsewhere. In terms of graphing access all these houses were very linear, with few if any circulation options that did not involve use of the staircase or a landing.⁵⁹

There is very little firm evidence within the surviving buildings for particular room uses. The manner in which Deptford's houses were used is best illustrated through the inventories (Table 3). Those inventories exhibited at the Pregorative Court of Canterbury suggest that Deptford's population was cosmopolitan, well travelled, maritime and literate. The Rochester inventories provide a somewhat humbler corrective. Still the descriptions of even smaller houses do indicate respectability and comfort - good fabric, prints on walls, Delftware, clocks and birdcages were widespread. The presence of books correlates closely with skilled trades, mostly maritime in nature. House size was not necessarily an indicator of the value of possessions. Three-storey two-room-plan houses accommodated both Sarah Piper, a glass and china dealer, whose household goods (excluding stock in the shop) were valued at £215 in 1745, and Richard Cooper, a dockyard labourer, whose goods were worth £4 in 1687.⁶⁰ The quality of Deptford's small one-room-plan houses as reflected in the inventories is exemplified by the 1728 estate of Joseph Herring.⁶¹ Joseph and Sarah Herring occupied a house consisting of a chamber and lower room. He had died aboard a merchant ship, and was owed wages by the East India Company. The downstairs room held the household cooking utensils, 'old' chairs, two oval tables, and a '20-inch' looking glass. The constellation of objects reflects a space that conflated kitchen, common room, and dining room. Their chamber contained beds, a walnut chest of drawers, trunks and chests as well as four old chairs. What set the chamber apart, though, was the teaboard and family teaware along with prints on the walls, a model of a ship, and an 'India' cabinet. Taken together these objects map a space of genteel discourse where the rituals of sociability tapped into the material culture of conversation. Upstairs, the Herrings' house combined parlour and chamber in a pattern that was understood in urban domestic settings on both sides of the north Atlantic. The Herrings furnished their house (whatever its architectural qualities) in a manner that signalled both their economic limitations and their aspirations. The presence of a teaboard and its accoutrements signalled the possession of social knowledge; the fact that the Herrings had neither the full array of tea objects nor the space in which to display them to full advantage communicated an environment where high and low cultures intersected.

Shop use is a verifiable part of the original design of surviving houses only in the 1774-5 and 1791-2 buildings at Nos 205 and 227 Deptford High Street where, in interestingly different ways, ground-floor and cellar spaces are arranged so as to separate commercial and domestic uses. This is simply done at No. 205 by devoting the forward spaces to the shop with a store below, the rear spaces belonging to the house with a cellar kitchen that did not communicate with the store; vertical circulation to front and back that has the 'grammar' of a pair of one-room-plan houses. More awkwardly, the store for the bakery at No. 227 was to the rear in the cellar, behind the kitchen. Other evidence indicates that shop use was not widespread in Butt Lane before the 19th century, though it must be borne in mind that many marginal

commercial activities in the 18th century will have left no traces either physical or documentary. The inventories show that there was no standard name or agreed purpose for the ground-floor front room when it was not a shop. In one-room plan houses it might have served any or all domestic purposes. In somewhat larger houses the best room could be anywhere on the ground or first floor, a standard Georgian ambiguity. As to chambers in two-room plan houses, that to the front on the first floor was usually the best. Garret chambers, as at Nos 21 and 25 Tanners Hill and No. 36 Deptford High Street, might have been unheated.

Cellarage was as frequently absent as it was present before 1770 (Table 3). Among the more humble survivors there is none in the houses along Tanners Hill, and at No. 203 Deptford High Street and No. 47 Deptford Broadway, but it does exist at Nos 32-44 and 150 Deptford High Street (Fig. 25), though in neither of the latter instances is there evidence for any original use other than storage. The most common location for the kitchen in smaller houses was probably the back (or only) room on the ground floor (Table 3). The loss of ground-floor interiors to

later commercial use makes this all but impossible to corroborate, though the fireplace in No. 27 Tanners Hill may be exceptionally important as a lone reminder of what may have been a standard kitchen feature. To some degree these households may have been dependent on outside cooking, that is cookshops. In the Albury Street houses and the more substantial late-18th-century houses along Butt Lane cellar kitchens seem to have been general, whether to the front as at Nos 33-37, 59 and 227, or to the rear, as at Nos 64-66 and 205 Deptford High Street. Some substantial fireplaces, shelving and other fittings survive as reminders of these spaces (Fig. 47). These are houses where there would probably have been at least one servant. If you have to do your own cooking then a remote or un-lived in kitchen is inconvenient -something recently rediscovered by the servant-less middle classes.

(5) Scale and Streetscape

What sets Deptford's 18th-century buildings apart from contemporary survivors in London is, above all else, their scale and irregularity. They are in general terms small, but they are also in themselves highly various. Deptford's early-18th-century streetscape was relatively regular, seldom rising above two storeys with garrets (see Table 3). It was dominated by timber rows, the houses generally occupying about 15ft (4.5m) square. The 1475 drawing (Fig. 22) represents a housing form that basically endured, though with the addition of a full upper storey, for another three centuries.

The newly developed Butt Lane area, 'outer' Deptford, was more open than the older parts near the river and on the Broadway, providing in general better and bigger housing. Its more civilized qualities are

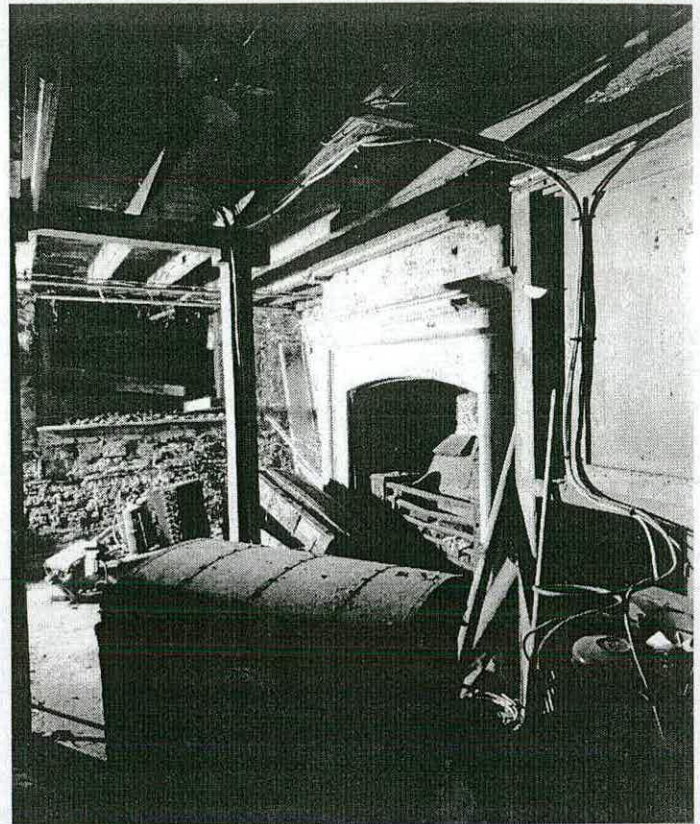


Figure 47 - No. 227 Deptford High Street, 1791-2, former kitchen in front cellar room (RCHME, BB98/02921).



Figure 48 - Albury Street, 1705 onwards, a general view from the west in 1998 (RCHME, BB98/26075).

shown in the fact that the fronts of most of the houses on the west side of Butt Lane to the north were set back from the road (Figs 9 and 13), though some of this space was soon built over. In 1726 about half of Butt Lane's occupants lived in row houses;⁶² here and on Crossfield Street there was regularity. Even so Butt Lane was far from uniform. There was less regular development at the top and bottom ends where it met earlier settlement. Brick was as widespread as timber, and rows intermingled with single houses of varying heights and rooflines.

The urbanity and considered regularity of Albury Street was thus always exceptional in Deptford (Figs 34 and 48). The component parts of the houses, like the ornamental putti, were not unique, but the street as a whole was. This is in large measure of course a reflection of the atypical coherence of Lucas's development, but it is also the product of an intentional concern for streetscape, architectural rhythm and an appearance of unity that must have been linked to a desire to inspire confidence in respectability. His leases to other builders stipulated conformity of fronts and heights,

though not of internal layouts.⁶³ In a pre-Palladian Revival context it is not at all clear that uniformity in the urban terrace was a fashionable desideratum. Indeed Albury Street is exceptional in London for its date.

The surviving Tanners Hill row (Fig. 23) should not be contrasted with Albury Street and read as 'village green' architecture, seductive though it is to look at it now as representing a survival from a more bucolic age in the midst of urban morass. It is in fact the last survivor from what was a common, enduring and essentially urban form of housing. No. 150 Deptford High Street also survives to represent this scale, though in isolation (see frontispiece). The rows of tied cottages that started to form a part of England's rural landscape in the mid 17th century might more appropriately be read as urbanization.

The changing nature of Deptford's domestic architecture in the late 18th century brought greater heterogeneity to its streetscape (Figs 12 and 19). The view of Crossfield Street showing the late-18th-century three-storey brick buildings alongside the earlier two-storeyed timber house at No. 8 illustrates this well. The houses built in Deptford in 1770-92 were certainly bigger on the whole than their predecessors, but they are greatly varied. In some respects they perpetuate earlier practice, but in other respects they introduce new approaches. They reflect a transition that saw the partial assimilation of external 'standardising' developments without the abandonment of existing habits of building.

There was, of course, greater uniformity in larger developments, as on Giffin Street or Prince Street in the 1770s (Fig. 16), but this does not apply to the houses that went up on the Evelyn Estate in the following decade (Figs 17 and 18). The bittiness of late-18th-century Butt Lane is partly a reflection of infilling, but not entirely. Pleasant Place was built together along a substantial open frontage, yet it was

in itself full of variety. Slade's Place was, significantly, set back behind 'suburban' front gardens, and it was so uniform as to approach classification as a terrace rather than a row, but even here elevational variety and asymmetry were not eradicated. That buildings as varied in form but comparable in scale as Nos 33-37 and Nos 32-44 Deptford High Street should be being built at about the same time opposite one another reflects a wider architectural irresolution or disjunction that peaked around 1780. The 'urban vernacular' cottage and the post-Barbon standardized terrace house had been respectively inflated and deflated to meet at this point as objectively almost equivalent though subjectively far from interchangeable options. This is where the 'vernacular' and the 'polite' merge. The more 'vernacular' and irregular, though not necessarily smaller, houses at Nos 32-44, 62-6, 167-9, 203, 205 and 227 Deptford High Street were largely occupied by artisans and shopkeepers. The early occupants of the more regular, symmetrical houses in Slade's Place, Pleasant Place and Nos 33-37 and 53-61 Deptford High Street were more bourgeois or middle-class people, sometimes as with Gilbert Ferguson or Thomas Jones, from artisanal origins. The character of Butt Lane was changing. The appearance of very small one-room plan houses in court-like side streets in the 1790s represents another side of this change in Deptford society, that is proletarianization.

More than in any other provincial town an awareness of London building practice has to be assumed in Deptford. The town's early-18th-century architectural base can be characterized as a homogenous merging of a Thames Estuary town vernacular idiom with a London urban vernacular idiom, surviving examples of both of which are scarce (see below). Central and fashionable London's ways were known but not wholeheartedly adopted. Classicism was readily assimilated, but as a kit of parts rather than as an architectural system. The application of ornament keeps up with higher-status developments, but form is not so influenced. Certain interior spaces are affected, others less so. The architectural sensibilities manifest in Albury Street were not a freak outbreak. Given what one knows was being built in the dockyard, a milieu from which a Grinling Gibbons could emerge, the possibility that a large proportion of the inhabitants of Deptford could see and 'read' not only the architectural differences between Albury Street and Tanners Hill, but also the distinctions between the simple and austere classicism of St Nicholas and the more ebullient Baroque of St Paul, should not be dismissed. If much of Deptford's housing was less thoroughly 'up-to-date' than Albury Street this is only partly to do with money. Conscious architectural choices were made. The appearance of conservatism in house design in a socially progressive industrialized community makes perfect sense; an adoption of advanced or independent social ideas co-exists comfortably with the rejection of externally-derived fashion, because the adoption of such fashion is conformity. Dissenters would not aspire to fashionable forms of living that arose from the milieu against which their dissent was couched. The rising tide of fashionable architectural form towards the end of the 18th century is different from the earlier highly selective assimilation of surface decoration. It accompanies the commodification of housing through large-scale speculative projects and reflects a breakdown of the artisanal world for which conventional form would have been a bulwark of identity. The origins of the design anarchy that has survived as a defining quality of Deptford High Street lie in the social transformations of the late 18th century.

SECTION 2: NOTES

1. Ward, *A Frolick to Horn-Fair, etc*, 1700, p. 14.
2. J. H. Harvey, 'Four Fifteenth-Century London Plans', *London Topographical Record*, xx, 1952, pp. 1-8; P. E. Jones, 'Four Fifteenth-Century London Plans', *London Topographical Record*, xxiii, 1972, pp. 35-41.
3. BL, King's MS 43, 'Survey of the Harbours and Dockyards of England', 1698, f. 86.
4. LLSA, photograph 71/4156.
5. National Maritime Museum, Sailmaker painting, a c.1700 view of the former East India Company yard.
6. C. C. Knowles & P. H. Pitt, *The History of Building Regulation in London: 1189-1972* (London, 1972), pp. 44-54.
7. The refronting of timber buildings in brick continued into the 20th century. No. 8 Crossfield Street appears as a framed and boarded building in a photograph of 1910 (Fig. 19); a 1958 view shows it as brick.[LMA photograph 58/0005.]
8. Information kindly provided by Steve Jones, the identification having been made by Jo Darrah, formerly of the Victoria & Albert Museum. A dendrochronological analysis of the house is forthcoming, but its findings were unavailable at the time of this report.
9. Dendrochronological analysis of this building is also forthcoming.
10. Information kindly provided by Steve Jones.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Steele, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
13. Philpotts, *loc. cit.*, p. 41.
14. J. Proctor, K. Sabel & F. M. Meddens, 'Post Medieval Brick Clamps at New Cross in London', *Pre-Construct Archaeology* *t/s*, 1997.
15. Quiney, *loc. cit.*, p. 270.
16. It is curious that this row has cellars. An additional back room at ground level on what were deep plots would have been much easier to build. Perhaps the excavations provided brickearth.
17. A. Cox, 'A Vital Component: Stock Bricks in Georgian London', *Construction History* xiii, 1997, pp. 57-66.
18. Yellow/brown stock brick was used in non-show walling at Trinity Almshouses c.1700.[Information kindly provided by Kevin Walldridge, *Pre-Construct Archaeology*, at excavation of Trinity Almshouses, Deptford, Dec. 1997.]
19. NMR, GLC Drawings Collection 96/5250.

20. LMA photograph 1890/0002.
21. J. Coulter, *Britain in Old Photographs: Lewisham and Deptford - A Third Selection* (Worcester, 1997), p. 32.
22. LLSA, F. Neale, *loc. cit.*
23. LLSA, RB; GLHL, St Nicholas, Deptford, RB.
24. P. E. Jones, *loc. cit.*
25. The front property at No. 148 is difficult to interpret. It may be another pair of one-room plan houses, but there are no staircases. If it is a two-room property the front and back rooms appear not to communicate. Perhaps it was not a house at all.
26. Corporation of London Record Office, *City Lands and Bridge House Properties*, 2 vols, c.1680-c.1720; (ed.) J. Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, London Topographical Society Publication No. 135 (London, 1987), *passim*.
27. LMA, 0/267/1, 'A Map of an Estate belonging to Fredk Evelyn Esq. in Deptford', J. Dugleby, 1777.
28. F. Kelsall, 'The London House Plan in the Later 17th Century', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, viii, 1974, pp. 80-91.
29. Jones, *loc. cit.*; NMR, Survey of London, Goad Insurance Plans, H/5, 1924.
30. J. Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises: or, The Doctrine of Handy-Works. Applied to the Art of House-Carpentry* (London, 1694), p. 147.
31. NMR, GLC Drawings Collection 96/01845; LMA photograph F2309; Rocque, *loc. cit.*
32. NMR, GLC Drawings Collection HB/2060; LMA photographs 73/0956-71; *Architect's Journal*, 21 March 1973, p. 657.
33. NMR, GLC Drawings Collection HB/577/1; LMA photograph F2709.
34. NMR, GLC Drawings Collection 96/7001; Survey of London notes.
35. LMA, B/SGR/9; LMA photograph F1448; Ordnance Survey 1869.
36. LLSA, F. Ashford, *loc. cit.*; RB.
37. NMR, GLC Drawings Collection HB/716/1; LMA photographs 71/31/508/28, 55/8/HB/46F/1443, 81/13641, F2707-8, F6134.
38. Kelsall, *loc. cit.*
39. NMR, GLC Drawings Collection 96/8284.
40. W. Leybourn, *Platform for Purchasers* (London, 1668).
41. W. Halfpenny, *The Modern Builder's Assistant* (London, 1742 and 1757), plate 46.

42. E. McKellar, *The birth of modern London: The development and design of the city, 1660-1720* (Manchester, 1999) forthcoming.
43. D. Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain and Ireland* (London, 1985), p. 45.
44. NMR, report on the Master Shipwright's House, etc., 1996, Buildings Index No. 95225.
45. Cruickshank, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
46. LMA photographs HP 67596-601.
47. NMR, GLC Drawings Collection 96/1537, 2177; Survey of London notes.
48. CKS, DRA/Pi 23/13 & 17; DRB/Pi 1/10A, 2/28 & 33, 3/44A, 46A, 68 & 84, 4/4, 51, 109 & 144, 5/71, 6/18, 8/8, 11/1 & 14, 17/27, 21/30, 24/26 & 44, 25/4, 53/1A, 57/9A: PRO, PROB 3/18/84, 97 & 255, 20/203, 22/53 & 66, 23/24, 24/152, 25/51 & 138, 27/175, 28/167, 29/ 162 & 177, 29/215, 30/95, 31/162, 32/126, 35/83, 38/120, 39/12 & 61, 40/95, 41/11, 42/93, 47/36 & 50, 51/33, 55/3, 56/20 & 33.
49. LLSA, photograph PH84/12,220.
50. LLSA, F. Ashford, *loc. cit.*
51. D. Cruickshank and P. Wyld, *London: The Art of Georgian Building* (London, 1975), p. 202.
52. NMR, 1911 photograph; LMA photograph 3277C.
53. NMR, photographs by K. Gravett, 1962.
54. NMR, GLC Drawings Collection, 96/5250 and 7001.
55. English Heritage, London Region photograph files, GLC 73/0961, 0970.
56. J. Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises: or, The Doctrine of Handy-Works. Applied to the Art of Bricklayers-Work* (London, 1700), *passim*.
57. W. Pain, *Carpenter's and Joiner's Repository* (London, 1778); Cruickshank and Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-179.
58. PRO, PROB 3/32/126 & 35/83.
59. F. Brown, 'Continuity and Change in the Urban House: Developments in Domestic space Organisation in Seventeenth-Century London', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, xxviii/4, Oct. 1986, pp. 558-590.]
60. CKS, DRA/Pi23/17; DRB/Pi1/10A.
61. PRO, PROB 3/27/175.
62. LLSA, PT86/527/93.
63. Quiney, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Cruickshank and Wyld, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 and 47.

SECTION 3: A LONDON CONTEXT

*'by their diversity of frontings [London's buildings] do declare a freedome of our subjects, that what they acquire by industry may be bestowed at pleasure; not obliged to build so for the will of princes: whereas the citizens of Paris are so forced to uniformity.'*¹

*'Vulgar Workmen, who for want of some more solid Directions, Faithful and easy Rules in this Nature, fill as well whole Cities as Private Dwellings with Rubbish and a thousand Infirmities.'*²

It is a common misapprehension that after the Great Fire of 1666 and through the 18th century London grew by the proliferation of standardized brick speculatively-built terraced houses. The regular Palladian proportions of streets and squares in Mayfair and Bloomsbury are dominant images of the Augustan age, as if standing for all London. This dominance rests on an assumption of centrifugal force that brings districts away from central London into the reckoning only when and in so far as they manifested this uniformity. The City and the West End are understood as the sites of successive Big Bangs that swept all before. In the context of domestic urban architecture the term 'Georgian' is invariably associated only with a particular type of upper-middle-class housing.

This obviously simplistic story is in part a result of the disproportionate survival of better quality housing. It also has roots in the authority and clarity of Sir John Summerson's *Georgian London*, of which it is a bowdlerization. Summerson never set out to represent other than a part of a bigger picture; lower-status buildings, which he would not have ennobled with the term architecture, were simply ignored. More recent writers have acknowledged the absence of uniformity, particularly in the early Georgian period, while tending to retain its attainment as a litmus test for serious evaluation. Elizabeth McKellar has advanced a powerful alternative view of London's post-1666 domestic architecture, suggesting a much more complex interplay of the traditional or 'vernacular' with the innovative or 'classical' in the rise of standardized speculative building.³ However, the degree to which an unstandardized urban vernacular building tradition may have endured away from the centre of 18th-century London has not been addressed. The paucity of both surviving fabric and visual documentation relating to the period's lower-status housing vexes attempts to understand this more complex 'Georgian London'. Deptford tells a story that relates closely to London as a whole, reflecting undercurrents of a metropolitan nature, and thus informing consideration of what London itself was like in the 18th century. It can not be understood as London, but it certainly needs to be understood in relation to London.

London was Europe's biggest city in the early 18th century when about 40% of its population lived in Southwark and then recently developed eastern suburbs on both sides of the Thames.⁴ Rich and poor had intermingled without separate neighbourhoods or ghettoization through the 17th century. However, the influential position of Westminster and the sanitizing effects of the prevailing winds did make the western suburbs more desirable. In general outer areas remained less desirable than inner areas. The suburbs to the south, east and, to a lesser degree, north were generally populated by three of the lowest of Defoe's seven social classes - the hard working, the poor and the miserable. People in these suburban parishes lived in houses that were smaller than those of the central and western suburban parishes. In the 1660s every northern, eastern and southern suburban parish had housing with a mean size of fewer than four hearths, while every western suburban parish had a mean size of more than four.⁵ Such a clear divide in terms of house size implies that domestic architecture in these different parts of London will have differed.

However, very little 18th-century housing has survived in these poorer suburbs, for self-evident reasons. In architectural histories of Georgian London lower-status housing has therefore generally been overlooked. The surviving buildings of Deptford are exceptional, in large measure because they provide some insight into the range of housing options that was available in this other half of Georgian London. Put simply Nos 27-31 Tanners Hill illustrate what 1720s urban houses with three hearths were like.

(1) Central Areas

Legislation, the rise of large-scale speculative house building, development controlled by large estates and the fashionability of classicism (through a 'Palladian' prism) were leading factors that generated uniformity in central London housing from 1667 onwards. This is well-trodden ground that does not need rehearsing here. The London Building Acts, principally those passed in 1667, 1707, 1709 and 1774, certainly did increasingly effectively impose regularity on City, then West End, then near-suburban developments. The exigencies of capitalism also tended to ensure that the larger the scale of a building project the greater its coherence, if only for the sake of financial clarity. Standard housing, in so far as the term is operative, has been taken to be flat-fronted brick terraces with two-room, rear-staircase, party-wall chimneystack plans. Though variously interpreted and gradual in the growth of its pervasiveness it is unarguably true that by the end of the Georgian period this housing type was widespread throughout London. However, a great deal else was built. The Acts were frequently unenforced, particularly in respect of smaller houses, and all the while small-scale development continued in the interstices of bigger endeavours.⁶ Victorian views of the City and environs, such as those by Thomas Shepherd, show streetscapes of great irregularity, from Aldgate to Holborn.⁷

The 18th-century one-room plan house was the continuation of a long urban tradition the origins of which are another subject. It is of interest, however, to note that large-scale speculative building on the fringe of the City *c.* 1600 included rows of substantial one-room plan houses that on the one hand grew out of medieval practice, and on the other hand informed post-Fire redevelopment. This has recently been illustrated through an analysis of the St Bartholomew's Fair development of the Long Lane/Smithfield area in 1597-1616 where such houses were built for artisans and shopkeepers. These houses were mainly tall, three storeys with garrets and cellars, and for the most part spacious, about 20ft (6m) deep on plan. Some were timber-framed with jettied upper storeys, others were brick built.⁸ Row housing as such is clearly not a post-medieval invention, nor does it necessarily relate to 'classical' architectural approaches. Deptford's pre-1750 rows had more in common with this earlier tradition than they did with anything Nicholas Barbon had done.

One-room plan houses, singly or in rows, 'front/back' pairs, or arrayed along or around courts were widespread in the City before the Fire.⁹ They were also built in the City after the Fire. A row of six brick houses of *c.* 1670, each about 15ft (4.5m) square with their stairs behind stacks, stood on Black Raven Alley,¹⁰ and Nos. 19 and 20 Cock Lane were a pair dated *c.* 1670, each 16ft (4.8m) square, with stairs away from the stacks.¹¹ Such houses probably continued to be built around the City's peripheries into the 18th century, though this can not be said with certainty. That they remained extant in central areas among highly-varied humbler housing is evident in property surveys. These depict multiple examples with variations in stair and chimneystack placement, though they were not necessarily built in the 18th century, particularly in areas that were not affected by the Fire. The premises devised to Thomas Wilmot in Great Sword Bearer's Alley consisted of two one-room dwellings equally sharing a 33ft (10m) street front and having roughly 55ft (16m) deep gardens with privies located at the very back of the lot. The two houses each contained a chimney and winder stair in the gable ends away from the party wall that divided the two residences. A development in Dolphin Court produced houses of like plan, but here each

of the roughly 14 by 21 ft (4.1m by 6.3m) buildings placed the stair and stack against the rear wall opposite the entry. Finally, Thomas Reeves's house in George Yard similarly superintended a single room, but here the builders inserted a lobby entry with a stair that occupied nearly a quarter of the ground-floor area. However, these buildings survive only on paper.¹²

The centre-chimneystack two-room plan also has early origins in London. The 'Moxon' type and variations thereon were being built before and during the 17th century, as for example on Borough High Street in Southwark c.1585.¹³ Its rural cousin or progenitor, the lobby-entry plan, flowered in the 17th century; the success of the lobby-entry plan in a rural context has been interpreted as part of much wider social change, reflecting a process of 'closure' in relation to medieval 'open' housing, defined as 'the material form in which changing attitudes towards the self, the family and household, and the wider social and natural world were played out'.¹⁴ Again the centre-chimneystack plan still existed widely in the City in the early 18th century,¹⁵ some examples possibly having been built post 1700. The plan type was recorded on Great Shire Lane in 1735 in a group of three 15ft-front houses, and on Little Bertham Street in 1752.¹⁶ However, there are no known examples of the 'Moxon' plan type in either the City or Westminster the building of which can be confidently dated to the 18th century.

The centre-staircase party-wall chimneystack two-room plan was also widespread in 17th-century London. This plan may have been used at Covent Garden in the 1630s and it has been shown that in the period 1660-1680 the layout was particularly fashionable in bigger houses.¹⁷ It has been seen as having fallen out of favour thereafter, as the rear-staircase plan gained in popularity. It is open to question, though, as to whether the centre-stair plan type ever did become unfashionable in higher-status Georgian housing. It was used at No. 45 Upper Grosvenor Street in 1727 and at No. 38 Upper Brook Street in 1736.¹⁸ It was published by William Halfpenny in 1747 (see above) and was used widely in the later 18th century, as at the Adelphi or in Queen Anne's Gate. However, these houses were all wide enough to allow passages between the front and back rooms, opening up the circulation to create a very different kind of house to that provided by the centre-stair plan in a narrow frontage. The type does seem to have continued to be built at less fashionable or lower-status levels in central areas into and through the 18th century. Recorded examples from the City often had shops or other commercial premises, sometimes in rows.¹⁹ There was a terrace of eight centre-stair plan houses with shops on Cheapside, drawn in 1766-8, and a terrace of seven apparently late-18th-century houses with shops in Fleet Lane, drawn in 1792, also had this layout.²⁰

(2) Outer Areas: General

London's eastern and southern suburbs had already seen substantial growth before the Fire, particularly near the River Thames. This growth continued, principally dependent on manufacturing and port activities, in part encouraged by statute - after 1666 woodworking industries were moved out of the City. Between 1670 and 1730 six new parishes were formed within what is now Tower Hamlets. Spitalfields, Whitechapel, Mile End New Town, Wapping, Shadwell, Ratcliff and Limehouse had become densely built up; Stepney, Mile End Old Town, Bethnal Green and Poplar remained outlying settlements linked by stray ribbon development. South of the river Southwark was a substantial centre that had been extensively rebuilt in and around Borough High Street after its own fire in 1676. Bermondsey was solidly built up and continuous with Southwark by 1700, and riverside development linked it to Rotherhithe which was growing inland by the 1750s. To the southwest Westminster beyond the Abbey, that is around Tothill Fields, was a densely populated suburb while across the river Lambeth remained much more sparsely developed. To the north at mid century Clerkenwell was much built over, Shoreditch and Hoxton were marginal, and Hackney and Islington were outlying suburban villages.²¹ It was in the later



Figure 49 - Wellclose Square, Whitechapel, in 1913, 18th-century timber house, demolished (NMR, BB74/806).

Georgian period that Bow, Stepney, Peckham, Camberwell, Kennington, Clapham, Hackney and Clapton were developed as respectable residential suburbs.

Numerous published early drawings, paintings and photographs offer glimpses and impressions of the housing of these 17th- and early-18th-century suburbs. They show a huge variety of humble timber and brick structures, for the most part, though not always, small in scale. Wellclose Square, between Whitechapel and Wapping, had good-sized early-Georgian timber houses with classical forms and details (Fig. 49). However, there is little more readily accessible information, particularly relating to interiors and plans. The 17th-century housing developments of the East London suburbs of Wapping, Shadwell, and Ratcliff have been characterized through extrapolation from documents as having been largely timber built along regular streets, sometimes in rows, but various in their external appearances and internal layouts, with an average of four rooms to a house, and fewer hearths.²² The RCHM inventory of East London in the 1920s provides a thin spread of specific information relating to what was then generally taken to be 17th-century housing.²³ Without further primary research it can not be ruled out that

many buildings that have been taken to be 17th century might in fact have been put up later, perhaps, given the Deptford evidence, up to the late 18th century.

Late-17th- and early-18th-century development in Spitalfields and Mile End New Town and the higher-quality buildings that survived into the 1950s have been well documented by the Survey of London.²⁴ There has been much valuable research into particular Spitalfields buildings since and, in relative terms, much does still stand there, though proximity to the City meant that much higher-status brick-built merchant housing was built and it is essentially this that has survived. We also know as much as we are ever likely to know about the peripheral and piecemeal 17th- and 18th-century development of Poplar, where carpenters and ships' carpenters among



Figure 50 - Poplar High Street in 1877, 17th- and 18th-century streetscape, all demolished (Museum in Docklands, PLA Collection watercolour).

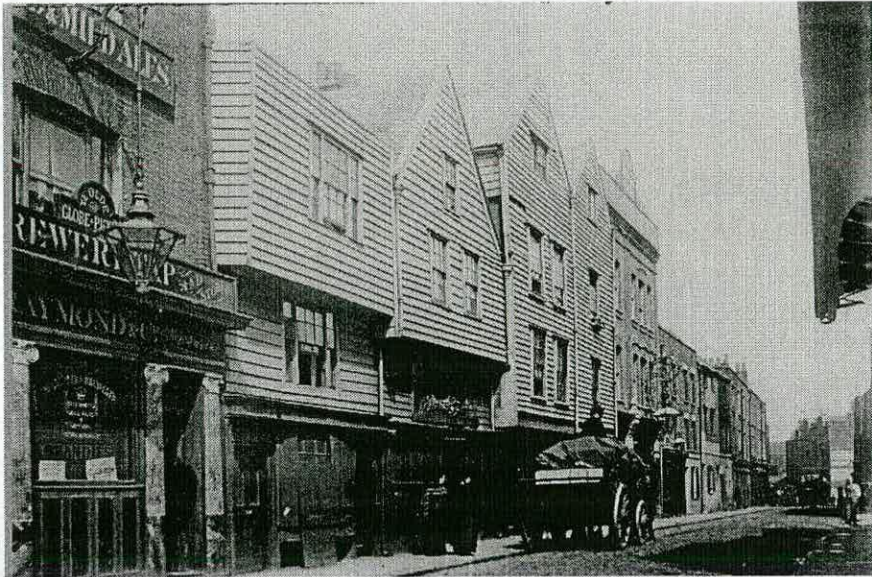


Figure 51 - *The Highway, Shadwell, c.1887, 17th-century timber houses, demolished (NMR, BB73/221).*

and 1640s a large riverside area was rapidly laid out and built up with about 700 buildings to house about 3500 people. Development was initially small-scale, two or three houses at a time; later there were more concerted speculative ventures. More than half of the houses were one room in plan, generally with 12-15ft frontages. Most of the total number had two storeys with garrets; only 5% had a full third storey and cellars were unusual. More than 90% of the housing was timber built. The community was very homogenous in status with a small elite, over 70% of the population owing its livelihood to the river, whether as mariners, watermen, or in shipbuilding. The overwhelmingly 'working-class' population had few possessions, and workplaces and domestic accommodation were closely interwoven. Later in the 17th century Thomas Neale (d. c.1699), principally known as a West End speculative builder, was active in Shadwell, building a church and other civic amenities to give a shapeless 'edge city' greater focus and identity.²⁷ This Shadwell is probably a reasonable mirror for Deptford before 1750. The places were clearly similar in many important respects. They were not the vicious slums or shanty towns that post-Mayhew and Booth perspectives have imagined, but rather respectable industrial settlements, with housing that was probably superior to much that would have been available in rural or less recently developed urban areas. A few larger 17th-century houses stood on Shadwell High Street into the 20th century, interiors and plan form were not recorded (Fig. 51).²⁸ Here and elsewhere document-based history can not readily be related to recorded or surviving buildings to provide an architectural narrative.



Figure 52 - *Snowsfields, Bermondsey, 17th/18th-century houses, demolished (NMR).*

others were responsible for houses on the High Street and along Pennyfields that were timber-framed, irregular in profile and small-scale - now entirely vanished (Fig. 50).²⁵ Comparable timber housing in Limehouse has also gone; only a handful of larger brick houses survive. Ratcliff was destroyed by fire in 1794 with the loss of 455 houses, virtually all probably timber.²⁶

Thanks to Michael Power we have an exceptionally clear picture of 17th-century Shadwell, though not a splinter of its housing survives. In the 1630s

For the South London suburbs the same general comments apply as for the east, though there has been even less specific study. Excepting in and around Borough High Street and Bermondsey Square virtually no early housing survives in either Southwark, Bermondsey, Rotherhithe or Lambeth, though early views and photographs again illustrate numerous humble groups of timber and brick, two-storey and garret houses (Fig. 52).²⁹ After the 1676 fire Southwark brought in its own version of the City's Rebuilding Act to control new building.³⁰ Borough High Street was thus largely remade in brick. It may still hold some surprises, but so near London Bridge its buildings were substantial high-status premises.³¹ Where there is information relating to buildings elsewhere construction dates can only be guessed at without new research. Map evidence is enough to suggest that some buildings noted as being 17th century in the 1920s were probably in fact 18th century. It is worth noting in passing that through all of these districts on both sides of the river the best of the London County Council's early-20th-century public housing presents some of the qualities of the 18th-century housing it replaced, picturesque irregularity, red brick and prominent hipped roofs, but on a much larger scale.

North London is harder to define in terms of what was urban/suburban and what rural/suburban in the 18th century. Its buildings were evidently varied and insusceptible to characterisation as a unity, though again many of the same generalizations about the absence of evidence apply. Away from the river it does seem that the term 'urban' can be rapidly disappplied. Hoxton has been used to illustrate the early-Georgian 'rural/urban interface'.³² Unlike the south and east riverine suburbs it was not densely populated and wide-fronted plots endured. With areas to its north Hoxton remained markedly rural well into the 18th century. However, Hoxton Square and Charles Square had been laid out from the 1680s with two-storey and garret houses, smaller in scale than most of what was going up in Spitalfields, with some elevational irregularities and a variety of plans, though mostly with rear stairs, largely in brick and mostly in accord with the Building Acts, despite not having to be so.³³ These houses were closer to those of Albury Street than to anything else in Deptford.

The characterization of Hoxton's housing as simultaneously rural, urban and intermediate can be applied to numerous other suburban districts further afield in the early Georgian period, as indeed it can be to Butt Lane in Deptford. Places as near or nearer to London as was Deptford such as Hackney, Islington, Hampstead, Kensington, Fulham, Hammersmith, Peckham, Clapham and Wandsworth were certainly not urban, nor were they suburbs in any latterly received sense of being planned or homogenous commuter settlements. The occasional 'urban' row or square, as at Church Row, Hampstead, or Kensington Square, might have been built close to older housing and farms. Timber mixed with brick, and ribbon development linked what remained essentially villages to London.³⁴ These settlements lacked the scale and self-sufficiency of industrial places like Deptford, Spitalfields or Shadwell, where the best housing was for the local elite rather than for commuters. Inchoate diversity was the rule in these outer areas, with any uniformity coming only in high-status developments away from high streets. In more distant places such as Tottenham, Brentford, Twickenham and Richmond there were similar outcroppings of high-status housing of urban form in the early 18th century, but these too were manifestations of fashionability in the context of desirable resorts or commuter outposts. None of these places were anything like as populous or urbanized as Deptford in terms of housing density or plot size.

Greenwich and Woolwich were different. They were closely tied to Deptford in being in effect Thames-side 'government outposts', urbanized without being metropolitan. Most of Greenwich town centre was redeveloped in the early 19th century, and outlying areas around Greenwich Park were always high status, but town-centre buildings that have either survived or been recorded indicate that the lower-status housing of Greenwich was very like that of Deptford. As to Woolwich only the tiniest fragments of early fabric might survive and less has been recorded.³⁵ There is a risk of seeming to be stating the blindingly

obvious in finding that adjacent areas had common characteristics. Yet there is reason to believe that the essential qualities of these places were not simply expressions of banal local indistinctiveness. Map evidence alone shows that Deptford and Greenwich together were simply larger than other outlying parts of London. They remained clearly separate from London even into the 1860s, still its biggest satellite, and more densely built up than any other suburbs that had not been wholly absorbed into the metropolis.

The results of the 1711 Act for Building Fifty New Churches are a reminder of where Deptford and Greenwich need to be placed in terms of an understanding of early-18th-century London. They are of but not in London. In the early part of the century at least there was a common architectural language. Westminster, Shadwell, Limehouse/Poplar, Southwark/Bermondsey, Deptford and Greenwich were not simply all recipients of big Baroque Commissioners' churches. They were also all artisanal and industrial places full of modest timber housing, densely-populated districts that had grown rapidly in the 17th century, when they had, incidentally, all supplied themselves with their own much more modest churches.



Figure 53 - Nos 219-223 Hoxton Street, houses of 1767-75, demolished (London Metropolitan Archives, 74/14492).

It is not clear that an understanding that ties Deptford and its riverine neighbours to more central suburbs continues to fit in the late 18th century. Deptford and Greenwich emerge as anomalous. The inner suburbs with which they had been analogous were fully built up and incapable of expansion. New suburban growth spread to areas that in terms of geographical distance from the centre were comparable to Deptford. These, however, were blank slates onto which large and marketable standardized speculative developments could be and were drawn. The 1774 Act covered the near suburbs and thus imposed regularity on some of the as yet

previously undeveloped lands. It was evidently also influential even where its writ did not run, as in Camberwell and Hackney. The conditions under which artisanal housing was being built in Deptford and Greenwich after 1770, in small speculations of a traditional nature on the margins of already established districts, were perhaps not closely paralleled elsewhere around London. An exception may have been a row at Nos 167-223 Hoxton Street, built in 1767-75, now all demolished, two-storeyed with gambrel garrets, apparently with side-stack plans and at least one staircase that was reportedly of an early-18th-century type (Fig. 53).³⁶ This is not to say that low-status housing was not being built, nor to suggest that it was all uniform. Some very poor housing went up, particularly after the financial collapse of 1794.³⁷ Small one-room-plan houses in court developments of c.1795-1820 provided the worst of 19th-century slums, sometimes with back-to-back layouts as in northern towns.³⁸ Gappy and irregular 3rd/4th rate developments, irregular heights and some elevational asymmetry would have been far more common than survival would suggest. However, there is no evidence that any other area sustained a comparable variety of early urban house types as was being built in Deptford and Greenwich in the period 1770-1800.

(3) Outer Areas: House Plans

Published or readily accessible evidence for the presence or absence of particular plan types in 17th- and 18th-century lower-status housing in and around London is far from adequate as a basis for firm conclusions. Nevertheless, a summary presentation of what is known will help to some degree in the contextualization of the Deptford buildings and in the framing of future research. In what follows rear-staircase plans are not enumerated in the way that other types are, but the rear-staircase plan type does need to be borne in mind throughout as an alternative, particularly in relation to centre-chimney two-room plans.

Brick rows of c.1678 one-room-plan houses stood in and near Pennington Street, Wapping, into the 20th century, and a comparable group of seven houses, formerly Dog Row, stood on Cambridge Heath Road between Whitechapel and Bethnal Green, with one-room plans in two storeys, cellars and garrets, their stairs in front of the stacks (Fig. 54).³⁹ Many of the 1720s houses in Elder Street, Spitalfields, originally had one-room plans.⁴⁰ They were developed in small groups and thus varied, but a useful measure is provided by the well-documented house of



Figure 54 - Dog Row, Cambridge Heath Road, Bethnal Green, one-room-plan houses of c.1678, demolished (NMR, BB60/1202).

1727 at No. 17 Elder Street. This survives as an 18ft (5.4m)- square brick house. Its single-newel stair, away from the stack, rises through four storeys and a cellar. Like its neighbours it was given a fashionably regular three-bay parapetted brick front and a well-appointed interior. It was good housing, demonstrably beyond the reach of an artisanal income.⁴¹ It is thus of particular interest that No. 15 adjoining was immediately extended in timber to be a two-room rear-staircase plan house. On Braham Street in Whitechapel there were comparable three-storey cellar and garrets, brick, one-room plan houses, probably of the early 18th century, with single-newel stairs in separate stair outshuts behind a partitioned passage. Similar three-storey brick houses also stood on Hare Street and Hare Court near Brick Lane, Spitalfields, with entrances in front of the stacks into stair lobbies with canted partitions.⁴²

One-room plan houses have also been recorded in Southwark. No. 61 Hopton Street of c.1703 was a substantial house, about 20ft (6m) square, brick, two storeys garrets and cellar, with an entrance into a stair lobby. Nos 72-80 Colombo Street of c.1700 was a timber- framed group of five houses, two storeys



Figure 55 - Nos 72-80 Colombo Street, Southwark, one-room-plan houses of c.1700, demolished (NMR).

plan they are unlikely to have survived, in this case because of the inconvenience and incompatibility of the stack position in relation to post-1800 patterns of use. Some surviving examples of the type retain their stacks on the upper storeys only thanks to improbable structural gymnastics, to allow open ground-floor shops. In many more examples such awkward conversions would not have been countenanced. No. 50 Hoxton Square of c.1700 had a centre-stack rear-staircase plan,⁴⁶ and Nos 37-38 Upper Street, Islington, are a surviving early-18th-century brick pair with 16ft (4.7m) fronts; No. 38 has a stair that projects awkwardly into the front rooms and a massive stack that adjoins that of its neighbour, without evidence for cupboards (Fig. 56).⁴⁷ A row of early-18th-century three-storey and garrets brick houses on the river at Nos 76-92 Narrow Street, Limehouse, formerly all gable fronted, includes at least one centre-chimneystack plan at No. 88. Nos 19 and 23 Old Ford Road, Bethnal Green, have centre-stack plans in an irregular row of six houses that was at least partly built in 1753 by Anthony Nott, a carpenter.

with garrets, each about 15ft (4.5m) square, that contained some turned balusters (Fig. 55).⁴³ A similar irregular group of one-room plan houses, perhaps of the early 18th century, stood at Nos 20-23 Lambeth High Street, brick with a modillioned eaves cornice.⁴⁴ Such rows were not strictly urban. Ten brick two-storey one-room-plan houses of c.1700 stood on Pound Place behind Eltham High Street.⁴⁵ Another example of this suburban-fringe use of the house type may occur at Nos 2 and 4 Park Lane, Tottenham (just off the High Road), an originally timber-framed pair, perhaps with early-18th-century origins. Elder Street aside this is the only one of all these examples to remain standing.

The house type published by Moxon has not been found to have been built north of the Thames in the 18th century. There are examples of centre-chimneystack plans, though these are isolated and scattered in what were marginal locations. The broader type is not known at all in the well documented area of Spitalfields. An important caution is necessary though in considering centre-chimney-plan houses. Like those with a one-room

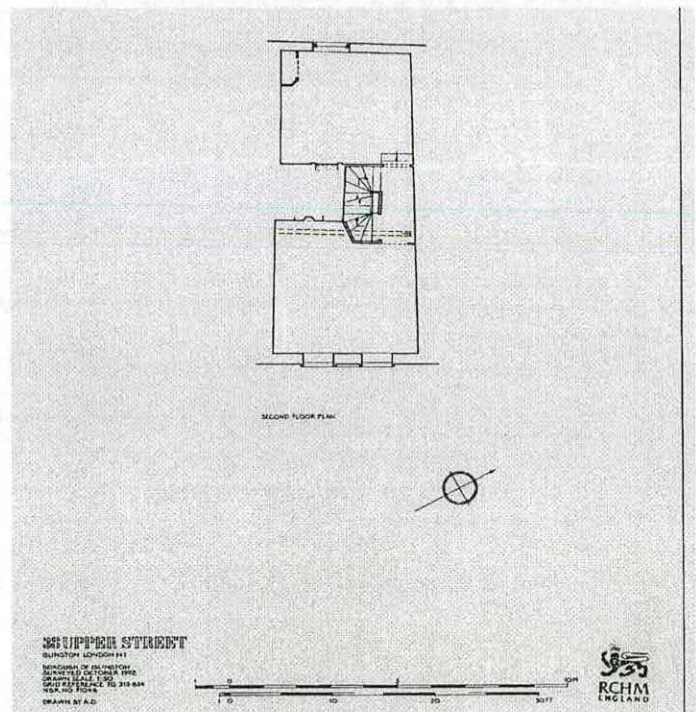


Figure 56 - No. 38 Upper Street, Islington, early-18th-century centre-chimney-plan house, second-floor plan.

N

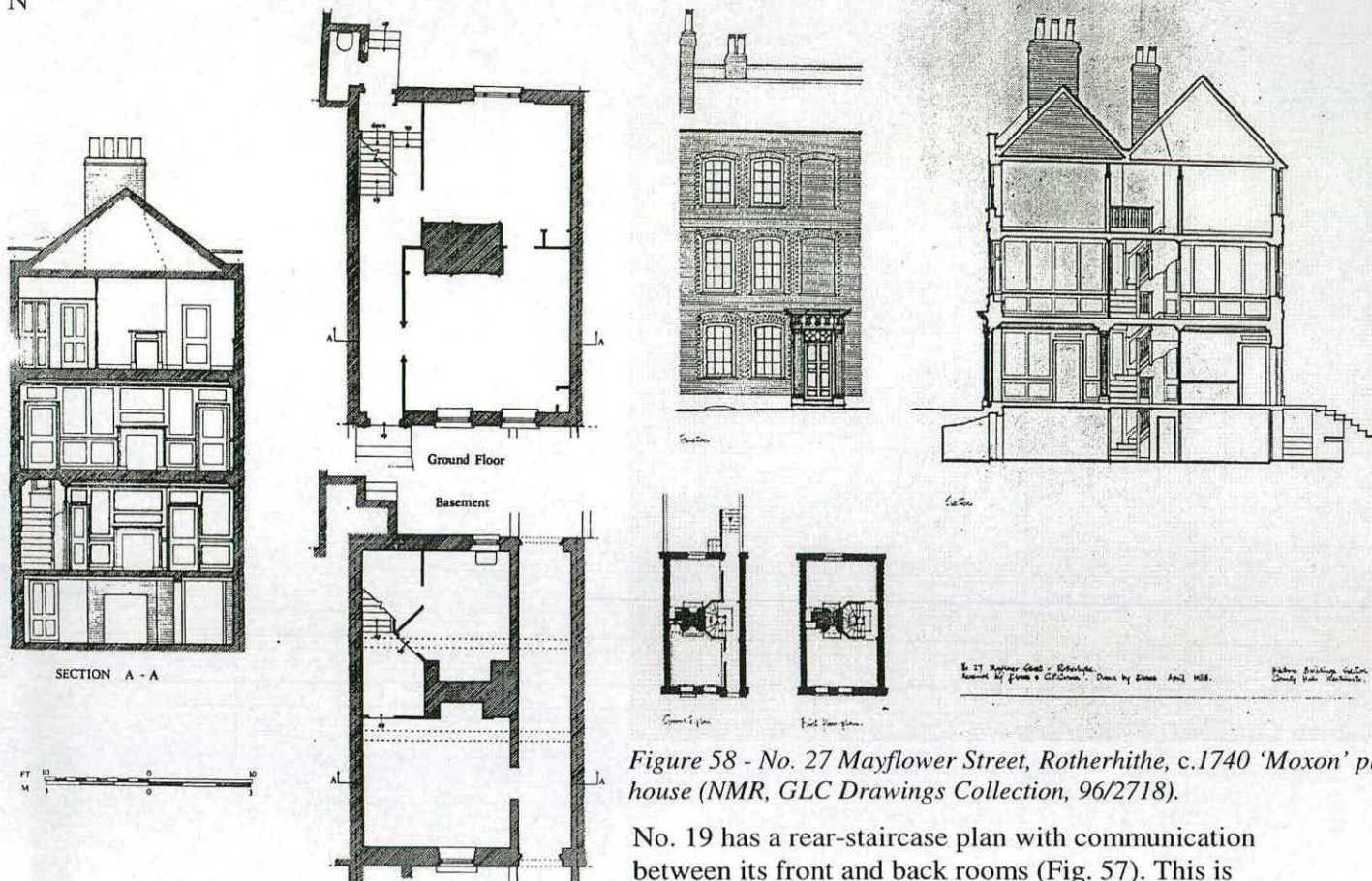


Figure 57 - No. 19 Old Ford Road, Bethnal Green, c.1753 centre-chimney-plan house (NMR, GLC Drawings Collection, 96/06539).

Figure 58 - No. 27 Mayflower Street, Rotherhithe, c.1740 'Moxon' plan house (NMR, GLC Drawings Collection, 96/2718).

No. 19 has a rear-staircase plan with communication between its front and back rooms (Fig. 57). This is another big three-storeys and cellar brick house, its status evident in its good turned-baluster stairs and ovolo-moulded panelling.⁴⁸ The centre-stack plan occurs further afield in what were select residential

suburban areas, as at No. 8 South Grove, Highgate, an early-18th-century house with an open-well stair.⁴⁹ Central stacks have also been noted without plan evidence in surviving buildings at No. 88 Camberwell Road, probably of the later 18th century, No. 820 Tottenham High Road, a substantial early-18th-century house, and No. 18 Richmond Green, also early Georgian.

In contrast with northern areas it is clear that the 'Moxon' variant of the centre-chimneystack two-room plan was widespread in the southern suburbs in the early 18th century. Near the river between Bermondsey and Rotherhithe there were some particularly interesting developments, possibly as late as c.1740. On Mayflower Street there was what appears to have been a single-build regular row of nine predominantly three-bay 13-14ft (4m) front, three-storey and cellars, brick houses, four of which had open-well stair 'Moxon' plans, five of which had rear-staircase plans; these were big high-status houses with turned balusters and moulded panelling (Fig. 58). Nearby there were other somewhat smaller 'Moxon'-plan brick houses of comparable date, four in a row on Cathay Street, and at No. 290 Jamaica Road.⁵⁰ Further east on the riverside, and perhaps somewhat earlier, No. 49 Rotherhithe Street had an open-well staircase 'Moxon' plan.⁵¹

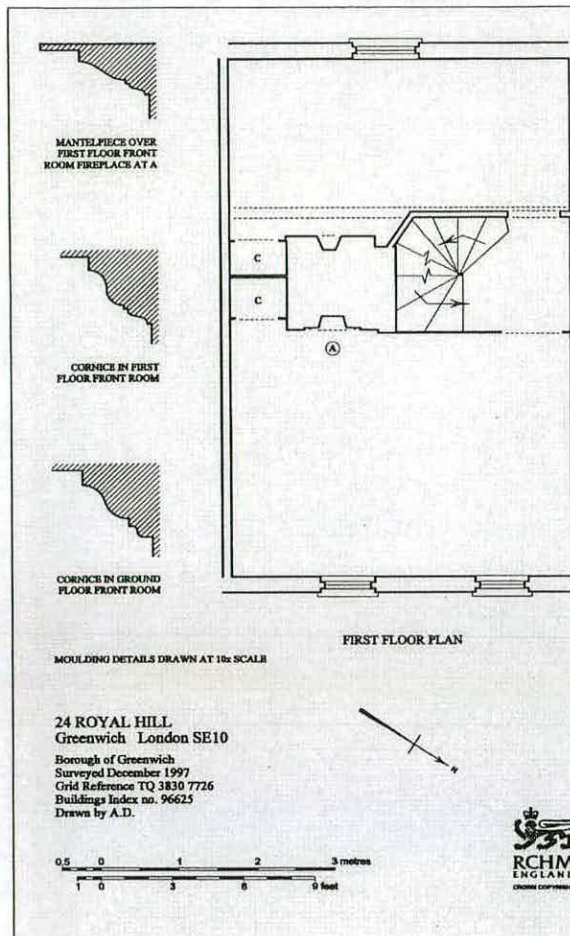


Figure 59 - No. 24 Royal Hill, Greenwich, early-18th-century 'Moxon' plan house.

houses. Perhaps this late and local flowering of the plan type is linked to growing affluence among members of a well-rooted artisanal class, people who might earlier have expected to occupy smaller houses, but who found this type familiar and acceptable alongside growing expectations of domestic space.

Unlike the central chimney the centre-staircase, party-wall chimneystack two-room plan house type is impossible to recognize from the street; it might occur much more widely than records suggest. Recorded examples in small houses from 18th-century London are also

Beyond Deptford the 'Moxon' plan was being built in Greenwich and Woolwich. No. 24 Royal Hill, Greenwich, survives as half of a small early-18th-century pair, two storeys with garrets, 15ft (4.5m) brick fronted and originally timber-framed behind. A modest single-newel staircase takes regularity away from the back rooms (Fig. 59).⁵² Another group of three small 'Moxon' plan houses stood at Nos 22-26 Woolwich Church Street.⁵³ Nos 106-108 Blackheath Hill are a mid-18th-century pair of centre-stack plan houses, and so perhaps are Nos 19 and 21 Greenwich Church Street. Other possibly early-18th-century examples of the type stood at No. 34 Blackheath Hill and No. 20 Dartmouth Row.⁵⁴

Taken together this compilation of anecdotal evidence indicates that the centre-chimney plan form in various manifestations survived in use up to at least the 1750s around the edges of London, particularly to the south and east, sometimes in relatively high-status housing, as well as lower down the social scale. The only evidence for its use in the later 18th century in the London area, and beyond, comes from Deptford and Greenwich where it was widespread in modest housing. The Deptford examples aside (see above) there are also surviving groups at Nos 74-78 Royal Hill, Greenwich (Fig. 60), and Nos 51-59 Greenwich South Street, short mid-to-late-18th-century rows of two-storey and garrets



Figure 60 - Nos 74-78 Royal Hill, Greenwich, mid/late-18th-century centre-chimney-plan houses (NMR, P. Barkshire Collection, No. 2289, 1983).

N^o 100 BERMONDSEY WALL

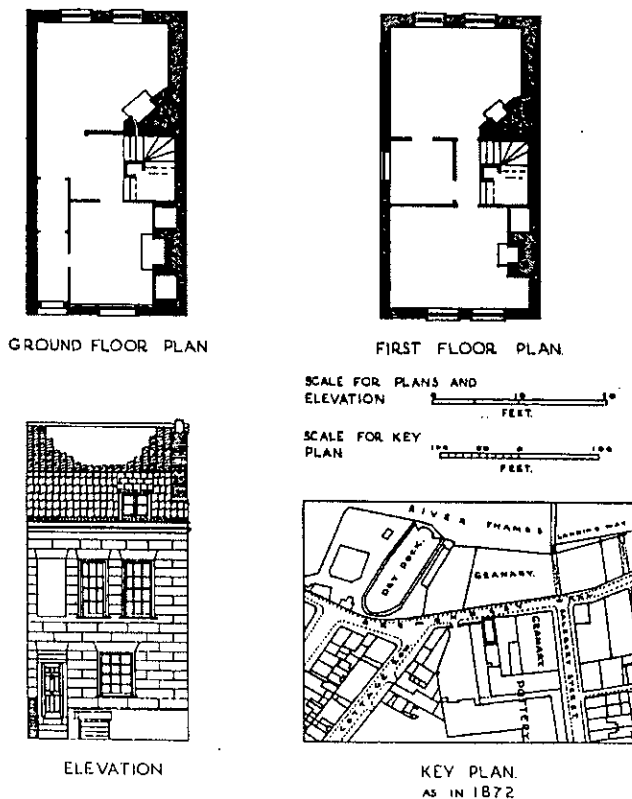


Figure 61 - No. 100 Bermondsey Wall, early-18th-century centre-staircase plan house (NMR, GLC Drawings Collection, 96/07540).

house a double-fronted single pile.⁶² Other examples have been recorded nearer Deptford. Nos 15 and 17 Greenwich Church Street survive as a substantial late-17th-century narrow-fronted pair of brick houses retaining at least one open-well staircase between stacks, as at Newington Green.⁶³ On a larger scale there is an early-18th-century semi-detached pair of centre-stair plan three-storey cellar and garret houses at Nos 47/49 Maze Hill, Greenwich.⁶⁴ The Horse and Groom Inn, Blackheath Hill, was a mirrored pair of smaller centre-stair plan houses of c.1700, as were Nos 9 and 10 Stockwell Street, Greenwich. Nos 11-13 Stockwell Street and Nos 4 and 6 Greenwich Church Street also had modest centre-stair plans.⁶⁵ Nos 315-317 Lewisham High Street survive as a comparable pair opposite a medieval church in what was then a village well outside London, and there were comparable buildings nearby.⁶⁶ There is also a somewhat grander early-18th-century semi-detached pair at Nos 32/34 Sydenham Road, with turned balusters on twin-newel staircases in the back rooms next the stack.⁶⁷

Again, as with the central chimneystacks, late 18th-century use of the centre-staircase plan in small houses is not strongly evident around London outside Deptford. Its continuing use there seems to mirror that of the centre-chimneystack plan, though it is not so unusual beyond London. An exception may have been recorded at Nos 32 and 34 Sumner Street, Southwark, a modest pair of houses possibly late in date and comparable to some of Deptford's surviving houses, though with central single-newel staircases on

largely from the southern suburbs. To deal first with some exceptions, though from comparable districts, there was a 1702 row of five centre-stair plan houses on Westminster Broadway.⁵⁵ Also, No. 27 Charles Square, Hoxton, is an unusual late-17th-century variant with the stair placed between the stacks rather as in the bigger central-chimneystacks 1650s houses at Nos 52-55 Newington Green.⁵⁶ The plan was also used in outer districts, as at No. 73 Hampstead High Street of c.1700, though perhaps with more comparability to usage in bigger high-status West End housing.⁵⁷ Of smaller early-18th-century houses to the east Nos 5 and 7 Elder Street, Spitalfields, have single-newel stairs placed away from the stacks,⁵⁸ and there was a row of 15 timber-framed houses at Nos 62-90 High Street, Bromley-by-Bow, with central stairs across the houses between side-stacks.⁵⁹ A run of seven varied properties with centre-stair plans was recorded on the Whitechapel Road in 1805.⁶⁰

To the south Nos 53-59 Rotherhithe Street, on the river, had their staircases spaciously disposed between the stacks, as did No. 100 Bermondsey Wall (Fig. 61), and No. 148 Long Lane, Bermondsey.⁶¹ An extraordinary version of what is essentially the centre-stair plan occurred at Bridge House, No. 64 George Row, Bermondsey, a high-status semi-detached pair of c.1706, where each house was entered into the stair hall making each

the outside walls away from the stacks.⁶⁸ There was also early-19th-century housing with centre-stairs, a straight flight often running up from side entrances, as at Nos 10-12 and 16-18 Garford Street, Poplar, of 1819.⁶⁹

While there are clear links between Deptford's early houses and those that stood in London's suburbs there are also distinctions. London in the 18th century was thick with timber-frame, weatherboarded, one-room plan houses, in front/back tenements or rows. The centre-chimneystack layout was also widespread. The front/back one-room-plan pair is not encountered outside the City other than in Deptford, and then it is not evident that it was being built as late as 1700. In the late 18th century the centre-stack plan was apparently not being built anywhere outside Deptford and Greenwich, and the low-status centre-stair plan was most widespread around London to the southeast. Nowhere in the London area can parallel Deptford for the extent of survival of housing of this class, and the endurance of Deptford's artisanal housing culture up to the end of the 18th century does seem exceptional in a London context. In some respects perhaps Deptford in the late 18th century had more in common with Gravesend, Sheerness or Dover than it did with London (see below).

However, the absence of firm dating for most comparable buildings makes the contextualization of the Deptford houses problematic and these provisional conclusions need more rigorous testing. There has been a self-perpetuating tendency in stylistic or typological dating to rule out the vernacular and the irregular from the 18th century, assuming that it must be 17th century. Further survey and research is needed.

(4) Builders

Across 'Georgian London' in both space and time, from Dr Nicholas Barbon (d.1698) in the City and West End to Jacob Leroux in Somers Town (d.1800) the proclaimed story of London's 18th-century housing has been that of large-scale speculation and the emergence of capitalist and classicist standardization.⁷⁰ The backcloth against which this emergence is set is rarely noticed, but, as McKellar has shown, the new ways were based in old practices. They did not suddenly replace them. There persisted an artisanal tradition of small-scale unstandardized house building of which scant evidence has survived. The litany of recorded examples that has been invoked here is no substitute for critical assessment, particularly without reliable dates, but without further research it is all that is possible. Without attempting to define a point at which artisanal speculative building becomes capitalist it is evident from the scale of their operations and the form of their houses that many London housebuilders remained 'un-Barbonized' in the early 18th century, and that in Deptford and Greenwich at least, this continued to hold true through the later years of the century.

Many people from various trades made themselves master builders, and there was movement between trades; of this Thomas Lucas is a good example. However, those artisans who became builders were most commonly carpenters, even when the external walls were of brick. Being a 'builder' probably meant acting as designer, surveyor, contractor and construction manager.⁷¹ Many 18th-century books on building were therefore addressed to carpenters. As basic trade skills were generally learned through apprenticeship most of these books were essentially to do with the additional knowledge needed for moving into speculative building, both the practical, that is mensuration and pricing, and the aspirational, that is classicism, for those aiming to be 'surveyors' or 'architects'.⁷² Book ownership among London's artisans and tradesmen rose dramatically in the half century after 1675, but building was expensive. Away from central and west London builders were predominantly small-scale operators, developing small parcels on piecemeal leases. A higher-status brick house cost £100 or more to build, that is more than two years wages for a reasonably well-paid artisan. In small-scale developments of modest houses

books with information about pricing and classicism would not have been without interest, but precedent would have been an overwhelmingly dominant design source.⁷³

In this context Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises, Or, The Doctrine of Handy-works* was a curious exception. As its title proclaims it was aimed squarely at an artisanal readership 'that the trades themselves might by a Philosopher be Improv'd', with straightforward piecework accounts of how to build, from setting out to the provision of detailed fittings, just those things that the readership might have been expected to know already. Moxon (1627-1691) was a printer who had been appointed hydrographer to Charles II in 1662 and who had contacts with Wren, Hooke, Evelyn and Pepys.⁷⁴ After his death his son James carried on his printing firm and engraved plates for new editions of *Mechanick Exercises*. The earliest edition of 1677-80 covered smithing, joinery, house carpentry and turning. Only James's last editions of 1700 and 1703 incorporated the bricklayer's trade. The omission of bricklaying from the early editions seems to point to an intended readership without metropolitan or high-status aspirations, given that the 1667 Rebuilding Act stipulated brick building within the City. Similarly the publication in 1700 of the centre-chimneystack plan (Fig. 29), a then well-trodden and unfashionable form, fits into the apparently coals-to-Newcastle framework of *Mechanick Exercises*. The interest of the book is not so much the degree to which it may have been influential; indeed in terms of sales it was not a great success. Rather the book is worth consideration here because it seems to reflect an otherwise unspoken and long-lived reality.

Moxon's opening lines are as if a manifesto of chip-on-the-shoulder artisanal pride, 'I see no more reason, why the sordidness of some workmen, should be the cause of contempt upon Manual Operations, than that the excellent invention of a Mill should be despis'd, because a blind horse draws in it. And tho' the Mechanicks be, by some, accounted ignoble and scandalous; yet it is very well known, that many gentlemen in this nation, of good rank and high quality, are conversant in Handy-Works'. Readers were not asked to think about architecture, 'a Mathematical Science, and therefore different from my present undertakings',⁷⁵ or classical models, but were simply being instructed how to do practical things. It is assumed that house carpenters will be 'master-Workmen' with responsibility for house design, that is for the 'Draft'. The book describes how to build a timber-framed townhouse with a front room that is a shop, the kitchen beyond, and points out that 'a Gentleman's house must not be divided as a Shopkeeper's'.⁷⁶ Cultural differentiation and the limits to emulation were clearly understood. An awareness that differences in scale demanded that lower-status housing have its own language was made even more explicit in reference to rules as to the spacing of steps in staircases as imposed by 'several writers of Architecture': 'here we must understand they mean these measures should be observed in large and sumptuous buildings: But we have here proposed an ordinary private house, which will admit of no such measures, for want of room.'⁷⁷

Mechanick Exercises remained sufficiently well known through the Georgian period that in 1812 Peter Nicholson saw fit to update it. This currency has been seen to be evident in the endurance of the plan type published in 1700. This does not mean that dog-eared copies of *Mechanick Exercises* were being read by Deptford carpenters in the 1790s, but that the culture to which it had been addressed had survived. Later books that published model plans, such as the *Builders' Dictionary* (1734), reformatted in 1774 as the *Builders' Magazine*, invariably show party-wall chimneystacks. They would have been used by artisanal builders and would thus have had some standardizing effect in relation to London building practice,⁷⁸ but this would not have been through an uncritical mindset, as Moxon makes overt. New forms were less readily adopted in less appropriate circumstances.

Towards the end of the 18th century carpenters or others styling themselves 'builders' increasingly

undertook the building of whole streets in suburban areas, committing themselves to the significant additional costs of paving and drainage, spreading risks by letting house plots to other artisanal builders. The decline of small-scale speculation at the end of the 18th century has been documented in the context of Somers Town and interpreted as a function of the rise of capitalism, 'the traditional organization of the building process collapsed as piece-rates and the measure and value system could no longer be upheld and craftsmen lost their independence. Throughout the decade of the 1790s disparities in production became more and more pronounced with the emergence of an unregulated housing market, sharp price fluctuations and the use of different wage forms.'⁷⁹ The years around 1800 were a time when the artisanal character of the urban workforce was much more widely transformed.⁸⁰ This transformation was accompanied by conflicts, ranging from strikes to machine destruction. The squeezing of the artisanal class into effectively higher and lower social groups carried with it a change in housing forms and the essentially 19th-century distinction between working-class and middle-class housing was established. Deptford's late-18th-century houses reflect these changes, but they also reflect continuity and cultural complexity rather more subtly than a simple distinction between artisanal and capitalist modes that allows for no intermediate processes.

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SECTION 4: A WIDER CONTEXT

*'Not only that, I mean to shew/How grand a place is Whitby now./ See how they all in pride abound/ Their houses are all sashed around/Houses were low and poor compent/Of two times twenty shillings rent/Built up with mortar, lime, and lath,/With outside white and inside black./And by the winds blown from the hills/Made all the houses smoke like kilns./Some thought their habitations good/In little houses built of wood,/If not with paint, daubed round with prime/They thought they looked most wondrous fine,/But now like Yarmouth it is said/They've changed white herrings into red./And now some houses are not dear/At three times twenty pounds a year,/To be excelled by few or none./And built of finest brick or stone,/So what I write will plainly shew./What a fine place is Whitby now.'*¹

'A comely Row of Tenements unite,/And set their various Goods and Works to light;/Salesmen and Trades of decent Sons are mixt,(A lively place) from Tavern Signs betwixt:/Along their Doors, the clean hard paving trends,/Till at a plashy Street it ends. . .' [Philadelphia]²

The eighteenth-century buildings of Deptford provide a rare opportunity for a reconsideration of the urban housing of Georgian London and its impact on the provincial towns and cities of England and its colonies. Deptford, with its strong artisanal history and stock of smaller town houses, represents an urban place close to metropolitan London but possessed of its own distinct political and social identity. Like other provincial cities of the eighteenth century, Deptford engages two worlds: one cosmopolitan, one provincial. It is this threshold quality that distinguishes Deptford's architectural history, and renders the buildings of Deptford High Street and its tributaries as illustrative of a wider process of city formation and urban identity. How Deptford participates in this larger urban process is revealed in its surviving buildings as well as by those lost houses recorded over the past century.

The core aspects of Deptford's eighteenth-century building stock can be readily summarized. First, although Deptford builders erected houses throughout the course of the eighteenth century, the post-1730 evidence of local ratebooks suggests that their subsequent activities peaked at specific intervals, in particular in the 1770s and again in the 1790s. Second, the majority of building activity took place in the form of a number of relatively small-scale speculative ventures, frequently where the property holder occupied one of the units. Third, the houses erected followed local practice in terms of building materials and decorative finishes. Similarly the plans represented by surviving buildings or recorded in older architectural surveys fall into a handful of categories (Fig. 27). Houses one room in plan and two storeys in elevation defined the smaller end of the scale. Dwellings with side-passage rear-staircase plans rising three stories over cellar kitchens defined the opposite end of the range. In between there were two other significant categories: houses two rooms in plan with party-wall chimneys and a winder stair placed against the gable at the partition, and houses following variations on a centre-chimney, side-passage centre-stair plan. Other options, especially variations on double-fronted houses, appeared with considerably less frequency (Fig. 32). In sum, house building in eighteenth-century Deptford was episodic and modest in scale. The houses tended to be well built, frequently well finished with interior panelling, and representative of a well defined and somewhat limited range of plan alternatives. As an ensemble what remains stands as a rare survival, documenting housing standards for 'middling' town folk through the 1700s. The houses of Deptford illuminate the architectural record of what might be best understood as 'another Georgian London' - a London that exerted extraordinary influence in town house design throughout the eighteenth-century North Atlantic rim.

Deptford's development and the houses that chart its physical history are broadly consistent with patterns of urban development found on both sides of the North Atlantic. The majority of colonial American towns and cities, places like Philadelphia and Charleston for example, trace their origins to the second half of the seventeenth century, but their architectural identity only emerged in the eighteenth century when populations swelled, the cultures of sociability and consumerism took hold, and their streets filled with new houses. Even in long established English towns and cities, medieval and post-medieval histories were obscured and all but erased by investment in new dwellings meeting fresh demands for comfort, privacy, display, and fashionability. These were not concerns that filtered down from the top of the social ladder, rather they were integral to an emergent bourgeois culture advanced and promoted by artisan and shopkeeper households - the same households that populated the houses of Deptford. The rise of this bourgeoisie certainly had older origins, but the emergence of the desire to express social identity through buildings, possessions, and manners that accelerated through the course of the 1700s can be located in the middle decades of the seventeenth century. Two elements come together in placing Deptford's houses in a larger Atlantic culture. First, there is the rise in personal wealth among artisans and minor merchants; second, there is the desire to express changing perceptions of social status through houses. Thus, Deptford builders possessed both the means and motive to redefine their personal environments and, with their individual actions, the face of the urban landscape.

The means and motive that enabled Deptford builders to act were widely shared by property holders and builders in other town and city settings. Minor housing developments, for example, flowered in the urban landscapes of English provincial seaports. Close to Deptford, in Kent, this can or could be seen along the Thames and Medway estuaries in Gravesend, Chatham and Sheerness. Gravesend was rebuilt following a fire in 1727 with some relatively high-status timber-framed centre-staircase and centre-chimneystack plan houses along the High Street in what was a heterogenous streetscape.³ Chatham and Sheerness also had Naval Dockyards; in the small 18th-century Dockyard suburb known as Blue Town at Sheerness, much rebuilt after a fire in 1820, there are some varied humble timber houses, allegedly built from 'chips'.⁴ Along the south coast from Dover to Totnes comparable development might be sought, though survivals are rare. Diverse house plans of smaller houses in Poole have been recorded and Portsmouth was another Naval Dockyard town where Portsea was developed as an 18th-century industrial suburb.⁵

On the east coast the 17th-century brick row houses of Great Yarmouth have been documented.⁶ Further north in Hull undertakings as grand as Albion Street (c.1796) resonated with the uniform terraces of central London that had been fashionable for much of the century. For the most part, however, Hull's builders operated at a less ostentatious level erecting well-built town houses, frequently in courtyard and alley settings. In the Humber Ward, a shipbuilding and market district near the city wharves, streetscape remnants remain where irregularly built two- and three-storey houses illustrate individual initiatives in the context of a larger urban identity. Slum clearance surveys conducted in the Victorian period record a range of plans of houses similar in their scale and amenity to those found in Deptford.⁷

What renders these provincial seaports distinctive is how local builders interpreted a range of widely shared house planning options. The interplay between local practice and an 'Atlantic' sensibility regarding urban identity characterizes the seaport towns and cities of the American colonies. Builders in Boston's North End, for example, negotiated two urban architectural idioms through the early eighteenth century. On the one hand they worked within a context of freestanding timber framed houses closely associated with the established building practices of small villages and the agricultural countryside. The preference for wooden town houses characterized the emerging landscapes of the towns of the Massachusetts Bay North Shore into the early nineteenth century. What changed over time, though, were the plans of these houses as householders engaged parallel considerations of amenity and

display that animated contemporary Deptford builders. Urban seaports, like Marblehead, Salem, and Newburyport shared and shaped an Atlantic community with Deptford. The majority of builders here, as in Deptford, were artisans and merchants with material and social ambitions.

The same holds true for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. One of the half dozen largest English speaking cities by the close of the eighteenth century, Philadelphia was a magnet for immigration, trade, and craft. The city wharves and private docks and shipyards were the focal point for a community that faced the Atlantic. More than any other early American seaport, Philadelphia engaged the ideal of the regular brick-built city. Here speculators and individual builders alike erected dwellings two and three storeys in elevation with regular street elevations. Although houses at the city's edge were just as often built of wood, they adhered to the basic range of plans erected in the city centre. Far more variable were the streetscapes of Charleston, South Carolina, where the institution of slavery and a remarkably distorted distribution of wealth inspired and funded building projects that hearkened to backcountry plantation landscapes for their overall organization and evoked cosmopolitan English taste for the array of polite interior spaces and their appointments.

What then is the Atlantic context for Deptford? First, it is an urban landscape undergoing a process of development and transformation that draws on an architectural fusion of metropolitan and local design values. Second, it is a place where the orientation to its shipyards and wharves - and to the Atlantic rim places it in the context of a North Atlantic community, a point wonderfully illustrated in Defoe's *Moll Flanders* when Moll facing transportation to the colonies of the Chesapeake leaves from Deptford. Third, as an artisan and minor merchant community, the social and economic scale of Deptford closely approximates that of other outlying provincial seaports, especially places like Boston and Philadelphia. This leaves the more troubling question of the relationship between Deptford's eighteenth-century houses and those that characterize other urban settings. To get at that question, we need to examine each of the four dominant Deptford house types in turn.

(1) One-room plans

The number and quality of Deptford's one room houses may appear extraordinary in the architectural context of Georgian London, but they were the gristle of provincial urban landscapes on both sides of the Atlantic. The houses of Tanners Hill readily exemplify the basic characteristics of this house type. The ground floor consisted of a single room with a chimney placed against the party wall and a winder stair nestled in the space between the chimney jamb and back corner. People entered the house directly from the street, although their access may have been buffered by a slightly built board enclosed lobby just inside the front door. The stair wound upward to a first floor enclosed lobby opening onto an L-shaped room illuminated by windows front and back. The uppermost storey under the roof frame contained a single dormer-lit room under the front portion of the roof. Their interior finishes included stock chimney pieces with moulded cornices, sawnwork staircase brackets, and battened doors. Small and built of wood, these houses were not without attention to fashion.

Small urban houses with fashionable interiors have a long history in early modern England. The most notable ensemble of such buildings remain the stone artisan houses of the Trinity area of Frome.⁸ The development of this part of Frome occurred from the 1690s through the first quarter of the eighteenth century when local property holders began to subdivide their properties and builders began erecting one- and two-room houses singly and in developments of two, three, and more units. Like the houses of Deptford, the earlier buildings of Frome concentrated the bulk of household activity in a single ground-floor room and reserved the upper-storey spaces as sleeping chambers and private sitting rooms. At

the same time, they also appointed their dwellings with architectural trim including such amenities as bolection-moulded fireplace surrounds. The Trinity area of Frome, like Deptford in its relationship to London, took on the aspect of an artisan suburb with compact, but well-appointed housing for its population of weavers, carpenters, and other tradesmen. One-room row housing of comparable standard and date has also been recorded in Folkestone, in a row of about 30 houses that in their dimensions and internal layouts closely resemble those surviving at Nos 27-31 Tanners Hill.⁹

One-room urban houses are more often associated with alley and courtyard developments. Surviving examples documented in Whitehaven, Bristol, and Hull similarly combine close quarters with stylish architectural gestures. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the surviving eighteenth-century backlot housing developments of Whitby, a fishing and shipbuilding town on the Yorkshire coast. The houses of Loggerhead Yard, for example, were developed through a sequence of one- and two-unit construction episodes. At the bottom of the yard stand a pair of two-storey one-room houses. Like those of Tanners Hill, the Loggerhead Yard houses have direct access into the house - in this case mediated by a tiny enclosed lobby. The ground floor room in each house contains a large open fireplace, a broad window with only the central element moveable, and a stair leading upstairs. The upper storey with its much smaller fireplace opening was illuminated by a centrally placed window. What makes these small houses even more noteworthy, though, is their level of interior finish. The fireplaces on the ground floor were capped with moulded cornices, while those in the upper storey received raised panel overmantels and planed vertical board trim.

Slum clearance documentation and photographs recording World War II bomb damage reveal the presence of similar buildings in Hull, especially in the older maritime neighborhoods around the slaughterhouses and warehouses of the Humber Ward. Architectural plans compiled for Thornham's Court show at least two ranges of three-storey one-room houses that had been converted into Victorian tenements. Notable are the ground floor amenities which include built in kitchen dressers and cupboards. A photograph taken of the surviving gable of a bombed out row of these houses reveals the presence of neatly finished eighteenth-century fireplace surrounds. The Hull city directory for 1803 identifies the residents of Thornham's Court and other nearby courtyards as a mixture of artisans (many in the shipbuilding trades) and mariners as well as 'gentlemen', clerks, and widows. Birmingham, Manchester and West Yorkshire also had late-18th-century one-room plan housing. The more-scattered housing of the Ironbridge Gorge's rural industrial landscape of the 17th- and 18th-centuries has been described as 'industrial vernacular', with early one-room-plan, one-storey-and-garret houses coming to be built in rows. The transformation of housing forms away from the traditional towards the classical after 1800 has also been documented here.¹⁰

Comparably scaled and finished buildings composed the majority of early housing in the new urban places along the colonial American seaboard. Philadelphia retains large numbers of these buildings that continued to be erected into the early nineteenth century. Like their Deptford counterparts and contemporaries, the Philadelphia houses typically are small but often well-finished with mantelpieces and other decorative woodwork. Eighteenth-century examples include brick dwellings laid in glazed-header flemish bond and finished on the inside with fully panelled fireplace walls. Timber-framed one-room town houses, especially in the Southwark district of the city, tend to be clad with beaded edge weatherboard and outfitted with stock decorative elements. By the early 1800s, one-room houses were favoured for infill and back lot developments, but even then they continued to be raised with attention to their finish. Each of three roughly 10ft by 16ft (3m by 4.8m) dwellings in an 1833 row behind a Queen Street residence, for example, included an area, cellar kitchen with a dresser and mantel shelf, panelled doors, and a "wood pilaster mantel." Plans and elevations for Jackson Court, a similar project off George

Street, illustrate 15ft- (4.5m) square houses, each with a ground-floor fireplace, cupboard, and winder stair rising from a short open run.

Philadelphia probate records offer a more substantive glimpse into the variable quality of these small houses. In some instances, the accommodations were mean and cramped; in others, the household furnishings suggest a pattern of urban living where the number of rooms did little to restrain individual assertions of gentility in the matter of tea and card tables, pictures on the walls, and ceramics on display in built-in cupboards. At the turn of the nineteenth century Thomas Bartram lived in a well furnished one-room house in Race Street, one of the city's oldest and most densely developed neighborhoods. Like the Herrings' Deptford residence (see above), Bartram's household combined multiple functions in each room. The second storey served as both chamber and drawing room. The two featherbeds and bedsteads stood at one end of the room while cardtables and desk occupied the other end. The arresting aspect of Bartram's furniture, however, is its quality. The cardtables and chairs are all of mahogany as are one of his two desks and his bureau. Downstairs, Bartram manifested his elegance with gilt framed "Lattin Pieces", mahogany breakfast table, walnut dining table, and silver teapot. Less well off was the Stephens family of Philadelphia's Moyamensing district. Inventoried in 1804 the two-storey 16ft by 18ft (4.8m by 5.4m) house of Samuel and Rebecca Stephens followed the same basic form seen in the Bartram house, but in a setting where the ground floor was given over for business and a family of ten shared three beds. The garret provided additional sleeping space and the cellar likely served as a kitchen, but even so the family's day to day experience was one of unrelieved congestion. Still, the glimmer of a parlour appeared in the Stephens' shop which contained in addition to barrels, boxes, and sundries a tea table and ten-plate stove.

No single example better captures the social ambiguity that surrounds these smaller houses than the residence of Angus and Jane Grant in the Fells Point district of Baltimore. When shipwright Angus died at the turn of the nineteenth century he left his wife in possession of their one-storey frame dwelling, one unit in a row of seven such houses. With its beaded weatherboard exterior and dormer window, the Grants' house presented a neat if cramped appearance. The interior contained a fireplace on the ground floor, but no heat for the garret. The walls were sealed with plaster applied to riven lath and the party wall consisted of roughly two-inch thick plank with lath and plaster applied to both sides. The roughly 196 square feet (59 sq m) compass of the Grants' house contained the full spectrum of daily life with the exception of sleeping. Angus Grant's inventory describes a space filled with an assortment of objects ranging from broken down furniture and shipwright's tools to the singular appearance of a tea tray and tea caddy. The presence of these last two objects resonates with the contents of the Herrings' house almost a century earlier and an ocean away: a small house of lower status that was home to a family with social aspirations.

(2) Two-room plans

Among the more common and least understood of Deptford's eighteenth-century house plans are those that extend two rooms deep, contain front and back chimney stacks placed on a gable end or party wall, and place a winder stair in the back room usually against a fireplace jamb. As a "type" these houses appear along Deptford High Street ranging in quality from two-storey brick-fronted examples with ground-floor back kitchens to three-storey dwellings with panelled interior finishes and cellar service spaces. The plan that unites this diverse collection of buildings is clearly notable for its adaptability and variety. Exemplified in Deptford by Nos 36, 203 and 227 Deptford High Street, the critical elements of these houses lay in their functional flexibility. The occupants of No. 227 dedicated the ground-floor front room as a commercial premises leaving the back room usable either for family dining served from a

cellar kitchen or as a business space. No. 36, apparently built solely for residential purposes, lacked the amenity of a cellar kitchen and placed cooking, dining, and sitting room functions on the ground floor. In both instances, as well as in other comparable buildings, the stair wound up through the house from cellar to garret with a compact landing at each floor. The result was a functionally flexible house that enabled residents to define room use by need. That flexibility relied on modes of access and movement through the house rather than on architectural elements that tended to annotate more precisely and rigidly the functions of interior spaces such as parlours and stairhalls..

Of all the Deptford house types, the two- or three-storey double-pile house with gable-wall chimneys and a stair placed against the partition enjoyed the greatest currency in developing urban settings in the rapidly growing towns of the eighteenth-century American seaboard, especially those in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. Builders embraced the flexibility and utility of this form in a variety of cities. In Philadelphia the form emerged in the eighteenth century as one of the most favoured by householders of middling economic and social status. Laid out in the late eighteenth-century, the west side of Crown Street in the city's Northern Liberties district realized this plan in a rowhouse setting. Each unit consisted of two rooms on a floor. The front room was entered directly from the street via a small board-enclosed vestibule of "balk" and contained a fireplace against the opposite gable. Where interior trim survives, these rooms were furnished with simply framed overmantels and chimney pieces. The room behind the front contained a panelled fireplace wall and enclosed winder stair. The stair led down to a cellar kitchen and upstairs to a landing that opened on to a best front chamber with panelled fireplace wall and plainer back chamber. The garret at the top of the house was lit with dormer windows front and back, and outfitted with a small fireplace.

Fire insurance surveys, street directory entries, and room by-room inventories taken as late as the early nineteenth century yield a sense of how these houses were occupied--and how varied the use of internal spaces could be within a fixed architectural form. Elizabeth Claxton occupied her Philadelphia house using the front room as a china shop and the back room as a combination dining and sitting room. More intimate and more formal social events (such as tea and conversation) occurred in the upper-storey chamber above the shop. Claxton's neighbor, widowed Ruth Garland, occupied her house solely as a residence, but took in lodgers. In her house the ground floor seems to have followed a configuration of parlour and dining room where spaces were shared by the extended household. The upper-storey rooms served as individual chambers, but they could also serve for more private encounters in the same way that Elizabeth Claxton's chamber doubled as parlour one remove from the street. Just down the street George Justis, the local insurance surveyor, occupied his house in what might be thought a "normative" style. His room-by-room inventory describes an arrangement consistent with a lifestyle that aspired to a rising culture of sociability where work and lodgers were both absent from the house.

The greater curiosity, however, is the comparative rarity of this house type as documented in English provincial cities and towns. The lack of information may reflect the emphasis given to more fashionable architectural statements or to relic buildings that record post-medieval building traditions. Even where extensive surveys have been undertaken smaller two-room houses built without stairhalls and passages seldom surface. In Whitehaven, for example, the closest approximation to this plan were houses with a large front room and slightly narrower kitchen wing to the rear.¹¹ In the rare instances where the wing was of equal width, it still evoked the sense of an ancillary space rather than an integral part of the main body of the house. In other settings the evidence of buildings suggest that eighteenth-century builders embraced a plan that followed the precedent of side-passage houses. A house with commercial rooms below at No. 14 Green Street, Bath, illustrates the point. In scale and finish, No. 14 Green Street is similar to No. 36 Deptford High Street and its neighbours. In the Bath example, however, the builders

subdivided the roughly 10ft by 16ft (3m by 4.8m) rear half of the building with a 6ft- (1.8m) wide stair hall. The result was at once more genteel and congested. The demonstrated desire to maintain a large back room with the stair packed into a corner suggests two possibilities, first, the extent to which local builders pursued planning alternatives that differed from prevailing Georgian fashions, second, patterns of domestic organization that kept family dining, and frequently cooking, on the ground floor. To what extent those choices reflected other social and economic issues, for example architecturally sustaining an urban artisan identity, remains unclear.

Certainly two-room deep urban dwellings in the style of Nos 36 and 203 Deptford High Street were erected in other English cities, as seen in Nos 42 and 90 Market Street, Poole, and in a house in Cherry Lane, Bristol.¹² The latter, a mid-eighteenth-century town house, consisted of two rooms on a floor with the first-floor front room above the street finished with raised panelling and built-in cupboards. Although the stair has been relocated to the opposite wall, its original position was likely in the back room between the chimney jamb and partition. The relative importance of the front room is reinforced by this position, its level of finish, and dimensions, roughly 12ft by 14 ft (3.6m by 4.1m) or 2ft deeper than the back room. Photographic evidence offers the possibility of other examples in the working and shopping streets of port towns and cities like Hull and Lancaster. Again, the lack of documentation coupled with the pace of architectural loss has left a record far more tantalizing than substantive.

(3) Side-passage Plans and Centre-chimney Plans

It is not possible to explore the appearance and significance of these two plan forms without reference to one another. In purely abstract terms they contain roughly the same sorts of rooms within a double-pile arrangement: two rooms, an entry, and a stair on the ground floor and two-rooms with a stair and landing in the upper storeys. What distinguishes the two forms is the placement of the chimney stack and stairs, and the historical associations they have with the changing architectural identity of eighteenth century London and its suburbs. The distinction between the two plans is simple. Houses based on a two-room plan with a centrally-placed chimney stack and narrow entry and passage are identified with Joseph Moxon and the image of a pre-Georgian urban landscape. Houses with chimney stacks placed against one gable wall and the stair placed in a stair hall gained by an entry passage represent the form Sir John Summerson associated with the building projects of Nicholas Barbon and the rise of Georgian London.

Town houses erected on a side-passage plan with a stairhall at the back and two back-to-back rooms on each floor each equipped with a party-wall chimney emerged as a standard London dwelling at the close of the seventeenth century. The relationship of this arrangement to the housing of an emerging bourgeoisie from the late seventeenth through the eighteenth century relies on a set of assumptions posited by Summerson who grounded the development of Georgian London in the speculative ventures of post-Fire entrepreneurs like Nicholas Barbon and their engagement with the architectural expression of standardization and regularity, and the ways in which those values have been translated into an architectural conceit for eighteenth-century English society. Although the precise origins of the form remain clouded, Netherlandish influences coupled with post-Medieval English urban design traditions are the likely sources for the so-called Barbon house.

A century after its introduction into the London landscape the form had triumphed as the preferred house type for Londoners from Chelsea to Spitalfields. Soho's Meard Street, developed in 1720-3, demonstrates the basic characteristics of this type, with fully panelled interiors and classical detailing.¹³ Even as the taste for trim changed over the decades, Londoners retained the essential dwelling form replicating it again and again, as seen for instance in the 1790s houses of Grafton Way with their spare neoclassical

interiors.¹⁴ Standardized in plan and construction this house form became so closely identified with the metropolitan culture of the city proper that it became an object of emulation, contention, rejection, and endless negotiation. The record of that process resides in the buildings of London and its suburbs, including Deptford. Moreover, the basic idea of this arrangement gained widespread circulation in provincial towns and cities on both sides of the Atlantic. A row of residences dating to the 1760s in Redcliffe Parade, Bristol, exhibits the basic plan as do a row of three c. 1810 residences in Cypress Street, Philadelphia. The 'Georgian' model, exemplified by these houses, is usually presented as linear, unconflicted, and inexorable in its architectural authority. The buildings of Deptford, however, provide a medium for questioning the paradigm of the Georgian process and offer a critique of a dominant aesthetic closely associated with an architectural ideology of order that has come to define the urban landscapes of the eighteenth century.

Among the most popular of house forms in Deptford was that which adhered to the design codified and popularized in Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* in 1700 (Fig. 29). The essential features of this house type include a centrally-placed chimney with rooms on either side and a stair placed against the exterior face of the jamb nearest the entry. The room functions are familiar: entry, stair, back kitchen and a front room that served variously as shop or sitting room. Typically the best room in the house occupied the first-floor front and looked out over the bustle of the street below. The centre-chimney plans associated with the early-eighteenth-century published designs of Joseph Moxon represent the more problematic of Deptford's house types. Typically, architectural historians deem the 'Moxon' plan a relic of postmedieval London building practices held in opposition to Summerson's formulation of the 'Barbon' house. Although the earliest datable examples of the form in Deptford were present in the mid eighteenth century, the surviving buildings tend to date to the last quarter of the century. The same appears true in nearby Greenwich where houses in Royal Hill could not have been built prior to the mid 1740s (Fig. 60). The Royal Hill houses are also notable for the way they present a regular continuous brick elevation to the street in the style more often associated with 'Barbon' developments. The very fact that these different forms could intersect in a single setting is illustrated by the now demolished c. 1740 houses of Cathay and Mayflower streets in Bermondsey (Fig. 58) where 'Moxon' and 'Barbon' terraces were built adjacent to one another. The appearance of these houses in Greenwich and Deptford at what seems to be a late juncture suggests the need to rethink the architectural choices available to Londoners at the close of the eighteenth century, and to reconsider the degree of architectural difference between city proper and its outlying suburbs.

Part of the answer lies in the basic plans of these buildings. What distinguishes the 'Moxon' houses (as well as houses like Nos 36, 203 and 227 Deptford High Street) is what they are not. Architectural histories of eighteenth-century London and outlying English towns and cities trumpet the triumph of a side entry house with back stair hall and two adjacent rooms and back closet that efficiently flow together. In essence, the desirable formal elements in the 'Moxon' houses centred on the way they segmented interior spaces. One of the advantages of no direct access between front and back rooms in the 'Moxon' type lies in the greater possibility for dividing the house. That this was not exclusively metropolitan is illustrated by centre-chimney-plan houses in York, Nos 16-22 St Saviourgate, of c. 1740, and No. 50 Fossgate, a late-18th-century 'Moxon' plan with a secondary staircase to the rear.¹⁵

The centre-chimney plan places the stair at the mid point of the house in a passage which runs from street to garden. Within this plan eighteenth-century householders could create a number of discrete apartments or workspaces. For example, a ground floor front shop with direct access to the street freed the passage for family use connecting the street to back dining room or parlour and the stair leading to upstairs chambers. In other situations, the front half of the houses could go into one occupancy and the

back into another - an arrangement that left the passage and stair as spaces held in common. This later division also respected the customary organization of even modest town houses where the best room often occupied the storey above the street. The possibilities for these divisions were exercised throughout northern New England. In places like Portsmouth, New Hampshire, widows and dowers typically divided houses vertically as well as horizontally with the widow receiving both upper and lower storey rooms - and, importantly, a legally recognized right to spaces held in common. In contrast, the side-passage plan did not lend itself so readily to such interior divisions. Benjamin Franklin's Craven Street lodgings, for instance, gave him the first floor of the houses in an allocation that effectively divided the rooms of his landlady. The difference between the two forms, then, comes down to one of how the relationships between houses and households were architecturally envisioned. The "Moxon" houses admitted the customary practice of multiple households within a single house, the "Barbon" dwellings rendered that practice awkward in ways that spoke to a growing sensibility of privacy and single occupancy.

The choice of centre-chimney-plan houses over the side passage forms that characterize the paradigm of Georgian town house architecture is more complex than a simple equation between function, custom, fashion, and innovation. Home to mariners and craftsmen engaged in the shipbuilding trades, Deptford was characterized by a collective nonconformist character which consistently sought to locate local authority in the hands of the artisan population. Its relationship to the real economic authority of the Crown was a source of constant challenge resulting indirectly in such displays of royal largesse and power as the 1711 Commissioners' Church of St. Paul, erected in monumental counterpoint to the more modest community-funded church nearer the waterfront. More to the point, though, was the preference for building houses along plans that veered distinctly from those found at the heart of the eighteenth-century metropolis. Houses as the outward signs of an artisan identity provided effective symbols of resistance to a dominant metropolitan culture.

Still, Deptford builders did not reject entirely the side passage double-pile Georgian town house, but they did experiment with it in interesting ways. The builders of Albury Street in the early years of the century erected well appointed houses that followed the 'new' plan. Finished on the interiors with stock panelling, stairs with turned balusters, and fireplaces with bolection fireplace surrounds, these houses gained individual glory at the street in their elaborate door casings, some reminiscent of decorative ships' carving (Figs 32, 40, 45, 48). Others in the same block, however, turned to other spatial solutions including center-passage 'L' shaped plans remarkably similar to Boston contemporaries such as the Clough House. Like the builders of the small timber-framed town houses in the port towns along the North Shore of Massachusetts Bay, Deptford builders experimented in ways that sought to resolve intersecting ideas of provincial practice, metropolitan culture, and artisan identity. Their greater preference for houses such as those illustrated by No. 62 Deptford High Street, the current African Design Centre, with its 'Moxon' plan, and No. 203 Deptford High Street, Goddard's Pie Shop, with its central stair arrangement, speak to an artisan design tradition that drew on the visual and spatial culture of architecture as one more medium for the expression of independence. The resulting streetscapes of varied houses, therefore, represent a very mixed set of responses to an increasingly complex array of architectural possibilities; the result is an urban landscape that invites comparison with the housing traditions of London and challenges us to understand their differences.

SECTION 4: NOTES

1. John Twisleton, 18th-century barber poet, as transcribed in R. T. Gaskin, *The Old Seaport of Whitby* (Whitby, 1909), pp. 279-80.
2. Joseph Brientnall, *A plain description of one street in this city* (Philadelphia, 1729).
3. NMR, reference collection and report on No. 81 High Street, Gravesend, 1974, BI No. 39681.
4. RCHME, 'Sheerness: The Dockyard, Defences and Blue Town', 1995 report.
5. RCHM(E), *County of Dorset, ii, South-East, part 2* (London, 1970), pp. 216 and 222; Chalklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-128 and plates 24-25; NMR, reference collection.
6. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, 'Some Seventeenth-century Houses in Great Yarmouth', *Archaeologia*, xcv, 1953, pp. 141-180.
7. I. and E. Hall, *Georgian Hull* (York, 1978).
8. R. Leech, *RCHME Supplementary Series: 3 - Early Industrial Housing, The Trinity Area of Frome* (London, 1981).
9. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, 'North Street, Folkestone, Kent', *Antiquaries Journal*, xxix, 1949, pp. 8-12.
10. Chalklin, *op. cit.*, plate 8; L. Caffyn, *Workers' Housing in West Yorkshire: 1750-1920* (London, 1986), pp. 2-8; J. Alfrey and C. Clark, *The Landscape of Industry: Patterns of change in the Ironbridge Gorge* (London, 1993), pp. 169-198.
11. S. Collier and S. Pearson, *Whitehaven 1660-1800* (London, 1991), p. 87.
12. RCHM(E), *op. cit.*, 1970, p. 222.
13. (ed.) F. H. W. Sheppard, *Survey of London, xxxiii, The Parish of St Anne Soho* (London, 1966), pp. 238-246.
14. *Survey of London*, xxi, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.
15. RCHME, *City of York, v, The Central Area* (London, 1981), pp. 134, 208-9.

APPENDIX ONE: GAZETTEER OF SITES RECORDED

These summary accounts present the sites recorded in the course of the 1997-8 RCHME survey of Deptford. Many of them are based on much more detailed survey reports, in some cases incorporating revisions to reports circulated in 1997 and early 1998. In all cases there are supporting files accessible through the National Monuments Record, for which index numbers are given. Given the fragmentary and sometimes concealed survival of early fabric in these buildings, the degree of alteration, and difficulties of access, this can not be taken to be a definitive list of Deptford's early buildings. It will, nonetheless, provide a base against which any new discoveries can be considered.

Nos 33-37 (odd) Deptford High Street

NMR Buildings Index No: 97349

NGR: TQ 3718 7706

Nos 33, 35 and 37 (Figs 27, 36 and 42) were built in 1784-6 as a short row of three uniform houses, filling one of the last gaps towards the south end of the west side of Butt Lane. The first rates were paid in 1785 by John Taplow, who was gone by 1786, and who thus may have been the builder. These eight-room houses were evidently relatively high in status in Deptford's terms, with largely bourgeois occupation through the 19th century; there is no evidence for early shops. However, in the 1820s James Lines, a tailor, was at No. 33. The house was then occupied by church ministers in the 1840s, accommodating a ladies' school in the 1860s and '70s, then a solicitor. No. 35 was occupied by a clerk c.1840, by the Reverend Joseph North in the 1850s, used as an office for the Metropolitan Board of Works in the 1860s, later becoming a surgeon's house. No. 37 was the home of James Pike and his successors (his eldest son was an undertaker) from c.1800 through the 19th century. The ground floors have become shops, with recent shopfronts.

These are three-storey and cellar 17ft- (5.5m) front houses. They are built of stock brick laid to Flemish bond, painted to the front where there are gauged-brick flat-arched window heads. The brickwork is brownish and more crudely finished to the rear. The tightly-spaced three-bay fronts are made regular by the use of blind openings over the original entrance positions. Parapets conceal M roofs that were probably originally pantiled. Inside there are two rooms per storey with rear-staircase, party-wall chimneystack plans. This would be the standard 18th-century London high-status house form, save that the rear room fireplaces are at the inner angles, an oddly old-fashioned arrangement that, combined with the rear staircase, renders the back rooms very small. It is not evident that the stairs were originally lit other than by borrowed light, another reflection that for buildings of this plan type these are small houses. They are an interesting witness to the changing character of Deptford at the end of the 18th century. They are aspirational in local terms, approaching the fashionable London standard for larger town houses. The rear-staircase plans and the squeezing of the third window bay into the fronts suggest the language of bigger houses applied in an ill-fitting manner in a place where this was not the norm.

Internally the houses have been very much altered (No. 35 was not inspected), but No. 37 retains a first-floor front room with an arrangement of cupboards flanking an outsized fireplace that is probably original, though altered in its finishes. There is also a moulded dado and cornice. The staircase in this house appears to be a replacement in the original position, with plain dado panelling on the upper storey, where the front windows have slightly splayed embrasures, unusual in the 1780s. The cellar front room was evidently a kitchen, perhaps lit through an area, retaining some stone flooring, shelving, a 19th-century iron range in a wide fireplace, parts of a moulded dado rail and remains of plaster lining. The cellar back room was neither heated nor lined out; it has a cupboard in a relieving arch under the angle stack, retaining a part-panelled door on H-L hinges. To the rear of No. 37 there is a substantial single-storey wing, with a 19th-century cellar room that may also have been a kitchen. Floors and internal partitions have been removed in No. 33, but some plain dado panelling does survive to the front on the upper storey.

Sources

Ratebooks; *Post Office Directories*; LLSA, 1841 census

Nos 53-61 (odd) Deptford High Street

NMR Buildings Index No: 97350

NGR: TQ 3718 7712

These very much rebuilt properties have their origins as the greater part of a group of seven houses built in 1780-4 by John Thompson, a carpenter who from 1787 to 1794 was the Master House Carpenter at Deptford's Naval Dockyard (Figs 62 and 63). Thompson took a lease on a 108ft (40m) square plot of what had been garden ground from the freeholder, Thomas Sewer. The land was immediately south of an irregular run of 14 houses (Nos 67-93) that had been put up in 1774-8 (qv). To spread the financial burden of what was a relatively large speculation by local standards Thompson seems to have put himself at the head of a consortium, giving sub-leases to Edward Pierce, stonemason, Joseph Farnell, plumber, and John Morgan. They built seven houses in a regular and symmetrical layout, that to the centre (No. 59) being significantly larger than those flanking.

The smaller houses probably had eight rooms each, and were perhaps comparable to Nos 33-37 (qv). They were also relatively high-status dwellings with mixed occupancy of upwardly mobile artisans and the professional bourgeoisie. Early occupants of the row included Morgan, James Elliott, a tailor, and George Emmett, a market gardener whose family had long held ground on the west side of Butt Lane. From the 1790s to the 1840s Lieut. James Wolfe Roberts, RN, was in No. 65 and, in the 1820s, William Bailey, RN, was in No. 61. Robert Slater, a plumber and painter, and his successors were in No. 53 from the 1820s to the 1870s. In the 1850s Henry Cockle, a solicitor, had No. 55, and Henry Adams and Daniel Paine, coal merchants, Nos 61 and 65.

No. 59 was one of the street's best houses. No rates were paid on it until 1791 when it was leased to Thomas Jones, a shipwright described as 'gent' who later became a victualler. In 1799 it was taken by John Turpin, a linen draper, though probably not as a shop; his widow remained in occupation as 'gentry' into the 1830s. Thereafter a solicitor was followed by a series of doctors.

By the 1860s Nos 61-63 had become tailor's and milliner's shops and a decade later Nos 53-57 housed a confectioner, a hosier and a grocer. Nos 63-65 were rebuilt c1890 (with Nos 67-9) as Bland and Phillips department store. Nos 53-57 and 61 have been largely rebuilt in the 20th century and No. 59 has come into use as a shop, its upper storeys much rebuilt in the 1990s following a fire.

No. 59 has an 18ft (5.5m) three-bay frontage. The others have 14-16ft (4-5m) fronts, formerly of two bays. An early photograph shows that all the houses were originally three storeys with cellars, but No. 59 had greater storey heights with slight breaks forward in the front and back wall lines, reinforcing its primacy in the 3:1:3 rhythm of the group. The fronts were evidently plain and regular yellow stock brick, with gauged-brick flat-arched window heads, as surviving on the first floor of No. 59. To the rear No. 59 has a full-width full-height canted-bay window, an unusual and distinctly high-status feature in this context. The bay and the former presence of a diagonally set floor beam do suggest that the original staircase was probably centrally positioned, present arrangements and stack positions suggesting it would have been to the north. It seems likely that all the houses had two-room plans, though No. 59 was so spacious as to be rated at double the value of its neighbours. Rebuilding has rendered reconstruction of the internal layouts difficult, but evidence in the cellar of No. 59 and breaks in the north flank wall of No. 61 indicate that there were party-wall stacks. No. 59 retains what would have been the original 5ft-wide kitchen fireplace in the formerly-panelled cellar front room. Over a depressed arch a surround and

mantelpiece have robust mouldings that would typically be classified as earlier in date than 1780.

Sources

Ratebooks; *Post Office Directories*; Ordnance Survey maps 1869 and 1896; LLSA, 1841 census, deeds (A96/18/19, 21 & 27) and photograph (PH84/12,220); information from J. Mondrzejewski; R. Morriss, *The Royal Dockyards during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* (Leicester, 1983), p. 158; *The Builder*, 29 March 1890, p. 240.



Figure 62 - Nos 53-61 Deptford High Street (RCHME, AA98/01679)

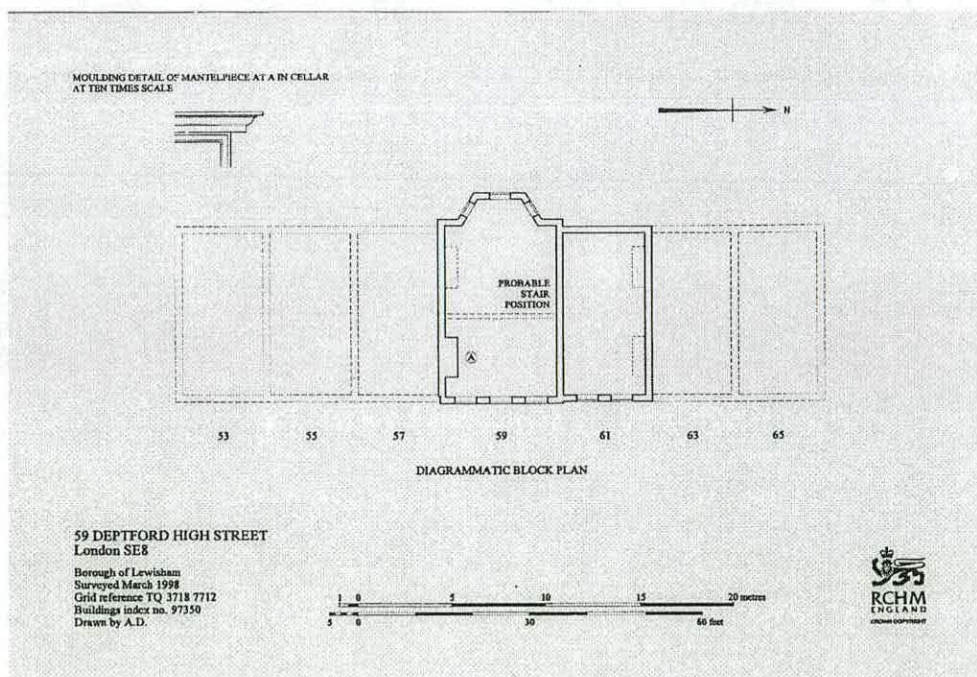


Figure 63 - Nos 53-65 Deptford High Street, reconstructed diagrammatic block plan with cellar fireplace detail from No. 59.

Nos 73-79 (odd) Deptford High Street

NMR Buildings Index No: 97353

NGR: TQ 3718 7716

The four properties at Nos 73-79 are survivors from a run of fourteen houses (on the sites of Nos 67-93) built in 1774-8 that came to be known as 'Pleasant Row'. This development was an early part of the late-18th-century infilling of the south end of Butt Lane. The 'row' was not at all uniform. The frontages and rateable values of the buildings varied and the survivors are disparate in form (see also Nos 85 and 89, qv) (Figs 64 and 65). The builders remain unknown, but it is likely that the freeholder, probably Thomas Sewer, let off small plots to artisanal entrepreneurs for small-scale speculations, simultaneous but uncoordinated. Nos 73-77 may have been put up together in 1776-8. Thomas Underwood, a plasterer, was the first occupant of No. 75. No. 77 burnt down in 1783-4; following its rebuilding in 1784-7 Edward Pierce, a stonemason, was in occupation. The single house at No. 79 was built in 1776-7 and was evidently owned and occupied from the outset by one John Hooker, described in 1819 as 'gent'.

Nos 73-77 were evidently 'respectable' bourgeois dwellings through the early 19th century; No. 77 was a ladies' boarding and day school from the 1820s to the 1850s. Charles F. Maltby, an architect and surveyor, had No. 75 around 1850, then moved to No. 77 where his wife carried on the school into the 1860s. Shop use may have come to No. 79 first; William Hatfull, variously a smith, ironmonger, gasfitter, locksmith and bellhanger, was in occupation from the 1830s. By 1860 Nos 73 and 75 had become shops and by 1866 No. 77 was occupied by a watch and clock maker. Various commercial uses have ensued.

These are three-storey brick buildings with frontages of about 17ft (5m) at Nos 73-77, and 15ft (4.5m) at No. 79. There are painted-brick front walls above modern shops, probably all of two bays originally, though No. 77 was refronted in the late 19th century as a single bay, with architraves to its windows and the designation 'Caxton House'. Elsewhere some original gauged-brick flat-arched window heads survive. No. 79 stands apart in having an apparently unaltered and strongly asymmetrical front (No. 106 qv) that probably reflects the original entrance position to the north, where there is still a doorway in a modern shopfront. To the whole group there are parapets to steeply-pitched M roofs. Nos 73-77 have early brickwork in gable parapets and a broadly continuous roofline that indicates a single development (Nos 33-37, qv). The slightly taller ridge of No. 77 may reflect the 1780s rebuilding. To the rear there are irregularly fenestrated brown stock-brick elevations.

Access to the upper-storey interiors has not been gained, but the rating valuations of the houses suggest eight rooms in each originally, that is two-room plans in three storeys with cellars. Chimneystacks have been removed from Nos 73-77 and the original plan form remains unknown. No. 79 may have had as many rooms as the others, but it was shallower and narrower in plan. Significantly it retains a central chimneystack that strongly suggests an internal arrangement of the 'Moxon' plan type (Nos 62-66, qv).

Sources

Ratebooks; *Post Office Directories*; Ordnance Survey map, 1868; LLSA, 1841 census; Guildhall Library, Hand-in-Hand Insurance Registers, MS 8674/120, f. 36.

Nos 85 and 89 Deptford High Street

NMR Buildings Index No: 97355

NGR: TQ 3717 7719

Nos 85 and 89 are further partial survivors from the irregular run of fourteen houses (on the sites of Nos 67-93) built in 1774-8 that came to be known as 'Pleasant Row' (Nos 73-79, qv). No. 89 was built in 1775-6 and the first occupant was Judith Guilder. No. 85 went up in 1776-7 and its first occupant was Robert Mitchell. They appear to have been separately built as single-house undertakings.

These modest buildings were artisanal houses, perhaps always incorporating commercial use. In the 1830s and 40s William Carr, a watchmaker, was in No. 89 with his wife, three children and two lodgers. Around 1850 James Smith, a smith, was in No. 89, and Frederick Redman, a bricklayer, was in No. 85. No. 89 became a tobacconist's shop in the late 1850s. No. 85 was occupied by Edwin Buttle, a furniture dealer, in the later 19th century.

These are low buildings of approximately 14-15ft (4-4.5m) frontage, originally of two storeys and garrets, perhaps with cellars. No. 85 has been raised and refronted to have a full three-storey single-bay stuccoed front. A dormered gambrel roof survives at No. 89, recovered in slate, and party-wall stacks remain, perhaps suggesting a two-room, centre-staircase plan (No. 203, qv); no access to the upper storeys has been gained. No. 89 has a two-bay front of late-19th-century stock brick over a modern shopfront. To the rear No. 85 retains a steeply-pitched pantiled roof.

Sources

Ratebooks; *Post Office Directories*; LLSA, 1841 census.



Figure 64 - Nos 73-79 Deptford High Street (RCHME, AA98/01681).



Figure 65 - Nos 85-89 Deptford High Street (RCHME, AA98/01685).

Nos 167 and 169 Deptford High Street

NMR Buildings Index No: 97352

NGR: TQ 3715 7748

Nos 167-9 Deptford High Street were built c.1780 as an unequal pair of houses, perhaps always intended to accommodate shops (Fig. 66). By 1790 John Omer, a grocer, was in the larger property at No. 169. John Brown, a baker or linendraper, succeeded him around 1820, followed by George Andrews, a grocer and cheesemonger. In the 1840s and 50s there were linendrapers at No. 169, with a household of 13 in 1841. William Brown, a bookbinder and printer, occupied No. 167 through the early 19th century. (No. 165, the adjoining 40ft (12m)-front three-bay building of somewhat comparable form, was built c.1840 by Thomas Baker Knott, an undertaker and coal merchant, at about the time he became a builder and timber merchant.) From c.1875 through to the 1950s No. 169 was occupied by Henry Bottomley, an undertaker, and his successors; latterly there has been a glaziers' shop. Various shop uses have continued in No. 167, most recently that of a hairdressing salon.

This is a two-storey building with cellars and garrets. It is brick built with stuccoed upper storeys over shopfronts to the street. No. 167 has a 15ft (4.5m) one-bay front, and No. 169 an 18ft (5.4m) two-bay front. A delicately bowed shopfront on No. 169 is conceivably original, though an early-19th-century date seems more likely to judge from the detailing of its pilastered ends and modillioned cornice. No. 167 has a 16-pane lamb's-tongue glazing-bar sash window, early if not original, and No. 169 later 19th-century four-pane sash windows. The north flank wall is of Flemish-bond brown brick. The rear wall of No. 167 has been rebuilt. There are gabled dormer windows in the steeply-pitched M roof. This was probably tiled originally; it is now covered with slates and machine tiles. A two-storey block to the rear of No. 169 may have its origins as an addition of c.1815, possibly a bakehouse. This block has recently been given a flat roof.

Internally these houses would have had two-room plans with chimney stacks in the dividing party wall. No. 167 has been wholly reordered and access within No. 169 has not possible, though the latter is said to retain an early first-floor cupboard. There may originally have been enclosed winder staircases between the stacks as at No. 203 (qv). These houses provided comparably extensive accommodation to that of more fashionable contemporary houses built further south on the High Street, but apparently without adapting form or layout to emulate higher-status housing.



Figure 66 - Nos 167-9 Deptford High Street (RCHME, AA98/01689).

Sources: Ratebooks; *Post Office Directories*; LLSA, 1841 census; EH photographs.

No. 203 Deptford High Street

:

NMR Buildings Index No: 95955

NGR: TQ 3714 7759

The site of No. 203 was first developed in 1726-30 on land owned by Elizabeth Vokins. This was evidently infill in the then otherwise continuously built up north end of Butt Lane. It was a twin property with a 17ft (5m) frontage, comprising separately occupied but contiguous front and back houses (Nos 205 and 227, qv). These were probably timber built with one-room plans. The first occupants were John Robinson, in the front house, and Samuel Wallis (d.1732) in the back house, which also had a shop or workshop, presumably to the rear. Through the 1740s and 1750s Thomas Rufford, who was paid for work on hulks for the Navy, was in the back house.

These twin houses were replaced with the present single brick house in 1775-6 for John Hammersley (Figs 27, 39 and 42). This was built as a six-room house of two storeys and garrets with a two-room centre-staircase side-chimneystack plan, perhaps always comprehending shop use (Nos 32-44, 167-169, qv). From at least 1830 through the rest of the 19th century No. 203 was a butcher's shop. Latterly the ground floor has been a pie shop. The parapetted two-bay front wall has been refaced in stucco with architraved sash windows over a shopfront remade in the 1990s. The steeply-pitched M-profile roof has been recovered in slate and the stacks rise above the south flank wall. Internally the upper storeys remain relatively unaltered. The original tightly-wound and unlit winder staircase survives, with some stick balustrading in the garrets. The first floor retains much original joinery with plain-panelled partitions in the rear part of the house enclosing the staircase in a manner also seen in one-room plan houses (Nos 21 and 27-31 Tanners Hill, qv). There are cupboards with H-L hinges and a robustly moulded floating mantelpiece in the back chamber. The rear wall has a single oddly-positioned window at first-floor level, possibly reflecting the former existence of a rear wing. No. 203 is a particularly good example of an artisanal house of the 1770s.

Sources

RCHME survey report 1997; Ratebooks, *Post Office Directories*; LLSA, deeds A89/3, A96/18/12, PT 86/527/93, 1841 census, F.Neale, 'Deptford 1745'.

No. 205 Deptford High Street

NMR Buildings Index No: 97348

NGR: TQ 3714 7760

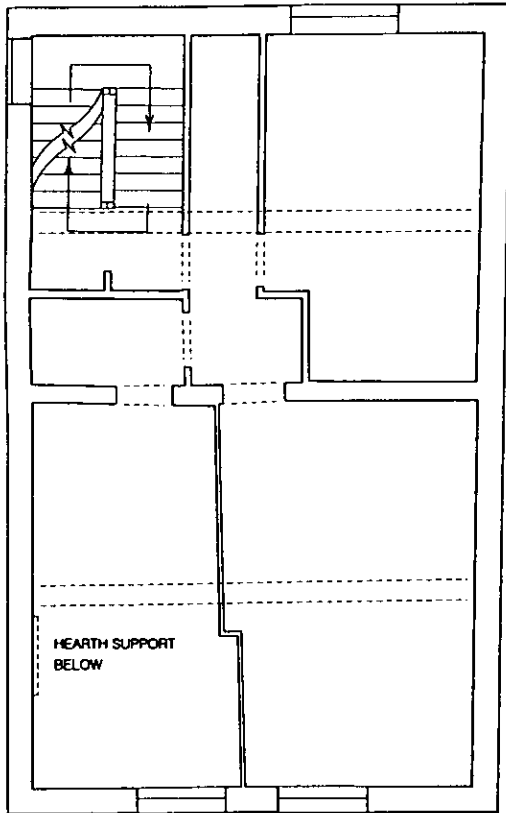
No. 205 Deptford High Street was built for John Creasy, a tea dealer, in 1774-5 as a house designed to include a shop (Figs 27, 39, 42, 44 and 67). It is a two-room-plan brick house of two storeys, cellars and garrets with a two-bay front. The front wall was rebuilt c.1900 in stock brick, and there is a late-20th-century shopfront. Behind the façade it retains 18th-century fabric under a gambrel roof that has its ridge at right angles to the street. The 1774-5 building replaced a c.1700 pair of houses built by and in part for Richard Mackrell, probably a shipwright employed at Deptford's Naval Dockyard. This pair comprised a 'fore part' and a 'back part', an arrangement that was widespread in early-18th-century Deptford, reflecting density of population in this early industrial town. These c.1700 shipwrights' houses were probably timber built, perhaps with an open passage along one side of the wide plot. Both houses were probably vertically arranged with one-room plans, with chambers over living and cooking accommodation. There was much new building and rebuilding in Deptford in the 1770s by when the one-room plan had declined in status. Creasy evidently started anew filling the 22ft- (6.7m)-wide plot with the surviving large house. That a site that had contained two shipwrights' houses in the early 18th century might be redeveloped as a single house and shop for a tea dealer in the late 18th century speaks volumes about Deptford's changing culture and wider social transformations. Creasy's house was designed to include a ground-floor shop with stair access to a cellar store. These more public commercial spaces were deliberately segregated from the private domestic accommodation to the rear by a brick median wall and an internal chimneystack; there was a kitchen and a vaulted store in the cellar to the rear. The median-wall chimney position is unusual in being well off centre, but it relates to more central chimneystacks in other recorded buildings in Deptford and east London which demonstrate the widespread use in the 18th century of an ostensibly earlier plan form. Somewhat more fashionable, and a measure of the house's high status in local terms, was the fine and spacious dogleg rear staircase with columnar newel posts and balusters. Equally grandly a canted bay was formed to the front on the first floor. Through the Victorian period the building, then known as Wellington House, was a tailor's and outfitter's shop, still with the proprietors' domestic accommodation above. Commercial use has continued through the 20th century, with the upper storeys latterly subdivided as flats. The 18th-century staircase survives, much altered except at its top and bottom ends, and the former kitchen retains some plain panelling. Elsewhere the interior has been extensively altered, particularly through removal of the chimney stack. Despite these alterations the house is a valuable witness to Georgian house design in the context of commercial use.

Source

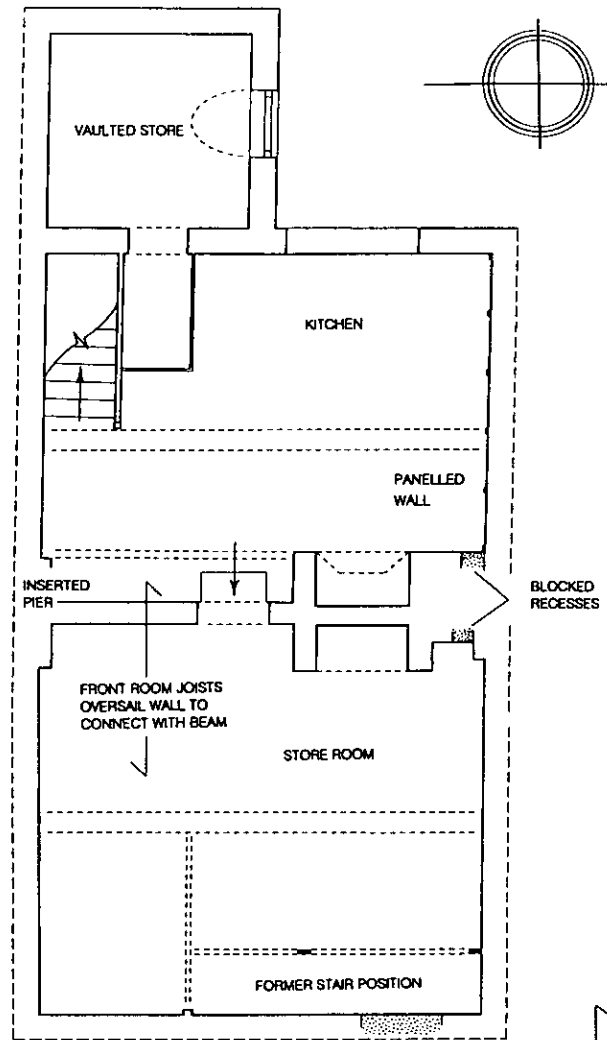
RCHME survey report 1998



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FIRST FLOOR



CELLAR

UPPER FLIGHT
BALUSTER
DRAWN AT 10x SCALE

205 DEPTFORD HIGH STREET
London SE8

Borough of Lewisham
Surveyed May 1998
Grid reference TQ 37147760
Building index no. 97348
Surveyed by PG and JC; Drawn by JC

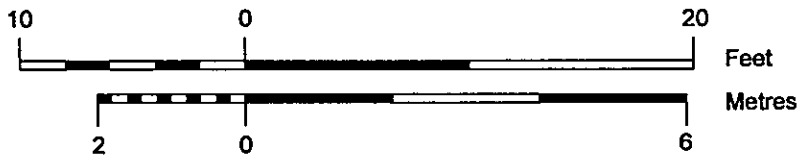


Figure 67 - No. 205 Deptford High Street, plans (RCHME).

Nos 221-225 (odd) Deptford High Street

NMR Buildings Index No: 96633

NGR: TQ 3713 7766

Nos 221-5 Deptford High Street have their origins in the period 1654-1692 during which John Evelyn developed a corner of his Sayes Court estate corresponding to Nos 217-227 with a block of nine buildings set back from the road (Fig. 68). Among new lessees in 1706 of what were formerly four plots now represented by the three buildings at Nos 221-225, were Edward Ledger, a shipwright, and William Thornton. Occupants included Nathaniel Pile, another shipwright who was in No. 225 in the 1720s and '30s. Other dockyard artisans were probably his neighbours. No. 225 appears to have been extended forward at an early date, possibly to provide a separate front house (Nos 205 and 227, qv). Nothing survives of these early houses which were almost certainly timber built.

One of the two early properties on the site of No. 223 was rebuilt in brick *c*1770 and became the Red Cow Public House. This was evidently enlarged and rebuilt *c*1810 with the present symmetrical three-bay front with a central relieving arch on the first floor. No. 221 has a stuccoed single-bay front that may be of *c*.1830 when Henry Sharp, a tallow chandler, moved in and made improvements. No. 225 has a two-bay brick front, rebuilt recently, but of a form that may derive from a rebuilding of *c*1835 for George Wade, a grocer.

All but the front walls of Nos 221 and 223 were again rebuilt in the 1990s. Prior to that Nos 223 and 225 appear to have retained centre-staircase party-wall chimneystack plans, that at No. 225 of two rooms and analogous to that surviving at No. 227 (qv). No. 221 evidently had a rear-staircase plan.

Sources

Ratebooks; *Post Office Directories*; BL, MSS, Evelyn Papers, E27-40, J. Gascoyne, 'Plan of the Manor of Sayes Court in Deptford'; LB Lewisham, record prepared by Lawrence & Wrightson, architects, 1992.



Figure 68 - Nos 217-227 Deptford High Street (RCHME, AA98/01697).

No. 227 Deptford High Street

NMR No: 96633

NGR: TQ 3712 7767

No. 227 Deptford High Street has its origins in the period 1654-1692 during which John Evelyn developed a corner of his Sayes Court estate corresponding to Nos 217-227 with a block of nine buildings set back from the road. In 1706 the particularly narrow site at No. 227 (its frontage then denoted as 11ft9in. (3.6m), now measured as about 13ft (4m)) was let to Elizabeth Ware as two houses. Perhaps there had already been some building forward from the set-back fronts, a reflection of Deptford's rapid growth and urban character. As elsewhere (Nos 203 and 205, qv) narrow-fronted plots were developed or adapted for twin properties, with separately occupied but contiguous front and back houses, each with a one-room plan. These houses were probably timber built, though some surviving plastered brickwork in the cellar of No. 227 does seem to tie in with map evidence that the early houses were laid out as an L with a narrower front house alongside which an open-air passage provided independent access to the full-width back house.

William Mann, an oarmaker at the Naval Dockyard, was resident in the 1740s, and other early occupants were very probably also dockyard artisans. From 1770 Thomas Palmer, a baker, had the house. From about this time the social make-up of Butt Lane and notions of adequate housing changed and many of the twinned one-room-plan timber houses were replaced (No. 205, qv). No. 227 was all but wholly rebuilt for Palmer in 1791-2, with further improvements carried out for him in 1801-2 and 1822-3 that probably included a rear bakehouse that still stands. Other bakers held the premises into the 1990s. The building now stands empty, redevelopment intended.

Palmer's late-Georgian rebuilding produced a brick town house that remains exceptionally intelligible, both in its designed combination of commercial and residential functions and through its detailed fittings (Figs 27, 47 and 68). There are three storeys and a cellar, with a plain grey stock-brick front with sash windows in flat-arched reveals over a Victorian shopfront. There is a two-room plan with party-wall stacks and a median brick partition wall. A winder staircase rises behind this median wall in front of the rear stack. The cellar had a front kitchen, wherein a fireplace survives, and a partitioned back storage area. The ground floor comprised a shop towards the street with domestic space behind that was probably a dining parlour. The first floor had the best room and best chamber, with a dressing closet and clothes cupboard that survive. Throughout there is much plain panelling with dado and mantelpiece mouldings that are evidence of conservatism within the context of architectural fashion.

No. 227 is important as an example of mixed-use housing stock of middling value, once common in 18th-century London, but now largely lost. The clarity with which the building expresses the sociology of its interior organization is particularly noteworthy.

Sources

RCHME survey report 1998; Ratebooks; *Post Office Directories*; BL, MSS, Evelyn Papers, E27-40, J. Gascoyne, 'Plan of the Manor of Sayes Court in Deptford'; RCHME photographs BB98/02916-32.

Nos 32-44 (even) Deptford High Street

NMR Buildings Index No: 96634

NGR: TQ 3721 7706

Nos 32-44 were built in 1775-92 as part of the late-18th-century piecemeal development of Butt Lane towards its south end (Figs 25, 27, 37 and 42). Land on the east side owned by the Hyde family began to be built up in 1775, modest houses with 16ft (5m) frontages going up in groups of three to five at a time. Four houses (Nos 44-50) were built in 1775-6, perhaps by John Morgan. After a wartime interval three more adjoining to the south (Nos 38-42) went up in 1785-7; then after another hiatus, perhaps attributable to the London-wide carpenters' strike of 1787-9, another three (Nos 32-36) were added to the south in 1789-92.

Distinctly humbler in appearance than nearby houses of the same period (Nos 33-7 and 53-61, qv), Nos 32-44 have the form and finish of a once widespread type of 18th-century urban dwelling, one that is characteristically artisanal and at odds with the conventional notion of the Georgian town house. They were not originally used as shops, though some commercial activity would probably always have been present. From c. 1820-c. 1860 Joseph Taylor (b. 1785-6), a bricklayer and builder, lived at No. 36. Other occupants in 1841 included Benjamin Hillings, clerk, at No. 32, George Bowman, house agent, at No. 38, Caroline Warren, teacher, at No. 42, and Peter and Elizabeth Tibbs, carpenter and milliner, at No. 46. More overtly commercial use seems to have crept in soon after this with milliners moving into Nos 32 and 34, and a tailor (and ladies's school) into No. 40 by 1853. In the 1860s Nos 34-46 housed a grocer, undertaker, confectioner, tailor, bootmaker, wireworker and fruiterer respectively. A wide mix of shop uses ensued, including that of William Couture, tripe dresser, at No. 42 in the 1880s. Mixed commercial use endures in the survivors at Nos 32-44, tailoring continuing through Sidney Charles at No. 36. Nos 46-50 have been demolished and their site redeveloped.

These two-storey brick houses were built with cellars and garrets, that is with eight rooms each, to centre-staircase, side-chimneystack plans (No. 203, qv). The row has been largely refronted; its original external aspect survives best in the painted-brick upper storey at No. 32. There were probably entrances to the south, with two bays of sash windows in gauged-brick flat-arched reveals set to centre and north; the insertion of shopfronts leaves the upper-storey openings looking more asymmetrical than they might have done originally. There may always have been parapets with the moulded and stuccoed cornice that survives across much of the group, though this may have replaced open eaves. The steeply-pitched and prominent single-span roofs were pantiled with gabled dormers and twin stacks rising on the south side of each property. Internally access has not been gained excepting to No. 36, which retains much of its original form. The winder staircase is contained in the back room adjacent to the rear chimney. There is significant architectural detailing exhibiting attention to fashion and quality, including a cyma-moulded floating mantelpiece at garret level, and bead-edge vertical board partitions. The house probably had a ground-floor kitchen to the back, with upper-storey chambers, the first-floor front room perhaps doubling as best parlour and primary chamber. The cellars appear to have been unheated stores with largely unfinished surfaces.

Sources

RCHME survey report 1998; Ratebooks; *Post Office Directories*; LLSA, deeds A89/3, 1841 census; (ed.) K. Sutton, *Up the Creek*, (London, 1980), p. 14; RCHME photographs BB98/02933-42.

Nos 62-66 (even) Deptford High Street

NMR Buildings Index No: 95954

NGR: TQ 3720 7716

Nos 62-66 were built together in 1790-1 immediately north of the newly laid out road that later became Hales Street (Figs 25, 27, 38, 42 and 69). Nos 64 and 66 were built as an identical pair and No. 62 as a single larger house; the development was no more extensive. The builder, who took the approximately 50ft (15m) frontage on a long lease, was John Ashford, a carpenter and undertaker, who kept the larger house at No. 62 for his own occupation. It was evidently extended to the rear in the late 1830s, and Ashford's son (also John) continued in occupation until c1865, with his wife, nine children and a servant in 1841. The Ashford's were prominent in Deptford affairs and in the 1850s the younger John's son, Frederick (b.1829), prepared a collection of watercolours to illustrate a history of Deptford, 'simply intended to preserve the memory of places which time is ever changing'. In 1825 Joseph Keates, a boot and shoemaker, was in No. 66 (Stephen Keates had occupied the house from c1800), and John Strong, a clothier, was in No. 64. This suggests that the smaller houses may always have had ground-floor shop or workshop use. In the mid Victorian period No. 64 was occupied by Frank Lauder, a haircutter, then by George Sibery, an ironmonger. No. 66 housed a series of warehousemen, with goods ranging from baby linen to oil. In the 1870s No. 62 became a pawnbroker's shop, for Henry Phillips, which use continued into the 20th century. Nos 64/6 were joined together to house a single large shop c1900 and are said to have been a Kennedy's sausages shop through the 20th century; the upper storeys have long been out of use. No. 62 has recently found use as the African Design Centre.

No. 62 has an 18ft (5.4m) front, big by 18th-century Deptford standards, while Nos 64/6 each have more typical 15ft (4.5m) frontages. No. 62 is three full storeys (probably with a cellar), and originally had a regular three-bay front that has been rebuilt as two asymmetrical bays. Nos 64/6 are of two storeys and garrets with cellars and asymmetrical single-bay fronts, the fenestration relating to the former geometry of the ground floors, which had entrances north of shopfronts. A gambrel roof on Nos 64/6 has corrugated-sheet covering. No. 62 has an M roof, necessary because of its greater depth. Entirely brick built these houses have all been refronted, but some original brown stock brick laid to Flemish bond survives to the rear and in the flank walls. The rear wall of No. 64 retains a single segmental window head and an ovolo-moulded two-light casement window to the cellar.

All three houses were built with centre-stack plans of the 'Moxon' type, that is with staircases and cupboards framed against the stacks to separate the front and rear parts of the houses. There were two-room plans on every storey in each house, with such spaciousness in No. 62 as to allow for subsequent subdivision of the rear rooms. The stairs and stacks have been removed from Nos 64/6 save for the basement stack in No. 64. Nevertheless the side and party walls and floor framing retain sufficient evidence for the stack, stair and cupboard positions as to permit reconstruction of the plan. This plan type was widespread in late-18th-century Deptford and Greenwich, and perhaps more widely, though it rarely survives. It has typically been considered an earlier form, but its separation of front and rear parts may have meant that it remained popular for commercial use and multiple occupation in an artisanal social context. The mirroring of adjoining house plans, the norm in party-wall-stack pairs or terraces, was pointless with wholly internal stacks. No. 64 retains evidence for having had its kitchen to the rear in the cellar, with a broad fireplace with a plain timber bressumer. These kitchens were well lit as the cellar is effectively a lower ground floor to the garden. There is stone paving to the less well-lit cellar front room, which was unheated and perhaps used as stores for the shops.

In No. 62 there are plain-panelled rooms on the upper storeys and a twin-newel closed-string staircase. Nos 64/6 have been largely gutted, though plain-panelled stair partitions remain in the garrets of No. 64, with H-L door hinges. The size of the stair compartments would suggest single-newel or winder staircases. The garrets were fully habitable rooms, lined out with plaster, fitted with cupboards, and presumably heated. Exposed original floor beams and joists and roof timbers are of hand-sawn softwood. The ground floor in Nos 64/6 retains wall tiling, mirrored sideboards, ornamental cornices and ceilings, a shopfront with glazed sunburst panels and a finely lettered fascia from its early-20th-century conversions.

Sources

RCHME survey report 1997; Ratebooks; *Post Office Directories*; LLSA, 1841 census, F. Ashford, 'Views of Deptford in Kent', MS, 1860; N. Dews, *History of Deptford* (London, 1884), p. 234; EH photographs (GLC 74/7686, 7696, 7705), RCHME photographs BB97/1581-7, BB98/03024-42

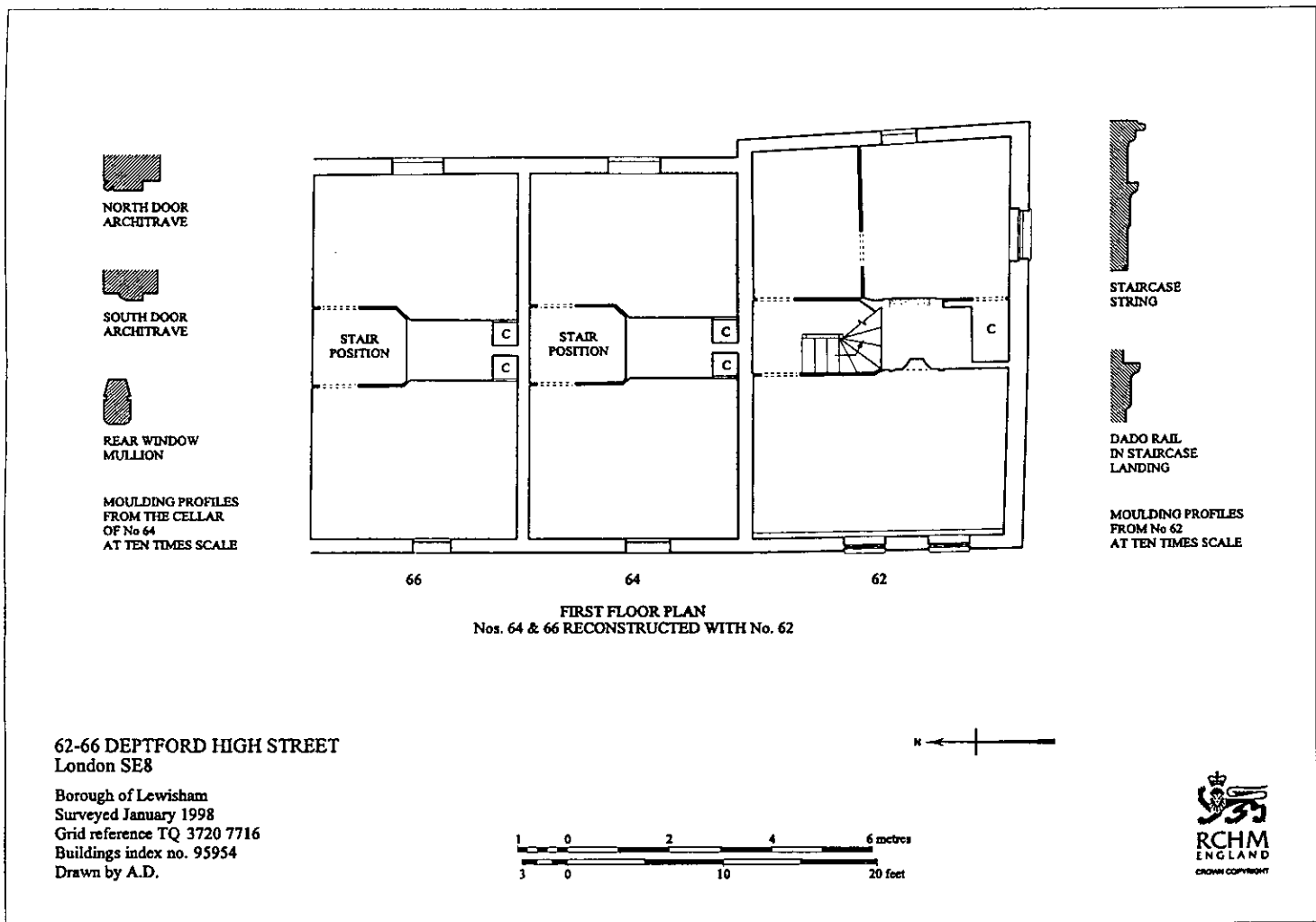


Figure 69

Nos 104-122 (even) Deptford High Street

NMR Buildings Index Nos: 96632 (Nos 116-118) and 97351 (Nos 104-8)
NGRs: TQ 3719 7733 (Nos 116-118) and TQ 3720 7729 (Nos 104-8)

Nos 104-108 and 116-118 are five survivors from a row of ten houses that was built between 1775 and 1785 and that came to be known as Slade's Place (Figs 25, 27, 42, 70 and 71). Mary Slade, a shopkeeper and spinster in a property-owning Deptford family with Dockyard connections, acquired the freehold of the land for £480 in 1775 and appears to have been the developer, possibly working with Gilbert Ferguson, a surveyor and perhaps previously or also a shipwright, who was among the first occupants. The approximately 200ft (60m) frontage linked earlier development to the north with Thomas Giffin's ambitious contemporary development to the south. Though not entirely uniform Slade's Place was the only example in Butt Lane of what would conventionally be termed a Georgian terrace. It provided what was clearly superior (that is large and fashionable) housing in local terms, most of the three-storey brick houses having 18ft (5.5m) frontages. They were set in a regular line behind 'courts' or front gardens and had raised ground floors with views to the west across open fields that remained uninterrupted until the 1830s.

No. 110 was an exceptionally big 30ft (9m)-front house with a huge rear garden. It was occupied initially by Mary and Elizabeth Slade; Benjamin Slade moved into No. 108 c1792-3 when he was Purveyor at the Naval Dockyard. Reverend Dr Wilson, Captain Sainway, Thomas Gooch, 'gent', and Stephen Parrell, a grocer, were other early residents as were a number of women listed as 'gentry', possibly well-to-do widows or wives of absent naval officers. Through the 19th century attorneys by the name of Sandom had No. 108. No. 110 was occupied by Charles Ferguson Esq from c1800-c1830 and Allin Foord Price, MD, from c1840 to the 1870s. Other doctors lived at No. 116 then No. 120 through the second half of the 19th century. There was a ladies school at No. 106 in the 1860s-70s, but bourgeois occupancy began to break down around this time. No. 104 was divided into apartments in the 1860s and No. 112 became the Deptford Industrial Home & Refuge for Destitute Boys in the 1870s when Nos 116 and 118 were occupied by a photographer and a poor-rate collector. By the 1880s Nos 104-106 had become a greengrocer's and a chemist's, and No. 110 had been divided to house a bootmaker and a cheesemonger. All the front gardens had been built over with single-storey shops by 1896, by when Nos 112-114 had become one. Nos 110-114 and 120-122 were wholly rebuilt as commercial premises in the early 20th century. The other houses continue as domestic accommodation over ground-floor shops.

These were all three-storey houses. No evidence for cellars has been seen; they were perhaps filled in the transformations of the raised ground floors to commercial use. They have plain and flat sub-Palladian yellow and brown stock-brick fronts with gauged-brick flat-arched window heads and coped parapets concealing M roofs over deep two-room plans (Nos 108 and 116 have painted fronts and mansarded roofs). Despite some replacement brickwork it is clear that the original front-wall fenestration was curiously irregular. Asymmetry ranges from the almost regular three bays of Nos 116-118, through the slightly uneven three bays of Nos 104 and 108, to the wholly unbalanced two bays of No. 106, the disposition of which must relate to a former entrance position to the north. To the rear there is crude and irregularly fenestrated brown brickwork.

Nos 106 and 116 have rear-staircase plans that are probably typical of the whole row (internal inspection of Nos 104, 108 and 118 has not been possible); party-wall stacks survive in all but No. 106. The layout provided large front rooms and much smaller rear rooms. Except perhaps at attic level there were

Nos 134-144 (even) Deptford High Street

NMR Buildings Index No: 97354

NGR: TQ 3718 7741

There were originally eleven properties on the sites corresponding to Nos 126-144 forming continuous development with a c.1680 row of twelve houses to the north (Nos 144A-162, qv). The northernmost property was built between 1679 and 1687 and the southernmost was the Congregationalist Meeting House of 1702, suggesting that the houses were put up in phases from c.1680 to c.1700. All but the end properties were comparably rated. Nothing of these early buildings appears to survive, but documents and early views suggest that they were one-room plan, brick and timber houses of two storeys with garrets and cellars, each about 16-17ft (5m) square. Occupants in the 1740s included at least four shipwrights along with other dockyard artisans.

There was piecemeal extension and rebuilding of this row in the period 1770-1850 (Fig. 72). No. 134 was occupied by William Offord, a shipwright, from the 1790s through to the 1840s and thereafter rebuilt. No. 136 was perhaps rebuilt c.1840 for Isaac Porritt, printer, stationer and bookseller. No. 138 may have been rebuilt in the early 1770s, then again in the 20th century. No. 140 was seemingly rebuilt in the late 1770s by Thomas Hambly, and No. 142 by George Hart, a grocer, c.1820. In the 1830s the London and Greenwich Railway was put through the sites of Nos 128-132.

Despite disparate appearance arising from the various rebuildings the group retains its original regular plot sizes, with frontages of about 17ft (5m). The buildings are regular in height, all being of three storeys with coped parapets. No. 134 has an altered two-bay stuccoed front. No. 136 has a single-bay painted brick front of c.1840 with gauged-brick flat-arched heads and an M roof. No. 138 is outwardly entirely of the 20th century. No. 140 has been refronted as three bays of modern brick, asymmetrically spaced to the south. No. 142 retains its plain c.1820 yellow-stock-brick upper-storeys two-bay front, with gauged-brick flat-arched heads. It has a steeply-pitched hipped and tile-covered roof, with no chimneystack evidence visible. No internal access was possible to any but No. 136, which has been entirely altered and refinished



Figure 72 - Nos 134-142 Deptford High Street (RCHME, AA98/01669).

RCHME

Sources

Ratebooks; *Post Office Directories*; LLSA, 1841 census, F. Ashford MS, 1860, photograph 79/9271, F. Neale, 'Deptford, 1745'; Guildhall Library, Hand-in-Hand Insurance Registers, MS 8674/120, f. 200.

Nos 144A-162 (even) Deptford High Street

NMR Buildings Index No: 96631

NGR: TQ 3718 7746

No. 150 is probably the earliest surviving house in Deptford, the last to remain standing from a row of twelve late-17th-century houses on the sites of Nos 144A-162 (Figs 25, 27, 46 and 73), built through piecemeal development, each with a frontage of about 16ft (5m). Some of these houses, perhaps including No. 150, were up by 1679 when Joseph Hall, an East Greenwich potter, acquired the freehold of a 32ft by 100ft (9.5m by 30m) plot of land on which two brick houses had been built by 1687. This pair (No. 144A) was converted to be an early Quakers' Meeting House in about 1692. No. 162 has an inscription recording an original build date of 1682.

No. 162, the end house to the north, had been extended with a shop in 1730; the other properties were evidently artisanal dwellings. In the 1740s occupants included at least two shipwrights, a sailmaker, and a house carpenter, all in the pay of the Naval Dockyard. No. 152 was substantially extended to the rear in 1765-70 for Gilbert Ferguson, then a shipwright, and No. 150 was doubled in size for Samuel Sharp with a rear wing in 1771-2. By the 1780s No. 162 had become the Royal Oak Public House, elegantly rebuilt with two adjoining houses to the south in 1846, as its inscription also records. Other shop use had come in with John and William Pembroke, butchers, at Nos 152-4 from c.1810 (William, his wife and 12 children, occupied No. 152 in 1841) and boot and shoemakers were in No. 148 from the 1820s and No. 150 from c.1830, Robert Kersey residing there until the 1860s. No. 154 had become the Brown Bear Public House, rebuilt c.1840, and Nos 156-160 had a tailor, a baker and a hatter through mid century when they too were evidently rebuilt. Kersey moved to No.148, perhaps rebuilt for him in the 1860s, when No. 150 was taken by a pawnbroker. The Quakers' Meeting House and No. 146 (Dining Rooms since the 1870s) were demolished in 1907. The site of No. 144A was redeveloped as Edwards' Dining Rooms in 1926-7, faience-tile fronted commercial premises by W. Allison, architect, incorporating a plaque commemorating the Meeting House and Peter the Great's 1698 visit there. No. 152 was bombed out in World War II, only to be replaced in the early 1990s in a form that follows its 300-year old neighbour at No. 150.



Figure 73 - Nos 150-152 Deptford High Street (RCHME, 283/H/5).

No. 150 thus represents the early row. It is a one-room-plan brick house of two storeys with garrets and cellars, that is four rooms vertically arranged in about 15ft (4.6m) by 14ft6in. (4.4m).

Inevitably much altered the single-bay front has what appears to be a 19th-century stuccoed appearance with a moulded cornice to a parapet, altered in the 1990s with a new shopfront. The original steeply-pitched roof form survives with tile covering, a dormer window, and a stack to the north in front of the ridge. Inside the upper

part of the original winder staircase still rises behind the original stack, with a first-floor plain-panelled stair partition. The 1771-2 full-height one-room-plan rear wing has an altered gambrel roof at right angles to the front range. This house was perhaps exceptional for its time in being brick built, a reason for its survival, but it was otherwise probably highly typical of Deptford's pre-1750 artisanal housing. The row stood immediately in front of St Paul's Church, a telling juxtaposition. As a late-17th-century one-room-plan house No. 150 is an important and rare survival.

Sources

RCHME survey report 1998; Ratebooks; *Post Office Directories*; LLSA, 1841 census, F. Neale, 'Deptford, 1745'; Friends House Library, Property Records, Deptford Meeting House.

Nos 18-21 Deptford Broadway

NMR Buildings Index No: 96630

NGR: TQ 3730 7696

These buildings on the north side of Deptford Broadway occupy narrow building plots that have early, perhaps medieval, origins. The earliest standing structure is No. 20, a late-17th-century house (Figs 26, 27, 42 and 43). The other buildings are of the 19th century, though there are fragments of earlier fabric (Fig. 74). All the buildings have been in a variety of commercial uses as far back as evidence relates. No. 20 was built as a two-storey brick house with two rooms on each floor and garrets, gabled to front and back. It retains much of its original plan form, its gabled rear wall, the upper part of its original twin-newel stair with robustly moulded balusters, and the rear parts of the original butt-purlin roof. A house of respectable size and finish it may have been built for a merchant or successful tradesman. It has a central-staircase plan, with side-wall stacks opposite the stairs. Unusually the rear rooms had an inverted L shape, and the possibility of closets seems to have been spurned. There are features suggestive of 18th-century alterations, and the front was rebuilt in the 19th century to give a full second storey. No. 18 is an 1840s replacement of another gable-fronted building that was raised a storey in the early 20th century. No. 19 was probably two small early timber buildings extended to the rear and refronted by the 1830s, then entirely rebuilt behind later in the 19th century. No. 21 seems to be a late-19th-century building, though it retains early brickwork in its cellar and perhaps in a chimney.

Sources

RCHME survey report 1998; LLSA, F. Ashford MS, p. 29; RCHME photographs BB98/03086-9.

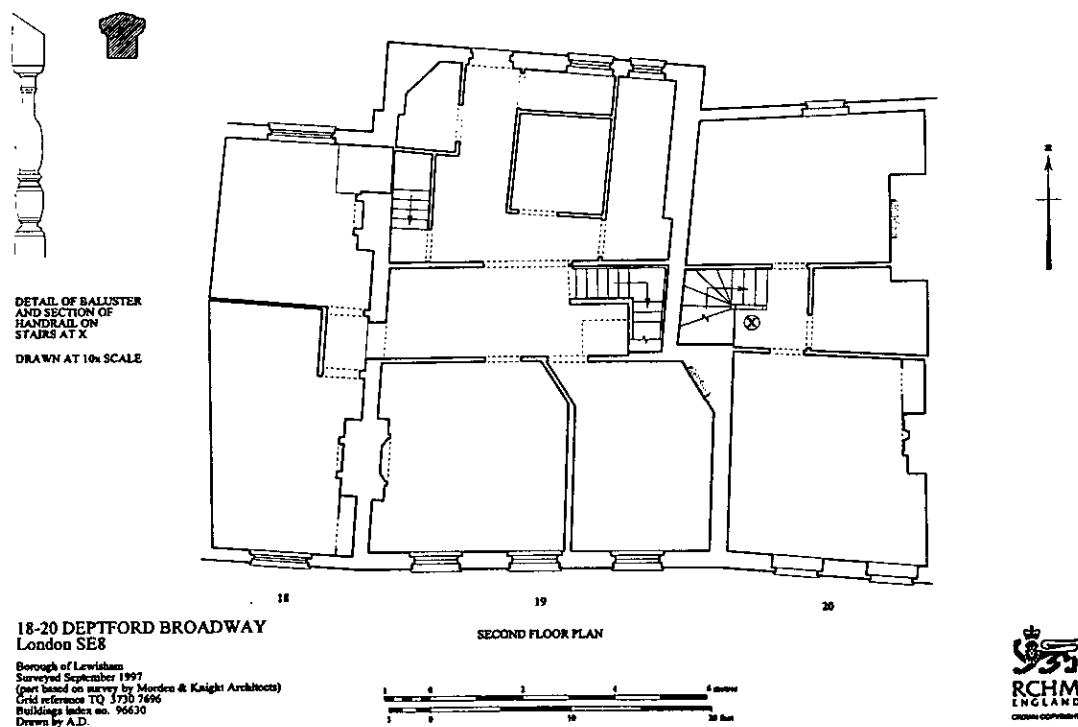


Figure 74 - Nos 18-20 Deptford Broadway,
second-floor plan

No. 43 Deptford Broadway

NMR Buildings Index No: 97356

NGR: TQ 3726 7692

This is a comparatively large building, with a generously spaced three-bay front rising three full storeys with gable-fronted garrets. Its stuccoed front has classical window heads and a cornice, all 19th century in appearance; the ground floor has a modern shopfront to a hair salon. However, the exposed west flank wall exhibits earlier reddish-brown brickwork, perhaps late 17th century or early 18th century. In itself this is insufficient evidence to show conclusively that this is an early building, but taken with the roof profile and the site of the building it may indicate the age of the property. The garret level has been raised along the west side, altering the roofline. To the rear there is a gable to a brick elevation that may have been remade in stock brick. Two chimneystacks appear to remain in position along the east side of the building. The present entrance position to the west, for access to the upper-storey flats, may indicate that an early stair position would be on this side of the house, opposite the fireplaces (No. 20 Deptford Broadway, qv). No internal access has been possible and it can not be said with certainty that this is an early building, but it is included here on the balance of probabilities.

RCHME photograph AA98/01661.

No. 47 Deptford Broadway

NMR Buildings Index No: 97357

NGR: TQ 3724 7692

No. 47 Deptford Broadway appears to be a late-17th- or early-to-mid-18th-century building on a narrow 11ft (3.3m)-wide plot the development of which is likely to have much earlier origins. The existing building is of three storeys with cellars, a single bay wide. Its brick front wall is a 1996-7 replacement of an earlier and much altered red-brick front wall that may originally have showed two bays at first-floor level and risen to a gable-fronted garret. In early 1996 the upper storeys retained a two-room plan with the front and back rooms wholly separated by a chimneystack against which a winder stair was framed (No. 23 Tanners Hill, qv). The slight axial chimneystack rose through the steep rear slope of the roof. On the first floor a ceiling beam was supported by what is likely to have been a resited stone corbel. There was a two-panel door to the first-floor back room. The upper storey had only a single room in front of the stack. This interior is said to have been refurbished since the survey, but no subsequent access has been gained.

Sources

LB Lewisham, photographs and information supplied by J. Mondrzejewski; Baily-Garner architects, survey drawings PC 2648; Museum of London Archaeology Service report, 1996; RCHME photograph AA98/01662.

Nos 1-31 (odd) Tanners Hill

NMR Buildings Index No: 96635

NGR: TQ 3718 7691

This row of small town houses was probably first developed in the 17th century on what was then the southern edge of the rapidly growing industrial town of Deptford. Little if any fabric remains from what would have been very modest first-phase housing. There have been numerous rebuildings. Yet at Nos 19-31 Tanners Hill there survives a varied range of small, low-status 18th-century houses that are of the first importance to the history of early-modern urban domestic architecture (Figs 23-25, 27, 33 and 42). Scarcely any comparable survivals are known in London, and there are only a scattered handful of similar urban buildings elsewhere in England. However, in American seaport cities, like Philadelphia, 18th-century buildings of this scale and finish do survive in significant numbers. Nos 27-31 Tanners Hill are a particularly extraordinary survival. They were built c.1728 as an extension to the group, a three-unit timber-framed row of one-room plan houses. Nos 19-25 were evidently separately all but wholly rebuilt, perhaps in the early 1750s. No. 21 is a single house of the same form as those at Nos 27-31. Nos 23 and 25 were rebuilt together as an unequal pair of deeper two-room-plan centre-chimneystack houses. Further east Nos 1-17 have been variously wholly rebuilt in the 19th and 20th centuries, but early views and documentary evidence indicate the former presence of early houses like those that do survive. These houses are or were all no higher than two storeys with garrets. They have no cellars and there are narrow fronts, ranging from 3m-5m, to demonstrably urban plan forms. They were probably all originally timber built, though much early framing has been replaced in brick. Surviving timber-frame construction, particularly where it is exposed in No. 23, is of exceptional interest for what it reveals about house construction at this level, especially in the particular local context of Deptford's Naval Dockyard. At the same time the houses retain fittings and ornament such as cornice and mantelpiece mouldings that make it clear that selected elements of classicism had a place in small houses such as these. This seems to affirm that these were respectable dwellings, not poor housing. Their architecture also witnesses to the tenacity of customary form and to the endurance of indigenous 'vernacular' building practice. As to room use the ground-floor rooms would have been kitchens and living spaces, perhaps also semi-public 'shops' in some instances. The upper storeys and garrets provided lodging space, in some cases in unheated rooms. Evidence of early occupancy shows Dockyard shipwrights, watchmen and labourers, market gardeners, a carpenter, a porter, and a fisherman living in the houses in the 18th century. The architecture of the houses is suited to sub-division and it is likely that multiple occupation was always a feature; this was certainly the case by the 19th century. There is no clear indication of early commercial use within the buildings; overt commercialization and conversion of the ground floors to shop use is documented as taking place from c.1830.

Sources

RCHME Survey Report 1998, RCHME photographs BB98/02655-72, 3014-23, 3196-3201.

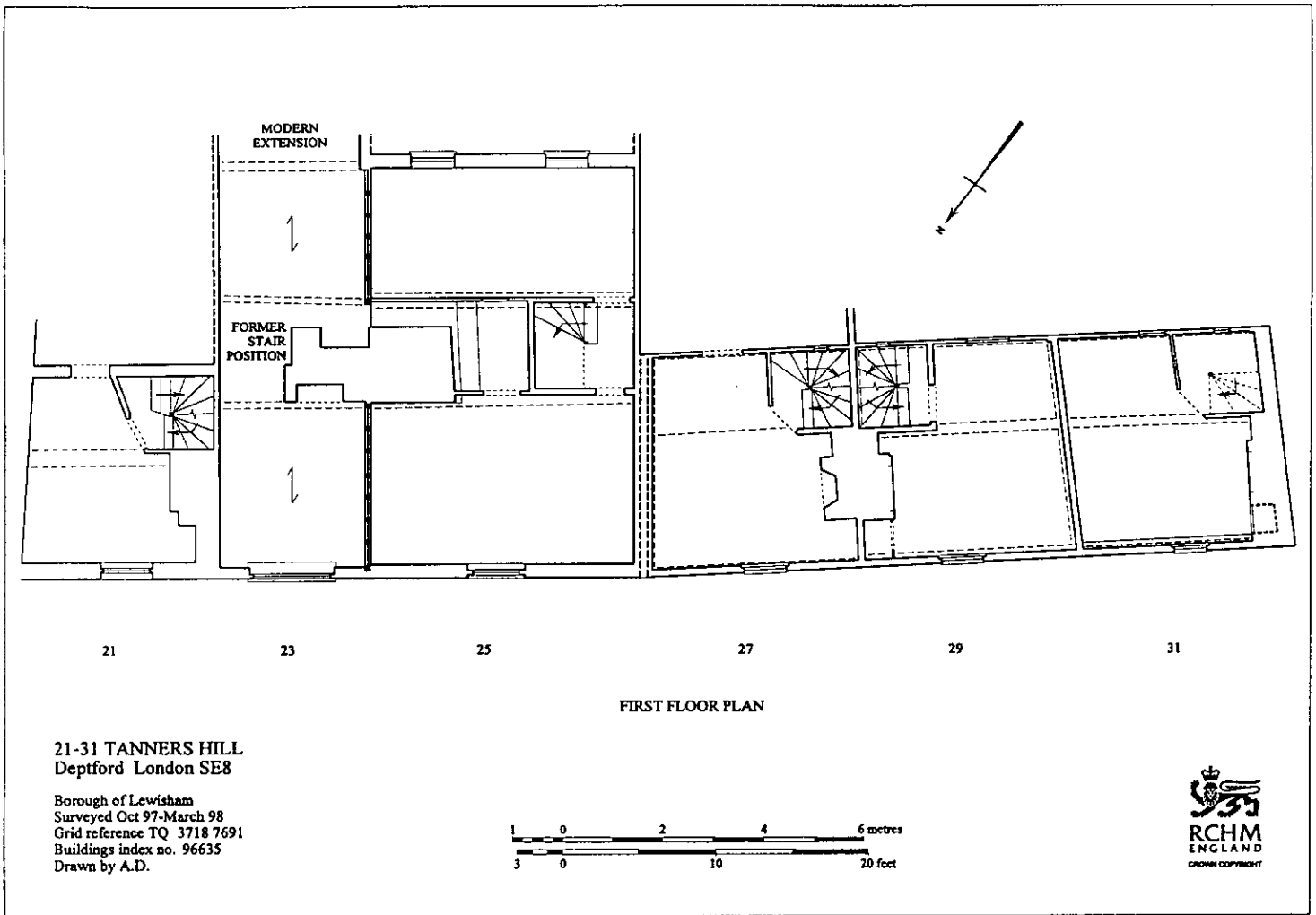


Figure 75 - Nos 21-31 Tanners Hill, first-floor plan.

APPENDIX TWO: FEATURES OF SPECIAL HISTORIC INTEREST

The identification of historic interest as resident in particular buildings or particular parts of buildings is more than usually fraught with difficulties in Deptford. What seems to count most here is the whole, that is ensemble and variety in the relationships of form and scale. Rooflines are one of the most tangible and overlooked features of consequence in this regard. Such overarching of large qualities are reflected in microcosm - in detail, patina, and patterns of use and occupation. Valuations in these terms should be the starting points for conservation, informing consideration of the more concrete or specific. They should also warn against the possibly negative effects of isolating a few 'historic buildings' as worthy of attentions and investments that might be withheld from other properties.

The repair and reuse of upper storeys will help to secure the future of many buildings, but it will also highlight the vulnerability of much that is of particular interest. Internally it is above all plan form that distinguishes these buildings from contemporary survivals in and around London. This is read through the positions of chimneys, staircases and room partitions. The degree of survival of early fabric is not necessarily the best measure of importance - a staircase that has been remade but in its original position allows a better appreciation of an early house than one that has been remade so as to obliterate evidence for its predecessor's position.

Timber-frame construction from an 18th-century urban context is so rare that wherever it does survive it is worthy of recording. This applies in particular to Nos 25-31 Tanners Hill where framing was concealed during this survey. This is not to suggest that brickwork lacks interest. There are numerous early brick elevations of architectural interest, and more information about local brick manufacture and use may clarify building chronologies and questions of relative status. Internal joinery in the form of staircases, panelling, moulded cornices, dados, skirtings or door architraves is always informative, whether moulded or not, guiding perceptions as to room use and status. The smallest details can provide the most telling evocations - a row of clothes pegs, a pothook, or a door latch.

APPENDIX THREE: LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1 - Map of Deptford showing principal historic landmarks in 1998 (RCHME).

Fig. 2 - Map of Deptford in 1623, a 19th-century redrawing of a map copied and annotated by John Evelyn c1703 (British Library, Evelyn Papers).

Fig. 3 - Late-17th-century ornamental ship carving, The Sovereign of the Seas, built at Woolwich Dockyard, detail from a painting by Sir Peter Lely (National Maritime Museum).

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Fig. 5 - A ship cabin interior, Captain John Bentinck and his son, William Bentinck, in 1775, by Mason Chamberlin (National Maritime Museum).

Fig. 6 - Map of London showing Deptford (Robert Morden, A Map. . . Twenty Miles Round London, 1686).

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Fig. 8 - The Church of St Paul, Deptford, and its Rectory from Butt Lane, a c.1730 view, engraving after T. Allen.

Fig. 9 - Map of Deptford and Greenwich in 1746 (John Rocque, An Exact Survey of the City's of London, Westminster . . . and the Country near Ten Miles Round, 1746).

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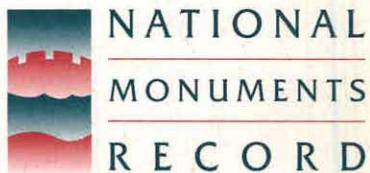
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