



former MIDDLESEX HOSPITAL ANNEXE
(previously Central London Sick Asylum,
Strand Union workhouse infirmary,
Covent Garden workhouse)
44 Cleveland Street
W1

London Borough of Camden

Standing building assessment

June 2008



MUSEUM OF LONDON

Archaeology Service

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Site Code: MEX08
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Summary

Assessment in June 2008 of a group of buildings at 44 Cleveland Street, London W1, has determined that the central building on the west of the site, set back from Cleveland Street, was constructed in 1775–8 as a workhouse for the parish of St Paul, Covent Garden. The rear of this building was modified and others were constructed both before and after the site became the Strand Union Workhouse in *c.*1836, but these early additions have since been removed. New extensions to the rear of the 18th-century building were constructed in 1874–5, when the site became the Central London Sick Asylum; the north and south wings of the 18th-century building were continued to the east end of the site, enclosing a yard between them and, at the same time, two separate ranges were constructed running from Cleveland Street eastwards, backing on to the north and south sides of the site, respectively. These buildings still exist, although they have subsequently been modified to a greater or lesser extent, notably after they were acquired in 1924 by the Middlesex Hospital (situated 100m south of this site), and used by the hospital's outpatients from 1926 until vacated in 2006.

The assessment concludes that the architectural and historic interest of the 18th-century building is high enough to qualify this building for statutory listing. The building, moreover, has a historical association with a person of national importance, Dr Joseph Rogers, whose successful campaign in the 1860s for hospital reform stemmed from his experiences as the medical officer in this building. The other buildings on the site do not qualify for statutory listing, although many of them possess moderate interest. The definite architectural and historic interest of all the buildings on the site, as a group, would be satisfied appropriately by analysis and recording before their alteration or demolition. The 18th-century building has been modified to its rear, and its surviving original fabric extends to at least the rear wall of its central block; an analytical survey would also serve to clarify the limits of this fabric, to which statutory listing would apply.

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1 Background

1.1 A group of buildings on a site at 44 Cleveland Street, London W1 (Fig 1), formed an annexe to the Middlesex Hospital, nearby, until vacated in 2006. One of the buildings, originally constructed in 1775–8 as a workhouse for the parish of St Paul, Covent Garden, and later the Strand Poor Law Union, has been proposed by English Heritage for statutory listing as a building of special architectural or historic interest, which would affect the way in which the site could now be redeveloped. Most of the other buildings were constructed in about 1874–5 to form the Central London Sick Asylum; Middlesex Hospital took over the site and its buildings in 1924. The site is also situated in a conservation area, designated by the local planning authority, the London Borough of Camden. The present document is an assessment of the 18th-century building and the other buildings on the site, offering an opinion as to the architectural and historic interest of the various parts of their present fabric and fixtures, both in general terms and specifically in relation to the published criteria used in advising the Secretary of State on the statutory listing of buildings, and to published advice on the management of conservation areas.

2 Aims, scope and method of assessment

2.1. The main aim of this assessment is to make a considered statement as to the architectural and historic interest of the buildings on the site. An assessment such as this should therefore comprise firstly, a description of the buildings as they now exist. Secondly, the assessment should consider the history of the buildings, both as to their structure and their use. Thirdly, an account should be offered of the architectural and historic significance of the various parts of the present buildings.

2.2. The physical fabric of the buildings was examined in the course of a visit in June 2008, resulting in annotated plans, notes and photographs, which will be deposited in due course in the Museum of London archaeological archive under the site code MEX08. Survey drawings of the buildings may exist, presumably to locate services and the like; if so, they may not be very detailed or up to date, and in any case have not been seen. Outline sketch plans of the basement and the ground floor of the buildings on the site have therefore been drawn, sufficient to illustrate the present assessment (Figs 2 and 3). Some of the photographs taken on the visit have also been selected to illustrate the assessment.

2.3. Historical information about the building derives largely from looking at available documentary evidence, although this must be qualified and augmented as a result of examining the physical fabric of the building. The most useful and directly relevant documentary evidence consists of historic plans and maps, drawings and photographs, and other sources such as trade directories, and these have been consulted mainly in the City of Westminster Archives Centre and in Guildhall Library. Descriptions of the site written in the mid-19th century have been consulted in the Wellcome Library. A vast number of secondary sources of information exist concerned with the history of the relief of poverty in England, the treatment of the sick poor, and the institutions of the poor law and their buildings. These sources have been considered only to a very limited extent in order to understand the present site and its buildings in their historical context.

2.4. No published study of this site and its buildings is known, except for a very short account by Ruth Richardson, historian of medicine and architecture (1993); she is mainly concerned with the work of Joseph Rogers, the medical officer at the site in the mid-19th century, whom she treats more fully elsewhere (Richardson & Hurwitz 1989). A paragraph

appears in the relevant volume of the *Survey of London* (1949, 40), incidental mentions in another *Survey of London* volume (1970, 60–1), and a brief mention under the heading of Middlesex Hospital in the volume on north-west London in the series, *The Buildings of England* (Cherry & Pevsner 1991, 613–614). Donald Insall Associates recently produced an architectural appraisal (Insall 2006), and Watts Group PLC have carried out a structural survey (Watts 2007).

2.5. Several documents provide a framework within which to consider the significance of the building. *Planning Policy Guidance 15: planning and the historic environment* (DoE 1994), recently amended (DCLG 2007), states the criteria used for statutory listing of buildings as being of ‘special architectural or historic interest’, and indicates how these criteria are to be applied. English Heritage provides relevant guidance with regard to the treatment of buildings in conservation areas, both listed and unlisted (EH 1995), and assessing specific building types (EH 2007). With respect to this building, the Unitary Development Plan of the local planning authority, the London Borough of Camden, reinforces these criteria of planning guidance (2006).

3 Location, short description and outline history of the buildings

Location

3.1. The buildings at 44 Cleveland Street, London W1, occupy a roughly rectangular site on the east side of the street, with a street frontage of about 50m, extending eastwards for a distance of about 60m (Fig 1). The Ordnance Survey national grid reference to the approximate centre of the site is 529260 181810 (TQ 2926 8181). The street, from which the site extends at a right angle, actually runs from south-east to north-west, but this direction is taken here to be from south to north, and the site to be running from west to east, for simplicity.

Short description

3.2. The site contains eight identifiable buildings (Figs 2 and 3):

- (1) A building near the west end of the site, set back from Cleveland Street;
- (2) An extension of the north wing of Building 1 to the eastern boundary of the site;
- (3) An extension of the south wing of Building 1 to the eastern boundary of the site;
- (4) A range of buildings backing on to the northern boundary of the site, with a gable end on to Cleveland Street;
- (5) A range of buildings backing on to the southern boundary of the site, with a gable end on to Cleveland Street;
- (6) Small single-storey buildings at the south-east corner of the site;
- (7) Single storey buildings between Building 2 and the northern boundary of the site;
- (8) An extensive single-storey building between Buildings 2 and 3.

These buildings are described in more detail below, most attention being paid to Building 1.

Building 1

This building is H-shaped in plan, with a short central block flanked by north and south wings that project to the west, towards the street (Fig 10). The building is of yellow-brown brick, on four storeys and a basement. The principal front, facing the street across a forecourt, is symmetrical, with a central doorway. Most of the window openings are original although the windows themselves are not. Cellar windows flank the central doorway. The only decoration is a moulded stone string course over a brick plat band, running at 2nd-floor level and returning to the sides of the building around the north and south wings.

The rear of the central block, at least, of this building survives and three window bays are visible externally above the level of the 1st floor (Fig 11). The windows in the northernmost bay have been blocked, probably for insertion of a lift just behind them.

Map evidence suggests that originally the north and south wings of this building projected to the east at least as much as they still do to the west (see below). The arrangement of windows and bays on the outer sides of these wings differs on the south (Fig 12) from the north (Fig 13). Less of the original elevation survives to the south, where a lift shaft has been added externally. More of the original elevation survives on the north side, the windows lighting stair landings on the 2nd and 3rd floors being early, if not original, 8-over-8-pane sashes without horns, although the 2nd-floor window opening seems nevertheless to have been rebuilt (Fig 13). The other windows are sashes or bottom-hung

casements. These windows, and other windows in the side and rear elevations of this building, have shallow segmentally-arched lintels, without rubbed bricks.

A vaulted cellar, with coal holes in its crown, runs from north to south under the forecourt, at a slightly lower level than the basement under the standing building (Fig 14), and a side-vault runs to the street. The north–south vault has been altered at its extremities, and cement-rendered. At basement and at ground and 1st-floor levels a corridor runs from north to south immediately to the east of the central block. The west wall of this corridor contains three wide openings, symmetrically arranged about the centre-line of the block; the central opening is a doorway and the two to the side are splayed (Fig 15). These openings may line up with window-bays on the floors above, or with internal walls implied by map evidence such as that of 1870 (see below, Fig 7), and may represent internal divisions, or an external wall, in the original building. There may be comparable evidence in the fabric of the building, for instance in the form of the roof, which is different to north and south, and in the foundations, for the surviving extent of the 18th-century building. Noticeable changes in floor level also probably indicate where additions have been made to the original building, and therefore indicate its surviving limits.

The roof of this building is hipped and slated, behind a high brick parapet. The roof frame is of steel and remade (Watts 2007), but probably preserves the original arrangement of the roof, at least facing west, with the addition of a flat area in the centre and skylights to the east.

The interior of this building probably contained large rooms originally, suggested by the spacing of the windows as well as by documentary evidence (see below). A staircase exists in the north wing, with stone steps in the flights between at least the basement and ground floor (Fig 16) and wrought-iron balusters throughout of early date, if not original to the construction of the building. A similar staircase may have been situated originally in the south wing but, if so, this has since been removed. The wrought-iron, however, may have been reinstated in another, replacement staircase a short distance away in the later extension of this wing to the east, Building 3.

At present the spaces of the building are subdivided, and the walls of many of the rooms are lined, with suspended ceilings. The ground-floor entrance hall, for instance, contains a modern reception desk and a lift inserted in its north-eastern corner (Fig 17); steps down to a doorway in the east wall probably mark the rear wall of the original building. No obvious sign of fireplaces or chimney stacks were seen in this building, although presumably they existed originally.

Buildings 2 and 3

These buildings are of brick, on three storeys with a basement at their west end, and they enclose between them an internal yard, now containing Building 8 (Fig 11). Buildings 2 and 3 are linked by a high wall along the eastern boundary of the site, against which two open, iron-railed galleries run, connecting the buildings at 1st and 2nd-floor levels (Fig 20). The buildings have abundant windows, originally all sash windows with segmentally-arched window openings and stone sills, and occasionally enlarged windows with concrete lintel beams (as in Building 1). The internal layout of both buildings is similar, based on a long corridor running the length of the building with rooms to either side, or successive large rooms filling the width of the building, and both buildings have their own staircases at either end. The roofs are gable-ended, with a hipped projection from Building 3, and originally slated; the roof of Building 2 has been rebuilt and covered with asbestos tiles (Watts 2007, 3). Both buildings have sanitary towers attached to their outer sides, i.e. north

of Building 2 and south of Building 3 (Fig 19), which contain wash-rooms and WCs. There are few fireplaces and chimney stacks in evidence, although traces of stacks, later cut down, may be seen on the roof ridge at the east gables, and corner fireplaces exist in some rooms.

Buildings 4 and 5

These buildings are of brick, on three storeys with a basement at their west end and on two storeys further to the east; they do not extend to the east as far as the sanitary towers projecting from Buildings 2 and 3. The buildings front on to the interior of the site, and present blank, or nearly blank, walls to the exterior of the site and to Cleveland Street (Fig 18). Externally Buildings 4 and 5 closely resemble Buildings 2 and 3, all having similar brown brick with decorative bands of red brick, and similar fenestration. The internal layout of Buildings 4 and 5 is slightly more complicated, although, like Buildings 2 and 3, they have ground-floor entrances and staircases to both west and east. They also have more obvious fireplaces and chimneys, with more decorative fire surrounds, and their staircase balusters and newels are also more decorative. The arrangement of the west staircase in Building 5 in relation to floor levels is noticeably awkward, perhaps attributable to constraints of space. Few early or original features appear to survive internally; a WC is situated on the 2nd-floor landing of the east staircase in Building 4, separated from the staircase by a timber-panelled partition wall (Fig 21), and this may be an early fixture.

Building 6

A short range of at least two brick single-storey buildings, end-to-end with pitched slated roofs of different heights, backs on to the southern boundary wall at the south-east corner of the site (Fig 22). This range was not entered. The eastern of these buildings has a lantern ventilator in its roof. The rear entrance to the site is by a vehicle gate in the south end of the eastern boundary wall, between Buildings 6 and 5; this formerly gave access to Bedford Passage, now gated, and thence to Charlotte Street, further to the east.

Buildings 7 and 8

These are single-storey buildings of steel-framed, concrete and pressed metal construction, with flat roofs. They were not entered.

Outline history

Initial construction of the workhouse, 1775–78

The site was open countryside until the 18th century, the nearest features of note being Oxford Street to the south, in origin a Roman road, and to the north Tottenhall manor house, or Tottenham Court. Rocque's map of 1746 (Fig 4) shows the site as a field on the east side of The Green Lane, the predecessor of Cleveland Street. This field, known as Culver Meadow, was on the southern edge of the Bedford estate, the southern boundary of the present site following the original field and property boundary (Survey of London 1949, 4–5).

In 1774 the vestry of the parish of St Paul, Covent Garden, the main organ of local government in the parish, decided to build a new workhouse for the poor of the parish. Accordingly the vestry commissioned plans and estimates from Edward Palmer of St Clement Danes, a surveyor, which he prepared in consultation with two vestrymen, Mr Stephens and Mr Twinkler. Palmer's estimate for a building to house 200 people was

£3,000 and his fee was two guineas (£2 2s) (CWAC: H805, 320). The vestry apparently had the present site already in mind, for they sought approval of the plans from Robert Palmer, the Duke of Bedford's 'principal steward' and agent in redeveloping his estate. As Rocque's map shows, the area to the south, which included the parish of St Paul, Covent Garden, was already heavily built up and the present site, although in a different parish, that of St Pancras, was probably the nearest open space available; interestingly, a new voluntary general hospital, the Middlesex Hospital, had been constructed just to the south from 1755, for much the same reason.

The parish of Covent Garden had been created in the mid 17th century out of the medieval parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, and the creation of this new parish reflected the sudden physical growth of London from the early 17th century onwards, especially in the area between the medieval City, to the east, and Westminster, the seat of government, to the south, an area soon called the West End.

One of the traditional responsibilities of a parish was the relief of local poverty, for which parishes were empowered by act of parliament, notably the Poor Law of 1601, to raise a 'poor rate' or local property tax. The recipients of this assistance were those with no means of subsistence of their own and no-one else from whom they could claim support. Typically, these were destitute widows, orphans, unmarried women giving birth, the disabled, the elderly and the chronically sick; the able-bodied poor could be set to work, the parish paying them, or passing on a proportion of, their wages. As the necessary money was both raised and disbursed locally, arrangements tended to vary from place to place, but by the late 18th century several statutes governed what was done. The Act of Settlement of 1662, which laid down that a parish was responsible only for its own *bona fide* inhabitants, was extremely important for London parishes. These were growing in population mainly by immigration from elsewhere in the country, so a London parish like Covent Garden was enabled to try to send destitute and indigent people back to whichever parish they originally came from rather than support them itself. The Workhouse Test Act 1723 (Knatchbull's Act) allowed parishes to put able-bodied paupers into a workhouse as a condition of their receiving relief, although other arrangements were possible. In addition to these general statutes, individual parishes or groups of parishes obtained their own acts of parliament, although this was an expensive procedure.

The Covent Garden vestry obtained an act of parliament in May 1775 (15 Geo III c.50) 'to enable the inhabitants of the parish... to purchase a piece of ground for a workhouse and for providing an additional burial ground for the parish.' An act of parliament would have been required firstly for the parish to raise the necessary capital and incur a debt that would be repaid by means of future local tax revenue, and secondly in this case to create a consecrated burial ground.

The Bedford estate at first leased the land to the parish, from at least 1775, when the parish had raised £5,000 on loan and construction of the workhouse presumably began. The parish acquired the freehold of the land in 1788, which has consequently and erroneously been given as the date of construction of the workhouse (Survey of London 1949, 40). In fact this was when the parish burial ground was consecrated and opened on the site; the workhouse was opened in 1778 (Survey of London 1970, 57), and it must therefore have been constructed at some time in 1775–8. The cost of construction actually came to £7,000, according to vestry minutes of 1787 (CWAC: H805).

An 18th-century parish workhouse or poorhouse could accommodate a variety of people and functions; this workhouse, for example, is documented as housing, at least to start with, the charity school of the parish, partly a boarding school for 15 boys and 15 girls, not

necessarily paupers (CWAC: H805, 356). Rules for the workhouse issued by the vestry in 1791 (ibid, 68–9) suggest that pauper children over the age of six were to be taught to read and write by a suitable adult pauper, ‘a proper woman of the house’, after which they were to ‘be put under the care of a schoolmaster’, possibly joining the charity school. The workhouse and the charity school were gradually assimilated, and by 1822 the posts of workhouse master and schoolmaster had been united (Survey of London 1970, 61).

Horwood’s map of c.1799 (Fig 5) shows ‘Covent Garden Workhouse’ on the present site, in the form of a large building, H-shaped in plan, the north and south wings extending to the rear for about three times the distance they project to the front, towards the street. The map shows another, much smaller building in the south-west corner of the site, end-on to the street, with possibly a wall or gate connecting it to the main building. Around the north-east corner of the site two adjoining terraces of buildings, apparently stables or carriage houses fronting on to Howland Mews to their north, seem to encroach a little on to the workhouse site. (A join between two sheets of the map runs through the site; discrepancies between the two sheets do not seriously affect the site.) Tompson’s map of the parish of St Pancras, 1801 (Insall 2006, fig 2), shows the same two buildings, and repeats a detail of the principal building which is also on Horwood’s map, the junction of the wings and the central block of the principal building at the rear being marked by rectangular projections. The layout around the north-east corner of the site appears simpler than in Horwood, suggesting that any buildings there formed part of the workhouse.

Building 1 on the present site conforms to the front half of the principal building of the Covent Garden workhouse, constructed in 1775–8. The original porch over the front entrance, described in 1949 (Survey of London, 40), has since been removed.

Additions and alterations early in the 19th century

The vestry of St Paul, Covent Garden, obtained another act of parliament in 1796 (36 Geo III c.65) to rebuild the parish church, and the trustees for this rebuilding were also given the management of the workhouse. Perhaps in consequence tenders were sought for building two new buildings at the workhouse, an ‘infectious ward’ in 1802 and an infirmary in 1819 (CWAC: H806, 272; H807, f.30). In the event both were designed by Thomas Hardwick, an architect of minor public buildings, including St Pancras workhouse and, initially, Millbank penitentiary (Colvin 1998).

Greenwood’s map of 1824–26 (Fig 6) shows much the same layout as Horwood’s, except that the north wing of the principal building is shown as extending further to the east than the south wing. While it is possible that at least one of Hardwick’s buildings was simply an addition to the existing building, it seems more likely that Hardwick was expected to design separate buildings, especially if they were to house people with infectious diseases. The 1824–6 map is at too small a scale to be sure of other possible alterations, but a later map on a much larger scale (Fig 7) indicates the internal layout of the principal building, possibly its original layout, and locates two detached ‘infirm wards’ on the north and east boundaries of the site; either or both of the latter may have been Hardwick’s buildings.

The Poor Law Amendment Act 1834 brought a huge change in the principles and administration of poor relief, although this did not necessarily affect at once those parishes such as St Paul, Covent Garden, whose institutions were operating under their own local acts. Parishes were to be grouped in districts or unions of parishes, each union with one or more workhouses. Assistance to the poor was to be given only in a workhouse, where conditions were deliberately made unattractively harsh in order, so it was thought, to deter

people from seeking assistance. Classification and segregation of inmates was rigorous: males and females were separated from each other, and the sick and elderly, able-bodied adults and children were further segregated. Workhouses were to be managed by boards of guardians, elected by local ratepayers.

The parish of St Paul, Covent Garden, was united with other parishes in Westminster to form the Strand Union in 1836, and the present site became known as the Strand Union workhouse. An important change documented as a result was that the charity school left the present site (Survey of London 1970, 61).

The main evidence for the early 19th-century additions to the site must be documentary for the time being, as these modifications were subsequently demolished. Dr Joseph Rogers, medical officer in attendance on the site from 1856 to 1868, gives an account of them in his reminiscences, published posthumously (1889, 3–10):

‘The Strand Workhouse in the year 1856 was a square four-storied building fronting the street, with two wings of similar elevation projecting eastwards from each corner. Across the irregularly-paved yard in the rear was a two-storied lean-to building, with windows in the front only, used as a day and night ward for infirm women. There were sheds on each side for the reception of so-called male and female able-bodied people, whilst in the yard, on each side of the entrance gate, was a two-storied building, with an underground apartment lighted by a single window, and with a door for the reception of male and female casual paupers; the wards above being for those of both sexes admitted to the house.

‘The necessary laundry work of the establishment, which never in my time fell below five hundred inmates, was carried on in the cellar beneath the entrance hall and the general dining-room... A chapel was contrived out of one of the male infirm wards on the ground floor on the Sunday, and utilized on that occasion for both sexes. On the left of the entrance hall was the Board-room; the corresponding apartment on the right, and the room above on the first floor, being the apartments of the master and matron. On the right side of the main building was a badly paved yard, which led down to the back entrance from Charlotte Street; on each side of this back entrance there was – first, a carpenter’s shop and a dead-house, and secondly, opposite to it, a tinker’s shop with a forge and unceiled roof. This latter communicated with a ward with two beds in it, used for fever and foul cases, only a lath and plaster partition about eight feet [2.4m] high separating it from the tinker’s shop.

‘...Just outside the male wards of the House, at the upper end of the yard, there were two upright posts and a cross-bar. On this bar were suspended the carpets taken in to beat by the so-called able-bodied inmates, from whose labour the Guardians derived a clear income of £400 a year.

‘...The male insane ward, used also for epileptics and imbeciles, was on the right wing above the male casual and reception ward. To reach it you had to go up some four steps...

‘...The female insane ward was a rather large room, and was situated over the Board-room... It was immediately beneath the lying-in ward.

‘...[The nursery ward] was situated on the third floor, opposite to the lying-in ward.’

Dr Rogers managed to get the Guardians to build a new laundry in the back yard, costing some £400, and to enlarge the cellars (1889, 13–14).

‘On proceeding to dig out the foundation [for the laundry], the workmen came on a number of skeletons, the yard having been originally the poor burial ground of St Paul’s, Covent Garden, for which the Workhouse, etc, had been built, and had been rented by the Guardians from that parish when the Strand Union was formed. So full was this yard of human remains, that the contractor was compelled to go down twenty feet [6.1m] all round, before a foundation for the laundry could be obtained.

‘...My next endeavour was an enlargement of the cellar at each wing so as to secure better accommodation for the reception of casual poor, and increased space for sick children and others. This was accomplished by nearly rebuilding the wings.’

The first edition of the large-scale Ordnance Survey map, surveyed in 1870 (Fig 7), shows the internal layout of all public buildings, including the Strand Union workhouse. As mentioned above, the principal building probably retained much of its original 18th-century layout; it was almost symmetrical, with a staircase in each wing, connecting the wing with the central block on each floor. Each wing contained a relatively small room or ward to the west of the staircase, lit by a pair of windows in the west front, and a larger room or ward to the east of the staircase, lit by windows in its side-walls. The small rectangular projections on each floor in the rear angle of the wing and central block, which still appear in the 1870 map, were presumably washrooms. The addition to the east end of the north wing noted in the 1830 map housed in 1870, on the ground floor, a cook-house.

By 1870 the south wing had also been extended to the east, for a chapel. This must have been built, or made permanently into a chapel, at some time after 1856 as Dr Rogers describes the chapel being improvised then in one of the male infirm wards. The 1870 chapel was orientated at an odd angle from the wing to its west; presumably this was to make use of a pre-existing wall, or to meet another building, such as the female infirm ward further to the east, at a convenient angle. The wash-house and laundry in the north-east corner of the site were probably those set up by Dr Rogers, with foundations dug through a considerable depth of interments. The enlargement of the cellars underneath the north and south wings of the principal building was presumably to the east.

The 1870 map shows that the buildings along the northern and southern boundaries of the site went up to the street frontage, but were without doors there or, on the ground floor at least, windows. The site was entered from Cleveland Street by a single central gate, flanked by small lodges, leading to the front entrance in the principal building. The reception ward for casual poor, meaning vagrants and those temporarily homeless or looking for work, was in the basement, and probably would have had a separate entrance from ground level. It is noticeable that, despite its functioning as a general workhouse, most of the accommodation on the map is for the sick, and the site seems to have been mainly an infirmary, or pauper hospital. It is documented as housing some 500 inmates, or patients, more than twice the number it was designed for.

Alterations, 1874–5 and later

A campaign against the medical inefficiency, corruption and inhumanity of London’s workhouse infirmaries, pursued in the pages of *The Lancet*, was inspired by Dr Rogers’ experiences on the present site, and articles usefully describe the layout and function of its buildings, while criticising their adequacy and management; the site constituted a ‘great

pauper hospital', while being scandalously understaffed and underfunded as such (*Lancet* 12 August 1865). The recommendations of a public inquiry into conditions at this site, among others, were largely implemented by the Metropolitan Poor Act 1867, which among other things set up 'sick asylums' in London for the destitute sick (Rivett 1986). Although the inquiry had recommended closure of the present site, it was designated as the Central London Sick Asylum in 1873, and was to be rebuilt accordingly (LMA: 495/ 282–288). The number of patients the asylum was intended to hold is uncertain, but was presumably around 500.

A foundation stone for 'Cleveland Street Asylum', inscribed with the date August 6th 1874, is documented, although its whereabouts are not known (Insall, paragraph 4.9). In the absence of other documentation, this is important evidence for when the rebuilding of the site as a sick asylum began. The site was completely rebuilt except for the 18th-century principal building, the front half of which remained, as appears on the Ordnance Survey map revised in 1893–4 (Fig 8). The new buildings were those that are still extant on the site, Buildings 2 and 3, the rebuilt north and south wings to the east of the 18th-century central block, and Buildings 4 and 5, along the northern and southern boundaries of the site, replacing earlier 19th-century buildings in the same position (Fig 18). The new buildings may have included an extra storey, and Buildings 4 and 5 included small basements on the street frontage, which may not have existed before.

The internal layout of these buildings, especially Buildings 4 and 5, was constrained by the size and shape of the site. The wards were not designed on a fully-developed pavilion plan, as would have been done on a larger site at this time, but the main wards in Buildings 2 and 3 were cross-ventilated. Apart from method of construction, ceiling heights and large windows, the most up-to-date innovation was the semidetached sanitary tower. Buildings 2 and 3 both have such a tower attached to their respective outer elevations, with space and air around it (Fig 19). Each tower housed washrooms and WCs, linked to a ward block by a short, narrow, cross-ventilated passage on each floor.

The new wings, Buildings 2 and 3, required a staircase at each end, while the 18th-century building, Building 1, required only one staircase. It was presumably at this time that the south staircase of the latter building, shown on the 1870 map, was therefore removed. Interestingly, the nearest new staircase, at the west end of Building 3, contains ironwork like that in the north staircase still *in situ* in Building 1 (Fig 16), and it seems likely that the south staircase in Building 1 was dismantled and reused in a new position in Building 3.

The 1893–4 map (Fig 8) indicates that the central entrance from the street remained, flanked by longer lodges and linked to the front door of Building 1 by a covered way. The small buildings in the south-east corner of the site, next to the rear entrance from Bedford Passage (Fig 22), were added a little later, appearing first in the next revision of the map, dated 1914.

By the beginning of the 20th century advances in medical science, improved living standards and the development of general hospitals into institutions capable of providing surgical and medical care for all the population meant that the functions of a 'sick asylum' for the destitute sick were becoming more limited in application. In 1913 Westminster City Council took over the site, which became known as Cleveland Street Infirmary (LMA: 495/282–288). After the First World War (1914–18) the poor law regime and its institutions looked increasingly redundant. The Council's intentions for the site have not been clarified, although they entailed the preparation of a parliamentary bill, the Westminster City Council (Cleveland Street Infirmary) Bill 1923 (*ibid*).

Westminster Council's plans presumably were moot as soon as Middlesex Hospital proposed acquiring the site and buildings for its own purposes, to relocate some of its own departments, notably the outpatients' department, while the main 18th-century hospital building was replaced. Middlesex Hospital obtained the site in 1924, reopened it in 1926, and the rebuilding of the hospital was completed in 1935. The most important administrative change since then was the advent of the National Health Service (NHS) in 1948.

Among the physical signs of the new functions of the site and its buildings, to be dated to 1924–6, are probably the following:

- A tunnel under the yard between Buildings 1 and 5, running to the west to another tunnel under Cleveland Street, linking the scattered buildings of the Middlesex Hospital, such as the main building, to the south, a central boiler house, to the south-east, and the Astor nurses' home in Foley Street, to the west.
- An easier connection on the 2nd and 3rd floors between Building 1 and Buildings 2 and 3, by means of a short semicircular corridor projecting into the central open space (Fig 11).
- Installation of a small lift in the north-east part of Building 1.
- Remodelling the wall on the street frontage, providing two gates for vehicles to enter and leave by, and including less intimidating railings, the bottom of which forms in elevation a series of curves (Figs 10 and 23).

Later modifications, after the Second World War, probably include:

- Repair of wartime bomb damage, most of which was minor and secondary (Fig 8). The main elements of the street facade of Building 1, for instance, were restored and the roof of Building 1, when it was replaced, retained its former roof line (Fig 10).
- Ancillary single-storey buildings have been erected in the north-east of the site, Building 7, and in the central yard, Building 8 (Figs 11 and 20). The latter may have replaced an earlier building of uncertain function in much the same position, which appears on 20th-century maps until about 1991 (Insall 2006, annexe 3). These latest buildings appear to consist for the most part of prefabricated system-built components, typical of NHS buildings of the 1970s and later.
- A vehicle canopy, and raised ground level, between the front entrance to Building 1 and the street frontage wall, to facilitate the movement of patients on trolleys. This, and the addition of a brick entrance porch, entailed the removal of the original entrance porch; the alterations are to be dated after 1949, when the original porch is described as extant (Survey of London, 40), and probably to the 1970s or later.
- Construction of a larger lift, added at the west end of Building 3 (Fig 12).

The Middlesex Hospital was closed in 2006, and the present site was presumably closed then, or shortly before.

4 Significance of the buildings and conclusions

4.1 The published criteria for statutory listing of buildings as being of special architectural or historic interest (DoE 1994, as amended by DCLG 2007, paragraph 6.9) state, under the heading of architectural interest, that a building must be ‘of importance in its architectural design, decoration or craftsmanship;’ ‘nationally important examples of particular building types and techniques.... and significant plan forms’ are to be included. Under the heading of historic interest, a building ‘must illustrate important aspects of the nation’s social, economic, cultural or military history...’ or have a close historical association ‘with nationally important people.’ Lastly, ‘group value’ is recognised, where individual buildings acquire more significance because they are in a group with other buildings, for instance, where there is a historical functional relationship among a group of buildings (ibid, 6.10).

Among other things, age and rarity should be considered, although the relevance of this will vary according to the particular type of building. In general, most buildings dating from 1700 to 1840 are listed (ibid, 6.12). ‘The appearance of a building is a key consideration...’ although ‘buildings that are important... as illustrating particular aspects of social or economic history may have little external visual quality’ (ibid, 6.13). Lastly, it is worth repeating the principle that the present condition or state of repair of a building is irrelevant to its listing, and should not be considered (ibid, 6.16).

Architectural interest

Building 1 is a good example of a late 18th-century urban residential general workhouse or poorhouse, in its building materials, method of construction, form and style. The relative plainness of its principal front, although well proportioned, is characteristic of economically constructed institutional buildings. By contrast with a small country house or large town house, for instance, it has no full-length windows or balconies and limited window area and decoration. The height of this building, four storeys including a raised ground floor over a basement, in relation to its width is notable, and characteristic of an institutional building making use of a relatively small urban site.

According to the available documentary evidence as well as the evidence of its fabric, the western portion of this building, including its principal facade fronting to the west on to Cleveland Street, substantially retains its original form, fenestration, roof lines and general appearance. The biggest loss externally has been the removal of the original porch from the front entrance. Internally, the general layout of this portion of the building has been altered to some extent, but the major divisions of the building into a central block and two wings remains. One of the two original staircases is still *in situ*, and the other staircase has probably been reused nearby on the site. In addition to the basement under the standing building, a vaulted coal cellar remains under the forecourt, to which additions have been made. The roof has been rebuilt, and other minor wartime damage repaired, without seriously altering the appearance of the building.

The architect of this building is documented as Edward Palmer, a surveyor, of whom little else is at present known.

The extent of this 18th-century building to the rear is marked, at least on the upper floors of its central block, by an external wall. Originally its north and south wings extended further

to the rear, and from some point at or just beyond the surviving east wall of the central block these have been completely rebuilt.

Very few examples of this type of architecture remain in central London, and the architectural interest of Building 1 is high.

Construction of Buildings 2–5 is documented in 1874–5 to replace previous additions to Building 1, and other ancillary buildings. They are good examples of hospital wards built end-to-end, on several floors, rather than in pavilion style, and as such were already becoming out of date when they were built; this plan was probably adopted because of lack of space on the site. In building materials, method of construction, form and style these buildings are very characteristic of their type. The ample provision of windows, and of cross-ventilation in Buildings 2 and 3 and in their attached sanitary towers, are all notable. Externally they are well preserved, with relatively few further additions. Internally they have been refurbished, but many of the essential aspects of their layout remain.

Building 6 was added probably around 1900, and is a typical, undistinguished single-storey range of out-buildings. It is possible that one of these out-buildings formerly served as a mortuary.

The architect of these buildings is at present unidentified.

Buildings of this type are not rare, and their architectural interest is moderate.

Buildings 7 and 8 were probably constructed in the 1970s or later, and their architectural interest is very slight.

Historic interest

The historic interest of Buildings 1–6 lies mainly in their connection with the poor law, from the late 18th century onwards, as well as in the development of hospitals towards the end of the 19th century and in the 20th century.

Building 1 was intended to accommodate a variety of functions under the Old Poor Law (i.e. 1601–1834), and its construction, documented in 1775–8 for the parish of St Paul, Covent Garden, was provided for by a specific act of parliament. Its original functions as a poorhouse or workhouse can be recognised in its plain, institutional appearance and, to a lesser extent, in its surviving internal layout. Such a building represents an important aspect of social and economic life in Britain, the provision of care for the destitute under the old poor law, before the regime of assistance was made much harsher in the 19th century. Other urban poorhouses or workhouses of this type, of which there were formerly many examples, rarely survive as relatively unchanged as this building, and none survive in this form in central London.

The building is directly associated with a person of national importance, Dr Joseph Rogers (1820–1889), who led a campaign for the reform of hospital care for the urban poor in the 1860s, based on his experiences as the medical officer in this building. It was largely thanks to this campaign and a subsequent public inquiry that hospital provision for the poor in London and elsewhere was rationalised and modernised.

The historic interest of Building 1 is very high. It seems to be an early example of, for the time, a relatively large and conspicuous urban workhouse and poorhouse. As such it bears

comparison with the original Middlesex Hospital, which was built to the south in 1755 and demolished in 1924–5.

Construction of Buildings 2–5, documented in 1874–5, was a consequence of the reform inspired by Rogers. They are fairly typical of hospital buildings of their time, given the constraints of space on a small urban site; the pavilion plan, which had become usual after about 1870, was not used, probably because of lack of space. An interesting example of economy may be evident in the apparent reuse of one of the staircases from Building 1 in a new position in Building 3. The buildings have been adapted and refurbished for general hospital use, notably after the site was taken over by the Middlesex Hospital in 1924.

Building 6, in the south-east corner of the site, was added between 1894 and 1914, and, externally at least, is not especially noteworthy.

The historic interest of Buildings 2–6 is moderate.

Buildings 7 and 8, undistinguished single-storey hospital buildings added in the 1970s or later, are of very slight historic interest.

Conclusions

In general, most buildings from before 1840 are statutorily listed if they are substantially intact. English Heritage guidance for selecting buildings for statutory listing (2007), dealing specifically with workhouse buildings, states that most of the relatively few residential workhouses that survive from the 18th century are listed. The guidance sums up, ‘Old Poor Law workhouses (pre-1834) and the first generation of New Poor Law workhouses (1834–41) are likely to be listed. Corridor-plan (c.1840–70) and pavilion-plan (c.1870–1914) workhouses need to meet more rigorous criteria, especially regarding their architectural quality, the degree of intactness, and group value with related structures... Pre-1840 general hospitals, pre-1868 hospitals with pavilion plans, and workhouses prior to 1845 will be listable unless heavily altered... Alteration is inevitable in such intensively-used buildings: the survival of the essential principal elements will be a key determinant.’

Building 1, a good example of a pre-1834 Old Poor Law workhouse, qualifies for statutory listing on the grounds of both architectural and historic interest, which is high or very high. The other buildings on the site, post-1870 infirmary and hospital buildings possessing only moderate or slight architectural and historic interest, do not qualify.

All the buildings on the site form a functional group, representing the development and adaptation of welfare buildings on a single site from the late 18th to the 21st centuries, which makes them of definite architectural and historic interest as a group. This group is of local rather than national significance, however, and is not such as to qualify the buildings, as a group, to be statutorily listed. Instead, this interest would be reasonably met by an analytical survey and recording of all the buildings in their present state, before any of them is demolished or substantially altered. A record to the level of detail contained in ‘Level 3’ of the relevant English Heritage specifications, *Understanding historic buildings: a guide to good recording practice* (2006), and a commitment to publish the results, would be appropriate. An accurate analytical survey would be required, in any case, to help determine the extent of survival of 18th-century fabric at the rear of Building 1, and therefore the minimum extent to which statutory listing might be applicable.

The significance of buildings can also be considered in relation to the published conditions under which buildings, whether listed or unlisted, may be held to make a positive contribution in their character and appearance to the special architectural or historic interest of a conservation area (EH 1995, paragraph 4.4). In this regard, it is worth noting that Charlotte Street Conservation Area, in which the site lies, was extended specifically to include the present site, presumably mainly because of the presence of Building 1.

Building 1 is an interesting and unusual element of the street scene, set back from Cleveland Street, but visible as a local landmark along Foley Street opposite. Its contribution to the conservation area may be held to be positive, and could well be enhanced. By contrast, Buildings 4 and 5 on either side, end-on to the street with few or no windows, may be held to detract from the appearance of the street, making a negative contribution to the conservation area. The visible effect of the other buildings on the conservation area is less measurable.

5 Acknowledgements, references and copyright

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The author and colleagues, Patrizia Pierazzo and Dave Sorapure, examined the buildings on the site and took photographs, and Patrizia Pierazzo examined documentary sources for the history of the site. The photographs, taken by the author, were processed by Maggie Cox and the report graphics were by Carlos Lemos.

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OASIS ID: molas1-196485**Project details**

Project name	Middlesex Hospital Annexe (former), 44 Cleveland Street, W1
Short description of the project	The building, set back from the east side of Cleveland Street, was constructed in 1775-8 as a workhouse for the parish of St Paul, Covent Garden. It is built of yellow-brown brick, on four storeys with a basement; a central doorway from a forecourt leads to two wings to north and south, with staircases in each. The north staircase and some of the windows are original; the roof has been rebuilt after war damage. The rear of this building was modified and others were constructed to the east, both before and after the site became the Strand Union Workhouse c. 1836. A campaign in the 1860s for reform of hospitals was led by the medical officer for this infirmary, Dr Joseph Rogers, based largely on his experiences there. These extensions were demolished and new additions made in 1874-5, when the site became the Central London Sick Asylum: the north and south wings of the 18th-c building were extended to the east end of the site, enclosing a yard between them, and two separate ranges were built along the north and south sides of the site. The Middlesex Hospital (100m to the SW) acquired the site in 1924, and the interior was further modified, the yard was largely built on and a tunnel was added to give covered access from the south-west. The buildings were used for the hospital's outpatients until vacated in 2006.
Project dates	Start: 12-06-2008 End: 25-06-2008
Previous/future work	No / No
Any associated project reference codes	MEX08 - Sitecode
Type of project	Building Recording
Site status	Listed Building
Current Land use	Other 2 - In use as a building
Monument type	WORKHOUSE Post Medieval
Monument type	HOSPITAL Modern
Significant Finds	NONE None
Methods & techniques	""Photographic Survey"", ""Survey/Recording Of Fabric/Structure""
Prompt	Research

Project location

Country	England
Site location	GREATER LONDON CAMDEN CAMDEN Middlesex Hospital Annexe (former), 44 Cleveland Street
Postcode	W1
Study area	3000 Square metres
Site coordinates	TQ 29260 81810 51.5199032142 -0.13674045814 51 31 11 N 000 08 12

W Point

Project creators

Name of Organisation	MOLA
Project brief originator	Client
Project design originator	MOLA
Project director/manager	Sophie Jackson
Project supervisor	Andrew Westman
Type of sponsor/funding body	Client
Name of sponsor/funding body	University College London Hospital NHS Trust

Project archives

Physical Archive Exists?	No
Digital Archive recipient	LAARC
Digital Archive ID	MEX08
Digital Contents	"Survey","other"
Digital Media available	"Images raster / digital photography","Spreadsheets","Survey","Text"
Paper Archive recipient	LAARC
Paper Archive ID	MEX08
Paper Contents	"Survey","other"
Paper Media available	"Microfilm","Notebook - Excavation',' Research',' General Notes","Plan","Report"

Project bibliography 1

Publication type	Grey literature (unpublished document/manuscript)
Title	former Middlesex Hospital Annexe (previously Central London Sick Asylum, Strand Union workhouse infirmary, Covent Garden Workhouse), 44 Cleveland Street, W1: Standing Building Assessment
Author(s)/Editor(s)	Westman, A.
Date	2008

Issuer or publisher MOLA

Place of issue or
publication London

Description Unpublished client report

Entered by Vince Gardiner (vgardiner@mola.org.uk)

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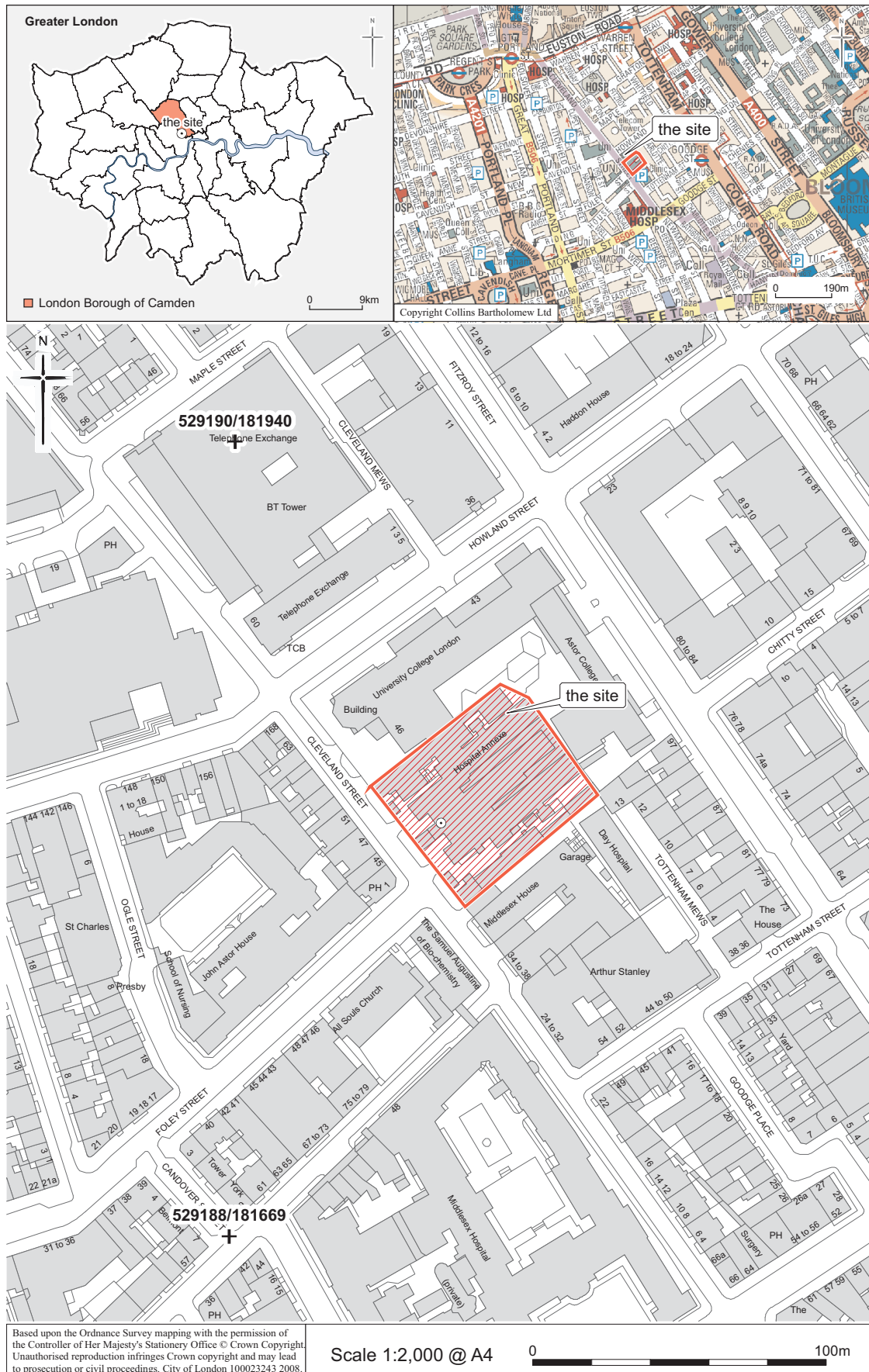


Fig 1 Location map

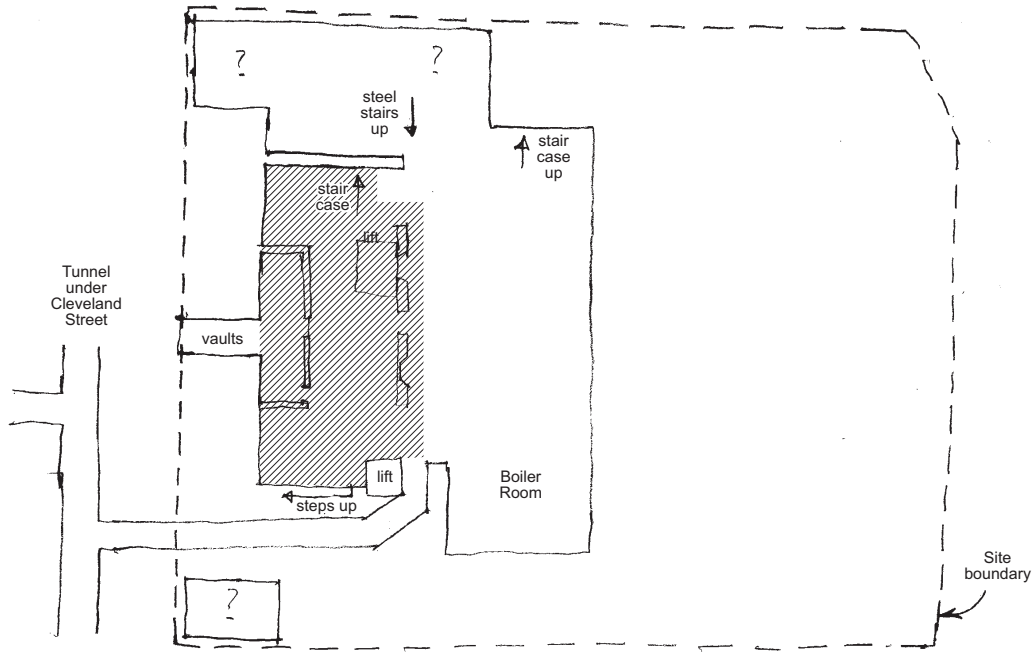


Fig 2 Annotated outline sketch plan of the basement (18th-century fabric in tone)

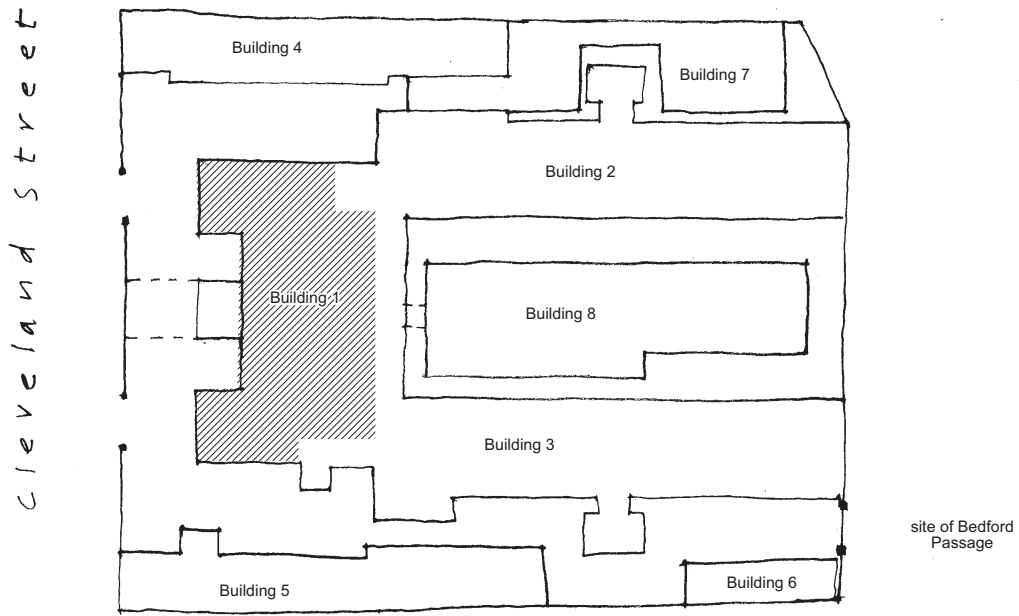


Fig 3 Annotated outline sketch plan of the ground floor (18th-century fabric in tone)

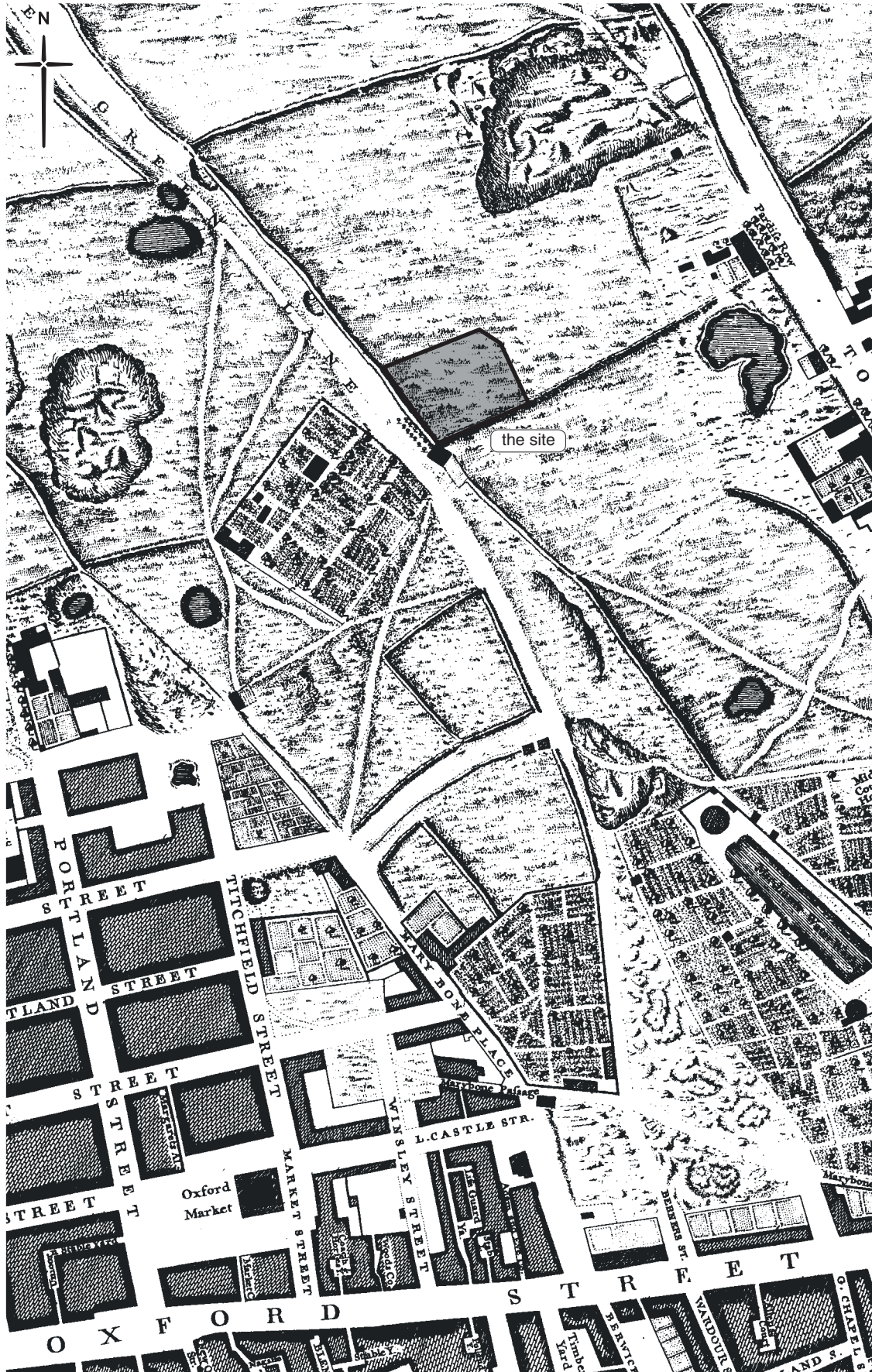


Fig 4 Map of the area in about 1746 (Rocque)

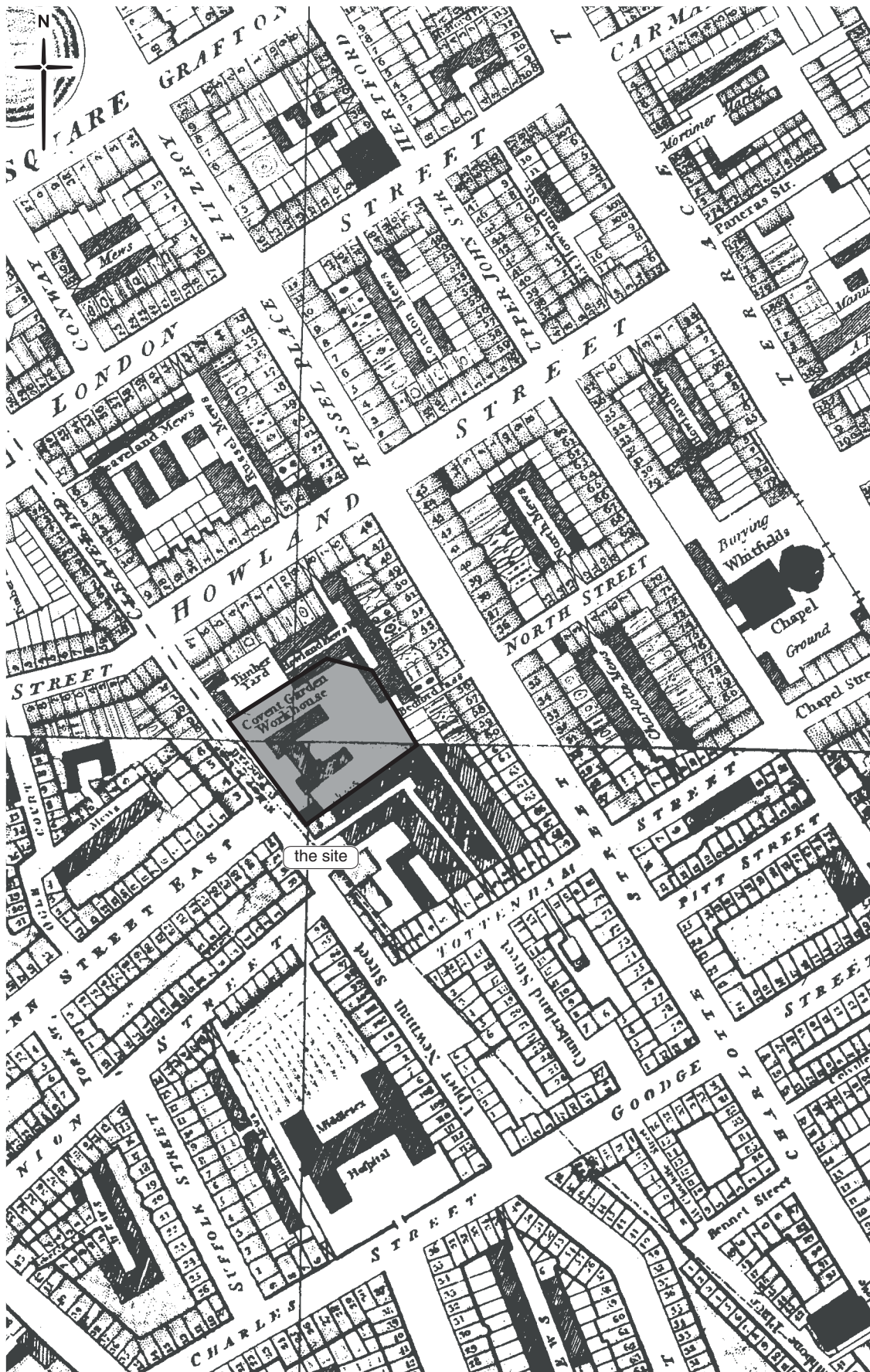


Fig 5 Map of the area in about 1799 (Horwood)



Fig 6 Map of the area in about 1830 (Greenwood)



Fig 7 Map of the area in 1870 (OS 1875)

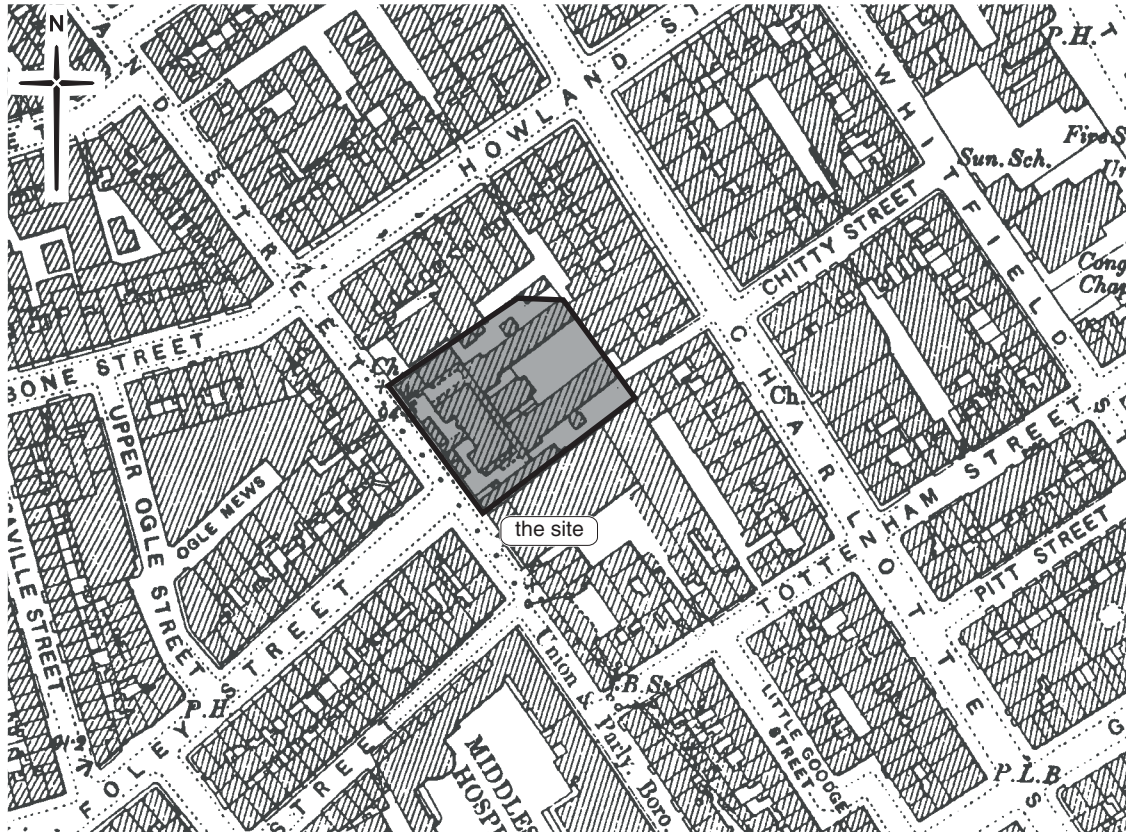


Fig 8 Map of the area in 1893-4 (OS 1897)

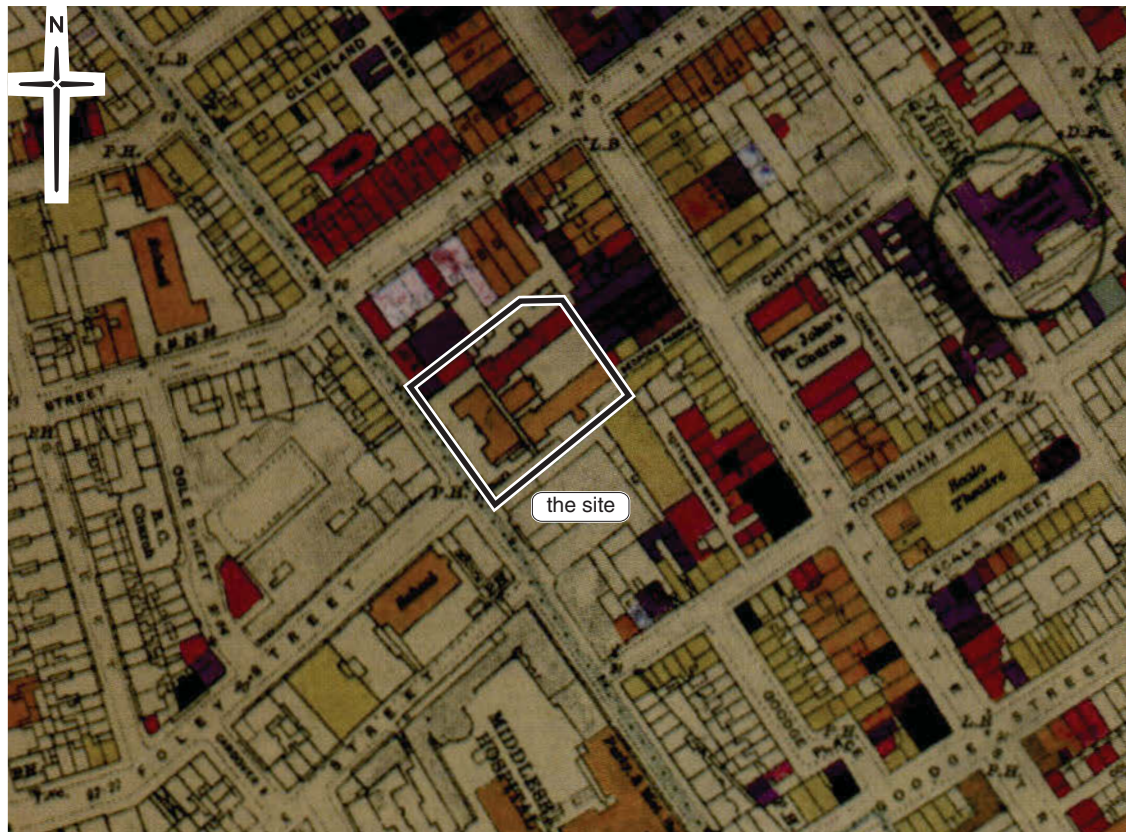


Fig 9 Map of the area showing bomb damage, 1939-45 (Woolven & Saunders 2005)



Fig 10 Main front of the 18th-century building (left) and the gable end of the late 19th-century south range (right), on Cleveland Street



Fig 11 Rear of the 18th-century building (centre), with two late 19th-century wings extending from its south and north ends



Fig 12 South wing of the 18th-century building, south elevation, showing junction with later additions (right)



Fig 13 North wing of the 18th-century building, north elevation, showing junction with later additions (left) and original or early 8-over-8 sash windows on upper staircase landings



Fig 14 Vaulted cellar under forecourt of 18th-century building, with 20th-century electrical switchgear



Fig 15 Basement corridor with splayed openings, probably in rear wall of 18th-century building, originally external



Fig 16 Staircase in north wing of 18th-century building: stone steps from basement to ground floor, and wrought-iron balusters



Fig 17 Ground-floor entrance hall in 18th-century building, showing internal additions and alterations. Note steps down to rear inside the line of the rear wall



Fig 18 Late 19th-century north range: north elevation and windowless gable end on Cleveland Street



Fig 19 Sanitary tower attached to south side of late 19th-century south wing



Fig 20 Open galleries against high boundary wall at east end of site, closing off central yard



Fig 21 Late 19th-century north range: WC fitted on stair landing at top of east staircase, behind timber panelled partition wall



Fig 22 Rear entrance in east boundary wall, leading to Bedford Passage (now gated) and Charlotte Street. Separate late 19th-century single-storey sheds against the south boundary wall (right) probably included a mortuary



Fig 23 20th-century wall and railings on Cleveland Street frontage and vehicle canopy over main entrance (extreme right)