

London's street markets: the shifting interiors of informal architecture

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[Figure 1 here]

In 1891 Sidney Webb lamented the ‘scandal of London’s markets’, complaining that ‘for decent market accommodation we must go to Leeds or Bradford or to the Paris “Halles”’.¹ Many other commentators also bemoaned London’s lack of retail market buildings, and the fact that, despite the sophistication of the West End’s luxurious consumer institutions, a significant proportion of its day-to-day shopping took place on the streets, in street markets.² This journal issue is about ‘complex interiors’: the department stores, railway stations, winter gardens and hospitals that are also the subject of essays presented here certainly fit this category, but can the street markets be thus classified? A street market is so called because it takes place outside, in the open air. Street markets are by definition composed of only the most temporary physical structures (barrows and stalls) and are quite without architectural deliberation or grandeur. This paper is thus driven by a number of simple questions. To what extent were London’s street markets, despite their temporary, open-air and unplanned nature, *architectural* and *interior* spaces? Where they (and how were they) ‘complex’? And what approaches can best reveal and explain this complexity? (See Penny Sparke’s remarks in the Introduction for discussion and definition of these key terms.)³ [Figure 2 here]

This paper proposes that London’s street markets can best be understood as an *informal* economic response to unprecedented urban growth. The city’s authorities, unable or unwilling to develop retail market buildings, tolerated the small-scale entrepreneurialism of ‘penny capitalists’ in the streets.⁴ The street markets that resulted provoked some distaste and quite frequent, though usually ineffective, attempts at reform. However, many Londoners regarded them with affection, and the vibrancy of their presence is reflected in many cultural representations, of both the markets and the costermongers who became a representative ‘type’ of the working-class Londoner.

An early and detailed example of the representation of the street markets is social explorer Henry Mayhew’s 1851 account, which also serves as a baseline from which to measure the street markets’ growth across the 1850-1939 period. Mayhew described London’s armies of costermongers and street sellers, perambulating traders who tramped the streets selling fish, fruit and vegetables, old clothes, practical necessities such as bootlaces and combs, and novelties and luxuries that included cigars, snuff boxes and jewellery.⁵ On Saturday nights these sellers gathered together into thirty-seven temporary street markets, lines of stalls in kerbside locations, where ‘the pavement and road are crowded with purchasers and street-sellers’.⁶ In 1893 the recently formed London County Council (LCC) surveyed the street markets and found a hundred and twelve of them, a considerable increase since Mayhew’s day even taking into account the rapid rise in London’s population across intervening decades.⁷ The LCC listed twenty-five markets with fifty stalls or more and a further thirteen with more than a hundred stalls.⁸ The LCC’s list of things for sale was as comprehensive as Mayhew’s,

with food predominating, but including a wide range of non-edible commodities.⁹ By 1932, when the London School of Economics researched the street markets as part of an economic survey of London, the numbers of markets had not further increased, but the stalls had. New commodities, including gramophones and gramophone records, had been added to the list of goods for sale, while silk stockings and cheap ready-made fashions had largely replaced the second- or third-hand clothes of Mayhew's day.¹⁰ The report concluded that the street markets were 'an institution of real social and economic utility'.¹¹ The street markets of London were an important retail site for many if not most working-class Londoners. They were widespread across the city, and offered not just things, but entertainment, leisure and sociability.

In the 1920s journalist and novelist Thomas Burke compared the street markets to London's department stores, which he described as 'imposing' buildings that 'lend pomp to the streets they occupy'. He described the sophistication of the department stores' interior spaces:

it is very pleasant to stroll through courtyards with fountains and mosaic pavements, to walk upstairs on velvet pile, to play bo-peep around pillars of Carrara marble, to find, on wet days, lunch and telephone and ticket-office and cloakroom under one roof.¹²

However, Burke preferred the street-markets, writing that, 'they lack the gloss and dignity and brilliance of the shops but they have an open-air boldness that is equally as alluring'. 'Selfridge's and Harrods', he concluded, 'are delightful places in which to spend a dull hour, but . . . for my lighter purposes I go to the stalls. . . . How much more joyous it is to shop casually and exchange rough banter in the open air (though the air be none too sweet)'.¹³ These open air markets constituted informal retail sites that, I propose, can be analysed alongside the department stores and other complex spaces of the modern city.

I have explored many aspects and implications of the informality of the London street markets elsewhere.¹⁴ In this paper the aim is to develop a detailed consideration of their architectural informality. I will commence by briefly exploring the legal and economic status of the street markets, before deploying concepts of spatial and temporal ephemerality in analysing their material characteristics and the particular 'interior' spaces they produced. The final section will contrast these characteristics with examples of plans that were made to enclose and formalise London's market retailing. The last of these examples (and the only one with any measure of realised success) is Poplar's Chrisp Street market. Although this dates from the post-Second World War period, its reception and shortcomings usefully cast light back upon the informally-constituted street markets of the nineteenth and early twentieth century period, revealing more fully some aspects of their complexity.

Street markets and informality

To understand the growth of London's street markets it is necessary to briefly recount a narrative that began in medieval times. London had ancient markets dating to before 1066, and in 1327 Edward III granted the Mayor and Corporation control over these markets, with a monopoly spreading to a radius of approximately seven miles.¹⁵ The ancient markets included Billingsgate fish market on the banks of the Thames, and the livestock market at Smithfield, which had been located on the periphery of the city before urban growth engulfed it. By the mid-nineteenth century there were eight markets in London owned and run by the Corporation, and a further five in the hands of private individuals who had been granted market charters by later monarchs or Parliament, notwithstanding the monopoly of the Corporation. The privately-owned markets included Covent Garden and Spitalfields, the two most important fruit and vegetable markets.¹⁶

These ancient and legally-authorized London markets were the nodes that connected the city to the countryside, transmitting provisions and supplies into the hands of London's hungry population. By the mid nineteenth century they increasingly turned to wholesale trade as London grew and spread.¹⁷ The mass of the population, living at a distance from the markets, was more and more dependent on retailers who bought in the markets and distributed goods from there, and for poorer Londoners such retailers were the costermongers, the itinerant sellers Mayhew described, who gathered into impromptu street markets on Saturday nights. Over the subsequent decades these street markets became more numerous and larger. At the end of the century Charles Booth gave a succinct summary of the history of both the ancient markets and the street markets. The former, he noted, 'have assumed an almost strictly wholesale character', while the street-selling costermongers, 'seeking their customers, gather together in certain places during a portion of the day or evening, and in these places their customers finally learn to look for them. Thus the circle is complete, and an informal, unauthorized market is the result'—a street market.¹⁸ As the formal markets became wholesalers they left a vacuum into which the petty entrepreneurialism of street-selling expanded, and by centripetal action the street sellers formed up into a system of retail markets that shadowed the authorized markets and became the major source of food, household goods, clothing and cheap consumer luxuries for much of London's population (the street markets' customers were predominantly working-class, but they attracted middle-class shoppers too).¹⁹ In 1893 the London County Council found that many street markets operated well beyond Saturday nights, although that was always their busiest time.²⁰ They were far from permanent, however, appearing and disappearing on a daily basis, and shifting in constitution—but nonetheless also shifting huge quantities of provisions to London's urban masses.

The lack of formal retail market provision in London (which contrasted sharply with the many new market halls in other towns and cities) was the result of complex factors including the medieval market monopoly and the incoherence of London's local government in which the ancient jurisdiction of the City Corporation was in contest with other local authorities.²¹ The legal position of the street markets was as precarious as that of the ancient markets was secure. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, as they grew, they had no established right to occupy the streets, and there were various laws that could be used to clear away street sellers deemed to form an obstruction. In 1867 the government introduced a Metropolitan Streets Act which included a clause that forbade the placing of goods on the road or pavement, 'for a longer time than may be absolutely necessary for loading or unloading' and which thereby outlawed most street selling more effectively than any previous law.²² A campaign by costermongers and their supporters, backed by the press, soon prompted the government to remove the controversial clause, allowing street sellers to continue, 'so long as they carry on their business in accordance with the regulations from time to time made by the Commissioner of Police'. These regulations specified maximum dimensions for stalls or barrows of nine feet long and three feet deep, with a gap of four feet between each one.²³ Discretionary powers were delegated to the police to remove stalls if they caused an obstruction, although in practice they exercised their powers in toleration of those street markets in established locations.

This was the legal basis on which the street markets operated for the next sixty years. They had no formal right to occupy their street sites, and laws remained on the statute books that could be used to clear them away. However, such actions failed as often as they succeeded, and the basic framework was established by the Metropolitan Police regulations.²⁴ The street markets remained balanced precariously on the very fringes of the law, in a position of legal uncertainty. It was only in 1927 that this situation changed with the introduction of licensing for the street stalls.²⁵ This, however, did little more than throw a cloak of legal recognition over their existing form.

In 1913 American J.W. Sullivan investigated the London street markets, noting that 'any person may attend as a vendor', that most of the sellers hired their barrows rather than owning them, and occupied their regular pitches under nothing more than 'a commonly recognized rule of precedence' in which 'the newest arrival takes last place', extending the line of the market along the length of the street. The street markets, he noted, 'operated without . . . governmental machinery', in a system that was 'at once the most ancient and the most modern'—and the cheapest.²⁶

I suggest that informality is the best lens through which to understand the London street markets. In 1973 anthropologist Keith Hart wrote a foundational text on informality, based on an immigrant district of Accra in Ghana which census figures showed to be a site of extremely high unemployment.²⁷ On closer view Hart found that the absence of waged employment was

counterbalanced by small-scale economic activities that the census could not uncover. Hart's analysis, and many others that have followed, saw informality as primarily an economic phenomenon, but one that also has related legal definitions. Economic informality is often described as simply those undertakings that fall without the accepted modes of activity that constitute the formal economy, and the regulations and laws that both govern and document it.²⁸ Although there are many competing analyses of informality, the working definition of the term used in this essay is based upon three characteristics—a-legality, invisibility, and marginality. We have already seen how the London street markets were positioned on the fringes of the law. They were also sometimes invisible to bureaucratic modes of information-gathering. Just as in Accra, where the census could not 'see' unwaged labour, the London street markets were overlooked by some official bodies purely on account of their unlicensed nature. They were not listed in the annual street directories that are usually such a valuable tool for historians of retailing, or considered by the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls (1888-91) which ruled them firmly out of scope for its enquiry. Finally, informal activity is often carried out by (and for) people who are otherwise marginalised in the formal economy—including women and migrants. London's street markets were carried out by and for a heterogeneous population that varied across the various markets, but that included many migrants. Mayhew at mid-century described Irish and Jewish street sellers, and by the early twentieth century the mass-market fashions sold in the street markets were produced and distributed by a new generation of Jewish immigrants.²⁹

Both perambulatory street-selling and unauthorised markets had a long trajectory in the history of consumption in London, and in the supply of both food and non-food items. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for instance, the unchartered open-air market in Rosemary Lane known as Rag Fair outfitted bargain-conscious customers with second-hand clothes, and was notorious for its 'disorderly' nature.³⁰ However, the later nineteenth century undoubtedly saw strong growth in informal retailing as the city grew. More, and larger, street markets appeared, and when the 1867 Metropolitan Police Regulations were introduced these markets were left relatively unchallenged, after earlier attempts at the removal of street selling. I propose informality as the most useful tool with which to understand the London street markets during this period. It has been used as an analytical approach applied to contemporary economies in the developing world, and increasingly in developed countries too, both with reference to street selling and much more widely.³¹ Less use is made of it historically, with the most notable attempts concentrating on the early modern period in mainland Europe.³² This paper suggests that it should be applied to the later period that saw the strongest growth of London's unauthorised markets, and that it has material as well as legal and economic implications.³³

Informal architecture: light, sound and space

In the late 1870s Horace Jones, architect to the Corporation of London, delivered a paper on London's 'New Metropolitan Markets' to the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA).³⁴ While London's long-established authorised or formal markets had their origins in open-air sites, by the mid-nineteenth century they were housed in large and increasingly sophisticated buildings, many of them designed by Jones.³⁵ Smithfield livestock and meat market, for instance, had been notorious by the early nineteenth century for the public slaughter and butchery that took place there.³⁶ In 1855 livestock trade was relocated to a new Metropolitan Cattle Market in Islington and the Smithfield site, still known colloquially by its old name, was redeveloped as the 'London Central Markets', with splendid new buildings by Jones. In the Central Meat Market Jones asserted that he had solved the problems of providing 'light, air and protection from weather' in a modern market building that was roofed in glass, piped for gas, supplied by underground rail links and had a basement devoted to the cold storage of meat.³⁷ Its decorative style was as confident as its deployment of modern building technology, and J.W. Sullivan described it as 'one of the monuments of London'.³⁸ Jones noted at the outset of his RIBA paper the presence in London of 'some forty or fifty places at least which are more or less known and frequented as markets for the sale of provisions'. However only a few of those places rose to a 'sufficient dignity' for him to describe them before his audience of architects, and these few were all formal, authorised markets. The remainder consisted of 'only of a few stalls or stands, and even those stalls or stands moveable'. These were the informal street markets, with their shifting array of temporary barrows, and they did not fall within Jones's conception of architectural dignity.³⁹

In recent years there has been an increase in writing on architecture that is not 'dignified', monumental, or grand—and that, like Jones's 'moveable' stalls, is not even permanent. Theorists and practitioners are increasingly exploring 'temporary urbanism', 'architecture in motion', 'liquid architecture', and the immaterial qualities of 'fragile architecture' and the architecture of 'atmospheres'—supposedly new types of architecture defined as symptomatic of the hyper-mobility of contemporary modernity and globalisation.⁴⁰ Such analyses extend longstanding interest on the part of urban theorists in the impermanent and the mutable in the city environment. The work of writers such as Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre has long been influential in drawing attention to characteristic urban rhythms, the movements of people in the spaces of the city.⁴¹ While this well-established work on rhythms investigates temporality of activity and occupation, recent writings on temporary urbanism extend to the 'hard environment', and to new urban forms. The pop-up shop, restaurant or café, the festival space, the pavilion and the one-off event are seen as new and important components of the modern city. The temporary is thus brought within the remit of architectural practice.

While some commentators concentrate on planned and sanctioned temporary structures, others, for example Peter Mörtenböck and Helge Mooshammer, have analysed more informal manifestations.⁴² Mörtenböck and Mooshammer link an understanding of the legal-economic characteristics and social implications of informality with an attempt to understand how it plays out architecturally, producing ‘conditions that change the rationalities of urban space and provide the grounds for an unexpected and unsolicited place-making in its most elementary form’.⁴³ It is the unplanned place-making of temporary and shifting forms of exchange in the informal economy that this paper seeks to understand, looking not at contemporary examples, but at the historical subject matter of the London street markets in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As with writings on economic informality, writings on architectural informality do not often apply the concept historically. A notable exception is Elaine Tierney’s research on ‘Dirty Rotten Sheds’ in seventeenth-century London, which is particularly useful as a precedent in describing London as an ‘ephemeral city’ characterised as much by its temporary (and lowly) structures as by permanent (and monumental) ones. Tierney notes how some buildings have been ‘filtered out’ of the historical record, in particular those that are provisional or only semi-permanent.⁴⁴ Mörtenböck and Mooshammer alert us to the ‘place-making’ potential of the informal market, even if it is realised via ‘makeshift’ and ‘improvised’ means. Tierney prompts consideration of a material-culture approach that supplements an emphasis on architectural rhetoric and enduring buildings by drawing attention to the contribution of unplanned and provisional structures.⁴⁵ Both these themes might allow us to see the street markets as a type of architecture, albeit one created without permanency, solid form, or the intentionality of a single designer.

The London street markets that appeared and grew from the mid nineteenth century onwards were modest in formation (if increasingly vigorous in scale), composed of multiple stalls and barrows that, after the introduction of the Metropolitan Police regulations of 1867, had to comply with maximum dimensions of nine feet in length and three in depth. [Figure 3 here] As Figure 3 shows, these stalls occupied the edges of the markets’ habitual street locations in double lines that hugged the kerbs, squeezed along the gutters while the pavements on either side allowed for the continued passage of pedestrians, and the roadway remained (in theory at least) open to traffic. The whole was bounded by the permanent buildings of the shopping streets into which the markets inserted themselves. The specified dimensions meant that, if we think of each stall as analogous to an individual shop, it was extremely limited in size; in effect, a single counter. Many street sellers extended the horizontal space of this counter or stall-top with a vertical display of goods hanging above, suspended from a superstructure of uprights and wooden slats over which a canvas cover was slung in wet weather. Thus, although each market stall was limited in size, it could provide a showy display in three dimensions. Alexander Hartog, whose family was supported by his single mother’s haberdashery stall in Petticoat Lane, described the care taken over her display of artfully arranged goods: ‘my mother

and brother made a proper show of baby lace, curtain lace, buttons, pins, elastic, hooks and eyes, buckles, belts, many, many bits and pieces housewives wanted.⁴⁶

If a market stall was analogous to a shop counter, it was certainly not sufficient to be classified as a shop. Market stalls were all front. They lacked walls for enclosure and the boundary of a doorway, and had only the slatted frame and canvas cover as a roof. The stall-top doubled as both shop counter and shop window—the place where goods were both laid out for sale and displayed externally. And, unlike the increasingly sophisticated architecture of shops and department stores that used iron-framed structures to allow wide expanses of plate-glass window,⁴⁷ the street stalls lacked glass and were quite open both to the weather and to the gaze and touch of their customers. Isobel Armstrong has noted the enticing effects of commercial glazing, which was paradoxically both alluring and distancing.⁴⁸ The street stalls by contrast were all about immediacy.

Yet if the individual unit of the street stall was small-scale, open and immediate in its appeal to customers, collectively the stalls created a sense of both fixed location and defined space that in some respects re-categorised the streets they occupied from exterior routes of circulation to places with a strong sense of interiority. I do not argue that the street markets *were* interiors in the conventional sense—however, they did possess characteristics of enclosure and interiority that existed simultaneously to the permeability, openness and heterogeneity that are more usually associated with streetscapes. Three characteristics in particular contributed to this: light, sound, and the bounded and constrained nature of the market streets.

Almost every description of a London street market mentions (prominently) its lights. Starting in the early nineteenth century, London was lit by gas, and the grand shopping streets of the West End were particularly noted for their bright lights as the luxurious glare of shop windows added to the public illumination of street lamps. When, in the later nineteenth century, electricity replaced gas the shopping streets became even brighter.⁴⁹ The street markets, on the other hand, as informal economic entities that occupied their street sites without the benefit of legal sanction, lacked access to the developing lighting technologies of the city. Instead they were lit by naphtha flares (see Figures 1 and 4). [Figure 4 here] Naphtha, a volatile liquid, was a by-product of the burning of coal to produce town gas, and from the 1840s a number of manufacturers patented lamps that vapourised the liquid and burned it in its gaseous state to produce a flaring jet of naked flame used for illumination.⁵⁰ Such lamps—the cheap and atomised illumination of informality—were used by street sellers, and each stall had its own light for illumination in the hours of darkness. It was the after-dark street market, and particularly the street market at its busiest time, on Saturday nights, that made the strongest impression on observers and customers, and that dominates descriptive typologies in many sources. Charles Booth's description of the street markets leads with light: 'the flaring lights, the piles of cheap

comestibles, and the urgent cries of the sellers', and social worker Helen Bosanquet recalled 'the flaring streets where the costers keep their stalls'.⁵¹ Autobiographical accounts of market streets (of which there are many) emphasise the light of the flares as a key component of their atmosphere: Clare Cameron, for instance, described the 'blaze of naphtha flares', and even in the 1930s, when electric lighting was beginning to replace the naphtha flares, Bryan Magee, describing Hoxton Street market, stressed its bright lights: 'light, above all, is my memory, the market alive with it for the whole of its length.'⁵²

Although the street stalls and street markets were not sheltered by walls or roof, in darkness the effect of the flaring lights was to render invisible everything that fell outside the pool of illumination, thereby creating a strong sense of interiority. Cultural geographer, Tim Edensor, has observed this effect in the analogous situation of the sports stadium at night, where 'the intense glow' of lights 'accentuates the green of the pitch and encloses the crowd within a space demarcated from surrounding darkness'.⁵³ Architectural theorist Gernot Böhme has noted how 'spaces are created not just by walls but also by light; vanishing points and perspectives are defined not only by stone ledges and cantilevering beams but also by light; façades are not only shaped by series of windows and stucco reliefs but also by light.'⁵⁴ In the street markets the particular quality of the naked flame of the naphtha flares added further to this sense of enclosure because of the intensity of the sensory affect. Ethel Mannin remembered that, in her childhood visits to Lavender Hill street market, there was 'something deliciously dangerous . . . about the wind-blown flares forever threatening the awnings, dipping towards them and then away again, tantalisingly'.⁵⁵

Alongside the lights, the sounds of the markets are described frequently in many accounts. London's street markets were spaces in which promotion and advertising, which had taken an increasingly visual form in most nineteenth-century commerce as posters, flyers, printed ephemera and packaged goods proliferated, retained a strong link to older cultures of selling in which goods were 'cried' through the streets. As the naphtha flares were the light of informality, so the cries were the advertising of the street, as Mayhew noted.⁵⁶ So too did Helen Bosanquet, who described how 'vendors keep up the practice . . . of attracting customers by crying their wares'.⁵⁷ The noise of the shopping crowds mingled with the shouts, jokes, humorous insults and inventive sales patter of sellers. As with the street markets' distinctive flaring lights, the noise they generated created a sense of place, so that shoppers were conscious of being within or without the sound-space of the market. In the memoir of Elizabeth Flint, light and sound interact to create this sense of place in her recollections of Petticoat Lane:

The sky was a deep blue darkness, and the stars were bits of gold. The stalls were close, side by side, and noise and light were tossed together, a noise that had a quality of heaviness all

made up of talking and screaming and laughing . . . Each stall held its own naphtha flare, and all the flares glowed yellow.⁵⁸

Böhme proposes that sound, as well as light, is an architectural quality that can create space, and Alain Corbin, historian of the senses, has shown how the territory of the French village was created by the bells of the church regularly ringing to create an ‘auditory space’, in which ‘the bell reinforced divisions between an inside and an outside’ and space was ‘enclosed’ and ‘structured by the sound emanating from its centre’.⁵⁹ That was also the case with the street markets.

Because the street markets had no formally allocated space of their own, they squeezed themselves into the length of existing shopping streets, creating a new, informal line of commercial activity between the shops that bounded them on either side (see Figure 5).⁶⁰ [Figure 5 here] Mörtenböck and Mooshammer observe the same strip formation in contemporary informal markets in Istanbul, which form and reform alongside motorways and railway tracks.⁶¹ The London street markets created elongated tangles of stalls and people, and often effectively blocked traffic, with their constrained sites contributing to their sense of enclosed and defined space. They were dense forms, and although their linear shape encouraged directional movement, this was slow and halting, with streets transformed from passages to places. Crucially, the street markets were strongly differentiated from the non-market streets around, by their crowded occupation, their lights and sounds.

This is particularly apparent in accounts that described the markets from a distance, or via arrival or departure. Mayhew noted the visual effects that located the street markets in space, as the many lights ‘pour forth such a flood of light, that at a distance the atmosphere immediately above the spot is as lurid as if the street were on fire.’⁶² Elizabeth Flint, who remembered Petticoat Lane as a ‘magic world’, recalled how ‘I knew when we were getting near to the Lane because I could see the hot chestnut barrow. There was always a glowing brazier by the stall, and I could catch a glimpse of it now and again as the people moved about near to it. . . . There, at last, was the Lane before us and all its delights yet to be tasted.’⁶³ And Clare Cameron remembered (with a certain sense of relief at departing from the intensity of the street-market space) how, ‘the noise and colour and glare under the dark sky frightened me a little when the novelty of the occasion had worn off. It was nice to get back into the comparative quiet and dark of the streets beyond the market, and to walk slowly home.’⁶⁴ Perhaps paradoxically, given their lack of enclosed buildings and their open-air, street locations, the ‘architecture’ of the street markets, which was the product in large part of their informal and ephemeral nature, contributed important additional qualities to the streetscapes they occupied, fostering an enclosed sense of place and an atmosphere of interiority that, because it was the result of the sum of many different sensory affects, was indeed complex. This complexity was enhanced precisely because, although the street markets created a strong sense of interiority, they also retained

many of the countervailing characteristics of external street spaces: they did not, for instance, provide women customers with the sense of safety and security that the department stores offered, and they remained impervious to the sort of controlled orderliness that was the aim of those seeking to reform retail marketing in London by enclosing it, as will be discussed in the following section.

Control and reform: designing out complexity?

The street markets were not constant in their occupation of their street sites: some were present every day of the week, while others operated for one or two days only. They contracted and expanded in size, although most were largest on Saturday nights when working-class customers had their weekly wages to spend. Some provided an opportunity to defer the weekly splurge of payday spending to Sunday mornings, in defiance of Sunday trading laws.⁶⁵ Because they were temporary, although persistently recurring in their habitual sites, outside observers sometimes found the street markets' rhythms hard to read, and noted that individual costermongers and sellers were rather less regular than the markets collectively. Henry Mayhew, Adolphe Smith, Helen Bosanquet and Charles Booth all documented costermongers whose presence in the market might be curtailed by lack of money to restock their barrows; who switched rapidly from one commodity to another; or who took to street selling only when they could not earn a living at another, more steady trade.⁶⁶ The rhetoric that surrounded street selling was one of uncertain rhythms and casual entrepreneurship, undertaken by migrants, women, children and that part of the male population which could not command a 'regular' job in the formal economy. To unsympathetic or ambivalent observers the markets' complex temporalities looked disordered and undisciplined.

Their lack of temporal stability was one of the ways in which the street markets seemed uncontrolled. Another was their nature as a site of social mixing: anybody and everybody could and did step into the market streets and rub shoulders with the crowds. Visual representations frequently stressed this. Figure 1 portrays the heterogeneity of a generic street market that is inhabited by people of all social classes, from the shoeless beggar family in the foreground to the disdainful figure of the middle-class observer in the centre, a 'slumming' visitor to the East End market. On the periphery is a police constable, a figure who could be found in many similar market scenes from the mid-nineteenth century onwards (Figures 4 and 5 also have police constables in the foreground). Such figures are emblematic of the markets as spaces of encounter that required surveillance. Mörtenböck and Mooshammer describe how contemporary Istanbul's informal markets create 'space under negotiation', that is both 'threatening and threatened space', and a similar negotiation is suggested by the watching brief kept by the Metropolitan Police on London's street markets.⁶⁷

The street markets were persistently liminal in their legal status, their continued existence dependent both on the street sellers' ongoing assertion of their customary 'right' to trade, and the toleration of various city authorities.⁶⁸ If such authorities usually tolerated the markets, they rarely embraced them, and there were notable attempts to rehouse, relocate or simply remove them. The history of such attempts is a complicated one, with countervailing movements, successful and unsuccessful, both against and in support of the street markets.⁶⁹ Here three examples only are analysed, in order to briefly consider the alternatives to informal kerbside retailing and what they can tell us about the nature—the complexity—of the street markets.

Eighteen months after the 1867 Metropolitan Streets Act and its abortive move to prevent obstructions, including street selling, in London's congested roads, a grand new market building was opened with the intention of housing the street markets of the East End in regulated and hygienic facilities.⁷⁰ Columbia Market, financed and built by philanthropist Angela Burdett Coutts, was a huge neo-Gothic building that architectural critics compared enthusiastically to Westminster Abbey. However as a retail market it was a complete failure.⁷¹ Costermongers did not want to trade there, perhaps because of the ecclesiastical flavour of the grand architecture, certainly because of the rent charged, the market bye-laws that forbade the 'crying' of goods and enforced regular opening and closing hours, and that stipulated strict regimes of cleanliness and an absolute prohibition on foul language.⁷² Elaine Tierney describes how the architectural rhetoric of the post Great Fire period in London consciously echoed Caesar Augustus's claim to have found Rome a city of bricks and left it a city of marble. In practice, the temporary structures that were quickly erected and then lingered in a state of ongoing provisionality, evidenced the gulf between rhetoric and reality, so that the 'informal, provisional and precarious dimensions of early modern city life . . . inhibited the translation of London into a city of marble, fostering instead in its midst a city of sticks.'⁷³ The same forces were still at work in the London of the mid nineteenth century, when even more rapid urban growth and change provoked informal responses that were more pragmatically successful than the monumentality, however generous, of a building like Columbia Market.

The London County Council (LCC) was formed as a London-wide local authority in 1889, and one of its early acts was to draw up its report (already cited) on London markets, published in 1893. It concluded that the street markets, although essential to the provisioning of London, were also a 'disgrace'.⁷⁴ Like Baroness Burdett Coutts, the LCC proposed housing the street markets in new market buildings, with sample designs drawn up for three schemes.⁷⁵ The LCC had been rendered cautious by the earlier expensive failure of Columbia market, and even when proposing these new market buildings, it recognised the vigour of the organic nature of the existing informal provision. New markets, it said, 'cannot be successfully made' by artificial means, citing as an example Woolwich, where planned market sites to replace informal street selling did not thrive, proving 'the

difficulty of establishing markets at places other than where they have taken root naturally.’⁷⁶ The LCC’s proposed new market buildings were to be located on the precise site of the existing informal markets they were to replace, yet even these cautious plans were never executed and they had been quietly dropped by the time the LCC looked again at the ‘problem’ of London markets in another report of 1901.⁷⁷ The street markets were left to continue until 1927, when licensing recognised them in their existing form.

These examples suggest that the informal solution of the street markets provisioned London with some efficiency. Most attempts to house street marketing, either in grand or more modest form, were clear failures, as was the move to outlaw it altogether in the Metropolitan Streets Act. The ongoing compromise of the Metropolitan Police’s ‘nine by three by four between’ regulation, and the pragmatic formalisation of street markets in their existing configuration in the 1927 licensing laws show how London’s authorities were reluctant to intervene in an institution that was clearly useful. The street markets flourished, creating temporary spaces of consumption and sociability that were marked by their sensorial and affective richness, so that even if city authorities found them disquieting, the people who shopped there clearly encountered them as engaging and alluring spaces. The LSE’s *New Survey* in 1932 remarked sternly of the street markets that, ‘in a Utopia they would not be tolerated’, before relenting and admitting not just their usefulness but their ‘cheerful and colourful’ character.⁷⁸

Even while the street markets continued to flourish in the 1920s and 30s, however, notable developments in architectural thinking were taking place such that, post-war, more assertive attempts were made to reform and rehouse some of the markets, although many persisted in their existing form. The immediate post-war period provides one example that allows a backward glance at the street markets of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Wartime bombing caused great destruction in London, and even at the height of the war, active efforts were being made to plan for post-war reconstruction as the LCC commissioned planners J.H. Forshaw and Patrick Abercrombie to produce a blueprint for the rebuilding of London. The resulting *County of London Plan*, published in 1943, declared the war to be ‘a unique stimulus to better planning’, presenting not just the necessity to rebuild, but an opportunity to build better, and to put into practice new theories of urban planning that had emerged in the interwar period.⁷⁹ The Plan included a brief consideration of the street markets, noting that they were ‘not suitable for continuance in the thoroughfares of reconstructed areas’ and should be ‘rearranged in small squares situated, if possible, adjacent to the street traditionally used’.⁸⁰

The County of London Plan included an early version of a scheme for the Stepney/Poplar district of the East End which was home to Chrisp Street market, one of the largest and liveliest of the London street markets (see Figure 6). [Figure 6 here] In 1951 this scheme was realised as the Lansbury Estate,

designed by architect Frederick Gibberd, and presented to the public as an ‘exhibition of living architecture’, as part of the Festival of Britain. Chrisp Street market was moved from its street location and placed in a new market square amongst social housing, schools and parks.⁸¹ Gibberd tempered the principles of the international style with an appreciation of the ‘urbanity’ of the traditions of the English market town, creating urban spaces that achieved a sense of place through the grouping of buildings and the control of vistas.⁸² He followed this approach in the new Lansbury Market, with an open square that included marked pitches for stalls, surrounding shops set back under colonnades, and watching over all, a freestanding clock tower that for all its stylistic modernity has obvious echoes of the parish church overlooking the town or village square (see Figure 7). [Figure 7 here] The design was humane, sensitive and accepting of the principles of open air street trading. It also, like Forshaw and Abercrombie’s *County of London Plan*, paid due attention to the ‘town as a living growth’.⁸³ The chief contrasts between the old Chrisp Street market and the new Lansbury Market were the new market site’s separation from motorised traffic, and its liberation from the linear constraints imposed by the informal occupation of street space. In placing the formerly linear street market in a market square, Gibberd was not just removing the street stalls as a source of traffic congestion, or reinventing the pre-industrial market square, but also rejecting a spatial form that had been widely criticised in the developing debate on town planning in the inter-war years. As towns and cities grew, they expanded outwards along major routes. Forshaw and Abercrombie condemned ‘the continued sprawl of London, ribboning along the roads’, and in 1928 architect Clough Williams Ellis wrote a polemic which portrayed ribbon development as the tentacles of a monstrous octopus infiltrating the countryside.⁸⁴ The London street markets, as they grew in lines of occupation within the streets of the city, had been a variant on such uncontrolled tentacular linearity. Gibberd’s design for Lansbury Market reflected a very different market tradition: ‘the nearer square the space is, the better’.⁸⁵

In 1963 Wilfred Burns in his book *New Towns for Old* described a visit to Lansbury Market, noting the dishevelment of both the market and the women who shopped there, and concluding that ‘the new development is having a great struggle to preserve its identity’.⁸⁶ A newspaper report from a few years later put its finger more precisely on what had been lost in the shift from a street location to a pedestrianised market place, from a narrow, linear format to a square one. In the old market, ‘you had to elbow your way through the drifting, surging shoppers, mooching down Chrisp Street for the weekly bargain Shoppers used to stroll along a row of stalls one side of Chrisp-street and then down the other side’, and ‘everything was crammed in’, the report explained.⁸⁷ In the Lansbury scheme, by contrast, ‘the hustle and bustle, the congestion . . . gave way to “design and comfort”’, yet sellers complained that their trade had suffered as a result. Gibberd himself acknowledged that ‘a lively, jostling crowd of people is the essence of the market scene and so, even when there is ample space, the stalls are huddled together to concentrate the activity’.⁸⁸ Yet his design failed to achieve

quite enough concentration to replicate the early twentieth-century market street which Dolly Scannell recalled in her autobiography as ‘a lively, happy thoroughfare full of exciting stalls and people . . .’, ‘the noise, the smell, the music and, oh, the life!’⁸⁹

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What Chrisp Street / Lansbury market shows is that the accidental, unplanned and informal complexity of the London street markets could not easily be replicated even by the most sensitive of planned designs—and indeed in many areas of London, no attempt was made to do so, and the street markets were left to continue in their existing, kerbside form. The London street markets were hugely complex spaces, as is evidenced by the contradictory nature of the rhetoric surrounding them, which varies from anxious accounts of uncontrol and irregularity, to memoirs in which they are remembered nostalgically as magical heterotopias, set apart from the dull and quiet spaces of everyday life. My aim has not been to question the impulses behind attempts to reform or rehouse the street markets, nor to romanticise them: as Mörtenböck and Mooshammer warn, we should be wary of naïve conclusions in which the ‘survival strategies of the global South’ are co-opted by ‘neoliberal myths that equate informality with a nebulous expression of free individuality’, and the lesson applies equally well to historical analysis as to the contemporary world.⁹⁰ However, it is important to document and recognise the street markets, and the overlooked contribution they have made to London as a city of many, equally contested, ‘complex’ interiors.

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Images:

1. East End street market, populated by many social types, and showing a distinctive naphtha flare lighting the fish stall on the left. A policeman observes from the periphery. (*Good Words* magazine, November 1868)
2. Unnamed London street market, c.1900 (Lantern slide, author's collection).

3. Berwick Street market photographed by Laszlo Moholy-Nagy. (Mary Benedetta, *The Street Markets of London*, 1936)
4. East End street market. Like Figure 1, this crowded scene contains many social types, a naphtha flare lighting the stall in the centre, and a policeman. (Richard Harding Davis, *Our English Cousins*, 1894)
5. Goulston Street, an offshoot of Petticoat Lane market, and particularly narrow and crowded. This photograph, like Figures 1 and 4, includes a policeman (lower right). (postcard, 1907, author's collection)
6. Crisp Street market in 1948, just before the Lansbury Estate scheme was commenced (by permission of London Metropolitan Archives, City of London Corporation, ref. 283548).
7. Lansbury Market in 1961 (by permission of London Metropolitan Archives, City of London Corporation, ref. 282617).

¹ S. Webb, *The Scandal of London's Markets*, Fabian Tract no.36 (London: Fabian Society, 1891), unpaginated.

² See for instance G. Doré and B. Jerrold, *London: A Pilgrimage* (London: Grant & Co., 1872), 189; London County Council Public Control Department, *London Markets, Special Report of the Public Control Committee Relative to Existing Markets and Market Rights and as to the Expediency of Establishing New Markets in or Near the Administrative County of London* (London: London County Council, 1893) (hereafter *LCC London Markets* 1893), 26.

³ See P. Sparke, 'Introduction', 'Complex Interiors' special issue, *London Journal* 45:x (2020) (forthcoming)

⁴ 'Penny capitalist' is John Benson's term, from his short exploratory volume that is one of the few historical works to touch on economic informality (J. Benson, *The Penny Capitalists: A Study of Nineteenth-century Working-class Entrepreneurs* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1983)).

⁵ H. Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, Volume I (London: Griffin, Bohn and Company, London, 1861 (first published 1851)), 3.

⁶ Mayhew, *London Labour*, 9.

⁷ *LCC London Markets* 1893

⁸ *LCC London Markets* 1893, Appendix C.

⁹ *LCC London Markets* 1893, 25.

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¹¹ LSE, *New Survey*, 295.

¹² T. Burke, *The London Spy: A Book of Town Travels* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1922), 147.

¹³ Burke, *London Spy*, 149, 151.

¹⁴ V. Kelley, *Cheap Street: London's Street Markets and Culture of Informality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019).

¹⁵ Medieval market rights usually came with such a monopoly (Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls, 1888-1891, *Final Report of the Commissioners* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1891), 7).

¹⁶ *LCC London Markets* 1893, 7-23.

¹⁷ H. Jones, 'On the New Metropolitan Markets', Royal Institute of British Architects Sessional Papers 1877-78 (London Metropolitan Archives CLA/009/01/083), 116-9.

¹⁸ C. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, Series 2, Volume 3 (London: Macmillan, 1903), 260.

¹⁹ Kelley, *Cheap Street*, p.35; Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls, 1888-1891, *Volume II*, minutes 3686-3696.

²⁰ *LCC London Markets* 1893, 24.

- ²¹ For an account of market reform outside London, see J. Schmiechen and K. Carls, *The British Market Hall: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Yale University Press, 1999). Space does not allow detailed analysis of the implications of complex London local government rivalries: see Kelley, *Cheap Street*, Chapter 1.
- ²² Metropolitan Streets Act 1867, www.legislation.gov.uk; J. Winter, *London's Teeming Streets, 1830-1914* (London: Routledge, 1993), 109.
- ²³ Metropolitan Streets (Amendment) Act 1867, www.legislation.gov.uk.
- ²⁴ For a summary of legal opinion and relevant cases, see J.G. Pease and H. Chitty, *Law of Markets and Fairs* (first edition) (London: Knight and Co., 1899), 4 & 36.
- ²⁵ The LCC General Powers Act 1927 empowered borough councils to pass bye-laws on street markets (see draft standard bye-laws, 30 July 1927, London Metropolitan Archives, London County Council General Purposes Committee Departmental Committee on Street Trading, LCC/CL/GP/01/210). Minute books of London's Borough Councils record in detail applications for licences in their volumes for 1927 and 1928.
- ²⁶ Sullivan, *Markets for the People*, 210-11 & 228.
- ²⁷ K. Hart, 'Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 11:1 (1973), 61-89.
- ²⁸ In addition to Hart, useful starting points on contemporary informality include M. Leonard, 'Coping Strategies in Developed and Developing Societies: The Workings of the Informal Economy', *Journal of International Development*, 12:8 (2000), 1069-1085; S. Sassen, 'The Informal Economy: Between New Developments and Old Regulations', *Yale Law Journal*, 103:8 (1994), 2289-2304; A. Ledeneva (ed.), *Global Encyclopaedia of Informality* (London: University College London Press, 2018).
- ²⁹ A. Godley, *Jewish Immigrant Entrepreneurship in London and New York, 1880-1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).
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- ³¹ K. Seale, *Markets, Places, Cities* (London: Routledge, 2016); Sara González, *Contested Markets, Contested Cities: Gentrification and Urban Justice in Retail Spaces* (London: Routledge, 2017).
- ³² T. Buchner and P.R. Hoffmann-Rehnitz (eds), *Shadow Economies and Irregular Work in Urban Europe, Sixteenth to Early Twentieth Centuries* (Wien and Münster: Lit Verlag, 2011); D. van den Heuvel, 'Selling in the Shadows: Peddlers and Hawkers in Early Modern Europe' in M.M. van der Linden and L. Lucassen (eds), *Studies in Global Social History, Volume 9: Working on Labour: Essays in Honour of Jan Lucassen* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
- ³³ Peter Jones's excellent paper, 'Redressing Reform Narratives: Victorian London's Street Markets and the Informal Supply Lines of Urban Modernity', *London Journal*, 41:1 (2016) focuses largely on a single London street market, Whitecross Street, in the later nineteenth century.
- ³⁴ H. Jones, 'New Metropolitan Markets'.
- ³⁵ The only exception was Whitechapel Hay Market, which operated from a street site.
- ³⁶ I. MacLachlan, 'A Bloody Offal Nuisance: The Persistence of Private Slaughter-houses in Nineteenth-century London', *Urban History*, 34 (2007).
- ³⁷ Jones, 'New Metropolitan Markets', 116-119.
- ³⁸ Sullivan, *Markets for the People*, 235-6.
- ³⁹ Jones, 'New Metropolitan Markets', 113.
- ⁴⁰ A. Madanipour, *Cities in Time: Temporary Urbanism and the Future of the City* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); R. Kronenburg, *Architecture in Motion: The History and Development of Portable Building* (London: Routledge, 2014); T. Aglieri Rinella and R. Garcia Rubio, 'Pop-Up, Liquid Architecture for a Liquid World', *Arts*, 14:6 (2017); J. Pallasmaa, 'Hapticity and Time: Notes on Fragile Architecture', *Architectural Review*, May 2000, 78-84; G. Böhme, *Atmospheric Architectures: The Aesthetics of Felt Spaces* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).
- ⁴¹ M. de Certeau, L. Giard and P. Mayol, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Volume 2, trans. T. J. Tomasik (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); H. Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. S. Elden (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).
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- ⁴³ Mörtenböck and Mooshammer, 'Trade Flow', 119.
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- ⁴⁷ W. Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialisation of Light in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 1988 (1983)), 146.

- ⁴⁸ I. Armstrong, *Victorian Glassworlds: Glass, Culture and the Imagination 1830-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 121-2. See also Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night*, 147-8.
- ⁴⁹ Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night*, 148-9.
- ⁵⁰ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition (1910-11), 652; R. Meldola, *Coal and What We Get from It* (London: SPCK, 1891), 71; M. Luckiesh, *Artificial Light: Its Influence Upon Civilization* (New York: Century, 1920), 56.
- ⁵¹ Booth, *Life and Labour*, Series I Volume I, 68; Mrs Bernard Bosanquet (Helen Bosanquet, née Dendy), *Rich and Poor* (London: Macmillan, 1896), 127.
- ⁵² C. Cameron, *Rustle of Spring: An Edwardian Childhood in London's East End* (London: Skilton and Shaw, 1979 (1927)), 38; B. Magee, *Clouds of Glory: A Hoxton Childhood* (London: Pimlico, 2004), 274.
- ⁵³ T. Edensor, 'Light Design and Atmosphere', *Visual Communication*, 14:3 (2015), 331-50; Schivelbusch makes a similar point (*Disenchanted Night*, 149).
- ⁵⁴ Böhme, *Atmospheric Architectures*, 144.
- ⁵⁵ Burke, *London Spy*, 165; E. Mannin, *Confessions and Impressions* (London: Hutchinson, 1936 (1930)), 19.
- ⁵⁶ Mayhew, *London Labour* Volume I, 9.
- ⁵⁷ Bosanquet, *Rich and Poor*, 128.
- ⁵⁸ E. Flint, *Hot Bread and Chips* (London: Museum Press, 1963), 42.
- ⁵⁹ Böhme, *Atmospheric Architectures*, 76; A. Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-century French Countryside*, trans M. Thom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 95-96.
- ⁶⁰ Almost all London's informal markets occupied such street sites, in roads of varying width, but all imposing a linear format. Rare exceptions were the markets on Kingsland Plain and Whitechapel Waste (*LCC London Markets 1893*, Appendix C).
- ⁶¹ Mörtenböck and Mooshammer, 'Spaces of Encounter', 350-351.
- ⁶² Mayhew, *London Labour* Volume I, 9.
- ⁶³ Flint, *Hot Bread*, 35 & 42.
- ⁶⁴ Cameron, *Rustle of Spring*, 40.
- ⁶⁵ *LCC London Markets 1893*, Appendix B.
- ⁶⁶ Mayhew, *London Labour* Volume I (throughout); J. Thomson and A. Smith, *Street Life in London* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1877), see for instance 30-32 & 90-92; Bosanquet, *Rich and Poor*, 57; Booth, *Life and Labour* Series I Volume I, 57-58.
- ⁶⁷ Mörtenböck and Mooshammer, 'Trade Flow', 124.
- ⁶⁸ Stephen Jankiewicz, 'A Dangerous Class: The Street Sellers of Nineteenth-Century London', *Journal of Social History*, 46:2 (2012), 391-415.
- ⁶⁹ For detailed analysis of this subject, see Kelley, *Cheap Street*.
- ⁷⁰ 'The opening of Columbia Market', *Illustrated London News* (8 May 1869), front page.
- ⁷¹ 'Miss Coutts's New Market at Bethnal-Green', *The Times* (29 April 1869), 5; W.M. Stern, 'The Baroness's Market: The History of a Noble Failure', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 3:8 (1966), 353-66.
- ⁷² *LCC London Markets 1893*, 18; 'The Bye-laws of Columbia Square Market', printed poster, Tower Hamlets Local History Library and Archives, Press Cuttings Box 652.3-652.34, 1869.
- ⁷³ Tierney, 'Dirty Rotten Sheds', 242.
- ⁷⁴ *LCC London Markets 1893*, 26.
- ⁷⁵ *LCC London Markets 1893*, unpaginated architectural plans.
- ⁷⁶ *LCC London Markets 1893*, 7 & 24.
- ⁷⁷ London County Council Public Control Department, *Street markets: report of the chief officer of the public control department as to the street markets in the county of London* (London: London County Council, 1901).
- ⁷⁸ LSE, *New Survey*, 300.
- ⁷⁹ J.H. Forshaw and P. Abercrombie, *County of London Plan* (London: Macmillan, 1943), 1; C. Hui Lan Manley, *Frederick Gibberd* (London: Historic England, 2017), 22-24.
- ⁸⁰ Forshaw and Abercrombie, *County of London Plan*, Plate XXV & 72.
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- ⁸² Manley, *Frederick Gibberd*, 27.

⁸³ F. Gibberd, *Town Design* (London: Architecture Press, 1970 (1953)), 127; Forshaw and Abercrombie, *County of London Plan*, iii.

⁸⁴ Forshaw and Abercrombie, *County of London Plan*, 3; C. Williams-Ellis, *England and the Octopus* (Geoffrey Bles: London, 1928); D. Matless, 'Appropriate Geography: Patrick Abercrombie and the Energy of the World', *Journal of Design History*, 6:3 (1993), 167-178.

⁸⁵ Gibberd, *Town Design*, 130.

⁸⁶ W. Burns, *New Towns for Old: The Technique of Urban Renewal* (London: Leonard Hill, 1963), 51.

⁸⁷ M. Brooke, 'Whatever happened to Chrisp Street?', *East London Express*, April 3rd 1970.

⁸⁸ Gibberd, *Town Design*, 129.

⁸⁹ D. Scannell, *Mother Knew Best: An East-End Childhood* (London: Pan, 1975), 34 & 41.

⁹⁰ Mörtenböck and Mooshammer, 'Spaces of Encounter', 349.

IMAGES



Figure 1

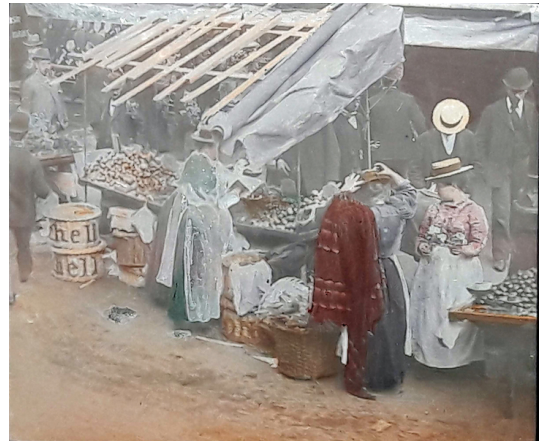


Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7