

The impact of rivers on urban
development –

The Tyburn River and Mayfair in the
eighteenth century

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Contents.

Contents.	i
Table of Figures	vi
Table of Tables	viii
Acknowledgements	x
Abbreviations used in the text	xi
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Historiography	6
1.2.1 <i>Urban history</i>	6
1.2.2 <i>Landscape history</i>	8
1.2.3 <i>Environmental history</i>	9
1.2.4 <i>Urban morphology</i>	10
1.3 Methodologies	11
1.3.1 <i>Geographical information systems</i>	11
1.3.2 <i>Economic analysis</i>	12
1.3.3 <i>Social analysis</i>	13
1.4 Sources	15
1.4.1 <i>Survey of St George Hanover Square 1791</i>	15
1.4.2 <i>Horwood Plan of London 1792-1799</i>	17
1.4.3 <i>Estate records</i>	20

1.4.4 Poll and rates and parish register records	20
1.4.5 Middlesex Deeds Registry	21
1.4.6 Sewer Commission	22
1.4.7 Census Information	22
1.5 Summary	25
2 Topography	26
2.1 Introduction	26
2.2 Topography and history of the area	26
2.3 Tyburn River	32
2.3.2 Tyburn as a source of water	41
2.3.3 Tyburn as sewer and storm drain	42
2.4 The Major Estates	45
2.4.1 The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair	47
2.4.2 The Conduit Mead Estate	48
2.4.3 The Berkeley Square Estate	49
2.4.4 Hanover Square	50
2.4.5 Curzon Estate	50
2.5 Conclusions	51
3 Development of the Mayfair area	52
3.1 Introduction	52
3.2 Development of the area.	53
3.3 Motivation of landowners	68

3.4 Land usages	71
3.5 Property sizes	73
3.6 Stables.	78
3.7 House plot sizes and the River Tyburn	79
3.8 Property rate valuations	84
3.9 Conclusions	87
4 Mayfair householders	88
4.1 Introduction	88
4.2 Population density	90
4.3 Occupation profile	103
4.3.1 Group A – Professional	105
4.3.2 Group B - Trade	107
4.3.3 Group C - Services	110
4.4 Changes in occupations over time	112
4.5 Analysis of high-status householders	117
4.5.1 Who are the high-status householders?	117
4.5.2 Size of households	119
4.5.3 The season	121
4.6 Analysis of the poor	122
4.6.1 People who ‘pay no rates’.	122
4.6.2 The 1843 visitation	125
4.6.3 Seasonality and the working class	126

4.6.4 <i>The parish workhouse</i>	127
4.6.5 <i>Outpayments to the poor</i>	129
4.6.6 <i>Impact of workhouse on area</i>	129
4.7 Gender distribution –	130
4.8 Occupancy	138
4.9 Conclusions	144
5 Case Studies	146
5.1 Case study introduction	146
5.2 Case study - Grosvenor Market	148
5.2.1 <i>Introduction</i>	148
5.2.2 <i>The database</i>	149
5.2.3 <i>The source material</i>	153
5.2.4 <i>Grosvenor Market case study conclusions</i>	155
5.3 Case study - Grosvenor Mews	157
5.3.1 <i>Introduction</i>	157
5.3.2 <i>The database</i>	158
5.3.3 <i>The source material</i>	162
5.3.4 <i>Conclusions</i>	164
5.4 Case study - Grosvenor Square	165
5.4.1 <i>Introduction</i>	165
5.4.2 <i>The database</i>	166
5.4.3 <i>The source material</i>	169

5.4.4 Conclusions	170
5.5 Overall conclusions	170
6 Conclusions	172
6.1 Introduction	172
6.2 Key research findings	172
6.3 Conclusions	174
6.4 Opportunities for further research.	175
Works Cited	177
Bibliography of works consulted	186
Primary Sources	186
Tyburn River	187
Broader Area	189
General context	195
Maps and Plans	197

Table of Figures

<i>Figure 1-1: Location of the Parish of St George Hanover Square</i>	2
<i>Figure 1-2: Location of study area and Tyburn River</i>	3
<i>Figure 1-3: Page from the Survey</i>	16
<i>Figure 1-4: Part of the Horwood map</i>	19
<i>Figure 2-1: The field system in 1660s</i>	28
<i>Figure 2-2: Course of the River Tyburn</i>	33
<i>Figure 3-1 : Mayfair landholdings in 1660s</i>	55
<i>Figure 3-2: Clarendon and Berkeley House built on Piccadilly</i>	57
<i>Figure 3-3: Estates layout used in this study</i>	59
<i>Figure 3-4: Ownership of the land</i>	60
<i>Figure 3-5: Property development over time</i>	61
<i>Figure 3-6 : Map showing type of feature</i>	72
<i>Figure 3-7 : Houses sizes of properties</i>	73
<i>Figure 3-8: Land utilisation by estate</i>	76
<i>Figure 3-9: Average size of house area on map</i>	77
<i>Figure 3-10: Stables in the area</i>	79
<i>Figure 3-11: Example of scheme used in the analysis 50m bands around Tyburn</i>	80
<i>Figure 3-12: House plot size by bands from Tyburn</i>	81
<i>Figure 3-13: Average area per house 50m bands from estate boundaries</i>	83
<i>Figure 3-14: Average rack rateable values by street in 1784</i>	85
<i>Figure 3-15: Average rack rateable values by street in 1818</i>	86
<i>Figure 4-1: Location of entries in the 1791 survey of householders</i>	91

<i>Figure 4-2: Householder density heatmap</i>	<i>94</i>
<i>Figure 4-3: Density of houses in 50m bands from Tyburn.....</i>	<i>97</i>
<i>Figure 4-4: Householder density 50m Tyburn bands house areas only</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Figure 4-5: Householder Density by 50m bands from Estate Boundaries.....</i>	<i>101</i>
<i>Figure 4-6: Occupations - Professionals and Rentiers.....</i>	<i>106</i>
<i>Figure 4-7: Trade.....</i>	<i>109</i>
<i>Figure 4-8: Services.....</i>	<i>111</i>
<i>Figure 4-9: MPs, clergy, esquires, knights and peers</i>	<i>117</i>
<i>Figure 4-10: High status householders by 50m bands from estate boundaries.....</i>	<i>119</i>
<i>Figure 4-11: Householders who pay no rates in the 1791 Survey</i>	<i>124</i>
<i>Figure 4-12: Women householders by occupation</i>	<i>132</i>
<i>Figure 4-13: Women by marriage status</i>	<i>135</i>
<i>Figure 4-14: Women density by 50m bands from Tyburn.....</i>	<i>137</i>
<i>Figure 4-15: Women householder density by 50m bands from estate boundaries</i>	<i>138</i>
<i>Figure 4-16: Occupancy by householder</i>	<i>141</i>
<i>Figure 4-17: Occupancy by building.....</i>	<i>142</i>
<i>Figure 4-18: Occupancy by householder number</i>	<i>143</i>
<i>Figure 5-1: The case study areas.....</i>	<i>147</i>
<i>Figure 5-2: Grosvenor Market case study plan</i>	<i>148</i>
<i>Figure 5-3: Grosvenor Mews case study plan</i>	<i>157</i>
<i>Figure 5-4: Grosvenor Square case study plan.....</i>	<i>165</i>

Table of Tables

<i>Table 1-1: Census information</i>	24
<i>Table 2-1: The main estates in Mayfair c 1700</i>	47
<i>Table 4-1: Estates ranked by householder density/km²</i>	101
<i>Table 4-2: Grosvenor Estate showing differences between ‘distant’ and ‘close’ to Tyburn</i>	102
<i>Table 4-3: Occupation codes for householders in Mayfair</i>	104
<i>Table 4-4: Group occupation profiles for Mayfair</i>	105
<i>Table 4-5: Householders property size</i>	107
<i>Table 4-6: Comparing numbers of householders, voters and ratepayers from the different sources</i>	112
<i>Table 4-7: Voting in 1790 compared to householders in 1791</i>	113
<i>Table 4-8: Occupation mix is largely static over time</i>	115
<i>Table 4-9: Women Householders by occupation and house size</i>	133
<i>Table 5-1 : Grosvenor Market land utilization</i>	149
<i>Table 5-2: Grosvenor Market house size and householder density</i>	150
<i>Table 5-3: Grosvenor Market mix of house sizes</i>	150
<i>Table 5-4: Grosvenor Market mix of occupations</i>	151
<i>Table 5-5: Grosvenor Market occupations</i>	152
<i>Table 5-6: Grosvenor Mews land utilization</i>	158
<i>Table 5-7: Grosvenor Mews house size and householder density</i>	159
<i>Table 5-8: Grosvenor Mews mix of house sizes</i>	159
<i>Table 5-9: Grosvenor Mews mix of occupations</i>	160
<i>Table 5-10: Grosvenor Mews occupations</i>	162

<i>Table 5-11: Grosvenor Square land utilization.....</i>	<i>166</i>
<i>Table 5-12: Grosvenor Square house size and householder density.....</i>	<i>166</i>
<i>Table 5-13: Grosvenor Square mix of house sizes.....</i>	<i>167</i>
<i>Table 5-14: Grosvenor Square mix of occupations.....</i>	<i>167</i>
<i>Table 5-15 Grosvenor Square occupations.....</i>	<i>168</i>

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The work here also depends on previous work done in the field. It uses the work of the team who created the Westminster Historical Database.

The project uses mapping from the OpenStreetMap project which is © OpenStreetMap contributors and available for reuse under the CC BY_SA license shown at <http://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>. The project uses the QGIS open source geographical information system see <http://www.qgis.org/>, and OpenRefine an open source tool for working with messy data see <http://openrefine.org/>. The project used the Horwood map at Matthew Sangster's Romantic London website at <http://www.romanticlondon.org/>

Abbreviations used in the text

BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
c	circa
Gent	gentleman/men
GIS	Geographical information system
IGF	Inmate Ground Floor (ie owner of a shop)
IHR	Institute of Historical Research
km	kilometre
LMA	London Metropolitan Archive
m	metre
MA	Commonwealth of Massachusetts
MOLA	Museum of London Archaeology
MoLAS	Museum of London Archaeology Service (now known as MOLA)
MP	Member of Parliament
MS	manuscript
OS	Ordnance Survey
PRO	Public Records Office, now the National Archives
SHL	Senate House Library
St	Saint
WAC	City of Westminster Archives Centre

1 Introduction

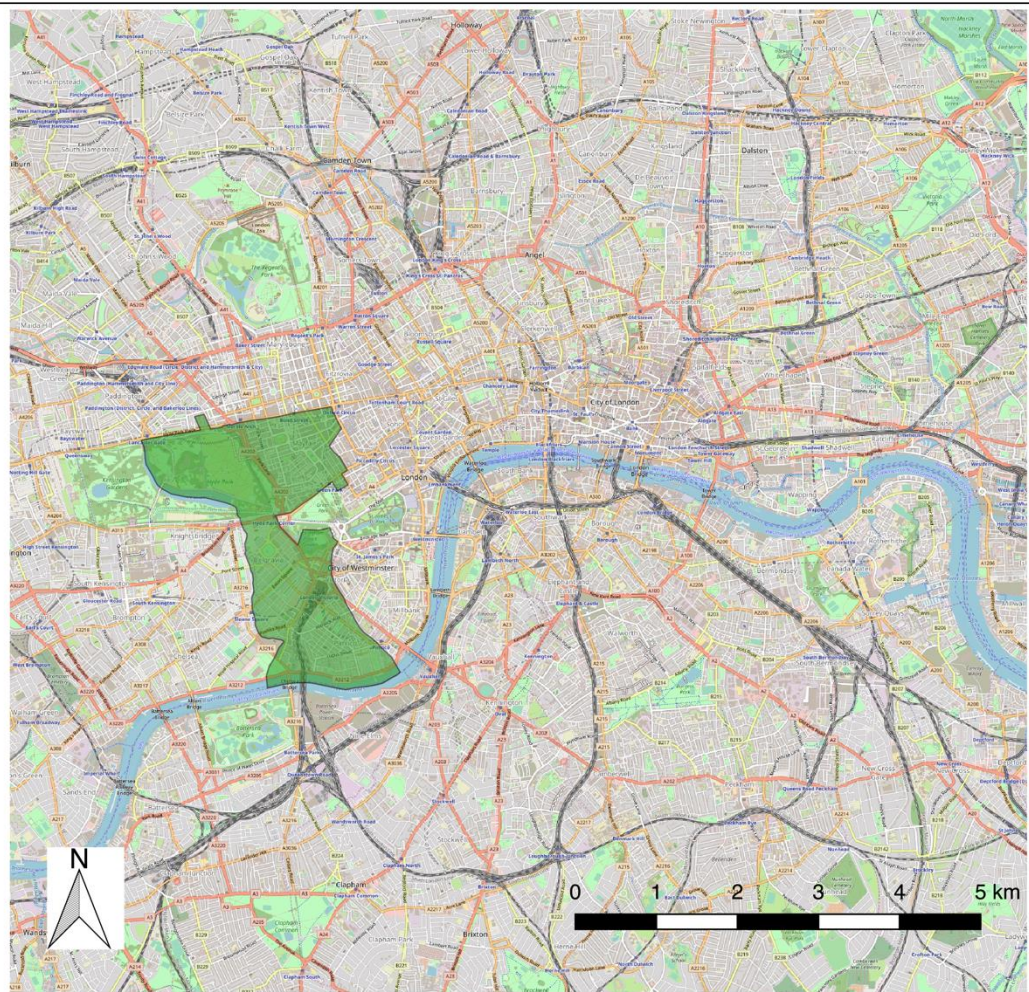
1.1 Introduction

If you walk through Mayfair from Bond Street to Green Park you pass through some of the most expensive and luxurious property in the country. But one route (South Molton Lane, Avery Row, Bourdon Street, Bruton Place, Bruton Lane, Lansdowne Row) takes you down back streets full of small houses, shops and commercial premises that display a different character to the rest of the district. This route follows the way of the Tyburn River now covered over, but originally the boundary between major landholdings.

This observation led to asking the research question, “What is the impact of underground rivers on urban development?”, and more specifically, “What was the impact of the River Tyburn on the development of Mayfair?”. The hypothesis that this study seeks to address is that underground rivers are linked to land use and hence patterns of wealth and poverty. The study is focused on the intersection of one parish (St George Hanover Square) and modern day Mayfair, and up to the end of the eighteenth century as development was completed by then.

Figure 1-1 shows where the parish of St George Hanover Square is in London.

The Parish of St George Hanover Square



Legend:

 St George Hanover Square Parish Boundary

Source:

Parish boundary map
Visions of Britain 1885
OpenStreetMap 2017

Figure 1-1: Location of the Parish of St George Hanover Square

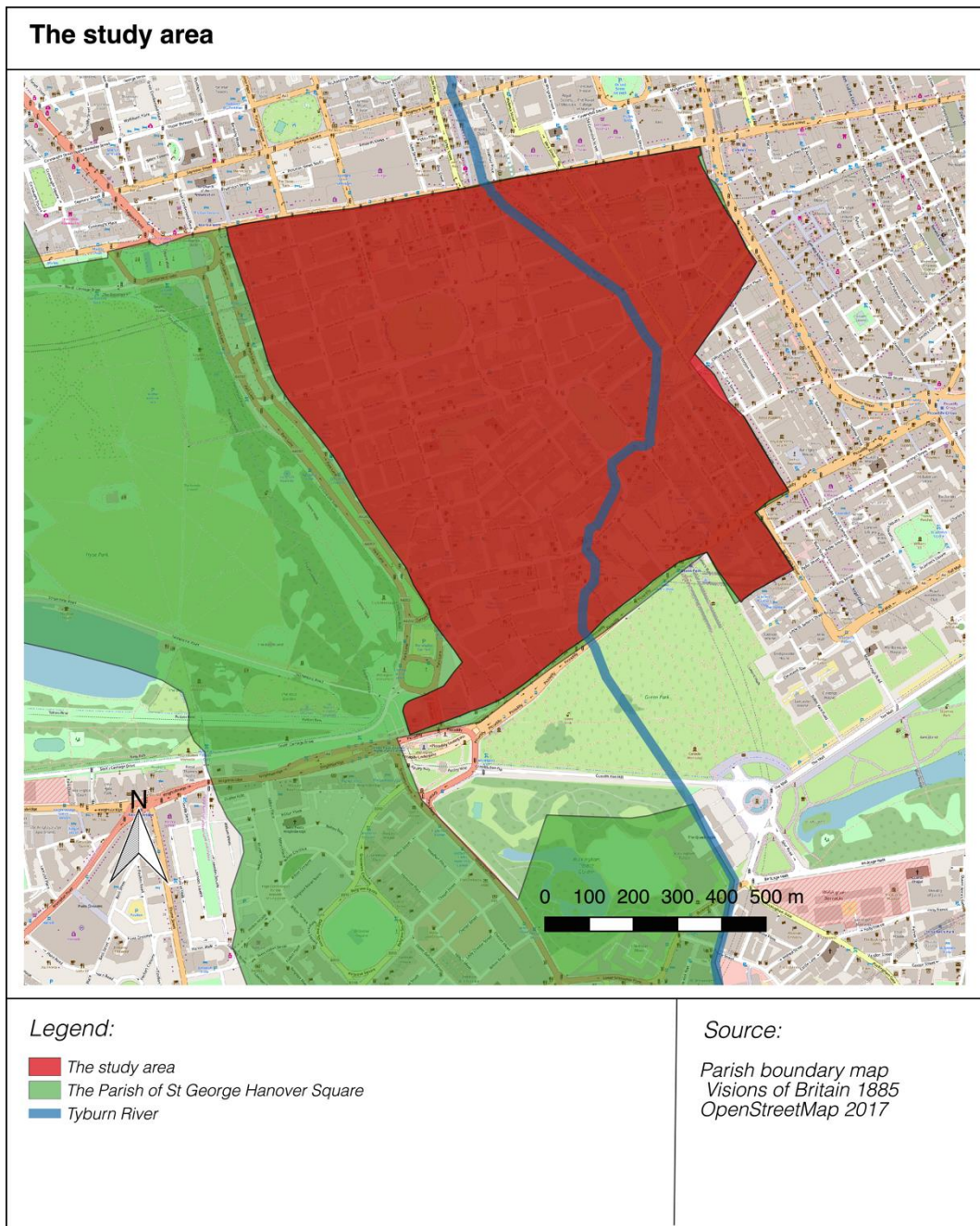


Figure 1-2: Location of study area and Tyburn River

Figure 1-2 shows the bounds of the parish, the route of the River Tyburn and the study area.

The relationship between underground rivers and urban development seems not to have been explored by historians. This may be because source data and the methods available to historians make it a challenging

subject to tackle. Underground rivers are widespread in London (and probably in other large urban areas) so demonstrating a link could encourage others to explore similar relationships in London and elsewhere.

This study develops a new methodology linking buildings to the householders who lived in them. A digital map of Mayfair based on a map of London dating to 1792 was produced for this study. A Geographical Information System was then used to link information about the map to a set of data about householders in the area in 1791. The study includes many charts and tables of data that explore different relationships between the map data on buildings and the source data available on householders.

The methodology used is one that has wider applicability. It could be used for example for studying the relationships between other urban features (for example city walls) and development. New tools for managing large amounts of data are becoming available, and the increased digitalization of source material is opening up new prospects for this kind of historical research.

At the start of the study initial thinking suggested that there were a series of potential impacts of the River Tyburn that should be explored. The reasons could be grouped into **topographical** (the layout of the landscape), environmental factors related to the **river** (did the presence of a sewer detract from the value of the area, cause disease or flooding), economic factors related to the **development of the area** (how did the layout and planning of estates relate to the river), and social related to the

householders of the area (how the density of people and their occupations relate to the river).

The study is organized in chapters that investigate each of these reasons.

The first chapter is the **introduction and context** which outlines the broad approach adopted in this study (urban/landscape history, geographical information systems) and the related historiography, looks at the methodologies used in the study and examines the main sources used in the study.

The next chapter looks at the **topography of the area and the river** to see if it contributes to answering the research question. This chapter uses secondary sources. It has four findings that become significant to the study, including the hilliness of the terrain, the extent that the Tyburn acts as a boundary between estates, the degree to which flooding and pollution existed and the establishment of the Mayfair market on the banks of the Tyburn.

The following chapter reviews **development of the area**. How this changed over time and what the motivations of the developers were. The chapter explores how land utilization changes over the area using the digitized map, and demonstrates that property sizes are smaller in the Tyburn valley.

A chapter then introduces Mayfair **householders** based on a database created from a parish survey of 1791. This section looks at householder density and occupational mixes, examines better off and poorer householders, and explores the evidence about the role of gender and the

occupancy of the buildings. This analysis suggests strong relationships exist between poverty and the Tyburn.

The penultimate chapter examines three **case studies** of specific parts of Mayfair and their relationship with the Tyburn and seeks to confirm that the methodology used in the previous two chapters does indeed reflect the information we have from other sources.

The final chapter is the **conclusions** bringing the different aspects of the study together, suggesting an answer to the research question and proposing areas of further work.

1.2 Historiography

1.2.1 Urban history

The UK school of urban history seems to have evolved in Leicester around the work of Dyos, and a team of historians and other social scientists that developed into the Centre for Urban History.¹ This school favoured a multidisciplinary approach to studying history, and this fits well with the multidisciplinary research methods used in this study.

Proponents of the Dyos school include Corfield (whose book is notable for the broad chapter on the Capital City) and Sweet (who examines many

¹ *Study of Urban History*, ed. by H. J. Dyos, First Edition edition (London: Edward Arnold, 1968); H. J. Dyos, David Cannadine and David Alec Reeder, *Exploring the Urban Past: Essays in Urban History* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982)

dimensions of urban life).² Writers who focus on London include Summerson (covering Georgian London, written from an architectural perspective and covering the development of the Westminster Estates) and Olsen who has produced two books that focus on the development of Estates in London.³ Phillips volume on Mid-Georgian London relates the available prints to other source material in an effective way.⁴

Literature about the relationships between rivers and urban development is scarce, and no one seems to have written directly about the links between the Tyburn River and building in Mayfair. Both Tatton-Brown and Donovan have written on the Tyburn River and Westminster but focus on the debated route of the river.⁵

² P. J. Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns, 1700-1800* (Oxford [Oxfordshire] ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Rosemary Sweet, *The English Town, 1680 - 1840: Government, Society and Culture*, Themes in British Social History (Harlow: Longman, 1999).

³ John Summerson, *Georgian London*, Revised edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Donald J. Olsen, *Town Planning in London: The Eighteenth & Nineteenth Centuries*, 2nd ed.. (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1982); Donald J. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London*, New edition edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1979).

⁴ Hugh Phillips, *Mid-Georgian London: A Topographical and Social Survey of Central and Western London about 1750*, First Edition (Collins, 1964).

⁵ T. W. T. Tatton-Brown, 'Westminster Topography', *London Archaeologist*, 14.2 (2014), 45–48; T. W. T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Medieval and Early Tudor Topography of Westminster', in *Westminster : The Art, Architecture and Archaeology of the Royal Palace and Abbey. Part 1.*, British Archaeological Association, Conference Transactions, 39:1, 39, 2 vols (Leeds: Maney,

1.2.2 Landscape history

More generally, the relationship between rivers and landscape is also something that is covered in landscape history (often dated from the early work of Hoskins) and is usually seen as rural in nature.⁶ But historians like Aston and Bond have examined landscape history in an urban context, and this study adopts similar analysis of plot sizes, land boundaries and uses of maps, but takes this approach further by linking information about householders using geographical information system tools to undertake wider analysis of the study area.⁷

The work of Keene and Harding in reconstructing the landscape of the parishes around Cheapside is an excellent example of collecting source material and linking it to maps and was a major inspiration in undertaking this study.⁸

2015), I, 1–22; Desmond Donovan, 'The River Tyburn and Thorney Island', *London Archaeologist*, 14.9 (2016).

⁶ (William George) W. G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape*. (Sl: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969).

⁷ Michael Aston and James Bond, *The Landscape of Towns*, Archaeology in the Field Series (London: Dent, 1976).

⁸ D J Keene and Vanessa Harding, 'Historical Gazetteer of London before the Great Fire - Cheapside; Parishes of All Hallows Honey Lane, St Martin Pomary, St Mary Le Bow, St Mary Colechurch and St Pancras Soper Lane | British History Online', *British History Online*, 1987 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=8>> [accessed 25 August 2010]; Vanessa Harding, 'Reconstructing London before the Great Fire', *London Topographical Record*, XXV (1985), 1–12; Derek Keene, *Cheapside before the Great Fire* (London: Economic and Social Research Council, 1985); V.

Spence is another example of someone who has used maps to explore landscape and social themes of London in the 1690s. Although this covers a large area (all of London), Spence has used sources of data like the tax records to great effect.⁹

1.2.3 Environmental history

Environmental history is a school of history that explores the interaction of different aspects of the environment; an introduction is provided by Hughes.¹⁰ Many environmental historians take a very broad view of this, looking at the impact of humans on nature. But there are some historians that look at the interaction of rivers on communities. Bradbee writes about how water was important in Placenza in Italy, combining an analysis of detailed sources, maps, landscape and social elements, but is interested in regulation and trade bodies rather than urban development.¹¹

Harding and others, *People in Place: Families, Households and Housing in Early Modern London (London, 2008)* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, 2008).

⁹ Craig Spence, *London in the 1690's: A Social Atlas* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2000).

¹⁰ J. Donald Hughes, *What Is Environmental History?, What Is History?*, 2nd Revised edition edition (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2015).

¹¹ Cheryl Bradbee, 'Imprints: The History of Water Management and Canals in Piacenza, Italy', *Urban History*, 2016, 1–20.

Van Lieshout has an excellent study on how water supply evolved in eighteenth century London, relevant to the study both in terms of the type of analysis done and the use of maps.¹²

1.2.4 Urban morphology

One technique that is used is the urban morphology approach (the study of the form of human settlements and the process of their formation and transformation) common to geographers and historians. Whitehand lays out the background to the approach in Britain, and the techniques for the analysis of plots and larger collections of buildings.¹³

A study of the area around London Bridge by Colson has explored the area in the fifteenth century in some detail, and the approach used has helped to develop the methodology in this study, although Colson lacked the detailed data that is available for Mayfair in the eighteenth century. Colson uses the Conzen approach (typified by the article on Ludlow) to use map regression over time, by overlaying older maps and plans in sequence over modern maps. This is an approach that has also been adopted in this study.¹⁴

¹² Carry van Lieshout, 'London's Changing Waterscapes : The Management of Water in Eighteenth-Century London' (unpublished PhD, Kings College, 2013).

¹³ Jeremy WR Whitehand, 'British Urban Morphology: The Conzenion Tradition', *Urban Morphology*, 5.2 (2001), 103–9.

¹⁴ Justin Colson, 'Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London: Craft, Parish and Neighbourhood' (unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011); M R G Conzen, 'Morphogenesis, Morphological Regions and Secular Human Agency in the Historic Townscape, as

1.3 Methodologies

The key methodology is the use of a large dataset taken from a survey of householders of the Parish of St George Hanover Square, and using a **Geographical Information System** to undertake analysis of the information to explore relationships between the data and the River Tyburn.

The chapter on urban development of the area uses **economic analysis**, looking at the motivations of players (landowners, developers, builders, leaseholders and tenants) when available through the primary sources, examining plot sizes on plans and maps and identifying economic valuations of houses from rate books and other primary sources.

The chapter on Mayfair householders uses **social analysis** and asks what we know about who lived where from the 1791 survey of householders and other records that exist. This will be based on occupation data and Poor Law information.

1.3.1 Geographical information systems

Many historians have used geographical information systems to present information for publication: for example, both Colson and Spence do this. Gregory and Geddes, Knowles and Hillier, Gregory and Ell provide good introductions to the use of these tools in the History discipline.¹⁵ But

Exemplified by Ludlow', in *Urban Historical Geography: Recent Progress in Britain and Germany*, 1988, pp. 252–72.

¹⁵ Ian Gregory and Paul S. Ell, *Historical GIS: Technologies, Methodologies, and Scholarship*, Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, 39

examples of historians using tools to analyse data as well as present it are rare. Schwartz, Gregory and Thevenin do analyse digital railway networks and link them to population development.¹⁶ Anyone using Geographical Information Systems needs to watch for the errors that Gregory has warned about in his article “A map is just a bad graph”.¹⁷

1.3.2 Economic analysis

Previous work in this area includes a thesis by Hazelton-Swales examining the Grosvenor Estates in Belgravia and Pimlico (but not Mayfair) and the financial background of the Duke of Westminster, which is useful to the research here as it discusses how the estates operated : the relationship between freeholders and the different people who developed and built,

(Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS Are Changing Historical Scholarship*, ed. by Anne Kelly Knowles and Amy Hillier, 1st ed (Redlands, Calif: ESRI Press, 2008); *Toward Spatial Humanities: Historical GIS and Spatial History*, ed. by Ian N. Gregory and A. Geddes (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).

¹⁶ Robert Schwartz, Ian Gregory, and Thomas Thévenin, ‘Spatial History: Railways, Uneven Development, and Population Change in France and Great Britain, 1850–1914’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 42.1 (2011), 53–88; Linda Clarke, *Building Capitalism: Historical Change and the Labour Process in the Production of the Built Environment* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1991).

¹⁷ Ian N. Gregory, “‘A Map Is Just a Bad Graph:’ Why Spatial Statistics Are Important in Historical GIS.”, in *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data and GIS Are Changing Historical Scholarship* ;, ed. by A. K. Knowles (Redlands, Calif.: ESRI Press, 2008), pp. 123–49.

leased and lived in the buildings. Clarke discusses the changes that took place in development practices over time in her volume on Somers Town.¹⁸

A key question is what were the motivations of the developers, builders and contractors who operated on the estates? Survey of London, Volume 39, contains helpful analysis for the Grosvenor Estate, and the available sources suggest a very similar approach in other estates and landholdings.¹⁹

Good quality plans exist for Mayfair and can be used to work out ground floor plot footprint sizes over the estates. These are an approximate measure of wealth and allow relationships to the course of the Tyburn to be produced.

1.3.3 Social analysis

Boulton is particularly good at exploring the social aspects of Southwark in the seventeenth century and provides a useful model for analyzing trade and employment in an area. He maps employment on to plans of streets to good effect.²⁰ Schwarz writes extensively about the labour force and

¹⁸ M. J. Hazleton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats : The Grosvenors and the Development of Belgravia and Pimlico in the 19th Century.', 1981, BL Ethos.

¹⁹ 'Survey of London | Volume 39, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1 (General History)' <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol39/pt1>> [accessed 4 May 2016].

²⁰ Jeremy Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century*, Reissue edition (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

living conditions in London in the eighteenth century.²¹ Schlarman has published on the Grosvenor Mayfair estate, but maps gender and political affiliation, as opposed to producing occupational maps.²²

A key question for this work is “how can we find out about the kinds of people who lived in the Tyburn valley compared to other people living elsewhere in Mayfair? “. The database created from the 1791 survey of householders (discussed later in this chapter) contains a lot of information. By adding geolocation and other less specific information – for example extracts from the Westminster Historical Database (discussed later)– it is possible to create maps that show how types of occupation vary over the area of each estate and whether this alters over time.²³

This area also has information from the Poor Law records in the City of Westminster Archives Centre. The 1791 survey of householders also provides some indicators of poverty. Poverty in this era has been studied by others, with Hitchcock, Shoemaker and Green all writing about the subject, and while the poor in the next door Parish of St Martin in the Fields

²¹ Leonard D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation: Entrepreneurs, Labour Force and Living Conditions, 1700-1850*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy, and Society in Past Time, 19, New Edition (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

²² Julie Schlarman, ‘The Social Geography of Grosvenor Square : Mapping Gender and Politics, 1720-1760’, *London Journal*, 28.1 (2003), 8–28.

²³ Charles Harvey, Edmund M. Green, and Penelope J. Corfield, *The Westminster Historical Database: Voters, Social Structure and Electoral Behaviour* (Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol: Bristol Academic Press, 1998).

are well documented in Hitchcock and Shoemaker's work, the poor of the parish of St George Hanover Square are not.²⁴

1.4 Sources

1.4.1 Survey of St George Hanover Square 1791

The survey of householders of the Parish of St George Hanover Square is in the London Metropolitan Archive and includes addresses (with house numbers) and occupations of householders.²⁵ The document is undated, but internal evidence suggests it was undertaken in the last half of 1790 and completed by Lady Day (6th April) in 1791. The archive catalogue attributes the document to the Commissioners of Land and Assessed Taxes and the year 1790, but the document contains no indication that either attribution is right. It seems to have been produced by the Parish for an unspecified purpose. Speculation would suggest that it was created for tax purposes: the document captures some information used by tax collectors, but does not contain any reference to rateable value nor the number of people in the household. The survey shows that many of the inhabitants had offices associated with tax collection, so it is possible that the survey

²⁴ Timothy Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London*, illustrated edition (Hambledon Continuum, 2007); Tim Hitchcock and Robert Brink Shoemaker, *London Lives: Poverty, Crime and the Making of a Modern City, 1690-1800* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015); David R. Green, *Pauper Capital: London and the Poor Law, 1790-1870* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

²⁵ Commissioners for Land and Assessed Taxes, 'List of Inhabitants St George Hanover Square c 1790 | London Metropolitan Archives' (Unpublished, 1790), LMA, X045/001.

was in advance of a proposed change in tax rules that was not implemented.

No	Names	Whom Furnished Empty Ground no Rates	Remarks	Observations and Remarks
5	John Samuel			Glazier & Painter
5	David Denton			Baker
6	William Rowles			Carpenter
	Joshua Gordon		J. B. F.	Barber
7	Thomas Jenkins			Trunk-Maker
8	David Phillips			Joiner
9	Hannah Wayland			
10	Simon Waters			
	William Jenkins		X	Victualler
	Richard Francis		X	Servant
	Oliver Clarkson		X	Druggist
	Mr. Ryley			Carpenter
	Widow Street South			
1	Benjamin Cook			Baker
2	John Harting			Leather-Maker
3	Thomas John Birch			Rifle
4	Elizabeth Caddy			Haberdasher
5	George Bryant			Green-Grocer
6	Philip Bryant			Apothecary

Figure 1-3: Page from the Survey

A typical page is shown Figure 1-3. The survey is unusual as many records of this period tend to focus on property owners (leaseholders) rather than householders and do not include exact addresses or occupations. The availability of exact addresses allows matching of the survey to Horwood's Map which also contains street numbers. And unusually the survey captures some of the poorer householders in the Parish, including some that paid no rates.

Some of this occupation information for the Grosvenor Estate is referenced in the Survey of London, Volume 39 (and paper transcriptions for the Grosvenor Mayfair properties exist in the papers associated with this volume lodged at the London Metropolitan Archive), but the survey does

not appear to have been transcribed or converted into a database before.²⁶ This census has been transcribed (all the information in the survey has been captured), checked, and converted into a database for this study. The database includes details of 4569 householders, 3720 (81%) of whom are in the study area.

1.4.2 Horwood Plan of London 1792-1799

The Horwood Plan of London was published in sheets between 1792 to 1799.²⁷ The plan is based on a topographical survey and also is one of the first plans to include street numbers. The plate that includes Mayfair was the first sheet published in 1792 although the British Library edition that is used in this study is dated 1795. A later version of this plan was published by Faden with additions in 1813 and is published as the A to Z of Regency London by the London Topographical Society. This includes an essay about the plan's creation. The plan claimed to include every house. Horwood warned that the backs of buildings were not accurately shown unless they were accessible, and it is known that some field boundaries in rural areas are not accurately portrayed. Despite this, when compared to the later OS

²⁶ 'Box Containing Archived Records from Survey of London Volume 39 & 40, The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair', 1972, LMA, ACC/3499/SL/01/0365.

²⁷ 'Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjoining, Shewing Every House. By R. Horwood. [Scale, about 25 Inches = 1 Mile]' (London, 1792), BL, Crace 5.173

<<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/crace/p/007zzz000000005u00173000.html>> [accessed 19 April 2017].

detailed plans property boundaries match closely and it suggests that the area calculations used later in this study are fit for purpose.²⁸

²⁸ Richard Horwood, Guildhall Library., and Joseph. Wisdom, *The A to Z of Regency London* (Lympne Castle: Published for the London Topographical Society by Harry Margary in association with Guildhall Library, London, 1985).

The Horwood map



Legend:

Source:

Horwood Map 1792

Figure 1-4: Part of the Horwood map

The survey for the Mayfair sheet must have been completed in the 1790-1792 period and has been digitized so that it can be used as the basis of maps that appear in later sections of the study. The online map of the

British Library plate provided at the Romantic London website has been used for the digitization process. The digitization process was aligned against the Open Street Map of the area, and this has been sampled against the 1890s Ordnance Survey maps (and other plan and plots of the area) and found to be broadly accurate (+/-5m), with the largest errors in the south west corner of the plan.

1.4.3 Estate records

The development of the estate (mainly in the eighteenth century) is well documented in primary records for three of the main landowners in our area of study. These include the Grosvenor Estate private archive (access to which was granted by the Duke of Westminster) and the Berkeley Estate archives (both available at the City of Westminster Archive Centre). The Conduit Mead Estate was and still is owned by the Corporation of the City of London and records are mostly at the London Metropolitan Archive (although some records are only accessible with permission of the City of London). Other land holdings in the area are poorly documented due to the lack of any centralized archive.

1.4.4 Poll and rates and parish register records

City of Westminster Archive Centre has the poll and rate books from the eighteenth century, although many of the records covering 1749-1820 have been transcribed and published as the Westminster Historical Database and this source has been mainly used in this study. The database is mainly built around the polling records. The rate records are incomplete, and for the parish of St George Hanover Square only cover two years (1784 and 1818). Even these years are missing some data (no businesses and also no

women rate payers). The database excludes street numbers, and also compresses street names. This makes direct comparisons with the 1791 survey of householders difficult but not impossible. The Booth Armstrong occupation coding used in the Westminster Historical Database has been adopted for this study for the analysis of occupation codes in the 1791 survey of householders. This aids comparisons between the two sources. ²⁹

Poll tax records for individuals are also available online in Ancestry.co.uk and individual rates records are available within the online Findmypast.co.uk Westminster Collection of data. Neither online service can be used for extracting all records in a parish in machine-readable form. Both online services also provide parish register information for individuals. ³⁰

1.4.5 Middlesex Deeds Registry

The unpublished Middlesex Deeds Registry from 1709 to 1938 is another potential source for the study of this area, but a simple evaluation of the source material proved problematic. ³¹ Deeds are listed in chronology order but cover the whole of Middlesex, so finding specific deeds requires

²⁹ Harvey, Green, and Corfield.

³⁰ 'St George Hanover Square - UK, Poll Books and Electoral Registers, 1538-1893', *Ancestry.co.uk* <<http://search.ancestry.co.uk/search/db.aspx?dbid=2410>> [accessed 4 September 2017]; 'The Westminster Collection | Findmypast.co.uk' <<http://www.findmypast.co.uk/articles/world-records/search-all-uk-records/special-collections/the-westminster-collection>> [accessed 16 November 2016].

³¹ 'Middlesex Deeds Registry', LMA, MDR.

searching through the many index volumes which are sometimes poorly reproduced and difficult to read. A deed found in the index then needs to be consulted in the main volumes, which contain copies of deed information, but they are in varying formats, can be difficult to read, and hard to extract useful information from. To extract data for the area of study systematically would require months of work, and did not fit with the timescales of the current study. But if it could be done it would provide a detailed record of land ownership in Mayfair.

1.4.6 Sewer Commission

The London Metropolitan Archive (LMA) has the records of the Westminster and Middlesex Commission of Sewers, with records from 1659 to 1849. These include detailed plans of the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer in 1807 & 1809, and also later plans (called the Regent Park Tunnel Sewer) dated 1817 showing the route of the new sewer at that time. ³²

1.4.7 Census Information

Some information from the censuses taking place between 1801 and 1831 is also available. ³³ These censuses are high-level reporting only on

³² 'Plan of Kings Scholar Pond Sewer.', 1807, LMA, WCS/P/048; 'Plan of the District Drained by King's Scholars' Pond Sewer', 1809, LMA, WCS/P/059; 'Regent's Park Tunnel Sewer: Charlotte Street to Brook Street', 1817, LMA, WCS/PR/047.

³³ *Abstract of the Answers and Returns Made pursuant to an Act Passed in the 41. Year of King George III. Intituled : An Act for Taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain ...*, 1801, p. 215; 'Observations and Enumeration Abstract, 1811', *The Online Historical Population Reports Website*, p. 199 <http://www.histpop.org/resources/pngs/0005/00200/00199_20.png>

parishes, not on individuals, and the table below summarizes the main data for 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831.³⁴

[accessed 31 August 2017]; 'Observations, Enumeration and Parish Register Abstracts, 1821', *The Online Historical Population Reports Website*, p. 195

<http://www.histpop.org/resources/pngs/0007/00300/00195_20.png> [accessed 7 September 2017].

³⁴ 'St George Hanover Square Vestry | 1831 Census Tables with Data for the Parish-Level Unit', *A Vision of Britain through Time*, 1831

<<http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10164503>> [accessed 21 July 2017].

	1801	1811	1821	1831
Acres				1,090
Inhabited houses	4,344	4,583	4,863	5,962
Number of families	8,170	8,554	9,221	11,348
Under construction		20	30	146
Uninhabited	91	138	74	234
Male persons	16,779	18,361	20,864	26,328
Female persons	21,661	23,326	25,520	31,881
Males over twenty years of age				17,263
Agricultural employees	163	71	104	56
Persons employed in Trade, Manufacturing or Handicraft	5,989			5,255
Households employed in Trade, Manufacturing or Handicraft		4,048	4,873	4,211
Capitalists, Bankers, Professional and Other educated men				3,063
Male servants over 20 years				4,728
Male servants under 20 years				534
Female servants				9,274
All other persons not in other categories	32,288			35,299
All other Households not in other categories		4,435	4,244	7,084
Total people	38,440	41,687	46,384	58,209
Growth in population	100%	108%	111%	125%
<i>Source: see references in accompanying text</i>				

Table 1-1: Census information

The census information covers the whole of the Parish of St George Hanover Square, whereas the study area represents about a third of the parish by area, but before 1801, 81% of the area by population. The growth in population between 1801 and 1831 is because of the development of the Belgravia area, and the proportion of growth suggests that the population of the survey area was relatively stable over the 1801-1831 periods. The 1801 census listing 4344 houses is close to the 4569 householders (some of whom shared houses) in the 1791 survey of householders, and the 1831 breakdown of occupations and servants

enables some estimates to be made about the relative proportion of occupations and servants in the eighteenth century.

1.5 Summary

This chapter has outlined the broad approach adopted in this study, covered the related historiography, explored the methodologies used in the study and examined the main sources used in the study.

The next chapter proceeds to look at the topography of the area and the river to see if they contribute to answering the research question.

2 Topography

2.1 Introduction

This chapter of the study reviews the topographical aspects of the area that have helped to shape the area. The chapter includes the historiography associated with the broad geographical area, the Tyburn River, the Manor of Ebury, the Parish of St George's Hanover Square and four of the main estates that made up the parish.

The chapter starts with discussion of the **topography** of the area, reviews the **history** of the Manor of Ebury and the Parish of St George Hanover Square, and concludes that the underlying topography of the Mayfair area is shaped by the Tyburn River and emphasizes the steepness of one element of the Tyburn valley (which influenced the development of the area).

The second section explores the **River Tyburn** and examines some of the uncertainties about the route, the rivers role as a boundary between estates, and the impact of the covering of the Tyburn and its evolution into a storm drain and sewer.

The last section looks at the main sources associated with a number **of the Estates** that developed on this land.

2.2 Topography and history of the area

The area is bounded on the north by modern day Oxford Street (originally Tyburn Road), and mainly on the south by Piccadilly (there is a small area either side of Arlington Street included in the area). To the east the area is

bounded by modern day Park Lane (originally Tyburn Lane) and to the west by modern day Regent Street (originally Swallow Street). Oxford Street is around 25m above sea level and falls by about 12m to the lowest point of Piccadilly, so the terrain slopes downhill. The prime area for subsequent development was on the flat high ground that became the site for Grosvenor Square. Other properties in the area (including Hanover Square and Berkeley Square) are built on ground that slopes down to the South.¹

¹ Reginald Colby, *Mayfair: A Town within London* (A. S. Barnes, 1967), p. 16 contains a good description of the underlying terrain.

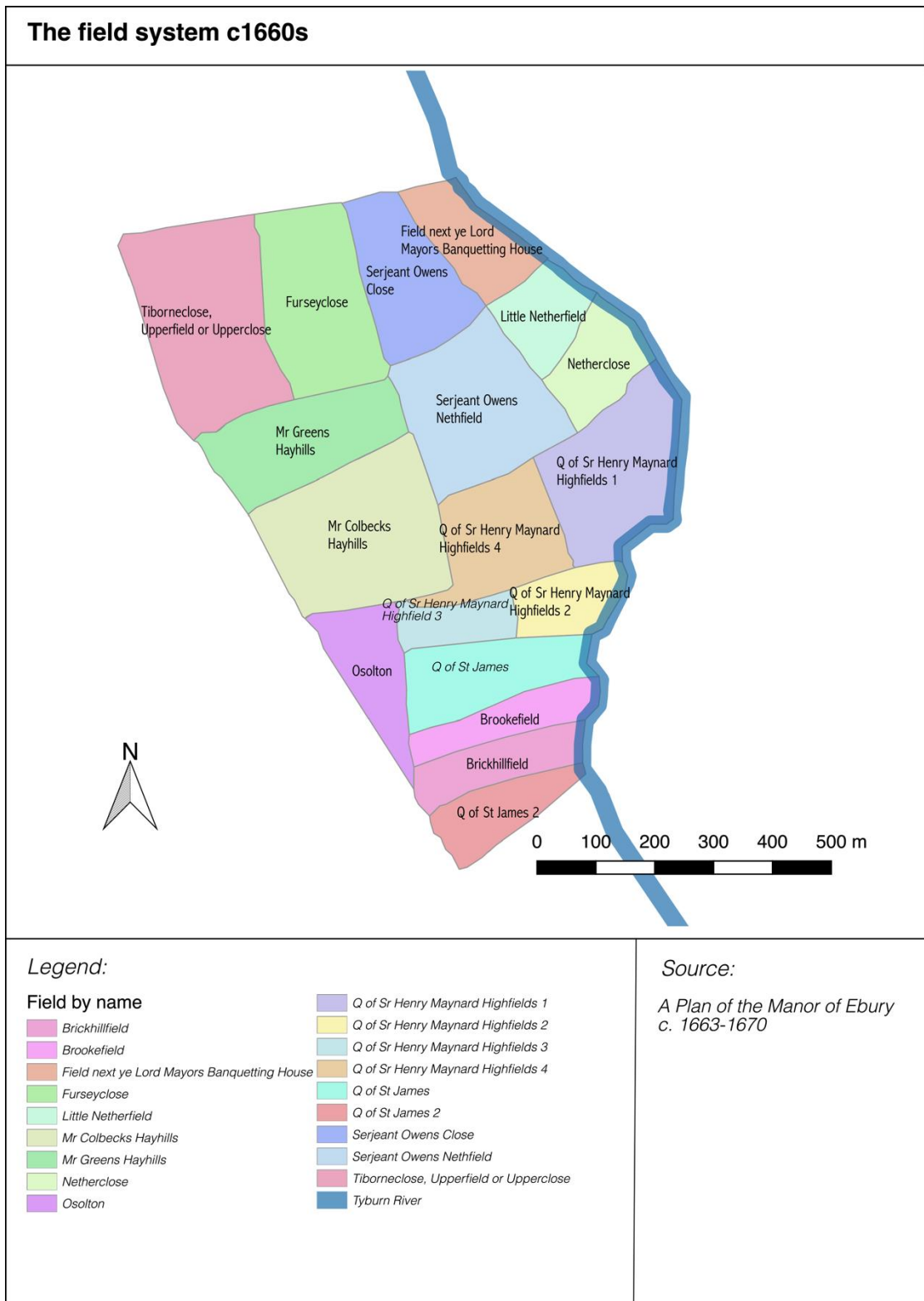


Figure 2-1: The field system in 1660s

Nearly all this area was part of the Manor of Ebury (or Eia), originally owned by Westminster Abbey, and was a mixture of arable and pasture

land. Two early plans exist of the Manor. A detailed plan of the Manor of Eia dated 1663-70 is in the British Museum, published by the London Topographical Society.² The original field system and boundaries for Mayfair shown in Figure 2-1. A group of fields covering the northern half of Mayfair with names like Hayhills, Netherfield and Upperfields was known as “The Hundred Acres”. An earlier, very similar but damaged plan believed to date from 1614 is in the Grosvenor Archives.³

These plans show the Tyburn River and the fields either side are named “Meads”. A small number of farms occupied the Mayfair area including one on Hay Hill. The farms would have grown hay and grazed cattle in the meadows (Meads). As well as Hay Hill the area had a second named hill – Mount Hill, used during the Civil War period as part of the defences around London for as small bulwark called “Oliver’s Mount” (the original 1640 plan of the Civil War defences was lost, but it was reproduced in various publications, and also shows the route of the Tyburn).⁴

² London Topographical Society, ‘A Plan of the Manor of Ebury c. 1663-1670 [with accompanying text, from Additional MS. 38104 at the British Museum.]’ (London: London, 1915).

³ ‘Map of the Manor of Ebury Showing Field Boundaries, Acreages. Roadways and Tenants’ Names.’, 1614, Grosvenor Archives, 1049/9/50.

⁴ K. C. Kowal, ‘Plan of the City and Suburbs of London as Fortified by Order of Parliament in the Years 1642 and 1643’
<<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/maps/uk/016083784.html>>
[accessed 13 March 2017].

If you are walking across the area today and follow the route of the Tyburn you start to appreciate the underlying terrain. As the river crosses Oxford Street it passes down South Molton Lane and Avery Row where the incline of the river is fairly clear. The valley becomes even more obvious with steep hills like Grosvenor Hill, Bourdon Street, Bruton Place and Hay Hill. The section from Berkeley Square to Shepherd Market is relatively flat, but the final stretch from Shepherd Market to Piccadilly is another steep hill. The hilliness of the Tyburn valley would have discouraged the building of grand houses and is be one factor that contributed to the development of the valley.

It is tempting to think of the area terrain found now as the land level before development. But the owners of this land exploited the natural resources in the area. Clarke mentions gravel extraction from the Grosvenor Estate.⁵ Clay was also extracted from the area for brick making (suggested by field names like Brickfield). Even house building changes the landscape as cellars are excavated, roads raised and land levelled as part of the building process. The natural landscape is likely to be different from what is seen today.

What became the Parish of St George Hanover Square in 1727 was originally a ward (the outward) of the Parish of St Martin in the Fields.⁶

⁵ Clarke, p. 223.

⁶ George Clinch, *Mayfair and Belgravia : Being an Historical Account of the Parish of St George, Hanover Square*. (London: Truslove & Shirley, 1892) is the main antiquarian study of the parish.

Piccadilly and Knightsbridge divide the parish in half. The northern element included the area of Hyde Park east of the Serpentine and the area known as Mayfair today. The southern area of the parish (outside the scope of this study) was originally marshy and prone to flooding, but estate maps show that by 1700 it was largely pasture and the land close to the river was used for nursery gardens. The low-lying and damp nature of this southern area provided challenges for building and most development in the southern part of the parish took place after 1800 and is now known as Belgravia and Pimlico. This study focuses on the Mayfair area. This was the main area of development before 1800.

The name Mayfair comes from an annual two-week fair which used to be held every May in Haymarket in St James Westminster. In 1686 this fair was moved to a field called “Great Brookfield” on the banks of the Tyburn. Mayfair the district took its name from the fair. The existence of the fair originally focused on cattle but later one of the great entertainments of London, continued into the 1750s despite attempts to suppress it. This field was used by Edward Shepherd to develop Shepherd Market from the 1735, while the area continued to host the fair. The fair on the river led to the market, which required smaller buildings, and so denser population. This became one of the poorer areas of Mayfair.⁷

Waterways defined the boundaries of Manors in this area. The Manor of Ebury (also known as Eye or Eia) lay between Oxford Street to the River

⁷ B. H. Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street: The Early History of the Neighbourhood* (London: John Murray, 1952), pp. 64–65.

Thames, with boundaries of the River Westbourne (on the west) and the River Tyburn on the east.. The use of the Tyburn as a boundary can be traced back to the charter of the land given by King Edgar to Westminster Abbey in 951AD.⁸

The northern section of the Parish also included land on the east bank of the Tyburn, originally part of the Conduit Mead estate granted to the City of London by Charles II.

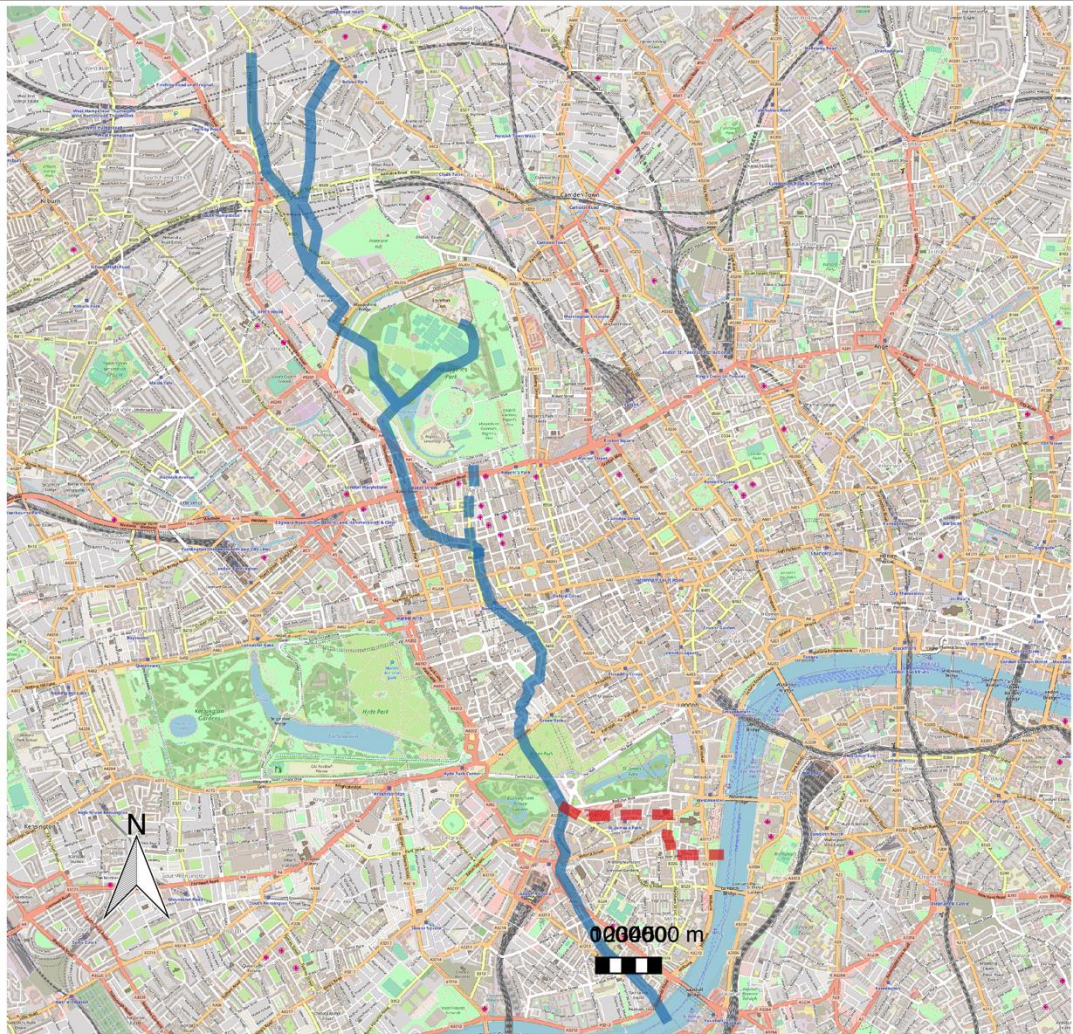
2.3 Tyburn River

The Tyburn River is shown in Figure 2-2 which includes the location of the two main sources in Hampstead (Shepherd's Well, and at the back of the Hampstead Vestry Hall). The river flowed through Swiss Cottage, Regent's Park in the valley which is now a boating lake (originally a third source joined at this point), Marylebone and Mayfair and finally enters the Thames at Pimlico. It is one of a number of rivers that flow underground in London that are often called 'hidden' or 'lost' rivers. It lies between the Westbourne River (to the west of the Tyburn) and the Fleet River (to the east). ⁹

⁸ 'Electronic Sawyer' <<http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/670.html#>> [accessed 5 April 2017].

⁹ A good introduction to the Tyburn is Nicholas Barton and Stephen Myers, *The Lost Rivers of London*, 3rd Revised edition edition (S.l.: Historical Publications Ltd, 2016), pp. 54–69.

Course of the River Tyburn



Legend:

- River Tyburn
- Possible Tributary
- Water course for Abbey

Source:

Barton & Myers 2016 (outside
Mayfair)
BL Maps Crace Port, 10.44
1815 (within Mayfair)
OpenStreetMap 2017

Figure 2-2: Course of the River Tyburn

Tyburn Village originally lay to the north of Oxford Street based around the church of St John Tyburn. Information from Museum of London

Archaeology suggests that the Tyburn attracted prehistoric peoples, and from the finds, a small Roman settlement existed where the Tyburn crossed Oxford Street.¹⁰

When Henry VIII created the royal hunting park of Marylebone (today's Regent's Park), the village of Tyburn moved north to be based around the Manor House and new church of St Mary le Bourne (the Bourne being a reference to the Tyburn) and became known as Marylebone. Oxford Street was originally called the Tyburn Road and a bridge crossed the original Tyburn River.¹¹

The Tyburn name is today most commonly associated with the place of execution which was close to Marble Arch. Rather confusingly this has little to do with the Tyburn River, although the execution site was close to another waterway, the Tyburn Brook. The brook was named after the site of execution and is a tributary of the Westbourne River rather than the Tyburn River.

The origin of the name of the Tyburn is uncertain. Most authorities believe it was originally the Teo-burna, a Saxon name meaning Boundary Stream (actually Law Stream, but most law disputes were about boundaries), but it

¹⁰ *The Archaeology of Greater London: An Assessment of Archaeological Evidence for Human Presence in the Area Now Covered by Greater London*, ed. by Trevor Brigham and Katie Frederick, MoLAS Monograph (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2000).

¹¹ Ann Saunders, 'The Manor of Tyburn and the Regent's Park, 1086-1965.', 1965.

could also mean two-streams (as two streams joined together in today's Regent Park) or even be based on a family name.¹²

The Tyburn has been called by many other names, and in most primary sources in the eighteenth century for Mayfair is typically called the Aybrook or Ayebrook. In other areas it is called the Eyebrook or in the case of some of the Portman Estate plans the Spry.

The River in Mayfair was covered over as development took place. In the Rocque maps of 1746 and later maps, the complete route of the Tyburn is covered between Oxford Street and Piccadilly.¹³ Earlier plans do show parts of the Tyburn above ground including the Tyburn Pond in Green Park (from before 1720, until filled in in 1842).¹⁴ The river was completely covered by the 1820, but a short 700m stretch in Pimlico survived until culverted in 1971.¹⁵ The enclosed river is today diverted into a storm drain that starts in St John's Wood and ends at the Thames in Pimlico. This storm drain is known as the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer, and named after a now filled in pond in St Vincent's Square that was apparently used by the King's Scholars of Westminster School in the past. The same storm drain is also

¹² Barton and Myers, p. 54.

¹³ John. Rocque, 'A PLAN of the CITYS of LONDON WESTMINSTER & the BOROUGH of SOUTHWARK' (John Rocque, 1761)
<<http://prism.talis.com/cityoflondon/items/755673>>.

¹⁴ Philip Norman, 'Rosamond Ponds and the Reservoir in the Green Park', *London Topographical Record*, 14.57 (1928), p. 57.

¹⁵ Adam Stout, *Pimlico: Deep Well of Glee* (London: Westminster City Archives, 1997), p. 7.

sometimes known as the Regent's Park Sewer. The route seems to mostly follow the route of the old river, with the plans showing the typical curves of a river for much of the length (and typically these follow the boundary lines). The straight stretches of sewer suggest modern diversions.¹⁶ .

While the Tyburn has largely been diverted to flow down the modern sewer, some water still follows the old route and excavations in the area of the Tyburn can lead to flooding from water that is not in the sewer. One example is the flooding that took place when the Boldings factory was converted to the Grays Antique market.¹⁷

One antiquarian has suggested that Engine Street (now part of Brick Street, next to where the Tyburn originally crossed Piccadilly under the 'Stone Bridge') was the site of a water wheel.¹⁸ The early 1614 map also shows a 'water house' at the bottom of Hay Hill.¹⁹

¹⁶ The route of the storm drain is shown in many plans at the LMA 'Regent's Park Tunnel Sewer: Charlotte Street to Brook Street'; 'Regent's Park Tunnel Sewer: Brook Street to Regent's Park', 1817, LMA, WCS/PR/048.

¹⁷ Ian Bishop, 'Grays Antique Centre & the Lost River Tyburn', *London Unveiled*, 2013 <<https://londonunveiled.com/2013/03/26/grays/>> [accessed 11 September 2017].

¹⁸ G. E. Mitton, Walter Besant, and A. C. Bromhead, *Mayfair, Belgravia and Bayswater*, The Fascination of London (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903).

¹⁹ 'Map of the Manor of Ebury Showing Field Boundaries, Acreages. Roadways and Tenants' Names.'

2.3.1.1 Uncertainty over route of Tyburn

Despite the works cited above (and many others in the bibliography), the original course of the river is still unclear. Building developments definitely diverted the Tyburn (for example in the Berkeley Square and Curzon Street area – see below) and the modern storm drain has also been diverted in a number of places (certainly around Bond Street station) and differs from the original course of the Tyburn River.

There has been a resurgence of interest in tracing the old rivers of London (best reflected in the most recent edition of Barton and Myers on *The Hidden Rivers of London*, which includes considerable Tyburn material).²⁰

Most authorities agree on a route through Mayfair. But there are two challenges to this agreement. The first is relatively minor. Authorities follow the course of the modern King's Scholars' Pond Sewer which goes under Lansdowne Row and along Curzon Street to Half Moon Street. But earlier plans (an 1815 tracing by Crace of a 1792 plan at the British Museum) shows that the river originally went to the north of Berkeley House and Lansdowne House gardens (along the south side of Berkeley Square), went under Lansdowne House (built in the 1760s), and ran to the north of Curzon Street joining the current route at Half Moon Street. The Tyburn River course shown in the plans in this study follows the original route.²¹ One of the 1817 Sewer plans at the LMA shows the intersection of

²⁰ Barton and Myers.

²¹ '[A Plan of the Sewer from Bruton Street to Piccadilly with Alterations].', 1815, BL, Maps Crace Port. 10.44.

the 'old sewer' and 'new sewer' underground at this place. This diversion took place after 1807 but before 1817.²²

The second challenge is more major. A recent archaeological dig for Crossrail (XSC10 at 65 Davies Street, between modern Weighhouse Street and St Anselm's Place) uncovered the original Tyburn valley, measuring the filled in riverbed as 14m in width, so at some stage in history the Tyburn had been a sizeable river (although still smaller than the Fleet and Westbourne Rivers). This site is not on the currently accepted route of the river. The report also suggests that the original riverbed had been reclaimed by the late 17th or early 18th century.²³ The plan of Ebury Manor dating between 1663 and 1670 clearly shows that the river to the east along what is now South Molton Lane. This plan does not show any water features in the area explored by the archaeologists. It does show field boundaries, and again these fail to show any relationship to the water channel found by the archaeologists.²⁴ Another plan from the Grosvenor Estate dated 1614 also shows almost identical detail.²⁵

There are other discrepancies exposed by the archaeologists' work. Many accounts of the Tyburn suggest that the water course was narrow : in many documents and plans it is often called a brook rather than a river. A

²² 'Regent's Park Tunnel Sewer: Charlotte Street to Brook Street'.

²³ 'Bond Street Excavation - Archaeological Fieldwork Report' (Crossrail, 2016), Crossrail, C254-OXF-T1-RGN-CRG03-50271rev2.

²⁴ London Topographical Society.

²⁵ 'Map of the Manor of Ebury Showing Field Boundaries, Acreages. Roadways and Tenants' Names.'

possible explanation is that the 14m wide channel found represents the water course before water extraction took place. As explained below, the City of London extracted water from the Tyburn Valley from the thirteenth century, and this will have reduced the flow of water downstream. But there was sufficient flow to allow water from the Tyburn to be extracted to drive the mill at Westminster Abbey until the sixteenth century.²⁶

The 65 Davies Street location lies due south of the Tyburn route north of Oxford Street. The South Molton Lane/Avery Row Tyburn route is straight, and therefore may be man made. The river may have been diverted before 1614 into a man-made channel and pushed to the edge of the Ebury estate. This may suggest that the diversion took place either during the time of Westminster Abbey's control of the Manor (until 1536) or in the Crown's control (as the first lease to Sir Lionel Cranfield was in 1618).²⁷ . Less likely alternatives could be imagined, for example that two channels existed and joined together down stream. If it was diverted, the original course of the river through Mayfair unclear, but it seems possible that it reconnected at the end of the straight South Molton Lane/Avery Row diversion where the Tyburn currently crosses Grosvenor Street.

The lack of a field boundary at 65 Davies Street (or indeed following the route to the Grosvenor Street and Tyburn intersection) is problematic. But

²⁶ Tatton-Brown, I.

²⁷ 'Survey of London | Volume 39, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1 (General History)', pp. 1–5; Charles T. Gatty, *Mary Davies And The Manor Of Ebury*, First Edition (Cassell & Co, 1921), p. 44.

even more so is the boundary between the Ebury Manor estate and the Conduit Mead to the east. This predates the Grosvenor Estate and looks to be based on the Tyburn today. But if the Tyburn ran through 65 Davies Street, then perhaps the boundary was not originally aligned with the Tyburn, or the boundary has been moved in the past.

Resolution of these issues will depend on further archaeological investigations in Mayfair. The original course of the river may change with more information, but are unlikely to change the conclusions of the study, which is based on the post 1614 route, when development took place.

The route of the river and the sewer both flow under Buckingham Palace today. From this point most authorities split the river at this point, with an eastern branch entering the Thames either side of Westminster Abbey. The western arm then enters the Thames at Pimlico. Barton raised the possibility that the western arm was a different stream draining water from the marshes of modern Pimlico and not connected to the main river.²⁸ But Tatton Brown and Donovan have argued convincingly that the eastern branch did not exist, although a man made channel was cut to provide water to the Westminster Abbey Mills. This channel is shown in Figure 2-2.²⁹

²⁸ N. J. Barton, *The Lost Rivers of London: A Study of Their Effects upon London and Londoners, and the Effects of London and Londoners upon Them*, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Historical Publications, 1992).

²⁹ Tatton-Brown; Tatton-Brown, I; Donovan; *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume XIII: City of Westminster, Part 1: Landownership and*

2.3.2 Tyburn as a source of water

The waters of the Tyburn were originally renowned for their clarity and purity. The Tyburn valley generated a number of springs, and from the thirteenth century these were used for extracting water, which was piped to the City of London.³⁰ This water, extracted mostly from north of modern Oxford Street around the original village of Tyburn, flowed in underground lead pipes to the City of London. The exact route of the underground pipes is not known but they followed the east bank of the Tyburn, passed under what became Clarendon House, through Trafalgar Square, and probably north of the Strand and Fleet Street to cross the Fleet valley at Holborn Bridge and end in conduits in Cheapside. The development of this water system was one of the technological marvels of the mediaeval period.³¹

The area that the pipes flowed through became known as the Conduit Mead. This area to the east of the Tyburn and the hundred acres was

Religious History: Westminster v. 13, ed. by Patricia Croot (London ; New York: Victoria County History, 2009).

³⁰ Ian Geoffrey Doolittle, 'The City's Estate in Conduit Mead and the Authorship of The City-Secret.', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, 2 (1976), 125–35; Derek Keene, 'Issues of Water in Medieval London to c.1300', *Urban History*, 28.2 (2001), 161–79.

³¹ David Lewis, "For the Poor to Drink and the Rich to Dress Their Meat" : The First London Water Conduit', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 55 (2004), 39–68; Mark S. R. Jenner, 'From Conduit Community to Commercial Network? Water in London, 1500-1725', in *Londinopolis : Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*. Ed. Griffiths, Paul, 1960-; Jenner, Mark S. R. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 250–72.

meadow land. The Conduit Heads are small buildings built over reservoirs that captured the output from the springs. The multiple conduit heads are shown in a number of early maps including the “Morden and Lee” map around 1700 based on the William Morgan survey of 1658.³² The 1585 Geldings Close plan (the earliest surviving surveyed plan in London) is mostly of the Soho area but shows the Conduit Mead fields, although not the Tyburn River. It does show that a conduit named ‘James Head’ existed on the north side of Piccadilly (by implication this would be on the route of the Tyburn conduit to the City of London).³³

2.3.3 Tyburn as sewer and storm drain

London’s sewage system was completely revamped by Sir Joseph Bazalgette, who built a series of sewers from 1858 that intercepted the existing sewers and fed foul water under gravity from London to Beckton and Crossness. The scheme involved converting the existing north-south underground rivers like the Tyburn or King’s Scholars’ Pond Sewer into north-south storm drains – so during normal usage foul water in the sewers is processed at Beckton or Crossness, but if a lot of rain falls, then it passes down the North-South routes and the rain (and any foul water)

³² Robert Morden, ‘This Actuell Survey of London, Westminster & Southwark Is Humbly Dedicated to Ye Ld Mayor & Court of Aldermen’ (London: sold by Phillip Lea, at the Atlas & Hercules in Cheapside and by Christopher Browne, at the Globe the West end of StPauls, 1700), BL, Maps Crace Port. 2.74.

³³ R. Tiswell, ‘A Map Drawn in 1585 to Illustrate a Lawsuit Concerning Geldings Close: (Exchequer Special Commissions, 1391, P.R.O.)’ (London: London Topographical Society, 1925).

enters the River Thames.³⁴ Detailed Westminster Sewer Commission plans of the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer exist for both the 1807/9 period and from 1817 at the LMA and show the changing route of the sewer.³⁵

London's sewers are also explored in two books by Dobraszcyk which also look at the broader culture of underground rivers.³⁶

The King's Scholars' Pond Sewer still runs today after heavy rain in North London. Outside that period the Storm Drain also acts as a local sewer, although the sewer water is normally drained in the Bazalgette east to west sewers. Walking the route of the sewer 24 to 48 hours after rain is an opportunity to experience the smell of the sewer. The smells (and possible diseases) may well have been a factor in the poverty of the Tyburn valley in the Victorian period, but this was not an issue in Mayfair in the 1700s (although there are complaints below Mayfair of flooding caused by the Tyburn in this period). Before 1800 people were not allowed to connect toilets to the sewer system, but instead made use of cesspits that would be cleared on a regular basis by night soil men. The adoption of the water

³⁴ *The Great Stink of London: Sir Joseph Bazalgette and the Cleansing of the Victorian Metropolis* by Stephen Halliday (Illustrated, 15 Feb 2001) Paperback.

³⁵ 'Plan of Kings Scholar Pond Sewer.'; 'Plan of the District Drained by King's Scholars' Pond Sewer'; 'Regent's Park Tunnel Sewer: Charlotte Street to Brook Street'.

³⁶ Paul Dobraszcyk, *Into the Belly of the Beast: Exploring London's Victorian Sewers*, First edition (Reading: Spire Books Ltd, 2009); Paul Dobraszcyk, *London's Sewers* (Oxford, U.K: Shire Publications Ltd, 2014).

closet (common in wealthy homes from 1790 onwards) introduced the problem of adding a lot more water to the cesspits, and this water leaked out causing sanitation problems. Over time more and more people started to use flushing toilets. From 1800 they were increasingly permitted to connect to the sewers, from 1848 all new buildings had to have a water-closet or ash-pit privy, and connection to the sewer system was gradually made mandatory.³⁷

The purity of the water from the Tyburn before the Victorian period is indicated by the establishment of the Stag Brewery in 1630 on the banks of the Tyburn to the south of our area. Water was extracted from the Tyburn for brewing. This brewery was built in a field called Pimlico that later became used as a name for the southern part of the parish, possibly because of the popularity of 'Pimlico' beer in the area (Pimlico was a very strong beer – which rather confusingly appears to have also been brewed in Hoxton before 1609).³⁸

The King's Scholars' Pond sewer is considered to be one of the most dangerous sewers to visit today, but despite this underground enthusiasts risk their lives to explore and produce photographs of the inside of the sewers which can be found on the internet. They follow in the footsteps of

³⁷ Lee Jackson, *Dirty Old London: The Victorian Fight against Filth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 46–68.

³⁸ Stout, pp. 7, 12–13.

journalist John Hollingshead in 1862 who travelled the length of the sewer and sang 'God Save the Queen' under Buckingham Palace.³⁹

2.4 The Major Estates

The Mayfair area has been chosen to form the core of the analysis on the basis that the development of the estate (mainly in the eighteenth century) is well documented in primary records for three of the main landowners: the Corporation of London who developed the Conduit Mead Estate, the Dukes of Westminster who developed the Grosvenor Mayfair Estate, and Lord Berkeley's Estate originally based around Berkeley Square. Other estates were less well documented. Two of the most important of these are first the Hanover Square development generally credited to Richard Lumley, Earl of Scarborough which was the first square to be laid out. Published historical information about this development is scarce, although Johnson has produced an unpublished history of the area.⁴⁰ The second estate is the land owned by the Curzon family, which was developed over a considerable period of time. Published historical information about this

³⁹ John Hollingshead, *Underground London* (Groombridge and Sons, 1862).

⁴⁰ B. H. Johnson, 'Note on the Early Development of the Sites of the Buildings in Hanover Square and St George Street, Westminster' (Unpublished, 1958), Historic England Archive, Survey of London Box FA109.

area is also scarce, but Gilman has produced an unpublished history of the development.⁴¹

A number of secondary sources also exist. A broad introduction to the Great Estates of London (including high level comparison thumbnail sketches of each Estate) is available in Yates and Murray.⁴² Phillips volume on Mid Georgian London links prints of the area to details of each area and includes material on each of the squares.⁴³

⁴¹ Mike Gilman, 'Historical Background to the Development of Curzon Street in the 18th Century' (Unpublished), Historic England Archive, Survey of London Box FA102.

⁴² Sarah Yates and Peter Murray, *Great Estates: How London's Landowners Shape the City* (NLA - London's Centre for the Built Environment, 2013).

⁴³ Phillips.

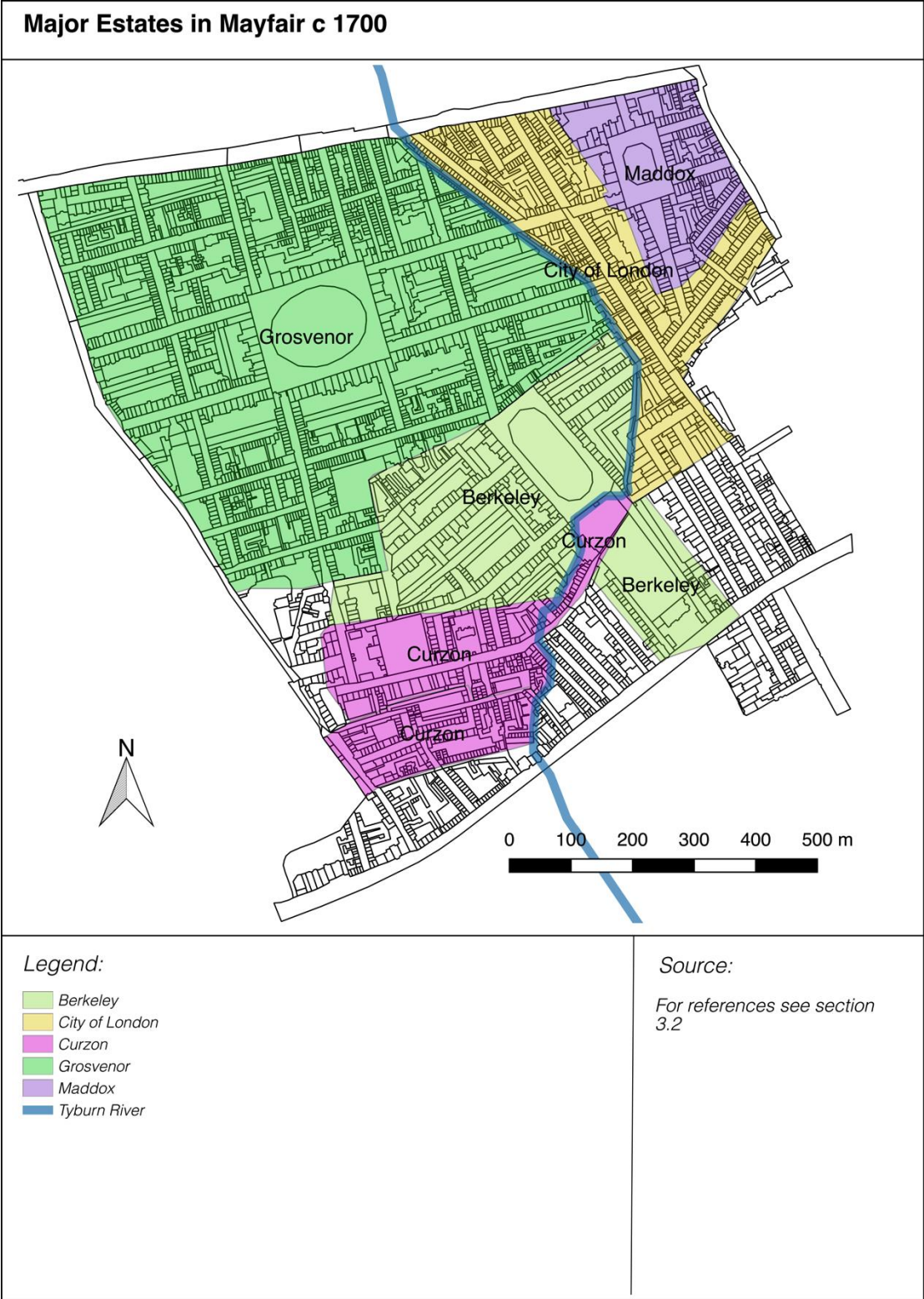


Table 2-1: The main estates in Mayfair c 1700

2.4.1 The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair

The Grosvenor Estates in Mayfair are well documented by Volumes 39 & 40 of the Survey of London, including analysis of the developers and builders

and individual streets roads and buildings that will contribute to the financial analysis of one part of the area. The Survey of London makes no explicit links between the Tyburn and estate development.⁴⁴ There is also a history of the Grosvenor family by Gatty covering the early history of the Estate, which provides a lot of detail about the early history of the land that became the Grosvenor Estate.⁴⁵ Dasent has written a history of the square that lists the rate payers over time.⁴⁶

2.4.2 The Conduit Mead Estate

The Conduit Mead estate earlier history is covered in Johnson (includes information on the relationships with other Estates along Piccadilly) and Booth (covering the developers of the estate).⁴⁷ Gilman has a good unpublished introduction to the estate.⁴⁸ The draft Survey of London volume of Marylebone South East has a detailed chapter on Stratford Place which represents the Northern tip of the estate (although as it is North of

⁴⁴ 'Survey of London | Volume 39, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1 (General History)'; 'Survey of London | Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)' <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol40/pt2>> [accessed 4 May 2016].

⁴⁵ Gatty.

⁴⁶ Arthur Irwin Dasent, *A History of Grosvenor Square*, 1st edition (Macmillan, 1935).

⁴⁷ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*; Philip A. Booth, 'Speculative Housing and the Land Market in London, 1660-1730 : Four Case Studies.', *Town Planning Review*, 51 (1980), 379-97.

⁴⁸ Mike Gilman, '20 - 24 Dering Street, Mayfair' (Unpublished), Historic England Archive, Survey of London Box FA102.

Oxford Street strictly outside the scope of this study), and Garnier has published a detailed study of the Grafton Street southern end of the estate.⁴⁹ Doolittle has published two papers illuminating the way that the City of London managed the estate.⁵⁰ Richardson has a thesis that examines the Conduit Mead, Grosvenor and Portland Estates and argues that they were planned to an integrated layout (relies heavily on Johnson).⁵¹

2.4.3 The Berkeley Square Estate

The history of the Berkeley Square area, particularly the estates and buildings are well developed in Johnson, who sees the importance of the Tyburn as a boundary between estates but fails to relate it to the development of the estate.⁵² The early historian Dasent covers the square

⁴⁹ 'Survey of London Drafts for South-Eastern Marylebone' <<https://www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/architecture/research/survey-of-london/eastern-marylebone>> [accessed 4 May 2016]; Richard Garnier, 'Grafton Street, Mayfair', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 13 (2003), 201–72.

⁵⁰ Doolittle, 'The City's Estate in Conduit Mead and the Authorship of The City-Secret.'; Ian Geoffrey Doolittle, 'The City's West End Estate : A "Remarkable Omission" .', *London Journal*, 7 (1981), 15–27.

⁵¹ Frances M. Richardson, 'The Planning of the Conduit Mead, Scarborough and Harley Estates in West London' (unpublished MA, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1978).

⁵² Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*.

in his book on Piccadilly.⁵³ There is also a modern coffee table volume by Wixon and Graham.⁵⁴

2.4.4 Hanover Square

The most thorough history is an unpublished work by Johnson, but the estate is also covered in Richardson.⁵⁵ Although the developer is generally thought to be Richard Lumley, Earl of Scarborough, Johnson points out that most of the freehold was held by the Maddox family, and Lumley only had a 49 year lease over most of the estate.

2.4.5 Curzon Estate

Three fields were owned by the Curzon family. Development was sporadic until the development of Shepherd Market in 1735. This was followed by the development of Curzon Street in the 1740s. The final developments were on the Brick Hill Field in the 1760s. The best history of this area is in the unpublished work by Gilman.⁵⁶

⁵³ Arthur Irwin Dasent, *Piccadilly in Three Centuries: With Some Account of Berkeley Square and the Haymarket* (London: Macmillan and Co., limited, 1920).

⁵⁴ David Wixon and Alison Graham, *The Berkeley Square Estate : Expressions of Elegance and Excellence* (London: Lancer Property Asset Management, 2008).

⁵⁵ Johnson, 'Note on the Early Development of the Sites of the Buildings in Hanover Square and St George Street, Westminster'; Richardson.

⁵⁶ Gilman, 'Historical Background to the Development of Curzon Street in the 18th Century'; Mike Gilman, 'Curzon Street - Development in the 1740's and 1750's' (Unpublished draft), Historic England Archive, Survey of London Box FA102.

2.5 Conclusions

The chapter has used secondary sources to look at the topography of the area, and the river and the larger estates.

Four points made are relevant to the research question.

First, some areas of the Tyburn valley are steep. This will be shown to encourage the use of these areas for poorer quality building.

Second, the Tyburn is a major boundary between estates. This will be shown to be an important factor in the final conclusions.

Third, that the Tyburn ran with clean water before the widespread adoption of flushing toilets, and there is no evidence of pollution, marsh or flood in the Mayfair area, so these environmental issues seem unlikely to be a factor in the development of the area.

Fourth, that the location of the Mayfair market on the banks of the Tyburn led to the development of Shepherd Market, which will be shown to have been another factor in the development of the area.

The following chapter reviews the development of the area, how it changed over time, the motivations of the developers, and explores how land utilization changes over the area using the digitized Horwood map.

3 Development of the Mayfair area

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the **development of the Mayfair area**, looking at how it changed over time in order to understand the relationship of these activities to the Tyburn River.

We start by looking at the **development of the individual estates** and the motivations of the landowners and builders in the area.

The digitized version of the Horwood 1792 map is then used to look at the way that **land was utilized** showing considerable differences between estates. This explores the approximate **property size** (specifically the size of ground-floor house plot size on the map) built in each estate with the River Tyburn and the boundaries of each landholding.

The use and make-up of **stables** on each estate is mapped, and relationship with the Tyburn and the boundaries of each landholding is explored.

The final section provides some additional understanding about change over time by using information on **property rate valuations** from the Westminster Historical Database. This suggests that the location of the wealthy and less wealthy areas remained fairly static between 1784 and 1818. This provides some basis for introducing source information from the first half of the nineteenth century to give rich insights into the area.

The **conclusions** of this section will show the impact of the Tyburn on house sizes, and the nature of the relationship with estate boundaries

3.2 Development of the area.

In the seventeenth century, while many people still lived within the city walls, the West End started to be developed by landowners keen to profit from converting land to buildings. The City of London and some of the older suburbs like Clerkenwell and Aldgate were crowded, and the West End offered the prospect of more space, attractive and fashionable houses and a location that was closer to the Court. The West End also attracted Parliamentarians and members of court who lived in the country, but needed to be in London for 'the season', and would lease properties close to Parliament or the Court. The Great Fire of London in 1666 also facilitated the development of the west of London.¹

Early developments outside our area were Covent Garden Piazza (1629), Lincolns Inn fields (1638), St James Square (1665), Leicester Square (1670), Golden Square (1675) and Soho Square (1677).²

¹ M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, Open market ed edition (Chicago, IL: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1985), pp. 73–75; Simon Bradley, Nicholas Pevsner, and John Schofield, *London 6: Westminster Pevsner Architectural Guides: Buildings of England : Westminster v. 6: Amazon.co.uk: Simon Bradley, Nikolaus Pevsner, John Schofield: Books*, Pevsner Architectural Guides, pp. 22–29; George Rude, *Hanoverian London, 1714-1808*, First Edition edition (London: Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd, 1971), pp. 9–14; Olsen, *Town Planning in London*, pp. 7–8.

² Bradley, Pevsner, and Schofield, p. 340,418,426,624; Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London. 4: North, The Buildings of England*, [New ed.] / (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 306.

Figure 3-1 below shows the division of Mayfair into different land holdings at the start of the development process (aligned with the previous field boundaries shown in Figure 2--1).³

³ Bradley, Pevsner, and Schofield, pp. 471–79 has an overview of the development process with a plan .

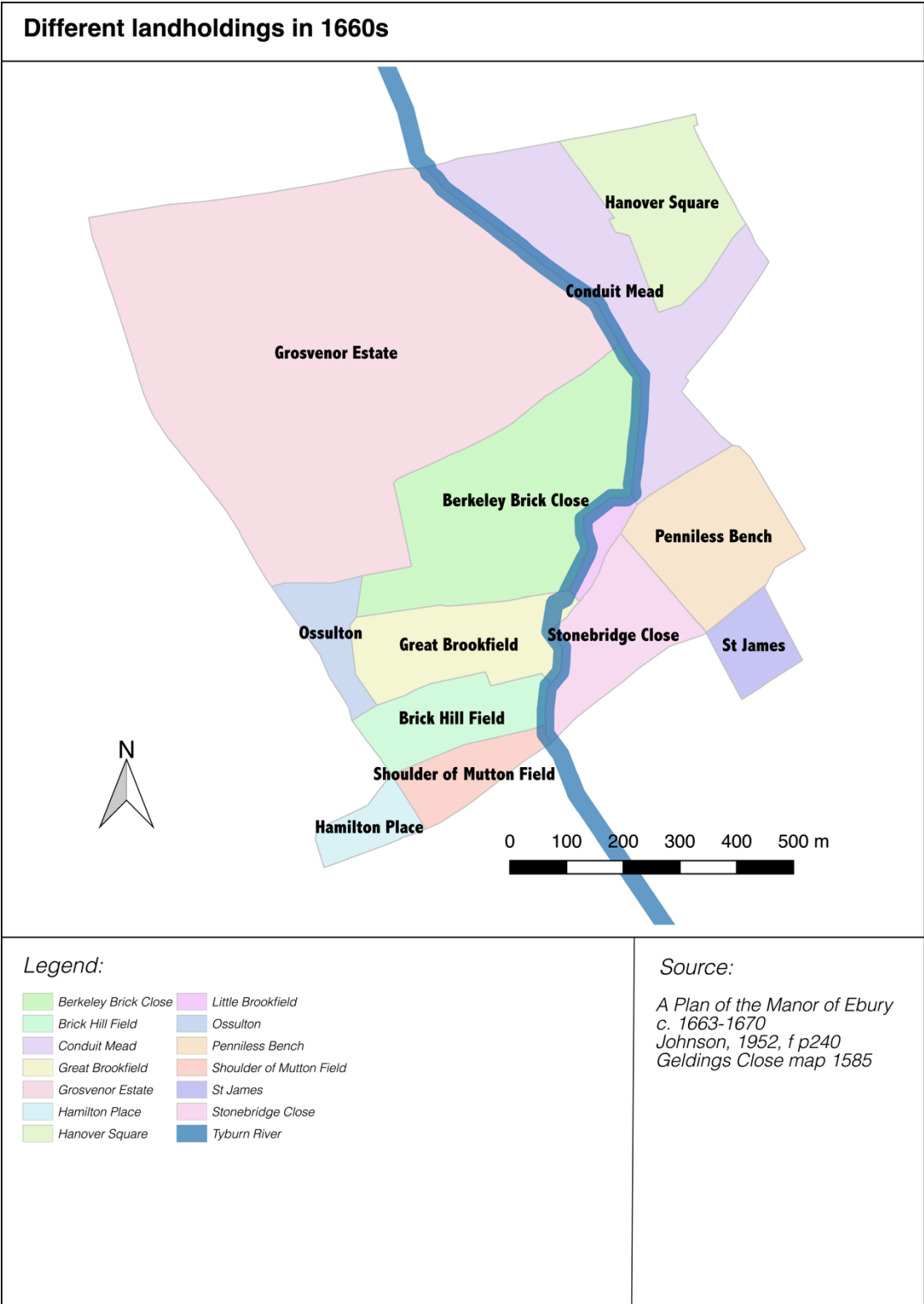


Figure 3-1 : Mayfair landholdings in 1660s

North of Piccadilly the first buildings in the area were Clarendon House (built 1664-1667) on the Penniless Bench land, and Berkeley House (1665-

1673) mostly on Stonebridge Close field. Both are shown in Figure 3-2 and fronted onto Piccadilly. Berkeley House had gardens that almost extended to the Tyburn River (blocked by Little Brookfield which is a small area that was not owned by Lord Berkeley of Stratton). The Earl of Clarendon also leased the 27 acres of Conduit Mead from the Corporation of the City of London, the meadow to the East of the Tyburn River to the north of Clarendon House.⁴

⁴ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, p. 43,51; Croot, p. 111,103.

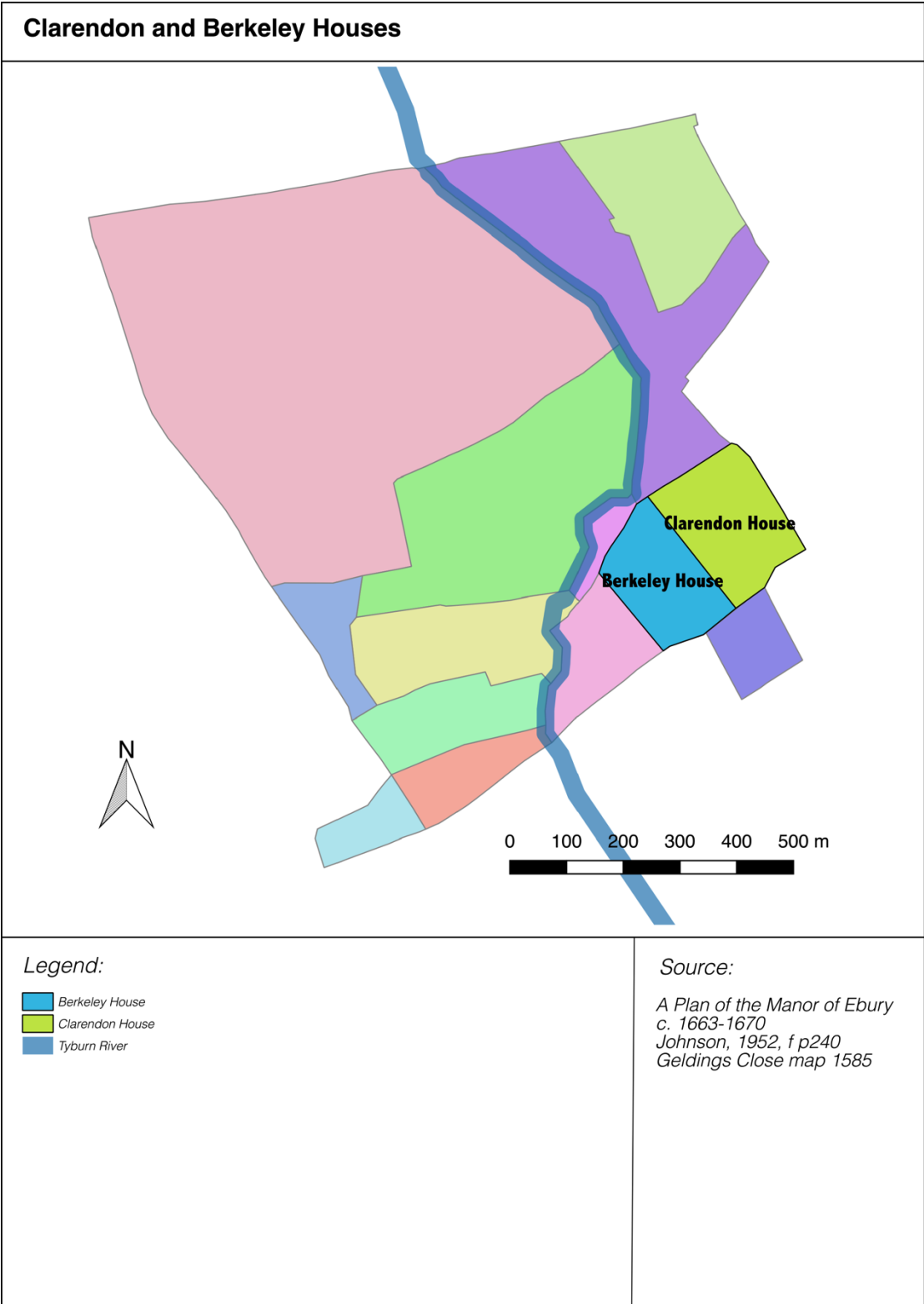


Figure 3-2: Clarendon and Berkeley House built on Piccadilly

Clarendon House, by then renamed Albemarle House, was sold to a consortium of developers and then demolished in 1683, and the laying out

of a housing area started (known as Old Bond Street today). This was rapidly followed by development of the streets off Piccadilly either side of Berkeley House.⁵ These two estates shaped subsequent development in the area. In Figure 3-3 and throughout the rest of this study the various landholdings are called 'estates' for the sake of simplicity. Most of the landholdings were indeed estates (with the freehold owned by one person or organization), but some were divided and owned by more than one landowner (this happened to the part of Stonebridge Close not used for Berkeley House and the Clarendon House estate also ended up with multiple ownership).

⁵ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, pp. 69–70 and 76-81.

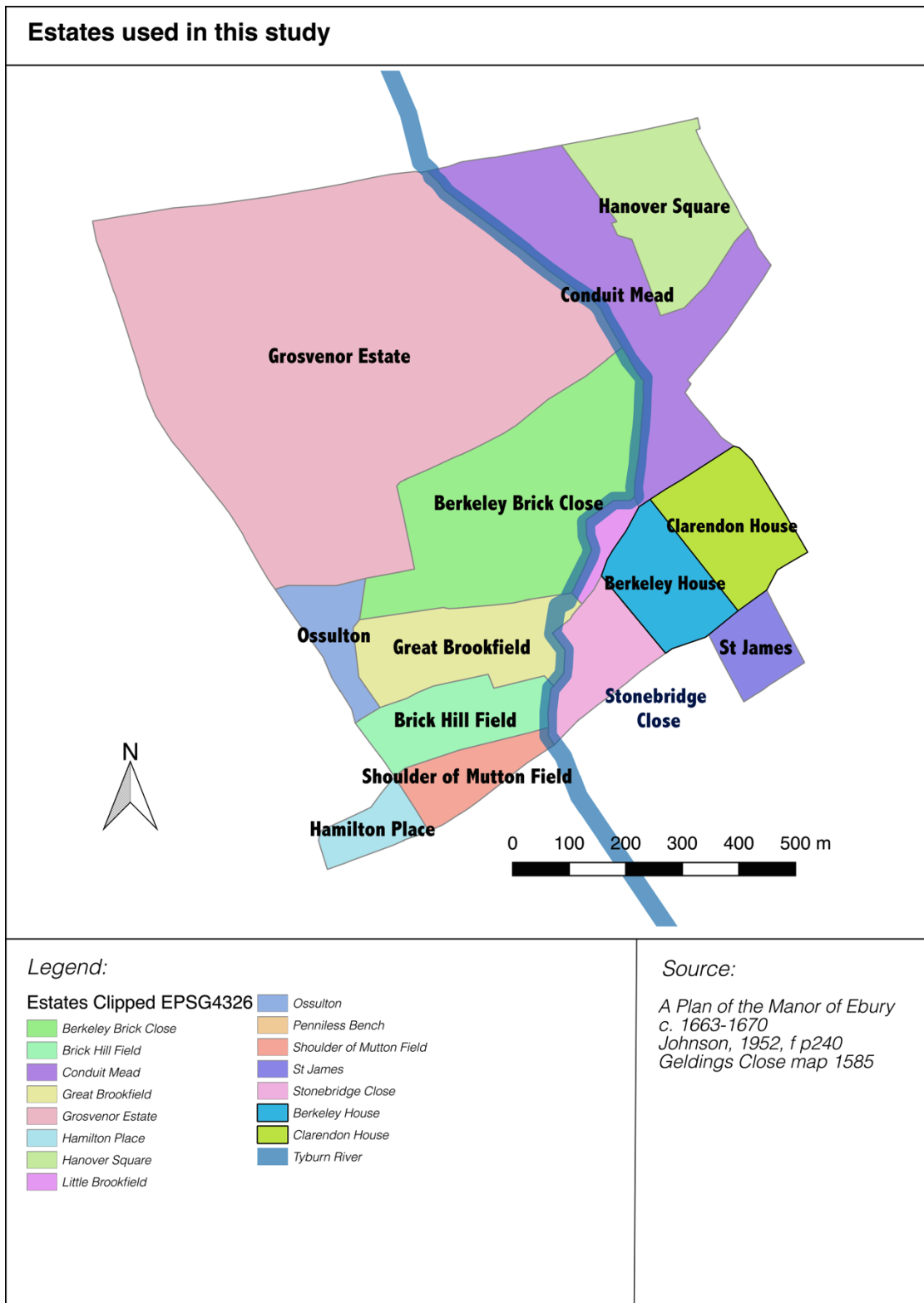


Figure 3-3: Estates layout used in this study

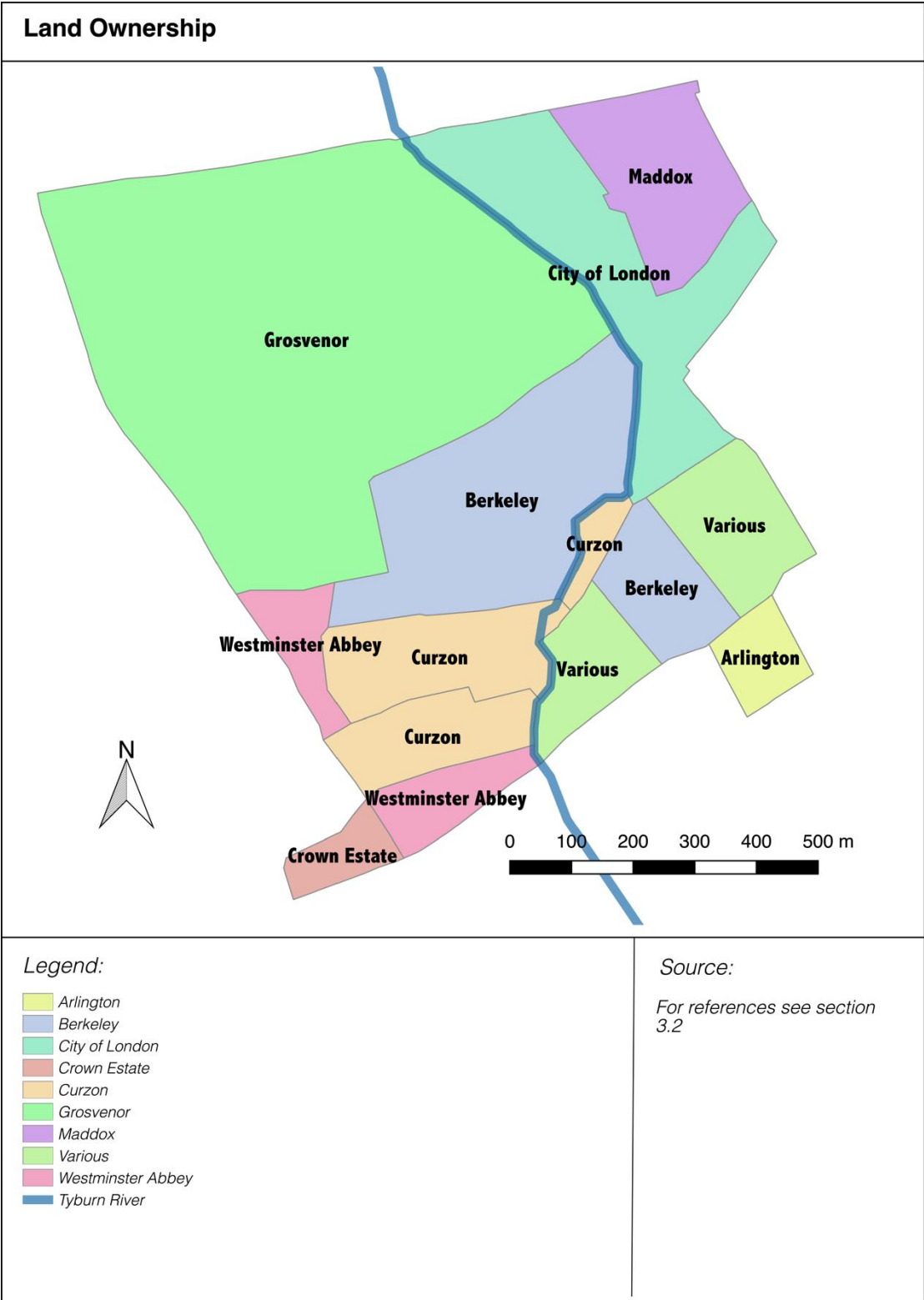


Figure 3-4: Ownership of the land

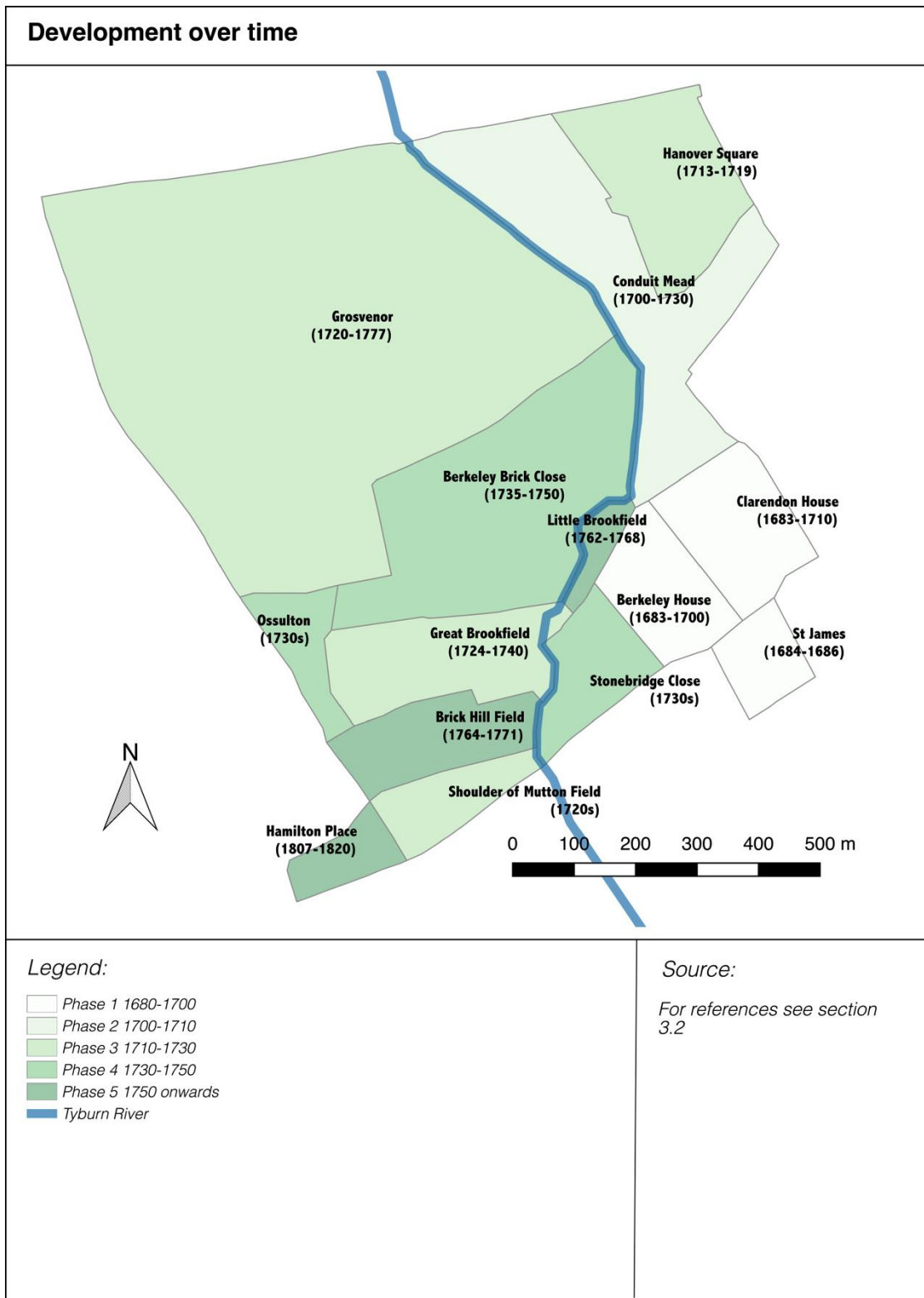


Figure 3-5: Property development over time

Figure 3-4 shows the main landowners. Figure 3-5 shows the periods under which land was developed. Various people have written about the

development. Bradley, Pevsner and Schofield have the most thorough development, including a detailed chart. Both Rude and Summerson have less detailed charts but discuss the development process. A mixture of sources has been used to create a development timeline as listed below. ⁶

Phase one of development (1683-1700) included both the initial development of the Clarendon Estate by a consortium of developers and the two streets either side of Berkeley House on land owned by the Berkeley family.⁷ At much the same time the small area of the parish south of Piccadilly around Arlington Street owned by Lord Arlington was first developed in 1684.⁸

Phase two was more tentative (1700-1710). The purchasers of the Clarendon Estate went bankrupt and major legal problems paused development for a number of years, and as the same developers had also taken on leases for Conduit Mead owned by the City of London. This development was also paused. Eventually development on the Clarendon Estate restarted, and the initial small stretch of New Bond Street on the Conduit Mead was developed in the early 1700s.⁹

⁶ Bradley, Pevsner, and Schofield, p. 475; Rude, p. 8; Summerson, p. 3.

⁷ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, pp. 69–70, 76–126 suggests 1683; Bradley, Pevsner, and Schofield, pp. 495, 503, 576 after 1684.

⁸ Bradley, Pevsner, and Schofield, p. 602.

⁹ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, pp. 114–48 says 1710; Bradley, Pevsner, and Schofield, p. 543 says 1700.

Phase three (1710-1730) came when Hanover Square land owned by Sir Benjamin Maddox was developed by the Earl of Scarborough (1713-1719).¹⁰ The Curzon family started the initial development of the Great Brookfield land (1724-29).¹¹ Development restarted on New Bond Street and the rest of the Conduit Mead (from 1716-1730).¹² This was followed by the first phase of the Grosvenor Estate (from 1720).¹³ A few houses were built on the west of Little Brookfield owned by the Curzon family were built in the 1720s.¹⁴ The Shoulder of Mutton field owned by Westminster Abbey and lying along Piccadilly also started to be developed around this time.¹⁵

Phase four (1730-1750) filled most of the remaining open land including nearly all the Grosvenor Estate.¹⁶ On the Curzon land, Shepherd Market was developed (c1735 although laid out from 1721) and Curzon Street laid

¹⁰ Summerson, pp. 87–89; Johnson, ‘Note on the Early Development of the Sites of the Buildings in Hanover Square and St George Street, Westminster’, pp. 16–17.

¹¹ Mike Gilman, ‘Curzon Street and Curzon Place, Mayfair.’ (Unpublished, 1995), pp. 5–7, Historic England Archive, Survey of London Box FA102.

¹² Booth, p. 389 but may have been as early as 1713.

¹³ ‘Survey of London | Volume 39, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1 (General History)’, p. 6.

¹⁴ Gilman, ‘Historical Background to the Development of Curzon Street in the 18th Century’, p. 1.

¹⁵ Bradley, Pevsner, and Schofield, p. 522.

¹⁶ ‘Survey of London | Volume 39, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1 (General History)’, pp. 1–2.

out (1740).¹⁷ The Berkeley estate was developed in stages (from 1735, completed by 1750).¹⁸ The Ossulton estate owned by Westminster Abbey was built (from 1735). The remainder of Stonebridge Close was developed by various landholders (from 1730s).¹⁹

Phase five for developments after 1750 included the building of Lansdowne House on Little Brookfield (1762-1768) owned by the Curzon family.²⁰ The last section of the Grosvenor Estate to be built was the less attractive area nearest the Tyburn scaffold (building agreements in 1763-1777: the fixed scaffold was removed in 1759 although executions continued using a moveable scaffold until 1783).²¹ The Curzon family built Hertford Street on Brick Hill Field (1764-1771).²² The Hamilton Place development on Crown land took place from 1807 to 1820.²³

¹⁷ Gilman, 'Historical Background to the Development of Curzon Street in the 18th Century', p. 1.

¹⁸ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, pp. 172–80.

¹⁹ Gilman, 'Curzon Street and Curzon Place, Mayfair.', p. 14,31.

²⁰ Historic England, 'Lansdowne Club, City of Westminster - 1066795| Historic England' <<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1066795>> [accessed 22 September 2017].

²¹ 'Survey of London | Volume 39, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1 (General History)', p. 13; 'A History of the County of Middlesex Volume 9 Paddington: Tyburnia', *British History Online*, pp. 190–98 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol9/pp190-198>> [accessed 25 September 2017].

²² Bradley, Pevsner, and Schofield, pp. 536–37.

²³ Bradley, Pevsner, and Schofield, p. 566.

The development of housing was greatly influenced by the economic and political events. The signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1715 ended the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1714) and provided the right conditions, and more workers, to encourage developments like Hanover Square and the start of the Grosvenor Estate. For the Grosvenor estate building peaked in 1725, 1728 and 1740, but outside those periods building was gradual or stopped completely. The final building leases on the Grosvenor estate were offered in 1777.²⁴

Does this development summarised in Figure 3-5 show a relationship with the Tyburn? Arguably the greatest influences were probably the building in the Parish of St James (to the south of Piccadilly) and the building to the east of Swallow Street (today's Soho). But many of the early developments (Conduit Mead, early Grosvenor Estate, Curzon Estate and Shepherd Market) took place close to the Tyburn. As far as can be determined from the records, the choice of area to be developed looks opportunistic rather than directly linked to the Tyburn.

One major issue in the development of each estate or land holding was the degree of control of development by the owner of the freehold. The Hanover Square development was under the control of Richard Lumley, Earl of Scarborough, on a mixture of freehold and leased land. A scheme created by Thomas Barlow followed previous practice elsewhere in London and aimed to maximize the return by developing grand houses around a

²⁴ Summerson, p. 87; 'Survey of London | Volume 39, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1 (General History)', p. 13.

square (Hanover Square), a rather grand George Street (with wide funnel leading into the square), and three smaller streets (today's Roxburgh Place, Princes Street and Hanover Street). Service areas for stables and retailers were provided around the edges of the estate. Many builders developed plots on a speculative basis between 1713 and 1719. The area became one of the best places to live in the West End, attracting many famous Whig families.²⁵

The same idea of a central square, to attract the better kind of householder, was also adopted by the Grosvenor Estate from 1720 onward. Robert Grosvenor, the brother of landowner Sir Richard Grosvenor, promoted the development. The overall design of the estate came from Thomas Barlow (who later became the estate surveyor).²⁶ The big houses were built around Grosvenor Square and two major roads, Grosvenor Street and Brook Street. Once more stables and service areas were provided at the back of the grander houses and around the edges of the estate. As the Tyburn provides the boundary between the Grosvenor Estate and the Conduit Mead estate, many of these service areas occupy the Tyburn valley. A good example is the Grosvenor Mews area, which was built by Thomas

²⁵ Summerson, pp. 87–88; Bradley, Pevsner, and Schofield, p. 534; Johnson, 'Note on the Early Development of the Sites of the Buildings in Hanover Square and St George Street, Westminster'.

²⁶ Summerson, p. 94; 'Survey of London | Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)', pp. 12–13.

Barlow on steep ground rising from the Tyburn, and largely occupied by stables.²⁷

The developers of the Clarendon/Albemarle House estate also originally intended to build a large square to be called Albemarle Square. As a result of the legal problems and bankruptcies the square was never built (it would have been at the bottom of the Conduit Mead land where Grafton Street is today). The rest of the Conduit Mead land developed in a rather unplanned way, but the original developers laid out a north/south road, New Bond Street, that became the central focus of the area and developed into one of London's most famous retail areas. Service areas were built behind the main road, and on the west these lay in the Tyburn valley.²⁸

The other great square, Berkeley Square, was a later development. When the Berkeley Estate sold Berkeley House to the Duke of Devonshire one of the terms of the sale was not to build on the land to the north of the house.²⁹ This land later became Berkeley Square. The northern edge of what later became the square was already built on as it was at the southern edge of the Grosvenor Estate. Early development took place on the east of the square in 1738, with development on the west by 1745. This development included three main streets leading into the square (Bruton Street, Hill Street and Charles Street). Again service areas were on the

²⁷ 'Survey of London | Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)', pp. 57–63.

²⁸ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, pp. 124–25.

²⁹ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, p. 162.

edges of the estate, which would have included the Tyburn valley on the eastern and southern boundaries. Berkeley Square is unusual as represents an outlier: an upmarket area that was developed with the Tyburn running along the southern boundary (although later diverted to run under Lansdowne Row).³⁰

The Curzon Estate, owned by the Howe family, developed on Great Brookfield and Little Brookfield and Brick Hill Field, and had the further challenge of building on an area by the Tyburn that had been the traditional site of the “Mayfair” that had been moved from Haymarket. Edward Shepherd laid out the area in 1715 (again planned as a square), but the development took place from 1735 to 1746, and converted the annual site of the market to a market and retail area (today’s Shepherd Market).³¹

3.3 Motivation of landowners

Most landowners saw building development as a long-term source of enhancing the revenue from the land. There was a lot of variation in the approaches used for development, but generally the owner of the land would parcel up the land to be developed and put in place a building agreement with a developer who was generally a builder or carpenter or plasterer. This building agreement would provide a two or three year window for the builder construct houses and stables. Once they reached a certain state of building (in the Grosvenor Estate they needed to have

³⁰ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, pp. 172–80.

³¹ Gilman, ‘Historical Background to the Development of Curzon Street in the 18th Century’, p. 1.

completed the ground floor), the landowner would create a lease for a fixed period of time (a range of dates could be used but 60 or 99 years was typical), and the builder could sell the house to the new owner, making a profit on his work. The new owner agreed to pay ground rent to the freeholder (the original landlord). The amount of ground rent would be small, but the total ground rent on the estate was usually higher than the agricultural rent the landowner would have originally been expected to make. At the end of the lease, the building would in theory revert to the original landowner. But in practice the leases would often be extended, with the agreement of the landowner. Payments to the freeholder would take place if the lease changed hands.³²

Some landowner's did very well from the development. In the Grosvenor Estate the agricultural rent on the hundred acres in the early 1700s was likely to be under £400 a year. This was converted to ground rents worth over £3,000 a year by 1768.³³

Builders often took on quite large areas of land under building agreements. In this case they would subcontract buildings to other tradesmen. Nearly all the houses in Mayfair were built in this manner, so typically next-door houses would be built and sold by different people. Many of the developers

³² Booth, pp. 383–86; 'Survey of London | Volume 39, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1 (General History)', pp. 6–33; George, pp. 84–91.

³³ 'Survey of London | Volume 39, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1 (General History)', pp. 30–33.

who built Mayfair worked on multiple estates. Each new developer attracted successful builders who had worked on previous estates.³⁴

Some estates were more centrally controlled than others. The norm was to require builders to provide the infrastructure (roads, drains and the like) under their agreements, but some estates took a longer-term view (including the Grosvenor Estate). Those planned around squares might undertake infrastructure work themselves. Some of the larger estates would also loan money to some builders to cover the costs of materials for the initial building stages. Control could also be gained by adding conditions to the building agreements and leases about the value and scale of houses, and also the kinds of business that could take place in the building. Some areas like the Somers Town development took little interest in what leaseholders did. Other areas were more controlled, so leases in the Grosvenor Estate listed various businesses that could not take place in each area of the estate. There were also some controls that were not written in the agreements, so for example developers agreed to follow an overall plan for an estate.³⁵

The developers often went bankrupt. When this happened on a large scale, as it did when the consortium of developers who had laid out the site of Clarendon House and the southern end of the Conduit Mead estate, then legal action and the uncertainty over agreements made between

³⁴ Summerson, p. 55,61-65.

³⁵ Clarke, pp. 106–7.

participants led to large delays in development and loss of any overall control by the developer.³⁶

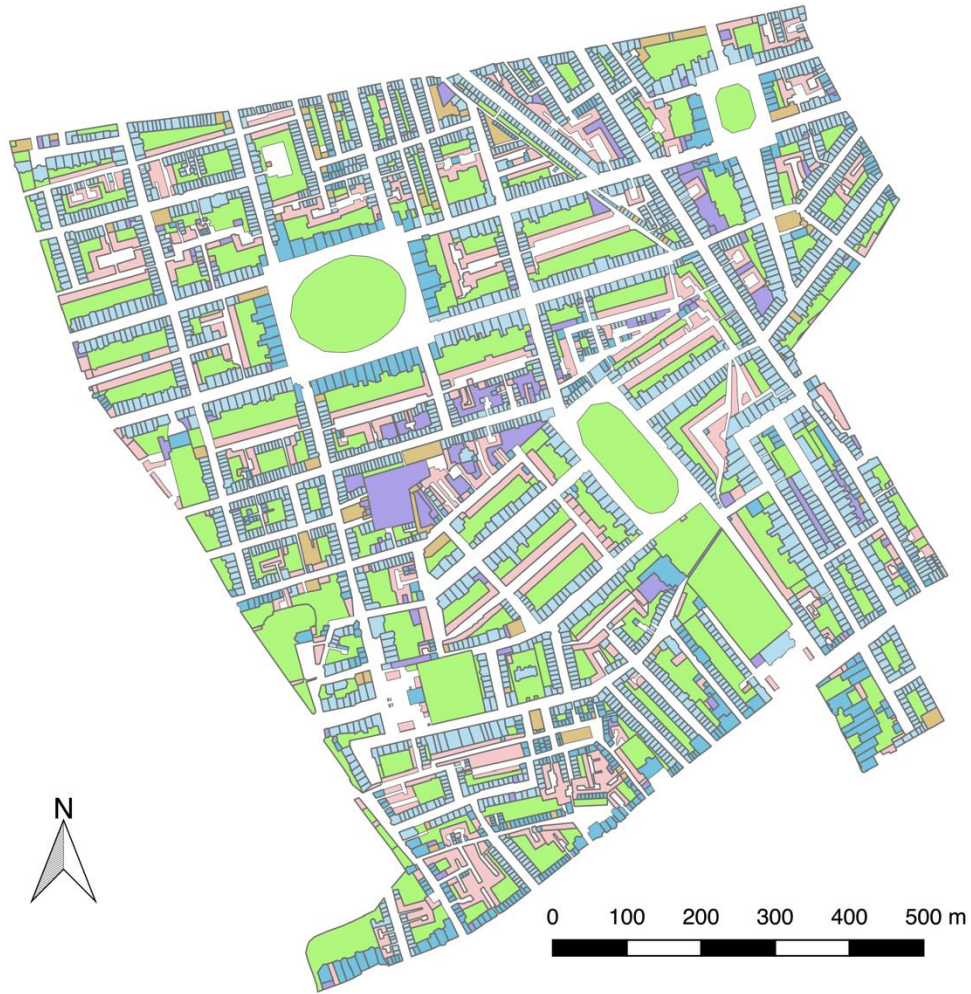
3.4 Land usages

This section uses Geographical Information Systems to explore the way land was used in Mayfair. It starts with the digitized copy of the Horwood 1792 map.³⁷ Figure 3-6 shows the map showing the types of feature that have been digitized.

³⁶ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, pp. 114–26.

³⁷ 'Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and Parts Adjoining, Shewing Every House. By R. Horwood. [Scale, about 25 Inches = 1 Mile]'

Mayfair digitised Horwood plan - buildings layer



Legend:

- Numbered house*
- No number house*
- Stables*
- Public Building?*
- Road*
- Garden*
- Other?*

Source:

Horwood 1792

Figure 3-6 : Map showing type of feature

3.5 Property sizes

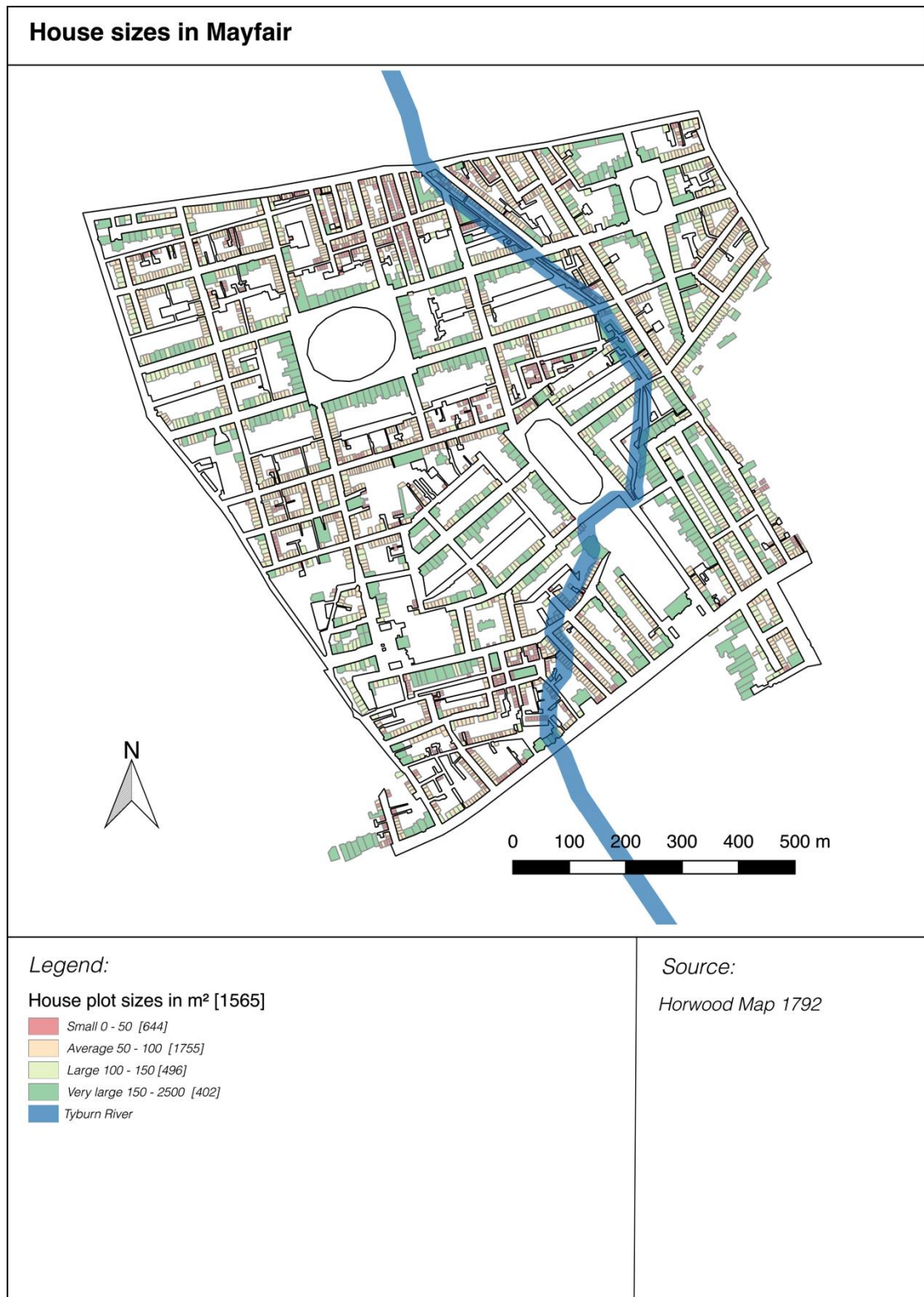


Figure 3-7 : Houses sizes of properties

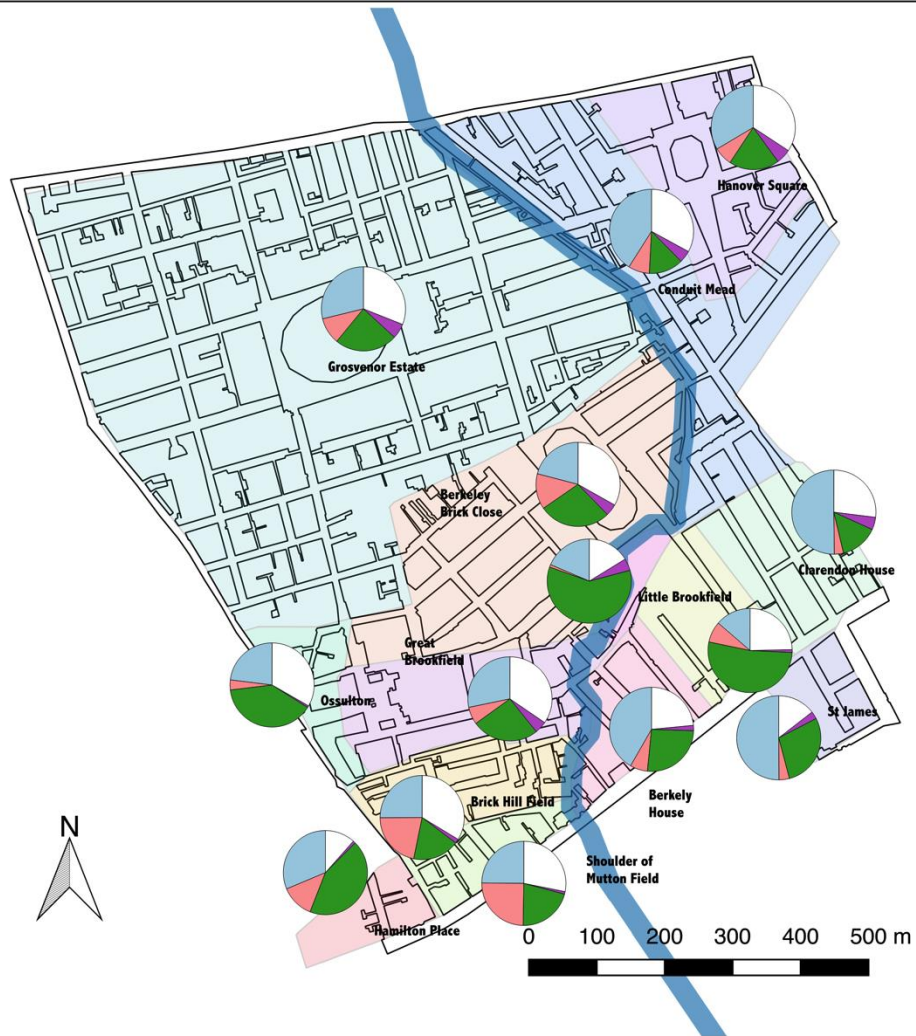
Using the Digitized Horwood map of the parish published in 1792 it is possible to work out the approximate floor area of each house in cross-section, and to use this as a rough 'measure' for the economic status of the households. The measure is not ideal. There is no way of distinguishing the number of floors of building from the map, although in Mayfair many of the large housing buildings were of a similar height. The 1791 survey of householders discussed in the next chapter of the study suggests that some of the buildings shown are shared by multiple householders (either because they have multiple entrances, for example shop and living space, or householders who co-own the space). The results are also dependent on the accuracy of the original Horwood survey and the digitization process. But even with these limitations, the results in Figure 3-7 are useful. They show properties (excluding stables) divided into four categories depending on the size of the building on the map. The categories are based on 50m² divisions of house plot size as this divides the houses into four useful groups:

- 402 very large properties (over 150m² marked in dark green) dominate the squares, Piccadilly and overlooking Green Park, and the principal roads of the estates;
- 496 large properties (between 100m² and 150m² marked in light green) can be seen mostly in the principal roads of the estates;
- 1755 average properties (between 50m² and 100m² marked in yellow) are the most numerous, and occupy retail areas (like New Bond Street and South Molton Lane), as well as many of the smaller side streets; and
- 644 smaller properties (under 50m² marked in red on the plan) are in more dense areas.

Dense areas are often at the edges of estates. They cluster close to Oxford Street, and in particular those areas close to the Tyburn from Oxford Street to Brook Street.

Each estate has a different mixture of housing, stables, gardens, other buildings and roads. Figure 3-8 shows the different mixes of land utilization. The older estates (St James and Clarendon House) have high proportion of housing, and low proportions of stabling and gardens. The large estates like Grosvenor, Hanover Square and Berkeley Brick Hill have more garden and stabling.

Estate land usage



Legend:

Berkeley Brick Close	Ossulton
Berkeley House	Shoulder of Mutton Field
Brick Hill Field	St James
Clarendon House	Stonebridge Close
Conduit Mead	Houses
Great Brookfield	Stables
Grosvenor Estate	Gardens
Hamilton Place	Other
Hanover Square	Roads
Little Brookfield	Tyburn River

Source:

Horwood Map 1792

Figure 3-8: Land utilisation by estate

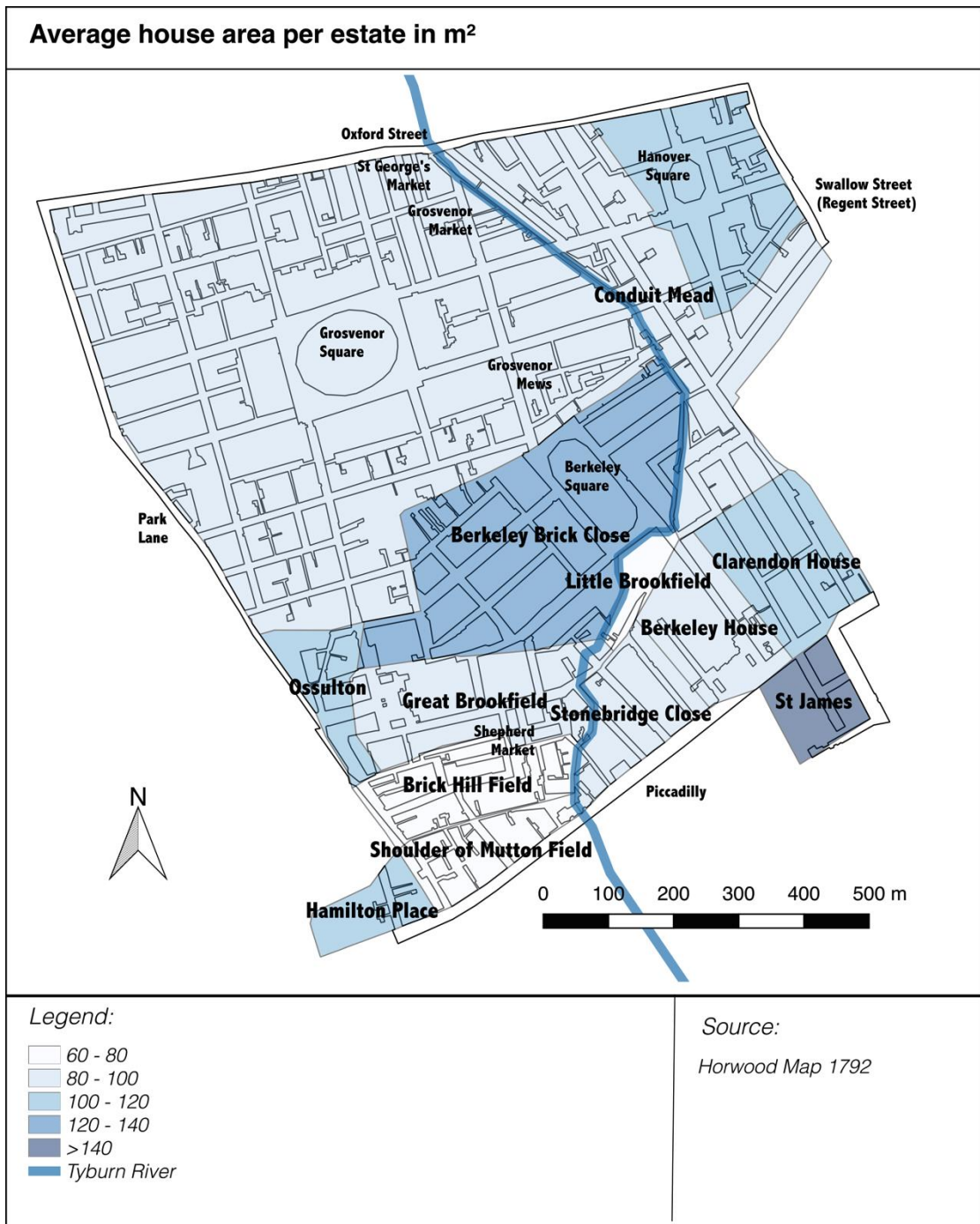


Figure 3-9: Average size of house area on map

Figure 3-9 shows how the average house size plots vary over the estates. The estates with the largest average sizes are St James (which has some very large houses overlooking the park), the Berkeley Square estate, then the Clarendon House estate, Hanover Square and the Ossulton and Hanover Place developments. Despite the very large houses in Grosvenor Square

and the main streets in the Grosvenor Estate, the many smaller houses, trade and service areas mean the average floor space is less than some of the other estates. The Conduit Mead estate is similar to the Grosvenor Estate.

3.6 Stables.

In areas like Mayfair, stabling was important. Most of the well-off people in the area would have kept horses and at least one and sometimes multiple carriages. Some may have used livery stables to hire horses and carriages (and livery stables existed in Swallow Street, but also in Park Lane servicing the many people who rode in Hyde Park). There were also barracks for cavalry troops. All these stables required grooms and other service industries like farriers and leather workers who also occupied the same buildings. Figure 3-10 shows the location of the 259 stables shown on the Horwood map.

Stables are laid out behind the grand houses. Three different styles can be distinguished – ‘mews’ or streets typically behind the largest houses. Some areas (particularly the Conduit Mead) have stables set behind the streets in courtyards. The third option is to group the stables in areas like those that occupy much of the South West corner of Mayfair.

Two have relatively small amounts of stabling: the Clarendon House estate and the St James estate around Arlington Street. But broadly speaking stables are dispersed across the area in a mostly uniform way.

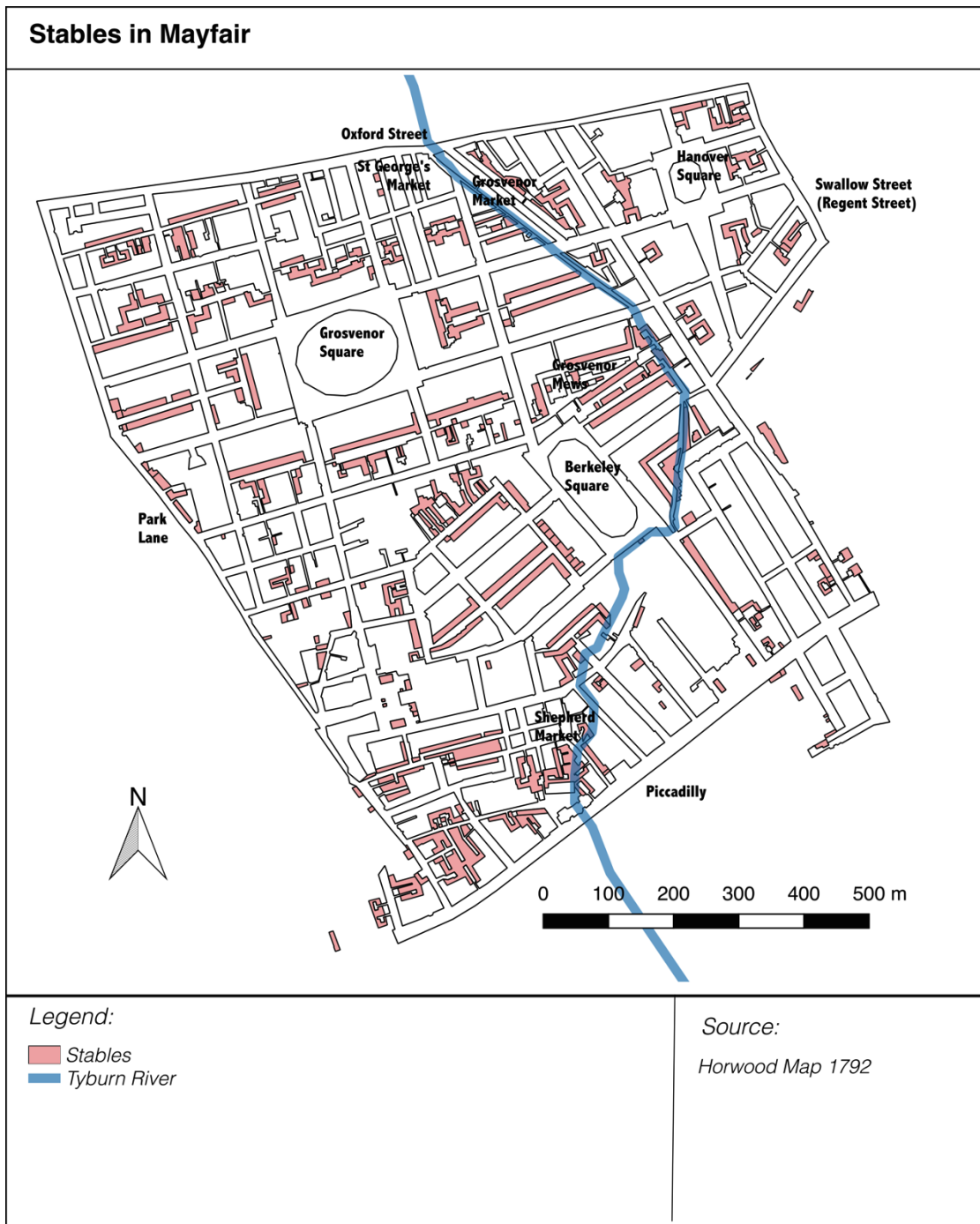


Figure 3-10: Stables in the area

3.7 House plot sizes and the River Tyburn

It is now possible to do some analysis on the house plot area and distance to the Tyburn using the idea of bands (buffers in Geographical Information System terminology) – using the digital mapping system to work out how many buildings lie in each 50m band either side of the Tyburn river. But

meaningful data analysis also requires some understanding of the variable size of each buffer band.

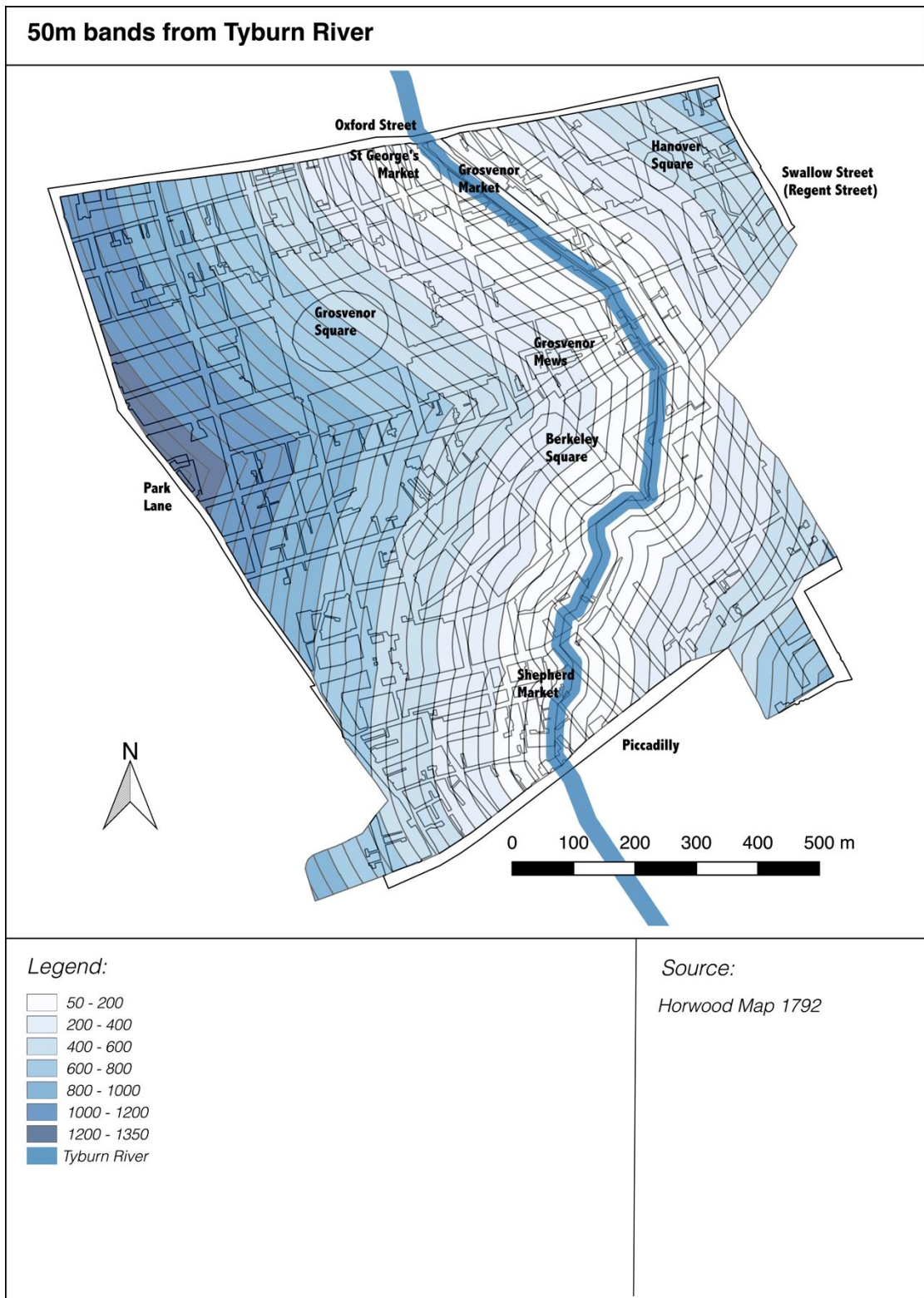


Figure 3-11: Example of scheme used in the analysis 50m bands around Tyburn

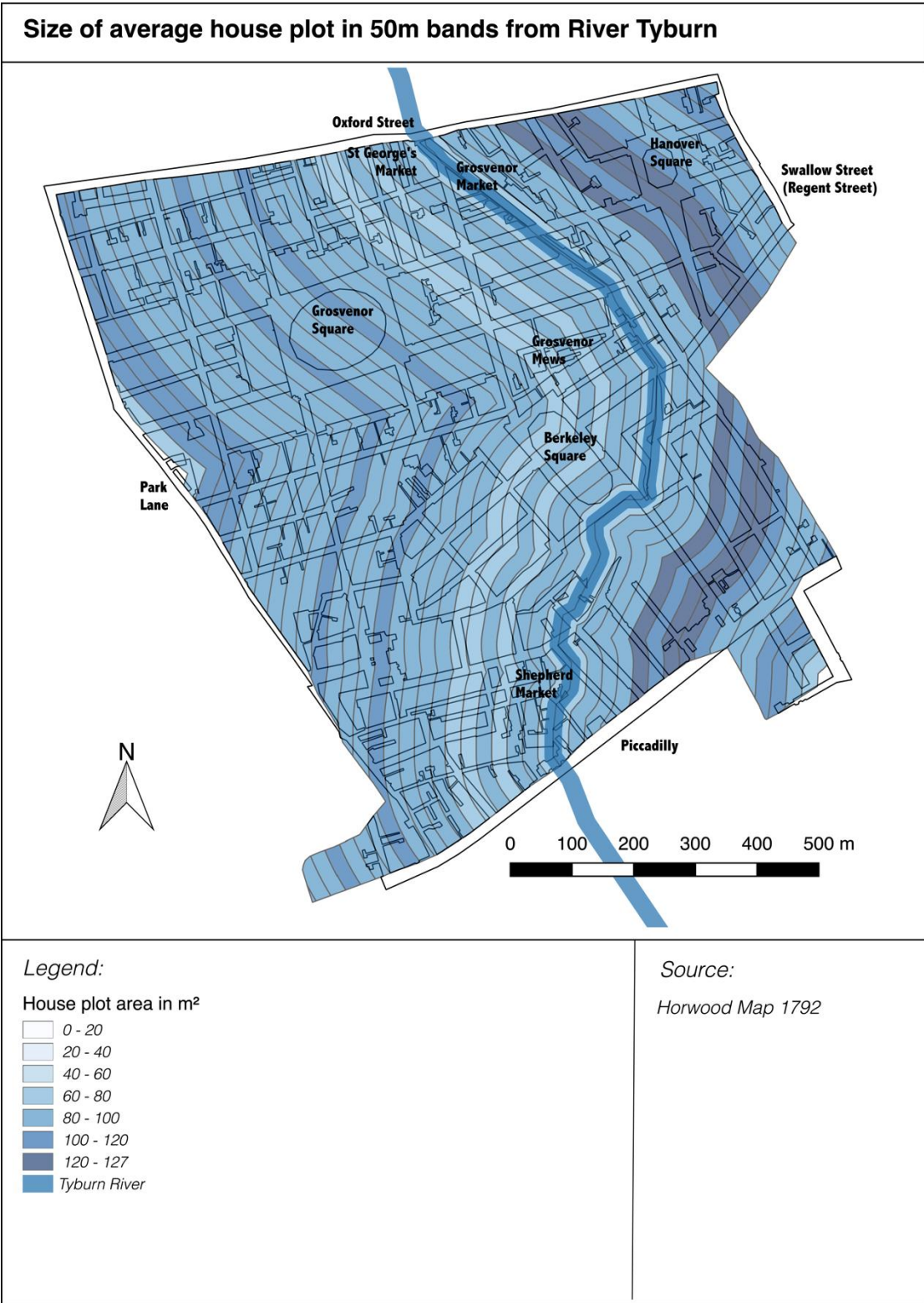


Figure 3-12: House plot size by bands from Tyburn

Figure 3-12 shows the average plot size of houses built in each 50m band. Notice that the smaller house plot sizes are in the Tyburn valley, so for example in the western 0-50m band the average plot size is 71m². The larger house plot sizes pass through Grosvenor Square, Hanover Square, Lansdowne House, and Berkeley House. The largest average plot size is 127m² in the eastern 300-350m band. This suggests some link with the Tyburn.

A similar exercise can be conducted to look at the size of houses in bands related to the distance from the estate boundaries, as it could be argued that larger houses tend to be in the centre of developments, particularly in squares for those estates that have them. Figure 3-13 shows the results. It also shows a clear relationship. Taking the Grosvenor Estate as an example, the average house plot size from 0-50m of the boundary is 74m² and in the centre of the estate at 350-400m the average house plot size is 177m². The same pattern is true in nearly all the areas.

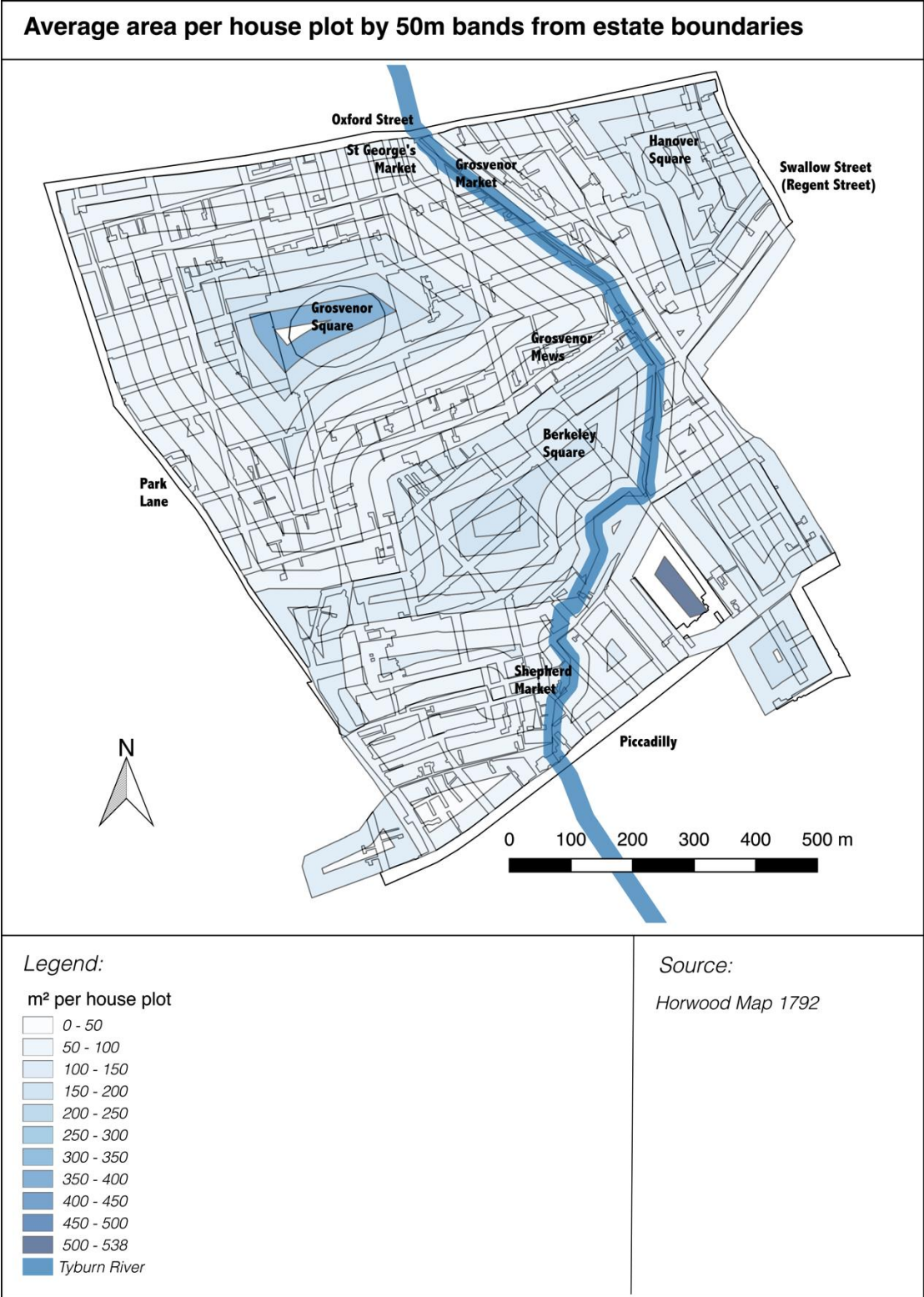


Figure 3-13: Average area per house 50m bands from estate boundaries

3.8 Property rate valuations

We can now compare the figures looking at density with rate valuations from the two years (1784 and 1818) included in the Westminster Historical Database. Although this data has considerable limitations (see sources section 1.4.4), we do have enough information to plot rack rate valuations (not what people paid, but what the property was assessed for) for each of the two years by street (but no house numbers, so it is not possible to analyse the distance from the Tyburn).

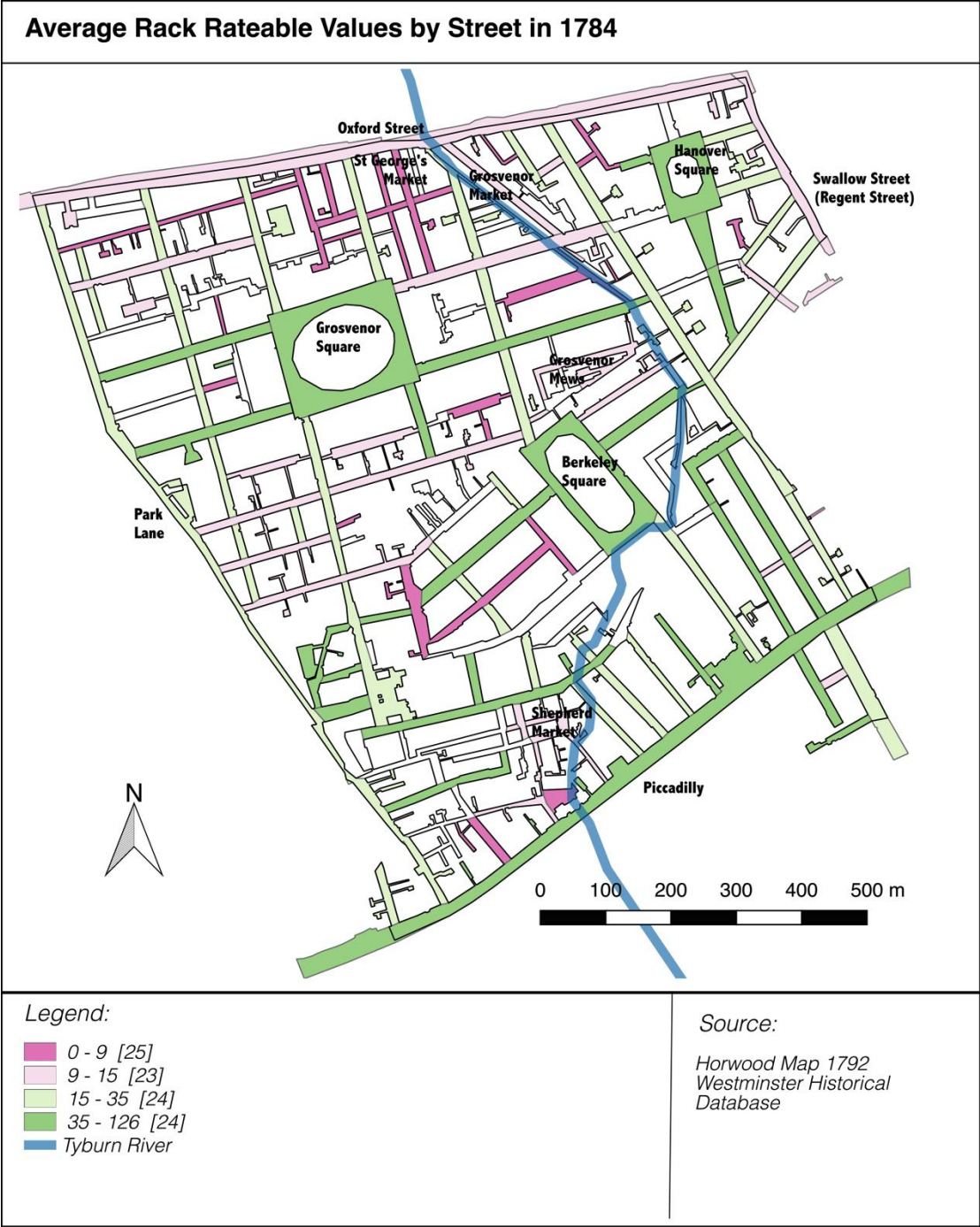


Figure 3-14: Average rack rateable values by street in 1784

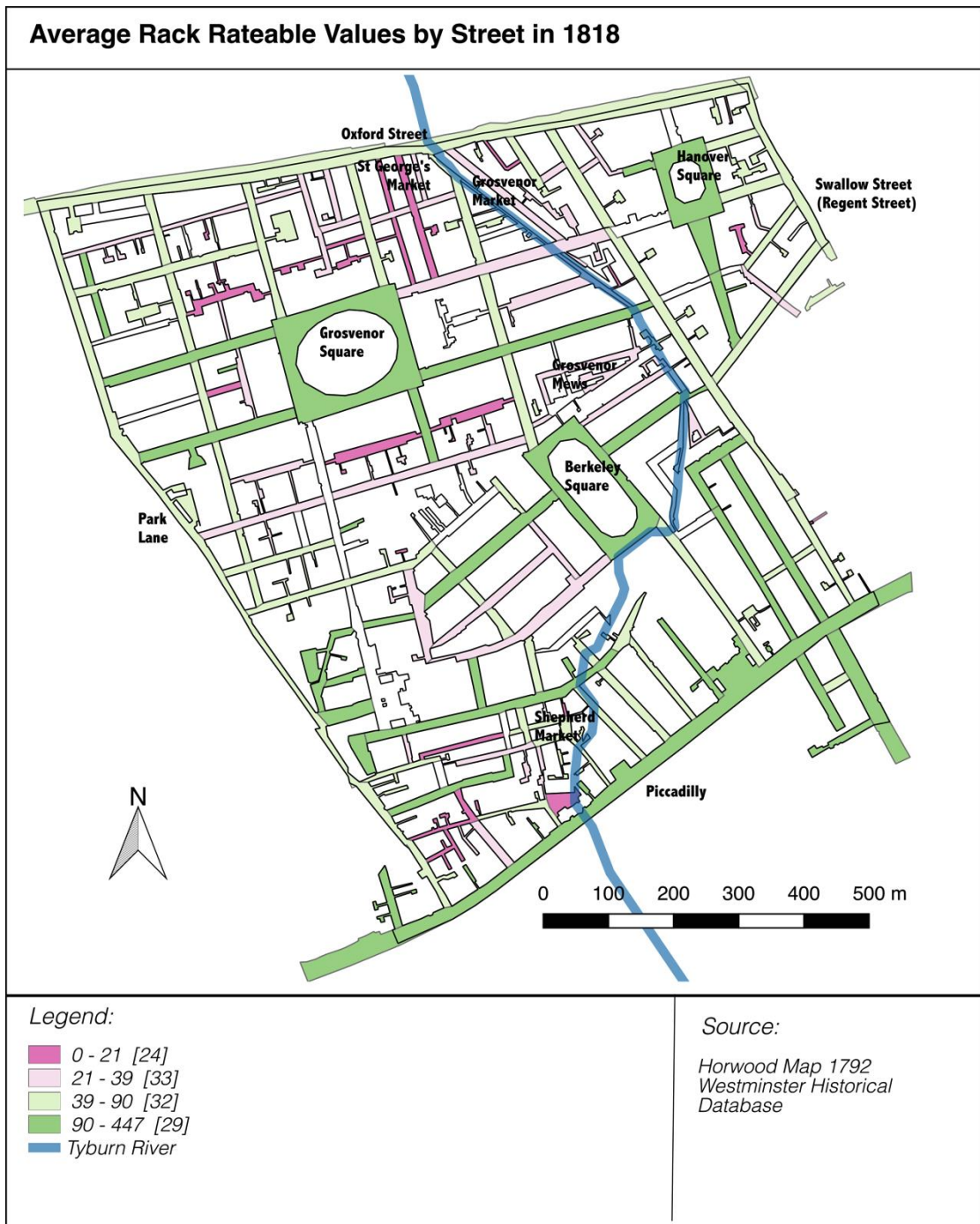


Figure 3-15: Average rack rateable values by street in 1818

Note that valuations in 1818 are far higher than in 1784. As most of the estate in the study area was developed well before 1784, the number of buildings will have only risen slightly by 1818. Figure 3-14 and Figure 3-15 show the two average rate valuations and demonstrate relatively little change over the 34 year time range.

3.9 Conclusions

This chapter reviewed the **development of the area**.

Four findings have been identified that are relevant to the research question.

First, analysis of the digital map information suggests that property sizes are greater in the centre of estates and reduce in size towards the boundaries of the estate. An example is the Grosvenor Estate example which showed variation in average plot size from 74m² close to the boundary and up to 177m² at the centre of the estate. As the Tyburn is always a boundary between estates, this has an impact on development around the Tyburn.

Second, the same analysis shows that property sizes are smaller in the Tyburn valley. Variation in average plot size was between 71m² in the valley and up to 117m² elsewhere.

Third, stables were dispersed widely across the Mayfair area. Although the Tyburn valley included stables, no direct connection between the river and the placement of stables was found.

Finally, the **property rate valuations** from the Westminster Historical Database suggest that the location of the wealthy and less wealthy areas remained fairly static between 1784 and 1818.

The next chapter introduces information on householders to the picture and will enable us to say a lot more about the area.

4 Mayfair householders

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter of the study utilized the analysis of the digitized Horwood map of 1792 and explored land usage. This chapter adds information on householders, using the 1791 Survey of Householders of St George Hanover Square parish. Placing householders on the digital map provides new insights into the development of the area. Different ‘overlays’ on the digital map can be used to group householders in particular ways, and specifically to explore the relationship with the River Tyburn (and other features like the edges of the estates). This spatial analysis lies at the core of the new methodology developed in this study.

A section on **population density** (more accurately householder density) uses maps to identify identification of a number of ‘hot spots’ or areas that are densely occupied, which reflect groupings of less well-off people, and identifies a relationship between householder density and the Tyburn River and also a relationship between householder density and the boundaries of individual estates.

The next section on **occupational mix** looks at the occupational makeup of the area, using four broad occupational categories (Professional, Trade, Service and Others). This analysis suggests that the Professional, Retail and Service trades occupy different areas and the trade and services business overlap with the hot spots identified in the population density analysis and that many of these hot spots are in the Tyburn River valley.

The following section examines the **mix of occupations over time** by using the Westminster Polling records from the Westminster Historical Database and demonstrates that occupation mixes are relative static during the eighteenth century in this area. The data is not detailed enough to show any direct relationship with the Tyburn, but is included to back up the earlier analysis in chapter 3.

A section explores the data for more **well-off householders**, establishing that they occupy the larger properties. The idea of 'the season' is introduced, demonstrating that Mayfair represented an atypical environment where most of the wealthy only lived in their houses for less than half the year.

The next section looks at the evidence for the **poorer householders**, and while there is less evidence about the poorer householders than the well-off householders, it does suggest some weak relationships with the population density and occupational evidence. This section also discusses the impact of seasonality on the poor.

The chapter ends with two sections, one **explores the role of women**, demonstrating that there appears to be little difference between the distribution of women and overall householders, and a second section on **occupancy** which searches for evidence of multiple occupancy, although limitations in the source material make evidence weak.

The overall **conclusion** of this section provides evidence for strong relationships between distance from the Tyburn and household density (and by association poverty), but also finds relationship to estate

boundaries. The occupational analysis also highlights a number of very dense neighbourhoods that are probably where the poorest people live in the area.

4.2 Population density

The 1791 survey of householders of the Parish of St George Hanover Square is shown in Figure 4-1.¹ It contains the details of 3720 householders in the area. The number of householders is larger than the rate payers and includes poorer people. The source document has no accompanying notes, so the definition of a 'householder' as used in the document is not known, but a document of 1818 suggests that a householder has "an exclusive right to the outside door of the building".² In a small number of cases the survey does sometimes include multiple people sharing the same building, or absent tenants. This is discussed in the last section of this chapter.

¹ Commissioners for Land and Assessed Taxes.

² Tatton-Brown, I, p. 16.

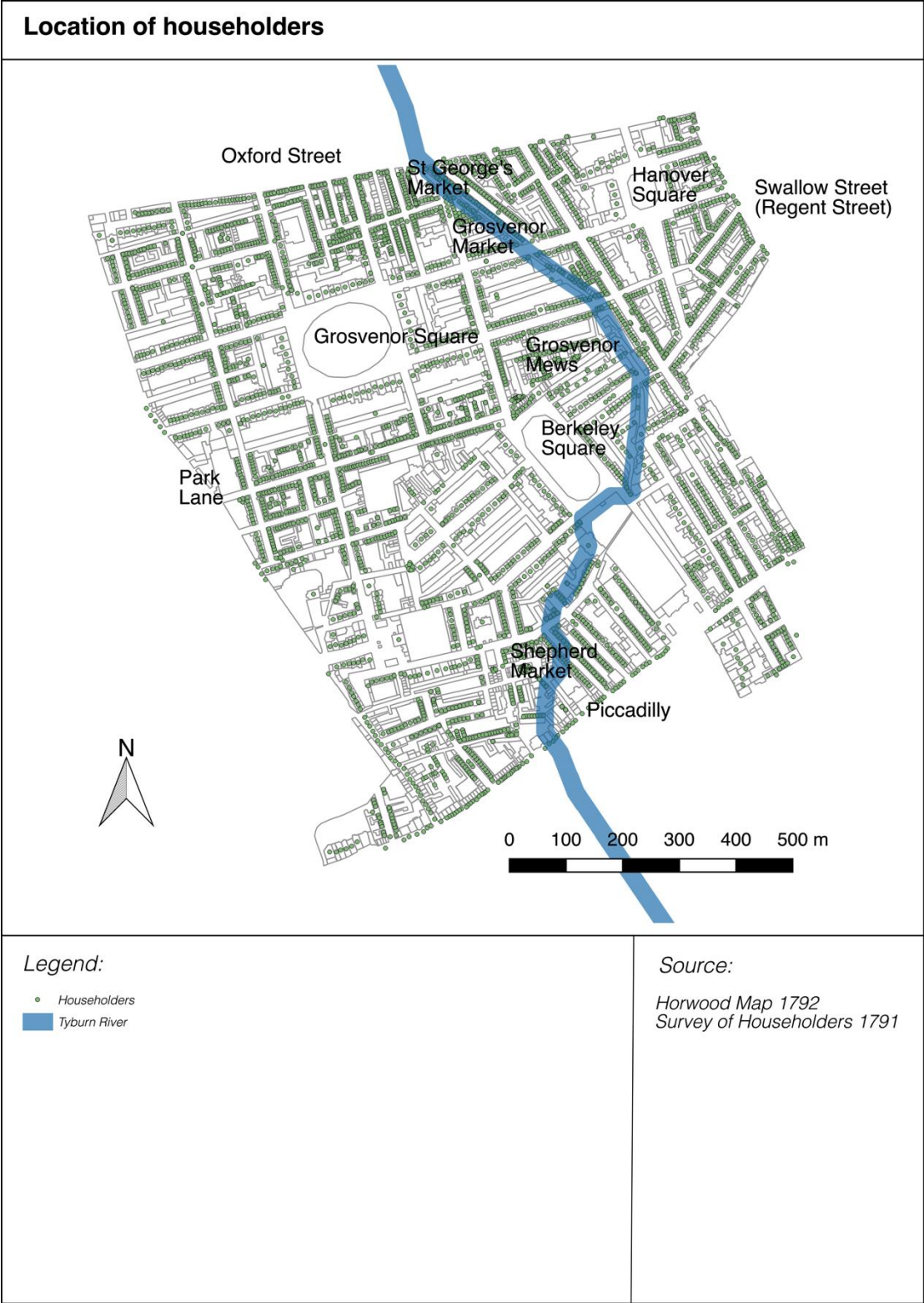


Figure 4-1: Location of entries in the 1791 survey of householders

This survey contains the names of each householder but not the household size. The 1801 census returns (tabulated and discussed in the sources

section 1.4.7 earlier in this study) provide a similar number of houses as there are householders in this survey, and suggests each householder represents about 9 people in total.³ The proportion of people to householders will vary widely over different households. In Grosvenor Square in the 1841 census 26 of the 43 houses had 12 or more servants, and the average size of the household was 16.7 people.⁴ At the other end of the wealth spectrum, the Medical Office of Health reports in the later Victorian period suggest that by then overcrowding of poor areas could be very high with large families living in a single room.⁵

The 1791 survey of householders allows many names to be linked to a particular building on the Horwood map (where both street and householder have a street and house number in common). But the census also contains 547 householders (15% of the total) who are not linked to an identifiable building – either because it is unclear which building they are occupying or because they appear to be living in outhouses, market buildings or other locations not clearly identified on the map. For these individuals we have a road, and sometimes an approximate location if they are listed between particular street locations in the survey. For each householder in this category a marker has been generated that shows the

³ *1801 Census*.

⁴ 'Survey of London | Volume 39, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1 (General History)', pp. 94–98.

⁵ *Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Hanover Square, The Vestry of the Parish of Saint George*, ed. by Hanover Square (London, England), 1858, Welcome Library.

approximate location. For Figure 4-1 each dot represents one or more householders (as they can share buildings; multiple occupancy is discussed later in this chapter). In the charts that follow the distinction between data based on the 1791 survey of householders (some multiple occupancy, and some uncertainty about the exact location of 15% of the householders) and the map data (where the exact number of properties are known) needs to be borne in mind.

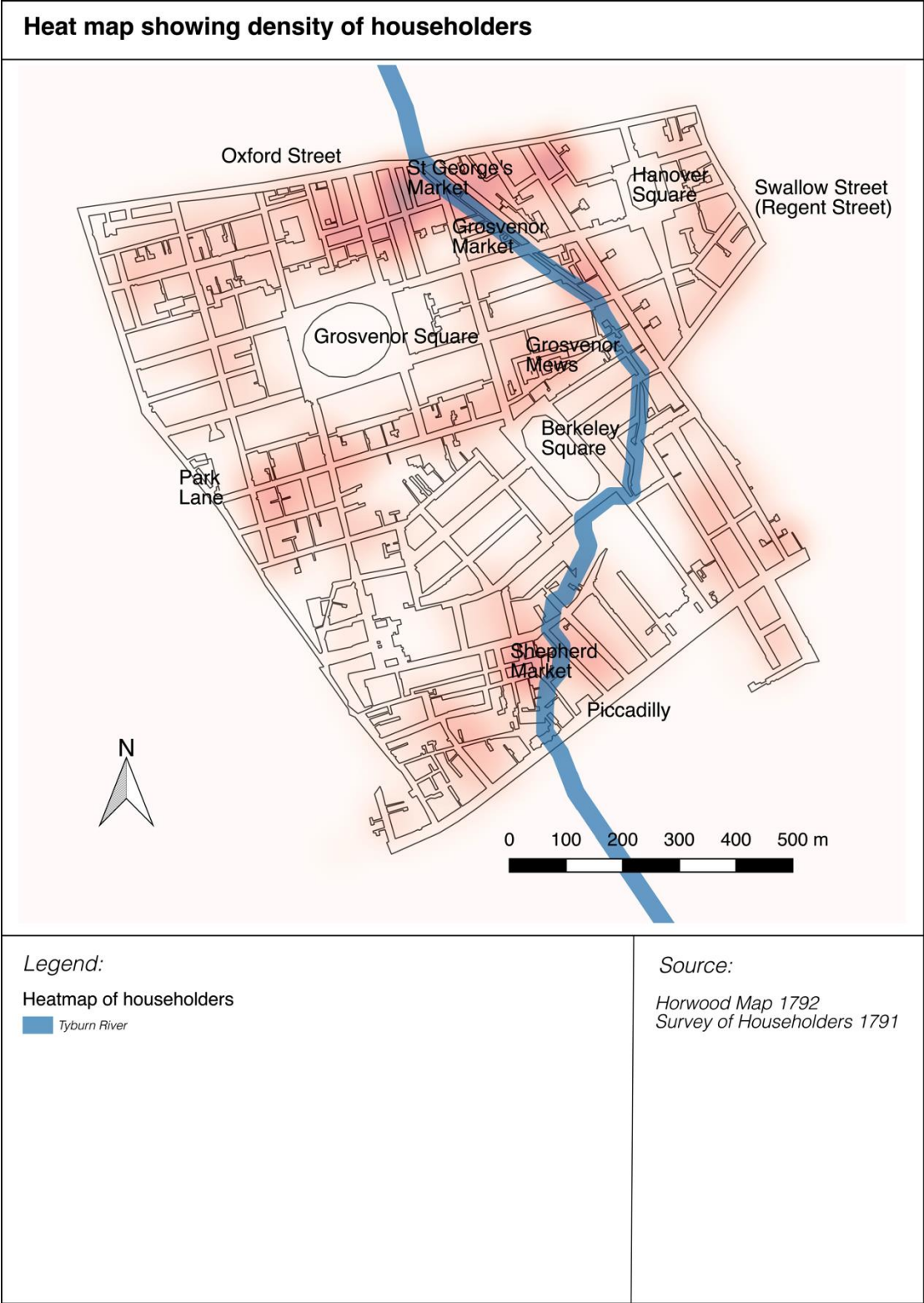


Figure 4-2: Householder density heatmap

Figure 4-2 is a heat map showing the density of householders on a base map. As we lack the information on total people in each house, this is the

only metric we have to approximate to population density. This figure highlights areas of dense occupation based on survey data, so the weighting used to create the heatmap includes multiple householders at the same location. The deep red areas highlight certain areas. In the south we have a spot, which represents Shepherd Market. Just above Berkeley Square there are two areas, which together represent the Grosvenor Mews area. Just south of the centre of Oxford Street is a dense spot which represents the St George Market, and a lower spot that represents the Grosvenor Market. These areas (the three markets and the Grosvenor Mews area) are all close to the Tyburn and will appear again in this chapter, and three of the four areas are explored in the case studies in the following chapter.

The heat map also highlights other areas, like the rest of the area south of Oxford Street. Mount Street is the reddish band lying east to west in the centre of the figure. This street was lower status than the surrounding area because it included both the parish workhouse and the parish burial ground and was heavily populated. The map also shows high densities of small houses in courtyards (Lancaster Court on the west of the Tyburn between Brook Street and Grosvenor Street, and Stanbrook Court just off Piccadilly).

Visual inspection suggests that the Tyburn lies close to many of these areas of high density of householders.

The same approach as used in the chapter 3 can be used. An overlay showing 50m bands ('buffer' zones in Geographical Information Systems terminology) extending either side of the course of the River Tyburn is

used for analysis. The computer mapping can be used to work out the area of each of the bands. Figure 4-3 shows the density (measured in houses/km² of housing area) where the count of the houses in each area is divided by the number of km² of housing area (ie excluding the roads, stables, gardens and other buildings). This demonstrates a relationship between house density and the Tyburn River. The 0-50m band on the west of the Tyburn has a density of 14,018 house/km² whilst the least dense bands are nearly half this density for example 7,888 houses/km² for 300-350m on the east.

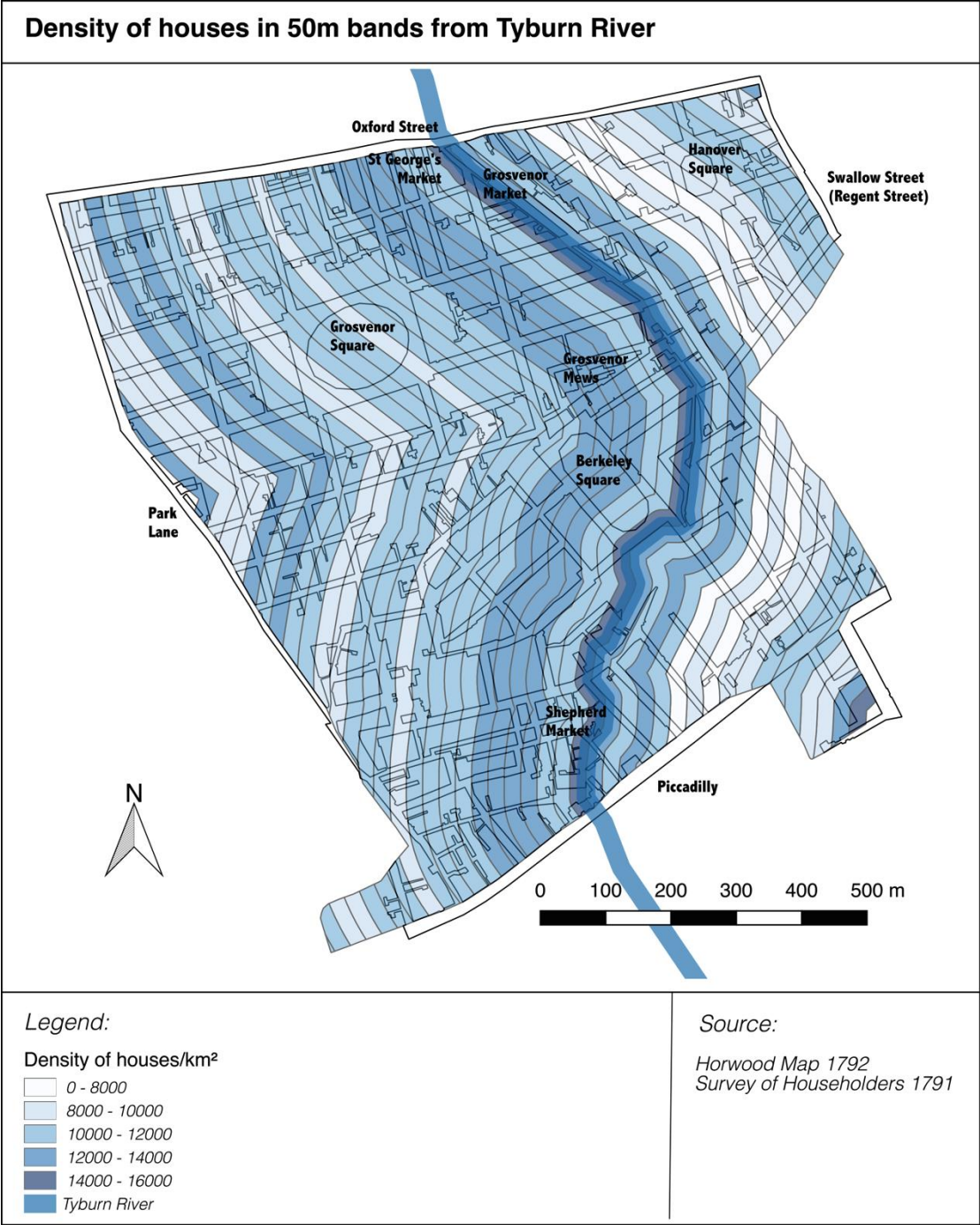


Figure 4-3: Density of houses in 50m bands from Tyburn

It is then possible to use the same process but this time adding information on the total number of householders in each band.

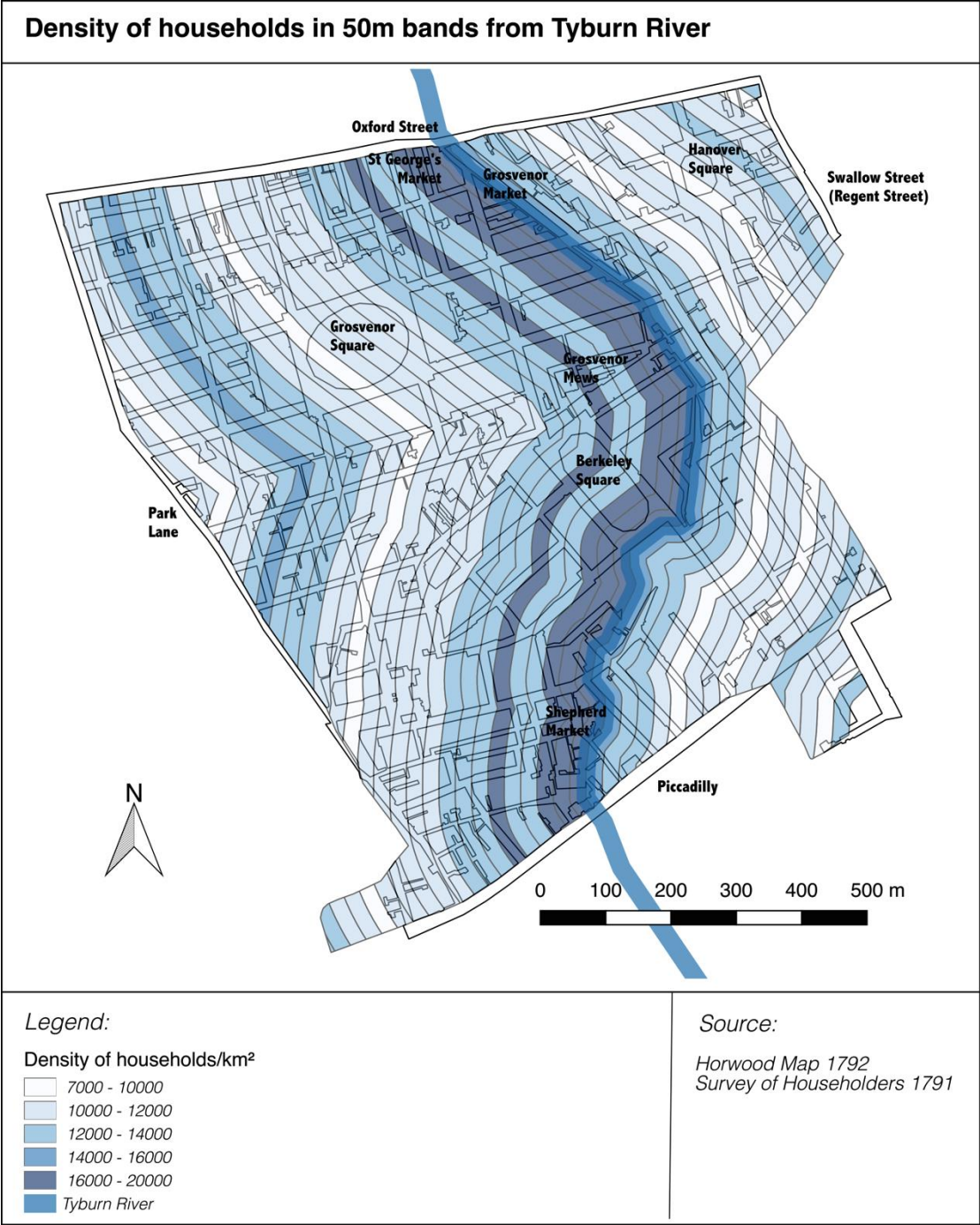


Figure 4-4: Householder density 50m Tyburn bands house areas only

Figure 4-4 shows a very strong relationship between the density of householders and the Tyburn River. This shows the relative difference between people living close to the Tyburn (density of 18,925 householders/km² or 53m² per household at 0-50m west of the Tyburn) compared to people living in the lightest coloured bands (density of 9,093

householders/km² or 110m² per household at 250-300m east of the Tyburn). This ratio still underestimates the differences, as many of the houses in the poor areas close to the Tyburn valley would have been two storey buildings (and still are today, as can be seen in many of the mews streets in these areas and places like Lancaster Court). Mayfair houses in the better-off areas were built with three or four storeys.

An alternative hypothesis is that the density is related to the distance from the boundary of each estate. Figure 4-5 demonstrates this by using the same idea of an overlay (in this case using 50m bands from each estate boundary) and by including only the land area devoted to housing shows that results for density across estates varies widely. In Figure 4-5 the larger estates (Grosvenor, Berkeley Square, Hanover Square) all show density is lower in the centre (broadly speaking where the large squares and grand houses are) than at the edge of the estates. Intuitively this kind of pattern can be expected : the large estates planned around grand squares and roads tend to hide the service and retail areas at the edges of the estates. The smaller estates are too small to really show this effect. One estate (the Shoulder of Mutton Estate) is different, but the centre of this estate was a group of stables.

The difference in densities between the areas close to the border and the centre vary between estates, but to give an example the Grosvenor Estate has an overall density of 17,756 householders/km² and average 50m² per householder at 0-50m of the estate border, and 5,663 householders/km

and average 177m² per householder at a distance of 350-400m of the estate border.

Table 4-1 shows the overall differences between householder density between estates. The older estates (St James and Berkeley House) have lower densities than some of the others. Hamilton Place was one of the last developments, has a low density, but is mostly large houses. The Grosvenor Estate has a surprisingly high density for an estate that has the largest square and had many very large houses. But the edges of the estate had many smaller properties, and the high density reflects the overall mix of buildings and probably means that the estate was financially well managed.

Estate	House area	House-holders	House-holders/km ²	Area/ Householder r m ²
Berkeley House	4,189	28	6,684	150
Ossulton	4,331	35	8,080	124
St James	8,707	73	8,384	119
Hamilton Place	4,423	38	8,591	116
Berkeley Brick Close	26,136	250	9,565	105
Hanover Square	19,887	202	10,158	98
Clarendon House	19,664	209	10,629	94
Little Brookfield	1,657	20	12,073	83
Great Brookfield	14,630	188	12,850	78
Stonebridge Close	12,053	160	13,275	75
Grosvenor Estate	118,497	1,645	13,882	72
Conduit Mead	44,644	627	14,044	71
Brick Hill Field	8,865	144	16,244	62
Shoulder of Mutton Field	5,507	101	18,342	55
Totals	293,190	3,720	12,688	79

Source: Horwood Map 1792, Survey of Householders 1791

Table 4-1: Estates ranked by householder density/km²

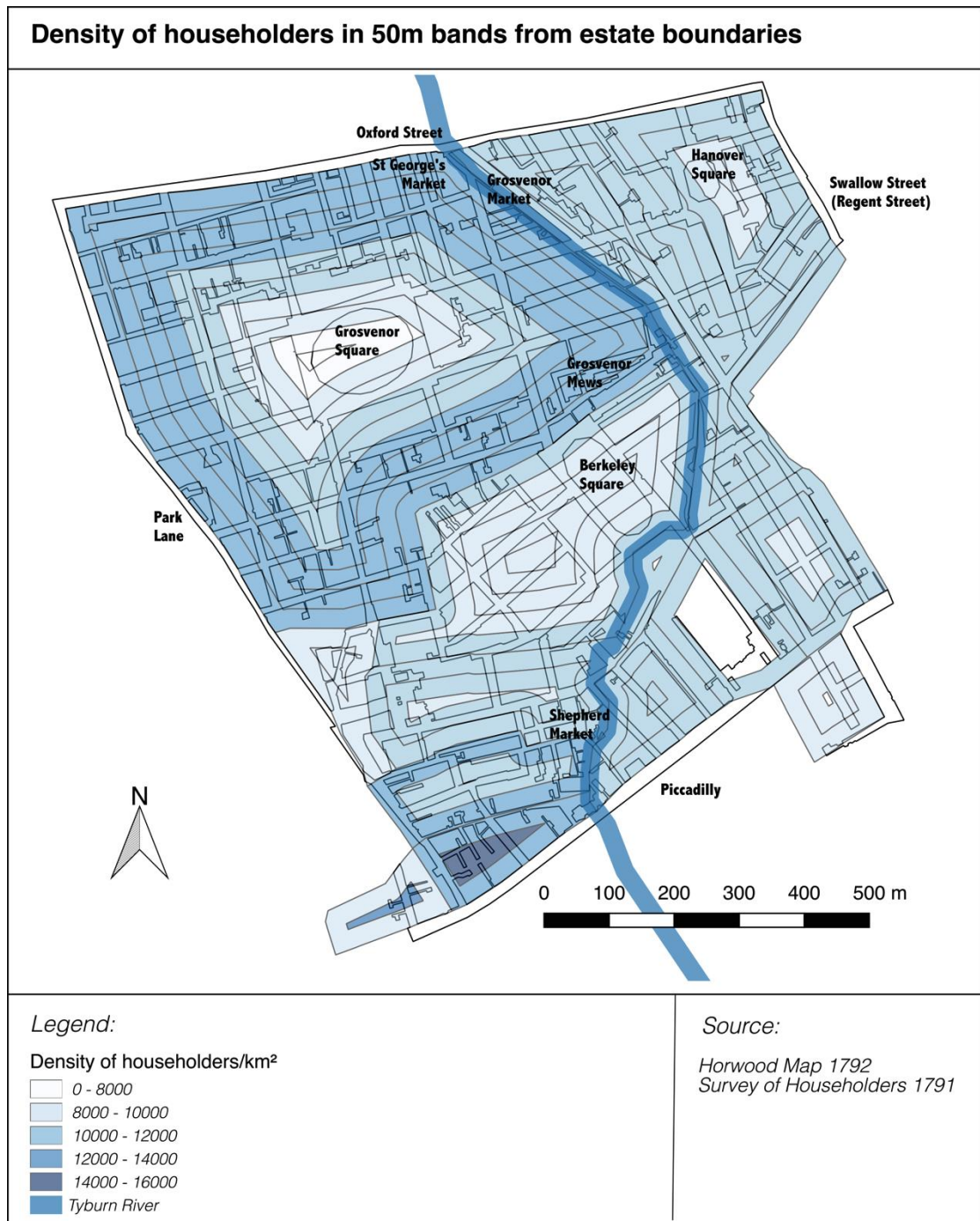


Figure 4-5: Householder Density by 50m bands from Estate Boundaries

This section of the study has shown a strong relationship between density and the River Tyburn, and a weaker relationship between density and the boundaries of the larger estate. It seems clear that any relationship between householder density and the Tyburn is complex. A factor is the

‘estate boundary’ effect where developers put the service areas at the edge of developments. The Tyburn is effectively the major boundary between larger estates in the study area (as these estates are elsewhere bounded by main roads). This estate boundary effect might also account for the reduced size of houses the closer you get to the Tyburn River.

Trying to distinguish between these two effects is difficult but not impossible.

Distance m	House area m ²			Householders			Householders per km ²		
	Distant	Close	Total	Distant	Close	Total	Distant	Close	Total
50	16,075	4,196	20,271	250	110	360	15,552	26,215	17,759
100	18,443	4,144	22,587	257	90	347	13,935	21,718	15,363
150	17,328	1,649	18,977	281	14	295	16,217	8,490	15,545
200	16,292		16,292	246		246	15,099		15,099
250	15,029		15,029	201		201	13,374		13,374
300	11,908		11,908	124		124	10,413		10,413
70	8,027		8,027	57		57	7,101		7,101
80	3,880		3,880	22		22	5,670		5,670
90	1,538		1,538	4		4	2,601		2,601

Source: Horwood Map 1792, Survey of Householders 1791

Table 4-2: Grosvenor Estate showing differences between ‘distant’ and ‘close’ to Tyburn

Table 4-2 shows analysis for the Grosvenor estate, which is the largest estate with the Tyburn as a boundary. Each row band shows the distance from the estate boundary. The analysis then takes the parts of these bands that are ‘close’ to the Tyburn (lying between 0-150m of the Tyburn) and compares them with the parts of the band that are more ‘distant’. The densities for householders per km² for the 0-100m bands ‘close’ to the Tyburn are very high (26,215 and 21,718 householders per km²). The

densities for the 'distant' parts of the same band look far more typical of the estate average of 13,882 householders per km², and fail to show any banding effect. The overall conclusion is that the Tyburn River relationship provides a strong contribution to the estate boundary effect.

4.3 Occupation profile

The 1790 Survey of householders gives a good insight into the occupations in the Parish of St George Hanover Square.⁶ Not all records show an occupation, but those that do have been mapped on to a coding system. The modified Booth-Armstrong coding scheme used by the Westminster Historical Database was chosen because this enables direct comparisons to be made of occupation classes between the Survey of householders and the Westminster Historical Database. Table 4-3 shows the 11 top level codes and the percentage of such householders in Mayfair. Table 4-4 groups the codes into four high level categories.

⁶ Commissioners for Land and Assessed Taxes.

	Code	Group	Householder	% Householders
Agricultural	AG	C	28	1%
Building	BU	C	198	5%
Dealing	DE	B	824	22%
Domestic Service	DS	C	148	4%
Industrial	IS	B	22	1%
Manufacturing	MF	B	513	14%
Transport	TR	C	92	2%
Professional	PP	A	372	10%
Rentiers	RE	A	845	23%
Others (not included in categorization)	XX	D	9	0%
No Occupation	(blank)	D	669	18%
Total			3720	100%
<i>Source: Survey of Householders 1791</i>				

Table 4-3: Occupation codes for householders in Mayfair

Booth Armstrong	Group	Mayfair	% Mayfair
A Professional	A	1217	33%
B Trade	B	1368	37%
C Service	C	466	13%
D No Occupation	D	669	18%
Total		3720	100%
<i>Source: Survey of Householders 1791</i>			

Table 4-4: Group occupation profiles for Mayfair

4.3.1 Group A – Professional

This group also includes “Rentiers” who are people with no occupation, but are listed in the survey with titles or pre or post nominals (“Esquire”, “Gent”, “Mr” or “Mrs”) that suggest that they have some form of income and are not reliant on working.

Professionals and Rentiers (both shown in Figure 4-6) have similar distributions and represent at least 33% of the householders in Mayfair).

Many live in large properties in the squares or principal roads (Grosvenor Square, Grosvenor Street and Brook Street; Hanover Square and George Street; Berkeley Square, Bruton Street and Hill Street; and Piccadilly).

Denser groupings of people can also be found in places like Norfolk Street, George Street, Half Moon Street, Stretton Street, Dover Street and Albemarle Street.

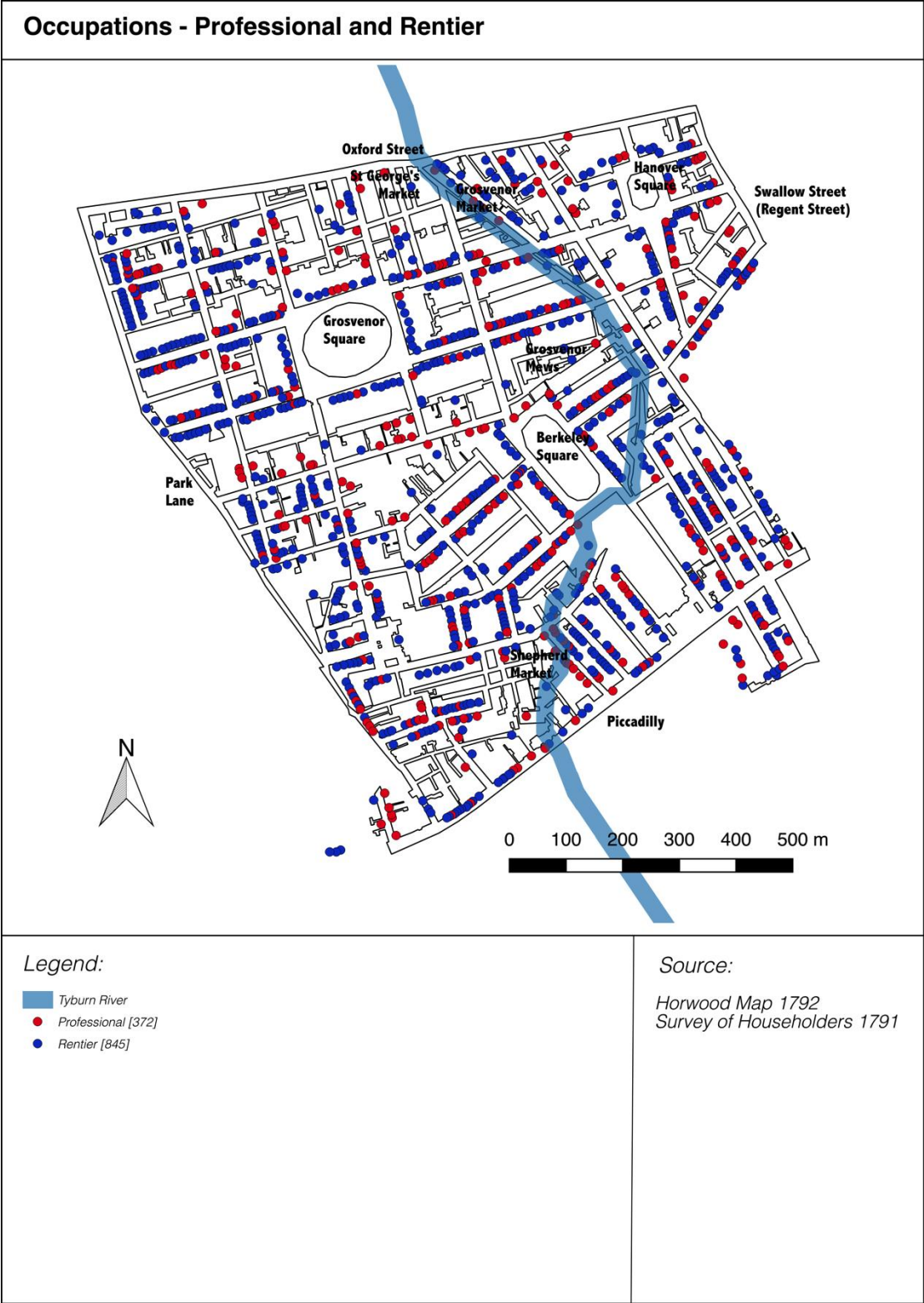


Figure 4-6: Occupations - Professionals and Rentiers

In fact this group is under represented. A small number of householders in these areas fall into one of the other categories, because the householder is

categorized with a profession. Table 4-5 shows the size of house plot (on the Horwood 1792 map) with each property size, and many of category D “No Occupation” group of 678 people represents “Rentiers” (as 70% of known household locations represent average, large or very large properties), but this number also includes householders at the other end of the scale, those that are living in less affluent areas, either widows or even poor and perhaps unemployed people.

Group	No house identified	Small 0-50m ²	Average 50-100 m ²	Large 100-150 m ²	Very large >150 m ²	Total m ²
A Professionals	78	53	521	296	269	1,217
B Trade	232	242	730	122	33	1,359
C Service	141	88	208	11	18	466
D No Occupation	96	108	339	84	51	678
Grand Total	547	491	1,798	513	371	3,720

Source: Horwood Map 1792

Table 4-5: Householders property size

Table 4-5 shows that half of the Group A Professionals live in larger houses. This Professional group has 73% of all very large houses, and 58% of all large houses shown on the map.

Visual inspection of the chart suggests that the Group A Professionals tend to avoid living very close to the Tyburn. But the group is well spread throughout Mayfair.

4.3.2 Group B - Trade

Figure 4-7 shows the Trade category including Dealing, Industrial Services, Manufacturing and Others represents 37% of the householders.

28% of these householders occupy three densely occupied market areas (Shepherd Market, Grosvenor Market, St George’s Market) or the

Grosvenor Mews area. Many of the remaining 72% are in retail streets like Bond Street, Oxford Street, Mount Street, North and South Audley Street, and Davies Street. Some of the remaining householders are associated with a network of smaller streets off Oxford Street and Swallow Street.

Table 4-5 shows that most Trade premises are unidentified (17%), small (18%) or average (45%).

Further analysis of the three markets and the Grosvenor Mews really requires a more detailed look at the occupations and kinds of people who are living in each area, and this is the subject of the case studies in the next chapter.

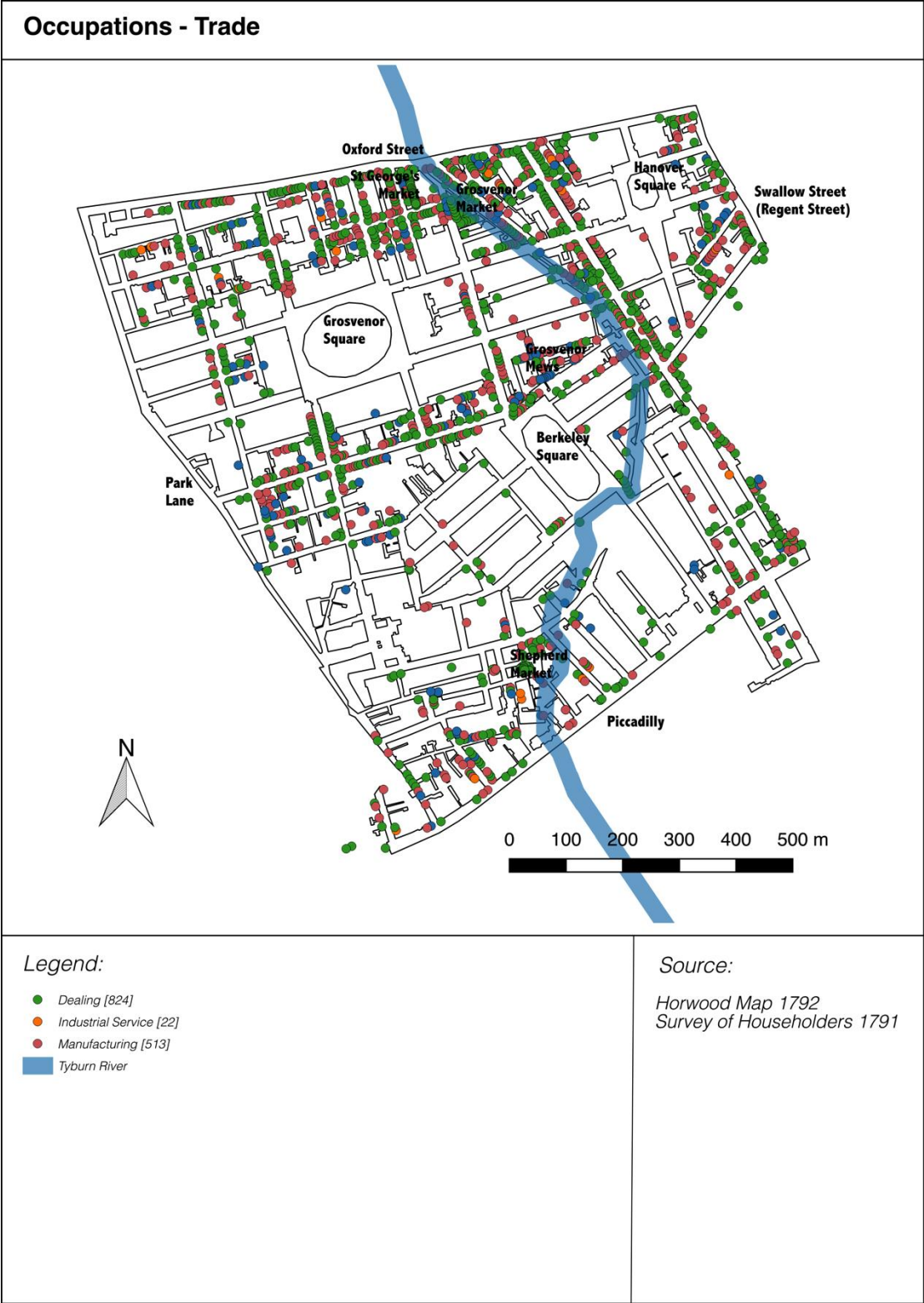


Figure 4-7: Trade

The longer established Shepherd Market in Mayfair includes the main market building and a number of the surrounding streets and is larger than

the previous two markets with 73 householders. Property sizes are small. The householders have a large variety of occupations including 12 butchers and 5 greengrocers.

4.3.3 Group C - Services

Service including Agricultural (mainly farriers), Building, Domestic Service and Transport (shown in Figure 4-8) is a smaller sector and represents about 13% of the householders. People live in similar areas to the Trade category, but some householders are associated with the many stables that are a prominent feature of the landscape.

Chapter 3 demonstrated that stables are placed uniformly throughout Mayfair. A number of the stable blocks are placed directly over the covered Tyburn. This is probably a result of the estate boundary effect of putting service areas at the edge. Stables in Grosvenor Mews, North and South Bruton Mews and stables in the Mayfair Market area all were placed over the Tyburn. The Westminster Sewer Commission detailed drawings of the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer show that it was common for stables to have manhole covers, and one drawing suggests that the sewer may have been used for the disposal of unwanted waste.⁷

⁷ 'Regent's Park Tunnel Sewer: Charlotte Street to Brook Street'; 'Regent's Park Tunnel Sewer: Brook Street to Regent's Park'.

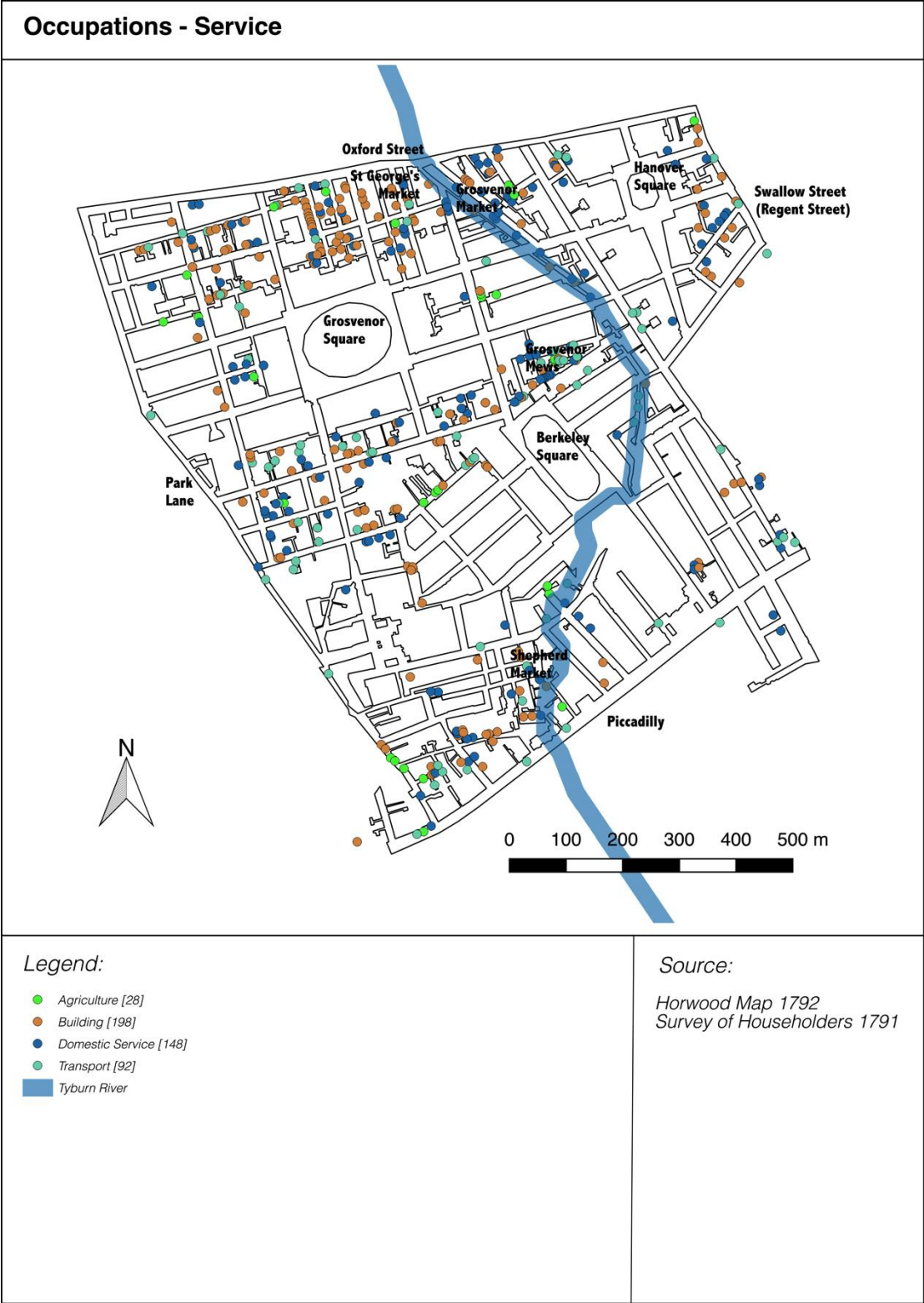


Figure 4-8: Services

4.4 Changes in occupations over time

1784			
	Voters	Ratepayers	%
Parish	2325	3242	72%
Mayfair only	1878	2913	64%
% Mayfair:Parish	81%	90%	
1790/1			
	Voters in 1790	Householders in 1791 Survey	%
Parish	1133	4569	25%
Mayfair only	926	3720	25%
% Mayfair:Parish	82%	81%	
1802			
	Voters		
Parish	766		
Mayfair only	613		
% Mayfair:Parish	80%		
1818			
	Voters	Ratepayers	%
Parish	2211	4344	51%
Mayfair only	1657	3342	50%
% Mayfair:Parish	75%	77%	
<i>Sources: Westminster Historical Database, Survey of Householders 1791</i>			

Table 4-6: Comparing numbers of householders, voters and ratepayers from the different sources.

The Survey of Householders 1791 has the most complete data on occupations, but comparison with other sources can tell us about change of occupations over time, and by implication changes in the neighbourhood.

Table 4-6 compares the numbers of records for the Parish of St George Hanover Square in the Westminster Historical Database. This contains data on polls (for 1784, 1790, 1802 and 1818) and rates payments (for 1784 and 1818). The data includes a simplified form of street name (but no house numbering), and the poll data includes occupation (but not ward).

The rates information includes ward, but not occupation (and excludes female ratepayers who as we will see in a later section represented 19% of the householders in this Parish).

For the poll records the number of voters varies considerably and this depends on a number of issues including the level of interest in voting at the time. The number of voters is less than the number of ratepayers, and broadly speaking male ratepayers were eligible to vote. The table above shows the number of people who voted – the larger number who could have voted is not known. The number of householders in the 1790 Survey (3720) was far higher than the number of votes in 1790 (1133).

Grouping	1790 Poll	Survey of House- holders 1791	%
A Professional	323	1217	27%
B Trade	578	1359	43%
C Service	232	466	50%
D Other	0	678	0%
Total	1133	3720	30%
<i>Source: Westminster Historical Database, Survey of Householders 1791</i>			

Table 4-7: Voting in 1790 compared to householders in 1791

Table 4-7 shows comparisons between the two sources and suggests that the Trade and Service groups were far more likely to vote than the Professional grouping (this excludes the D category most of whom were likely to be independently wealthy and so part of the A category).

To investigate further the Westminster Historical Database was tabulated. Many of the streets have very low levels of voting, and very small sample sizes do not show any meaningful trend. This left 34 streets that had 50 or more voters listed over the four elections. A weakness of the Westminster Historical Database source is that it simplifies the street names meaning

that one street name is used where two roads of the same name in the same area exist, or where roads have prefixes like Upper and Lower. For rate records it is possible to allocate the records to the correct road because the ward is included, but for the polling records the ward is not included in the database so there was no attempt made to separate streets in this case.

The votes were categorized into one of the four groups labelled by a letter (as used in tables in the previous sections showing occupational analysis.

For each election the street would be assigned to one of the four groupings (selecting the group that had the most voters).

Street	Votes over					
	period	1784	1790	1802	1818	Change?
BOND ST	464	B	B	B	B	-
MOUNT ST	259	B	B	B	B	-
OXFORD ST	223	B	B	B	B	-
AUDLEY ST	202	B	B	B	B	-
PARK ST	173		B	B	B	-
GROSVENOR ST	167	A	A	A	A	-
BROOK ST	162	A	A	B	A	AABA
MOLTON ST	122	B	B	B	B	-
DAVIES ST	120	B	B	B	B	-
CHAPEL ST	116	C	C	B	B	C->B
QUEEN ST	113	B	A	B	A	BABA
PICCADILLY	110	B	B		B	-
GEORGE ST	109	A	C		A	AC A
GREEN ST	90	C	B	B	B	C->B
DUKE ST	88	B	B	B	B	-
CONDUIT ST	87	B	A	B	B	BABB
JAMES ST	85	B	B	B	B	-
HERTFORD ST	80	A	A	A	A	-
CHARLES ST	79	A	B	A	A	ABAA
SHEPHERD MKT	75	B	B	B	B	-
HALF MOON ST	73	A	A	A	A	-
BERKELEY SQ	70	A	A	A	A	-
MADDOX ST	70	B	B	B	B	-
BRUTON ST	67	A	A	B	B	A->B
CHANDLER ST	67	B	B	B	B	-
CLARGES ST	64	A	B		A	AB A
PARK LA	64		B		B	-

Street	Votes over					
	period	1784	1790	1802	1818	Change?
SOUTH ST	63	B	B	B	B	-
BIRD ST	60			B	B	-
DOWN ST	60	B	B	0	B	-
SWALLOW ST	60	B	B	B	B	-
DOVER ST	59	A	A	A	A	-
ALBEMARLE ST	58	A	A	A	A	-
CURZON ST	56	B	B	A	A	B->A

Source: Analysis of data from the Westminster Historic Database

Table 4-8: Occupation mix is largely static over time

(In this table : A is Professional/Rentier, B is Trade, C is Service)

This enables some estimate to be made of the change of occupations in streets over time. 24 of the 34 streets had the same occupational structure during the four elections from 1784 to 1818. Streets in the Professional Group were Grosvenor Street, Hertford Street, Half Moon Street, Berkeley Square, Dover Street and Albemarle Street. Note that both Grosvenor and Hanover Squares are excluded, as most householders were peers were not eligible to vote, and so neither square had sufficient votes to be listed in the table.

The ten remaining streets that showed some changes were all of mixed occupation types throughout the period. Four showed some changes that seem to reflect the changing character of each street (Bruton Street changed from more Professional to more Trade occupations, Curzon Street moved from more Trade to more Professional, and Chapel Street and Green Street both switched from more Service to more Trade). Six streets had fairly closely balanced mixes of occupations. This means that minor changes in occupation mix led to changes in categorization between elections, but throughout the period occupations mixes were largely static

and demonstrated no clear trend (Brook Street, Queen Street, George Street, Conduit Street, Charles Street and Clarges Street).

This section of the study demonstrates that the broad occupational nature of the area changed little over the period 1784-1818. The development of most estates seems to have been strongly influenced by the street pattern and size of buildings. The grander squares and streets were the domain of the wealthy. The smaller streets with smaller properties attracted the retail businesses, and the back streets and mews were ideal for the service industries. The estate occupational mix seemed to have been established in the early building, and this seems to have remained fairly static into the 1800s.

New and Old Bond Streets tell a different story. The pair of streets were initially created as a residential area for the wealthy. But by 1784 both streets are dominated by trade, specifically retailing. The steady decline of Professional/Rentiers in Bond Street continues throughout the four elections (15% in 1784, down to 5% in 1818). The transition from housing to retail may be due to the early development of the estate discussed earlier in section 3.3. The bankruptcy of the developers and a period of legal action led to piecemeal development, which encouraged opportunistic retailing developments that discouraged the wealthy from living in the area.

4.5 Analysis of high-status householders

4.5.1 Who are the high-status householders?

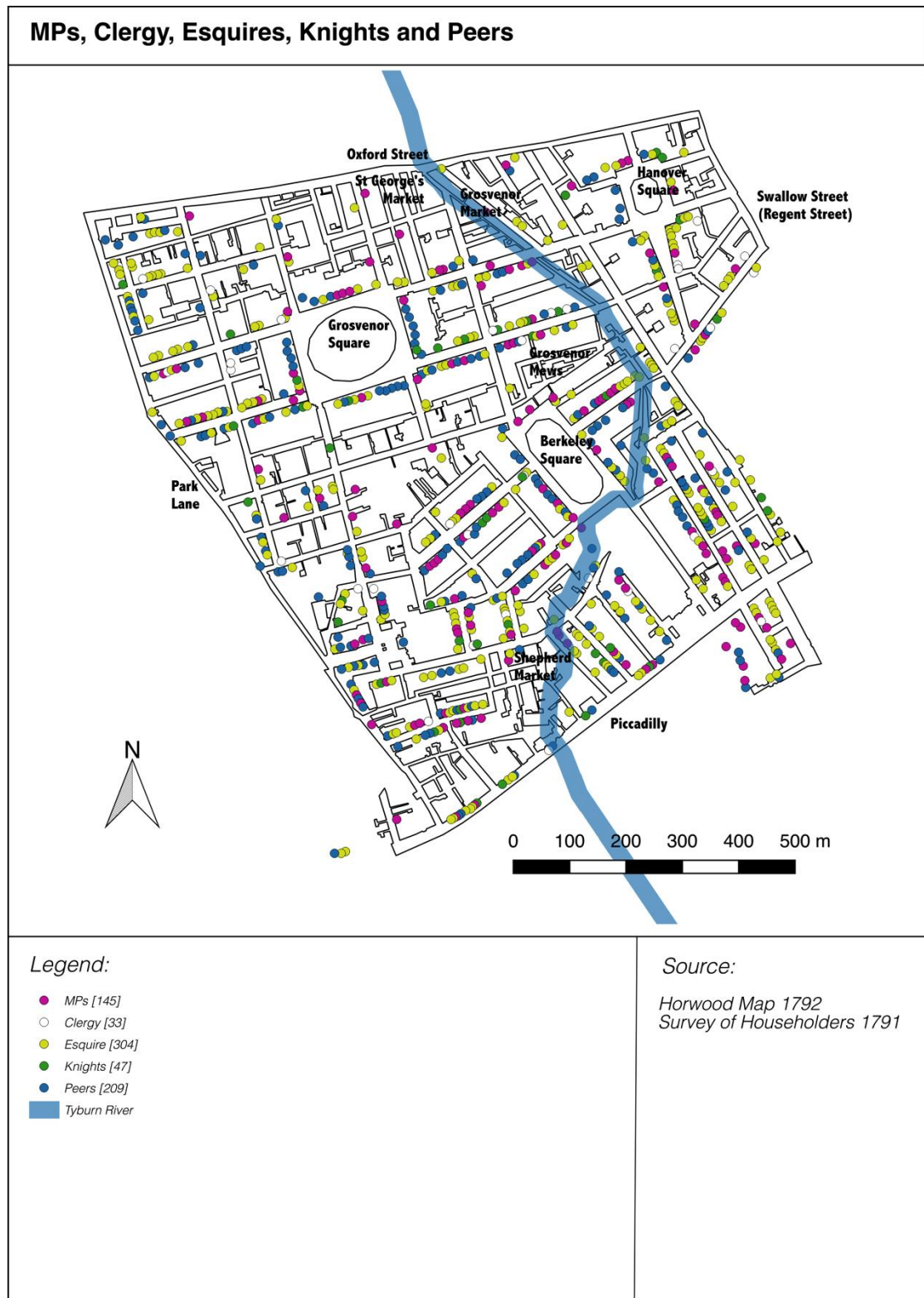


Figure 4-9: MPs, clergy, esquires, knights and peers

Figure 4-9 pulls out the people who are at the top of the social tree: the aristocracy, esquires, knights, baronets, MPs and clergy (included as many of these are bishops). The picture shows the high status occupy the majority of houses in the key squares (Grosvenor, Hanover, and Berkeley). The same is also true of the principal roads in each estate. While not every person in these categories is rich, the majority will be, owning large estates or inherited wealth that provide them with income. Figure 4-10 shows that they tend to cluster close to Piccadilly or at the centre of the Hanover Square, Grosvenor and Berkeley estates. These people are not typically

found in the Tyburn valley.

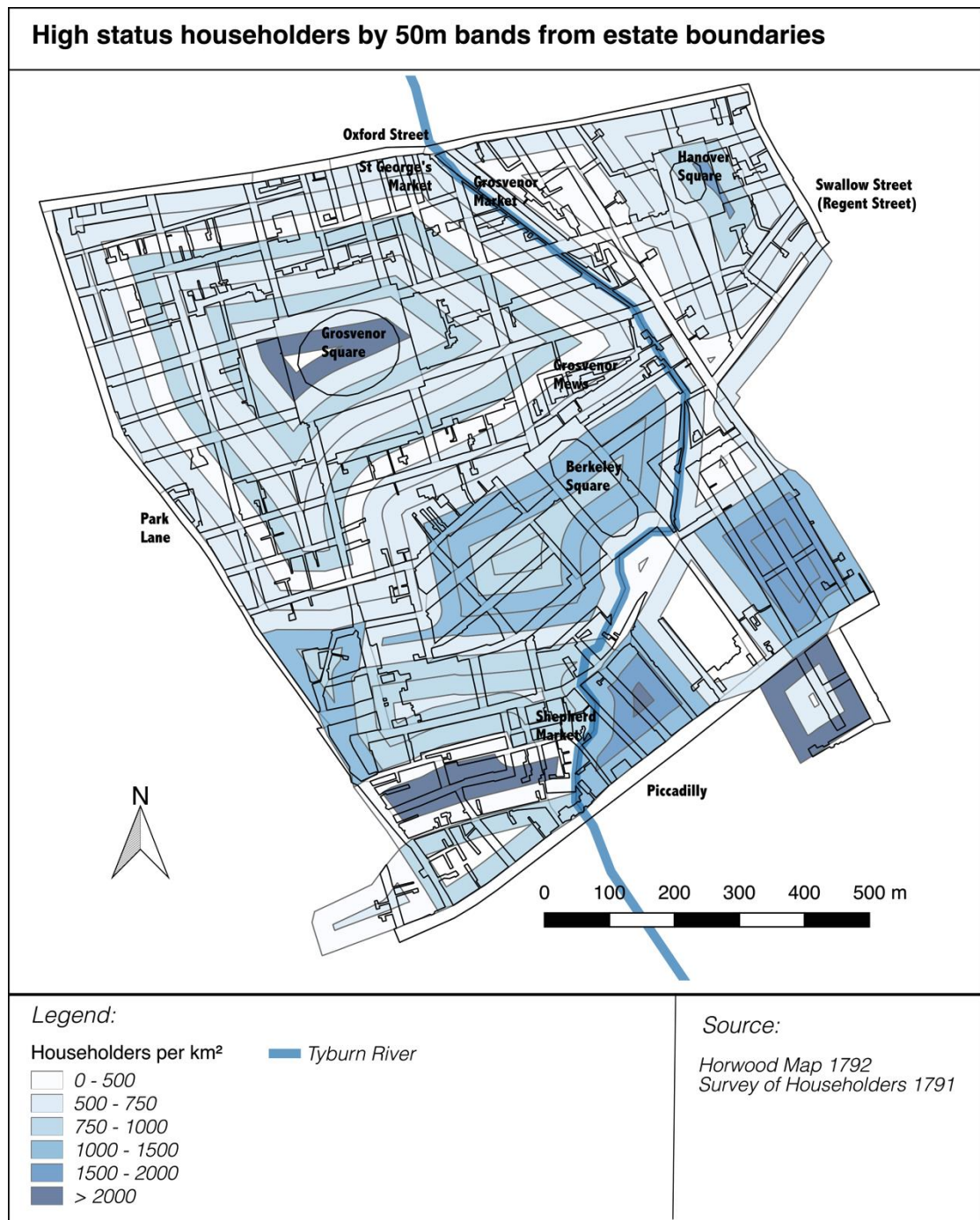


Figure 4-10: High status householders by 50m bands from estate boundaries

4.5.2 Size of households

The survey data only lists the individual householders. Each householder would have had a large household, and regrettably information on the total size of households is difficult to find. Census data (summarised in table 1-1

in section 1.4.7) is one source of data. The 1801 census gives a total number of houses for the full parish (4344, similar to the 4569 households of full parish in the 1790 survey) and 38,400 residents for the parish. This suggests that the average numbers of people per household is around 9 people (probably slightly higher because of the largely rural nature in 1790 of the areas of the parish not in the study area).⁸ But for the high status households the number could be very much larger. The 1831 census gives for the first time a break down of servants in the parish, and suggests that 25% of residents were servants (about two thirds women).⁹ The breakdown is probably similar in 1790 given that the overall population growth in the census between 1801 and 1831 is accounted for by the development of Belgravia over this timescale.

Analysis of the Grosvenor Estate using the 1841 and 1871 census in the Survey of London suggests that the servant population was about 30% of the population across both periods and:

“The census of 1871 demonstrates the extent to which the demand for domestic service was concentrated in a comparatively few very wealthy households. Some 63 per cent of all the households on the estate had no domestic servant, and thirteen per cent had one each; a further thirteen per cent had two or three servants, and only eleven per cent (303 households) had four or more. Expressed in a different way, some three hundred

⁸ 1801 Census.

⁹ ‘St George Hanover Square Vestry | 1831 Census Tables with Data for the Parish-Level Unit’.

households with four or more servants employed almost 70 per cent of all the domestics on the estate in 1871.”¹⁰

4.5.3 The season

Mayfair’s population of high-status householders varied according to the season. The London season was linked to the months when Parliament sat and when the Royal Family was in residence in London. Parliament opening varied over time (not consistently) and could be as early as October to as late as February. The Royal Family was usually in residence from October to December, and then from April to July. Many houses would be closed with minimum staffing ‘out of season’ when the high-status householders moved to their country houses, went to spas or travelled abroad. The scale of this change is difficult to estimate, but data does exist for movements of householders in 1841, which is based on 4,000 movements, of which around 15% (or 600) are in the Grosvenor Estate area. Although this is for 1841, the breakdown is probably similar in 1790, given the stability of overall population of Mayfair. The movements include in and out of the area, so this suggests seasonality applies to 300 households in the Grosvenor Estate, and the total for the study area would be higher (double?) giving an overall impact of 600 households. This would include nearly all the households shown in Figure 4-9. It seems

¹⁰ ‘Survey of London | Volume 39, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1 (General History)’, pp. 93–98.

likely that many less important gentry not captured in this survey would also leave London as well.¹¹

This section demonstrates that the study area has many high-status people. They occupy areas that are not close to the Tyburn. They have a high percentage of domestic servants in their households. This section of the population is also highly seasonable, which means that the householders who undertake trade and service will find it harder to survive when the majority of their customers are away from town.

4.6 Analysis of the poor

4.6.1 People who 'pay no rates'.

There are 99 entries in the 1790 Census that have householders marked as 'pay no rates' (from 3720 householders in the Mayfair area). A further 39 householders are marked in the comments by statements like "? pay no rates", most of which are likely to be in this category as well. This marker seems to be mainly a poverty marker. Outside the Mayfair area in the parish survey, householders connected to St George's Hospital, some householders working for the Grosvenor Water company and those who live in Hyde Park appear to pay no rates, and it is not clear why this is so (but probably because some of these buildings were not assessed for rates – perhaps because of charitable status or other reason).

Individual people called collectors visited lists of assessed buildings. The Westminster Historical Database includes the 'rack ratable value' and the

¹¹ 'Survey of London | Volume 39, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1 (General History)', pp. 89–93.

person who paid the rates (excluding women and businesses). These would have been householders, but there are indications that ratepayers paid rates on multiple properties (possibly because they were the leaseholder for multiple properties and not always the tenant). All householders (that appear in the 1791 Survey of Householders) may not have been ratepayers, and it seems probable that the clerks constructing the survey included some non-rate paying householders and did not mark them as such.

A sample of six streets were selected and names that appear in the Westminster Historical Database for the poll held in the year 1790 were checked against the Householder Survey of 1791. A total of 202 of the 233 names appeared in both lists in the same street. A further 8 names appeared, but in a different street (presumably because they owned multiple properties). Another 10 names appear in both surveys in the same street but had different first names. Only 13 names were missing from the Householder Survey. But the householder survey contained 855 names for the same six streets. Excluding the 172 householders who were women (and so didn't vote), and the 41 business partners (who could vote, but are not included in the Westminster Historical Database) that means that only 36% of householders in these streets voted.

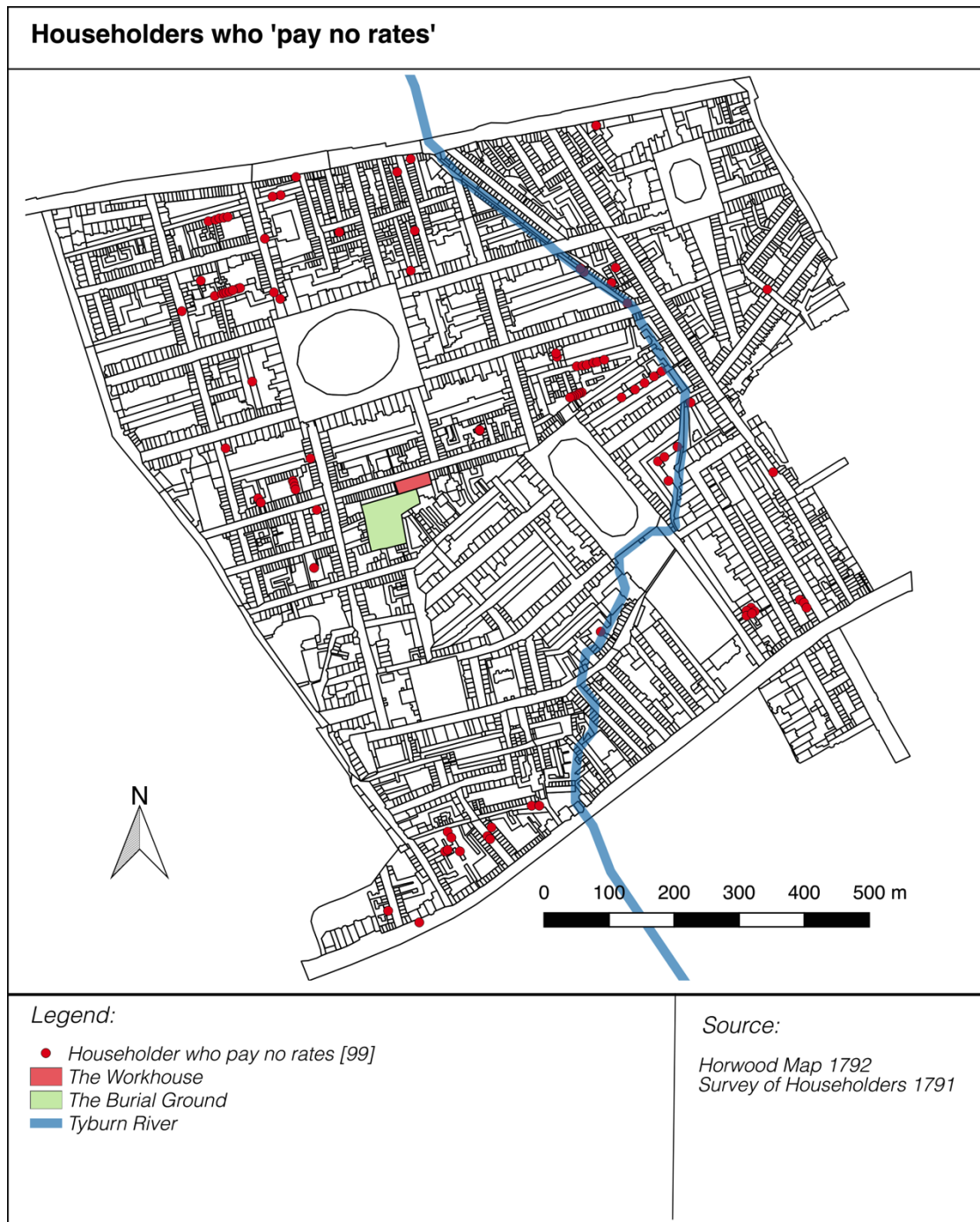


Figure 4-11: Householders who pay no rates in the 1791 Survey

Figure 4-11 suggests that there is a weak relationship between people who pay no rates and the Tyburn River. Visual inspection suggests that many of these people appear in the Tyburn valley (particularly around Grosvenor Mews), but there are other locations. Many of the small courtyards and alleyways scattered across the map also contain clusters of these people.

4.6.2 The 1843 visitation

The Journal of the Royal Statistical Society has a detailed report of a visit to the parish in 1843. This tabulates the results of visits to 690 houses in working class areas in the parish. The 690 houses included 1,465 families and 5,945 individuals. Of these families 929 occupied a single room and a further 408 had two rooms. Some houses had ten or more families living one family to a room. Beds were in short supply: 623 families only had one bed, and a further 638 two. Privies served as many as 30 to 40 individuals. The study also points out that 14% (839) of the 5,945 people seen were ill. Rentals were very high compared to other areas of London with 4s 3d per week being the average rental for an unfurnished room, a comparison being made with the next door parish of St Margaret and St John where the average rental was 2s 11d per week. Many families unable to afford the rent for a room lived in cheaper garrets and cellars where damp was found to be prevalent. Rents were collected weekly, and the “landlords were obliged to be very strict being also working people and under heavy rents”.¹² Although this data was collected 50 years after the 1790 survey of householders, given that the population and number of buildings in Mayfair were very similar in 1790 and 1841, the population density suggests similar levels of poverty in the 1790s as in the 1840s.

¹² C. R. Weld, ‘On the Condition of the Working Classes in the Inner Ward of St. George’s Parish, Hanover Square’, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 6.1 (1843), 17–23.

4.6.3 Seasonality and the working class

Much of the work of the retail and service sectors would have been seasonal given the movements of the rich mentioned earlier in this study. Retail and service occupations needed to be resilient to profit while the trade was present, and survive the leaner months when clients were out of town. Many of the tradesmen would have lived in poverty when work was scarce. Some trades were counter-cyclical – so decorators and carpenters were often in work when the grand houses were empty and available for redecoration and refurbishment, but out of work when people returned to town. Householders might have multiple jobs, or move out of London when work was scarce.

The Journal of the Royal Statistical Society quoted earlier goes on to say:

“In winter many families stated that they are in the habit of pawning part of their furniture and releasing it in summer, as they can only obtain employment during the 'season'”. The report also said that 34% of working class householders interviewed consisted of coachmen, grooms and persons otherwise employed in the service of the nobility and gentry. “Women were generally not employed from home, although one ninth were engaged in needlework, and fourth in washing or domestic services. “ and “Many tailors declared that they seldom get more than three or four months full work in the year, and large numbers of journeymen arrive in London from the country at the commencement of the season and remain in town as long as there is any work to be obtained.” On the role of the young “Very few children were found to be employed, the sons and

daughters of the working people being generally when old enough sent as apprentices to tradesmen or put out to service.”¹³

4.6.4 The parish workhouse

A three-storey workhouse was erected in Mount Street (on the site of 103 Mount Street) in 1726. The workhouse was built next to the burial ground (see Figure 4-11). It initially had living/sleeping room for 150-200 people, plus charity schools for both sexes.¹⁴ The 1732 publication *An Account of Several Workhouses* gives a short account of this first workhouse.¹⁵

In 1753 the Saint George’s Hanover Square (Poor Relief) Act (26 Geo, 2, c97) gave the parish special powers relating to matters such as poor relief, street cleaning and road repairs over much of the parish.

The building was enlarged in 1743 and again in 1772, by which time around 600 paupers were in residence (sharing three or four to a bed).¹⁶ In 1777 a parliamentary report recorded that the workhouse could accommodate 700 people, making it one of the largest workhouses in the

¹³ *Weld, p. 18.*

¹⁴ Peter Higginbotham, ‘St George’s Hanover Square, Middlesex, London’, *The Workhouse, The Story of an Institution*, 2017
<<http://www.workhouses.org.uk/StGeorgeHanoverSquare/>>.

¹⁵ *An Account of Several Work-Houses for Employing and Maintaining the Poor: Setting Forth the Rules by Which They Are Governed, ... As Also of Several Charity Schools for Promoting Work, and Labour*, 2nd edn (Jos. Downing, 1732), pp. 26–27.

¹⁶ Green, p. 58; ‘Survey of London | Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)’, pp. 316–19.

country.¹⁷ Another modification took place in 1786-1788, with a general enlargement, a watch house added to the workhouse, and the children moved to new premises in Little Chelsea.¹⁸

An 1841 visitor gave an account of the expanded workhouse and mentions that the parish with a population of 60,000 people expended upward of £61,000 on poor, police and country rates. The visitor also suggested that the workhouse had a high level of paupers who had been in domestic service.¹⁹

The parish became part of the St George's Union in 1867 and Fulham Road became the main workhouse and infirmary, leading to the closure of the Mount Street workhouse in the late 1870s. A new 'receiving house' was built in Wallis Yard close to Buckingham Palace Road.²⁰

¹⁷ 'Report from the Committee Appointed to Inspect and Consider the Returns Made by the Overseers of the Poor, in Pursuance of Act of Last Session:- Together with Abstracts of the Said Returns. . Reported by Thomas Gilbert, Esq. 15th May 1777.', *18th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers*, Volume: 9 Title: Reports from the Committees of the House of Commons 1715-1801.: Provisions, Poor: 1774 to 1802 (1774-06-14 to 1802-03-26) (1777).

¹⁸ 'Survey of London | Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)', pp. 316-19.

¹⁹ William Chambers and Robert Chambers, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* (William Orr, 1841), pp. 29-30.

²⁰ 'Survey of London | Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)', pp. 316-19.

4.6.5 Outpayments to the poor

Thomas Gilbert's Act (For the Better Relief and Employment of the Poor (22 Geo III cap 83) 1782 encouraged outpayments for able-bodied paupers, although these payments were being made earlier (as made clear by Workhouse records before 1760 at Westminster Central Archives).²¹ The 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act removed most outpayments (and in the case of St George Hanover Square apparently removing "upwards of twelve hundred, who for years were more or less a burden on the rate-payers under the old system, are now known to support themselves").²²

4.6.6 Impact of workhouse on area

Mount Street today is an attractive shopping street. But this dates from the closure and demolition of the workhouse in 1886 and the restructuring of the neighbourhood from 1880 to 1897.²³ Previous analysis in this study suggests that Mount Street was a poorer area because of the presence of the Workhouse and adjacent burial ground. Although the burial ground was reported as full in 1762 (a new ground was established in 1763 in Bayswater) some burials continued until 1855 when all burials in central London ceased. This was probably because the new Bayswater Ground was in a quiet area, and rapidly became overcrowded (over 1000 burials a

²¹ 'St George Hanover Square Workhouse Committee Minutes, Volume 5', 1736, City of Westminster Archives Centre, C873.

²² Chambers and Chambers, p. 29.

²³ 'Survey of London | Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)', p. 316; Bradley, Pevsner, and Schofield, p. 540.

year) and also supposedly suffered from body snatchers (Laurence Sterne being the most well known example).²⁴

To conclude this section, although Mayfair was broadly prosperous, from the evidence above we can conclude that there were large numbers of poor people in the parish, with one of the largest workhouses in London (many of the people in the workhouse previously being domestic servants). Until 1835 a high number of people were on outdoor poor relief. We also know that the Royal Statistical Society documented very high levels of deprivation in the 1840s. Given the census suggests relatively little increase in population and housing in Mayfair it seems reasonable to deduce similar numbers of poor existed in the parish in the eighteenth century. From the work elsewhere in this section we know that many of the poorer people lived close to the Tyburn.

4.7 Gender distribution –

The 1790 Survey can be used to identify the gender of most householders. The majority are male. Women are identified by the use of 'S' or 'W' to show that they are spinsters or widows, but this marking is not always used, so the remaining women were identified by first names where they existed, or status titles that were gender related (like 'countess'). There are

²⁴ Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain: A Supplementary Report on the Results of a Special Inquiry Into the Practice of Interment in Towns. Made at the Request of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department* (W. Clowes and sons, 1843), p. 98; Catharine Arnold, *Necropolis: London and Its Dead* (Simon and Schuster, 2008).

also 8 people in the Survey who only have surnames and initials and whose gender is unclear. These have been excluded from the analysis in this section. With this analysis the survey identifies 706 households that are headed by women, 19% of the total. Women are under-represented in the available data of the time (in particular absent from Westminster polling data, which was the focus of the Westminster Historical Study, which led to women rate payers being also excluded from the Westminster Historical Data used as a source in this study).

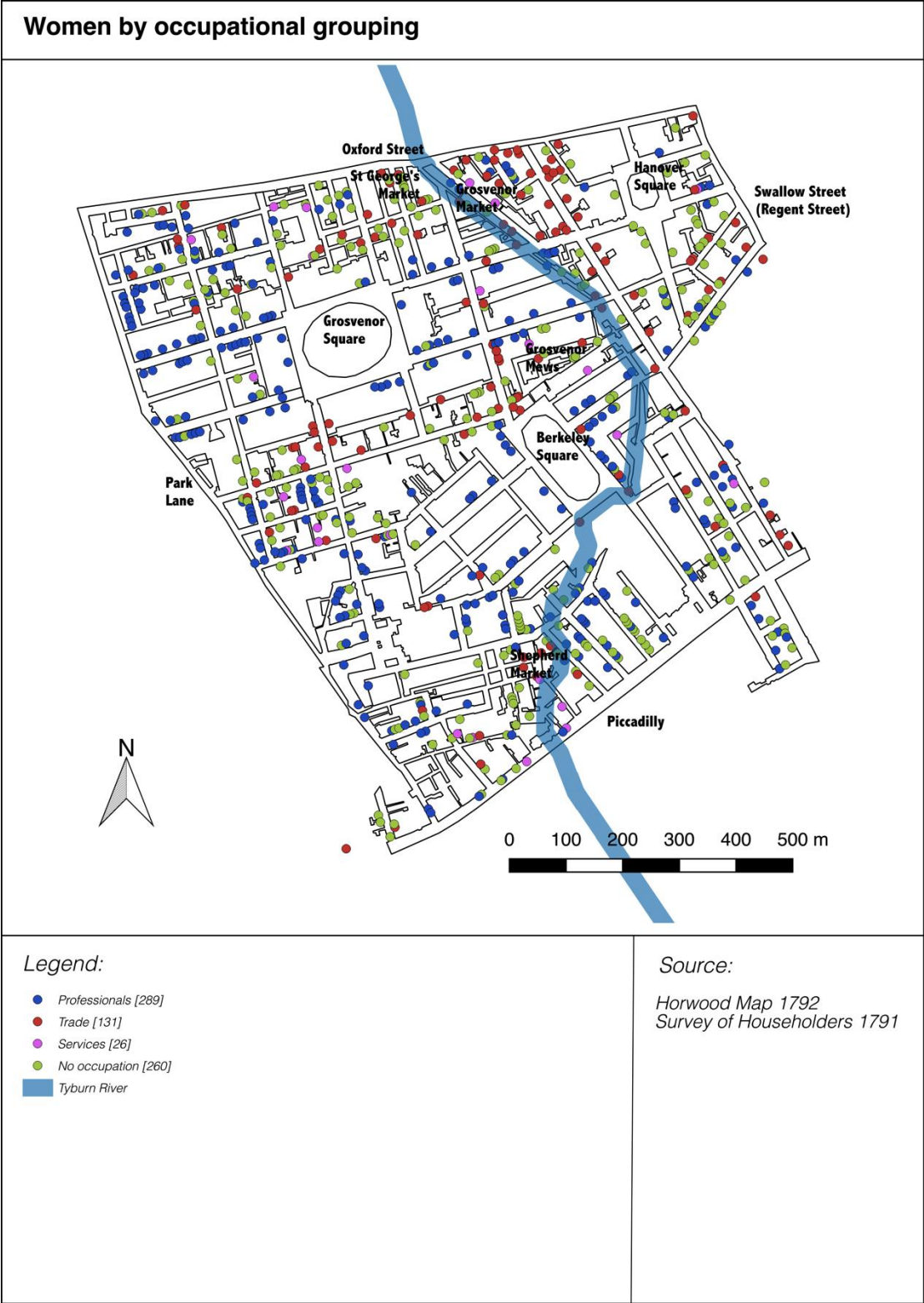


Figure 4-12: Women householders by occupation

Figure 4-12 shows the location of the women in the 1790 survey of householders and breaks them down into the four occupational groups

used in the earlier occupation analysis in this report. The majority of women belong to the Professional or Other categories.

House size in m ²	Occupational Groupings				Grand Total
	A Professional	B Trade	C Service	D Unclear	
No house identified	69	49	15	82	215
Small 0-50	5	13	2	31	51
Medium 50-100	112	58	9	117	296
Large 100-150	71	9		23	103
Very large >150	32	2		7	41
Grand Total	289	131	26	260	706

Source: Horwood Map 1792, Survey of Householders 1791
Table 4-9: Women Householders by occupation and house size

Table 4-9 shows the match between women’s occupations and size of house.

Category A Professional women are mainly ‘rentiers’ people, who have income from property or other investments and can afford to live in larger properties. Only two women in this category have a specified occupation (school mistress, and academy and stables owner).

Category D represents people who do not have any indication of status. The mix of ‘D’ category house sizes suggests that many of these people could probably be recategorised as members of the ‘A’ category, although some of the people who are in small or no house identified categories may well be widows or poor people.

Category B Trade includes 48 different trade occupations. The top occupations are milliner (22 women), victualler (16 women), chandler (12 women).

Category C Service also contains a mix of occupations but includes laundress (6 women), stable keeper (5 women), and farrier (3 women) and carpenter (3 women). Most of category 3 women (19 from 26) are listed as widows.

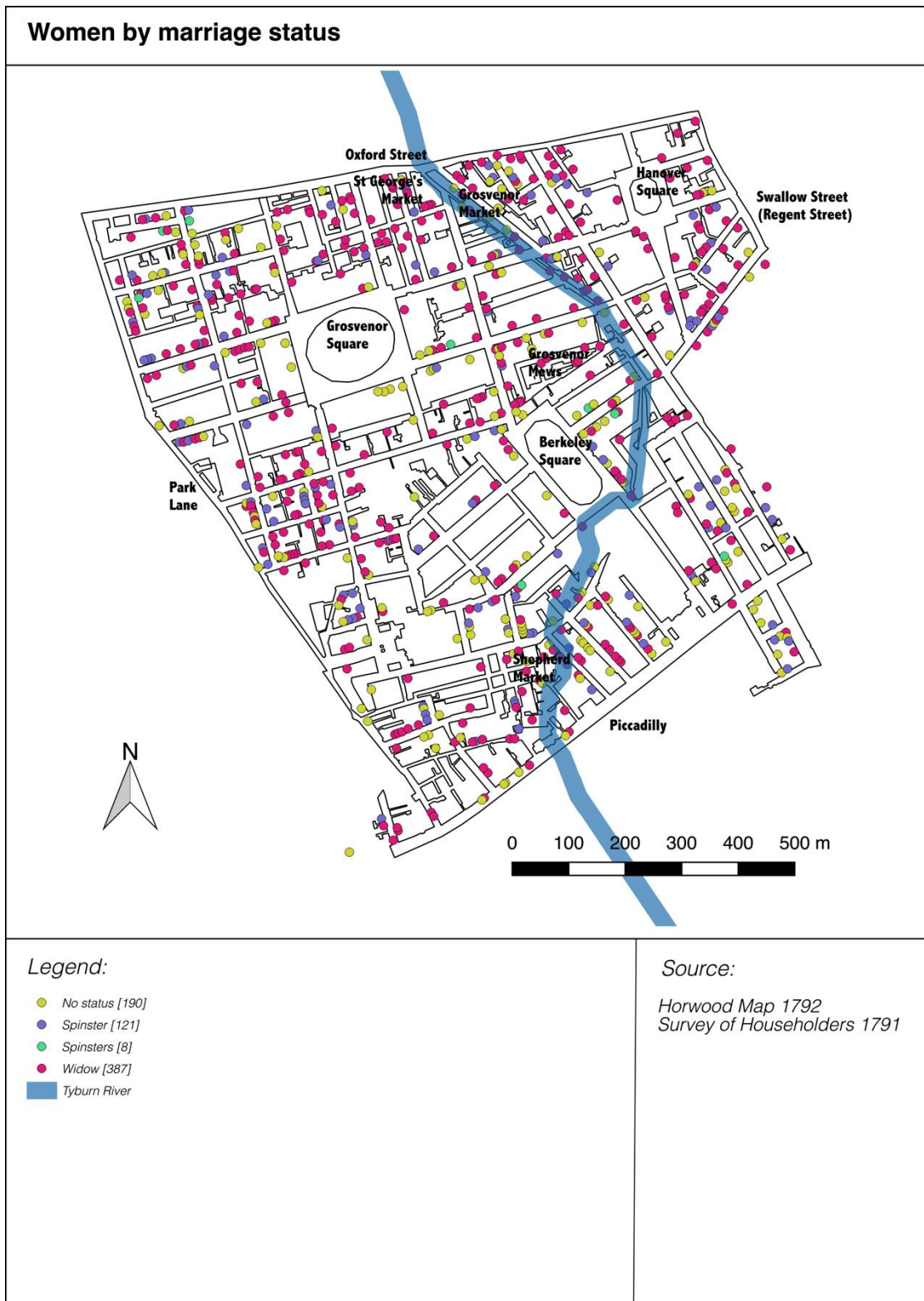


Figure 4-13: Women by marriage status

Figure 4-13 shows householders by marriage status. Very few widows appear in the three squares. In fact the pattern is related to overall density

of householders and so fewer widows are in the squares as they also have fewer householders. The majority of widows (all of group A and many of Group D) are well off, so this is not too surprising.

This can be confirmed by using the 50m banding from the Tyburn to work out the density of women per square km by bands. This is shown in Figure 4-14. This suggests bands of density, one covering the 50-150m, 250m-300m and then a particularly dense area in the 650-700m band. This is similar to the 'All Householders' in Figure 4-3 and suggests that any differences between the distribution of female householders and male householders in the area are relatively small.

A similar exercise in Figure 4-15 looking at relationship with distance to the estate boundaries also produces a result that is similar to Figure 4-5 for all householders.

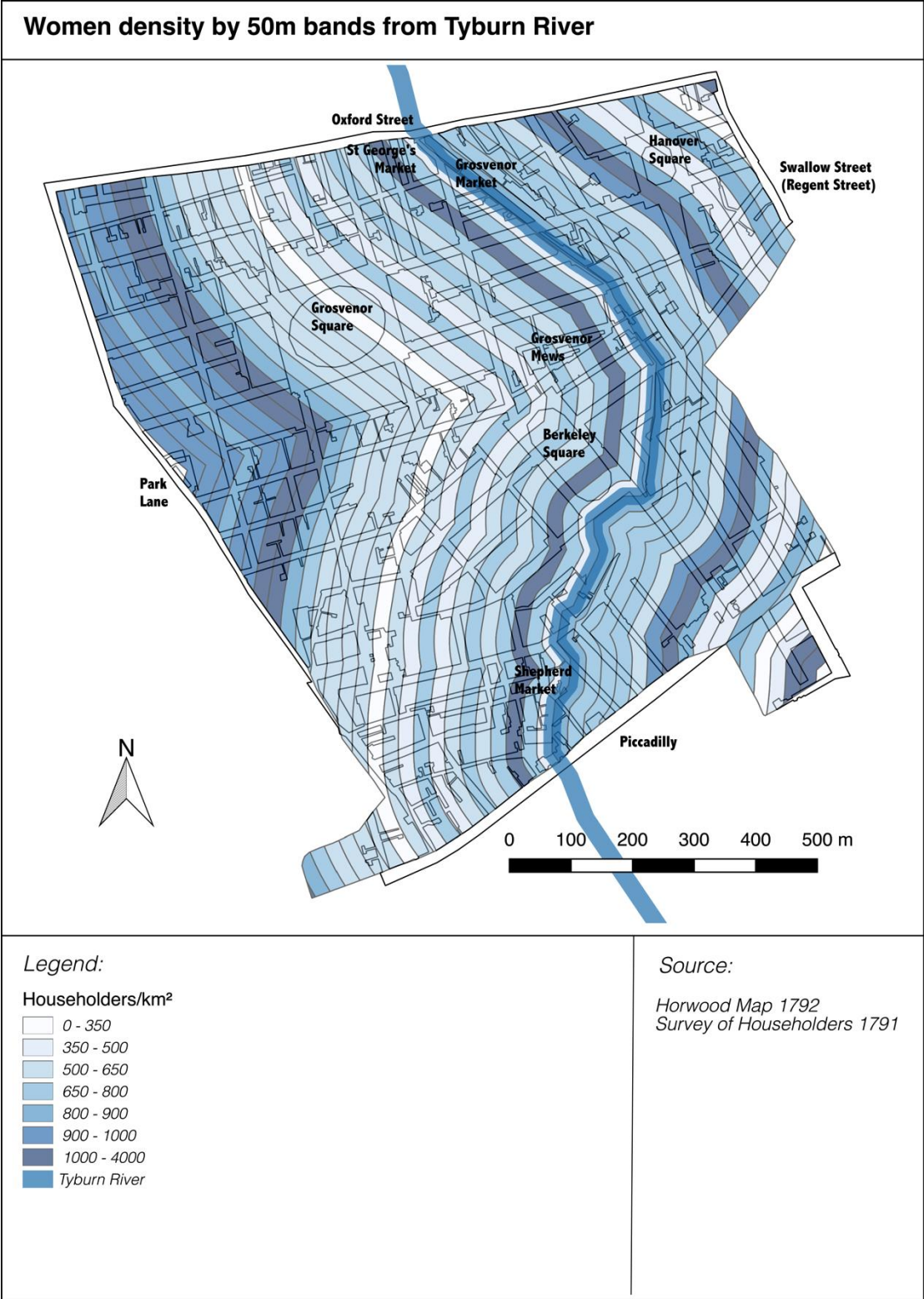


Figure 4-14: Women density by 50m bands from Tyburn

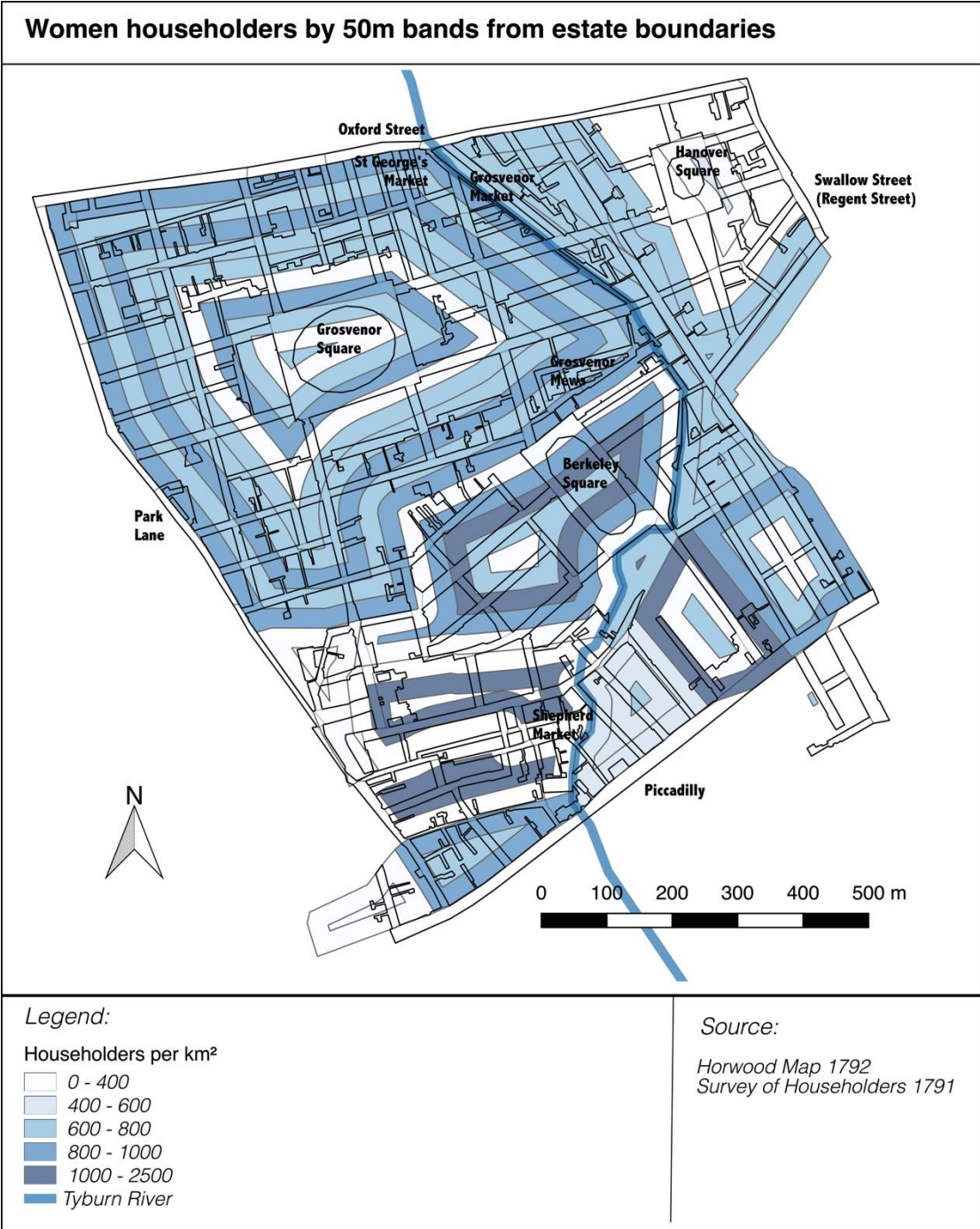


Figure 4-15: Women householder density by 50m bands from estate boundaries

4.8 Occupancy

The 1790 survey of householders contains some information on the occupancy of homes in the parish (but no data on household size). The

survey includes a number of different markers to indicate particular types of householder. From the notes associated with some entries it looks as if these additional fields may not always have been entered accurately by the clerks completing the survey. Figure 4-16 shows the distinct categories that can be distinguished in the data.

Bracketed names (same address). Some names are bracketed (usually two names, but occasionally one, and sometimes more than two) together. These appear to be two or more householders sharing the same address. Sometimes the householders are related, sometimes not. Occasionally two single premise addresses are bracketed together as if they are being used as a single property. As the figure shows many of the 'same address' households are in the less affluent areas – including a large cluster in Grosvenor Mews (north of Berkeley Square).

Furnished lets. In the data these entries include the use of two names against one house with the characters o/o between them. Examination of the source information suggests that the first name is the landlord, and the second name is the tenant. These tenant entries are usually also labelled with a "F" representing a furnished house. But this is not entirely consistent as we have "F" markings without two names, and sometimes landlord/tenancies without a "F". As the map shows furnished lets tend to appear in the areas near Piccadilly, and mostly represent houses taken for the season.

Inmate Ground Floor. A small number of entries are marked “IGF” which seems to stand for “inmate ground floor” and seems to be mainly used for ground floor retailers operating in a house owned by someone else.

Partnership. This is a subclass of the bracketed names, where the two names represent a business partnership. Some of these partnerships are professional, but it also typical of stable owners, so many of these householders appear in the service areas.

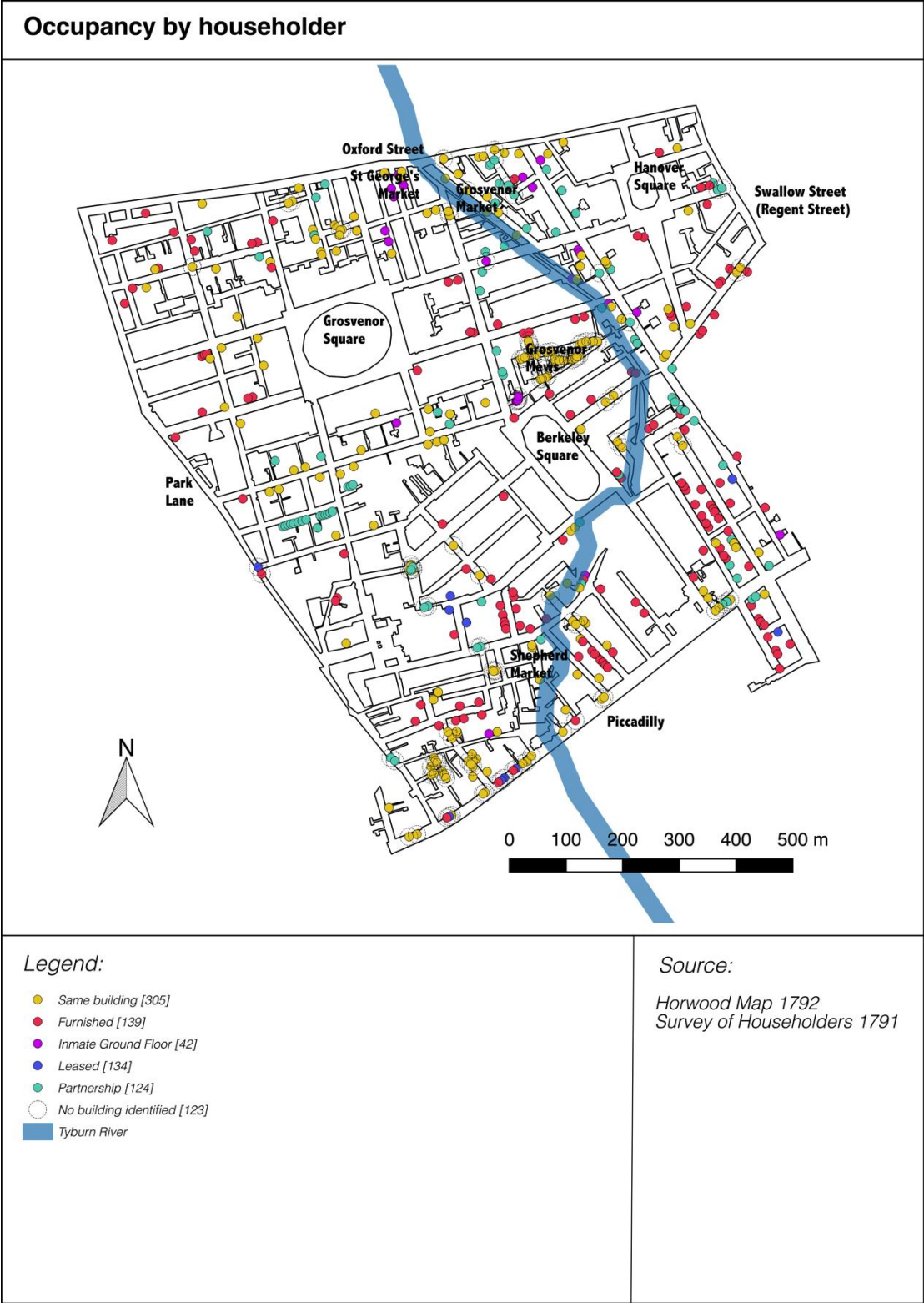


Figure 4-16: Occupancy by householder

An alternative way of looking at occupancy is Figure 4-17 which shows which buildings on the map appears to be multiple occupancy. The

mapping between the buildings and the householders is incomplete as the 'no building identified' people in the 1790 Survey can not be assigned to buildings on the map, and this results in the loss of many householders (including the cluster in the Grosvenor Mews area).

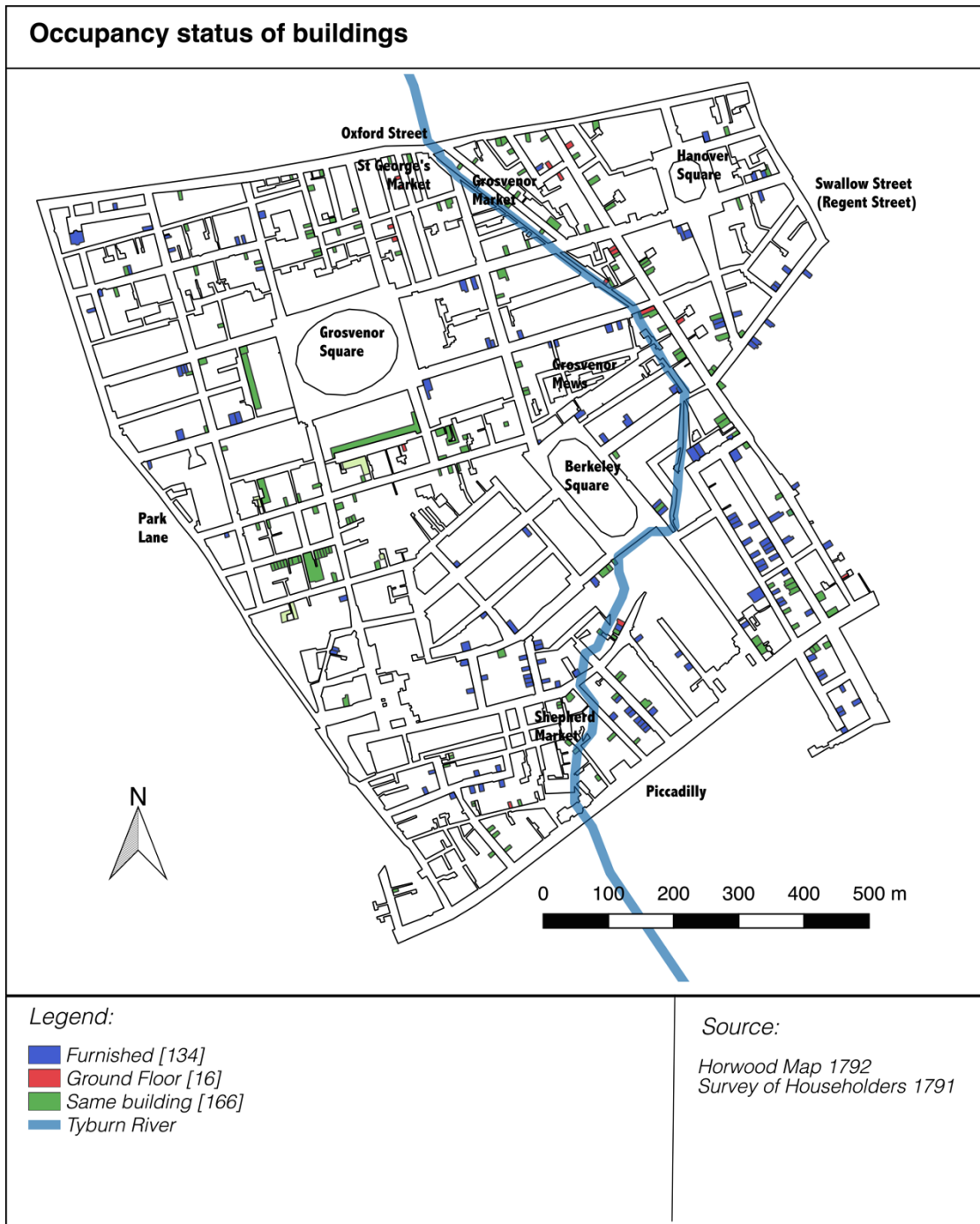


Figure 4-17: Occupancy by building

This also enables the creation of Figure 4-18 another view which shows the number of householders sharing a building.

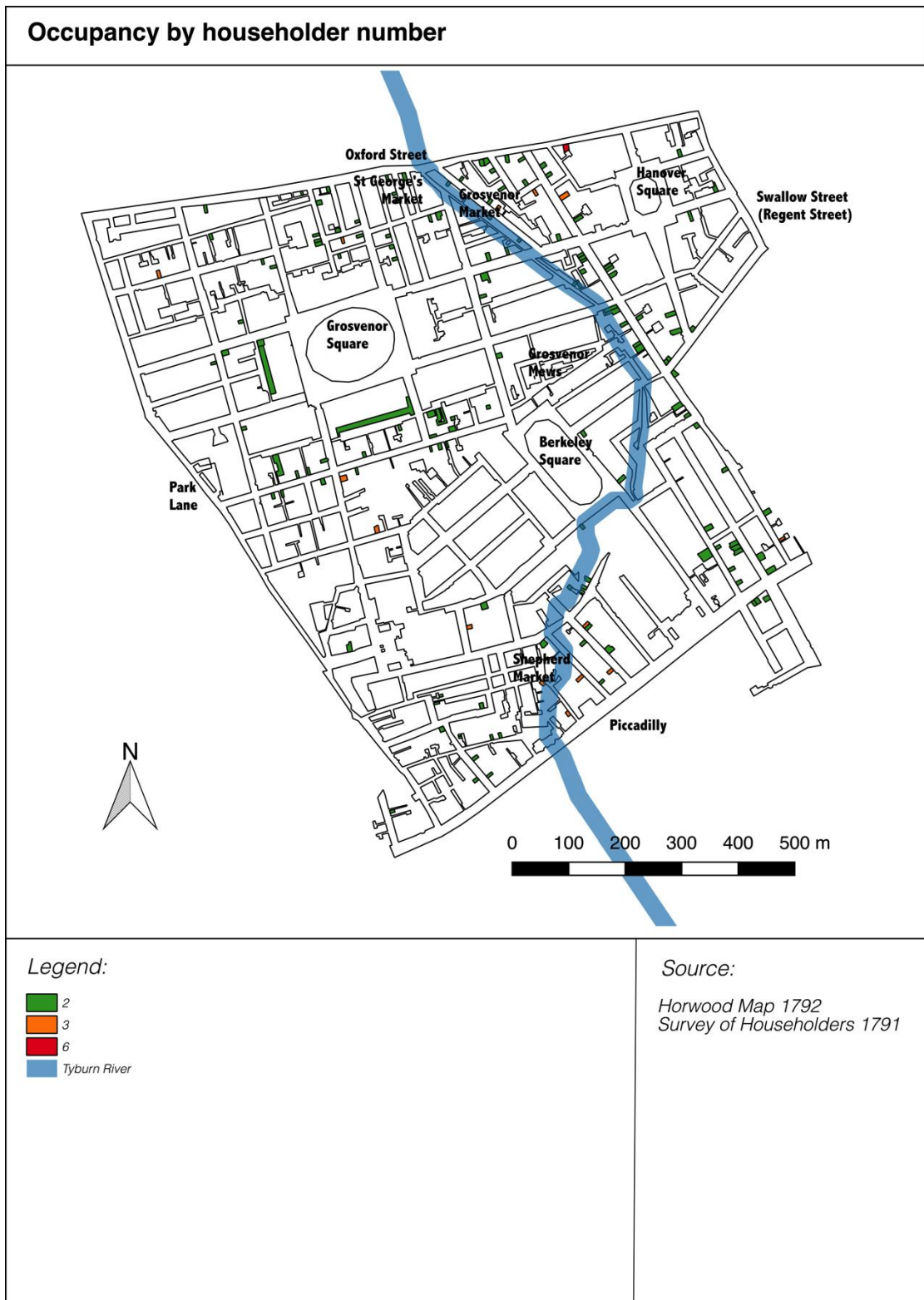


Figure 4-18: Occupancy by householder number

What is the impact of occupancy to distance from the Tyburn? The data here is complex, and there is really insufficient data to come to a clear view. The best view is that shown in Figure 4-16 and shows that occupancy is high in Grosvenor Mews (and perhaps also in the area around Shepherds Market) both of which are close to the Tyburn. But the other effect is not Tyburn related, and that is the tendency of houses close to Piccadilly to be furnished and used for seasonable tenants.

4.9 Conclusions

This chapter introduced Mayfair **householders** based on a database created from a parish survey dating to 1791. This section has reviewed householder density, occupational mixes, examines better off and poorer householders, and explores the evidence about the role of women, and the occupancy of the buildings.

The following findings have been identified that are relevant to the research question.

First, there is a relationship between distance from the Tyburn and householder density (and by association household poverty). The difference was large, with a density of 18,925 householders/km² at 0-50m west of the Tyburn, compared to a density of 9,093 householders/km² at 250-300m east of the Tyburn. The difference in densities was almost certainly larger because houses close to the Tyburn had fewer storeys than most of the rest of the estate.

Second, there are also links between household density and the boundaries of the large estates. The larger estates focus development for the well off

around the squares and grand streets, which pushes the service and retail areas to the edges of the estate. The values vary across different estates, but estates, but to give an example the Grosvenor Estate has an overall density of 17,756 householders/km² at a distance of 0-50m of the estate border, and 5,663 householders/km at a distance of 350-400m of the estate border.

The two different findings are related as the Tyburn is a major boundary between two estates. Analysis on the largest estate (the Grosvenor Estate) suggests that much of the 'distance from the estate boundary' comes from those areas of the estate that are close to the Tyburn. The Tyburn relationship looks more important than the estate boundary relationship.

Third, occupational analysis shows how some of the densest areas (and particularly the three markets and Grosvenor Mews) are focuses of trade and service activity, and all three areas are on or close to the Tyburn.

Fourth, exploration of the roles of the rich, the poor, women and the occupancy rates in households all suggests weaker links to the Tyburn.

The next chapter examines three **case studies** of specific parts of Mayfair (chosen to cover different types of area) to show their relationship with the Tyburn and seeks to confirm that the methodology used in this and the previous chapter does indeed reflect the information we have from other sources.

5 Case Studies

5.1 Case study introduction

This chapter includes three case studies which provide more insights into interesting areas of Mayfair. The intention is to compare the results of the methodology used in previous chapters with what the other sources say.

Three case studies have been chosen and are shown in Figure 5-1. Two of these studies are based on areas close to the Tyburn.

The first case study looks at a market area. The case study covers Grosvenor Market, but the area also includes the close by St George Market. Both areas are close to the Tyburn and appear to be densely occupied.

The second case study explores the area I have called Grosvenor Mews. This is built on a steep hill, and seems to have been an atypical area that was densely occupied,

The third case study of Grosvenor Square is one of the least densely occupied areas in Mayfair. It is not on the Tyburn, and largely occupied by high status individuals.

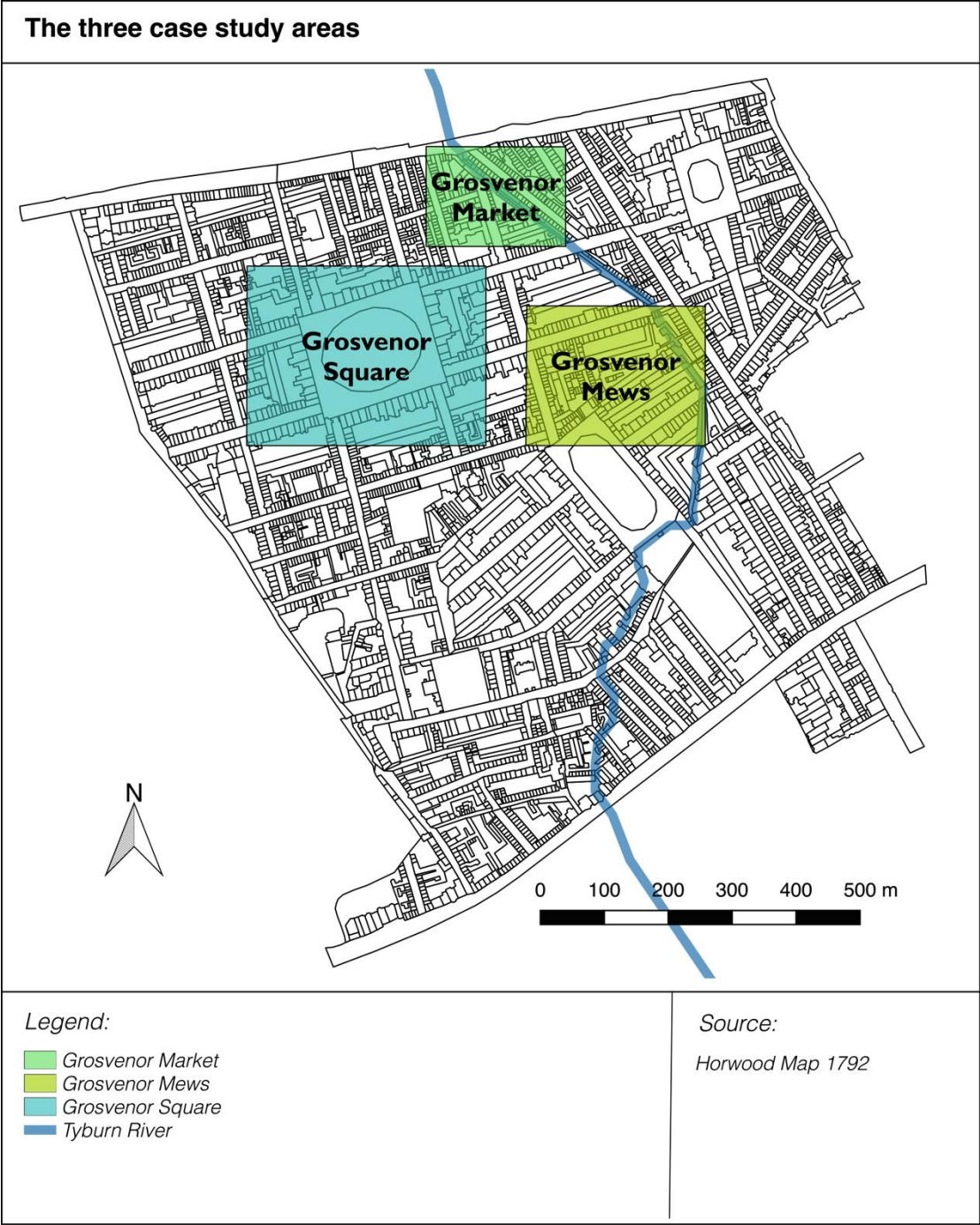


Figure 5-1: The case study areas

5.2 Case study - Grosvenor Market



Figure 5-2: Grosvenor Market case study plan

5.2.1 Introduction

This case study area shown in Figure 5-2 includes two markets – Grosvenor Market and St George’s Market (coloured in brown in the figure, and both of which lie on the Grosvenor Estate) and on the west side of the Tyburn

River. The main focus is on the Grosvenor Estate area, but the case study area also includes part of the City of London owned Conduit Mead Estate (hatched left to right on the figure) on the east side of the Tyburn River. This area includes the mainly retail South Molton. Both of these estates have significant areas of mews stabling in the case study area.

5.2.2 The database

% by Area (only in case study area)						
	Houses	Stables	Garden s	Other	Roads	Total Area m²
Conduit Mead	47%	9%	10%	1%	33%	13,729
Grosvenor Estate	32%	12%	11%	11%	34%	19,263
Case Study	38%	11%	11%	7%	34%	32,992
<i>Mayfair</i>	30%	10%	24%	5%	31%	972,901
<i>Source: Horwood Map 1792</i>						

Table 5-1 : Grosvenor Market land utilization

For all the tables that follow, the first two lines give the details for the estates that occupy this case study area, the third line the overall total for the case study area, and the last line gives the averages for the whole of Mayfair.

In Table 5-1 the main characteristics in land utilization is that the more space is taken by housing (and less for gardens) than across Mayfair. The number is higher in the Conduit Mead estate than in the Grosvenor Estate – but this is because the two markets which included houses are categorized as ‘other’, and the Grosvenor Estate has a higher ‘other’ category which in this case represents the two markets. (which were residential as well as trade).

	Total Housing Area m ²	Houses	House-holders	Area per house m ²	Area per house-holder m ²	Density House-holders /km ²
Conduit Mead	6,417	111	125	58	51	19,480
Grosvenor Estate	6,132	110	170	56	36	27,721
Case Study	12,549	221	295	57	50	19,921
<i>Mayfair</i>		3,204	3720	92	79	12,656
	293,931					

Source: Horwood Map 1792, Survey of Householders 1791

Table 5-2: Grosvenor Market house size and householder density

In Table 5-2 the case study area has an average house plot area per household of 57 m² compared to overall study areas 82 m². The Grosvenor Estate proportion of the study area is extremely dense in terms of householders with 27,721 householders per km² compared to the Mayfair average of 12,656 householders per km².

	% Building (area in m ²)					Houses
	Small <50	Average 50-100	Large 100-150	Very large 150-200	>200	
Conduit Mead	38%	59%	2%	1%	0%	111
Grosvenor Estate	45%	48%	5%	2%	0%	110
Case Study	42%	54%	3%	1%	0%	221
<i>Mayfair</i>	20%	54%	15%	5%	6%	3,204

Source: Horwood Map 1792

Table 5-3: Grosvenor Market mix of house sizes.

Table 5-3 shows the mix of house plot sizes. The whole case study area only has a few houses over 100m² in size, but high proportions of plot sizes under 50m².

Occupation groupings %					
	A - Professional	B - Trade	C- Service	D - Other	Householders
Conduit Mead	22%	47%	15%	16%	125
Grosvenor Estate	3%	65%	14%	18%	170
Case Study	11%	58%	14%	17%	295
<i>Mayfair</i>	<i>33%</i>	<i>37%</i>	<i>13%</i>	<i>18%</i>	<i>3,720</i>
<i>Source: Horwood Map 1792, Survey of Householders 1791</i>					

Table 5-4: Grosvenor Market mix of occupations

Table 5-4 shows that the estate has a relative high number of trade people (58% compared to Mayfair average of 37%) and a far lower number of professional people (11% to 33%). The Grosvenor Estate portion contains the two markets and has an extremely low number of professional people (only 3%). The figure shows many stables, yet the proportion of people working in the service area is similar to Mayfair overall. But section 3.6 suggests that stables are common and relatively uniform across Mayfair.

Table 5-5 explores the trades of people in each of the two estates covered by the case study area.

Code	Trade Grouping and High Level Codes	Conduit Mead	Grosvenor Estate
A	Professional	27	5
PP01	MP, Office Holder	1	0
PP05	Navy	1	0
PP07	Law	3	0
PP08	Medical	1	0
PP10	Musician	1	0
RE00	Rentier - Mr/Mrs	6	2
RE01	Rentier - Gentlemen	10	3
RE02	Rentier - Baronet	3	0
RE04	Rentier - Peer	1	0
B	Trade	59	111

Code	Trade Grouping and High Level Codes	Conduit Mead	Grosvenor Estate
DE01	Coal merchant	4	0
DE02	Oil or wax merchant	2	4
DE04	Draper or Hosier	3	0
DE05	Food retailer	7	50
DE07	Victualler or Tavern keeper	7	6
DE09	Pawn broker	0	1
DE10	Stationer or book seller	0	2
DE11	China or pottery seller	1	2
DE12	Chandler or shop keeper	8	14
DE13	Broker or agent	3	3
IS01	Banker	1	0
IS02	Clerk	1	1
MF04	Smith	1	2
MF05	Tin man	0	2
MF13	Cooper or Turner	1	0
MF14	Upholsterer	0	1
MF15	Coach making	1	4
MF18	Callenderer or weaver	0	2
MF20	Ropemaker	1	0
MF23	Clothing maker	14	11
MF24	Peruke or Fan	0	1
MF26	Baker	3	3
MF27	Brewer	0	2
MF29	Musician	1	0
C	Services	19	23
AG03	Farrier	2	1
BU02	Building	5	12
DS01	Domestic service	2	2
DS02	Coachman or postillion	1	5
DS03	Personal services	9	1
TR05	No occupation	0	2
D	Blank	20	31
XX00	Other	1	0
(blank)	No occupation given	19	31
Total		125	170
<i>Source: Survey of Householders 1791</i>			

Table 5-5: Grosvenor Market occupations

This table shows how the two estates included in the case study area vary.

The Conduit Mead has more professionals (27 from an overall 125

householders) most of whom live in South Molton Street, as opposed to the Grosvenor Estate element (5 from 170 householders). The Grosvenor Estate area is dominated by food retailing (more than half of which are the butchers who are associated with the two markets), but also has a significant number of chandlers, and clothing makers. Grosvenor Estate also has large numbers of building trades people.

The database can also give more information about the two markets. It shows 31 householders in Grosvenor Market (and some houses in Davis Street that were part of the market). These included 10 butchers, 3 green grocers, 2 grocers, 1 fishmonger, 1 milk woman, 1 poulterer and a tripeman – as well as 11 people with no listed occupation.

The neighbourhood St George's Market also had 31 householders. This includes 23 butchers/pork shops, 2 cheesemongers, 1 green grocer, 1 wax chandler and 4 people with no listed occupation.

The database information suggests that the case study area is very different from Mayfair as a whole. Houses are smaller, the density of householders is particularly high in the Grosvenor Estate part of the cast study area.

5.2.3 The source material

Grosvenor Market is documented in the Survey of London. Grosvenor Market was a new development by the Grosvenor Estate to encourage trade, built by John Jenkins 1785-6 replacing a number of small cottages, stables and coach houses on expiring 60 year leases. The market was intended to be a food market but was never a great success, mainly due to competition with the local St George's Market established around the same

time and privately run. Survey of London reports that St George's Market was built by Henry Tomlinson based on twenty very small houses, and opened in 1785-86, closing around 1820 when the lease ran out.

The Grosvenor Market was built next to the Tyburn and the St George's Market is also close to the Tyburn.²⁵



Picture 5-1: Grosvenor Market looking west in 1882

The property in the Grosvenor Market was small in size. The picture in Figure 5.1 from the Survey of London (a watercolour of 1882 by J P Emshe reported to be in the Grosvenor Estate Office) shows tall narrow three storey houses probably the ones backing onto Davies Street on the West of the market.²⁶ The Survey of London also reports that the buildings on the

²⁵ 'Survey of London | Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)', pp. 68-69, 171-73.

²⁶ 'Survey of London | Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)' Plate 19.

North East of the market were small two storey buildings, with a narrow single room as shop on the ground floor, and with a basement and a first floor. The tradesmen who operated in the market (many of them butchers) probably lived on the premises (they only appear in this survey at this location, and elsewhere the survey flags householders who live or work in other parishes). It seems probable that in many cases families will have occupied the upper rooms, and that this market, and St George's market will have been densely occupied.

The Grosvenor Market units were difficult to rent, and apparently tenants often absconded without paying their rents. ²⁷

This area was one of the ones reported on by the Royal Statistical Society in 1843 and Oxford Buildings (on the site of the by then defunct St George's Market), is specifically mentioned as an example of an area where many families live in single rooms and share the same buildings. ²⁸

5.2.4 Grosvenor Market case study conclusions

The source material available matches the data from the database quite closely. The two markets on the Grosvenor Estate were densely occupied and this corresponds with the source materials.

Both markets were later developments. The decision to build St Georges Market was a commercial one, but probably based on the low cost of the

²⁷ 'Survey of London | Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)', pp. 68–69.

²⁸ Weld, p. 17.

lease. The decision to build Grosvenor Market was made by the Grosvenor Estate, and based on the availability of land due to the expiry of leases.

Did the markets impact on the area and increase the density? This seems likely, but the data from elsewhere in the Tyburn valley suggests that this area was already a dense and low status area, and that was probably why the markets appeared here.

5.3 Case study - Grosvenor Mews

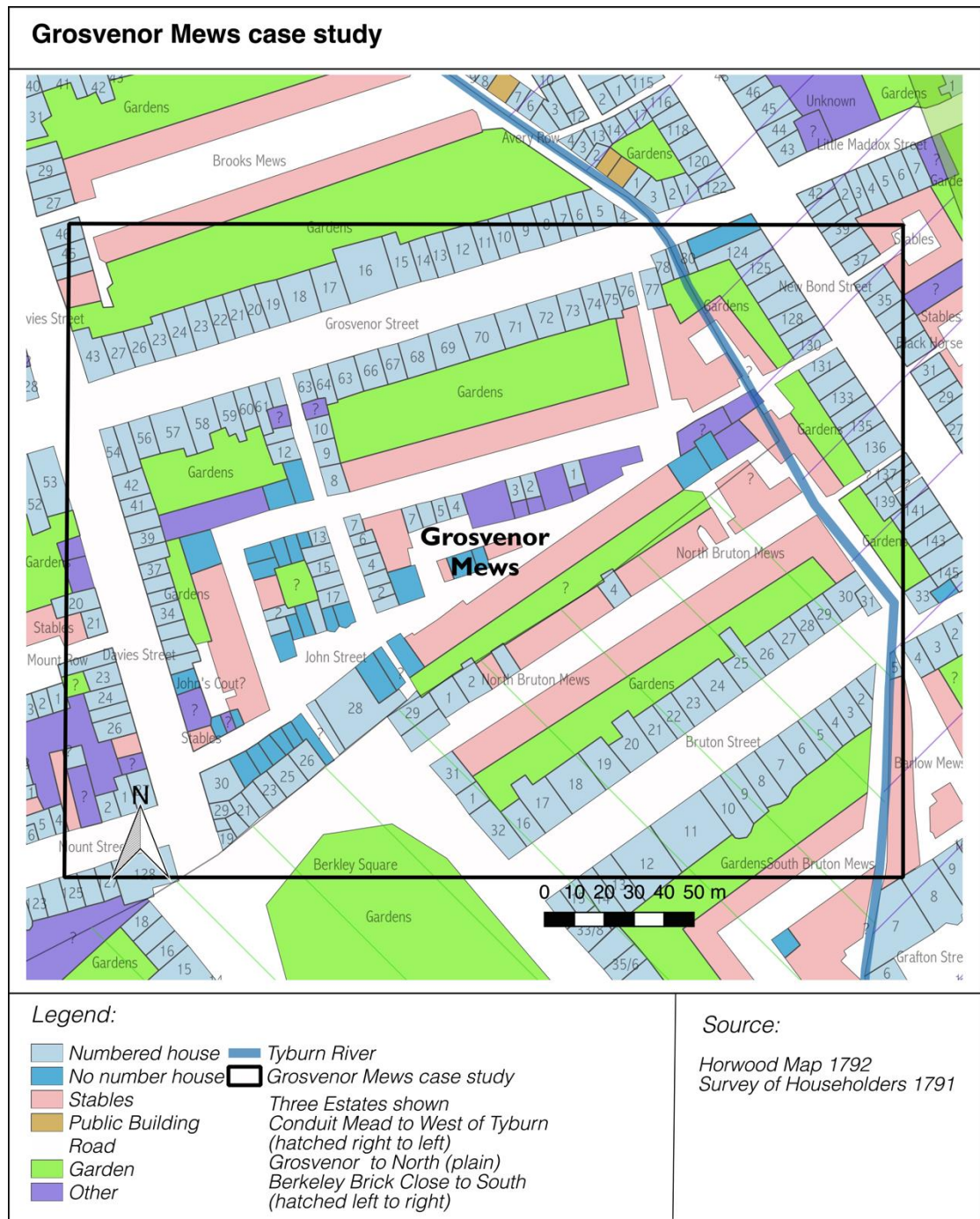


Figure 5-3: Grosvenor Mews case study plan

5.3.1 Introduction

The case study area shown in Figure 5-3 contains elements of three estates.

The main focus of this section is the Grosvenor Mews area built on a steep hill, and is a conglomeration of smaller streets including Burden Street,

John Street, John Court, Little Grosvenor Street and Grosvenor Mews. It is part of the Grosvenor Estate to the west of the Tyburn. The area to the southeast is part of the Berkeley Brick Close estate including part of Berkeley Square. And the area to the northwest on the eastern side of the Tyburn is part of the City of London Conduit Mead estate and includes part of New Bond Street.

5.3.2 The database

% by Area (only in case study area)						
	Houses	Stables	Gardens	Other	Roads	Total Area m²
Berkeley Brick Close	25%	17%	18%	0%	40%	18864
Conduit Mead	34%	13%	19%	0%	33%	6246
Grosvenor Estate	31%	13%	18%	6%	33%	35699
Case Study	29%	14%	18%	3%	35%	60809
<i>Mayfair</i>	<i>30%</i>	<i>10%</i>	<i>24%</i>	<i>5%</i>	<i>31%</i>	<i>972,901</i>
<i>Source: Horwood Map 1792</i>						

Table 5-6: Grosvenor Mews land utilization

In Table 5-6 the three estates show fairly similar profiles to each other, the only main difference being the higher proportion of ‘other’ property in the Grosvenor Estate. This is mostly in the Grosvenor Mews area and is categorized as ‘other’ as in the original Horwood Map of 1792 it was unclear as to if the buildings were residential, stables or business premises. But much, if not all of this space, is likely to be stabling or housing. Comparisons with Mayfair as a whole suggest that there are less gardens and more roads in all three estates because of the stable areas and yards.

Total Housing Area m²	Houses	House-holders	Area per house	Area per house-	Density House-holders
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			m ²	holder m ²	/km	
Berkeley Brick Close	4809	37	56	130	86	11,645
Conduit Mead	2133	25	37	85	58	17,347
Grosvenor Estate	10899	140	185	78	59	16,973
Case Study	17841	202	278	88	64	15,582
<i>Mayfair</i>		3,204	3720	92	79	12,656
	293,931					
<i>Source: Horwood Map 1792, Survey of Householders 1791</i>						

Table 5-7: Grosvenor Mews house size and householder density

In Table 5-7 differences between estates start to emerge. House plot size areas differ with larger houses on the Berkeley Estate, and the smallest houses on the Grosvenor Estate. The density of the Grosvenor Mews and Conduit Mead are both high compared to the Mayfair average.

	% Buildings					Houses
	Small <50	Average 50- 100	Large 100- 150	Very large 150- 200	Largest >200	
Berkeley Brick Close	5%	22%	46%	19%	8%	37
Conduit Mead	8%	76%	8%	8%	0%	25
Grosvenor Estate	32%	46%	18%	2%	2%	140
Case Study	24%	45%	22%	6%	3%	202
<i>Mayfair</i>	20%	54%	15%	5%	6%	3,204
<i>Source: Horwood Map 1792</i>						

Table 5-8: Grosvenor Mews mix of house sizes

In Table 5-8 the different estates have very different mix of house plot sizes. The Grosvenor Estate has many more small buildings compared to the other two estate areas. But both the Berkeley and Conduit Mead portions have few small houses. The Berkeley estate is mainly made up from large houses greater than 100m² in house plot size. The Conduit Mead

has many average houses between 5-100m² in size and they are mainly trade properties on New Bond Street.

Occupation groupings %					
	A	B	C	D	Householders
Berkeley Brick Close	55%	21%	11%	13%	56
Conduit Mead	5%	73%	8%	14%	37
Grosvenor Estate	21%	41%	22%	16%	185
Case study	26%	41%	18%	15%	278
<i>Mayfair</i>	33%	37%	13%	18%	3,720
<i>Source: Survey of Householders 1791</i>					

Table 5-9: Grosvenor Mews mix of occupations

In Table 5-9 the three areas are also quite different. The Berkeley estate has a large proportion of Group A professional people. The Conduit Mead is dominated by Group B trade people on New Bond Street. The Grosvenor Estate is more mixed but this reflects the inclusion of Grosvenor Street in the sample area. This street was one of the principal streets in the Grosvenor Estate and has large properties on it. The Grosvenor Estate also has an unusually high percentage of Group C service people.

Code	Trade Grouping and High Level Codes	Berkeley Brick Close	Conduit Mead	Grosvenor Estate	Grand Total
A	Professional	31	2	39	72
PP01	MP, Office Holder	8	0	6	14
PP04	Army	1	0	1	2
PP05	Navy	1	0	1	2
PP06	Watchmen	0	0	1	1
PP08	Medical	0	1	1	2
PP14	Clergy	0	0	4	4
RE00	Rentier - Mr/Mrs	5	0	7	12
RE01	Rentier - Gentlemen	1	0	1	2
RE02	Rentier - Baronet	8	1	7	16
RE03	Rentier - Knight	1	0	4	5
RE04	Rentier - Peer	6	0	6	12
B	Trade	12	27	76	115

Code	Trade Grouping and High Level Codes	Berkeley Brick Close	Conduit Mead	Grosveno r Estate	Grand Total
DE01	Coal merchant	1	0	2	3
DE02	Oil or wax merchant	0	1	2	3
DE03	Lace or stuff	0	1	0	1
DE04	Draper or Hosier	2	1	2	5
DE05	Food retailer	0	4	11	15
DE06	Tobacco	0	0	1	1
DE07	Victualler or Tavern keeper	2	4	11	17
DE08	Coffee house	0	0	1	1
DE10	Stationer or book seller	1	4	2	7
DE11	China or pottery seller	0	4	0	4
DE12	Chandler or shop keeper	1	1	6	8
DE13	Broker or agent	0	0	1	1
IS01	Banker	0	1	0	1
MF02	Gunsmith	0	1	0	1
MF04	Smith	1	0	3	4
MF05	Tin man	0	0	1	1
MF06	Silversmith or goldsmith	1	1	0	2
MF13	Cooper or Turner	0	1	0	1
MF14	Upholsterer	0	1	6	7
MF15	Coach making	0	0	7	7
MF23	Clothing maker	2	2	16	20
MF24	Peruke or Fan	0	0	1	1
MF26	Baker	0	0	2	2
MF29	Musician	0	0	1	1
MF30	Printer or bookbinder	1	0	0	1
C	Services	6	3	40	49
AG03	Farrier	0	0	3	3
BU01	Architect or surveyor	0	0	1	1
BU02	Building	1	0	8	9
DS01	Domestic service	0	0	5	5
DS02	Coachman or postillion	0	0	10	10
DS03	Personal services	0	0	3	3
TR05	Transport	5	3	10	18
D	Blank No Occupation	7	5	30	42
Total		56	37	185	278
<i>Source: Survey of householders 1791</i>					

Table 5-10: Grosvenor Mews occupations

Table 5-10 shows the detailed break down of occupations for the case study area. Group A professionals are almost entirely in the Berkeley Brick Close estate and in the Grosvenor Street area of the Grosvenor Estate. Group B trade shows the typical retailers that would be likely to exist in New Bond Street under the Conduit Mead heading. The Grosvenor Estate trade breakdown represents mostly people who live in the Grosvenor Mews part of the estate. Of the 76 people with retail occupations, clothing (16), food retailing (11) and victualing or tavern keeping (11) dominate. The area also included on Grosvenor Street the apparently well known Mount Coffe House.²⁹ Group C shows 40 householders with service occupations, with most of associated with coaching and stables. There are also the 7 coach makers in the Group B trade grouping.

5.3.3 The source material

The Grosvenor Mews area of the Grosvenor Estate is documented in the Survey of London. The first building agreement on the Grosvenor Estate was given to Thomas Barlow, the originator of the street plan for the Grosvenor Estate. Barlow built a row of grand houses along the mainly level ground to the south of Grosvenor Street, which was one of the first areas on the estate to be built and occupied. But the land behind these houses is on a steep hill (with the Tyburn running at the bottom of the hill), and Barlow laid out a maze of courtyards, alleyways and streets. Small plots were sublet to builders on sixty-year leases although Barlow's lease

²⁹ Laetitia Pilkington, *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington* (University of Georgia Press, 1997), p. 550.

was for ninety-nine years. The first buildings were mostly coach-houses, stables and farrier shops, with dwelling rooms above. The Survey of London also quotes an 1830 charity book showing many payments to people who lived in the area, as well as the 1841 census that shows that over 800 people lived in this area.³⁰

The Royal Statistic Society survey of 1842 visited the parish, although it does not appear to have visited this area. The report does point out that in general families who resided in mews over stables and coach-houses were more comfortably and commodiously lodged, and better furnished than those who lodged elsewhere.³¹

Reports of the Medical Officer of Health in 1858 suggest that by then 944 people lived in the Mews, and that there was a total of 57 patients in this area, more than any other part of the parish. 15 of these came from two houses in the area. Number 30 Grosvenor Mews was highlighted as including nearly 100 people and “furnishes a model of what lodgings ought not to be”. Number 10 Grosvenor Mews had 12 families, with 50-60 people in one house.³²

The poor reputation of the Grosvenor Mews area made it a prime target for improvement in the nineteenth century. The St George’s Parochial Association, under the Presidency of the Marquess of Westminster, led this

³⁰ ‘Survey of London | Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)’, pp. 57–63.

³¹ Weld.

³² *Hanover Square (London, England)*, p. 48,84.

activity. The area gained St George's Building in 1853, a model lodging house for eight families each of whom had two rooms. Other lodging houses followed. Public baths and a wash house built 1853-4 were also built in the area. A mission church St Mary's opened in 1880-1, followed by a parochial institute and dispensary in 1883-4, and St George's shelter for unmarried mothers in 1889-90. ³³

5.3.4 Conclusions

While the majority of the source material comes from the nineteenth century, the static population and the lack of new buildings before 1840 suggests that the nature of the area changed little over time. The methodology and the source material appear to be consistent.

³³ 'Survey of London | Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)', pp. 57-63.

5.4 Case study - Grosvenor Square

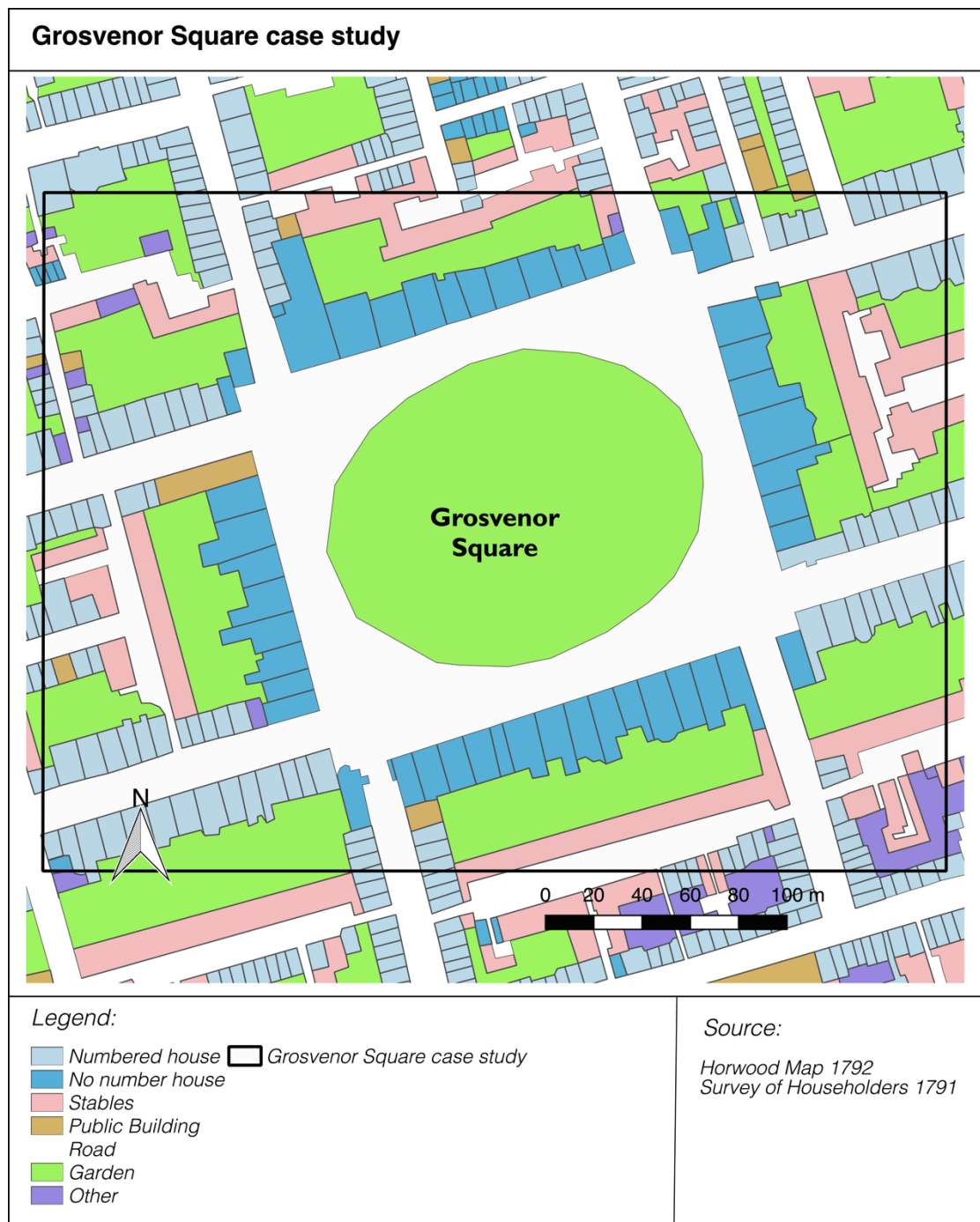


Figure 5-4: Grosvenor Square case study plan

5.4.1 Introduction

The Grosvenor Square area is different to the previous case studies. The area consists of large houses, laid out around a grand square. Most of the houses have gardens. People who live in these houses need access to

carriages and horses who would typically be in the mews behind the grand houses. There are also large houses on the principal East-West streets entering Grosvenor Square. All the case study area is in the Grosvenor Estate.

5.4.2 The database

% by Area (only in case study area)						
	Houses	Stables	Gardens	Other	Roads	Total Area m ²
Case Study	24%	8%	34%	2%	32%	104,528
<i>Mayfair</i>	<i>30%</i>	<i>10%</i>	<i>24%</i>	<i>5%</i>	<i>31%</i>	<i>972,901</i>

Source: Horwood Map 1792

Table 5-11: Grosvenor Square land utilization

Table 5-11 demonstrates that Grosvenor Square has a high proportion of gardens (the Square itself was one of the largest in London) and the area for houses is lower than the area average.

	Total Housing Area in m ²	Houses	Householders	Area per house	Area per householder	Density householders /km ²
Case Study	24,798	161	180	154	138	7,259
<i>Mayfair</i>	<i>293,931</i>	<i>3,204</i>	<i>3,720</i>	<i>92</i>	<i>79</i>	<i>12,656</i>

Source: Horwood Map 1792, Survey of Householders 1791

Table 5-12: Grosvenor Square house size and householder density

Table 5-12 shows that Grosvenor Square has some of the largest houses and lowest densities in the survey. Table 4.1 shows the density of estates, and that the Berkeley House estate is the lowest density at 6,684

householders/km². The overall Grosvenor Square density is 13,882

householders/km², denser than the Mayfair average.

% Buildings						
	Small <50	Average 50-100	Large 100- 150	Very large 150- 200	>200	Houses
Case Study	6%	37%	20%	11%	27%	161
<i>Mayfair</i>	<i>20%</i>	<i>54%</i>	<i>15%</i>	<i>5%</i>	<i>6%</i>	<i>3,204</i>
<i>Source: Horwood Map 1792</i>						

Table 5-13: Grosvenor Square mix of house sizes

Table 5-8 shows that large buildings dominate the study area. The smaller and average buildings come from the retail and service areas behind the main houses.

Occupation groupings %					
	A	B	C	D	House- holders
Case Study	57%	23%	9%	10%	180
<i>Mayfair</i>	<i>33%</i>	<i>37%</i>	<i>13%</i>	<i>18%</i>	<i>3,720</i>
<i>Source: Survey of Householders 1791</i>					

Table 5-14: Grosvenor Square mix of occupations

Table 5-14 shows the mix of occupations. Most people are in the Group A professional category.

Code	Trade Grouping and High Level Codes	Grosvenor Square
A	<i>Professional</i>	<i>103</i>
PP01	MP, Office Holder	13
PP04	Army	2
PP05	Navy	1
PP08	Medical	5
PP09	Artist	1
PP13	School master	1
PP14	Clergy	1
RE00	Rentier - Mr/Mrs	19
RE01	Rentier - Gentlemen	2
RE02	Rentier - Baronet	26

Code	Trade Grouping and High Level Codes	Grosvenor Square
RE03	Rentier - Knight	5
RE04	Rentier - Peer	27
B	Trade	42
DE02	Oil or wax merchant	1
DE04	Draper or Hosier	2
DE05	Food retailer	7
DE07	Victualler or Tavern keeper	8
DE11	China or pottery seller	2
DE12	Chandler or shop keeper	2
DE13	Broker or agent	1
IS02	Clerk	1
MF13	Cooper or Turner	2
MF14	Upholsterer	1
MF15	Coach making	1
MF23	Clothing maker	8
MF24	Peruke or Fan	3
MF26	Baker	3
C	Services	17
AG03	Farrier	1
BU02	Building	5
DS01	Domestic service	1
DS02	Coachman or postillion	4
TR05	Coachman	6
D	Blank	18
(blank)	No occupation given	18
Total		180
<i>Source: Survey of Householders 1791</i>		

Table 5-15 Grosvenor Square occupations

Table 5-15 shows the dominance of category A occupations, and particularly the high-status householders, with 13 MPs, 26 baronets, 5 knights and 27 peers in residence. But there are also 42 category B trade occupations. The largest sub groups are the 8 victuallers/tavern keepers, the 7 food retailers, and the 8 clothing makers. Category C service occupations would be based in the mews behind the grander houses, and

are either builders or householders employed in the coaching and horse business.

5.4.3 The source material

The history of the square and the occupants over time are covered well in the Survey of London, and points out that the first occupants of the square (between 1727 and 1741) were largely peers or members of Parliament. The Survey contains details of individual leaseholders in the square ³⁴ Dasent the local historian of the area has also produced a history of Grosvenor Square in a volume that includes an analysis of the householders/rate payers from the start of the square through to 1935. This volume demonstrates that the square retained its attraction for high status householders from the start, at least through all the eighteenth century. The Survey of London points to a social change in the square from the 1850s as embassies started to arrive, and in the 1870s as businessmen started to live in the Square.

³⁴ 'Survey of London | Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)', pp. 112–17.



Picture 5-2: Grosvenor Square from Malton's Picturesque Tour Volume 2

5.4.4 Conclusions

Grosvenor Square is one of the least densely occupied areas in Mayfair in the survey, and this matches well with the source data and suggests that the square was the domain of high status individuals throughout the eighteenth century.

5.5 Overall conclusions

This chapter reviewed three areas in more depth, as a way of seeing if the broad methodology used in the rest of the study could be related to the other information we have from sources.

The three case studies each suggest that the methodology works well.

The last chapter summarizes the main findings of the study and provides overall conclusions.

6 Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the key research findings, evaluates the extent to which these answer the key question and suggests some opportunities for further research.

6.2 Key research findings

Chapter 2 looks at the **topography** of the area and the river and the larger estates. The main findings were the steepness of part of the Tyburn valley, the extent to which the Tyburn is a boundary between estates, that the River Tyburn had clean water in the eighteenth century and there was no evidence of pollution or flooding in Mayfair, and the location of the Mayfair on the banks of the Tyburn led to the development of Shepherds Market.

Chapter 3 reviewed the **development of the Mayfair area**. The main findings were that property sizes were on average smaller towards the edges of estates than in the centre of estates. An example is the Grosvenor Estate, which shows variation in average plot size from 74m² close to the boundary and up to 177m² at the centre of the estate.

It also demonstrated that property plot sizes were significantly smaller in the Tyburn valley than elsewhere in Mayfair. Variation in average plot size was between 71m² in the valley and up to 117m² elsewhere.

Stables appeared uniformly over Mayfair. Although the Tyburn Valley included stables, no direct connection between the river and the placement of stables was found.

Property rate valuations suggest that the location of the wealthy and poor areas remained fairly static between 1784 and 1818.

Chapter 4 examined **Mayfair's householders**. The main findings are there is a relationship between distance from the Tyburn and householder density (and by association household poverty). The difference was large, with a density of 18,925 householders/km² at 0-50m west of the Tyburn, compared to a density of 9,093 householders/km² at 250-300m east of the Tyburn.

There were also links between household density and estate boundaries, with density increasing towards the edges of estates. An example is the Grosvenor Estate, which has an overall density of 17,756 householders/km² at 0-50m of the estate border, and 5,663 householders/km at a distance of 350-400m of the estate border.

The two relationships are linked, and additional analysis demonstrates that for the Grosvenor Estate suggests that much of the 'distance from the estate boundary' comes from those areas of the estate that are close to the Tyburn. The Tyburn relationship looks far stronger than the estate boundary relationship.

Occupational analysis showed the areas with high density are focuses of trade and service activity, and that all three of the market areas and the Grosvenor Mews area were close to the River Tyburn. Other factors were also explored and showed weaker links to the River Tyburn.

Chapter 5 took three **case studies** to see how the broad impacts of the methodology used in previous two chapters applied in three specific areas. Other source material supported the conclusions of the methodology.

6.3 Conclusions

The initial research question was What is the impact of the River Tyburn on the development of Mayfair”

The research as demonstrated that the Tyburn valley did impact on the development of Mayfair, and that as a result the Tyburn valley became the home of many of the poorest people in the area. The study suggests that the impact came from at least three factors.

The first impact comes from the lie of the land. Some of the Tyburn valley is steep and therefore not really suitable for prime development. A prime example is the Grosvenor Mews area that is built on a steep hill.

The second impact is due to historical accident. Great Brookfield on the course of the Tyburn became the site of the ‘Mayfair’ when it was moved from Haymarket. Despite attempts to suppress it this fair continued until the mid eighteenth century, and led to the creation of Shepherd Market one of the three market areas that was densely occupied. On the other hand, the development of the area around Berkeley Square is very atypical of land by the Tyburn. But this is largely an accidental, as Berkeley Square owes its existence to an agreement not to build on it that the Berkeley family made with the Duke of Devonshire. It was one of the last areas in Mayfair to be developed, and as a result become the centre of a rather

grand square, and the location of two large houses (Lansdowne House and Devonshire House).

The third impact comes from the Tyburn's past history as a border between estates. For almost all the way through Mayfair the river is on a boundary between two estates. Each estate is planned from the main central features, with trade and service areas pushed to the edge of each estate – which means that trade and service areas tend to be provided near the Tyburn valley on both sides of the River.

No evidence was found that flooding or pollution from the Tyburn River impacted on the development of the area.

The information available does not allow us to rank the relevant importance of the three different factor found by the study.

If the findings of this study are related back to the historiography identified in chapters 1 and 2, the new methodology that has been developed allows the householder density of the Mayfair area to be mapped for the first time. It has also shown that the Tyburn River valley is different from the other parts of Mayfair.

6.4 Opportunities for further research.

The overall methodology of using digitized maps in combination with source material on people has provided new evidence about the impact of the Tyburn in Westminster. Similar methods could be used elsewhere in London (or indeed in any urban area) where quality maps and good sources exist.

The same methodology could be also used to explore relationships between other features – for example the impact of living inside or outside walled cities.

More and more source information is being digitized. Progress in the development of database and Geographical Information Systems technologies mean that historians now have more tools. The availability of data like rates or parish records (already largely digitized by family history companies like Ancestry.com and FindMyPast.co.uk although these tend not to be made available in bulk format for an area) or sources like the Middlesex Deeds Registry could potentially be used for future projects.

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The 1614 map of Ebury Manor 1049/9/49
1723 John MacKay map 1049/9/53
Land usage maps (nine of them) 1934-40 1049/9/64
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