

**The economic and social development of
Richmond and Twickenham in the nineteenth
century**

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Certificate of Authorship

The author confirms that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis examines the main factors that affected the development, during the nineteenth century, of two neighbouring parishes, Richmond and Twickenham, situated on either side of the River Thames, some 12 to 15 miles from London. It questions the ways in which their location, near to but not part of the metropolis, their topography, local economy and transport connections, pattern of land ownership, and local governance influenced their development between 1800 and 1900. It also considers the extent to which there were factors that differentiated the two parishes from each other, and, for a few key aspects, from parishes that were nearby or a similar distance from London.

The thesis considers the significance of the River Thames to both communities and the changes that were brought about by the railway after the first line to Richmond was built in 1846. It compares Richmond's economy, which was based mainly on meeting the retail, entertainment, and service needs of its residents and visitors, with that of the Twickenham economy, where market gardening and other forms of agriculture were important for most of the century.

The thesis also examines the effect on residential development of the different patterns of land ownership that existed in Richmond and Twickenham and the impact that the concentrated pattern in the former had on local governance. Richmond had a closed vestry. From 1890, a borough council established under a royal charter, assumed responsibility for the secular affairs of the town. Twickenham was administered by an open vestry until 1868, and thereafter a local board was responsible for secular matters. The ability of these different forms of authority to deal with poor relief up to 1836, population growth, the implementation of adequate sanitation, and water supply infrastructure is examined against the background of a wider electoral franchise.

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library
BRO	Bristol Record Office
CJ	House of Commons Journal
CLHL	Chiswick Local History Library
CERC	Church of England Record Centre
GHL	Guildhall Library
GRO	General Register Office
LA	Local Authority
LCC	London County Council
LGB	Local Government Board
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
LSWR	London and South Western Railway
LTM	London Transport Museum
LTMSB	Lower Thames Main Sewerage Board
LUT	London United Tramways
MC	Middlesex Chronicle
MBW	Metropolitan Board of Works
MCS	Metropolitan Commission of Sewers
MDR	Middlesex Deeds Register
NSWJR	North and South Western Junction Railway
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OS	Ordnance Survey
PA	Parliamentary Archives
QAB	Queen Anne's Bounty
RA	Royal Archives

RBC	Richmond Borough Council
RH	Richmond Herald
RLSL	Richmond Local Studies Library and Archive
RMSB	Richmond Main Sewerage Board
RRSA	Richmond Rural Sanitary Authority
RTT	Richmond and Twickenham Times
RVM	Richmond vestry minutes
SCC	Surrey County Council
SHS	Surrey History Service
SVWC	Southwark & Vauxhall Water Company
TLB	Twickenham Local Board
TNA	The National Archives
TVM	Twickenham vestry minutes
TVT	Thames Valley Times
UDC	Urban District Council
WHS	Wandsworth Heritage Service

Introduction

Purpose of thesis

This thesis examines the main factors that affected the development, during the nineteenth century, of two neighbouring parishes, Richmond and Twickenham, situated on either side of the River Thames. It questions the ways in which their location, near to but not part of the metropolis, together with their topography, local governance, pattern of land ownership, local economy and transport connections, influenced their development between 1800 and 1900. It also considers the extent to which there were factors that differentiated the two parishes from each other and, for a few key aspects, from parishes that were nearby or closer to London. Many other studies of communities around London in the nineteenth century have mainly concentrated on one or two aspects that affected development. Also, because most of the parishes examined were located nearer to London than Richmond and Twickenham, they considered the changes that occurred as the community was overrun by the ever-expanding metropolis. This thesis examines the inter-relationship between the main factors that influenced development in Richmond and Twickenham and that were clearly affected by the growth of the metropolis. It does so in the context that both communities remained outside the metropolis, geographically and administratively, throughout the nineteenth century.

Richmond and Twickenham are in Surrey and Middlesex respectively, some 12 to 15 miles from the centre of London. From 1777, a road bridge between them replaced a ferry across the Thames, although the toll levels probably limited the use of the bridge by poorer members of both communities until tolls were abolished in 1859.¹ The parishes were not part of the unbroken built-up area of the metropolis. As late as the 1920s, there were still market gardens and orchards between Richmond and the edge of London. Both parishes were outside the area covered by the MBW and, subsequently, the LCC. As the assizes, and later the county councils, were only interested in a small

¹ London Borough of Richmond, *Richmond Bridge and other Thames crossings between Hampton and Barnes* (Richmond, 1976), pp.12, 23.

number of functions, the local authorities of both communities were effectively single-tier bodies in almost all important respects.



Map 1: Richmond and Twickenham c.1822.²

The area of Richmond is quoted in various contemporary documents as being around 1,150 acres. Thus, it was smaller in area than many of the neighbouring parishes, many of which were over 2,000 acres. It is located between the River Thames, Richmond Park, Old Deer Park (identified as The Observatory in **Map 1**) and what was then the king's estate at Kew. Another important feature of the town is Richmond Hill, which rises steeply some 160 feet from the river. The other side of the hill slopes more gently towards the neighbouring parishes of Mortlake and Kew. The combination of the River Thames and the view from Richmond Hill and Richmond Park, which was open for carriages and pedestrians from around 1760, were important attractions for visitors.

² Extract from OS Map, Old Series, Sheet 7 (1822).

Richmond's attraction was enhanced by the discovery of mineral wells in 1696, although they were closed in 1763.³

The attractions of Richmond were sufficiently well-known to be referred to in contemporary literature. In 1792, Karl Philip Moritz, *Journeys of a German in England*, refers to a visit that he paid to Richmond.⁴ Charles Dickens spent the summers of 1838 to 1841 at Elm Lodge, Petersham, and, for 20 years, had his wedding anniversary at the Star and Garter Hotel.⁵ There are references to the town in his novels. For example, in *Great Expectations* (1861), Chapter XXXIII, Estella says, 'I am going to Richmond...Our lesson is that there are two Richmonds, one in Surrey and one in Yorkshire, and that mine is the Surrey Richmond'.⁶ Anthony Trollope, in *Phineas Finn* (1869), Chapter LXIV, mentions that 'there were watermen there in the Duke's livery, ready to take spirits down to Richmond'.⁷ Later in the century, George Gissing referred to Richmond in his letters and his novels. For example, in May 1882, he wrote to his sister that he had taken a long walk out to Richmond Park, and, in September 1890, four days after meeting his future wife, Edith Underwood, he took her to Richmond, from where they walked to Kew and returned to London by bus.⁸ There are several references to Richmond in George Gissing's novels.⁹

³ John Cloake, *Cottages and common fields of Richmond and Kew; studies in the economic and social history of the manor of Richmond up to the mid-nineteenth century* (Chichester, 2001), p.286.

⁴ <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/travellers/Moritz/9#pn1> (May, 2017).

⁵ <http://beyondtheblueplaque.blogspot.co.uk/2011/12/literature-novelists-charles-dickenselm.html> (May, 2017).

⁶ <http://www.online-literature.com/dickens/greatexpectations/33> (July, 2017).

⁷ <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/18000> (May, 2017).

⁸ Paul F. Mattheisen, Arthur C. Young, and Pierre Coustillas, eds., *The collected letters of George Gissing, Vol. II, 1881-1885* (Athens, Ohio, 1991), p.87; Pierre Coustillas, ed., *London and the life of literature in late Victorian England: The Diary of George Gissing, novelist* (Hassocks,1978), pp.227-8.

⁹ Examples of references in George Gissing's novels are: *The Emancipated* (1890), Chapter XVII, Mrs Lessingham took a house in Richmond where she died, <http://www.online-literature.com/george-gissing/emancipated> (May, 2017); *The Whirlpool* (1897), Chapter 6, Rolfe went for a long walk through Twickenham, Hampton Court and Richmond Park. 'The Star and Garter gave him a late luncheon, after which he lit his cigar and went idly along the terrace', <http://www.online-literature.com/view.php/whirlpool/29?term=richmond> (May 2017); *In the Year of Jubilee* (1894), Chapter 4. Richmond is suggested as a convenient place for a confidential meeting, <http://www.online-literature.com/view.php/in-the-year-of-jubilee/4?term=richmond> (May, 2017).

The area of Twickenham parish was some 2,250 acres, almost twice the area of Richmond.¹⁰ There were other differences too. Its terrain is generally flat, and, apart from the River Thames, it had no natural boundaries. **Map 1** illustrates the location of Twickenham on the banks of the Thames, with a considerable expanse of land to the west and north of the village. Much of this land was mainly under cultivation or was common land before the enclosure of 1818 and the economy was mainly rural. There are fewer references to Twickenham in nineteenth century fiction than for Richmond, but in *Nicholas Nickleby*, Dickens relates that Morleena Kenwigs travels to Eel Pie Island by steamer from Westminster Bridge ‘to make merry upon a cold collation, bottled-beer, shrub and shrimps and to dance to the music of a locomotive band.’¹¹

Over the centuries, Richmond and Twickenham were influenced by their position on the River Thames. Richmond’s royal connection of several centuries resulted from the relative ease of river travel to London. During much of the eighteenth century, nearby Kew was a favourite place of escape from the capital for the monarch. From around 1800, Windsor found greater favour in this respect.¹² In 1845, the Royal Laundry was established just off Kew Road, in Richmond.¹³ The cost of £6,000 was met from the Privy Purse and that of on-going maintenance was paid for by the monarch rather than a vote of parliament. It employed some 40 to 50 staff and washed 500,000 to 650,000 items per year.¹⁴ Richmond also continued a connection with other members of the royal family during the nineteenth century, and the future Edward VIII was born in White Lodge, Richmond Park, in 1894.

From the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, both parishes were the location for houses of prosperous Londoners that wished to escape the capital for part

¹⁰ TNA, IR 29/21/54: tithe apportionment, Twickenham, 1846.

¹¹ <http://www.online-literature.com/dickens/nickleby/54> (February, 2018).

¹² John Cloake, *Palaces and parks of Richmond and Kew vol. II, Richmond Lodge and the Kew palaces* (Chichester, 1996) pp.146-7.

¹³ RA, PPTO/PP/HH/MAIN/OS/1631: Privy Purse correspondence relating to the Royal Household, old series, 1-200, c.1838-c.1912. A memorandum on building the Royal Laundry (July, 1899).

¹⁴ RA, MRH/MRH/EB/2/25 and 40: Establishment lists for the Lord Steward’s Department, 1836-76. Statements of the establishment 1853 and 1859; HRH/MA/HH/1/29: Master of the Household’s correspondence, 1838-1879. Statement of items washed, 1848-1865.

of the year and were in relatively easy reach of it. By the early eighteenth century, the main buildings in Richmond were to be found around the Green, up Richmond Hill, and along George Street, which is the main thoroughfare through the town just south of the Green. To a lesser extent, there were also some houses along the road to Kew and on Marshgate, the road to Putney and Clapham. During the eighteenth century, the development of the town continued. The extent of more modest buildings is unclear because such structures have not survived. A number of larger houses were built in this period, such as Asgill House on the banks of the Thames, described by Pevsner as ‘a Palladian villa of great charm’, which was built in 1757-8 for Sir Charles Asgill, a merchant banker and Lord Mayor of London.¹⁵ Other examples from this period are Downe House and The Wick, built in the 1770s on the Terrace at the top of the Hill and, along Marshgate, Houblon’s Almshouses (1757-8) and Marshgate House, built by a London merchant, John Knapp, in circa 1700.¹⁶ Donaldson, in his report on Richmond drainage dating from 1849, reports that the town was ‘situated on rising ground of gentle acclivity, on light porous soil, upon gravelly subsoil intersected with veins of sand’.¹⁷ There are other accounts of Richmond’s drainage. Oral accounts from the late nineteenth century record streams running down from Richmond Park in wet weather.¹⁸ The name ‘Marshgate’ for one of the main roads out of the town suggests that there was damp ground in this area. Overall, therefore, although the soil in Richmond was suitable for development, there were areas towards the bottom of the Hill that were less favourable.

Gascoyne describes Twickenham in the eighteenth century as ‘the most fashionable district in what was known as the environs of London...Twickenham was an ideal distance for anyone wishing to indulge in the pleasure of the country without foregoing the opportunities of town’.¹⁹ By the eighteenth century, most of the banks of the Thames lower down the river had already been developed. The Royal Family had acquired much

¹⁵ Cherry and Pevsner, *The buildings of England, London 2, south*, p.525.

¹⁶ Gascoigne, *Images of Richmond*, pp.56, 69-70; Cherry and Pevsner, *The buildings of England, London 2, south* p.529.

¹⁷ LMA, MCS/477/050: G. Donaldson, *Report on the drainage of Richmond* (London, 1849) p.2.

¹⁸ K.C. Hart and J. Oliver, *The Alberts from the beginning* (Richmond, 1991) p.3.

¹⁹ Gascoigne, *Images of Twickenham*, p.11.

of the land along the river in Richmond and Kew, and, on the Middlesex bank, there was a continuous line of houses or other developments through Chiswick, Brentford, and Isleworth. Thus, Twickenham became the nearest area of undeveloped land to the west of London on the Thames for those that wished to build a house in its own grounds. There were a dozen such houses built with gardens bordering or near to the river. For example, Alexander Pope moved to Twickenham in 1719, and Horace Walpole built a house in Strawberry Hill in 1747.²⁰ Marble Hill House was built for Henrietta Howard, the mistress of George II in 1724-29, and Orleans House in 1710 for James Johnson, Queen Anne's Secretary of State.²¹ In addition to these grander houses, two rows of Georgian terraces, Montpelier Row and Syon Row, were built around 1720 as speculative developments. Pevsner describes Montpelier Row as 'one of the best examples near London of well-mannered, well-proportioned early Georgian terraced development.' Archer concludes that Twickenham had one of the greatest concentrations of detached villas around London by the mid-eighteenth century, although those that built in Richmond were in the upper echelons of the social class.²²

By 1801, Richmond, with a population of 4,628, could be classified as a town, whereas Twickenham (pop. 3,138) was still a large village. By 1851, the population of Richmond had increased to 9,253 and, by 1901, to 25,577. The comparable figures for Twickenham were 5,205 and 20,991 respectively. The growth in population resulted mainly from inward migration because, in 1851, only 23.4% of the population of Richmond and 26.8% of the population of Twickenham were born in the parish in which they lived.²³ Most migrants recorded in the 1851 and 1901 censuses were born in counties near to Richmond or Twickenham, but some came from further afield. Some 6% were born in

²⁰ Cherry and Pevsner, *The buildings of England, London 2, south*, p.543.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.541.

²² John Archer, *Architecture and suburbia: from English villas to American dream house, 1690-2000* (Minneapolis, 2005) pp. 85, 89.

²³ TNA, HO 107/1605, HO 107/1698: census returns Richmond and Twickenham, 1851.

the west of England, and 4% came from Ireland, Scotland, or Wales. By 1901, 4% of the population of Richmond was born abroad.²⁴

An important factor in migration in this period was that although some migrants settled in Richmond or Twickenham permanently, many moved on elsewhere relatively quickly. The 1851 census records 137 individuals that were born in Richmond in 1821, but, by 1851, 96 (70%) had moved away. The 1901 census records that 303 individuals were born in Richmond in 1871, but, by 1901, 226 (75%) were no longer living there. A study of those living in two of the 12 enumeration districts in Richmond for the 1851 census showed that the level of persistence (those that remained in Richmond) was 33%, 1851-61; 12%, 1851-71; 6%, 1851-81; 3%, 1851-91; 1%, 1851-1901; and 0.5%, 1851-1911. These figures do not take account of those that died in the period and women that married and were still living in Richmond under their married name. Nevertheless, after taking account of these qualifications, the figures indicate a significant level of population turnover in Richmond in the second half of the nineteenth century. The relatively poor legibility of census records for Twickenham meant that it was not possible to undertake a similar exercise for Twickenham. There is no reason to believe that the level of persistence in Twickenham was significantly different to that in Richmond.

This thesis examines the main factors concerning the economy, transport, residential development, and governance that had a significant impact on the speed and type of development that occurred in the two parishes.

Chapter 1 examines the economy and transport links of both communities. The River Thames provided a relatively safe and reliable means of transport for goods and passengers that could afford the fares. The journey in a wherry rowed by boatmen took three and a half hours with the tide. From 1815, steam packets plied the river as far as Richmond, but contemporary evidence suggests that they were used mainly by visitors.²⁵

²⁴ TNA, RG 13/674-677, RG 13/1187-1189: census returns Richmond and Twickenham, 1901.

²⁵ John Evans, *Richmond and its vicinity, with a glance at Twickenham, Strawberry Hill and Hampton Court* (Richmond, 1825), p.101; H. Humpherus, *History of the origin and progress of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen of the River Thames, vol. 3* (London, 1874), p.136.

The thesis considers the significance of the river for both communities and the extent to which their distance from, and travelling time to, the metropolis had an impact on the relationship of both communities with the latter.

A railway line from London (Nine Elms and subsequently Waterloo) to Richmond was opened in 1846 and extended to Twickenham in 1848. It was run by the LSWR. A line between Richmond and Fenchurch Street through north London was opened in 1858, and the District and Metropolitan lines to the City were opened in 1877. The thesis considers why four companies were attracted to provide services to Richmond. It also assesses the impact of the railway on the commercial and residential development of both communities, and the extent to which, as the century progressed, it made them more dependent on the metropolis.

Chapter 1 continues by exploring the basis of the economies of the two communities. There was very little manufacturing enterprise in either Richmond or Twickenham, and so their relative prosperity was based on other economic activities. The thesis examines the two economies in the early nineteenth century, and, using census data, compares the changes in occupation that occurred from 1841 to 1901. It explores the reasons for these changes and seeks to explain why there were differences between Richmond and Twickenham and a small number of comparable towns located a similar distance from London. The thesis also uses trade directory data to examine and explain the changes that occurred over the century in the types of business enterprises that were undertaken in both locations. It also looks in more detail at some areas of enterprise, such as market gardening in Twickenham and the opening of three department stores in Richmond in the 1890s.

Chapter 2 considers the residential development that occurred in both parishes, although there were differences between Richmond and Twickenham in the timeframes for this development. Surveys of Richmond in 1771 and Twickenham in 1792 provide a

reasonable base for the start of the analysis.²⁶ Land tax records, apportionment maps, some rate books, and the census have survived for both parishes, as have the 1910 valuation survey field books.²⁷ In addition, a fairly comprehensive set of auction notices dating from the 1850s to the 1870s have survived for Richmond and, to a lesser extent, for Twickenham. Therefore, it is possible to piece together the sequence in which parcels of land were sold or leased for housing development and, in some cases, the conditions of the transaction.

The thesis examines the extent to which the pattern of land ownership affected the nature and timing of residential development in the two communities. In Richmond, much of the land that was suitable and available for such development was owned in 1851 by a few families and the vestry. The thesis considers whether the concentrated pattern of land ownership and changing family circumstances were significant in determining the timing and type of building that occurred. Much of the development on the slopes of Richmond Hill in the 1860s and 1870s was for detached and semi-detached villas. Developments later in the century were mainly smaller terraced houses. Data in rate books and the 1910 Inland Revenue Survey are employed to calculate the proportion of owner occupation and the pattern of landlord ownership for some principal streets. The occupations of heads of households in a sample of streets are also examined.

The thesis also considers workers' housing, although the information that has survived is more limited than for houses of the more prosperous. Two principal developments are considered. First, there is an examination of the reason for, and nature of, some 250 cottages that were built around 1870 on two new streets sandwiched between developments of much grander houses. Second, a publicly constructed development of some 130 tenements built between 1895 and 1900 are examined. The reasons why the

²⁶ TNA, CRES 5/346 and CRES 39/157: survey of manor of Richmond (1771) and the manor of Twickenham (1792).

²⁷ TNA, IR 58/69904-74 and IR 58/70024-70104: Inland Revenue, 1910 Finance Act, valuation office field books for Twickenham and Richmond.

'conservative' Borough of Richmond became probably the first authority in the London area to build municipal housing are explored.

The pattern of land ownership in Twickenham was more widely dispersed than in Richmond, and most of the residential development occurred some 20 to 30 years later. The thesis examines the reasons for these differences and their effect on the type of development that occurred in Twickenham.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine local governance. For the first 68 years of the century, in the case of Twickenham, and 90 years in Richmond, secular affairs were the responsibility of their respective vestries. **Chapter 3** questions whether Richmond's closed vestry or the open vestry in Twickenham was more effective in administering parish affairs. It also examines whether the different forms of vestry affected the participation of ratepayers in vestry business and the social standing of those that were involved.

The chapter looks in some detail at two important areas of business – poor relief and the supply of water. Poor relief is considered only up to the formation of the poor law unions because insufficient information exists after this time that is specific to Richmond and Twickenham. For Richmond, there are workhouse admission records for individuals, but no records of outdoor relief have survived prior to 1870. Twickenham was one of ten constituent parishes of the Brentford board of guardians, and the records of the board do not record any information that is specific to parishes. In respect of water, the chapter examines the problems that Richmond experienced in dealing with a private sector monopoly supplier in an area that was probably outside its technical capability to resolve. The chapter also looks at the opening of a public library in Richmond in 1881 and public baths in 1882. Finally, the chapter examines the timing and reasons for both communities abolishing the secular roles of their vestries

Chapter 4 continues the examination of local government in the two parishes. Towards the end of the century, Richmond was administered by a borough council established through incorporation, and Twickenham by a local board and then an urban district council. The thesis explores the different statutory bases of the three bodies and

considers the influence of some of the key authority members. It also examines the effect of the wider electoral franchise, as it was introduced, on the backgrounds of the men elected as board members, councillors, or aldermen. One of the key features of Richmond and Twickenham was their location just outside the boundary of the MBW and LCC area. The chapter considers the advantages and disadvantages of this situation and the extent to which it facilitated capital works, such as sewers, and the provision of other facilities.

In the last three decades of the century, both Richmond and Twickenham were closely involved in the construction of sewage disposal facilities. The thesis considers the problems that both communities had in reaching agreement on such projects and then managing their implementation. It questions the reasons for the difficulties that the respective authorities experienced as single tier bodies and the impact that these had on delivering sewage disposal infrastructure. It also analyses the impact of these projects on the municipal finances of the two towns and questions whether the level of debt incurred to finance them was sustainable.

Chapter 5 brings together the main themes that emerge from the analysis and sets out the overall conclusions that can be drawn from the study.

Literature Review

The review is divided into literature on Richmond and Twickenham and wider literature concerning suburban development, transport, commercial activities, and local government.

Literature on Richmond and Twickenham

The literature on Richmond and Twickenham is comprised of contemporary nineteenth century writing and more modern material. The earliest volume for Richmond is John

Evans' *Richmond and its vicinity*, published in 1825.²⁸ It describes some of the main features and inhabitants of Richmond and, to a lesser extent, Twickenham. In 1797, Edward Ironside published *The history and antiquities of Twickenham*, but this was limited mainly to extracts from parish registers and lists of tombstone inscriptions.²⁹ Towards the end of the century, E. Beresford Chancellor and R. S. Cobbett published volumes on the history, antiquities, memorials, and some of the more important residents of Richmond and Twickenham respectively.³⁰ Both volumes were written in the uncritical style of the late nineteenth century. Two prominent members of the Richmond vestry, who were also two of the first aldermen of the new Borough of Richmond, wrote their recollections of events in the town in the last three or four decades of the century.³¹ Both works must be considered in the light of their own involvement in the town's business at this time.

The most significant modern study of Richmond is John Cloake's *Cottages and common fields of Richmond and Kew; studies in the economic and social history of the manor of Richmond up to the mid-nineteenth century* which covers the history of Richmond from the 13th to the nineteenth century.³² Most of the book, as the author acknowledges in his introduction, is concerned with the period prior to 1800.³³ There is no recent volume devoted to nineteenth century Twickenham, although J. M. Lee's book on the town in the twentieth century includes some historiography of the nineteenth century.³⁴

Cloake also wrote two volumes on the *Palaces and parks of Richmond and Kew*, which consider the monarchy's connection with Richmond over the centuries.³⁵ Two more

²⁸ Evans, *Richmond and its vicinity*.

²⁹ Edward Ironside, *The history and antiquities of Twickenham* (London, 1797).

³⁰ E. Beresford Chancellor, *The history and antiquities of Richmond, Kew, Petersham and Ham* (Richmond, 1894); R.S. Cobbett, *Memorials of Twickenham, parochial and topographical* (London, 1872).

³¹ Charles Burt, *The Richmond vestry; notes of its operations and history from 1614 to 1890* (Richmond, 1890); Somers. T. Gascoyne, *Recollections of Richmond, its institutions and their development* (Richmond, 1898).

³² Cloake, *Cottages and the common fields*.

³³ Cloake, *Cottages and the common fields*, pp. xi-xii.

³⁴ J M. Lee, *The making of modern Twickenham* (London, 2005).

³⁵ John Cloake, *Palaces and parks of Richmond and Kew*, Vol. I, the palaces of Shene and Richmond (Chichester, 1995); *Palaces and parks of Richmond and Kew*, Vol. II.

general volumes, *Richmond past* and *Twickenham past*, set out more general histories of the two parishes.³⁶ Bamber Gascoyne published two volumes on the more significant buildings in Richmond and Twickenham, covering the period up to 1900, using topographical prints as his source.³⁷ In addition, some of the buildings of note in both towns are included in Pevsner's *Buildings of England*.³⁸

The Richmond Local History Society and the Borough of Twickenham Local History Society have published articles and booklets that are too numerous to list here. Where one of their publications is referred to in this thesis it is referenced in the text.

Wider Literature

Suburban Development

The literature on suburban growth in the nineteenth century is considerable. The term 'suburb' is used frequently by historians and others. Sometimes the author offers a definition of the term, but, in other cases the meaning of the word is left to the interpretation of the reader. Andrew Saint wrote 'Everyone has an idea of the suburb, can recognise and feel his or her version of the thing. At that point unanimity ends.'³⁹ Dyos described a suburb as 'a decentralised part of a city with which it is inseparably linked by certain economic and social ties'.⁴⁰ Fishman commented that:

Though physically separated from the urban core, the suburb nevertheless depends on it economically for the jobs that support its residents. It is also culturally dependent on the core for the major institutions of urban life:

³⁶ John Cloake, *Richmond past* (London, 1991); Donald Simpson, *Twickenham past* (London, 1993).

³⁷ Bamber Gascoyne, *Images of Richmond, a survey of the topographical prints of Richmond in Surrey up to the year 1900* (Richmond, 1978); Bamber Gascoyne and Jonathan Ditchburn, *Images of Twickenham, with Hampton and Teddington* (Richmond, 1981).

³⁸ Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The buildings of England, London 2, south* (Harmondsworth, 1983).

³⁹ Andrew Saint, *London suburbs* (London, 1999), p.9.

⁴⁰ H.J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb* (London, 1961) p. 22.

*professional offices, department stores and other specialised shops, hospitals, theatres and alike.*⁴¹

The work of Dyos, Thompson, Fishman, and, a few others, mainly covers the nineteenth century and considers communities that were closer geographically to the centre of a metropolis than Richmond and Twickenham, and, from mid-century became part of the local government arrangements for that metropolis. Archer argues that Twickenham should be considered as a suburb because 20 or so ‘detached villas’ were built there in the eighteenth century for pleasure purposes.⁴² As a result of the relative economic and administrative independence of Twickenham for almost all of the nineteenth century set out in this thesis, the author concludes that it is not appropriate to categorise it as a suburb of the metropolis because of a small number of eighteenth century ‘detached villas’. The same consideration applies to Richmond.

In view of the above, the meaning of the term ‘suburb’ must be open to question. Nevertheless, the expansion of suburbia is relevant to aspects of the development of Richmond and Twickenham in the nineteenth century and this literature review considers the most relevant.

The literature on suburban growth falls into two categories. The first considers suburban growth in broad terms, and the factors that caused it, the changes that occurred over time and the public perception of them. The second category concentrates on specific aspects of the development of selected locations without necessarily considering, in any depth, the wider factors that contributed to suburban development in the nineteenth century.

In the first category of studies, Fishman and Galinou are concerned with two suburbs that were established with a specific purpose in mind.⁴³ Fishman explores the creation around Clapham Common of a suburb of rich evangelical City merchants who moved

⁴¹ Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias* (New York, 1977) p.5.

⁴² Archer, *Architecture and suburbia*, pp.88-89.

⁴³ Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois utopias: the rise and fall of suburbia* (New York, 1977), pp.51-62; Mireille Galinou, *Cottages and villas: the birth of the garden suburb* (London, 2010).

their families out of the City to enable them to live in a community of like-minded individuals and to separate their business premises from their home. In the City, a single building had doubled as their family home and place of business. Galinou studies, in detail, the development of the Eyre Estate, which includes St. John's Wood, from the end of the eighteenth century through to the present day. Located to the north west of Regent's Park, the estate was Britain's first 'garden quarter'. Galinou examines how the Eyre family shaped and argued over the development of the estate and the architects, business partners and builders that were necessary to create and develop it. She also considers the factors that resulted in the estate losing some control over its overall environment such as the establishment of the MBW in 1855 and the increasing tendency for lessees to make modifications to properties.

Thompson, Reeder, Cannadine, Saint, Olsen and Dennis consider suburban development more broadly. Thompson concludes that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the growth in the size of London necessitated an increase in the extent of the built-up area.⁴⁴ Initially, this was accommodated by an extension of the established pattern of streets and squares. Gradually, during the eighteenth century, some of the more prosperous moved out to live in villas or mansions in nearby villages to escape the poor conditions of the city. These were prototype suburbs being a mixture of resort and permanent use.

Reeder argues that in addition to the generally acknowledged reasons for suburbanisation, namely, population increase and improved means of transport, the building of the suburbs also provided a home for financial capital that needed more and more outlets.⁴⁵ Suburban development opened up opportunities for land owners, railway and omnibus promoters, shareholders in gas and water companies, solicitors, speculative builders and tradesmen and businessmen of all kinds. Thus, the building of the suburbs was an integral part of the economy of nineteenth century Britain.

⁴⁴ F.M.L. Thompson, *The rise of suburbia* (Leicester, 1982), p.5.

⁴⁵ David. A. Reeder, *Suburbanity and the Victorian city* (Leicester, 1980) p. 11.

Thompson, Saint and Olsen outline the popularity of families achieving a clear separation of work and home for those that could afford it. They also consider the importance attached to domestic privacy and family-nurtured morality, which served to give the bourgeoisie a social identity and mark them off from the upper class and the lower orders.⁴⁶ Thompson concludes that, once the creation of suburbs had been shown to be commercially viable, the creation of more was inevitable. This point, he states, was reached in the 1830s.

Archer suggests that, during the eighteenth century, the relationship of the suburbs to the cities changed from being hierarchical to more equal.⁴⁷ Dennis concludes that towards the end of the nineteenth century, suburbs changed from being places of retreat and seclusion from city squalor for the wealthy to something that the lower middle class could aspire to, as affordable transport became more readily available and working hours were reduced. Furthermore, suburbanisation became an issue of status; where individuals lived within the suburbs was an indication of status and class.⁴⁸

Cannadine and Saint conclude that, between 1800 and 1870, only those that could afford private transport, or the railway where this existed, were able to move from the centre of cities whilst still working there. In addition, landed families or corporations that owned much of the land around cities were more interested in building houses for the 'respectable' middle classes than for the working class. Thus, in the mid-nineteenth century, the combination of population growth, landowners' preferences, and middle-class actions created considerable residential segregation in England.⁴⁹ Later in the century, the introduction of trams and more affordable rail fares made commuting possible for the lower middle class and the more prosperous working class. This resulted

⁴⁶ Thompson, *The rise of suburbia*, p.8; Andrew Saint, *London suburbs* (London, 1999), p.18; Donald Olsen, *The growth of Victorian London* (London, 1976), pp.213-214.

⁴⁷ John Archer, 'Colonial suburbs in south Asia, 1700-1850, and the spaces of modernity' in ed., R. Silverstone, *Visions of Suburbia* (London, 1997) p. 27.

⁴⁸ Richard Dennis, *Cities in modernity, representations and productions of metropolitan space 1840-1930* (Cambridge, 2008), pp.184-185.

⁴⁹ David Cannadine, 'Victorian cities: how different?' in ed., R.J. Morris and R. Rodger, *The Victorian city, A reader in British urban history 1820-1914* (Harlow, 1993), pp.124-126; Saint, *London suburbs*, p.18.

in conflict with segregated middle-class suburbs as a result of their new proximity to lower-quality housing or the building of tramways across them, resulting in some of the middle class moving further out of town.⁵⁰

Dennis considers that nineteenth century suburbs were 'modern' in three ways. First, they were related to new ideas about privacy, property, social relationships, and lifestyles focused on the home.⁵¹ At the same time, they were places of segregation between different classes, a situation that had not existed in densely populated city centres. Second, they were places of new technology dependent upon new means of transport and communication and new forms of infrastructure, such as gas and electricity. Third, they offered new markets for the construction industry, financial services, and consumer goods. For many residents, suburbs were the opposite of modernity as they were a refuge from modern business and 'cosmopolitan diversity'. Suburbs were places where 'family values' and 'traditional architectural styles' were established. The desire for such self-conscious retreats was part of modernity.

Overall, Thompson concludes that suburbia was an 'unloved, sprawling artefact of which few people were particularly fond'. It benefited landowners, developers, builders, and the occupants of the new houses, but it satisfied nobody else. As evidence of his assertion, Thompson quotes *The Architect* of 1876 as follows: 'A modern suburb is a place which is neither one thing or the other, it has neither the order of the town nor the open freedom of the country'.⁵² **Chapter 2** examines the extent to which this characterisation was typical of Richmond and Twickenham and whether residential development was accepted or opposed by existing residents.

Much of the more recent literature on suburbia has concerned the USA. Archer concludes that throughout the nineteenth century there were misgivings about suburbs.⁵³ Frequently they were not populated by 'elite bourgeois households' but

⁵⁰ Cannadine, 'Victorian cities: how different?', p.124-126.

⁵¹ Dennis, *Cities in modernity*, pp.182-183.

⁵² Thompson, *The rise of suburbia*, p.3.

⁵³ Archer, *Architecture and suburbia*, p.240.

contained a mixture of social classes. Lewis Mumford praises the individuality and the flexibility of suburbs in the nineteenth century but, by the twentieth century he concludes that they had become a 'desolate landscape', which resulted from excessive growth.⁵⁴ Their dormitory nature and rejection of urban culture meant that suburbs were a negation of everything that was good about cities. Fishman takes a more positive view. He argues that suburbia represented 'the triumphant assertion of middle-class values' and that they were populated by a significant divergence of class and race because wealthy suburbanites required individuals to provide a wide range of services.⁵⁵

There are several studies of individual locations. The two seminal studies of specific areas are the Dyos study of Camberwell and the Thompson study of Hampstead.⁵⁶ The Dyos study of Camberwell was the first comprehensive examination of the transformation during the nineteenth century of a number of villages on the edge of south London into a fully integrated suburb of the metropolis. He considers five reasons that determined the speed of this development: the increase in the population of London, the improvements in transport and the ability and willingness of more people to travel further to their work, the availability of capital to finance housebuilding, the individual circumstances of individual estates that affected the type of development that could take place, and the increasing preference amongst those that could afford it for a family dwelling some way from the place of work. He concludes that Camberwell, at the end of the nineteenth century, did not result from some grand design but came about because of many individual decisions of landowners, developers, builders, and house owners.

Thompson's study of Hampstead concentrates primarily on the terms of land ownership and its consequences for development. The tithe commutation survey of 1838 recorded that five estates shared 70% of the land. With a few exceptions, the territories of these

⁵⁴ Becky Nicolaidis, 'How hell moved from the city to the suburbs: urban scholars and changing perceptions of authentic community, in ed., K.M. Kruse and T.J. Sugrue, *The new suburban history* (Chicago, 2006) p. 87; Lewis Mumford, *The city in history, its origins, its transformation, and its prospects* (Harmondsworth, 1961) pp. 468-507.

⁵⁵ Robert Fishman, *Bougeois Utopias*, p. 4.

⁵⁶ H.J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb: A study of the growth of Camberwell* (Leicester, 1961) and F.M.L. Thompson, *Hampstead: building a borough, 1650-1964* (London, 1974).

estates were the same in 1914 as they had been in 1838. The conditions attached to the ownership of specific areas of land, the approach taken by the five landowners, and pressure to maintain public access to Hampstead Heath before its acquisition for the public by MBW in 1871, were all important in determining the course of Hampstead's development in the nineteenth century.

The Dyos and Thompson studies cover suburbs that became part of the MBW area, and neither of them examine, in any detail, the significance of local government to the development of Camberwell or Hampstead during the nineteenth century. There was also relatively little consideration of water supply and sanitation. This thesis seeks to take this discussion forward by linking issues related to the pattern of land ownership and development to those concerning local governance and its main participants.

After the Camberwell and Hampstead studies, there has been other research that considers specific issues of suburban development within a given location. The following concern the London area in the nineteenth century.

J M Rawcliffe's study of Bromley, Kent (1841-1881) considers the importance of two estates and the railway in the development of the town.⁵⁷ The railway, which did not come to Bromley until 1858, attracted a wide spectrum of middle- and upper-class inhabitants, who were not deterred by the high cost of fares to London. Bromley resisted workers' fares and therefore did not become the home of clerks who lived in places such as Camberwell and Penge. As a result, most of the residential property built in Bromley was of a higher rental value than in neighbouring districts.

Michael Jahn considers suburban development in outer west London and relates the suburban building cycle in Chiswick and Ealing in the second half of the nineteenth century to the building cycle for London as a whole and the relationship of estate development to the construction of the railway.⁵⁸ He concludes that there was a

⁵⁷ J.M. Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish town to London suburb, 1841-81' in ed., F.M.L. Thompson, *The rise of suburbia* (Leicester, 1982).

⁵⁸ Michael Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900' in ed., F.M.L. Thompson, *The rise of suburbia* (Leicester, 1982).

relationship between the two cycles and that, in west London, there was evidence that building development followed the railway construction rather than vice versa, as suggested by other historians for other locations. This debate is discussed later in **Chapters 1 and 2**.

Whitehand outlines a more formal economic-geographical framework within which urban development could be explained, which is subsequently criticised by Daunton.⁵⁹ This debate, in relation to Richmond and Twickenham, is discussed in **Chapter 2**.

Two more recent studies examine Surbiton and Ilford, Essex. In three articles on Surbiton, French considers the development of Surbiton in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁰ Its proximity to Richmond and Twickenham results in some parallels with this thesis, but they are relatively limited because Surbiton came about because it was on the main LSWR line from Southampton, rather than being a community of long standing. French emphasises that future studies of suburban development need to focus more on the people that lived in the locations studied. He refutes the negative opinions on suburbs expressed by some historians and outlines why Surbiton was a thriving community.

Heller and Jackson examine the development and marketing of Ilford between 1880 and 1914.⁶¹ Heller concludes that Ilford's success was based on a marketing strategy that involved the stakeholders. It targeted clerical workers and created an environment that met their needs. It was successful because the two developers involved, the local government, and the railway company worked closely together. It is not comparable to

⁵⁹ J.W.R. Whitehand, 'Building activity and intensity of development at the urban fringe: The case of a London suburb in the nineteenth century', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 1.2 (1975), pp.211-224; M.J. Daunton, 'The building cycle and the urban fringe in Victorian cities: a comment', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 4.2 (1978), pp.175-191.

⁶⁰ Christopher French, 'Who lived in Surbiton in the second half of the 19th century', *Family Community History*, 10.2 (2007), pp.93-109; 'The Good Life in Victorian and Edwardian Surbiton creating a suburban community before 1914', *Family Community History*, 14.2, (2011), pp.105-119; 'Housing the middle classes in late Victorian and Edwardian Surbiton', *The Local Historian*, 45.2 (2015), pp.126-142.

⁶¹ Michael Heller, 'Suburbia, marketing and stakeholders: developing Ilford, Essex, 1880-1914', *Urban History*, 41.1 (2014), pp.62-80; Alan A. Jackson, *Semi-detached London: suburban development, life and transport, 1900-39*, second edition (Didcot, 1991), pp.37-42.

the situation in Richmond or Twickenham because most of the development in the former took place prior to 1880 and, in the latter, land ownership was too widely dispersed to make co-ordination possible.

Transport

An area closely related to suburban development is transport, and, more specifically the building of the railways, and, later the electric tramway. There has been considerable debate between historians on the extent to which suburban development was influenced by the timing and routes of individual lines. All the literature agrees that in the suburbs, within two or three miles from the city centre, workmen walked to work and the more prosperous used horse-drawn buses and carriages. To some extent writers' views were influenced by the location of their research. Thompson in his study of Hampstead is clear that the railways had no influence on the pattern and timing of development.⁶² Dyos, in his study of Camberwell, also concludes that the railways were not significant in the development of that suburb.⁶³ Both Hampstead and Camberwell were sufficiently close to the centre of London for it to be feasible to walk to work. However, in the *Rise of Suburbia*, Thompson acknowledges that the outer suburbs of London could not have been developed as commuter dormitories without commuter rail services.⁶⁴ Jackson concludes that the outer ring of development around London could not have been developed without the railway, although he acknowledges that the link was not straightforward as some landowners resisted railway building.⁶⁵ Kellett believes that there is a link between the railways and the building of suburbia. But, he also concludes that the situation was complicated by individual rail companies' policies to suburban lines and the introduction of lower fares that could be afforded by the working class.⁶⁶ In this respect, he points to the increase in the building of workmen's housing to the north east of London because of the cheap workers' fares offered by the Great

⁶² Thompson, *Hampstead*, p. 62.

⁶³ Dyos. *Victorian Suburb*, 99. 69-70.

⁶⁴ Thompson, *The rise of suburbia*, p.19.

⁶⁵ Alan A. Jackson, *Semi-detached London*, p.1.

⁶⁶ John Kellett, *Railways and Victorian cities* (London, 1979), pp.371-382.

Eastern Railway. Jahn concludes that there is evidence of a relationship between the railway and building construction in west London.⁶⁷ To the north-west of London, Jackson outlines how the Metropolitan Railway took a direct interest in creating passenger demand for the extension of its line from Swiss Cottage.⁶⁸ Commencing in the 1870s, it purchased land near to the line, and on that not required for railway purposes, it granted building leases to developers for the construction of houses. This process continued into the 1930s. There is no unanimity that the number of railway passengers increased in proportion to residential development. Capuzzo argues that the expansion of suburbs, at least up to the first world war, did not necessarily produce a proportional increase in the number of commuters because jobs were created locally.⁶⁹

Thus, the relationship between suburban development and the building of the railways is not straightforward. It depended upon the distance of the location from the centre of the city, the policies of the railway companies with respect to workmen's fares and land acquisition, and the willingness of landowners to co-operate with railway companies and to permit their land to be used for residential purposes.

There is also some literature that relates specifically to Richmond and Twickenham. Blomfield examines watermen and lightermen between Teddington and Chiswick between 1750 and 1901.⁷⁰ He concludes that those families that continued to work on the Thames against the increasing competition from steam-powered boats could do so because of the advantages of their location and their ability to adapt. This thesis agrees with Blomfield's conclusion and outlines how boatmen living in Richmond and Twickenham turned to boat building and boat hire for visitors. For the period after 1846, Sherwood provides an account of the railway lines to Richmond in the nineteenth

⁶⁷ Michael Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.122.

⁶⁸ Alan A. Jackson, *London's metro-land, a unique British railway enterprise* (Harrow, 2006) pp. 10- 18.

⁶⁹ Paolo Capuzzo, 'Between politics and technology: transport as a factor in mass suburbanisation in Europe, 1890-1939', in ed., Colin Divall and Winstan Bond, *Suburbanising the masses: public transport and urban development in historical perspective* (London, 2003), p. 25.

⁷⁰ David Blomfield, 'Tradesmen of the Thames: success and failure among the watermen and lightermen families of the upper tidal Thames, 1750-1901' (PhD thesis, University of Kingston, 2006).

century, commencing with the opening of the line to Nine Elms and subsequently to Waterloo.⁷¹

The electrification of tramways substantially increased urban mobility at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁷² This not would have affected the lives of the inhabitants of Richmond, as the borough council successfully resisted the introduction of the electric tramway, although Twickenham agreed to this form of transport from the very beginning of the twentieth century.

Local government

The literature on local governance relevant to Richmond and Twickenham in the nineteenth century covers vestries, the relationship between local and national government and the MBW, other forms of local government, such as local boards and councils, and the development of infrastructure, such as sewers.

Vestries

Historians are divided in their opinions on the effectiveness of vestries in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which probably reflects the varying size and composition of vestries across the country and the different challenges they faced in urban and rural parishes. Sheppard takes a relatively positive view of the closed vestry in St Marylebone in the last three decades of the eighteenth century and the first three of the nineteenth century.⁷³ He examines the composition of the vestry's membership and the arrangements for the co-option of members, the success of the vestry in improving the streets of the borough, and its resistance to outside interference, including parliamentary bills that it believed were against its interests. Sheppard also considers the demise of the closed vestry brought about by ratepayers' reactions to the sizeable expenditure on church redecoration and poor relief, and the Vestries Act 1831

⁷¹ Tim Sherwood, *The railways of Richmond upon Thames* (Wokingham, 1991).

⁷² Capuzzo, 'Between politics and technology', p. 27.

⁷³ F.H.W. Sheppard, *Local government in St Marylebone 1688-1835, a study of the vestry and turnpike trust* (London, 1958).

(Hobhouse Act), which provided for the election of vestrymen by ratepayers.⁷⁴ The Webbs, on the other hand, writing from a 'peoples' perspective', described the Richmond vestry in the eighteenth century as 'the little parish oligarchy...with no clear lines between...powers and duties'.⁷⁵

Derek Fraser believes that the vestry was an essential part of the English system of local government.⁷⁶ However, the population growth and social change that occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries increased attendances at open vestry meetings to unmanageable proportions. Decisions were often swayed by those who were not legally entitled to attend vestry meetings and paid no rates. Many continued to believe that influence should be exercised by property, and this resulted in the Sturges Bourne Acts of 1818 and 1819, which provided for the election of a 'select vestry' to administer the Poor Law in each parish and introduced a scale of voting, whereby a ratepayer could have between one and six votes depending upon the value of his or her property.⁷⁷ Fraser concludes that the result was the encroachment of the vestry by the middle class and their politicisation by men with political ambitions that were unable to fulfil them elsewhere.

There are also differing views on the vestries that existed as the first tier of local government under the MBW from 1855. Robson concludes that they were characterised by corruption of every kind and failed to fulfil the tasks assigned to them.⁷⁸ Alan Clinton and Peter Murray, on the other hand, conclude that, overall, many historians have been unfair in considering all London vestries as corrupt, inefficient, and dominated by men of mediocre ability who were interested only in minimising expenditure and thereby keeping the rates as low as possible.⁷⁹ They acknowledge that the vestries were criticised

⁷⁴ F.H.W. Sheppard, *Local government in St Marylebone*, pp.275-298.

⁷⁵ Sydney and Beatrice Webb, *English local government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: the parish and the county*, (London, 1906), pp.119-220.

⁷⁶ Derek Fraser, *Urban politics in Victorian England, the structure of politics in Victorian cities* (Leicester, 1976), pp.26-30.

⁷⁷ 58 George. III c. 69; 59 George. III c. 12.

⁷⁸ W.A. Robson, *The government and misgovernment of London* (London, 1939), pp.66-67.

⁷⁹ P. Murray and A. Clinton, 'Reassessing the vestries – London local government, 1855-1900', in ed., Alan O'Day, *Government and institutions in the post-1832 United Kingdom* (New York, 1995).

in this way by many contemporary commentators, but they argue that, to some extent, this was because the Metropolis Management Act (1855) was a compromise between those that wanted centralised government of London without any meaningful representation and those that believed that open vestries were more democratic. They conclude that, whereas there were examples of corruption and inefficiency, the main functions of the London vestries were to pave streets, close sewers, and connect houses to the water supply. Between them, the vestries managed to pave hundreds of miles of streets and lay a similar quantity of water pipes and drains, the benefits of which were shown in declining mortality rates. This thesis seeks to contribute to the debate on vestry efficacy in the nineteenth century by comparing the select vestry in Richmond with the open vestry in Twickenham in terms of the local governance of their respective communities and the extent of ratepayer involvement in vestry elections and meetings.

Relations between local authorities, central government, and the MBW

Relations between central government and local authorities are important in understanding the background to the establishment of the Richmond vestry and its eventual demise as a secular authority in 1890. Joanna Innes and John Davis consider relations between central government and local authorities in the late eighteenth and second half of the nineteenth century respectively. Joanna Innes considers the role of Parliament in the eighteenth century through the many local bills that were passed by Parliament during this time.⁸⁰ Central government kept a low profile in local affairs, but it was crucial in refusing or sanctioning local projects. Although the eighteenth century produced a significant volume of local legislation, ministers did not pursue a programme of domestic improvement or attempt to direct local government activities, except in times of considerable difficulty. Innes concludes that local government in the eighteenth century was a relatively complex network of mainly unpaid officeholders, many of whom carried out their role effectively. In addition, there were informal links between central and local government, often effected by High Court judges on the Assizes circuit. Innes

⁸⁰ Joanna Innes, *Inferior politics, social problems and social policies in eighteenth century Britain* (Oxford, 2009), pp.21-32.

rejects the view of the Webbs, who believed that local government in the eighteenth century was ineffective and the related legislation of little significance.

Davis considers that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the principal difficulty in relations between central government and local authorities came about because there was no uniformity of the latter.⁸¹ In the counties, there were the Justices of the Peace, but, as they were unelected, governments were reluctant to extend their powers. In urban areas, there were a range of vestries, councils, and boards of varying sizes. Victorian local authorities enjoyed considerable freedom, and national governments encouraged this by passing Acts of Parliament that were mainly permissive. The principal exceptions to this were Acts concerning public health, the police, and education. Overall, central government does not appear to have been concerned with the growth in local authority activity, although the Treasury did have significant reservations about the increasing level of local authority borrowing.

Although Richmond and Twickenham were not part of the MBW area, it is important to appreciate the differences between the situation that prevailed in the former and the two-tier local government structure in the latter. Three studies look at local government in the latter part of the nineteenth century within the area covered by the MBW.⁸² The studies discuss the difficulties of governing a city as large as metropolitan London. Before the Metropolis Management Act of 1855, White observes that London was governed by 300 boards covering numerous functions and 200 vestries.⁸³ The 1855 Act attempted to bring some uniformity and greater efficiency into the second tier by allowing the larger vestries to continue operating but combining some of the functions of others under a

⁸¹ John Davis, 'Central government and the towns', in ed., Martin Daunton, *The Cambridge urban history of Britain* vol. III (Cambridge, 2000), pp.262-272.

⁸² David Owen, *The Government of Victorian London, 1855-1899, the Metropolitan Board of Works, the vestries and the City Corporation* (London,1982); John Davis, *Reforming London: The London government problem, 1855-1900* (Oxford, 1988); Janet Roebuck, *Urban development in 19th century London; Lambeth, Battersea and Wandsworth, 1838-1888* (London, 1979).

⁸³ Jerry White, *London in the 19th century, a human awful wonder of god* (London, 2007) p. 448; 18 & 19 Victoria l c. 120.

board of works. In addition, a first tier was created, the MBW, which was responsible for the execution of major improvements across the metropolis.

All three studies agree that a two-tier system of local government was necessary in an urban area the size of London. The system devised in 1855 had several weaknesses that eventually led to its downfall. The indirect elections for membership of the first tier resulted in there being little interest in metropolitan-wide projects at a local level. In addition, Davis concludes that the lack of direct accountability to the electorate was a contributory factor to several expenditure scandals that gave rise to cynicism towards the MBW amongst the electorate.

There was also fragmentation at the second tier because there was a significant difference in rateable values between the richest and the poorest vestry, although all authorities were expected to undertake the same statutory duties.⁸⁴ The weakness in the first tier led to the expansion of the second tier, which, as an indirectly elected body, was not sustainable. Davis concludes that these three factors led to the demise of the MBW in 1888. Owen takes a more positive view of the MBW and concentrates more on its achievements, such the construction of sewers, the Thames Embankment, and some new thoroughfares through the centre of London, than its inadequacies and scandals.

Local boards and councils.

In the last 30 years of the nineteenth century, the secular functions of local government in Richmond and Twickenham were taken over by a local board and borough and urban district councils, respectively. The membership composition of these bodies was important to the conduct of local government in these two communities. Hoppen emphasises the number of single function bodies, many of them unelected, which were established in the mid-nineteenth century, and divided local government in some areas into small areas of responsibility.⁸⁵ Doyle comments that the single purpose system came

⁸⁴ In 1871, the richest vestry, St James Piccadilly, had a rateable value seven times that of the poorest, Bethnal Green.

⁸⁵ K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian generation, 1846-1886*, (London, 1998), p.106.

under considerable criticism from the 1870s, and this thesis considers the extent to which the multi-purpose authorities that existed in Richmond and Twickenham were of benefit to their communities.⁸⁶ The single purpose authorities eventually resulted in the Local Government Act of 1888, which created multi-purpose county councils, autonomous county borough councils in most major towns, and the LCC in London. Many councils engaged in major capital projects, and, on a smaller scale, many established social amenities of some kind, such as parks, libraries, and public baths.

Doyle also examines changes to the composition of councils. The main change in the membership of many councils was the increase in the number of small producers and retailers at the expense of larger manufacturers and merchants. There was also growth in the number of professionals. However, there were variations between towns. There were changes too in the roles of the more senior officials. As local government affairs became too complicated for councillors to master, the clerk and treasurer became *de facto* chief officers with considerable influence across the councils.

Utilities

The development of utility infrastructure was a very significant feature of local government business in the last half of the nineteenth century, and Richmond and Twickenham were no exception. This occurred against a background of significant increases in population, legislation aimed at stopping the discharge of sewage into the Thames, and the increasing belief that a constant supply of water 'came to symbolise modern civilisation'.⁸⁷ The attempt of the Richmond vestry to ensure an adequate supply of water of reasonable quality was an important aspect of its business from the late 1860s and a significant factor in its demise in 1890 as a secular authority. The Richmond vestry and the TLB were heavily engaged in the 1870s and 1880s in the provision of an adequate sewer infrastructure, and both were effectively single tier authorities in this

⁸⁶ Barry M. Doyle, 'The changing functions of urban government; councillors, officials and pressure groups', in ed., Martin Daunt, *The Cambridge urban history of Britain* vol. III (Cambridge, 2000), pp.287-300.

⁸⁷ Frank Trentmann and Vanessa Taylor, 'Liquid politics: water and the politics of everyday life in the modern city' in *Past and Present*, 211 (May, 2011), p.204.

respect. Gas and electricity were provided by the private sector to both communities, as was water to Twickenham.

The literature on the provision of water and the development of a sewer infrastructure has five main themes: public health, including the consequences of river pollution and poor-quality water; the potential conflict between public need and private profit; the willingness of ratepayers to pay the cost of improvements; funding mechanisms for the necessary capital expenditure; and the difficulties experienced by local authorities in implementing such projects.

Broich, Daunton and Jones discuss public health issues of poor water and inadequate drainage. Daunton argues that the urban environment and, as a result, life expectancy deteriorated in the second quarter of the nineteenth century because of the low level of infrastructure expenditure. Life expectancy at birth was 35 in the 1820s, 29 in the 1830s, 34 in the 1850s, and 42 in the 1890s.⁸⁸ He believes that three-quarters of this improvement was the result of investment in public health measures. Broich and Jones outline the poor understanding of the links between poor quality water and disease, although the beliefs that did prevail resulted in Edwin Chadwick supporting the building of drains and sewers.⁸⁹ Jones records the very poor quality of water supplied in London, much of it drawn from the Thames.⁹⁰

Rosenthal considers the pollution of rivers by the discharge of untreated sewage and industrial effluent.⁹¹ He discusses cases where the owners of land, through which the polluted rivers flowed, challenged local authorities in the courts. He notes that, frequently, the authorities were adopting the only means then available to dispose of

⁸⁸ Martin Daunton, 'Democracy and decent drains: Investing in the Victorian city' in ed., Colin Cunningham and James Anderson, *The hidden iceberg of architectural history, papers from the annual symposium of the society of architectural historians of Great Britain* (Milton Keynes, 1998), p.16.

⁸⁹ John Broich, *London, water and the making of the modern city* (Pittsburgh, 2013), p.7; Chadwick believed in the 'miasma theory', by which waste was supposedly rendered innocuous by submersion under water so that building drains and sewers would protect the public health.

⁹⁰ Emma Jones, *Parched city: a history of London's public and private drinking water* (Winchester, 2013), p.35.

⁹¹ Leslie Rosenthal, *The river pollution dilemma in Victorian England, nuisance law versus economic efficiency* (Farnham, 2014), pp.1-33.

the sewage, although they were often found responsible for the pollution. This situation is fairly typical of that which existed in Richmond and Twickenham up to the late 1880s. In such circumstances, an injunction to close the town's sewerage system could have been expected. Rosenthal could find no example of this occurring because of the drastic consequences for a town in closing its sewerage system, although, as discussed in **Chapter 4**, the Richmond vestry was successfully prosecuted for polluting the River Thames.

In London, eight private water companies managed to establish area monopolies in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, with the resulting conflict of interest between profit and public need. Trentmann and Taylor report that, prior to municipalisation in 1904, London and the surrounding area was supplied with water 'by a series of monopolistic networks offering mainly inconstant supply, providing uneven access across municipal boundaries and drawing water from different sources and through different mains systems'.⁹² Jones records that these companies had enormous power and, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, water rates increased significantly, much to the annoyance of residents, without any improvement in the regularity and quality of supply.⁹³ Broich comments that, by the 1840s, the companies had not secured the new supplies required by increased urban populations and they were more interested in supplying the more affluent than expanding services to the wider population.⁹⁴ The water companies retained control over the supply of water in London until the beginning of the twentieth century because of successful lobbying of Parliament and general scepticism that the MBW would be able to deliver a better supply.⁹⁵ This thesis examines the problems experienced by Richmond with regard to the

⁹² Frank Trentmann and Vanessa Taylor, 'From users to consumers: water politics in nineteenth-century London', in ed., Frank Trentmann, *The making of the consumer; knowledge, power and identity in the modern world* (Oxford, 2006), p.54.

⁹³ Jones, *Parched city*, p.35.

⁹⁴ Broich, *London, water and the making of the modern city*, pp.8-9.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.48-54.

supply of water by one of the London companies, the SVWC, and why the Richmond vestry considered it necessary to become involved in the supply of water to the town.

Daunton and Millard examine the financial issues relevant to the construction of utilities and the reasons for central and local government involvement. Daunton asks why there was a failure of investment in the second quarter of the century and an increase in the second half of the century. He concludes that there were several factors.⁹⁶ Utilities required large sums of money and, in the first half of the century, neither the private nor public-sector finance systems were trusted sufficiently to provide the necessary finance. Ratepayers were not in favour of increased rates that would have been necessary to fund public provision, and many did not respect the profit motive of private monopolies. Trentmann and Taylor outline that the 'consumer' was deemed to be the ratepayer rather than the user, and therefore there was tension between the concept of 'universal need' and the narrower definition of the consumer, as only a proportion of households paid rates.⁹⁷ Richmond and Twickenham were not exempt from these tensions, and this thesis examines the opposition of some residents in both communities to the additional expenditure and potential rate increases involved in developing water and sewer infrastructures.

Three developments occurred which made public provision more favourable.⁹⁸ The Representation of the People Act of 1867 and the Municipal Franchise Act of 1869 quadrupled the local electorate.⁹⁹ The larger electorate was less sensitive to increased costs than the smaller property-based electorate that had preceded it. Second, from the 1860s, there was a move from 'voluntary associationalism' to the municipality, which came to dominate urban culture. Finally, from the 1870s, government backed loans became available to local authorities to finance infrastructure projects.

⁹⁶ Daunton, 'Democracy and decent drains', pp.18-21.

⁹⁷ Trentmann and Taylor, 'From users to consumers: water politics in nineteenth-century London', p.58.

⁹⁸ Daunton, 'Democracy and decent drains', pp.18-21.

⁹⁹ 30 & 31, Victoria I, c.102; 32 & 33 Victoria I, c.55.

Millward concludes that the interest of central government in utilities was twofold.¹⁰⁰ First, the large amount of money required for most projects meant that local funding was insufficient. As a result, capital could only be attracted if limited liability was granted, and this required an Act of Parliament with the ‘appropriate scrutiny of the financial soundness of the company’. The second reason related to granting authorisation for right of way, as many projects required land to be dug up or tram lines to be laid. Local authority interest often revolved around local councillors, who were often businessmen wanting to secure a constant service for their business. In addition, where payments for a service were linked to the rates, all ratepayers contributed to the costs of the service and capital. Private investors had to rely on payments from those who decided to subscribe to the service, which could make the investment less viable. Another factor that could influence local authorities to become involved in the provision of gas, electricity, and trams was the trading surpluses that could be used to finance public health instead of funding by increasing the rates. This was not a factor in Richmond nor Twickenham, as these facilities remained in private hands. The thesis considers why the Richmond and Twickenham authorities became directly involved in the supply of water (Richmond only) and the construction of sewerage infrastructure, but were content to leave gas, electricity, and trams to the private sector. Kellett differentiates between three strands of municipal activity: municipal socialism, municipal enterprise, and municipal trading.¹⁰¹ These are discussed in the context of Richmond and Twickenham in **Chapter 4**. Millichip examines the history of the Richmond Gas Company, which was established in 1846 with several Richmond vestrymen as directors and continued, as a private company, to supply gas to Richmond until 1923.¹⁰²

The final theme in the literature on large infrastructure projects is the difficulty and opposition that local authorities experienced in implementation. Hamlin argues that

¹⁰⁰ Robert Millward, ‘The political economy of urban utilities’, in ed., Martin Daunton, *The Cambridge urban history of Britain*, vol. III (Cambridge, 2000), pp.321-329.

¹⁰¹ J R Kellett, ‘Municipal socialism, enterprise and trading in the Victorian city’ in *Urban History Yearbook* (Leicester, 1978), pp.36-45.

¹⁰² Malcolm Millichip, *Lighting up Richmond, the gas Industry in Richmond, 1827-1991* (Richmond, 1991).

major sanitary reforms were more difficult to implement than has generally been recognised, and what may have been considered as resistance to progress was often ‘bewilderment and frustration with technical and legal complexities and fear of taking a wrong step’.¹⁰³ Luckin examines the available technology for sewage disposal that changed over time, which created uncertainty for local authorities, which was another reason for delay and indecision.¹⁰⁴ This thesis explores these scenarios in the context of Richmond and Twickenham.

Commercial activities

The principal economic activities in Richmond were retail and construction. Market gardening was also important in Twickenham.

There is some disagreement between historians as to the extent and speed of change in retailing practices in the first half of the nineteenth century. The debate centres around the speed of adoption of price competition, advertising, and the growth in the number of shops, particularly for the working classes. Clapham, Jefferys, Winstanley, Stobart and Morrison reach different conclusions on the changes that occurred in wholesale and retail practices.¹⁰⁵ These are set out in **Chapter 1**.

Dennis examines the development of department stores, bazaars, and arcades.¹⁰⁶ Most department stores originated from drapers’ stores and typically expanded by taking over neighbouring shops and expanding the range of products that they sold. Eventually, purpose-built premises were constructed on one site. In London, department stores resulted in the movement of the commercial West End from Holborn to Oxford Street

¹⁰³ Christopher Hamlin, ‘Muddling in bumbledom: on the enormity of large sanitary improvements in four British towns, 1855-1885’, in *Victorian Studies*, 32.1 (1988), pp.55-83.

¹⁰⁴ Bill Luckin, ‘Pollution in the city’, in *The Cambridge urban history of Britain, 1840-1950*, vol. III, ed., Martin Daunton (Cambridge, 2000), pp.213-217.

¹⁰⁵ J.H. Clapham, *An economic history of modern Britain, 1820-1850, the early railway age* (Cambridge, 1954); James B. Jefferys, *Retail trading in Britain, 1850-1950, a study of trends in retailing with special reference to the development of co-operative, multiple and department store methods of trading* (Cambridge, 1954); Michael Winstanley, *The shopkeeper’s world 1830-1914* (Manchester, 1983); Jon Stobart, *Spend, spend, spend, A history of shopping* (Stroud, 2008); Kathryn A. Morrison, *English shops and shopping, an architectural history* (London, 2003).

¹⁰⁶ Dennis, *Cities in modernity*, pp. 206-223.

and Tottenham Court Road. There were also department stores in the suburbs, such as Arding and Hobbs at Clapham Junction. As discussed in **Chapter 1**, there were three in Richmond by the end of the century.

In relation to building, Dyos and Kingsford provide accounts of the type of relatively small builders that constructed houses in Richmond and Twickenham.¹⁰⁷ These firms were, in the main, small businesses that only built a small number of houses a year and had to sell on the houses they had built to fund the construction of more. Both Dyos and Kingsford examine the businesses of larger concerns that worked in Camberwell and nearer to the centre of London, but there is no evidence that they were involved in Richmond or Twickenham.

Market gardening was important to Twickenham throughout the nineteenth century, and Unwin researched, in detail, nurseries and market gardens in the area.¹⁰⁸

Sources

This section looks at the main primary sources used in preparing the thesis. It considers the literature relating to some of the sources used in this research and examines each of the sources referred to as they relate to Richmond and Twickenham.

Many of these sources concern the business of the local authorities or are primary printed sources specific to Richmond or Twickenham. Local authority minutes and rate books are examples of the first group, and local papers and commercial directories are examples of the second. In addition, reference has also been made to some national sources. These include the census, minutes of the LGB, and the Inland Revenue 1910 valuation survey.

¹⁰⁷ P W Kingsford, *Builders and building workers* (London, 1973); Dyos, *Victorian suburb*, pp.122-137.

¹⁰⁸ A.C.B. Urwin, *Commercial nurseries and market gardens* (Twickenham, 1982).

National sources

The census

The main historian covering the census is Edward Higgs, who has produced a number of books and articles on various aspects of the subject.¹⁰⁹

The first census in 1801 came about because of war. Against a background of bad harvests, food shortages, and many men serving in the militia, and unable to work on the land, the government wanted to know the population of each parish. It also required information to be submitted by the overseers or clergy on the number of individuals working in agriculture, trade, manufacturing, or handicrafts. These were relatively simple operations, and the censuses for 1811 to 1831 were undertaken on a similar basis.

Higgs relates how the initial censuses were undertaken under the auspices of the clerk of the House of Commons, John Rickman. When he died in 1840, responsibility transferred to the newly appointed Registrar General, whose main responsibility was the GRO. Higgs sets out, in some detail, the processes for conducting the census and publishing the results in Parliamentary papers. He draws out a number of themes, the most important of which are as follows.

Statistics in the early nineteenth century were not a branch of mathematics, but a 'comparative description of states and countries'.¹¹⁰ The link between the census and the GRO was important for a number of reasons. The first Superintendent of Statistics at the GRO, William Farr, had a medical background, and this influenced decisions on the nature of some of the questions asked in the censuses after 1841. Civil registration was established in 1837 to provide the information necessary for individuals to prove claims on inheritances, ascertain the causes of death, and measure population densities. The

¹⁰⁹ Edward Higgs, *The Information State in England, the central collection of information on citizens since 1500* (Basingstoke, 2004); Edward Higgs, 'The struggle for the occupational census' in ed., Roy MacLeod, *Government and expertise, specialists, administrators and professionals, 1860-1919* (Cambridge, 1988); Edward Higgs, 'Women, occupations and work in the nineteenth century censuses' *History Workshop*, 23 (1987), pp.59-80; Edward Higgs, *Making sense of the census revisited, census records for England and Wales, 1801-1901. A handbook for historical researchers* (London, 2005).

¹¹⁰ Higgs, 'The struggle for the occupational census', p.75.

census was linked to the last of these. The medical community was aware of the connection between poverty and morbidity, although at the time, there was no consistent advocacy of the need to improve public health. Disease was seen as being caused by the concentration of people in cities, and the collection of registration and census data was intended to measure population densities, find out the causes of death, and provide evidence for sanitary reform.

Data from the census on occupations is among some of the most significant information used in this thesis, and it is important to understand the background to its classification and some of its limitations. Materials worked on were believed to have affected morbidity, mortality, and life expectancy. As a result, occupations were classified by Farr according to the materials or products worked on, or handled, under headings such as 'person engaged about animals', or 'persons working and dealing in minerals'.¹¹¹ In 1851, there were 17 such headings or classes, under which were listed the material worked on or the function undertaken. With some variation and extension, this classification continued for much of the rest of the century.

As a result of this classification, a number of problems arise in terms of interpreting some of the information, resulting from the collation of 'rank, profession, and occupation' data. First, it is sometimes not possible to determine the role of an individual. The instructions to the enumerators required that whether an individual was, for example, a master or apprentice this should be recorded, and, if the former, the number of men employed should also be reported. It is reasonable to assume that this did not always happen, and so the status of the individual is often not clear. From the 1891 census, three additional columns were added to the form to record whether an individual was an employer, employee, or self-employed.¹¹² These classifications were recorded incorrectly in the 1901 returns for Richmond and Twickenham. As a result, they have not been used in this thesis. Second, because of the importance given to materials or products, the unemployed and those no longer in work because of age were included

¹¹¹ Higgs, 'The struggle for the occupational census', p.77.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p.83.

with those in work until the 1881 census, rather than identified separately.

There were also inconsistencies in the recording of the 'rank, profession and occupation' of women. In 1851, householders were asked to include on the schedules 'the occupations of women who are regularly employed from home in any but domestic duties'.¹¹³ The work of women in the home was left unrecorded. No guidance was given with respect to the part-time work of female family members of, for example, shopkeepers or farmers. The result, concludes Higgs, based on two studies undertaken in two villages in Devon and Derbyshire, is that there were significant variations in the recording of women's work that can only be explained by differences in recording practice by households and enumerators.¹¹⁴ There were also variations in the recording of domestic servants, particularly where the work was performed by a relative. Higgs concludes that the boundaries between domestic service and unrecorded work as a member of a family probably varied by household, enumerator, and over time.¹¹⁵

A subject closely related to the census is migration. Richard Dennis undertook a study of Huddersfield, which looked at the proportion of individuals that remained in an enumeration district between 1851 and 1861.¹¹⁶ More recently, Christopher French carried out a similar study for Kingston-upon-Thames from 1851 to 1891.¹¹⁷

At the beginning of the research for this thesis, the census returns (except the names of individuals) for Richmond and Twickenham for 1841, 1851, and 1901 were entered into spreadsheets. These years were selected because 1841 was the first census to record any detail of individuals, 1851 the first to provide country-wide information on place of birth, and 1901 because it was the last census related to the nineteenth century. Since 2014, I-CEM data covering England from 1851-61 and 1881-1911 has been available

¹¹³ Higgs, 'Women, occupations and work in the nineteenth century censuses', p.63.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.64.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.69.

¹¹⁶ Richard Dennis, 'Intercensal mobility in a Victorian city', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, 2.3 (1977), pp.349-363.

¹¹⁷ Christopher French, 'Persistence in a local community: Kingston-upon-Thames, 1851-1891', *Local Population Studies*, 81 (2008), pp.18-36.

online. This allowed a wider analysis, which is summarised in **Chapter 1** and shown in more detail in **Appendix 4**.¹¹⁸ Data input as part of this thesis has been used for 1841 and, where it provides greater detail, for 1851 and 1901.

Correspondence with the Local Government Board.

The correspondence files between the LGB and the local authorities in Richmond and Twickenham from 1871 to 1900 contain many reports on public inquiries into proposed expenditure and other developments in the two towns.¹¹⁹ In addition, the files contain correspondences between the clerks of the respective authorities and the board, and periodic reports on the number and value of loans incurred by each authority and the repayments made. These files are organised in rough date sequence, and there can be no assurance that all the key papers have been retained. Nevertheless, they provide independent accounts of the significant infrastructure expenditure that both towns incurred after 1870 and an insight into the affairs of the vestry, local board, or council, outside of their respective minutes and newspaper reports.

Local sources

Records relating to residential property

The main records available concerning residential property are rate books, 1901 Inland Revenue valuation data, and a database of building applications received by the Richmond and Twickenham local authorities after around 1890. In addition, the TLB works committee minutes record the building applications approved after 1870. Few leases have survived for either community in the nineteenth century, but QAB records

¹¹⁸ K. Schurer, E. Higgs (2014). *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911*. [data collection]. UK Data Service. SN: 7481, <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7481-1>.

¹¹⁹ TNA, MH 12/12600-12631: LGB and predecessors, correspondence with Richmond poor law union, and other local authorities, 1862-1896; MH 12/6900-6953, 6984-6987 LGB and predecessors, correspondence with Brentford poor law union, and other local authorities (Twickenham) 1834-1900.

of leases that it purchased from the Selwyn family for their houses in Richmond provide a summary of the commencement date and length of the leases for these properties.¹²⁰

Rate books for Richmond have survived for every tenth year from 1800 to 1900.¹²¹ In Twickenham, they are available for most years up to 1852, but, thereafter, only the books for 1855, 1865, 1875, 1885, and 1895 have survived.¹²² The information therein has been used in **Chapter 2** to ascertain when some properties were built, track the growth in the number of properties in selected streets across the decades, identify some of the individuals that owned several properties, and calculate the proportion of owner-occupiers towards the end of the century. In both parishes, the books prior to 1850 record relatively little information on location and type of property. In addition, they list occupiers only, rather than the owners. After 1850, more details of location were included in the rate books of both parishes, and, from 1870, details of the property owners as well as the occupiers were recorded.

The 1909-10 Finance Act contained provisions to tax the increase in the value of land after 1910.¹²³ To implement this legislation, the Inland Revenue set up mechanisms to record and value landholdings and its owners. The field notebooks and the valuation registers provide a record of most property in England at the time the exercise was undertaken. However, Short comments that there are some omissions, and the records of some buildings have been destroyed.¹²⁴ The geographical coverage for Richmond and Twickenham is complete, although the details of some buildings have been lost. The field notebooks comprise 70 volumes for Richmond and 80 volumes for Twickenham.¹²⁵ The field notebooks for Richmond record lease start dates for leasehold property, and therefore it was possible to estimate when properties were built. The valuation registers

¹²⁰ CERC, QAB, Ground rent purchase bundle 14: papers covering sale of ground rents in Richmond owned by the Selwyn family (uncatalogued).

¹²¹ RLSL, R/RB/33-48.

¹²² RLSL, TW/RB/8-40.

¹²³ Brian Short, 'Local demographic studies in Edwardian England and Wales and the use of the 'Domesday' of land ownership' in *Local Population Studies*, 51 (1993), pp.62-72.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ TNA, IR 58/69904-69974: Inland Revenue, 1901 Finance Act, valuation office field books, Richmond; IR 58/70024-70104: Inland Revenue, 1901 Finance Act, valuation office field books, Twickenham.

record the gross rateable value of each property, and therefore it was possible to calculate the total value of buildings in Richmond and Twickenham c.1910.¹²⁶ The valuation registers for the LCC area have not been retained, and therefore it was not possible to compare Richmond and Twickenham's figures with other local authorities nearer London.

A further source of information for development towards the end of the century is the Richmond Building Applications database.¹²⁷ This contains applications submitted between 1886 and 1939 to local authorities that now comprise the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames. The database was compiled with Heritage Lottery funds and volunteer support at RLSL. It is unique amongst Greater London boroughs in terms of its comprehensiveness and the detail that it contains.¹²⁸ For this thesis, the database facilitated a more comprehensive examination of building activity in the 1890s than would have been possible from applications recorded in local authority minutes.

Local newspapers

Local newspapers are an important source of information for the latter part of the century. The number of local papers published in London increased significantly after the removal of advertising duty in 1853 and the end of stamp duty in 1855.¹²⁹ This increase was also facilitated by the increase in the population and the numerous print works that existed.

There were three newspapers that covered local affairs in Richmond and Twickenham in the latter part of the century.¹³⁰ The first title, in terms of sequence of first publication, was *The Middlesex Chronicle*, founded by George Thomason in 1859. No copies survive

¹²⁶ SHS, 2415.3.1-3 20-22; 2415/6/4-7.

¹²⁷ RLSL, PLA: Building application database.

¹²⁸ David Kroll, 'The other architects that made London: planning and design of speculative housing c.1870-1939' (PhD thesis, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2013), p.55.

¹²⁹ Michael Harris, 'London's local newspapers: patterns of change in the Victorian period' in ed., L. Brake, A. Jones, L. Madden, *Investigating Victorian journalism* (Basingstoke, 1990), p.107.

¹³⁰ A fourth title, *The Surrey Comet*, was founded in 1854. It was based in Kingston, and its coverage of Richmond news, other than the odd court case, was minimal.

prior to 1860.¹³¹ Based in Hounslow, it covered several parishes in West Middlesex, including Twickenham. As this paper did not publish a statement of its general editorial policy, we cannot be sure of its general approach to reporting local news. Its reporting of Twickenham affairs appears factual and does not seem to have had any particular bias.

The titles that covered both towns were *The Richmond and Twickenham Times* and *The Thames Valley Times*. The former was first published on 31 May 1873 and every Saturday thereafter. It was joined by the latter, a mid-week paper, in 1885. Both papers also covered the immediate surrounding area, but their main focus was Richmond and Twickenham. Edward King, who came from Gloucestershire, founded both papers.¹³² He was the owner and editor from the start of the paper until 1891, when he retired because of ill health.¹³³ Frederick Dimbleby, who had been a member of staff on the paper, and a Richmond Borough councillor, then assumed the roles of owner and editor.¹³⁴ Both papers were politically independent, as was demonstrated in an editorial that Edward King wrote in the first edition:

In political matters we take an independent position, as we cannot believe in an infallible party on either side of the House...As we are not the organ of any local clique or party, we shall carry our spirit of independence into discussion of matters of local interest and importance.¹³⁵

The most prominent evidence of editorial independence was support for incorporation at a time when most vestry members were against it.

The RTT and TVT carried detailed accounts of Richmond vestry and council meetings, which provide a better indication of the conduct of the meetings and the behaviour of

¹³¹ Geoff Thomason, *Family business* (Hounslow, 1996), p.13.

¹³² RTT, 21 August 1916.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ When Frederick Dimbleby took over the paper, he resigned as a councillor because of a potential conflict of interest over a printing contract that his company had with the council.

¹³⁵ RTT, 31 May 1873.

members than the official minutes. Both papers also carried accounts of public meetings held by candidates before elections and on matters such as incorporation.

The reports in the MC, RTT, and TVT on the meetings of the TLB and UDC were less extensive than those for Richmond. Those in the MC provide details of election results that were not reported elsewhere. None of the papers have been digitised.

Trade directories

Trade directories provide a valuable source of information on commerce in a district. However, they have their limitations in terms of their coverage, and there are differing views amongst historians as to their value as a source of information. Atkins is concerned that we know relatively little about how the information in directories was compiled.¹³⁶ A popular method, particularly in suburbs, was to obtain information from individuals with local knowledge, but the reliability of the information obtained would have varied from the informant consulted. An alternative method employed by Kelly was to use letter carriers, although this was outlawed from 1847.¹³⁷ Atkins has other concerns about the reliability of the published information. The description given to each individual's trade or profession was brief, and therefore it is difficult to know whether it was accurate or complete for those conducting a number of trades.¹³⁸ In addition, Atkins has concerns about the completeness of the list of trades selected and the criteria, if any, that were used to decide which enterprises were included. It is possible that greater attention was paid to the trades and concerns that were likely to have been patronised by those that purchased the directories. As a result, tradesmen or women that served the less prosperous may have been less likely to be included in a directory.

Other historians have concluded that trade directories are a more valuable source. Raven believes that they 'can afford a detailed insight into the spectrum of small town

¹³⁶ P.J. Atkins, 'The compilation and reliability of London directories', *London Journal, a review of metropolitan society, past and present*, 14 (1), (1989), p.17.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.20.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.21.

economic experiences'.¹³⁹ He compared the information contained in Kelly's Home Counties directories, published in 1845 and 1851 for three small towns in Essex, with other sources, such as rate books and the 1851 census returns, and concludes that the relevant trade directory entries were consistent with those in the other records. Where differences occurred, they tended to be amongst poorer, mainly female, trades, such as millinery.¹⁴⁰ Raven concludes that the information in Pigot's and Kelly's directories was consistent, and that if it had been found wanting, their directories would not have found a market.¹⁴¹

Richmond and Twickenham were included in trade directories throughout the nineteenth century, and these entries have been used as one of the inputs for the examination of the commercial life of both towns. Entries for both parishes appeared in the *Universal British Directory*, published in 1791, and, from 1823 to the end of the century, they are included in many regional, county, or local trade directories. To achieve consistency, directories published by Pigot and, after these ceased publication, those produced by Kelly have been used in this study. Trade entries from one of these directories, at around ten-year intervals, have been entered into spreadsheets to facilitate comparisons over time.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Neil Raven, 'The trade directory: a source for the study of early nineteenth century urban economies', *Business archives*, 74 (1997), p.13.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.17.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp.17-18.

¹⁴² Copies of the following Pigot's or Kelly's directories were used in this study: Pigot & Co, *Directory of Middlesex*, 1823 (London, 1823); Pigot & Co, *Directory of Surrey*, 1826 (London, 1826); Pigot & Co, *Directory of Middlesex*, 1839 (London, 1839); Pigot & Co, *Directory of Surrey* (London, 1839); Kelly, *The Six Home Counties Post Office Directory* (London, 1851); Kelly, *Post Office Directory of Surrey* (London, 1862); Kelly, *Post Office Directory of Surrey* (London, 1871); Kelly, *Directory of Kent, Surrey and Sussex, Vol 1* (London, 1882); Kelly, *Directory of Kent, Surrey and Sussex, Vol. 1* (London, 1890); Kelly, *Directory of Kent, Surrey and Sussex, Vol 1* (London, 1899); Kelly, *Post Office London Suburban Directory* (London, 1860); Kelly, *Post Office London Suburban Directory* (London, 1870); Kelly, *Directory of Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex* (London, 1882); Kelly, *Directory of Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex* (London, 1890); Kelly, *Directory Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex* (London, 1899).

Minutes of vestry, local board, and council meetings

Minutes survive for each of the local authorities that existed in both parishes during the nineteenth century, although some are more comprehensive than others. However, these minutes have their limitations, and therefore the information that they contain needs to be supplemented from other sources. The minutes of vestry, board, and council meetings have been used extensively in the preparation of **Chapters 3 and 4** on local government.

In Richmond, the vestry minutes provide an account of each meeting from 1800 to 1890, in terms of attendees, the outcome of elections for vestry membership, decisions taken, some of the important events that occurred in the parish, and payments made to tradesmen.¹⁴³ Prior to 1834, they also provide the only record that has survived from this period of the affairs of the Richmond workhouse and payments for outdoor relief. The continuity of the minutes was assisted by the fact that, between 1810 and 1890, only three men held the position of parish clerk, two of whom were father and son. The minutes do not record any of the debate that it is reasonable to assume must have occurred in vestry meetings or votes that occurred before decisions were reached. Another gap in the records that have survived is a total absence of minutes, up to around 1860, of the various adhoc committees that were formed to consider numerous one-off issues. From around 1860, an increasing number of standing committees were appointed annually, and minutes for most of these have survived. Thus, although the minutes provide a reasonably full account of the business transacted by the Richmond vestry, they are of less assistance in enabling the historian to gain an insight into the background of its business.

After the formation of the Borough of Richmond in 1890, a reasonably complete set of main council meetings and committee meetings have survived.¹⁴⁴ These are relatively

¹⁴³ RLSL, R/RB/33-47: RVM, 1800-1890.

¹⁴⁴ RLSL, RBC *minutes*, 1890-1900.

formal documents that only record decisions taken and contain little background material necessary to ascertain why a conclusion was reached or a decision agreed.

In Twickenham, the minutes of the open vestry are much less comprehensive than those for Richmond.¹⁴⁵ They provide a record from 1800 of the small number of parishioners that attended meetings and of the motions adopted. A parish committee from the mid-1820s and a highways board from 1849 supported the open vestry. The minutes of these bodies provide a little more information on parish business, but the intermittent nature of the committee records that have survived significantly limits their value.

The scope and the standard of minutes in Twickenham improved considerably from 1868, when the local board was established.¹⁴⁶ In addition to the usual information, such as attendees at meetings and the business conducted, they also include an indication of the discussions that took place on some of the major subjects before the board, the motions that were put to board meetings, and the number of votes cast. Minutes of the works committee provide useful information on the board's consideration of building applications, which were helpful in **Chapter 2** for assessing the development of Twickenham after 1870.

Overall, the local authority minutes for Richmond and Twickenham provide a reasonably accurate but, in some respects, limited impression of the affairs of these authorities in the nineteenth century. As a result, they need to be supplemented by other records, such as LGB papers and local press reports.

Photographs

Contemporary photographs and illustrations, sourced mainly from RLSL, have been used to supplement material discussed in the text. Where contemporary material does not exist, it was necessary to use current photographs taken by the author.

¹⁴⁵ LMA, DRO/174/C01/004-010: TVM, 1800-1867.

¹⁴⁶ RLSL, TW/LB/1-9: TLB *minutes*, 1868-1895.

Maps

Extracts, mainly from OS maps, were employed to demonstrate changes that occurred to the development of Richmond and Twickenham, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The cataloguing and pagination of some primary sources

Some primary records referred to frequently in this thesis are not catalogued by the relevant archive and others are unpaginated. This is particularly relevant to the minutes of local authority meetings. The main example of the former are the minutes of Richmond borough council. The minutes of the Twickenham vestry are unpaginated and page numbers for the minutes of the Richmond vestry minutes are difficult to read for the first half of the nineteenth century. In addition, the files of LGB papers covering Richmond and Twickenham are unpaginated. To overcome these limitations and to deliver consistency across the thesis, primary sources are referenced in footnotes by the date of the document or meeting. Where a catalogue reference exists, it has been included in the relevant footnote, but for the minutes of Richmond borough council the lack of catalogue reference has not been repeated in every footnote.

Conclusion

The literature review has identified several works on Richmond and Twickenham that provide useful background and material, but none address the questions examined by this thesis. The broader literature considers a wide range of issues concerning suburban development, commerce, transport, and local government related to individual locations and more generally.

There are a wide range of sources for Richmond and Twickenham in the nineteenth century. Historians of the two towns are fortunate that, since the library was opened in Richmond, successive librarians have ensured that important papers have been retained. There is also a significant amount of information available at national institutions. The

material that has survived for Richmond, in most areas, is generally more comprehensive than for Twickenham. Nevertheless, there is still sufficient information to undertake an in-depth study of the latter.

Chapter 1: Economic and commercial development

Introduction

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the economies of Richmond and Twickenham were influenced by several factors. Their location on the River Thames, over the centuries, had allowed relatively easy travel by boat to and from London. It took three and a half hours for a boatman to row to or from the capital with the tide. After the construction of the first Kew Bridge in 1759, the journey by road may have taken a little less time depending upon the number of horses, the load, and number of stops en route.¹ Thus, both parishes were near enough to London for the more prosperous to build houses there. They could escape London whilst, at the same time, being close enough to return there when necessary. Both locations were too far from London for regular daily travel. An additional factor was that neither parish was located on a main arterial route out of London. Their situation was different to nearby Kingston that was on the road to Portsmouth and Brentford that was on the road to Bristol and the West Country. Until Putney Bridge was built in 1729, Kingston Bridge was the first bridge upstream from London.²

There were no natural resources in either parish. Richmond's relatively small acreage meant that the scope for agriculture was limited, although the greater area of Twickenham allowed space for market gardening and other cultivation of various kinds. Kingston was the market town for north Surrey. It had three annual produce fairs and two weekly markets, and its dominance of local trade was assured by a charter of 1628, which gave it the right to hold the only markets within a radius of seven miles.³ Consequently, there were no regular markets in either Richmond or Twickenham.

¹ David Blomfield, *Kew past* (Chichester, 1994), pp.41-2.

² Shaan Butters, *'That famous place', a history of Kingston upon Thames* (Kingston, 2013), p.120, pp.181-82.

³ *Ibid.*, p.71.

Despite these commercial disadvantages, in 1801, Richmond had a population that was greater than Kingston (4,628 compared to 3,793).⁴ A directory published in 1791 suggests that Richmond's economy depended upon two characteristics. First, the directory includes 78 names of individuals described as 'gentry'. The entry included two dukes, seven peers, a countess, and six knights or their widows.⁵ The number of gentry listed for Kingston and Twickenham were much fewer.⁶ Richmond's second main characteristic that continued throughout the century was the number of visitors that were attracted to it by the river, Richmond Park, the view from Richmond Hill, and, as outlined in the introduction, the number of inns and hostelries in the town. To support the gentry and visitors, the 1791 directory records 277 commercial entries for Richmond, compared to 160 for Kingston and 183 for Twickenham. The possible anomalies of trade directory data are discussed later in the chapter, but these differences are too great to suggest that they could have resulted only from entry omissions. It is reasonable to conclude that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Richmond's relative prosperity depended upon the gentry and visitors.

As the century progressed, most of the aristocracy and gentry moved away from Richmond and Twickenham as the railways made longer distance travel possible.⁷ Nevertheless, both communities developed economically during the nineteenth century as professionals, City workers, and higher-level clerks moved in. By the last two decades of the century, there were four rail companies running six different services to Richmond, with an easy onward journey to Twickenham. There were three department stores in Richmond by 1900.

The principal objective of this chapter is to seek explanations for this economic transformation and to consider the extent to which relative proximity to the metropolis was also a factor in the development of both communities.

⁴ Parl. Paper, 1801-02(9).

⁵ *Universal British directory of trade, commerce and manufacture* (London, 1791) vol. IV, pp.292-301.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp.491-3; vol. V, Appendix pp.222-9.

⁷ For example, the Earl of Shaftesbury sold his family's land in Richmond in 1866 and 1867.

The chapter is divided into five sections. The first, by way of background, looks at some local indicators of prosperity. The second considers transport before and after the completion of the railway from London to Richmond in 1846. It examines the importance of the River Thames, Richmond Bridge, and the extent to which the river continued to be significant in the second half of the century. It examines the development of rail services and questions why the two towns were so attractive to the railway companies. It also examines local reaction to the railway services and the extent to which rail travel was possible only for the more prosperous. Finally, the section questions why the electric tram never came to Richmond, unlike most of its neighbours, including Twickenham.

The third section examines commercial development up to the construction of the railway to Richmond. Census returns and commercial directories are used to examine the composition of occupations and individual business enterprises, and how these changed over the period.

The fourth section examines the significance of a few small enterprises that existed in Richmond and Twickenham and market gardening in Twickenham.

The fifth section continues the examination of commercial development in the second half of the century and explores whether there were any characteristics that were more specific to Richmond or Twickenham than elsewhere. It also considers the impact of London on the economies of the two towns and the extent to which some of their inhabitants worked in the metropolis.

Local indicators of prosperity

Before the economies of Richmond and Twickenham are examined in more detail, it is necessary to consider some of the more significant local background factors. The first is population change. The introduction set out the growth in population that occurred across the century. As discussed throughout this thesis, increases of this size created a need for infrastructure and housing on a scale that was unthinkable in previous periods.

It also created greater opportunities for existing and new businesses and a significantly larger market of consumers to be 'exploited'.

A second element was the wealth of existing inhabitants. A House of Commons paper entitled: *Return showing the annual value of real property in each parish of each county in England and Wales assessed to the property, and poor and highway rates for the year ending April 1843*, reports an assessment of the value of assets used to calculate taxes for each parish.⁸ The gross values listed for Richmond and Twickenham were £46,712 and £27,361 respectively.⁹ The accuracy of these figures can be questioned. It is likely that there would have been differences in methodology between parishes, and some people may have taken steps not to declare, or fully declare, their assets. Also, the figures would not have been representative of the wealth of most inhabitants, as only those with sufficient wealth to be assessed for tax would have been included in the figures reported. Nevertheless, as the only figures available for around the middle of the nineteenth century, they are a worthwhile measure, provided that their limitations are recognised. The division of the value listed in this report for each parish, divided by the population recorded in the census, gives an indication of the wealth in each parish per head of population. A comparison of 11 parishes to the west of London in Middlesex and Surrey suggests that Hammersmith had the highest average of £6.22 per head, Richmond was second with £6.02 per head, and Twickenham was sixth with £5.25.¹⁰ All these parishes had assessments significantly lower than many parishes nearer to the centre of the metropolis, such as Hampstead (£6.60) and St Marylebone (£8.20). The wealth that was assessed in Richmond, and to a lesser extent Twickenham, suggests that the more prosperous inhabitants of both communities had the means to support a reasonably healthy local economy around the middle of the century.

⁸ Parl. Paper, 1844 (316).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p 43, pp.72-73. Other examples of value assessments were: Isleworth - £30,538; Hampstead - £66,650; Hammersmith - £83,745; Kingston - £41,608; Wandsworth - £34,043.

¹⁰ The full ranking is as follows: Hammersmith - £6.22; Richmond - £6.02; Barnes - £5.92; Mortlake - £5.63; Putney - £5.52; Twickenham - £5.25; Kingston - £5.11; Isleworth - £4.64; Ealing - £4.63; Wandsworth - £4.47; Clapham - £4.32.

Richmond retained its position of relative prosperity until the end of the century. The gross rateable value recorded in the 1910 valuation survey registers was £249,740 for Richmond, compared to £141,292 for Twickenham and £203,330 for Kingston.¹¹

Transport

The main link between Richmond and Twickenham was Richmond Bridge. It was opened in 1777 and was managed by commissioners. Unfortunately, only the Richmond Bridge Act of 1773, the first book of commissioners' minutes up to 1786, and the annual accounts presented to Parliament have survived.¹² The tolls charged were quite significant. It cost 2s. 6d. for a carriage and 6 horses (£17 in 2017 values), 1s. 6d. for a loaded wagon (£10 at current values), and ½ d per person on foot (50p at present values) to cross the bridge.¹³ The annual receipts were relatively constant at £1,200 to £1,300 (£160,000 to £180,000 at present values), although they were half this after the arrival of the railway.¹⁴ No information on the type of traffic has survived, but annual receipts of £1,200 would have represented an average of 44 loaded wagons each day. Receipts from tolls were twice the level in summer months than they were in the winter months. This was no doubt because travelling by road was easier in summer, and those who spent the summer in their houses in Twickenham visited Richmond to use the greater facilities there. The tolls remained in place until 1859, when they were abolished by the commissioners on the death of the last subscriber to the tontine that funded Richmond bridge.¹⁵ The extent to which the tolls limited movement between Richmond and Twickenham is unclear, but they would have been significant to many of those that had to pay them.

Tolls were also charged at the same level for crossing Kew Bridge, which was on one of the two routes by road between Richmond and London. Twickenham residents or visitors

¹¹ SHS, 2415/3/1-3, 20-22; 2415/6/4-7.

¹² 13 George III, c. 83; RLSL, Commissioners' *minutes* (uncatalogued).

¹³ <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator> (December 206); London Borough of Richmond, *Richmond Bridge*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴ HL/PO/JO/10/8,130,577,772; HL/PO/JO/59/125: Richmond Bridge accounts 1805, 1820, 1825, and 1850.

¹⁵ London Borough of Richmond, *Richmond Bridge*, p.23.

were also liable to pay tolls if they travelled to London by road and avoided the bridges at Richmond and Kew. An Act of 1767 permitted the road from Teddington, through Twickenham to Isleworth, to be designated as a turnpike, thus making it necessary for Twickenham residents to pay a toll if they wished to reach the Great West Road for travel to London.¹⁶ This arrangement remained in place until 1827, when 14 roads in the metropolitan area north of the Thames were taken over by the Commissioners of Metropolis Turnpike Roads.¹⁷

Only limited details have survived of river and road travel. The directory published in 1791 records that there were four operators from Richmond that, between them, ran 14 coaches a day to London.¹⁸ Mail from London arrived in Richmond at 9am and 3pm and was dispatched from the latter at 8am, midday, and 4pm.¹⁹ In Twickenham, there was only one coach operator running two trips to London a day in each direction. The fare was 2s 6d. Mail to London was also less frequent as there was only one receipt and dispatch each day.²⁰

The Twickenham entry also provides information on river services that were lacking from that of Richmond. There were five watermen operating boats to London from Twickenham three days a week, returning with the next tide. Only one waterman was listed under the Richmond entry in the directory. On the evidence of the Thames watermen apprentice bindings (discussed later), which were more numerous than those in Twickenham, it is reasonable to assume that river transport from Richmond was more frequent than that from Twickenham.

Some 40 years later, road traffic for passengers and goods had increased significantly. A directory entry for Richmond for 1839 refers to 'coaches and omnibuses continually during the day to and from London, Kingston, Hampton Court and Twickenham' and also

¹⁶ Hounslow Local Studies Library, *Minutes of Teddington to Isleworth turnpike trust* (uncatalogued); 7 George III, c. 88.

¹⁷ 7 George IV c.142.

¹⁸ *Universal British directory of trade*, vol. IV, pp.292-301 and vol. V, appendix, pp.222-229.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p.296.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. V, p.224.

mentions seven carriers that made daily return trips to London from Richmond.²¹ The Richmond Conveyance Company was established by a number of prominent Richmond tradesmen in 1844.²² No details have survived of its services, but its deed of settlement states that its purpose was to provide omnibus services between Richmond, Hampton Court, and London.²³

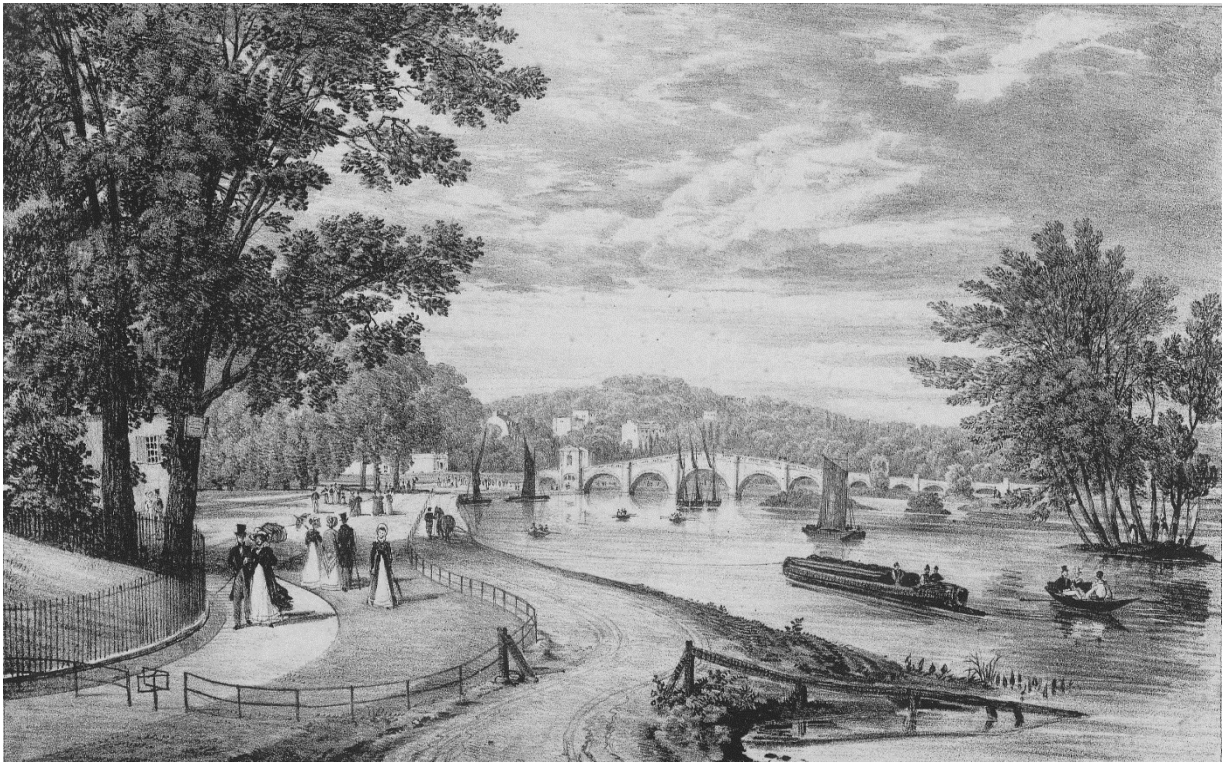


Illustration 1.1: View of the west bank of the River Thames looking towards Richmond Hill with people promenading.²⁴

Thus, over the first four decades of the century, there was a gradual increase in services to London and other nearby towns. Travel and transport by boat remained important, but there was also an increase in services by coach and omnibus. It became easier, for those that could afford it, to reach London from Richmond and Twickenham in a reasonable time, but it must have been relatively exceptional circumstances that caused the return journey to be undertaken on the same day.

²¹ Pigot & Co., *Directory of Surrey*, 1839, p.642.

²² RLSL, *Deed of settlement of Richmond Conveyance Company* (uncatalogued).

²³ TNA, BT/41/595/3267: Board of Trade returns for Richmond Conveyance Company.

²⁴ RLSL, LCP/558: Detail from a drawing by T. M Baynes, 1823.

The River Thames

For several centuries, the River Thames provided a relatively easy means of transport to the City and Westminster. Until late in the nineteenth century, the river was tidal up to Teddington, and the tides were used to speed the journey in both directions for goods and people. Both these roles are captured in a print dating from 1823 (**Illustration 1.1**). The importance of the river for river transport is also shown in a photograph dating from 1855 (**Illustration 1.2**).



Illustration 1.2: View of Richmond Bridge from river bank with commercial sailing boat.²⁵

The river was plied by watermen and lightermen (**Illustration 1.3**). The records of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen and the census from 1841 provide information of the number of individuals licensed to ply the Thames who lived in either Richmond or Twickenham. The company had governance over those responsible for working the

²⁵ RLSL, LCF/677: Photograph by George Hilditch c.1855.

Thames from Gravesend to Windsor, although, from 1857, the western limit of its jurisdiction was Teddington Lock.²⁶ Another important source is David Blomfield's thesis on the 'Tradesmen of the Thames', which includes a study of watermen and lightermen in Richmond and Twickenham from 1750 to 1901.²⁷



Illustration 1.3: Etching by Cooke, Edward William (1811-1880) showing four boats on the river at Richmond.²⁸

The apprentice binding records of the company allow the estimation of the relative importance of river traffic to towns and villages located on the Thames between Teddington and Brentford, as they record the number of apprentices bound in each year and the location of the relevant waterman or lighterman. The number of bindings for Richmond, Twickenham, Isleworth, and Brentford in each decade of the nineteenth century is shown in **Table 1.1**.

The number of men bound in Richmond fluctuated each decade, but the number was 45% higher in the last three decades when compared to the first three decades. In

²⁶ GHL, mss. 6289: *Records of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen*.

²⁷ Blomfield, 'Tradesmen of the Thames'.

²⁸ RLSL, LCP/297.

Twickenham, the number remained broadly constant throughout the century, except in the last decade. On this basis, Richmond was the most important base for watermen on this part of the Thames, except for Brentford. The pre-eminence of the latter resulted

	Richmond	Twickenham	Isleworth	Brentford
	No. bindings	No. bindings	No. bindings	No. bindings
1801-1810	23	9	22	60
1811-1820	22	11	16	59
1821-1830	21	15	22	36
1831-1840	34	7	26	51
1841-1850	28	13	35	70
1851-1860	44	5	30	76
1861-1870	38	11	19	92
1871-1880	28	15	23	70
1881-1890	32	11	29	42
1891-1900	36	26	35	88

Table 1.1: The number of men bound to watermen and lightermen in Richmond, Twickenham, Isleworth, and Brentford in each decade of the nineteenth century.²⁹

		1841	1851	1881	1901
Richmond	No. Watermen/Lightermen	44	43	66	61
Twickenham	No. Watermen/Lightermen	18	19	26	41

Table 1.2: The number of watermen and lightermen recorded in the 1841, 1851, 1881, and 1901 censuses recorded as living in Richmond and Twickenham.³⁰

²⁹ GHL, mss. 6289 15-23: Apprentice bindings of Company of Watermen and Lightermen.

³⁰ TNA, HO 107/658 and 1075, HO 107/1605 and 1698, RG 11/843-5 and 1341-3, RG 13/673-7 and 1187-89: census returns for Richmond 1841, 1851, 1881, and 1901.

Richmond					Twickenham				
Family Name	1841	1851	1881	1901	Family Name	1841	1851	1881	1901
Brown	1	1	1	3	Hammerton	5	5	6	9
Chelton	-	-	-	3	Lee	-	-	3	9
Chitty	2	1	3	4					
Cripps	3	2	-	4					
Glover	-	-	3	2					
Howard	2	-	3	2					
Jackson	3	5	1	1					
Redknap	1	-	4	2					
Wheeler	1	1	4	-					
Williams	-	-	3	-					

Table 1.3: Families where, in any one of the selected census years, there were three or more members recorded with the occupation of watermen or lightermen.³¹

from its position at the start of the Grand Union Canal and its industry. The total number of watermen and lightermen living in Richmond and Twickenham, as recorded in the censuses for 1841, 1851, 1881, and 1901, are shown in **Table 1.2**. The number of waterman or lightermen living in Richmond increased by 50%, and in Twickenham the number doubled. The binding records report that there were several families where members worked on the Thames throughout the last six decades of the century and earlier. The names of the families involved are in **Table 1.3**. The Chitty, Jackson, and Cripps families were the most significant Richmond families. John Chitty was apprenticed in 1783, George Jackson was bound in 1801, and George Cripps won a race for ‘the encouragement of the watermen of Twickenham and Richmond’ in 1795’.³² Similarly, the

³¹ TNA, HO 107/658 and 1075, HO 107/1605 and 1698, RG 11/843-5 and 1341-3, RG 13/673-7 and 1187-89

³² Blomfield, ‘Tradesmen of the Thames’, p.158, 208, and 202.

Hammerton family were residing in Twickenham at the end of the eighteenth century.³³ Sons and other male relatives of these and other families continued the family occupation of waterman or lighterman down the generations, until either there were no male relatives to apprentice or, for some reason, they decided to pursue other occupations.

Transcripts of the boat books of John Chitty for January 1823 and January 1833 provide some insight into his activities.³⁴ He worked for some of the aristocracy that lived in Richmond at the time, such as Lord Shaftesbury and Earl Cassellis, and some local traders. For the local traders, John Chitty's destination was usually Queenhithe Wharf, just above London Bridge, where goods were delivered or collected. The business for the gentry consisted mainly of carrying boxes directly to the client's London house. A common cargo was linen, which was probably laundry. Those that could afford it preferred their clothes to be washed in Richmond, where the water was probably cleaner than that in London.³⁵

In an article in the RTT dating from 1910, Robert Chitty gave an account of the life of watermen before the railways.³⁶ He recalls that

the only way to get to London, except by a few road omnibuses, was by river, and there was a regular business carrying people to London, in what were termed passage boats. They were heavy randans – stroke rowed one oar, the middle man a couple, and the bow man one oar. They left Richmond with the outgoing tide, and it took 3½ hours to get to Whitehall, and then when the tide commenced to run up again the boat would return...the fare for the single journey was 1s 6d.

Chitty did a lot of work carrying goods for the Duke of Buccleuch.

³³ Blomfield, 'Tradesmen of the Thames', p.217.

³⁴ RLSL, transcript of *The Chitty Family papers* (uncatalogued).

³⁵ Blomfield, 'Tradesmen of the Thames', p.151.

³⁶ RTT, 20 August 1910.

In the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, watermen experienced more and more competition from steamboats. Chitty relates that, when he was a young man (he was around 74 in 1901), 'a fleet of steamers used to come up each day to Richmond from London. They were packed too, with people usually'. Steam packet boats first appeared in Richmond around 1815. In November 1814, Humpherus notes that a 'steam packet company had been formed in London...and next Spring was to witness boats between London and Gravesend, and London and Kingston'.³⁷ It is reasonable to assume that these boats stopped at Richmond, although no information has survived concerning their frequency. Blomfield mentions further evidence of the growing importance of steamboats, quoting a case against the owners of a Richmond steam packet that was running to and from Millbank. The fare was 1s each passenger, whereas the fare on a wherry was 1s 3d. A wherry could carry eight passengers, whereas the first steam ships could carry 40 passengers. By 1824, their capacity had increased to 124, and they travelled faster regardless of the tide.³⁸ **Illustration 1.4** shows a packet steamer arriving at Richmond in 1832.

The service provided by steamships continued to improve, and the fares declined so that, by 1846, the fare from London Bridge to Richmond was 1s.³⁹ The frequency had increased to some six boats a day between Richmond and London by 1846, although Pigot's directory for 1839 records that this level of service was for the summer months only.⁴⁰ During the 1850s, the advent of the railways meant that most of the steamboat services ceased. In a more general comment about the Thames, Humpherus noted in 1856 that steamboats now 'succumb to railways' and 'above London Bridge...steamboat communication was gradually being destroyed'.⁴¹ Steamboats continued for pleasure purposes, as shown in an advertisement from 1893 for river trips from London Bridge to

³⁷ H. Humpherus, *History of the Origin and Progress of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen*, vol. 3, p.123.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.136.

³⁹ Blomfield, 'Tradesmen of the Thames', p.71.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.72; Pigot & Co., *Directory of Surrey*, 1839, p.642.

⁴¹ Humpherus, *History of the Origin and Progress of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen*, vol. 2, p.206.

Richmond and Kingston.⁴² Richmond boats had a reputation for carrying ‘very respectable persons....very few mechanics’.⁴³



Illustration 1.4: View of the river from Richmond Bridge looking towards Isleworth with steam and rowing boats.⁴⁴

The River Thames was important to the economies of Richmond and Twickenham throughout the nineteenth century. It was the main means of transporting heavy items, such as building materials, throughout the century, and it was popular with visitors. Later in the century, visitors enjoyed hiring a rowing boat for outings on the river, and this became one of the attractions for trips to Richmond. After the construction of the railway, most visitors to the town would have come by train, but a walk along the river or an outing on it would have been an essential part of their visit.

Towards the end of the century, the construction of the Richmond Lock and Weir greatly improved water levels between Richmond and Teddington. The demolition of the old

⁴² Victoria Steamboat Association, *Up and down the Thames* (London, 1893) unpaginated.

⁴³ White, *London in the 19th century*, p.264.

⁴⁴ RLSL, LCP/1775: Drawing by J.D. Harding, 1832.

London Bridge in 1832 and dredging resulted in tides on the Thames rising and falling more quickly than before.⁴⁵ As a result, the river was often only a small stream between Richmond and Twickenham. This caused increasing difficulties for navigation, and it was claimed that pleasure boating would not be possible in Richmond.⁴⁶ After much lobbying by the Richmond vestry and TLB, the Richmond Footbridge, Sluices, Lock and Slipway Act 1890 was passed, which authorised the building of a lock, barrage, and public footpath by the Thames Conservancy.⁴⁷ It was constructed downstream from the railway bridge and was opened in May 1894.⁴⁸

The railway

The first railway scheme to Richmond dated from 1835. It was known as the 'The City and Richmond Railway', which came to nothing.⁴⁹ It envisaged building one common terminus at Southwark Bridge and a line from there to join with the proposed Nine Elms terminus of the Brighton, Dover, and South Western Railway. Two lines were proposed. One would cross the Thames at Battersea and join the Great West Railway at Harlesden. The other line would pass through Wandsworth, Putney, and Mortlake to Richmond.

Richmond had to wait another nine years for a line to be constructed. This scheme was called the 'Richmond and West End Junction Railway'. *Herapath's Journal* reported an early account of the proposed scheme:

It is proposed to make a line of railway from Richmond to the Surrey side of the Hungerford Suspension Bridge...a plan which...is capable of being done effectively at a trifling expense...The length of the line is ten miles, for which a capital of £500,000 is to be provided, being at the rate of £50,000 per mile...The traffic is so extensive, that upon this capital – allowing 40 per cent expenses – 11% profit is calculated to be

⁴⁵ http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Richmond_Lock_and_Footbridge (May 2017).

⁴⁶ Burt, *The Richmond Vestry*, p.56.

⁴⁷ 53 & 54 Victoria I, c.224.

⁴⁸ RTT, 19 May 1894.

⁴⁹ TNA, Rail 1075/369/2: prospectus of City and Richmond railway.

returned.⁵⁰

At a meeting of the proprietors of the Richmond Railway in August 1845, it was reported that

a satisfactory arrangement was made at a very early period with the South Western Company by the proprietors of the Richmond Railway, whereby that company have undertaken to work the railway and have secured to the Richmond Rail Company the right of using the proposed extension line from Nine Elms to Hungerford Bridge, as well as a portion of their present line from Battersea to Nine Elms.⁵¹

The agreement also provided that the LSWR would run the line at their expense and pay two-thirds of the revenue to the Richmond Railway Company.⁵² There is no evidence in the records of either company that the LSWR provided any financial support in the construction of the Richmond railway. After some negotiation, the Richmond Company was taken over by the LSWR in January 1847.⁵³

In August 1845, *Herapath's Journal* reported that the select committee examining the Richmond Railway Bill had been told that 'the present means of conveyance and communication between the proposed termini [Richmond] was insufficient for agricultural, manufacturing and other purposes'.⁵⁴ Thus, initially, the transport of goods was a very important factor in the construction of the railway. As outlined above, within ten years, the railway had largely replaced the steam packets, and passenger traffic became more and more significant to the operation of the railway.

It was also reported that

the inhabitants of Richmond had expressed their entire satisfaction with the plan of the proposed line and especially with the great advantages offered in having

⁵⁰ TNA, ZPER 3/6, *Herapath's Journal*, No. 265, 7 September 1844.

⁵¹ TNA, ZPER 3/8, *Herapath's Journal*, No. 314, 16 August 1845.

⁵² Sherwood, *The railways of Richmond*, p.11.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ TNA, ZPER 3/8, *Herapath's Journal*, No. 312, 2 August 1845.

the terminus brought to as central a point as Hungerford Market. The proprietors of by far the greater part of the land through which the line is proposed to pass had given their sanction to the undertaking.⁵⁵

An account of the oral evidence given to the Parliamentary Committee considering the Bill supports the view that Richmond inhabitants were in favour of the railway. *Herapath's Journal* reported that

Mr. Darnell, a bookseller, 50 years' resident of Richmond, Mr. Hudson, a proprietor in the Richmond Conveyance Company, Mr. T R Talbot, a grocer, and Mr. Hiscoke gave evidence that the present modes of conveyance to Richmond were dilatory and insufficient, and that the general feeling of the inhabitants was in favour of the construction of the railway.⁵⁶

It is interesting that the owner of the Richmond Conveyance Company and Darnell, who was one of that company's original sponsors, were in favour of the railway. Clearly, they did not see it as a threat to their interests, possibly because they saw the company's business increasing because of the additional goods and passengers the railway would bring to Richmond. This proved to be an incorrect assessment, as the Richmond Conveyance Company ceased to operate around 1858.

There is some doubt whether public opinion in Richmond was as universally supportive of the line as reported to Parliament. A letter dated September 1844, headed *Ruin to Richmond*, which must have been in circulation at the time but was not published until March 1864 in Hiscoke's *Richmond Notes*, complained that

...looking at Richmond in its present state, and seeing the improvements daily taking place in the public buildings of the place, the impolicy cannot be too strongly urged of advancing one shilling in the dangerous speculation of a railway.

⁵⁵ TNA, ZPER 3/6, *Herapath's Journal*, No. 265, 7 September 1844.

⁵⁶ TNA, ZPER 3/7, *Herapath's Journal*, No. 305, 14 June 1845.

Better leave Richmond to its own attractions, viz, its natural beauty of scenery, and the present respectability of its neighbourhood.⁵⁷

Hiscoke's note at the end of the letter stated that 'since the Railway was made, property in Richmond has doubled in value, the houses nearly doubled in number, and we really believe tradesmen's profits have doubled in amount.'⁵⁸

The Parliamentary Committee looked favourably on the Richmond line. It commented that

a very advantageous outlet will be provided for the population of London to places of favourite resort, while accommodation will be given to a considerable local traffic already existing between the many populous villages along the line...the works can be light and inexpensive...it can hardly be doubted that the receipts of these two railways will yield an adequate return...We therefore see no public grounds on which to object to their construction.⁵⁹

The Richmond Railway Act received Royal Assent on 21 July 1845.⁶⁰

The minutes of the Richmond Railway Company record that the contract for building the line was awarded without competitive tender, and the only large works were a viaduct over the River Wandle, with 23 arches, and a cutting at Putney.⁶¹ There were some delays in construction because of difficulties with some land owners. The Richmond Railway Company minutes' record that 'learning that men were unemployed in consequence of the want of possession of land at Richmond they found it necessary to conclude the purchase of Mr. Selwyn's property. The committee consequently attended Mr. Selwyn's chambers and a cheque was drawn.'⁶² The sum paid was £7081 12s. 8d. for 'purchase of land and compensation for damage.' Sherwood also records that there were difficulties

⁵⁷ RLSL, Hiscoke, *Richmond Notes*, vol. 13, March 1864, p. 2.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.3.

⁵⁹ Sherwood, *Railways of Richmond*, p.6.

⁶⁰ Hansard, HL vol. 82, cols. 716-91 (21 July 1845).

⁶¹ TNA, Rail 584/2: Richmond Railway Company, board minutes, 12 September 1845.

⁶² TNA, Rail 584/2: Richmond Railway Company, board minutes, 21 April 1846.

with purchasing land from George Robinson, who owned the land on which the Richmond station was built.⁶³ As discussed in **Chapter 2**, Messrs. Selwyn and Robinson were two of the largest landowners in Richmond.

The ceremonial opening of the line took place on 18 July 1846. The following extract from the *Illustrated London News* described the scene:

The first train travelled from Nine Elms Station...a large company made the first journey in sixteen carriages...at the Richmond terminus a large crowd had assembled. A triumphal arch, tastefully decorated with ever greens and banners was erected in front of the station, and on the arrival of the monster train an excellent brass band played the national anthem and the bells of Richmond sounded a merry peal...The train started from Vauxhall about five minutes past two and reached Richmond at 37 minutes past two.⁶⁴

The original terminus was a simple wooden structure, which lasted until 1849 when it became a goods depot.⁶⁵

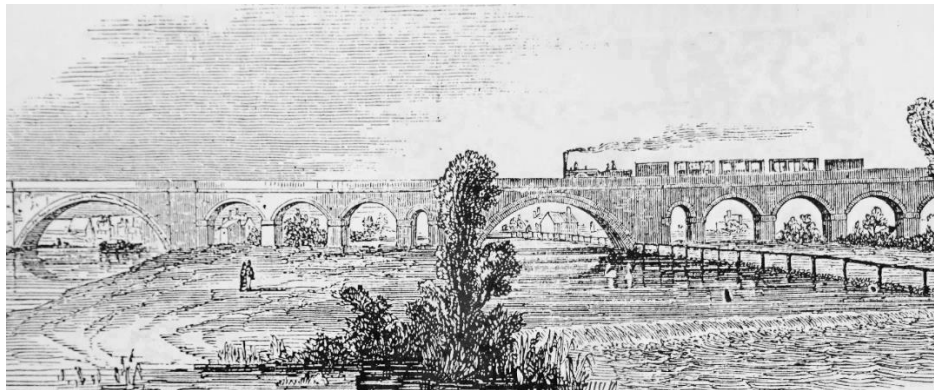


Illustration 1.5: London and Richmond railway, the Wandle viaduct.⁶⁶

The line was opened to the public on 27 July 1846.⁶⁷ **Illustration 1.5** shows a contemporary drawing of a Richmond train passing over the Wandle Viaduct in 1846.

⁶³ Sherwood, *Railways of Richmond*, p.10.

⁶⁴ *The Illustrated London News*, 25 July 1846.

⁶⁵ J.E. Connor, *London's disused stations, the London and South Western Railway* (Colchester, 2005), p.4.

⁶⁶ *Illustrated London News*, 8 August 1846.

⁶⁷ Sherwood, *The Railways of Richmond*, p.64.

Williams reports that receipts for the first week were £476 and £536 for the second. Passenger figures for June and July 1847 from Nine Elms to Richmond were 53,944 and 50,571 from Richmond to Nine Elms (this suggests an average of 65-70 passengers per train for these two months).⁶⁸ Thereafter, no figures for the number of passengers that used the line, or receipts, have been retained.

Initially, trains travelled from Richmond to Nine Elms, the LSWR terminal, some two miles west of Waterloo Bridge. This terminal was inconvenient for passengers because, to complete their journey to London, they had to travel by road or steamer.⁶⁹ Waterloo Station was opened on 11 July 1848, and the additional passengers from the Richmond line provided an incentive for LSWR to move their London terminal.⁷⁰

Initially, there were 17 trains a day in each direction on all days except Sundays, when there were 12 trains.⁷¹ All trains had 1st and 2nd class compartments, and nine had 3rd class as well. Single fares were 1st class, 1s 4d; 2nd class, 1s; and 3rd class, 8d.⁷² By July 1847, single fares were 1st class, 1s; 2nd class, 10d; and 3rd class, 8d.⁷³ This suggests that it may have been necessary to reduce 1st and 2nd class fares to attract passengers after the initial novelty of the line had evaporated. Third-class accommodation seems to have been unpopular because, by 1850, only 1st and 2nd were available.⁷⁴ This was presumably because those that could afford to travel by train preferred to do so in 1st or 2nd class. The times of the trains and cost of 3rd class tickets prevented the lower middle class and working class from travelling to work by train.

⁶⁸ R.A. Williams, *The London & South Western Railway*, vol. I, *The formative years* (Newton Abbot, 1968), p.168. These figures are widely quoted in the literature and quote Williams as the source, but he does not mention his source, and I have been unable to find primary documentation.

⁶⁹ Williams, *The London & South Western Railway*, vol. I, pp.158-160.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ TNA, Rail 903/6: *Bradshaw's railway and steam navigation guide for Great Britain, Ireland, and the continent*, March 1847' p.6.

⁷² Sherwood, *The Railways of Richmond*, p.11.

⁷³ TNA, Rail 903/7: *Bradshaw*, July 1847, p.10.

⁷⁴ TNA, Rail 903/9: *Bradshaw*, July 1850, p.13.

Services through Richmond gradually expanded. In August 1848, the line through Twickenham to Datchet was opened and was extended to Windsor in December 1849.⁷⁵



Illustration 1.6: The Richmond, Windsor and Staines railway, the bridge at Richmond.⁷⁶

Illustration 1.6 shows a train crossing the newly constructed railway bridge between Richmond and Twickenham in 1848. A line from Barnes to Isleworth was opened in August 1849, and what is now called the ‘Hounslow Loop’ through Isleworth and Hounslow to Feltham was completed in 1850 (although a direct service from Hounslow to Twickenham did not open until 1883).⁷⁷ The Reading service started in 1856, although the first timetable to show a through train from Reading to Waterloo was published in 1859.⁷⁸ In comparison to Richmond and Twickenham, although the railway passed 1.5 miles from Kingston from 1834, a station in Kingston town did not open until 1863 because of landowner interests.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Sherwood, *The railways of Richmond*, p.64.

⁷⁶ *Illustrated London News*, 21 October 1848.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.25.

⁷⁸ TNA, Rail 903/24: *Bradshaw*, January-June 1860, pp.48-49.

⁷⁹ Sherwood, *The railways of Richmond*, p.64.

The number of trains per day from Richmond and Twickenham increased gradually. Until the early 1860s, the level of service remained relatively constant. By 1855, there were still only 18 trains from Waterloo to Richmond and 22 trains in the opposite direction.⁸⁰ The frequency of service did not start to increase to any degree until the mid- 1860s when, as described in **Chapter 2**, significant housebuilding started in Richmond. At the time, there was considerable complaint about train overcrowding. In 1865, Hiscoke complained that ‘recently nearly fifty persons having first class tickets were compelled to go by second class carriages or stay behind’.⁸¹ By 1870, there were around 40 trains a day in each direction, with 12 trains to Waterloo before 9am.⁸² Unlike, to the north-west of London, none of the companies serving Richmond and Twickenham tried to increase passenger demand by involvement in house building.⁸³ Further details of the increase in the number of trains between Richmond and Waterloo are in **Appendix 1**. The number of trains during the day and later in the evening also increased, which suggests that, fairly early on, the residents of Richmond and Twickenham were using the service for social purposes, such as visits to the theatre. The extent to which the increase in the number of trains overcame the crowding is unclear.

Fares remained relatively constant in money terms. Sometime between 1847 and 1854, the single fare from Richmond increased from 1st class, 1s., 2nd class, 10d., and 3rd class, 8d. to 1s 3d., 1s., and 9 ½ d. respectively from Richmond. The fares from Twickenham were 1s 6d., 1s 3d., and 11d.⁸⁴ They remained at this level until the end of the century. Although constant in monetary terms, these figures represent a decrease in real terms, as between 1855 and 1900 average inflation was 0.2%.⁸⁵

The extent of commuting is discussed later in this chapter, but, at this stage, it is helpful to discuss the relationship between the building of the railway and the development of

⁸⁰ TNA, Rail 903/16: *Bradshaw*, July 1855, p.24.

⁸¹ RLSL, Hiscoke, *Richmond notes*, 24 February 1865.

⁸² TNA, Rail 903/40: July-December 1870, pp.40-45.

⁸³ Jackson, *London’s metro-land*, p. 10.

⁸⁴ TNA, Rail 903/9: *Bradshaw*, July 1850, p.13; Rail 903/16: *Bradshaw*, July 1855, p.24.

⁸⁵ <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/flash/default.aspx>. (May 2017).

Richmond and Twickenham more generally. Overall, the relationship was mixed. Railway investors were attracted to Richmond largely because of its increasing visitor and goods traffic and the need for its more prosperous permanent and seasonal residents to travel to and from London. As such, the original line to Richmond was built to meet existing demand. The relationship between residential development and the expansion of the service through construction and the increased frequency of service is less straightforward. There was a clear link in terms of timing between the start of development of housing on Richmond Hill (**discussed in Chapter 2**) and the increased train services. It is reasonable to assume that landowners and builders saw the potential of the railway to transport professionals and others to work in London, and LSWR duly obliged by increasing the service. No such relationship exists for the extension of the line to Twickenham and beyond, as much of the residential development of Twickenham and locations further to the west did not occur until the last two decades of the century or later. Overall, the relationship between residential development and railway construction in Richmond and Twickenham is closer to historians such as Thompson who, in his introduction to *The Rise of Suburbia*, concluded that the outer suburbs could not have been developed without railway services, rather than Dyos who, in his study of Camberwell, concluded that there was no relationship.⁸⁶ Unlike to the north west of London, none of the railway companies providing services to Richmond and Twickenham tried to increase passenger demand by facilitating the construction of houses on land owned by the railway company. The Metropolitan Railway Company pursued this policy on its line from Swiss Cottage to Harrow and beyond from the 1870s to the 1930s.⁸⁷

The increase in the service and LSWR's defence of its monopoly of Richmond traffic (discussed below) are indicators of the importance of the town to the company. However, in the 1860s, the service of the company was criticised by some Richmond inhabitants. In December 1863, Hiscoke's *Notes* reported, when commenting on a proposed new service by a potential competitor, that 'the schemes may be distasteful to

⁸⁶ Thompson, *The rise of suburbia*, p.19; H.J. Dyos, *Victorian suburb*, p.28.

⁸⁷ Jackson, *London's metro-land*, p.10.

the South Western Company who at present possess the monopoly of traffic to Richmond, which our readers are all aware is not always used with the proper consideration due to their customers'.⁸⁸ As already mentioned, the railways caused the demise of the passenger steamers, but road transport remained. The Richmond Conveyance Company continued to provide a service to London up to 1858.⁸⁹ There was also a horse bus to Surbiton station to connect with the Southampton and West of England lines.⁹⁰ In addition, there must also have been a need for horse-drawn vehicles of all kinds to transport goods and people between the railway and their final destination.

The LSWR defended its territory vigorously. Richmond was a central point in services to Reading and Windsor, Kingston, and, after 1883, to Hounslow. Other companies made numerous attempts to introduce services to Richmond, particularly from north of the Thames. Wherever possible, the LSWR blocked such schemes by petitioning Parliament, and where this was not successful, it reached some form of compromise to preserve its position as far as possible.

⁸⁸ RLSL, Hiscoke, *Richmond Notes*, 10 December 1863.

⁸⁹ RLSL, *Deed of settlement of the Richmond Conveyance Company* (uncatalogued).

⁹⁰ Sherwood, *The railways of Richmond*, p.21.

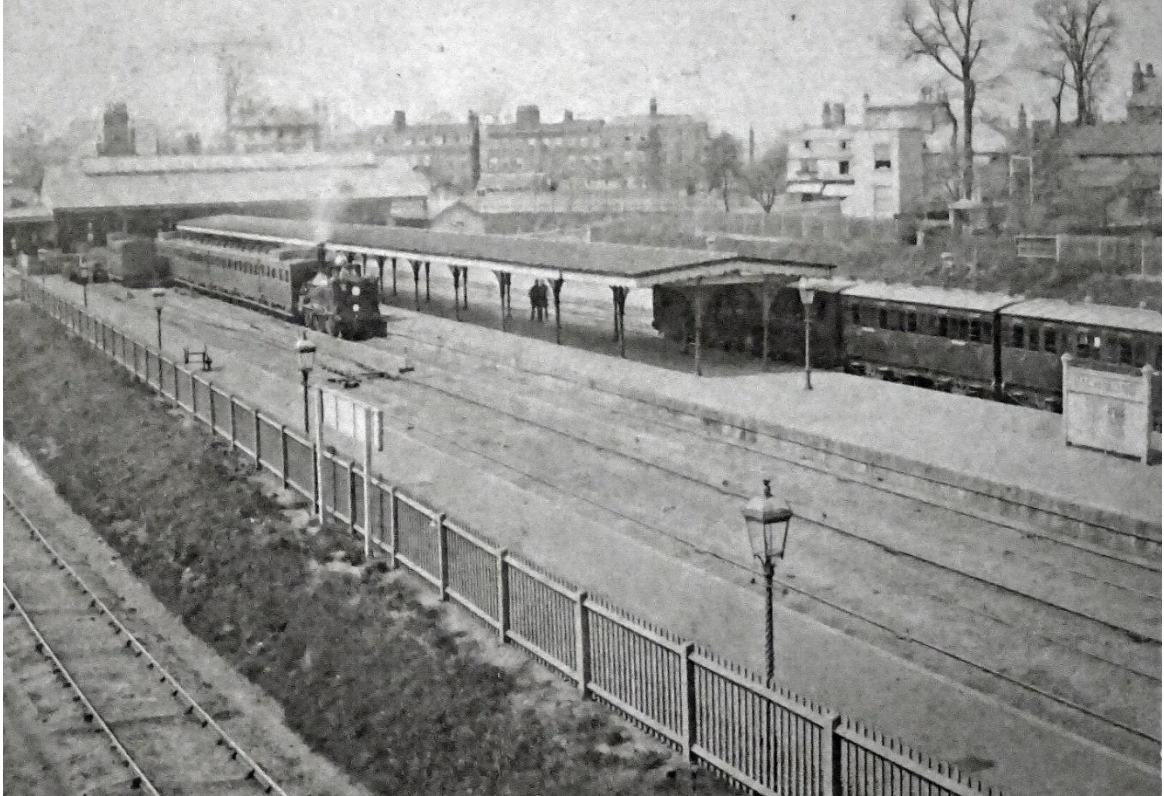


Illustration 1.7: NSWJR train at Richmond station in 1868.⁹¹

The first service north of the river that came to fruition was run by the NSWJR using LSWR lines south of the Thames. It commenced in 1858 and ran six trains a day from Richmond to Fenchurch Street station. **Illustration 1.7** shows a NSWJR train at Richmond station in 1868. The journey took one and a half hours, and to cross the Thames at Barnes bridge, required reversing the train at Kew and Barnes junctions.⁹² By 1865, the service had increased to nine trains a day, and the London terminal moved to Broad Street. From 1869, the service could use the new bridge over the Thames built by the LSWR at Kew as part of the Kensington and Richmond railway outlined below.⁹³ Despite these improvements, the journey from Richmond to Broad Street took one hour and ten minutes.⁹⁴ By 1900, there was still only an hourly service with additional trains in the

⁹¹ RLSL, LCF/4.

⁹² Sherwood, *The railways of Richmond*, p.27; NTA Rail 903/24: *Bradshaw*, January-June 1860.

⁹³ TNA, Rail 903/27: *Bradshaw*, January-June 1865, pp.54-55.

⁹⁴ TNA, Rail 903/40: *Bradshaw*, July-December 1870, pp.40-45.

morning and early evening, which suggests that, although the service went to the City, it was never popular with Richmond and Twickenham residents.

The NSWJR also wanted to link Richmond to its Hammersmith and Chiswick line, thus creating another more direct link to London. The LSWR was concerned at the consequences of this for its traffic from Richmond. As a result, the LSWR built a link from North Kensington, through Hammersmith and Shepherds Bush, to meet south of Acton the NSWJR line used by the North London line to Richmond.⁹⁵ The result was the Kensington and Richmond railway, approved by the London and South Western Railway Act (1864). The line was completed in 1868, and the LSWR introduced an hourly service to Waterloo via Kensington.⁹⁶

The line that is now called the Waterloo and City Line from Waterloo to the Bank station in the City was not opened until 1898. Therefore, passengers arriving at Waterloo had to find a way of getting to the City. For a limited period around 1855, the railway timetable included the schedule for omnibuses leaving Gracechurch Street for Waterloo.⁹⁷ In 1870, to enable its passengers to reach the City directly from Richmond, the LSWR introduced a service to Ludgate Hill through Hammersmith, Kensington, Chelsea, Battersea, Clapham, Brixton, Camberwell, Elephant & Castle, and Blackfriars. There were ten trains in each direction per day.⁹⁸ The journey was 14.5 miles long and took 65 minutes. It was a roundabout route, but it was not withdrawn until 1916, so it must have had enough traffic to make it economically viable, otherwise it would have ceased earlier.

Another company eager to exploit Richmond traffic was the District Railway. It wanted to extend into the western and south-western suburbs, and it applied to Parliament for powers to connect with the LSWR beyond Hammersmith. The LSWR were against this, but they were even more opposed to another District proposal to extend its line from Putney Bridge to Barnes and thereby gain access to the Richmond-Waterloo line. LSWR

⁹⁵ Alan Jackson, *London's local railways* (Harrow, 1999), p.220.

⁹⁶ Sherwood, *The railways of Richmond*, pp.31-2.

⁹⁷ TNA, Rail 903/16: *Bradshaw*, July 1855, p.24.

⁹⁸ Sherwood, *The railways of Richmond*, pp.31-2.

was forced to accept running powers from Hammersmith to Richmond for the district in exchange for District Railway dropping its proposal for a line from Putney Bridge to Barnes.⁹⁹

District opened its service from the Mansion House to Richmond on 1 June 1877 and carried 54,000 passengers in the first month.¹⁰⁰ Thus, the residents of Richmond now had a direct route to the City and stations in-between, such as Victoria and Westminster. The earliest District Line timetable that has survived dates from 1881, which shows that there was a half-hourly service between Richmond and Mansion House between 7am and 10.30am and between 5pm and 8pm. For the remainder of the day, there was an hourly service up to 11.30pm. The pattern of services from Mansion House to Richmond was similar.¹⁰¹ Fares from Richmond are set out in **Table 1.4** and were very similar to those charged by LSWR when account is taken of the cost of the onward journey from Waterloo to the City. The Metropolitan Company, a competitor of the District Line, also opened an hourly service from Richmond to Aldgate from 1 October 1877, which lasted until 1906.¹⁰²

To	Single				Return		
	1st	2 nd	3 rd		1st	2 nd	3rd
Hammersmith	10d	8d	4.5d		1s 3d	1s 0d	9d
Earls Court	1s 0d	10d	6d		1s 6d	1s 3d	1s 0d
Victoria	1s 3d	1s 0d	8.5d		2s 0d	1s 6d	1s 3d
Mansion House	1s 6d	1s 3d	10d		2s 3d	1s 9d	1s 6d

Table 1.4: Fares on the District Railway 1881.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Sherwood, *The railways of Richmond*, pp.35-36.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.34.

¹⁰¹ LTM, *District Railway timetable*, June 1881.

¹⁰² Sherwood, *The railways of Richmond*, p.36.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

From 1877, the inhabitants of Richmond had the choice of six services to London, but there was continuing complaint about the services and the standard of comfort. In 1873, the RTT described 3rd class carriages as 'cattle trucks', and there was continuing complaint about the cost of fares.¹⁰⁴ Richmond vestry did not discuss rail services until April 1889, when it agreed, as a result of representations by William Thompson, then secretary to the Richmond Liberal Association, to send a memorandum to the LSWR on workmen's trains and the level of fares.¹⁰⁵ No copy of the memorandum has survived but, as fares remained unchanged, it apparently had no impact. The minutes of the TLB contain no references to rail services or fares.

William Thompson became a member of the new RBC in 1890, and, by March 1894, a committee was appointed, with Thompson as chairman, 'to consider and report as to the relations between the South Western Railway Company and the inhabitants of the Borough of Richmond'.¹⁰⁶ It was agreed to consult the Trades and Labour Council, the Tradesmen's Association, and other 'societies interested'. This process took some time because the committee did not meet again until April 1895, when it was agreed to consider all lines 'as they are dependent to a large extent upon the LSWR for their train service and fares' and to write to the directors of LSWR 'calling their attention to the high fares and inadequate train service imposed upon the borough'. Memoranda were sent to all companies setting out evidence that fares to Richmond were expensive in terms of the miles travelled and making detailed proposals for reductions and improvements to services, which included some earlier trains for workmen. Proposals were made for some reductions in the cost of workmen's tickets and an extension of the time during which such tickets could be used. A request was also made for cheap tickets for evening visits to the theatre. There was at least one meeting with LSWR to discuss these issues, although no minutes have survived. From the evidence available in railway timetables after 1895, it does not appear that these representations had much effect, but the

¹⁰⁴ RTT, 7 June 1873.

¹⁰⁵ RLSL, R/V/22: RVM, 2 April 1889.

¹⁰⁶ RLSL, RBC, Railway accommodation committee report, 9 April 1895 (uncatalogued).

exchange does provide evidence of the significance, by the 1890s, of workmen's and leisure travel.



Illustration 1.8: Richmond Station towards the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁷

In the 31 years from 1846 to 1877, the transport available from Richmond to London changed from a few steamers, watermen, and omnibuses to a choice of almost 100 trains a day over six routes provided by four companies. The scale of Richmond station by the end of the century is shown in **Illustrations 1.8 and 1.9**. The number of trains per day increased to around 120 by 1900. Direct services from Twickenham were limited to 44 in 1877 and 62 in 1900, but passengers had the opportunity to change at Richmond for the additional services that terminated there. The smaller scale of Twickenham station is shown in **Illustration 1.10**. The original attraction of Richmond as a railway destination was the prosperity of many of the inhabitants and the number of visitors to the town. The slow initial growth in the number of trains in the 1850s and early 1860s suggests that initially the railway touched the lives of a small proportion of Richmond and Twickenham

¹⁰⁷ RLSL, LCF/2547.

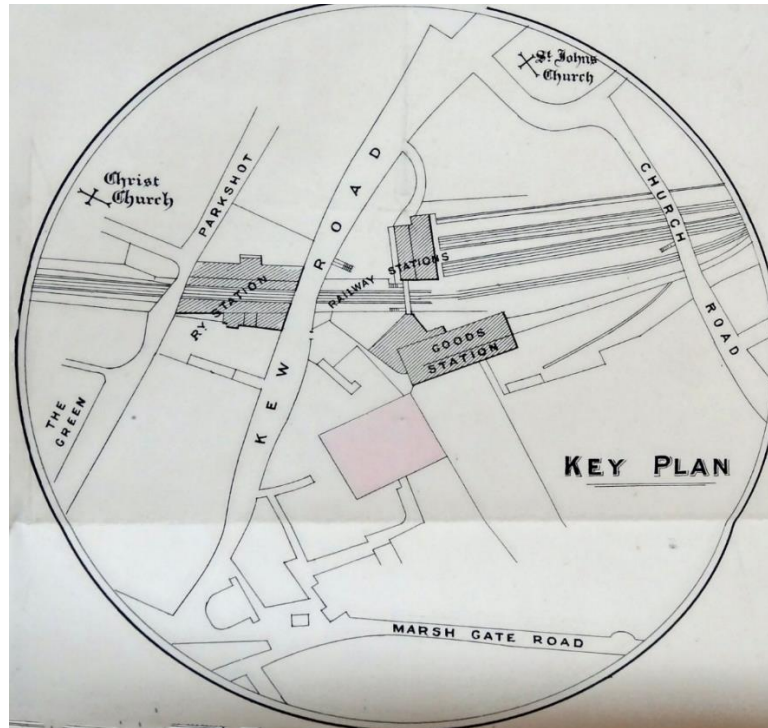


Illustration 1.9: Plan of Richmond station in 1891.¹⁰⁸

residents. The fares were too expensive for most and, even in 1871, there is little evidence that many Richmond inhabitants were travelling to work in London. However, in the last three decades of the century, commuters to London and elsewhere became a significant element of the local economies. Travelling for leisure pursuits, such as the theatre and shopping in the West End and elsewhere, supplemented commuting, and visitors must also have been significant users of the services. The higher fares charged for services to Richmond, compared to other nearby destinations, would have increased railway company profits and continued to make Richmond an attractive service for them.

¹⁰⁸ RLSL, Richmond Station in 1891. Plan from property sale notice, auction sale catalogue book 6, p.24 (uncatalogued).



Illustration 1.10: Station yard, Twickenham, 1900.¹⁰⁹

Trams

Over some 40 years, the Richmond vestry, and later the RBC, opposed most tramway schemes that were submitted to it. The idea of a horse-drawn tramway from Kew to Richmond was first put forward by the Kew, Richmond and Kingston Tramway Company in December 1871.¹¹⁰ As the name of the company suggests, the aim of the company was to build a horse-drawn tramway from Kew Bridge, through Richmond to Kingston. The scheme was rejected by the vestry in January 1872, and there is no further record of the proposal in the vestry minutes.¹¹¹ This may have been because none of the company's subscribers had any local connection.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ RLSL, LCF/13128.

¹¹⁰ RLSL, R/V/18: RVM, 19 December 1871.

¹¹¹ RLSL, R/V/18: RVM, 26 January 1872.

¹¹² TNA, BT 31/1669/5908: Board of Trade returns filed by Kew, Richmond, and Kingston Tramways Company Limited.

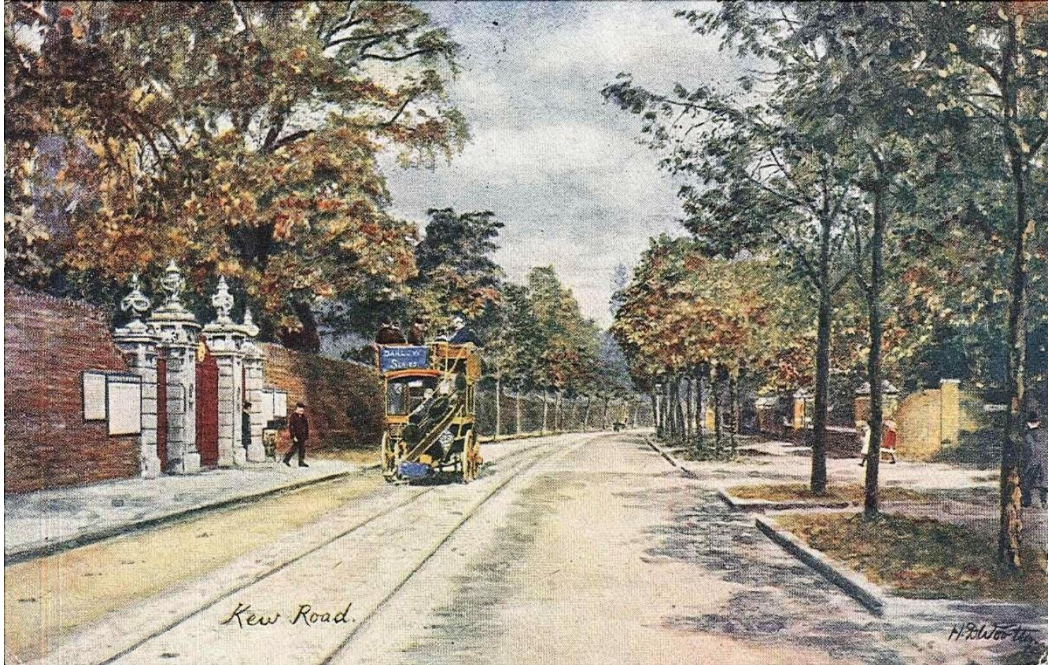


Illustration 1.11: Horse-drawn tram travelling along Kew Road.¹¹³

There were no further proposals for tramways to or through Richmond until 1881, when the West Metropolitan Tramway Company announced that it was seeking approval to build a tramway along the Goldhawk Road and Chiswick High Road, with an extension over Kew Bridge and along Kew Road to Richmond Station.¹¹⁴ The proposal received some public support (whether genuine or inspired by the tramway company is unclear), and it was agreed to by the vestry, subject to some conditions that were not recorded in the vestry minutes. The vestry rejected a later application to extend the tramway along George Street (the main Richmond thoroughfare), and thereafter to Kingston.¹¹⁵ The tramway opened on 17 April 1883. The RTT reported that there was no formal opening ceremony and ‘the line was served with new and large cars, well fitted and drawn by two horses’.¹¹⁶ **Illustration 1.11** shows a horse-drawn tram travelling along Kew Road. Relations between the vestry and the company were not always harmonious because, on at least one occasion, the vestry complained about the state of Kew Road, and it firmly

¹¹³ RLSL, uncatalogued.

¹¹⁴ RLSL, R/V/20: RVM, 8 November 1881.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 19 December 1882.

¹¹⁶ RTT, 21 April 1883.

rejected the idea of a steam tram.¹¹⁷ Whether the latter was ever a real proposal is unclear.

In 1894, the West Metropolitan Tramway Company collapsed, and its assets were taken over by LUT. The latter continued to run the horse tram along the Kew Road. In 1899, LUT produced a map with proposals for tramway extensions.¹¹⁸ In April 1898, the LUT notified its intention to build an electric tramway from Kew, along Queens Road in Richmond, through Petersham, to Kingston.¹¹⁹ The scheme was rejected by RBC and attracted much criticism from Richmond residents. As a result, the scheme was withdrawn by LUT in less than two months of its announcement.¹²⁰

In November 1900, LUT gave notice that it wished to build double electric tram lines from Kew Bridge to the Station Hotel near to Richmond Station at the edge of the town centre. It also wanted to build another line from the Station Hotel, along Church Road and Sheen Road, to the edge of the borough at the Black Horse.¹²¹ The council understood this to be part of a continuous line through Kensington, Hammersmith, Mortlake, Barnes, and Putney. The tramways committee recommended that the council reject this scheme, and this recommendation was endorsed by a full meeting of the council.¹²²

After this rejection of the LUT plan, there must have been further discussion between the company and the council as part of the lobbying process prior to the passing of the London United Tramways Act, 1902.¹²³ The Act included provisions, which RBC accepted, that if a tramway was built, the tramcars used on Kew Road should be of a 'similar size to the four-wheel cars now in use in Bristol', and the power supply to the cars should be the ground-based conduit system rather than the overhead power lines normally used.¹²⁴ Permission for the Kew Road tramway would lapse if it was not constructed

¹¹⁷ RLSL, R/V/21: RVM, 11 January 1887; R/V/21: 17 December 1889.

¹¹⁸ BRO, 38510/ LUT/E/23: LUT map of tramways.

¹¹⁹ RTT, 23 April 1898.

¹²⁰ RTT, 18 June 1898.

¹²¹ RTT, 24 November 1900.

¹²² RBC, *minutes*, 11 December 1900.

¹²³ 2 Edward VII, c. 248.

¹²⁴ RBC, *minutes*, 28 February 1902.

within four years of the 1902 Act. The 1906 London United Tramways Act extended this period by a further two years.¹²⁵

Discussions between RBC and LUT resumed in 1907, when the LUT managing director (Sir Clifton Robinson) asked the council to allow a tramline to cross Kew Bridge to connect with the line from Hammersmith and for overhead power lines instead of a conduit system to be used along Kew Road. This request gave rise to considerable argument between councillors and also at public meetings.¹²⁶ There were many negative comments about the prospect of electric trams coming to Richmond. One councillor is reported to have said that it would mean 'irretrievable ruin to Richmond, and would make it a suburb of Hammersmith', and another that 'the residents will be almost turned out themselves by the riff-raff from the East End'.¹²⁷ Many of those that lived along Kew Road opposed the tram because they maintained that it 'would destroy one of the most beautiful roads in England' and reduce the value of their property.¹²⁸ Others took a more positive view. Their concern was mainly that the lack of a tram service would place Richmond at a commercial disadvantage to its neighbours and miss an opportunity to create competition for the railway, with a consequential impact on the level of rail fares to the town.¹²⁹ The LUT request for RBC to waive the conditions agreed in 1902 was discussed by the council's tramway committee in June 1907. It recommended that the council 'favourably consider' proposals for an overhead power supply along Kew Road, ask LUT to promote a Bill authorising the construction of tramways across Kew Bridge, and not insist on the use of small four-wheel cars. At a subsequent meeting of the council, the first recommendation was defeated, the second tied, and the third accepted.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ 6 Edward VII c. 151; BRO, 35810/LUT/C/32,33,50: notes of LUT meetings with RBC and residents.

¹²⁶ LUT must have had a 'friend' on the inside of these discussions; detailed notes of some of them have survived in the papers of the chairman, Sir George White.

¹²⁷ RTT, 27 April 1912.

¹²⁸ BRO, 35810/LUT/C/32, 33, 50.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ RLSL, RBC *minutes*, 24 June 1907.

Discussions between LUT and RBC continued periodically for the next five years. The fundamental disagreement between the two parties was the issue of overhead power lines. RBC refused to agree to a tramway that used overhead lines as the power source and continued to demand that the ground-based conduit system was used. LUT maintained that the latter would be unprofitable and was not prepared to build a tramway that met RBC's specifications.

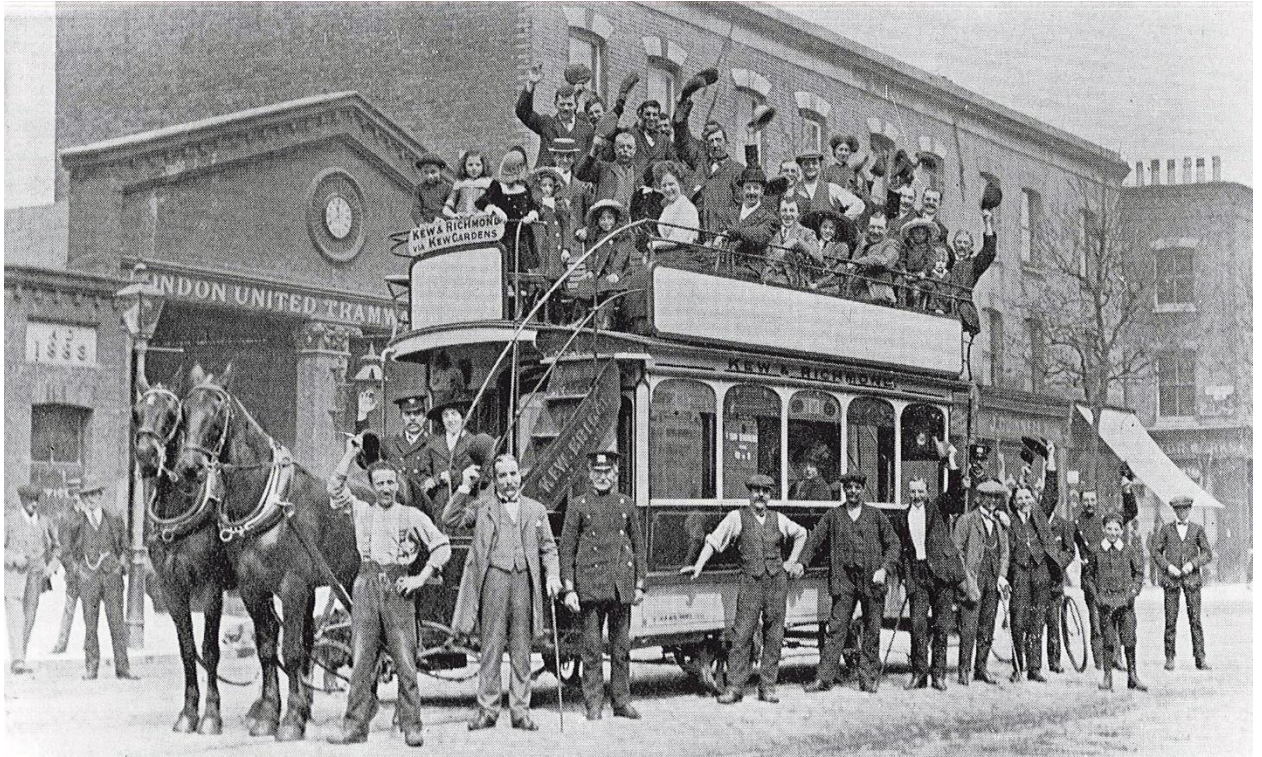


Illustration 1.12: The last horse-drawn tram outside the tram depot in Kew Road in 1912.¹³¹

In October 1911, LUT put forward four options to resolve the impasse.¹³² First, it offered to build an electric tramway with overhead power lines; second, it offered to sell the existing horse-drawn tram system to RBC; third, it offered to electrify the existing system on any basis of power specified by the council and then operate it at RBC expense; and finally, it offered to remove the horse-drawn system. RBC opted for the fourth option and, as a result, the Kew Road tramway ceased operation in April 1912. **Illustration 1.12** is a photograph of the last Kew Bridge to Richmond tram. Thus, Richmond became one

¹³¹ RLSL, LCF/8732.

¹³² RLSL, RBC minutes, 10 October 1911.

of the few boroughs to the southwest of London without a tramway of any kind. This enabled the town to retain its status, as it saw it of being a cut above its neighbours. Barnes and Mortlake also resisted the introduction of electric tramways. Such a tramway would have connected Richmond to Hammersmith, but LUT did not pursue such a scheme particularly vigorously because of the costs involved and the LCC's refusal to allow a river crossing at Hammersmith.

The attitude of RBC and some Richmond residents to the electric tramway is one of the best documented examples of the town's view of itself as being superior to other locations on the edge of London and its wish to maintain this perceived status. RBC's refusal to agree to an electric tramway was achieved at the price of higher rail fares than might have been the case if the rail companies had been exposed to additional competition and, therefore, at the expense of the less prosperous residents of Richmond.¹³³

The construction of tramways through Twickenham by LUT was achieved with relative ease. LUT notified the UDC in November 1899 of its intention to apply to Parliament to construct tramways along London Road, Richmond Road towards Richmond Bridge, Heath Road, and Hampton Road.¹³⁴ These lines, and others through Teddington and Hampton, enabled LUT to join its tramways in Kingston with those from Hammersmith to Isleworth and Hounslow that Richmond's approach to the tramways had prevented. The ease of Parliamentary passage for the Bill was facilitated by the company's agreement to pay for street widening and other road works in Twickenham and elsewhere.¹³⁵ Royal Assent to the London United Tramways Act, 1900, was granted in August 1900, and the tramway across Twickenham from Isleworth was completed by the end of 1902 (**Illustration 1.13**).¹³⁶ As a result of this decision, the centre of Twickenham

¹³³ The daily return fare to the City, 1900-1910, was 9d. from Richmond but only 4d. from Ealing (Jackson, *Semi-detached London*, p.32).

¹³⁴ RLSL, TW/UDC/5: Twickenham UDC minutes, 23 November 1899.

¹³⁵ C. S. Smeeton, *The London United Tramways Vol 1, Origins to 1912* (London, 1994), p.128.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.133; 63 and 64 Victoria I, c. 271.



Illustration 1.13: An electric tram travelling along London Road, Twickenham, shortly after the tram's introduction.¹³⁷

was transformed by street widening, whereas the centre of Richmond today remains very similar to that of the late nineteenth century.

Commerce and the economies of Richmond and Twickenham to around 1850.

Commerce around 1800

The earliest record relevant to the nineteenth century that included entries on the commerce in Richmond and Twickenham was a directory published in 1791.¹³⁸ The entry for Richmond lists a wide range of businesses that it is reasonable to conclude were engaged in supplying the needs of the more prosperous inhabitants and visitors to the town. There were no doubt other traders operating in the town, such as hawkers and pedlars, that catered for the less prosperous, but no records of these have survived.

There were 277 entries for Richmond in the 1791 directory. They included 7 bakers, 7 butchers, 16 grocers, 2 confectioners, 3 poulterers, and 2 fruiterers. The non-food

¹³⁷ RLSL, uncatalogued.

¹³⁸ *Universal British directory of trade*, vol. IV, pp.292-301 and vol. V, appendix, pp.222-229.

requirements of the residents were served by 13 boot and shoemakers, 11 tailors, 2 milliners, 5 stay makers, 11 hairdressers, 2 perfumers, and 3 haberdashers. The existence of four innkeepers is an indication of the importance of visitors to the town. There may have been more innkeepers, as Cloake mentions a fifth that appeared in a 1795 directory.¹³⁹ To refresh the inhabitants and visitors, there were 21 victuallers, although again there may have been more in 1791, as Cloake states that there were 30 in 1795.¹⁴⁰ There were also 2 breweries and a brandy merchant. In nearby Kingston, only 17 victuallers and 4 innkeepers were recorded. Kingston was a market town on the road to Portsmouth, and therefore this number of victuallers was to be expected.

The composition of the Twickenham entry in the 1791 directory reflects its more rural and agricultural character. There were also only 183 entries – 94 less than in Richmond. A total of 16 victuallers and 2 brewers were listed. There were no inns. The directory for Twickenham also listed eight grocers, four butchers, and four bakers, but there were no milliners, haberdashers, or perfumers, and only two hairdressers and six tailors. Thus, the better-off Twickenham residents probably visited Richmond for such items. The directory also reflected the relative importance of agriculture, as there were 3 farmers and 14 gardeners. From the description of ‘gardener’, it is not possible to determine the extent to which these individuals were market gardeners or were employed as gardeners to large houses. Nevertheless, the occupations listed for Twickenham suggest a community that was more rural than that in Richmond. Lysons mentions that there was an oil-mill on the River Crane on the western boundary of the parish.¹⁴¹

Commerce in Richmond and Twickenham from circa 1800 to 1841.

Evidence of the commercial characteristics of the two communities for the first four decades of the nineteenth century is provided by some contemporary descriptions: the

¹³⁹ Cloake, ‘Richmond trades in 1795’, *Richmond History*, No. 18 (1997), pp.63-65.

¹⁴⁰ Ten of these establishments are still trading on the same sites some 225 years later – Angel & Crown, Cricketers, Prince’s Head, Old Ship, Red Cow, Orange Tree, Blue Anchor, Sun, White Cross, and Roebuck.

¹⁴¹ Daniel Lysons, *The Environs of London, vol. 3, County of Middlesex* (London, 1795) p. 558.

censuses for 1811, 1821, 1831, and 1841 and three early trade directories (1823, 1826, and 1839). More generally, the literature on retail trade in the first half of the nineteenth century has reached differing views on the characteristics of retailing and the extent to which this changed during the period. This section looks first at some contemporary descriptions of commerce in both communities and then considers some of the main literature on retailing. It continues by examining the conclusions that can be drawn from summaries of census and trade directory entries.

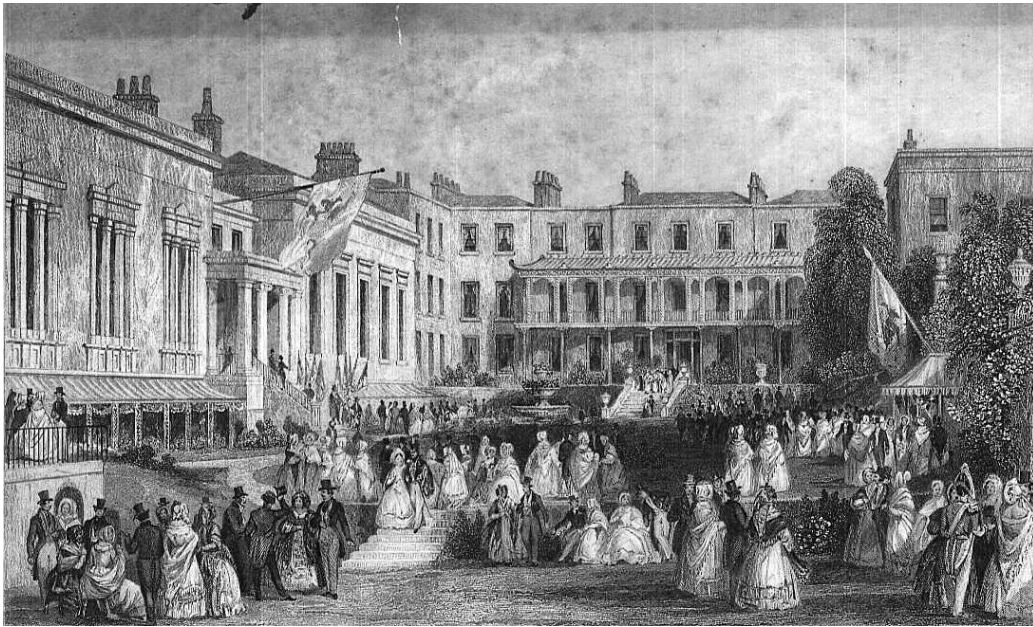


Illustration 1.14: The Castle Hotel, Richmond 1838. Occasion of the fete given by High Highness Prince of Schwarzberg.¹⁴²

The earliest description that we have of the main commercial street in Richmond, George Street, appears in John Evans' *Richmond and its Vicinity*, published in 1825.¹⁴³ He describes the town as consisting of 'one long street...here are several good houses, besides shops in almost every line of business, capable of supplying the wants of the inhabitants'. The reference to 'shops' is significant because it suggests that some retailers had space separate from their living quarters from which they conducted business. It might also suggest that some already had windows in which to display their

¹⁴² RLSL, LCP/2636: Steel engraving drawn by Thomas Allom (1804-1872), engraved by Henry Adlard.

¹⁴³ Evans, *Richmond and its vicinity*, p.1.

merchandise. By 1820, Morrison concludes that shop windows would have been relatively common. Shops such as drapers, ironmongers, and apothecaries that sold relatively valuable items invited customers inside their premises for reasons of comfort and security. Those selling items of less value, such as food, would have used wider openings as counters to attract customers.¹⁴⁴

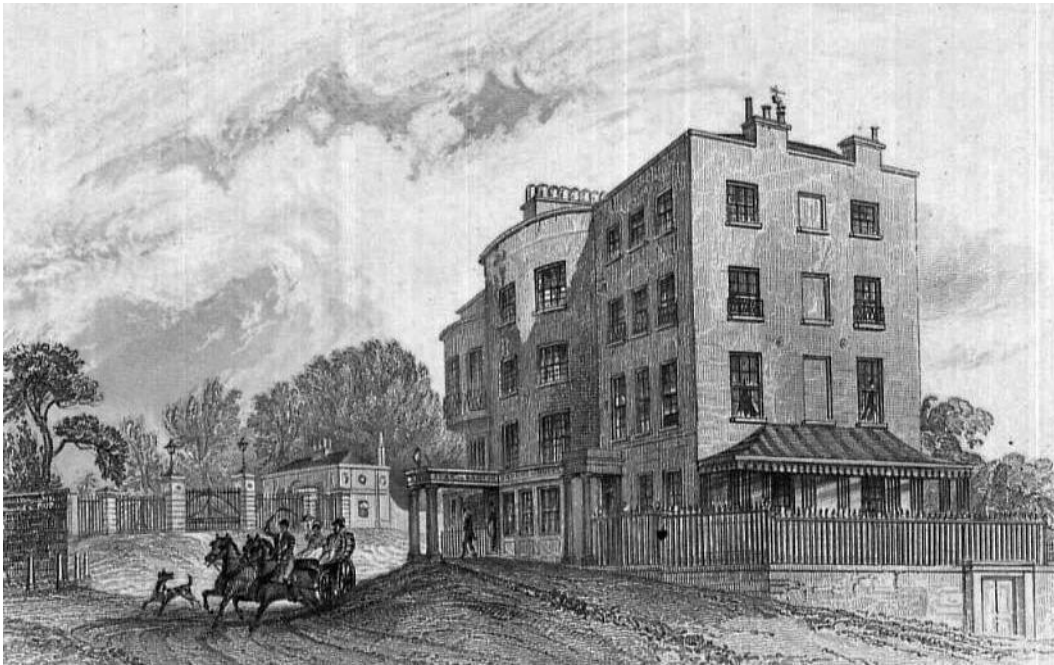


Illustration 1.15: The Star and Garter Hotel, 1850.¹⁴⁵

Pigot's *Directory of Surrey*, 1839, is less complimentary and refers to Richmond as 'a place of but trifling thoroughfare, [that] has no manufactories; but in every particular it realises the appearance of a respectable town, in which the inhabitants enjoy comfort, with a flourishing domestic trade'.¹⁴⁶ Pigot refers to the importance of visitors to the town. The entry for Richmond in Pigot's 1839 directory refers to 'the great concourse of visitors to it during the whole of the spring and summer months, may be attributed its prosperity' and one of the pleasures of the terrace facing the River Thames, at Barnes, was 'viewing the continued succession of pleasure boats passing between London and

¹⁴⁴ Morrison, *English shops and shopping*, p.24.

¹⁴⁵ RLSL, LCP/2794: Steel Engraving by Edward Bradle and engraved by T F Darnill.

¹⁴⁶ Pigot & Co., *Directory of Surrey*, 1839, p.638.

Richmond'.¹⁴⁷ **Illustrations 1.14, 1.15, and 1.16** show the Castle Hotel and the Star and Garter Hotel in 1838, 1850, and 1865 respectively. These pictures show that the facilities for accommodating visitors to Richmond were considerable. Thus, from early in the nineteenth century, visitors to Richmond were a significant component of its economy and, as outlined later in the chapter, this continued and increased as the century progressed.

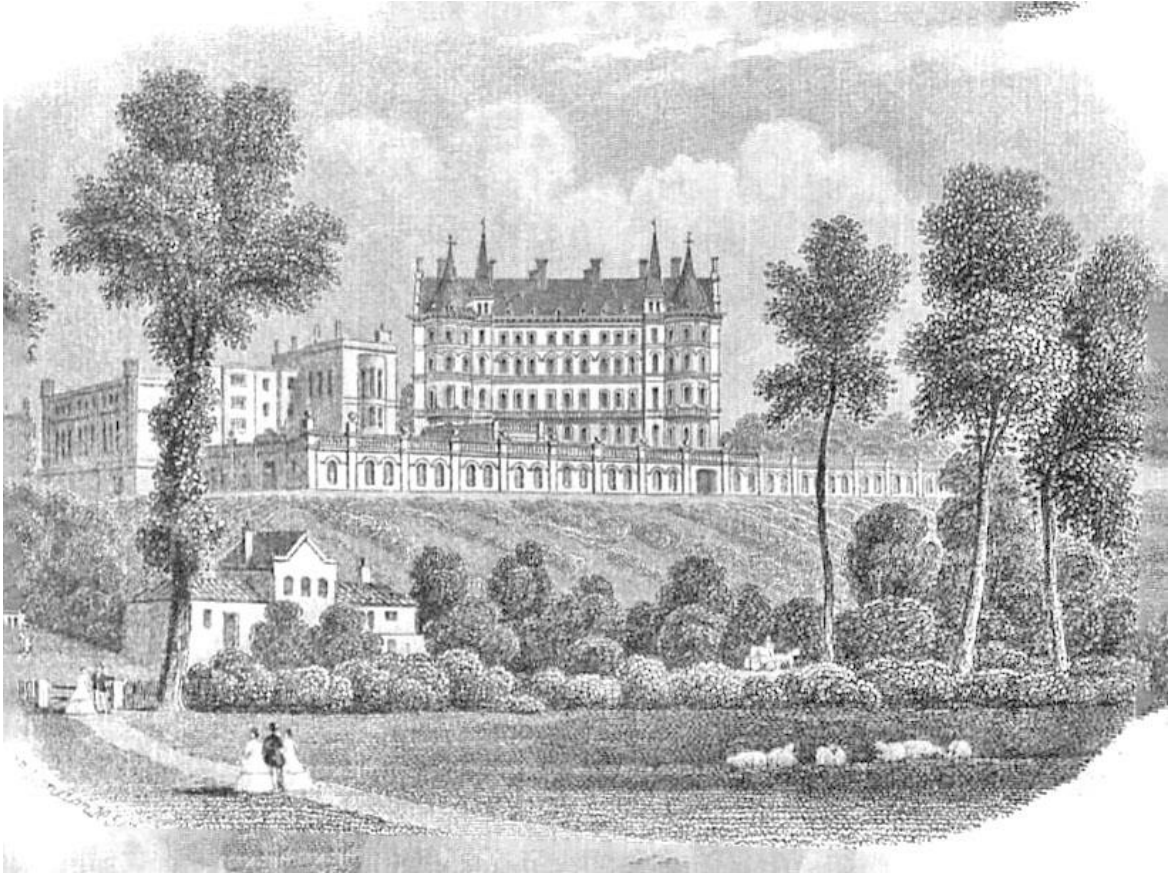


Illustration 1.16: The Star and Garter Hotel in 1865.¹⁴⁸

The information in the early censuses and commercial directories helps build an impression of commerce in Richmond and Twickenham in the first half of the nineteenth century. The reports on the first four censuses provide some basic information on the nature of employment in 1801, 1811, 1821, and 1831. Their usefulness is limited by the

¹⁴⁷ Pigot & Co., *Directory of Surrey*, 1839, pp.632, 638.

¹⁴⁸ RLSL, LCP/2751.

fact that they were not drawn up on a consistent basis. The 1841 census was the first to report some information on individuals.

The 1801 census reports that, in Richmond, 66 persons were employed in agriculture and 541 in what were described as 'trade, manufacture and handicraft'.¹⁴⁹ These two categories covered only 12-13% of the population, and the remainder were classified as 'all other persons'. Nevertheless, it is clear, even from these figures, that agriculture was of minimal importance in Richmond, whereas trade etc. was more significant. In Twickenham, 121 persons were reported as working in agriculture and 256 in trade, but these figures account for only 12% of those counted.

Occupational information from the 1811 and 1821 censuses is reported by the number of families. There are inconsistencies in the figures reported. However, it is possible to conclude that agriculture was of reducing importance in Richmond, whereas 'trade, manufacture and handicraft' were of increasing significance. The greater inconsistencies in the Twickenham figures make it more difficult to draw conclusions. However, it is reasonable to assume that agriculture continued to be of greater significance than in Richmond, and trade, manufacture, and handicraft gradually increased.

The 1831 census provides greater detail, and this is shown in **Table 1.5**, which mainly covers the occupations of men, aged 20 and over, with additional reporting of the number of male servants aged under 20, and the total number of female servants. There was no reporting of women engaged in other occupations. In Richmond, only 8% of males over 20 were reported as engaged in agriculture, compared to 37% in Twickenham. Some 47% of males aged 20 or older were in retailing, 12% were categorised as 'capitalists, bankers, professional or other educated men', 15% non-agricultural labourers, and 11% male servants. The equivalent figures for Twickenham were 28% retail, 9% capitalists etc., 8% non-agricultural labourers, and 7% male servants.

¹⁴⁹ Parl. Paper 1801-02 (9) pp.208, 353.

1831		Males > 20 years	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Richmond	No.	1779	2	2	146	-	828	214	265	130	192	49	697
	%		0.1	0.1	8.2	-	46.6	12.0	14.9	7.3	10.8		
Twickenham	No	1099	30	18	380		309	103	87	97	75	32	372
	%		2.7	1.6	34.7	-	28.3	9.4	7.7	8.8	6.8		

Table 1.5: Numbers of persons in occupations specified in the 1831 census.¹⁵⁰

The first more detailed record of occupations was reported following the 1841 census.¹⁵¹

Appendix 2, Table A2.1 summarises the occupations reported for men and women for Richmond and Twickenham. The various occupations have been grouped by categories that are relevant to the two communities so that it is possible to illustrate the differences and similarities between them.

Overall, in Richmond, a total of 1,594 males and 1,141 females were recorded with occupations (other than those of independent means). The equivalent figures for Twickenham were 923 and 517. It is not possible to complete an age breakdown of the population because of the illegibility of some of the Twickenham census returns. However, it is possible to calculate the proportion of the total number of males and females net of those of independent means that were stated to have an occupation. Accordingly, some 50% of men in Richmond had an occupation, compared to 42% in Twickenham. The equivalent figures for women were 29% in Richmond and 19% in Twickenham. The main reason for the difference in these figures appears to be the higher proportion of women in Richmond working in domestic service positions that resulted in them living with their employer and not able to marry or have children.

The largest occupation for males and females was domestic service and work related to it, such as governess, cleaning, or washing. This work engaged 17% of men and 83% of

¹⁵⁰ Parl. Paper 1833 (149) pp.364, 635. Key to Table 1.5 – agriculture: A: occupiers employing labourers; B: occupiers not employing labourers; C: labourers employed in agriculture. non-agriculture: D: manufacture; E: retail trade or handicraft as masters or workmen; F: capitalists, bankers, professional, or other educated men; G: labourers (non-agricultural); H: other males of 20 years (except servants); I: male servants 20 years old and above; J: male servants under 20 years; K: female servants.

¹⁵¹ TNA, HO 107/1075 and 658: census returns, Richmond and Twickenham, 1841.

women with an occupation in Richmond, and 18% of men and 85% of women in Twickenham. The relative unimportance of agriculture/horticulture in Richmond was confirmed as only 8% of men worked in this sector in the town compared to almost 15% in Twickenham. Retail business, including the sale of foodstuffs, was more significant in Richmond, occupying some 12% of men compared to 7% in Twickenham. One of the other main differences was in construction and property, where 15% of men worked in related trades in Richmond compared to 10% in Twickenham. This resulted from the earlier housebuilding in Richmond, albeit at an embryonic stage at this time, compared to Twickenham. Finally, only 13% of men in Richmond were general labourers, compared to 19% in Twickenham. As the type of labour is not recorded, it is not possible to ascertain the reason for this difference.

There were also some similarities in the proportion of those engaged in similar types of work. Eleven per cent of men in work related to clothing. Around 7% were involved in transport in both communities, with only 2% in government-related activities and 1-2% with the professions.

Most historians who have studied the census in some detail have concluded that the information on occupations recorded was reasonably accurate, with some qualifications.¹⁵² There is no reason to suggest that this did not apply to Richmond and Twickenham. First, some individuals had more than one occupation, and only one of these was recorded in the census. In addition, the identification of an occupation did not mean that the individual concerned was in full-time employment, and returns may have included persons under an occupation heading who were partly employed, unemployed, or retired. Finally, it is generally recognised that the census under-recorded the role of women because it did not record the time they spent working in the family business or assisting in other ways. There are a few examples in 1841 in Richmond and Twickenham where women were recorded with occupations generally associated with men at this time, such as three female grocers in Twickenham and one beer house retailer in

¹⁵² Edward Higgs, *Making sense of the census revisited, census records for England and Wales, 1801-1901*, pp. 97-110.

Richmond. These situations usually resulted from a wife carrying on the business after her husband's death.

The census records the number of individuals pursuing an occupation, but it is necessary to look at trade directories to assess the number of enterprises that existed. Three directories for the period 1820 to 1840 have survived for Richmond and Twickenham: 1823, 1826, and 1839.¹⁵³ The relevant entries are summarised in **Appendix 3, Table A3.1**. Historians differ as to the reliability of trade directories as a full and accurate record of businesses, and the differing views are set out in the literature review.

There were some anomalies in the directories for Richmond and Twickenham for the period 1820 to 1840. Twickenham was reported as having no boot and shoemakers before 1839 (when 13 were recorded), which is unlikely, and the number of bakers there went from 4 in 1823 to 14 in 1826 reduced to 7 by 1839. Nevertheless, after taking account of their possible limitations, trade directories are a useful source of the commercial life of both communities because, whereas from 1841 the census records the number of persons engaged in an occupation, the directories report businesses engaged in a specific enterprise.

Between 1821 and 1841, the populations of Richmond and Twickenham were reported as growing by 30% and 24%, respectively. In an era before the railways, travel by road or boat was lengthy and expensive. As a result, there would have been limited competition from traders outside the respective parishes, and residents would have found it difficult to get to London to shop. There would undoubtedly have been visits from travelling hawkers, but no such individuals were recorded in the 1841 census as living in either Richmond or Twickenham. Alexander suggests that the census under-recorded the extent of itinerant trading because it failed to enumerate non-residents selling on the

¹⁵³ Pigot & Co, *Directory of Middlesex*, 1823, pp.61-63, 74-75; Pigot & Co, *Directory of Surrey*, 1826, pp.483-485, 500-501; Pigot & Co, *Directory of Middlesex*, 1839, pp.446-448; Pigot & Co, *Directory of Surrey*, pp.640-642.

street and ignored those who, in times of hardship, took to hawking on a temporary basis.¹⁵⁴

Between 1823 and 1839, there was an increase in the number of traders selling food, clothing, and footwear to meet the needs of the increased population. The increase was not uniform across all trades. Between 1823 and 1839, in Richmond there was a 20% increase in the number of bakers (10 to 12). There was an 80% increase in the number of butchers (10 to 18) and a doubling in the number of boot and shoemakers (14 to 30) and milliners (8 to 16) over the same period. In an area important to Richmond, what we would today call the visitor or tourist trade, the number of hotels or inns increased from 6 in 1823 to 9 in 1839 and the number of public houses or taverns from 18 to 26.¹⁵⁵

Most of the increases in the number of businesses in Twickenham were more modest for most trades. The number of butchers increased from six in 1823 to nine in 1839, and the number of grocers from five to nine in the same period. There were no hotels or inns in Twickenham by 1839, and there were some other trades that were not reported. No confectioners, retailers of dairy products, or tobacconists were recorded, and there was only one bookseller and one watchmaker/silversmith, compared to five and seven respectively in Richmond. There was presumably less demand for the products they sold in Twickenham compared to Richmond, or possibly some Twickenham residents travelled to Richmond for such items.

Overall, commercial directory information for both communities demonstrates the importance of shopkeeping. The directories for Richmond indicate that George Street and the roads leading from it, namely, King Street, Hill Street, and, to a lesser extent, the beginning of Kew Road, were the main locations for trading. Church Street and London

¹⁵⁴ D. Alexander, 'Retail trade in Great Britain 1800-1850' (unpublished PhD thesis), University of London, 1967, quoted by Martin Phillips, 'Evolution of markets and shops in Britain' in ed., John Benson and Gareth Shaw, *The evolution of retail systems, c. 1800-1914* (Leicester, 1992), p.54.

¹⁵⁵ Throughout the nineteenth century, some establishments listed as hotels in one directory were classified as taverns in a subsequent directory. This may represent a change in 'label' for substantively the same business, or there were changes in scope over time, depending on the owner or landlord. It is certain that the number of places to stay and drink in Richmond and Twickenham increased significantly during the nineteenth century.

Road were the main locations in Twickenham. There is little evidence as to the form that retailing took in Richmond and Twickenham, and there are varying views amongst historians. At the beginning of the century, Mitchell concludes that many retailers were producers or processors of the goods that they sold.¹⁵⁶ In many cases, 'shops' were no more than the ground level of a house or the front of a workshop. The one example of a property in George Street, Richmond, that has survived, relates to a fire in 1836. A report in *The Times* on the fire refers to the workshops of an upholsterer/cabinet maker and of an ironmonger, as well as the stables of a grocer, being destroyed.¹⁵⁷ Morrison has concluded that the type of trade carried out influenced the design of the shopfront. Upholsterers and tailors were less likely to adopt display windows than, for example, drapers.¹⁵⁸ Mitchell concludes that it is difficult to generalise about early nineteenth century retailers. Those for which detailed records survive probably invested in self-promotion and may not be typical of the period. The existence of the majority was only recorded in the commercial or trade directories, and their main objective was to maintain their living, reputation, and credit-worthiness and possibly play a role in the wider community.¹⁵⁹ Graham set out a number of factors that resulted in a consumer revolution.¹⁶⁰ Factory production led to the availability of greater quantities and a reduction in some prices, and the new means of transport allowed goods to be transported greater distances and for retailers to travel to the city in order to buy the latest goods.

¹⁵⁶ I. Mitchell, *Tradition and innovation in English retailing, 1700-1850, narratives of consumption* (Farnham, 2024), p.38.

¹⁵⁷ *The Times*, 24 October 1836.

¹⁵⁸ Morrison, *English shops and shopping*, p.24.

¹⁵⁹ Mitchell, *Tradition and Innovation in English retailing*, p. 59.

¹⁶⁰ Kelley Graham, *'Gone to the shops', shopping in Victorian England* (London, 2008), p. 2.



Illustration 1.17: The Quadrant, Kew Road, 1876.¹⁶¹

These developments resulted in the process of wholesaling and retailing becoming more organised and commercially driven rather than 'casual, personal, and based on barter'.¹⁶² Because no commercial advertisements survive for the period prior to 1850, it is difficult to assess the extent to which shopkeepers in Richmond and Twickenham embraced up-to-date products and methods of sale in the first five decades of the century. It is probably reasonable to assume that the picture was mixed. No photographs or illustrations of George Street in Richmond exist prior to 1890, and there is no visual evidence of retail shop development there prior to this date. A drawing, dating from 1876, of The Quadrant, Kew Road (**Illustration 1.17**), which runs from the junction of George Street and Marshgate (Sheen Road) to Richmond station, shows an array of small

¹⁶¹ RLSL, LCF/2936.

¹⁶² Graham, 'Gone to the shops', p.3.

shops and sheds. The extent to which this was typical of the period is unclear. These buildings were replaced in 1876/77 by a terrace of shops that are there today.¹⁶³

Various commercial enterprises

Richmond and Twickenham had some commercial enterprises of various kinds that are worthy of individual mention, many of which straddled both halves of the century. This section discusses the more significant of these enterprises.

Breweries

There were breweries in Richmond and Twickenham of various sizes during the nineteenth century. By 1900, most of them had either ceased operation or had been taken over by larger concerns.

Brewing in Twickenham by the Cole family dated back to the mid- seventeenth century, when Moses Glover's *Survey of Twickenham* showed Thomas Cole occupying 11½ acres near the current railway station.¹⁶⁴ Over the next 150 years, the family built up a brewing business, and acquired land in Twickenham. The development of some of the latter is discussed in **Chapter 2**. The Cole Papers at RLSL provide a detailed record of Cole family agreements, mortgages, and wills, which trace the ownership of the business by members of the family and other partners until the brewery was sold to Brandons (Putney) Brewery in 1898.¹⁶⁵ These documents provide some insight into the business in terms of the number of public houses that the brewery operated. In 1790, there were 18, by 1822 this number had increased to 42, and then to 55 in 1824.¹⁶⁶ The location of the public houses centred around Twickenham, Hounslow, Isleworth, and Brentford, but they also owned public houses as far away as Kensington and Richmond to the east, Epsom to the south, and Uxbridge to the northwest. Whether this geographical spread of houses made sense for a relatively small brewery in terms of distribution costs must

¹⁶³ RLSL, LCP/2936; John Cloake, *Richmond Past*, p.99.

¹⁶⁴ G.E. Mercer, *The Cole papers: the Coles of Heatham House, Twickenham, the brewery and the Cole Park and Amyand Park estates, 1575-1901* (Twickenham, 1985), p.12.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.20.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.17.

be open to question. The second issue raised by the Cole family papers is the reasons for the number of mortgages that were necessary at various times.¹⁶⁷ Part of the reason may have been to buy out family members who did not wish to be involved in the brewery. The overall impression must be that the brewery was not particularly profitable.

There were also some small brewers in Twickenham that existed for a few years and then disappeared. The only record that has survived are entries in trade directories. For example, John Bowyer was listed as a brewer and corn merchant in London Road in the 1866 and 1876 directories, although the 1861 and 1871 censuses record his occupation as a corn and coal merchant; James Chamberlaine was in Back Road from 1851 to 1866, George Brown at Twickenham Green in 1851, and Stephen Woodland in Chapel Row also in 1851. These individuals were probably mainly beer retailers who also brewed some of the beer that they sold.

In Richmond, there were two breweries of note. The Richmond Brewery in Water Lane was owned by the Collins family, a family with connections in Richmond dating back to the late seventeenth century.¹⁶⁸ The brewery was owned by various members of the Collins family until 1838, when Edward Collins went into partnership with John Downs, a lighterman and coal merchant.¹⁶⁹

An illustration of the brewery in a sale catalogue dating from 1860 indicates that it was a relatively significant enterprise (**Illustration 1.18**). After the death of the partners, the business continued under the management of Collins' wife and Downs' son.¹⁷⁰ A mortgage was foreclosed in 1856, and the business was gradually sold. The brewery was sold in 1863, and, in 1876, the premises were purchased by the vestry for the new waterworks.¹⁷¹ A photograph of the brewery in 1856 is in **Illustration 1.19**.

¹⁶⁷ Mercer, *The Cole papers*, p.16.

¹⁶⁸ Cloake, 'The Collins dynasty of Richmond brewers and pub owners', *Richmond History* (2009), p.35.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.60.

¹⁷⁰ Richard Holmes, *Pubs, inns and taverns of Richmond, with Ham, Petersham and Kew* (Fairford, 2012), p.134.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.136.

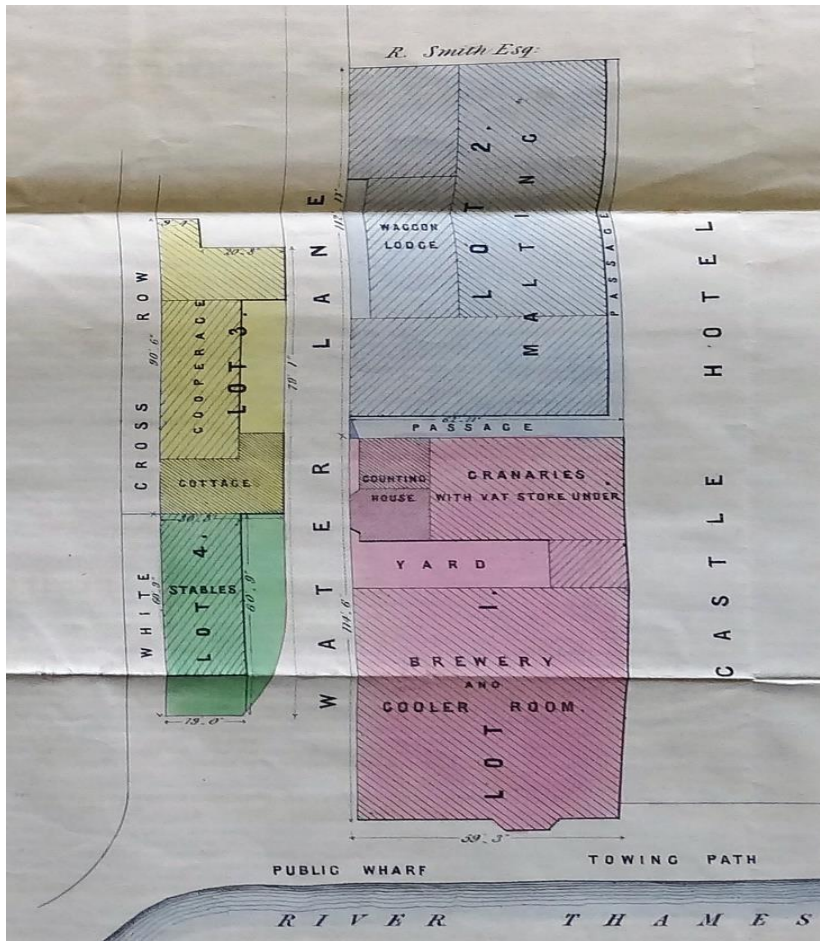


Illustration 1.18: Manufacturing premises, formerly the Richmond Brewery, Water Lane, Richmond.¹⁷²

Another brewery was established in Petersham Road in 1826 by Joseph Bowles.¹⁷³ It passed to Chamen and Pope in the 1870s and, in 1881, to Daniel Watney, a member of the brewing family.¹⁷⁴ In 1909, it was said to employ 100 men, but brewing ceased during the first world war.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² SHS, S.P.4/6: extract from property sales particularly, October 1860.

¹⁷³ Holmes, *Pubs, inns and taverns of Richmond*, p.136.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ RH, 11 December 1909.



Illustration 1.19: Richmond riverside c. 1855. The Richmond brewery, Water Lane is to the left of the chimney.¹⁷⁶

Hounslow Powder Mills, Crane Park.

Probably the largest employer in Twickenham was the powder mills. Although known as the Hounslow Powder Mills, they were located on the western boundary of Twickenham on the River Crane. A photograph of the powder mill tower is in **Illustration 1.20**. A plaque on the 'Shot' Tower states that gunpowder was manufactured on the site from 1768 to 1927. Explosions appear to have been frequent, and the Enclosure Act for the parishes of Isleworth, Heston, and Twickenham included a provision that the mill must not be extended beyond its existing boundary.¹⁷⁷

The accidents often killed and injured workers. The first recorded inquest in 1842 was for two dead and three injured, where an account of the inquest held in Twickenham

¹⁷⁶ RLSL, LCF/675: photograph by George Hilditch.

¹⁷⁷ 58 George III, c. 10.

was reported in *The Times*.¹⁷⁸ There were reports of further explosions in the same newspaper in 1843, 1859, and 1887.¹⁷⁹ The publicity that resulted from the accidents meant that the mills received attention in the press, and one account in *The Times* in 1859 provides the following description of the mill. The works are described as

almost the longest established as well as the most extensive and best conducted of the kind in existence. The works are...100 acres in extent, and the various buildings are constructed on the most approved principles for the prevention of accidents. Embankments and watercourses intersect the land in every direction, and thick groves of trees being planted between the mills, for the purpose of checking concussion, in the event of [an] accident occurring. The works include charcoal, saltpetre, and brimstone mills, press houses, and other departments necessary for the production of powder of various degrees of fineness.¹⁸⁰

An article in the *Illustrated London News* following the same accident, refers to there being between 200 and 300 men, women, and children employed in the works when the explosion occurred.¹⁸¹ Following another accident in 1887, the mill was again reported as having 300 workers.¹⁸² However, given its proximity to Hounslow, it is probable that many who worked in the mill lived there, rather than in Twickenham.

Boat building in Richmond

As the need for river transport declined, some watermen turned their skills to other enterprises connected to the river. The most significant of these was boat building. In 1899, there were five boat builders operating along the river, either side of Richmond Bridge. The largest of these was E. Messum and Sons. An article in a magazine dating from 1901-14 provides some information on its activities.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ *The Times*, 23 February 1842.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 6 November 1841; 31 March 1859; 26 March 1861; 4 May 1887.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 31 March 1859.

¹⁸¹ *The Illustrated London News*, 9 April 1859.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 4 May 1887.

¹⁸³ RLSL: *Thames Boat Building*, c.1901-14 (uncatalogued).



Illustration 1.20: Hounslow Powder Mill tower.¹⁸⁴

The business claimed to be ‘designers and builders of high-class launches, houseboats, racing and cruising yachts, skiffs, punts, dinghies and canoes’ and to have the German Emperor, the Sultan of Turkey, and the Duke of Teck, amongst its patrons.¹⁸⁵ The firm was reputed, in 25 years, to have grown from a single boathouse to 18 boathouses ‘with storage for 1,200 boats’. Some 26 men were employed in the boatbuilding department and another 24 in such occupations as designers, varnishers, sailmakers, and oar and

¹⁸⁴ Photograph by author.

¹⁸⁵ *Thames Boat Building* includes sketches of the interior of a launch built for the Emperor of Morocco and a skiff built for the German Emperor.

scull makers. There were also eight management and office staff as well as watermen (20 in winter and 60 in summer). The firm continued to trade well into the twentieth century.

Richmond Gas Company

Gas, supplied by the Brentford Gas Company, had been available in Richmond since 1826.¹⁸⁶ It continued to be the sole supplier of gas until 1848, when the Richmond Gas Company started production.¹⁸⁷ The Richmond Gas Company was established in 1846.¹⁸⁸ Its 12 directors were all Richmond businessmen, many of whom were also members of the vestry.¹⁸⁹ A gas manufacturing plant was built on the eastern boundary of the parish, on the road to Mortlake.¹⁹⁰ As discussed in **Chapter 3**, the company won the contract to light the streets of Richmond in 1849. As a result, the Brentford Company withdrew from Richmond in 1851, leaving the Richmond Company as the only supplier of gas to the vestry for street lighting and to the public for private consumption.¹⁹¹

The Brentford Company continued to supply gas to an area of Middlesex from Harrow to Twickenham.¹⁹² An attempt in 1873 to form a company to supply gas to Twickenham came to nothing.¹⁹³ To the south of Richmond, a gas company was formed in Kingston in 1833 to supply the town, and, to the east, a gas company was formed in Wandsworth in 1834 to supply Wandsworth, Putney, and part of Battersea.¹⁹⁴ Thus, Richmond was ten years behind its neighbours in establishing its own gas supply company.

¹⁸⁶ RLSR, R/V/10: RVM, 26 September 1825. Richmond vestry agreed that some streets should be illuminated by gas.

¹⁸⁷ Millichip, *Lighting up Richmond*, p.14.

¹⁸⁸ TNA, BT 41/595/3268: Board of Trade return filed by the Richmond Gas Company.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ RH, 11 December 1909.

¹⁹¹ Millichip, *Lighting up Richmond*, p.7.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p.28

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.32.

¹⁹⁴ June Sampson, *The story of Kingston* (Bodmin, 1972), p.119; Dorian Gerhold, *Wandsworth past* (London, 1998), p.126.

The success of the Richmond Gas Company meant that, by 1853, it required more capital.¹⁹⁵ The company was dissolved and a new company formed.¹⁹⁶ The new company had 77 shareholders, of which 66 lived in Richmond.¹⁹⁷ In 1867, it sought an Act of Parliament that would allow it to dig up roads, recover payment arrears, and enter buildings to remove meters.¹⁹⁸ In return for these powers, the company had an obligation to supply gas, provided that the connection charge was paid for. The Bill was opposed by the vestry, which was remarkable as so many of the company directors were vestry members. Opposition arose because of concerns about gas prices and quality. The Bill was passed after the company agreed to reduce prices, restrict dividends, and introduce testing of gas quality. The company continued to grow. Its total income of £22,000 in 1877 increased to £54,000 in 1900, an increase of 145%.¹⁹⁹ The amount of gas produced increased by 148% over a similar period. This suggests that gas prices in Richmond remained fairly constant in the last two decades of the century. No figures for the number of customers have survived, and so it is not possible to estimate how widely gas was used in Richmond by the end of the nineteenth century.

Market gardens

One distinct characteristic of Twickenham was its market gardens, which supplied the London market throughout the nineteenth century. Edward Ironside, writing in 1797, said that ‘the more open enclosures furnish great quantities of early peas.’ Ironside also remarked on ‘a great variety of early flowers...best and choicest fruits, particularly raspberries...some of which were uncommonly large’.²⁰⁰

The *Universal British Directory* of 1791 lists 14 gardeners and one market gardener living in Twickenham. As the Directory does not specify their duties, it is possible that they all worked in private gardens. As two of the ‘gardeners’ listed in the directory are identified

¹⁹⁵ Millichip, *Lighting up Richmond*, pp.15-17.

¹⁹⁶ TNA, BT 31/57/224: Board of Trade return filed by the Richmond Gas Company.

¹⁹⁷ SHS 410/2/29: *Deed of incorporation of Richmond Gas Company*.

¹⁹⁸ 30 and 31 Victoria I, c. 100.

¹⁹⁹ Millichip, *Lighting up Richmond*, p.25.

²⁰⁰ Ironside, *The history and antiquities of Twickenham*, p.112.

as 'market gardeners', it is reasonable to assume that some of the remaining 12 also grew fruit and vegetables for the market. Thomas Milne's map of 1800 indicates that almost all the market gardens were to the north, east, and west of the village.

Middleton estimated, in 1807, that the average product of fruit and kitchen gardens was £100 per acre, or more, which was many times that which could be achieved on arable or pasture land.²⁰¹ Another indication of the profitability of market gardening was demonstrated by the 1864 Jury List for Twickenham.²⁰² Only 186 inhabitants had the necessary property to allow them to vote. Of these, 86 were 'gentlemen', but of the remaining 100 on the list, 11 were market gardeners.

Although market gardens and, to a lesser extent plant nurseries, were important to Twickenham, it is difficult to ascertain the area of land involved and the number of people employed. In 1845, there were some 180 acres of market gardens, 550 acres of arable land, and 500 acres of meadow.²⁰³ As the century progressed, the amount occupied by all three categories decreased because of housebuilding. The number of men specifically identified as market gardeners or nurserymen in the census for Twickenham increased from 4 in 1851, to 22 in 1881 and 35 in 1901 (there were also 8 women in 1901). The number of market gardeners listed in commercial directories varied from 6 in 1826 to 11 in 1839, 10 in 1851, nil in 1860, 14 in 1882, and 7 in 1899. These figures were probably an understatement because, as discussed elsewhere in this chapter, some market gardeners may not have seen the need to pay for a trade directory entry, and some of those shown as a 'gardener' in the census returns were likely to have been working as market gardeners rather than domestic gardeners.

In the second half of the century, the railway was important in getting produce to market, and, during the strawberry season, the pickers started work early so that the first load of the day could be put on an early train from Twickenham to London.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ John Middleton, *View of the agriculture of Middlesex: with comments on the means of its improvement*, (London, 1807), pp.325.

²⁰² RLSL (uncatalogued).

²⁰³ LMA, ACC/0782/015: Survey of Twickenham manor, 1813-14.

²⁰⁴ Urwin, *Commercial nurseries and market gardens*, p.25.

Towards the end of the century, although the amount of land given over to market gardens reduced, there were still some significant operations. Two are worthy of mention. The first is William Poupart, who originally moved to Twickenham in 1844 and farmed plots on the road to Isleworth.²⁰⁵ In 1879, he moved to Marsh Farm on the road between Twickenham and Whitton, where he expanded his mixed economy of market gardening and arable farming. By 1899, the Poupart business occupied 160 acres, including 60 acres of fruit and 10 acres of flowers.²⁰⁶ The second market gardener of note was William Whiteley, who established the department store in Westbourne Grove, London, in 1863. In 1891, he purchased 200 acres on the western boundary of Twickenham, where he established a vertically-integrated operation which grew fruit and vegetables, reared pigs and cows, and manufactured products such as fruit preserves, potted meats, and soups. The operation was sizeable because, when the planting was complete, it comprised a wide range of fruit, including 14,000 apple trees, 30,000 gooseberry bushes, 250,000 raspberry canes, and 750,000 strawberry plants.²⁰⁷ The whole enterprise employed 400 staff, and its purpose was to produce jams and other produce for the Whiteley store. Whiteley's biographer concludes that the farm was too lavish and run on methods that were too elaborate for it to be profitable.

Coach maker

The Corben Brothers established a coach works in Twickenham on Heath Road in 1852.²⁰⁸ It was recorded as employing 19 men in 1861 and 1881. It was still in existence in 1901.

The development of the Richmond and Twickenham economies in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The period after 1850 saw the transformation of the economies of Richmond and Twickenham. There were two principal underlying reasons for this.

²⁰⁵ David Rose, *The Poupart family in the borough of Twickenham, 1834-1936* (Twickenham, 2002), p.8.

²⁰⁶ Urwin, *Commercial nurseries and market gardens*, p.30.

²⁰⁷ Richard S. Lambert, *The universal provider: A study of William Whiteley and the rise of the London department store* (London, 1938), pp.224-5.

²⁰⁸ RLSL, *Phillipson's Kingston Directory, 1893* (unpaginated).

The first factor, as outlined in the introduction, was the very significant increase in population that took place between 1851 and 1901. These increases greatly expanded the need for housing, as outlined in **Chapter 2**, and the demand for goods and services of all kinds.

Second, as set out in the first section, the railway greatly reduced the time it took to travel from Richmond and Twickenham to London and elsewhere. Consequently, it was possible for some individuals to live in Richmond and Twickenham and work in London. At the same time, the railway also meant that many non-food retailers had to compete for trade on price and quality with those located in London. Both communities changed from a situation in which they were relatively self-contained to one in which they had a much closer economic relationship with the metropolis.

This section considers first the main changes in the occupations of Richmond and Twickenham residents from 1850 to 1900. It also includes a brief comparison with four other parishes around London that were of a similar distance from the City in order to ascertain the extent to which the changes that occurred in Richmond and Twickenham also took place in these locations. The comparators are Kingston and Ealing, which are four miles to the south and five miles to the north of Richmond respectively, Bromley (Kent), to the southeast of London, and Harrow to the northwest. This section also estimates the extent to which men and women living in Richmond and Twickenham worked in London. It continues by examining developments in business enterprises that occurred and the reasons for these changes.

Summaries of occupations recorded in the census for Richmond and Twickenham for 1851, 1881, and 1901 are in **Appendix 4, Tables A4.1 and A4.2**. They have been compiled using I-CeM data.²⁰⁹ In addition, the data in the text that refers to individual occupations is based on the author's analysis of census data.

²⁰⁹ Schurer, and Higgs (2014). *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911* [data collection], UK Data Service. SN: 7481, <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7481-1> (January, 2017).

The main distinguishing characteristics of the working men and women of Richmond, compared to the other comparators including Twickenham, were the much smaller proportion engaged in agriculture, the relatively greater significance of building and construction, particularly earlier in the period, and, in the period 1851 to circa 1890, the larger proportion of those in work occupied in the professions, domestic service, and occupations related to food, alcohol, and accommodation. The latter reflected the number of visitors to the town.

Agriculture continued to be relatively unimportant to Richmond, occupying only 8.5% of men in 1851 and 3.6% in 1901. As already mentioned, this was because of the small area of land available, which was increasingly covered in houses as the century progressed. The figures for agricultural employment in Twickenham were 15.5% and 5.9% respectively. In mid-century, agriculture was also important in Kingston, where the employment figures were similar to Twickenham. In Ealing, Harrow, and Bromley, over a third of working men were engaged in agriculture in 1851. By 1901, the percentage of agricultural workers had decreased to 5-6% in all locations. Thus, Richmond was not typical in the insignificant role that agriculture played in its economy.

In 1851, 15.9 % of working men in Richmond were engaged in building and construction. This figure increased to 17% in 1881 but declined to 14.5% in 1901. The percentage of men working in building in Twickenham in 1851 was only 9.7%, and the peak was not reached until 1901, when it grew to 15.3%. These figures reflect the different building patterns in the two localities that are discussed in **Chapter 2**. The figures for Ealing were broadly the same as for Richmond, although it did not experience a reduction at the end of the century because land was still available for building. The pattern of building employment for the other comparator parishes was similar to Twickenham, namely some 9-12% of working men in 1851 rising to 16-18% in 1901. Thus, Richmond was unusual with regard to its earlier peak in building employment.

Richmond and Ealing were increasingly viewed by professionals as favourable places of residence. Just over 5% of working men were so classified in Richmond in 1851, rising to

11% in 1901. This no doubt resulted from good rail links and the availability of suitable housing. In the other comparator locations, the proportion of professionals was much lower and was still only around 6% by 1901.

As an example of professionals living in Richmond and Twickenham, the membership records of the Law Society – the Law List - record the practice addresses of the individuals concerned and, for less common names, it is possible to trace the individuals to census returns. The 1881 census lists 60 individuals living in Richmond and 24 in Twickenham with the occupation stated as ‘solicitor’. Of these, 44 were included in the Law List for this year with a practice address in London, with a further nine shown with a practice address in Richmond. The 1901 census recorded 88 ‘solicitors’ living in Richmond and 43 in Twickenham. Of these, 60 were recorded in the 1901 Law List with a London practice address and a further 18 with practice addresses in Richmond or Twickenham. These figures suggest that there were individuals described in the census as solicitors who were not registered with the professional body.²¹⁰ More importantly, they provide confirmation of professionals living in Richmond and Twickenham and working in London.

Another distinguishing characteristic of Richmond employment was the higher proportion to the total population of men and women in domestic service of some kind. Women generally accounted for 85% to 90% of the total engaged in this work. In 1851, 16.2% of the population of Richmond were engaged in domestic service, compared to 10.6% in Twickenham. In the other comparators, the figure was also around 10%, with Ealing slightly higher at 13%. By 1881, the Richmond figure had increased to 17% and Twickenham to 15%, but, in the other comparators, the proportion of domestic employees was lower, at between 12% and 14%. By 1901, Ealing had a greater

²¹⁰ In some cases, there are some legitimate explanations for this. The Law Lists are compiled by the location in which the individual wishes to be registered. In the case of common surnames, this makes it difficult to identify for certain some individuals. There were probably men listed in the census as a solicitor but who were not, in fact, qualified.

proportion of domestic employees at 16.5%, compared to Richmond at 15.8% and the other locations ranging between 10% and 14%.

The proportion of working men in Richmond engaged in occupations related to food, tobacco, drink, and lodging remained at 11%-12% from 1851 to 1901. This was some 2% to 3% higher than the comparator locations. The number of women so engaged was around 4%. Overall, the number of individuals involved in these occupations in Richmond tripled over five years. The largest proportion of these individuals were engaged in the supply of food, although there were variations between various trades. For example, there was a threefold increase in the number of greengrocers, fruiterers, and fishmongers between 1851 and 1901, whereas the number of butchers and bakers only doubled. The former resulted from the readier availability of vegetables, fruit, and fish following the introduction of the railway and the gradual increase in real wages, which enabled some individuals to be able to afford such items. It is also possible that some of the individuals that followed these occupations lived, but did not work, in Richmond.

In Twickenham, the proportion of men engaged in the supply of food increased from 6.1% to 9.7% between 1851 and 1901, and there were some very significant increases in the number employed in the supply of specific foods. For example, the number involved in the grocery trade increased from 20 to 101, in butchery from 21 to 70, and dairy products from 6 to 26 men. The reasons for these increases are likely to have been the same as in Richmond. In addition, the reduction in the rural basis of the Twickenham economy and the increased use of land for housing meant that fewer families had the opportunity to grow crops or keep a small number of livestock.

The occupations recorded in the census also allow an estimate to be calculated of the number of individuals that worked outside Richmond and Twickenham. Unfortunately, there are no records of passengers using the railway to Richmond, and it is necessary to make estimates from occupation data. The occupations that saw the greatest increase in numbers in Richmond and Twickenham were those covering the professions, civil servants, the City of London, and clerical work more generally. There were relatively few

such individuals living in either Richmond or Twickenham in 1851 because there was only a limited demand for such occupations locally. By 1901, there were 117 engineers, 88 solicitors, and 45 accountants living in Richmond. The equivalent number for Twickenham was 86, 43, and 35. There were also 91 civil servants living in Richmond and 198 men who, from their job titles, must have worked in the City of London. In addition, 526 clerks of various kinds lived there too. The equivalent figures for Twickenham were 105 in the City of London, 73 civil servants, and 381 clerks. These figures suggest that, by 1901, some 1,000 professionals, civil servants, and City workers were commuting to London each day from both towns.

By the mid-1890s, what were described as 'artisans and workmen' were also using trains to travel to work outside Richmond and Twickenham. In his letter to the LSWR mentioned earlier, William Thompson complained about the lack of sufficient trains at the time 'artisans and workmen' needed to travel to and from work and the fares that they were charged.²¹¹ Unfortunately, no estimates exist of the numbers involved.

Thus, although it is only possible to estimate the number of individuals who lived in Richmond or Twickenham and who worked in London, it is reasonable to assume that the number increased steadily in the last few decades of the nineteenth century, possibly exceeding 2,000 from each town by 1900.

The census also records the number of women with an occupation. In 1851, some 80% of women in paid work in Richmond and Twickenham were in domestic service of some kind. By 1901, this percentage had decreased to 75% and 77% respectively. The other principal paid occupation for woman related to clothes, which occupied around 12-13% of women in paid work in 1851 and 1901 in both locations. The mixture of work undertaken changed over this period. In 1851, some 90% of women engaged in this activity were dressmakers or similar, work that could be undertaken mainly in the home

²¹¹ RLSL, RBC minutes, 9 April 1895.

setting. By 1901, 25% of women employed in clothing were drapers working in shops either locally or in London.²¹²

In 1851, those women not working in domestic service or clothing-related occupations were generally spread across a wide range of activities where they were probably continuing a business after the death of their husband. For example, in Richmond, in 1851, there were two bakers and two butchers in this situation. As the century progressed, more women pursued occupations other than domestic service and dressmaking. By 1901, in Richmond, there were 100 women engaged in clerical work, 124 teachers, 150 in hotel, catering, or alcohol-related work, and 64 in more general retail work. The extent to which these figures represent the total contribution to the economy is questionable. Apart from their work in the home, which was not recorded in the census, it is probable that, where women 'assisted' their husbands in their work, for example in a shop, this was not recorded in the census.²¹³ It is reasonable to assume that this occurred in Richmond and Twickenham, but, unfortunately, there is no evidence available to support this.

Another source of information on commercial activity is commercial directories. Both Richmond and Twickenham were well covered by directories between 1851 and 1900. Before discussing the information that can be derived from these directories, it is necessary to consider the literature on retailing in the second half of the nineteenth century and the extent to which the coverage of the directories was complete. Historians have differed in their views on the extent and speed of change in retailing practices during the nineteenth century. The debate centres around the speed of adoption of price competition and advertising and the growth in the number of shops, particularly for the working class. Clapham believes that there was a substantial increase in the number of shops by the middle of the century and in the extent of price competition.²¹⁴ Jefferys

²¹² William Thompson's letter of 1895 to the rail companies refers to female retail workers.

²¹³ Higgs, *Making sense of the census revisited, census records for England and Wales, 1801-1901*, p.101.

²¹⁴ Clapham, *An economic history of modern Britain, 1820-1850*, pp.220-228

believes that change in retail practices occurred more slowly.²¹⁵ In the first half of the nineteenth century, finished goods were purchased in one of four ways: retail units, such as grocers' shops, producer/retailers who grew or made their wares as well as sold them, farmers and other producers selling through markets, and itinerant travelling salesmen, such as pedlars. Winstanley concludes that the earlier changes in retail practice that did occur were limited to areas such as London and to businesses such as the drapery trade.²¹⁶ Jefferys agrees that, after 1875, the distributive trades were transformed by new methods of wholesale and retail organisation, the branding of goods and advertising, a predominance of permanent shops, and clearly marked prices rather than haggling. Stobart points to three major innovations in the second half of the nineteenth century.²¹⁷ These were multiple retailers with branches in many towns, the co-operative movement, and department stores. Alongside these new retail forms, traditional shops, markets, and itinerant traders continued to function, 'making the Victorian period an era of enormous diversity in terms of retail and shopping practices'.²¹⁸

There is evidence to suggest that commercial directories have limitations in terms of an understanding of the trade concerned and comprehensiveness of their coverage. The term 'shopkeeper' causes difficulty in relation to the type of trade undertaken. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was used to refer to wealthy traders who sold goods from fixed premises.²¹⁹ Later in the century, the term 'shopkeeper' tended to refer to small general retailers who lacked capital and social standing. The general shops that grew up in the streets occupied by workmen and their families would have fallen into this category, and some of them are omitted from the directories. This was presumably because their trade lived nearby, and they had no need to pay for entries in a directory to attract custom. The result is an understatement of the number of outlets where bread and other basic supplies were available. The second difficulty, as discussed earlier, was

²¹⁵ Jefferys, *Retail trading in Britain, 1850-1950*, p.3-5.

²¹⁶ Winstanley, *The shopkeeper's world, 1830-1914*, p.7

²¹⁷ Stobart, *Spend, spend, spend*, p.130.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.130.

²¹⁹ Phillips, 'The evolution of markets and shops in Britain', pp.63-64.

that street traders were excluded from directories. As a result of these omissions, the impression given by the directories that much of the retail activity took place in a few streets that remained constant across the decades does not present the full picture. Third, the directories provide no information on the size of business. Consequently, the three department stores (discussed below) in Richmond that, by the end of the century, had developed out of smaller units, received almost the same coverage in the directories as small shops.

As shown in **Appendix 5, Tables A5.1 and A5.2**, there was an increase in most classifications of entry in the directories. The number of retailers engaged in food in Richmond increased from 72 in 1851 to 155 in 1899, an increase of 115%. In Twickenham, the equivalent figures were 37 and 91, an increase of 146%. Within these figures, the largest increases in Richmond were in fishmongers/poulterers, which increased in number from 5 to 13, and in fruiterers/greengrocers, from 7 to 30. It is reasonable to assume that these increases resulted from the increased availability of produce because of transport improvements and the gradual improvement in real wages.²²⁰ Meat and milk products were 'produced' locally. The 1887 report of the Medical Officer for Health for Richmond refers to the inspection of ten slaughterhouses and three cowsheds. A similar report in 1902 refers to the inspection of eight slaughterhouses, seven cowsheds and 22 dairies.²²¹ Twickenham was recorded as having 12 slaughterhouses, nine cowsheds and 20 dairies and milk shops in 1900.²²²

Twickenham experienced similar increases to Richmond, as well as a 155% increase in the number of grocers. From these increases, compared to the growth in population (176% in Richmond from 1851 to 1901 and 235% in Twickenham) over the same period,

²²⁰ Hiscoke, *Richmond Almanack* (Richmond, 1859), unpaginated, includes an advertisement from George Alexander Wall (fishmonger) and Michael Wall (poulterer) stating that fresh fish and poultry are obtained from Billingsgate and Leadenhall markets daily.

²²¹ RLSL, *Annual report of the medical officer of health for Richmond, 1887*, <http://wellcomelibrary.org/moh/report/b19970274/1#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=51&z=-0.4108%2C0.4408%2C2.1201%2C0.8276> (August, 2016).

²²² <http://wellcomelibrary.org/moh/report/b19970894/10#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=8&z=-1.5267%2C0%2C4.0535%2C1.5823> (August, 2016).

it is tempting to conclude that the volume of business conducted by each retailer must have increased significantly. Some of the discrepancies between the two sets of figures may be explained by the omissions from the directories mentioned above. For example, the number of dairies and milk shops inspected in Richmond in 1902 and Twickenham in 1902 exceeds the number reported in the respective directories for 1899, which confirms the understatement of businesses in some areas.²²³

The reasons for the changes in many of the other categories are more variable. In Richmond, the introduction and subsequent increase in the number of electric light contractors, gas fitters, photographers, and bicycle makers came about because of technological change. Similar changes occurred in Twickenham. The increase in the number of boat builders reflects the need for watermen to diversify, as discussed above, and the increasing importance of visitors, particularly to Richmond. The growth in trades concerned with hotels, alcohol, and dining rooms also reflect the significance of visitors and the increase in population. Similarly, changes in the number of booksellers, hairdressers, tobacconists, and watchmakers occurred because more individuals were sufficiently prosperous to afford the items or services they sold.

A number of factors had an impact on those engaged in clothing. The first was changes in fashion. For example, by the middle of the century, straw bonnet makers had disappeared. In addition, much of the work would have been home-based and difficult to collect for trade directories. There were two other, probably more important, factors that affected demand for locally-supplied clothes and drapery.

The first was competition from shops in the 'West End' and elsewhere in the metropolis. The Hiscock's *Almanack* for 1859 included an advertisement for one of the long-established drapers in Richmond, J H Gosling, who stated that his 'showroom' had 'a choice selection of cloaks, Parisian millinery, bonnets and caps' as well as 'baby linen and under clothing departments'. The advertisement also states that 'ladies will find his

²²³ Medical officer of health, Richmond, *Annual Report 1902*, p. 53; Medical officer of health, Twickenham, *Annual Report 1902*, p. 19.

spacious new premises one of the largest and best assorted stocks in the Country, he assures them that his prices will bear comparison with the largest London Houses'. This phraseology does not suggest that Gosling's prices were necessarily uncompetitive, but it does demonstrate that the ability of women to travel to London by train made competition from London shops an issue to be addressed as early as 1859. By 1878, advertisements were appearing regularly in local publications for London retail outlets.²²⁴

The other change that affected the clothing trade and house furnishing was the establishment of three department stores in George Street, Richmond. Such stores in Britain first appeared in northern cities in the 1830s and expanded out of drapery businesses.²²⁵ Store owners were encouraged to expand the range of goods that they stocked by mass-production, urbanisation, and improved transport for goods and potential customers.²²⁶ To the west of London, Harrods began as a grocery store in Knightsbridge in 1849, and Whiteley's opened in Bayswater in 1863.²²⁷ Closer to Richmond, Arding and Hobbs opened their store near to Clapham Junction station in 1884, and in Kingston, Joseph Hide and Frank Bentall developed their drapers into department stores, although neither constructed purpose-built stores until the beginning of the twentieth century.²²⁸

The new purpose-built stores incorporated large street windows and more space inside the store in which merchandise could be displayed. This gave the better-off the opportunity to display their wealth and the less well-off the chance to view items to which they might aspire and to imagine that the relative glamour of more expensive

²²⁴ Richmond and Twickenham *Almanak* (Richmond, 1878), unpaginated, contains an advertisement for Harvey & Co. of Westminster Bridge Road, near Waterloo Station, for 'costumes, silks and velveteens, merinos, cashmeres and jackets'. It promised 5% discount for all cash purchases above £1. In the same volume, there is also an advertisement from watchmaker and goldsmith, Dyer and sons, Regent Street, London.

²²⁵ Lancaster, *The department store, a social history* (Leicester, 1995) p.7.

²²⁶ Morrison, *English shops and shopping*, p.135.

²²⁷ Butters, *'That famous place'*, pp.238-240.

²²⁸ *Survey of London*, vol. 49, *Battersea, Part 1, public and commercial*, ed., Andrew Saint (London, 2013) p.398; Shaan Butter, *'That famous place'*, pp.239-240.

products rubbed off on their more meagre purchases.²²⁹ The lighting that such displays required was the cause of a number of fires, such as that which destroyed the Whiteley's store in 1882 and one of the Richmond stores in 1896, as discussed below.²³⁰ Department stores were about promoting consumption beyond necessities and promoting shopping



Illustration 1.21: Gosling and Sons, George Street, Richmond, in the 1890s.²³¹

²²⁹ Lancaster, *The department store*, p.30.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.46.

²³¹ RLSL, LCF/20127.

as a leisure activity for middle-class women.²³² Morrison discusses whether Victorian and Edwardian department stores can be viewed as a significant factor in the emancipation of women, although it could also be argued that these stores prospered because of the greater freedom of women, with the time to browse merchandise and money to spend.²³³

The three Richmond stores were all founded by men who were originally drapers. The oldest, J.H Gosling & Sons, was established in 1795. From 1823, and possibly from 1795, it traded in George Street as a linen draper.²³⁴ By 1862, the Gosling directory entry stated that John Hunt Gosling was a 'linen draper, silk mercer, ladies' outfitters, baby linen, mantle and millinery show rooms'.²³⁵ By 1880, the firm had expanded the range of goods it stocked to include fancy goods, blankets, and carpets.²³⁶ Up to this time, the firm was trading from 80 George Street, but the size of these premises is unknown. By 1890, the firm had expanded into 79 George Street and, by 1900, into 78 George Street as well. These premises are shown in **Illustration 1.21**. The store was developed further in the first few years of the new century. A photograph of the new store taken in 1905 shows much grander premises with four floors (**Illustration 1.22**).

A contemporary article in the *Drapers' Record* reported that 'the interior in every respect is furnished in the most substantial manner, and is decorated in the best taste, no expense having been spared to ensure the comfort and convenience of customers'.²³⁷ By 1905, the company had expanded the range of goods that it stocked to include a wide range of ladies and children's wear and household items. John Hunt Gosling died in 1886, and the family ceased to have an interest in the firm after the death of his sons.²³⁸

²³² Dennis, *Cities in modernity*, p.312.

²³³ Morrison, *English shops and shopping*, p.140.

²³⁴ Pigot, *Directory of Middlesex*, p.185.

²³⁵ Post Office, *Directory of Surrey*, p.1439.

²³⁶ RTT, 3 January 1880.

²³⁷ *Drapers' Record*, 11 March 1905.

²³⁸ <http://www.housefraserarchive.ac.uk/company/?id=c1407>. It has not been possible to trace the deaths of the Gosling sons. In 1947, the firm was acquired by John Barker & Co Ltd and subsequently became part of the House of Fraser. A branch of the House of Fraser is now located on the site of the original J H Gosling shop.

The second department store was established by the Wright Brothers. Frederick Wright and his brother Alfred came from Norfolk.²³⁹ Frederick traded as a draper in Leytonstone, East London, and then Putney before moving to Richmond around 1878.²⁴⁰ The first



Illustration 1.22: The new Gosling store in 1905.²⁴¹

²³⁹ RH, 27 September 1916. There was a third brother Charles, who died in 1901 and who was a draper in Kingston-upon-Thames (TNA, RG 12/610: census return, Kingston-upon-Thames, 1901).

²⁴⁰ RH, 27 September 1916.

²⁴¹ *Drapers' Record*, 11 March 1905.



Illustration 1.23: George Street, Richmond in 1890. The original Wrights Brothers premises is in the middle of the picture.²⁴²

advertisement for the firm appeared in the *RTT Almanack* for 1878, in which it was described as a ‘cash draper’. The following year, the firm was trading from 53, 54, 61, and 62 on the north side of George Street. (**Illustration 1.23**).²⁴³ It advertised toys, stationery, leather goods, and china and glass departments as well as its drapery business.

By the early 1890s, Frederick and Alfred Wright had constructed a purpose-built store on the south side of George Street. This burnt down in May 1896.²⁴⁴ The store was rebuilt on the same site. It is shown on the left-hand side of **Illustration 1.24**, dating from 1900. The store had four floors and large display windows. By 1900, the store was advertising

²⁴² RLSL, LCF/2623.

²⁴³ RTT, Almanack, 1879 (unpaginated).

²⁴⁴ RH, 27 September 1916.

that it was a drapers and home furnishers that sold ‘everything for Ladies’, Gentlemen’s and Children’s wear’.²⁴⁵ It also provided a house removal and warehousing service. Alfred Wright died in 1895, and Frederick carried on the business until his death in 1916.²⁴⁶ The firm had become a limited company in 1901, and it was continued by Frederick’s sons.²⁴⁷



Illustration 1.24: George Street, Richmond, 1900. *The rebuilt Wright Brothers store is on the left.*²⁴⁸

The third department store in Richmond was Kempthorne and Phillips. Robert Kempthorne, also a draper, was born in Cornwall, and he established the store in Richmond with his brother-in-law.²⁴⁹ Prior to coming to Richmond, Kempthorne had businesses in Newington Causeway and Brixton. The first record of the Richmond business appeared in 1891, where Kempthorne and Phillips are recorded as drapers trading at three consecutive numbers in George Street and Waterloo Place. Between 1895 and the end of the century, Robert Kempthorne built a store at 18-20 George Street. This is shown in an advertisement from 1899 (**Illustration 1.25**). The business

²⁴⁵ RTT, 27 September 1916.

²⁴⁶ RTT, 6 January 1900.

²⁴⁷ <http://www.housefraserarchive.ac.uk/company/?id=c2686>. The company was purchased by the Hide Group in 1940, which was taken over by the House of Fraser in 1975. It closed as a department store in the late 1980s. The premises are now a branch of Tesco.

²⁴⁸ RLSL, LCF/3202.

²⁴⁹ TVT, 1 August 1917.

advertised that it sold its merchandise for cash only 'on or before delivery', which enabled it to provide customers 'best value in all Departments'. It was the only one of



Illustration 1.25: Kempthorne and Phillips c. 1899.²⁵⁰

the three stores to mention delivery in its advertisements. As **Illustration 1.25** indicates, the store was a draper, milliner, costumier, dressmaker, house furnisher, and jeweller,

²⁵⁰ RLSL: Detail from advertisement in RTT Almanack (Richmond, 1899) (unpaginated).

as well as selling small household goods such as glass and china.²⁵¹ The store survived until the early 1970s.

How did Richmond manage to support three department stores at the end of the nineteenth century? There are two principal reasons. The increase in the population of Richmond created a substantial customer base of prosperous middle-class women who were no doubt interested in the latest fashions and furnishing their homes as well as they could afford. Second, the good railway links to Richmond enabled the inhabitants of surrounding communities to visit Richmond rather than travel up to London. In addition, these stores were no doubt one of the attractions of the town for day trippers.



Illustration 1.26: King Street, Twickenham, shops and George Hotel looking towards Cross Deep, c. 1900.²⁵²

²⁵¹ RTT Almanack, 1899 (unpaginated).

²⁵² RLSL, LCF/13124.

The centre of Twickenham continued to be dominated mainly by small stores and, by the turn of the century, it was not as well developed as Richmond. This is demonstrated by a comparison of a photograph of King Street, Twickenham (**Illustration 1.26**), dating from 1900, with those of Richmond shown in **Illustrations 1.23 and 1.24**.

It is reasonable to assume that the proximity of Twickenham to Richmond meant that the former could not draw on a sufficiently large and prosperous customer base to support larger stores. The only marginal exception to this was the Deayton brothers. Charles and Alfred Deayton came to Twickenham from Hertfordshire in the 1850s with their mother and established a grocers in Church Street. By 1882, they had set up another store in Heath Road, Twickenham (**Illustration 1.27**) and, by 1900, they had three stores in Twickenham, two of which occupied three shops fronts each.²⁵³



Illustration 1.27: Deayton's Store, Heath Road, Twickenham.²⁵⁴

Across the three shops, they sold groceries, china and glass, wines and spirits, and drapery goods. Thus, they could be considered as being an embryonic department store

²⁵³ RTT, 20 May 1916; Kelly: *Directory for Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex, 1899*, p.355.

²⁵⁴ RLSL (uncatalogued).

that did not manage to gain sufficient customers or momentum to launch itself into a fully-fledged store.

Conclusion

For much of the first half of the nineteenth century, the economies of Richmond and Twickenham continued largely as they had been in the eighteenth century. The metropolis was near enough in terms of distance and travel time to permit the more prosperous to travel there and have houses in both localities where they could live according to their business and leisure needs. But Richmond and Twickenham were too far away from the City for daily return travel and therefore the extent of competition from London businesses must have been minimal. Steam packets introduced in 1815 were used mainly by day trippers. Overall, the Richmond economy continued to be based mainly on providing services for its resident gentry and visitors to the town. This was not typical of nearby communities where even in 1851, 30% of men were engaged in agriculture compared to only 8% in Richmond. Despite the number of large houses that had been built along the Thames at Twickenham, its economy was still mainly rural in character with some 15% of men engaged in agriculture in 1851.

The opening of the railway to Richmond in 1846 and Twickenham in 1848 began to transform the economies of both communities. The attraction of goods and visitor traffic meant that a line was built before one opened to similar towns not on a main line, such as, Kingston (opened in 1863) and Bromley (opened in 1858). Initially the cost of tickets meant that rail travel was only possible for the better off. As a result, the number of trains a day increased gradually from around 17 in each direction in 1846 to 22 by 1860. After 1865 the residential development by private landowners, particularly in Richmond, increased passenger traffic such that by 1870 there were some 40 trains a day between Richmond and Waterloo. By 1877, passenger traffic to Richmond had attracted a total of four railway companies that provided services over six routes into London. This was greater than most, and probably all, locations a similar distance from the centre of London. These lines facilitated visitors to Richmond. But it also meant that Richmond

businesses were subject to competition from elsewhere in the metropolis as residents could travel further afield for goods and services.

Richmond's acceptance of new methods of travel did not extend to the electric tramway. RBC resistance prevented an electric tramway being built to or through the town with the effect that fares to Richmond were higher than comparable locations. In common with most other locations to the west of London, Twickenham had no such concerns. The first electric tram service started in 1902 as part of a network from Hammersmith to Hounslow and across to Kingston.

The railway allowed people to live in Richmond or Twickenham and work elsewhere in the metropolis. In the last two decades of the century, the number of men and women that commuted in this way increased and became more significant to the economies of the two towns. As discussed in **chapter 3**, from the 1860s landowners in Richmond began to sell land and building leases for residential development. This occurred some 20 years before land and leases were sold in this way in Twickenham. As a result, Richmond acquired a core of relatively prosperous individuals, who, together with visitors, provided a customer base for the retail economy and the three department stores established by 1900. The retail trade in Twickenham retained many of its rural characteristics and by 1900 the town could only support shops that mainly stocked items for everyday needs.

Many of the economic developments in Richmond, and virtually all those that transpired in Twickenham, occurred in other localities around London. By the end of the century, three aspects of the Richmond economy, namely, the extent of its railway connections, its attraction to visitors because of its location on the river, and three department stores, made it distinctive from other communities a similar distance from Charing Cross.

Chapter 2: Residential development

Introduction

This chapter examines the residential development that occurred in Richmond and Twickenham mainly in the second half of the nineteenth century. It considers the land ownership and the property inherited from the eighteenth century and questions the impact of the different patterns of land ownership that occurred between the two parishes in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. It also examines the nature of the land ownership recorded in the apportionment records of the two parishes and the extent to which the timing of residential development was similar to the building cycles in England. It also questions whether the circumstances of the principal landowners were important in determining the timing and type of houses and cottages that were built. It identifies the main landowners in both parishes that sold freeholds or leases for residential development, and, as far as possible, seeks to identify their motivation for taking the course that was followed. The extent to which landowners could impose conditions on the use of the land that they sold and the degree to which there may have been co-operation between landowners to maintain a given standard of building are also examined. The principal developers and builders involved in housing construction are identified, as far as the records that survive permit, and their different business models are considered.

Towards the end of the century, the respective local authorities became increasingly involved in housing in two ways. Both towns put in place building bye-laws from the 1870s. These were fairly high level in the beginning, but, became more detailed towards the end of the century. The motivation of those that opposed them and their impact on building after their adoption are questioned. Richmond was one of the first authorities around London to build municipal housing for workmen, whereas Twickenham discussed the idea, but no accommodation was built. This chapter examines the circumstances under which 'conservative Richmond' built such housing and why Twickenham failed to

do so. Finally, the chapter considers the public reaction to the significant change that occurred in both towns because of the residential development.

Land ownership and occupancy to circa 1850

The earliest records that have survived of land ownership and occupancy are the surveys that were undertaken of both manors in the last 30 years of the eighteenth century, land tax returns, and the enclosure and tithe apportionment records. These record the extent of development in both parishes towards the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century.

The Survey of Richmond

The survey of Richmond manor covers the whole of Richmond and Kew parishes, and was undertaken in 1771.¹ It sets out a complicated picture of freehold, leasehold, and copyhold for each piece of land and the owner and occupier of each messuage and tenement in the town. There are over 850 such entries in a register which sets out the details of each property, including the names of the freeholder, leaseholder, or copyholder. Most of the entries are for small messuages and tenements, and the predominant terms of occupancy were copyhold. Six maps that were part of the survey suggest that much of the land was still divided on the old strip system.² John Cloake has undertaken an analysis of landownership reported in the survey and concludes that some consolidation of ownership had already occurred by 1771.³ There were three prominent owners, His Majesty the King, William Selwyn, and Edward Collins, with two other important holdings owned by Edward Darrell and the Houblon Estate.⁴ The king owned much of the land between the road from Richmond and Kew and the river. William Selwyn owned most of the land between the road to Kew, the boundary with the parish of Mortlake, and south of the road towards Putney. William Selwyn and

¹ TNA, CRES 5/346: Survey of manor of Richmond, 1771.

² TNA, MPI 1/545: Plan of manor of Richmond, 1771.

³ Cloake, *Cottages and common fields*, pp. 310-11.

⁴ The Darrell holding was located to the south of the town near to the parish church, and that of the Houblon estate on Richmond Hill.

Edward Collins owned most of the land to the north of the road to Putney and to the east of The Hill.⁵ Thus, by the end of the eighteenth century, land ownership in Richmond had already begun to develop the pattern that facilitated the nature of the residential development that occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The survey of Twickenham

The survey of the Twickenham Manor was undertaken in 1792 and appears to have been less comprehensive than that in Richmond.⁶ No maps have survived, and there was some contemporary doubt as to its coverage.

The surveyor commented that he was 'unable to set forth the number of messuages or cottages or the quantity of land by computation or customary tenure are held...The said manor lies dispersed in the parishes of Twickenham, Isleworth and Heston.'

The survey names 41 individuals that were copyhold tenants, with 72 tenancies between them, and 11 freeholders. The number of tenants and freeholders mentioned in the survey compared to the enclosure award some 30 years later suggests that it was an incomplete survey.

Land tax registers

A more comprehensive record of land and property ownership for both parishes were the land tax registers, but they have limitations as they do not record acreage and they list the surname only. The latter causes difficulty with more common names as it is not possible to identify whether several entries are for the same or different persons. The land tax register for Richmond in 1799 records tax of £870 payable by 270 'proprietors',

⁵ William Selwyn was a member of the Selwyn family that came to Richmond in 1718 and purchased land in the parish throughout the eighteenth century. Edward Collins was a prominent Richmond brewer; Edward Darrell was a London bookseller who died in 1720 and left his Richmond estate to his youngest son John (Cloake, *Cottages and common fields*, p.307); the Houblon property originated from the wife of Sir John Houblon, first Governor of the Bank of England, who moved there after his death in 1712. By later in the century, it was occupied by his two spinster daughters (Cloake, *Cottages and common fields*, p 285).

⁶ TNA, CRE 39/157: survey of manor of Twickenham, 1792.

of which 15 individuals had tax due of £10 or more.⁷ The equivalent figures for Twickenham were £545 and 165 'proprietors', of which 11 had tax due of £10 or more.⁸ These figures include existing buildings as well as agricultural land. Land tax was based on the area of land and its value. The area of land in Twickenham was almost twice that in Richmond, but the value of tax due in the former was only 62% of that in the latter. Therefore, average land values in Twickenham must have been less than those in Richmond.

The first records that provide an insight into the pattern of land ownership in the nineteenth century upon which much of the residential development in the second half of the century was based are the Twickenham enclosure award for 1819, the Twickenham tithe apportionment of 1845, and the Richmond tithe apportionment of 1851.⁹ These present a very different pattern of land ownership between the two parishes.

Twickenham enclosure award and tithe apportionment

Prior to 1818, some 1614 acres had already been enclosed in Twickenham, and there were some 240 individuals that held copyhold or freehold rights.¹⁰ As this pattern of ownership was apparent so early in the century, it is reasonable to conclude that it developed in the eighteenth century or earlier. Within the total of 240 individuals, 10 held 54% (873 acres) of this land, leaving the remainder to be divided between 230 individuals. The enclosure award did not alter this ratio materially, because, in 1819, the same individuals owned 46% of this land. The owner of the largest holding, with 220 acres, was William Pulsford (1772-1833), a wine and West Indies merchant of Wimpole Street in London.¹¹ According to his will, William Pulsford owned land in Essex, Northamptonshire, and Buckinghamshire as well as Twickenham. The second largest

⁷ TNA, IR 23/87/120: land tax assessment, Richmond, 1798.

⁸ TNA, IR 23/49/23: land tax assessment, Twickenham, 1798.

⁹ RLSL, LM/1026/TW: *Twickenham enclosure award*; TNA, IR 77/54 and IR 29/21/54: *Twickenham tithe apportionment*; TNA, IR 29/34/104 and IR 30/34/104: *Richmond tithe apportionment*.

¹⁰ RLSL, LM/1026/TW: *Twickenham enclosure award*.

¹¹ <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146634960> (May, 2014).

holding, 177 acres, was held by the Duke of Northumberland, and the third largest of 150 acres by John Davenport Bromfield, of Worcestershire.¹² The crown owned 76 acres, much of which was located just to the north of the village, although there is no evidence that the monarchy took any direct interest in this estate. Much of it was sold in the 1830s without conditions being placed on its future use.¹³ None of these four owners lived in Twickenham.

Apart from the extent of the land owned by non-residents, two other features were important in the pattern of land ownership in Twickenham. First, most of the larger holdings were made up of numerous different plots. For example, the Pulsford holding was made up of 40 plots. Many of these were adjacent, but others were not. Second, the larger holdings were mostly located on the outskirts of the parish, to the west and north of the village, and therefore were less advantageous for development because they were away from existing concentrations of population, and, for most of the century, away from relatively easy access to the railway. There were two exceptions to this, which were located between Twickenham and Richmond Bridge, and some of this land was developed later in the century.

The tithe apportionment document of 1846 for Twickenham shows a similar pattern of land ownership to that of 25 years earlier.¹⁴ Of the 2249 acres included in the apportionment, 599 plots were owned by 160 individuals, of which only 57 were resident in Twickenham in 1851.¹⁵ An analysis of the landholdings is shown in **Table 2.1**. Some two thirds of the land owners possessed five acres or less, and 43%, two acres or less. The average plot size was 3.8 acres, and 179 or 30% of plots were less than 2 acres. At the other end of the scale, there were 224 plots with an average size of 5.7 to 6.7 acres. Six individuals had holdings of more than 100 acres, but only two, George Cole, a local

¹² RLSL, LM/1026/TW: *Twickenham enclosure award*.

¹³ TNA, CRES 2/893: sale of land in manor of Twickenham.

¹⁴ TNA, IR 29/21/54: *Twickenham tithe apportionment*.

¹⁵ The 1851 census was selected because that for 1841 is not sufficiently legible.

brewer, and Sir William Clay, lived locally.¹⁶ The remaining four cannot be found as Twickenham residents in the 1841 and 1851 censuses. They include Robert Pulsford, son of William, who owned 243 acres, and the Duke of Northumberland, who owned 190 acres. Only one of the five individuals with estates of between 50 and 100 acres were shown as living in Twickenham. She was Cornelia Cambridge, described in the 1851 census as being of independent means and living at Cambridge House on Richmond Road near Richmond Bridge.¹⁷ The remaining 1015 acres were divided between 149 owners.

Acres owned by each landowner	No. of landowners	% of total landowner	Landholding (acres)	% of total landholdings	No. of plots	Average size of plot
Less than 1	43	27	23	1.0	46	0.5
1 – 2	26	16	39	1.7	45	0.9
3 – 5	38	23	143	6.4	88	1.6
6 – 10	19	12	169	7.6	65	2.5
11 – 20	11	7	149	6.6	39	3.8
21 – 50	11	7	372	16.5	92	4.0
51-100	6	4	427	19.0	63	6.7
101-200	5	3	693	30.8	121	5.7
200-300	1	1	234	10.4	40	5.8
	160	100	2249	100.0	599	3.8

Table 2.1: Analysis of Twickenham land ownership as reported by Twickenham apportionment, 1846.¹⁸

The apportionment map identifies the ownership of land in Twickenham in 1846.¹⁹ The ownership of some of the plots just outside the village, and near to Richmond Bridge, demonstrates the relatively small size of many of them. To the west of the village, in an area to the north of the Hanworth Road, there were 29 plots covering 82 acres, with an

¹⁶ *ODNB*, vol. 11, p. 971: Sir William Clay (1791-1869) was Liberal MP for Tower Hamlets 1832-1857, a magistrate for Westminster and Middlesex, and chairman of the Grand Junction and Southwark and Vauxhall water companies. His local connection originally was his marriage to the daughter of another Twickenham landowner, Thomas Dickason. After his death, the estate was bought by Charles Freake (further details of Charles Freake are in Chapter 4).

¹⁷ Richard Owen Cambridge, poet and essayist, lived in what became known as Cambridge House from 1751 until his death in 1802. Cornelia Cambridge was a descendant by marriage of Richard Owen Cambridge (*Gascoigne, Images of Twickenham*, p.27).

¹⁸ IR 29/21/54.

¹⁹ TNA, IR 77/54. Tithe map, Twickenham. The map is too large and faint to be reproduced here.

average holding per individual of 5 acres and an average plot size of 2.8 acres. In an area of 67 acres to the west of the village south of the Hampton Road, there were 17 owners of 32 plots, resulting in an average holding of 3.9 acres per owner and 2.1 acres per plot. To the east of the village, north of Richmond Road, there were 92 acres divided between 33 plots and 12 owners, although, of these, 3 plots accounted for 47 acres. If these are excluded, each plot in this area had an average of 1.4 acres, or 3.8 acres per landowner.

Overall, although there were a few large plots, most of which were either the pleasure gardens for large houses or arable land to the west and north of the village, the typical plots of land in Twickenham, particularly those near the village, were one to three acres in size. This, together with the 160 owners involved, meant that property ownership in Twickenham, particularly in the areas near to the village, was more widely dispersed than in Richmond. In addition, 65% of landowners did not live in the parish, which probably meant that they were mainly interested in the monetary value of their land.

Richmond tithe apportionment

In Richmond, no comprehensive records of ownership and acreage exist between the 1771 survey and the tithe appropriation of 1851. Between the two events, there were clearly some significant amalgamations. Some owners disappeared from the scene, and others acquired an interest in significant portions of land. Some records survive for the Selwyn estate, although it is not possible to construct an overall picture of transactions concerning the estate from these records.²⁰ The records for other ownership changes have not survived. However, for the purposes of this study, it is important that we know the principal owners of land in 1851, as this formed the basis of the development that took place in the second half of the century. Ownership in 1851 was set out in the tithe apportionment document and the map.²¹ Overall, the apportionment allocated 401 acres to named individuals or organisations, 405 acres to the Crown, 99 acres as arable

²⁰ For example, May 1785 transfer of land from Sayer to Selwyn in Middle Shott (SHS, 256/3/17); November 1829, exchange of land between Selwyn, the Earl of Shaftesbury and others (SHS, 256/3/57); August 1836, sale of small piece of land by Selwyn to George Robinson (SHS, 256/3/58).

²¹ TNA, IR 29/34/104: *Richmond tithe apportionment*.



Map 2.1: Richmond apportionment, 1851²²

and market garden ground, 178 acres as buildings, yards, and gardens, and 70 acres to waste and water. This amounted to 1153 acres. The apportionment map (**Map 2.1**) shows land owned by individuals and the Crown. There are also areas on the map that are not allocated to individuals. It is likely that such areas located near the centre of the

²² TNA, IR 30/34/104.

town were buildings, yards, and gardens. The unallocated plots outside the town were arable land or market gardens.

Acres owned by each landowner	No. of landowners	% of total landowners	Land holding (acres)	% of total landholding	No. of plots	Average size of plot
Less than 1	2	8	1	0.4	2	0.5
1 - 2	6	25	9	3.4	7	1.3
3 - 5	5	21	22	8.3	8	2.8
6 - 10	6	25	48	18.2	14	3.4
11 - 20	1	4	17	6.4	9	1.9
21 – 50	3	13	89	33.7	19	4.7
51-100	1	4	77	29.6	21	3.6
	24	100	263	100.0	80	3.3

Table 2.2: Analysis of Richmond land ownership as reported by Richmond apportionment, 1851.²³

Crown land comprised that part of Richmond Park which lay in the parish of Richmond and Old Deer Park. The 401 acres owned by named individuals were dispersed between 24 landowners, although there were 11 significant holders that owned the majority. A summary of the landholding by the 24 individuals or organisations is shown in **Table 2.2**. This shows that most plots were between 3 and 5 acres in size, and that over 60% of the plots were owned by landowners that owned 21 acres or more.

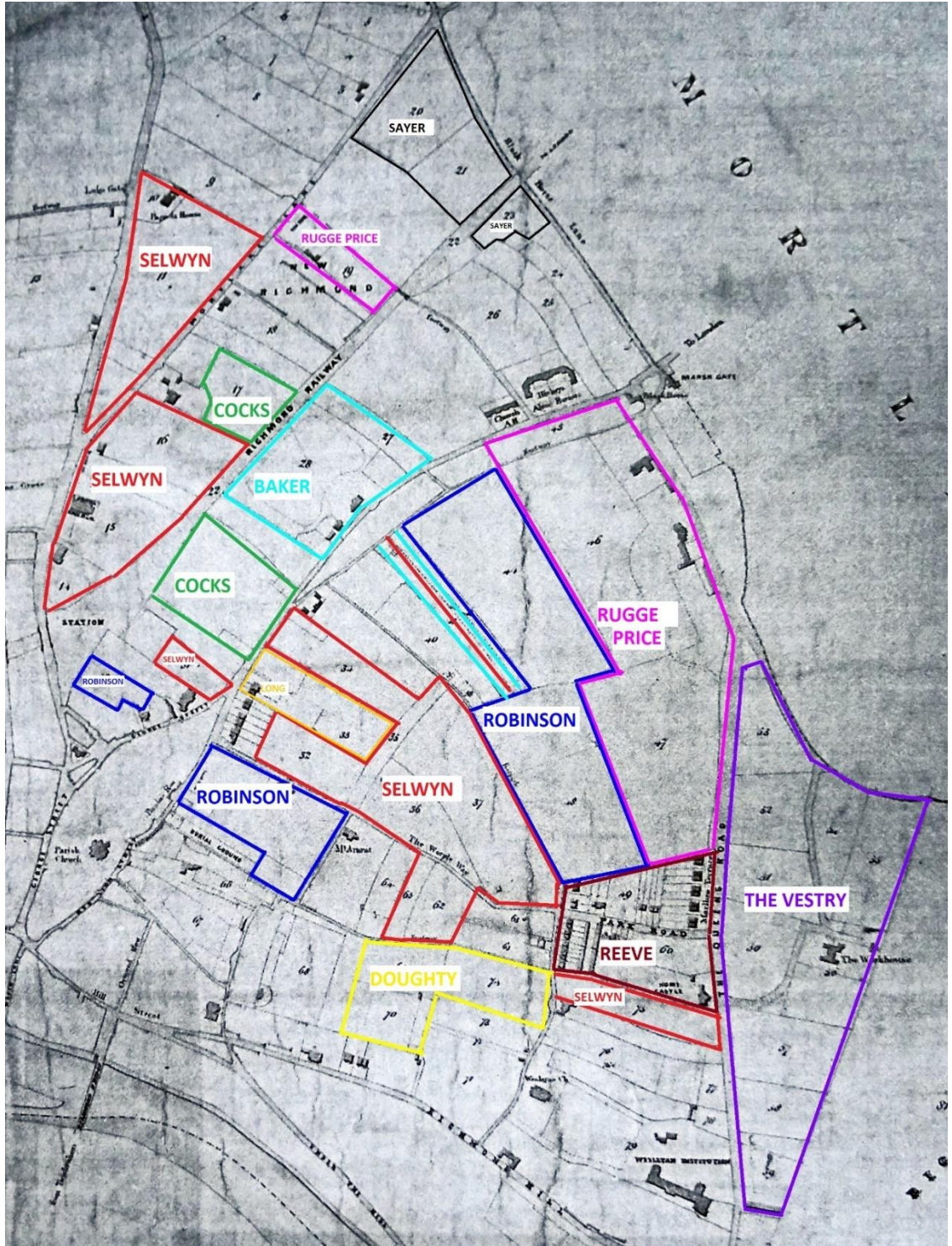
The holdings of all except one of these owners are shown in **Map 2.2**, which is a detail of **Map 2.1**. The exception is the Commission of Woods and Forests that owned 138 acres of Kew Gardens, which is just north of the area covered by **Map 2.1**. William Selwyn owned 77 acres (marked red on **Map 2.2**). This comprised land to the north of the town centre towards Kew, and on the eastern slopes of Richmond Hill. In total, he owned 21 plots, but most of these were to be found in 3 blocks. Richmond vestry owned 36 acres

²³ TNA, IR 29/34/104. The figures exclude 138 acres of Kew Gardens owned by the Woods and Forests Commission. Therefore, the total landholding in the table is different to that in the text, which reflects the figures reported in the apportionment document.

in 1 plot (marked purple) between Queens Road and Richmond Park, George Robinson owned 26 acres (marked dark blue) in 4 plots (of which the two largest were adjacent) on the eastern slopes of Richmond Hill. Sir Charles Rugge Price (marked in pink) owned 25 acres in 3 plots, the two largest of which were adjacent and on the lower eastern slopes of the Hill. There were six other landholdings that were significant for their location as much as the acreage involved. Sir Henry Lorraine Baker (marked in light blue) and the trustees of Louisa Cocks (marked in green) owned eight and nine acres respectively on Marshgate; Sir Edward Doughty (marked in yellow) and Sir Thomas Newby Reeve (marked in brown) owned six and five acres respectively near the top of Richmond Hill; and Robert Sayer (marked in black) and Thomas Long (marked in orange) both owned seven acres near Marshgate.

Land owners in Richmond had been able to consolidate their holdings, and most were near to the town centre. Although they could not have anticipated the changes that were to take place in the second half of the century, these individuals must have recognised the potential of land nearer to the centre of the town compared to that on the outskirts of the parish. Thus, they were in an advantageous position to take account of these changes when they occurred. It was also important, as discussed in **Chapter 3**, that William Selwyn (1775-1855) and his son, Charles Jasper (1813-1869), George Robinson (1775-1852), Sir Charles Rugge Price (1801-66), Sir Henry Lorraine Baker (1787-1859), and Sir Thomas Newby Reeve (1794-1868) were all resident in Richmond and members of the vestry at some time. Thus, individually and collectively, they had a personal and business interest in what happened to the land that they owned.

One theme that occurred quite frequently in the vestry minutes and in the RTT was the importance that residents attached to the status and character of the town. As a result, there must have been some social and commercial pressure placed on these individuals



Map 2.2: Land ownership in Richmond, 1851.²⁴

²⁴ This map has been prepared using the Richmond apportionment records, TNA, IR 29/34/104 and IR 30/34/104.

and their heirs when decisions were made about land use and development, although, as discussed later, the housing development that occurred received public criticism. As an illustration of this mutual interest, there was a deed of covenant dated 1850 between William Selwyn, Charles Jasper Selwyn, and Sir Thomas Newby Reeve that neither party would build sub-standard dwellings or allow trade, shops or 'obstructions' on land purchased by each party in Queens Road and Friars Stile Road.²⁵ In addition, as set out later in this chapter, many auction documents contained conditions that prevented the use of land for specified commercial purposes and frequently placed a minimum value on the value of the property that could be built on a site. Thompson comments that conditions placed on the value of houses to be erected were frequently ineffective because of market forces.²⁶ This does not appear to have occurred in Richmond, as the records of properties in the 1910 valuation survey suggest that the conditions stipulated by landowners were followed.²⁷

Residential development in Richmond and Twickenham

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the development of most of the land in Richmond available for residential purposes and some significant building in Twickenham, although, by 1900, in the latter there remained many hundreds of acres undeveloped. This section considers the principal methods of development, the main land owners that facilitated them, and the construction that occurred. Where records exist, it also examines the main builders involved and the public reaction to development. For the last three decades of the century, it also looks at the involvement of local government in terms of the implementation of building bye-laws in both towns and the construction of workmen's housing by RBC.

²⁵ SHS, 256/3/99: Selwyn family estate papers.

²⁶ Thompson, *Rise of suburbia*, p.18.

²⁷ TNA, IR 58/69904-74: Inland Revenue, 1910 Finance Act, valuation office field books, Richmond.

Richmond

Developments in mid-century

The first detailed plan of Richmond in the nineteenth century which plotted the location of all buildings was that attached to the Donaldson Report on Richmond drainage dating from 1849 (**Map 2.3**). This showed that, since 1771, some building had taken place between Kew Road and Old Deer Park, there was a very small development in an area known as 'New Richmond' located between the railway and Mortlake Road, and a few houses had been built along Queens Road and Friars Stile Road near Richmond Park.

Otherwise, the development that occurred between 1771 and 1849 was limited to 'in-fill' in areas where houses existed at the end of the eighteenth century, such as The Hill, Hill Rise, behind George Street, around the parish church, the Vineyard, and along Marshgate. In addition to the more substantially built houses, many of which survive today, there were also poor quality dwellings that have long since been demolished. Donaldson refers to 'many dwellings of the poorest class...mere hovels (for I cannot call them cottages)...in Water Lane and in Night and Morning Row, irregularly built, closely huddled together without any supply of water or ventilation'.²⁹

The first substantive sale or letting of land on building leases, for which records survive, was attempted around 1844 by the vestry on parish land adjoining Queens Road (marked purple on **Map 2.2**). A small development of houses in Queens Road was built sometime in the 1840s, as it was not recorded in the 1840 rate book but is on the Donaldson map of 1849. The vestry must have concluded that it could generate more income from building leases than was possible from agricultural rents, and the income so derived could be used to help support the poor and thereby reduce the poor rate. The vestry had some doubts as to whether it had the power to lease out land in this way, and so it decided to seek Counsel's opinion.³⁰ His opinion was that vestrymen could grant leases on their own responsibility, but they could be challenged, and counsel doubted whether

²⁹ LMA, MCS/477/050: Donaldson, *Richmond Drainage*, p.3.

³⁰ RLSL, R/V/15: RVM, 18 November 1844.

many individuals would want to take leases on this basis. He advised that the agreement of the Court of Chancery should be obtained.³¹ On 29 April 1845, the Master in Chancery issued his report. It decreed that the vestry could grant building leases of up to 99 years.³² At its meeting on 23 June, the vestry decided to place advertisements for plans for the 'laying out and covering with villa residences about twenty acres of land having a frontage of about half a mile to the Queens Road at Richmond'.³³

The whole scheme then experienced problems. In February 1846, the vestry decided on a plan for the development, and an auction was held on 9 December 1846 for about 30 acres in four lots of freehold land to be sold on building leases of 90 years.³⁴ Only one bid was received for one of the plots, which was from a local builder and vestryman. It was withdrawn by mutual consent. The reasons for this failure were not recorded, but the railway had only just arrived in Richmond, and the lots were over a mile from the railway station.

Landowner options for development

H J Dyos identifies three main options for landowners to effect development of their land.³⁵ The landowner could undertake the development with his own labour or by engaging a builder. As these involved decisions about leasing or the sale of the properties, it was the riskiest of the three options, and no examples have been identified in Richmond. The second option was to sell the freehold outright, either piecemeal or in one block, to a developer. This resulted in the loss of future income from rents, and it was often the least financially advantageous option, although, as outlined below, it was sometimes adopted by executors where it was necessary to divide the estate between several beneficiaries. The third option was to let the land to an individual or company on a building lease that would provide the owner with ground rents during the term of the

³¹ RLSL, R/V/15: RVM, 18 November 1844.

³² *Ibid.*, 3 June 1845.

³³ *Ibid.*, 23 June 1845.

³⁴ SHS, S.P.4/1: Richmond vestry building leases.

³⁵ Dyos, *Victorian suburb*, pp.87-88.

lease. In addition, the land would revert to the landowner at the end of the lease. The second two options as implemented in Richmond are set out below.

Sale of freeholds

The sale of freeholds in Richmond was undertaken by public auction and presumably the vendors – in two examples the trustees of a deceased person – decided that they wished to end their association with land in Richmond, or that they saw the value that could be obtained from its sale after the arrival of the railway. Based on the records that have survived, the greatest number of land auctions took place in the 1860s (22), although there were developments where either no auction records survive, or no auction took place. In the 1860s, 480 plots were advertised for auction. Most of the auctions occurred in 1865 and 1867 and were for plots on Richmond Hill, along Kew Road, or Marshgate. Those along Kew Road comprised some 140 plots sold by the Earl of Shaftesbury in 1866 and 1867, who decided to cut his family's links with Richmond after his mother died there in 1865. The largest area of land sold was 25 acres, owned by the estate of George Robinson, who died in 1852.³⁶ The 1851 census records that an unmarried son also named George (a builder employing 30 men) and two unmarried daughters lived with him in his house in Marshgate. George, the younger, outlived his father by only three months. The will of George, the elder, divided his possessions and assets between his descendants, and this may explain why the freeholds were sold.

In some cases, the terms of sale imposed conditions on the buildings that could be constructed. There was considerable variation in these terms of sale. Those for land on the Hill usually included conditions about building within the building lines of each specified plot and the minimum value of the houses to be built. They also often included prohibitions about use, for example, no warehouses, factories, shops, or public houses. These conditions were set to maintain the overall standard of the development and its attraction to purchasers. Thus, the conditions for the sale of 25 acres of freehold land

³⁶ GRO, death certificates for George Robinson, died Richmond, Surrey, 25 March 1852, aged 75, and his son George Robinson, died Richmond, Surrey, 19 June 1852, aged 41.

which comprised much of what is now Kings Road, which was owned by the estate of George Robinson, required that the purchasers should enter into covenants specifying that houses with a value of £800 to £1000 per plot be erected.³⁷ As a result, the houses built on this land were mostly detached, of different individual styles, and larger than those in the neighbouring roads. The plots on roads off Kew Road and Marshgate were less prescriptive, and many contained only a condition requiring construction to be within the building lines on the plan. There were exceptions, as a batch of 13 lots sold by the Earl of Shaftesbury in 1866 set a minimum value of £300 for the property on each plot and other conditions as to use. Six auction notices for the 1870s, two for the 1880s and five for the 1890s have also survived. Generally, these followed a similar pattern to the early notices, namely that more stringent conditions on value and use of property were set on Richmond Hill than on land along Marshgate, Kew Road, and Mortlake Road. A contemporary account of property in Richmond provides an account of the rents that could be generated in the 1880s. An 1881 publication includes the following account of rents in Richmond:

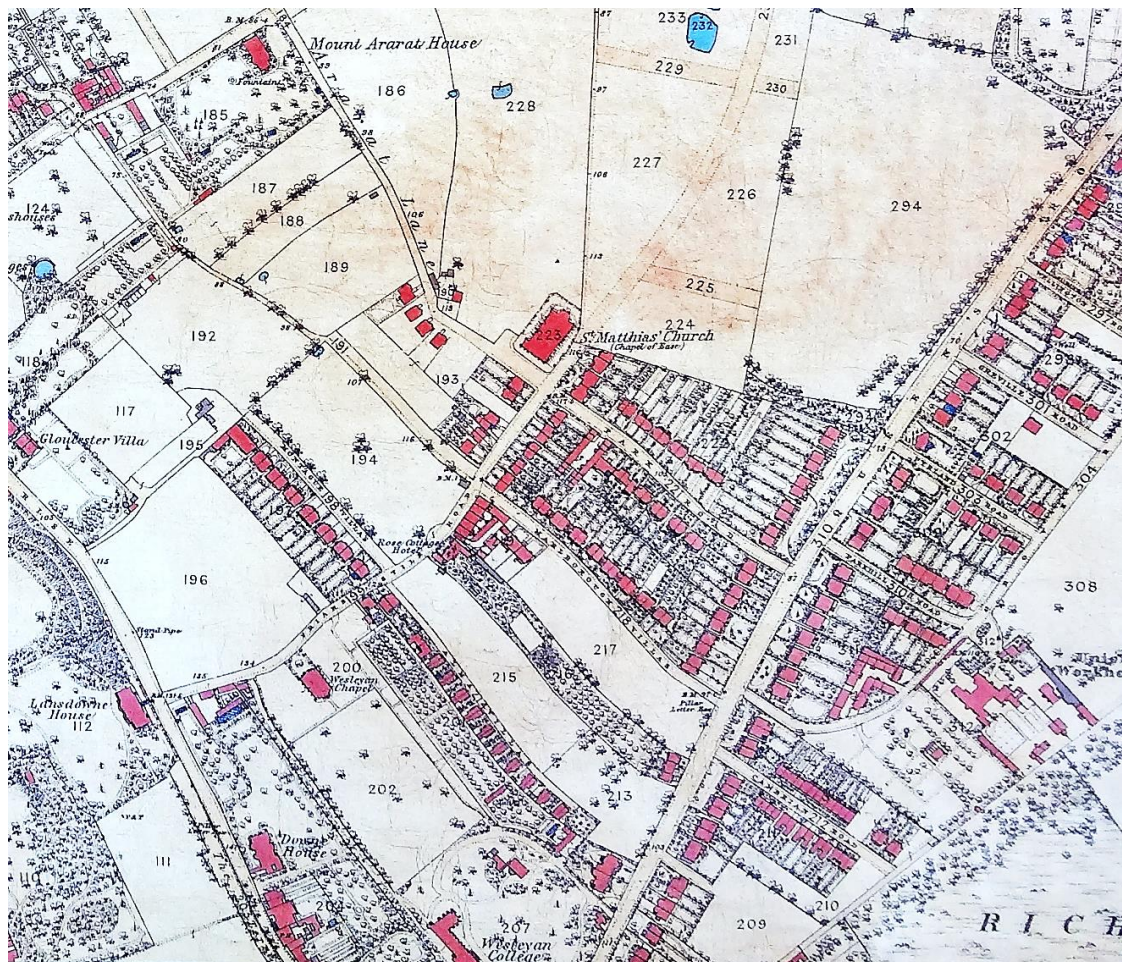
As a rule, the higher the elevation of the ground, the higher the rent. Taking Queens Road as an example, the tenements near the Park Gate in the upper part of the road will range from £180 to £200. Those in the lower portion only command £40...In King's Road an attempt has been made to secure a uniformly good class of house, and no building under the estate regulations can be erected for less than £800.³⁸

The account concludes by advising that cheaper houses were in the course of erection on the Mortlake side of Richmond at £80 and £50, and good cottages could be rented there for as low as £20.

³⁷ RLSL, Catalogue of building land, vol. 1.

³⁸ W.S. Clarke, *The suburban homes of London: a residential guide to the favourite London localities, their society, celebrities and associations* (London, 1881), p.422.

The extent to which adequate drainage was included in new developments is unclear from the conditions attached to auction notices, the main source of information on the detail of construction in the 1860s and 1870s. The first building bye-laws promulgated in 1877 required that the surveyor 'shall specify the depth and inclination, form size, materials and other particulars of the sewers'. The more comprehensive bye-laws of 1884 contained more detailed requirements for drainage, but, as they also included specifications for new privies, earth closets, ash pits, and cesspools, it is clear that not all Richmond was connected to the main sewer system by that date. Connection to the drainage system did not depend on the class of building, and it was perhaps influenced more by proximity to one of the main sewers.



Map 2.4: Queens Road and part of Richmond Hill in 1866.³⁹

³⁹ Extract from OS, County Series, Surrey, VI. 4, Richmond, 1866.

For example, the auction notice for 80 workmen's cottages in 1869 (discussed below) noted that the vendor would provide drains the length of the street with one junction to each lot specified in the scheme, whereas the plots for detached houses in Kings Road auctioned by the Robinson estate contained no reference to drainage. The Shaftesbury estate along the Kew Road specified only that the costs should be shared if the purchasers decided to construct drains. The explanation would appear to be a combination of proximity to a main sewer and the amount of money the vendor thought it necessary to spend on drainage prior to sale.

Leasing arrangements

Two major landowners – Newby Reeve and Selwyn – opted for leasing arrangements



Illustration 2.1: Houses in Park Road⁴²

which allowed others to lease their land for building purposes, although, by the end of the century in both cases, the freeholds had been sold by auction. Unfortunately, only a few leases have survived in full, although the QAB papers discussed below contain some lease extracts.⁴⁰

Sir Thomas Newby Reeve died in 1868 and, after several bequests, he left his estate to be divided equally between his children.⁴¹

His estate included houses on Richmond Hill.

His executors may have found it difficult to

divide the properties equally, and they decided to sell the freeholds and divide the proceeds. An auction notice from 1873 for the sale of ground rents relating to his estate covers properties built along the west side of Queens Road, on both sides of Park Road,

⁴⁰ SHS, 256/3/131. Lease dated 20 December 1872, Nos. 11 and 12 Chislehurst Road for 78 years between Revd. Canon Selwyn and other, and Alfred Lillywhite. Ground rent. £18 per annum.

⁴¹ SHS, 238/6/1: Will and probate of Sir Thomas Newby Reeve.

⁴² Photograph taken by author.

one side of Marlborough Road and in Friars Stile Road (**Illustrations 2.1 and 2.2**).⁴³ This area is shown in **Map 2.4**.

The more significant landowners in Richmond engaged in letting building leases were the Selwyns. **Map 2.2** shows the land that William Selwyn owned in 1851. William Selwyn died in 1855, and the account to the Inland Revenue for succession duty sets out the property he left to his son.⁴⁴ No conditions were placed on this inheritance.⁴⁵ In Richmond, most of William Selwyn's assets were plots of undeveloped land on the slopes of Richmond Hill and along Kew Road. William left the bulk of his estate to his son, Charles Jasper Selwyn, including his land in Richmond and Camberwell.

Sir Charles Jasper Selwyn died in 1869. Between 1859 and Charles Jasper's death, some



Illustration 2.2: Houses in Queens Rd.⁴⁶

200 houses were built on Selwyn land. His brothers, who were the trustees of his estate, continued this development until their deaths in 1875 and 1878. By 1885, around 600 houses had been built on Selwyn land, some 17% of the housing stock of Richmond, or 33% of

⁴³ SHS, S.P.4/41: Richmond vestry building leases.

⁴⁴ SHS, 256/5: Selwyn family estate papers for Richmond.

⁴⁵ SHS, 256/1/5: Will and probate of William Selwyn.

⁴⁶ Photograph taken by author.

the houses and cottages built between 1861 and 1881.⁴⁷ On Church Road, which runs from Saint Matthias church on the top of the Hill to Richmond station, 120 detached and semi-detached houses were built between 1863 and 1876. Over the same period, 46 houses were built on one side of Mount Ararat Road, which is parallel to Church Road.⁴⁸ During the 1870s, several new roads were constructed off Kew Road, where a total of 200 houses of various types were built. Generally, building plots were let to builders on leases of 90 to 99 years. As discussed below, the leases were sold when the houses had been built.

In 1890, almost all the Selwyn property in Richmond was sold to the QAB.⁴⁹ The records concerning the sale make it possible to identify the date of construction of each property, the length of the initial lease, and, in some cases, the identity of the builders. The latter are discussed later in the chapter. QAB paid £152,421 (£18 million at 2016 values) for the leases.⁵⁰ The total annual ground rent was £5,037 (£593,000 at present values).⁵¹

A similar sale of the Selwyn properties in Camberwell had taken place in 1889.⁵² There were several reasons for these sales. A note entitled *Memorials to four brothers*, attributed to Laetitia Frances Selwyn (Charles Jasper's sister), written around 1882, records that, after his death, Charles Jasper's children went to live for seven years with his brother, the Bishop of Lichfield.⁵³ Their mother had pre-deceased her husband. The note records that this 'weakened their attachment to the home of their fathers'. The family house in Richmond was let and Charles William Selwyn, Charles Jasper's son joined the army. Thus, after the death of Charles Jasper, the family's connection with Richmond gradually declined. In addition, by the 1880s, there was a downturn in rents and an

⁴⁷ CERC, QAB, Ground rent purchase bundle 14: papers covering sale of ground rents in Richmond owned by the Selwyn family (uncatalogued).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ QAB was formed in 1704 to support poorer clergy, <https://www.churchofengland.org/about-us/structure/church-commissioners/history.aspx> (May, 2017).

⁵⁰ <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx> (May, 2017)

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² SHS, 256/2/24. The properties were purchased by Mr E.J. Fooks of Lincoln's Inn.

⁵³ <http://anglicanhistory.org/england/selwyn1882> (May, 2017).

increase in house vacancies. In 1881, 40% of houses in some parts of Dulwich (the part of Camberwell where the Selwyns owned property) were said to be unoccupied.⁵⁴ *The Building News* reported in 1884 that ‘a cursory inspection of any residential locality such as Richmond, where agents boards are sadly thick in the field, indicate a general glut in houses’.⁵⁵ By 1886, *Building News* was reporting a general decrease in house rents: ‘houses hitherto let at £50 and £45 have been reduced £5 or more, and small houses letting at £36 are reduced to £32’.⁵⁶



Illustration 2.3: Houses in Church Road.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *The Builder*, vol. 41, 31 December 1881, p.830.

⁵⁵ *Building News*, vol. 47, 1 August 1884, p.153.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 51, 10 September 1886, p.371.

⁵⁷ Photographs taken by author.

Thus, the desire to maximise the income that could be generated from family land saw the Selwyns convert undeveloped agricultural land on the slopes of Richmond Hill into streets of detached and semi-detached houses. By the end of the century, personal circumstances and a decline in rental values resulted in the sale of almost all their property in the town.

The overall pattern of residential development 1850-1900

This section considers the residential development that occurred from around 1850 to the end of the century. There are four sets of records available for this analysis. The census records the number of houses at the time of each census. Rate books that have survived for each tenth year provide information on the type and location of accommodation and, towards the end of the century, of ownership. The field notebooks of the 1910 survey sometimes record the date and duration of a lease, thus making it possible to estimate dates of construction. Finally, a database of building applications submitted from the late 1880s, in what is now the London Borough of Richmond, provides an interesting insight into the accommodation built towards the end of the century, and in some cases, who built it.

Census Year	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
No. of houses and cottages	1321	1540	1841	2560	3457	4185	5377
Increase over previous census		219	301	719	897	728	1194
Percentage increase		17%	20%	39%	35%	21%	28%

Table 2.3: Number of houses and cottages in Richmond according to the Census returns 1841 to 1901⁵⁸

The census records that the largest growth in percentage terms in the number of houses and cottages occurred in the 1860s and 1870s. These figures are set out in **Table 2.3**. The figures recorded in the rate books (**Table 2.4**) largely confirm these figures, although

⁵⁸ Parl. papers, 1852-53 (1631), division II, p.22; 1862 (3056), p. 236; 1872 (C.676), p. 383; 1883 (C.3562), p. 376; 1893-94 (C. 6984), p. 346; 1902 (Cd. 1272), p. 232.

there are some more significant differences between the census and rate book figures for 1860/61. The reason for this difference is unclear.

Year	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
No. of houses	987	1281	1976	2737	3305	4058
No. of cottages	395	404	601	954	1044	1121
Total	1382	1685	2577	3691	4349	5179
Increase over previous rate book		303	892	1114	658	830
Percentage increase		22%	55%	43%	18%	19%

Table 2.4: Number of houses and cottages in Richmond according to the decennial rate books 1850-1900.⁵⁹

The rate books differentiate between ‘houses’ and ‘cottages’. No definition of this distinction is documented, but, based on those cottages that still exist, cottages were terraced with two floors, with two rooms upstairs and one or two rooms downstairs. The rate books also record that there was a significant difference in the growth in the number of houses and cottages between 1850 and 1900. The former increased by 311%, whereas the latter by only 183%. This differential probably occurred because the reputation of Richmond as a desirable place to live could support the higher rents of detached and semi-detached houses and the wish of landowners to maintain this situation. The 1911 census reports ‘families and separate occupiers’ rather than the number of houses, and therefore a comparison between census and rate book figures is not possible.

	1850-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80-84	85-89
No. of houses	48	36	117	163	71	85	96	8

Table 2.5: No. of houses built in Richmond estimated using leases recorded in 1910 Valuation Survey field note books.⁶⁰

The field notebooks for the 1910 Valuation Survey for Richmond record the date and length of lease for leasehold properties, and from this data it is possible to estimate more

⁵⁹ RLSL, R/RB/40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46: Richmond rate books 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1900.

⁶⁰ TNA, IR 58/69904-74.

precisely when specific houses were built. **Table 2.5** summarises the figures that are available from 1850 to 1889. They are only indicative because they do not include freehold properties or the cottages that were built around 1870 that are discussed below. Nevertheless, they provide further confirmation that the 1860s and 1870s were the most active period for housebuilding in Richmond.

The building in the 1860s and 1870s coincided with the first up-swing in building activity in suburban London from 1860 to 1875.⁶¹ It was also a little in advance of the national up-swing in building activity which lasted from the mid-1860s to the late-1870s.⁶² By the second up-swing in building activity at the end of the century, the amount of building land available in Richmond was limited and, as discussed later, the attention of developers turned to Twickenham.

The geographical sequence of residential development

Richmond in the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s met many of the conditions that F. M. L. Thompson suggests were necessary for the railway to be the catalyst for expansion. These are an attractive location, an established nucleus of a town, landowners keen to act as developers, a handful of existing residents with City connections, and a propitious moment in the trade cycle. The first area to be developed was on land owned by the vestry and Sir Thomas Newby Reeve near Richmond Park. The field books of the 1910 Valuation Survey and the 1860 rate book suggest that some 60 houses were built during the 1850s along Queens Road, along with some 30 houses each in Cambrian Road and Park Road. These developments are shown in **Map 2.4**.

During the 1860s, building started on four new roads that were constructed between St Matthias church and Marshgate. The overall development of Richmond before the construction of these roads is shown in **Map 2.5**. The church was built in 1857 on land donated by Charles Selwyn.⁶³ Two of these roads have already been discussed in

⁶¹ Jahn, *Suburban development in outer west London*, p.103.

⁶² J. Parry Lewis, *Building cycles and Britain's growth* (London, 1965), pp.316-7.

⁶³ Cloake, *Cottages and common fields*, p.355.

connection with the Selwyns, namely Church Road and Mount Ararat Road. The other two were Onslow Road and Kings Road. The Valuation Survey indicates that house construction started in Church Road at the beginning of the 1860s and in Mount Ararat Road in mid-decade. The 1870 rate book records that, by 1870, 96 houses had been built in Church Road and 66 in Mount Ararat Road. The houses built on Selwyn land, discussed above, were part of these figures. Those houses built on Church Road were of four designs, as shown in **Illustration 2.3**. They were occupied mainly by professionals, merchants, City clerks, civil servants, and those living on their own means.

Construction in Kings Road and Onslow Road was more gradual and continued for the rest of the century.⁶⁴ The houses in the former were detached and, in 1881, they were also occupied by civil servants, barristers, and those with a private income.⁶⁵ The number of servants in each house in Kings Road, compared to Church Road and Mount Ararat Road, suggests that the households in the former were more prosperous.⁶⁶

Between 1870 and 1900, a considerable number of houses and cottages were built along Kew Road towards Kew Bridge and Mortlake Road towards Mortlake, Barnes, and Hammersmith. The rate book for 1870 records 155 houses or cottages in Kew Road and 77 in Mortlake Road.⁶⁷ By 1900, the number had increased to 276 in the former and 335 in the latter.⁶⁸ The size of these properties varied from detached houses in their own grounds to terraced houses and cottages all built at around the same time within a quarter of a mile.

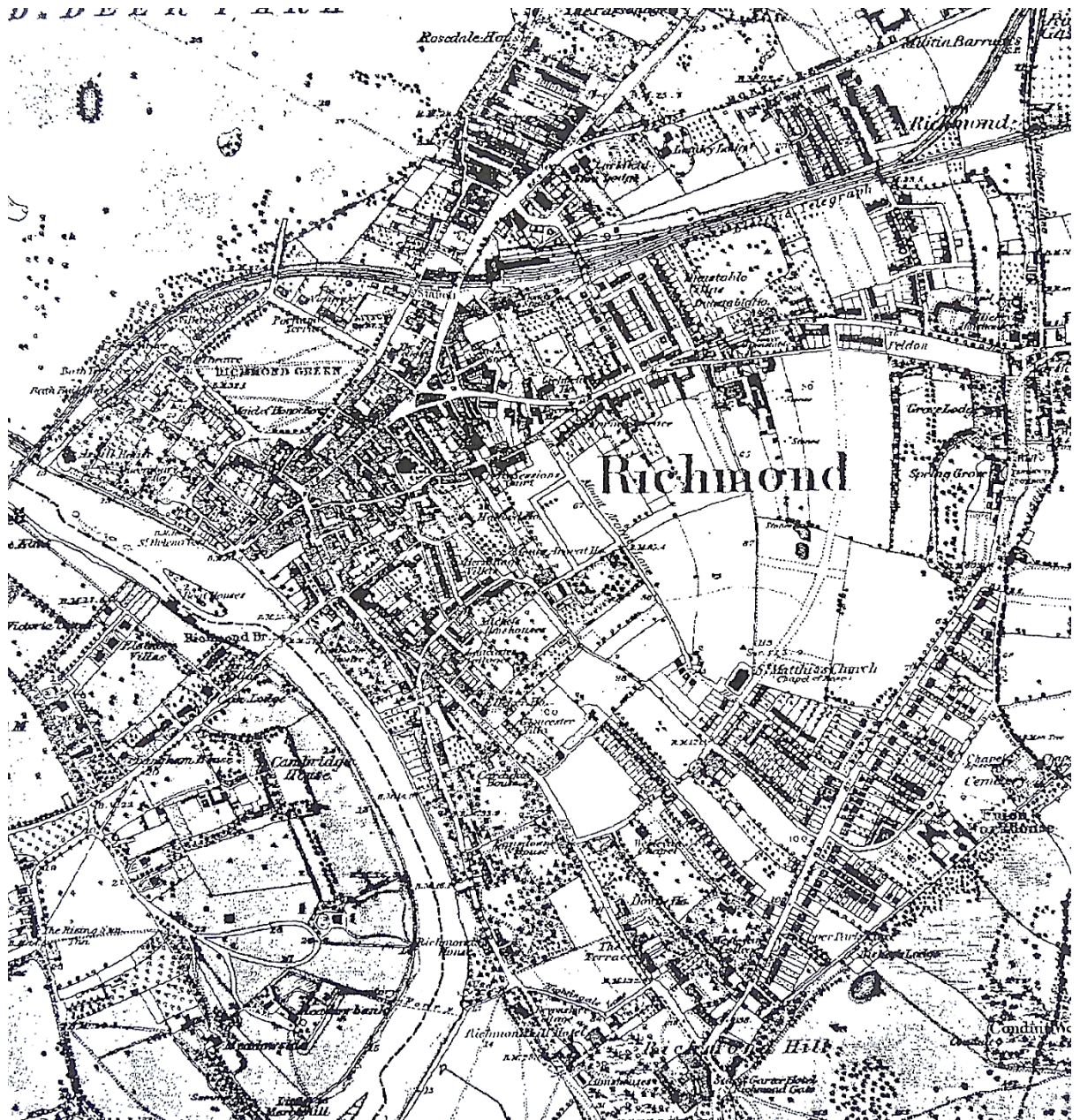
⁶⁴ RLSL, PLA database.

⁶⁵ TNA, RG 11/678, ff. 76-79: census returns, Richmond, 1901; RTT 9 March 1895. Kings Road was mainly developed by John Maxwell (1825-1895), a publisher and member of the vestry. He was married to the Victorian novelist, Mary Elizabeth Braddon (1835-1915). It is likely that Maxwell named two of the roads off Kings Road, namely Audley Road and Marchmont Road, after the leading characters in two of his wife's novels, *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862) and *John Marchmont's Legacy* (1863).

⁶⁶ TNA, RG 11/678, ff. 76-70; RG 11/675 ff. 126-127, 114-116, 131-132.

⁶⁷ RLSL, R/RB/42: Richmond rate book 1870.

⁶⁸ RLSL, R/RB/46-47:1900.



Map 2.5: Richmond in 1860s before the building of Church Road and Mount Ararat Road.⁶⁹

Whitehand developed a framework for explaining residential development on the edge of cities at different stages of the building cycle.⁷⁰ His aim was to create a framework within which such developments could be analysed over time. His basic premise was that the cost of land as a proportion of the total cost of a development varied according to

⁶⁹ Extract from OS County map of Surrey: 1871-74.

⁷⁰ J.W.R. Whitehand, 'Building activity and intensity of development at the urban fringe: The case of a London suburb in the nineteenth century', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 1.2 (1975), pp.211-224.

distance from the city centre and over time. He assumed that the costs of construction and construction materials were relatively constant. Accordingly, the cost of land to a developer became more significant in periods of building boom and less so in periods of building recession. He applied his theory to institutional investment and extended it to private development. For the latter, he examined an area of North Kensington between 1820 and 1885. He concluded that there was evidence of variation in plot size over time but not in relation to distance from the city centre.

Daunton criticises Whitehand's theory in several respects.⁷¹ In relation to residential development, he concludes that speculative builders were not sensitive to changes in costs. Also, the extent to which the cost of land was a significant factor depended upon the tenurial system. For houses built on leasehold land, its cost was of little importance, although Daunton acknowledges that it might be more relevant to houses built on freehold land. The tenure of much of the land in Richmond and Twickenham was leasehold. Daunton also questions whether the value of land varied across a building cycle as much as was implied by Whitehand's theory.

For Richmond and Twickenham, there is some information available on the size of plots from 1867 to 1900. For example, some of the land sale notices of the 1860s for Richmond and, in the 1890s, the building applications record details of plot size.⁷² Plots measuring 25ft. x 95ft. were sold in 1867 in what became Shaftesbury Road, just off Kew Rd, and, two years later, plots measuring 16ft. 6 ins. x 53ft. were sold for the cottages between Church Road and Kings Road. In 1866, in Rosemont Road near the top of Richmond Hill, 29 lots measuring 22ft. x 110ft. were sold. Some 30 years later, in 1897, plots measuring 18ft. x 110ft. were sold in Beaumont Avenue and Selwyn Avenue, also near to Kew Road, for terraced houses. In Kings Road, the location of large detached houses, four plots measuring 50ft. x 150ft. were sold in 1868, and another plot measuring 50ft. x 202ft. was sold in 1897. Less information is available on the size of plots in Twickenham, and that

⁷¹ M.J. Daunton, 'The building cycle and the urban fringe in Victorian cities: a comment', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 4.2 (1978), pp.175-191.

⁷² RLSL: auction notices for the sale of building land in Richmond, book 3.

which does exist is similar to that for Richmond. Plots measuring 25ft. x 100ft. were sold in Heathfield North in 1868, and, 13 years later, in 1881, plots with a width of 18ft. were sold in Garfield Road about 300 yards away on the other side of the railway line.⁷³ Towards the end of the 1890s, plots measuring some 61ft. x 125ft. were sold in Cole Park Road for detached houses. These figures do not suggest any great reduction in the size of building plots from the late 1860s to the late 1890s, although there may have been a reduction of around 4ft. to 5ft. in the width of some plots for some small houses. Large plots continued to be available for detached houses. Overall, the information that has survived for Richmond and Twickenham does not support Whitehand's framework. As set out elsewhere in this thesis, decisions on the type and size of houses and when they were built depended upon several factors, including the personal circumstances and preferences of landowners and developers and their assessment of the demand for property of various types at the time an area of land was developed.

The building application database at RLSL provides a more detailed insight into developments from around 1890.⁷⁴ In roads near the town, most of the construction was of one or two houses on plots of land that remained undeveloped, or an additional house or cottage at the end of a terrace. A block of ten mansion flats was built on Hill Rise on the lower slopes of Richmond Hill in 1896, the first purpose-built flats to be built in Richmond.⁷⁵ The main area of house development in the 1890s was on land previously occupied by the Selwyn's house and garden between Kew Road and Mortlake Road. Three new roads were built of mainly three-bedroomed terraced houses.⁷⁶

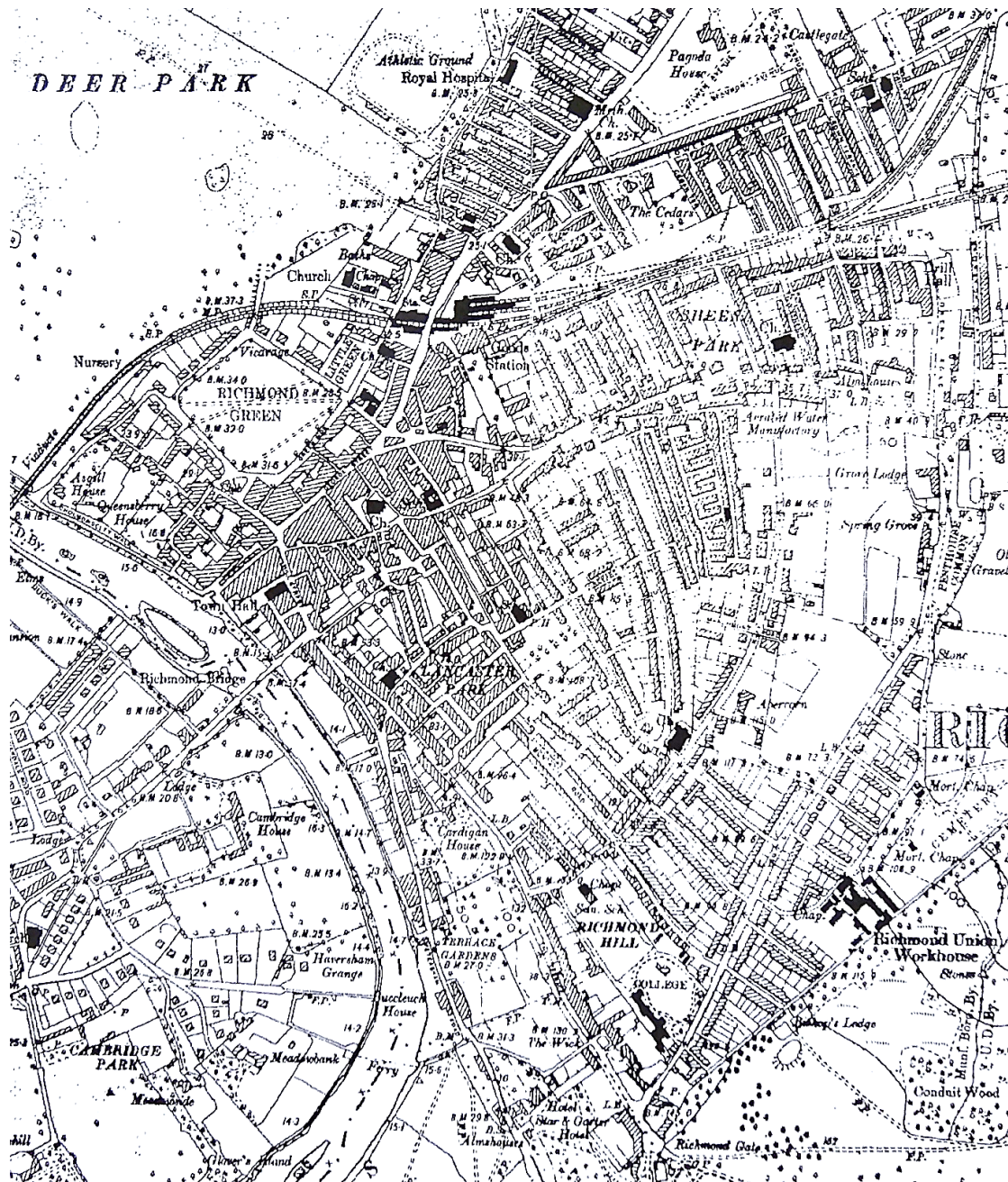
Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, almost all available land had been built on with varying degrees of building density. This is illustrated in **Map 2.6**. The only sizeable area of potentially developable land that had not been built on was that owned by the

⁷³ RLSL: auction notices for the sale of building land in Twickenham (uncatalogued).

⁷⁴ RLSL, PLA database.

⁷⁵ RLSL, PLA 8242.

⁷⁶ RLSL, R/RB/46-47: Richmond rate book 1900.



Map 2.6: Richmond in the mid-1890s⁷⁷

Rugge-Price family on the apex of Marshgate and Queens Road. This remained undeveloped until the twentieth century.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Extract from OS County map of London: 1896.

⁷⁸ It has not been possible to locate documents that explain why the Rugge Price land remained undeveloped.

In common with other areas, most residents of Richmond rented a house or rooms from a private landlord. Pooley suggests that, by the late nineteenth century, no more than 10% of householders were owner occupiers with a higher proportion in more prosperous areas.⁷⁹ Richmond falls into this pattern. The 1880 rate book reports owner occupiers in the parish of 8-9%. In the rate book volume that covers Richmond Hill, this percentage increases to 14% and, in some very prosperous streets in this area, owner occupancy was as high as 25%. The population turnover outlined in the introduction must have resulted in a high turnover of tenants. Apart from the property owned by the QAB mentioned above, the freeholds of houses that were not owner occupied were owned by many individuals. In some cases, they lived locally, but in others much further afield.⁸⁰

Workmen's housing

Residential development in the nineteenth century was not only comprised of houses. Cottages were to be found in several parts of the town, such as along Mortlake Road and in the area known as 'New Richmond'. Two other developments were of note. The late 1860s and early 1870s saw the development of some 250 cottages along two new roads in an area between Kings Road and to Church Road. In addition, some 20 years later, the then newly-established RBC began the construction of cottages and tenements for housing workmen and their families. By 1900, some 140 had been built on land owned by the council to the north of the LSWR line and near to the boundary with Mortlake.

An auction notice in 1869 advertised 80 building plots in an area to the west of Kings Road and to the south of Marshgate on three strips of land that, according to the appropriation map, were owned by the Selwyn and Baker families. The plots shown in the plan attached to the auction notice (**Illustration 2.4**) varied in size and were said to be suitable for villa residences and cottages.⁸¹ The development became Princes Road, and the vendor took responsibility for the construction of the road and footpath.

⁷⁹ C.G. Pooley, 'Patterns on the ground: urban form, residential structure and the social contribution of space', in ed., M. J. Daunton, *The Cambridge urban history of Britain*, vol. III, 1840-1950 (Cambridge, 2000), p.444.

⁸⁰ IR 58/69904-69974: 1910 Finance Act, valuation office field books.

⁸¹ RLSL: land auction sale book 3.

Although some of the plots were larger, most were around 16ft. wide and 69ft. in length. A covenant stipulated that the ‘purchaser shall not use the property for any purpose which shall in any way be a nuisance to the vendor or his assigns, or to any adjoining owners or tenants...’

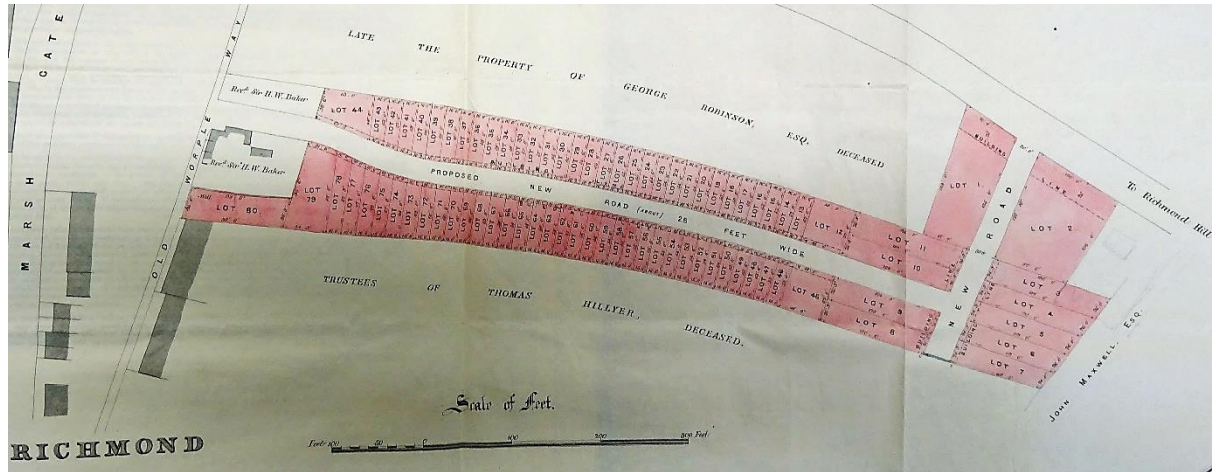


Illustration 2.4: Plan of cottages, 1869. The road became Princes Road.⁸²

A year later, there was an auction of 135 plots on land immediately to the west of Princes Road owned by the trustees of the late Thomas Hillyer.⁸³ This became Albert Road with several side streets, as is shown in **Illustration 2.5**. As in Princes Road, the vendor took responsibility for the construction of roads. There were no general covenants, but Hart and Oliver quote different conditions attached to individual properties.⁸⁴ The 1870 rate book shows that, by that year, 53 of the cottages in Princes Road were occupied. Unfortunately, it gives no clues as to the possible builders because, a year after construction, there was multiple ownership. The 1880 rate book reports the same picture of ownership and occupation for both Princes Road and Albert Road. The cottages varied in size, but most of them in both roads had two and sometimes three bedrooms, with two rooms downstairs plus a scullery, outside WC, and small yard (**Illustration 2.6**).

⁸² RLSL: land auction sale book 3.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ K. Hart and J. Oliver, *The Alberts*, p.10.

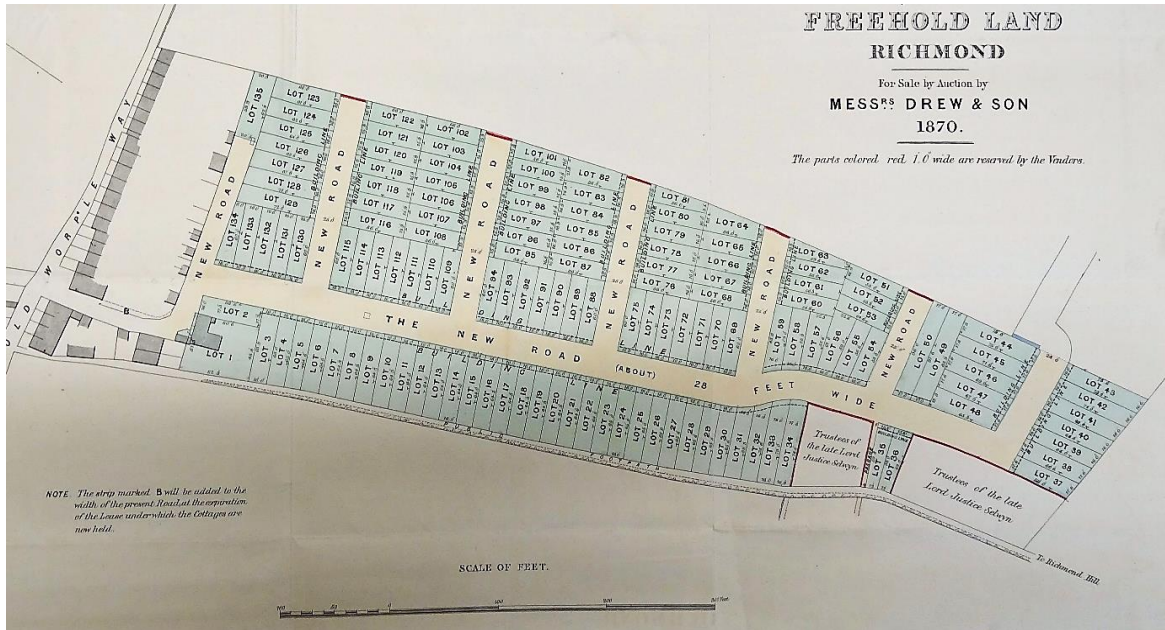


Illustration 2.5: Plan of cottages, 1870. The road became Albert Road.⁸⁵

By 1880, the cottages in both roads had been sold to multiple landlords, the maximum number of 30 being owned by John Maxwell, a vestryman and publisher. There were 180 individuals with occupations recorded as living in Princes Road in the 1901 census, of which some 140 were male and 40 female.⁸⁶ The occupations of the men included two police constables, seven grooms, four greengrocers, and five carmen, but the most common male occupations related to building trades (27) and labourers (17). Almost all the women were engaged either as laundresses (14), cleaners (7), or cooks (4). In addition, there were five nurses and four dressmakers. The main question that arises concerning Princes and Albert Road is why land between two roads of detached and semi-detached houses, namely Church Road and Kings Road, was sold for the construction of cottages. There are several possible reasons. Up to 1870, most of the evidence that has survived on workmen's housing suggests that it was of poor quality.

⁸⁵ K. Hart and J. Oliver, *The Alberts from the beginning*, p.10.

⁸⁶ TNA, RG 13/675 ff. 89-96: census return, Richmond, 1901.



Illustration 2.6: Princes Road as it is today.⁸⁷

In addition, **Table 2.4** reports that, between 1860 and 1870, there was an increase of 700 in the number of houses, but only 200 additional cottages. For both these reasons, there must have been a demand for more cottages. Finally, as already mentioned, drainage was a problem in this area, and builders preferred to construct houses on higher quality land which was still available.

Accommodation for workmen and their families continued to be a problem. As shown in table 2.4, cottages comprised only 25% of the housing stock in 1890. Consequently, in the 1890s, RBC set about providing publicly financed accommodation for workmen. The council adopted the Housing of the Working Classes Act, part III, in February 1891.⁸⁸ The

⁸⁷ Photograph taken by author.

⁸⁸ 53 & 54 Victoria I, c. 70; TVT, 11 February 1891.

Act permitted a local authority to purchase or acquire compulsorily land for the construction of houses for the working classes. The short council debate on the subject, as reported by the TVT, did not indicate any disagreement with the adoption of the Act, although it was made clear that the council had no scheme in mind at that time. A memorandum submitted to the LGB in support for a loan to build workmen's houses under part III of the 1890 Act stated that rents in Richmond were very high because of a shortage of cottages. As a consequence, overcrowding was common.⁸⁹

The evidence in the records of the LGB indicates that Richmond was almost certainly the first council in the London area to build council housing under the 1890 Act. LGB records include an internal memo dated August 1893 of schemes for which the LGB had advanced loans. These were for outside London and mainly in the north of England.⁹⁰ The LCC did not decide to construct housing under the Act until December 1898, followed by other councils such as Croydon in 1903 and Battersea in 1907.⁹¹ The construction of workmen's housing was an unexpected achievement for such a conservative body as the RBC.

Pooley comments that the motives for social housing combined self-interest because of fear of disease, with concern for the living conditions of the poor, and, by the late nineteenth century, some recognition of market failure of private provision for low income families.⁹² The Richmond scheme was led by Councillor William Thompson.⁹³ He was able to drive the scheme forward without dissent from other members of the council, but there is little evidence in the council minutes that he enjoyed much support from them. His leadership of the scheme is evidenced by an LGB internal minute on a loan application under part III of the 1890 Act submitted by the council. The minute, dated June 1893, addressed to the LGB president comments that

⁸⁹ TNA, MH 12/12626: LGB correspondence, 1893.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Jackson, *Semi-detached London*, p.33.

⁹² Pooley, 'Patterns on the ground: urban form', p.454.

⁹³ Details of William Thompson's background and career are set out in Chapter 4.

the application of the town council was placed before the inquiry in a very unsatisfactory manner. The town council appears to have left the conduct of the case to an individual member of the council. The evidence which was given by him as to the necessity for additional accommodation seems to have been of a general character and his witness was not supported by other witnesses. On the other hand, the scheme has been adopted by the town council.

Nevertheless, the board advanced the loan of £17,250 applied for by the council in July 1893.⁹⁴

In a book on housing, Thompson said that the council's first efforts to improve the housing conditions of the working classes were directed towards house-to-house inspections in order to identify defects that required rectifying.⁹⁵ Landlords were then served notices to implement the improvements, but this resulted in increases in rents that the tenants could not afford. As a result, tenants were anxious that inspectors should not call on their home.

Thompson's first attempt in 1891 at acquiring land in Marshgate for this purpose was unsuccessful as, although the council decided to make a bid for this land, there is no further mention of it in the council minutes, and therefore the bid presumably failed.⁹⁶ In December 1892, the council authorised a scheme on six acres of land near the gas works and the railway line to the east of the town.⁹⁷ Thompson records that the specification provided not only that good sound materials should be used, but also that the contractor should pay recognised trade union rates.⁹⁸ As a result, the lowest tender was not accepted, and it was awarded to an unnamed contractor with a 'good reputation for first class work'.⁹⁹ Construction started in 1894 and was completed in 1895

⁹⁴ TNA, MH 12/12626: LGB correspondence, 1893.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ RLSL, RBC minutes, April 1891.

⁹⁷ Ibid., December 1892.

⁹⁸ William Thompson, *The housing handbook, a practical manual for the use of officers, members, and committees of local authorities, ministers of religion, members of Parliament, and all social or municipal reformers interested in the housing of the working classes* (London, 1903), p.117.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

(Illustrations 2.7 and 2.8). A total of 62 tenements were built as follows: 22 class A cottages with 6 rooms at a building cost of £254 each and a weekly rental of 7/6d, 28 class B cottages with 4 rooms at a building cost of £190 each and weekly rental of 6s, and



Illustration 2.7: Municipal cottages in Richmond at Manor Grove¹⁰⁰

12 tenements with 2 or 3 rooms at a weekly rental of between 4/6d and 5/6d. The latter were 'cottage flats'. In England, Muthesius traces 'cottage flats' back to Newcastle upon Tyne in the 1850s.¹⁰¹ They appeared in London around 1890, particularly around Walthamstow and Leyton, and, after 1900, they were adopted in many municipal developments. Muthesius says that

they were typically built with 'two bedrooms each, own kitchens, toilets and later bathrooms. There was always backstairs leading down to the gardens, which were separated by a small fence'.¹⁰² This description is consistent with the Richmond 'flats',

¹⁰⁰ Thompson, *Housing handbook*, opposite, p.114.

¹⁰¹ Stefan Muthesius, *The English terraced house* (New York, 1982), p.137.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p.137.

which were probably unique to this area at the time. On completion, the homes were advertised. There were more applications than there was accommodation available, and so a ballot was held. The only applicants excluded were those who did not live or work in Richmond. Thompson reported that the scheme was self-supporting financially, and that 'tenants were delighted with their houses'.¹⁰³ In 1896, the council agreed to build



Illustration 2.8: Municipal tenements, or 'cottage flats' in Richmond at Manor Grove.¹⁰⁴

70 more cottages on the remaining portion of the land, and these were completed in 1899-1900.¹⁰⁵ The scheme mostly delivered one of its objectives of meeting the needs of Richmond workmen, because the 1901 census records that 33 heads of household were born in the town and, for another 90, there is some indication (such as the birth of a child in Richmond) that they had lived in the town for some time. In only 20 cases was there no evidence in the census of extended residence in the town.¹⁰⁶ All the accommodation was let to workmen or women of some description. It is notable and remarkable that a council as conservative as that in Richmond should be in the forefront

¹⁰³ Stefan Muthesius, *The English terraced house*, p.119.

¹⁰⁴ Thompson, *Housing handbook*, opposite, p.116.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.122.

¹⁰⁶ TNA, RG 13/679, ff.26-37: census return Richmond, 1901.

in the London area in the 1890s for building workers accommodation. This was almost entirely the result of the passion and drive of one man, namely, William Thompson. In his book on housing, Thompson noted a number of positive conclusions that could be drawn from the scheme.¹⁰⁷ He reported that the scheme had been undertaken at no cost to the ratepayer because the rent receipts exceeded loan repayments and that, by 1902, this surplus was more than £2,000. In addition, 144 working class families were living in healthier cottages at 1s. to 4s. less rent per week than would have been possible in the private sector.

Builders

The censuses, trade directories, and QAB records of the Selwyn estate contain details of several small, and for their day, medium-sized builders operating in Richmond in the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s. There were probably others who lived outside the town, of whom no record has survived, and who were successful bidders for some plots. The building application database indicates that, by the 1890s, there were a number of architects and builders working in the town who did not live there. For example, the vestry minutes of July 1881 mention a petition by a builder called Messrs Chamberlen of Hammersmith that was working in Kew.¹⁰⁸

In common with other builders of the time, the Richmond builders would have been speculative operators, borrowing money from building societies and others to pay for the purchase of the land and the payment of materials required to build the houses. They then needed to sell many or all of these houses as quickly as possible to generate money to pay for the next piece of land.¹⁰⁹ However, some of the Richmond builders had sufficient resources to retain some of the houses they built and were well-established businesses.

¹⁰⁷ Thompson, *Housing handbook*, pp.131-2.

¹⁰⁸ RTT, 30 July 1881.

¹⁰⁹ Susie Barson, 'Infinite variety in brick and stucco 1840-1914' in ed., Andrew Saint, *London suburbs* (London, 1999) p.65.

The builders that operated in the town can be divided into two categories. The first built houses over one or more decades and were usually members of the vestry or RBC. The second category came to Richmond for a few years, undertook some construction, and then disappeared. It was not possible to ascertain whether they died or moved on somewhere else.

In the first category, one of the largest builder employers was Thomas Carless (1827-1915), who was recorded as employing 20 men in the 1861 census, and 50 men in the 1871 and 1881 censuses. His obituary in the local paper said that:

on the death of his uncle, John Carless in 1849, he succeeded to his builders' business which had already been firmly established in Eton Street. Mr Carless...carried out a number of important Government and other contracts and built a large number of houses in the town.¹¹⁰

One way of determining which houses an individual builder constructed is to look at the houses they owned in the decennial rate books. The 1880 rate book for Richmond records that Thomas Carless owned 18 houses in Mount Ararat Road, cottages in Lancaster Cottages and Caroline Place, together with properties in Marshgate, Eton Street, and George Street. By 1900, he had retained his interests in Marshgate, Eton Street, and George Street only. It is very likely that Carless was involved in the building of the houses and cottages in these streets. He was an active member of the vestry.

Alfred Lillywhite operated in the town for some 30 years from 1867.¹¹¹ The 1871 census records that he employed 33 men. QAB records suggest that he built over 60 houses for the Selwyns on the slopes of Richmond Hill, and his obituary in the RH refers to him as one of the most successful builders in the town. The 1880 rate book records that he owned 32 houses in the Church Road area. He did not become a member of the vestry or RBC.

¹¹⁰ RTT, 22 January 1915.

¹¹¹ RH, 29 June 1907.

Another builder in the first category was Joseph Sims (1814-1888), who employed 16 men in 1871. His obituary records that he was apprenticed to John Carless and that he built many houses in Richmond as well as several public buildings, including two schools. He was a contractor at Richmond to Her Majesty for several years.¹¹² The 1880 rate book records that he owned houses in Rosemont Road, Friars Stile Road, Mortlake Road, and Marshgate.

Four other builders of long standing that built houses on the slopes of the Hill were Henry Rydon, Thomas and Walter Long (father and son), and Somers Gascoyne. All four were members of the vestry or RBC. In three cases, the census does not record the number of men that they employed. Henry Rydon operated from the 1870s to the 1891s, and the QAB records report that he built 60 houses on Selwyn land. He was reported as owning 20 houses in the 1880 rate book. The Longs did not build on Selwyn land, but the obituary of Walter Long in RH commented that many of the houses in Kings Road were built by the Longs.¹¹³ Somers Gascoyne and his family owned some 30 properties, mostly houses around Queens Road and Friars Stile Road, and it is reasonable to assume that he built them. He was an alderman on RBC. In Kew, Benjamin Blasby built 50 houses on new streets created off Kew Road. The 1871 census records him as a bricklayer's foreman, aged 33. By 1901, he was a builder, alderman, and JP.

There were two main examples of the second category. James Lucas is shown in the 1881 census, and QAB records indicate that he built 90 houses on Selwyn land in Kew. It has not been possible to identify him living elsewhere after 1881 or a record of his death. Similarly, Edwin Hoskin was recorded as a carpenter in the 1871 census and as a builder employing 14 men in the 1881 census. He built 25 houses in Church Road, but it has not been possible to identify him after 1881.¹¹⁴

Thus, a picture emerges, from the 1860s to the 1880s, of a relatively small number of builders who purchased building leases of individual or several adjacent plots of land.

¹¹² RH, 28 January 1888.

¹¹³ RH, 3 August 1929.

¹¹⁴ CERC, QAB: Ground rent purchase bundle 14 (uncatalogued).

Houses or cottages of varying specifications depending upon the location, size of the plot, and any conditions made by the landowner were constructed and either sold to help finance further construction or pay off loans or were retained by the builder to generate future income from rents.

Timing of construction, building bye-laws, and public reaction

The remainder of this section on Richmond considers the reasons why houses and cottages were built at the time and the location they were built, and the overall public reaction to these developments. According to the census, the number of houses in Richmond increased over three times between 1851 and 1901 (**Table 2.3**). As already discussed, it is likely that landowners concluded that they could obtain greater returns from selling their land and investing the proceeds elsewhere than they could from agricultural rents on land that was not of the highest quality. In chronological terms, growth in housebuilding did not really start to take off until the railway came to Richmond in 1846, albeit mostly houses for the more prosperous that could afford rail fares. The arrival of the line to north London in 1857, followed by the District line in 1877, made it possible for workmen and clerks to live in Richmond and work elsewhere, although the supply of workmen's cottages remained limited. Between 1880 and 1900, a greater proportion of the properties built were smaller terraced houses and cottages, compared to the larger houses of earlier decades, although the building application database includes applications in the 1890s for detached houses in Kings Road and Kew Road. This continued the practice of building large houses near to smaller houses and cottages that had been a characteristic of Richmond development for at least three decades

An important factor in development decisions must have been the market for various sizes and rental values of houses. The rate books record the level of vacancy by property for each quarter, and this suggests that the vacancy rate for larger properties was much higher than for smaller houses or cottages. Thus, in 1880, some 15% of houses in Queens Road were vacant for 6-12 months, with equivalent rates in other roads with similar

houses.¹¹⁵ This level of vacancy reduced towards the end of the century, but, throughout the same period, smaller houses and cottages were recorded as being fully occupied. It is reasonable to conclude that, as the market for large houses became saturated, some developers found it opportune to build terraced houses and cottages that they could sell or let more easily than larger houses. Unlike some locations described by Cannadine, the building of small houses and cottages on the lower ground in Richmond did not drive the professionals and more prosperous living on The Hill to move away.¹¹⁶ The 1901 census records the same mix of such individuals living, for example, in Kings Road and Queens Road as in 1871 and 1881. This was probably accounted for by the convenience of the town for those that needed to travel to London and the broad range of shops and the other amenities.

The LGB issued a model set of building regulations in 1877 under the Public Health Act, 1875.¹¹⁷ By this time, most of the larger houses on Richmond Hill and many of the smaller houses elsewhere in the parish had already been built. The powers were permissive, but most authorities adopted them. Richmond already had some building bye-laws adopted in 1877, but they included only very general provisions in 27 short paragraphs. It took until 1884 for the vestry to agree a draft with the LGB, mainly because of objections raised by vestrymen who were also builders. For example, in July 1881, Messrs Sims and Gascoyne were joined by two other local builders and the Chamberlen Brothers of Hammersmith to lobby about a clause concerning the construction of cesspits that they considered too restrictive.¹¹⁸ In 1882, there was another incident reported in *The Building News*, when Gascoyne and Sims tried and failed to abort the whole bye-law revision process.¹¹⁹ They were outvoted by their fellow Vestrymen.

¹¹⁵ RLSL, R/RB/44: Richmond rate book 1880, pp. 32, 34, 35.

¹¹⁶ Cannadine, 'Victorian Cities: how different?', pp.126-128.

¹¹⁷ 38 & 39 Victoria I, c.55.

¹¹⁸ RTT, 30 July 1881.

¹¹⁹ *The Building News*, vol. 43, 20 October 1882, p.470; RLSL, RVM, 10 October 1882.

In terms of public reaction, there were clearly sufficient individuals with influence who opposed the building that took place in Richmond to get an article in *The Building News*. The 1882 unsigned article, with the headline 'Modern Richmond', started as follows:

Few places have suffered so much from the changes which the whirligig of time brings with it, as the once charming village of Richmond, a name which for centuries back has been associated with all that is pretty, refined and exclusive...Man, however, has done his best to spoil it all, especially of late years, and the Richmond resident of a quarter of a century, or even decade back, may well deplore the building mania which has gone far to ruin one of the sweetest spots in merry England.

The article goes on, by inference, to be critical of the Selwyn family for causing this to happen and of the vestry for its failure to adopt building regulations to limit the activities of builders.¹²⁰ Richmond was not the only suburb to receive unfavourable comment. The *Building News* commented in 1890, in critical terms, that workmen's trains and a rise in real incomes were introducing more people to suburban life.¹²¹

However, too much emphasis should not be placed on one article. Possibly a better measure of local opinion was the local newspaper. A good indication of the interest taken in an issue was the prominence given to it in the RTT in the 'look back at a year' that appeared in the paper in late December or early January each year. The first mention of the absence of building regulations appeared briefly in the review of 1881. The article starts by commenting that local government business in the year was 'not characterised by matters of mass importance', and other issues such as the opening of the Richmond public library and a dispute between the vestry and the Richmond Gas Company were given greater prominence.¹²² In the review of 1882, the absence of building regulations was mentioned again with the comment that 'builders may build as they like', but it was

¹²⁰ *The Building News*, vol. 43, 20 October 1882; Issues of RTT are missing for this period, so it is not possible to ascertain whether *The Building News* article was mirrored in the local press.

¹²¹ *The Building News*, vol. 58, 2 May 1890, p.611.

¹²² RTT, 1 January 1881.

buried in the detail of the article.¹²³ Thus, although there was clearly public criticism of housing development by some of those living in the parish and elsewhere, this may have been drowned out by the more general concerns about the conduct of vestry business that grew louder and louder throughout the 1880s.

Twickenham

Habitation in mid-century

The Poor Law commissioners required the parish of Twickenham to undertake a rate assessment in 1837. It provided details of each type of property, its location, and occupier.¹²⁴ In summary, the assessment recorded that there were 24 mansions, 297 houses, 411 cottages, 74 houses and shops, 43 houses and premises, 10 shops, and 16 inns or public houses. The mansions were located mainly along the river, with five in the hamlet of Whitton or to the north west of Twickenham. The main concentration of houses (with or without shops or premises) was either in the village or along the roads that connected Twickenham to other villages and towns. These were London Road towards Isleworth and Brentford, Cross Deep towards Teddington, and the Hanworth and Richmond Roads towards Hanworth and Richmond respectively. Cottages were scattered across the parish, but the main concentrations were to be found to the west of the village along Back Road (now Colne Road) to the north of the Green. The assessment does not provide a definition of the different types of accommodation, and so it is not possible to make a true comparison with the proportion of houses and cottages in Twickenham in 1837 with the same ratio reported in the 1840 rate book for Richmond.¹²⁵ Some 10 to 15 years later, there was a 53/47 ratio between houses and cottages in Twickenham in 1855, compared to a 75/25 ratio of houses/cottages in Richmond in 1850.¹²⁶

¹²³ RTT, 31 December 1881.

¹²⁴ TNA, MH 12/6900: LGB and its predecessors' correspondence, Twickenham, 1834-39.

¹²⁵ RLSL, R/RB/39: *Richmond rate book*, 1840.

¹²⁶ RLSL, R/RB/40: *Richmond rate book*, 1850; TW/RB/21: *Twickenham rate book*, 1855.

Land auctions

The same categories of records exist for Twickenham as for Richmond, although there are many fewer auction notices. This may be because fewer auctions took place.

Between 1836 and 1839, the crown's interests in the Twickenham manor were sold in three auctions.¹²⁷ In the first auction, held in 1836, seven lots were sold, which were located just to the north of the parish church. The receipts for deposits received suggest that the purchasers were not resident in Twickenham. The remaining two auctions were for eight plots of half an acre in total in 1837 and one plot of around two acres in 1839. All plots were located along Richmond Road. No conditions as to use were specified for any of the land sold in the three auctions.

Six auction notices only have survived for the period 1850 to 1880, and, although other auctions and land sales probably occurred, the relatively small number of such transactions reflects the later development of Twickenham when compared to Richmond. None of the auctions mentioned contained restrictions as to land use, and only two of the auctions were of sufficient significance to mention here. In 1858, 27 plots of freehold and copyhold land were put up for auction, which were parallel to the western side of London Road and to the south of the old railway station. At this time, the station was on the western side of London Road rather than the eastern side, as it is today.¹²⁸ The 1871 OS map suggests that this site was developed along the lines set out in a map attached to the auction notice.

The second auction worthy of mention took place in 1868 for 43 plots on what became known as the Heathfield Park Estate off the Whitton Road to the north of the railway line. The estate is comprised of two roads, Heathfield South and Heathfield North. A resident of the latter has put together a note on its history.¹²⁹ The land which had been orchards prior to this date was put up for auction under the name 'Heathfield Park

¹²⁷ TNA, CRES 2/893: sale of land in manor of Twickenham.

¹²⁸ RLSL, Twickenham land sale auction notice (uncatalogued).

¹²⁹ G. Stanley, *The history of Heathfield North* (Twickenham, 1998).

Estate' and was divided into two roads, Heathfield North and Heathfield South. Only the auction notice for North survives, and that for South must have taken place on another occasion. The notice describes the land as follows:

The property is situated about 300 yards from the railway station, at which nearly 200 trains stop daily, offering great facilities to gentlemen engaged in town, being only 27 minutes' ride of Waterloo Station, and by second class season ticket, 9d. a day.¹³⁰

Most of Heathfield north was bought by John Chamberlain of Brentford in September 1868. According to the 1871 census, Chamberlain was a 35-year-old brush maker of Park Road, Brentford.¹³¹ Because of the varied nature of the properties in both roads, he seems to have sold the plots to several people. The 1885 rate book includes some 30 houses or cottages in each road, and the 1881 census reports that they were occupied mainly by clerks or craftsmen.¹³² An interesting detail in the auction notice for Heathfield is that, by 1868, Twickenham was a place to live for clerks working in London.

Overall pattern of residential construction

As in Richmond, the census and rate books provide information on the growth in the number of houses and cottages. The 1901 valuation survey field notebooks for Twickenham do not record information on the length of leases, and therefore it is not possible to use them to identify more precisely when individual properties were built.

The number of houses recorded in the census from 1841 to 1901 are shown in **Table 2.6**. Overall, these figures show an increase in every decade, but the greatest increase took place in the 1890s, compared to the 1860s and 1870s in Richmond. The overall growth in the number of houses and that of the population between 1851 and 1901 were very similar at 232% and 235% respectively.

¹³⁰ Two hundred trains a day was a gross exaggeration as there were some 30-35 trains in either direction passing through Twickenham in 1868. TNA, RAIL 903/35.

¹³¹ LMA, MDR 1869/24/922; TNA, RG 10/1318, ff. 93-95.

¹³² RLSL, TW/RB/35-36: Twickenham *rate book*, 1885; TNA RG 11/1341: census return Twickenham, 1881.

Year	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
No. of houses	1001	1258	1536	2035	2360	3009	4205
Increase over previous census		257	278	499	325	649	1196
Percentage increase		26%	22%	32%	15%	28%	40%

Table 2.6: Number of houses in Twickenham reported in the Census returns 1841 to 1901¹³³

A summary of the houses and cottages in the Twickenham rate books for 1856 to 1910 are shown in **Table 2.7**. The figures are similar to those reported in the census, but the different reporting cycle between the two sets of figures makes comparison more difficult than for Richmond.

Year	1856	1865	1875	1885	1895	1910
No. of houses	647	998	1264	1844	2389	
No. of cottages	582	627	992	1113	1077	
Total	1229	1625	2256	2957	3466	7054
Increase over previous rate book		396	631	701	509	3588
Percentage increase		32%	39%	31%	17%	104%

Table 2.7: Number of houses and cottages in Twickenham according to the decennial rate books 1856-1910.¹³⁴

Between 1856 and 1875, the rate books record an increase of just over 1,000 in the number of houses and cottages. These were built mainly along Heath Road to the west of the village and either side of the Hanworth and Hampton Roads (that lead off Heath Road) and on the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Cross Roads that run between the Hampton and Hanworth Roads (**Map 2.7**).

¹³³ Parl. Papers, 1852-53 (1631), division III, p.6; 1862 (3056), p.111; 1872 (C.676), p. 246; 1883 (C.3562), p.255; 1893-94 (C. 6984), p. 234; 1902 (Cd. 1211), p. 220.

¹³⁴ RLSL, R/RB/40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46-47.



Map 2.7: Twickenham in the early 1870s.¹³⁵

In addition, building took place on land either side of London Road, much of it being the land sold by the Crown in 1836. In addition, some houses had been built along Amyand Park Road, which is located to the east of the village, just south of the railway line. The area known as East Twickenham, just over the bridge from Richmond, remained largely rural (**Map 2.8**). Until the mid-1890s, the overall growth in the number of houses and cottages in Twickenham was smaller than in Richmond. Between 1856 and 1895, there was an increase of 182%, compared to 274% in Richmond between 1850 and 1900. There was also a less pronounced peak in the building cycle from the mid-1860s to the mid-1870s. However, there was a considerable increase in building activity between 1895 and 1910, when the amount of accommodation doubled. Unfortunately, the classification of types of housing used in classifying houses and cottages changed between the 1895 and 1910 rate books so that a significant number of residences that were listed as cottages in 1895 were classified as houses in 1910. In addition, almost 1,000 tenements were

¹³⁵ Extract from OS County map of Surrey: 1871-74.

The main sources for identifying builders are the census and trade directories. The works committee of the local board and the UDC recorded building applications, which were usually submitted by the builder.

The largest builder operating from Twickenham was probably Thomas Messom, who was born in Northampton in 1841. The census for 1881 records that he had 30 men working for him. He was a member of the TLB and the UDC. In these positions, he was a member of the committee that considered the local building bye-laws and chairman of the Works Committee in the 1890s. There was no recognition of any conflict of interest when Messom sat at meetings of the committee when it considered one of his building applications.¹³⁷ The minutes of the works committee record that, in 1897, he obtained approval to build 12 houses in Amyand Park Road and 19 houses in what was known as the 'Donnithorne estate' just north of Twickenham Green. These developments are discussed in more detail below. The rate book for 1895 records that he owned 24 houses in Radnor Gardens, and 18 and 15 cottages in Grosvenor and Staten Roads respectively, which suggests he was building in the 1880s and 1890s. At the other end of the scale, another house builder resident in Twickenham was Robert Potter, a bricklayer, who was born in 1865 in Yorkshire and, by 1891, was living in Heathfield Road South. In 1893, he obtained approval to build four cottages in the road in which he lived, although, by early 1898, there is no record that he made any further applications.

In addition to the half dozen local builders operating in Twickenham in the 1880s and 1890s, the town also attracted builders and developers from elsewhere. The three most notable were Mr Churchyard from Willesden, who made 7 applications to build 12 houses and 1 brewery (Colne Road) in the late 1880s and early 1890s; Richard Tomlinson, an architect from Chiswick, who, between 1884 and 1898, made 8 applications to build 57 houses in roads in the St Margaret's area; and Stephen Nicklen, a builder from Wandsworth, who made 8 applications between 1887 and 1898 to build 77 houses, also in the St Margaret's and East Twickenham areas. The last two individuals started business

¹³⁷ RLSL, TW/MISC/5: Twickenham *works committee minutes*, 26 June 1889.

in the town in a small way, but their last applications were for 29 and 34 houses respectively, in two roads in East Twickenham. There were also other builders that, around the turn of the century, constructed the Donnithorne estate. They are discussed below.

Involvement of the Twickenham Local Board and Urban District Council

The TLB started to consider building applications from its establishment in early 1868 and the first set of bye-laws, approved by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, were agreed by the board in July 1868.¹³⁸ Unfortunately, these bye-laws have not survived, but the minutes of the TLB demonstrate that it took a close interest in residential construction, and the parish surveyor was frequently instructed to take action against those thought to be infringing the bye-laws. As there is no record of the outcome, we cannot assess the effectiveness of the bye-laws on the ground. The TLB next discussed draft building bye-laws in 1882, around the same time as the first meaningful set of bye-laws were discussed in Richmond. There was a considerable amount of discussion with the LGB and, as already mentioned, two individuals on the TLB that were closely involved in building in the parish were closely involved in these discussions. The whole process lasted only a year in Twickenham, compared to three years in Richmond. Unlike in the latter, there is no evidence of external pressure in the minutes of the TLB or complaints in national magazines about the activities of Twickenham builders. Overall, between 1885 and early 1898, the works committee received and approved some 140 applications to build 700 houses.¹³⁹ The minutes of the committee also record instances where the board surveyor reported that builders were constructing houses that did not comply with the bye-laws, although what action was then taken is not recorded.

Another area of potential local authority involvement was publicly funded workmen's housing. In June 1897, the UDC adopted the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890,

¹³⁸ RLSL, TW/LB/1: TLB *minutes*, 23 July 1868.

¹³⁹ RLSL, TW/Misc/4-6: Twickenham works committee minutes, 1885-1898.

and later the same month, a committee was set up to 'consider the question of providing houses for the working classes and the cost of same, if any scheme thought desirable'.¹⁴⁰ Between 1897 and 1904, the council considered building workmen's housing on several occasions. At a meeting of the council in December 1899, the council's surveyor was instructed to proceed with plans for the construction of 38 cottages with 2 bedrooms and 12 cottages with 3 bedrooms and to spend no more than £25 on preparing plans, specifications, and quantities. He was also authorised to invite tenders. These were received from ten builders and opened by the council in October 1900, but no construction took place.¹⁴¹ In June 1901, the council rejected a proposal to purchase a piece of land for the scheme. Thereafter, the issue was discussed occasionally until June 1904, after which time there was no mention of the subject.

The council minutes do not record why the council decided not build workmen's houses. The idea did not have the support of a councillor with the energy and influence of William Thompson in Richmond. It is also probable that the main body of opinion on the council never took the idea seriously because there is no reference in council minutes or LGB papers to financing such a scheme. The most likely explanation was that private developers were constructing sufficient small houses and tenements in Twickenham to meet demand, and therefore it was not thought desirable for the council to borrow money from the LGB with the costs and bureaucracy that this would have involved.

The sequence of building and the development of four estates

The residential development of Twickenham in the second half of the nineteenth century did not take place in any geographical sequence. There was no wave of building from east to west as the century progressed. Initially, most of the development was along the roads out of the village, and this continued for the rest of the century. After the abolition of the Richmond Bridge toll in 1859, and the increasing scarcity of land in Richmond, it might have been expected that land on the Middlesex-side of the bank would have been

¹⁴⁰ RLSL, TW/JDC/2: UDC *minutes* 10 June 1897 and 24 June 1897.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 11 October 1900.

intensively developed from the mid-1870s onwards. The 1856 rate book shows that the areas described as 'by Richmond Bridge' and Twickenham Park were sparsely populated. The latter had 16 houses and the former less than 10 houses. The first development occurred in the mid- 1860s, when Jeremiah Little, a Kensington builder, purchased land in Cambridge Park, on which he built some 40 large houses.¹⁴² The 1871 census reports that one of the houses was lived in by Little and that he employed 35 men. The remainder of the houses were lived in by prosperous merchants and professionals, all of whom had substantial households. Jeremiah Little died in 1873, but the 1885 rate book shows that his sons Alfred and Henry continued to own the Cambridge Park houses between them. Alfred also built another development of large houses in Twickenham Park known as the Barons.¹⁴³ There were no other significant developments near to the Middlesex bank of the Thames until the late 1890s, and the area retained its rural character until then. The development that took place at this time is discussed later in the section.

From 1875, there was a gradual increase in the number of houses and cottages to the west of the village, particularly in the streets north of Heath Road between the Hampton and Hanworth roads. Some of these streets, such as First, Second, Third, and Fourth Crossroads, had existed for several decades. Others, such as Belmont Road, off Hanworth Road, and Lion Road, off Heath Road, were new. The multiple pattern of land ownership resulted mainly in a patchwork of small developments of a few houses or cottages. Initially, there were areas still used for agriculture of some kind, but these areas reduced in size and number over time. The multiple pattern of ownership makes it difficult to ascertain the reasons for individual development decisions. As elsewhere, it is reasonable to assume that these were determined by a combination of individual circumstances of the owners, the interest of a builder in a site, and the underlying reason that development was generally more profitable for the owner than agricultural use.

¹⁴² Maureen Bunch, *Cambridge Park, East Twickenham, The Building of a suburb* (Twickenham, 1992), pp.10-11; Survey of London, vol. 37, *Northern Kensington*, ed., F.W.H. Sheppard, (London, 1973), pp 40-46; LMA, MDR 1866/18/408.

¹⁴³ Henry Little was a member of the TLB and UDC from 1869 to 1911 and was chairman of the latter in 1899-1900.

The remainder of this section looks at the development of four of the larger estates that occurred mainly in the last decade of the century. These are the Amyand Park Road and Cole Park estates on land owned by the Cole family, located along the railway between Twickenham and St Margaret's and to the north of the railway station along London Road respectively; the Donnithorne estate north of Twickenham Green; and the Cambridge Park estate on the Middlesex bank of the Thames in East Twickenham.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the Cole family were landowners and brewers. The 1845 apportionment records that the Cole family owned some 100 acres in Twickenham. Over the years, this seems to have been gradually sold off or divided up through

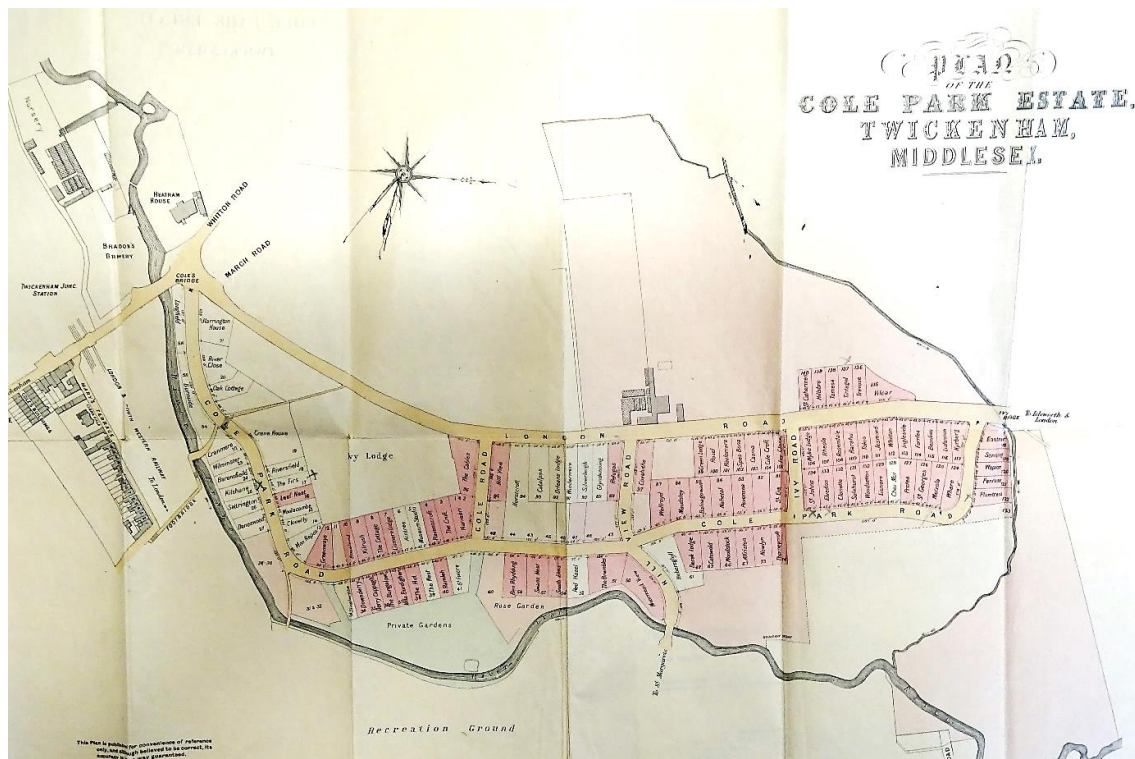


Illustration 2.9: Cole Park Estate.¹⁴⁴

inheritance because, by 1873, this figure had been reduced to some 70 acres.¹⁴⁵ The development of Amyand Park Road by the Coles started in 1867 with the granting of a building lease of 96 years for six villas.¹⁴⁶ The Cole development in Amyand Park Road

¹⁴⁴ RLSL, CAT_TW/399.

¹⁴⁵ TNA, IR 29/21/54: tithe apportionment, Twickenham; G.E. Mercer, *The Cole papers*, p.38.

¹⁴⁶ RLSL, Cole Family papers 1547, 1750, 1767, 1790.

was concluded by the granting of a lease for the erection of 22 houses in 1892. By 1898, the Coles owned some 60 houses on the north side of Amyand Park Road. Unfortunately, the field books for the 1910 Valuation Survey do not contain details of these properties.¹⁴⁷ The occupations recorded in the 1901 census suggest that the houses were occupied by higher-level clerks, professionals, and those involved in commerce more generally.

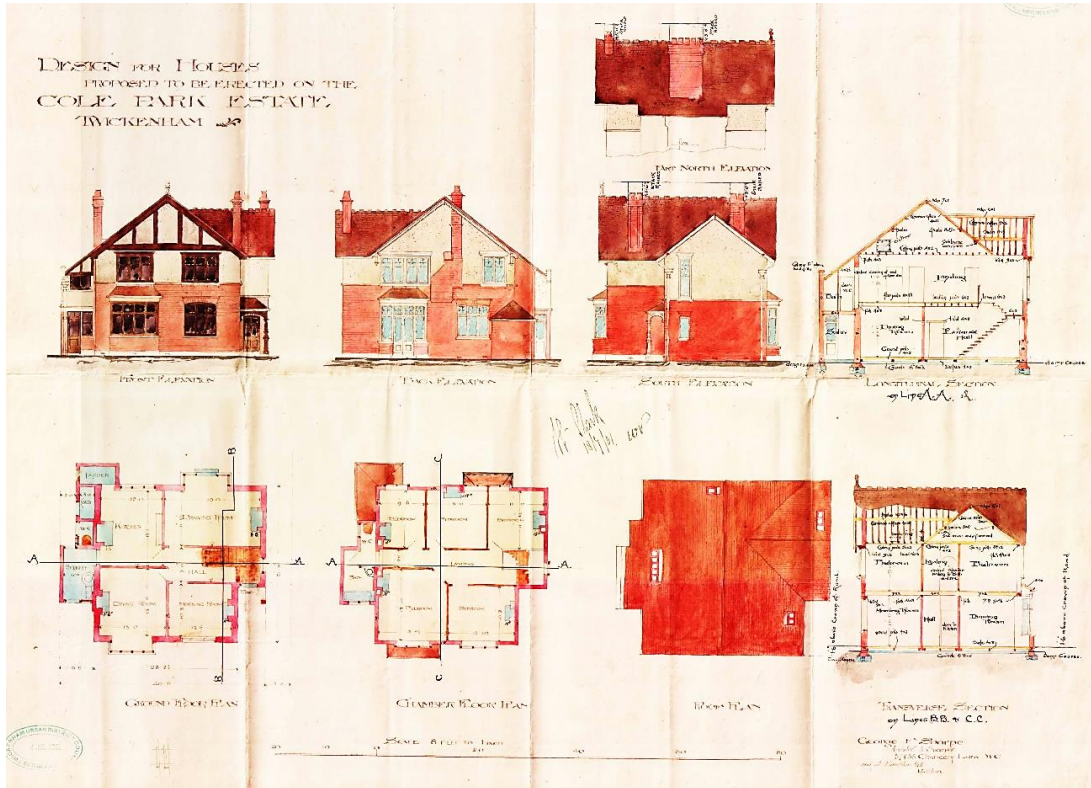


Illustration 2.10: Building plan submitted for a house in the Cole Park Estate by George Sharpe.¹⁴⁸

The development on Cole land that probably had a greater impact on the development of Twickenham was the Cole Park Estate, which was built in the last few years of the nineteenth century and the first few of the twentieth century. A plan for the development (**Illustration 2.9**) shows 140 building plots and, apart from the fact that the

¹⁴⁷ Many of the detailed descriptions of properties in IR 58/700, which covers Twickenham, were recorded in files that were not retained rather than the field note books.

¹⁴⁸ RLSL, PLA 01992.

A316 cut through the middle of the northern part of the estate in the 1930s, the key elements of the layout of the estate as shown in the plan remain today.

A brochure on the estate published in 1892 sets out the character of what was intended. It reported that all the houses are 'solidly built of red brick, and are covered in red tiled roofs, and, without exception, possess such modern conveniences as bathrooms, drying cupboards, lavatories, wide halls, and electric bells, as are today in demand'. Some houses have seven bedrooms and all houses on the estate are detached, 'having large gardens both in the front and rear, suitable for lawn tennis, so that the occupier can enjoy the privacy that is dear to an Englishman's heart'. The journey to London by train was said to have taken just 22 minutes. The 1901 census records some 25 households

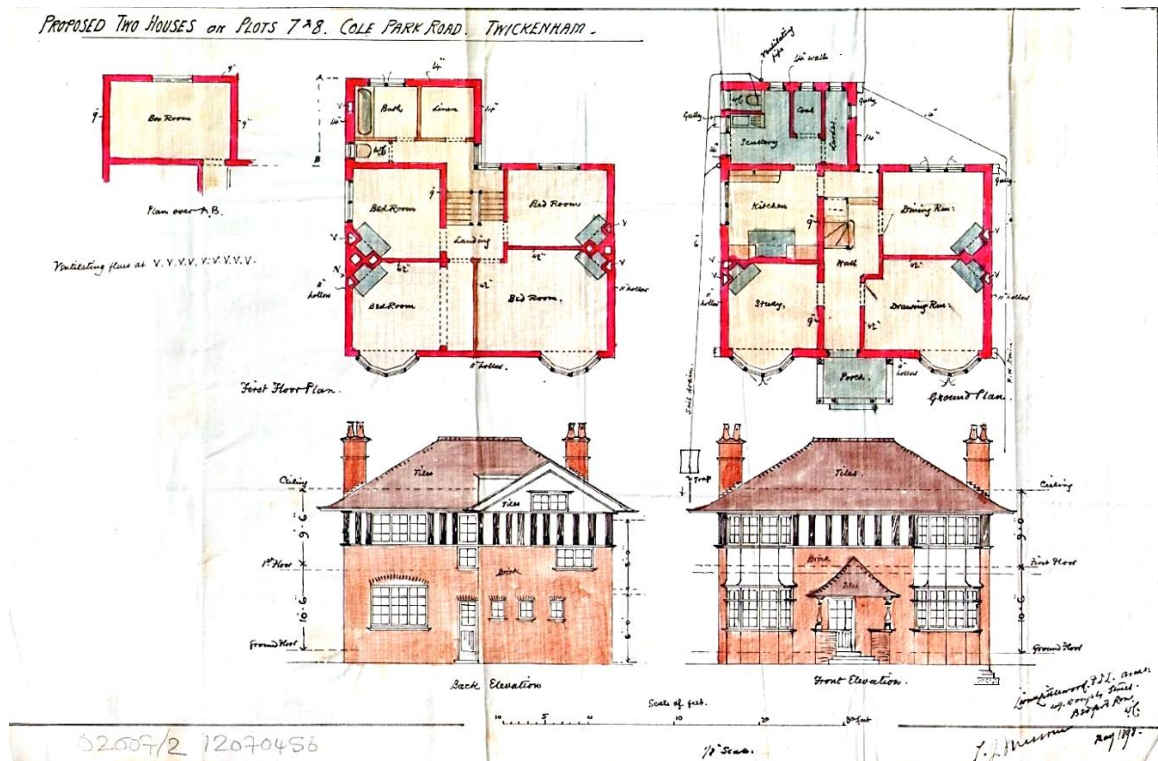


Illustration 2.11: Building plan submitted for a house in the Cole Park Estate by Lionel Littlewood.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ RLSL, PLA/02007.

living on the estate, with the occupation of the head of the household recorded as professions such as solicitors, barristers, accountants or that they were of their own means.¹⁵⁰

The remaining houses on the estate were built after 1900. The drawings attached to the building applications provide some insight into the design of the houses, the architects, and builders. A total of 23 applications for houses were submitted and approved between 1896 and 1906. All were for detached houses, and most applications were submitted by the architects. Lionel Littlewood, George F Sharpe, and R M Roe were the most frequent architects submitting five, seven, and three applications respectively.¹⁵¹ The builders were numerous, and none of them were local. For example, Sydney Knight, who built two of the houses in 1900 and 1901, came from Fulham.¹⁵² One of each of the drawings submitted by Sharpe and Littlewood are shown in **Illustrations 2.10 and 2.11**. Both houses were built in red brick with red tile roofs, had four rooms downstairs including a kitchen, four or five bedrooms, and an upstairs bathroom.

To the west of the town, another significant development was built around the turn of the century on what was called the 'Donnithorne' estate, located to the north of Twickenham Green. Edward Donnithorne purchased the Colne Lodge and its surrounding land in the early 1840s, and he remained there until his death in 1885.¹⁵³ He was a chairman of the TLB and a JP. His son inherited his father's estate but, due to financial difficulties, he was forced to sell it in 1897.¹⁵⁴ It was auctioned off in 166 building lots that were advertised as being suitable for 'shops and workmen's cottages'. No conditions as to the use of the buildings were stipulated in the auction notice. The development

¹⁵⁰ TNA, RG 13/1187, ff. 112-114: census return, Twickenham, 1901.

¹⁵¹ Lionel Littlewood: his obituary in the *The Builder*, vol. 132, February 25 1927, says that 'early in his career he won prizes for literary and artistic work...his main delight was in domestic building'; George F. Sharpe is recorded in the 1901 census (RG 13/671) as an architect and employer, living in Hampton; R.M. Roe: his obituary in the Royal Institute of British Architect's *Journal* (1922, p.579) says that 'his work was principally in the City...When the Cole Park estate at Twickenham was being developed...he acquired land there and erected a dozen residences, one of them for his own occupation. These houses were characterised by much charm and individuality'.

¹⁵² RLSL, PLA/01992.

¹⁵³ RTT, 7 February 1885.

¹⁵⁴ RLSL, Twickenham, land sale auction notice (uncatalogued).

was made up of five new roads of small houses or cottages. The building plans submitted by the developers provide information on the identity of the builders, and, where employed, architects, and the designs of the houses and cottages. **Table 2.8** summarises the dates on which the applications were approved, the number and location of the houses/cottages in each application, and the names of the relevant architects and builders. Of the builders, Messrs Sage and Field came from Teddington and Mortlake respectively, Pymm from Battersea, Larking from Putney, and Humphreys from Fulham.¹⁵⁵ Messom and Hebblethwaite were local builders. Thus, the building of the Donnithorne estate attracted a fair amount of interest from builders outside the immediate area. The building and drainage applications provide an indication of how the development was taken forward over some six years. Six builders acquired several plots in blocks, of which Messom and Hebblethwaite were the more significant in terms of the number of houses that they built.

Road	Date	Type	Architect	Builder
May	10/1897	25 houses		Messom
May/Gravel	10/1897	19 houses		Messom
May	09/1898	13 houses		Messom
May/Colne	01/1902	7 villas, 1 shop		Messom
Gould	02/1898	4 terraced houses		Hebblethwaite
Gould	02/1898	14 terraced cottages	Sage	Humphreys
Gould	02/1899	23 terraced cottages	Sage	Larking
Gould	07/1899	7 cottages		Pymm
Gould/Andover	07/1899	22 cottages		Larking
Gould	05/1900	11 cottages	Coles	Hebblethwaite
Gould	02/1902	21 houses	Powell	Harding
Gould	11/1902	11 terraced houses	Field	
Gould	02/1903	11 terraced houses	Murray	Hebblethwaite
Andover	02/1903	45 terraced houses	Murray	Hebblethwaite

Table 2.8: The architects and builders of the Donnithorne Estate.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ RLSL, PLA/03400-03405.

¹⁵⁶ RLSL, Building application database.

Messom concentrated on building houses in May Road and, between 1897 and 1902, obtained approval to build some 60 dwellings. By 1910, he still owned 25 of them, which were let to tenants.¹⁵⁷ Hebblethwaite concentrated his activities on Gould Road and operated in a different way. He acquired 24 plots for £580 from a Florence Gould in August 1897, who must either have acquired them at the auction of the Donnithorne estate early in the year or had some other interest in the plots that allowed her to sell them.¹⁵⁸ Later in the same year, Hebblethwaite obtained a mortgage of £1,600 and further advances in subsequent years, which were presumably repaid by the sale of the houses and cottages that he had built. He owned none of these dwellings in 1910.¹⁵⁹

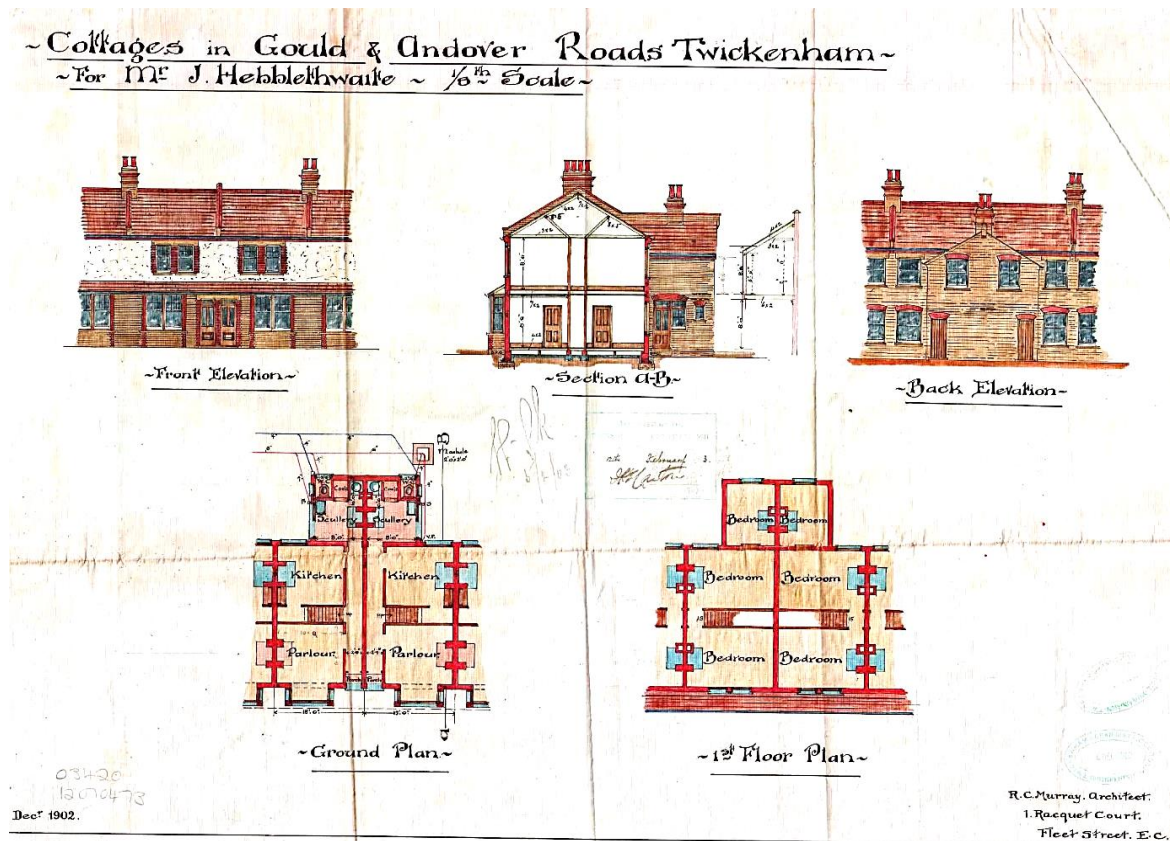


Illustration 2.12: Building plan submitted by Hebblethwaite for cottages in Gould and Andover Roads.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ RLSL, PLA/06199-06201; RLSL, TW/RB/41: *Twickenham rate book 1910*, vol. 2, pp. 258-261.

¹⁵⁸ RLSL, D/2479.

¹⁵⁹ RLSL, D/2480; RLSL *Twickenham rate book, 1910*, vol. 2, pp. 264-4.

¹⁶⁰ RLSL, PLA/0342.

The drawings submitted by Messom have not survived, but Hebblethwaite seems to have specialised in three-bedroom terrace cottages with two rooms, kitchen, scullery, and WC downstairs (**Illustration 2.12**). Rents varied, between 8s. per week for the larger cottage to 5s. 6d. for a tenement, which were similar to the rents charged by RBC for its council housing.¹⁶¹ Thus, although Twickenham had no public housing in this period, the Donnithorne estate provided a good supply of workmen's housing, albeit supplied by private landlords.

The final area is that to the west of Richmond Bridge known as East Twickenham, comprised of Cambridge Park to the south of Richmond Road and Twickenham Park to the north. According to the Ordnance Survey map of 1894-1896 (**Map 2.9**), Twickenham Park remained largely undeveloped to the end of the century, apart from the Barons and some houses along the road to St Margaret's. On the south side of Richmond Road, between the Little development and Richmond Bridge, another builder, Henry Cresswell Foulkes from Camden, acquired Cambridge House and 30 acres of land in Cambridge Park in March 1897.¹⁶²

According to the 1901 census, Foulkes lived in Cambridge House, and his occupation was stated to be 'builder for investment not sale, employing 35 men'.¹⁶³ He was true to his word because the 1910 Twickenham rate book records that he still owned most of the properties that he built.¹⁶⁴ He proceeded to build four new roads, Cresswell, Morley, Denton, and Alexandra and, unlike the earlier more spacious development of Jeremiah Little, the houses were two stories and were either semi-detached or terraced in blocks of eight houses. They had either three, four, or five bedrooms and a bathroom upstairs, and a lounge, dining room, kitchen, and scullery downstairs. Copies of the plans that were submitted with the building applications have survived, and a copy of one of them can be seen in **Illustration 2.13**. Foulkes also built four blocks of flats along the river close

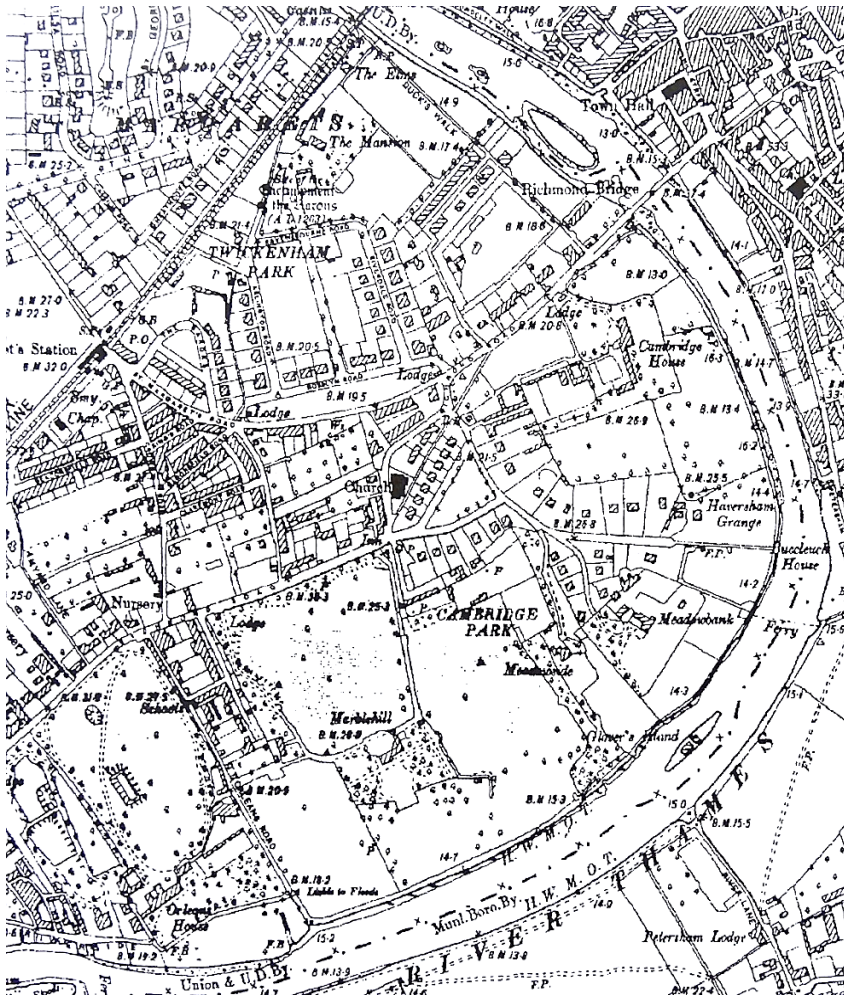
¹⁶¹ TNA, IR 58/70085: 1910 Finance Act, valuation office field books; East Twickenham, extract from OS County map of London: 1896.

¹⁶² LMA, MDR 1897/8/634; TNA, RG 12/144, f. 155.

¹⁶³ TNA, RG 13/1187 f. 134.

¹⁶⁴ RLSL, TW/RB/41: *Twickenham rate book, 1910*, vol. 2, pp. 90-91,94-98.

to Richmond Bridge. Each block was on three floors with two- and three-bedroomed flats on each floor (**Illustrations 2.14 and 2.15**).



East Twickenham in the mid-1890s.¹⁶⁵

bank...Heigh ho! More bricks and mortar. I am glad that I am not going to live another fifty years'.¹⁶⁶

A less critical and possibly more resigned account that appeared in the same newspaper in September when building was underway stated that:

Building operations in Alexandra Road are now being completed and nearly all the houses are occupied. There are naturally prejudices...but it is as we have

¹⁶⁵ East Twickenham, extract from OS County map of London:1896.

¹⁶⁶ RTT, 15 May 1897.

Building on this scale came in for local criticism. A commentator wrote in the RTT at the time of Foulkes' purchase of the Cambridge estate that 'I will challenge almost any part of the Thames to show a fairer scene than that which this beautiful park presents viewed either from the Bridge or from the opposite **Map 2.9:**

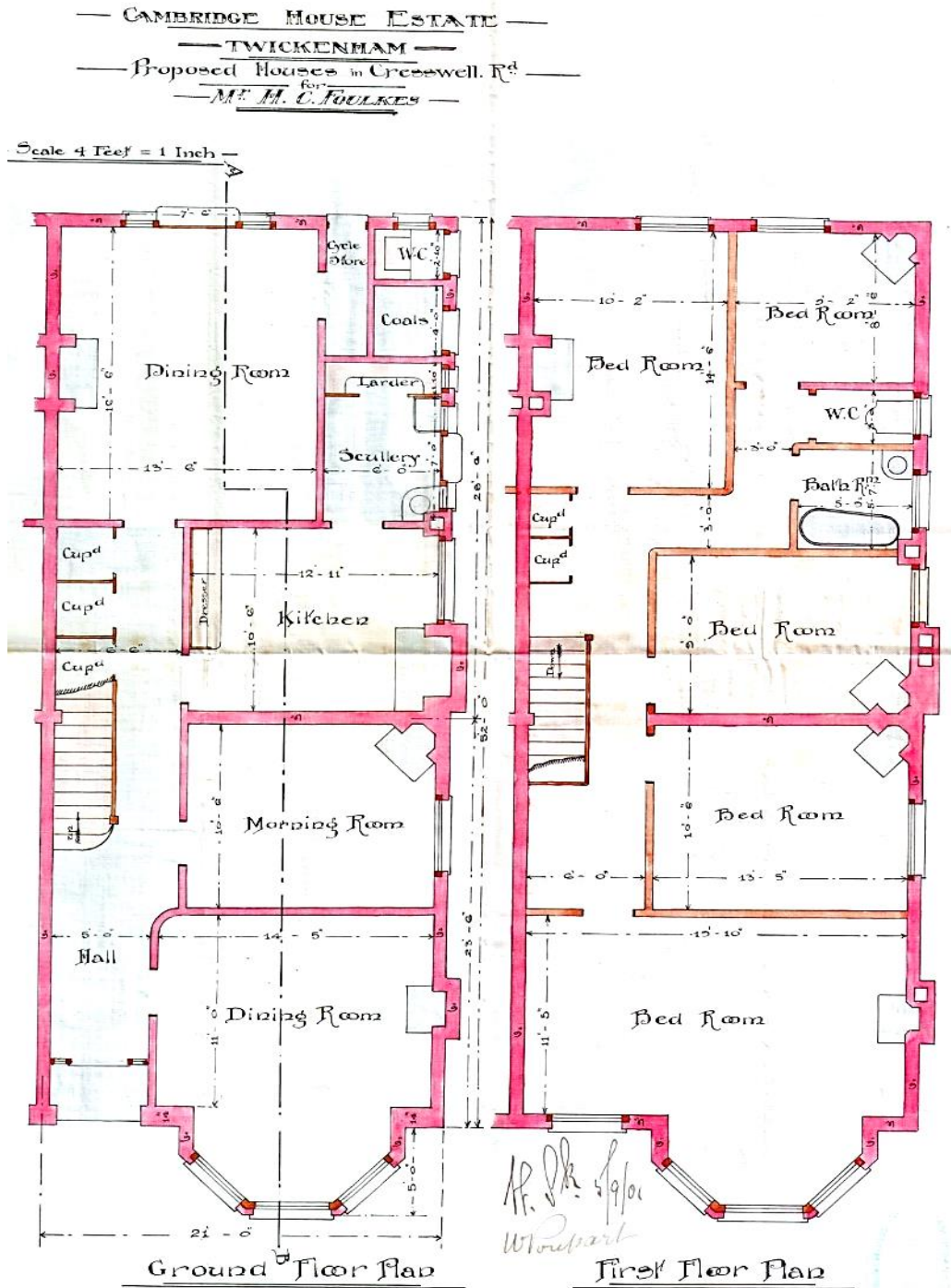


Illustration 2.13: Building plans submitted by Foulkes for houses in Creswell Road.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ RLSL, PLA/02263.

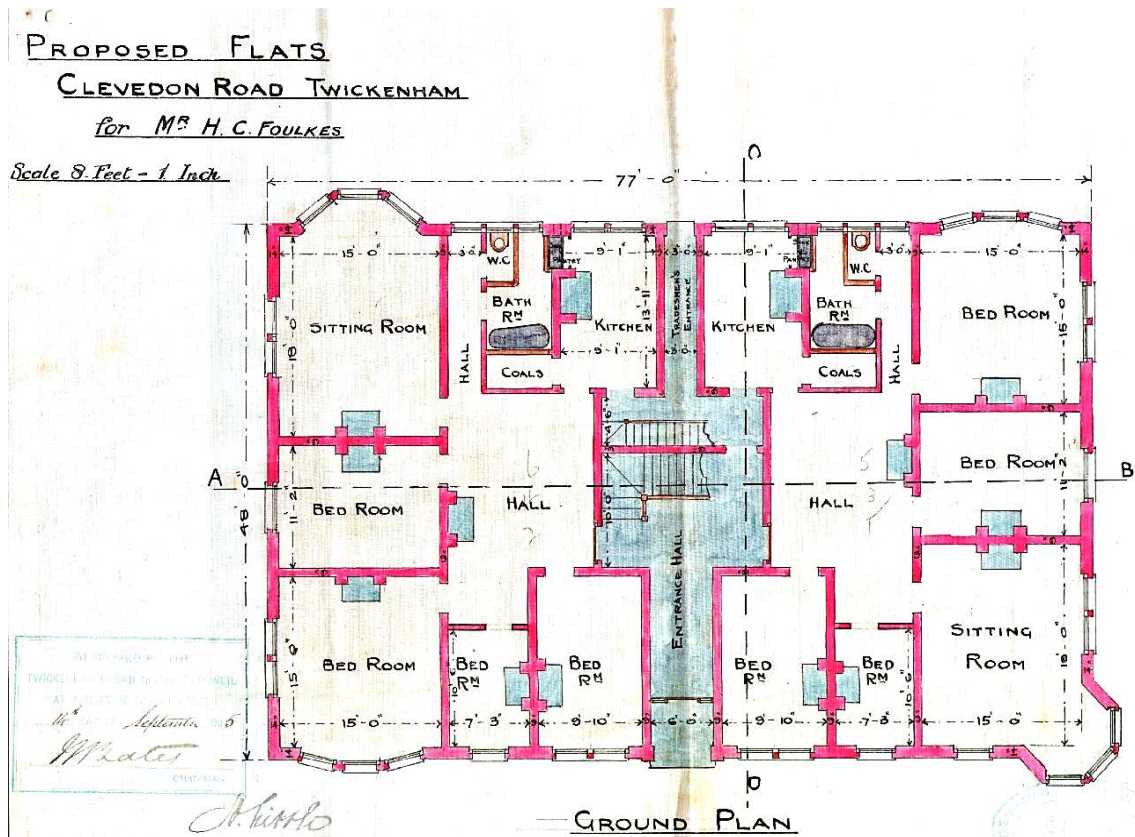


Illustration 2.14: Building plan submitted by Foulkes for flats in Clevedon Road.¹⁶⁸

previously remarked, a natural consequence of our nearness to the metropolis and the rush there is for living in the suburbs.¹⁶⁹

Thus, the public reaction to this development was clearly mixed.

Conclusion

There were several factors that brought about the timing, type and location of residential development that occurred in Richmond and Twickenham in the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century, most people in Richmond lived around the town centre and those in Twickenham, in the village. The main exception to the latter were those that occupied the houses that had been built near the River Thames in the eighteenth century. The extent of development in the first four decades of the century

¹⁶⁸ RLSL, PLA/01972.

¹⁶⁹ RTT, 21 September 1899.



Illustration 2.15: Flats built by Foulkes in Clevedon Road.¹⁷⁰

was limited mainly to infill in the areas that were already developed. The increase in population that occurred in these decades did not necessitate building on fields or market gardens.

The opening of the railway from London to Richmond in 1846 and Twickenham in 1848, opened up new opportunities. It reduced the travel time to the centre of London to around 30 minutes. As a result, it became possible for men to live in Richmond or Twickenham and work in the City. Unlike some other localities where residential development occurred near to the date that a new railway line was opened, in Richmond significant development did not take place until the mid-1860s which coincided with the

¹⁷⁰ Photograph taken by author.

first building boom in west London of 1860-75.¹⁷¹ In Twickenham it occurred some 20 years later around the time of the building boom in the 1890s. There were a number of probable reasons for delay in building in Richmond after the arrival of the railway and for the timing of the other main developments in both locations. First the failure by the Richmond vestry to develop land along Queens Road in the 1840s suggests that there may not have been demand sufficient to warrant large-scale development before the 1860s. A second factor was the circumstances of landowners. Unlike North West London, where the Metropolitan Railway bought land alongside the line and sold building leases to developers to increase passenger demand, the LSWR was not interested in house building. Thus, the timing and style of development was dependent upon the decisions of individual families. Although we have no knowledge of William Selwyn's views on residential development it is notable that significant building did not commence on Selwyn land in Richmond until after Williams's death in 1855. Similarly, the sale of building plots along Kew Road by the Earl of Shaftesbury did not occur until after the death of his mother in 1865, and the Donnithorne estate in Twickenham was not developed until it was sold in 1897 because of the family's financial difficulties. Thus, family circumstances, and changes to them, were clearly an important factor in the timing of development, and the model that was taken forward. The different timing of development in Richmond and Twickenham meant that most of the houses on Richmond Hill were built before building regulations were in place in the former, but TLB and Twickenham UDC approved all the houses and cottages built in the latter after 1869. Many of the houses built in Richmond in the 1860s and 1870s are still standing and therefore construction must have been to a reasonable standard.

The pattern and nature of land ownership was important too. In Richmond most of the potential building land was owned by a small number of families that lived in the town and were members of the vestry. Thus, they had an interest in maintaining the standard of property in the town and the conditions contained in land sale contracts and building

¹⁷¹ Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London', p. 103.

leases were generally maintained. This is different to the situation reported by Thompson where he concluded that such conditions were difficult to impose.¹⁷² In Twickenham the ownership of land near the village was more widely dispersed and many of the owners did not live in the parish. Thus, until the more substantial building occurred from 1890 onwards, development was more ad hoc.

Another notable feature of housing in Richmond was the early use by the RBC of powers under the Housing of the Working Classes Act to build tenements for occupation by local workmen. This was to address a shortage of housing for workmen which was brought about by the greater interest of private builders and developers in constructing houses rather than cottages. RBC was a very early exponent of municipal housing in the metropolitan and surrounding area.

Thus, the timing and nature of residential development in Richmond and Twickenham was influenced and, in some cases, determined by a series of factors, some of which were national, such as the building of the railways, the economy, and population growth; some local, such as the pattern of land ownership, the availability and suitability of land for different types of houses, and the conduct of local government with respect to building regulations and municipal house building; and some related to individuals, such as the timing of individuals' deaths, the terms of wills, and decisions to sell, buy, or lease specific areas of land. The combination of these factors resulted in most of the potentially available land in Richmond being covered in houses by 1900, whereas there remained large areas of undeveloped land in Twickenham at the end of the century.

¹⁷² Thompson, *Rise of suburbia*, p.18.

Chapter 3: Richmond and Twickenham vestries

Background

Throughout the nineteenth century, there were marked differences between the local authorities that administered the secular affairs in Richmond and Twickenham. In Richmond, a closed vestry was responsible for the secular affairs of the town until it was replaced by a borough council in 1890. In Twickenham, there was an open vestry. Its responsibilities for secular affairs were taken over by a local board in 1868, and subsequently by an urban district council in 1895. This chapter discusses the two vestries, the poor law up to 1836, and the water supply problems in Richmond. The business of Richmond and Twickenham vestries' successor bodies and the development of sewers which caused significant difficulties for both communities are discussed in **Chapter 4**.

This chapter asks why the two communities had different vestry regimes and whether either was common to the other parishes in the area. It looks also at the social standing and occupations of those that participated in the vestry business of both parishes. It also considers the election arrangements in Richmond to assess whether they created any bias of membership in favour of different classes of ratepayer. It questions whether the difference in the type of vestry influenced the scope of the business addressed and the efficacy with which it was carried out. In relation to the administration of the poor law, it questions whether the open or closed vestry was better able to administer poor relief, the cost of poor relief in the two parishes, and the reasons for any differences identified. It examines why Richmond vestry considered it necessary to become involved in water supply in the 1870s and 1880s and the extent to which it had the expertise and experience to ensure an adequate supply of water to the inhabitants. The chapter concludes by examining the reasons for the two vestries losing responsibility for secular affairs and why this occurred some 20 years apart in the two parishes.

The chapter looks initially at the history of both vestries towards the end of the century eighteenth and their governance.

Vestry governance

Richmond closed Vestry

The start of reasonably effective local governance in Richmond commenced with a 'Board of Trustees' established under an Act of Parliament of 1765 entitled:

An Act for the relief and employment of the poor and for repairing the highways, paving, cleansing, lighting, and watching the streets, and other places in the Town and Parish of Richmond...and for removing and preventing annoyances, obstructions and encroachments therein...¹

The parishes bordering Richmond did not seek similar legislation, and their secular affairs continued to be administered by their open vestries. Richmond was not unique. As discussed below, there were Acts to improve the local governance of St Marylebone and Islington from 1768. There were also Acts for Westminster in 1762 and Kensington in 1766 that provided for the improved maintenance, lighting, and cleaning of streets.² Kingston-upon-Thames was a little later, as it did not acquire similar powers until 1773.³ It seems reasonable to conclude that the gentry with houses in Richmond must have seen the improvements in Westminster and elsewhere, and they decided that they wished to see similar developments in Richmond.

After 20 years, the provisions of the 1765 Act were found wanting in some respects, and the workhouse was proving to be inadequate. Thus, the journal of the House of Commons dated 25 February 1785 records a petition presented to the House by the parish churchwardens and principal inhabitants of the town to amend the Act of 1765 for powers to build a new workhouse and to enable His Majesty to close 'Love Lane', a road that crossed the king's estate at Kew.⁴ A journal dated 14 April 1785 records that 'His Majesty having been informed of the contents of the said petition gives His Consent,

¹ 6 George III, c. 72.

² 2 George III, c.21; 6 George III, c. 54.

³ 13 George III, c. 61.

⁴ CJ 40, 564.

as far as His Majesty's interests are concerned'.⁵ The Act that set up the closed Richmond vestry that lasted for the next 105 years received Royal Assent on 13 June 1785.⁶ It was entitled:

An Act...for making new provisions for the relief and employment of the poor, for the repairs of the highways, the paving, cleansing, lighting, and watching the streets, and other places, in the town and parish of Richmond aforesaid; for the removal and prevention of annoyances, obstructions and encroachments therein; including certain commons or waste lands within the said parish, for the use of the poor; and to enable the vestrymen of the said parish to erect a workhouse thereon; and to purchase land for a burial ground; and also to enable His Majesty to shut up a lane within the said parish, called Love Lane.⁷

The Act set out specific roles and responsibilities for the vestry that were to guide its work for most of the nineteenth century. It also empowered the king and queen to grant the vestry land on which it could build a new workhouse. Thus, a bargain was struck between the king and the town whereby His Majesty could obtain increased privacy on his estate in exchange for land on which a new workhouse could be built. The king subsequently agreed to pay the cost of the new building.⁸

There were also Acts of Parliament in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries to improve the local governance of St Marylebone and Islington. Unlike Richmond, none of the Acts included provisions to meet the wishes or requirements of the crown but were aimed solely at improving the local governance of the parish. In St Marylebone, an Act of 1768 established a closed vestry, and this was followed in 1770, 1773, and 1775 with further Acts to provide powers to repair, light, and clean the streets, regulate the night watch, provide better relief for the poor, and build a workhouse.⁹ There was a similar story of multiple Acts in Islington. In 1772, a private Act of Parliament created a

⁵ CJ 40, 846.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1067.

⁷ 25 George III, c.41.

⁸ Cloake, *Cottages and common fields*, p.325.

⁹ Sheppard, *Local government in St Marylebone*, pp 127, 131-164.

trust to raise a rate for the lighting and watching of Islington.¹⁰ According to the preamble, the Act was necessary because ‘the inhabitants thereof are exposed to frequent murders, robberies, burglaries and other outrages’. The trust comprised the vicar, churchwardens, and 61 parishioners with property valued at a rental value of £20 per year. Most rents in Islington at this time were less than £20.¹¹

A further Islington Act was passed in 1776 ‘for the better relief and employment of the poor’ and for building a workhouse, and another in 1795 for ‘amending, improving and keeping in repair’ roads and footpaths.¹² Another Act of 1806 extended powers of the 1772 Act to provide for ‘many new streets made...since the passing of the said [1772] Act’.¹³

There were two main differences between Richmond and St Marylebone and Islington in terms of local governance legislation. First, several Acts of Parliament were passed for local governance in St Marylebone and Islington, compared to two in Richmond. This was no doubt because the populations of both parishes were much greater than that of Richmond, which must have affected the complexity of their administration.¹⁴ Second, each of the Islington Acts included much more detail on the administrative arrangements of the trusts and the powers of the commissioners than the 1785 Richmond Act. These would have required amendment in the light of experience and as circumstances changed overtime. As the arrangements were set out in primary legislation, they could only be amended by another Act of Parliament.

¹⁰ 12 George III, c. 17.

¹¹ Islington Local History Centre, *Islington Lamp and Watch rate book*, 1772.

¹² 17 George III, c.5 and 35 George III, c.147.

¹³ 46 George III, c. i.

¹⁴ The population of Islington was c.10,000 in 1801 and c.37,000 in 1831 and that of St Marylebone c.64,000 and c.122,000 respectively. The population of Richmond was 4,628 in 1801 and 7,243 in 1831. Parl. Papers 1801-02; 1831 (348).

Twickenham open vestry

Twickenham had an open vestry in the eighteenth century and the first 68 years of the nineteenth century. This was the more common form of vestry, and it was adopted by all Twickenham's neighbouring parishes except Richmond. In principle, all ratepayers were entitled to attend its meetings, although few did so. In common with other open vestries, its powers to raise rates for secular purposes dated back to Acts of 1597 and 1601 relating to the poor law.¹⁵ By the late eighteenth century, two types of secular rates were set for Twickenham, the poor rate and the highway rate. The functions of the vestry were limited to these two areas.

The vestry was assisted by a parish committee.¹⁶ Minutes of the committee have only survived from 1828 to 1843 and for two meetings in 1863. The detail in the minute book is relatively sparse, but, in the answers provided by the parish to the questions raised by commissioners on the poor laws, the vestry clerk responded that 'a committee is appointed by a special vestry on 25 March each year, consisting of twenty-four persons to assist the parish officers in the management of all parochial affairs'.¹⁷ Whether this was fully accurate is unclear because the vestry minutes of around 25 March from 1818 refer to the election of such a committee but, from the mid-1820s, the minutes of the 25 March meeting record only the nomination of individuals to be submitted to the magistrates as overseers of the poor. The minutes of the committee that have survived suggest that it sometimes considered subjects other than the relief of the poor.

There was some debate about the status of the Twickenham vestry. The parish discussed a proposal to establish a select vestry, first in 1820 and again in 1835, presumably under the Sturges Bourne Acts, although this is not stated in the minutes.¹⁸ The reason for the proposal in 1820 is not recorded. In 1835, it resulted from concerns over the

¹⁵ 39 Elizabeth I, c. 3; 43 Elizabeth I, c. 2.

¹⁶ RLSL, Twickenham *parish committee minutes* (uncatalogued).

¹⁷ Parl. Papers, 1834 (44): *Report from his Majesty's commissioners for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the poor laws*, appendix B 2, p. 179.

¹⁸ LMA, DRO/174/C/01/005, 007: TVM; 1812-27, March 1820; 1833-38, March 1835.

administration of the poor law. On both occasions, the relevant motion was defeated. No reason was recorded. It is possible that the tradesmen attendees at Twickenham vestry meetings did not wish to be either usurped by landowners and professionals that tended to populate closed vestries. The open vestry remained in place until the vestry's secular responsibilities were transferred to a local board in 1868.

The type of vestry adopted by a parish largely determined the role and functions that it could undertake, and, in the cases of Richmond and Twickenham, this was fundamental to the development of both parishes up to the 1860s.

Historians' differing views on local government in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Over the years, historians have had differing views on the importance and effectiveness of local government in England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, its relationship with national government, and the reasons why it changed over time. The most critical view of local government at this time was held by Beatrice Webb, who described the situation in the early eighteenth century as follows:

The customary and statutory powers and obligations are found, as a matter of fact, divided in confused and inexplicable ways among all the different functionaries and dignitaries.¹⁹

She was equally critical of the Richmond vestry in the 1720s and 1730s, describing Charles Selwyn, a leading member of the Richmond vestry at this time, as 'an undistinguished member of an eminent family'.²⁰ Beatrice Webb and her husband also criticised the volume of Parliamentary legislation that was passed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They regarded it as inconsequential, and they concluded that there was a significant gap between local and national government.²¹

¹⁹ Webb, *English local government*, p.6.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.362.

²¹ Innes, *Inferior politics*, pp.22-26.

Recently historians take a more positive view on local government around this time and its relationship with national government. Innes concludes that the Webbs were incorrect in the extent to which they underestimated the institutional and informal links between national and local government. She believes that, in the eighteenth century, an important role was played by High Court judges who, twice a year, travelled around the country on assize circuits, which brought them into contact with magistrates who were likely to be influential citizens in their area.²² In addition, there were more informal social and cultural links between national and local affairs. It will become apparent when the membership of the Richmond vestry is discussed that this factor was likely to have been relevant to the town.

Other historians have examined the need perceived by some vestries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for legislation specific to their needs. John Prest concludes that, in the eighteenth century, it became accepted that a person was able to do anything that was not forbidden by law, whereas a corporate entity was only able to undertake functions that were expressly permitted by statute.²³ As early as 1730, there were challenges by ratepayers to the Middlesex county bench as to the legitimacy of vagrancy rates.²⁴ Challenges of this kind created an incentive for some vestries and other organisations that needed to levy charges or carry out work that affected property rights to obtain authority to do so through an Act of Parliament. The advantage to the locality of such Acts was that the relevant authority could not be overthrown by the courts, and it benefited Parliament because it was able to scrutinise all such developments.²⁵ The incentive to seek such legislation must have been considerable because the cost of such bills was significant. Prest quotes costs of between £1,000 and £2,000 for an enclosure Act or a town improvement plan. Such a sum was probably beyond the means of those that participated in vestry affairs in Twickenham. For Richmond, with more residents of

²² Innes, *Inferior politics*, p.25.

²³ John Prest, *Liberty and locality; Parliament, permissive legislation and ratepayers' democracies in the mid-nineteenth century* (Oxford, 1990), p.4.

²⁴ Innes, *Inferior politics*, p.87.

²⁵ Prest, *Liberty and locality*, p.4.

some means, a smaller geographical area, and the parish's connection with the Crown, such legislation was highly relevant and financially achievable.

The manors of Richmond and Twickenham

The Richmond and Twickenham manors worked alongside the two vestries in some respects. Both places had manorial courts sitting throughout the nineteenth century. Richmond was a Royal manor and had been so for many centuries. It encompassed most of the parishes of Richmond and Kew. The manor of Twickenham was dispersed over land in the parishes of Twickenham, Isleworth, and Heston. Much of the manor's land in Twickenham was sold in 1836 and 1837 in large plots, with no restrictions placed on its use thereafter.²⁶ Waddell lists seven legislative and judicial functions undertaken by manorial courts, but none of them appear relevant to the proceedings of the courts in Richmond and Twickenham, which were limited to recording changes in copyholds and enfranchisements through death or for some other reason.²⁷ By the nineteenth century, the functions listed by Waddell were either undertaken by other bodies, such as the vestries or assizes, or were no longer relevant to the two parishes.

The records of both courts provide some indication of the size of both manors and the frequency with which the courts met. The survey of the manor of Richmond, undertaken in 1771, lists 213 copyholders and 88 freeholders.²⁸ Twickenham manor was much smaller in terms of copyholders and freeholders, as a survey undertaken by the Land Revenue Office in 1792 listed 43 and 12 respectively.²⁹ By 1836, when much of the manor was sold, the sale notice listed 28 freeholders and 25 copyholders.³⁰ The minutes of the Richmond court record that it met 5 times in 1803, 2 times in 1823 and 1846, and 11

²⁶ This partly explains the different pattern of land development between Twickenham and Richmond, which is explored in Chapter 4.

²⁷ Brodie Waddell, 'Governing England through manor courts 1550-1850', *Historical Journal*, 55.2 (2012), pp.279-315. The seven categories are: violence and disorder, crafts and trades, immigration and accommodation, agriculture, non-agricultural resources, infrastructure, nuisances, and other.

²⁸ TNA, CRES 5/346: survey of manor of Richmond, 1771.

²⁹ TNA, CRES 39/157: survey of manor of Twickenham, 1792.

³⁰ TNA, CRES 2/893: sale of land in manor of Twickenham.

times in 1854.³¹ Over a similar period, the Twickenham court met once in 1814, twice in 1817 and 1818, twice in 1845, not at all in 1846, and twice in 1847. Thus, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, although the manorial courts in Richmond and Twickenham were no doubt important in recording various changes to entitlements to property rights, they were not involved in the governance of either parish.

The remainder of this chapter examines the vestries in Richmond and Twickenham until the end of their responsibilities for secular affairs in 1868 and 1890 respectively. It considers vestry membership and participation, the extent to which this changed over time, and any differences with comparable vestries in nearby parishes; the advantages and disadvantages of the select and open vestries adopted by Richmond and Twickenham; the nature of vestry business and the extent to which this changed over time; and why the vestries were replaced by different forms of local governance.

Vestry membership

The Act of 1785 specified a membership of 31 vestrymen for the Richmond vestry, plus the vicar and churchwardens and those JPs for Surrey that were resident in the parish. The identity of the initial membership was specified in the Act, but new members were to be elected as soon as places became vacant. The qualification necessary to be a vestryman was renting or occupying lands or tenements with a yearly rental value of £20 or more. No records remain to explain why the initial members were selected.

Five had been members of the board of trustees. Of these, three were of some note. These were Sir Charles Asgill, Sir John Sheffield, and the Hon. Henry Hobart. Sir Charles Asgill (1713-1788) was apprenticed to a clockmaker in the City of London and granted his freedom as a member of the Skinners Company in 1737 on completion of his indentures.³² He became a banker and an alderman of the City of London in 1749. He was knighted and made sheriff in 1752 and lord mayor in 1757.³³ He built Asgill House in

³¹ TNA, CRES 5/326; CRES 5/329; and CRES 5/332: court rolls and other manorial documents for the manor of Richmond.

³² *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 58, p.841.

³³ *ODNB*, Vol. 2, entry on the 2nd baronet Asgill (Oxford, 2004), p.597.

Richmond on the banks of the Thames around 1760, and he died there in 1788. Sir John Sheffield was the eldest son of Sir Charles Sheffield, first baronet (c.1706-1774), who was the illegitimate son of the first Duke of Buckingham.³⁴ The Buckingham family were the original owners of Buckingham House, sold to George III in 1762, and thus it is reasonable to presume a connection between the king and Sir John. The Richmond rate book for 1765 shows Sir John occupying a property on the site of the old Richmond Palace.³⁵ He

Only two vestry members were shown in the *Universal British Directory* of 1791 as engaged in a trade.³⁶

An important element to the character and interests of the two vestries was the status and occupations of those taking part in vestry discussions and decisions. Vestry minutes record those attending vestry meetings, and it is possible to compare these names with other sources to assess the characteristics of vestry members or attendees and look at how these changed over time. For Richmond, the analysis has been undertaken in two forms. First, a few vestry members that were prominent outside the parish, but were resident in Richmond or who had significant holdings of land in the town, have been identified (as already mentioned, individuals of prominence did not attend Twickenham vestry meetings). It has not been possible to find evidence of any specific matter that they pursued on behalf of the town, but it is reasonable to assume that they would have pressed the vestry's interests at a county or national level when it suited them. The second group of analysis looks at the composition of the vestries over time. Lists of those that attended vestry meetings have been compiled for 1800, 1840, 1860, and 1880 (Richmond only, as Twickenham vestry had ceased to have responsibilities for secular affairs by this date). The names derived were compared with rate books (the only source available in 1800) and the censuses for 1841, 1861, and 1881 to compile a picture of the membership of each vestry.

³⁴ ODNB, vol. 50, entry on the first Duke of Buckingham (Oxford, 2004), pp.167-170.

³⁵ RLSL: R/RB/27 (unpaginated).

³⁶ *Universal British directory of trade*, vol. IV, pp.292-301.

The most prominent family to participate in the vestry for most of the nineteenth century were the Selwyns. Four members of the family were vestry members. The family's land



ownership was outlined in **Chapter 2**. Mention has already been made of Beatrice Webb's derogatory remarks on Charles Selwyn (1689-1749). He came to Richmond in 1718 as a member of the household of the Prince and Princess of Wales, who used Richmond Lodge in Old Deer Park as their country residence.³⁷ Charles Selwyn purchased land in Richmond that he left to his nephew, William (1732-1817), who was treasurer of Lincoln's Inn in 1793.³⁸ William was a frequent attendee at vestry meetings in the first few years of the nineteenth century. His second son, also called William (1775-1855), who inherited the

Illustration 3.1: Sir Charles Jasper Selwyn.³⁹

family's Richmond estate, was also a lawyer and legal writer. He instructed the Prince Consort in his legal studies soon after his marriage to Queen Victoria.⁴⁰

William Selwyn had three sons of some distinction. William Selwyn (1806-1875), who was a theologian, George Augustus Selwyn (1809-1878), who was bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield, and Charles Jasper Selwyn (1813-1869), who was lawyer, member of Parliament for Cambridge University from 1859, and solicitor-general in Lord Derby's administration from 1867 (**Illustration 3.1**).⁴¹ The 'second' William was a frequent attendee at Richmond vestry meetings in the 1830s and 1840s. There is no evidence that William's two eldest sons had any links with Richmond or its vestry, but

³⁷ Cloake, *Cottages and common fields*, p.306.

³⁸ ODNB, vol. 49, p.736.

³⁹ <http://anglicanhistory.org/england/selwyn1882> (May, 2017).

⁴⁰ ODNB, vol. 49, p.736.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp.731-732.

Charles Jasper, who inherited the family lands in Richmond, was a frequent attendee until his death. His son, also known as Charles, was not born until 1858. He is shown present at vestry meetings around 1880, but the 1881 census records that he was abroad. He died in New Zealand in 1893. The participation of the Selwyns in the Richmond vestry predates the reporting of proceedings by the local newspaper, and therefore we must rely on the official vestry minutes. These do not report the details of discussions or give clues as to the views of individual vestrymen. Therefore, we do not know the areas that particularly interested the Selwyns. Because of the size of their landholding, it is reasonable to assume that the family had a significant influence on vestry discussions until 1869.

Throughout the nineteenth century, in addition to the Selwyns, there were vestry members that had gained some distinction themselves or who came from families that had done so in the past. The following are the more notable. Richard Penn (1733/4-1811) was a colonial official in Pennsylvania, and for a time its deputy governor. His grandfather founded the state. He returned to England in 1775. He was an MP for Appleby, Lancaster, and Haslemere respectively.⁴² Sir Robert Baker (1754-1826), who was created a baronet in 1796 for raising and maintaining a troop of 500 horse, was a JP for Surrey and vestry member in the early part of the century. His son, Vice Admiral Sir Henry Loraine Baker (1787-1859), was a vestry member in mid-century.⁴³ A Lord Onslow, probably George Onslow, first earl of Onslow (1731-1814), was also an early member.⁴⁴ He was a politician, who was MP for Surrey, from 1761-1774, lord lieutenant for Surrey from 1777 and, for some years, held various posts in the royal household until his death.

⁴² ODNB, vol. 43, pp.552-3.

⁴³ G. E. Cokayne, *Complete baronetage*, vol. V. (Exeter, 1906), p.314.

⁴⁴ ODNB, vol. 41, pp.876-77. It has not been possible to identify which member of the Onslow family was involved because the vestry minutes do not mention first names. It could have been George's son, Thomas, who was also a politician, but George Onslow seems the most likely, given his connection with the royal household.

Other early members were Sir Lionel Darell (1742- 1803), MP for Heydon, who was chairman of the court of directors of the East India Company and friend of George III, and Sir Charles Price (1748-1818), who was Lord Mayor of London in 1802-03.⁴⁵ The



latter owned land on the eastern boundary of the parish, and some of his descendants continued the family's connection with the vestry.

Later in the century, after the position of chairman of the vestry was created in 1873 (prior to this a chairman was appointed for each meeting), the post was frequently occupied by retired military officers. Admiral Robert Stopford (1811-1891) was elected a

Illustration 3.2: Admiral Robert Stopford.⁴⁶ member of the vestry in 1870, and he remained a member until 1888. He was chairman from 1873 to 1876 (**Illustration 3.2**).⁴⁷ He was replaced as chairman by Lt. Col. Sir Francis Burdett (1813-1892), who was a member from 1868 to 1887 and chairman from 1876 to 1881.⁴⁸

There were also some prominent local families and individuals that played important roles in the vestry. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was Edward Collins, owner of Richmond's largest brewery and, in mid-century, George Robinson (1775-

⁴⁵ John Bernard Burke, *Dictionary of the peerage and baronetage of the British Empire*, Fourteenth Edition (London, 1852), p.329; Richmond and Twickenham Times, May 1913; John Cloake, *Cottages and common fields*, p.360.

⁴⁶ RLSL, *Local dignitaries 1890-1910*, p.32.

⁴⁷ Admiral Robert Fanshawe Stopford came from a naval family (his father was also an Admiral), and he spent all his life in the navy from the age of 13, in 1824, until he retired with the rank of vice-Admiral in 1871. His service took him to the Pacific, South America, and the Mediterranean: TVT, 7 January 1891; F. Boase, *Modern English biography*, vol. III (London, 1965), p.775.

⁴⁸ Sir Francis Burdett, 7th baronet, was a Major In the 17th Lancers and Lt. Col. in the 16 Middlesex reserve rifles. He was also JP for Derby, Berkshire, Wiltshire, and Surrey, High Sheriff of Surrey in 1880, and provincial grand master of the Freemasons of Middlesex. The Burdetts originated from Derbyshire, although Sir Francis was born in Twickenham. He inherited the baronetcy from his cousin in 1880: *Illustrated London News*, 18 June 1892; F. Boase, *Modern English biography*, vol. IV (London, 1965), p.541.

1852), a builder and landowner, who was discussed in **Chapter 2**. In the second half of the century, there was the Sims (father and son), builders, the Piggotts, who were auctioneers, and the Carless (uncle and nephew), who were also builders. Finally, mention should be made of Sir Charles Burt (1832-1913), who was a solicitor by profession, a leading protagonist in the 1880s in the debate on water supply and incorporation, a leading member of RBC, and one of its first mayors.⁴⁹ His role will be considered further in **Chapter 4** as part of the discussion on drainage, incorporation, and the new council.

Thus, throughout the nineteenth century, the Richmond vestry included some individuals of some note nationally and others who were prominent locally as builders or in a trade of some kind. They were prepared to participate in the more discreet proceedings of a closed vestry. If Richmond had adopted an open vestry, on the basis of experience elsewhere, they may not have been prepared to be involved in parish affairs.

The remainder of this section looks at the composition of the Richmond and Twickenham vestries. The vestry minutes for Richmond for 1800 show 24 vestrymen attending one or more meetings during that year. The only records available at this time against which it is possible to make some assessment of their wealth or importance are the rate books for Richmond for 1800 and the land tax records for 1799.⁵⁰ These record that eight of the 24 shown attending a vestry meeting owned or occupied houses with a rental value of £100 or more, and another four in properties with a rental value of £50-£99. The remainder of members lived in properties with a rental value of £20 to £49.

Table 3.1 shows the proportion of vestry men occupying properties in each of these bands, compared to the number of ratepayers in each of the same bands. This shows that one third of ratepayers that occupied houses with a rental value of £100 or more were vestry men. This band represented only 3% of ratepayers and 9% of those eligible

⁴⁹ RTT, 3 March 1913.

⁵⁰ RLSL, R/RB/33: Richmond rate book, 1800; TNA, IR 23/8/120: land tax assessment, Richmond, 1798.

Bands of rates payable	More than £100	£50-£99	£20-49 ⁵¹	£12-19 ⁵²	Less than £11
No. of vestrymen in each band	8	4	12	-	-
% of vestrymen in each band	33%	17%	50%	-	-
No. of ratepayers in each band	24	45	199	149	469
% of ratepayers in each band	3%	5%	22%	17%	53%
% of ratepayers eligible to be vestrymen	9%	17%	74%		

Table 3.1: Richmond: Comparison of the rental property bands of ratepayers in 1800 and those of Richmond vestry men in the same year.⁵³

to be elected as vestrymen. The bottom two bands were not eligible for election as they occupied properties with a rental value of less than £20. Only 50% of vestrymen came from the lowest band of ratepayers eligible to be vestrymen, namely, those that occupied property with a rental value of £20-£49. Overall, 74% of ratepayers eligible to be vestrymen were from this group. Thus, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the business of the vestry was strongly influenced by more prosperous members of the parish.

In Twickenham, those who attended open vestry meetings, although very small, were more representative of Twickenham ratepayers in terms of the rents of the properties that they occupied. Twenty ratepayers attended one or more meetings in 1800, but, of these, it was only possible to identify the rental value for 18. An analysis of Twickenham ratepayers that attended vestry meetings in 1800 is shown in **Table 3.2**.

⁵¹ 25 George III, c.41: £20 was the rentable value necessary for the occupant or owner to stand for election as a vestryman.

⁵² Ibid. £12 was the rentable value necessary for the occupant or owner to be able to vote.

⁵³ RLSL, R/RB/33: Richmond rate book, 1800.

Bands of rates payable	More than £100	£50-£99	£20-£49	£12-£19	Less than £11
No. of vestry attendees in each band	1	-	4	7	6
% of vestry attendees in each band	6%	-	22%	39%	33%
No. of ratepayers in each band	26	28	85	105	72
% of ratepayers in each band	8%	9%	27%	33%	23%

Table 3.2. Twickenham: Comparison of the rental property bands of ratepayers in 1800 and those attending Twickenham vestry meetings in the same year.⁵⁴

Of the 18 attendees, only one had interests in a property with a rental value of more than £100 and none in properties of between £50 and £99. One third occupied properties with a rental value of £11 or less. There is no evidence that any of the occupiers of the large houses built along the banks of the Thames were involved in vestry meetings in Twickenham.

For 1840, 1860, and 1880, the censuses of 1841, 1861, and 1881 provide a greater insight into the status and occupation of ratepayers in both parishes that participated in vestry affairs.

Those individuals that attended a vestry meeting in 1840, 1860, and 1880 (Richmond only) have been traced to the respective census returns for 1841, 1861, and 1881.⁵⁵ The results of this analysis for Richmond and Twickenham are set out in **Tables 3.3 and 3.4** respectively. In addition, there is also a comparison with the broad social and

⁵⁴ RLSL, TW/RB/8: Twickenham rate book, 1800.

⁵⁵ Census name indexes used mainly by genealogists have been employed for this purpose, but each index entry has been traced back to the original census return to confirm its validity. The three Richmond vestrymen that could not be traced probably resulted from difficulty in reading the handwriting of the census enumerator or because they were away from Richmond at the time of the census.

RICHMOND	1840	1860	1880
Independent	12	3	1
-Independent	12		
-Owners of property		3	3
J P	1	3	4
Retired military	1		4
Professions	8	12	12
-Doctor	2	2	2
-Dentist			1
-Lawyer	4	3	3
-Teacher	1	3	2
-Civil Servant			1
-Accountant		1	
-Financial/City			2
-Chemist	1	2	
-Clergy		1	1
Publican		1	
Retail/Wholesale	4	3	6
-Grocer	2	1	1
-Draper			1
-Victualler			1
-Bookseller/stationer	1	1	3
-Corn dealer		1	
-Tea dealer	1		
Trade	1	4	6
-Builder	1	1	5
-Carpenter			1
-Shoemaker		2	
-Undertaker		1	
Other	3	2	
Total	30	28	33

Table 3.3. Richmond: the occupational composition of the vestry in 1840, 1860, and 1880 based on the census for 1841, 1861 and 1881.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ TNA, HO 107/1075/9-13; RG 9/459-460; RG 11/843-845: census returns, Richmond registration sub-district, Richmond parish, 1841, 1861, and 1881.

occupational categories of vestry membership and attendance in Richmond and Twickenham with those found in some other closed and open vestries. The analysis of the membership of the Richmond vestry in **Table 3.3** suggests a change in the occupational composition of the membership of the Richmond vestry between 1841 and 1881.

In 1841, the largest category (12 members) were stated to be 'independent'. The occupational abstract to the 1841 census describes the term as follows:

With respect to the term 'independent' we should premise that the numbers included under that head are not merely the wealthy, or even those in easy circumstances, but all who support themselves upon their own means without any occupation.⁵⁷

In 1841, the vestrymen reported as independent, based on their addresses in Richmond, were clearly men of substance. By 1861, there were three individuals whose occupational classification was recorded as 'own means', the equivalent term used in subsequent censuses. There was only one such individual in 1881. This reflects a gradual move from Richmond by some gentry, as the railway made longer distance travel easier. Another explanation from the 1851 censuses onwards was the assignment of more descriptive headings to those that, in 1841, would have been described as 'independent'. For example, the number of JPs who were members of the vestry increased from one in 1840 to three and four respectively in 1861 and 1881, and, in 1881, there were three individuals that were described as 'owners of property'. Those of independent means were replaced by professionals and men pursuing a trade of some kind. The number of professionals increased from eight in 1841 to 12 in 1881, reflecting the increasing number of such persons that worked in London and lived in Richmond. There was also an increase from five to ten over the same period in the number of vestrymen engaged in retail business or a trade of some kind. A notable feature was the number of builders that were vestrymen. This increased from one in 1840 to five in 1880 and reflected the

⁵⁷ 1844 (587): *Abstract return pursuant to Act for taking account of population of Great Britain population abstract, part 1, England and Wales, (1841)*, p. 9.

increase in residential development in Richmond, primarily from the 1860s onwards. Prior to the 1880s, there is little evidence in the vestry minutes of the discussion of building development. However, five builders considered the vestry to be of sufficient interest to go to the trouble of seeking election and contributing sufficiently to vestry business to sustain their membership. Those vestrymen that did not contribute after election were removed by their colleagues.

It is interesting to compare the composition of the Richmond vestry with two other select vestries in London. For both examples, figures in the secondary literature are available for the beginning of the century only, but they provide a useful comparison with the early Richmond vestry. In addition, the membership of the Islington vestry in 1851 has been analysed and compared with that in Richmond. St James's Westminster had a policy of appointing one third of the vestrymen from titled nobility, one third from 'gentlemen', and one third from tradesmen, although it was said that the upper-class members never came to meetings. At St George's, Hanover Square tradesmen were only allowed to attend vestry committees rather than full vestry meetings.⁵⁸ Sheppard reports that, in St Marylebone, the membership of 122 vestrymen was composed of 92 peers and gentlemen and 30 tradesmen – roughly a 75%/25% split.⁵⁹

The three more central London vestries were subject to significant reform in the early 1830s, under the provision of the Vestries Act 1831. This provided for vestries with more than 800 ratepayers to introduce the election of vestrymen if two thirds or more of the ratepayers requested it. St James's, Westminster, St George's Hanover Square and St Marylebone all decided to implement these reforms. In the absence of a local newspaper at this time, we do not know whether there was any pressure in Richmond in this respect. If there was, it is not mentioned in the vestry minutes. There were a number of factors that contributed to the relative longevity of Richmond vestry's responsibility for secular affairs. The avoidance of scandal (by luck or sensible management), the more balanced composition of the Richmond vestry between 'gentlemen' and those that, in one way or

⁵⁸ A.D. Harvey, 'The London vestries 1780-1830: Part 1', *The Local Historian*, 39.3 (2009), pp.181-2.

⁵⁹ Sheppard, *Local government in St Marylebone*, p.128.

another, had to earn their living, and the propensity of the vestry to throw out any vestryman who was not pulling his weight were important factors. In addition, the election, rather than the appointment of new vestrymen when vacancies occurred, was sufficient to ensure that the inhabitants of Richmond did not have adequate motivation to push through the election provisions of the Vestries Act, 1831.⁶⁰

It is possible to trace the occupations in the 1851 census of 55 Islington vestrymen.⁶¹ Of these, 5 (9%) were of independent means, 4 (7%) were civil servants, 22 (40%) were from the professions, 12 (22%) had an occupation related to commerce that was probably located in the City of London, 6 (11%) owned property, and only 4 (7%) were in trade. Thus, in the mid- nineteenth century, both Richmond and Islington had vestries that drew 40% of their members from the professions. Richmond, however, had a higher proportion of vestrymen that were in trade or owned shops when compared to Islington. To compensate, Islington had a higher proportion working in general commerce, which probably reflected the relative proximity of Islington to the City of London.

In Twickenham, as an open vestry, it is only possible to look at the occupations of those that attended vestry meetings. An analysis of attendees in 1840 and 1860 is shown in **Table 3.4**. Most individuals attended one or two meetings a year, so, although the vestry met most months, it was only possible to identify the occupations of some 30 individuals. In both years, there were another half dozen attendees that it was not possible to identify with adequate certainty. The main differences in terms of the composition of vestry meeting attendees between Richmond and Twickenham were that far fewer professionals or persons with an independent or equivalent means participated in vestry business in Twickenham.

⁶⁰ 1 & 2 William IV, c.60: Act for the better regulation of vestries in certain parishes in England.

⁶¹ TNA, HO 107/1499-1502: census returns, Islington registration sub-district, Islington parish, 1851.

TWICKENHAM	1840	1860
Independent	2	6
-Gentlemen		2
-Fund holder		1
-Proprietor of land		2
Retired military		1
Professions	4	3
-Medical	2	
-Teacher	1	
-Clergyman	1	2
-Registrar		1
Publican	6	2
Retail/Wholesale	10	7
-Grocer	4	1
-Butcher	3	2
-Baker		1
-Fishmonger		1
-Fruiterer	1	
-Victualler		1
-Draper		1
-Bookseller	1	
-Corn dealer	1	
Trade	5	7
-Builder		3
-Shoe maker	2	1
-Watch maker		1
-Coach builder	1	1
-Sail maker		1
Agriculture	2	3
-Market Gardner	2	3
Other	1	3
Total	30	32

Table 3.4. Twickenham: the occupational composition of those that attended vestry meetings in 1840 and 1860 based on the census for 1841 and 1861.⁶²

⁶² TNA, HO 107/658/10-12; RG 9/775-776.

In 1840, there were 2 attendees with independent means and 4 professionals compared to 12 and 8 respectively in Richmond. By 1860 the number of attendees in Twickenham with an independent means was almost the same as Richmond. The number of those from the professions in Twickenham, 2 only, was considerably lower than the 12 members drawn from the professions in Richmond.

At the same time, there was much greater participation in Twickenham from shopkeepers and tradesmen generally. In 1840, ten shopkeepers attended vestry meetings in Twickenham, compared to four in Richmond, and five individuals had a trade in Twickenham, compared to one in Richmond. The other main differences in 1840 were the involvement of six out of the nine publicans and two market gardeners in Twickenham compared to none in Richmond. The reason for the former was that, in 1840, the publicans were threatened with being reported to the Assizes for keeping rowdy establishments, and they were presumably frightened about losing their licences.⁶³ The reason for the latter was the greater significance of market gardening in Twickenham. In 1860, the absence of professionals from Twickenham vestry business continued. The main groups of attendees were seven shopkeepers and seven tradesmen, but only one publican.⁶⁴

A similar picture of attendees at open vestries also occurred in Teddington and Hampstead. In Hampstead, until it was reorganised in 1855, routine vestry meetings were usually attended by tradesmen rather than local gentry.⁶⁵ The occupations of those attending Teddington vestry meetings were similar to those in Twickenham. It was possible to identify the occupations of 25 of the attendees at Teddington vestry meetings in 1851 from the census.⁶⁶ Of these, 35% had a trade or were in some form of retail business (Twickenham, 48%), and 15% were in occupations related to agriculture (Twickenham, 10%).

⁶³ LMA, DRO/174/C/01/08: TVM, 27 February 1840.

⁶⁴ The absence of more prominent men from the Twickenham vestry affairs means that biographical information on vestry members is not available.

⁶⁵ Thompson, *Hampstead*, p.390.

⁶⁶ TNA, HO 107/1604 ff. 359-391: census returns, Teddington parish, 1851.

Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Richmond, as a select vestry, was not unique in having a significant proportion of professionals and those with independent means as vestry members. There was also some commonality across the open vestries in that they attracted ratepayers from trade and local commerce backgrounds rather than the local gentry and those with a profession.

Vestry business

The basis upon which the Richmond and Twickenham vestries were established had a significant effect on the way they conducted business. As this thesis is looking at a period of 60-80 years, there were of course changes over time. The main evidence available for assessing the business of both vestries is the vestry minutes. After 1860, we also have accounts of some Twickenham vestry meetings in the MC and, after 1873, for Richmond and Twickenham in the RTT. This section examines some of the business conducted by the vestries and the ways in which they went about delivering or not delivering their business. It also considers, in more detail, matters related to relief of the poor, water supply, and the building of a public library and public baths in Richmond.

Richmond

Under the Act of 1785, the vestry was authorised to make two rates, one for the relief of the poor and another for the parish roads. The vestry also had powers with respect to watching, lighting, and cleansing the streets and to build a new workhouse.

The Richmond vestry met around 20 times a year.⁶⁷ There appears to have been no regular pattern in the months when meetings took place. Generally, meetings were held on weekdays, thus making it more difficult for those members that had to earn their living to attend.⁶⁸ A chairman was elected at the beginning of each meeting. This

⁶⁷ The number of meetings in each of the years studied were as follows: 1800-19; 1810 -22; 1820-18; 1830 -21; 1840 – 20; 1850 – 21; 1860 – 19; 1870- 24; 1880-24.

⁶⁸ General meetings for the election of vestrymen were held at midday on a Monday. The minutes of the vestry minutes held on the same day refer to the vestrymen adjourning to the church for the election. It seems likely, therefore, that vestry meetings were held during the working day, which would have made it difficult for some tradesmen to attend. Additionally, the possible absence of tradesmen from election

continued until 1873, after which time a chairman was elected for a year.⁶⁹ Although the chairmanship moved between members, one of the longer serving members was generally elected. There is little evidence in the minutes of any discussion or disagreement that might have occurred, as the minutes usually recorded the issue or proposal under consideration and the decision taken. Generally, 12 to 15 vestrymen attended, but there were many occasions when considerably more or less than this number did so. Accounts of vestry meetings published in the RTT after 1873 record considerable disagreement, some important and some less so. It is likely that disagreement occurred throughout most of the life of the vestry, as there is no reason why it would have started in 1873.

For the first few decades of the century, the business discussed followed a fairly regular pattern, interspersed occasionally with 'one-off' issues. Until 1836, almost all meetings considered applications for relief and proposals for an individual or family to be sent to the workhouse or to leave it.⁷⁰ Relief of the poor up to 1836 is discussed later in the chapter. Four other pieces of routine business were the approval of all bill payments, a report on the sum of rates collected since the last meeting, the six-monthly tendering for provisions for the workhouse, and for tradesmen to carry out work during the coming year.

Considerable attention was paid to arranging a watch and street lighting. In 1771-72, the board of trustees took the first steps in this respect, probably influenced, as discussed above, by the powers granted to some parishes nearer to London. By 1772, some 200 oil lamps had been installed along the main streets of the town.⁷¹ There were also regular patrols of watchmen along regular beats within the town and along the principal roads out of the town.⁷² Gas lighting did not appear until 1827. This was some 14 years after

meetings for the same reason may have been a factor in the continuation of the relatively small number of vestrymen with a trade background.

⁶⁹ Burt, *The Richmond vestry*, p.13.

⁷⁰ Responsibility for poor relief became the responsibility of the Richmond board of guardians from 1836.

⁷¹ Cloake, *Cottages and common fields*, p.322.

⁷² *Ibid.*

major public contracts had been agreed for gas street lighting in parts of Westminster, but around seven years earlier than for neighbouring Kingston.⁷³ There was no potential supply of gas available to Richmond until after the Brentford Gas Company was established in 1821 by Act of Parliament.⁷⁴ In 1825, the vestry decided to investigate the possibility of installing gas lamps, and a contract was agreed in 1827 for the Brentford Gas Company to supply 65 gas street lights and the necessary pipes.⁷⁵ Brentford Gas Company continued to supply gas lighting until 1849, when this service was taken over by the Richmond Gas Company.⁷⁶ There had been some dissatisfaction for some time with the service provided by the Brentford Gas Company. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Richmond Gas Company was awarded the contract, as many of the promoters of the company when it was formed in 1846 were vestrymen.⁷⁷ The company continued to light the streets of Richmond for the rest of the century.

In April of each year, there were elections to replace the vestrymen that had died or moved away from the parish. The arrangements laid down by the 1785 Act, whereby vestrymen were elected for life, continued until 1861.⁷⁸ For the first three decades of the nineteenth century, most elections were uncontested; for example, Sir David Dundas and William Selwyn were elected to two vacant posts in July 1820.⁷⁹ The participating electorate was small compared to the number of ratepayers. So, in 1800, three new vestrymen were elected unopposed by 26 qualified ratepayers. Thirteen of those at the election meeting were existing vestrymen.

⁷³ I. Watson, *Westminster and Pimlico Past* (London, 1993) p.51; Butters, *That famous place*, p.244.

⁷⁴ 1 & 2 George IV, c. 69: Act for supplying Old and New Brentford, Turnham Green, Hammersmith and Kensington with gas.

⁷⁵ RLSL, RVM, 15 August 1825; 9 July 1827.

⁷⁶ Cloake, *Cottages and common fields*, p.328.

⁷⁷ TNA, BT 41/595/3268: Board of Trade returns filed by the Richmond Gas Company.

⁷⁸ RLSL, R/V/16: RVM, 14 Aug 1861.

⁷⁹ RLSL, R/V/13: RVM, 3 July 1820.

By 1835, there was a little more competition, as there were three candidates for two vacancies.⁸⁰ The number of ratepayers attending the meeting is not recorded, but the candidates received 91, 43, and 40 votes respectively.⁸¹

In 1861, the period of service of vestrymen was changed to bring it in line with the Local Government Act 1858, which required a third of vestrymen to retire each year, although there was no limitation on the number of times that an individual could stand for re-election.⁸² As a result, ten vestrymen were asked to retire. In the event that there were not ten volunteers, lots were drawn to determine which vestrymen should make up the number of resignations to ten. The minutes do not record which vestrymen retired or how many ratepayers stood for election. However, they do record the names of the ten men elected.⁸³

The minutes covering later elections are a little more illuminating and suggest that the new arrangements had some impact on changing the composition of the vestry and increasing the size of the electorate. In 1865, of the ten vestrymen that resigned, six were re-elected, two did not stand for re-election, and two were defeated.⁸⁴ In 1880, all ten of those required to stand down stood for re-election, but only eight were successful. In 1865, there were 21 candidates and, in 1880, 18 candidates. Those candidates elected received between 703 and 404 votes in 1865 and between 2188 and 875 votes in 1880.⁸⁵ The adoption of the Local Government Act 1858 also introduced multiple votes for those living in properties with higher rateable values. As outlined later in the chapter, almost 30 years later, as part of the incorporation debate, it was alleged that this provision made it easier for the more prosperous to be elected to the vestry, because their friends with multiple votes had more influence in the election, than the less well-off. It also left some of the poorer parts of the town unrepresented.

⁸⁰ RLSL, R/V/14: RVM, 6 July 1835.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² RLSL, R/V/16: RVM, 19 August 1861.

⁸³ RLSL, R/V/16: RVM, 9 September and 21 October 1861.

⁸⁴ RLSL, R/V/17: RVM, 3 July 1865.

⁸⁵ RLSL, R/V/19: RVM, 20 April 1880.

Another piece of important business that took place each year in Richmond was the annual election each April of various officers of the church and vestry. Although the term 'election' is used in the vestry minutes, there was usually only one candidate for each post.⁸⁶ Churchwardens usually served for two years, although some men served several two-year terms.⁸⁷ However, most officers of the vestry were re-appointed year after year. For example, William Smith had served as parish clerk and treasurer for 40 years when he died in 1850, and he was replaced by his son, Henry, without any competition for the post.⁸⁸

In the early part of the century, the number of officers supporting vestrymen was small, and this affected the way the vestry worked. As the century progressed, there was an increase in the number. By 1890, immediately prior to the transfer of most of the vestry's secular affairs to the RBC, the number of vestry officers and staff was a minimum of 23 plus 80 workmen.⁸⁹

Richmond vestry also changed the way it conducted business during the century. From the beginning of the vestry in 1785, any matter that required detailed study was referred to an ad-hoc committee of vestrymen. Thus, each year, the accounts of the vestry clerk, the collector of the rates, and the surveyor of highways were inspected by a committee established for the purpose. Similarly, committees were also formed to deal with one-off events, such as when the collector of poor and highway rates absconded with £1,500, a committee of vestrymen was formed to look at the theft and the arrangements for rate

⁸⁶ The posts were (where applicable with their annual pay at 1820 levels): two churchwardens, two sides men, vestry clerk, and treasurer (£130), collector of poor rate and highway rate (allowance payable but amount not specified), master of the workhouse (£60), mistress of the workhouse (£25), two beadles and messenger (£20), surveyor of the highway (£20) and sexton (£12 plus house).

⁸⁷ Cecil Piper, *A History of the parish church of St Mary Magdalene, Richmond, Surrey*, (Richmond, 1947), pp.100-101.

⁸⁸ RLSL, R/V/15: RVM, 15 and 29 July 1850.

⁸⁹ Burt, *The Richmond Vestry*, pp.62-63 lists the following officers and staff of the vestry in November, 1890: Clerk to the vestry, Urban Sanitary Authority, and various committees; town surveyor, assistants and clerks; accountant and clerk; medical officer of health; inspector of nuisances and assistant; gas tester, inspector of petroleum, messenger and vestry hall keeper, librarian, waterworks engineer, assistant and clerk; inspector of water fittings; fire escape conductor; school attendance officer; baths superintendent and matron; and two collectors of rates. The vestry also employed an average of 80 workmen and owned 24 cart horses and 2 light horses.

collection.⁹⁰ The committee usually reported back to the next meeting of the vestry. No record was made of the committee's deliberations, and their conclusion or recommendation was almost always endorsed by the vestry. As a result, it is not possible to gain an understanding of the workings of these committees.

From 1855, standing committees for on-going issues were established, and committee members were elected for a year. The need to delegate discussion no doubt resulted from the increased volume and complexity of vestry business. Brief notes were taken of their deliberations. The first three such committees covered finance, highways, and new Acts of Parliament.⁹¹ By 1870, the number of committees had expanded considerably to cover several on-going issues, such as the water supply committee, and projects of a more limited duration, such as the Hill Street improvement committee.⁹² By 1890, the number of committees had increased again to cover matters as wide-ranging as works, incorporation, parliamentary bills, the parish yard, and dairies and cowsheds.⁹³

From the mid-1860s, some of the business discussed by the vestry and the way it was dealt with began to change. The expansion in the number and scope of committees meant that the agendas of main vestry meetings were taken up with receiving reports on the work and conclusions reached by the committees. The topics considered by the vestry were broader than in earlier years. Sanitation, water and gas supply, and public health became matters of considerable concern.

⁹⁰ RLSL, R/V/11: RVM, 2 April 1800.

⁹¹ RLSL, R/V/16-17: RVM, 1855-1864.

⁹² RLSL, R/V/17-18: RVM, 1869-1872. Minutes of the following committees are included in this book: highway committee, committee for the Hill Terrace, committee for the Workshops Act, roads committee, committee for water supply, audit committee, finance committee, committee for the engine house, committee for the duties of the surveyor, Hill Street improvement committee, sewerage committee, lamp committee, committee to enquire into the recent election of vestrymen.

⁹³ RLSL, R/V/21-22: 1886-1890. Minutes are included in this book for the following committees: Buccleuch estate, parliamentary bills, works, bye-laws, Terrace Gardens, lamp, rate book revision, River Thames and lock, incorporation, dairies and cowsheds, parish yard and audit.

Twickenham

The Twickenham vestry minutes give the impression of an organisation that was more haphazard than its counterpart in Richmond. This may have resulted from the way the minutes were presented rather than the reality on the ground. In most of the years examined, the vestry met as often as that in Richmond.⁹⁴ Early in the century, many meetings considered only one subject, whereas the minutes for Richmond record that several subjects were discussed at each meeting. As in Richmond, there was no set pattern to the timing of meetings, but they seem to have met on a weekday, which is likely to have made attendance difficult for shopkeepers and tradesmen, which was the most frequent group of attendees. Most ratepayers that did attend only came to two or three meetings a year. The vestry meetings were chaired by the curate or a churchwarden. As mentioned above, from the 1820s it was supported by a parish committee, of which only limited records have survived.

To assess the business considered by the vestry over time, the minutes have been examined for the first year of each decade from 1800 to 1860. In 1800, the main subjects considered were fixing the rate, confirming the selection of nine men to be presented to the JPs, from which two overseers of the poor would be selected for the following year, the election of churchwardens and surveyors of the highway, the election of two pupils for Christ's Hospital, and an exhortation for a reduction in the consumption of grain following a proclamation by the king. There was no mention of relief to the poor, purchases of any kind, or inspection of financial or other records. The business considered in 1810 was like that in 1800, except that tenders for provisions were also discussed in 15 out of the 26 meetings held.

By 1820, more issues appear in the minutes. Whether this reflects a change in vestry business or minute taking only is unclear. The most important item was a vote on changing the basis of the vestry to a select vestry, which was lost by a majority of nine

⁹⁴ The number of meetings of the Twickenham vestry in the years examined were as follows: 1800- 8; 1810- 26; 1820 – 23; 1830 – 19; 1840- 22; 1850- 11; 1860- 13.

votes.⁹⁵ Why the vote went this way is not recorded, but perhaps the tradesmen and shopkeepers feared that the more prosperous ratepayers would dominate a select vestry, as in Richmond. The usual items such as fixing the rate, nominations for overseers, and the election of Christ's Hospital students were considered during the year. In addition, the payment of relief to individuals was discussed at most meetings, and the inspection of various accounts was also recorded.

The business recorded in the minutes for 1830 was dominated by relief for the poor. The minutes for 7 January 1830 considered some 55 individuals, and on 4 February, a further 80 cases. These meetings were followed by a further 9 meetings during the year, where between 10 and 30 cases were considered and relief agreed. Why the discussion of relief was largely ignored or perhaps omitted from the minutes of meetings in earlier years is unclear.

In 1822, a watch paid for by subscription was established, some 50 years after a watch had been established in Richmond.⁹⁶ This suggests that either the inhabitants of Twickenham felt more secure than those in Richmond or took a more relaxed approach to their safety. The minutes record that a police committee was formed to oversee the watch, but there are no references to the committee in subsequent minutes. As in Richmond, the Metropolitan Police took over responsibility for policing the parish in 1840.⁹⁷

In 1840, it was agreed to sell the Twickenham workhouse, and, at a meeting in March, 60 people attended to elect parish officers. It is not clear what issue gave rise to such an increase in interest in vestry affairs. Generally, after 1836, the vestry met less frequently than earlier in the century, presumably because there was no poor relief to consider. Attendance at meetings continued to be limited to a small number of ratepayers. The minutes for 1850 and 1860 continue to record the on-going vestry business of fixing

⁹⁵ LMA, DRO/174/C/01/004: TVM, 9 March 1820.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 11 April 1822.

⁹⁷ LMA, DRO/174/C/01/008: TVM, 27 February 1840.

rates, selecting pupils for Christ's Hospital, putting forward candidates to be overseers, and appointing parish officers, such as the collector of taxes.

Two other organisational changes occurred before the vestry ceased to have responsibility for secular affairs. A highway board was formed in 1849.⁹⁸ Thereafter, a board of 14 was elected by the vestry annually, but there is no evidence in the vestry minutes that the work of the board was scrutinised or supervised by the vestry. Shortly before the vestry handed over its responsibilities to the TLB, a burial board was established to supervise the creation of a new burial ground and chapel.⁹⁹

In the last 20 or so years of its responsibility for secular affairs, the subjects that were not discussed by the Twickenham vestry are almost as interesting as those that were considered. For example, by the late 1840s and 1850s, important areas discussed by the Richmond vestry were water supply and drainage. There was no mention of these subjects in the Twickenham minutes, and consideration of the latter had to await the establishment of the local board. Thus, although the Twickenham vestry lost its responsibility for secular matters some 20 years before its counterpart in Richmond, it appears that, by the late 1860s, it remained a village vestry only and had not begun to take on any of the functions undertaken by municipal authorities in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Poor relief

Up to the mid-1830s and the formation of the Poor Law Unions, probably the most important function of the vestries was to administer relief to the poor. This section covers the period from 1800 up to the establishment in 1836 of the Richmond and Brentford Poor Law Unions. Twickenham was one of ten member parishes that formed the latter. Limited records only exist for the administration of poor relief in both parishes, as no overseers' accounts, churchwardens' accounts, or workhouse records have survived for this period. The material that is available is contained in the vestry minutes

⁹⁸ LMA, DRO/174/C/01/009: TVM, 26 March 1849.

⁹⁹ LMA, DRO/174/C/01/0010; TVM, 14 May 1866.

and the responses by the two parishes to two national inquiries into poor relief in 1803 and 1834.¹⁰⁰ As mentioned in the introduction to the thesis, there are insufficient records of the Richmond or Brentford board of guardians, specific to the inhabitants of the two parishes, for an examination of poor relief beyond 1836.

The authority for vestries to make payments for poor relief dated back to legislation of 1598-1601, which placed an obligation on parishes to deal with two categories of poor: those that could not support themselves, such as orphans, the sick, and the elderly, and the able-bodied poor who could not earn enough to support their families.¹⁰¹ Over the subsequent 200 years, there were many Acts of Parliament, both national and local. The result, according to Steven King, was a 'number of coalescing regional welfare systems underpinned by deeply ingrained cultural attitudes towards poverty, communal relief and the economy of makeshifts on the part of both the poor and the wider community'.¹⁰²

Much of the contemporary debate about poor relief was dominated by that paid to the able-bodied, whereas the situation on the ground was dominated by payments to those who could not support themselves through age, infirmity, or possibly widowhood. The commentators on payments to the able-bodied, such as that of Robert Malthus, were concerned that they increased the population without increasing the food supply.¹⁰³ This view was endorsed in Parliament in 1824 by the select committee on labourers' wages, which said that 'men who receive but a small pittance know that they have only to marry, and that pittance will be augmented in proportion to the number of their children'.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ 1803-4 (13): *abstract of answers and returns under the Act for procuring returns relative to expenses and maintenance of the poor in England*; 1834 (44): *Report from his Majesty's commissioners for inquiring into the administration of the poor laws*.

¹⁰¹ M.J. Daunton, *Progress and poverty; and economic and social history of Britain 1700-1850* (Oxford, 1995), p.449.

¹⁰² Steven King, *Poverty and welfare in England 1700-1850* (Manchester, 2000), p.10.

¹⁰³ T.R. Malthus, *An essay on the principle of population*, ed., Patricia James (Cambridge, 1989), p.361.

¹⁰⁴ 1824 (392) *Report from select committee on the practice of paying wages of labourers out of the poor rates*, p.4.

The committee also concluded that 'by far the worst consequence of the system is the degradation of the character of the labouring class'.

These views were expressed against a background of increasing expenditure on the poor relief, which increased from an average of some £2 million in 1783-5 to £5.7 million in 1815-16 and £7 million in 1820-21.¹⁰⁵ They were also set against a new ethos, which replaced a paternalistic view with the assertion of the autonomy of the individual who, it was believed, had responsibility for his actions and title to economic gains provided that these were legal.¹⁰⁶ The debate resulted in the appointment of a '*Commission for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws*'. It published a report in 1834, and the Poor Law Amendment Act was passed in the same year.¹⁰⁷ This created a national system of unions, removed discretion from overseers, and created guardians elected on a franchise that gave more votes to those that paid higher rates.¹⁰⁸ Daunton believes that, as the Act misunderstood the different underlying causes of poverty, it was a 'triumph of ideology over social reality'.¹⁰⁹ King points to a wide spectrum of opinion on the poor law, primarily because of a thin and ambiguous empirical base from which historians must work. For example, the Webbs conclude that 'between the statute book and actual administration of the parish offices in the eighteenth century there was normally only a casual connection'.¹¹⁰ The Webbs have been criticised for basing their views on second-hand information and being too influenced by their commitment to state centralisation.

Blaug has put forward arguments to refute the beliefs that gave rise to the Commission.¹¹¹ He argues that low rates of pay were the reason for outdoor relief paid to the able-bodied rather than the effect of it; outdoor relief led to an increase in

¹⁰⁵ S.G. and E.O.A. Checkland, Ed., *The poor law report of 1834* (Harmondsworth, 1973), p.19.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.20.

¹⁰⁷ 4 & 5 William IV, c. 76.

¹⁰⁸ Daunton, *Progress and poverty*, p.458.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.459.

¹¹⁰ S. Webb, and B. Webb, *English poor law history part 1: the old poor law* (London, 1963 reprint), p.149.

¹¹¹ Mark Blaug, 'The myth of the old poor law and the making of the new', *Journal of Economic History* 23 (1963), pp.151-84.

productivity because it enabled the low-paid to have a better diet; the rate at which relief was paid could not have been more attractive than paid employment; and the cause of the increase in relief expenditure in the first 20 years of the nineteenth century was the number of bad harvests.

King concludes that, although in recent years information on welfare has become more readily available, historians are some way from reaching an overall view of the subject.¹¹² Practice between parishes was highly variable, and the administrators of poor relief had to navigate their way between the needs of the poor and the willingness of the ratepayers to pay. In the more optimistic scenarios, the old poor law was ‘a flexible and pragmatic institution, financed and administered at the local level and with a deep commitment to the poor’. There was a wide and relatively certain entitlement to welfare. However, there was clearly variation between parishes because, in those that were smaller, it may have been possible to tailor relief to the needs of specific individuals. In those that were larger, the numbers involved increased to an extent that the administrators lost control of the relief given. For example, in 1804 in St Marylebone, over 3,000 people a week were relieved outside the workhouse.¹¹³

The more optimistic perspective also sees the poor being part of local society rather than on the outside, as the Webbs believed. Hollen-Lees concludes that the processes of welfare brought people together, and Daunton believes that ‘there was a broad identity between ratepayers and the recipients of relief’.¹¹⁴ This was because many ratepayers could themselves need relief when they became ill or reached old age, and therefore ‘generosity and self-interest were one and the same’.

Green explores differences of the relief in London caused by the rapidly growing population, the number of beggars resulting from the Napoleonic wars, and, later, the impact of the financial crisis of 1825.¹¹⁵ London also attracted many migrants that were

¹¹² King, *Poverty and welfare in England*, pp.51-53.

¹¹³ Sheppard, *Local government in St Marylebone*, p.221.

¹¹⁴ L. Hollen-Lees, *The solidarities of strangers; the English poor laws and the people 1700-1948* (Oxford, 1995), p.7; Daunton, *Progress and poverty*, p.452.

¹¹⁵ David R. Green, *Pauper capital, London and the poor law, 1790-1870* (Farnham, 2010), pp.34-35.

not legally entitled to settlement status, but that were difficult to remove. As a result, London's share of the increasing poor relief expenditure in England rose from 7.5% in 1813 to 10% in the early 1830s. There are no records of settlement or removal for Richmond, but a parliamentary paper dating from 1803 reports that only 17 persons in receipt of relief were born outside the parish.¹¹⁶ This suggests that Richmond was not attractive to casual migrant labour. There were 127 such persons reported for Twickenham, which probably reflects seasonal agricultural labour.¹¹⁷ A pauper examination book for Twickenham that has survived from 1826-36 contains 260 cases, of which 57 were agreed for settlement in the parish.¹¹⁸ It does not record what happened to those that did not qualify for settlement.

Within the range of views on the poor law, where do the Richmond and Twickenham vestries stand? The vestry minutes for both provide a considerable amount of detail, but there is little overall information. For this, it is necessary to rely on two Parliamentary Reports published in 1803-04 and 1834.

A report from 1803-04 on the expenses of maintaining the poor in England provides details, by parish, of the cost of relief and the number of recipients. In Richmond, in the year ending Easter 1803, the total amount raised by the poor rate and other rates was £3,794.¹¹⁹ The equivalent average figure for 1783-85 was £1,786, an increase of 112% over some 20 years. The figures for Twickenham were £2,193 in 1803 and £851 in 1783-85, which represented an increase of 158%.¹²⁰ The expenditure for 1803-04 provided relief for 307 people in Richmond and 228 in Twickenham, of which 148 (48%) and 81 (36%) respectively were in the workhouse. The percentage of recipients in the workhouse in Surrey and Middlesex, including London, were 38% and 53% respectively.¹²¹ This

¹¹⁶ 1803-4 (13): *Abstract of answers and returns under Act for procuring returns relative to expense and maintenance of poor in England*, pp.506-07.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.296-7.

¹¹⁸ RLSL, *Pauper examinations Twickenham* (uncatalogued).

¹¹⁹ 1803-4 (13): *Abstract of answers and returns under Act for procuring returns relative to expense and maintenance of poor in England*, pp.506-07.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.296-7.

¹²¹ 1803-4 (13): *Abstract of answers and returns under Act for procuring returns relative to expense and maintenance of poor in England*, pp.306-7, 510-11.

suggests that, in mainly agricultural areas, fewer recipients of relief found their way to the workhouse, probably because a greater percentage of them were out of work agricultural labourers rather than persons that were elderly or sick. It is reasonable to assume that this was one of the reasons for a greater proportion of in-workhouse recipients in Richmond than in Twickenham. There were also differences in the cost per head incurred in relief in 1803. Richmond was reported as spending £3 per annum per person outside the workhouse and £8 for those inside. The equivalent figures for

	Richmond	Twickenham
	£	£
Property value assessed in April 1815	25,767	22,548
	Expenditure on poor	Expenditure on poor
1822	2,056	2,052
1823	2,575	1,871
1824	2,050	1,872
1825	2,149	1,953
1826	2,245	2,002
1827	2,020	2,116
1828	2,375	2,471
1829	2,306	2,187
1830	2,551	2,530
1831	3,074	2,440
1832	3,164	2,561
1833	2,890	n/a
1834	2,348	1,957

Table 3.5: Poor rate returns: an account of the money spent for the maintenance and relief of the poor in Richmond and Twickenham from 1822 to 1834.¹²²

¹²² 1830-31(83), 1835(444): *Account of the money expended for the relief of the poor in England and Wales, 1824-29 and 1829-34.*

Twickenham were £6 and £12. The Twickenham expenditure was more in line with the county totals for Middlesex and Surrey.¹²³ It is unclear whether these figures were real or resulted from reporting differences of some kind.

For later years, there are records of the total amount spent from the poor rate returns to Parliament.¹²⁴ These returns allow a sequence of expenditure to be constructed for Richmond and for Twickenham from 1822 to 1834. This is shown in **Table 3.5**. There was no pattern to the expenditure from 1822 to 1828, as there were variations from year-to-year which cannot be explained by any specific events recorded in the vestry minutes. Over the period 1822 to 1832, total expenditure was £26,565 in Richmond and £24,055 in Twickenham. Expenditure for the maintenance and relief of the poor in Twickenham was 90% of that in Richmond. However, the population of Twickenham in 1821 was 70% of that in Richmond and 63% in 1831. The report of the commissioners enquiring into the administration and operation of the poor laws published in 1834, which covered Richmond and Twickenham, reports that the expense per head of the whole population in 1803, 1813, 1821, and 1831 was 12s. 10d., 15s. 3d., 8s. 6d., and 8s. 5d. in Richmond, and 12s. 7d., 19s. 8d., 10s. 8d., and 10s. 8d. in Twickenham. These figures confirm that, unless there were gross inaccuracies, relief of the poor was more expensive per head in Twickenham than Richmond. This was possibly because a closed vestry had the opportunity to better manage costs than an open vestry. Alternatively, higher seasonal rural unemployment in Twickenham may have resulted in a greater proportion of the population drawing poor relief.

Both parishes had workhouses of longstanding, although the one in Richmond was rebuilt in 1785. A proposal to rebuild or extend the Twickenham workhouse was discussed in 1813 but came to nothing.¹²⁵ The Richmond vestry was closely involved in the affairs of the workhouse. The master was required to make monthly reports to vestry

¹²³ The figures for Middlesex were £5.38 outside and £14.80 inside the workhouse, and those for Surrey £4.29 and £14.23.

¹²⁴ 1830-31 (83), 1835 (444).

¹²⁵ LMA, DRO/174/C/01/005: TVM, 16 January and 10 May 1813.

meetings, and the vestry held six monthly tendering exercises to procure provisions for the workhouse. It also approved admissions and removals and the rules that had to be followed by inmates. The Twickenham vestry was also involved in workhouse procurement, but the minutes make few references to other issues.

The 1834 report of the commissioners contains information on the workhouse regimes. The Richmond workhouse is described in the body of the report as capable of holding 200 persons but, at the time of the inspection, there were 130 inmates (57 men, 52 women, and 21 under the age of 12 – of whom only 2 were illegitimate).¹²⁶ The operation of the workhouse was not farmed (contracted out), and the cost per head for each inmate was 5s per week. Women were employed in nursing the sick and children and in spinning flax and household duties. Some males worked on the farm of 20 acres, and others were employed as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, and bricklayers. Children were taught reading, writing, and accounts. The report observed that ‘the diet consists of six meat dinners, and one of baked rice pudding or bread and cheese; a quart of milk porridge for breakfast; one pound of bread, two pints of beer and a slice of cheese or butter per day’. The overall comment of the commissioner was:

As a building this house has many advantages; but the interior arrangement which depends on the governor, and appearance of the inmates are extremely creditable to him.

It was reported that the workhouse was frequently visited by the nobility, vestry members, and other inhabitants of the town, suggesting that those in the workhouse were regarded as part of the community rather than an isolated group.

The situation in Twickenham was rather different. The workhouse had a capacity of 70 and, at the time of the survey, it was full. There were 17 men, 28 women, 13 boys, and 12 girls. The workhouse was ‘farmed’ such that

¹²⁶ 1834 (44) Report from his Majesty’s commissioners for inquiring into the administration of the poor laws, Appendix A, p.534.

all who are able to work are employed by the master who farms them for his sole benefit in the manufacture of bagging and in the cultivation of about 6 acres of garden ground attached to the workhouse; but he is not permitted to employ them off the premises.¹²⁷

There was no mention of women nursing the sick, the education of children, or any interest shown by the vestry or parish officers. We are told that the 'allowance of food is ample'. Thus, it would appear that the conditions in the Twickenham workhouse were harsher than those in Richmond. However, the conditions in both workhouses and the treatment of children were more humane than those in some London parishes.¹²⁸

The evidence on outdoor relief from the vestry minutes and the returns to the 1834 Commission is more variable. The Richmond minutes record the provision of relief in several forms. These were continuing weekly payments, presumably to those who were old and/or infirm; a one-off payment or payments for a defined period; or money for clothing or coal. No claims were refused, which suggests that there must have been some sifting process. This is confirmed by a response in the 1834 inquiry that refers to home visits by the paymaster. This procedure may have enabled Richmond to scrutinise the relief provided because some of the conditions set for awarding claims were very detailed. For example, in March 1818, the vestry specify that 'the wife and family of Chas. Ballard to continue to receive 3s a week until the woman is put to bed at which time £1 is to be allowed to defray the cost of her lying in'.¹²⁹

The evidence on relief to the able-bodied is more difficult to interpret. These individuals were not specifically identified in the minutes, and the answers to the relevant questions in 1834 inquiry are possibly contradictory. In answer to the question: 'Is allowance or regular relief out of the workhouse given to any able-bodied mechanics, manufacturers, labourers or servants', the reply was: 'No allowance or relief to those who can procure work, and what is given is to those usually employed in labouring pursuits.' The answer

¹²⁷ 1834 (44), Appendix B2, p.179.

¹²⁸ White, *London in the 19th century*, pp. 254-5.

¹²⁹ RLSL, R/V/13: RVM, 2 March 1818.

to the question: 'How many able-bodied had been relieved in the last year', the reply was: 'Many able-bodied men out of employ during the last winter occasioned an exceeding increase in the numbers relieved'. It would therefore seem that the able-bodied in receipt of relief were labourers, and that it was only paid to those out of work.

Twickenham seems to have relied on the open vestry and parish officers to decide on relief applications, as, in response to the question in the 1834 inquiry, 'Is there any visitation of the poor at their houses?', it responded that 'a monthly vestry is held to receive and decide on general applications for relief, and parish officers relieve the casualties in the intermediate time at their discretion'. This suggests that there was no examination of most cases before they were put to the vestry meeting. This is borne out by evidence in the vestry minutes because there are numerous cases of applications for relief being turned down by the vestry at its monthly meeting. Further evidence of the problems experienced by Twickenham in evaluating claims is provided by a public parish notice, dated March 1836. This listed all the recipients of outdoor relief and asked parishioners to provide information on any earnings of those on the list, so that 'parish officers may...detect any imposition practised on the parish'. It also advised that those found 'tippling in any public houses' or owning dogs were to be refused relief in future.¹³⁰

The position with respect to payments to the able-bodied in Twickenham seems to have been a little sensitive as it admitted paying relief to such individuals in 'peculiar circumstances' and was unable to say how many such people had been paid in the last 12 months. Although many applications for relief were refused, an open vestry meeting could not have been an auspicious environment in which to evaluate the pecuniary position of individuals possibly known to other attendees. Scrutiny by experienced parish officials as employed by Richmond was probably a more effective means of weeding out less worthy applications.

¹³⁰ TNA, MH 6900: LGB and its predecessors, correspondence. The list contained some 214 individuals: 50 widows over 60 years; 21 widows with 39 children; 8 single women who were infirm; 12 married couples with 15 children; 11 widowers; 3 single men who were infirm; 15 children with no adult; and 14 women with 14 illegitimate children.

Two lists of the recipients of relief prepared for Richmond in March 1837 and Twickenham in March 1836 provide a snapshot of the position around the time the vestries ceased to have responsibility for poor relief. In Richmond, outdoor relief was paid to 105 persons, of which 22 received it because they were old, 46 because of illness or infirmity, 8 for funeral expenses, and 7 because they were out of work.¹³¹ There were 103 individuals in the workhouse, of which 34 were there because of old age, 36 because of some infirmity, and 15 because they had been 'deserted'. As the population of Richmond in 1841 was 7,760, the percentage of persons in receipt of relief was only 2.7%. The list for Twickenham was prepared by the vestry in March 1836 and reports by status those in receipt of out relief only.¹³² There were 171 individuals, of which 73 were widows, 23 were children, 12 were widowers, and 12 married men with families. As the capacity of the workhouse was 70, there would have been around 200 individuals in receipt of relief in Twickenham in 1836, or 3.8% of the population. Thus, the burden of relief on ratepayers in Richmond and Twickenham was relatively small.

So, were the poor regarded as outcasts by the ratepayers of Richmond and Twickenham or was there a broad identity between ratepayers and relief recipients, as suggested by Dauntton? In Richmond, the interest shown by the vestry in the workhouse and some of the outdoor cases suggests the latter to be the case, although a different view might be reached if we knew more about the activities and decisions of the paymaster. The attitude in Twickenham seems to have been less inclusive in its attitude to the poor and the workhouse a more inhospitable place. Although costs were higher than in Richmond, the number of relief claims refused by the open vestry suggests a harsher approach to the poor, although this may have resulted from a greater incidence of seasonal employment.

¹³¹ SHS, 2414/6/609: list of paupers relieved during the quarter ending 25 March 1837, Richmond Union.

¹³² TNA, MH 12/6900: LGB and its predecessors, correspondence.

Water supply

A subject that particularly concerned Richmond vestry from the late 1850s was the supply of water. The supply of water to Richmond had been in private hands for almost 200 years. In 1682/3, Peter Wally was granted a patent for a pump he had invented to convey water from the Thames to a house on Richmond Hill, and this started a process of laying pipes across the town.¹³³ During the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, drinking water came from wells, springs, and also from the Thames.¹³⁴ In 1835, in an attempt to improve the quality and supply of water, a new company – the Richmond Waterworks Company – was formed by Act of Parliament.¹³⁵ This allowed the installation of a new pumping station to pump water from the Thames, although the water produced was untreated and unfiltered.

Twickenham water was provided by the Grand Junction Water Company.¹³⁶ There is little mention of water supply in Twickenham in either vestry or local board minutes or the RTT, which suggests that supply arrangements were more adequate than in Richmond. This is possibly because the Grand Junction Company drew supply from Hampton, which is upstream from Richmond.

By the late 1850s, the deterioration in the condition of river water and the increase in the population of Richmond resulted in the position becoming so unacceptable that a committee of ratepayers was formed.¹³⁷ The poor quality of water was unsurprisingly disputed by the chairman of the Richmond Waterworks Company in November 1858.¹³⁸ The committee of ratepayers clearly did not agree with the chairman's assessment

¹³³ Cloake, *Cottages and common fields*, pp.217-218.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.327-328.

¹³⁵ 5 & 6 William IV, c.81.

¹³⁶ 15 & 16 Victoria I, c. 159.

¹³⁷ RLSL, *Richmond Water Supply; history of the struggle between the Richmond vestry and the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company, 1860-1877* (Kingston, 1877) uncatalogued.

¹³⁸ RLSL, *Richmond Pamphlets*, vol. 5, *Letter to the Inhabitants of Richmond*, November 1858 (uncatalogued).

because, in 1860, it wrote to the Grand Junction Waterworks Company asking it to supply the town. Grand Junction refused, but it later transpired that

this refusal was made at the suggestion of the engineer and solicitor of the Grand Junction Company, who were also the engineer and solicitor to the Southwark and Vauxhall Company, and who advised the latter company to undertake to supply the town of Richmond with water.¹³⁹

In reality, it is reasonable to assume that this was because of the agreement between the London water companies to divide the area into a number of supply monopolies that are mentioned in the following paragraph. As a result of the exchanges, the SVWC purchased the Richmond Waterworks Company in December 1860, subject to the approval of Parliament. The inhabitants of Richmond were concerned at this development because the SVWC were renowned for their high charges and poor water quality. The SVWC was formed in 1845 by a merger of the Southwark and Vauxhall water companies.¹⁴⁰ Until 1852, the company took water from the River Thames at Battersea. After that year, because of the contamination of the river and, in common with other companies drawing water from the Thames, it was forbidden from taking water for domestic use from below Teddington.¹⁴¹ In 1851, the company purchased ten acres of land at Hampton and obtained an Act of Parliament to allow it to establish a water intake there and to pipe water to Battersea for filtration and delivery.¹⁴²

The first half of the nineteenth century in London saw a change in supply from wells and pumps to piped and networked supply.¹⁴³ At the beginning of the century, there was competition between a number of water companies that ended in an 'informal district monopoly' of eight companies that was to last to 1902.¹⁴⁴ By the 1840s, an adequate supply of clean water was seen as necessary to improve public health 'and was often

¹³⁹ RLSL. *Richmond Water Supply; history of the struggle between the Richmond Vestry*, p.8.

¹⁴⁰ *Survey of London*, vol. 49, *Battersea, part 1*, ed., Andrew Saint, p.337.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.338.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Trentmann and Taylor, 'Liquid politics', p.204.

¹⁴⁴ Broich, *London; Water and the making of the modern city*, p.38.

fused with a Christian view on the symbolic properties of water and the moral value of cleanliness'.¹⁴⁵ Poor quality water sold at high prices was a common problem in and around London and other cities. The companies supplying it had little incentive to improve quality because water was not sold by the volume consumed but paid for by means of a water rate. The water rate was based initially on the size of property and later on the rateable value of properties.¹⁴⁶ As a result, water companies' profits increased as rateable values increased, which gave little motivation for them to improve quality or regularity of supply.¹⁴⁷ In addition, the companies had little incentive to supply water to poorer areas, where the risk of payment default was much greater than in more prosperous areas.

Disputes about the level of water rates and intermittent supply continued throughout the 1870s into the 1890s between 'the consumer' and the monopoly suppliers.¹⁴⁸ The 'consumers', in this context, were ratepayers, and thus the mass of water users were not generally included in discussions between payers and suppliers.¹⁴⁹ There was a tension between the wish of ratepayers to stop rates increasing and the need for clean water for public health purposes for the whole population. Several local lobby groups, or 'consumer defence organisations', were set up in places such as St Pancras, Hampstead, and Kensington, which lasted until the Water Rate Definition Act (1885). This gave responsibility for setting the rateable value to local authorities, which meant that companies had to deal with local bodies rather than individual consumers.¹⁵⁰ Protests against poor supply continued, with an increasing number of 'water famines' in East London and variable charges between different companies for the same commodity.¹⁵¹ The linking of water charges to property values in London had considerable financial implications because, as food prices and the cost of gas declined, the cost of water

¹⁴⁵ Trentmann and Taylor, 'From users to consumers', p.57.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.58.

¹⁴⁷ Broich, *London; Water and the making of the modern city*, p.9.

¹⁴⁸ Trentmann and Taylor, 'From users to consumers', p.64.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.59.

¹⁵⁰ Trentmann and Taylor, 'Liquid politics', p.209.

¹⁵¹ Trentmann and Taylor, 'From users to consumers', p.61.

continued to increase. This resulted in the water companies being accused of overcharging.¹⁵² This situation continued until the Conservative government bought out the companies and transferred control of London's water to the Metropolitan Water Board, under the 1902 Metropolitan Water Act.¹⁵³ The SVWC made two attempts to obtain Parliamentary sanction to its purchase of the Richmond company, once in 1861 and again in 1865. Both Bills were successfully opposed by the Richmond vestry. After the first attempt, the shares in the Richmond Company were transferred to the chairman and directors of the SVWC.¹⁵⁴ As a result, the Richmond company was owned by those that managed the SVWC.

There then followed several years of argument between the Richmond vestry and the SVWC over the quality of water that it supplied and the prices that it charged. For example, in 1866, the SVWC demanded £240 a year for watering the roads, instead of £120.¹⁵⁵ The medical officer of health for Richmond, in his report for 1875, reported that 'the water supplied by the Southwark and Vauxhall Company has been the subject of frequent complaint, and examination, being often turbid, and causing a considerable deposit in the cisterns'.¹⁵⁶ Richmond was not alone in its supply of poor quality water because a report on the quality of SVWC water commented that 'the water delivered to the public by the Southwark and Vauxhall Company's mains is turbid, with fungoid growths, and moving organisms'. At a meeting held in December 1877, Col. Beresford, MP for Southwark, said that SVWC water was the worst and dearest in the metropolis, and he quoted a recent LGB report that said that the water supplied was 'full of organisms'.¹⁵⁷

The bad relations between the vestry and the company continued. In October 1873, following protests by ratepayers at the cost and quality of water supplied to Richmond,

¹⁵² Trentmann and Taylor, 'From users to consumers', p.63.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.55.

¹⁵⁴ RLSL, *Richmond water supply*, p.8 (uncatalogued).

¹⁵⁵ RLSL, RVM, November 1866.

¹⁵⁶ RLSL, *Report on the sanitary conditions of the town of Richmond for the year of 1875*, medical officer of health, pp.8-9 (uncatalogued).

¹⁵⁷ *The Times*, 14 December 1877.

a resolution was passed by the vestry to take the supply of water into its own hands. There was also considerable concern about the intermittent supply because lack of water in 1870 resulted in part of the Star and Garter hotel being destroyed by fire.¹⁵⁸ The elevation of much of Richmond and the increased demand for water created by new houses with bathrooms and WCs was probably too great for the SVWC's existing pumping systems to deliver continuous supply. Intermittent supply was common in this period.

The vestry asked the SVWC to sell it the pipes and mains in the town. The company refused.¹⁵⁹ The vestry then decided to commission plans to be submitted to the LGB for the approval of a loan to drill an artesian well 'for supplying Richmond with a complete and constant supply of water'.¹⁶⁰ Following an inquiry in 1874, at which the SVWC objected to the scheme because of its right to supply water to the town, approval to the artesian scheme was given in 1875. The SVWC then gave notice that it intended to bring forward another Bill to enable it to continue to supply water to Richmond and took out an injunction to try to stop Richmond vestry drilling the well.¹⁶¹ Richmond vestry vigorously opposed the Bill and, as a result, it was withdrawn. The three defeats of the company in Parliament provide evidence of the influence that the vestry and the other well-connected inhabitants of Richmond could bring to bear when necessary. The company also lost the court case.

One interesting feature of the dispute between Richmond vestry and the SVWC was that Charles Burt, a prominent member of the Richmond vestry, was appointed legal advisor to SVWC in November 1876.¹⁶² Burt does not seem to have seen a conflict of his position, as, in his book on the Richmond vestry, he reports that he obtained an undertaking from the chairman of SVWC to 'deal liberally with Richmond'.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ RLSL. *Richmond water supply*, p.9 (uncatalogued).

¹⁵⁹ RLSL, R/V/18: RVM, October 1873.

¹⁶⁰ RLSL. *Richmond water supply*, p.12.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.15.

¹⁶² LMA, ACC 2558/ SV/01/14/001, SVWC court of directors' minute book, 30 November 1876.

¹⁶³ Burt, *The Richmond vestry*, p.10.

The chairman's commitment to Burt was not kept, as, on 13 December 1876, the Richmond vestry received a letter from the SVWC advising that it would cease to supply Richmond with water from 13 January 1877. It had concluded that, because of the recent court decision and its three failed attempts to obtain an Act in Parliament, it no longer had a right to supply Richmond with water.¹⁶⁴



Illustration 3.3: Richmond vestry Water Supply Committee in 1877.¹⁶⁵

On receipt of the company's letter, the vestry formed a water supply committee with full powers to act (**Illustration 3.3**). At the end of December, it issued a circular in which it advised inhabitants of the company's threat and promised to provide an ample supply of water at half the cost charged by the company.¹⁶⁶ The provision of water by the vestry required laying new mains and connecting them to the pipes of individual properties. This was an enormous task in a town with a population of over 15,000 people. As an emergency measure, stand pipes were erected in the streets and water was brought

¹⁶⁴ RLSL, R/V/19: RVM, December 1876. This letter is not mentioned in Mr Burt's account in *The Richmond Vestry* although he was recorded as present at the vestry meeting when the letter was discussed.

¹⁶⁵ RLSL, L352.6RA: Standing l to r. Sims, Giles, Hertslet, Selle, seated l. to r. Carless, Burdett and Gascoyne.

¹⁶⁶ RTT, 29 December 1877.

from the ponds in Richmond Park.¹⁶⁷ Around this time, there are differing accounts of the adequacy of the water supply. The RTT carried frequent stories that the potential sources of water had failed to provide nearly enough water to meet the demand. The annual reports of the medical officer, on the other hand, commented on the good quality and ample supply of water. The RTT was a major critic of the vestry on its handling of the water problem, but it was probably a more reliable source than the medical officer who was a vestry employee.

The water supply difficulties took place at a time of increasing demand for public hygiene and therefore water.¹⁶⁸ In Richmond, most of the semi-detached and detached houses on the slopes of Richmond Hill were built with water closets, and some with bathrooms. In addition, as discussed below, the Richmond public baths were opened in 1882.¹⁶⁹

The problems of water supply continued for much of the remainder of the life of the vestry. By June 1880, some £45,000 had been spent on water supply work since the SVWC withdrew supply.¹⁷⁰ Drilling continued from 1881 until 1886, without producing much water. The reports in the RTT suggest that there was considerable argument about the way forward, with one report in 1882 suggesting that ‘the Richmond Vestry are still perplexed with their water supply difficulties’. There were many complaints from ratepayers, representations to the LGB, and articles in national newspapers about the scarcity of water in Richmond. For example, a critical article in *The Times* in August 1883 referred to the artesian well as being largely experimental after expenditure of £40,000 against an estimate of £28,000.¹⁷¹ An article in *The Builder* in March 1884 referred to the well as ‘an utter waste of money... [that has] a yield of water at the rate of 5 ¾ gallons

¹⁶⁷ Cloake, *Richmond past*, p.110.

¹⁶⁸ Tom Crook, *Governing Systems, Modernity and the making of Public Health in England, 1830-1910* (California, 2016), p.251.

¹⁶⁹ RTT, 29 April 1882.

¹⁷⁰ TNA, MH 12/12614: LGB correspondence, 1888.

¹⁷¹ *The Times*, 28 August 1883

per minute'.¹⁷² As a result, in 1883, the vestry was forced to seek help from the SVWC, which duly obliged by reconnecting supply.¹⁷³

Despite these criticisms, the LGB agreed further loans of £3,000 in December 1884 and £4,000 in August 1885 for additional boring at the well and water pipes for new streets.¹⁷⁴ Towards the end of the 1880s, the reports of the town's affairs were more focused on incorporation and the sewerage system, which perhaps suggests that the water supply situation in Richmond improved. The LGB agreed a further loan of £6,000 in 1888 for a second borehole and, by November 1896, the first minutes of the new council's water committee to survive reported that the two wells were producing 222,508 gallons per day.¹⁷⁵

Contemporary accounts of Richmond's water supply problems do not explain why Richmond decided to take over supply when other LAs did not do so. It seems unlikely that the quality of water supplied to the town by the SVWC was worse than that to other customers. There were some factors that may have affected Richmond but not other authorities. First, local boards had been established in other parishes. As a result, the Richmond vestry probably felt under pressure, following public protests, to demonstrate that it could resolve the town's problems using the 1785 legislation. Second, as Richmond was outside the MBW area, it had freedom to act in this area. Attempts by the MBW to take over water supply around 1870 failed.¹⁷⁶ Finally, the inexperience of the vestry meant that it underestimated the ruthlessness of the SVWC and the difficulties of implementing a major infrastructure project. Also, it would not have been aware of the probable double-dealing of one of its members.

¹⁷² *The Builder*, vol. 46, 29 March 1884.

¹⁷³ TNA, MH 12/12608: LGB correspondence, January 1883-March 1884.

¹⁷⁴ TNA, MH 12/12609 and 12610: LGB correspondence, April 1884-June 1885.

¹⁷⁵ TNA, MH 12/12618 LGB: correspondence, May-December 1891; RLSL, *RBC minutes*, 8 December 1896.

¹⁷⁶ David Owen, *The Government of Victorian London, 1855-1889*, pp.134-136.

Public library and public baths

Two other smaller developments in the last decade of the vestry's responsibility for secular affairs provide interesting insights into the working of the vestry and the extent to which Richmond was in the forefront or vanguard for the introduction of new services. These were the opening of a public library in 1881 and the public baths in 1882.

The Public Libraries Act of 1850, amended by the Public Libraries Act of 1855, allowed most local authorities, with the agreement of their ratepayers, to set up public libraries.¹⁷⁷ The supporters of these Acts believed that access to libraries and reading rooms would provide a means of self-improvement. The initial effect of the Acts was relatively limited because the legislation was permissive only, and two-thirds of those voting in a special poll had to support a library proposal. The 1855 Act allowed local authorities to raise up to a one penny rate to be spent on buildings and books.¹⁷⁸ Adoption of the Act was slow because, by 1868, only 27 had done so, and around half of these were in the Midlands and the North of England.¹⁷⁹ In London, only Westminster opened a library in 1857.¹⁸⁰

A parochial library and reading room had existed in Richmond since 1855. Users had to pay a subscription, and, although it existed until 1880, it was moved to different locations several times and had financial difficulties. Richmond was the second local authority near London to open a public library under the 1855 Act. This was as a result of pressure from Edward King, the owner and editor of the RTT and the Richmond Ratepayers' Association rather than on the initiative of the vestry.¹⁸¹ The RTT published an editorial advocating the setting up of a public library in November 1878, and the Ratepayers' Association held a well-attended meeting in March 1879, at which a resolution to use a penny rate to fund

¹⁷⁷ 13 & 14 Victoria I, c. 65; 18 & 19 Victoria I, c. 70.

¹⁷⁸ Alistair Black, 'The people's university: models of public library history' in Alistair Black and Peter Hoare, ed., *The Cambridge history of libraries in Britain and Ireland, vol. III, 1850-2000* (Cambridge, 2006), p.25.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.27.

¹⁸⁰ Watson, *Westminster and Pimlico Past*, p.128.

¹⁸¹ RLSL, *Library history notes*. http://www.richmond.gov.uk/media/6333/local_history_richmond_library.pdf (May 2017).

a library was passed unanimously.¹⁸² Following a request by ten ratepayers, and as required by the Act, the vestry agreed to hold a poll of ratepayers to find out how many were in favour of the Act's adoption.¹⁸³ This produced the two-thirds of voters in favour of adoption as required by the Act.¹⁸⁴ The Act was duly adopted, and a committee of nine appointed to implement it.¹⁸⁵ The process of identifying a suitable site, obtaining a loan, and designing and building the library took almost two years. The library was opened on 18 June 1881. Its success was instant, as within three months, it was issuing 350 books a day. The original library building on Richmond Green still houses Richmond's lending library today.

The second service development of interest was the opening of a public baths. The Baths and Washhouses Act of 1846 was passed to encourage local authorities to open public baths and washhouses.¹⁸⁶ In the years following the passing of the Act, baths were opened in areas such as Whitechapel (1847) and Westminster (1849), but this was not followed in parishes on the borders of the metropolis.¹⁸⁷ This was no doubt because smaller communities could not afford the cost, and disease was not such an issue outside London.

In Richmond, the Public Baths and Lavatory Company was established in 1854 by eight prominent businessmen and vestrymen.¹⁸⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, that there was no initiative by the vestry to adopt the 1846 Act. The company was not successful because it was dissolved in 1861.¹⁸⁹ A private baths company was started in Kingston around the same time and lasted seven years.¹⁹⁰ This suggests that there was not sufficient custom to keep a privately-owned baths in business at this time.

¹⁸² RTT, 8 March 1879.

¹⁸³ RLSL, R/V/19: RVM, 25 February 1879.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 18 March 1879.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ 9 & 10 Victoria I c.74.

¹⁸⁷ Polly Bird, 'The origins of Victorian public baths, with special reference to Dulwich Baths' in *The Local Historian*, 25.3 (1995), p.144.

¹⁸⁸ TNA, BT 41/596/3269.

¹⁸⁹ TNA, BT 31/78/285.

¹⁹⁰ June Sampson, *Kingston past* (London, 1997), p.120.

An attempt to persuade the Richmond vestry to adopt the 1846 Act was made at a special meeting of the vestry in March 1872.¹⁹¹ The meeting was called at the instigation of John Maxwell, a Richmond vestryman and landowner. His motives are not recorded because he did not attend the meeting, but it is possible he wanted to sell the vestry a piece of his land for this purpose. The proposed adoption of the Act was rejected unanimously by the ten vestrymen at the meeting. The reason given was the number of other issues before the vestry that required its attention.

In June 1877, Charles Burt proposed to the vestry that a committee should be established to investigate the building of a swimming baths with public baths.¹⁹² The vestry agreed. Presumably this was because public baths that had facilities for swimming were more likely to be acceptable to ratepayers than baths that did not provide this facility. It may also have seen it as a way of addressing ratepayers' grievances over the water supply problem, but, if so, this was not recorded. The vestry adopted the 1846 Act in September 1880 and borrowed £7,800 from the LGB in 1881 to build the baths.¹⁹³ They were opened on 22 April 1882 by the Duke of Teck.¹⁹⁴ They had warm baths for washing and a swimming pool. In the first year, almost 16,000 tickets were issued for the former and 37,000 for the latter.¹⁹⁵ Although Richmond was well behind some parishes nearer to the centre of the metropolis in building baths, it was in front of its neighbours. For example, Battersea baths were not opened until 1889, Dulwich in 1892, Kingston in 1897, and Wandsworth in 1901.¹⁹⁶

The end of the vestries

The Richmond and Twickenham vestries lost their responsibility for secular affairs some 20 years apart, 1868 in the case of Twickenham and 1890 in Richmond. In both cases,

¹⁹¹ *Surrey Comet*, 22 March 1872.

¹⁹² RTT, 9 June 1877.

¹⁹³ RTT, 28 September 1880; TNA MH 12/12607: LGB correspondence, 1882-82.

¹⁹⁴ RTT, 29 April 1882.

¹⁹⁵ RLSL, RVM, public baths committee, 12 March 1885.

¹⁹⁶ *Survey of London, vol. 49, Battersea, part 1, ed., Saint*, pp.49-50; Bird, 'The origins of Victorian public baths', p.144; Butters, *That famous place*, p.298.

the community concluded that local government by vestry could not meet the needs of their town in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Twickenham

The powers of the open vestry in Twickenham were limited to those permissible under seventeenth century legislation. They had been amended slightly by the adoption of a small amount of nineteenth century legislation. By 1871, the population of Twickenham had grown to 10,533, with some 2,000 houses recorded in the 1871 census, and there was a need to build the infrastructure, such as sewers, required by a population of this size. In addition, the passing of the Thames Conservancy Act in 1867, which prohibited the flow of sewerage into the Thames from Staines to Putney, must have created an incentive to cease this practice in Twickenham. A poorly attended open vestry with limited administrative support and insufficient statutory powers was not able to deliver this. To remedy the situation, it was proposed to create a local board under the Local Government Act of 1858.

A meeting of the 'owners and ratepayers' of the parish of Twickenham was held on 31 October 1867 to consider the following resolution proposed by the vicar: 'That the Local Government Act, 1858, be adopted by the parish of Twickenham'.¹⁹⁷ A note signed by some of the landowners that lived locally and other prominent members of the parish was sent to the LGB.¹⁹⁸ Because of its tone and content, it is reasonable to assume that it was circulated in the village. It advanced the following reasons for the creation of a board: 'Sewers and drains adequate for the complete drainage of the whole parish, and effectual means of disposing of the sewage are imperatively and immediately required by the Thames Navigation Act of 1866'. It also set out the powers of a local board under the Local Government Act, namely that it

¹⁹⁷ TNA, MH 13/189: General Board of Health, Local Government Act Office, correspondence, Twickenham, 1848-1867.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

conserves the rights of self-government to each parish and gives powers for drainage by public sewers, house drainage, and proper water supply, it provides for the lighting, paving, repairing, cleansing and watering of the streets; for the effectual removal of nuisances: it permits for the establishment of pleasure grounds and public walks, and for removal of all obstructions and dangerous erections...The board is chosen by the ratepayers and one third of members retire each year, but may be re-elected. No business may be conducted unless a third of board members are present.

The note continues that the expenses of working the Act 'need never be greater than the necessities of the parish'. The costs incurred by the board could not be charged on the poor rate but were provided by a 'General District Rate'. The cost of sewer work could be borrowed and repaid over 30 years. The note concluded that, if the vote rejected the resolution, the Secretary of State could impose the adoption of the Act.

The vestry minutes record that the meeting was attended by 824 parishioners, and 582 voted for the resolution and 242 against, a majority of 340.¹⁹⁹ Thus, 70% of those attending the meeting voted in favour, which was in excess of the two-thirds required by the Act.

As discussed in **Chapter 4**, elections to the new board took place early in 1868, and its first meeting was held on 19 February 1868. The vestry remained in existence, responsible for ecclesiastical matters only.

Richmond

The demise of the Richmond vestry occurred in 1890, some 20 years after that of Twickenham. The debate about the removal of the vestry's secular responsibilities by an application for incorporation lasted 13 years. Because it was covered by the RTT, we have more information on the position of both sides and some of the personalities involved. It is a story of the vestry trying to protect its position for as long as possible against a

¹⁹⁹ LMA, DRO/174/C/01/10: TVM, 31 October 1867.

background of water supply and waste disposal problems. In addition, neighbouring communities were administered by local boards or came within the remit of the MBW. Both were based on more recent legislation than the Richmond vestry and were perceived by many to be more relevant to the late nineteenth century.

The first meeting to discuss the 'proposed incorporation of Richmond' was organised by the Richmond Ratepayers' Association, an organisation formed because of the 'very extraordinary way in which the canvassing for votes for elections to the vestry has been conducted for some time past'.²⁰⁰ The meeting was told that 'a corporation would possess larger powers than the vestry', that the current system of elections and the ex-officio membership of the vestry were unsuitable for 'an important town such as Richmond', and the 'prestige of incorporation would tend to advance the interests of the town materially'. The interest of the ratepayers' association and possibly others resulted in the vestry asking the parish clerk to prepare a note on incorporation, and this was presented to a meeting of the vestry on 28 January 1878.²⁰¹ The note envisaged that, if incorporation took place, the vestry would remain in place responsible for collecting the poor rate and managing the parish property, but would no longer act as the 'urban authority'. The parish clerk advised that

the town council would act as the urban authority according to the laws of the time...and would have management of the highways, the sewers and everything appertaining to the government of the town...and would make the highway rate, the borough rate, in fact all rates (except the poor rate) which they might deem necessary...²⁰²

Following a few questions about cost, no further action was proposed.

²⁰⁰ RTT, 20 October 1877.

²⁰¹ RTT, 2 February 1878.

²⁰² Ibid.

Another public meeting was apparently held in July 1883, of which no account survives, at which there was a large vote in favour of incorporation.²⁰³ A year later, a leading article appeared in the RTT supporting incorporation.²⁰⁴ It argued that

Richmond had outgrown the limits of a mere rural village for which the administration of a vestry was doubtless sufficient and our sanitary arrangements and powers are by no means commensurate with the immense growth of population.

There was no further public discussion until June 1886, when vestryman F. Trevor (who was a senior clerk at the India Office) raised the desirability of dividing the parish into wards. Although not explicit in the vestry minutes, the adoption in 1861 of the terms of the Local Government Act, 1858 and the Public Health Act, 1848 for the election of vestrymen had resulted in a geographical and wealth imbalance in vestry membership. As already mentioned, the new provisions required one-third of vestry members to retire each year, but it also introduced a system of multiple votes for one individual according to the rentable value of properties occupied. Accordingly, a person eligible to vote living in a property in the lowest band eligible to vote had one vote and another person living in the highest band had six votes.

Based on the addresses of vestrymen recorded in the 1881 census, most of them lived in old established areas of grand houses around The Green, on Richmond Hill, or in the new large houses built in the 1860s and 1870s in Church Road, Kings Road, and Queens Road. Virtually none of the vestrymen came from areas with smaller houses built in the 1860s and 1870s or from areas frequented by tradesmen and shopkeepers in the centre of town, such as George Street and King Street. This gave rise to accusations that the vestry was not interested in some parts of the parish. The turnover in Richmond's population must have meant that the vestry was very remote from many areas and inhabitants of the parish.

²⁰³ Burt, *The Richmond vestry*, p.64.

²⁰⁴ RTT, 27 December 1884.

Because of the intervention by Mr Trevor, the vestry appointed a committee to look at the creation of wards, which reported in the autumn of 1886. Following the firm rejection in November 1886 by the vestry of the committee's recommendation to create wards, there was a public protest in the town. The chairman of the vestry, Major Bull, said that, in his opinion, a bolder scheme was required, namely incorporation.²⁰⁵ The vestry then decided that, as 1887 was jubilee year, any further consideration should be delayed until October of that year.

Those in favour of incorporation argued that it would give the borough council powers more appropriate to the needs of the town in the late nineteenth century. It would also create a corporation and the position of mayor that would command greater respect than the vestry. The mayor would be able to represent the town and take the lead on issues that affected it. The proponents of incorporation were also keen to change the electoral system by the introduction of wards. Incorporation would also remove from the governance of the town's secular affairs owners of property who lived outside the parish and ex-officio members of the vestry, such as the vicar, churchwardens, and JPs who lived in Richmond.²⁰⁶

Those against incorporation, led by Charles Burt, argued that a council with the town divided into wards would result in the election of new individuals who would not have the experience of current vestry members to deal with the difficult issues that faced the town; there would be increased costs incurred by the mayor and the additional officials that a council would need to appoint; and there was a danger that party politics would be brought into local affairs. They concluded that, as the vestry would need to be retained to collect the poor rate, it might as well continue all its existing responsibilities.²⁰⁷

A committee appointed to consider incorporation reported back at the end of 1887. The report concluded that a poll should be taken to assess the views of the town. At a first

²⁰⁵ RTT, 1 January 1887.

²⁰⁶ RTT, 20 November 1886.

²⁰⁷ RTT, 27 November 1886.

meeting to discuss the report, the vestry voted against a poll, but, following considerable protest, the vestry reversed this decision and decided to hold a poll of ratepayers to find out the extent of support for incorporation and creating wards but retaining the vestry. In the second vote, the poll was supported by 14 vestrymen and opposed by 11. The result of the poll of ratepayers which took place on 15 February 1888 was 1,712 votes in favour of incorporation and 550 against, and 425 in favour of vestry wards and 1,189 against.²⁰⁸

The result of the poll was reported to the vestry at a meeting on 21 February (as item 14 of an agenda of 20 subjects!), and it was decided to appoint a committee 'to give effect to the vote of the ratepayers, and in the first place, to prepare a petition to Her Majesty in Council for a Charter of Incorporation'.²⁰⁹ At a subsequent meeting, it was also agreed that the committee should prepare a scheme for incorporation. A scheme was eventually agreed by the vestry and in April 1888, a petition for incorporation, signed by 2,000 people, was presented to the Privy Council, and a local enquiry was held in July 1888, at which no opponents to incorporation appeared.²¹⁰ There followed several months of discussion about the future role of the vestry in terms of the poor rate and the ownership of parish lands. In the end, the Privy Council refused to allow the new council to be responsible for the poor rate, and they consented only to the transfer of some of the parish lands. Because of these difficulties, another poll of ratepayers on incorporation was undertaken in March 1890, which resulted in 1,875 votes in favour of incorporation and 686 against. The Queen in Council agreed the charter of incorporation on 10 June 1890.²¹¹

Conclusion

The vestries in Richmond and Twickenham took very different paths during the nineteenth century. This was due to their origins in the eighteenth century and to the

²⁰⁸ RTT, 18 February 1888.

²⁰⁹ RLSL, R/V/21: RVM, 21 February 1888.

²¹⁰ TNA, MH 12/12614, LGB correspondence, 1888.

²¹¹ Burt, *The Richmond vestry*, p. 93.

nature of the communities that they were serving. The Richmond vestry avoided the antagonism experienced in the first decades of the century by those vestries where vestrymen were appointed from a select clique rather than by election. Nevertheless, the system adopted by Richmond managed to ensure that the better off and local landowners retained a position of pre-eminence on the vestry. After 1861, although vestrymen were elected to the Richmond vestry for a three-year term, there was no limit to the number of terms that they could serve, and the system of multiple voting enabled the same cadre of property and professional interests to maintain its dominance over vestry affairs until 1890. By this time, the powers available and the nature of a vestry compared to a borough council were not thought adequate to meet the needs of a town of almost 23,000 people. In addition to its statutory background that was advantageous to its survival, the vestry seems to have done a reasonably good job in governing the town, free from financial excess and scandal. Its administration of the poor law was commended by the commission of inquiry into the poor law in 1834, and it could arrive at a workable compromise between levels of expenditure sufficient to meet the secular needs of the parish and the willingness of ratepayers to pay their dues. Although it had no formal powers over residential building for most of its existence, vestrymen acting corporately and individually, used their position to maintain the status and character of the town. In its latter years, it saw through the building of public amenities, such as public baths and a public library. The problems that it experienced in the supply of water, its lack of powers to develop a sewage system, and, by 1890, the outdated composition of the vestry meant that it did not meet the needs of the town during the 1880s. Most vestry members were slow to recognise this, and as a result, the process of local government change lasted longer than necessary.

Twickenham twice rejected a proposal to establish a select vestry, and it remained an open vestry throughout, with minimal involvement of most ratepayers in the governance of the parish. The participants in vestry meetings were mainly tradesmen and shopkeepers, and there were very few professionals or those with land interests involved. Vestry business was largely limited to administering poor relief, the

maintenance of highways, and parish charities. Because of these limitations, its powers were found lacking some 20 years earlier than occurred in Richmond.

Thus, two communities on opposite banks of the River Thames had different forms of vestry administration over secular affairs. This situation reflected the extent to which the more eminent and prosperous members of the community were prepared to become involved in the vestry. In Richmond, some of the town's gentry took an active interest and spent much of their time in the town. In Twickenham, where larger houses were occupied for leisure purposes and much of the land was owned by land owners that were not resident in the parish, the gentry showed little interest in local governance.

Chapter 4: Local government towards the end of the nineteenth century

Background

The previous chapter looked at local governance in Richmond and Twickenham in a period when, for most of the time, LAs had limited powers, there was little involvement by the state or JPs, and there were small electorates with most inhabitants excluded from the government of local affairs.¹ The last 30 years of the nineteenth century saw greater interest in local government by the state, with more legislation that affected local authorities, albeit much of it enabling rather than mandatory. There were also significant changes in the local government of both towns from select or open vestries to a borough council in Richmond in 1890, and in Twickenham, a local board in 1868 followed by an urban district council in 1895. In common with other towns, the local Boards of Guardians continued to administer the poor law into the next century.

This chapter looks at the formation of the TLB and Twickenham UDC and the Borough of Richmond. It questions how their business was influenced by, and differed from, their vestry predecessors, and how the local authorities in each town were distinct from each other, in terms of structure, membership, and operations. It examines the influence that some key members had on each authority's business, the consequences of the wider electoral franchise on each authority's membership, and the influence, if any, of political parties. It also investigates the relationship that the Richmond and Twickenham authorities had with other boards, their respective county councils, and the LGB. A key issue in the last 30 years of the century was the construction of infrastructure. **Chapter 3** considered water supply. This chapter questions the causes of the difficulties that both communities experienced in constructing adequate sewerage systems. It asks to what extent these problems were exacerbated by the effective single tier status of both bodies in this area and the problems involved in linking up with other neighbouring authorities.

¹ B.M. Doyle 'The changing functions of urban government', p.287.

It also looks at the financial structure and rateable values of the authorities and the financial implications of building sanitation infrastructure and other projects on authority finances.

Before examining the course of local government in Richmond and Twickenham in the last 30 years of the nineteenth century, it is necessary to consider some of the developments in local government more generally. The Representation of the People Acts of 1867 and 1884 and the Municipal Franchise Act of 1869 greatly increased the size of the electorate.² The 1867 Act gave the vote to 'respectable urban working-class men', namely borough householders that met a one-year residency qualification and lodgers that had paid an annual rent of £10 for at least a year.³ In the counties, the franchise was limited to those occupying lands with a rental value of £12 per year. The Reform Act of 1884 extended the borough provisions of the 1867 Act to the counties. The 1869 Municipal Franchise Act reduced the period during which rates had to be paid from 30 months to one year and gave the right to vote to women ratepayers and all those living in compounded properties if they met the other qualifications that entitled the occupants to vote.⁴

For Richmond and Twickenham no electoral registers have survived for parish and local board elections before 1889. As a result, it is not possible to assess the extent to which the electorate for local elections increased between the 1870s and 1890s.⁵ However, the electoral registers for Parliamentary elections provide an indication of the increase in the size of the electorate. In Richmond, it increased from 263 electors in 1865-66 to 1,132 in 1870 and 4,675 in 1900.⁶

² 30 & 31, Victoria I, c.102; 32 & 33 Victoria I, c.55.

³ J.F.C. Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain, 1875-1901* (Oxford, 1991), p.22.

⁴ E.P. Hennock, *Fit and proper persons, ideal and reality in nineteenth-century urban government* (London, 1973), p.11.

⁵ TNA, RG 10/867,868,869; SHS, Mid-Surrey Electoral Roll, 1871-72: Electoral Registers for the Mid-Surrey parliamentary constituency, which Richmond was part of up to 1885, have survived. In 1871, 32% of men over 21 years were enfranchised.

⁶ SHS, QS/7A/61; QS6/7A/75; CC802/11/1: Surrey, Eastern Division, register of electors, 1865-66, pp.208-216; Surrey, Mid Division, 1870, pp.6172-7304; Kingston Division, 1900, pp.479-699. No registers of electors exist for Twickenham prior to 1883.

Chapter 3 described the limited number of votes cast in the elections for vestrymen in Richmond before 1890. As discussed later in this chapter, the number of votes cast for the election of Twickenham local board members in the 1870s was also relatively small. By 1891, 65% of males aged 21 years and over were entitled to vote in council elections in Richmond, and this figure had increased to 72% in 1901.⁷ The equivalent figures for Twickenham were 63% in 1891 and 73% in 1901.⁸ Thus, during the last 30 years of the century, there was a significant increase in the extent to which most male inhabitants were able to participate in local politics, even if this was limited for most of them to casting a vote periodically. This influenced the category of person that was elected. For example, it is unlikely that William Thompson could have been elected under the vestry franchise.

Parallel developments in some towns were ratepayers' associations, although in many towns they remained peripheral.⁹ In Richmond and Twickenham, there is some evidence of the existence of such organisations, for example, in opposing expenditure on Twickenham sewers in the 1870s or endorsing candidates for the first Richmond Borough elections. However, they appear to have been temporary organisations for a limited purpose rather than a permanent feature of either town's local government.

One of the characteristics of the mid-Victorian period to 1880 was the presumption against central government in favour of local government, although some more realistic politicians recognised that Whitehall should have an enabling role, particularly in social policy.¹⁰ This approach to local government resulted in many local Acts of Parliament and created a diverse structure with many single function bodies. Thus, Hoppen estimates that, after 1870, boroughs could be served by town councils, guardians, school boards,

⁷ RLSL, *Richmond burgess rolls*, 1891-92 and 1901-02; TNA, RG 12/619-622: census returns, Richmond, 1891; 1902 (Cd.1272).

⁸ CLHL, *Twickenham electoral registers*, 1891-92 and 1901-02; TNA, RG 12/1026-1027: census returns, Twickenham, 1891; PA, 1902 (Cd.1211).

⁹ M.J. Daunton, 'Urban Britain', in ed., T.R. Gourvish and Alan O'Day, *Later Victorian Britain 1867-1900* (London, 1988), p.45.

¹⁰ K. Theodore Hoppen, *The mid-Victorian generation, 1846-86*, p.105.

improvement commissioners, and sanitation boards.¹¹ The Richmond Act of 1785 and the creation of the local board in Twickenham largely spared both towns of a multiplicity of single function boards. Both towns probably had a more co-ordinated approach to governance than may have been the case elsewhere. More generally, the situation was not resolved to any extent until the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894. The former established county councils, including the LCC, and the latter replaced urban sanitary authorities with urban district councils. The 1894 Act had no effect on Richmond, as it had become a municipal borough in 1890, but the TLB was abolished and replaced by Twickenham UDC because of this Act.

Another characteristic of local government in this period was the significant expansion in the areas in which some authorities became involved and different views on whether service provision should be left to the private sector or provided by local government. All authorities had a statutory requirement to provide sanitation, but many also became involved in the supply of water, gas, electricity, and the building of tramways.¹² Kellett differentiates between three strands of municipal activity: municipal socialism, municipal enterprise, and municipal trading.¹³ 'Municipal socialism' was a term first used in the 1880s and early 1890s and is associated mainly with the LCC. Its principal components were the municipalisation of water, gas, and trams, the equalisation of rates between wealthier and poorer parishes, public housing, and fair wages for all municipal employees. Although it originated from beliefs on how municipal tasks should be undertaken, it became viewed by some as a means by which local socialism could be realised. Municipal ownership of water, gas, and the trams were reasonably common in some northern cities and in the Midlands, but, in London, these services remained in private ownership throughout the nineteenth century.

¹¹ Hoppen, *The mid-Victorian generation, 1846-86*, p.107.

¹² Robert Millward, 'Urban government, finance and public health in Victorian Britain', in ed., R.J. Morris and R.H. Trainer, *Urban governance, Britain and Beyond since 1750* (Aldershot, 2000), pp.48-51.

¹³ J R Kellett, 'Municipal socialism, enterprise and trading in the Victorian city' in *Urban History Yearbook* (Leicester, 1978), pp.36-45.

'Municipal enterprise' was more neutral and covered areas where there was more consensus about the involvement of municipal government, such as the laying of main sewers and controlling service drainage. Kellett quotes a speech given in 1900 by Henry Fowler (1830-1911), a Liberal politician, in which the latter sets out three phases in which municipal involvement in areas gained acceptance.¹⁴ The first concerned protecting the peace, maintenance of roads, and the preservation of public health. There followed later 'provision for the intellectual wants of the community', namely education, free libraries, and parks and open spaces. Finally, there were activities that involved enterprises, where the relevant expenditure which Fowler believed could be distinguished from the primary objectives for which local taxation was raised. These included areas such as waterworks, gas works, tramways, and electric lighting. Fowler's latter category is similar to Kellett's third strand of 'municipal trading'. These were activities that could be and, in many towns and cities, were delivered by the private sector, such as gas and tramways. Municipal provision allowed profits to reduce rates rather than be shared only with shareholders.

Those on the left of politics believed that municipal provision of all three of Kellett's strands brought about the democratic control of public services. The local authorities in Richmond were prepared to be involved in the supply of water and sanitation, a public library, and public baths. It was not prepared to be involved in tramways, gas, or electricity supply that it believed should be left to the private sector. Twickenham followed the same course, except for water, which was supplied by a private company.

The increase in municipal activity had a significant impact on local authority finances nationally. There was an increase in the total indebtedness of local authorities from £84.2 million in 1873-74 to £393.9 million in 1903-04.¹⁵ Because of servicing this debt and running the new services, the rates increased in many places in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In London, the level of rates levied increased by 36% between

¹⁴ ODNB, vol. 20, pp.580-2; Henry Hartley Fowler, 'Municipal Finance and Municipal Enterprise' in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 63.3 (1900), pp.383-407.

¹⁵ Davis, 'Central government and the towns', p.265.

1873-74 and 1880-81, by 45% between 1880-81 and 1890-91 and 41% between 1890-91 and 1899-1900.¹⁶ This represented an increase of 177% over some 25 years. Part of this increase will have been met from increases in rateable values, but there were also significant increases in the levels in the pound at which the rates were levied.

The following sections look at the formation of the local board and urban district council in Twickenham and the borough council in Richmond, the composition of their membership, and some of the more important authority members in greater depth. The development of adequate sewerage systems is considered together with the municipal finances of both towns.

The formation of the Twickenham local board and the urban district council.

Twickenham local board

For reasons set out in the previous chapter, in October 1867, Twickenham voted to replace the open vestry, to adopt the Local Government Act of 1858, and thereby to elect a local board to provide local governance for the parish. Twickenham had not benefited from the work carried out by the MCS before its abolition in 1855. A sewer system was now necessary because of the increasing population and the Thames Conservancy Act of 1867, which prohibited the discharge of effluent into the Thames.¹⁷ The vestry did not have the powers to build sewers. However, Twickenham was by no means the first parish in the area to take this step. Ealing and Hampton Wick elected a local board in June 1863, Hampton in 1865, and Teddington in 1867.¹⁸ The Brentford local board was not established until 1874. The reasons for these differences in timing probably resulted from the extent to which individuals took the initiative to put in place the arrangements required by the 1858 Act and the individual circumstances of the parish. In Teddington,

¹⁶ Davis, *Reforming London*, Appendix 3.

¹⁷ 30 & 31 Victoria I, c. 101.

¹⁸ Jones, *Ealing, from village to corporate town, or forty years of municipal life* (Ealing, 1903); RLSL, HW/LB/1: Hampton Wick Local Board *minutes*; RLSL, HP/LB/1: Hampton Local Board *minutes*; RLSL, Te/LB/1: Teddington Local Board *minutes*; G. D. Heath, *The formation of the local boards of Twickenham, Teddington, Hampton and Hampton Wick*, (Twickenham, 1967), p.13.

the need for a sewage system was an important factor, but in Ealing the situation was a little more complicated, as the local board was formed as part of its separation from Brentford.

The TLB met for the first time on 19 February 1868. Under the 1858 Act, local boards were granted powers to undertake or enter contracts for sanitation purposes, purchase land, buildings, machinery, and materials for the disposal of sewage, undertake the supply of water, take measures concerning street nuisances, fires, and bathing, make regulations concerning the prevention of smoke and slaughter houses, establish markets, make regulations concerning the construction of streets and buildings, and provide a watch and lighting. To enable them to fulfil these tasks, local boards had the power to levy a rate and to borrow money for the purposes of undertaking works concerning sewers and water supply.¹⁹

Unfortunately, the copies of MC have not survived for 1868 and, as there is no mention of the new board in other local papers of the time, we must rely on the board minutes for accounts of its early meetings. At a public meeting on the 23 January 1868, it was decided that there should be 27 members of the board and, sometime between this date and 19 February, elections for board members were held.²⁰ No records have survived of the electoral register, the number of candidates that stood for election, or the number of votes that each candidate received. In view of the number of candidates that stood in subsequent elections in the 1870s, as outlined below, it is reasonable to assume that there was considerable interest in board membership and the election.

Board members

As mentioned in **Chapter 3**, 48 property owners and ratepayers signed a petition to their fellow parishioners to vote for a local board.²¹ Seventeen of these men became members

¹⁹ TNA, MH 13/189: General Board of Health, Local Government Act Office, correspondence, Twickenham, 1848-1867.

²⁰ LMA, DRO/174/C/01/10: TVM, 23 January 1868.

²¹ TNA, MH 13/189: General Board of Health, Local Government Act Office, correspondence, Twickenham, 1848-1867.

of the new board. The first board was dominated by 11 members that were local shopkeepers and tradesmen, working or retired. There were also three market gardeners, reflecting the rural character of part of the parish, three professionals, two magistrates, two builders, and two members who were living off their own means. The full membership of the first TLB is shown in **Appendix 6, Table A6.1**. This occupational composition is rather different to that in Richmond around the same time, where around 40% of vestry members were professionals and 20% were tradesmen or shopkeepers. Because of the operational role that local authority members were expected to carry out at this time, the occupations and skills of its members were probably not those required by the board to take on large capital projects.²² Unlike borough councils, there was no mayor or aldermen, and the board was led by a chairman who was elected annually. This was usually an individual of some standing locally, who had been a member of the board for some years.

There were two members of the first board who are worthy of mention, both of whom were builders that came to Twickenham in the mid-1860s.²³ Henry Little (1833-1914) and his brother Alfred were the sons of Jeremiah Little, a Kensington builder.²⁴ The 1871 census of Twickenham records that Henry employed 25 men. During their time in Twickenham, the Littles developed the Cambridge Park estate in East Twickenham, which is discussed in **Chapter 3**. Henry's first period on the board ended in 1877, when he moved to Stoke Newington, where the 1881 census records him as a builder employing 14 men.²⁵ He returned to Twickenham in 1886 when his brother, who had also become a member of the Board, resigned. Henry was re-elected to the board and remained a member of it and its successor body, the UDC, until 1911.²⁶ He was chairman of the latter in 1900. He was also the East Twickenham representative on the Middlesex

²² Hennock, *Fit and proper persons*, p.8.

²³ A relatively small amount of biographical information is available for members of the TLB and UDC.

²⁴ Survey of London, vol. 37, *Northern Kensington*, ed., Sheppard, pp.42-48; RTT, 18 April 1914; TNA, RG 10/1315, f. 135.

²⁵ RG 11/1330, f.51.

²⁶ RTT, 18 April 1914.

County Council. There is no evidence in authority minutes that the Littles tried to influence the board to their commercial advantage.

The second builder was Charles Freake (1814-1884), also from Kensington, who owned property in Twickenham, although there is little evidence that he played a role in the residential development of the town. His building activities over a period of 50 years involved houses in Belgravia, South Kensington, and Westminster.²⁷ In addition to being a builder, he was also an architect, patron of music and the arts and he built the National Training School of Music in Kensington. He was made a baronet in 1882.²⁸ His connection with Twickenham began around 1851.²⁹ He lived first in Cross Deep and in 1872, he purchased the Fulwell estate to the west of the parish, which he owned until his death, although, towards the end of his life, he did not live there.³⁰ He resigned from the local board in 1871.³¹ He built the town hall in Twickenham that was used by the local board for its meetings and a free library from 1877.³²

Board membership seems to have been relatively attractive because, although no records have survived of the first election, as a third of the board had to resign each year, we have the local paper accounts of the subsequent elections in the early 1870s. These report rivalries between candidates, some of which were personal in character.³³

There were 47 candidates for the 9 vacancies in 1871, when all the retiring candidates were re-elected.³⁴ In 1872, 7 out of 9 retiring members were re-elected, although the number of candidates was not reported; in 1873 there were 29 candidates for 9 vacancies and, of the retiring members, 2 did not stand and 1 was not re-elected; and, in 1874, there were 33 candidates for 9 vacancies, but it was not reported how many of the

²⁷ Survey of London, vol. 37, *Northern Kensington*, ed., Sheppard, pp.101-117.

²⁸ RTT, 11 October 1884.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ RLSL, TW/LB/1: TLB, *minutes*, 21 August 1871.

³² RTT, 11 October 1884.

³³ MC, 11 February 1871.

³⁴ MC, 18 February 1871.

retiring members were re-elected.³⁵ The relatively high level of re-election does not suggest much dis-satisfaction with TLB. By the mid-1880s, there was less competition as, in 1886, there were only 16 candidates for 7 places.³⁶

By 1880, only one-third of those elected in 1868 remained on the board, although the net result of these changes in personnel was a similar mix of occupations amongst members. Of the 27 members, it was possible to trace 25 individuals and their occupations which can be categorised as follows: two magistrates, two ex-army officers, three builders, three market gardeners, eight local tradesmen, four professionals, one living off his own means, and five miscellaneous. Thus, the largest group of board members by occupation into the 1880s continued to be local tradesmen and other local businessmen, with a small proportion of professional men only.

Twickenham Urban District Council

In 1895, in common with other local boards, the TLB was abolished under the Local Government Act, 1894, and an UDC was established in its place. As part of this change, the town was divided into four wards, with six representatives for each ward.³⁷ For the first election, there were 40 candidates for the 24 seats, of which 22 candidates were members of the defunct board. Only 12 of the latter were elected.³⁸ This suggests that the introduction of wards made it easier for some to be elected because they only had to canvass support across the ward rather than the whole parish. The evidence of public interest in the election is mixed. The number of candidates suggests that membership of the new council was considered worthwhile, and there is one account in the paper of a public meeting with the candidates in the east ward.³⁹ MC reported, without supporting figures, that only one-third of the electorate cast their vote.⁴⁰ This lack of interest is

³⁵ MC, 17 February 1872, 15 February 1873, 14 February 1874.

³⁶ RTT, 10 April 1886.

³⁷ RLSL, TW/UDC/1: Twickenham UDC, *minutes*, 2 January 1895.

³⁸ MC, 22 December 1894.

³⁹ TVT, 5 December 1894.

⁴⁰ MC, 22 December 1894.

supported by press accounts of elections in two wards in 1897, when the turnout was only 35%.⁴¹

The formation of the UDC saw an increase in the number of men with a profession as members of the new council, at the expense of local tradesmen and those with an independent means. Those with a profession comprised 25% of the members. Despite the change in the franchise, only two members of the council had occupations that classified them as ‘working men’, namely, one paperhanger and one print salesman. A full list of the members of the first Twickenham UDC is in **Appendix 6, Table A6.2**. The minutes of the UDC suggest that the nature and conduct of its business up to 1900 was a continuation of that of the TLB.

The formation of the borough of Richmond

Incorporation

The inhabitants of Richmond were informed that ‘the Queen had directed the Lord Chancellor to affix the Great Seal to the Charter of Incorporation of Richmond as a Municipal Borough’ in a letter to the Editor of the RTT from one of the main supporters of incorporation, Thomas Skewes-Cox, dated 4 July 1890.⁴² The charter was brought to Richmond some two weeks later by the provisional mayor and paraded through the streets as part of the public celebrations attended by thousands of people (**Illustration 4.1**).⁴³

The town was incorporated under the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, which allowed the inhabitants of a town to petition for incorporation.⁴⁴ Where a petition was successful, a committee of the Privy Council drew up a ‘scheme’ that covered such matters as the boundaries of the new borough and the powers and responsibilities to be transferred from its predecessor body or bodies. The Richmond

⁴¹ MC, 29 March 1897.

⁴² RTT, 5 July 1890.

⁴³ RTT, 26 July 1890.

⁴⁴ 45 & 46 Victoria C.50.

'scheme' provided for the election of a mayor and for the borough to be divided into four wards, with two aldermen and six councillors for each ward. This arrangement no doubt



Illustration 4.1: The Charter on its way through George Street.⁴⁵

satisfied the town's own view of its superior status, compared to the chairman and board members that were elected to local boards.

The scheme also set out the arrangements for the election of the councillors to take place on 1 November 1890, under the supervision of an acting mayor and town clerk. The first meeting of the new council was to take place on 10 November 1890, at which the first mayor and aldermen were to be elected. One third of councillors were to retire each year, starting in November 1891, when the two councillors in each ward with the

⁴⁵ RLSL, LCF/2200.

least votes would be required to retire, followed by the two men that received the next smallest number of votes in November 1892. The four aldermen with the least votes were to resign in 1893, with the other four to resign in 1896. In all cases, the individuals that were required to resign could seek re-election.

The election of councillors

The election generated a considerable amount of interest. Before the elections, some of the candidates took out adverts in the local paper, setting out their suitability as prospective councillors. For example, Frederick Robinson, a successful candidate who was elected for the east ward, in a note which appeared in the RTT, said:

having retired from practice as a solicitor, [he had] business habits and ample leisure...[he had] no special interest to serve, having been now a ratepayer in your ward for nearly a quarter of a century...and during the last five years a member of the vestry. [He was] strongly opposed to any increase to the present debt of the town beyond what [was] clearly and absolutely necessary for the town at large.

Alexander Christie, a candidate in the west ward, took a more down-to-earth approach. He said that he would support ‘the erection of model municipal dwellings for the working classes’ but would ‘oppose the erection of municipal buildings’ and ‘emphatically objected to an annual loss of nearly £1,000 on the Public Baths’.⁴⁶

In addition, the RTT gave its view on the candidates. For example, in the north ward, where Deane, Dimpleby, Duncan, Roberts, Szlumper, Turpin, Cockram, Fowler, and Seeley were candidates, the paper commented that ‘the candidates we recommend (the first six listed) have been selected by the Ratepayers’ Association and Petersham Sanitary Aid Association as worthy of support. Mr Cockram [not elected] is earnest, but often

⁴⁶ RTT, 1 November 1890.

blundering and inaccurate, and would probably do more harm than good in the council'.⁴⁷

It is not possible to calculate the turnout from official figures, but Burt records it as 76% in the north ward, 69% in the east ward, 71% in the west ward, and 66% in the south ward.⁴⁸ Overall, there were 3,400 electors (**Illustration 4.2**).

The backgrounds of councillors

The occupations of the councillors were more varied than vestrymen, and many of them were younger than many of the latter. Eighteen of the 30 individuals that it was possible to identify from the census were in their 40s and 50s when elected, although 5 members were in their 30s and the youngest member, William Thompson, was aged 28. Six of the 8 aldermen and 9 of the 24 councillors had been vestrymen. In terms of occupation, there were 9 men (30%) with a profession (of which 5 were lawyers), 11 (37%) carried some form of trade, 2 were retired builders, and there were 2 newspaper proprietors/journalists. A full list of aldermen and councillors is at **Appendix 6, Table A6.3**.

Compared to the vestry, fewer councillors supported themselves by their own means (5 vestrymen compared to 1 councillor), and there were more councillors engaged in trade of some kind when compared to the vestry (11 councillors to 5 vestrymen). The proportion of those from the professions was about the same, with lawyers comprising the largest group. Such changes in elected representatives were not necessarily typical at this time. For example, of the 26 men on the Wandsworth board of works representing Clapham, Putney, and Streatham in 1890, almost 25% were over 70 years, 25% were living from their own means, and 20% had a profession.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ RTT, 25 October 1890.

⁴⁸ Burt, *The Richmond vestry*, pp.80-81.

⁴⁹ WHA, WDBW/2/8: Wandsworth board of works, *Annual Report 1890*, p.6.



Illustration 4.2: The first meeting of the new Richmond Borough Council.⁵⁰ Seated l.to r. Aldermen S. Roberts, C. Burt, Provisional Mayor Sir Edward Hertslet, First Mayor, Sir John Whittaker Ellis, Aldermen J.B. Hilditch, J.W. Szlumper, F. Piggott, S.T. Gascoyne.

Thus, the change from vestry to municipal governance saw an increase in the representation of those carrying on a trade at the expense of those living from their own means. It is reasonable to assume that this occurred for a mixture of three reasons. First, JPs who had an automatic right of vestry membership, if they lived in Richmond, did not enjoy this privilege for council membership. Second, the abolition of multiple votes for those living in properties of higher rateable values meant that all candidates were on a more equal basis for attracting votes.

⁵⁰ RLSL, *Local dignitaries 1890-1910*, p.34.

Finally, the introduction of wards would have made it easier for candidates to have contact with their potential electorate and this must have advantaged candidates living in a ward.



Five significant individuals

Only 12 aldermen and councillors elected in 1890 were still members of the council in 1899-1900 and, of these, seven were mayor of Richmond at some stage over the next 20 years.⁵¹ Of these seven individuals, four were of significance. Thomas Skewes-Cox (1849-1912) (**Illustration 4.3**) was born in Richmond

Illustration 4.3: Sir Thomas Skewes-Cox⁵² and became a solicitor by profession, practising in the Strand, London, and Richmond.⁵³ He was one of the main proponents of incorporation and organisers of the petitions of the inhabitants of Richmond that reported a majority were in favour of incorporation.⁵⁴ In addition to his membership of the council, he was a member of Thames Conservancy, an alderman of SCC, and Unionist MP for the Kingston Division from 1895 to 1906. In this capacity, he was MP for Richmond. He was not a particularly active MP, as he spoke in only 2 debates, both on local issues, once in 1897 and again in 1902, and asked only 39 questions in 10 years in Parliament.⁵⁵

One of the two prominent liberals on the council was Charles Burt (1832-1913) (**Illustration 4.4**).⁵⁶ He was a staunch non-conformist (Congregationalist) and a Liberal.

⁵¹ Thomas Skewes-Cox 1891-92; Charles Burt 1892-93; James Szlumper 1893-94, 1900-01, 1904-05; Stephen Roberts 1894-95; Frederick Robinson 1895-96; James Hilditch 1899-1900; William Thompson 1908-09.

⁵² RLSL, *Local dignitaries 1890-1910*, p.9.

⁵³ *The Times*, 6 November 1912.

⁵⁴ RTT, 14 July 1888.

⁵⁵ <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/people/mr-thomas-skewes-cox> (October, 2015)

⁵⁶ RTT, 8 March 1913.

He was born in Somerset and came to Richmond in 1858, where he completed his legal training. He was a member of the vestry from 1861 and, apart from a brief interruption in 1865-66, he remained a member until his death. He was chairman of the vestry from 1888 to 1890. He was an early opponent of incorporation and campaigned vigorously against it, but, when there was a substantial public vote in favour, he changed his mind



Illustration 4.4: Sir Charles Burt.⁵⁸

and was elected to the new council in 1890. He was elected one of the first aldermen of the borough and remained in this role for the rest of his life. As outlined in **Chapter 3**, he was one of the leaders of the vestry's attempts to resolve the water problems of the 1870s and 1880s. He took a prominent role in opposing the LTMSB and was chairman of the RMSB from its formation in 1887 to 1909.⁵⁷ He stood unsuccessfully as a Parliamentary candidate for the Liberal Party in Southampton in 1892 and Kingston in 1895 and was an alderman on the SCC from

its formation until his death. He was knighted in 1908.

In addition to his work on water and sewers, he took a keen interest in preserving the view from Richmond Hill and was largely instrumental in bringing together the Richmond and Twickenham Councils and the London and Surrey County Councils to buy Marble Hill in Twickenham. He also helped secure the passage of the Richmond, Petersham and Ham Open Spaces Act (1902). These two measures helped preserve the view from Richmond

⁵⁷ RTT, 8 March 1913.

⁵⁸ RLSL, *Local dignitaries 1890-1910*, p. 13.

Hill.⁵⁹ Charles Burt was probably not an easy colleague to work with. The accounts of vestry and council debates in the local papers are littered with accounts of him raising objections and points of order on minor issues.



Another member with Conservative affiliations was Sir James Weeks Szlumper (1834-1926) (**Illustration 4.5**). He was born in Liverpool and, at the age of 16, he was articled to engineers in London. At the age of 25, he was appointed assistant engineer on the proposed Manchester to Milford line.⁶⁰ This line was never built, but he went on to build several lines in Wales and was surveyor for Cardiganshire for 25 years. He

Illustration 4.5: Sir James Szlumper⁶¹ was also engineer to the Piccadilly Tube Railway.⁶² In 1883, he 'took chambers' in Westminster and came to live in Kew. In 1886, he was elected to the Richmond vestry. His first work was to bring to prominence the bad roads and drains in Kew, which were then improved. He was an active supporter of incorporation, and, in 1890, he was elected as a councillor for the north ward and then one of the first aldermen for the new borough. He remained an alderman until his death. He was mayor in 1894 and he was knighted in the same year. He was mayor again in 1900 and 1904. In addition to his roles on the council, he was, for some years, a member of the committee of the Richmond Royal Hospital and a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers.

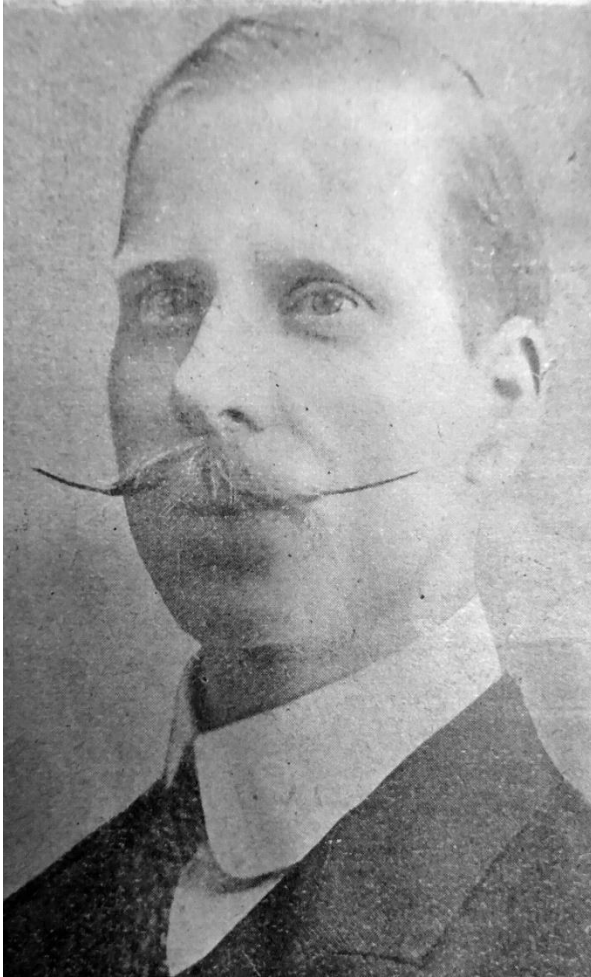
⁵⁹ 2 Edward.7. The Act transferred common and other land to the local authorities in Richmond, Ham, and Kingston and the Surrey County Council as public open spaces. Surrey County Council, *Surrey through the century, 1889-1989* (Kingston, 1989), p.4.

⁶⁰ *The Times*, 27 October 1926; TVT, 27 October 1926.

⁶¹ RLSL, *Local dignitaries 1890-1910*, p.16.

⁶² *The Engineer*, 29 October 1926.

The second prominent Liberal was William Thompson (1863-1914), who was born in



Southwold, Suffolk (**Illustration 4.6**). His father was recorded as a bricklayer employing two men in the 1871 census and as a builder employing seven men in the 1881 census.⁶³

The 1881 census records William as being a pupil teacher in Southwold. He gained a scholarship to St Mark's College, Chelsea, and became a teacher in 1884.⁶⁴ He taught at a board school in Notting Hill and was a member of the national executive of the National Union of Teachers for two years from Easter 1898.⁶⁵ Sometime before 1888, he came to live in Richmond as, in that year, he was successful in getting better terms and conditions for the men working at

Illustration 4.6: William Thompson.⁶⁶

the Richmond gas works and the parish yard.⁶⁷ In November 1890, he stood as candidate in the second round of elections of that year to fill the vacancies created by the election of Aldermen. He was elected as a councillor for east ward, one of the poorer areas of the town, with the largest vote received by any of the candidates in the election. His major

⁶³ TNA, RG 10/1772, f.5: census return, Southwold, Suffolk, 1871; RG 11/1895 f.46: census return Southwold, Suffolk, 1881.

⁶⁴ RTT, 23 May 1914.

⁶⁵ National Union of Teachers, *Annual Report*, 1899 (email to author, chief executive's office, National Union of Teachers, 23 April 2015).

⁶⁶ RLSL, *Local dignitaries 1890-1910*, p.62.

⁶⁷ RTT, 23 May 1914.

campaign as a councillor was to improve workmen's housing and the construction by the borough of the first municipal housing in London, which is discussed in **Chapter 2**.

An article in *The Municipal reformer and local government news* gave an account of a lecture in which he set out his views on housing and sanitation. He was reported as saying that in London private enterprise had broken down in providing housing for the poor, and that municipalities needed to intervene and build good quality dwellings on the outskirts of towns, connecting this housing to places of work by cheap and rapid transport.⁶⁸ He advised Battersea, Barnes, and Teddington on municipal housing schemes.⁶⁹ He was also involved in other issues. In Richmond, he agitated for a municipal lighting works, but this was not accepted by the council; he mounted a campaign for the establishment of a local charities board, the result of which was an inquiry by the Charity Commissioners in 1893 and the adoption of the scheme he advocated; and he was able to establish 200 municipal allotments in 1892.⁷⁰ He was also president of the Richmond Trades and Labour Council, and he fought hard for the acquisition of 87 acres of the Old Deer Park as a recreation ground.⁷¹ In 1898, he chaired a conference of representatives of district councils of the Thames Valley to discuss what could be done about the relatively high rail fares in the area.⁷² As discussed in **Chapter 1**, the outcome of these discussions was limited, but it is another indication of the breadth of his interests. He was elected alderman in 1897, but, in November 1899, his aldermanic colleagues decided not to re-elect him. He was alleged to have attempted to influence an election in the south ward when he was returning officer. The more likely reason for his non-election was that he had antagonised his colleagues more generally, as evidenced by the following unattributed quote in a report in the TVT:

He stated that for some time past there had been a growing feeling against the Alderman, not only because of his extreme opinions, but because he did not show

⁶⁸ *The Municipal Reformer and local government news*, February 1900.

⁶⁹ BRO, 35810 LUT/R/5.

⁷⁰ *The Municipal Reformer and local government news*, February 1900.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² BRO, 35810 LUT/R/5: evidence by William Thompson on rail fares from Richmond, 1902.

a proper respect for the decisions of the chair. When called to order he was reluctant to accept correction, and always seemed to think that he must be right, whoever was wrong. He was altogether too pugnacious and aggressive. He spoke too often and too long, monopolizing the time of the council until the members were weary...⁷³

Many of his colleagues were no doubt opposed to his radical views.

The Municipal Reformer gave a rather different account of Thompson's ejection as alderman and said that 'three small wards with two-fifths of the burgesses can elect three-fifths of the council. The reactionaries have captured these wards and returned a majority of councillors by a minority of votes'. Councillors used this majority to try to remove Thompson from the council.⁷⁴

Thompson was immediately re-elected to the council as a councillor for the east ward in the elections that followed later in November. The attempt to expel him from the council was met with considerable public criticism from some quarters. The following is typical from the Richmond Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants:

...we wish to accord our heartiest thanks to ex-Alderman Thompson for his many kindnesses shown to us and the good he has done for the benefit of the working classes. We also wish to express our indignation at the manner in which he has been dealt with in being overthrown from the aldermanship.⁷⁵

Thompson remained on the council until his death, becoming an alderman again and mayor in 1908-09. He started to become involved in matters outside the town, as demonstrated by an account of a Liberal Party meeting in Leicester in 1898 in TVT.⁷⁶ He gave up teaching in 1903, when he became visiting secretary of the Home Counties Liberal Federation, an organisation that arranged lectures, circulated literature, and

⁷³ TVT, 8 November 1899.

⁷⁴ *The Municipal Reformer and local government news*, February 1900.

⁷⁵ RTT, 18 November 1899.

⁷⁶ TVT, 30 March 1898.

introduced candidates and agents to constituencies in counties from Essex to Berkshire and Hampshire to Hertfordshire.⁷⁷ In 1907, he was elected a member of the SCC.⁷⁸

He was also involved in other organisations outside the Borough. He was chairman of the National Housing Reform Council and a member of the International Housing Congress.⁷⁹ Between 1900 and 1910, he wrote four books on municipal housing and housing for the working classes, and another entitled *What County Councils can do for the people*, which covered several subjects including education, roads, police, small holdings, and allotments and housing. At the time of his death, he was the managing director of Ruislip Manor Ltd., a company that intended to develop a garden city suburb on 6,000 acres located north of Ruislip in Middlesex.⁸⁰ He died in May 1914. Evidence of his national standing was that his funeral was attended by Lloyd George, John Burns, and Keir Hardy.⁸¹

There is one other individual worthy of mention because of his role as the first mayor of Richmond and his generosity to the council. John Whittaker Ellis (1829-1912) was a son of Joseph Ellis, the proprietor of the Star and Garter Hotel, Richmond (**Illustration 4.7**).⁸² He was articulated to a City of London alderman, Sir John Musgrove, an auctioneer and surveyor. Whittaker Ellis's municipal career began when he became a member of the common council for the Broad Street ward in the City. He went on to become an alderman in 1872 and lord mayor of London in 1881.

In his professional life, his obituary in *The Times* said that 'in his prime [he] conducted some of the most notable auctions of the period...and at one time was simultaneously the surveyor of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway, and the London and South-Western Railway'.

⁷⁷ TVT, 13 July 1914; *The Liberal handbook* (London, 1905).

⁷⁸ RTT, 13 July 1914.

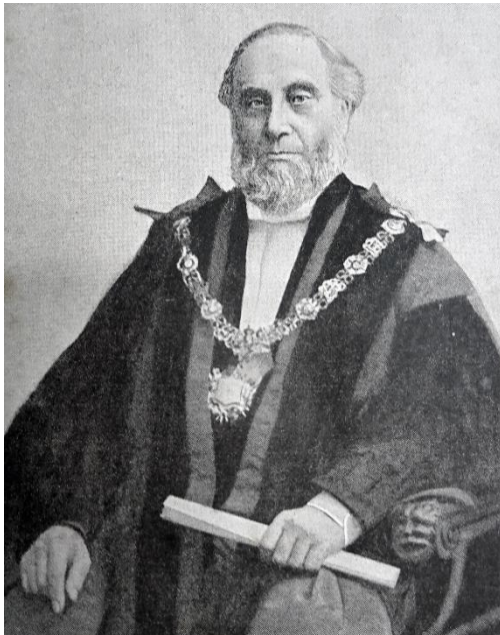
⁷⁹ RTT, 13 July 1914.

⁸⁰ William Thompson, 'The Ruislip-Northwood and Ruislip Manor joint town planning scheme', *The Town Planning Review*, 4.2, 1913, pp.133-144.

⁸¹ RTT, 25 May 1914.

⁸² *The Times*, 21 September 1912; RTT, 21 September 1912.

In 1884, he was elected Conservative member for Mid-Surrey, and a year later for the Kingston Division, which both included Richmond. He remained an MP until 1892.



His first contribution to Richmond was to buy Buccleuch House on the Thames (the former home of the Duke of Buccleuch) in 1886 on terms that enabled the vestry to acquire part of the land adjoining the house. This became known as the Terrace Gardens, a public garden that slopes from the top of Richmond Hill to the banks of the Thames. At the time of incorporation, both Skewes-Cox and Burt had their supporters to be the first mayor of the town, but the acceptance by Whittaker Ellis of

Illustration 4.7: Sir John Whittaker Ellis.⁸³ an invitation by the council to become the first holder of this office 'relieved the town of a difficulty and enabled practical unanimity to prevail where there might have been serious rupture'.⁸⁴ He was probably the only person who could have prevented a contest to be the first mayor between the two 'senior' conservative and liberal members of the council. Whittaker Ellis's final two contributions to the town were to purchase for the borough the land on which the new town hall was built in 1893 and to present it with the mayoral chain and badge.⁸⁵

No doubt, most of the councillors and aldermen that were elected in November 1890, and their successors, contributed to the formation of the borough and the development of the town in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century. It is significant that the first borough council in Richmond attracted several men of some standing and ability in their chosen fields, which was evidence of the standing of the council. The Twickenham local board and UDC were much less

⁸³ RLSL, *Local dignitaries 1890-1910*, p.8.

⁸⁴ RTT, 8 November 1890.

⁸⁵ RTT, 21 September 1912.

successful in this respect, which probably reflects the status of those that were involved in local governance throughout the nineteenth century. In Richmond, although the overall beliefs of council members no doubt influenced the way they voted, there is no evidence in the council minutes of overt party politics. It is also notable that, in a council where a majority of the councillors probably voted Conservative in national elections, the two members that probably had the most individual influence in the first ten years of the council's existence were both Liberals.

The conduct of board and council business

Before examining the development of sewerage systems in the two towns, it would be helpful to look at how the board and respective councils conducted their business. Except for the poor law, the police and the courts, the local authorities in both towns had responsibility for all local public business. The principal functions of the county councils, established in 1889, were limited to maintenance of main roads and bridges, the power to alter local government boundaries, powers related to animal diseases, weights and measures, and explosives, and the right to appoint medical officers where necessary.⁸⁶

Richmond borough council

The press account of the first meeting on 10 November 1890 said that 'with becoming dignity, but with needless pomp and show, the mayor and aldermen were elected, and the business was dispatched with due deliberation...the whole proceedings occupying less than two hours'.⁸⁷ This may have been the case in the first meeting but, two weeks later, councillors and aldermen were making long speeches about the appointment process of senior officers of the borough. For example, there was a long debate about whether it was acceptable for the current medical officer to live in Petersham rather than

⁸⁶ *The County Council of the administrative county of Middlesex, 76 years of local government, 1 April 1889 to 31 March 1965* (Westminster, 1965), p.11.

⁸⁷ TVT, 12 November 1890.

Richmond and, a month later, they spent most of a four-hour meeting arguing about labour rates for council employees.⁸⁸

The council met mostly on Tuesday evenings at 6.30pm. Unlike the vestry that met during the day, evening meetings made it possible for those in employment to attend. This was reflected in the high proportion of councillors that attended each meeting, although the fact that the local paper reported who attended was probably also a factor. Generally, the council met in full session every three or four weeks. For example, in 1892 it met 12 times, in 1897, there were 16 meetings, and 20 meetings in 1898-99.

During this period, it was usual for councillors to become involved in the detail of the council's work. For example, in Manchester, members of the audit committee checked entries in the council's books into the early twentieth century, and the chairman of the housing committee inspected condemned houses.⁸⁹ Throughout the 1890s, councillors in Richmond followed this pattern and were very closely involved in decisions about quite detailed matters. Relatively little was delegated to the town clerk. Increasingly, details were discussed by committees that reported back to plenary meetings of the council. There is no evidence that political affiliations entered into council discussions.

Immediately after incorporation, 12 committees were established and, by 1898-9, the number of standing committees had increased to 13, with 3 special committees in addition.⁹⁰ The more important committees met at least monthly, although the highway committee met 25 times in 1898-99. Most committees had around 15 members, although the highway committee was a committee of all councillors. The press was not allowed into committee meetings, and therefore we only have minutes of committee meetings where these were presented to meetings of the council. The general

⁸⁸ TVT, 26 November 1890, 13 December 1890.

⁸⁹ Hennock, *Fit and proper Persons*, p.8.

⁹⁰ Standing committees: highway, finance, health, water, works, surveyors, baths, library, school, general purposes, fire brigade, footbridge and lock – Richmond BC, *minutes*, 25 November 1890; the additional standing committee was the school attendance committee, and the special committees were joint isolation hospital, street improvement and tramway committee – Richmond BC, *minutes*, 9 November 1899.

impression given is that the more serious discussion took place in committee, and the full council meetings either accepted or rejected the conclusions that committees reached. Full council meetings tended to provide an arena for councillors to 'grandstand' and sometimes bicker with each other.

Another important characteristic of the council was the importance that it attached to public affairs, with the mayor and aldermen taking leading roles. The intention was to emphasise the importance of the corporation and the status of the town. For example, there were elaborate ceremonies for the opening of the new town hall in 1893 and Richmond lock and footbridge in 1894. In addition, because the Duke and Duchess of Teck, the parents-in-law of the future George V, lived in White Lodge, Richmond Park, the council placed considerable emphasis on marking each royal birth, marriage, and death.⁹¹ The future Edward VIII was born at White Lodge in 1894, and Queen Victoria was recorded as visiting him there twice. The council was keen to mark these events in ways that implied a connection between the council and the Royal Family. They were supported in this by coverage in the RTT and TVT.

Twickenham

As already mentioned, no newspaper accounts have survived of the first meeting of the local board, and so we only have the board minutes to report proceedings. The process was considerably more straightforward than that of Richmond, some 20 years later, because it was only necessary to appoint a chairman, clerk, and a small number of officers. The chairman, Lt. Col. Murray, was elected unanimously and, although six men applied to be clerk, only two candidates received any support. The man appointed received 60% of the votes.⁹² The board agreed to meet at 6.30pm, thus making it possible for men in work to attend, and this is reflected in the attendance figures because between 20 and 25 members attended most meetings. Only two committees were appointed initially: finance and highways and lighting. By 1880, there were still only four

⁹¹ http://www.richmond.gov.uk/local_history_white_lodge (May, 2017).

⁹² RLSL, TW/LB/1: TLB *minutes*, 19 February and 5 March 1868.

committees: finance, works and drainage, lighting, and school attendance.⁹³ Thus, most of the routine business was discussed by the full board rather than in committee.

The most significant issue considered was the development of the sewerage system, and this is discussed later in this chapter. Unlike the Richmond vestry at this time, the board considered and approved new buildings under the building regulations. This was discussed in **Chapter 2**. The other areas that were considered most frequently were the state of the roads and 'surface drainage' (which was not surprising, given the size and rural nature of much of the parish), 'nuisances' and the collection of rubbish, and the state of the Thames embankment. The LGB files contain more letters than the Richmond files of complaints from the residents of Twickenham on matters that they considered were not dealt with adequately, but it is not clear whether this was a true reflection of the efficacy of the services undertaken by the board. As set out later in this chapter, local authority expenditure per head in Twickenham was consistently less than in Richmond, and, although this is partly reflected by the lower quantum of loan repayments and interest in the former, it is not surprising that less expenditure resulted in fewer services. There is no evidence in board minutes or the local press that additional services were thought necessary by Twickenham residents.

The press reports of board and UDC meetings are not as expansive as those of the Richmond vestry and RBC, and therefore it is more difficult to gain an impression of the way that business was conducted and those men that were most prominent. Some incidents that were reported suggest poor relations between some members. Five names appear in accounts of board meetings more frequently than other members. John Goatly, an auctioneer, of Twickenham Green was behind many of the moves in the board to delay decisions on the sewerage system outlined later in this chapter; William Withers, a butcher, was behind the removal of the chairman in April 1876 when, in common with many other residents, he claimed compensation for the damage caused by sewerage pipes laid across his land. Thomas Messom, a builder, was quoted as speaking on many

⁹³ RLSL, TW/LB/3: *TLB minutes*, 22 April 1880.

subjects in the latter years of the board and the first few years of the UDC (as outlined in **Chapter 3**, he was also chairman of the works committee in the 1890s responsible for considering building applications); and the two Little brothers, who were clearly well-regarded by their colleagues and were prepared to get involved in the substance of most matters. There is no evidence of party politics in the deliberations. Unlike Richmond, it is not possible to ascertain the political loyalties of board or UDC members because, if there were Twickenham Conservative or Liberal clubs, there were no accounts of their meetings with lists of attendees reported in the local papers.

Much of the business of both authorities was taken up with discussion of routine matters, such as highway repairs, building applications, the business of their respective school attendance committees, and running services, such as the fire brigade and rubbish collection. These subjects were relatively routine and therefore do not warrant discussion here. However, the building of sewers and disposal facilities was far from routine, particularly so, as both authorities were effectively single-tier, and therefore did not have access to the expertise available in the MBW.

The development of sanitation systems

In common with other areas in the nineteenth century, one of the main issues that the local authorities in Richmond and Twickenham had to address was the development of an adequate sanitation system. This resulted from the significant increases in population, and, from 1860, legislation that placed increasingly stringent conditions on the disposal of waste into the Thames. The problems faced by the two communities were in many respects more daunting than those of the parishes nearer to the centre of London. The local authorities in Richmond and Twickenham were relatively small compared to the MBW and its component parishes and boards. They received no support in this area from other bodies, whereas one of the main functions of the MBW was the building of a sewage disposal system across London. Richmond and Twickenham had to build their own systems, either in co-operation with neighbouring parishes, in the case of Richmond, or as a stand-alone system, as in Twickenham. An additional factor was cost,

and this has parallels with the universal provision of water discussed in **Chapter 3**. Although large loans were taken out to pay for the construction of sewage disposal infrastructure, the cost of interest and loan repayments was met by the ratepayers. The new sanitation systems had the potential to benefit all members of the community, but, in Twickenham particularly, concerns about cost were one of the factors that led to the delays that occurred.

The remainder of this section compares the different paths taken by Richmond and Twickenham in constructing sanitation systems and examines the difficulties they both experienced as small authorities with little help from outside.

Richmond

Metropolitan Commission of Sewers

The first attempt at implementing a basic system of sewage disposal took place in the early 1850s, under the auspices of the MCS, established under the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers Act of 1848.⁹⁴ The Commission had jurisdiction over an area within a radius of 11 miles of St Paul's Cathedral that included Richmond, but not Twickenham. The 1785 Richmond Vestry Act gave the vestry the powers, amongst others, to construct drains for the maintenance of roads but not to build sewers.⁹⁵

George Donaldson, an assistant surveyor of the MCS, writing in his report on the state of sanitation in Richmond in mid-century, quotes Dr Hassall as stating that 'the condition of the town, from the want of drainage and the impurities arising from the numerous cesspools, has been the cause of much disease'.⁹⁶ Dr Hills, a surgeon and resident of Richmond, stated that

⁹⁴ 11&12 Victoria, c. 112.

⁹⁵ 25 George III, c. 41.

⁹⁶ Dr Hassall (1817-1894) was a physician and microscopist who was born in Teddington and educated in Richmond. After medical training in Dublin, he returned to Richmond to study botany at Kew. He came to public attention with his book *A microscopical examination of the water supplied to the inhabitants of*

the condition of the town from want of drainage was the cause of much illness: he mentioned several cases where the noxious condition of badly formed drains, cesspools, and open ditches, had in certain states of the atmosphere been immediately followed by fever in their immediate neighbourhood.⁹⁷

Thus, in mid-century, Richmond was typical for the period with open drains and cesspools.

Donaldson's recommendation for improved sanitation to eradicate disease was for

...the removal of all refuse of habitations, streets, and roads, and the improvement of the supplies of water [and the] immediate removal of decomposing refuse... by use of water and self-acting means of removal by improved and cheaper sewers and drains.⁹⁸

At this time, the causes of diseases such as cholera and typhoid were not properly understood, but the solution of keeping sewage and other effluent out of rivers was a step towards improving public health.⁹⁹

Donaldson recommended the construction of a system of drainage to carry sewage and rain water from every dwelling in the town, the construction of drains to carry 'off land-drainage, and rain and storm waters' for discharge into the river, the construction of water closets in lieu of privies, the abolition of cesspools, and the application of sewage for agricultural purposes, thus preventing its discharge into the river.¹⁰⁰ The report proposed to construct sewers along the main roads of the parish, at a cost of £19,440.

The MCS created a separate district for Richmond in 1850, and its minutes provide a record of the work undertaken in Richmond before the Commission was abolished in

London and the suburban districts, published in 1850, in which he reported on the condition of the water supplied by the London water companies. His work helped convince people of the health hazards of having living organisms in their water. ODNB, vol. 25, pp.719-20.

⁹⁷ LMA, MCS/477/050: Donaldson, *Richmond Drainage*, pp.1-2.

⁹⁸ LMA, MCS/477/050: Donaldson, *Richmond Drainage*, p.6.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.6.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

1855.¹⁰¹ The minutes indicate that Joseph Bazalgette was involved in the project, and they provide a considerable amount of information on contracts awarded, although mostly they do not state the location of the work undertaken.¹⁰² It is unclear how much of the Donaldson plan was completed. The construction of water closets and a system for the adequate disposal of sewage were not implemented. Charles Burt reported that ‘the Commissioners did not make any new outfall but used a sewer constructed by the railway company from Richmond station to the Thames, and made this the main outfall for the sewage of the town’.¹⁰³ Evidence relating to residential development and information that can be gleaned from the vestry minutes suggests that sewers were laid along most main roads in the town. In 1852, the MCS received a deputation from the Richmond vestry, complaining that no work had been done along Kew Road, or ‘the district inhabited by poor people...whereby the most serious nuisances were created’. The vestry requested that work be undertaken in these areas, but the MCS responded that there was no money available for it.¹⁰⁴ No sewer work was carried out in these areas by the time the MCS was abolished. The concern of the vestry about the ‘the district inhabited by poor people’ was not necessarily typical, as Sigsworth and Worboys comment that sanitary improvements tended to be made first in middle-class areas, where rate-payers and councillors lived.¹⁰⁵ The abolition of the MCS in 1855 and its replacement by the MBW, which had no jurisdiction for Richmond, meant that there ceased to be a body with powers to develop the town’s sanitation. Indeed, the vestry was unclear about which sewers in the Donaldson plan had been completed because, in 1862, it asked the MBW to provide a plan of the work undertaken by MCS in Richmond.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ LMA, MCS/481: MCS, *Court minutes*, 6 September 1850.

¹⁰² LMA, MCS/129: MCS, *General committee minutes*, 10 March 1852.

¹⁰³ Burt, *The Richmond vestry*, p.19.

¹⁰⁴ LMA, MCS/486: MCS, *Board minutes*, 16 November 1852.

¹⁰⁵ Michael Sigsworth and Michael Worboys, ‘The public’s view of public health in mid-Victorian England’, *Urban History*, 21 (1994) pp.237-250.

¹⁰⁶ RLSL, R/V/16: RVM, 13 January 1862.

Initiatives by the Richmond vestry

The Richmond vestry minutes from 1855 to 1865 contain very few references to sewers, and therefore, as no other body had an interest in the subject, it is reasonable to assume that the issue was largely ignored. The exception were some developers that connected new houses to existing sewers.

In September 1865, the vestry appointed a committee to consider the condition of the river and 'the utilisation of the town's sewage', which resulted in a memorial from the vestry to the Secretary of State.¹⁰⁷ No copy of this has survived. The renewed interest in the subject was no doubt caused by the passage of the Thames Navigation Act, 1866, which prohibited the flow of sewage into the Thames from Cricklade to Staines and the Thames Conservancy Act, 1867, which extended this prohibition to the western boundary of the metropolis below Putney.¹⁰⁸ The Thames Conservators considered the Thames within their jurisdiction to be in a foul and offensive state due to the enormous quantities of refuse and sewage that were discharged into it.¹⁰⁹

The next ten years were characterised by a number of schemes mainly involving collaboration with other local boards and councils. At the same time, discharge into the Thames continued and deadlines to cease the discharge, issued by the Thames Conservators, were not met. The discharge problem involved almost all authorities in the area as, in 1874, the Thames Conservators reported that on 'the western limits of the metropolis...all the local authorities, with the exception of Twickenham, had not diverted their sewage.'¹¹⁰ None of the schemes were implemented, either because of cost, impracticality, or failure to obtain the necessary land. Some of the schemes are discussed here to illustrate the problems that existed.

¹⁰⁷ RLSL, R/V/17: RVM, 5 and 26 September 1865.

¹⁰⁸ 29 and 30 Victoria C. 89; 30 Victoria. c. 101.

¹⁰⁹ Thames Conservancy, *The Thames Conservancy 1857-1957* (London, 1957), p.6.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.12. Given the state of development of a sewerage system in Twickenham in 1874 as set out later, it is difficult to believe that no sewage was being discharged into the Thames at this time. Nevertheless, this was reported by the Thames conservators of the time.

In May 1867, a proposal was put to the Richmond vestry by J. Bailey Denton, based on evidence that he gave to the committee on the Thames Navigation Bill that Richmond should join with the parishes of the Richmond poor law union (Ham, Petersham, Kew, Mortlake, and Barnes) to form one district for sewage disposal.¹¹¹ It was considered that such a district made sense because the Thames formed a barrier to the north, the MBW to the east, and elevation of the land made the inclusion of Kingston ‘inadvisable, if not impracticable’. The scheme would involve joining the main outlets of the sewers of the parishes at a point near the junction of the railway loop line in the parish of Barnes, ‘from which it may be lifted by steam power through a rising main skirting Richmond Park and following the course of the Beverley Brook to the parish of Morden’. The vestry decided to refer the scheme back to Mr Denton to consider the alternative scheme of utilising land in the Old Deer Park, if it could be acquired for this purpose. The minutes do not explain why the vestry reached this decision, but it is reasonable to conclude that this was because of practicality and cost. The scheme involving Old Deer Park did not come to fruition either, no doubt because of the proximity to the town and other amenities, such as Kew Gardens.

On 10 September 1867, the vestry appointed a committee to consider the issue, and in the following month, the vestry minutes record that the conservators of the River Thames had served a notice dated 21 September on the vestry to cease the flow of sewage into the Thames within 13 months.¹¹² In August the following year, the vestry clerk was instructed to apply for an extension to this notice.¹¹³ The committee reported back to the vestry in March 1870 on several schemes that had been put to it by various third parties.¹¹⁴ The committee concluded that none of the schemes could be recommended because it would not be possible to obtain agreement with the various parishes that it was proposed should be involved. In addition, as Richmond would be

¹¹¹ RLSL, R/V/17: RVM, 14 May 1867. John Bailey Denton (1814-1893) was a surveyor and civil engineer who had interests in many areas. In relation to sewage, his 1849 design for the sewage of London was second out of the 150 entries submitted. ODNB, vol. 15, pp.856-7.

¹¹² RLSL, R/V/17: RVM, 10 September 1867 and 1 October 1867.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 18 August 1868.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 29 March 1870.

located at the far end of the schemes, it was likely to incur a disproportionate share of the cost, and it was unlikely that land could be purchased in the locations involved because the opposition from those living nearby would be considerable. The vestry decided to confer with the conservators on the report, and a memorial was sent to the Home Secretary asking him to take measures to restrain the conservators from enforcing the penalties of the Thames Navigation Act, 1866. In September 1870, Thames Conservancy granted a further extension of 12 months, provided that the vestry gave an undertaking to carry out the necessary works in that time.¹¹⁵ The vestry responded, saying that it would use its utmost endeavours to meet this deadline.¹¹⁶ Thames Conservancy replied that it could not agree to an extension unless a firm undertaking was given by the vestry.

During the first half of the 1870s, the vestry attempted to implement at least two schemes, none of which were successful. In 1870, the vestry provisionally agreed to buy 230 acres of land at Malden to implement a scheme similar to that proposed by Denton. The MBW and others, including the Duke of Cambridge, opposed this, and it was rejected by the LGB.¹¹⁷ In October 1872, the LGB approved a loan of £20,000 for a precipitation scheme on land at the eastern edge of the parish, but this collapsed when the LSWR advised that it needed the land for its own purposes.¹¹⁸ In May 1873, the vestry obtained a provisional order for another scheme in the same area, but this was dropped as a result of the site being too close to the town. Later in the same year, a scheme at Hanworth was dropped because of fierce opposition from residents there.¹¹⁹

During this time, the vestry obtained some extensions from Thames Conservancy that allowed sewage to be discharged into the Thames, although, by 1874, the latter lost patience and instituted proceedings against the vestry. This resulted in the vestry being convicted in the magistrates' court and fined £151 plus costs. An appeal to the Court of

¹¹⁵ RLSL, R/V/17: RVM, 27 September 1870.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 18 October 1870.

¹¹⁷ Burt, *The Richmond Vestry*, p.21.

¹¹⁸ TNA, MH 12/12602: LGB correspondence, Richmond, 1871-73.

¹¹⁹ Burt, *The Richmond Vestry*, p.21.

Queen's Bench was dismissed.¹²⁰ Prosecution in such cases at this time was infrequent, which made this case relatively unusual.¹²¹ It was not surprising that pressure was placed on the vestry to stop effluent draining into the Thames because, by the end of the 1860s, the MBW system of intercepting sewers was complete, although a significant amount of London's sewage was still being discharged into the Thames at this time.¹²²

Lower Thames Main Sewerage Board

Between 1877 and 1885, the task of implementing a sewerage system for the lower Thames, including Richmond, was attempted by the LTMSB. In 1876, the chairman of the Local Board of Hampton Wick, Sir Thomas Nelson, a man of great energy and ability, according to Burt, proposed a joint board of several authorities to deal with the sewage problem.¹²³ In August 1877, a provisional order was issued to form the LTMSB, consisting of 11 districts covering 40 square miles in Surrey and Middlesex.¹²⁴ It was confirmed by 40 & 41 Victoria, c. 229, although not before there had been a number of petitions against its formation. The TLB was omitted because, by this time, it was well-advanced in developing its own scheme.¹²⁵

The board lasted some eight years and produced three schemes, according to Burt, who was the Richmond representative on the board. All the schemes were rejected, and two of them were recorded in the LGB papers. The first, proposed in 1880, was for the compulsory purchase of 916 acres in the parishes of Walton, Esher, Thames Ditton, and East Molesey. It was rejected by the LGB because of the poor suitability of the land for a sewage farm, the position of the land in relation to surrounding properties, and the fears of the Lambeth Water Company that its underground sources of supply could be

¹²⁰ RLSL, R/V/18: RVM, 2 December 1873, 13 Jan 1874.

¹²¹ Bill Luckin, 'Pollution in the city', p.200.

¹²² Jerry White, *London in the 19th century*, p.53.

¹²³ Burt, *The Richmond Vestry*, p.22; Sir Thomas Nelson was the City Solicitor from 1862-85 and was responsible for the litigation that enabled the City to acquire Epping Forest. <http://nelsonfamilies.com/index.php/sir-thomas-james-nelson-solicitor> (June, 1975).

¹²⁴ The districts were Richmond, Kingston, Twickenham, Surbiton, Teddington, East Molesey, East Malden, Hampton Wick, Ham, Rural Sanitary Authority of Kingston (Hampton, Long Ditton, West Molesey, and Hook), and Petersham.

¹²⁵ TNA, MH 24/1: LTMSB papers and correspondence, 1874-7.

polluted.¹²⁶ A second scheme to purchase land at Mortlake in 1884-85 was initially accepted by the LGB but rejected by Parliament on the grounds that dealing with sewage in groups was better than collecting it in one place.¹²⁷ The scheme was opposed by Richmond vestry because of its cost (it was alleged to be twice as expensive as dealing with sewage in smaller areas) and the impact that the scheme would have on the Thames in Richmond and its vicinity. The vestry proposed that the board should be disbanded so that sewage could be dealt with more cheaply by smaller groups 'in their own localities'.¹²⁸ Richmond was not the only authority that wished to detach itself from the board, and so, following an inquiry, it was disbanded in 1885.¹²⁹

The legacy of the LTMSB was that it demonstrated the difficulties of achieving agreement to relatively large schemes, mainly because of cost and the parties reaching agreement on the location of sewage disposal facilities where the waste of other parishes was involved. During its existence, its member authorities were at least protected from prosecution by Thames Conservancy for the discharge of sewage into the Thames.

Richmond Main Sewerage Board

After the demise of the LTMSB, the Richmond vestry took forward a scheme presented to them by Mr J C Mellis C.E.¹³⁰ The proposals involved the establishment of a sewage works on 11 acres of land alongside the River Thames in the parish of Mortlake (**Map 4.1**). The proposals also included an account of the situation in Richmond in the mid-1880s.¹³¹ It reported that nearly the whole of Richmond had sewers and that sewage drained into the Thames at 24 outlets. Most outlets were small pipes from individual houses, but there were seven outlets from the centre of the town that were significant. Agreement was reached to purchase land in Mortlake and, in June 1886, an agreement was also reached between the vestry and the RRSA to take forward a scheme for all

¹²⁶ TNA, MH 24/2 :1878-9.

¹²⁷ TNA, MH 24/4: 1881-3.

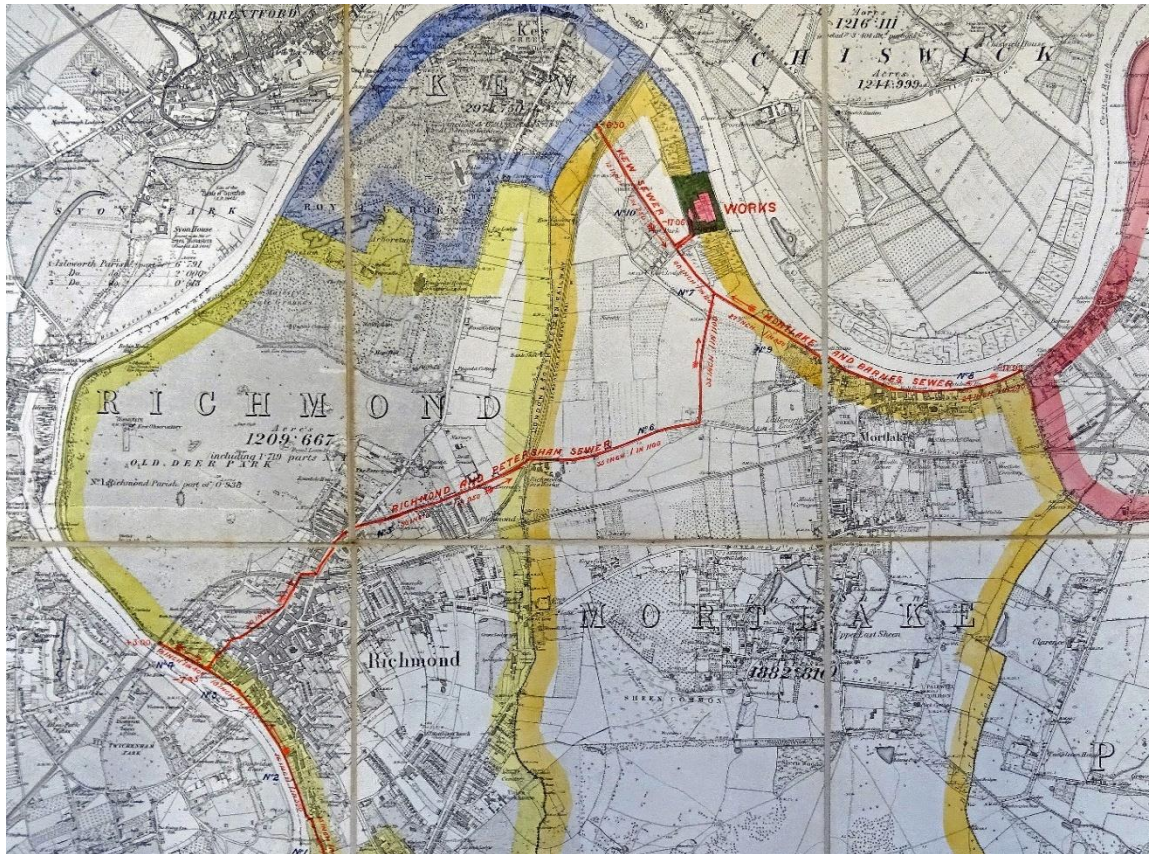
¹²⁸ TNA, MH 24/5: 1884-5.

¹²⁹ 48 &49 Victoria I, c. 112.

¹³⁰ RLSL, R/V/21: RVM, 22 December 1885.

¹³¹ TNA, MH 12/12612: LGB correspondence, Richmond, 1886-87.

members of the latter (Kew, Petersham, North Sheen, Barnes, and Mortlake). The logic of this grouping of adjoining parishes was that it was a manageable size and all the parishes involved were located south of the Thames. In addition, they were used to working together as members of the Richmond poor law union.



Map 4.1: Location of the RMSB treatment plant and the main sewers connecting the sewerage systems in Richmond, Kew, Barnes and Mortlake to the plant.¹³²

On the advice of the LGB, a board was created for this purpose by a provisional order of the LGB under Section 279 of the Public Health Act, 1875. This was confirmed by Parliament on 23 August 1887.¹³³ The board had two main functions. First, it was to construct the main sewer system to join up the systems of the member districts, and second, it was to build and operate the sewage works to ensure that the material discharged into the river complied with pollution regulations.

¹³² LMA, RMSB 140.

¹³³ RLSL, RMSB, *Provisional Order* (uncatalogued); 50 & 51 Victoria I, c. 179.

The board started work in October 1887. Its membership comprised of five members of the Richmond vestry and the RRSA. Charles Burt was elected chairman at the first meeting, a position that he held until 1909.¹³⁴ In comparison with the time that had been taken in the past, the board worked quite quickly. An application was made to the LGB for a loan of £100,000, and a LGB inquiry was held on 10 November 1887, which resulted in the approval of the loan in December 1887.¹³⁵ In May 1888, a compulsory purchase order was issued for the acquisition of 11 acres of land in Mortlake for the sewage processing plant.¹³⁶ In June, 20 tenders were received for constructing the works and, in August, initial contracts were signed with the successful bidder, George Dickinson. He was selected because he submitted the lowest tender (£71,596).¹³⁷ This turned out to be an unwise decision because, by December 1889, it had become apparent that the contractor was failing to complete the contracts and had virtually ceased work.¹³⁸ The remaining work was retendered, and Messrs Howell and Robson of Kensington were appointed to complete the work, as they submitted the lowest tender.¹³⁹ The construction of the works, including the main collecting sewers and pumping station, were completed in 1891, at a cost of £123,886 (**Illustration 4.8**).¹⁴⁰ Thus, from 1891, Richmond no longer discharged untreated sewage into the River Thames. Kingston, which had also been a member of the LTMSB, opened its sewage works in 1888.¹⁴¹ In 1898, Thames Conservancy was still complaining that the effluent could be of a higher degree of purity.

¹³⁴ LMA, RMSB/001: RMSB *Board minutes*, 26 October 1887; RLSL, William Fairley, *The Main Drainage of the District* (1912, Richmond), p.5.

¹³⁵ LMA, RMSB/001: RMSB *Board minutes*, 7 December 1887.

¹³⁶ TNA, MH 12/12614: LGB correspondence, Richmond, 1888. The land covered by the compulsory purchase order was the same as that covered by the agreement to purchase mentioned above. The compulsory purchase order was considered necessary to cover some legal details that resulted from the formation of the RMSB.

¹³⁷ LMA, RMSB/001: RMSB *Board minutes*, 6 June and 22 August 1888.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 19 December 1889.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 26 February 1990.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 14 October 1891; RLSL, Fairley, *The main drainage of the district*, p.5.

¹⁴¹ Butters, *That famous place*, p.248.

A pamphlet, written in 1912 by William Fairley, engineer to the RMSB, gave a good account of the operation of the board in the first 25 or so years of its existence. He wrote:

The board has worked from 1887 up to the present....with great unanimity between the members of the different authorities, and administered the duties for which it was constituted, with unvarying success....during a period of 20 years no sustained complaint, from the River Authority, or from the residents in the neighbourhood of the works was received.¹⁴²



Illustration 4.8: RMSB, laying of memorial stone at the works, October 1890.¹⁴³

Although, as engineer to the board, William Fairley cannot be considered an unbiased witness, the fact that no more loans were sought from the LGB and the sewage problem was not a subject that featured much in the RBC minutes supports his account.

¹⁴² RLSL, Fairley, *The main drainage of the district*, pp.5-6.

¹⁴³ LMA, RMSB/141/4.

Twickenham

As already mentioned, the ratepayers of Twickenham voted for a local board in October 1867 so that it could implement a sewage disposal system. Twickenham took a different route to this project in that it did not seek to join with other local authorities nearby, and, as already mentioned, it resisted joining the LTMSB. Although the local board was set up to establish a sewage disposal system, there were some members who did not agree that it should be constructed, primarily because of cost, and there was considerable disagreement on the method of disposal that should be adopted. So, although Twickenham managed to cease the disposal of sewage into the Thames several years before Richmond, the dissent and indecision that occurred meant that it took longer and more money than could have been required if the board had been able to work in greater unison.

The initial phase and the Ramsay plan

As occurred with other local authorities, the building of a sewage disposal system took up much of the board's time in the 1870s, compared to other issues that it had to address. For example, Asa Briggs comments that how to dispose of the town's sewage was often the main subject of Birmingham council's agenda in the 1860s.¹⁴⁴ One of the first acts of the Twickenham board was to appoint a town surveyor and to commission him to prepare a report on the construction of sewers and various methods of disposal or treatment.¹⁴⁵ In this report, the new surveyor, Henry Ramsay, confirmed that only part of the town had sewers and outside it there were none. He recommended that Twickenham could build its own treatment process, as it had sufficient land for this purpose. This was not the situation in parishes such as Richmond, where space was more limited.¹⁴⁶ He favoured a system of irrigation

¹⁴⁴ Asa Briggs, *Victorian cities* (London, 1968), pp.214-215.

¹⁴⁵ RLSL, TW/LB/1: TLB, *minutes*, 14 May 1868.

¹⁴⁶ BL, C.T. 529(2): H.M. Ramsay, *Report on a proposed system for drainage and disposal of sewage of the parish of Twickenham* (Twickenham, 1868) Copyright of British Library Board, p.5.

as there is no doubt that sewage matter, more particularly that which is not diluted with large quantities of rainfall, is a most valuable manure...that casting sewage into rivers...is not only injurious and dangerous...but in neglecting to employ that product of our towns, we throw away matter of a highly fertilizing power.¹⁴⁷

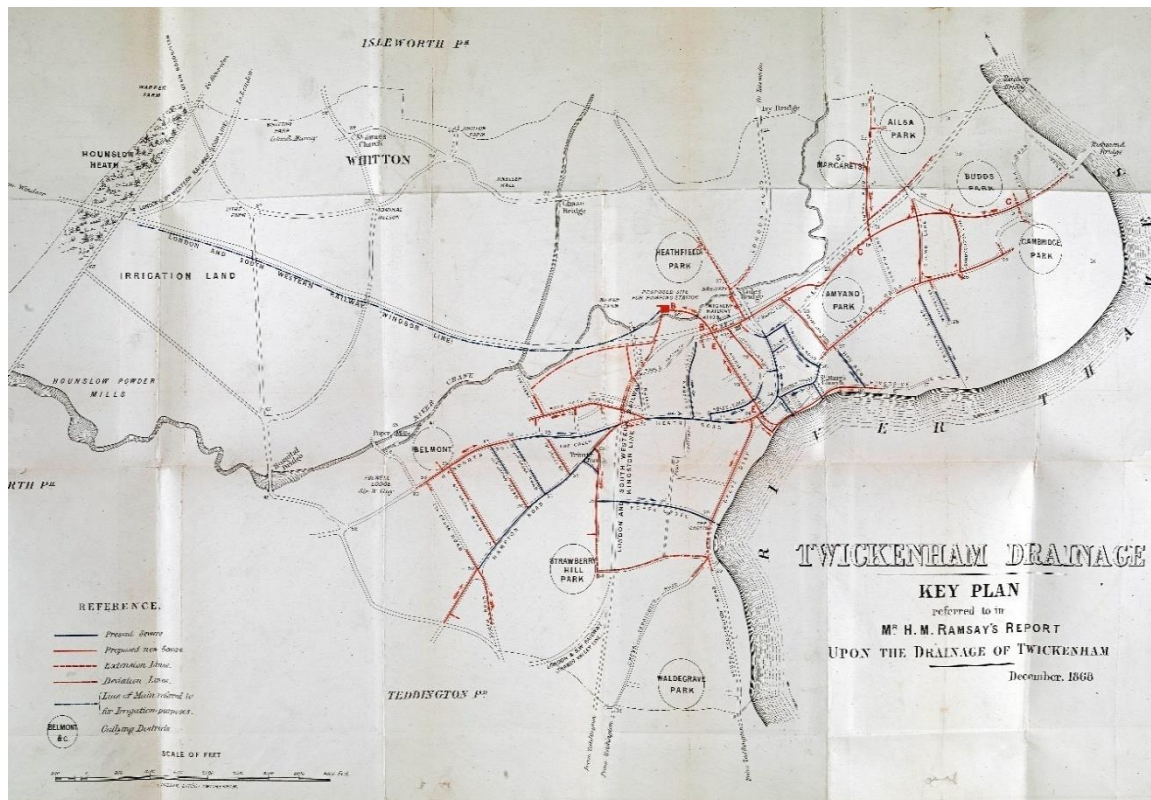


Illustration 4.9: Ramsey's original plan for Twickenham sewers.¹⁴⁸

The report proposed a main sewer and a total of ten branch sewers covering the centre of the town and the outlying districts (Illustration 4.9).¹⁴⁹ The idea of using sewage as a fertiliser was not unique to Twickenham, as it was also considered by the MBW for the disposal of London's sewage in the late 1860s.¹⁵⁰ The recommended method of sewage disposal was not practical because the effluent needed careful handling, farmers did not

¹⁴⁷ BL, C.T. 529(2), p.5.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.8. Ramsay remained as surveyor to Twickenham throughout the life of the TLB and he was elected a member of the UDC when it was established.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p.12-13.

¹⁵⁰ Owen, *The government of Victorian London*, p.65.

use fertiliser all the year round, and other forms of fertiliser that were easier to use were becoming available.¹⁵¹

The report was presented to the local board in November 1868.¹⁵² This was timely because, in June 1868, the board had received a letter from Thames Conservancy agreeing to extend the time within which the board was to cease the flow of sewage into the Thames by 12 months.¹⁵³ Nevertheless, instead of adopting the system proposed by Ramsay, the board deliberated over various options for another five years before it applied for a loan to the LGB.

Indecision and internal board disagreement

Indecision in the development of sewage disposal systems was not confined to Twickenham, as is demonstrated by the following comment on MBW discussions:

The truth of it was that the board was wholly at sea on the drainage question. What was decided one day was undone the next amid waves of empty oratory. Plans had repeatedly been proposed and withdrawn, either rejected by Sir Benjamin Hall (First Commissioner of Works) or abandoned on Thwaites's (Chairman of MBW) assurance that Hall would reject them.¹⁵⁴

In May 1869, the local board wrote to Thames Conservancy, advising that it was not able to decide which treatment system to adopt and, in January 1870, it approached the Home Department to inquire whether it was taking any action to deal with the flow of sewage into the Thames.¹⁵⁵ The latter approach was rebuffed, and the board was referred to the LGB. In April 1870, the board appointed a committee to consider the issue, and it considered several route options for laying sewers, looked at methods of sewage disposal adopted by a small number of other authorities, and discussed two options with private companies. Their terms were found to be unsatisfactory. During this

¹⁵¹ Rosenthal, *The river pollution dilemma in Victorian England*, p.17.

¹⁵² RLSL, TW/LB/1: TLB *minutes*, 12 November 1868.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 25 June 1868.

¹⁵⁴ Owen, *The government of Victorian London*, p.52.

¹⁵⁵ RLSL, TW/LB/1: TLB *minutes*, 6 May 1869 and 6 January 1870.

time, decisions were continually postponed for various reasons. In mid-1870, it was decided to wait for the Thames Conservancy to set out its standards for discharge into the Thames, which it did in September 1870.¹⁵⁶ This was probably justified because, at this time, scientists did not agree on what constituted polluted water.¹⁵⁷ In February 1871, the board decided to refer the 'plans for the proposed drainage of the parish to Mr Bramwell, engineer of George Street, Westminster or to Mr Bazalgette for his report thereon'.¹⁵⁸ There is no record in the board's minutes as to whether such a referral was made or its outcome.

A notice dated 27 July 1872 from the solicitors to Thames Conservancy that it intended to take proceedings against the board for allowing sewage to flow in to the Thames gave renewed urgency to the situation. As a result, the next month, the board decided to seek a second opinion on the Ramsay plan.¹⁵⁹ This was received in January 1873, and it endorsed the Ramsay proposals, with some small changes. Nevertheless, the board decided to delay an application for a loan until all the details of the scheme had been resolved.¹⁶⁰ In June 1873, one board member, Alfred Clark, a surgeon and apothecary, presented a paper to the board on another possible scheme that he had drawn up.¹⁶¹ This suggested some changes to the routes of some of the sewers in the Ramsay plan and, instead of a system of disposal that relied entirely on irrigation, he proposed that a combination of downward filtration through natural soil and irrigation should be adopted. Clark concluded that filtration was the next best system to irrigation (the Ramsey plan) and that it could be expanded more easily than irrigation in the future if this proved to be necessary. A meeting of the board in June 1873 decided to adopt Alfred Clark's proposal for a mixed filtration and irrigation scheme.¹⁶² More detailed costings were then prepared and sent to the LGB on 20 October, together with an application for

¹⁵⁶ RLSL, TW/LB/1: TLB *minutes*, 24 February, 17 June, and 22 September 1870.

¹⁵⁷ Bill Luckin, 'Pollution in the city', p.200.

¹⁵⁸ RLSL, TW/LB/1:TLB *minutes*, 23 February 1871.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 28 August, 1872.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 10 April 1873.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 29 May 1873.

¹⁶² RLSL, TW/LB/1:TLB *minutes*, 18 June 1873.

a loan of £20,000.¹⁶³ A public inquiry was held on 29 December by Major Tulloch, the LGB inspector, who undertook all the inquiries in the area around this time. As the LGB board correspondence files for Brentford do not include papers for the first six months of 1874, no record survives of the inquiry report. A press report of the hearing, however, says that the hearing lasted one day only and consisted of an explanation of the scheme by Ramsay and some objections put forward by two board members. Ramsay was reported as explaining that the 'the process of dealing with the sewage appeared to be to simply to pump it on to the land, and mix sludge with town ashes, and purify by downward filtration, the effluent water thence passing through pipes direct to the River Thames'.¹⁶⁴ The cost of the works was reported to be £18,736 and that of the land as £4,500. The objections put forward were based on cost and the location of the plant, which some considered to be too close to habitation. The loan of £20,000 was approved, although the LGB took six months to reach its decision.¹⁶⁵

Construction of a sewerage system

Following approval of the loan, the board decided to invite tenders for most of the work to be undertaken and, following the receipt of five tenders, the contract was awarded to Thomas Turner of Kings Road, Chelsea, as he submitted the lowest bid of £16,443.¹⁶⁶

The board minutes for 1875 report periodically that 'the several works are progressing satisfactorily'. Towards the end of 1875, it became apparent that the original loan was not sufficient and that an additional £15,000 was required. No discussion of this is recorded in the board minutes, but LGB papers refer to such an application, and the minutes note a letter from the LGB notifying its intention to undertake an inquiry.¹⁶⁷ The inspector's report on the inquiry, held in December 1875, contains some interesting information that is not reflected in the board's minutes and is at variance with the

¹⁶³ TNA, MH 12/6911: LGB correspondence, Twickenham, 1873.

¹⁶⁴ *MC*, 3 January 1874.

¹⁶⁵ RLSL, TW/LB/1:TLB *minutes*, 25 June 1874.

¹⁶⁶ RLSL, TW/LB/1:TLB *minutes*, 9 July and 19 August 1874.

¹⁶⁷ TNA, MH 12/6914: LGB correspondence, Twickenham, 1875; RLSL, TW/LB/2: TLB *minutes*, 25 November 1875.

account of the December 1873 inquiry as reported in the MC. The inspector reported that, at the 1873 inquiry, the intention was 'to collect the whole of the sewage at a point lying outside the town, then pump it by steam and then apply it to land to be purchased under the Land Clauses Consolidation Act' and that he recommended the loan 'because he felt certain of the success of the project'. This account makes no reference to the element of filtration contained in the board minutes of the time or the newspaper article. The inspector's report states that, by the time of the second inquiry, £20,883 had been spent and that 'they have...completely changed the project'. It continues:

the original loan of £20,000 was granted for a project of sewage utilization on land, and the sewers...were designed with the view to the sewage being carried in the direction of that land. But now this idea is abandoned, and it is proposed to use a system of artificial filtration, the effluent being discharged into the Thames. This particular system...has not been adopted by any town in the kingdom.¹⁶⁸

As the application did not include any plans, it was rejected, and the inspector recommended that full details of the work undertaken should be provided with the next application.

Another application was submitted by the board, with the information requested, at the end of December 1875, and a further inquiry was held in July 1876. The report on this inquiry sets out why the system was changed, but does not explain why this occurred.¹⁶⁹ The inspector reported that the board was unable to purchase the land to the west of the parish that it had identified for irrigation, and, as it did not wish to pursue a compulsory purchase order for this land, it decided to pursue 'an artificial process of purification'.¹⁷⁰ He also reported that, by the time of the December 1875 inquiry, an

¹⁶⁸ TNA, MH 12/6915: LGB correspondence, Twickenham, 1876.

¹⁶⁹ TNA, MH 12/6916: LGB correspondence, Twickenham, 1877.

¹⁷⁰ The inspection report describes the system adopted as follows: 'The whole of the sewage of the district will be brought by gravitation to the sewage tanks which are to be made large enough to hold the sewage during those hours of the night when pumps are not at work. From the sewerage tanks, the sewage will be pumped into the precipitating tanks where after having been previously mixed with lime or other

amount of £4,324 had been committed in addition to the loan approved. As this money was owed to a contractor, the LGB approved a loan outside the normal approval process. A report of the inspector for a subsequent loan application in 1878 was even more critical. It commented:

If when they made up their minds to abandon the irrigation scheme they had stopped all expenditure and consulted the board (LGB), all would have gone well, but before they (LGB) knew anything of what had occurred the local board had not only spent £20,000 but also incurred a further sum of £4,324.¹⁷¹

Despite the criticism, the implied deception, and poor management by the TLB, a loan of £13,000 was approved in September 1876.¹⁷² Whether this situation occurred because of the differing views of TLB members, indecision, poor administrative support for the board, or an attempt to mislead the LGB is not apparent from the records. Based on the board's performance more generally, a combination of the first three explanations is the most likely.

Between 1876 and 1882, there were three more loan applications totalling £22,000.¹⁷³ By 1880, the TLB had borrowed £64,000 to lay sewers and construct the processing plant, some three times more than envisaged some six years earlier. To this extent, the critics of the scheme were correct. The Twickenham plant was completed by 1880 and the LGB inspector could report that the effluent being discharged into the Thames met the standard required by the Thames Conservancy Board.¹⁷⁴

The relative difficulties experienced by Richmond and Twickenham in constructing sewers and sewage disposal systems were not unique. Although Twickenham was one

chemical ingredients, it will be allowed to settle until the solid matters have fallen to the bottom when the clearer liquid will be passed to the filters. These will be formed of gravel and sand and will be in duplicate or triplicate as experience may direct. The effluent from the filters will be carried by a sewer and discharged into the Thames.'

¹⁷¹ TNA, MH 12/6919: LGB correspondence, Twickenham, 1878.

¹⁷² TNA, 12/6916: LGB correspondence, Twickenham, 1876.

¹⁷³ TNA, 12/6916; MH 12/6921; MH 12/6926: LGB correspondence, Twickenham, 1876, 1879, 1882.

¹⁷⁴ TNA, MH 12/6922: LGB correspondence, Twickenham, 1880.

of the first areas to the west of London to cease discharging sewage into the Thames, the difficulties it experienced as a small town developing infrastructure with little outside help were not dissimilar to the problems that Richmond experienced with maintaining adequate water supply.

Finance

During the last 30 years of the nineteenth century, the finances of the local authorities in Richmond and Twickenham were transformed by the additional functions that the respective bodies were permitted by statute and that they opted to undertake. This was an era when local authorities received little or no help from central government.¹⁷⁵ As a result, they took out loans to finance the building of various pieces of infrastructure, particularly those connected with water supply and sanitation, with consequential increases in rates to pay for the running of services, interest, and the repayment of loans. The main source of local authority income was a tax on property, namely the rates, as they were administratively simple to collect and administer.¹⁷⁶

This section looks at the changes that occurred in the financial position of Richmond and Twickenham in the last 30 years of the nineteenth century. It considers the loans that were taken out by each authority, the increase in expenditure that occurred in both towns to finance the loans and pay for the increase in the scope of services provided, and the parallel increase in the rates that occurred to finance this expenditure.

Loans

One of the key changes in the second half of the nineteenth century that occurred in local authority finance in Richmond and Twickenham and in almost all other authorities was the change from a 'hand to mouth' existence, where the rates collected in a year were the only funds available, to one in which finances became dominated by the loans

¹⁷⁵ Robert Millard and Sally Sheard, 'The urban fiscal problem, 1870-1914: 'Government expenditure and finance in England and Wales' in *Economic History Review*, 48.3 (1995), p.501.

¹⁷⁶ Tony Travers and Lorena Esposito, *The decline and fall of local democracy; A history of local government finance* (London, 2003), p.21.

taken out to pay for capital infrastructure. Nationally, the amount of local authority debt rose from £82.4 million in 1870 to £652.6 million in 1914, almost equivalent to the national debt of £706 million.¹⁷⁷ Local authorities used different sources of finance, the main determinant of the lender being the size of the authority and the period concerned. The issue of stocks was the preserve of larger authorities because any issue of less than £1 million was difficult to sell.¹⁷⁸ Smaller authorities such as Richmond and Twickenham relied mainly on loans from the Public Works Loans Commissioners. The process for obtaining loans was quite straightforward and involved an authority application and a public inquiry, usually of no more than a day. With very few exceptions, loan applications by Richmond and Twickenham were agreed by the LGB. From the mid-1880s, Richmond began to raise money by means of debentures because it could obtain loan repayments over a longer period than those available from the LGB. The then borough accountant believed that this was appropriate as the longer period better reflected the potential life of the assets concerned.¹⁷⁹

Tables 4.1 and 4.2, which have been compiled from LGB records, set out an analysis of the increase in the borrowing incurred by Richmond and Twickenham from the mid-1870s to the mid-1890s. At the beginning of the 1870s, the borrowing of both authorities was minimal. By 1877-78, the total borrowing of both authorities was around £40,000, and the balances of the loans outstanding were 32% and 52% of the total rateable value of property in Richmond and Twickenham respectively. By 1896, Richmond had taken out loans of £237,262, and the balance outstanding of some £190,000 represented some 79% of total rateable value. A memorandum to RBC by the chairman of the finance committee in July 1900 reported that borrowing had increased to some £260,000 against rateable value of £280,000.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ John F. Wilson, 'The finance of municipal capital expenditure in England and Wales' in *Financial History Review*, 4, (1997) pp.31-50.

¹⁷⁸ MH 12/6917, 6927, 6951: LGB correspondence, Twickenham, 1877, 1883, 1894.

¹⁷⁹ RLSL, R/BC/Fin/2: RBC, *Finance Committee*, 2 September 1891.

¹⁸⁰ RLSL, R/BC/Fin/5: RBC, *Finance Committee*, 3 July 1900.

Date	Rateable value	Total value of loans	Number of loans	Value of loans repaid	Loans repaid as % of total	Balance of loans outstanding	Outstanding as % of rateable value
	£	£		£	%	£	&
June 1878	122,046	40,000	7	727	2	39,273	32
June 1885	166,200	82,208	21	16,151	20	66,057	40
Feb 1893	224,337	182,921	29	34,443	19	148,478	66
Aug 1896	240,220	237,262	38	47,405	20	189,857	79

Table 4.1: Richmond: analysis of loans and rateable values 1878-1896.¹⁸¹

Date	Rateable value	Total Value of loans	Number of loans	Value of loans repaid	Loans repaid as % of total	Balance of loans outstanding	Outstanding as % of rateable value
	£	£		£	%	£	%
Sept 1877	70,075	39,324	6	2935	7	36,389	52
Jan 1883	97,797	78,687	11	14,252	18	64,435	66
Aug 1894	99,669	109,468	22	39,909	36	69,858	70

Table 4.2: Twickenham, analysis of loans and rateable values 1877-1894.¹⁸²

The equivalent figure for Twickenham in 1894 was borrowing of £109,468, of which some £70,000 remained outstanding. This represented 70% of total rateable value. The repayment terms varied depending upon the purpose of the loan and the lender but were typically around 30 years. Thus, both authorities made significant commitments against future rate income that had a major, but probably manageable, impact on their overall finances. There were differences between the two towns as to the purposes of

¹⁸¹ TNA, MH 12/12605, 12610, 12622, 12630: LGB correspondence, Richmond, 1877, 1885, 1893-94, 1896.

¹⁸² TNA, MH 12/6917, 6927, 6951: LGB correspondence, Twickenham, 1877, 1883, 1894.

the loans that reflect the main business and concerns of the two authorities in the last 30 years of the nineteenth century.

Purpose	Richmond		Twickenham	
	£	% of total	£	% of total
Water supply	78,920	44	-	
Sewerage works	12,892	7	81,444	74
Street improvement	30,549	17	7,939	7
Surface drainage	14,250	8	4,500	4
Public baths	10,186	6	-	
Pleasure grounds	17,500	10	1,725	2
Burial ground	13,000	7		
Construction of lock	-		14,160	13
Miscellaneous	2,664	1		
Total	179,961		109,768	

Table 4.3: Purpose of loans for Richmond and Twickenham from the mid-1870s to the mid-1890s.¹⁸³

The main purposes of the loans are summarised in **Table 4.3**. In Richmond, 44% of the loans were for water supply, whereas, in Twickenham, no money was borrowed for this purpose because water was provided by private companies. In Twickenham, 74% of loans were for sewers and the sewerage works, but in Richmond, only 7% of loans were for this purpose because most of Richmond had sewers by the 1870s and the loan for the sewage processing plant was on the books of the RMSB. Another difference was the greater emphasis on public amenities such as public baths and pleasure gardens in Richmond.

Expenditure

Throughout the period, the records of both authorities provided little summary information on actual expenditure, but there were periodic reports on estimates. The

¹⁸³ TNA, MH12/12630: LGB correspondence, Richmond, 1896; 12/6951: LGB correspondence, Twickenham, 1894.

newly created TLB was initially quite good at recording its financial estimates. For the year ending December 1870, it expected to spend £3,870, of which 60% was spent on highways, 18% on lighting, and 4% on a fire engine.¹⁸⁴ Unfortunately the Richmond vestry minutes do not report information on expenditure for the 1870s. By 1880-81, expenditure by the TLB had more than doubled to around £10,000, the largest single item of expenditure being interest and repayment of debt, at a total of £3,500 (35% of total expenditure). The remainder was spent on general running costs, of which the largest were £1,150 for labour, £1,140 on lighting, £800 on highways, £650 on sewers, and £613 on salaries.¹⁸⁵ Further details of these figures are set out in **Table 4.4**.

Function	£	% of total
Sewers	650	6.5
Scavenging	350	3.5
Road watering	350	3.5
Team work and horse upkeep	600	6.1
Labour	1,150	11.5
Lighting	1,140	11.5
Rate collectors' commission	200	2.0
Establishment	500	5.0
Fire brigade	100	1.0
Highways	800	8.1
Salaries	613	6.1
Interest and repayment of loan principal	3,507	35.2
Total	9,960	

Table 4.4: Twickenham Local Board expenditure April 1880-March 1881.¹⁸⁶

The earliest period for which comparable data exists for both towns is the mid-1880s. In Twickenham, by 1883-84 expenditure had increased another 30% over 1880 levels to

¹⁸⁴ RLSSL, TW/LB/1: TLB *minutes*, 10 March 1870 and 27 October 1870.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ RLSSL, TW/LB/2: TLB *minutes*, 8 April 1880.

£13,400, of which almost £5,000 (37%) was spent on interest and capital repayments and the remainder on service provision (mainly sewers and highway repairs).¹⁸⁷

The earliest more detailed figures that have survived for Richmond relate to 1885-86.¹⁸⁸

As a vestry, Richmond collected rates under three headings: poor rate, highway and general rate, and water rate and, as it was reported to the vestry in this way, it is replicated here in the same format. **Table 4.5** shows the total amount of expenditure under each of the three headings and the main items that made up the bulk of these totals for 1885-86. Total expenditure was expected to be some £50,000, of which £25,000 was spent under the highway and general rate, some £14,000 under the poor rate, and almost £11,000 under the water rate.

These figures are not strictly comparable with those of Twickenham because the latter did not include payment to Brentford guardians and the police. Apart from payments to the board of guardians, the county, and the police, the largest items across all headings of expenditure were for the highway department, which covered all expenditure related to the road maintenance and cleaning (£13,699). Other major items were repayment of loans (£5,518), public baths (£2,350 gross with receipts of £750), and the costs of managing the supply of water described as 'establishment costs' (£2,102).

By the mid-1880s, the quantum of expenditure, as reported in the minutes of the two authorities, was more than three times greater in Richmond than it was in Twickenham. This reflected the greater scope of the services undertaken by the Richmond vestry (e.g. public baths and library) and the larger population in Richmond than in Twickenham (1881: 19,066 in Richmond, compared to 12,479 in Twickenham).

By the end of the century, the financial reporting to members of both authorities had become more elaborate although not consistent between the two of them. **Table 4.6**

¹⁸⁷ RLSL, TW/LB/4: 22 March, 27 September 1883.

¹⁸⁸ RLSL, R/BC/Fin/1: Richmond Vestry, *Finance Committee*, 15 June 1885.

compares the expenditure of the Richmond BC and Twickenham UDC for 1899-1900, based on the format presented to the members of the former. Since the mid-1880s,

Poor Rate	£	Highway & General Rate	£	Water Rate	£
Total expenditure	13,992		25,103		10,663
Main expenditure items					
Guardian's Call	5,200	Highway Dept.	13,699	Loan repayment & interest	4,276
County Rate	2,200	Loan repayment & interest	1,242	Establishment expenses	2,102
Police Rate	3,800	Urban Sanitary Authority	2,416		
Public Baths	800	Free Library	705		
School Attendance Committee	160	Public Baths	1,550		
		School Attendance Committee	174		
		Fire brigade	427		
		Joint Sewerage Board	2,000		

Table 4.5: The main classifications of expenditure for Richmond 1885-86.¹⁸⁹

expenditure in Richmond had increased by 45% and in Twickenham had more than doubled. Some 20% of the expenditure of both towns was made up of interest charges and the repayment of the loan principal. Because it spent relatively small sums on wider services, Twickenham continued to spend more than 50% of its budget on maintaining highways, sewers, and street lighting. Overall, expenditure in Richmond was 2.25 times that in Twickenham. This figure is best represented by expenditure per head of the

¹⁸⁹ RLSL, TW/LB/5: TLB *minutes*, 15 June 1885.

population. In Richmond, expenditure per head was £2.29, including interest payments, and £1.76 excluding them. The equivalent figures for Twickenham were £1.55 and £1.22 respectively.¹⁹⁰

	Richmond		Twickenham	
	£	Percent. of total	£	Percent. of total
Highways, sewers, street lighting	16,965	23.4	17,170	52.8
Collection/disposal of house refuse	2,989	4.1	866	2.7
Pleasure grounds	2,013	2.8	-	-
Baths	1,536	2.1	100	
Water	7,202	9.9	-	0.3
Fire brigade	727	1.0	417	1.3
Library	1,140	1.6	601	1.9
Burial ground	471	0.6	786	2.4
Salaries, legal expenses, establishment charges	8,537	11.7	4,477	13.8
Hospital	2,401	3.3	716	2.2
Other services	1,707	2.3	589	1.8
Sub total	45,688	62.7	25,722	79.2
Main Sewerage Board	10,158	14.0	-	
Debt charges – interest and principal	16,830	23.2	6,745	20.8
Total	72,676		32,467	

Table 4.6: Comparison of RBC and Twickenham UDC expenditure – 1899-1900.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Richmond population in 1901 (including Kew, Petersham, and North Sheen): 31,672. Expenditure per head - £72,676 divided by 31,672 = £2.29. Excluding interest and repayment of loans - £55,846 divided by 31,672 = £1.76 per head. Twickenham population in 1901: 20,991. Expenditure per head - £32,542 divided by 20,991 = £1.55. Excluding interest and loan repayments - £25,797 divided by 20,991 = £1.22 per head.

¹⁹¹ RLSL, R/BC/Fin/5: RBC, Finance Committee, 3 July 1900; RLSL, TW/UDC/5: Twickenham UDC *minutes*, 12 April 1900, 11 October 1900.

Rates and rateable values

No records of rateable valuations for individual properties exist, and the absence of street numbers from most rate books does not facilitate specific comparisons over time. Within this limitation, the rateable values in the rate books for both authorities indicate that rateable valuations for individual properties did not change in the last 30 years of the century. As a result, the increase in expenditure by the two authorities was underpinned by a gradual increase in the rate in the pound and in the total rateable value of the two towns. This section concludes by looking at these increases and the public reaction to them.

In 1870, the rateable value of Richmond was £97,487 and that of Twickenham £62,000.¹⁹² There is no record of the rate in the pound charged in Richmond at this time, but in Twickenham it was 10d. in the pound for houses and 5d. for land (as explained earlier, these figures were for six months, and so the annual charge was 1s. 8d. and 10d.).¹⁹³ The earliest figures for this period available for Richmond were for the year ending Lady Day 1875, where the poor rate was set at 1s. 8d., the highway rate at 1s. 2d., and a sewer rate of 2d. – a total of 3s. The split between houses and land in Twickenham make a direct comparison difficult; nevertheless, it seems clear that the level of rates charged by the Richmond vestry was higher than the TLB. The rate in the pound in both Richmond and Twickenham was much lower than that in most parishes and boards in the MBW area.¹⁹⁴ This was probably because neither authority had to contribute to the cost of the various capital projects undertaken by the MBW.

By the mid-1880s, the rateable value for Richmond had increased to £168,000 and in Twickenham to £82,750; by 1900, the figure for Richmond had increased to £279,805

¹⁹² RLSL, R/RB/42: Richmond *rate book* 1870; RLSL, TW/LB/1:TLB *minutes*, 10 March 1870.

¹⁹³ RLSL, TW/LB/1: TLB *minutes* 10 March 1870, 27 October 1870.

¹⁹⁴ For example, in 1871 the rate in the £ in Wandsworth was around 5s to 6s, in Hammersmith 6s, Battersea 5s to 6s, and Hampstead 4s to 5s. (Source: A. Offer, *Property and politics, 1870-1914: landownership, law, ideology and urban development in England* (Cambridge, 1981), pp.284-285.

and that of Twickenham to £142,439 in 1895.¹⁹⁵ The increase in the rateable value was a key element in limiting the increase of the chargeable rate in the pound, as the memorandum of the chairman of the Richmond finance committee commented in 1900 that

the rateable value of the Borough continues to show a progressive increase year by year, and apparently the limit of expansion is not yet in sight...[it] has for some years contributed materially to prevent the rates increasing in the same proportion as expenditure.

The rates for both towns increased in small increments from the mid-1870s to 1900. Within this gradual increase, there were greater variations from year to year. Overall, the combined highway and poor rates in Richmond increased from around 3s. in the pound in the mid-1870s to a little over 4s. in the late 1880s. In addition, a water rate introduced in 1878 at 6d increased to 1s. 2d. by 1890. The vestry minutes give little insight into how the rates were fixed and the extent of discussion that occurred between vestrymen. The RTT accounts of vestry debates and the newspaper's commentary provide more information. To take one of the larger increases as an example, in July 1885, it was proposed to increase the highway rate by 1s. from 1s. 10d. to 2s. 10d., with the poor and water rates remaining unchanged.¹⁹⁶ The reason given for the increase was a backlog of work that resulted from the resignation of the surveyor. The debate between vestrymen as reported in the RTT was a little acrimonious, and an amendment to reduce the increased rate from 2s. 10d. to 2s. 8d. was passed by the vestry. This still represented an increase of 45% and, in this context, the reaction of vestrymen was relatively mild. The reaction of the local paper was also one of acceptance as it commented that 'the increase of the rates...will be greatly regretted, but as it cannot be

¹⁹⁵ RLSL, R/BC/Fin/1: Richmond Vestry, *Finance committee*, 15 June 1885; TW/LB/4: TLB *minutes* 22 March 1883; R/BC/Fin/5: RBC *Finance committee minute book*, 3 July 1900; TW/RB/40: Twickenham rate book, 1895.

¹⁹⁶ RTT, 11 July 1885.

helped, we had better console ourselves with the thought that the rates are higher elsewhere.¹⁹⁷

The reaction was similar in 1893, when the RBC increased the highway and general rate from 3s 4d to 4s 8d on account, partly, of the increase in the charges by the RMSB. The TVT records considerable debate and complaint by councillors, but no attempt was made to reduce the increase. This was probably because the council was still sufficiently new to be able to blame the vestry, as Councillor Thompson commented that

only a portion of the increase in the rates this year was due to the sewerage board. A considerable portion of the general burdens upon the town were due to the unwelcome legacies left to the council by the old vestry.¹⁹⁸

Overall, the rate in the pound of Richmond rates was the same in 1900 as it had been when the council was established in 1890.

In Twickenham, the rate on houses doubled, between 1875 and the demise of the local board in 1895, from 1s. every six months to around 2s. As the rate on land was abolished from 1885, and the burden of the rates fell entirely on houses, it is difficult to determine the real impact of the doubling of the house rate. The UDC managed to maintain the rate at around 2s. every six months up to 1900. Little discussion of the rates was recorded in the board or UDC minutes, but the accounts of these meetings in the local press record little dissension amongst members when the level of rates was discussed.

Conclusion

There were many differences between the local authorities in Richmond and Twickenham in the last 30 years of the nineteenth century. Twickenham voted in 1868 to transfer its secular affairs to a local board. This was mainly because the open vestry did not have the powers to build the infrastructure that the increased population required. Richmond, for reasons set out in **Chapter 3**, delayed its transition from a select

¹⁹⁷ RTT, 11 July 1885.

¹⁹⁸ TVT, 5 July 1893.

vestry to a borough council until 1890. This was some ten years before secular powers were removed from the vestries in inner London. The select vestry in Richmond provided greater opportunities to take forward large projects and borrow money to carry them out.

The form of vestry that existed earlier in the century had an impact on the successor bodies in terms of the individuals that were prepared to participate in local government. In Richmond, there was a long history of property owners and professional men working alongside local shopkeepers and tradesmen of sufficient status to allow them to be vestry members. In Twickenham, most vestry business seems was left to a small number of men that were mainly shopkeepers and tradesmen. This history had an impact on the composition of the TLB and the UDC, where there was a lower proportion of members from the professions than in Richmond throughout the last three decades of the nineteenth century. The lowering of the voting qualifications greatly increased the size of the electorate and resulted in the election of individuals such as William Thompson in Richmond, who almost certainly, would not have been elected in earlier years under the more restrictive franchise that favoured the more prosperous.

There were a number of consequences in the different occupational composition of the two authorities. First, the relative lack of experience of TLB members contributed to the problems that Twickenham experienced in building its sewer infrastructure. The second two differences were to some extent interlinked, namely, the amenities that were developed and the rate in the pound payable by the inhabitants of the two towns. In Twickenham, there were no public baths and, although there was a free library in the civic building constructed by Charles Freake, work on a purpose-built library for Twickenham did not start until the beginning of the twentieth century. Expenditure on public spaces in Twickenham was nil, whereas in Richmond it amounted to 3% of the budget. The net result of lower expenditure in Twickenham in almost all areas was that the level of rates in the pound was consistently lower than in Richmond. There is no evidence in TLB or UDC minutes of representations to the effect that Twickenham should acquire the facilities that were available in Richmond. On the other hand, some of the

election notices for candidates for the RBC indicated that they believed that expenditure on projects such as the town hall were unnecessary. These critics were in the minority, and Richmond built the facilities that it perceived were necessary. The status of the mayor of Richmond and, to a lesser extent, the aldermen was important to the town, and this did not extend to the position of chairman of the TLB or UDC or the other long-serving members of these bodies.

Projects that were initiated in Richmond relied on the drive of a few individuals to bring them to completion. Messrs Burt and Thompson were two of the more obvious examples of this, whereas the TLB did not seem to attract such individuals. It is clear from the press reports of meetings of the local authorities in both towns that, although they were characterised by an absence of explicit party politics, there was a considerable amount of personal rivalry and argument between members.

The construction of sewers and sewage processing plants caused problems for both towns, although how they went about solving the problem was different. Twickenham could use its greater area to implement a local solution within the parish. The more compact area of Richmond meant that locating a processing plant within the town boundaries was almost impossible, and as a result, it had to work with other authorities to deliver a solution. This involved many rejected schemes and one failed joint sewerage board before the RMSB could stop the discharge of effluent into the Thames, almost 25 years after legislation was passed aimed at stopping this practice. However, Richmond was not unusual in this respect.

The infrastructure projects of the last 30 years of the century transformed the financial position of both towns. By the end of the century, outstanding debt as a percentage of the rateable value was considerably higher in Richmond than in Twickenham. The increase in the rateable value of both towns during this period meant that this debt could be serviced, and, the increased expenditure met without unmanageable increases in the percentage rate in the pound. Thus, it was possible for both towns to develop infrastructure without sustained protest from ratepayers.

Both authorities experienced considerable difficulties in the last three decades of the century. Nevertheless, by 1900, both Richmond and Twickenham had managed to establish local authority organisations that would have been recognisable to the members and officers that worked in the respective successor local authorities in the mid- twentieth century.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis examines the development during the nineteenth century of two communities that, in their different ways, were well established by the end of the eighteenth century. Both were affected by the growth of the metropolis, but, remained outside it geographically and administratively throughout the nineteenth century. As set out in the introduction, historians have different views on the classification and definition of locations relatively near to but not part of a city. The term 'suburb' is frequently attached to such places, but as Saint comments, there is no unanimity of what constitutes a suburb.¹ Archer argues that Richmond and Twickenham were suburbs of London by the end of the eighteenth century because of the 'detached villas' that had been built in both locations by the end of that century for the use of prosperous City dwellers.² This thesis has shown that there was much more to both locations than a few 'detached villas'. Other historians, such as Dyos and Fishman suggest that the term 'suburb' implies closer economic, social and administrative links to a city than Archer.³

Discussion about whether particular locations can be classified as a suburb might be considered esoteric. In the context of this thesis, it is important that the individuality and relative self-sufficiency of both communities are not clouded by a term that has different interpretations amongst historians and others. Richmond and Twickenham did not become part of the built-up area of the metropolis until the twentieth century and were outside the MBW and LCC area. Their economies were influenced by their proximity to the metropolis. Market garden produce grown in Twickenham found an easy market in London and visitors from there were important to the economy of Richmond. But overall, the economies of both communities were self-supporting during the nineteenth century, and, it was not until after 1880 that men and women living in Richmond and Twickenham began travelling to London daily to work in any significant numbers. This supports Capuzzio's conclusion that residential building did not necessarily produce a

¹ Saint, *London Suburbs*, p. 9.

² Archer, *Architecture and suburbia*, pp. 85, 89.

³ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb* p. 22; Fishman, *Bougeois Utopias*, p. 5.

proportional increase in the number of commuters because many worked locally.⁴ Overall, during the nineteenth century Richmond and Twickenham retained their administrative and relative economic independence from the capital.

This thesis focuses on three main topics, namely, the economy and commerce of the two communities, land ownership and residential development, and local governance. In the context of the wider historiography, most other studies of development around London have looked at localities that had different characteristics to Richmond and Twickenham and tended to focus on one aspect of development. For example, Dyos' study of Camberwell focuses mainly on the factors that affected residential development, and, Thompson's study of Hampstead concentrates primarily on the terms of landownership and its consequences for development.⁵ Both studies considered communities that were overrun by the metropolis sometime during the nineteenth century and were inside the MBW and LCC area. In more recent work Galinou's research on the Eyre estate near Regent's Park considers a new garden suburb started in the early nineteenth century that at its inception was new development and relatively close to the centre of London; and French, in a series of articles on Surbiton researches a community that came about because of the building of a main line railway.⁶ The purpose of this thesis has been to look across a number of areas in two established communities that were not absorbed by the built-up and administrative area of the metropolis and to examine differences and inter-relationships that existed and the reasons for them. In the context of more recent American literature, the thesis provides further evidence that suburbia was inhabited by a wide divergence of classes because the more prosperous middle class required labour to provide services for them.⁷

Around 1800, there were several significant differences between Richmond and Twickenham. Richmond's royal connection, its proximity to Richmond Park and scenic

⁴ Capuzzo, 'Between politics and technology', p. 25.

⁵ Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*; Thompson, *Hampstead*.

⁶ Galinou, *Cottages and villas: the birth of the garden suburb*; French, 'The Good Life in Victorian and Edwardian Surbiton'.

⁷ Robert Fishman, *Bougeois Utopias*, p. 4.

views had created a small town of 4,628 persons that were mainly comprised of relatively prosperous gentry, and, those engaged in the services necessary to support the former. It was also attractive to visitors. Twickenham, on the other hand, was still a large village of 3,138, with an area twice that of Richmond, supporting a mainly rural economy. The River Thames was important to both communities as it allowed travel to London, although at 3.5 hours on the tide, regular daily return journeys were not feasible. The relative ease of communication with the metropolis meant that in the eighteenth century, houses were built by prosperous Londoners in both parishes, but, the pattern of construction was different between the two localities. This was significant for the development of both communities in the nineteenth century.

In Twickenham, houses were built along the Thames, in their own walled gardens. They were used mainly for leisure purposes and there is little evidence that their occupants took much of a role in the village, for example by participation in the open vestry. Most of the shops and traders in the village in 1800, and in the decades that followed, were of a type necessary to support a rural economy rather than the gentry. The open vestry, inherited from the eighteenth century and earlier, was attended mainly by a few shopkeepers and traders. It continued until 1868. The failure of two attempts to establish a select vestry was probably inevitable without the involvement of those with access to greater resources and influence. Thus, for the first seven decades of the nineteenth century Twickenham was administered by a body with powers limited to collecting the poor and highway rates.

In Richmond, most houses built by the gentry and City merchants were constructed close to the centre of the town and were occupied on a more full-time basis than in Twickenham. Consequently, these individuals had an incentive to be interested in the condition of the town and its governance. This situation, alongside a deal with the king to protect his interests on his Kew estate, resulted in a closed vestry being established in 1785 with powers that were sufficient for the governance of the town for much of the nineteenth century. These powers, together with some democracy in the election of vestrymen, the emergence of a body of men who were prepared to work in the interest

of the town rather than just their own, and probably a degree of good luck, resulted in the vestry retaining its responsibility for secular affairs for 105 years. Its location outside the MBW area meant it escaped absorption into that body in 1855, and the relative adequacy of its powers did not require it to become a local board in the 1860s to deal with the pressures of increased population and poor sanitation. Thus, the difference in the interest shown by the gentry that lived in Richmond and Twickenham towards the end of the eighteenth century had a significant impact on its governance in the nineteenth century.

During the first four decades of the nineteenth century the extent of change in both parishes was limited. Steam packets plied the Thames from London after 1815, although they were used mainly by visitors. Because of this traffic, the number of hotels in Richmond increased from six in 1823 to nine in 1839. There were none in Twickenham by this date. There was also a steady increase in the number of coaches through Richmond and Twickenham to the City, although the journey still took 3.5 hours. Thus, in terms of competition from outside traders and businesses, both communities remained relatively isolated from the metropolis until the mid-1840s.

The first significant change to the parishes in the mid-century was the opening of the railway from London to Richmond in 1846, and to Twickenham in 1848. The line was extended to Windsor in 1849 and Reading in 1856. Initially, the changes brought about by the railway were limited and the increase in the number of trains was small. There were still only 22 trains per day each way from Richmond to Waterloo in 1860, compared to 17 in 1847. As the initial reason for building the line was the transport of freight, the railway must have facilitated the transport of goods and brought about greater contact with commercial firms in London. No records of goods traffic survive, and it is difficult to quantify commercial traffic or the extent to which individual traders experienced competition from elsewhere in the metropolis because of the lack of newspapers at this time. The earliest examples that have survived for Richmond date from 1859 where fresh fish and poultry were advertised as supplied daily from Billingsgate and Leadenhall markets, and J.H. Gosling compared his ladies merchandise to that in London houses. No

such examples have survived for Twickenham, and, it seems likely that increasing access to London had less impact on Twickenham traders, given the nature of their businesses. As by 1855, the railway had largely replaced the packet steamers and there were ten hotels in Richmond by 1880 and five in Twickenham by 1890, the railway must also have been important in bringing additional visitors to the area.

The railway also increased the potential market for middle-class houses in Richmond and Twickenham for those that wished to work in London or live within easy travelling distance of it. This created an opportunity for landowners and builders to construct houses in Richmond and Twickenham on land that until then had been used for agriculture. Unlike north-east and north-west London, where the railway companies actively facilitated commuter traffic by workmen's fares and purchasing land for house building, the railway companies serving Richmond and Twickenham took no such direct action. Development of land in Richmond and Twickenham therefore relied on the initiative of individual landowners. There was a gap of some 15 years between the arrival of the railway in Richmond and significant house building and further 20-year delay in Twickenham. As a result, factors other than the railway must have been involved.

The residential growth of both localities would have been affected by factors that had a bearing on building cycles, nationally, although Richmond and Twickenham did not entirely follow the national pattern. The major building period in Richmond was from the mid-1860s to the mid-1870s, whereas that in Twickenham was in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century. The probable explanation for this difference was that much of the building land in Richmond had been developed towards the end of the nineteenth century and therefore further building on a large scale was not possible. In the 1860s and 1870s developers did not need to look as far as Twickenham for building land but, they needed to do so in the 1890s. After taking account of these factors the main circumstances that determined the incidence of the sale of building land or leases and therefore the timing of development was the situation of individual families. For example, building on Selwyn land in Richmond did not start until the death of William Selwyn in 1855, and later in the century, similar

connections can be made in Twickenham between changes in family circumstances and development decisions. The incidence of the opening of the railway to Richmond and Twickenham and of residential development suggests the former facilitated the latter and there is no evidence to suggest that the railway was built to meet residential demand that was already on the horizon when railway investment decisions were made. It supports Thompson's conclusion that the railways facilitated the development of the outer ring around London and of Jackson that the link between railway construction and housing development was not straightforward.⁸

A further relationship that is explored in this thesis was that between residential development, the development of utilities and the involvement of the respective local authorities. The problems experienced by Richmond in obtaining an adequate supply of water during the 1870s and early 1880s did not deter house building, and, the latter almost certainly exacerbated the former. The total housing stock in the town increased by 35% between 1871 and 1881, whereas it grew by only 17% in Twickenham where water supply difficulties were not recorded. The relationship between sanitation and house building is not easy to determine because of the lack of early records. Richmond did not have detailed building bye-laws that covered sanitation until 1884, by which time 80% of the houses and cottages that existed in 1901 had been built. In Twickenham, fairly basic building bye-laws existed since the formation of the local board in 1868 and developers and builders were required to submit their plans to the TLB for approval. Some 52% of the houses that existed in Twickenham in 1901 were built after this date. Thus, it is difficult to argue that the absence or introduction of building bye-laws had any measurable effect on house construction in either Richmond or Twickenham.

The MCS laid some sewers in Richmond before it was abolished in 1855. Sewers were laid along Sheen Road and Queens Road, but the developers of Church Road and Mount Ararat Road, for example, must have laid sewers because these roads did not exist in 1855, and, the houses that were constructed there were built with bathrooms and water

⁸ Thompson, *The rise of suburbia*, p.19; Jackson, *Semi-detached London*, p. 1.

closets. The increase in population, and legislation aimed at ceasing the discharge of effluent into the River Thames, put pressure on the sewerage infrastructure of both parishes. The result in Twickenham was the creation of the TLB tasked with building a sewerage system. The greater area of Twickenham allowed these structures to be built in the parish and they were completed by 1880. Although there is no documentary evidence, this must have facilitated the increase in house building that took place in the last two decades of the century because a sewer system was available to which new residential developments could be connected. The smaller area of Richmond compelled the vestry to seek co-operation with other authorities to develop a sewerage system. Several such schemes failed to materialise and Richmond only ceased to discharge sewage into the Thames in 1891 after the RMSB was established. As the combination of the MCS and the construction of sewers by private developers meant that many houses were already connected to the sewerage system by the 1870s and 1880s the key aspect for the town was ceasing discharge into the river.

The increase in population, faster travel and national legislation, which in some cases facilitated and in others required the introduction of services, had a significant effect on local governance. Some of the changes were gradual and others were marked by specific events such as the formation of a new board, or legislation. In Richmond, the possibility of faster travel made it possible, over time, for some of the gentry to move away to live further from the metropolis. As a result, they ceased to be involved in the vestry. They were replaced by professionals and retired military officers who took up residence in the town. These men were responsible for taking forward the introduction of new services and reforming the way in which the vestry conducted its business. The calibre of some of these men, and, the interest that they took in the town enabled Richmond to introduce services, such as, a library and public baths, in advance of its neighbours and most authorities under the MBW. At the same time, the vestry's system of multiple votes according to rateable values meant that it was difficult for the less prosperous to gain election. Gradually the powers under the 1785 Act became insufficient for a town the size of Richmond in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The problems

experienced in the supply of water and the implementation of an adequate sewerage system must have caused many to conclude that a vestry was not the most effective organization for local government at the end of the nineteenth century. When public pressure resulted in the vestry accepting that powers under the 1785 Act were insufficient, the town's perception of its status resulted in it applying for and being granted borough status by royal charter, rather than the local board status adopted by Twickenham. The abolition of multiple votes under the new council made it easier for men such as William Thompson to gain election. Richmond made much of its new status in the 1890s, but, except for a new town hall and the building of municipal housing for workmen, most improvements and expansion to local authority services had already been started by the vestry.

The TLB and the district council that replaced it in 1895 took a far more limited view of the services that it should provide. Most detailed business was undertaken by the full board, it built no municipal workmen's housing and although a small library was accommodated in the town hall from 1881, a library building was not opened until 1907. The local board and district council did not attract the same calibre of men as in Richmond which was a continuation of the lower status of members prevalent in local government in Twickenham throughout the century. Thus, the expansive role that the Richmond vestry saw for itself in 1785 carried on right through the following century. Twickenham on the other hand, continued to be content with a more limited role for its local authority, and, there is little evidence of lobbying by those that thought otherwise.

Many aspects of the comparative status permeated through the commercial life of the two communities. Retail business in Richmond continued to expand to cater for the increased population and daily visitors. By 1891, the population of Richmond had increased to 19,000 and that of Twickenham to 16,000. In the last two decades of the century the number of men and women living in Richmond and Twickenham and working in London may have reached 2,000 from each town by 1901. These figures were significant but suggest that in 1901 almost three-quarters of men and women, in paid employment, still worked locally. The opening of three department stores in Richmond

in the 1890s demonstrated the health of the Richmond economy. Twickenham, on the other hand, could only support small shops that were mainly sole traders selling fairly basic merchandise.

At the end of the century the attitude of the two communities to the electric tramway was symptomatic of their self-confidence and views of their status. Richmond firmly rejected an electric tramway and as a result it was one of the few locations to the west of London without a line built to or through it. The town was not concerned that it might lose business to other towns such as Kingston and Ealing and it was able to protect the centre of the town unchanged by overhead power lines and street widening to allow for the laying the tracks. Twickenham readily accepted a tramway and found itself on the route that connected Hammersmith, Hounslow and Kingston. The consequence was that some of the centre of Twickenham was demolished to widen streets.

Richmond continued to maintain its individuality into the next century. An independent assessment of Richmond's character and individuality in the middle of the twentieth century is provided in the *Greater London plan* of 1944. It reported that:

The sprawling outward expansion of London has engulfed many towns and villages...Only a few have managed to resist the flow of disorderly building...Richmond, which lies between the Thames and Richmond Great Park in one direction and between Kew Gardens and Petersham Common in the other, is an example of a well-defined community in the suburban ring which has stood firm.⁹

By comparison, in Twickenham, during the 1920s and 1930s the large area of undeveloped land to the west and north-west of the town was covered in semi-detached houses, typical of the period. As a result, much of it became very similar to the suburbia that covered much of Middlesex in the inter-war years.

⁹ Patrick Abercrombie, Advisory committee for London regional planning. *Report to the minister of town and country planning and report of the technical sub-committee on the greater London plan 1944* (London, 1945) p.111.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Summary of the number of trains between Waterloo and Richmond, 1847 to 1900.

	06.00-07.59	08.00-09.59	10.00-11.59	12.00-13.59	14.00-15.59	16.00-17.59	18.00-19.59	20.00-21.59	22.00-23.59	24.00-01.59	Total No.
1847 ¹⁰	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	-	-	17
1850	1	3	2	-	3	2	2	2	1	-	16
1855	1	3	5	1	3	2	3	4	-	-	22
1860	1	4	4	1	3	3	3	2	1	-	22
1865	2	6	5	3	3	4	4	3	1	-	31
1870	3	9	4	4	4	5	4	4	2	-	39
1875	3	10	5	4	5	7	5	4	2	-	45
1880	4	9	4	4	5	6	6	4	2	-	44
1885	4	10	7	5	7	6	6	6	5	-	56
1890	4	10	7	5	7	5	7	5	4	-	54
1895	6	10	7	6	5	7	6	6	3	-	56
1900	6	10	7	5	6	9	8	7	4		62

Table A1.1: Summary of number of trains Richmond/Twickenham to Waterloo (Monday to Saturday) – 1847 to 1900.¹¹

	06.00-07.59	08.00-09.59	10.00-11.59	12.00-13.59	14.00-15.59	16.00-17.59	18.00-19.59	20.00-21.59	22.00-23.59	24.00-01.59	Total
1847 ¹²	-	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	-	-	17
1850	1	1	3	3	2	4	2	2	1	-	19
1855	1	1	2	2	3	2	4	1	1	1	18
1860	1	2	2	2	4	4	3	1	2	1	22
1865	1	4	2	3	3	5	3	4	2	1	28
1870	2	5	4	4	6	7	4	4	2	1	39
1875	3	4	4	6	6	7	5	5	3	1	44
1880	3	5	4	4	6	8	7	5	3	1	46
1885	4	7	5	4	6	9	7	6	5	1	54
1890	5	8	3	4	6	9	5	6	5	1	51
1895	4	8	5	4	6	9	7	6	5	1	55
1900	6	8	6	4	6	9	8	6	6	1	60

Table A1.2: Summary of number of trains Waterloo to Richmond/Twickenham (Monday to Saturday)– 1847 to 1900.¹³

¹⁰ Richmond to Nine Elms only. The line to Twickenham and Waterloo station did not open until 1848.

¹¹ TNA, Rail 903/6, March 1847, p.5; Rail 903/9, July 1850, p.13; Rail 903/16, July 1855, p.24; Rail 903/24, June 1860, pp.48-49; Rail 903/27, July 1865, pp.52-58; Rail 903/40, July 1870, pp.40-45; Rail 903/50, July 1875, pp. 42-43; Rail 903/62, April 1880, pp. 48-49; Rail 903/74, July 85, pp. 52-58; Rail 903/84, July 1890, pp.78-82; Rail 903/97, May 1895, pp. 86-91; Rail 903/115, May 1900, pp. 104-110.

¹² Nine Elms to Richmond only.

¹³ Same sources as **Table A1.1**.

Appendix 2: 1841 Census: occupations – Richmond and Twickenham.

Category	Occupation	Richmond		Twickenham	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture/ Horticulture	Agricultural Labourer	42		64	1
	Market gardener/nurseryman	4		9	
	Farmer	-		7	
	Gardener	84	7	55	19
<i>Sub-total</i>		128	7	135	20
		(8.0%)	(0.6%)	(14.6%)	(3.9%)
Food	Baker	30	2	24	
	Butcher	38	1	14	
	Confectioner	5			
	Dairy products	17	3	3	1
	Fishmonger & poulterer	13		3	
	Fruiterer	-		1	
	Greengrocer	5	5	2	
	Grocer	26	6	11	3
	<i>Sub-total</i>		134	17	58
		(8.4%)	(1.5%)	(6.2%)	(0.8%)
Hotel/Alcohol/ Catering	Beer house/retailer	5	1	2	
	Brewer/maltmen	17		11	
	Coffee/eating house			1	
	Hotel owner/keeper	3			
	Licensed Victualler/publican	23	1	16	2
	Waiter/barman	10		3	
	Wine merchant	1		1	
<i>Sub-total</i>		59	2	34	2
		(3.7%)	(0.2%)	(3.7%)	(0.2%)
Clothing & related Services	Boot & shoe maker	85	5	36	34
	Draper	13		4	
	Dressmaker		70	11	
	Hatter/milliner	2	25	3	5
	Hairdresser	8	1	3	
	Needlewoman/seamstress		20	10	
	Tailor/clothier	65	2	25	
<i>Sub-total</i>		173	123	92	39
		(10.8%)	(10.8%)	(10.0%)	(7.5%)
Other retail	Book seller	5		1	
	Chemist	7		3	
	Ironmonger	7			
	Jeweller/watchmaker	6		3	
	Shop keeper – general	5		3	2
	Shop assistant – general	20		1	
	Tobacconist/news vendor	6	2		
	Upholsterer	5	5	3	
<i>Sub-total</i>		61	7	11	2
		(3.8%)	(0.6%)	(1.2%)	(0.4%)

Other Commercial	Coal merchant	4		3	
	Corn merchant	4			
	General & other	4		5	
<i>Sub-total</i>		12		8	
		(0.8%)		(0.9%)	
Construction & Property	Architect	2			
	Auctioneer	1		1	
	Bricklayer	47		12	
	Builder	7		4	1
	Carpenter/Cabinet maker	111		41	
	Mason	16		5	
	Painter/plasterer	40		23	
	Plumber	13		8	
<i>Sub-total</i>		237		94	1
		(14.9%)		(10.2%)	(0.2%)
Domestic & other related services	Charwoman		35		5
	Cook	2	3		
	Female general servant		758		395
	Governess		24		
	Housekeeper		4		
	Laundress/washerwoman		95		27
	Male general servant	272		164	
	Nurse – domestic		26		14
<i>Sub-total</i>		274	945	164	438
		(17.2%)	(82.8%)	(17.8%)	(84.7%)
Transport	Boat builder	2		2	
	Cab/Fly owner or driver	1			
	Coach maker/builder	5		26	
	Coachman	46		9	
	Lightermen/watermen	45		20	
	Wheelwright and farrier	23		4	
<i>Sub-total</i>		122		61	
		(7.6%)		(6.6%)	
Professions	Barrister	6		3	
	Doctor of medicine	10		6	
	Solicitor	10		3	
<i>Sub-total</i>		26		12	
		(1.6%)		(1.3%)	
Government	Civil servant			1	
	Police	7		1	
	Post Office	8	1	5	
	Armed services	17		12	
<i>Sub-total</i>		32	1	19	
		(2.0%)	(0.1%)	(2.1%)	
Education	School master/teacher	9		12	
	School mistress/teacher		39		11

<i>Sub-total</i>		9	39	12	11
		(0.6%)	(3.4%)	(1.3%)	(2.1%)
Bank & City of London	Banker	2			
	Clerical	1			
<i>Sub-total</i>		3			
		(0.2%)			
Clerical -other	Unspecified	12		6	
<i>Sub-total</i>		12		6	
		(0.8%)		(0.7%)	
Other skilled occupations	Basket maker			6	
	Brazier	3		4	
	Cooper	6			
	Fishermen			4	
	Pipe maker	10			
	Smith	27		16	
	Sweep	9		6	
<i>Sub-total</i>		55		36	
		(3.5%)		(3.9%)	
Other non-skilled occupations	Carter/carrier/carman/porter	30		9	
	Errand boy	8			
	Labourer	219		172	
<i>Sub-total</i>		257		181	
		(16.1%)		(19.5%)	
Grand Total		1594	1141	923	517

Table A2.1: Analysis of the occupations reported in the 1841 census for Richmond and Twickenham.¹⁴

¹⁴ TNA, HO107/1075; HO107/658.

Appendix 3: Summary of commercial directory entries, Richmond and Twickenham: 1823, 1826 and 1839.

	Richmond			Twickenham		
	1823	1826	1839	1823	1826	1839
Food						
Baker	10	10	12	4	14	7
Butcher	10	15	18	6	5	9
Confectioner	2	2	4	1	1	-
Dairy products	1	2	9	2	-	-
Fishmonger	2	2	4	2	3	2
Fruiterer/greengrocer	-	7	10	2	5	2
Grocer	13	18	15	5	7	9
Poulterer	3	2	3	-	-	1
Agriculture						
Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	2
Market gardener/gardener	-	-	3	-	6	11
Hotel/tavern/alcohol						
Brewer	1	2	5	-	4	7
Hotel/inn	6	6	9	-	-	-
Public House/tavern	18	24	26	9	15	16
Wine merchant	1	1	2	1	1	1
Clothing						
Boot & shoemaker	14	19	30	-	-	13
Milliner	8	9	16	1	1	3
Stay & corset maker	2	2	3	-	-	-
Straw bonnet maker	3	6	8	3	2	5
Tailor	7	17	21	2	2	7
Construction						
Builder	7	12	4	1	-	-
Carpenter/cabinet maker	6	8	25	4	6	13
Painter	6	7	12	3	3	5
Stone mason	1	2	3			
Miscellaneous						
Bookseller	1	4	5	2	-	2
Carver & gilder	2	3	4	1	-	-
Coal merchant	6	7	14	1	-	6
Corn merchant	4	5	9	-	4	-
Draper	6	6	5	4	4	6
Hairdresser	4	5	4	-	-	3
Ironmonger	3	5	5	-	-	3
Shopkeeper – general			22	-	-	15
Tallow chandler	5	6	3	2	2	2
Tobacconist	1	1	4	1	-	-
Watchmaker/silversmith	5	6	7	2	1	1

Table A3.1: Comparison of the entries in trade directories for Richmond and Twickenham, 1823, 1826 and 1839.¹⁵

¹⁵ Pigot & Co, *Directory of Middlesex*, 1823, pp.61-63, 74-75; Pigot & Co, *Directory of Surrey*, 1826, pp 483-485, 500-501; Pigot & Co, *Directory of Middlesex*, 1839, pp 446-448.; Pigot & Co, *Directory of Surrey*, 1839, pp.640-642.

**Appendix 4: Summary of occupations in censuses 1851, 1881, and 1901:
Richmond and Twickenham.**

Richmond								
			Male			Female		
Category		1851	1881	1901		1851	1881	1901
1.Undefined	Number	244	385	435		15	37	55
Workers/dealers	% of total	10.0	8.0	6.9		0.8	0.9	1.0
2.Agriculture	Number	205	187	162		12	22	21
	% of total	8.5	3.4	3.6		0.6	0.5	0.4
3.Building & construction	Number	384	445	817		13	17	5
	% of total	15.9	17.0	14.5		0.7	0.4	0.1
4.Commercial occupations	Number	52	421	747		3	51	105
	% of total	2.2	8.8	11.9		0.2	1.3	2.0
5.Conveyance of men, goods & Messages	Number	360	563	816		12	12	14
	% of total	14.9	11.7	13.0		0.6	0.3	0.3
6.Domestic offices & services	Number	186	368	155		1317	2886	3697
	% of total	7.7	7.7	2.6		70.2	70.5	68.7
7.Fishing	Number	3						
	% of total	0.1						
8.Gas, water, electricity, & sanitary	Number	26	14	45		1		5
	% of total	1.1	0.3	0.7		0.1		0.1
9. General and local government	Number	51	169	272		6	5	22
	% of total	2.1	3.5	4.3		0.3	0.1	0.4

10. Professional organisation & subordinate services	Number	111	406	687		162	292	409
	% of total	4.6	8.5	11.0		8.6	7.2	7.5
11. Defence of country	Number	35	66	71				
	% of total	1.4	1.4	1.1				
12. Dealing in brick, cement, pottery & glass	Number	9	11	10			5	11
	% of total	0.4	0.2	0.1			0.1	0.2
13. Dealing in oil, grease, soap & resin	Number	15	33	58		1	2	
	% of total	0.6	0.7	0.9		0.2	-	
14. Dealing in dress	Number	179	211	222		213	448	514
	% of total	7.4	4.4	3.5		11.4	10.9	9.6
15. Dealing in food, tobacco, drink & lodging	Number	281	572	822		79	165	257
	% of total	11.6	11.9	13.2		4.3	4.0	4.8
16. Working & dealing in metals, machine implements, conveyances	Number	117	236	324		12	55	33
	% of total	4.8	4.9	5.2		0.6	1.3	0.6
17. Working & dealing in paper, prints, books & stationery	Number	25	77	123		2	10	20
	% of total	1.0	1.6	2.0		0.1	0.3	0.4
18. Working & dealing in precious metals, jewels, watches & games	Number	16	41	77		4	2	8
	% of total	0.7	0.9	1.2		0.2	-	0.1
19. Working & dealing in skins, leather & feathers	Number	19	18	20		4	3	5
	% of total	0.8	0.4	0.3		0.2	0.1	0.1
20. Working & dealing in textile Fabrics	Number	45	107	110		5	59	173
	% of total	1.9	2.2	1.8		0.3	1.4	3.2

21.Working & dealing in wood, Furniture & decorations	Number	39	109	106		13	23	25
	% of total	1.6	2.3	1.7		0.7	0.6	0.5
22.Working & dealing in products of mines & quarries	Number	16	10	34		1	6	1
	% of total	0.7	0.2	0.5		-	0.1	-
Total		2418	4796	6267		1875	4100	5380

Table A4.1: Summary Richmond occupations: 1851, 1881, 1901.¹⁶

¹⁶ Schurer and Higgs (2014), *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911* [data collection]. UK Data Service. SN: 7481, <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7481-1>.

Twickenham								
			Male			Female		
Category		1851	1881	1901		1851	1881	1901
1.Undefined	Number	312	410	390		19	22	42
Workers/dealers	% of total	20.9	12.8	7.0		2.3	1.1	1.4
2.Agriculture	Number	232	216	327		8	19	14
	% of total	15.5	6.7	5.9		1.0	0.9	0.5
3.Building & construction	Number	145	427	857			2	3
	% of total	9.7	13.3	15.3			0.1	0.1
4.Commercial occupations	Number	36	229	626			8	38
	% of total	2.4	7.1	11.3			0.4	1.2
5.Conveyance of men, goods & Messages	Number	148	346	749		7	5	7
	% of total	9.9	10.8	13.5		0.9	0.3	0.2
6.Domestic offices & services	Number	82	341	244		583	1553	2180
	% of total	5.5	10.6	4.4		7.5	74.6	71.6
7.Fishing	Number	9	8	7				
	% of total	0.6	0.2	0.1				
8.Gas, water, electricity, & sanitary	Number	2	12	37				
	% of total	0.1	0.4	0.7				
9. General and local government	Number	33	102	232		2	3	21
	% of total	2.2	3.2	4.2		0.2	0.1	0.7
10.Professional organisation & subordinate services	Number	55	203	392		46	154	184
	% of total	3.7	6.3	7.0		5.6	7.4	60

11. Defence of country	Number	16	184	199			
	% of total	1.1	5.7	3.6			
12. Dealing in brick, cement, pottery & glass	Number	4	6	10		3	2
	% of total	0.3	0.2	0.2		0.1	0.1
13. Dealing in oil, grease, soap & resin	Number	12	22	61		2	3
	% of total	0.8	0.7	1.1		0.1	0.1
14. Dealing in dress	Number	77	92	141	105	179	351
	% of total	5.2	2.9	2.5	12.9	8.6	11.5
15. Dealing in food, tobacco, drink & lodging	Number	148	309	615	17	75	105
	% of total	9.9	9.6	11.1	2.1	3.6	3.4
16. Working & dealing in metals, machine implements, conveyances	Number	95	135	329	13	13	17
	% of total	6.4	4.2	5.9	1.6	0.6	0.6
17. Working & dealing in paper, prints, books & stationery	Number	25	34	96	4	7	13
	% of total	1.7	1.1	1.7	0.5	0.3	0.4
18. Working & dealing in precious metals, jewels, watches & games	Number	4	25	61		1	4
	% of total	0.3	0.8	1.1		-	0.1
19. Working & dealing in skins, leather & feathers	Number	8	13	24	2	1	
	% of total	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.2	-	
20. Working & dealing in textile Fabrics	Number	15	41	55	1	26	57
	% of total	1.0	1.3	1.0	0.1	1.2	1.9
21. Working & dealing in wood,	Number	31	47	92	7	4	3

Furniture & decorations	% of total	2.1	1.5	1.6		0.9	0.2	0.1
22.Working & dealing in products	Number	5	8	18		2	1	
of mines & quarries	% of total	0.3	0.2	0.3		0.2	-	
Total		1494	3209	5562		817	2083	3044

Table A4.2: Summary Twickenham occupations: 1851, 1881, 1901.¹⁷

Notes:

The following are the main occupations for Richmond and Twickenham that are included under the headings in the above table.

1. General labourers and undefined dealers.
2. Gardeners, agricultural labourers, nurserymen, seedsmen and florists.
3. Carpenters, bricklayers, bricklayers' labourers, painters, plumbers, builders, masons, plasterers, gasfitters.
4. Commercial and business clerks, auctioneers, brokers, commercial travellers, accountants, merchants, officers of commercial companies, bank officials and clerks, bankers, insurance.
5. Carmen, carters, coachmen, cabmen, horse keepers, water carriers, omnibus horse drivers, tramway drivers and conductors, messengers, porters, railway officials and clerks, railway worker, bargemen, lightermen.
6. Gardener-domestic, coachmen-domestic, indoor servants, laundry workers – not domestic.
7. Fishermen.
8. Gas, water electricity and sanitary workers.
9. Post workers, national government, local government, police.
10. Legal, art, music, drama, teaching, engineers, surveyors, clerical, medical, literary, scientific, political, exhibitions, games.
11. Army and navy officers and other ranks.
12. Brick, pottery and glass.
13. Chemists.
14. Boot and shoe makers, tailors, hairdressers, clothiers, hatters, dressmakers, milliners, shirt makers, straw hat makers, stay and corset makers.
15. Grocers, tea dealers, butchers, bakers, greengrocers, fruiterers, crowkeeper's, milk sellers, fishmongers, provision dealers, confectioners, corn and seed merchants,

¹⁷ Schurer and Higgs (2014), *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM), 1851-1911* [data collection]. UK Data Service. SN: 7481, <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7481-1>.

poulterers, cheesemongers, innkeepers, hotel keepers, publicans, hotel waiters, beer sellers, lodging and boarding-house keepers, wine and spirit merchants, tobacconists, coffee and eating house keepers, barmen, cellarmen, brewers.

16. General engineering and machine making electrical apparatus, vehicles, dealers, miscellaneous metal trades, ships and boats.
17. Printers and compositors, publishers, booksellers, newspaper agents.
18. Watch and clock makers, gold and silversmiths, piano makers.
19. Saddlery and harness makers.
20. Drapers.
21. Furniture and fittings, upholsterers, furniture dealers, other wood workers and dealers.
22. Coal merchants.

Appendix 5: Summary of main commercial directory entries for Richmond and Twickenham traders: 1851-1899.

RICHMOND	1851	1862	1871	1882	1890	1899
Food and agriculture						
Baker	14	10	15	16	22	20
Butcher	17	16	15	18	24	28
Confectioner	4	7	9	10	12	19
Dairy products	7	9	14	11	13	17
Fishmonger/poulterer	5	5	3	4	9	13
Fruiterer/greengrocer	7	13	19	22	34	30
Grocer	18	17	25	24	34	28
Market gardener		3	2			
Nurserymen	1	1	3	5	2	3
Hotel/alcohol/restaurant						
Beer house/retailer	19	20	27	25	19	21
Brewer	2	2	2	4	3	-
Hotel	8	6	8	10	13	8
Public House/tavern	26	26	25	29	34	32
Restaurant/dining rooms	3	4	2	3	2	10
Wine merchant	1	4	6	8	8	8
Clothing						
Boot & shoe maker	13	24	23	28	39	47
Clothier	4	5	3	3	2	2
Draper	6	2	7	15	13	14
Dress maker	1	11	9	26	34	43
Milliner	12	11	13	7	6	6
Tailor	12	12	12	12	17	26
Construction & property						
Architect & surveyor		2	2	3	3	3
Auctioneer & estate agent	14	10	15	16	22	20
Builder	8	10	16	17	14	22
Carpenter/cabinet maker	7	14	16	17	19	21
Painter/paperhanger	3	2	3	5	9	16
Transport						
Boat builder			8	9	5	7
Bicycle maker				2	4	7
Carriage & coach builder	1	3	3	1	2	5
Fly/cab owner	1	5	6	6	10	2

New technology						
Electric light contractor						4
Engineer					3	4
Gas fitter		1	2	5	3	4
Photographer		3	3	5	5	8
Miscellaneous						
Bookseller	3	3	4	5	6	3
Coal merchant	4	5	8	6	7	9
Corn merchant	2	3	4	3	1	3
Hairdresser	6	4	5	5	6	16
Tobacconist	6	5	7	8	11	9
Upholsterer	4	3	4	4	4	6
Watchmaker & jeweller	4	9	9	10	13	16

Table A5.1: Summary of main commercial directory entries for Richmond.¹⁸

¹⁸ Kelly, *The Six Home Counties Post Office Directory*, pp.666-669; Kelly, *Post Office Directory of Surrey*, 1862, pp.1438-1442; Kelly, *Post Office Directory of Surrey*, 1871, pp.1998-2002; Kelly, *Directory of Kent, Surrey and Sussex*, 1882, pp.1357-1363; Kelly, *Directory of Kent, Surrey and Sussex*, vol. 1, 1890, pp.1468-1472; Kelly, *Directory of Kent, Surrey and Sussex*, vol. 1, 1899, pp.391-399.

TWICKENHAM	1851	1860	1872	1882	1890	1899
Food and agriculture						
Baker	8	10	10	14	16	12
Butcher	9	9	10	14	14	18
Confectioner	2	3	3	5	5	4
Dairy products	2	6	6	8	9	8
Fishmonger	2	4	4	10	8	5
Fruiterer/greengrocer	5	2	8	15	19	21
Grocer	9	17	17	21	24	23
Market gardener	10	-	5	14	6	7
Nurserymen	1	-	-	2	2	5
Hotel/alcohol/restaurant						
Beer house/retailer	11	19	19	26	22	25
Brewer	7	4	4	5	3	2
Hotel	1				5	5
Public House/tavern	18	32	32	32	26	26
Restaurant/dining rooms	-	-	-	1	3	3
Wine merchant	-	-	-	4	2	2
Clothing						
Boot & shoe maker	11	12	12	14	19	23
Clothier	-	-	-	2	1	-
Draper	5	7	10	8	11	10
Dress maker	-	7	7	6	11	32
Milliner	4	-	-	4	3	3
Tailor	6	6	6	6	6	7
Construction & property						
Architect & surveyor	2	1	1	1	2	5
Auctioneer & estate agent	1	5	5	3	4	5
Builder	5	10	10	21	16	14
Carpenter/cabinet maker	9	9	9	9	9	11
Painter/paperhanger	-	-	1	1	4	5
Transport						
Boat builder	-	-	-	-	1	2
Bicycle maker	-	-	-	-	-	2
Carriage & coach builder	2	5	5	2	3	4
Fly/cab owner	-	1	1	7	6	2

New technology						
Electric light contractor	-	-	-	-	2	2
Engineer	-	-	-	1	1	2
Gas fitter	-	-	-	-	2	2
Photographer	-	-	-	-	1	2
Miscellaneous						
Bookseller	1	2	2	-	1	1
Coal merchant	1	1	1	8	6	4
Corn merchant	2	3	3	5	5	4
Hairdresser	3	1	1	3	6	6
Tobacconist	1	3	3	10	8	11
Upholsterer	3	1	1	-	2	3
Watchmaker & jeweller	2	3	3	3	5	7

Table A5.2: Summary of main commercial directory entries for Twickenham traders, 1851-1899.¹⁹

¹⁹ Kelly, *The Six Home Counties Post Office Directory*, 1851, pp.567-569; Kelly, *Post Office London Suburban Directory*, 1860; Kelly, *Post Office London Suburban Directory*, 1870, pp.192-196; Kelly, *Directory of Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex*, 1882, pp.1157-1159; Kelly, *Directory of Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex*, 1890, pp.1244-124; Kelly, *Directory Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex*, 1899, pp.354-359.

Appendix 6: Board and council members.

Surname	First name	Age	Occupation	Location
Freshwater	Francis	55	Grocer	Hanworth Rd
Stedwell	John	60	Butcher, retired	Avenue Rd
Laing	Robert	61	Nurseyman	Richmond Rd
Pennycock	John		Publican	Richmond Rd
Humphreys	Edward			
Bayliss	William		Postmaster	London Rd
Withers	William	57	Butcher	London Rd
Kyezor	Louis	75	House proprietor	
Gwyn	John	39	Agent to wine merchant	3 rd Cross Rd
Washington	George	56	Gentleman	Thorpe, Surrey. (born in Twickenham)
Bowyer	John	46	Merchant (employing 18 men)	
<i>Either Page</i>	John	66	Linen draper	London Rd
<i>Or</i>	John	61	Retired bookseller	St Margaret's
Merry	William		Publican	King St
Clark	Richard	49	Market gardener	Popes Grove
Bowyer	Frederick	53	Maltster	Water Lane
Goatly	John		Auctioneer	Twickenham Green
Clark	Decimus	58	Market Gardener	Whitton
Clark	Alfred	47	Surgeon and apothecary	Cross Deep
Bowdry	Gustavus		Watch/clock maker	London Rd
Little	Henry	35	Builder (employing 25 men)	Cambridge Park
Holland	W J			
Murray	Charles	45	Magistrate	Whitton
Donnithorne	Edward	60	Magistrate	Colne Lodge, Hanworth Rd.
Smith	Thomas Henry	39	Solicitor	London Rd
Powell	George	67	Retired linen draper	Riverside
Freeman	William	45	Curator	
Freake	Charles	54	Builder	Twickenham & Kensington

Table A6.1: TLB membership 1868.²⁰

²⁰ RLSL, TLB *minutes*, 19 February 1868; TNA, RG 10/1316; RLSL, Twickenham Directory, 1866.

Ward	Surname	First name	Age	Occupation	Member LB
West	Chancellor	John	40	Barrister	Yes
	Clarke	Decimus	82	Own means	Yes
	Clifford	John	50	Market gardener	No
	Goatly	John	54	Auctioneer	Yes
	Morrow	Robert	54	Retired police officer	No
	Webb	William	58	Furniture dealer	No
South	Buller	Moubray	37	Underwriter	Yes
	Beard	William	53	Builder	Yes
	Davenport	Montague	52	Own means	Yes
	McEleney	Harry	35	Civil servant	No
	Slark	William	48	Ironmonger	No
	Ward	Martindale	54	Doctor of medicine	No
Central	Boreham	Henry	44	Paperhanger	No
	Forge	Richard	47	Auctioneer	Yes
	McDouall	Edward	48	Print seller	No
	Messom	Thomas	55	Builder	Yes
	Powell	George	56	Linen draper	Yes
	Ramsay	Henry	66	Surveyor	No
East	Crichton	George	49	GP	No
	Durden	Joseph	42	Baptist minister	No
	Green	Edward	35	Solicitor	No
	Little	Henry	63	Builder	Yes
	Murphy	Henry	44	GP	Yes
	Poupart	William,	46	Market gardener	Yes

Table A6.2: Membership of Twickenham UDC, 1895.²¹

²¹ TNA, RG 13/1187,1188, 1189; RLSL, TW/UDC/1: Twickenham UDC *Minutes*, January 1895.

Ward	Name	Alderman	Age	Occupation	Vestryman
North	S. Roberts	Yes	50	Own means	Yes
	J.W. Szlumper	Yes	56	Civil engineer	Yes
	A.B. Deane	No	34	Tobacconist	No
	F.W. Dimbleby	No	36	Journalist	No
	G.W. Duncan	No	55	Solicitor	No
	R. Kidd	No	32	Photographic paper manufacturer	No
	R.B. Smith	No	51	Commercial traveller	No
	M.C. Turpin	No	52	Manager, Joiner's Co	No
South	C. Burt	Yes		Solicitor	Yes
	S.T. Gascoyne	Yes	66	Retired builder	Yes
	G.R. Casson	No	31	Draper	No
	A. Chancellor	No	48	Auctioneer	No
	G. Ellis	No		Wine merchant	Yes
	G.W. Heasler	No			Yes
	J.B. Hilditch	No	47	Silk merchant	Yes
	T.F. Wakefield	No	52	Civil service clerk	Yes
East	E.A. Cook	Yes	46	Physician	No
	F.D. Robinson	Yes	61	Solicitor	Yes
	W. Brown	No			No
	J. Metcalfe	No	49	Grocer	Yes
	T. D. Pillans	No	42	Public company secretary	No
	R.W. Simpson	No	55	Newspaper proprietor	No
	W. Thompson	No	28	Schoolmaster	No
	W.A. Ward	No	43	Surgeon	No
West	F. Piggott	Yes	56	Auctioneer	Yes
	T Skewes-Cox	Yes	42	Solicitor	Yes
	G. Cave	No	35	Barrister	Yes
	A. Christie	No	45	Fancy draper	No
	J. Keay	No	40	Grocer	No
	H.W. Rydon	No	65	Retired builder	Yes
	A. Skene	No	45	Grocer	Yes
	B. Wood	No			Yes

Table A6.3: Members of the first RBC, 1890.²²

²² TVT, 5 November 1890; TNA RG 12/619 and 620.

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