

Settlement

Boundaries and parish origins

The boundaries of St George Hanover Square were broadly similar to those of the manor of Eye (also Ebury or Eia), although extending further east of the Tyburn into the Conduit Mead estate in the northern section and not stretching beyond it in the southern section amongst the differences. This area also incorporated the area of Neat and sub-manor of Hyde.¹ Although the manor of Hyde is 'unmappable', the only part of the historic manor relevant to St George's is that included in the manor of Eye, east of the Westbourne.²

St George Hanover Square was created on Easter Day 1724 under the Act for Building 50 New Churches in and about the City of London and Westminster. It occupied the two Out Wards of St Martin in the Fields, excepting that part in St James' Park.³ Beginning in the south west corner, the boundary ran from the Westbourne along the Thames to the Tyburn, following its line north to Buckingham house. It turned west along the gardens of the house, north along Grosvenor Place and then east along Piccadilly, outlining Green Park. The boundary turned south along the eastern edge of Green Park, east at Park Place, then returned to Piccadilly through the middle of St James's Street. It turned east, then north along the west side of Burlington House and following New Bond Street before turning east to include the plots on the south side of Conduit Street. It turned north along the centre of Swallow Street, then east along Oxford Street to Tyburn, thence following the northern edge of Hyde Park. It turned south along the Westbourne, curving west with the Serpentine and then south to follow the Westbourne back to the Thames.⁴

The boundaries remained similar in 1882, with boundary markers placed on buildings such as Sloane Square station that covered the original landmarks, in this case the Westbourne. The parish graveyard since established to the north of Hyde Park, between Albion Street and Connaught Square, made a new detached section of the parish.⁵

Population

A loose estimate of 9,114 people has been made for the area that would be covered by the parish in the 1690s using the bills of mortality. A population of 18,534 has been estimated for the 1740s, also using the bills of mortality.⁶ In the 19th century, population in the parish grew rapidly, from 38,440 in 1801 to 46,384 in 1821, and then leapt to 58,209 by 1831 thanks to development in Belgravia. The population of the parish reached 73,230 by 1851 and 89,573 in 1881, but then fell to 78,364 over the next decade and 76,957 in 1901.⁷

¹ *Middlesex XIII*, 32–6; C.T. Gatty, *Mary Davies and the Manor of Ebury* vol.II (1921), plate 31.

² P. Taylor, *Knightsbridge and Hyde* (2017), 24.

³ WA STM/F/1/2224, Extracts from vestry minutes and Acts of Parliament relating to the boundaries of the parish and the formation of the parish of St George Hanover Square; Taylor, *Knightsbridge and Hyde*, 32–3.

⁴ WAGE 1049/9/1, *Parish of St George Hanover Square. Copy of the Original Plan of the Parish Dated 1725* (1880).

⁵ WA STG//2/1/765b, *Description of the boundary and boundary marks of the parish of St George, Hanover Square (with plan annexed)* (1882).

⁶ For methodology see <https://www.locatinglondon.org/static/Population.html>, accessed 4 Mar. 2020.

⁷ Census data from www.visionofbritain.org.uk, accessed 11 Oct. 2019.

Built Environment

Mayfair

Before 1720

Development of the area that would later form the parish began with the completion of Berkeley (later Devonshire) House to the north of Piccadilly in 1665, the first major house built on the western approach to the West End.⁸ Berkeley House was joined by the vast Clarendon (later Albemarle) House, built on part of the 27 a. Conduit Mead leased from the City Corporation, immediately to the east and completed in 1667.⁹ This was the extent of building at the time of Morgan's map of 1682, excepting scattered unnamed buildings to the west, but new streets north of Piccadilly were soon to follow.¹⁰ Lord Berkeley acquired a piece of land called Brick Close, later Hay Hill Farm, to the north of his house. His mother allowed houses to be erected there in 1683, following his death. Strips of the garden of Berkeley House were developed into Berkeley Street and Stratton Street.¹¹

A small section of land to the south of Piccadilly would also form part of the parish. Six Acre Close was granted by the King to the earl of Arlington in 1682 and he made building agreements that would form Arlington and Bennet Streets soon afterward.¹² To the north, Clarendon House was purchased from the duke of Albemarle by a syndicate led by City businessman Thomas Hinde and demolished in 1683. Dover Street, Albemarle Street, Stafford Street and Bond Street were laid out on the cleared ground, by developers including Sir Thomas Bond and Lord Dover.¹³ In Hatton's survey published in 1708, Bond Street was described as 'a fine new street, mostly inhabited by Nobility and Gentry' and Dover Street was 'a str. of very good Buildings'.¹⁴ However, financial failure of the syndicate caused the building up of the new streets to be a slow enterprise. As Strype described with considerable flourish, 'it lyeth like the Ruins of Troy, some having only the Foundations begun, others carry'd up to the Roofs, and others covered, but none of the Inside Work done: Yet those Houses that are finished, which are towards Pickadilly, meet with Tenants.'¹⁵

Further development in the area to the north took 30 years to materialise, beginning with the purchase of 2 a. of freehold land by Richard Lumley, first earl of Scarbrough in 1713. He also leased more land as far north as Oxford Street and on his holdings laid out Hanover Square between 1717 and 1719, a rectangle with six roads leading off it. The names of the square itself and George Street to the south were obvious tributes to the new monarch, as was the more subtle nod to German Baroque architecture. Early residents of the square were generally Whiggish and there were many

⁸ *Middlesex XIII*, 103.

⁹ B. H. Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street: the Early History of the Neighbourhood* (1952), 41; *Middlesex XIII*, 111.

¹⁰ W. Morgan, *Map of the City of London, Westminster and Southwark* (1682).

¹¹ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, 69 and foldout map.

¹² LMA E/PYM-1; *Survey of London XXIX*, 27; *Middlesex XIII*, 107.

¹³ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, 80-2, 86-90 and 102-13.

¹⁴ E. Hatton, *A New View of London* vol. I (1708), 10 and 25.

¹⁵ Strype, *Survey*, bk 6, ch 5, p77.

military men, including four generals, some of whom had served under Marlborough or in the suppression of the Jacobite uprising in 1715.¹⁶

Strype described the suburbs toward Tyburn, noting that Hanover Square comprised 'certain new and splendid buildings... Some finished, and some erecting; consisting of many compleat, noble Houses.'¹⁷ This inaugurated a new era for squares as the centre of planned developments with enclosed centres, reacting to the lack of social segregation and consequent mixed use of earlier squares such as St James's and Lincoln's Inn Fields.¹⁸ Nevertheless, by 1771 the complaint was voiced that Hanover Square 'is neither open nor inclosed. Every convenience is railed out and every nuisance railed in.'¹⁹

The successful development of Hanover Square and of streets on Lord Burlington's adjacent land to the south persuaded the City Corporation to pursue a similar scheme on the undeveloped land in Conduit Mead. The main thoroughfares of New Bond Street and Conduit Street were soon laid out, with various offshoots, such that by 1743, there were 429 houses and 21 stable yards on the estate, commanding a rent of £14,240 15s.²⁰ Building also continued westward on the north side of Piccadilly, where Bolton Street marked the western extremity of London in 1708.²¹ Clarges Street was built around 1717, on the site of a house fairly recently erected for Lady Clarges.²² Further west in Brookfield, the site of the May Fair, a picture of 1716 shows that a cluster of buildings stood there.²³

The Early Years of the Grosvenor Estate

By 1720, development had reached the eastern border of the huge Grosvenor Estate in Westminster. The Grosvenor Estate covered the majority of the Mayfair area of the parish, bounded by Oxford Street in the north, Park Lane in the west and the Tyburn in the east. When built up, it followed South Moulton Lane and then Avery Row to the south-east, turning west to pass the northern end of Berkeley Square. The border turned south in the middle of the parish burial ground, west along Hill Street and then north along the centre of Park Lane. To the east of the Grosvenor Estate was the City of London's Conduit Mead Estate. To the south were the Berkeley Estate and at the south western corner around 2 a. of manorial waste land next to Park Lane, owned by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster and referred to as Ossul[s]ton Common in Grosvenor documents.²⁴

The Grosvenor Estate was a product of the marriage of Mary Davies and Sir Thomas Grosvenor in 1677, bringing him the manor of Ebury, which contained land known as the Hundred Acres, an area broadly the same as the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair. He died in 1700, leaving three infant sons who would succeed to the baronetcy. Mary was left a life interest in the London estate, but was declared

¹⁶ J. Summerson, *Georgian London* (4th edn. 1988), 73.

¹⁷ Strype, *Survey*, bk 4, ch 7, p120.

¹⁸ E. McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: the development and design of the city 1660–1720* (Manchester, 1999), 205.

¹⁹ J. Stewart, *Critical Observations on the Buildings and Improvements of London* (1771), 12.

²⁰ A Person acquainted with the Estate and Proceedings, *An examination of the conduct of several comptrollers of the City of London, in relation to the City's estate, call'd Conduit-Mead, now New Bond-Street* (1743), 4–5.

²¹ S. Bradley and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, London 6: Westminster* (2005), 504.

²² E. Walford, *Old and New London* (1878), IV, 292.

²³ LMA *May Fair in 1716*.

²⁴ *Survey of London XXXIX*, additional plan; Taylor, *Knightsbridge and Hyde*, 31–2.

insane, meaning that development of the family's land could only be authorised by Act of Parliament, obtained by the eldest son Sir Richard when he came of age in 1711. The bordering developments to the east gave the Grosvenor family the impetus to lay out streets on their own land, beginning with a building agreement granted to the estate surveyor, carpenter Thomas Barlow, in 1720.²⁵

It was Barlow – also involved in the development of Hanover Square and the Conduit Mead estate – who drew up the plan for the Grosvenor Estate. Centred on Grosvenor Square, a grid system spread from its four corners to create streets which aligned with neighbouring developments.²⁶ For instance, Brook Street connected the north east corner of Grosvenor Square directly with the south west corner of Hanover Square, partly achieved by Richard Grosvenor leasing land on Conduit Mead. It took more than fifty years for Barlow's plan to be realised, building proceeding from east to west and in great surges during the 1720s and late 1730s, but more gradually in other years.²⁷ The Grosvenors advanced money, released from funds held on Mary's behalf and protected by the Court of Chancery, to build sewers, some streets and to assist builders in financial difficulty to maintain the pace and quality of development.²⁸ Daniel Defoe, writing in 1725, described 'an amazing Scene of new Foundations, not of Houses only, but as I might say of new Cities. New Towns, new Squares, and fine Buildings, the like of which no City, no Town, nay, no Place in the World can shew'.²⁹

Barlow's initial lease was on Grosvenor Street, one of the earliest to be laid out on the estate. He sub-let much of the ground to the south of the street, where individual builders populated a series of narrow mews, streets and passageways with stables, shops and coach-houses at ground floor, and rooms above. Further leases on Grosvenor Street were granted up to 1725 and the buildings were almost all completed and occupied by 1729.³⁰ Building leases were granted for Brook Street in 1724–6 and it was also largely inhabited by 1729.³¹ Bisecting these two, Davies Street was built up during the 1720s, but the plots were much smaller and the houses would be inhabited by tradesmen.³² Behind the buildings lining Davies Street, stables and coach-houses formed several of the yards and mews, while others were occupied by workshops, housing and public houses. To the north, Tyburn Brook was made into a covered sewer and Avery Row and South Molton Lane built following its line, largely by the bricklayer Henry Avery.³³

Grosvenor Square was conceived as the grand centrepiece of the estate, both large and imposing. Early plans for the east side of the square were drawn up by Colen Campbell. Although the plans were not used, all of the east side was leased by builder John Simmons, who built it as a symmetrical block, with the appearance of a single façade. The block was built between 1725 and 1753, and later described as 'massive and coarse, with rusticated quoins and window-dressings and one big

²⁵ *Survey of London* XXXIX, 1–6.

²⁶ For the original plan, see e.g. WAGE 1049/9/1, *Parish of St George Hanover Square. Copy of the Original Plan of the Parish Dated 1725* (1880); 1049/9/53, *Map of Part of Ebury Manor, 1723*.

²⁷ *Survey of London* XXXIX, 11–3.

²⁸ *Survey of London* XXXIX, 8–9.

²⁹ D. Defoe, *A Tour Thro' London about the year 1725*, ed. Sir M.M. Beeton and E. Beresford Chancellor (1929), 97.

³⁰ *Survey of London* XL, 33 and 58.

³¹ *Survey of London* XL, 1.

³² *Survey of London* XL, 68.

³³ *Survey of London* XL, 80–5.

pedimented house in the centre.³⁴ Simmons sold the centre house by lottery.³⁵ The rest of the square was more architecturally mixed, despite builder-architect Edward Shepherd's attempt to bring coherence to the north side. The gardens in the centre were laid out by John Alston who was also retained for their maintenance. An equestrian statue of George I by John Nost II was erected in the square in 1726, then defaced by Jacobite sympathisers a year later. By 1729, £2,871 had been spent on the gardens.³⁶ Houses in the Square were first rated for relief of the poor in 1728.³⁷

By 1725, the *Daily Journal* stated that 'There is now building a Square called Grosvenor Square, which for its largeness and beauty will far exceed any yet made in and about London.'³⁸ Another account of 1736 validated the earlier opinion, saying that 'Grosvenor Square, is a very noble one, inhabited by the first nobility, and I think the most pleasant place about London.'³⁹ However, writer James Ralph gave a highly negative assessment in 1734, witheringly stating that 'it was meant to be very fine, but has miscarried very unfortunately in the execution.' The diversity of building styles was considered by many observers to be integral to the combination of style and spectacle that the square provided.⁴⁰ But the lack of overall harmony and coherent planning enraged Ralph, who described houses on the north side as 'a wretched attempt at something extraordinary'. The east side was at least regular and therefore better than the others, 'but even this is not in taste', while the south and west sides were dismissed as 'a collection of whims, and frolicks in building, without any thing like order or beauty'. He did quite like the central gardens, though their enclosure was 'clumsey'.⁴¹

Of the streets leading north and south from Grosvenor Square, Duke Street was made up of modestly sized houses, probably mostly inhabited by tradesmen at first, though with a scattering of gentry.⁴² North Audley Street was mostly built up by lessees in the late 1720s; architect and builder Edward Shepherd on the east side and Thomas Barlow along with Robert Andrews, the agent of the Grosvenor Estate, to the west.⁴³ South Audley Street stretched away beyond the boundary of the Grosvenor Estate and was initially occupied for the most part by modest tradesmen. The Grosvenor Chapel was built there in 1730–1.⁴⁴

To the south of Grosvenor Square was Mount Street, the longest east-west thoroughfare on the estate. Built up over 20 years from 1720, much of the eastern section was taken up by shops, with

³⁴ J. Summerson, *Georgian London* (1978), 103–4.

³⁵ Summerson, *Georgian London*, 139.

³⁶ T. Longstaffe-Gowan, *The London Square: Gardens in the Midst of Town* (2012), 50–3.

³⁷ A.I. Dasent, *A History of Grosvenor Square* (1935), 19.

³⁸ *Daily Journal*, 12 July 1725, quoted in Dasent, *A History of Grosvenor Square*, 18.

³⁹ Moor at London, *Letters from a Moor at London to his friend at Tunis. Containing an account of his journey through England, with his Observations on the Laws, Customs, Religion, and Manners of the English Nation. Likewise remarks on the public charities, with curious Memoirs relating to the Life of Mr. Sutton, Founder of the Charter-House. A description of Bedlam, with serious Reflections on Love, Madness, and Self-Murder. The whole interspersed with historical remarks and useful observations* (1736), 108.

⁴⁰ Julie Schlarman, 'The social geography of Grosvenor Square: mapping gender and politics, 1720–1760', *The London Journal*, 28, 1 (2003), p.16.

⁴¹ James Ralph, *A critical review of the publick buildings, statues and ornaments In, and about London and Westminster* (1734), pp.108–9.

⁴² *Survey of London* XL, 86

⁴³ *Survey of London* XL, 99.

⁴⁴ *Survey of London* XL, 290.

the exception of a large area on the south side where the freehold was sold for the parish workhouse and burial ground.⁴⁵

On the western side of Grosvenor Square, building leases were granted for Upper Brook Street in 1721 and 1725, with building completed up to Park Street by 1734, but not all the way to the western end until the late 1750s.⁴⁶ Upper Grosvenor Street filled earlier, between 1729 and 1741.⁴⁷

Lord Chetwynd leased land fronting on the south side of the western section of the street and had a house built there, which was completed in 1732 and which he lived in until his death in 1736. It was sold two years later to the 3rd duke of Beaufort, who leased land to the south and laid out a formal garden. It stayed in the Beaufort family until 1761, when agreement was reached to sell it to the duke of Cumberland, son of George II and commander at Culloden, who died in the house of a haemorrhage in 1765. His nephew, the duke of Gloucester inherited the house and lived there until he died in 1805, during which time it was known as Gloucester House.⁴⁸

Further south, cheap leases were granted to the builders of the Grosvenor Chapel, carpenters Benjamin Timbrell and Robert Scott, bricklayer William Barlow sr and Robert Andrews, in 1730. Chapel Street stretched away from the chapel and featured two large blocks of stables on either side, both built around 1734.⁴⁹ At the southern extreme of the estate, leases in the South Street area were granted in 1737.

Continuing Development in Mayfair

To the south of the estate, development continued west along Piccadilly. In Little Brookfield Nathaniel Curzon leased land for building, adjacent to the Berkeley Estate and Devonshire land, to a carpenter, Nicholas Blick, from 1721, some of which was later part of the ground for Lansdowne House. Curzon leased further land along the south of the planned Curzon Street in 1723–4, where Chapel Court was also built.⁵⁰ However, some of the land leased was found to be part of William Pulteney's holdings and the lease bought out.⁵¹ Mention is made of a chapel in Curzon Street in deeds of 1723–4. Thus the notorious Mayfair Chapel was seemingly rebuilt rather than newly erected following an agreement of 1726 with Edward Dennis and bricklayer John Brown, who later became its treasurer. It was completed in 1728.⁵²

The bricklayer John Downes built up Down Street and Brick Street to the north of Piccadilly during the 1720s.⁵³ The gap between this development and Clarges Street to the east began to close, as building began on Half Moon Street, parallel to the latter, around 1730.⁵⁴ Also on Piccadilly, Berkeley House was sold to William Cavendish, the 1st duke of Devonshire, in the late 17th century, becoming known as Devonshire House. It burnt down in 1733, was rebuilt by William Kent for the 4th duke,

⁴⁵ *Survey of London* XL, 316.

⁴⁶ *Survey of London* XL, 199.

⁴⁷ *Survey of London* XL, 222.

⁴⁸ *Survey of London* XL, 239–40.

⁴⁹ *Survey of London* XL, 330.

⁵⁰ E.g. LMA LMA/4019/B/07/012, LMA/4019/B/07/027

⁵¹ LMA LMA/4019/B/07/028; The Pulteney lands are covered further in Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, 29–31, 39 and *Survey of London* XXIX, ch. 1.

⁵² LMA LMA/4019/B/07/029, LMA/4019/B/07/039

⁵³ S. Bradley and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, London 6: Westminster* (2005), 524.

⁵⁴ Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 534.

and completed around 1740.⁵⁵ A small piece of land which was an outlying part of the manor of Knightsbridge and belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, in the corner between South Street and Hyde Park, was developed into Dean (now Deanery) Street during the 1740s.⁵⁶

The land known as Brick Close was surrounded by developments by the time building began there around 1736. The 4th Lord Berkeley granted leases which would become Bruton Street and the east side of Berkeley Square. The north side of the Square was part of the Grosvenor Estate and initially consisted of the side elevations of buildings and their yards, but a proper frontage was created by five buildings erected in the late 1730s and early 1740s.⁵⁷ Building on the south side was precluded by an agreement included in the sale of Berkeley House. Further leases were granted by his son during the 1740s to complete the square and to lay out the surrounding streets, including Hill Street and Charles Street.⁵⁸ The layout of these two, as well as Farm Street and Hay's Mews, are marked out on Rocque's map of 1746, as yet unbuilt.⁵⁹ Berkeley Square was enclosed with railings and repaved following an Act of Parliament in 1766.⁶⁰

Edward Shepherd was heavily involved in building up the area to the south west including the market bearing his name and his own house was apparently under construction to the north of Curzon Street when he died there in 1747.⁶¹ Later known as Crewe and then Wharncliffe House, the building's listing states that it was built earlier, in 1730, and other sources place it at 1708, but rebuilt following its sale in 1750.⁶² Shepherd leased land from Sir Nathaniel Curzon to the north of the market and fronting on to Curzon Street in 1740, and further land on the east side of the market in 1742, subletting some to build up Shepherd's Court. However, he mortgaged land and the rents from the market to pay a debt of £1,250 in 1744. Shepherd died in 1747, leaving his land to his wife Elizabeth Shepherd, to demise to his sister's grandson Edward Howell.⁶³ Elizabeth continued her husband's business, leasing further land from Curzon in the same year her husband died.⁶⁴ Following her own death, various inheritances were disputed in the courts, but the estate granted building leases to William Vale during the 1770s to build housing north of a new street to be Shepherd Street, also forming East and West Chapel Street.⁶⁵

Chesterfield House was commissioned by Lord Chesterfield when he retired from politics and built by Isaac Ware in 1748–9.⁶⁶ Lord Chesterfield's move from Grosvenor Square to his new house facing Hyde Park was considered daring at the time. Not only did the Grosvenor Estate developments generally avoid views over Hyde Park, South Audley Street which Chesterfield House fronted onto, and Curzon Street to the south, were laid out but only partially built up and the latter was still unpaved.⁶⁷ Behind the house, Chesterfield Street was laid out by John Phillips on Curzon land in

⁵⁵ *Middlesex XIII*, 103–4.

⁵⁶ Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 475.

⁵⁷ *Survey of London XL*, 64.

⁵⁸ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, 173–9; *Middlesex XIII*, 103–4.

⁵⁹ J. Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark* (1746), accessed at *Layers of London*.

⁶⁰ Johnson, *Berkeley Square to Bond Street*, 188–9.

⁶¹ ODNB, 'Shepherd, Edward (c.1692–1747)', (accessed 25 Feb. 2020).

⁶² NHLE, no. 1066942, Crewe House (accessed 26 Nov. 2019); Mitton et al, *Mayfair, Belgravia and Bayswater*, 42.

⁶³ TNA J 90/850; J 90/851.

⁶⁴ LMA LMA/4019/B/07/033.

⁶⁵ TNA J 90/850; J 90/851.

⁶⁶ Summerson, *Georgian London*, 92–3 and 95.

⁶⁷ *Survey of London*, XXXIX, 13; Colby, *Mayfair*, 97.

1755.⁶⁸ Stanhope Street led from Chesterfield House to Hyde Park and was leased to John Phillips for building in 1757.⁶⁹ Just to the north, Tilney Street was filled in during early 1750s.⁷⁰

Returning to the Grosvenor Estate, Rocque's map of the 1740s shows that most of the estate had been built up, with notable exceptions in the north west corner nearest Tyburn and along some of the fronts of Oxford Street and Park Lane.⁷¹ Green Street, for instance, was only partially built up, having suffered from the building downturn that lasted throughout the 1740s and was only nearing completion in the 1760s. To the south, stables were erected in 1738 to house the Second Life Guards.⁷² To the west, running parallel to Park Lane, Norfolk (later Dunraven) Street was not laid out until the 1750s and was completed in 1761.⁷³ The longest street in the estate, Park Street, ran north to south and building was begun there in the 1720s, but not completed along its full length until the 1770s.⁷⁴

Park Lane or Tyburn Lane was in a generally poor and muddy condition, with a wall separating it from Hyde Park. The few buildings that were erected along it in the early years of the estate either backed on to Park Lane or were screened by gardens. As we have seen, some substantial houses were built in its vicinity from the 1730s and its reputation steadily improved.⁷⁵

Land to the west of Shepherd's Market was developed for the owner Nathan Carrington from c.1764, where the eponymous Carrington Place and Mews were built, connected by Hertford Street.⁷⁶ South of Hertford Street, James "Athenian" Stuart was commissioned by Robert Darcy, 4th earl of Holderness, to build his eponymous house between 1760 and 1765, where the Society of Dilettanti frequently met.⁷⁷

Lansdowne House was the first house by architect Robert Adam, designed for Lord Bute.⁷⁸ Begun in 1762, it was sold incomplete to the earl of Shelburne in 1784. The positioning of Lansdowne House was restricted by the agreement preserving the northern view of Devonshire House and so it was built at a right-angle, with a large front garden forming the south side of Berkeley Square.⁷⁹ Grafton Street, on the Conduit Mead Estate, was one of the last parts of Mayfair to be built up, from 1767.⁸⁰

The frontage of Oxford Street was slow to fill and it was only during the 1760s, with the development of the Portman Estate to the north, that building began to the west of North Audley Street. Carpenters John Spencer and John Phillips made building agreements with the Grosvenor estate in 1764–5, the last of the first phase of construction, and initiated building in the area. Construction began in Hereford Street in 1773, although the buildings were not all occupied until 1787. At its western end, the mansion house known as Camelford House was completed in 1774. By 1780 Oxford Street was built up all the way to Park Lane and following the cessation of executions at

⁶⁸ S. Bradley and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, London 6: Westminster* (2005), 513.

⁶⁹ Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 575.

⁷⁰ Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 572.

⁷¹ Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster*, accessed at *Layers of London*.

⁷² *Survey of London* XL, 185–6.

⁷³ *Survey of London* XL, 194.

⁷⁴ *Survey of London* XL, 251.

⁷⁵ *Survey of London* XL, 264.

⁷⁶ Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 536.

⁷⁷ ODNB, 'Stuart, James [called Athenian Stuart] (1713–1788)', (accessed 25 Feb. 2020).

⁷⁸ Summerson, *Georgian London*, 121.

⁷⁹ R. Colby, *Mayfair: a Town Within London* (1966), 43.

⁸⁰ Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 526.

Tyburn it became a fashionable shopping destination until it was usurped by Regent Street in the early 19th century.⁸¹

Rebuilding Mayfair, c.1780–1900

Alterations to houses on the Grosvenor Estate were a frequent occurrence as new aristocratic occupants looked to personalise their dwellings, beginning as early as 1743 in Grosvenor Square properties. Works ranged from redecoration or minor renovation to complete rebuilding and were often undertaken by famous architects, with both William Chambers and Robert Adam undertaking jobs in Grosvenor Square and elsewhere on the estate during the 1760s and 1770s. House renovation became a speculative venture carried out by luxury tradesmen based on the estate, notably upholsterers, who bought up old leases, updated the interiors and then offered expensive short-term lets.⁸² Although attention turned to Belgravia in the early 19th century, houses continued to be rebuilt in Mayfair, including one in Grosvenor Square in 1814–15.⁸³

The great thoroughfare of Regent Street, envisioned as a passage from Charing Cross north to Regent's Park, was approved by Parliament in 1813 and skirted the eastern boundary of the parish along the line of Swallow Street to Regent (now Oxford) Circus, at the junction with Oxford Street. The potential effect of Regent Street on the people of St George's was clear from the objections of Bond Street shopkeepers concerned about the new competition for business, fears which were later realised. The first residents of the west side were around the junction with Conduit Street, moving in in 1824. Beyond the new houses and the detrimental effect on nearby shopping streets, property prices in the north east of the parish were said to rise appreciably over the next decade.⁸⁴

Park Lane had become a desirable location by the end of the 18th century and house prices rose quickly in the first two decades of the 19th. Improvements to Hyde Park only accelerated this trend, with the high wall replaced with railings. Many smaller, rundown residences were rebuilt on a larger scale.⁸⁵ Lord Grosvenor agreed to purchase the lease of Gloucester House in 1806 and embarked on extensive refurbishments. A gallery was completed in 1819 and the house enlarged again in 1826–7.⁸⁶

Several mansions along Park Lane were also remodelled or replaced. The 3rd marquess of Londonderry bought Holderness House after his lucrative marriage to Lady Frances Anne Vane-Tempest and had it rebuilt at great expense in 1824.⁸⁷ Architect Benjamin Wyatt also remodelled Apsley House.⁸⁸ Dudley House was rebuilt in 1827–8 by William Atkinson for the 1st earl of Derby, with additions by Samuel Whitfield Daukes around 1855.⁸⁹ The wealthy Gloucestershire landowner Robert Holford purchased the freehold of old Dorchester House from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster in 1849 and commissioned Lewis Vulliamy to build a grand Italianate palazzo,

⁸¹ *Survey of London* XL, 171–3.

⁸² *Survey of London* XXIX, 120–6.

⁸³ *Survey of London* XXIX, 130???

⁸⁴ H. Hobhouse, *A History of Regent Street* (1975), 34, 50–1.

⁸⁵ *Survey of London* XL, 264–5.

⁸⁶ *Survey of London* XL, 239–45.

⁸⁷ Colby, *Mayfair*, 102.

⁸⁸ ODNB, 'Wyatt, Benjamin Dean (*Bap.* 1775, *d.* 1855), (accessed 25 Feb. 2020).

⁸⁹ NHLE, no. 1226028, Dudley House (accessed 31 Jan. 2020).

completed in 1856.⁹⁰ On Piccadilly, the 6th Duke of Devonshire carried out extensive alterations to Devonshire House in 1840, although he left his mother Georgiana's boudoir untouched.⁹¹

It was not just private residences making their mark on Mayfair. Clubs also began to populate the area. The committee of the Oriental Club purchased number 18 Hanover Square for £14,300 in 1826 and accepted the plan of architect Benjamin Dean Wyatt to raze it to the ground and rebuild, moving there in 1828.⁹² Hanover Square was increasingly turned over to institutional use, with the Oriental Club joined by the Zoological Society and the Royal College of Chemistry in the 1840s and many others including the Arts Club later in the century.⁹³ Similarly in Albemarle Street the Royal Institution, designed by Louis Vulliamy, was opened in 1837.⁹⁴

Rebuildings in the 1820s on the Mayfair Grosvenor estate included parts of the north side of Berkeley Square, Upper Grosvenor Street and Park Street.⁹⁵ The presence of several minor architects and surveyors in the Green Street area spurred redevelopment there during the 1820s, which then attracted more titled residents. Work also began to rebuild parts of South Street, Chapel Street and Portugal Street in the 1830s organised by estate surveyor Thomas Cundy II, and in the south side of Mount Street.⁹⁶

Active developers in Belgravia also worked to rebuild the Mayfair estate as leases fell in. Seth Smith built 63 new houses, many with shops, as well as stables, coach-houses, a warehouse and a chapel in the Gilbert Street, Thomas (now Binney) Street, Robert (now Weighhouse) Street area between 1822 and 1833. Most were inhabited by tradesmen and were soon occupied by multiple families.⁹⁷ Thomas Cubitt rebuilt houses between 1837 and 1840 in the Grosvenor Mews (now Hill)–Bourdon Street area, on the west side of Davies Street and three in Grosvenor Street.⁹⁸

From 1845 the second marquess Richard Grosvenor took greater interest in the running of the estate and supported estate surveyor Thomas Cundy II in a programme to unify house frontages on the estate. John Newson became the most significant builder on the Mayfair estate, rebuilding the remaining houses in the Grosvenor Mews–Bourdon Street area where his own premises were. He went on to rebuild several houses in Grosvenor Street during the 1850s and a series of 'model lodging houses' for the working classes, such as Bloomfield Place, Bourdon Street in 1858 and Oxford House, Grosvenor Market in 1860. These supplemented St George's Buildings In Bourdon Street, built by the St George's Parochial Association in 1853.⁹⁹

Shepherd Market was partly rebuilt around 1840, followed by the main block in 1860.¹⁰⁰

Hugh Grosvenor succeeded to the title of Marquess of Westminster in 1869 and became a great patron of architecture.¹⁰¹ He instituted a huge new program of rebuilding in his Mayfair estate that

⁹⁰ ODNB, 'Holford, Robert Stayner (1808–92)', (accessed 25 Feb. 2020); Colby, *Mayfair*, 104.

⁹¹ Colby, *Mayfair*, 86–7.

⁹² A.F. Baillie, *The Oriental Club and Hanover Square* (1901), 57–62.

⁹³ E. Walford, *Old and New London* IV (1878), 316–7.

⁹⁴ Mitton et al, *Mayfair, Belgravia and Bayswater*, 30.

⁹⁵ *Survey of London* XL, 64–5, 223, 251.

⁹⁶ *Survey of London* XXIX, 130–2, 186, 290, 318, 330–1.

⁹⁷ *Survey of London* XL, 92–3.

⁹⁸ *Survey of London* XXIX, 130–1.

⁹⁹ *Survey of London* XL, 58; WAGE 2260/9/4, *Particulars of Improved Working Class Dwellings at present upon the Duke of Westminster's London Estate* (1884).

¹⁰⁰ Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 570.

¹⁰¹ *Survey of London* XXIX, 140.

continued until his death in 1899, turning to different areas as substantial numbers of leases fell in, renewing the leases in large swathes of the estate to last until the 1970s or '80s.¹⁰²

This was not uncontroversial, one commentator observing that 'the advantage taken by the ground landlord of the fact that the law empowers him to confiscate the good-will of a tenant long resident in a neighbourhood is outrageous' and comparing rebuilding on the Grosvenor estate to the architectural achievements of 'Oriental monarchs'.¹⁰³ In contrast, estate solicitor Henry Trelawny Boodle pointed to Bond Street as an example of 'the evil of a multitude of small separate ownerships', which prevented coordinated improvements such as widening the street.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, some sporadic building took place on New Bond Street, for instance the Grosvenor Gallery in 1875–6.¹⁰⁵

Several developments began shortly before Hugh Grosvenor's succession. The Grosvenor Estate surveyor Thomas Cundy III designed the rebuilding of Hereford Street as Hereford Gardens in the mid 1860s, sharing its French style with his development of Grosvenor Gardens to the south. Brook House, on the corner of Upper Brook Street and Park Lane, was also rebuilt for Sir Dudley Marjoribanks in 1866–9.¹⁰⁶

As part of the plan for Hereford Gardens, Cundy also designed the range of buildings on Oxford Street to the east of Park Street, rebuilt in 1865–6. Rebuilding continued through the 1870s and by 1890 almost the entire southern frontage of Oxford Street west of Davies Street had been rebuilt. Davies Street itself was realigned in conjunction with the building of Bond Street station in 1898–1900.¹⁰⁷

Other initiatives under consideration on the Grosvenor Estate before 1869 responded to the ongoing lack of housing for the working classes, although a hiatus then followed, with greater activity in Pimlico. For instance, Grosvenor Buildings was erected by the St George's Parochial Association in 1868–9. The Improved Industrial Dwelling Company (IIDC) erected Clarendon Buildings in George (later Balderton) Street, opening in 1872.¹⁰⁸

Before and during extensive rebuilding on the Grosvenor estate in the 1880s, some redevelopment occurred in the area to the south-east. Off Curzon Street, a close of mansions called Chesterfield Gardens was built in the garden of Chesterfield House in 1876–8.¹⁰⁹ Down Street was largely rebuilt in the early 1890s, with the Christ Church Vicarage on the corner with Brick Street dating from 1891–2.¹¹⁰ On the Piccadilly end of Arlington Street, the massive block of Walsingham House was erected in 1887, only to be demolished in 1904 to make way for the Ritz.¹¹¹

Further west along Piccadilly, the spread of 'clubland' from St James's became increasingly evident, with several townhouses and mews remodelled or rebuilt from the 1860s through to the 1880s.

¹⁰² *Survey of London* XXIX, 47–9, 53; WAGE 1049/9/57, Five maps of the Mayfair Estate showing expiry of leases, 1888.

¹⁰³ F. Banfield, *The Great Landlords of London* (1890), 70–2.

¹⁰⁴ *Report from the Select Committee on Town Holdings* (Parl. Papers 1887 (260), xiii), p.379.

¹⁰⁵ Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 346.

¹⁰⁶ *Survey of London* XXIX, 133–9; OS 6" County Series, Middlesex XVII (1868–73).

¹⁰⁷ *Survey of London* XL, 176–7.

¹⁰⁸ *Survey of London* XL, 59, 94–6.

¹⁰⁹ Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 518.

¹¹⁰ Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 524.

¹¹¹ Mitton et al, *Mayfair, Belgravia and Bayswater*, 48; WA C137 Walsingham House Hotel (002).

These became home to, amongst others, the Naval and Military Club, the New Travellers' Club, the Junior Constitutional Club, the Isthmian Club, the Junior Athenaeum Club and the Cavalry Club.¹¹² On Albemarle Street, Dover Street and Grafton Street numerous more clubs were joined by other developments including the Royal Arcade, between Albemarle Street and Old Bond Street, opened in 1883.¹¹³

Turning finally to rebuilding on the Grosvenor Estate, many of the leases in the blocks around Duke Street expired in the second half of the 1880s.¹¹⁴ Rebuilding began with Duke Street Mansion on the western frontage and the creation of Brown Hart Gardens in 1886–8.¹¹⁵ In the northern part of the blocks to the east and west of Duke Street, the IIDC erected Stalbridge, Balderton, Chesham, Cavendish, Hanover and Moore Flats between 1886 and 1892, housing 332 families.¹¹⁶

To the west north Audley Street was rebuilt and widened in the late 19th and early 20th century as were parts of Bourdon Street to the south.¹¹⁷ Rebuilding in Green Street began with the demolition of St Mary's Chapel in 1882 and carried on sporadically for the next four decades, this development also taking in parts of Park Street.¹¹⁸ Rebuilding in North Row began with North Row Dwellings, erected by the St. George's Workmen's Model Dwellings Association in 1887–9 and continued into the 1890s.¹¹⁹

The reconstruction of Mount Street had been planned since the 1870s. The roadway was widened at the corner with Berkeley Square by the removal of three houses in the early 1880s, the duke's solicitor Boodle describing the improvement as 'a free gift to the public'.¹²⁰ The new street plan involved moving the workhouse to a site on Buckingham Palace Road, rebuilding the St George's vestry hall in 1885–7 and laying out new gardens. The shops and houses in the street were rebuilt over the ensuing decade. The buildings on the corner with Charles Street were rebuilt in a curved line to improve the transition from Grosvenor Square to Berkeley Square, with Charles Street renamed Carlos Place in 1892. The Coburg Hotel, on the west side of Carlos Place, was rebuilt 1894–6, the empty plot visible on the OS map of that time.¹²¹ The two separate mews in Mount Row were joined as part of this redevelopment.¹²²

Better access to the vestry hall gardens and Catholic Church on Farm Street was created by the extension of Carlos Place to a short cul-de-sac. A cut-through from Farm Street to the south,

¹¹² Mitton et al, *Mayfair, Belgravia and Bayswater*, 50–2.

¹¹³ Mitton et al, *Mayfair, Belgravia and Bayswater*, 29–30.

¹¹⁴ WAGE 1049/9/56, map showing expiry of leases between Oxford Street, Grosvenor Square, North Audley Street and Gilbert Street.

¹¹⁵ *Survey of London* XL, 86.

¹¹⁶ *Survey of London* XL, 96–8.

¹¹⁷ *Survey of London* XL, 59, 100, 109–10

¹¹⁸ *Survey of London* XL, 187, 251–2.

¹¹⁹ *Survey of London* XL, 196.

¹²⁰ WAGE, 1049/5/20, GBM, 1879–81, f.191; *Report from the Select Committee on Town Holdings* (Parl. Papers 1887 (260), xiii), p.379.

¹²¹ WAGE, 1049/5/20, GBM, 1879–81, ff.9–11. *Survey of London* XL, 319–21; OS London 1:1,056, Sheet VII.71 (1895).

¹²² *Survey of London* XL, 80.

incorporated a new school playground.¹²³ The rebuilding of the parochial schools, completed in 1898, and adjacent buildings on South Street after the leases fell in in 1895 was also undertaken.¹²⁴

The rebuilding of the block to the south of Mount Street, bounded by South Street, Park Street and South Audley Street naturally followed in the 1890s, with Chapel Street renamed Aldford Street and Portugal Street becoming Balfour Place, after estate surveyor Eustace Balfour who designed most of the buildings. To the south of Balfour Place, a new yard was created called Balfour Mews, with stables built there in the late 1890s. To the west Rex Place formed a new street between Mount Street and South Street, although the southern end was not completed until 1938.¹²⁵ The south end of Park Street and South Audley Street, north of South Street where many tradesmen were based, were also rebuilt between 1880 and 1900.¹²⁶

Knightsbridge and Hyde Park Corner

Hyde Park corner marked the separation between the northern and southern sections of the parish, of the Grosvenor estate and even, in the 18th century, the division between town and country. When the plan for a Penny Post was made in 1794, anything beyond the Hyde Park Corner turnpike was going to be considered as in the country and would therefore have a more expensive and less frequent service, a designation that the Grosvenor Estate intended to challenge.¹²⁷ The ancient manor of Knightsbridge was entirely west of the Westbourne, but the northerly roadside verge leading up to Hyde Park Corner was added to it, probably in the 16th century. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey came to take possession of both sides of the roadway.¹²⁸

The southern roadside of Knightsbridge was built up in the late 17th and early 18th century from a few scattered buildings to a nearly complete frontage, with Lanesbrough House added around 1718. This area of development came to be known as St George's Place after the parish, or St George's Hospital, which took over Lanesborough House in 1733, or just as likely both.¹²⁹ The north side of the road mostly abutted on the wall of Hyde Park, but a small strip opened up near the Westbourne, later known as Park Side. This included a medieval leper hospital or lazar-house which had closed by 1718, though its chapel remained the chief place of worship into the 18th century and was enlarged and refronted in 1789. A brewhouse was built in the leper-house enclosure around the same time as Lanesbrough House.¹³⁰ Nothing else was erected to the south of the buildings fronting on Knightsbridge, until a foot-guard barracks was built there on Grosvenor land around 1760.¹³¹

Apsley House is more properly on Piccadilly, although it overlooks Hyde Park Corner. It was built for Lord Apsley, later 2nd Earl Bathurst, in 1771–8, designed by Robert Adam. It was bought by the 1st marquess of Wellesley in 1807 who had it remodelled by James Wyatt. It was then acquired by

¹²³ *Survey of London* XL, 319–20; WAGE 1049/9/58, Proposed improvement to Farm Street and Proposed Entrance to Vestry Hall Gardens, 1893.

¹²⁴ *Survey of London* XL, 336–7.

¹²⁵ *Survey of London* XL, 330–2.

¹²⁶ *Survey of London* XL, 251–2, 291.

¹²⁷ WAGE 1049/5/1, Grosvenor Board Minutes, c.1789–1795, f.271, 279.

¹²⁸ Taylor, *Knightsbridge and Hyde*, 23, 31.

¹²⁹ *Survey of London* XLV, 19.

¹³⁰ Taylor, *Knightsbridge and Hyde*, 69, 72; *Survey of London* XLV, 19, 37, 41.

¹³¹ J. Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark* (1746), accessed at *Layers of London*; *Survey of London* XLV, 19–20.

Wellesley's brother, the duke of Wellington, following his return from the Napoleonic wars. Wellington had James Wyatt and his brother Philip extend the house in 1826–30. Apsley House was opened to the public in 1853, the year after Wellington died.¹³²

The Kensington Turnpike Trust built new gates and lodges at Hyde Park Corner in 1791–2. A grander western entrance to London was proposed for many years, but eventually Decimus Burton, who had designed the Stanhope, Grosvenor and Cumberland Gates into Hyde Park in 1824, was commissioned to build two gates to Hyde Park and Green Park on opposing sides of Piccadilly. An Ionic screen was built as the entrance to Hyde Park, with a lodge alongside. The gate to Green Park was left without ornament in 1828, but received a controversial statue of the duke of Wellington in 1845, becoming the Wellington Memorial Arch.¹³³ The Marble Arch was built as an entrance to Buckingham Palace in conjunction with the above scheme, but removed to the Cumberland Gate on the north side of Hyde Park in 1851.¹³⁴

The houses of St George's Place between St George's Hospital and the barrack yard were rebuilt during the 1820s with large houses, soon taken up by fashionable residents. Wilton Place and William Street opened up the frontage, linking Knightsbridge with the new developments in Belgravia. The houses to the west of Wilton Place were also rebuilt.¹³⁵ To the north of Knightsbridge, Park Side was made up of a row of shops by the 1830s, not redeveloped until the early 20th century, when its name was abolished and the houses were renumbered as part of Knightsbridge.¹³⁶

To create a point of access to Hyde Park from his development in Belgravia, Cubitt gained an Act of Parliament in 1841 allowing the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to open up Albert Gate, where Cubitt demolished the Cannon Brewery, diverted the Ranelagh sewer and built the largest speculative housing London had yet seen.¹³⁷

The Albert Gate development finally swept away the leper hospital buildings, then partly occupied by the White Hart public house. Number one Albert Gate was taken by George Hudson MP, but when his railway dealings were exposed as fraudulent he was forced to let the building and it was redeveloped to be occupied by the French Embassy in 1853. The French government bought the freehold in 1898 and work on an extension was begun in 1899.¹³⁸ The leper hospital chapel, Trinity Chapel, was rebuilt as Holy Trinity Church, completed in 1861.¹³⁹

The barracks were given up by the military in the 1830s and demolished in the early 1840s, when a hall erected in the yard was used to display a collection of Chinese art and artefacts, entered via a pagoda. Housing around the Old Barrack Yard was redeveloped during the 1840s, but more major reconstruction occurred in the 1850s, when a school and houses were built, as well as the Wallace Hotel, on the site of the White Horse Inn at the entrance to the Old Barrack Yard, opening in 1858. It was taken over and redeveloped by the Alexandra Hotel Company in 1863.¹⁴⁰ Improvements were

¹³² Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 585–6.

¹³³ S. Brindle, 'The Wellington Arch and the western entrance to London', *The Georgian Group Journal* 11 (2001), 59, 68–79; P. Rabbitts, *Hyde Park: the People's Park* (Stroud, 2015), 49–51, 85, 87.

¹³⁴ A. Saint, 'The Marble Arch', *The Georgian Group Journal* 7 (1997), 75–89.

¹³⁵ C. and J. Greenwood, *Map (1828) at Layers of London; Survey of London XL*, 20.

¹³⁶ *Survey of London XLV*, 37–9, 42.

¹³⁷ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 161–3.

¹³⁸ *Survey of London XLV*, 49–51.

¹³⁹ *VCH Middlesex XIII*, 147; *Survey of London XLV*, 41.

¹⁴⁰ *Survey of London XLV*, 23.–6

planned by the London County Council in the 1890s between Wilton Place and William Street, but had to wait until the leases expired in 1902.¹⁴¹

As part of a plan to ease traffic at Hyde Park Corner, a new road was created between Piccadilly and Grosvenor Place, necessitating the removal of the Wellington Memorial Arch to the top of Constitution Hill. The statue of Wellington was removed in 1884 and a new one commissioned, which was placed in the middle of the newly formed Wellington Place, opposite Apsley House.¹⁴²

Belgravia

This section will cover Belgravia, which much like Knightsbridge, is a difficult area to define, owing more to popular usage than precise boundaries. Buckingham Palace Road is sometimes taken as the southern border, but as both sides of that road are covered here, a better working definition for our purposes is the area north of the Grosvenor Canal, though the canal itself and its wharves are covered elsewhere. To the south was the Neathouse area, sometimes the Neat Houses, which will be covered in the next section. The term Pimlico has been added in brackets as the area is now known by that moniker, but was previously attached to the area where Victoria Station now stands.

Development in the area of the parish down to the Thames in the Out Ward of St George's was held back in part by location and its separation from built-up areas by the royal parks, but also the poor soil for building in the Five Fields and especially around the Neat Houses near the Thames, where it was boggy and flooded regularly. These limitations required significant investment to overcome, which was not forthcoming at that time. Where early building did occur, it naturally remained near existing roads which not only provided convenient communications but also guaranteed stable ground.¹⁴³ A survey of the Grosvenor lands there shows that rent from the fields in the Manor of Ebury and the Bailiwick of Neat, either side of the Chelsea Waterworks' canal, brought in £497 in 1723, the land proving fertile for market gardens, with well under 100 buildings in the area.¹⁴⁴

In the mid 18th century there was very little building in the parish to the south of Knightsbridge, excepting a short row of houses on Five Fields Row near the border with Chelsea, another leading from the Buckingham House lodge and scattered buildings including the Dukes Hospital in the area to the south-west of Buckingham House that is now next to Victoria Station, but was then known as Pimlico.¹⁴⁵ A few more buildings, the Neat Houses, stood on the banks of the Thames.¹⁴⁶ The road leading south from Buckingham Gate, divided into Stafford Row built in 1752, Wards Row and Queen's Row built in 1766, was completely built up on the east side.¹⁴⁷ Further development was influenced by the purchase of Buckingham House by George III for Queen Charlotte in 1762, with additions such as the riding house soon following.¹⁴⁸ This royal connection precipitated development

¹⁴¹ *Survey of London* XLV, 28.

¹⁴² Brindle, 'The Wellington Arch', 79–83; OS London 1:1,056, Sheet VII.81 (1896).

¹⁴³ M.J. Hazelton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats: The Grosvenors and the Development of Belgravia and Pimlico in the Nineteenth Century', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (1981), 22.

¹⁴⁴ 1049/9/53, Map of Part of Ebury Manor, 1723.

¹⁴⁵ J. Rocque, *A plan of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark* (1746), accessed at *Layers of London*.

¹⁴⁶ J. Rocque, *An Exact Survey of the Citys of London Westminster ye Borough of Southwark and the Country Near Ten Miles Round* (1741–5), accessed at *Layers of London*.

¹⁴⁷ G.E. Mitton et al, *Mayfair, Belgravia and Bayswater* (1903), 72–3.

¹⁴⁸ *Middlesex* XIII, 108; Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 652.

along Grosvenor Place by the Scott family of builders in 1767 after the house became a royal residence, with housing spreading beyond the Lock Hospital and into offshoots such as Chapel Street by the 1790s.¹⁴⁹

Building had also surrounded St James' Park, leading to a cluster of housing in what Horwood still called Pimlico. Further building followed Ranelagh Street (now Ebury Street) and Belgrave Place (now Buckingham Palace Road) to the south. Building leases were granted in the 1790s and by the end of the century the built-up area was nearly meeting development spreading up from Chelsea along Grosvenor Row, Five Fields Row and Ranelagh Walk, as far as Avery Farm.¹⁵⁰

It was only around the turn of the century that the lightly staffed Grosvenor Estate started producing plans for this area, where building had been taking place for the previous three decades.¹⁵¹ However, financial difficulties bequeathed to Richard, 2nd marquess of Westminster by his father contributed to his passive approach to investment and estate management.¹⁵² Two attempts were made to build the proposed Belgrave Square in the early 19th century, but both sets of contractors found themselves unable to fund the project on the relatively harsh terms of their leases and went bankrupt.¹⁵³

Nevertheless, development continued, relying largely on the initiative of individual builders, who continued to line the existing roads.¹⁵⁴ The 3rd edition of Horwood's plan, issued by William Faden in 1813, shows the housing along Grosvenor Place extending all the way south to Lower Grosvenor Place and the beginnings of Upper Grosvenor Mews running parallel near St George's Hospital, as well as of westward offshoots, including Chapel Street, Chester Street and Grosvenor Street.¹⁵⁵ These would link to the planned streets in the area, centred on Belgrave Square, but building was delayed by wrangling over who was responsible for infrastructure and especially sewers, which the Grosvenor Estate refused to finance.¹⁵⁶ To the south, Belgrave Street and Eccleston Street, where building began in 1805, were newly labelled in 1813, running between Ranelagh Walk and the increasingly built up Belgrave Place.¹⁵⁷

By 1820, Grosvenor Place had housing with by far the highest average rateable value in the southern part of the Grosvenor estate at £247 p.a. and had a high number of aristocrats living there. Values fell away further south, particularly beyond the King's Road, where Ebury Street had an average value of £27 p.a.¹⁵⁸

Plans for more extensive development of Belgravia were spurred on by agreement to straighten the King's Road in 1820 and expiry of a failed building agreement between the Grosvenor Estate and the Robertson family in 1821. George IV's move to Buckingham Palace following his accession to the

¹⁴⁹ Hazelton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats', 34; WAGE 1049/5/1, Grosvenor Board Minutes, c.1789–1795, f.2.

¹⁵⁰ Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 751; R. Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts Adjoining Shewing Every House* (1799), accessed at *Layers of London*; WAGE 1049/5/1, Grosvenor Board Minutes, c.1789–1795, f.229, 273, 287.

¹⁵¹ Hazelton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats', 31.

¹⁵² Hazelton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats', 70–1 and chapter 3.

¹⁵³ WAGE 1049/9/15, Plan of the Grosvenor Town Estate... as proposed by Messrs Alexander and Daniel Robertson, 1813; Hazelton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats', 43–9.

¹⁵⁴ Hazelton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats', 41.

¹⁵⁵ *The A to Z of Regency London* (1985), 43, 45.

¹⁵⁶ Hazelton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats', 39.

¹⁵⁷ Hazelton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats', 69; *The A to Z of Regency London* (1985), 64.

¹⁵⁸ Hazelton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats', 55–6.

throne and the accompanying renovations by John Nash, including construction of the Royal Mews certainly gave some impetus to developers, although the construction of the Grosvenor Canal was far more important in that it improved access to the site and reduced the costs of developers. The Grosvenor Office had already outlined a plan for drainage for new houses in conjunction with the Lowndes estate in 1819 and produced a block plan for the new development in Belgravia in 1821, which provided a template for subsequent building, and the first 'takes' around Coleshill Street (later Eaton Terrace) were let to Pimlico builder Samuel Archbutt in the same year.¹⁵⁹

The biggest agreement was made with Thomas Cubitt in 1824, covering 19 a. consisting of 12 blocks between Belgrave Square and the King's Road. Cubitt leased land from the Lowndes estate (which bulged into the parish as a semi-circle from the Westbourne, stretching from near the King's Road to just over halfway to Knightsbridge¹⁶⁰) to complete his Belgravia holdings in 1826. By this time he had secured a further 124 a. south of the Grosvenor canal in the Neat House area, the majority from Grosvenor but some from other local landowners. Further large takes in Belgravia were negotiated by the Grosvenor Estate with developers such as Seth Smith, who agreed to build the north side of Belgrave Square, Wilton Crescent, and the roads behind it such as Kinnerton Street. He soon let further land south of Eaton Square, between Lower Belgrave Street and Burton Street, part of which was taken by brothers Thomas and Joseph Cundy, where they collaborated on Chester Square, planned in 1828. Other builders included Charles Graham, who let the ground for Graham Street.¹⁶¹

By further agreements of 1825, Cubitt and Smith sub-contracted the building of Belgrave Square to a syndicate headed by City financier William Haldimand, with the exception of a few individual houses. Soane's pupil George Basevi was hired as architect.¹⁶² Cubitt began laying out sewers for Belgrave Square and roads in the square as well as Chapel Street, Belgrave Street, Chester Street, Eaton Square, Eaton Place and Upper Eccleston Street in 1826. The first house in Belgrave Square, on the north side, was completed and occupied by Lord Grosvenor's banker Henry Drummond in 1828. The entire north and east sides were occupied by 1835 and nearly the whole square by 1840, although the south-eastern corner villa was not commissioned until the early 1840s, becoming Sefton House.¹⁶³

The streets to the south of Belgrave Square were erected by Cubitt as a series of terraces, each with its own unified architectural style. His men started work first on Upper Belgrave Street, which was completely occupied by 1835.¹⁶⁴ The foundation stone of St Peter's church in Eaton Square was laid as early as 1824, with the terraces on the north side being built from the late 1820s, but not completed for a decade and with some still unsold in the late 1840s. Some houses around the square went unbuilt until 1851.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, a description of Belgravia in 1832 confidently stated that

¹⁵⁹ Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 644–52; H. Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt: Master Builder* (2nd ed. 1995), 88–93.

¹⁶⁰ WA Gardner Box 64 No.32, T. Cundy, *Map of the Grosvenor Estate in St George's Parish as it was in the year 1723* (1822).

¹⁶¹ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 92–5; WAGE 1049/9/18, *Map of the Grosvenor Estate in the Outward of the Parish of St George Hanover Square Shewing the Intended Improvements from Knightsbridge to the River Thames* (1827).

¹⁶² Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 117–9.

¹⁶³ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 124 and 131–5.

¹⁶⁴ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 139–41; also see WA C13 (013), *Plan of a Leasehold Estate Situate at Pimlico in the County of Middlesex belonging to Earl Grosvenor* (1825).

¹⁶⁵ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 143–7.

‘Every portion seems destined for durability, respectability, and for the comforts and elegances of polished society.’¹⁶⁶

Similarly, Cubitt built the first houses in Eaton Place in 1828, slowly progressing westward in four divisions completed in 1835 and then around every five years thereafter.¹⁶⁷ Grosvenor Crescent was staked out in 1833, curving from the north east corner of Belgrave Square to the south east corner of St George’s Hospital and connecting the area more directly to Mayfair, although it was not finished until the early 1860s.¹⁶⁸ Further changes were made when a new wing was erected on the south-west of the hospital, completed around 1868.¹⁶⁹ Cubitt built houses on Eaton Terrace, selling for around £1,700, and fronting on the King’s Road for £3,000 – 4,000. from the mid 1840s.¹⁷⁰

In the west of Belgravia, development became inevitable as the Cadogan estate beyond it was covered by building. Cubitt negotiated another take with the Lowndes estate and with several further agreements created the opportunity to lay out the area in accordance with his bordering development. The major development of Lowndes Square was just to the west of the parish border, but in St George’s, work began on Chesham Place around 1830. Progress was slowed by the building downturn of the early 1830s, but most of Chesham Place was occupied by the end of the decade regardless and Lord John Russell purchased a house there in 1840, signalling its desirability. Work on Lowndes Street and Chesham Street was similarly delayed until Cubitt sub-contracted much of the building from 1838. Lyall Street was one of the final parts of the Lowndes Estate to be developed, laid out in 1838.¹⁷¹

Various developers took up old leases in Belgravia as they came up for renewal, rebuilding run-down buildings and some slums around the southern end of Grosvenor Place as Victoria Square, the clearance provoking violent demonstrations. Cubitt took up other rebuilding projects in the early 1840s including the north side of Grosvenor Street West.¹⁷² The opening up of Victoria Street in 1851 was important, though it only just reached into the parish, as it provided a direct route through to the Houses of Parliament.¹⁷³

By 1848, the ecclesiastical parish of St Peter’s Pimlico, had a rateable value of £232,872, of which £189,631 was in the area called the Grosvenor Place District, north of the Grosvenor Canal. These compared with the rateable value of £433,624 in St George Hanover Square (the ecclesiastical, not the larger civil parish).¹⁷⁴

Post-Cubitt Redevelopment, c.1855–1900

As in Mayfair, redevelopment in Belgravia relied on the falling in of large numbers of leases, arriving in two waves, the first during the 1860s, which also coincided with the arrival of the railway at

¹⁶⁶ *The Parlour Book of British Scenery, Architecture and Antiquities* (2nd ed., 1832), XXX, ‘Wimpole Streer’.

¹⁶⁷ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 148–9.

¹⁶⁸ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 137–9.

¹⁶⁹ WAGE 1049/9/29, Grosvenor Crescent Improvements; E. Walford, *Old and New London* V (1878), 4.

¹⁷⁰ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 147.

¹⁷¹ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 152–7.

¹⁷² Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 149–51.

¹⁷³ WA Gardner Box 64 No. 16, *Plan of Part of the City of Westminster Shewing Victoria Street*; *Morning Post*, 7 Aug. 1851.

¹⁷⁴ WAGE 1049/9/3, T. Cundy, *Plan of the Parish of St Georges Hanover Square & District of St Peters Pimlico* (1848).

Victoria.¹⁷⁵ The leases on over 200 houses in Grosvenor Place expired in the mid 1860s, allowing them to be rebuilt and the road widened. At the south end of Grosvenor Place, the two contiguous triangles of Grosvenor Gardens were laid out by architect Thomas Cundy III, sharing the French Renaissance style with the recently built Grosvenor Hotel, across Buckingham Palace Road.¹⁷⁶ The ground floor and basement would be let as shops, along with a restaurant to serve the apartments above.¹⁷⁷ The prospectus of the Belgravia Mansions Company, which would complete the new building in 1867, emphasised the transport links of the site, with Victoria rail station behind the hotel, and the new underground station opening in 1868 continuing the redevelopment of the area.¹⁷⁸

Rebuilding also commenced in other old areas of Belgravia. In Ebury Square the housing dated back to around the turn of the century and suffered from poor drainage and sanitation. Redevelopment included the new road of Semley Place, a church, and St Michael's Schools and vicarage, and extended to Ebury Street and Elizabeth Street. Setting back the school allowed for widening along the northerly length of Buckingham Palace Road. Queen Street and Grosvenor Row were widened and renamed Pimlico Road, on which building continued in 1897. The IIDC constructed several new blocks in this area, housing around 1,700 people. Coleshill Buildings fronting on Queen Street, was opened in 1871. These blocks included ten shops and were given a more attractive external appearance than the Company usually afforded at the behest of the Marquis of Westminster. The two blocks of Ebury buildings overlooking Ebury Square were completed in 1871 and 1873 and Lumley Buildings, near Grosvenor Row, were completed in 1875.¹⁷⁹

The rest of Buckingham Palace Road was redeveloped from the 1880s, with a mixture of housing, public institutions and some plots left to the vagaries of the open market.¹⁸⁰ The St George's Union workhouse was built towards the north-east end, behind the frontage in Wallis' Yard, in 1884.¹⁸¹ In the block between Eccleston Street and Lower Belgrave Street, the presence of the St George's bath house dictated the size of plots. It was joined there by St Peter's Institute (a club for 600 men and 600 boys, with a gymnasium, reading rooms and a concert hall), a school of cookery and Buckingham Palace Mansions.¹⁸² On the block between Eccleston Street and Elizabeth Street, a public library was built alongside a parish hall and parsonage, with the remainder reserved for working class dwellings. A row of houses named Buckingham Palace Gardens made up the eastern end of this block, but the plot in between was left temporarily empty, after the builder of a first set of houses postponed his project having struggled to dispose of them.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁵ Hazelton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats', 271.

¹⁷⁶ Bradley and Pevsner, *Westminster*, 551–2.

¹⁷⁷ *Times*, 24 Aug. 1865.

¹⁷⁸ *Times*, 23 Jun. 1865; *The Standard*, 29 Dec. 1866; also see communications.

¹⁷⁹ WAGE 1049/9/30 /31 and /32, Pimlico Estate, Model Lodging Houses, Ebury Square; 1049/9/33, Pimlico Improvements, Ebury Square, 1868; 2260/9/4, *Particulars of Improved Working Class Dwellings at present upon the Duke of Westminster's London Estate* (1884); OS London Sheet LIV (1875); Hazelton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats', 281, 298, 382–3, 398; J. Nelson, 'The Improved Industrial Dwellings Company', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 22.1 (1968), 51–2; *Survey of London* XL, 94.

¹⁸⁰ Hazelton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats', 275; WAGE 1049/5/23, Grosvenor Board Minutes, c.1886–8, f.253.

¹⁸¹ Mitton et al, *Mayfair, Belgravia and Bayswater*, 167.

¹⁸² OS London 1:1,056, Sheet VII.91 and 92 (1895); Mitton et al, *Mayfair, Belgravia and Bayswater*, 73.

¹⁸³ WAGE 1049/5/23, Grosvenor Board Minutes, c.1886–8, f.249; 1049/5/26, Grosvenor Board Minutes, c.1893–6, f.175; Hazelton-Swales, 'Urban Aristocrats', 298; OS London 1:1,056, Sheet VII.91 (1895) and Sheet XI.1 (1895).

The Neat Houses (Pimlico)

The Neat or Neyte area was site of the house where the lord of the manor of Eye (Ebury) was resident, but not, as has been mistakenly presumed, the manor house. Earlier held by Westminster Abbey, by the 18th century the land was divided between the Wise, Stanley and Grosvenor estates.¹⁸⁴ By the 17th century the area was apparently known as the Neat Houses as much after a tea garden there.¹⁸⁵

As has been observed, very little development took place in the Neat House area south of the Grosvenor canal before Thomas Cubitt turned his attentions there. Lord Grosvenor owned the larger part of the land in the east, up to the parish boundary, following the line of the King's Scholars's Pond sewer. Sloane Stanley owned two pieces of land in the west, next to the channels of the Chelsea waterworks, and Warwickshire clergyman Henry Wise held another two pieces, just to the south of the Willow Walk.¹⁸⁶

The banks of the Thames provided a temptation for developers and application was made to the Grosvenor Estate to build a wharf and houses in 1793.¹⁸⁷ The scattered inns and houses were also joined in the 18th century by a white lead manufactory, then a distillery, a dock and factories in the early 19th century. John Johnson acquired the lease to the dock and factories in 1817 and no doubt encouraged by the construction of Vauxhall Bridge, laid out roads for a new development, although he failed to add more than a row of houses and a few cottages.¹⁸⁸

The area became synonymous with Thomas Cubitt, sometimes referred to as 'Cubittville' or 'Stuccoville' after the finish of the houses there. Cubitt secured the majority of the land in the Neat House area through agreements with Wise, Grosvenor and the purchase of Johnson's lease by 1825, with most of the legal niceties confirmed the next year. He also secured a large stretch of ground between Belgrave Place and the canal for houses and wharves, then to the south of the canal where Eccleston Square would be built, undertaking to construct two brick bridges across the canal. He commenced with the prolonged task of filling and draining the ground, while having to renegotiate with Grosvenor due to the slump of the early 1830s and continuing to take land from Stanley into the 1850s.¹⁸⁹

The envisaged bridges across the Grosvenor canal and thus its relationship to Belgravia largely dictated the layout of the Neat House development, along with the existing road to Chelsea, the Willow Walk. The two major roads, Belgravia Street and Grosvenor Road (later St George's Drive and Belgrave Road), ran in parallel from the bridges and crossed the Willow Walk at a roughly 45 degree angle.¹⁹⁰ The bridges and roads were laid out immediately after Cubitt took possession of the land.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁴ *Middlesex XIII*, 33–5, 96–8.

¹⁸⁵ C.T. Gatty, *Mary Davies and the Manor of Ebury* vol. I (1921), 13 (plate 3) and 35–40.

¹⁸⁶ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, plate 52; WA Gardner Box 64 No.32, T. Cundy, *Map of the Grosvenor Estate in St George's Parish as it was in the year 1723* (1822).

¹⁸⁷ WAGE 1049/5/1, Grosvenor Board Minutes, c.1789–1795, f.272, 274–5, 280–1, 302.

¹⁸⁸ WAGE 1049/5/1, Grosvenor Board Minutes, c.1789–1795, f.295, 301; Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 168–9.

¹⁸⁹ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 171–82.

¹⁹⁰ C. and J. Greenwood, *Map* (1828) at *Layers of London*.

¹⁹¹ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 198.

Building began on the southern estate with the wharves by the sides of the Grosvenor Canal.¹⁹² Some development also took place in Belgrave Road and Eccleston Square, Cubitt completing the initial three houses on the latter in 1836. It was not until the 1840s that the pace of building picked up, most of it carried out by contractors sub-letting ground from Cubitt, who laid out the sites and strictly controlled land use, including the types of housing and businesses permitted. The lease for a public house was granted in several different areas and houses spread out from these along the road pattern already mandated. The lease for 'The Marquis of Westminster', on the corner of Belgrave Road and Warwick Street was granted in 1838; the 'Perseverance', on the corner of Lupus Street and St George's Square in 1840; and the 'Kenilworth', at the top of Cambridge Street, in 1847.¹⁹³ The area to the east of Belgrave Road was covered by building agreements of the early 1840s.¹⁹⁴

To the south of Warwick Square and the to west of St George's Road, building agreements were made in 1847, the latter facilitated by an exchange of land between the Marquess of Westminster and William Sloane Stanley in the area where Hugh Street, Cambridge Street and Stanley Street were planned.¹⁹⁵ Further down Cambridge Street and Stanley Street (now Alderney Street), agreements were made in 1850, while Moreton Street, Terrace and Place were delayed beyond 1852 by the failure of builder John Hutchinson. Stanley Street was the most westerly in the area to be completed by Cubitt's death. The parallel Winchester, Cumberland and Sutherland Streets were completed along with Westmoreland Place over the next decade.¹⁹⁶

Less fashionable than Belgravia, the squares were slow to fill. Cubitt himself built many of the houses in Eccleston and Warwick Squares, although the former was only completed by 1859, after Cubitt's death in 1855, when Warwick Square was only half completed, taking another decade to be finished. To the south, St George's Square was laid out in 1844 and stretching down to the Thames, it included a widening of the embankment and a pier for river steamers. However, very few houses were let until the 1850s, and leases on most of the west side and the southern half of the east were not taken up until the 1860s, delaying completion until 1874 and leaving a mixed architectural style.¹⁹⁷

Interspersed with industrial sites by the banks of the Thames, some sites for development required John Johnson's old estate to be neatened up, as was the case for Ranelagh Road and Claverton Street, partially built up during the 1850s, but with most of the block between them unleased by 1861.¹⁹⁸ Sandwiched between the Belgrave Dock and Thames Bank Distillery, Caledonia and Rutland Street were also laid out in the early 1850s either side of the earlier Hanover Street. Their prospects were much improved by completion of the wide road on the embankment at their southern end.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹² C. and J. Greenwood, *Map* (1828) at *Layers of London*; WAGE 1049/9/111, Plan of the Wharves on the Grosvenor Canal in Wilton Road, 1835.

¹⁹³ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 211–3.

¹⁹⁴ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 220.

¹⁹⁵ WAGE 1049/9/82, Plan of part of the estate of William Sloane Stanley, 1847; Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 181.

¹⁹⁶ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 228–9.

¹⁹⁷ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 216–9; WAGE 1049/9/85, Map of Pimlico coloured to show unleased plots of land, annotated by Thomas Cundy, 1861.

¹⁹⁸ WAGE 1049/9/85, Map of Pimlico coloured to show unleased plots of land, annotated by Thomas Cundy, 1861.

¹⁹⁹ Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt*, 230–3.

Land either side of the railway line running south from Victoria was filled mainly by housing for the working classes as it neared the Thames. The Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes completed Gatliff Buildings, housing 149 families and including a large yard, on Commercial Road in 1867.²⁰⁰ This development would rehouse people displaced from the clearance of the site of St Michael's schools in Ebury Square.²⁰¹ Further south, the IIDC opened Wellington Buildings in conjunction with Chelsea Gardens in 1879 on land leased from the Chelsea Hospital. Chelsea Gardens was aimed at the lower middle classes, though in 1899 Booth observed that it was 'appropriated by a wealthier class. Many prostitutes and kept women in them. Some servants.'²⁰² To the east of the railway, the Peabody Fund built Peabody Avenue, two long rows of 13 blocks making up its Pimlico estate, which opened in 1876 and in 1890 housed 2,182 people.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ WAGE 2260/9/4, *Particulars of Improved Working Class Dwellings at present upon the Duke of Westminster's London Estate* (1884).

²⁰¹ *Report from the Select Committee on Town Holdings* (Parl. Papers 1887 (260), xiii), p.387.

²⁰² R. Dennis, 'Residential flats: densification in Victorian and early twentieth-century London' in P. Guillery and D. Kroll (eds.), *Mobilising Housing Histories* (2017), 84; *Committee to inquire into Royal Hospitals at Chelsea and Kilmainham, and Educational Establishments at Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, and Royal Hibernian Military School, Dublin* (Parl. Papers 1883 [C 3720], xv), p.252.

²⁰³ I. Davidovici, 'Renewable principles in Henry Astley Darbishire's Peabody Estates, 1864 to 1885' in Guillery and Kroll (eds.), *Mobilising Housing Histories*, 66–7; *The Builder*, 34 (1876), 309; A. Newsholme, 'The Vital Statistics of Peabody Buildings and other Artisans' and Labourers' Block', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 54.1 (1891), 88, 92.