

# THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF TWICKENHAM IN THE 18th CENTURY: AN ANALYSIS OF LAND TAX ASSESSMENTS FOR 1767

Roland Pearson

## SUMMARY

*Twickenham is renowned as the home of many 18th-century celebrities. The land tax return for Twickenham in 1767 has been analysed using computer spreadsheets to reveal the complex social structure surrounding this cultural and aristocratic élite.*

## INTRODUCTION

During the 20th century Twickenham became widely known as the home of English Rugby football; in the 21st century, it also retains the ambience of a sought-after suburban retreat. One reason for the attractiveness of the town, which was linked in the 1960s with its sister borough of Richmond, is its historical reputation as the home of many important people. Twickenham attracted notable persons from the medieval period onwards, but the 18th century was the settlement's cultural heyday. The village, as it then was, became for a time a microcosm of London's intellectual and social life.

Twickenham played host to courtiers, actors, poets, artists, merchants, lawyers, scientists, and diarists. Out of all proportion to its size, its population included some of the brightest and best in Georgian society. Clearly, an analysis of Twickenham's social structure during this period has implications for the study of 18th-century society as a whole.

Standing in the way of a balanced account of

Twickenham's history, however, is the tendency to romanticise its past. To walk in the footsteps of Alexander Pope or the Countess of Suffolk is, understandably, more attractive than associating oneself with poverty-stricken cottagers. It is the well-known people (referred to later as 'notables') who by definition have received most attention from local and cultural historians. Both, however, were following a long-established tradition, traceable to enthusiastic descriptions by 18th-century writers. For example, Alexander Pope himself eulogised: 'Twit'nam, The Muses fav'rite seat, Twit'nam, the Graces Lov'd retreat'.<sup>1</sup> Isabella Wentworth had described 'charming Twit'num'<sup>2</sup> as early as 1700, and Horace Walpole, one of the many publicists for Twickenham, likened the village to the Roman resort of Tivoli.<sup>3</sup> The geographical similarity is slight, so we must assume that Walpole was making a cultural point: both Tivoli and Twickenham were to be seen as resorts for educated and influential persons from the capital city.

This way of seeing Twickenham overlooked the fact that it retained its similarity with many a country village throughout the land (see Fig 1). In this paper, an attempt is made to get beneath the cultural gloss to demonstrate that many members of Twickenham's local community, both rich and poor, existed alongside the 'great and the good', and may moreover have been ignored by them.

I refer later to additional research using local

parish records, Poll Books, Poor Law records, and the rolls for the Quarter Sessions for Middlesex.<sup>4</sup> Here, however, we are principally concerned with evidence that may be gleaned from the land tax return for the year 1767, a document in the care of the London Metropolitan Archive,<sup>5</sup> which is susceptible to analysis by computer spreadsheet.

## LAND TAX ASSESSMENTS AS A HISTORICAL RESOURCE

The usefulness of land tax assessments as a source of population and economic data has been summarised by Chapman as follows:

The tax was assessed on the real and personal estates of persons owning land having an annual value of above twenty shillings, and also on certain public salaries and pensions. Thus poorer people were exempt and were not included on the lists ... Even tenants paid this tax, but they deducted it from their rents; thus most assessment lists have the names of landlords and tenants. The amount paid, which should have been calculated at the rate of four shillings in the pound, was shown on the returns alongside the names of the owners and occupiers of the houses and land. This data is useful to the social and family historian to give an indication of the economic status of a named individual.<sup>6</sup>

Land tax returns, therefore, provide information about landlords and their tenants, regardless of the social strata occupied by either. The quality and consistency of the land tax returns improved after an Administrative Act of 1798, thirty years after the source considered in this paper was written. The 1798 Act also permitted the payment of redemptions, exempting owners from further taxation, a cause of possible omissions from the records, but it may be assumed that these did not apply in 1767.

The validity of land tax assessments since 1798 when calculating personal wealth, and in making comparisons between regions, has been hotly debated.<sup>7</sup>

The principal problem is lack of consistency in assessing the tax among counties and districts. Unwin<sup>8</sup> has listed the possible errors within the returns themselves. These include columns with no headings, names of owners and occupiers in the wrong columns, and information about the

same person appearing in different parts of the return. Unwin's advice is that returns before 1798 'may be useful in genealogical research'. As Riden<sup>9</sup> puts it, 'in simple terms the land tax assessments are a useful *Who's Who* for a particular community at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth'.

Nevertheless, the return for Twickenham in 1767 appears vulnerable only to the third category of errors listed by Unwin. Given the legibility of this document, and the possibility of cross-checking the data against other records and within the spreadsheets, its use in research which attempts no comparison with other districts can be justified.

## ANALYSIS BY COMPUTER SPREADSHEET

In its entirety, the land tax return for 1767 includes the names of 182 owners, immediate evidence that Twickenham's population, in the second half of the 18th century, included a significant propertied class. But the more detailed social implications of the return are revealed by cross-comparison, and by ordering the data in various ways. Two computer spreadsheets were used for this purpose.

The first of these (see Appendix 1 for an illustrative sample) lists the persons who were assessed for tax, showing where possible the notional rental value of their personally-occupied property, and differentiating between housing and land. The values of property rented to others, derived from Appendix 2, were also entered in Appendix 1, allowing the total notional income of each owner to be computed. The frequencies of surnames in the Register of Baptisms (1720–1761)<sup>10</sup> are also listed for later analysis. Rental values, originally in pounds and shillings, were converted to decimal equivalents to permit calculation within the spreadsheet.

The second spreadsheet (see Appendix 2 for an illustrative sample) was used to analyse the land tax return from the point of view of the tenants. It lists the assigned values of the tenancies, and the name of the landlord. Property in multiple occupation was identified, together with the number of co-tenants, the rent for each property being recorded only once. Land-only tenancies were listed as such. Surnames of tenants appearing in the Registers of Baptisms (1720–1761)<sup>11</sup> were also identified.

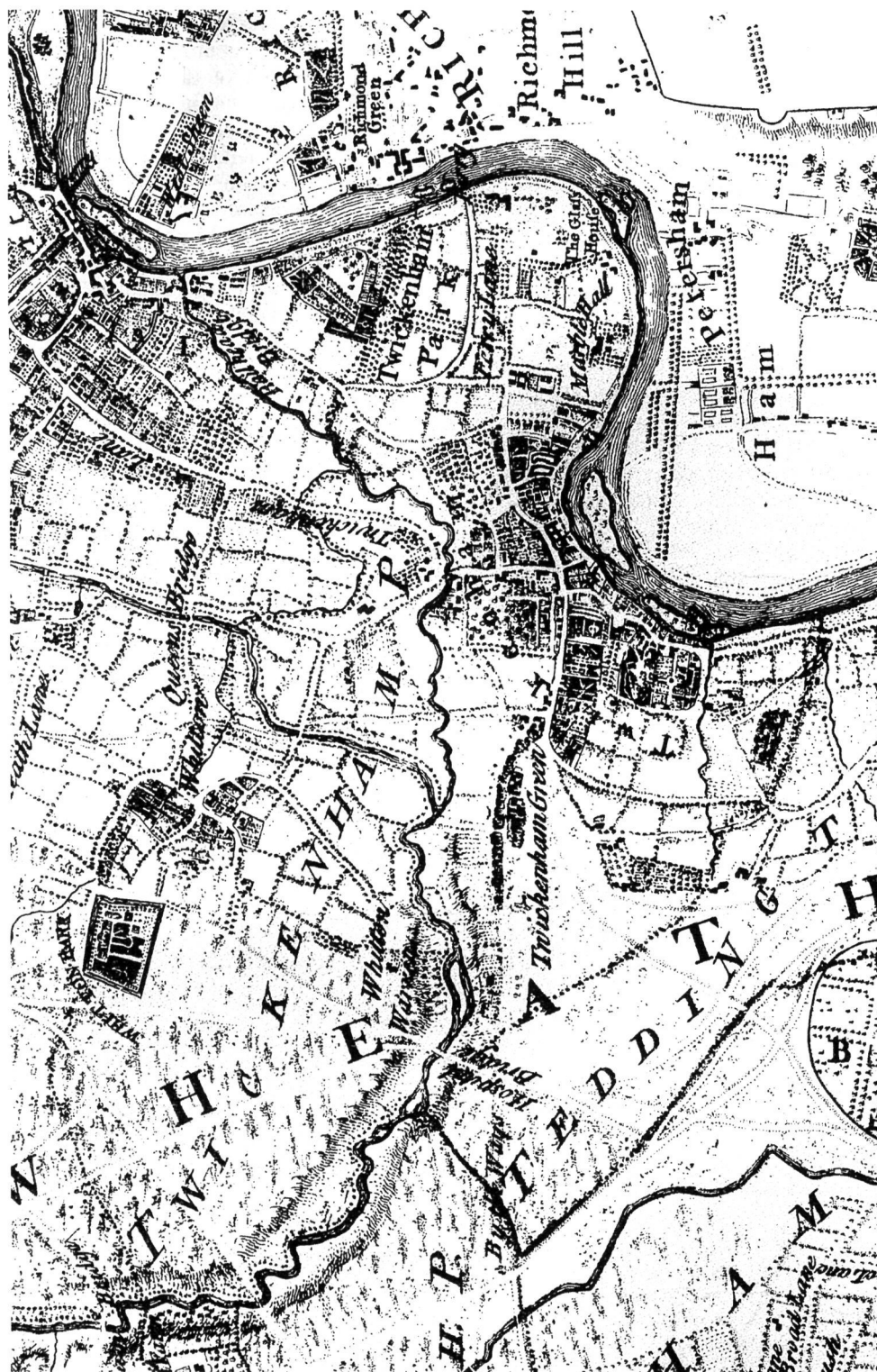


Fig 1. 18th-century Twickenham as shown on Rocque's map of Middlesex in 1750

## TWICKENHAM'S PROPERTY OWNERS IN 1767

Table 1 summarises the conclusions which may be gleaned from an analysis of the spreadsheet illustrated in Appendix 1. About half the owners had been assessed for tax on the rental value of their own houses and gardens. Half again of this group had surnames which had appeared in the Register of Baptisms between 1720 and 1761, indicating the likelihood of settled residence.

Of those assessed for property which did not include their own houses, 63% had surnames to be found in the Register of Baptisms between 1720 and 1761, and these once again are likely to have been Twickenham residents. 20% of owners did not pay tax on their own houses or land, but let domestic property to others; of these, 59% had surnames occurring in the Register of Baptisms.

Despite this accumulating evidence for a settled population, however, Table 1 also suggests that a significant minority of landlords resided outside Twickenham or were newly arrived. Additional evidence for absentee landlords may also be found in the Middlesex Poll Book for 1747;<sup>12</sup> three voters held property in Twickenham, but resided and voted elsewhere. Twickenham, in addition to agriculture, horticulture, brewing and the manufacture of gunpowder, also supported a *rentier* economy.

Table 2 lists the top 20% of house-owners by

their assessed income. Among these are names in bold type, the 'notables' whose reputations have stood the test of time. Durability can be measured by references in the following sources: the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the correspondence of their fellow-Twickenham resident, Horace Walpole, or the 20th-century publications of the local history society.

The Countess of Montrath, the owner of Twickenham Park, tops the list of notable and well-off people, with an assessment of £150 per annum. Horace Walpole wrote that the Countess was as 'rich and tipsy as Casofogo in the comedy. What a jumble of avarice, lewdness, dignity and claret!'.<sup>13</sup> The next three in order of assessed wealth, Charles Pavey, Stephen Cole, and Edward Styles, are less well known. Stephen Cole was a local brewer whom the Poll Book of 1749<sup>14</sup> confirms as a householder, and who in 1782 briefly owned the Fox public house, among many other licensed premises.<sup>15</sup> Pavey is mentioned *en passant* by Walpole as a churchwarden.

The next on the list is the ageing Countess of Suffolk, Henrietta Howard, who was to die in the year of this land tax assessment. She was at one time mistress of George II, and both she and her Palladian mansion at Marble Hill are well-known features of Twickenham's history.

The same goes for her confidant, Horace Walpole, who resided from 1747 at his Gothic mansion at Strawberry Hill, a tourist attraction even in his own day. Richard Owen Cambridge

Table 1. Analysis of property owners from 1767 land tax assessment

Owners by category	Surname in baptismal register 1720/1761?	Number	Percentage	
			Of total	Of group
Total number of owners		182	100	—
Assessed for own house	Yes	53	29	54
	No	45	25	46
		98	54	100
Not assessed for own house	Yes	53	29	63
	No	31	17	37
		84	46	100
Assessed for own land, but not own house	Yes	27	15	69
	No	12	7	31
		39	21	100
Assessed for tenants in dwellings, but not for own house or land	Yes	23	13	59
	No	16	9	41
		39	21	100

Table 2. Top 20% of owners by total notional income

Name	Total notional income £	Rank order	Surname in baptismal register 1720/1761?
<b>Montrath, Countess</b>	150.0	1	no
Pavey, Charles*	122.0	2	yes
Cole, Stephen	121.5	3	yes
Styles, Edward	106.0	4	yes
<b>Suffolk, Countess</b>	77.0	5	no
<b>Shirley, Hon. George</b>	72.0	6	no
<b>Walpole, Horace</b>	71.0	7	no
<b>Cambridge, Richard</b>	65.0	8	yes
'Lord of the Manor'	65.0	9	?
<b>Pocock, Sir George</b>	60.0	10	no
Manly, Mr	60.0	11	no
Reeves	56.5	12	no
<b>Prime, Sir Samuel</b>	55.0	13	no
Spyers, Joshua	54.5	14	yes
Izard, Mr	52.0	15	no
Benison	51.0	16	yes
Holmes, Robert	48.5	17	yes
Harvey, Mr	48.0	18	yes
Swann, Mr	47.0	19	yes
<b>Strafford, Earl of</b>	45.0	20	no
<b>Hindley, Fred</b>	44.6	21	no
<b>Twining, Mrs Ann</b>	41.0	22	yes
Tuiter, Nicholas	40.0	23	yes
<b>Tweeddale, Marchioness</b>	40.0	24	no
Campbell, Colonel	37.0	25	no
Heddington, Mrs	37.0	26	no
<b>Prado, Abraham</b>	35.0	27	no
<b>Shelburn, Lady</b>	35.0	28	no
Dawson (?)	34.5	29	yes
Harding, Mr	33.5	30	yes
<b>Stanhope, Sir William</b>	33.0	31	no
Goodwin, John	30.5	32	yes
Waller, Henry	30.0	33	yes
Whitchurch, James	30.0	34	no
Hudson, Robert	26.0	35	yes
<b>Hawkins, Sir John</b>	25.0	36	no

*'Notables' in bold*

*\*Minor reference by Walpole*

was another prominent 18th-century figure, living at Cambridge House from 1750, writing books on India and military history, and involving himself in 18th-century social and intellectual life.

Of the rest, historians have taken note of Sir Samuel Prime, the Earl of Strafford, Fred Hindley (a neighbour of Walpole's), Mrs Twining (of tea merchant fame), the Marchioness of Tweeddale, Abraham Prado, Lady Shelburne, Mrs Dawson (possibly),<sup>16</sup> Sir William Stanhope, and Sir John Hawkins. Sir Samuel Prime lived at Kneller Hall and, according to Leatitia Hawkins, was 'representa-

tive of a by-gone age'.<sup>17</sup> Walpole mentions him only as a 'visitor' to Strawberry Hill.

The list of notables includes sixteen names, leaving over half of the richest people in the village outside that category. It is already apparent that any account of the social history of Twickenham in the 18th century would be distorted if we concentrated solely on its historically – or culturally – feted figures. We might expect this distortion to become even more evident as we investigate the less well-off members of the Twickenham community.

## TWICKENHAM'S RECORDED TENANTS IN 1767

Table 3 takes our study of the social structure of 18th-century Twickenham one stage further. The characteristics of rented property, both houses and land, were analysed in the spreadsheet exemplified in Appendix 2. The 1767 land tax return lists 279 occupiers of rented property, 166 being singly-occupied dwellings. 76 domestic tenants (31%) shared occupancy of dwellings with between one and three others.

Multiple occupancy does not, of itself, indicate poverty or plebeian status: two such dwellings were assessed severally at £10 and £15 per annum. 23 of the properties, however, were assessed at £4 or less, consistent with a low rental for each tenant. 48 (63%) of the tenants in multiple occupation had surnames which appear in the Registers of Baptisms (1720–1761), suggesting a settled connection with Twickenham for many of the less prosperous tenants and their families. Over half of the single tenancies were also probably held by tenants having a settled connection. But there is evidence from the 'new' names that the population of Twickenham was

expanding, and possibly also becoming more transient. The land-only tenancies have been disregarded for the remainder of this analysis, because domestic occupation is our relevant concern.

Table 4 indicates that there were professionals (half-pay officers?) whose annual rentals were assessed at no more than £4. To a first approximation some 40% of multiple occupiers, in dwellings valued at £3 or less, were probably below the status of gentry or professionals.

## THE HIDDEN POPULATION IN 1767

It appears that the better-known Twickenham residents in the 18th century were not, whatever their pretensions, living in a rural Arcadia. Neither were they living in splendid isolation. At the very least, they dwelt alongside many people of commensurate wealth or social status, but of lesser historical importance. But to what extent was the idyll also marred by the poverty so evident elsewhere in 18th-century Britain?

Land tax returns, by their very nature, have much more to say about the better-off, either as landlords or tenants, than about the very poor. Table 5 presents a speculative estimate of the size of the population not named in the land tax return. This would include not only the poor, but also servants working in the better-off households. The accuracy of this estimate depends upon the size of the total population in 1767, conservatively assumed here to have been about 2,200,<sup>18</sup> and also upon the number in the average family.

Following Laslett<sup>19</sup> we might assume that an average of 70% of householders had children, and that within these the average family size was five persons. Even if all childless households consisted of two persons, the total number of people per 100 households would have been 410. An overall average of four persons per household has been assumed in Table 5, which demonstrates that there could reasonably have been around 500 people in the hidden population.

How this number would have been distributed between servants and the indigenous poor is more difficult to assess. The larger households might have employed at least half a dozen live-in servants, but the number per household would have decreased rapidly with the level of assessed wealth (see Table 2). Even if the number of live-in servants for the village as a whole were 200,

*Table 3. Analysis of occupiers of rented property*

Tenancies and occupiers by category	Number
Total number of occupiers (dwellings or land)	279
<b>Single tenancies</b>	
Total	199
Dwellings	166
Land only	33
Single tenants having surnames in the Baptismal Register 1720/1761	118
<b>Multiple tenancies</b>	
Total multiple occupiers (dwellings or land)	80
Dwellings with two tenants	28
Dwellings with three tenants	4
Dwellings with four tenants	2
Land tenancies only	2
Multiple occupiers of dwellings	76
Multiple occupiers of land	4
Multiple tenants having surnames in the Baptismal Register 1720/1761	48
Multiple tenancies in dwellings assessed at £3 or less	26

Table 4. Rental values attributed to 'middle class' tenants

Tenant	Surname in Baptismal Register 1720/1761?	Landlord	Assessed rental value £
Battie, Dr	yes	Walpole	15.00
Leicester, Colonel junior and land	yes	Lloyd	11.00
Fisher, Captain	yes	Jordan	10.00
Lord Carey's	no	Hindley	10.00
Twinning, Rev Mr ( <i>sic</i> )	no	Hassett	9.00
Jeffery, Dr	yes	Izard	8.00
Gosper, in Montpelier Row	no	Lloyd	6.00
Leicester, Colonel in Montpelier Row	yes	Lloyd	5.00
Leicester, Colonel, senior	yes	Lloyd	5.00
Saviour, Captain	no	Lloyd	5.00
Clark, Captain	yes	Mrs May	4.00
Gilchrist, Dr	no	Herbert	4.00
Waterhouse, Captain	no	Reeves	4.00

Table 5. An estimate of 18th-century Twickenham's 'hidden' population

Category	Number
House owners (assuming all resident)	182
Single tenants of dwellings assessed at £4 or above	50
Single tenants of dwellings assessed below £4	116
All tenants in multiple occupation	76
Total house owners and occupiers	424
Corresponding population (assuming average family of four persons)	1696
Estimated total population in 1767	2200
'Hidden' population (live-in servants and the poor)	504

there could nevertheless have been 300 indigenous poor in 1767.

The earlier calculations in this paper carry conviction, based as they are directly on the land tax record. Estimates of the hidden population, however, require informed guesswork. But additional support can be found for the estimate of family size used in Table 5.

The most frequent family name in the Register of Births (1720/61) was Smith.<sup>20</sup> This surname nevertheless occurs only once in the land tax assessment. One family of Smiths gave birth to eight children during this period, only four of whom survived. For the Smiths as a whole, there were 35 children of whom 25 survived. At any

one time there would have been an average of 30 children among 14 families, each with two parents, corresponding to an average family size of four.

The land tax return is principally a list of names and assessments, but there are also explanatory comments, some of which bear upon the 'hidden population', those at the margins of housing provision. For instance, there is reference to the 'other small tenants' of William Beck. A Mr Goose was taxed for 'cottages on the common', and for 'three [cottages] next the Bulls Head'. Mr Goodwin, similarly, was credited with 'small tenants on the common', and a Mr Jordan with '4 houses' in the same location. 'Styles' pays tax on 'three cottages', not further specified. 'Mrs Twinning' (*sic*) had 'Love and the tenement in the alley' included in her assessment.

The Smith family name is not the only one which appears in the baptismal records but not in the land tax return. This evidence, like the marginal comments in the land tax return, suggests that there was a tranche of low-quality housing, with its occupants, which can be inferred but not identified.

The existence of an impoverished sector of Twickenham society in the 18th century, though not its extent, is confirmed by reference to the disbursement accounts of the Overseers of the Poor. Cashmore has reviewed the eight volumes that survive, covering the period 1748 to 1801.<sup>21</sup> These describe the management of a workhouse which had been constructed on the Green in the 1720s, and the steady stream of acts of charity towards those considered worthy of out-relief.

The Report of the Charity Commissioners (1819–1837)<sup>22</sup> recorded the construction of almshouses in 1704, and the establishment of a free school in 1726.

If the rural 'Arcadia' was no stranger to poverty, neither was it a stranger to crime.<sup>23</sup> The court records from Middlesex Quarter Sessions, in both their judicial and administrative roles, contain accounts of sharp practice and crime by members of Twickenham society, both high and low. The following are illustrative examples. Middlesex magistrates were required to investigate in 1723 the apparent disappearance of money intended for the Poor Rate.<sup>24</sup> In 1729, a Colonel Gardner and Lord Powlett, then living in Twickenham, were accused of breaking the law by granting a licence to an innkeeper without consultation with fellow justices and, furthermore, that the innkeeper was suspected of keeping a 'disorderly house'. By the time that the Middlesex bench came to investigate the matter Colonel Gardner was dead, and Lord Powlett haughtily refused to attend the hearing, despite an invitation to dinner beforehand.<sup>25</sup>

Horace Walpole and Lady Browne were famously held up by a highwayman on their way to play cards with the Duchess of Montrose in 1781. Walpole believed that the highwayman was 'a gentleman who would shortly leave to raise a regiment'.<sup>26</sup>

### 'THE GRACES' LOV'D RETREAT'?

The land tax return which is the subject of this paper was completed in 1767. Six years earlier, Henrietta Pyc,<sup>27</sup> in a description of the larger houses and gardens in the Thames Valley, had written:

The genius of the inhabitants inclines not towards commerce; architecture is their chief delight; in which if anyone doubts their excelling, let him sail up the river, and view their lovely villas beautifying its banks...

... Their Laws and Customs are dictated by Reason, and regulated by Social Love. Thrice happy they, to whom it is permitted to spend their lives in such a Country, such a Society, and under such a government.

Pye's book is strong on adoration but weak on information. Even her reports on Twickenham houses were highly selective.

It would be easy to dismiss the work as useless

for historical purposes, if it were not for the attitude which it reveals. The 'lovely villas', and the river frontage, were celebrated also in the contemporary landscape prints by Heckel and others.<sup>28</sup> But in Henrietta Pyc we have a writer who was prepared to eulogise not only the scenery, but also the moral stature of the people situated within it. As the other authors quoted in my introduction testified, she was not alone.

The cold facts to be gleaned from the land tax return, and from the other sources referred to above, suggest a different reality. The Twining family, to take one example, was certainly not inclined to reject commerce, nor was the brewer Stephen Cole. Even Horace Walpole, usually another Twickenham eulogist, wrote of 'coal barges, stately as Lords of the Treasury' trespassing on Henrietta Pye's idealised river view. Walpole also recorded the explosion of the gunpowder mill, and recognised the parish poor in his will.

But what was the case for Twickenham's residents during the 18th century was probably also true of the educated élite throughout the United Kingdom; the ability to experience an Augustan vision whilst closing their eyes to the less salubrious aspects of their environment.

Twickenham, even in its ordinariness, was paradise compared with the fetid 'rookeries' of Seven Dials and the East End of London. But it could not contain a Kedleston or a Chatsworth: 18th-century Twickenham was Augustanism on a human scale. As Gascoigne and Ditchburn put it:

Most of the new arrivals were of more modest means than the great landed aristocrats such as Burlington, so many of them were content with smaller properties.

This meant that more people of distinction, both from the aristocracy and the arts, could be accommodated on the same stretch of river bank, sharing a way of life as well as a charming view.<sup>29</sup>

It is an interesting speculation that 18th-century Twickenham may have exhibited the first signs of a phenomenon which would come to dominate both the built environment and social relationships over the next couple of centuries; the 'suburb', in its modern sense.

The 'suburban dream' is no idle phrase; Twickenham dwellers in 1767 were imagining an Arcadia. Today's occupiers of 'villas' in many parts of suburbia hark back to 'rural retreats'



which are nowadays largely covered in brick. As estate agents recognise, myths are powerful things, especially if underpinned by literary associations.

This has not, of course, dissuaded the local historians of Twickenham from reporting such workaday topics as the lives of the railwaymen of the 19th century, or the effects on the town of the Second World War. Nevertheless, Twickenham has attracted high-flown language down to the present day. Pearce wrote poetically in 1992 that, proceeding by the riverside path:

... is to feel the elegance and leafy ease of a setting that has changed little since the poets of the 18th century enjoyed it. Its order, its graciousness, its relaxed 'country' style of living passed into their poetry as into their lives.<sup>30</sup>

Twickenham bustles a great deal more today than it did 200 years ago. Traffic congestion is a problem, and the 19th and 20th centuries filled much of the available land with housing. Yet, if property prices are to be believed, it remains one of the most desirable residential areas in London. To that extent, it has changed little since the 18th-century notables chose to live within its boundaries, and to pay their land tax.

## CONCLUSION

Analysis of the land tax return for 1767 demonstrates that the population of Twickenham

was much more of a social mix than the history of its most celebrated residents would imply. There were certainly a number of well-off people, celebrated at the time, whose reputations have survived the intervening centuries. There were others of equal wealth whose riches did not prevent them from falling into obscurity. There were 182 occupiers of their own houses, and a total of 246 tenants in assessed housing; 50 of these occupied single tenancies valued at £4 per annum or higher. There were 116 tenants in accommodation which was assessed below £4, and 76 tenants in multiple occupation. In all, the visible population contained aristocrats and other celebrated people. There were also well-off and not so well-off representatives of the middling sort and, in the cheaper tenancies, yeoman stock. Based on reasonable assumptions about the total population of Twickenham at this time, and about the average number of persons in a household, there was a hidden population of at least 500 people, of whom 200 are assumed to have been live-in servants. The residue represents Twickenham's poorest people, whose presence may also be inferred from other sources.

By comparison with the names recorded in the parish Register of Baptisms, it is possible to discern that some 20–30% of the recorded owners and tenants were either recently arrived or transient members of Twickenham's population.

## APPENDIX 1. LIST OF PROPERTY OWNERS WITH ASSESSED INCOME FROM HOLDINGS

(Sample from larger spreadsheet)

Name	1767 Assessed Income				(£ decimalised)			Surname in Baptismal Register 1720/1761?	
	Own property		Tenancies		Unidentified occupiers	Commercial premises	Total		Rank order
	House	Land	Houses	Land					
Adams, Mrs	0.00	0.00	4.00				4.00	134	yes
Andrews	0.00	5.00					5.00	125	yes
Ansell	0.00	0.00	1.00				1.00	178	no
Anstead	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.15			2.15	156	yes
Archambo, J	5.00	0.00	9.00				14.00	60	no
Archambo, P	5.00	0.00	0.00				5.00	126	no
Armyand	20.00	0.00					20.00	40	no
Ash	0.00	0.00	5.00	2.00			7.00	99	yes
Aycliff	0.00	2.00	0.00				2.00	157	yes
Baker, Robert	0.00	0.00	24.00				24.00	37	yes
Ball	0.00	1.50					1.50	170	yes
Beck, William	2.50	2.00	5.50		5.00		15.00	55	yes

Beef, Mrs	0.00	5.00			5.00	127	no
Bell	0.00	2.50			2.50	155	no
Benison	0.00	50.00	1.00		51.00	16	yes
Birchill	0.00	6.00			6.00	104	yes
Breeze	0.00	0.00	2.00		2.00	158	no
Bretton	6.00	0.00			6.00	105	no
Brown, Peter	0.00	1.50			1.50	171	yes
Cambridge	65.00	0.00			65.00	8	yes
Campbell, Colonel	0.00	0.00	0.00	37.00	37.00	25	no
Campbell, Dr	0.00	0.00	12.00		12.00	67	no
Carpenter, Mrs	10.00	0.00			10.00	77	yes
Champness, Mrs	0.00	6.00	9.00		15.00	56	no
Clark, Thomas	0.00	7.00		2.50	9.50	83	yes

## APPENDIX 2. LIST OF TENANTS WITH AN ANALYSIS OF TENANCY AND NAME OF LANDLORD

(Sample from larger spreadsheet)

Name of single or joint tenants (each name is listed alphabetically)	Joint occupiers	Multiple occupation	Landlord	Rent (£ decimalised)	Land only	Surname in Baptismal Register 1720/1761 ?
Adams/Jordan for land	2	M	Stanhope	1.00	L	yes
Alder/Milner/Holmes	3	M	Eastman	3.00		yes
Aldom/Barker	2	M	Holmes, Robert	2.00		yes
Aldridge/Maybank	2	M	Twinning	4.00		yes
Allen	1		Taylor, R	4.00		yes
Allen	1		Singfield	3.00		yes
Allum	1		Heddington, Mrs	2.00		no
Armistead, Richard	1		Beck, Wm	3.00		yes
Ash	1		Harding	2.00		yes
Askew	1		Armistead	1.00		no
Austall	1		Dawson	4.00		no
Ayles	1		Cole, Stephen	4.00		no
Ballantine	1		Swann	7.00		yes
Ballantine, field	1		Heddington, Mrs	3.00		yes
Ballantine, for land	1		Spyers, Joshua	6.00	L	yes
Ballantine, house and garden	1		Spyers, Joshua	8.00		yes
Ballenjain	1		Izard	3.00		no
Barker	1		Hindley	8.00		yes
Barker	1		Spyers, Joshua	3.00		yes
Barker	1		Cole, Stephen	2.00		yes
Barker/Aldom	2	M	Holmes, Robert	3.00		yes
Barkers	1		Cole, Stephen	2.00		yes
Barns, John	1		Holmes, Robert	3.00		yes
Bates/Hamilton/Palmer	3	M	Twinning	7.00		yes
Battie	1		Holmes, Robert	3.00		yes
Battie, Dr	1		Walpole	15.00		yes

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to Dr Richard Cashmore, of the Twickenham Local History Society, for advice and criticism during the preparation of this paper. The opinions expressed, and any residual errors, remain my responsibility.

## NOTES

Abbreviations:

LMA: London Metropolitan Archive

SOG: Society of Genealogists

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in S Reynolds (ed) *A History of the County of Middlesex Vol III* (1962), 153. This despite a smelly tannery next to Pope's Grove: D H R Cashmore (2003) private communication.

<sup>2</sup> D H Simpson *Twickenham Society in Queen Anne's Reign* Twickenham Local History Society Paper 35 (1976), 2.

<sup>3</sup> W Lewis *Horace Walpole* (1961), 155.

<sup>4</sup> R W Pearson *Beyond the Arcadian Landscape: Real Life in Eighteenth Century Twickenham* MA dissertation Birkbeck College, University of London (2000).

<sup>5</sup> LMA Document MR/PLT. *Twickenham in the County of Middlesex: An Assessment made this 4<sup>th</sup> day of June 1767*.

<sup>6</sup> C R Chapman *Pre-1841 Censuses and Population Listings* (4th edn, 1994), 48.

<sup>7</sup> L Soltow 'The distribution of property values in England and Wales in 1798' *Economic History Review* 34 no. 1 (1981), 60–70; G J Wilson 'The land tax problem' *Economic History Review* 35 no. 3 (1982), 422–6; D E Ginter 'A wealth of problems with the land tax' *Economic History Review* 35 no. 3 (1982), 416–21.

<sup>8</sup> R W Unwin *Search Guide to the English Land Tax 1693–1963: Historical Background* (1982), 9.

<sup>9</sup> P Riden *Local History: A Handbook for Beginners* (1998), 67.

<sup>10</sup> SOG document MX/R205. *The Parish Registers of Twickenham, Middlesex. Baptisms 1538–1794*. Indexed from 1720. (Analysed in note 4).

<sup>11</sup> See note 10.

<sup>12</sup> See note 10.

<sup>13</sup> W S Lewis (ed) *Walpole's Correspondence. Vol 9* (1980), 135: Letter to Lady Diana Newport.

<sup>14</sup> LMA Document ACC 790/81. *An Alphabetical Poll taken for the County of Middlesex, 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1749, for the*

*Election of One Knt. Of the Shire in ... of Sir William Smithson Bart., created Earl of Northumberland*.

<sup>15</sup> E A Morris & T H R Cashmore *Church Street, Twickenham Borough of Twickenham Local History Society Occasional Paper 7* (1999); The Cole Papers Vol 56 Appendix A: Borough of Richmond and Twickenham Local History Library.

<sup>16</sup> *The Dictionary of National Biography* is unclear on this point.

<sup>17</sup> L H Hawkins *Memoires, Anecdotes, Facts, and Opinions Collected and Observed by Laetitia Matilda Hawkins* (1824).

<sup>18</sup> D Lysons *The Environs of London Vol 3* (1795). Dr Lysons estimated that the population of Twickenham had risen to approximately 3,500 by the end of the century. According to Dr Cashmore, the 1801 census puts the size of the population at 3,138 (private communication).

<sup>19</sup> P Laslett *The World We Have Lost – Further Explored* (1983), 119.

<sup>20</sup> See note 4.

<sup>21</sup> T H R Cashmore 'The Twickenham poor in the 18th century: the evidence of the Poor Law overseers' disbursement accounts 1748–1800' *Research Memorandum for the Twickenham Local History Society* (1994/6).

<sup>22</sup> *The Reports of the Commissioners Appointed in Pursuance of Various Acts of Parliament to Enquire Concerning CHARITIES in England and Wales, Relating to the County of Middlesex 1819–1837*.

<sup>23</sup> See note 4.

<sup>24</sup> Middlesex Session Books and Orders of the Court Calendar April: 1722 to Feb: 1726/27 (60.225) 800–849. Session Book – no 871. Sessions held at Westminster October 1723, p. 103.

<sup>25</sup> Middlesex Session Books and Orders of the Court Calendar April: 1727 to Dec: 1729. (60.225). Sessions Book – no 871. Sessions held at Hicks Hall May 1729. Orders of the Court, Vol. III.

<sup>26</sup> W S Lewis (ed) *Walpole's Correspondence Vol 29* (1980), 160: Letter to Rev William Mason 9 October 1781.

<sup>27</sup> H Pye *The Principal Seats in and about Twickenham* (1775).

<sup>28</sup> B Gascoigne & J Ditchburn *Images of Twickenham with Hampton and Teddington* (1981).

<sup>29</sup> *ibid*, 11.

<sup>30</sup> B Pearce (1992) *The Fashioned Reed: Poets of Twickenham Borough of Twickenham Local History Society Publication no. 67* (1992), 9.