

DOMESTIC SERVANTS IN A SUPERIOR SUBURB: BRUNSWICK TOWN, HOVE

by *Michael Ray*

Brunswick Town was begun in 1824 as an extension of the built-up area of the booming Brighton, which had, by that time, reached the eastern boundary of the parish of Hove. Brighton had mushroomed because of a combination of royal patronage, the popular perception of the medical and social benefits of the seaside resort and the availability of finance and customers for an expanding settlement close to the capital, with which communications were improving.

Brunswick Town, which is still largely intact, was planned as a superior estate along the principles of Georgian civic design with fine houses set around a square or fronting onto a seaside esplanade supported by other facilities including a covered market, an Anglican chapel, an hotel, a public house together with lesser streets for tradesmen and mews for horses, coaches and stable staff. The grand houses were planned particularly for households reliant on servants, with accommodation in the attics and basement for domestics, and the grand rooms sandwiched between. But other facilities were provided in Brighton (see Map A).¹ A reputation for fashion and gentility was maintained as the population grew from about 1,900 in 1841, when most of the area south of Western Road was complete, to a peak of 6,150 in 1871. Whilst there were still areas being developed there were signs of a decline in the next decade, with the population falling back to around 5,750² and an erosion of property prices, partly due to changing fashion but also competition from later development in Cliftonville and the West Brighton Estate further to the west.³ The maintenance of gentility may have been due partly to the separate local government administration which conducted the affairs of the estate from 1830 to 1873. This administration, the Brunswick Town Commissioners, had a membership restricted by a high financial qualification which left it in the hands of the wealthy. Their power was also entrenched by a high financial property test for the franchise which was further biased by a system of plural voting with additional votes being available for the most

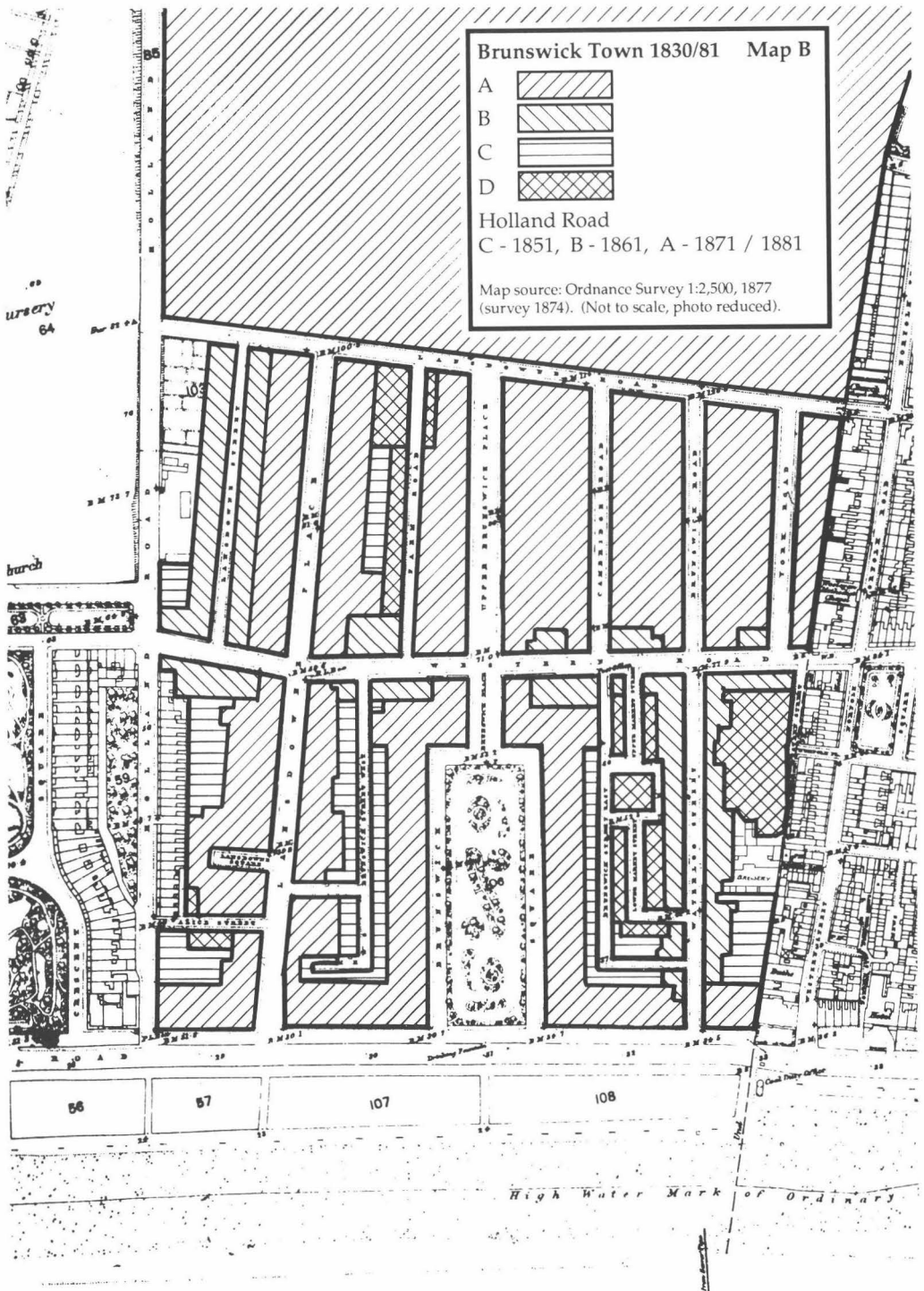
wealthy.⁴ One measure of the quality of the estate may be the fact that in 1851 nearly 20% of the heads of household in Brunswick Square and Terrace were titled.

An analysis of the Census returns for the period 1841–1881 shows that the estate was one which was predominantly the home of householders of independent means who were served by a considerable body of servants. If these ‘independents’ or ‘rentiers’ were compared with other occupations they formed between 9.8% and 11.6% of the total for the period. Domestic servants ranged from 52.5% to 63.6% of all occupations. For instance in 1841 ‘independents’ plus the servants accounted for 75.2% of those with ‘occupations’. However, even these figures were misleading because the professionals, who consisted of between 1.9% and 4.5% included many military officers or clergymen who must have been living on private means.⁵ Comparisons with other towns give some idea of the quality of Brunswick Town. In 1841 it had at least 59 people of independent means per 1,000 inhabitants compared with 15 in Bradford, 21 in Leeds and 45 in York, whilst there were 323 domestic servants per 1,000 in Brunswick Town against 27, 37 and 88 in the same cities and towns.⁶

The mid-Victorian era saw an increase in the significance and importance of the domestic servant, especially as a support for the rising middle-class, family-based household. As more and more people were able to employ servants, they were increasingly likely to recruit women.⁷ This was because men servants were more expensive and less flexible, avoiding domestic chores, and they were also subject to a special tax, not repealed until 1937. By 1861 there was a massive total of 1,200,000 female servants nationally (about 36% of the total female labour force).⁸ Two thirds of them were the only servant in the house, often overworked and lonely.⁹ The official Census may have underestimated the amount of servant labour available to a household, as it would be unlikely to record those, often married women and widows,



Map A. Brunswick Town 1830/81



Map B. Brunswick Town 1830/81

TABLE I
Brunswick Town's residents by economic status, 1841–1881

Year	Total Population	Independents	Dependants	Total Servants	Male Servants	Female Servants	Other Occupations
1841	1898	116	932	614	145	469	236
1851	3224	191	1404	992	172	820	637
1861	5763	344	2861	1730	270	1460	828
1871	6154	347	2814	1859	295	1564	1134
1881	5754	317	2533	1668	207	1461	1236

Source: Census Returns 1841–1881. The 1881 figure is marginally reduced by lost enumeration sheets. Those employed in auxiliary activities such as laundrywork and charring are counted as servants, but the very few servants working in hotels are excluded.

who 'lent a hand' on a regular or temporary basis, that is, 'invisible servants'.¹⁰ The work of Burnett, Davidoff, Ebery and Preston, Horn and Riley all provided useful comparisons and hypotheses in this detailed study of Brunswick Town's servants.¹¹ The significance of servants in the Brunswick community rose until 1871 and then fell, as is shown in Table 1 above.

The layout of the estate allows the streets to be classified into groups representing four social zones, which are shown on Map B.

Table 2 shows the differentiation for 1871 by zones or groups.

Group A consisted of the 'grandes rues' with their spectacular, large terraced houses, (Pl. 1) whilst Group B (Pl. 2) included the roads of mixed



Plate 1. Group A: Brunswick Square.

TABLE 2
Brunswick Town's residents by economic status and social zones, 1871

	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Independents</i>	<i>Dependants</i>	<i>Total Servants</i>	<i>Male Servants</i>	<i>Female Servants</i>	<i>Other Occupations</i>
Group A	3869	279	1632	1539	233	1306	419
Group B	970	57	439	192	15	177	282
Group C	286	0	160	30	23	7	96
Group D	1029	11	583	98	24	74	337
Total	6154	347	2814	1859	295	1564	1134



Plate 2. Group B: Waterloo Street



Plate 3. Group C: Holland Mews

quality with smaller but still stylish houses. The mews were in Group C (Pl. 3) and finally in Group D (Pl. 4) were the lesser streets, small in scale and often overcrowded. It was not surprising that Groups A and B included the overwhelming majority of the households employing servants. These groups are a useful tool for separating the 'living-in' servants from the others. The results show that in 1851 just half of the inhabitants of these sub-areas were indoor servants compared with 27% for the whole estate population. In the servant households (Groups A and B) there were 275 servants per 100 households. By 1861 this figure had risen to 387. In 1871 the ratio had dropped to 377 but this compared with 176 at Hastings. The highest ratio in Ebery and Preston's

study of twenty areas was 291 in rural Easthampstead near Reading.¹² By 1881 the Brunswick Town ratio had dropped to 220 but this may have been due to an increase in households arising from the sharing of properties; for instance in the 60 houses in York Road there were 58 households in 1871 but this had risen to 80 in 1881.

Another indication of Brunswick Town's high status was the ratio of indoor servants to inhabitants. Table 3 shows various comparisons.¹³

In 1851 the national ratio was 1 per 20 and in 1861, 1 per 16.¹⁴ In Brighton's fashionable estate areas in 1851 there was an average of 2 servants per household with the highest figure being 3 per household in Vernon Terrace¹⁵ whereas in Brunswick Square the average was 5.4.



Plate 4. Group D: Lower Market Street

TABLE 3
Ratio of indoor servants to inhabitants 1851, 1871 and 1881

	1851	1871	1881
Brunswick Town	3.2	3.3	3.7
Ramsgate	9.9	10.4	
London			15
Brighton			11
Bath			9
Lancashire			30
Durham			31

The ratio is expressed as 1 servant per \times inhabitants

The trend towards domestic service being a more female occupation was clear in Brunswick Town (Table 1) but the proportion of male servants was still high in national terms. Thus, whilst female servants among all employers were twice the national average in Brunswick Town, male servants were five times the national rate. These statistics were another indicator of Brunswick Town's high social status. In 1851, when 36.2% of the Brunswick Town population were men, 17.4% of

TABLE 4A
Age structure of all servants (percentages)

	10/14	15/19	20/24	25/29	30/34	35/39	40/44	45/49	50/54	55/59	60/64	65/69	70/74	75+
1851	1.7	14.4	23.3	19.5	12.8	9.1	6.4	5.4	2.9	2.0	0.9	0.9	0.5	0.2
1861	2.0	16.7	22.9	20.9	11.7	7.1	5.7	4.7	3.4	2.7	1.1	0.6	0.6	0.4
1871	1.6	17.5	21.6	18.9	12.2	8.3	5.7	4.2	3.9	2.6	1.5	1.3	0.3	0.4
1881	2.8	18.8	24.0	14.9	10.1	7.8	5.3	5.1	3.6	3.1	2.1	1.4	0.7	0.3

TABLE 4B
Age structure of living-in servants (Groups A and B) (percentages)

	10/14	15/19	20/24	25/29	30/34	35/39	40/44	45/49	50/54	55/59	60/64	65/69	70/74	75+
1851	1.3	13.2	25.2	21.0	13.1	9.0	5.8	5.4	2.6	1.9	1.0	0.3	0.2	0
1861	1.8	17.1	24.3	21.3	11.8	7.0	5.7	4.0	2.9	2.2	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.2
1871	2.4	17.6	22.2	19.6	12.4	8.3	5.6	3.5	3.4	2.4	1.3	0.9	0.2	0.2
1881	2.7	19.1	25.1	15.9	10.1	7.8	5.1	5.0	3.3	2.8	1.4	1.0	0.5	0.2

the servants were male, but this fell to 12.5% in 1881. 25.8% of employed men in 1851 were servants, but by 1881 this was 19.2%. Nationally, 2.6% of employed men and 40.4% of employed women were servants and these figures rose to 3.75% and 45.4% respectively in 1881.

Male servants were more likely to be found in the best streets: 20% in Group A compared with 2% in Group B in 1851. This differential had narrowed by 1881 (13% compared with 5.6%). Male servants were also found in the lesser street but living in their own homes. It was also clear that the larger households in the better streets provided a greater opportunity for specialisation of servants' duties related to rank and status. For instance, in 1851, all of the 64 footmen and 28 out of the 29 butlers were found in Group A households. These patterns persisted throughout the period. Most lady's maids and housemaids were also in Group A but nurses, who may have included wet-nurses, were more widespread, some living at home. Laundry workers were found in all areas but those in Group A were employed in a commercial laundry at Wick Villa.

Tables 4A and 4B show the age structure of servants. The national trend was for a decline in very young servants as educational possibilities increased. They were always few in proportion in Brunswick Town (2.7% for the age group 10–14 for living-in servants in 1881) but they were actually rising in number possibly because of an increased use of young pages. In general there were more

elderly living-in servants as the population of the estate aged; 1.5% were over 60 in 1851 but this had increased to 3.1% in 1881. Servants living in their own homes were more likely to be older: 8.5% above 60 in 1851 rising to 25% in 1881 (Group D). Young servants (15–19) were more prominent in small households: 14.6% in Group A compared with 32.5% in Group B in 1851. Overall young servants also increased in proportion: 14.5% of living-in servants under 20 in 1851 increased to 21.8% in 1881.

Auxiliary servants, especially charwomen and female laundry workers, were usually found in the small streets living at home. These were occupations available to the old and to those who were or had been married. In 1851 the four servants living in Farman Street were all over 45, widowed or married charwomen, and in 1871 most of the eight widows in Lower Market Street were engaged in laundry work. Whilst charwomen gradually increased in numbers, the laundry workers declined. This was surprising in view of the rising population, but it may have been a result of the establishment of commercial laundries further to the west in Hove, or because laundry workers in East Brighton were prepared to travel as far as Brunswick Town to collect and deliver washing.¹⁶

As the century progressed servants were less likely to be married. In Brunswick Town there were twice as many married women servants as widows in 1851 but, by 1881, widows outnumbered married

TABLE 5
Marital status of servants by social zones

	1851			1861			1871			1881		
	U %	M %	W %	U %	M %	W %	U %	M %	W %	U %	M %	W %
Group A:	85.9	10.0	4.1	87.1	8.4	4.5	88.7	6.8	4.5	87.2	6.8	6.0
Group B:	90.6	4.7	4.7	88.3	7.1	4.6	88.6	3.6	7.8	90.4	4.5	5.1
Group C:	54.5	40.9	4.6	53.4	33.3	13.3	30.0	63.3	6.7	60.0	20.0	20.0
Group D:	44.7	40.4	14.9	35.0	43.3	21.7	40.8	29.6	29.6	43.5	20.4	36.1
Total Area:	81.9	12.9	5.2	83.8	10.5	5.7	85.2	8.6	6.2	84.5	7.5	8.0

(U=unmarried, M=married, W=widowed)

women servants. In 1851, 81.9% of all servants were unmarried and, despite a fall after 1871, the proportion stood at 84.5% in 1881. In Ramsgate 94.7% of servants were unmarried in 1851 and 92.9% in 1871.¹⁷ Table 5 shows differences in marital status by groups of streets.

It may be supposed that the large servant households would be least likely to have married (or encumbered) servants but it was the smaller households with appropriate incomes and an emphasis on one or more young girls that had the highest figures, 90.4% in the mixed streets (Group B) compared with 87.2% in the best area (Group A) in 1881. Married servants such as William Taylor, one of John Burnett's examples, may have had wives living locally. Several butlers' wives lived in Landsdowne Street.¹⁸

TABLE 6
Types of servants in Brunswick Town 1851–1881

	1851	1861	1871	1881
Butler/Steward	29	65	75	62
Footman	64	65	58	49
Lady's Maid	74	124	128	95
Nurse	38	110	109	72
Housekeeper	30	49	51	47
Governess	24	41	22	37
Female Cook	107	246	278	218
House Maid	140	239	258	241
Undifferentiated Maid	0	2	76	8
House Servant	268	204	0	1
General Servant	5	65	53	130
Domestic Servant	9	46	172	411
Outdoor Servant	23	45	53	31
Laundry Servant	53	42	24	16
Charwoman	18	26	10	22
Other Descriptions	110	361	492	228
Total:	992	1,730	1,859	1,668

Burnett has argued that 'domestic service was becoming increasingly differentiated' between 1851 and 1871.¹⁹ Table 6 bears out this view, but even in 1871 there were large numbers given generic descriptions such as 'house', 'domestic' and 'general' servant. There were 282 servants so described in 1851 (24.8%) compared with 225 in 1871 (12.1%). But certain jobs did rise in numbers and significance; kitchen maids from 24 to 54 and parlour maids from 10 to 46. In 1871 there were 76 undifferentiated maids but this fell to 8 in 1881. In 1881 542 (37.8%) had generic descriptions. This may be owing to the new dwellings being smaller, where single servants were more usual, but it may reflect the way in which the enumerator carried out his task. No evidence was found of 'invisible servants', although it was probable that some of the few wives of servants who 'lived-in' with their husbands were expected to help out on occasions.

Another useful check on the quality of the area was to look at the proportion of butlers to other servants. In Brunswick Town the percentage was 3.3 in 1851 and 4.0 in 1871. These rates compare with 1.2% and 0.4% for Ramsgate in the same years. A similar exercise for footmen gave figures for Brunswick Town of 6.6% and 3.1% compared with Ramsgate's 1.6% and 1.1%.²⁰

Servants tended to start their careers by finding a first position—a 'petty place'—near home in the houses of local tradespeople, school teachers or clergy. This enabled them to get initial training near their family, but it was often a first stop which could be followed by a move away from the locality, even to London.²¹ Recruitment was by word of mouth and recommendation, but the use of advertisements and registry offices grew. In Brighton local newspaper advertisements placed an emphasis on

respectability, good character and, when men were involved, appearance particularly height. Even late in the century Edward Thomas, writing of suburban Balham, believed that 'servants were chosen half for their good looks and were therefore being continually changed.'²² Good, plain cooks were usually required. By the 1850s it was usual for the advertisements to give a box number care of one of the shops in Western Road or Waterloo Street. By 1866 Burrets Royal Library at 4 Waterloo Street seemed to be a regular address both for prospective employers and employees. In 1856 John Amey at 1 Western Road (just east of the parish boundary) was running the East Brighton Registry of Male and Female Servants and Miss Warren ran one just for female servants from West Street, Brighton.²³ Advertisements became far more numerous in the 1860s and in some years it was clear that servants found it difficult to get a place. In 1866 a 38 year-old butler looking for a position in February appeared to be still out of work in November despite giving different addresses in his advertisements.²⁴

The advertisements were usually silent on wages, either required or offered, although some offers described the pay as liberal. Local evidence for remuneration can be obtained from a servants' wages book kept by Mary Frances Hardcastle of 16 Adelaide Crescent from 1864 to 1929.²⁵ Adelaide Crescent was administered by the Brunswick Town Commissioners after 1851 but it has been excluded from the statistical analysis. In the years between 1864 and 1881 the cook was the highest paid servant, receiving between £22 and £26 per annum. Parlour maids' wages rose from £14 to £20 but then fell back. The under housemaid received between £9 and £10. One parlour maid also received 1s a week for beer! In 1866 and 1871 local advertisements offered a housemaid £14 a year but cooks could be obtained for as little as £14 to £16 in 1871. In 1861 Mrs Beeton had recommended that a housekeeper should be paid £18 to £40 per annum, a cook £12 to £26, an upper housemaid £10 to £17 and a maid of all work £7.10s. Butlers could expect £25 to £50, coachmen £20 to £35 and footmen £20 to £40.²⁶ The Brunswick Town wage rates seemed to be generally in line with rates found in London, Exeter, Berkshire and Northamptonshire²⁷ but the cook who was prepared to work for £14 a year must have been very much in need of work. When the family was not in residence the servant might be

paid board wages to make up for the loss of the normal free food and drink. A parlourmaid of Mrs Hardcastle's received £7 4s. for board wages in 1878. Cuthbert Bede's Mrs Melladew, before deciding whether to take her servants to Brighton, 'drew up the most perplexed tables in which she balanced board wages and hired horses against increased Brighton expenses'.²⁸

Servants could be fussy about their place. Some housemaids would specify that the household which wished to employ them should also have a man servant, presumably to ensure that they would be spared the heavy work. But employers' standards were also strict. Mrs Hardcastle dismissed two women as 'being unequal to the situation' and four left for 'lighter' work. Over 70% of her servants left within two years, although one married after 'seventeen years faithful service'. The average length of stay of a servant at Englefield House, Berkshire, was just under two years.²⁹

Another test of the servants' length of service was carried out using the Censuses to see whether those families who stayed in the same house from one Census to another retained the same servants. From a study of Brunswick Square and Terrace, the results showed that, of 528 servants living in 100 households, 8.9% had spent more than 10 years with one family. 1.1% had been in their households for over 20 years and one was recorded as a servant of the family of Admiral Westphal for over 30 years. These estimates are all likely to be below the true figure as they will not take into account any temporary absences on Census day.

Relationships between servants and their masters and mistresses remain largely hidden. Rapid mobility may have suggested dissatisfaction but this was a national phenomenon. Mrs Hardcastle obviously had affection for some of her servants but a servant about to give birth in the house of George Ballard, a Commissioner, was ordered by his wife to the workhouse, where the child was found to be dead on arrival.³⁰ In 1861 the butler of another Commissioner, Bashford, was engaged in a fracas with the son of the house and his friend. He was awarded £10 damages by the Courts to compensate for broken ribs. In the same year an earlier butler had received six months in goal for stealing his master's port.³¹ Was this ill luck or a poor household for servants? Other servants stole from their employers and came to blows with them;

Lady Broughton was fined £1 for assaulting her lady's maid in 1858.³² Some servants fought amongst themselves. However, the Reverend Henry Venn Elliott's and Mrs Carpenter's (the mother of Edward Carpenter) servants were devoted to them.³³ Ann Richards, who died at 87 in 1866, had an annuity from another Commissioner, General St. John,³⁴ whilst Mrs O'Brien, the widow of another Commissioner, also left annuities to her servants.³⁵ But these examples illustrate only a very small minority of a vast servant workforce and it would be unsafe to draw too firm conclusions on this topic.

Assumptions can be made about the areas of servant recruitment by using birthplaces as indicators of the original residence of the subjects. This method has obvious weaknesses and it is less sound the older the servant was. It should also be remembered that many of the servants in the better areas would have been brought there in households whose permanent base was not in the Brighton area. However, the Census was not taken during the fashionable season when visitors were at their most prolific. Despite these reservations the birthplace analysis is the best evidence available.

Table 7 shows a trend towards more local recruitment which was reversed by 1881. This was surprising as the nearby population centres from which the servants could be recruited were rapidly

TABLE 7
Birthplace of servants 1851-1881

	1851 %	1861 %	1871 %	1881 %
Hove	0.6	0.5	1.5	1.0
Brighton	8.0	8.8	9.7	10.1
Rest of Greater Brighton	1.4	0.9	0.8	1.3
Rest of Sussex	28.2	29.8	21.9	21.3
Greater London	14.6	13.2	11.5	12.2
Rest of England	41.3	39.8	45.3	45.0
Scotland	1.6	1.6	2.0	2.0
Ireland	1.0	1.3	1.1	2.0
Wales	1.5	1.2	1.8	1.4
Channel Islands	0	0.1	0.3	0.2
Colonies	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.5
Europe	1.4	1.8	3.0	2.5
Others	0.3	0.8	1.0	0.5
(Number=100%)	(992)	(1,730)	(1,859)	(1,668)

Notes: Greater Brighton=those parishes other than Brighton and Hove now in the Boroughs of Brighton and Hove viz. Portslade, Aldrington, Hangleton, West Blatchington, Patcham, Preston, Stanmer, Ovingdean and Rottingdean.
Greater London=the area formerly administered by the Greater London Council.

growing. In 1871 there were 1,859 servants in Brunswick Town of whom only 223 were born in the present urban area of Brighton and Hove. This was an increase of 2% on the decade. Servants born in other Sussex parishes totalled 515 (30%) in 1861 but the percentage fell to 21.9% in 1871. A study of Brighton's fashionable areas for 1851 showed that 10% of servants were born in Brighton and 30% elsewhere in Sussex. The Brunswick figures shown above are similar.³⁶ In the adjoining parish of Preston, another area into which Brighton expanded, Sussex-born servants were about 55% of the total servants in 1871.³⁷ In Brunswick Town in 1881 only one-third of servants were born anywhere in the county of Sussex. In Ramsgate, Kent-born servants were 71.8% of the total in 1851 and 63.3% in 1871.³⁸ Bearing in mind that in 1831 the total population of Hove was 1,360, it was not surprising that only six servants were native to the parish in 1851 but the natives had only increased to nine in 1861. Even by 1881 there were only 17 Hove-born servants in Brunswick Town.

Natives of the parishes now engulfed by Greater London made up 14.6% of the Brunswick Town servant workforce in 1851. This proportion fell to 13.2% in 1861, 11.5% in 1871 and rose to 12.2% in 1881. In 1851 only 14 servants had been born in continental Europe, but, by 1871, this figure had risen to 3% of the total. Some were servants of foreign residents but others owed their employment to the fashion for Swiss, French and German maids. In the same year only one servant was recorded as being born in the colonies compared with 173 other residents. This suggested that servants were not usually imported; local 'native' labour may have been much cheaper.

Table 8 shows that local recruitment was less significant in Brunswick Town than even in other

TABLE 8
Birthplaces of domestic servants 1871³⁹

Percentages	Born in town	0-5 miles	5-10 miles	10-20 miles	Rest of UK
1 Brunswick Town	12.0	13.0	5.3	10.0	56.8
2 Hastings	14.2	7.1	17.9	14.6	46.1
3 Lincoln	18.2	7.4	24.2	23.5	26.5
4 Reading	25.7	12.6	20.4	14.9	26.3
5 Coventry	28.1	17.8	25.9	11.1	14.8
6 Bolton	16.3	5.8	5.2	16.9	44.4
7 Bath	20.8	11.5	15.1	19.2	28.5

TABLE 9
Sussex born servants: distance analysis

Percentages	Distance from Brunswick Town in miles					Unknown
	0-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20+	
All Servants						
1851	29.1	16.1	19.6	16.1	13.0	6.1
1861	29.3	18.2	19.6	17.9	9.5	5.5
1871	40.3	15.6	14.0	15.4	11.1	3.6
1881	43.1	12.0	18.4	12.4	10.2	3.9
Living-in Servants (Groups A and B)						
1851	26.3	17.9	19.2	16.2	14.0	6.4
1861	29.2	17.8	20.0	17.8	9.3	5.9
1871	38.8	16.2	14.2	15.5	11.5	3.8
1881	40.0	12.4	19.5	12.8	11.1	4.2

resort or spa towns such as Bath and Hastings, having half the normal catchment area in the sea! An analysis of all Sussex-born servants by birthplace distance bands is shown in Table 9, along with another analysis confined to the living-in servants of Groups A and B. The recruitment in the 10-15 mile band was generally greater than that for 5-10 miles. This offers some evidence for the theory that local servants were chosen from a distance which made it less easy for an unhappy girl to run back to her family.⁴⁰

This paper ends with a cautionary note for samplers. The analysis has been based on an examination of every return in the Census; sampling has been avoided. Servants in Brunswick Town were most likely to be female, young, unmarried and born in Sussex or Greater London. But at 27 Brunswick Square in 1871 lived a Spanish Marquis who had thirteen servants. All were born on the continent, 10 were male and two were more than 90 years old. If this household had been included in a random sample the total results would have been very distorted.

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Notes

The maps were drawn by Steve Collins

¹ A. Dale, *Fashionable Brighton 1820-1860* (1947), 113-125.

² Based on Census Enumerator's Returns, 1841-1881 Public Record Office, HO107/1112, HO107/1647, RG9/605/86, RG10/1091, RG10/1095/78. These studies do not include Adelaide Crescent or Palmeira Square. See also: M. G. I. Ray, 'The Evolution of Brunswick Town, Hove', unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Sussex (1987) and M. G. I. Ray, 'Who were the Brunswick Town Commissioners? A Study of a Victorian Ruling Elite 1830-1873', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **127** (1989) 211-28.

³ H. Porter, *The History of Hove Ancient and Modern* (Hove, 1897), 31.

⁴ Brunswick Square Brighton Improvement Act 1830 (11 Geo. IV c.xvi) and Brunswick Square Improvement Extension Act 1851 (15 and 16 Victoria c.cxl).

⁵ Census Enumerator's Returns.

⁶ W. A. Armstrong, *Stability and Change in an English County Town: A Social Study of York 1801-1857* (Cambridge, 1974), 45.

⁷ M. Ebery and B. Preston, *Domestic Service in late Victorian and Edwardian England 1871-1914*, Reading Geographical Paper **42**, Department of Geography, University of Reading (Reading, 1976), 1-6.

⁸ P. Horn, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant* (New York, 1975), 7-13.

⁹ Horn, 18-19.

¹⁰ J. A. Gerrard, 'Invisible Servants: the Country House and the Local Community', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, **57** (1984), 178-9.

¹¹ J. Burnett, *Useful Toil: Autobiographies of Working People from the 1820s to the 1920s* (Harmondsworth, 1974). L. Davidoff, 'Mastered for Life: Servant and Wife in Victorian and Edwardian England', *Journal of Social History*, **7**, 4 (1974), 408-9. M. Ebery and B. Preston, *op. cit.* P. Horn, *op. cit.* R. C. Riley, *The Houses and Inhabitants of Thomas Ellis Owen's Southsea* (Portsmouth, 1980).

¹² Ebery and Preston, 19.

¹³ Horn, 27. R. S. Holmes, 'Continuity and Change in a Mid Victorian Resort 1851-1871', unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Kent (1977), 107.

- ¹⁴ Holmes, 107.
- ¹⁵ S. Farrant, *The Growth of Brighton and Hove, 1840–1939* CCE Occasional Paper 14, University of Sussex (Brighton, 1981), 15.
- ¹⁶ A. Paul, *Poverty—Hardship But Happiness—Those were the Days 1903–1917* (Brighton, 1974), 11–12, Albert Paul's mother fetched laundry by foot from as far west as Hove Town Hall, although she lived in Queen's Park, the other side of Brighton town centre.
- ¹⁷ Holmes, 108.
- ¹⁸ Burnett, 175.
- ¹⁹ Burnett, 136–7.
- ²⁰ Holmes, 137.
- ²¹ Horn, 32. F. Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford*, Penguin edition (Harmondsworth, 1973), 157.
- ²² E. Thomas, *The Happy Go Lucky Morgans* (Woodbridge, 1983), 8. Maria, Marchioness of Ailesbury's 'only extravagance was engaging tall footmen—any man about six foot high who attracted her attention being promptly engaged, no matter what his character might be'. R. Nevill, *Leaves from the Note Books of Lady Dorothy Nevill* (1910), 37.
- ²³ *Brighton Gazette* (hereafter *B.G.*), 30 October 1856 and 3 January 1856.
- ²⁴ *B.G.*, beginning 1 February 1856—seven advertisements until 22 November 1856.
- ²⁵ East Sussex Record Office, AMS 5487.
- ²⁶ I. Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* (1861), 8, quoted in Burnett, 160.
- ²⁷ Ebery and Preston, 94.
- ²⁸ C. Bede, *Mattins and Muttons: the Beauty of Brighton* (1866), 100.
- ²⁹ Ebery and Preston, 101.
- ³⁰ *B.G.*, 23 October 1851.
- ³¹ *B.G.*, 5 December and 8 and 25 July 1861.
- ³² *B.G.*, 2 September and 2 November 1876. Porter, 191.
- ³³ J. Bateman, *The Life of the Reverend Henry Venn Elliott M.A.*, 3rd edition (1872), 314. E. Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams*, 3rd edition (1921), 44.
- ³⁴ *B.G.*, 1 February 1866.
- ³⁵ H. Faulkner and J. Middleton, *St Patrick's Church, Hove* (Hove, 1981), 7.
- ³⁶ S. Farrant, *Changes in Brighton and Hove's Suburbs—Preston and Patcham 1841–1871* (Hove, 1985), 72.
- ³⁷ Farrant, *The Growth of Brighton and Hove*, 15.
- ³⁸ 38. Holmes, 204.
- ³⁹ Based on Ebery and Preston, Fig. 31, 77.