

◆ Myth and reality in the representation of resorts

BRIGHTON AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE ‘PRINCE AND FISHING VILLAGE’ MYTH 1770–1824

by Sue Berry

Many localities have two histories, the actual and the mythical. Myths can become so well-established that they overshadow the history of a place, as demonstrated in the first part of this study. In this instance the myth is that Brighton was a fishing village that from the 1780s was transformed into a resort by the patronage of the Prince of Wales. Having shown how much influence myths can have on our perception of the history of a place, a short review of our understanding of the history of Brighton's successful development as a resort between 1730 and 1783 disproves the claim that Brighton was a fishing village when the Prince arrived. The study ends with an examination of how the myth evolved. The myth began in the 1770s with Dr Richard Russell transforming Brighton from a fishing village. A subsequent but less popular version was that the Duke of Cumberland's arrival resulted in the town's development. Finally, the Prince of Wales became the subject of the story.

INTRODUCTION: WHY DO MYTHS MATTER?

In 1945, Anthony Hern said of the history of Brighton:

Myths are seeded, grow, spread, dominate until it is at times difficult to see the original soil from which they sprang. So it is with Brighton and the Prince Regent.¹

It was in 1824 that the myth that Brighton was transformed from a poverty-stricken fishing village into a seaside resort purely by the decision of George, Prince of Wales to develop his seaside palace was first published in a guidebook.² Other authors of guidebooks quickly copied it.³ This version of the myth gained such ground that it became part of the official history of the town and was included in guides to the Royal Pavilion.⁴ In spite of acceptance by contemporaries that Brighton was a town before it became a resort and the publication of scholarly books and articles that have subsequently supported that view, the myth is still repeated and even today influences what historians (and others) then infer about the impact of the Prince of Wales on the history of Brighton and perhaps surprisingly, on the development of seaside resorts as a whole.⁵

When myths about the impact of an individual

are accepted as the truth about the history of a place, some fascinating and quite exciting ideas can result and they help the myth to survive as the authentic story. For example, the myth about Brighton's origins as a resort is repeated in a book about development of seaside tourism written in 1998 by Lencek and Bosker. The authors say that the Prince had transformed Brighton from a fishing village into a resort and that in so doing, set a trend that continues today.⁶ Yet most resorts are not developed as a result of the efforts of one person; they are far too complex for that to be possible.⁷ Lencek and Bosker make the assertion that his Pavilion brought a whole new image to the seaside.⁸ However, Brighton was already well-established as a resort before the Prince arrived and architectural experts acclaim it for its very considerable amount of Georgian and Regency housing.⁹ The impact of the final ‘Indian’ styling of the Royal Pavilion on Brighton's architecture was slight. In the town, only one small building known locally as the ‘Pup’ Pavilion was built.¹⁰ Other buildings that have an Indian influence in their styling were built, but later, and as part of a national interest in the genre.¹¹ It was at that later date that seaside architecture such as piers started to use ‘Indian’ features.¹²

Having looked very briefly at the impact that a

myth can have, the rest of this study concentrates firstly on the current view of the 'authentic' history of Brighton's development to the point when the Prince of Wales arrived to prove that he came to a well-established resort and then secondly, the evolution of the myth from the 1770s. Further exploration of the use of the myth during the late 19th and 20th centuries as a marketing tool by the resort and other organizations would make another study.¹³

CHALLENGING THE MYTH: THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRIGHTON AS A SEASIDE RESORT 1730–1780

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GEORGIAN SEASIDE RESORTS: THE CONTEXT c. 1730–1780

Between about 1730 and 1780, Brighton was transformed into a fashionable resort by copying the hydrotherapy treatments and the daily health and social routines that were already used by spa resort towns; *sea-water* was simply substituted for spa water.¹⁴ The bathing-machine was the only innovation that the first successful seaside resorts added to the spa routines. By 1771, the similarities between spas and seaside resorts were so well-known that in his novel *Humphrey Clinker*, Tobias Smollett listed Bristol Hotwells, Brighton, Tunbridge Wells and Scarborough as resorts to which people went 'to take the waters' having been first to Bath.¹⁵ From the 1750s, Brighton rapidly upstaged the other old-established and declining coastal towns (Hastings, Margate, Scarborough and Weymouth), which were also seeking to become resorts.¹⁶

FROM FISHING TOWN TO SEASIDE RESORT

When Prince Charles Stuart stayed briefly at Brighton in 1651 whilst fleeing to France, this flourishing fishing town had a population of about 4000 people many of whom were thought to have Royalist sympathies.¹⁷ As the fishing industry declined so did the town and by the early 1720s it was regarded as so poor that it needed help.¹⁸ By then the population had fallen to about 2400.¹⁹ When Brighton was first visited for sea-bathing for pleasure during the 1730s, both food and accommodation were cheap, partly because of the decline in the population, but that phase lasted only about 15 years or so.²⁰

BRIGHTON'S CRUCIAL YEARS: c. 1730–1780

Brighton's development as the premier seaside resort in England can be divided into two phases: from

c. 1730–1780 and then from c. 1780–1820. The most crucial years were between 1730 and 1780, when Brighton acquired all of the facilities that would have been expected in a seaside or spa resort of this period. These resort facilities were built in the 'old town' that was redeveloped to accommodate them (Fig. 1).

From 1750, Brighton's resort facilities developed more rapidly than those at Margate and Weymouth even though investment in developments in both resorts began sooner.²¹ By 1780 the daily resort routine was established and it remained unchanged until the 1820s.²²

For any resort (whether seaside or spa), the requirements for success are those that we would expect today. They included access to a market that was interested in the new fashion and both prepared and able to spend on it, a good location and, investment in sufficient resort facilities for the intended clientele.²³ The routines of the larger early resorts were organized so that people knew where to go and when. To facilitate all of this, every successful resort appointed a Master of Ceremonies (MC) to run the social events and to act as a regulator of social behaviour. Brighton had one from the late 1760s.²⁴ The MC earned his income from fees from the places that he included in his diary, introductions between visitors and benefit nights held at the assembly rooms.

MAJOR INFLUENCES ON BRIGHTON'S EARLY DEVELOPMENT AS A RESORT c. 1730–1780

TRANSPORT 1730–1780

Brighton's particular advantage over all her competitors was excellent communications with London by road. Brighton could be reached from London by coach in a day in the 1750s and this service made the town one of the most accessible on the south coast.²⁵ From 1764, the town also had a regular ferry service to Dieppe that gave a more direct route to Paris from London than the well-established service from Dover to Calais.²⁶ Captain Killick's advertisement for his weekly ferry service to Dieppe noted that a daily coach service to London existed during the summer and a thrice-weekly service during the winter, an early example of integrated transport advertising. A little later that year Captain Sanders advertised that the '*Prince of Wales*' would sail to Dieppe when desired.²⁷ Both

men copied the coachmen's practice of using inns as their contact and departure points.

From 1765 the demand for the cross-channel ferry service was sufficient to employ two boats during the summer, *The Charlotte* with a new captain, Stephen Marchant and Killick, with a brand new craft. By 1769 there were three vessels and the typical charge was £1 10s 0d. (£1.50) for a crossing sharing a cabin with several persons, or 10 guineas (£10.50) for the privilege of having either a single cabin, which was unusual on these small boats, or for the sole use of a shared cabin. Killick's competitors were *The Free Mason* and *The Industry* whose captain, Chapman, lost a race across the Channel held against Killick for a wager. The newspaper reports of this escapade provided excellent publicity for the service as a whole.²⁸ In spite of the publicity, there were insufficient passengers for three packets. Two continued to offer a regular summer service offering two sailings a week each way.²⁹ In 1769 the Russian Ambassador used this route to go to Paris and in 1771 so did the Swedish Ambassador.³⁰ When the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland went to France in 1783 they also used the service.³¹ In the winter, the regular packet service stopped, but the boats would sail if hired.

PATRONAGE AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO VISIT BRIGHTON c. 1730–1780

Good access would have been of little help to Brighton if people had been unwilling to go there and without it, doctors and other promoters of this resort could not have succeeded either. Brighton was being visited for sea-bathing from the 1730s, but not until after 1750 were there enough visitors to persuade doctors and others to start to commit capital to building in the town with some hope of making money.³²

Although Dr Richard Russell, who practised in Lewes from 1725 until his death in 1759, is portrayed by some authors as having played a major role in the early renaissance of Brighton as a resort, the importance of his clientele's preparedness to visit the town tends to get overlooked.³³ Russell could not have succeeded without wealthy patrons and, had Brighton not been convenient for more than seeing the doctor, people may not have come. There were plenty of other spa and seaside resorts to choose from. The extra ingredient that helped Brighton to develop faster and sooner than most seaside resorts was its promotion by wealthy local people with

excellent regional and national social and political networks for whom the town was convenient. Historians have underplayed these networks in the development of seaside resorts and especially those of major political families with strong regional links.

By 1760, one of the leading promoters of Brighton was the Pelham family of Sussex.³⁴ They are especially interesting because they did not own land in the town. Although members of the Pelham family consulted 'Dr. Russell of Lewes, Tunbridge Wells and Brighton', who was regarded as an expert on treatments using saline spa or sea-water, that did not mean that they would automatically have come to Brighton to bathe in the sea.³⁵ By the 1720s, members of the Pelham family already visited Bath, Hotwells and Tunbridge Wells.³⁶ Some members of the family also had good links with Hastings through their political activities. They owned land there and so could have decided to remain supporters of spas or to promote Hastings.³⁷

The Pelham's link with Brighton may have started when Stanmer Park, just five miles to the north of Brighton, became a major centre of the Pelham family's social and political activities in Sussex in the 1750s.³⁸ By 1760, Thomas Pelham of Stanmer, a nephew of the Duke of Newcastle, was visiting Brighton to bathe in the sea and to join in the amusements. He attended a ball and supper at Brighton in 1761 and paid £1 12s. 6d. (£1.62.5). Other members of his family were there.³⁹ In 1763, Fanny Pelham, Colonel Clinton and a member of the Brudenell family joined him and Thomas saw 'Lady Something Grey who spent little on her equipage and horses in spite of her £20,000 a year'. Such gossip indicates the belief that some of the visitors were very wealthy, even if such estimates were guesswork.⁴⁰

Thomas Pelham II lived at Stanmer Park all his life, from 1737 to 1804, but also held government posts and had close links with the Royal Family.⁴¹ This association may explain why the Duke of Gloucester, a brother of King George III, visited Brighton in 1765.⁴² Thomas Pelham was also related to the Duke of Marlborough, who visited Brighton from 1762 and who bought a house there.⁴³ Thomas invited Princess Amelia to visit Stanmer in 1782 and from there she visited Brighton.⁴⁴ Thomas had strong regional links: the Duke of Richmond (of Goodwood House), who was a contact of his, was in Brighton in 1777 with other members of the Lennox family. Pelham also knew the Earl of

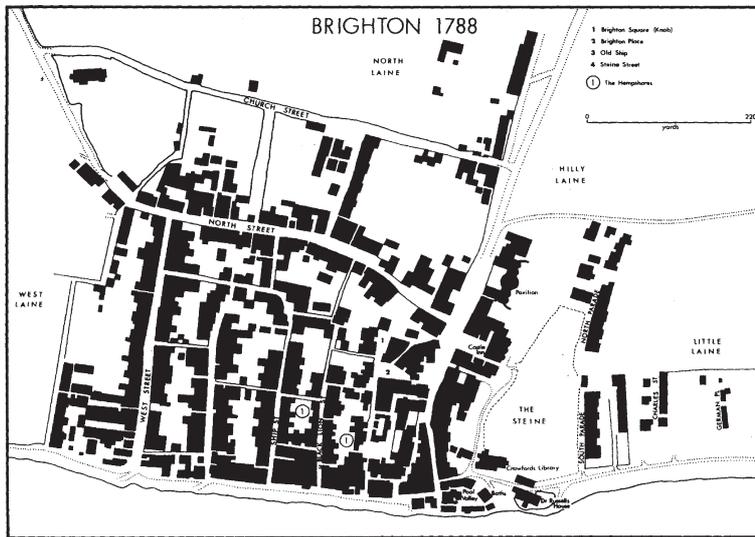


Fig. 1. Brighton in 1788 with the Pavilion and other resort buildings around the Steine. (This is a reproduction of T. Budgen, *A new and correct plan of Brighthelmstone* (Brighton Sept 1788) of which the only known original copy is in the British Library, K.42.16. The development of the area around the Steine is shown and the way in which the Royal Pavilion fits into the northwestern corner of it.)



Fig. 2. View of the Steine in 1778 before the Royal Pavilion was developed. (Source: John Donowell, *A Perspective view of the Steyne at Brighthelmston*, taken from the *South End*, 1778, copper engraving by Peter Mazell.)

Sheffield from Sheffield Place and Sir Geoffrey Webster of Battle Abbey. The Earl visited Brighton in 1777.⁴⁵

The Duke of Richmond and his fellow racing enthusiasts not only helped to organize the town's first races, but also attracted other visitors.⁴⁶ Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, was also in

Brighton in 1777. She knew the Duke of Richmond and his sisters and enjoyed gambling, an activity that played an important role in the social life of resorts. The Duchess came because she had miscarried and bathing in and drinking seawater was regarded as a good treatment for a 'weak placenta' — the diagnosis of her doctors.⁴⁷ It was in Brighton that she met Mrs Graham, a famous beauty of the time, with whom she formed a very close relationship.⁴⁸

By the mid 1760s, Brighton was attracting poets and writers, Charles Churchill, a poet, wrote to William Hogarth, the artist, in July 1763, enclosing a poem which he claimed was inspired by the effect of the salt waters.⁴⁹

By 1769, Brighton had a wealthy clientele and a surviving visitor's list includes many illustrious names of the period.⁵⁰ If these wealthy people had not supported Brighton's development, then Dr Richard Russell and other doctors, who depended upon them as patrons, could not have succeeded in the town.

By the early 1760s, some wealthy visitors were sufficiently committed to visiting Brighton regularly to buy or build town houses or villas there. Of the properties built during this period, Marlborough House (occupied by the Duke of Marlborough

from the early 1760s until the 1780s) still stands on the west side of the Steine.⁵¹ Mrs Hester Thrale, the wife of a wealthy London brewer, invited friends from her literary circle in London down to the large family house in West Street that the family had bought in 1765. Dr Johnson and Fanny Burney were amongst her guests.⁵²

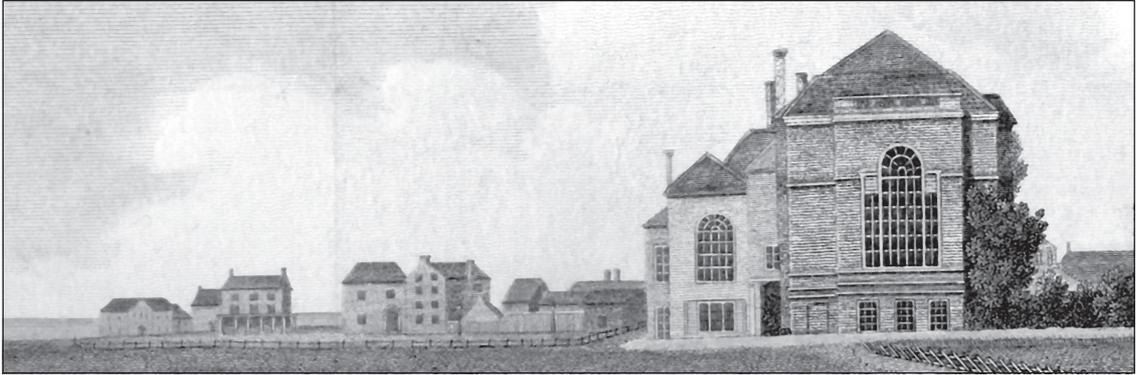


Fig. 3. The Castle Inn from the north, 1801 showing the 1750s assembly room. (Source: Pavilion at Brighton delineated by Gardner and sculpted by Newton. Copper engraving, London 1801.)

INVESTMENT c. 1730–1780

In common with most resorts, old or new, Brighton's development was also dependent upon investment by people from the surrounding region. In the 18th century investors normally included both businessmen and landowners. Investment had to be in the right spot and made at the right time to be profitable. Before 1780, most of it flowed into the eastern side of Brighton.

The town's site, layout and existing land uses influenced the location of resort facilities. The majority of the facilities developed on the town's eastern side, where the large open area called the Steine (Figs 1 & 2) gave a sheltered promenade for the visitors and a wonderfully visible setting for the tourism businesses that sprang up. The town was without a safe cliff-top promenade until the 1820s and erosion was such a problem that no road along the cliff tops existed; vehicles went up and down the narrow streets in the town centre to reach houses along the cliff top.⁵³

The Steine had a gentle slope to the sea and gave easy access to the beach where, from 1753, bathing-machines stood.⁵⁴ The bathing-machines, run by bathing men and women, were a famous feature of the town and 'dipping' into the water supervised by them was regarded as safer than bathing in the sea. The heat sometimes killed horses that worked on the beach, pulling these wooden garden huts on wheels in and out of the sea.⁵⁵ As with any resort, salutary tales about people who had died because they failed to be careful beside the sea and use the services of the dippers were circulated to remind people of the danger. One man was drowned because he was hanging over a groyne to get some water

and a gale of wind blew his great coat over his head.⁵⁶

The Steine was such a popular promenade by 1780 that the full range of specialist businesses for visitors typical of a resort had been erected mainly, along its western side, backing on to East Street (Fig. 1). The pastoral images of the Steine depicted in the print by Donowell in 1778 and reproduced here are quite accurate, even if rather surprising to a modern resident or visitor to the town (Fig. 2). By 1788, the development of housing to the east of the Steine had begun to make it more enclosed and like a town recreation ground (Fig. 1).⁵⁷

The development of resort facilities along the western side of the Steine began in 1752–53, when Dr Russell built a house for his patients and when Samuel Shergold, an innkeeper from Lewes, purchased a large house and converted it into the Castle Inn (Fig. 3).⁵⁸ Although Dr Richard Russell had a significant role in the early development of the town as a resort, his role has been exaggerated. Some of the earlier guidebooks imply that the town would not have developed without him, attributing Brighton's development entirely to him as they later attributed it to the Prince of Wales.⁵⁹ Russell was but one of the many doctors who promoted of the use of sea-water (in Brighton and elsewhere) by publishing books, Dr Awsiter who built the first baths was another.⁶⁰ By 1759, only six years after Russell had built his house, sea-bathing at Brighton had so caught on that Sir Thomas Wilson of Paxhill in Sussex could write to a relative in Yorkshire that 'Brighthelmstone [is] of late so much resorted to in this county for the sea-water, as Scarborough is in yours'.⁶¹

Russell House stood on the cliff top at the

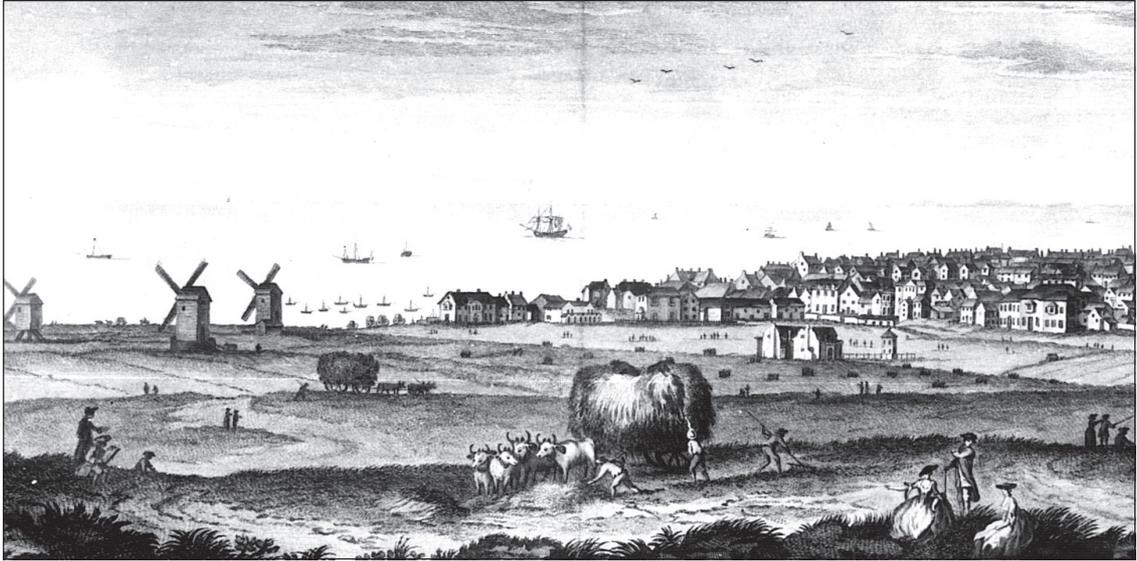


Fig. 4. Brighton from the East in 1765 showing the libraries and the Castle Inn. (Source: *A Perspective view of Brighton and of the Sea Coast as far as the Isle of Wight*. Jas Lambert pinx/P.Canot sculpt. Lewes: J. Lambert, 1765.)

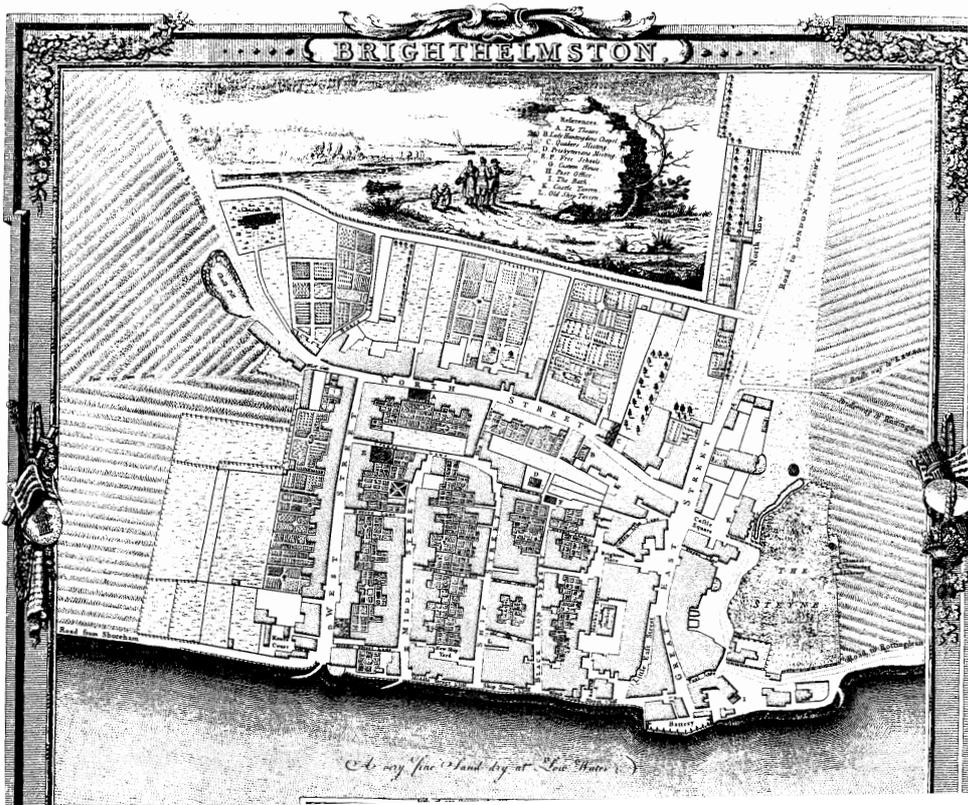


Fig. 5. Brighton in 1779 showing the elms in Dr Pepys and Lady Rothes' garden, later part of the Royal Pavilion's grounds. (Source: *Map of Brighthelmstone in 1779*. Surveyed by T. Yeakell and W. Gardner. Engr by Whitchurch.)

southern end of the Steine and was visible down the Steine, partly because of its large size. From there, Russell could supervise his patients who could easily get to the beach from beside the house. This house remained a local landmark long after Russell died in 1769.⁶²

The Castle Inn was ideally situated for a coaching inn in a seaside resort because it was easily seen on the east side of the Steine as the coaches arrived from Lewes and along the coastal route and had a good view of the Steine and the sea across the farmland (Fig. 4). In 1754 Samuel Shergold opened Brighton's first assembly rooms at the Castle Inn and began to hold assemblies during 'the season'. Decorated by Crunden, a leading interior designer, they were capable of accommodating 450 people for a dance and Shergold advertised assemblies in order to fill it.⁶³ From the 1750s assembly rooms and theatres were built in many provincial towns, all them larger than Brighton.⁶⁴ It was a very big investment for such a small place of some 2500 people and indicates that there must have been a considerable number of visitors for it to succeed.

Libraries and bookshops were also regarded as essential services in resorts. During the late 1750s, a bookseller from Lewes opened a shop in East Street for the season and by 1760 a librarian from Tunbridge Wells had opened a library on the Steine.⁶⁵ By the late 1760s Brighton had two 'circulating' or 'proprietary' libraries, both on the Steine and they are depicted in Donowell's view (Fig. 2).⁶⁶ Thomas's (later Miss Widdget's) stood near the present Royal York Buildings, Thomas charged £0 10s. 6d. (£0.52.5) for the annual subscription in June 1774.⁶⁷ Baker's (later Donaldson's) stood on the east side of the Steine (near St James's Street: Figs 2 & 4). This library had a little rotunda nearby in which musicians sat and played and was the first resort building to stand outside the town. It remained isolated until the early 1780s, when housing was built beside it (Figs 1, 2 & 4). Baker's choice of site and his success suggests that visitors found it useful as a place to walk out to across the Steine. In addition, perhaps, his offer to buy and to exchange books kept people interested



Fig. 6. Early resort facilities. Awsiter's Baths built at the south of the Steine in 1769 and attributed to Golden. (Source: *The Baths at Brighton built by Dr Awsiter in 1769*. Engraved by S. Rawle [on copper] from an original drawing by J. Nixon Esq. Published by J. Asperne, Cornhill, 1803.)

it: even in 1761 he was advertising 200 books for sale.⁶⁸ Both libraries survived until the 1820s, although more were built in the Steine.

Jane Austen's novels show how important libraries were as informal meeting places in resorts and so it made sense to open them in places such as the Steine, where people would gather. Subscribers signed the visitors' book to record their subscription and to announce their arrival and address to others who might call in to the library to read, chat, listen to music, buy fripperies or gamble. Fanny Burney noted that in 1779, on arrival at the Thrals's house in West Street, Brighton, the first action of her hostess Mrs Hester Thrals was to call into Thomas's bookshop and register the names of the group and pay her subscription to the library. The lists that the libraries kept were used by other visitors and from the late 1760s, allowed the town's Master of Ceremonies to keep in touch with new arrivals.⁶⁹

Coffee houses also appeared beside the Steine. The Castle Inn had one, but there were others. When Mrs Kent decided to sell hers in 1789, Stiles, the Brighton auctioneers emphasized both the beautiful prospect of the Steine and the extensive views of the sea from this four-storeyed house. Mrs Kent was one of the many men and women who ran a shop or a similar service on the ground floor of a property and let accommodation: over the top of the coffee house she had six bedrooms.⁷⁰ There were other coffee houses in the town. John Sanders, at his coffee house on the Cliffe, offered billiards.⁷¹

Doctors also based themselves on or near the Steine. On Russell's death in 1759 there was brisk competition for his practice in Brighton, which suggests that it was very profitable. Dr Poole of Lewes was one of the better-known local physicians who came to Brighton for the season and who advertised in the local paper.⁷² On Russell's death he sought the support of local worthies against the better-known Dr Schoenberg, the son of the Dr Schoenberg of London, whose portrait by Lawrence hangs in the National Gallery.⁷³ In 1762, Poole bought a town house overlooking the Steine, on the eastern side of East Street.⁷⁴ He did so well that in 1766 he also built a house beside the Steine and took great care to make it look fashionable; amongst his purchases was turf for his new garden.⁷⁵

From the 1760s increasing numbers of well-known London doctors are recorded as having visited Brighton for the season in order to treat patients. Several, such as Doctors Lucas Pepys (a nephew of Dr Russell) and Anthony Relhan, owned houses either on East Street or at the eastern end of North Street close to the fashionable Castle Inn and the Steine.⁷⁶ Lucas Pepys was married to Lady Rothes and their house was grand enough to have a very large garden.⁷⁷ It was so large that it is visible on *Yeakell and Gardners'* map of Brighton in 1779 (Fig. 5). The elm trees within it, shown on the 1779 map, became the Promenade Gardens in the 1790s and then part of the western gardens of the Royal Pavilion.⁷⁸ Dr Anthony Relhan married Lady Hart, the widow of Sir William Hart, a banker and the owner of a house in East Street.⁷⁹ In 1761, Relhan published the first guide to Brighton entitled: *A Short History of Brighthelmston with remarks on its Air and Analysis of its Waters particularly of an uncommon mineral one, long discovered though but lately used by Anthony Relhan, M.D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in Ireland.*⁸⁰

In 1769, Dr Awsiter built the first baths. Designed by Golden (who also worked at the Old Ship Hotel), these hot and cold sea-water baths stood at the south-eastern end of East Street, where the cliff on which the old town stands, slopes down into the mouth of the Pool Valley.⁸¹ There, pipes could easily be laid to pump sea-water up to the baths. The site was also close to Russell House, in the most popular area for sea-bathing (Figs 1 & 6).⁸² Dr Awsiter persuaded Lady Hart (later Dr Relhan's wife) and Miss Harriot Cecil to lay the first stone; in 1768 he too had written about the use of sea-water.⁸³ Other

doctors arrived and some of those also wrote about sea-bathing.⁸⁴

INVESTMENT AWAY FROM THE STEINE AND EAST STREET

The majority of doctors recommended the use of the chalybeate spring at Wick when they thought that it was appropriate. The spring (which still exists in St Anne's Wells Gardens, Hove) attracted visitors before Brighton became a resort.⁸⁵ In the 1760s it was given a well-house by the Scutt family, who owned the site.⁸⁶ There was a charge to use the spa and family season tickets were advertised.⁸⁷ By 1794 the trees by the spa had grown enough to shelter it from the sea winds that whipped up the ridge on which it stood and Mr Scutt's rebuilt house was thought to be worth looking at.⁸⁸

The demand for diversions persuaded John Hicks of the Old Ship at the southern end of Ship Street (Fig. 1) to invest in resort facilities and in 1761 he opened his assembly rooms to rival the larger one at the Castle Inn (Fig. 3). The Old Ship overlooks the sea but was far less visible or accessible than the Castle because Brighton lacked a seafront promenade. Hick's investment prompted Dr Awsiter to write to the *Gentlemen's Magazine* in 1761 and claim that not only had the town a 'bold and clean shore', but also two assembly rooms — 'one almost the best in England except York'.⁸⁹ From 1761, regular advertisements in the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* from July to October when the season was in full swing show that the assemblies were held alternately in the two hotels.⁹⁰ Hicks employed Golden to build a card-room in the later 1760s.⁹¹

Shergold and Hicks of the Castle and the Old Ship must have felt very confident about the future of Brighton: both stayed in business in spite of the large amount of money that they spent on their assembly rooms. Assembly rooms cost between £2000 and £5000 to build in the 1750s and 1760s. They were regarded as expensive investments at the time, which helps to explain the detail with which they were described in guidebooks. The Bristol assembly rooms were built in 1754–55 (just after Shergold had built his rooms at the Castle Inn in Brighton) and cost £3500 for a coffee room, a tavern and a lobby on the ground floor with the Assembly Room on the first floor.⁹² The layout at Bristol was similar to the Castle Inn's first rooms, although the sizes of the respective buildings are not known (Figs 1 & 3). When rebuilding the assembly rooms in the

late 1770s and subsequently refurbishing them, Shergold borrowed money by raising mortgages on the inn and by entering into partnership. As the mortgagees in the 1770s were Lewes businessmen and local gentry, Shergold probably raised the money to build the first assembly rooms in the same way.⁹³

John Hicks at the Old Ship mortgaged his inn to local gentry to raise some of the cost of his assembly rooms in the early 1760s.⁹⁴ Both men owned their own inns and could plough back profits into improvements and use the inns as security for loans. Their successors also continued to enlarge these two inns.⁹⁵ No other inns in Brighton developed assembly rooms.⁹⁶

During the 1760s the town had a makeshift theatre in a barn on the north-west corner of Castle Square. In 1764, when the Chichester Company of Players used it, there was a stage, two galleries and a pit. In November 1764, the Chichester Company of Players performed the *Busybody* and *The Mock Doctor*.⁹⁷ In 1770, Mr Johnson, an actor-manager brought his travelling theatre troupe and opened for the season in July.⁹⁸ He then stayed in Brighton for some time and played a significant role in the development of the first theatre.

Theatres were very speculative ventures because of the problems of getting an enterprising manager or owner-manager who could attract good players and choose the right programmes to fill the house at most performances. Theatres in resorts were open for short seasons and had to make enough money to pay the employees, keep the equipment and costumes in good order, and give a profit to the owner all in the space of a few months. The buildings were usually simple in exterior design, and it was the interiors that were expensive because of the need to provide seating and all the props.

Samuel Paine, a builder, built Brighton's first theatre in 1772–73, on his own land in North Street. Paine must have had advice on theatre construction from a theatre manager. Mr Johnson, the actor-manager described above, may have suggested the idea of a theatre. He gave the impression to the local paper that it was he who was having it built.⁹⁹ As the landowner and a builder by trade, Paine was probably able to build quite cheaply, but even without the cost of purchasing land, theatres cost around £1000 to erect.¹⁰⁰ When the theatre opened for the season in 1777, Mr Bailey was the box keeper and treasurer of the theatre and in September, a benefit performance was held for him.¹⁰¹ In 1777,

the season began with two plays from the Theatre Royal in London of 'The Tragedy of Jane Shore' and 'The Mock Doctor', a play that may have been very apt for a seaside theatre in a resort full of medical men.¹⁰²

The theatre ran some intriguing events, including pony racing, which was included as a feature between the short plays. On 2 September 1777, the first play on the evening's programme was called 'The Busybody' in which Mrs Baddeley (an actress who was well known at that time) played Miranda. Then, two ponies ran a race. That feature was followed by 'The humours of Lewes Races' after which, Mrs Baddeley reappeared in 'The Padlock'.¹⁰³ Pony races in theatres were not uncommon. In order to stage them, the pit was partly covered at the same level as the stage so that the ponies raced round an oval course with members of the audience still in the centre section of the pit.¹⁰⁴

The Brighton theatre's fortunes were very dependent on the season and on the weather during that period and in September 1779, Mr Bailey commented that attendances at the theatre had dropped because of the humid weather.¹⁰⁵ The theatre may have needed some improvements too because Mr Paine made some alterations before the season began in 1780, a season that was graced by the presence of Mr Kean, the very famous actor during this period.¹⁰⁶ In the early 1780s Mr Fox, who managed the theatre at Lewes, took over from Mr Johnson and managed both theatres.¹⁰⁷ The programme became more adventurous and included a pantomime that finished before 10.15 p.m. whilst there was still moonlight to light the way home. Fox also staged operas; *The Beggar's Opera* by John Gay was first performed in Brighton in 1783.¹⁰⁸ Visitors sponsored some of the plays; both Lady Shelley and the Countess of Essex did so.¹⁰⁹ Fox persuaded the libraries to sell tickets, probably for a charge.¹¹⁰

Brighton had several nonconformist chapels and the parish church of St Nicholas in 1730. The only additional religious building erected before 1780 was the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel, which she built in North Street in 1761 and enlarged in 1769. The Countess also established chapels in Bath and Tunbridge Wells, which she visited.¹¹¹

CONCLUSION ON THE PERIOD 1730–1780

By 1780, Brighton had all of the facilities that would have been expected: good assembly rooms, a spa



Fig. 7. The Royal Pavilion in the late 1790s with Grove House to the north. (Source: *The Marine Pavilion belonging to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at Brighton*. *Lady's Magazine* February 8th 1799. Copper engr. Private Collection. This shows the work of Henry Holland.)

for those that preferred spa water, bathing-machines, libraries, coffee-houses, baths, shops, doctors, accommodation in inns, lodging-houses or lodgings, a choice of religious buildings and good access.

The emergence of Brighton as a seaside resort before 1780 was the result of the contributions of many people and the town's accessibility to London. This emergence was incremental and not instant. It was the well-established resort lifestyle at Brighton that helped to attract George, Prince of Wales and heir to the throne, when he made his first trip in 1783. There he was the guest of one of his uncles, the Duke of Cumberland (a brother of King George III), who had been a frequent visitor to the town since 1771.¹¹² The same is true of the other early resorts — so, for example, George III's visits to Weymouth did not 'create' Weymouth; his first visit took place once the town's reputation as a resort was established.¹¹³

The transformation of these declining towns into resorts resulted in many imitations, some of which were begun by single entrepreneurs who had not grasped the risks and the costs associated with developing resorts. Tourism was as commercial in

the 18th century as it is today and its history is littered with the stories of failed spa and seaside resorts, most of which were being promoted by individuals who lacked the huge resources that were needed.¹¹⁴ One person, no matter how high his profile, could not create a resort. By 1817, the stories about failed seaside resorts were common enough for Jane Austen to identify some of the influences upon success and failure in her delightful but unfinished satirical tale called *Sanditon*, about the pretensions of people who went to resorts. This mythical fledgling resort was 'on the Sussex coast'.¹¹⁵

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE IN 1783 AND HIS INFLUENCE

Not only did the town's development as a resort before 1780 helped to attract the Prince, it also had a significant influence on the location of the Royal Pavilion. As the town prospered from the 1750s it was redeveloped, the population (excluding visitors) rising to about 3500 in 1780 and to 5700 in 1794.¹¹⁶ Consequently, by the early 1780s, buildings in the latest polite (fashionable) rather than vernacular (traditional) architecture faced the visitor around the Steine (Figs 1 & 7).¹¹⁷ By the mid-1780s, the Steine was the most common image in pictures of Brighton and events upon it were described the most in diaries, letters and guidebooks.¹¹⁸ The Steine had become such an important part of the social life of the town that some people sought to modernise their properties to impress the visitors. Henry Holland was employed by George, Prince of Wales, to turn a lodging-house into a fashionable seaside villa (and to design a kennel for his hounds).¹¹⁹ Robert Adam, an architect who was also favoured by wealthy and fashionable landowners, was retained at what is now called Marlborough House overlooking the Steine, to modernise it on a tight budget (Fig. 8).¹²⁰

George enjoyed the entertainment that was

already on offer on the Steine. For him, Brighton was a successful and exclusive leisure-town where, conveniently close to London, he mixed with people with whom he felt socially at ease. This resort suited a highly urbane man who enjoyed the company of people from his own background. He was unlikely to have his seaside villa built beside a poverty-stricken village in the middle of nowhere without services, entertainment or accommodation for his other guests.

Not all of the visitors to Brighton were impressed by the Pavilion or presence of the Prince; some of his company were regarded as raffish.¹²¹ The arrival of the soldiers that were billeted in and around the town during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars appear to have acted as a bigger magnet for some visitors and most especially young ladies in search of husbands.¹²² In *Pride and Prejudice*, which was written by Jane Austen and published in 1813, she describes Lydia Bennett's single-minded campaign to be allowed to go to Brighton where she saw the key attraction as the officers of the 'gay bathing place'.¹²³

If George had had such a profound impact on the emergence of Brighton as the fishing village myth implies, it seems not unreasonable to expect the town to have declined when he either lost interest in it or died. Yet, when George died in 1830 (as George IV) the town did not suffer. His visits between 1820 and 1825 had been infrequent and he stayed but once between 1825 and his death in 1830. William, his successor, liked Brighton and visited quite frequently, but died in 1837. Queen Victoria visited Brighton only three times between 1837 and 1845. She decided to sell the Royal Pavilion in 1846 and, having stripped it of its contents, sold the shell to the Town in 1849 (Fig. 9).¹²⁴

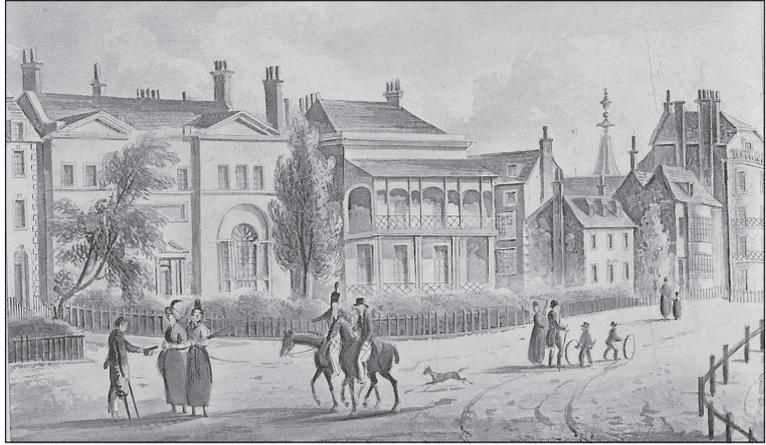


Fig. 8. Marlborough House as restyled by Robert Adam. (Source: Old Steyne c. 1805. Aquatint showing the west side of the Steine and Mrs Fitzherbert's House. No other information has been located.)



Fig. 9. The Royal Pavilion in 1829, in its current 'Indian' style as sold by Queen Victoria. (Source: 'Steine View Brighton Royal Pavilion' J. Bruce *Select Views of Brighton*, 1829, pl. 11. This shows the impact of the designs by John Nash. Holland's work is largely concealed within this later development.)

In spite of the apparent rejection of Brighton that was implied by such an act by the Queen, Brighton continued to flourish and grow as a high-class resort.¹²⁵ This also indicates that the impact of royalty was considerably less than some believe.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MYTH — MAKING THE PAST MORE EXCITING

Although many 18th-century accounts of Brighton's history followed the authentic interpretation that Brighton was already a town but a poor one, from the 1770s the fishing village myth developed.¹²⁶ From its start, the myth attributed the development

from village into resort to an individual. There is a distinct sense of patronage. At first Brighton's rapid transformation from a fishing village to a fashionable resort was attributed to Dr Russell, then by a few writers to the Duke of Cumberland, the first Royal patron and finally by the majority of people that published this story, to the Prince of Wales.

The fishing village myth may have had its origins in a dislike of the impact of tourism.¹²⁷ As early as the 1770s critical comments were being made. In 1778 Peregrine Phillips wrote critically of Brighton's growth whilst attributing it to the patronage of Russell:

Brighton was only a poor obscure fishing village, occupied by fishermen, till silken folly and bloated disease, under the auspices of a Dr Russell, deemed it necessary to crowd one shore and fill the inhabitants with contempt for their visitors.¹²⁸

The attribution of the town's success to Russell in guidebooks continued to be repeated into the early 1800s. Occasionally the Duke of Cumberland (an uncle of the Prince of Wales) was also mentioned as the joint or sole patron of the town.¹²⁹ The first mention of the Prince as the principal patron of Brighton was in 1809. Henry Attree, the Prince's local solicitor, asserted in his guidebook, that Brighton had been a miserable fishing village before being transformed into a resort and then, after acknowledging the role of Dr Russell and the Duke of Cumberland, claimed that the Prince of Wales 'had taken the town under his protection'.¹³⁰

After 1809, the space in guidebooks that was devoted to Russell's role was rapidly reduced as the cult of crediting the Prince with the town's development took hold. From 1824 both Dr Russell and the Duke of Cumberland were omitted from many histories, victims of the fashion for emphasizing the role of the Prince of Wales.¹³¹ In 1827, Baxter published a guidebook in which he

attributed the village's transformation solely to the Prince and to his development of the Royal Pavilion.¹³² Thus the myth that Brighton had been a fishing village until the Prince of Wales decided to visit and then build his Pavilion was established. It had taken some 50 years, from the 1770s to the mid 1820s to evolve. It is that myth which then becomes part of the history of Brighton not only in guidebooks but also academic studies, as discussed in the introduction to this study.

CONCLUSION

In this study it has been argued both that Brighton's early development as a seaside resort, good access to London and the connections of local people with the Royal family helped to bring members of the Royal family to the town. Many people, both famous and anonymous contributed to Brighton's regeneration as a resort by 1780. Even though the picture of resort development between 1730 and 1780 is clearly incomplete and can never be studied in great depth owing to the lack of material, what remains still portrays a far more complex history than the 'fishing village to seaside town because of the patronage of an individual' version of Brighton's history .

Myths, whilst interesting, cannot not be allowed to dominate our view of the past of resorts or of any other places. Nevertheless, some understanding of why and how myths evolve may help us to see why such inaccurate but often attractive stories develop. This particular myth fits nicely with any belief that individuals can change the course of history. In the case of Brighton this myth has been disproved in this study. Once such myths slip into mainstream history they gain credibility and become hard to challenge. Studies such as this are intended to encourage a more questioning stance towards any over-simplified views of the history of places or people.

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NOTES

¹ A. Hern, *The Seaside Holiday* (London: Cresset, 1945), 45.

² E. W. Brayley, *Topographical Sketches of Brighton* (London: Flook, 1824), 10.

³ J. Bruce, *Bruce's History of Brighton and Strangers' Guide* (Brighton: author, 1827), 12.

⁴ [J.Dinkel], *Brighton* (Brighton: Borough Council

Amenities Committee, undated but c. 1983) 3. Anon., *Brighton* (Brighton: Brighton Publicity Committee, 1922) 42.

⁵ J. Nash, *Views of the Royal Pavilion*, with forward by G. Jackson-Stops (London: Pavilion, 1991) 9, another example of fishing village myth. Contemporary references to Brighton's having been a town include: J. Awsiter, *Thoughts on Brighthelmston concerning Seabathing and*

- Drinking Sea-water with some Directions for their Use in a Letter to a Friend by John Awsiter, M.D. London.* (Printed for J. Wilkie in St Paul's Churchyard, 1768), a history in which he describes its growth into a resort by 1768; P. Dunvan, *Ancient and Modern History of Lewes and Brighthelmston* (Lewes: Baxter, 1795) 490, 492–3.
- Displacing the myth: E. W. Gilbert, *Brighton Old Oceans Bauble* (London: Methuen, 1954) esp. 52–3. S. & J. Farrant, 'Brighton, Tudor town to Regency resort, 1580–1820', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) **118** (1981) 331–50, which refers to other earlier work by them. S. Farrant, *Georgian Brighton 1740–1820* (University of Sussex Centre for Continuing Education Occasional Paper 1980) No. **13**. S. Berry, 'The development of Brighton 1750–1840', in B. Short, K. Leslie eds, *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1999), 94–5. J. H. Farrant, 'The rise and decline of a south coast seafaring town: Brighton, 1550–1750'. *Mariner's Mirror* **71** (1985) 59–76.
- ⁶ L. Lencek & G. Bosker, *The Beach: a History of Paradise on Earth* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1998), 90.
- ⁷ J. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: a Social History*. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983) remains the best overview. S. Farrant, 'The development of seaside resorts in Sussex 1740 to 1840', in Geography Editorial Board (eds), *Sussex Environment Landscape and Society* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1983), 208–20 for Sussex resorts.
- ⁸ Lencek & Bosker, *The Beach*, 90.
- ⁹ A. Dale, *Fashionable Brighton* (London: Country Life, 1947), 13–21.
- ¹⁰ T. P. Connor, *Oriental Architecture in the West London* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979) 149; Farrant, S., 'The physical development of the Royal Pavilion Estate and its influence on Brighton (E. Sussex) 1785–1823' SAC **120** (1982), 171–84.
- ¹¹ Connor, *Oriental Architecture*, 131–52 points out that the Pavilion's later development in an oriental style was part of a trend, not a trend-setter.
- ¹² L. F. Pearson, *The People's Palaces: Britain's Seaside Pleasure Buildings* (Buckinghamshire: Barracuda, 1991), 36–52.
- ¹³ Brighton Council and also the local railway company appear to have used the myth for some marketing. The relevant archives for Brighton Council are in East Sussex Record Office and can be traced through the Brighton Council deposit catalogue. The name of the committee changes but it is still easy to spot. The committee minutes also include some information about the approach of the railway company. The use of the myth in Brighton's marketing would make an excellent subject for a study.
- ¹⁴ J. Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World 1540–1940* (Chichester: Wiley, 1996), 53–95, 167–216 for résumé of this theme. P. Pembry, *The English Spa 1560–1815* (London: Athlone, 1990) for comprehensive survey.
- ¹⁵ T. Smollett, *Humphrey Clinker* (1771) quoted in G. Melville, *Brighton* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1909), 30.
- ¹⁶ Walton, *The English Seaside*, 6–17, 45–54. J. Travis, *The Rise of the South Devon Resorts* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1993), 7–16.
- ¹⁷ Public Record Office State Papers, SP46/116.43, SP18/204.
- ¹⁸ Farrant, *Tudor Town to Regency Resort*, 340–41.
- ¹⁹ West Sussex Record Office, Ep 1/26/3, Bishop Bowyer's Visitation.
- ²⁰ For detailed analysis of facets of the socio-economic impacts of Brighton's decline as a fishing town and its rescue from poverty by tourism see J. H. & S. P. Farrant, *Brighton Before Dr Russell*, University of Sussex Centre for Continuing Education Occasional Paper No. **5** (Brighton: University of Sussex, 1976) which covers c. 1700–1750 and, by the same authors *Aspects of Brighton 1650–1800*, University of Sussex Centre for Continuing Education Occasional Paper No. **8** (Brighton: University of Sussex, 1978). G. Melville, *Brighton* (who says that Brighton was a fishing village on p. 28) cites the visit of the Rev. Clarke from J. Nichols (ed.), *Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century*, **4** (1816–18), 406–7.
- ²¹ Farrant, *Georgian Brighton*, 14–15. In 1786, the population had revived so much that it reached 3620, [P. Dunvan], *Ancient and Modern History of Lewes and Brighthelmstone* (Lewes, 1795), 490, 553.
- ²² Farrant, *Georgian Brighton*, 22–3.
- ²³ E. Inskeep, *Tourism Planning* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1991), 199–220.
- ²⁴ Farrant, *Georgian Brighton*, 19–20.
- ²⁵ S. Farrant, 'The development of coaching services from Brighton to London', *Sussex Genealogist and Local Historian Final Issue* (1984) 85–93. G. Fuller, 'The development of roads in Surrey and Sussex', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **19** (1953), 37–49.
- ²⁶ *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* (hereafter SWA) Advertisements in June 1764.
- ²⁷ SWA 10, 17, 24 Sept. 1764, using a new ship.
- ²⁸ SWA 10, 17, 24 Sept. 1764.
- ²⁹ SWA 11 Apr. 1774, 10 Apr. 1775, 11 Mar. 1776.
- ³⁰ SWA 11 Sept. 1769, 16 Sept. 1771.
- ³¹ SWA 24 Nov. 1783.
- ³² But some seasonal until later 1760s. H. Smith, *Eighteenth Century Books etc., Relating to Brighton, Sussex* (Hove: H. Smith, no date) 3 notes a bookseller's advertisement of 1759 that says that E. Verral of Lewes has a shop in East Street Brighthelmston 'during the season and that from 1760–1763 Mr Baker sold books to the public to the end of October. More discussion later in text.
- ³³ For most accurate summation of Russell's life see J. H. Farrant, 'Russell, R. (1687–1759)' in *Dictionary of National Biography*, revision in progress by Cambridge University Press. Russell's interest in mineral waters was long-established and he had also used Tunbridge Wells as a spa. In his book [R. A. Russell, *Dissertation Concerning the Use of Sea-water in the Diseases of the Glands* (The author: London, 1753) 150–59], Russell discusses his debate with Frewin of Bath in 1724 about the use of mineral waters. Russell himself never moved to Brighton, Russell house was his consulting rooms.
- ³⁴ They had earlier links, but sea bathing before 1760 is yet to be proved. Building materials for Stanmer House were supplied from Brighton, bricks were made nearby and timber was brought in for Stanmer, S. Farrant, 'The building of Stanmer Park and the early development of the Park', SAC **117** (1979), 195–200.
- ³⁵ Russell corresponded with Thomas Pelham-Holles (Duke of Newcastle) and Thomas Pelham of Stanmer, British Library Add MSS 32719 and 32733. R. A. Kelch, *A Duke Without Money* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974) captures the power of the Pelhams, Thomas Pelham-Holles was a son of John Pelham of Halland and died childless. Thomas Pelham of Stanmer inherited his Sussex

- estates in 1768.
- ³⁶ Bath see Pimlott, 21–48. C. Lane Sayer, *Correspondence of Mr John Collier Deceased and his Family* 2 (1907), 316, letter from Mrs Green 27 July 1762.
- ³⁷ R. Morrice, 'Palestrina in Hastings' *Georgian Group Journal* 11 (2001), 93–116.
- ³⁸ Farrant, 'The building of Stanmer Park', 195–200.
- ³⁹ British Library Add. MS 33623f31.
- ⁴⁰ J. H. Jesse, *George Selwyn and his Contemporaries* (London: 1882) 1, 262–3. East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO) HA310 Abraham Baley's letter book.
- ⁴¹ A. Oswald, 'Stanmer, seat of the Earl of Chichester', *Country Life* (Jan. 1932), 20.
- ⁴² Bishop, J. G., *Brighton in Olden Times* (Brighton: J. G. Bishop, 1880) 105. The Duke of Gloucester visited Thomas Pelham at Stanmer and also Henry Poole in 1765. In 1766 the Duke of York visited briefly. No evidence for landowning has been identified. Occasionally Thomas Pelham promoted schemes for the poor in Brighton such as a plan to employ the poor that would cost no more than their current cost of £3000 (SWA 15 Apr. 1798).
- ⁴³ C. Miele, 'The first architect of the world' in Brighton: Robert Adam, Marlborough House and Mrs Fitzherbert', *SAC* 136 (1998) 149–76. Oswald, *Stanmer, the Seat of the Earl of Chichester*, 20.
- ⁴⁴ Melville, *Brighton*, 36; SWA 19 Aug. 1782 for description of her visit.
- ⁴⁵ ESRO AMS 54400/89 Sheffield Papers 1777 visit, letter to T. Pelham.
- ⁴⁶ Duke of Richmond and friends appear regularly in the SWA, the earliest reference is to a yacht race on 1 Sept. 1777; good examples of contacts in race notices: SWA, 7 April 1788, 18 June 1788, 27–31 July 1788.
- ⁴⁷ A. Foreman, *Georgiana: Duchess of Devonshire* (London: Harper Collins, 1998), 51. On p. 179, Foreman notes that Georgiana chose Southampton in 1786 rather than go to Brighton because she had refused to be a witness at the marriage of the Prince of Wales and Mrs Fitzherbert and was trying to avoid them.
- ⁴⁸ Foreman, *Georgiana*, 51.
- ⁴⁹ Letter published in the *Brighton Herald* dated 7 July 1884, pasted into Anon *Three Grand Routes into Sussex* (London: 1811) in the Sussex Collection, East Sussex County Library Service. Churchill was in Brighton on 9 July 1763.
- ⁵⁰ Brighton Museum Collection. *Visitors' List* 1769. A long list of wealthy visitors was given in 'Letter from Brighthelmstone August 26 1776', published in *the Morning Chronicle* and cited in J. Hampden, *An Eighteenth Century Journal* (London: MacMillan, 1940), 312. The letter's author claims that 'The Miss Fredericks are said to be worth £150,000 each'. SWA, 26 June 1769 reported that company was 'flocking to Brighton'.
- ⁵¹ C. Miele, 'The first architect', 149–51.
- ⁵² Johnson's friendship began with Henry Thrale in 1765 and he visited Brighton, Anon, *Samuel Johnson 1709–1784: a Centenary Exhibition* (London: British Library, 8 Nov. 1984–25 Feb 1985), leaflet p.5. O. Sitwell & M. Barton, *Brighton* (London, 1935), 69, say that Johnson was in Brighton with the Thrales in 1765, but provide no source. Johnson refers to visits to Brighton in his letters to his friends, see S. Roberts (ed.), *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (London: J. M. Dent, 1961), 65–6, 317, he spent six weeks in 1776, and was going in 1780. C. Harman, *Fanny Burney* (London: Harper Collins, 2000), 147, October 1779.
- ⁵³ S. Farrant, *Georgian Brighton* (1980), 53.
- ⁵⁴ W. G. Bishop, *Brighton in Olden Times* (1892), 16.
- ⁵⁵ SWA 14 July 1783, horse dies in heat wave, 'still in harness'.
- ⁵⁶ *Brighton Herald* 13 Jan 1806.
- ⁵⁷ Berry, S., 'Pleasure gardens in Georgian and Regency seaside resorts: Brighton 1750–1840', *Journal of Garden History* 28, no. 2 (2000), 222–30.
- ⁵⁸ ESRO, SAS BRI 57 *Manor Court Book*, copyhold transaction.
- ⁵⁹ A. Crawford, *A Description of Brighthelmstone and the Adjacent Country* (Brighton: Crawford, 1788), 31.
- ⁶⁰ J. Awsiter, *Thoughts on Brighthelmstone* (London: author, 1768).
- ⁶¹ R. W. Blencowe, 'Paxhill and its neighbourhood', *SAC* 11 (1859), 46.
- ⁶² Demolished when the Royal Albion Hotel was built in the mid-1820s. The Royal Albion was still standing in 2003.
- ⁶³ Sitwell & Barton, *Brighton*, 64.
- ⁶⁴ C. Chalklin, 'Capital expenditure on buildings for cultural purposes in provincial England 1730–1830', *Business History* 22 (1980), 59–60.
- ⁶⁵ SWA 1759 quoted in Bishop, *Brighton in Olden Times* (1892) 16, SWA 18 Feb. 1760, 3 Mar. 1760, 11th Oct 1762.
- ⁶⁶ F. Beckwith, 'The proprietary library in England' *Journal of Documentation* (1947–48), 81–98 provides an authoritative context. Copy in Brighton Ref. Library.
- ⁶⁷ SWA 6 June 1774, 13 June 1774, 20 June 1774. £0 10s. 6d. is £0.52.5p.
- ⁶⁸ SWA 6 Sept 1761. Another collection, of the Rev. Miles of Henfield 11 Oct 1762.
- ⁶⁹ Harman, *Fanny Burney* (London: Harper Collins, 2000), 147 gives October 1779.
- ⁷⁰ SWA 30 Mar 1789. Mrs Lay's SWA 30 July 1794.
- ⁷¹ SWA 25 Jan 1773 coffee-house on the Cliffe.
- ⁷² Edward Poole was the cousin of William Poole, the father of Ferdinando Poole. Trained with Boerhaave at Leyden like Russell. In 1759, Wm Poole asked the Duke of Newcastle to support the Duke of Newcastle to support Edward's attempt to succeed Dr Russell's practice. SWA 3 Mar. 1760 advertisement saying he had local support. Advert about Dr Schoenberg SWA 3 Mar 1760, which says that he had taken a house for the season.
- ⁷³ Bucks R.O. Hartwell Papers D9/10. E. Poole 23rd May 1769 to Sir William Lee. Offers his services to Sir William Lee concerning the possibility of a holiday at Brighton. 'This I think has been the earliest season I have ever known at Brighton. Several families being there now and have been there for some time'.
- ⁷⁴ ESRO, Hook MSS 23/1/13.
- ⁷⁵ ESRO, Hook MSS 23/1/13. ESRO, ACC. 2409/576, 578 surrender of land to Ed Poole of Lewes 13 May 1766. ESRO ACC /576 is the Tann House in Pool Vale. J. A. Brent, 'The Pooles of Chailey and Lewes', *SAC* 114 (1976), 75. ESRO, Hook 23/1/13 *Building Account*, 1762–1766.
- ⁷⁶ Russell's sister was the mother of Lucas Pepys, see J. H. Farrant, 'Russell, R. (1687–1759)' (DNB) forthcoming.
- ⁷⁷ E. W. Brayley, *A History of Surrey* 4 (Author: London; 1850), 457 notes that Countess of Rothes (family name, Leslie) was his wife. Juniper Hill was purchased by Dr Pepys from Mr Jenkinson.

- ⁷⁸ Berry, 'Pleasure gardens', 228.
- ⁷⁹ A. Saluka, 'Brighton's medical worthies: a miscellany' offprint from *Medicine's Geographic Heritage*, no date, produced possibly by Society of Apothecaries London, where he was based when this was published. Copy in Brighton file at ESRO, Lewes and in Brighton Local Studies Library, Brighton. ESRO, ACC 2409/575,580,3 conveyances of land in East Street to Dame Denise Hart on 7 July 1768, 9 Jan. 1769, 14 Jan. 1771.
- ⁸⁰ Printed for W. Johnston, Ludgate St, 76 pp.
- ⁸¹ Crawford (1788), 17.
- ⁸² Saluka, 'Brighton's medical worthies', see ref. 78.
- ⁸³ Awsiter, *Thoughts on Brighthelmstone*, 4–5. The laying of the first stone, *The Public Advertiser*, 10 Oct 1769, was cited in, Bishop, *Brighton in Olden Times* 226.
- ⁸⁴ 'An Essay on Sea bathing and internal uses of Sea Water' by Dr Kentish, physician of Brighton. Advertised as 'just published' July 1788 SWA 7 July 1788 price £0 1s. 6d. (£0.12.5p.). Sold by Mr Crawford and Mr Dulot on the Steine.
- ⁸⁵ H. D. Roberts, *Brighton Parish Register* (Brighton: Brighton Corporation, 1932), 198, 12 Nov 1641, buried Mary Askall a woman that came for the cure too, 8 Dec. 1643, buried Mary Pucknell of Cuckfield at cure at Lewes.
- ⁸⁶ Berry, 'Pleasure gardens', 228.
- ⁸⁷ SWA 2 June 1800 family subscription 1 guinea (£1.10p.), single £0 10s. 6d. (£0.52.5p).
- ⁸⁸ M. A. Crawford, *A Description of Brighton and the Adjacent Country* (Brighton: Crawford, 1794) 16. This was a well known spa and attracted visitors in the C17th.
- ⁸⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine* **31** (1761), 249.
- ⁹⁰ Farrant, *Georgian Brighton* (1980), 18.
- ⁹¹ M. A. Crawford, *A Description of Brighton* (1794), 17.
- ⁹² Chalklin, 'Capital expenditure', 59.
- ⁹³ ESRO, Howlett and Clarke 31/1 1825 onwards, hotel leases. ESRO Howlett and Clarke 9/4 New Inn. Brighton Reference Library SB9 BRI Correspondence between Mr Crunden and Samuel Shergold.
- ⁹⁴ ESRO, Howlett and Clarke 44/15 will of Leah Hicks of Old Ship.
- ⁹⁵ SWA 9 and 16 June 1794, additional accommodation including coffee-house and purchase of two large houses to integrate into the inn.
- ⁹⁶ Author has checked all adverts and directories available.
- ⁹⁷ Bishop, *Brighton in Olden Time* (1892) 40. E. W. Griffin, *A Pilgrim People: the Story of Methodism in Brighton and Hove* (Author: undated, copy in Brighton Local Studies Collection) no pagination, says Whitfield first preached in 1760 in Brighton on a field behind the White Lion at the request of Countess of Huntingdon and returned in 1761. First date verified by SWA 15 Sept 1760. SWA 26 June 1769: company 'flocking to Brighton'.
- ⁹⁸ SWA 23 July 1770. SWA 6 Aug 1770 fitted up in an elegant manner.
- ⁹⁹ SWA Mr Johnson (also spelt Johnston and Johnstone) to open at his new theatre at Brighton on 25th Aug 1774. SWA 4th Sept 1775 described as the proprietor of the Brighton Theatre but on 12th Sept, Samuel Paine is described as the only proprietor of the new theatre and a performance for his benefit was being held, organized by Mr Johnson. No mention of Mr Johnson after SWA 25th June 1775.
- ¹⁰⁰ Bishop, *Brighton in Olden Times* (1892), 40. SWA 5 July 1774, Mr Johnson. SWA 3 Oct 1774, fire £200 worth of clothes damaged in a chest. SWA 3 Aug 1780, completely fitted up. Chalklin, *Capital Expenditure* (1980), 58–9.
- ¹⁰¹ SWA 25 Sept 1777.
- ¹⁰² SWA 24 June 1777 tickets from Mr Bailey at the theatre, SWA 25 June 1777 Mrs Jones as Jane Shore, 12 Aug 1777 Mrs Baddeley as Jane Shore, 8 Sept 1777, comedy.
- ¹⁰³ SWA 2 Sept 1777.
- ¹⁰⁴ 'Pony Races at the Theatre Royal, Dublin' in Walker's *Hiberian Magazine*, Nov. 1779 shows how the races were managed. Reproduced in I. Mackintosh, *The Georgian Playhouse* (London: Hayward Gallery & Arts Council, 1975), catalogue illustration 308.
- ¹⁰⁵ SWA 6 Sept 1779.
- ¹⁰⁶ SWA 3 July 1780. 'The Brighton theatre is now completely fitted up and will open Saturday next. SWA 21 Aug 1780, readings by Mr Kean.
- ¹⁰⁷ SWA 21 July 1788, licence for three plays a week from the justices. Sundays, public tea and promenade Monday, a ball (both at Shergolds), Tuesday and Weds & Thursday card at Hicks, Friday — a ball at Hicks, card assembly at Shergolds. Mr Fox is *in situ* in 1782 SWA 2 Sept 1782, benefit performance for him. SWA 27 Apr. 1789, his company is called the Brighton Company of Comedians.
- ¹⁰⁸ Pantomime in SWA 6 Oct 1783, Opera SWA 7 July 1783. Season ended 29 Oct 1783 see SWA 14 Oct 1783.
- ¹⁰⁹ Both of these were benefit nights for other people, SWA, 7 Oct. 1782 and 11 Oct. 1784. SWA 15 Sept. 1777 advert for The Jealous Wife sponsor Lady Diane Beauclerk, SWA 7 Oct. 1782 Lady Shelley, 29 Sept. 1783 Viscountess Hampden, patrons. The theatre is then resited. Part of the story is in ESRO ACC 2409/745 15 June 1795, H. Cobb and M. Burchell lease theatre, wardrobe and appurtenances to J. Barnard.
- ¹¹⁰ SWA 15 Sept. 1783 libraries.
- ¹¹¹ Few new foundations until after 1820. *The Times* 18 Oct 1819 notes that the foundation stone of the Unitarian Chapel in New Road was laid. *The Gentleman's Magazine* **85** (Aug, 1815), 145–6 noted the insufficiency of churches in Brighton compared with Lewes and Chichester, especially Church of England, only one church yet 9000 people in the town. Comments that the town 'May go Methodist'.
- ¹¹² Melville, *Brighton*, 36. Arrival noted in the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* (SWA). For his regularity see SWA 6 Aug 1779. The Prince of Wales's arrival as his guest SWA 26 July 1784.
- ¹¹³ R. W. Butler, 'The concept of a tourism area cycle of evolution: implications for the management of resources' *Canadian Geographer* **24** (1980), 5–12.
- ¹¹⁴ Pembry, *The English Spa*, 2–5.
- ¹¹⁵ J. Austen, (1817) *Sanditon*, in M. Drabble (ed.), *Lady Susan, The Watsons, Sanditon* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 159–64.
- ¹¹⁶ W. A. Barron, 'Gleanings from Sussex archives: Brighton and the smallpox', *Sussex County Magazine* **26** (1952), 606. P. Dunvan, *Ancient and Modern History of Lewes and Brighthelmston* (Lewes, 1795), 490, 553.
- ¹¹⁷ S. Farrant, 'The Royal Pavilion Estate', 171–84.
- ¹¹⁸ J. & J. Ford, *Images of Brighton* (Richmond: St Helena Press, 1981) has sections on the Steine.
- ¹¹⁹ The dog kennel was located north of the town and gave the area the name of Dog Kennel Lane. Its location is

described in ESRO ACC 2409/19, lease dated 17 June 1790, by J. Ackerson to L. Weltje (acting as the Prince's agent) of land with dog kennel standing on it.

¹²⁰ Miele, 'The first architect', 149–76.

¹²¹ A. Pasquin, [J. Williams], *The New Brighton Guide* (London: Symonds, 1796) satire on the Carlton House set when in London and Brighton esp. p. 30. Melville, 52–61.

¹²² Dunvan, *Ancient and Modern, History* 490, 492–3. The evidence from the SWA indicates that troops were moved about both from the barracks in the town, the cavalry barracks at Preston and the periodic tent encampments. Examples include: SWA 12 Dec. 1796, East Yorkshire Militia leaving and Royal Artillery moving in. Prince of Wales Light Dragoons did a spell SWA 28 Mar. 1796. The Fencibles in a barracks 'near Brighton' 19 June 1796. A. Hudson 'Volunteer soldiers in Sussex during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', *SAC* 122 (1984), 175–9 picks up some of the points about the social class of the volunteers, especially of the yeoman cavalry.

¹²³ J. Austen, 'Pride and Prejudice' in *The Penguin Complete Novels of Jane Austen* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), 355–8 (originally published in 1813).

¹²⁴ S. Farrant, *The Growth of Brighton and Hove 1840–1939* (Brighton: University of Sussex Centre for Continuing Education, 1981), 14.

¹²⁵ S. Farrant, *The Growth of Brighton and Hove*, 14–18.

¹²⁶ P. Dunvan, *The History of Lewes and Brighthelmstone*

(Lewes: William Lee, 1795).

¹²⁷ W. Gilpin, *Observations on the Coast of Hampshire, Sussex and Kent in 1774* (London: T. Cadell & T. Davies, 1814), 42.

¹²⁸ P. Phillips, *A Diary kept in an Excursion to Littlehampton, Near Arundel, and Brighthelmston, in Sussex* 1 (1780), 52–3.

¹²⁹ J. V. Button, *The Brighton and Lewes Guide*. (Lewes: Baxter, 1805), 5.

¹³⁰ T. .Attree, *Attree's Topography of Brighton and Picture of the Road* (London: Longman, 1809), 1.

¹³¹ Button, *Brighton and Lewes Guide*, 5; Brayley, *Topographical Sketches*, 10.

¹³² *Bruce's History*, 12 and repeated by him in later editions.

He wrote 'What contributed most to raise Brighton from an obscure fishing village which it appears to have been at the commencement of the C18th to its present splendour and magnificence was His Majesty, George IV making it his summer residence when Prince of Wales. Then the story is repeated e.g. J. Whittemore, *New Historical and Topographical Picture of Brighton and Complete Strangers Guide* (Brighton: Whittemore, 1827), 5, obscure fishing village. E. Wallis, *Brighton As it Is* (London: Wallis, 1831) 10. and continues in later 19th-century guides e.g. Bright and Sons, *Guide to Brighton and Neighbourhood* (Brighton: D. B. Friend, c. 1890) 6. Anon, *The Lays of Brighton* (Brighton, Curtis Brothers, 1890) 6, poem about Brighton — village transformed by Prince. W. E. Nash, *Illustrated Guide to Brighton* (Brighton, W. E. Nash, 1895), 1.