

◆ Brighton's Railway District in the mid-nineteenth century

by June A. Sheppard

An area close to the railway stations and engineering works is identified as Brighton's Railway District c. 1860. It comprised streets of small terraced houses built between 1820 and 1860, most rented for a few shillings a week, where railway employees formed at least 10 per cent of household heads. Rateable values, though generally low, varied from street to street, and there was a broad correlation between these values and the employment grades of the railwaymen household heads who resided in each street. Four sample streets illustrate the income levels and some of the other factors that influenced the choice of place of residence.

Brighton was first linked by railway to London, Portsmouth and Hastings in the 1840s when passenger and goods stations were constructed at the northern edge of the town's built-up area. A few years later, the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway Company (hereafter LBSCR) established its main engineering works close by, and by the time of the 1861 Census the company employed over one thousand men in the town.¹ All these employees walked to and from their workplaces, where they spent long hours, so it is not surprising that they sought to live close to the stations and workshops. In order to satisfy the demand for extra housing, new streets were added on the surrounding hillslopes, and by 1861 a distinctive residential district existed where railway employees formed a significant proportion of the total household heads. This district is hardly mentioned in the written accounts of Brighton. For instance, Gilbert merely quotes Eric Gill's autobiography, which describes the whole of north Brighton as 'a nondescript encampment ... congeries of more or less sordid streets', while Fines more recently refers to 'working-class houses ... between the station complex and London Road'.² The aim of this article is to investigate the physical and social characteristics of this district during the early years of its development.

STREETS AND HOUSES

The Railway District is defined here as the streets where at least ten per cent of the heads of households were railway employees in 1861; its extent is shown in Figure 1. It comprised two sections separated

by the low ground of the Wellesbourne valley and its tributary valleys from Preston in the northwest and Falmer in the northeast. Much of the valley floor remained as open space fringed by substantial terraced houses, the rents of which were far beyond the means of ordinary railway employees. The section of the Railway District west of the valley included a number of streets south of Trafalgar Street where the houses had been built before the railway arrived, a few streets on the higher ground just west of the passenger station, a block of streets between the railway land and London Road developed between 1840 and 1860, and a triangle of streets and courts between London Road and the Level that had grown up during the early years of the century. The second section of the district lay on the hill slopes southeast of Lewes Road; much of the development here took place after 1840 and activity continued into the 1860s.³

Prior to development, virtually the whole of the land in this area had been part of Brighton's open arable fields. As described by Berry, many features of the original field layout were preserved in the street plan that emerged.⁴ Thoroughfares such as Trafalgar Street and Ann Street preserve the line of 'leakways' or tracks that once followed furlong boundaries, while residential streets reflect the orientation of strip parcels known locally as 'paul pieces'. The usual practice was for a developer to acquire one or more adjacent strip parcels sufficient in width to set out a street and one or two rows of house plots fronting the street. Each house plot was approximately 15 feet (4.6 metres) wide and between 30 and 50 feet (9 and 15 metres) long. Prior to c. 1840, any odd-shaped parcels of land that

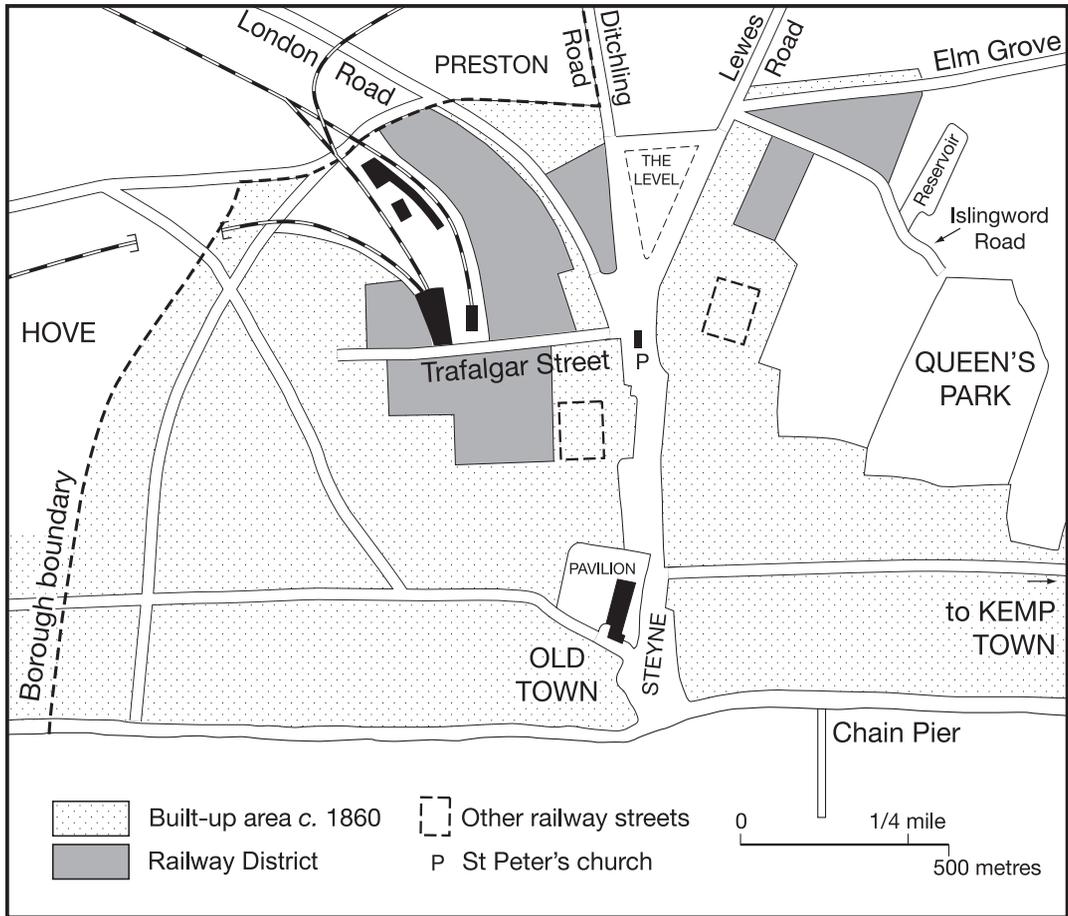


Fig. 1. Brighton c. 1860. The Railway District comprises streets where at least 10 per cent of household heads in 1861 were railway employees. Areas with lower percentages of railwaymen heads of household are indicated as 'other railway streets'. (Outlines and built-up areas are based on J. Rapkin's map of c. 1852 in Brighton History Centre.)

remained between the developed streets were filled with single terraces or courts, such as Brunswick Row and Oxford Court in the triangle between London Road and the Level. The only part of the Railway District without this open-field inheritance was in the northeast, between Islingword Road and Elm Grove. The land here had once been part of Brighton's sheep down, but had been converted to privately-owned arable or garden land in 1822, before being purchased for development in 1851 by the Sussex Freehold Land Society.⁵

The houses in the Railway District were virtually all terraced and built between 1820 and 1860. Most walls were brick-built, though flints were

sometimes incorporated into party and rear walls, all materials then frequently hidden under a lime-plaster render. Many of the bricks were brought by rail from inland Sussex, while Baltic timber for roof frames and internal fittings, and roofing slates from Wales were imported through Shoreham and Newhaven.⁶ House building occupied an army of bricklayers, carpenters and plasterers. The quality of construction generally improved over time as a result of increasingly stringent bye-law requirements.⁷ A number of houses had only four rooms, but the majority had five or six, one or two in a basement, two on the ground floor and two on the first floor.⁸ Some had a single-storey scullery extension at the

back, and a few had an additional attic room. The combination of sloping ground and a chalk subsoil favoured the provision of basement rooms, some of which, especially in the older houses, were wholly below the surface level at the front and lit only by pavement grills. Typical room dimensions were about 10 feet by 12 feet (3 metres by 3.7 metres).

Whilst the general picture is clear, evidence for the size of individual houses is limited, since no pre-1865 building plans are extant among the Brighton Corporation records.⁹ Comprehensive details relating to the number of floors and rooms were collected half a century later in the 1909–12 Inland Revenue surveys, but it is difficult to know what alterations had taken place in the interval. The most likely change was the addition or enlargement of a rear extension and the construction above of a first-floor bedroom (often later converted into a bathroom).

Few household amenities were available prior to 1861. There was an intermittent piped water supply by this date in some parts of the town, but no domestic properties in the Railway District appear to have been so favoured.¹⁰ Householders had to rely on wells or rainwater, invariably contaminated and unsuitable for drinking. Backyards were the location for cesspools or ash privies that, in the absence of rear access, had to be emptied through the house by the town scavengers.¹¹ Street surfaces were of chalk, flint or gravel, and though main thoroughfares had pavements and drains, all became muddy in winter and dusty in summer.¹² Each household had a regularly-used coal fire or kitchen range which provided the residents' only cooking facilities, and only source of warmth and hot water.¹³ Numerous domestic chimneys, combined with the smoke from the workshop chimneys and the locomotives, produced an atmosphere full of grime, probably at its worst in the streets immediately east of the railway land, owing to the prevailing wind.

The environment of the Railway District thus had some unattractive features, but it was far from being the worst part of Brighton.¹⁴ By contemporary standards this was an average, respectable working-class district.

INTERNAL DIVERSITY

Whilst the Railway District presented a broadly uniform appearance to the outsider, those who

lived there would have been aware of subtle differences from one street to another. A measure of these variations is provided by the contemporary rateable value for each house, as this was based on the estimated rent that could be charged, and thus ultimately on the size, quality and amenities of the house.¹⁵ The extant 1855 Rate Books for Brighton provide the main source of the rateable values used here, supplemented in the case of four streets where most houses were built after 1855 by values taken from the next extant Rate Book, that for 1864.¹⁶ These records reveal that virtually every house in the Railway District had a rateable value between £4 10s. and £16. Where rateable values were less than £20, poor rates might be compounded (charged to the owner rather than the tenant).¹⁷ The Rate Books name the owners of each house and any lessees or tenants who were responsible for the payment.

A few houses in the Railway District were occupied by their owners, but the majority were owned and rented out by a large number of different individuals. A sample analysis of owners in the block of streets north of Trafalgar Street reveals only 30 persons who owned five or more houses each. Twenty-two of these thirty owners can be identified in the 1851 Census Enumeration Books (hereafter CEBs); eleven gave their occupation as builder, bricklayer or carpenter, six as victualler, innkeeper or hotel keeper, three as trader or shopkeeper, and two as retired or annuitant.¹⁸ The 1861 CEBs provide evidence of who was actually living in each house on Sunday 7 April, in many cases revealing that there were two or more households present.¹⁹ It is not known whether such sharing was determined by the owner or whether it resulted from the chief tenant's sub-renting one or more rooms.²⁰ Under the Rate Book column headed 'notes', a very small number of houses were recorded as empty.

These rateable values have been used as the basis for a classification of streets in the Railway District, together with a few other nearby streets where a number of household heads, though fewer than ten per cent of the total, were railway employees. Short streets, such as Cross Street with only three houses, most courts, and streets where building activity had only just started by 1861 have not been included. The classification (Table 1) is based on the percentage of the houses in each street that fell within three rateable groups: under

Table 1. Street classification based on rateable values in 1855 or 1864.

Type	80% of rateable values	No. of streets	Classification
L 1	Under £10	31	Low-rated
L 2	Under £12 10s, at least 30% under £10	10	Low-rated
M 1	Between £10 and £12 10s	19	Moderately-rated
M 2	Between £10 and £16	11	Moderately-rated
M 3	Between £12 10s and £16	9	Moderately-rated
D	Mixed	14	Diversely-rated

£10, between £10 and £12 10s., and between £12 10s. and £16. Figure 2 shows the location of the classified streets. Diversely-rated streets were nearly all busy thoroughfares. Low- and moderately-rated streets were mixed in their distribution, except in the triangle between London Road and the Level, where all streets south of Baker Street were low-rated, and on the hill slopes immediately west of the passenger station, together with the block of streets south of Trafalgar Street, where all streets were moderately rated.

THE RAILWAYMEN RESIDENTS

The community housed in the Railway District was far from uniform in character and the proportion of each street's heads of households formed by railway employees ranged from 10 per cent to over 50 per cent. Some of these employees, such as the engineers, fitters, and engine-drivers, were well-paid by contemporary working-class standards, earning 30s. a week or more, while others such as porters or labourers took home much more modest sums of less than 20s. The head's wage inevitably had an influence on the weekly rent each household was prepared to pay, hence some degree of correlation between rateable values and where the different railway occupational groups lived is to be expected.

While the wage of the head was the primary source of family income for most households, in some instances there were supplementary earnings. Only a handful of the wives of railwaymen had an occupation listed in the 1861 CEBs, usually as laundresses or dressmakers, though it is likely that many other wives earned small sums from time

to time. Where the household included children in their teens or older, each of these would have added to the household budget a sum that grew with their age. Lodgers or boarders formed another possible income source. In most instances, such additional sources of income seem likely to have been too few and too small to have influenced housing decisions, but there were a few families whose weekly income was raised sufficiently to allow greater flexibility of choice.

Another factor that had to be taken into account was the amount of living space required by the family. A childless couple at the beginning or end of their married life might be content with two rooms, and a couple with two or three young children could manage with three, but where there were several older children or elderly relatives the family needed five or six rooms, in other words an entire house. A small family could keep its rental expenditure down relatively easily, but a low-paid labourer or porter with several children who needed an entire house might have no option but to live in a low-rated street, unless there was some supplementary source of income.

There were other factors too that may have influenced the decision about which house to rent, for instance some railway employees such as engine-drivers worked such long and irregular hours that proximity to their work became a priority. Other families may have wished to live close to relatives, but kinship links form a topic beyond the scope of this study. Such additional influences ensure that any match between occupational groups and rateable values is likely to have been imperfect. In Table 2, which shows the rating categories, some grades with small numbers have been excluded, but others have been included in grades with similar rates of pay: engineers include millwrights and patternmakers, fitters include turners, guards include signalmen and railway policemen, porters include ticket collectors, other metalworkers include hammermen, strikers and moulders.

Table 2 summarizes the relationship between railway employment grades and the rateable values of the streets in which the different workers were living in 1861. The top six grades listed were well paid by contemporary standards, and relatively small percentages of officials, engineers, engine-drivers and fitters were living in low-rated streets, as might be expected. In contrast, one third of the smiths and half of the boilermakers were found in

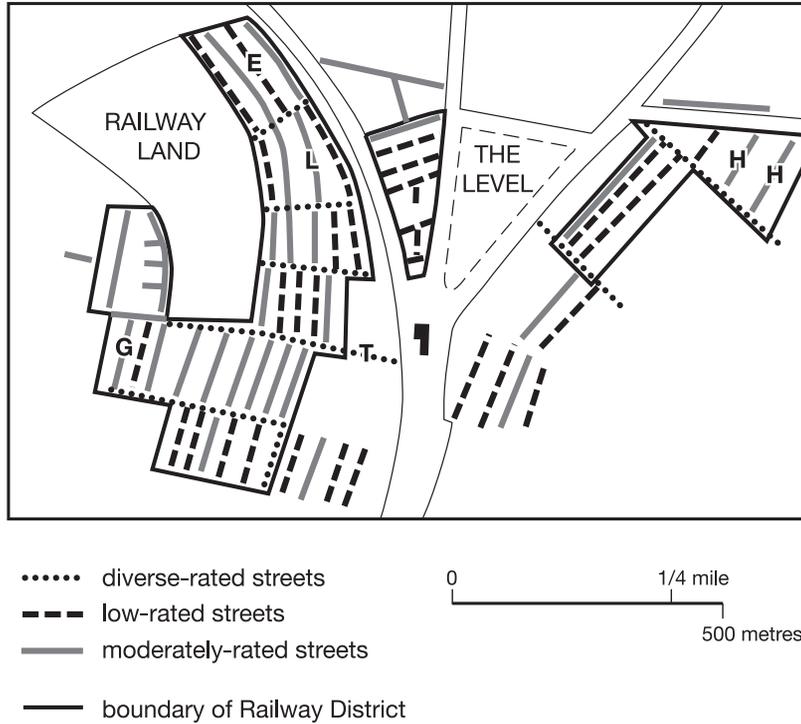


Fig. 2. Rateable values in 1855 of streets where railwaymen heads of households were living in 1861. E = Elder Street; G = Guildford Street; H H = Howard and Hampden Roads; L = London Street; T = Trafalgar Street.

Table 2. Rating categories of streets where the main grades of railwaymen heads of household were living in 1861. Sources for weekly wage estimates: TNA, RAIL 414/770 (for clerks, porters and guards) and 414/863 (for drivers and firemen); these registers relate to staff employed between 1859 and 1861, but do not cover workshop employees or labourers. Estimates for the latter groups are based on figures in published works.²¹

	Weekly wage	Total no.	Low-rated		Moderately-rated		Diversely-rated	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Officials	30–60s.	10	2	20	5	50	3	30
Engineers	32–42s.	49	12	26	22	45	15	31
Engine-drivers	30–45s.	34	7	21	22	65	5	15
Smiths	30–38s.	72	25	35	32	44	15	21
Fitters	30–36s.	94	19	20	50	53	25	27
Boilermakers	28–38s.	37	19	51	12	32	6	16
Other metal-workers	20–35s.	50	20	40	20	40	10	20
Carriage dept. workers	20–35s.	33	11	34	20	61	2	6
Guards	21–28s.	40	8	20	23	58	9	22
Firemen	21–27s.	21	6	26	14	61	3	13
Clerks	21–28s.	26	4	15	16	62	6	23
Porters	17–19s.	56	14	25	34	61	8	14
Labourers	15–18s.	99	57	57	38	38	4	4
Total		623	204	33	308	49	111	18

such streets, suggesting that for these grades rent levels were not always the primary influence on choice of street. Among the five grades occupying a middle position in the table (other metal-workers, carriage department workers, guards, firemen and clerks) the workshop men were more likely than the 'traffic' men to live in low-rated streets. The two low-paid grades at the bottom of the table exhibited contrasting tendencies, with only a quarter of the porters but over half of the labourers living in low-rated streets. Table 2 confirms that rate and rent levels had a considerable influence on the choice of streets in which to live, but for some grades it seems that other factors also played a significant part.

SAMPLE STREETS

In order to gain more insight into factors other than the rent level that may have influenced the decision about where to live, the houses and railway employees living in four sample streets in 1861 will now be examined in greater detail. The selected streets are Elder Street (type L1), London Street (type M2), Guildford Street (type M2), and Hampden and Howard Roads (taken together, type M2). Their locations are shown on Figure 2.

Elder Street had been developed during the 1840s. In 1855, apart from the Rose and Crown public house which was rated at £15, all its properties were rated at either £4 10s. or £5. The houses had five or six rooms, hence their low rateable values must be assumed to reflect some other feature, probably poor quality of construction; twentieth-century residents complained of damp and unusable basement rooms.²² In 1855 the 70 houses in Elder Street were owned by 32 different people; 16 individuals owned just one house, nine owned two (often adjacent) houses, one owned three, five owned four houses each, and Richard Bond, a builder, owned 13.²³ Four of the owners, including Richard Bond, occupied one of their own houses. The 70 houses provided homes for 102 households in 1861; of these 31 households had heads who were railway employees. The remaining household heads included builders, carpenters, bricklayers, traders, gardeners, agricultural labourers, domestic servants and widows. The railwaymen were mainly relatively low-earning labourers, porters, carters, machinists and carriage department workers, whose preference

for a low-rated street was understandable. But there were also eight well-paid railwaymen heads of household living in Elder Street whose choice requires closer consideration.

One of these well-paid men was the 44-year-old fitter with nine children who was also the landlord of the Rose and Crown; he had both a second income and a property with enough space for his large family. A second fitter aged 43, with children aged 13 and three, owned four houses in the street, so it is not surprising that he chose to live in one of these. In the other six cases, the reason for favouring Elder Street is not so obvious. Four of these families occupied a whole house: a 41-year-old smith with a working son and four younger children, a smith aged 42 with one child and two lodgers, a 40-year-old boilermaker with three young children, and a 46-year-old wheelwright with three working children. The other two were sharing with another family: a 43-year-old boilermaker with one child, and a 32-year-old engine-driver with three young children. Five of these six heads of household were engaged in dirty and exhausting workshop employment, and Table 2 has already revealed that at least some such employees appear to have been relatively unconcerned about rate and rent levels in their choice of street of residence. Was the close proximity of Elder Street to the workshops the prime factor in their choice?

London Street was developed a few years later than Elder Street. The houses in the west-side terrace, with four or five rooms but no basements, were rated between £10 and £12, while those on the east side with six rooms, including two in the basement, had rateable values of £13. A Working Men's Co-operative Stores occupied the centre of the east side. The 37 houses already built by 1855 had 18 owners; Daniel Friend owned eleven, six persons owned two or three houses each and eleven owned one.²⁴

By 1861 there were 49 houses, of which two were unoccupied; 66 households occupied the remaining 47 houses. Thirty-four of these households had heads who were railway employees, while the other heads were mainly builders, carpenters, bricklayers or traders, along with a few gardeners, domestic servants, sailors and widows. Many of the railwaymen were better-paid workshop employees, including a millwright and a carriage inspector who owned their own houses. In the case of London Street, what needs explanation is the presence of

less well-paid railway households in a street where house rents might reach 7s. a week.²⁵

Living in London Street in 1861 were six railway labourers of whom five occupied only part of a house. In four cases their families were small and young, and one had a wife working as a shoe-binder. They were probably able to rent two or three rooms for around two or three shillings a week, a sum that men earning about 16s–18s could afford. The fifth labourer household, which included five young children and a boarder, shared a house with a sailor, his wife and four children; number 20 London Street was surely overcrowded, so why did this railway labourer (John Jupp) choose to live here rather than in a cheaper street where he might have rented an entire house? A clue may lie in the fact that the owner of the house had the same surname. The sixth labourer household in London Street was that of a 69-year-old man who occupied a whole house with his wife and disabled son; we can only assume that they had some supplementary source of income. The evidence from this street supports the view that rents were a prime influence for labourer families when choosing where to live. At least some of such families made the effort to afford the rent of rooms in a moderately-rated street when the children were few, but once the family grew the need for more space encouraged most to leave.

Guildford Street, situated just southwest of the passenger station, had rateable values similar to those in London Street in 1855. Thirty-two of the 50 houses were rated between £10 and £12 10s. and 15 between £13 and £16; ten houses were owner-occupied. Guildford Street houses were built earlier than those in London Street, in the 1830s and 1840s, and most had five or six rooms including basements. In 1861 roughly one third of the 75 households had heads who were railway employees, many of the other heads being traders or craftsmen. What distinguished this street from London Street was that the railwaymen heads were mainly porters (8), clerks (4) and drivers, firemen or guards (6). The only workshop employees were four men employed in the carriage department, while no railway labourers lived here.

Some of the drivers, firemen and guards were likely to have been taking home 25s. or more a week, making the renting of an entire house feasible, especially if the family was small or if there was a second income. Three men fitted this

description: a 50-year-old engine-driver with no children at home, a 45-year-old guard with two employed children and two younger children, and a 38-year-old fireman with a dressmaker wife and only one child. In households where the man's pay was closer to the lower limit mentioned, or where there were several children to maintain, then he could afford to occupy only part of a house, as in the cases of a 43-year-old engine-driver with a 20-year old dressmaker daughter and six younger children, a 46-year-old guard with five young children and a 36-year-old guard with three young children. Neither is it surprising to find that seven out of the eight porters, earning between 17s. and 19s. a week, were sharing a house. Men in the 'traffic' grades were apparently not as prepared to move to a lower-rated street when they needed more space for a growing family as were labourers and workshop men. As a result, it is likely that the houses in Guildford Street were more crowded than those in Elder and London Streets.²⁶

When the railway stations were first opened in 1841, the obvious place to live for the men employed there as porters, clerks and train operators was in the nearby existing streets such as Guildford Street. Once the tradition of living in this locality had been established, easy access to their workplaces ensured that these streets remained popular with men in the 'traffic' grades. Workshop employees were never numerous in these streets because, by the 1850s when the number of such workers was growing rapidly, the newer houses in the streets east of the railway land and closer to the workshops had become available. The four carriage department employees, living at numbers 23, 28 and 30 Guildford Street in 1861, were something of an anomaly. Could their choice of locality be explained by the presence in this part of the street in 1851 of a coachbuilder, whose employees subsequently transferred to railway employment?²⁷

Hampden Road and Howard Road were two adjacent streets in process of development in 1861, lying in the triangle of land southeast of Lewes Road that was acquired in 1851 by the Sussex Freehold Land Society. The subscriptions of members of the society had been used to acquire the ten and a quarter acres of land (four hectares), where streets and building plots were then laid out. House plots here were of a more generous size than in the streets discussed above: 16.5 feet (5.4

metres) wide and between 85 and 100 feet (26 and 30 metres) deep.²⁸ From time to time, a group of plots would be allocated by ballot among members of the society, the lucky individuals then paying about £25 to become the owner of their plot.²⁹ Some of the new owners took out a mortgage and employed a builder to put up a house for their own occupation while others sold their plot to a speculative builder; in either case development tended to be slow and piecemeal. By 1855 there were just five occupied houses in the two streets, this number rose to 33 in 1861 and 62 in 1864. In the latter year, seven of the houses were rated at under £10, 45 between £10 and £12 10s. and ten at £13 or more. The terraced form was retained with each house occupying the full width of its plot, but there was some variety in the appearance of the facades. The greater length of the plots gave more scope than elsewhere in the Railway District for workshops or garden activities.

In 1861 there were 36 households living in the 33 occupied houses and 14 (or possibly 15) of these had heads who were railway employees. Five adjacent low-rated cottages in Howard Road were rented out to three fitters, an engineer and a coachsmith. Living in moderately-rated houses in Hampden Road were four smiths, two fitters, a coach trimmer and a porter; two of the smiths were owner-occupiers. Their neighbours included traders and shopkeepers, a retired military officer, an architect, a post-office clerk and a musician, occupations that suggest that this was developing as a lower middle-class area. Most of the railwaymen here were well-paid and their families were small: for instance, no fitter had no more than two children. Two of the smiths had working wives and two had a working child, while the coach trimmer shared his home with a working brother-in-law who was single. We do not know whether any of these railway employees were among the 640 members of the local branch of the Sussex Freehold Land Society, as no membership or other records appear to have survived.³⁰

These sample studies reveal the diversity in the responses of different grades of railwaymen to the factors discussed earlier that may have influenced the choice of street of residence. The simplest response was among labourers, who were concerned with little more than the rent they could afford and the space it would buy. For most men in the 'traffic' grades, the social

status of the street was an important additional factor: by choosing a street where others of equivalent occupations were living, they assured themselves of its acceptability. Status was of such overwhelming importance for clerks that space requirements were willingly compromised. Among skilled workshop employees, there appear to have been two subgroups with differing priorities. The first comprised those apparently contented with any nearby accommodation regardless of what they could afford, perhaps valuing their own convenience above family needs. The second subgroup sought the better streets even where this involved a longer walk to work. These men may have been less concerned with the status of the street than with the material advantages of a good house. Because different groups emphasized different factors, they ended up living in different parts of the district.

By 1861, the railway company had played a part in Brighton's development for just 20 years, but its impact had been considerable. Not only had a distinctive Railway District been added to the town, but within this district significant social differences from one street to another had developed. These social differences were a reflection on the ground of the diversity among the LBSCR's workforce in skills and wages, but also in their social aspirations.

CONCLUSION

It is inevitable that the older and grander parts of any town attract more attention than seemingly monotonous tracts of working-class housing, hence the limited interest previously accorded to Brighton's Railway District. Nevertheless, by 1861 it occupied some 20 per cent of the built-up area of the town and housed a large group of men whose regular employment added a valuable stabilising element to a resort economy subject to seasonal fluctuations.³¹ And when subjected to closer scrutiny, the Railway District exhibits a fascinating degree of internal diversity.

Many questions remain. How far was this new railway community integrated into the social and economic life of the rest of the town? In 1861 it may have been a somewhat separate world for the railway employees themselves, for they had little need to visit the rest of the town — unless perhaps they joined in the Sunday seafront crowds along

with the day trippers. Their home-based wives too would have had little time or money to spend outside their immediate vicinity, although some of them may have had experience of other parts of the town as a result of working when younger as domestic servants in local hotels and boarding houses. It would also be interesting to know how

many railway families had relatives or friends living elsewhere in the town with whom they kept in touch. There is still much to discover about life in the Railway District of Victorian Brighton.

Acknowledgement

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NOTES

- ¹ J. A. Sheppard, 'Brighton's railway workers in the 1850s', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) **139** (2001), 191–201, and 'The provenance of Brighton's railway workers 1841–61', *Local Population Studies* **72** (2004), 16–33.
- ² E. M. Gilbert, *Brighton: Old Ocean's Bauble* (London: Methuen, 1954, repr. Hassocks: Flare Press, 1975), 157; E. Gill, *Autobiography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940, repr. London: Lund Humphries, 1992), 77; K. Fines, *A History of Brighton and Hove* (Chichester: Phillimore 2002), 59–60.
- ³ S. Farrant, *The Growth of Brighton and Hove 1840–1939* (Centre for Continuing Education, University of Sussex, 1981), 13–34; T. Carder, *The Encyclopaedia of Brighton* (Lewes: East Sussex County Libraries, 1990), Section 49: Development.
- ⁴ S. Berry, *Georgian Brighton* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2005), 87–9, 131.
- ⁵ Carder, *Encyclopaedia*, Section 53c: Tenantry downland; *Brighton Herald*, 10 January 1852.
- ⁶ S. Farrant, 'The sources of building materials for Brighton', *Sussex Industrial History* **10** (1980), 23–7; J. Farrant, 'The seaborne trade of Sussex 1720–1845' SAC **114** (1976), 97–120; M. Beswick, *Brickmaking in Sussex* (Midhurst: Middleton Press, 1993), Chapters 6 & 7; Carder, *Encyclopaedia*, Section 4: Architecture.
- ⁷ The first bye-laws were drawn up in 1825 by the Brighton Commissioners, see Anthony Dale, *Brighton Town and Brighton People* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1976), 164–5. The impression is that these bye-laws were inadequately policed until Brighton Borough was incorporated in 1854; a consolidated list of bye-laws was published in 1861.
- ⁸ Field Books of the Inland Revenue surveyors 1909–12, The National Archives (hereafter TNA), IR58/57–67.
- ⁹ Brighton Corporation Engineer and Surveyor's Department, Registers of building notices, East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), DB/D2.
- ¹⁰ Brighton, Hove and Preston Constant Service Water Works Company minute book, 1853–72, ESRO, SWA/3/1/2; Gilbert, *Brighton*, 166–7; Carder, *Encyclopaedia*, Section 200: Water supply; W. H. Attwick, *Brighton since the Grant of the Charter 1854–1929* (Brighton and Hove Herald, 1929), 11.
- ¹¹ S. Farrant, 'The drainage of Brighton: sewerage and outfall provision as an issue in a famous seaside resort c. 1840–80', SAC **124** (1986), 213–14; E. Cresy, *Report to the General Board of Health on ... the Sanitary Condition of ... Brighton* (London, 1849).
- ¹² Minutes of Brighton Borough Council Highways and Works Committee 1856–7, ESRO, DB/B16/1.
- ¹³ A. Ravetz, 'The Victorian coal kitchen and its reformers', *Victorian Studies* **11** (1967–68), 453; D. J. Eveleigh, *Fire-grates and Kitchen Ranges* (Shire Album **99**, 1983), 21.
- ¹⁴ Brighton's poorest housing areas at this time were in the vicinity of Edward Street and Carlton Hill, Carder, *Encyclopaedia*, Section 126: The poor.
- ¹⁵ There are doubts about the reliability of some of the older rating assessments, but post-1840 valuations are likely to have been reasonably accurate; J. V. Beckett, *Local Taxation* (London: Bedford Square Press, 1980), 37.
- ¹⁶ Brighton Rate Books for 1855 and 1864, ESRO, BH/B/4/42/1 and 2, BH/B/4/44/1.
- ¹⁷ Dale, *Brighton Town and Brighton People*, 164.
- ¹⁸ 1851 Census of Population, Enumerators' Books, TNA, HO107/1644–6.
- ¹⁹ 1861 Census of Population, Enumerators' Books, TNA, RG595–8.
- ²⁰ The CEBs do not distinguish tenants from sub-tenants. Some enumerators appear to have tried to list first the families of chief tenants, but others obviously did not, and even in the case of some houses started the list with lodgers. Some enumerators listed sub-tenant households as lodgers, while others included as separate households single men who were obviously renting just one room.
- ²¹ C. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (London: Macmillan, 1901); J. B. Jefferys, *The Story of the Engineers* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1945); P. W. Kingsford, *Victorian Railwaymen: the Emergence and Growth of Railway Labour* (London: Frank Cass, 1970); M. Robbins, *The Railway Age* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962).
- ²² *Back Street Brighton* (Brighton: Queenspark Book 22, [1989]), 39–43 and cover photo.
- ²³ In 1851, Richard Bond was recorded as a 41-year-old builder employing five men, TNA, HO107/1643/1013.
- ²⁴ Daniel Friend also owned four houses in Elder Street; in 1851 he was a 67-year-old leather dealer living in Edward Street, TNA, HO107/1645/5.
- ²⁵ Number 14 London Street was advertised for sale by auction in the *Brighton Herald* of 10 January 1852 as 'a newly-built house containing three chambers, two capital parlours, kitchen and washhouse, yard (with privy) and garden ... Immediate possession or term of rent at the same as adjoining houses, viz. 7s a week'.
- ²⁶ Demographers measure crowding in terms of the number of persons per room. Figures for 1861 cannot be calculated in the absence of information on room numbers.

²⁷ 1851 CEBs, TNA, HO107/1645.

²⁸ Notes on a plan of the Brighton Freehold Estate, November 1852, ESRO, DB/D26/11.

²⁹ Each plot 'will cost those members who pay up at once (law expenses included) something under £25 a plot. To those members who mortgage, an additional expense of 33s. 6d. will be incurred, which will be paid by the

Society, and will be repaid, with the cost of the plot, by ordinary subscriptions at the rate of 1s. per share per week'. *Brighton Herald*, 10 January 1852.

³⁰ *Brighton Herald*, 10 January 1852.

³¹ John K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: a Social History 1750–1914*. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983), 96.
