

# ◆ ‘No lodgings to be had for love or money’

## THE BUSINESS OF ACCOMMODATING VISITORS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRIGHTON

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*Brighton's transition from a town with a broadly fishing- and maritime-based economy to one of the country's principal seaside resorts has been widely studied. However, the mechanisms by which the town sustained the increasing number of visitors are less well understood. In the eighteenth century, long before hotels and boarding houses became commonplace, the visitor economy of the town was heavily underpinned by local residents providing accommodation for visitors. This could take the form of renting spare rooms in their own houses (lodgings), or entire houses (lodging houses). They were supplemented to a much lesser extent by inns and boarding houses, the precursors of hotels. The situation was such that in 1799 one-third of the 1200 houses in the town provided visitor accommodation of some description. This paper looks at the role that the residents and speculators played in the development of Brighton's accommodation sector.*

‘Brighton in the period in question was, in reality, neither more nor less than a huge lodging house, the proprietor of every house laying himself out to provide the utmost possible accommodation.’<sup>1</sup>

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRIGHTON AS A RESORT

In the seventeenth century much of Brighton's economy depended on maritime pursuits such as fishing and cargo transport, supplemented by some arable production on the fields outside the town and sheep farming on the Downs. The decline of the fishing industry during the later seventeenth century and coastal erosion were catastrophic for the local economy. Brighton's population slumped, and by the late seventeenth century the town commissioners had to apply for ‘poor relief’ because of the poverty of the town.<sup>2</sup>

By the 1730s subtle changes were evident in the town's economy. In common with Hastings, Scarborough and Margate, this is the decade when the first evidence for sea bathing is recorded.<sup>3</sup> In a letter sent from Brighton by the Reverend William Clarke (1695–1771), the Rector of Buxted, to his friend Mr Bowyer, a printer in London, on 22 July 1736, he states: ‘We are now sunning ourselves upon the beach at Brighthelmston ... my morning business is bathing in the sea.’<sup>4</sup>

In the same letter Clarke recorded that he and his family had rented lodgings in Brighton comprising ‘two parlours, two bedchambers, pantry, &c.’ for *only* five shillings a week. He considered this to be cheap. In 1736 the sea bathing industry and associated health tourism in Brighton would have been comparatively new, and there would have been only weak demand for lodgings which would not have stimulated prices. The nature of Clarke's activities (riding, buying fish, watching the boats) highlights that at this time there was little infrastructure in the town for entertaining visitors — a point emphasized in the journal of John Whaley (c. 1710–45), a Fellow of King's College Cambridge, who visited the town in the year before the Reverend William Clarke. He simply described Brighton as ‘the ruins of a large fishing town’.<sup>5</sup> At this time most of the town's accommodation needs were supplied by the inns but, as the Reverend John Burton (1696–1771) was to find, these could be boisterous and noisy places. He and a friend were unable to sleep at a Brighton inn because of a group of sailors who ‘stayed all night drinking and singing with barbarous dissonance.’<sup>6</sup>

### 1750s

Three important developments heralded the beginning of the 1750s: medical endorsement of Brighton's waters, improved transport

infrastructure, and investment in inns, libraries, bathing machines and other infrastructure. These would be instrumental in the development of the town.

In 1750 Dr Richard Russell (1687–1759) published his *Glandular Diseases, or a Dissertation on the Use of Sea Water in the Affections of the Glands* in Latin, an unauthorized English translation of which appears in 1752. This volume expounded the virtues of sea bathing (immersion in seawater) and drinking seawater. Crucially, Russell emphasized the quality of the waters in Brighton.<sup>7</sup> This recommendation undoubtedly had a profound effect on the economy of the town, as Dr Richard Pococke (1704–65) noted in 1754 that the town had a good coffee house and bathing carriages, and was ‘greatly improved of late by the concourse of people who come to it to bathe and drink the sea waters, under a persuasion that the water here is better than at other places.’<sup>8</sup>

While this may be a somewhat simplistic interpretation of the town’s economic drivers, it is clear that, only 20 years after Clarke took to the waters in Brighton, a gradual renaissance was occurring and the town was becoming increasingly popular with the privileged classes. Benjamin Martin noted in his 1759 book the *Natural History of England* that ‘within these few years this has been a place of prodigious resort for nobility and gentry, many even coming from London, to drink sea water, or to bathe.’<sup>9</sup>

This comment is instructive. The nobility and gentry are described as *even* coming from London, suggesting that at this time, although there were numerous London visitors, they were not yet the main driver of the visitor economy. It was only in 1745 that a weekly coach service from Brighton to London appeared, with a journey time of two days. It was complemented in 1756 by a twice-weekly fast service which took only a day.<sup>10</sup> The investment in coaching services would only have been worthwhile if there was a demand.

But with the improvements in the transport infrastructure the nobility did begin come to Brighton. One of the earliest recorded was Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon (1707–91). She brought her youngest son, who was ill, in order to try the sea bathing cures recommended by Dr Russell, and took a lodging house on North Street in 1755. Although her son died in 1757, the Countess was to return to Brighton in 1760 and

thereafter.<sup>11</sup> Other local gentry such as the Pelhams and Sheffields were already visitors to the town.

### 1760s

Although known before the early 1700s, the chalybeate spring in Wick, just to the west of the town, was exploited as a health attraction from the 1750s and became increasingly popular in the 1760s.<sup>12</sup> This improved Brighton’s visitor offer, in that it could provide visitors with both seawater bathing and an inland mineral spring in the manner of resorts such as Scarborough and Weymouth.

It was estimated that by 1761 the number of visitors, including their children and servants, was about 400.<sup>13</sup> This compares well with the estimate in the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, which suggests a minimum of 320 visitors in 1769.<sup>14</sup> The number and status of these visitors would have been beyond the capacity of the inns, which tended to be used for short-term stays rather than lodgings. It is apparent that lodging houses were by this time an established part of the town’s accommodation offer.

In order to sustain this influx of visitors, a building boom ensued. Initially this was principally infill development driven by the local residents such as the kind recorded by Russell’s successor Dr Anthony Relham (c. 1715–76), who noted that ‘the town improves daily, the inhabitants, encouraged by the late great resort of company, seem disposed to expend the whole of what they acquire in the erecting of new buildings, or making the old ones convenient.’<sup>15</sup>

This phenomenon was not unique to Brighton, and was witnessed in many of the south’s upwardly mobile seaside resorts. A guidebook to Margate from 1765 attests that the houses were ‘applied to the reception of strangers, for which purpose they were never originally intended. Some good houses have been built within a few years, and others are building: The old ones daily receive all the improvements they are capable of.’<sup>16</sup>

However, despite the building and renovation boom, the quality of the lodgings at this early date could not keep pace with the demand. George James ‘Gilly’ Williams (1719–1805) visited Brighton for the sea bathing in August 1763, and strongly dissuaded his friend the MP George Selwyn (1719–91) from visiting because of the poor quality of the lodgings in the town. According to Williams the best lodgings were ‘most execrable, and what

you would find now, I believe, not habitable.<sup>17</sup>

Such comments highlight the situation that Brighton found itself in. As the town began to attract higher-status visitors, it needed accommodation that was commensurate with their standing. However, until the second half of the eighteenth-century Brighton had no residents of high status and wealth. Consequently there was no bank of quality housing that could be used for accommodating high-status visitors.<sup>18</sup> In the long term this would prove advantageous, as large volumes of 'new build' houses were constructed in the latest fashions. But before this there was clearly insufficient quality housing in the town.

By the middle of the decade the nobility were starting to visit Brighton. The first recorded was the Duke of Gloucester, brother of King George III, who visited in June 1765. He was followed by George Spencer-Churchill, third Duke of Marlborough, who became a regular visitor to Brighton from 1767 onwards.

Lodging houses were becoming an increasingly prominent feature of the town. The town was expanding beyond its medieval core, with new development occurring to the north. The *Description of Brighthelmston* published in 1769 refers to the 'range of handsome homes' on the Steine, 'one of which belongs to the Duke of Marlborough; several are occupied by private gentlemen, and the chief part of the others are genteel lodging houses.'<sup>19</sup> The *New Brighton Guide* also describes the 'pleasantly situated' buildings on North Row among which were 'several commodious lodging houses.'<sup>20</sup>

It is apparent that by the 1760s Brighton could boast a variety of health tourist attractions, some limited visitor infrastructure and was beginning to attract the nobility. The town was on the ascendancy.

### 1770s

It is clear that by the 1770s Brighton was firmly entrenched on the social circuit. The Scottish poet and author Tobias Smollett's (1721–71) epistolary novel *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, published in 1771, gives some indication of this. In the novel Jery Melford writes to Sir Watkin Phillips from Bath on 17 May stating that 'The music and entertainments of Bath are over for this season; and all our gay birds of passage have taken their flight to Bristol Wells, Tunbridge, Brighthelmstone, Scarborough, Harrowgate, etc.'<sup>21</sup>

In June 1771 the Duke of Marlborough purchased as his summer residence a house overlooking the Steine that had been built around 1765 for Samuel Shergold, the inn keeper of the Castle.<sup>22</sup> The increasingly lucrative nature of the property letting market meant that even the Duke was not averse to renting his property to visitors. In 1779 it was recorded that, although the Duke of Marlborough's income was 'immense', he 'lets his house out, even to different families at the same time.'<sup>23</sup> The Duke of Marlborough was followed by the Duke of York and then Henry, Duke of Cumberland and Strathearn (1745–90), who made a week-long visit in September 1771 and returned in June 1772.

As the town became more fashionable visitors increasingly came for the society as well as the health aspects of the town. As Edward Gibbon was to state to his stepmother a decade later, in July 1781 he came to Brighton not for the health offerings but for the 'amusement and society.'<sup>24</sup>

Despite the frantic pace of building in the town, visitor numbers were increasing at a faster rate. The Brighton correspondent of the *Morning Herald* recorded in June 1771 that 'from the numbers of houses already taken we expect to have a fuller season than was ever known here.'<sup>25</sup> By the 1770s the high demand for accommodation and insufficient supply during the season meant that it was often necessary to take lodgings immediately. For example, in July 1771 John Baker, a London barrister, 'took lodgings *instantly* at Miss Grover in West Street at 1 guinea a week man and self.'<sup>26</sup> Any delay in taking possession could cause problems, as a diarist was to find later in the same decade. He records how he had 'bargained with a woman for lodging in Middle-street Lane: conveyed my effects there, when found her husband had let the apartment, in the interim to another person, who was in possession.'<sup>27</sup>

He was lucky to find other lodgings. It is apparent that Brighton was unable to accommodate the visitors who wished to stay in the town in peak season. In 1776 there is evidence for some visitors having to stay in Lewes, eight miles to the east of Brighton, because of the lack of available accommodation in the town, a situation that would be repeated throughout the remainder of the century.<sup>28</sup>

The beginnings of an accommodation crisis are evident, and led to situations where upper and

middle-class visitors would have been required to stay in what could only be described as basic lodgings far below their social status. The diarist who had unsuccessfully negotiated for lodgings in Middle Street Lane went on to take lodgings at:

‘a poor man’s house in Ship-Street, who has a large family; took a small bed-room the sooner on that account, tho’ the music is rather too powerful, for the cherubims and seraphims continually do cry. This added to the spiritual songs and hymns which some females in the next house are continually chanting, make up something like a concert.’<sup>29</sup>

Such situations undoubtedly led to many interesting social interactions, a point not lost on the commentators of the time. In 1796 the Welshman John Williams (1754–1818), writing under the pen-name Anthony Pasquin in *The New Brighton Guide*, noted that ‘the sinews of morality are so happily relaxed, that a bawd and a baroness may snore in the same tenement.’<sup>30</sup>

Although high-density urban living was becoming the norm for many in eighteenth-century Britain, for it to be mentioned by chroniclers suggests that what was occurring in Brighton was unusual. Although not a melting pot, Brighton in the last three decades of the eighteenth century was atypical in the degree of interaction between the classes, an interaction necessitated by the accommodation situation.

### 1780s

The 1780s continued in the same vein as the previous decade. In 1780 Henry Man, Deputy Secretary to the South Sea Company, wrote in a letter to his wife that there was a ‘great deal of company’ in Brighton.<sup>31</sup> As in the previous decade, finding accommodation for these visitors at peak times was becoming increasingly difficult. In what would become an all too common lament in the later part of the eighteenth century, the Brighton correspondent of the *Morning Herald* wrote in August 1782 ‘We are very full; no lodgings to be had for love or money’.<sup>32</sup> Although this was by no means a steady increase over time, significant fluctuations in visitor numbers were experienced (Table 8).

The high demand was also beginning to stimulate prices. By the mid-1780s there are numerous references in newspapers to the high

prices of accommodation and provisions at Brighton and other watering places.<sup>33</sup> *The Times* even spoke of the ‘the intolerable extravagant charges at the paltry inns’ of Brighton.<sup>34</sup>

Having just published the third volume of *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Edward Gibbon (1737–94) visited the town in 1781, staying in a ‘small pleasant house’ for three months.<sup>35</sup> In a letter to his stepmother he describes his accommodation in the town as having ‘a full prospect of the sea’, a situation which pleased him greatly.<sup>36</sup> However, when he returned in November of the same year with Lord and Lady Sheffield, he witnessed a different side of the town. ‘Instead of my beautiful sea-shore, I am confined to a dark lodging in the middle of the town; for the place is still full, and our time is now spent in the dull imitation of a London life.’<sup>37</sup>

Gibbon’s comments are instructive. The quality of the lodgings was perceived to be poorer in the old town compared to the more recently constructed buildings on the seafront. This was because the old town was not designed as a tourist destination, and had experienced a considerable period of economic decline in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Although much infill development had taken place, many of the buildings had been constructed in the seventeenth century. Adapting them to accommodate visitors with eighteenth-century tastes and fashions was always going to be problematic. Aside from the decay of the buildings that can be envisaged because of their age and close proximity to the sea, other problems are described by the Reverend William Clarke, who lodged in the town in June 1736 when he complained of the low ceilings and that ‘we live here *almost underground*’. Half a century later, in 1787, Mrs Philippina Hill echoed these comments in her ‘Apology’. She complained of the doors of lodging houses ‘opening direct into the sitting room’ and the doors being so low that there was often a step down into the parlour, so that people lived almost underground.<sup>38</sup>

The initial popularity of the old town as a place for lodging was simply a function of the lack of other available properties in Brighton. Initially infilling in the old town was followed by the construction of new buildings in quantity, first to the north then to the east of the Steine (Fig. 1).

By the late 1780s a new factor was beginning to influence the demand for accommodation in



Fig. 1. Budgen's map of Brighton in 1788 highlighting the development to the east of the Steyne.<sup>39</sup>

Brighton. George Augustus Frederick (1762–1830), then Prince of Wales, made his first visit to the town in 1783. By 1786 he had purchased Thomas Kemp's farmhouse and was beginning construction of the Marine Pavilion, which would later become the Royal Pavilion. While it is evident that the Prince was not the 'founder of Brighthelmston', as stated by so many sycophantic contemporaries, his presence was a stimulus for the accommodation sector in the town.<sup>40</sup> George Carey (1743–1807) described the situation in Brighton at the end of the eighteenth century. 'Brighton has less diversity than Margate, and less tranquillity than Tunbridge Wells, but I believe it is visited by more nobility than either of the foregoing places. This may proceed from the Heir Apparent making it his summer residence.'<sup>41</sup>

From the late 1780s Brighton became the *de facto* seat of some of the Royal court for part of the year. Those wishing to gain influence could not simply choose another sea-bathing resort. The importance of royal patronage to the town and its

lodging houses was not lost on the inhabitants of Brighton.<sup>42</sup>

### 1790s

It is apparent that there was insufficient housing stock in Brighton to cater for the growing number of visitors. Despite the best efforts of the residents, speculators and investors, throughout the later eighteenth century the town was unable to keep pace with demand.

By the 1790s yet more pressure was being exerted on the accommodation sector. The increasing popularity of the seaside resort was beginning to be felt in the visitor numbers. For the first time, annual visitor numbers may have exceeded the town's population (Fig. 2). One anonymous visitor in August 1792 found the town full and was 'much distressed' for a place to sleep. It was only after enquiring 'all over the town' that accommodation was found in the house of an 'old woman'. Unfortunately she was to discover that 'the beds were bad, and the fleas in great plenty

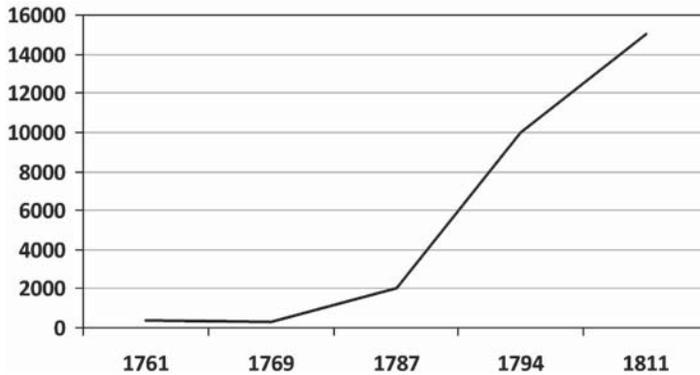


Fig. 2. Estimates for visitor numbers to Brighton during the later eighteenth century.<sup>43</sup>

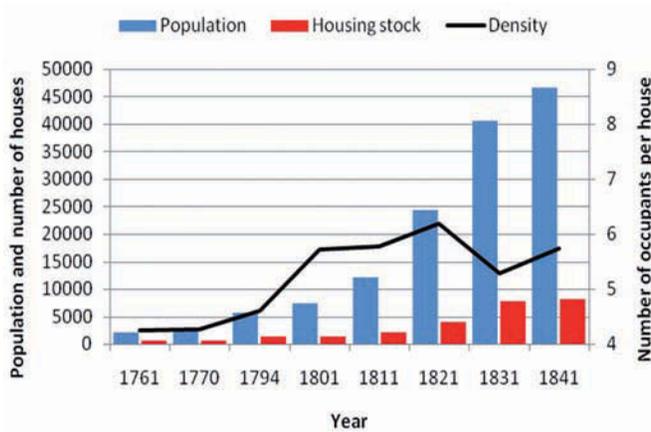


Fig. 3. The increase in Brighton's population and housing stock compared with the density of occupation per house 1760–1841.<sup>44</sup>

and something else which shall remain nameless. In truth I believe we were lodged in a house of not the best reputation ....<sup>45</sup>

Newspapers also hint at this accommodation crisis (Table 8), but it was not just visitors who came to the town. This decade saw the south coast becoming increasingly militarized in response to the perceived threat of invasion stemming from the French Revolutionary Wars (1793–97) and later the Napoleonic Wars (1804–15).<sup>46</sup> Thousands of troops were stationed along the south coast, and Brighton became a garrison town, with infantry barracks in the town and cavalry barracks two miles north in the parish of Preston.<sup>47</sup> These troops would have brought wives and children, suppliers and camp followers, who would have placed further demands on the accommodation of the town and the surrounding villages.<sup>48</sup>

The property market had not yet created sufficient capacity to sustain this influx, and the external pressure came simultaneously with internal population pressure. By 1794 the population was 5669, with 1233 houses in the town, an average of 4.6 occupants per house, which was a slight increase on the 4.2 occupants per house in 1761 and 1770. However, by 1801 this would rise to 5.7 per house (Fig. 3).

It is clear that the Brighton of 1800 had changed out of all recognition from the town William Clarke had visited 64 years earlier.

#### THE BUSINESS OF LODGING VISITORS

It is apparent that at the close of the eighteenth century Brighton's accommodation sector was

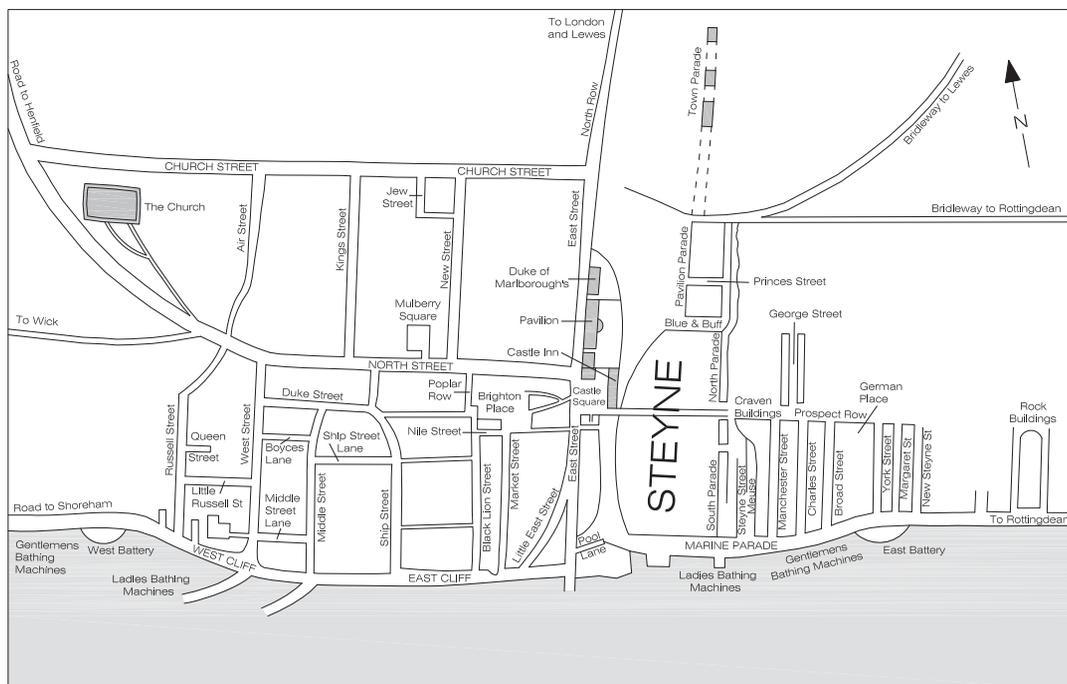


Fig. 4. Edward Cobby's map of Brighton published in July 1799 (i.e. drawn).

flourishing, but strained during peak periods. And it is just at this time, with the publication of Edward Cobby's *The Brighthelmston Directory for 1799*, that the most detailed surviving evidence for the structure of the lodging sector in eighteenth-century Brighton can be found.<sup>49</sup> The *Directory* provides a list of the principal residents and tradesmen in the town and, unusually, it provides a detailed breakdown of the available accommodation.<sup>50</sup> However, while the *Directory* appears to provide a broadly accurate representation of the accommodation sector in late eighteenth-century Brighton, there are indications that the figures may under-represent the total available accommodation. The *Directory* includes only main streets (Fig. 4); most of the smaller alleys and twittens are excluded, although these localities may not have provided lodgings that were sought after by visitors and may have been oriented towards the accommodation of locals.<sup>51</sup>

The *Directory* makes the distinction between lodging houses (an entire house which may be rented), lodgings (rooms or apartments available within a proprietor's house) and boarding houses (precursors of hotels where room and board are

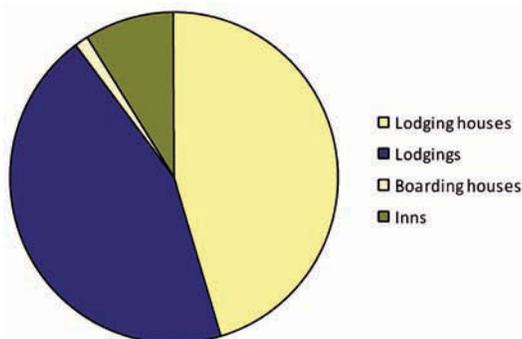


Fig. 5. The accommodation types available to Brighton visitors in 1799.<sup>52</sup>

provided). Although the distinction is made in the *Directory* between different lodging types, there was a great deal of flexibility in the definitions. Lodging houses could be let as a house in its entirety or one room or floor at a time, depending on demand and potential profitability.<sup>53</sup>

The census of 1801 shows that there were 1282 houses in Brighton. In 1799, 211 of them were let as lodging houses, 208 provided lodgings, and 7

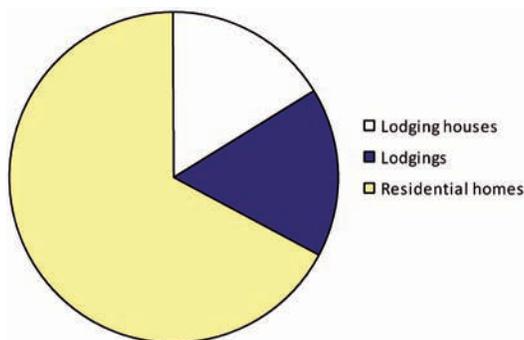


Fig. 6. The residential housing stock in Brighton given over to visitor accommodation in 1799.<sup>54</sup>

more were converted to boarding houses. Thus 426 houses (approximately 34% of the town's housing stock) provided accommodation for the early visitor economy of Brighton (Fig. 6).<sup>55</sup> In this year Brighton could also boast 41 inns, some of which provided further accommodation (Fig. 5).<sup>56</sup>

### THE LODGING HOUSES

The *Directory* provides information on the location of the lodging houses in Brighton, the types of rooms available and the proprietors. In 1799 lodging houses provided 680 'best bedrooms', with an additional 690 bedrooms for servants, while the houses with lodgings provided a further 404 best rooms with 293 servant's bedrooms. Altogether there were 1084 best bedrooms and 983 bedrooms for servants, giving a total of 2067 bedrooms in what could be called the private sector. However, it has been suggested that the use of the term 'bedroom' in the *Directory* could refer to just 'beds', so these figures have to be viewed with some degree of caution.<sup>57</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the accommodation in the lodging houses was dominated by bedrooms. Then as now this was a key determinant of the achievable price of a property. In 1799 each lodging house had an average of 6.5 bedrooms (3.2 best bedrooms and 3.3 servant's bedrooms). All lodging houses had at least one parlour (averaging 1.7 per lodging house), but drawing rooms were found in only 65% of lodging houses.

Brighton's lodging houses had between one and nine best bedrooms (Fig. 7). The smaller properties with one and two best bedrooms tended to be concentrated in the old town, where space

was at a premium.<sup>58</sup> The new-build properties to the east and northeast of the town had more best rooms, the largest being Thomas Howell's massive property at 1 Broad Street which included nine best bedrooms and six servants' bedrooms.

The lodging houses held between zero and eight servants' bedrooms. At the low end of the scale the builder Thomas Paine's two-bedroom property at 7 Market Place had no servant's bedrooms, although this was the only such property in the town. This clearly indicates that the kinds of visitor who would be using lodging houses would be wealthy enough to have servants. In contrast, Benjamin Pierce's property at 2 Pavilion Parade had six best bedrooms and eight servants' bedrooms.

The greatest concentration of lodging houses was located to the east of East Street, principally overlooking the Steine and along Marine Parade (Fig. 8). In this area lodging houses outnumbered lodgings by four to one. Cobby records no lodging houses in the town north of North Street and west of East Street. With only eight lodgings, this area was poorly served with accommodation of all sorts. Lodging houses were concentrated on the boundaries of the old town in East, West and North Streets, with very few in the centre of the town (Fig. 9).

### Principal lodging house proprietors

Brighton's principal lodging house proprietors in 1799 are shown in Table 1. Two major groups appear amongst the top 11 proprietors with a known profession: builders and those providing services for the town's visitors (Table 2). The only exception was Isabella Pullen, who is referred to as a school mistress but in reality was foremost a property developer.

It is apparent that a considerable number of Brighton's lodging houses were concentrated in the hands of a limited number of individuals. Of the 141 lodging houses proprietors, the top 11 (7.6%) owned 49 lodging houses between them, or 23.2% of the lodging house stock in Brighton. Such clustering was a common feature of many resort towns.

### Female proprietors

The percentage of female proprietors of lodging houses and houses with lodgings is 19% in both cases. There are 41 lodging houses run by 24 separate women. Seven women were proprietors of more than one property. Joanna Davis, Mary Davis,

Fig. 7. A comparison of the number of best bedrooms and servant's bedrooms in Brighton lodging houses in 1799.<sup>59</sup>

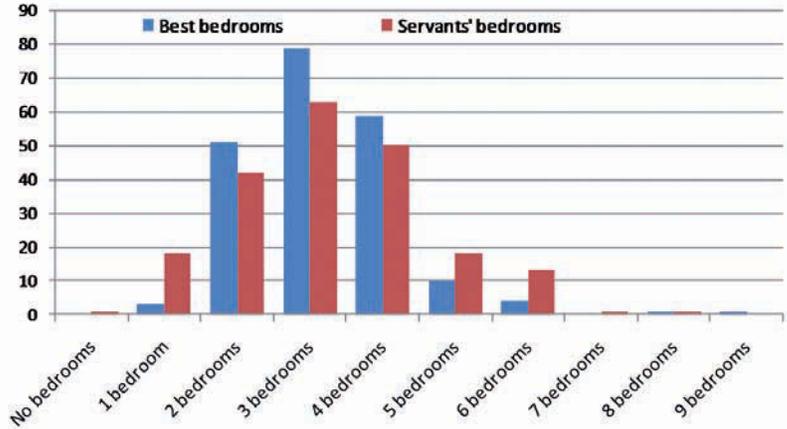


Fig. 8. A comparison of the number of lodging houses and lodgings on the principal streets to the east of East Street in 1799.<sup>60</sup>

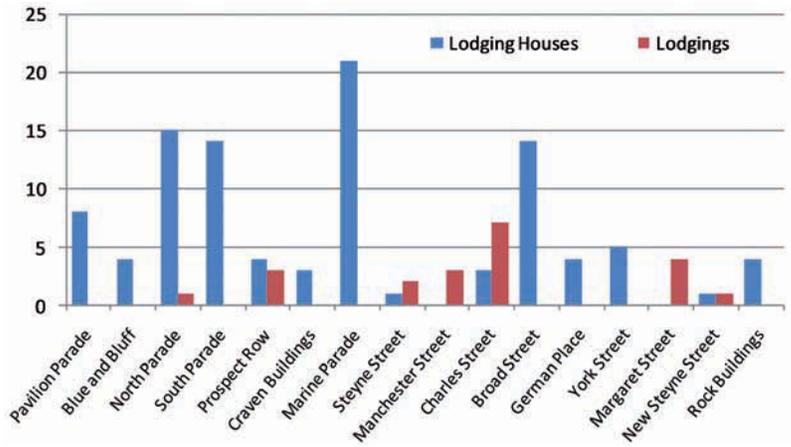


Fig. 9. A comparison of the number of lodging houses and lodgings on the principal streets in the old town in 1799.<sup>61</sup>

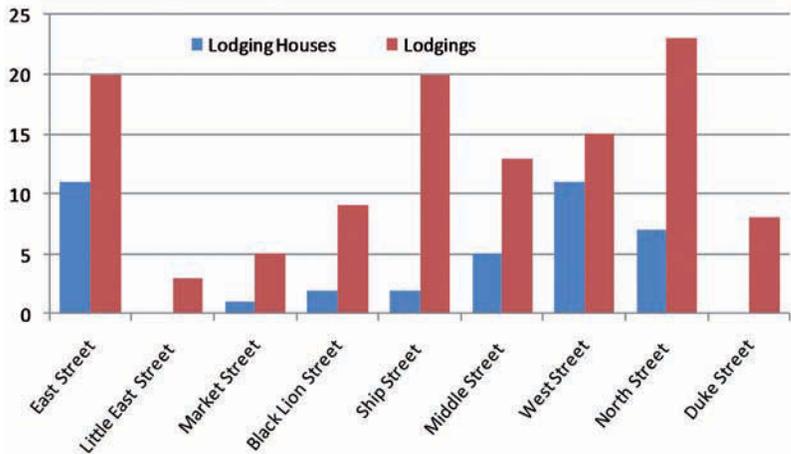
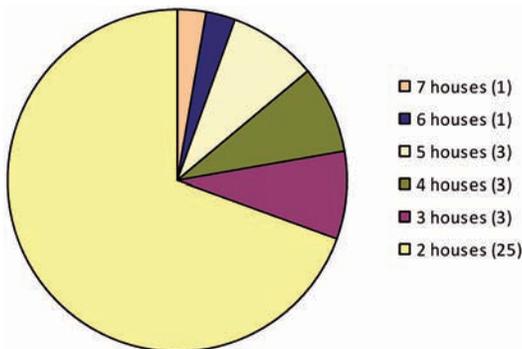


Table 1. Brighton's principal lodging house proprietors in 1799.

Name	No. of properties	% of lodging houses	Total no. best bedrooms	Total no. servant's bedrooms	Total bed capacity	% of all lodging house bedrooms	Occupation	Address
Thomas Howell	7	3.3	26	24	50	3.7	Stage coach owner, builder	Hove
James Gregory	6	2.8	29	26	55	4.0	Librarian	Circulating Library
Nicholas Johnson	5	2.4	15	16	31	2.3	Builder	5 Steyne Street
John Smith	5	2.4	12	21	33	2.4	Pastry cook/confectioner	4 North Street
Mathew Walker	5	2.4	18	18	36	2.6	Unknown	Unknown
Nathan Smith	4	1.9	12	16	28	2.1	Inventor	3 Artillery Place
William Tuppen	4	1.9	11	11	22	1.6	Builder	35 East Street
Isabella Pullen	4	1.9	12	11	23	1.7	School mistress	5 New Steyne
John Cunningham	3	1.4	8	6	14	1.0	Unknown	Unknown
Edward Thunder	3	1.4	11	14	25	1.8	Builder	2 Poplar Road
Stephen Wood	3	1.4	12	13	25	1.8	Builder	13 Charles Street
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>23.2</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>342</b>	<b>25</b>		

Fig. 10. A comparison of the number of proprietors who kept multiple lodging houses in Brighton in 1799.<sup>62</sup>

Elizabeth Downs, Martha Gresham and Elizabeth May had two properties each in 1800, while Sarah May had three, and Isabella Pullen four (Table 3).

Isabella Pullen not only owned the most lodging houses of all women in Brighton, but she had the most fashionable (and probably valuable) property portfolio. Her properties were all located to the east of the Steine. This made Isabella the sixth largest proprietor of lodging houses in Brighton, along with Nathan Smith and William

Tuppen. Isabella is described in the *Directory* as a school mistress, living at 5 New Steyne. The other women who owned multiple lodging houses are not mentioned in the *Directory*.

#### Partnerships

Four of the 211 lodging houses (2%) had partnerships listed as the proprietors (Table 4). For example, Donaldson and Wilkes the librarians were proprietors at the Marine Library, 7 Marine Parade, and appear to have rented out a substantial part of the property as a lodging house. Whether pre-established entities such as Colbron and Saunders the builders, or simply fortuitous links of economic expediency, partnerships were a logical means to acquire real estate.

#### LODGINGS

The provision of lodgings was a fundamentally different market from that of lodging houses, for both suppliers and consumers. The suppliers of lodgings did not need a source of capital to cash in on the tourist boom, only a home or business premises with spare space that could be used to accommodate visitors. Such properties need not even have been owned by the proprietors; it was

Table 2. The occupations of Brighton's principal lodging house proprietors in 1799.

Name	Notes
Thomas Howell (7)	Howell was described as combining the 'callings of a builder and lodging-house-keeper on a large scale, and who also had a wheel in one of the London coaches'. <sup>63</sup> He was proprietor of the most lodging houses in Brighton and appears to have acquired much of his wealth through his ownership of a share in a stage coach that ran between London and Brighton. This was reinvested in the Brighton property market. <sup>64</sup> By 1799 he kept lodging houses at 4 South Parade, 8 Marine Parade, 1 and 2 Broad Street, 1 East Street, and 4 and 5 East Cliffe. In all, these properties comprised 26 best bedrooms and 24 servants' bedrooms. This amounted to a 3.7% of the bed capacity of the town's lodging houses.
James Gregory (6)	Gregory was the proprietor of Gregory's Circulating Library on the Steine. In Brighton, as with other fashionable resort towns in the late eighteenth century, the libraries and assembly rooms were the centres of social life. It is apparent that Gregory's library was both a lucrative enterprise and one that gave him a commanding position in advertising his rooms to recently arrived visitors who came to the library. This allowed him to become the proprietor of six properties at 4 and 15 Marine Parade, 1 and 37 York Street, 63 West Street and 1 South Row. With 29 best bedrooms and 26 servants' rooms, Gregory held 4% of the lodging house bed capacity — the most of any proprietor.
Nicholas Johnson (5)	Nicholas Johnson, a builder living at 5 Steyne Street, was the proprietor of five properties at 3 and 4 North Parade, 15 and 16 South Parade and 8 Broad Street.
John Smith (5)	Smith, a pastry cook and confectioner of 4 North Street, was the proprietor of five properties at Rock House and 1–4 Rock Buildings.
Nathan Smith (4)	In the <i>Directory</i> Nathan Smith is referred to as an 'inventor, patentee and operator of an air pump for extracting the gout'. By 1799 the device appears to have been sufficiently successful to allow Smith to acquire four lodging houses in Artillery Place (1, 2, 4 and 7), whilst living at Number 3. Smith went on to establish the Artillery Baths in Artillery Place in 1813.
William Tuppen (4)	A William Tuppen is listed in the <i>Directory</i> as the proprietor of four properties at 1 and 2 Steyne and 10 and 14 Marine Parade. <sup>65</sup> William Tuppen was known locally as 'Quaker' Tuppen. His building business was located at 35 East Street, and he was involved in the renovations and rebuilding of the Marine Pavilion and Royal Pavilion under Nash.
Isabella Pullen (4)	Isabella Pullen is described in the <i>Directory</i> as a school mistress, living at 5 New Steyne, although it is apparent from her property portfolio that her business interests in the town superseded her school work. Her portfolio included 13 Marine Parade, 4 New Steyne, 5 German Place and 7 Prospect Row.
Edward Thunder (3) and Stephen Wood (3)	Both Edward Thunder and Stephen Wood are described as builders in the <i>Directory</i> . Wood was a developer who developed housing in Charles Street, amongst other places, while Thunder was involved in the development of New Steine. <sup>66</sup>

Table 3. Female proprietors of multiple lodging houses in Brighton in 1799.

Proprietor	Property portfolio			
Joanna Davis	60 East Street	4 West Cliffe		
Mary Davis	53 Middle Street	43 Ship Street		
Elizabeth Downs	6 North Parade	13 New Steyne		
Martha Gresham	2 Warden's Buildings	5 Warden's Buildings		
Elizabeth May	12 North Row	13 North Row		
Sarah May	22 West Cliffe	23 West Cliffe	24 West Cliffe	
Isabella Pullen	5 German Place	13 Marine Parade	4 New Steyne	7 Prospect Row

Table 4. Brighton lodging houses owned by partnerships in 1799.

Name	Number of properties	Occupation	Portfolio
Colbron and Saunders	2	Builders, 10 New Street	6 and 8 Pavilion Parade
Donaldson and Wilkes	1	Librarians, Marine Library	Marine Library, 7 Marine Parade
Kelsey and Comfort	1		69 East Street

Table 5. Proprietors of both lodgings and lodging houses in 1799.

Proprietor	Occupation	Lodging	Lodging house
Edward Hill	Upholsterer and cabinet maker	8 Middle Street	7 Middle Street
Stephen Pounce	Builder <sup>67</sup>	61 West Street	62 West Street, 14 Russell Street
Nathan Smith	Inventor	3 Artillery Place	1, 2, 4, 7 Artillery Place

Table 6. Proprietors holding two properties supplying lodging rooms in 1799.

Proprietor	Occupation	Properties	
Samuel Case	Unknown	36 Brighton Place	44 East Street
Thomas Knapp	Builder	5 Prince's Street	18 Duke Street
George Richardson	Linen draper	1 Black Lion Street	12 Castle Square
John Stone	Cordwainer	5 Three Tuns Square	24 East Street
Ambrose Venner	Grocer	3 Duke Street	31 Middle Street

common for rented and leased properties to have had rooms sublet within them. It is therefore apparent that the socio-economic grouping of those providing lodgings was considerably more diverse than those providing houses for rent. Far fewer of the proprietors of lodgings appear in the *Directory* as tradesmen or prominent citizens of the town. Significantly, only three proprietors of lodgings also had lodging houses. Edward Hill, Stephen Pounce and Nathan Smith all had lodging houses adjacent to their own homes in which they let rooms (Table 5).

It is also apparent that there were far more separate individuals involved in provision of lodgings than in lodging houses. The *Directory* records 211 lodging houses (operated by 144 separate proprietors) and 208 lodgings (operated by 203 separate proprietors), so the average portfolio in the lodging house sector was 1.47 houses per proprietor, compared to 1.03 in the lodgings sector. The provision of lodging houses was therefore oriented towards entrepreneurs and speculators who had sufficient capital to invest in houses, or the ability to raise money on mortgage, while furnishing rooms for visitors was a practical expedient for residents to take advantage of the economic boom.

The distribution of the various accommodation types is instructive. In contrast to the lodging houses, which were concentrated around the Steine and the new developments to the east of the old town, lodgings dominated accommodation in the old town. Here there were 2.2 lodgings for every lodging house (Fig. 9). This is because lodgings had been converted from the available space in the homes and above the businesses of

Brighton residents. The old town is where much of the population would have been concentrated before the expansions of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The space premium caused by offering accommodation within a proprietor's home meant that only four lodgings offered drawing rooms, and only 175 lodgings (84%) offered servant's accommodation, compared to over 99% of lodging houses (Fig. 11), while 243 parlours were provided in 199 lodgings (96%). Lodgings had an average of 2.3 bedrooms (1.9 best bedrooms and 1.4 servant's bedrooms) and 4.5 rooms in total (Fig. 12). Although lodgings generally provided fewer bedrooms than lodging houses, there were exceptions, such as Harry Attree's property at 15 Ship Street which could offer a staggering 12 best bedrooms and 10 servant's bedrooms.<sup>68</sup> At the other end of the scale, John Stone, William Myrtle and Thomas Vine could each offer nothing more than a single best bedroom.

When considered in totality, both lodgings and lodging houses provided 2.8 bedrooms (best and servant's) for every ancillary room (drawing rooms and parlours).

Unsurprisingly, because proprietors used their own homes or businesses to create lodging space, there are far fewer proprietors of multiple residences with lodgings for rent. Only five proprietors (2.5%) held two buildings with lodging rooms: the builder Thomas Knapp, the linen draper George Richardson, the cordwainer John Stone, the grocer Ambrose Venner and Samuel Case (Table 6). Richardson, Stone and Venner rented rooms above their businesses in 12 Castle Square, 24 East Street and 31 Middle Street respectively.

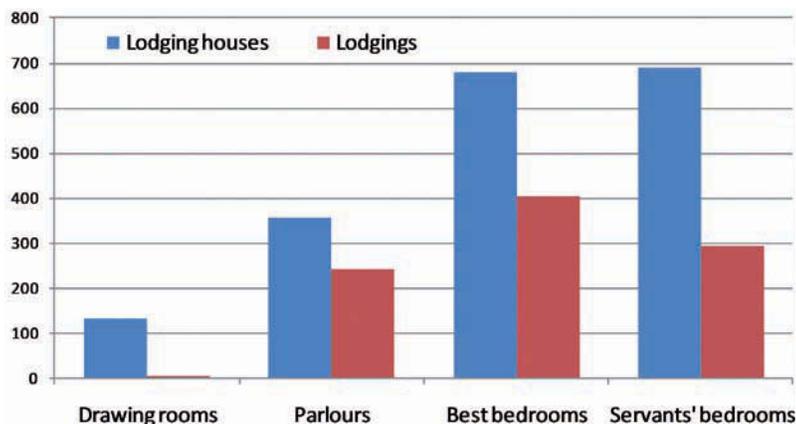


Fig. 11. A comparison of the number of rooms available in lodgings and lodging houses in 1799.<sup>69</sup>

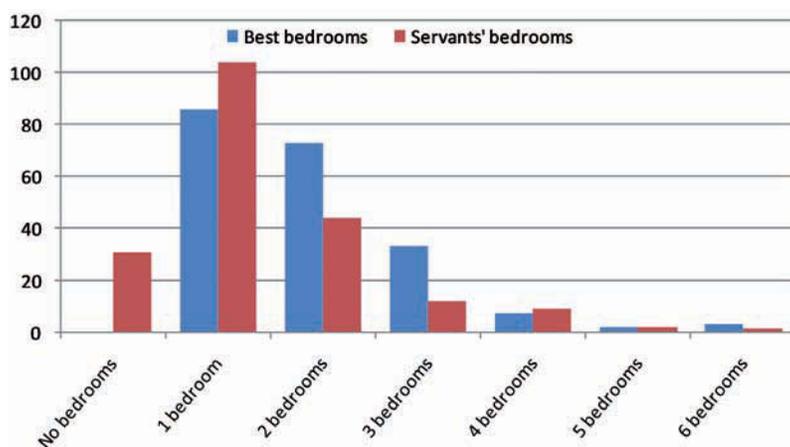


Fig. 12. A comparison of the number of best bedrooms and servant's bedrooms in Brighton lodgings in 1799.<sup>70</sup>

The ratio of male to female proprietors is approximately the same in lodging houses and lodgings. Of the 211 lodging houses, 41 (19.4 %) have female proprietors while of the 208 lodgings, 39 proprietors are female (18.8 %).

#### BOARDING HOUSES

Another form of accommodation available to visitors was the boarding house, the precursor of the hotel, where lodgings were provided with meals. There were only seven recorded boarding houses in 1800, five in the old town and two in the newly constructed suburbs to the east of the Steyne. *The Brighton New Guide* considered four of these to be 'long established' and 'frequented by persons of the first respectability' (Table 7). The number

of boarding houses was to increase greatly at the beginning of the nineteenth century, such that by 1809 Attree could confidently state that 'no place is better furnished with genteel receptions of this kind, than Brighton.'<sup>71</sup> This point was reiterated in 1815 by Richard Sicklemore, who considered that boarding houses had all the 'advantages of an inn, without the bustle', and yet all the 'comforts of a private house without the inconvenience of domestic concerns.'<sup>72</sup>

Although in its infancy, the boarding house concept was quick to be adopted, even if not called such.

'A lady, who has a house in the genteel situation at Brighton, proposes to

Table 7. Boarding houses recorded in Cobby's *Brighthelmston Directory* for 1800 and the 'long-established' homes recorded in the *New Brighton Guide* in 1800.

Name	Brighthelmston Directory	New Brighton Guide
Sarah Scrace	15 East Cliff	Mrs Scrace's Boarding House
Mary Cafey	18 East Cliff	
Daniel Clifford	29 East Cliff	Mrs Clifford's Boarding House
Sarah Dennett	3 Steyne	Mrs Dennett's Boarding House
Mary Kirby	12 Charles Street	Marine Boarding House
Daniel Scully	1 North Parade	
William Willoughby	57 East Street	

accommodate five or six ladies, or a family consisting of that number, with board and lodging on the same terms as the boarding houses; and it is presumed such as have an objection to the trouble of housekeeping, will find this an agreeable plan.<sup>73</sup>

The boarding houses tended to cater for visitors travelling without servants. The question of meals seems to be a key determinant in the definition of the different accommodation types. Lodging houses were often run in the manner of privately owned houses with servants arranging meals. With lodgings it was possible to eat out or alternatively a potboy could collect and deliver meals. The fact that so many lodgings had servants' accommodation suggests that in-house meal arrangement would have been organized by the servants. There was a degree of overlap in these definitions; lodging houses could provide meals if required, while boarding houses did so as a matter of course.<sup>74</sup> What is clear is that, from the perspective of the proprietor, the boarding house label added a degree of elitism that differentiated it from standard lodging houses.

### OCCUPANCY

Lodging houses were usually let by the week, although visitors were given a variety of options, such as the ready-furnished 'modern house' close to the chalybeate spring which could be let by the week, month or year.<sup>75</sup> Of course the fact that lodging houses were usually let a week at a time meant that if there were sufficient reason, much of the town's visiting population could desert Brighton *en masse*. For example, a correspondent to the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* in September 1784 noted with alarm that 'vast numbers of visitors have left Brighton earlier this season than is usual.' The author was unsure why this was, although he felt that the high cost of provisions was a contributory factor.<sup>76</sup> Another

more concrete cause of loss of occupancy was the weather. A letter written on 3 September 1792 to the *World* newspaper stated that 'If the weather should continue for a few days as boisterous and unpleasant as it is this day, and has been, with little intermission, for some time past, Brighton will be entirely deserted'.<sup>77</sup>

Other nearby events and attractions such as the Lewes races could sometimes draw visitors away from the town, in some cases depriving Brighton of 'almost all its fashionable company'.<sup>78</sup> Another factor which influenced residency in the late eighteenth century was the presence of the Prince. The local press kept a wary eye on the comings and goings of the Prince, knowing that for all intents and purposes the 'season' was when he was in residence.<sup>79</sup>

So although renting by the week allowed proprietors to ensure that short-term visitors were catered for, it fuelled uncertainty. Some proprietors attempted to circumvent this potential liability by not providing the option of renting for the week, such as the 'very genteel, ready-furnished' lodging house in Hove to be let for 'the summer season, or by the month'.<sup>80</sup>

Although superficially it appears from the contemporary estimates shown in Fig. 1 that Brighton's visitor population increased year on year, the situation month by month was somewhat more fluid. The newspapers hint at fluctuations in visitor numbers and occupancy of the town's accommodation. Periods of excess could be followed by a dearth of visitors or *vice versa* from one month to the next (Table 8).

### SECONDARY VISITORS

It was not just Brighton's social and health visitors who required accommodation. The flood of wealthy visitors to Brighton also led to an influx of traders and other suppliers from outside the town who wished to provide goods and services.

Table 8. Evidence for occupancy and visitor levels 1784–99.<sup>81</sup>

Year	Month	Comments on occupancy in the press
1784	September	'Though we are now in the extreme height of the season, this place is far from being in a state of entire plenitude ... many have taken their departure ... Several of the lodging houses are still empty, and most probably will remain so for the residue of the season.' <sup>82</sup>
1785	August	'The lodging houses are full, the streets well frequented and the Steyne full.' <sup>83</sup>
1786	July	The correspondent to the <i>Public Advertiser</i> recorded that at the watering places there was 'scarce a room to be had at any of them except Brighton'. <sup>84</sup>
1787	July	'The fashionable company at Brighton is but thin, considering the advanced state of the season.' <sup>85</sup>
1788	September	A 'multitude now at Brighton'. <sup>86</sup>
1789	July	'Brighton fills apace.' <sup>87</sup>
1791		'There is not now a house on the Steine or on the Bank to be let.' <sup>88</sup>
1792	August September	'Remarkably full owing to the Duke and Duchess of York being there.' <sup>89</sup> Because of inclement weather 'Brighton will be entirely deserted'. <sup>90</sup>
1793	August	A 'great influx' came to witness the Brighton Camp. <sup>91</sup> 'Every house brimful; many who could not get beds were happy in being accommodated with the first floor in a post-chaise, or to repose on carpets.' <sup>92</sup>
1796	June  August  September	'So numerous are the visitants now at Brighton that the Steine, on every fine evening during the last week, was literally thronged with fashionables. There were only two of the Steine houses unoccupied; and a great number of the best lodging houses in other parts of the town are already engaged.' <sup>93</sup> 'The town begins to fill apace, and the different lodging houses seem in a fair way of being most respectably occupied.' <sup>94</sup> 'Brighton was never fuller than at this time.' <sup>95</sup> 'Brighton was never so full as it has been this year of nobility, many of whom have never before visited.' <sup>96</sup>
1797	August	'The town at present is so very full, that not a house near the Steyne can be obtained. Several families are now waiting at Worthing, Rottingdean, etc, to catch at the first vacancies.' <sup>97</sup>
1798	July	Brighton was 'uncommonly thin for this period of the season'. <sup>98</sup>
1799	August	'Brighton which since the races has been thinner than usual at this time of the year, is now filling rapidly. The houses are all taken; but many of the lodging-houses are still empty.' <sup>99</sup>

The Brighton newspapers contain numerous advertisements for commercial operations from London that had acquired premises in Brighton in order to provide services for the nobility and gentry during the 'season'.<sup>100</sup> The demand was such that special areas were reserved for these traders, such as Princes Place, North Street. This was a 'circular range of shops, intended chiefly for the London tradesmen, who come here with various kinds of ware for the season.'<sup>101</sup> Of course, the proprietors of these commercial operations would have required lodgings for themselves, further inflating the numbers in the town. Moreover, they were in addition to the natural flow of traders who frequented Brighton irrespective of the visitor economy, such as the London dealers 'who purchase on the beach the fruit of the sea.'<sup>102</sup>

Another group who would have required lodgings would have been the actors and entertainers who performed at Brighton's theatres and other venues. But more came from the nation's capital

than just visitors, traders and entertainers. Brighton had become a magnet for 'bad company'.<sup>103</sup> In 1795 Paul Dunvan in his *Ancient and modern history of Lewes and Brighthelmston* stated that 'Brighthelmston too frequently becomes the chief receptacle of the vice and dissipation which the sickening metropolis disgorges into our watering-places.'<sup>104</sup> This manifested itself in the form of the numerous petty criminals and others from the edges of society who wished to exploit the wealthy visitors. They could range from common thieves, card sharps and counterfeiters, to prostitutes.<sup>105</sup> As *The Times* from July 1787 recorded, 'the daughters of impurity arrive at Brighton by scores.'<sup>106</sup> All of them would have required accommodation.

#### PRICING

Watering places such as Brighton had to make a year's income in a season, so there was a tendency for landlords and trades people to charge high prices. As Pasquin commented sardonically, 'the

Table 9. Prices paid for lodgings in Brighton (1762–96).

Date	Who	Address	Month	Accommodation type	Cost per week
1762	Katherine Pelham	Ship Street		House	£4 14s. 6d. <sup>107</sup>
1771	John Barker	West Street	July		£1, 1s. (man and self) <sup>108</sup>
1773	John Wilkes	Seafront	August		£1, 1s. <sup>109</sup>
1785				An apartment for a single gentleman	£1, 1s. <sup>110</sup>
1785				A dining room or parlour with two bedrooms	£3 3s. <sup>111</sup>
1785		The Steine		A house	£8 8s. <sup>112</sup>
1785	Elizabeth Collett	Cliffe or Steine	June	A house	£7 7s. <sup>113</sup>
1785	Elizabeth Collett	Cliffe or Steine	July	A house	£8 8s.
1785	Elizabeth Collett	Cliffe or Steine	August	A house	£9 9s.
1796	John Williams	The Cliffs		A house	£20 <sup>114</sup>
1796	John Williams			A stable	17s. 6d. <sup>115</sup>

keepers of the lodging houses, like the keepers of mad houses, having but one common point in view — to bleed the parties sufficiently.<sup>116</sup>

During the last three decades of the eighteenth century there is increasing reference to the inadequate supply of lodgings and consequently their increased price.<sup>117</sup> For example, Peter Oliver (1713–91) visited the town at the end of May 1774. He felt the lodgings were ‘very extravagant two or three apartments in one house which they shewed me, & not very elegant, the owner received 50 guineas for the rent.’<sup>118</sup>

This is unsurprising in a situation where demand massively outstripped the supply, and where there were large numbers of high-status visitors with sometimes considerable disposable incomes competing for accommodation.

There are obvious difficulties in determining pricing for lodgings in the eighteenth century. The variables such as the total number of rooms, the size and layout of accommodation, facilities, or the vagaries of fashionable locations are not always apparent. However, the following generalizations can be made. Houses overlooking the Steine were sought after and could command high prices. In 1785, around the beginning of the prince’s association with Brighton, a house on the Steine could achieve eight guineas a week. A dining room or parlour with two bedrooms could achieve three guineas and an apartment for a single gentleman one guinea a week.<sup>119</sup> However, just over a decade later at the close of the eighteenth century John Williams provides an indication of the upper

and lower bounds for the price of lodgings. They ranged from ‘twenty pounds per week on the cliffs, to half a crown per night in a stable’.<sup>120</sup> It is apparent that prices had more than doubled in the decade (Table 9). In the 60 years since William Clarke had paid five shillings a week for lodgings in Brighton, the price of accommodation had increased dramatically, far in excess of the natural inflationary rise.

But such generalizations obscure considerable variation in prices. It is apparent that accommodation could command different pricing according to the time of year. In 1800 the *New Brighton Guide* commented on the considerable reduction that takes place in the price of lodgings during the winter months which was ‘in most cases two-thirds, and sometimes more’.<sup>121</sup> But even during the season price variations existed. In 1785 Elizabeth Collett visited a number of places of interest in the southern counties and kept a diary of her travels. In June she looked at a lodging house for which was asked ‘7 guineas a week for the remainder of that month, 8 in July, 9 in August and so on for the season.’<sup>122</sup>

Another factor which could affect pricing was the presence of the nobility, which influenced demand. The combination of royalty and unusual events could send prices soaring. For example, the visit of the Prince of Wales and the Brighton Camp in August 1793 provides an indication of how quickly accommodation proprietors could modify prices according to supply and demand. A correspondent of the *Morning Post* noted that:

the inhabitants have anticipated the visitors (of which there is a great influx) by raising the prices of their houses and lodging by 30 per cent, above what they demanded last week; but such is the avidity for accommodation, that any terms are accepted.<sup>123</sup>

During the eighteenth century cost maintained exclusivity. Visitors had to finance travel, accommodation, possibly servants, subscriptions to the assembly rooms, libraries, baths, etc.<sup>124</sup> These costs could be high. One visitor made the following account of expenses for a one-month holiday to the watering places at Brighton and Battle. It included 'turnpikes four pounds twelve shillings, given to servants at different seats four guineas — board and lodging at Brighton fourteen guineas — at Battle eight pounds four shillings.'<sup>125</sup>

Ironically, by the close of the eighteenth century the writing was on the wall, visitor numbers were far in excess of what the resort could manage effectively, and exclusivity was being lost. Eventually this, in conjunction with other factors, would lead to the downgrading of the elite status of the resort, and the lodgings had to adapt accordingly. But this was in the future; as the eighteenth century drew to an end, Brighton was concerned only with how it could accommodate the visitors it had.

## CONCLUSIONS

The eighteenth century was a time of great change for Brighton. At the beginning of the century the need for visitor accommodation was limited, and could have been provided by the local inns as required, supplemented by residents providing accommodation for friends and family. By the close of the century, the visitor profile had changed completely. Visitors to the town dominated, attracted by the health benefits of sea bathing and later by the social aspects of the resort.

Brightonians took advantage of the accommodation needs of the tourist boom through the rental of properties and rooms, and by speculating in the property market. For Brighton's home owners, the middle class and upper classes, rental of rooms was a mechanism for supplementing income. Of course, the poorest elements of Brighton society would not have been in a position to own property which could then be rented. Similarly, the purchase of houses for the lodging of visitors and property speculation was limited to those with substantial financial resources. The ability to exploit the tourist boom through the accommodation sector was therefore not open to all inhabitants, but for many it would prove a mechanism for wealth creation.

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> J. G. Bishop, *A Peep into the Past: Brighton in the Olden Time, with Glances at the Present* (Brighton: J. G. Bishop, 1892), 20.
- <sup>2</sup> Overviews of the period can be found in S. Berry, *Georgian Brighton* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2005); S. Farrant, *Georgian Brighton 1710–1820* (Brighton: University of Sussex, 1980); S. Farrant & J. Farrant, *Aspects of Brighton 1650–1800* (Brighton: University of Sussex, 1978) and *The Watering Places of Great Britain and Fashionable Directory* (London: J. Robins, 1833), 6.
- <sup>3</sup> Berry 2005, 29; by the 1740s, there was also evidence for sea bathing in Eastbourne, Deal and Portsmouth. J. F. Travis, *The Rise of the Devon Seaside Resorts 1750–1900* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1993), 7.
- <sup>4</sup> This often quoted letter has been published in J. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century: Comprising*

*Biographical Memoirs of William Bowyer* 4 (London: Nichols and Bentley, 1812), 406–8; *Brighton as it is 1836, Exhibiting all the Latest Improvements in that Fashionable Watering Place* (Brighton: The booksellers, 1836), 6–7; C. Fleet, *Glimpses of our Sussex Ancestors and Gleanings in East and West Sussex* (Lewes: Farncombe and Co, 1883), 87–8 and J. A. Erredge, *History of Brighthelmston* (Brighton: E. Lewis, 1862), 218–19 amongst others. See also J. H. Farrant, 'Clarke, William (1695–1771)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> Whaley was a poet, and tutor to Horace Walpole. The letter describes a journey made by Whaley and a Mr Dodd between Canterbury and Portsmouth in 1735. V. J. Torr, 'A tour through Sussex in 1735', *Sussex County Magazine* 19 (1945), 253–8, from British Library (hereafter B.L.), Add. MS. 5842 (also 5957).

- <sup>6</sup> B.L., Add. MS. 11571. Burton was a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford and a classical scholar. He probably visited Brighton a few years either side of 1730. J. H. Farrant, 'Visitors to eighteenth century Sussex', *Sussex Genealogist and Local Historian* 5(2) (1983), 46.
- <sup>7</sup> See A. Sakula, 'Doctor Brighton: Richard Russell and the sea water cure', *Journal of Medical Biography* 3(1) (1995), 30–33, and L. W. Lauste, 'Dr. Richard Russell 1687–1759', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 67(5) (1974), 327–30.
- <sup>8</sup> J. J. Cartwright, *The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke* 2 (London: Camden Society, 1889). Undoubtedly Pococke was exaggerating the situation for his audience because the 1761 visitor list contained only 400 names.
- <sup>9</sup> B. Martin, *The Natural History of England; or a Description of each Particular County, in Regard to the Curious Productions of Nature and Art* (London: W. Owen, 1759), 167.
- <sup>10</sup> S. P. Farrant, 'The development of coaching services from Brighton to London, c. 1750–1822', *Sussex Genealogist and Local Historian* 7(3/4) (1986).
- <sup>11</sup> A. Dale, *The History and Architecture of Brighton* (Brighton: Bredon & Heginbotham, 1950), 27.
- <sup>12</sup> E. L. Blanchard, *Adam's Descriptive Guide to the Watering Places of England and Companion to the Coast* (London: W. J. Adams, 1851), 98, and B. Short, *England's Landscape: the Southeast* (London: Harper Collins, 2006), 143.
- <sup>13</sup> Bishop, 19.
- <sup>14</sup> Berry 2005, 40.
- <sup>15</sup> A. Relhan, *A Short History of Brighton, with Remarks on its Air, and an Analysis of its Waters in 1761* (London: W. Johnston).
- <sup>16</sup> *A Description of the Isle of Thanet, and Particularly of the Town of Margate; with an Account of the Accommodations Provided there for Strangers;... with a Description of Sandwich, Deal... The Whole Illustrated with a Correct Map of the Island* (London: J. Newbery & W. Bristow, 1765), 11.
- <sup>17</sup> A letter from Gilly Williams to George Selwyn, Brighthelmeston, August 22, 1763. See J. H. Jesse, *George Selwyn and his Contemporaries; with Memoirs and Notes* 1 (London: R. Bentley, 1843), 264.
- <sup>18</sup> I. Nairn & N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), 426.
- <sup>19</sup> *A Description of Brighthelmston and the Adjacent Country or, the New Guide for Ladies and Gentlemen Resorting to that Place of Health and Amusement* (London: Fielding & Walker, 1769), 31.
- <sup>20</sup> *A Description* 1769, 3.
- <sup>21</sup> T. Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (London: Penguin, 1985), 103.
- <sup>22</sup> C. Miele, "'The first architect of the world" in Brighton. Robert Adam, Marlborough House, and Mrs Fitzherbert', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) 136 (1998), 149–75. See also Melville, 31.
- <sup>23</sup> P. Phillips, *A Diary kept in an Excursion to Little Hampton, near Arundel, and Brighthelmston, in Sussex, in 1778; and also to the Latter Place in 1779* 2 (London: Bew & Davenport, 1780), 56.
- <sup>24</sup> R. E. Prothero, *Private Letters of Edward Gibbon (1753–1794)* 2 (London: John Murray, 1896), 2.
- <sup>25</sup> *Morning Herald*, 3 June 1771.
- <sup>26</sup> P. C. Yorke, *The Diary of John Baker, Barrister of the Middle Temple Solicitor General of the Leeward Islands* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1931), 216–17.
- <sup>27</sup> Referring to 1779, Phillips 1780, 46–7.
- <sup>28</sup> Berry 2005, 97. See also *The Times*, 9 August 1797, 3. However, a degree of caution should be applied. While many of the overspill visitors in Lewes, Rottingdean, etc. were there because they could not find accommodation in Brighton, some may have been there because they could not afford the high prices then prevalent in the town.
- <sup>29</sup> The poor man was Mr Mercer, a shoe maker who was described as 'industrious' and 'worthy'. The 'chanting' ladies were attending Lady Huntingdon's Chapel. Phillips 1780a, 47.
- <sup>30</sup> A. Pasquin, *The New Brighton Guide* (London: Symonds, 1796), 7.
- <sup>31</sup> J. G. Nichols, 'Brighton eighty years ago', *SAC* 13 (1861), 311.
- <sup>32</sup> Parry, 62.
- <sup>33</sup> *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 25 August 1785; *The Times*, 10 August 1787. See also the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 13 July 1786, for the exorbitant charges for accommodation at Lymington in 1785.
- <sup>34</sup> *The Times*, 4 August 1787, 2.
- <sup>35</sup> Prothero, 1.
- <sup>36</sup> Prothero, 3.
- <sup>37</sup> Prothero, 7.
- <sup>38</sup> P. Hill, *Mrs. Hill's Apology for having been Induced, by Particular Desire, and the most Specious Allurements that could Tempt Female Weakness, to Appear in the Character of Scrub, Beaux Stratagem, ... with an address to Mrs. Fitzherbert... By Mrs. Hill* (London: G. Kearsley & E. Harlow, 1787) and L. Melville, *Brighton: its History, its Follies, and its Fashions* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1909), 26.
- <sup>39</sup> Map provided courtesy of Sue Berry.
- <sup>40</sup> F. G. Fisher, *Brighton New Guide; or a Description of Brighthelmston, and the Adjacent Country* (London: Burton, 1800), 16. See S. Berry, 'Myth and reality in the representation of resorts. Brighton and the emergence of the fishing village myth 1770–1824', *SAC* 140 (2002), 97–112.
- <sup>41</sup> G. S. Carey, *The Balnea: or an Impartial Description of all Popular Watering Places in England* (London: J. W. Myers, 1799), 59. A point reiterated by numerous other commentators of the period, although such commentators would no doubt look to enhance the role of the Prince in order to curry royal favour.
- <sup>42</sup> *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, 27 Nov. 1820.
- <sup>43</sup> Data sources: for 1761 see Bishop, 19, for the remainder see Berry 2005, 40.
- <sup>44</sup> Data sources: E. M. Gilbert, *Brighton: Old Ocean's Bauble* (Brighton: Bredon & Heginbotham, 1968), 92–3 and Melville 1909, 85.
- <sup>45</sup> Farrant 1983, 51.
- <sup>46</sup> There were various European wars during the second half of the eighteenth century that affected the military presence on the south coast including the Seven Years War (1757–63) and the American War of Independence (1778–83), but it was the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars that saw large numbers of regulars barracked in the town for the first time.
- <sup>47</sup> Prior to construction of barracks in Brighton, troops in both wartime and peacetime tended to be billeted in

- inns, creating a different sort of pressure on resources; see Berry 2005, 86.
- <sup>48</sup> Much of the time the barracks were occupied intermittently, but when they were garrisoned the extra demand increased prices in the accommodation sector and in other areas such as food.
- <sup>49</sup> E. Cobby, *The Brighthelmston Directory for 1799* (Brighton: I. Taylor & J. Swan, 1799). The 1799 *Directory* is the second edition, no copy of the first edition has been traced. A partially revised edition was published in 1800, although no revisions were made to the accommodation section. The 1800 *Directory* (printed by William and Arthur Lee at 44 North Street) was reprinted in Bishop.
- <sup>50</sup> The sections comprise professions (4–5), parish officers (6–7), tradesmen (8–20), lodging houses (21–9), boarding houses (30), lodgings (31–9), posts, post coaches and stage wagons (40–42), coaches (42–3), wagons (43–4), roads (45–8) and tide tables (49–52).
- <sup>51</sup> There are other more subtle forms of bias in the *Directory*, such as that the very first entry in the lodgings section is for Martha Cobby.
- <sup>52</sup> Data source: tabulated from Cobby, 21–39.
- <sup>53</sup> A. Brodie and G. Winter, *England's Seaside Resorts* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2007), 155.
- <sup>54</sup> Data source: tabulated from Cobby, 21–39.
- <sup>55</sup> Some houses would have been built between 1799 and 1801, so the percentage figure will underestimate the total accommodation.
- <sup>56</sup> For example, in 1800 the Old Ship Tavern was described as having 'several elegant and commodious bed-rooms'. Fisher, 19.
- <sup>57</sup> H. D. Roberts, *A History of the Royal Pavilion Brighton: with an Account of its Original Furniture and Decoration* (London: Country Life, 1939), 79.
- <sup>58</sup> The smallest was Thomas Paine's property at 7 Market Place with one parlour and two best bedrooms, along with Mary Priest's property at 8 Nile Street and Joseph Chittenden's at 55 North Street, both with one parlour, one best bedroom and one servant's bedroom.
- <sup>59</sup> Data source: tabulated from Cobby, 21–39.
- <sup>60</sup> Tabulated from Cobby, 21–39.
- <sup>61</sup> The Old Town is defined as the area bounded by East Street, West Street and North Street. Data source: tabulated from Cobby, 21–39.
- <sup>62</sup> Data source: tabulated from Cobby, 21–39.
- <sup>63</sup> W. Blew, *Brighton and its Coaches: a History of the London and Brighton Road* (London: J. C. Nimmo, 1894).
- <sup>64</sup> Bishop, 20. It is certainly clear that the transport of visitors back and forth between the capital and Brighton was highly lucrative. Brighton was the closest and most fashionable seaside health and pleasure resort for London, and before the coming of the London-Brighton railway in 1841 road travel was the principal means of getting there.
- <sup>65</sup> Roberts, 37. 1–2 Steyne can be seen in Roberts, plate 8.
- <sup>66</sup> Berry 2005, 107, 114, 117.
- <sup>67</sup> Stephen Pounce's building business was based at 60 West Street.
- <sup>68</sup> Harry Attree was a wine merchant, draper and upholsterer.
- <sup>69</sup> Data source: tabulated from Cobby, 21–39.
- <sup>70</sup> Data source: tabulated from Cobby, 21–39.
- <sup>71</sup> H. R. Attree, *Topography of Brighton: and, Picture of the Roads, from Thence to the Metropolis* (London: Longman, Hurst, 1809), 46.
- <sup>72</sup> R. Sicklemore, *The History of Brighton and its Environs, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Brighton: C. & R. Sicklemore, 1827), 99. A point reiterated by Charles Wright, who stated that boarding houses 'have all the advantages of an Inn, and at the same time, to combine all the comforts of a domestic residence at a family mansion'. C. Wright, *The Brighton Ambulator, Containing Historical and Topographical Delineations of the Town from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (London: Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1818), 151.
- <sup>73</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 17 Jun. 1799.
- <sup>74</sup> Brodie and Winter, 162.
- <sup>75</sup> East Sussex Record Office BH/B/4/1/1; *General Evening Post*, 22 May 1790; see also *World*, 23 May 1788.
- <sup>76</sup> *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 14 Sep. 1784.
- <sup>77</sup> *World*, 5 Sep. 1792.
- <sup>78</sup> *The Times*, 13 Aug. 1792, 3.
- <sup>79</sup> For example, *World*, 5 Sep. 1792; *The Times*, 21 Jul. 1796, 3.
- <sup>80</sup> *Star*, 27 Jun. 1793. One of the selling points of this house was its proximity to the proposed location of the Brighton Camp.
- <sup>81</sup> While the figures shown in Table 6 do not provide statistical data, they do provide an indication of the relative levels of occupancy and visitor numbers.
- <sup>82</sup> *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 14 Sep. 1784.
- <sup>83</sup> *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 25 Aug. 1785.
- <sup>84</sup> *Public Advertiser*, 31 Jul. 1787.
- <sup>85</sup> *The Times*, 21 Jul. 1787, 2.
- <sup>86</sup> *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 4 Sep. 1788.
- <sup>87</sup> *The Times*, 28 Jul. 1789, 3.
- <sup>88</sup> Bishop, 29.
- <sup>89</sup> See Farrant 1983, 50–51.
- <sup>90</sup> *World*, 5 Sep. 1792.
- <sup>91</sup> *Morning Post*, 8 Aug. 1793.
- <sup>92</sup> Bishop, 30.
- <sup>93</sup> *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 15 Jun. 1796.
- <sup>94</sup> *Sun*, Tuesday, 21 June 1796; also in *True Briton*, 21 June 1796.
- <sup>95</sup> *The Times*, 6 Aug. 1796, 2; see also *The Times*, 7 Jul. 1796, 2 and *The Times*, 17 Aug. 1796, 2.
- <sup>96</sup> *The Times*, 14 Sep. 1796, 3.
- <sup>97</sup> *The Times*, 9 Aug. 1797, 3.
- <sup>98</sup> Parry, 71.
- <sup>99</sup> *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, Thursday, 22 Aug. 1799. In this context 'lodging-houses' refers to houses with rooms to rent.
- <sup>100</sup> For example, the *Brighton Herald*, 4 Oct. 1806 includes 'Mrs. Frith from No. 10 Chandos Street, Covent Garden respectfully informs the nobility resident in Brighton that she has opened a fancy dress, &c warehouse, for a few days only at No. 40 Ship Street Brighton.' Furthermore, 'Woffington, No. 55 Newgate-Street, London ... has opened an extensive ornamental hair warehouse &c at Prince's Place, Brighton, for the season.' It is apparent that these commercial premises were let on a short-term basis, in a similar manner to the letting of lodging houses for the season.
- <sup>101</sup> Fisher, 27, an example being 'Bond-Street linen-drapery and haberdashery warehouse, and at the corner of

- Princes-Place, North-Street, Brighton'. *Morning Chronicle*, 3 Aug. 1797.
- <sup>102</sup> Anon. 1800, 23.
- <sup>103</sup> As described by the Hon. John Byng (1742–1812) who visited the town for a day in August 1788. C. B. Andrews, *A tour into Sussex* (1788), *Sussex County Magazine* 7(5) (1933), 371–2.
- <sup>104</sup> In this context 'vice' refers to both the hedonistic attitudes of some visitors and the petty criminal element.
- <sup>105</sup> (Thieves) *The Times*, 5 Aug. 1791, 3 (card sharps); Phillips 1780, 51; *The Times*, 15 Aug. 1797, 2 (coin counterfeiters); *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 18 Aug. 1797.
- <sup>106</sup> *The Times*, 17 Jul. 1787, 3; see also *The Times*, 30 Jul. 1787.
- <sup>107</sup> Berry 2005, 90.
- <sup>108</sup> Yorke, 216–17
- <sup>109</sup> J. Almon, *The Correspondence of the Late John Wilkes with his Friends* 4 (London: Richard Phillips, 1805), 156.
- <sup>110</sup> Melville, 77.
- <sup>111</sup> Melville, 77.
- <sup>112</sup> Melville, 77.
- <sup>113</sup> Figures for Elizabeth Collett in Roberts, 49.
- <sup>114</sup> Pasquin, 7.
- <sup>115</sup> Half a crown per night. Pasquin, 7.
- <sup>116</sup> Pasquin, 7.
- <sup>117</sup> Carey, 66.
- <sup>118</sup> B.L., Egerton Ms. 2672, f. 164; see also Farrant 1983, 49–50.
- <sup>119</sup> Melville, 77.
- <sup>120</sup> Pasquin, 7. This highlights the beginnings of a gradual shift towards the popularity of the seafront that would be so common in the nineteenth century.
- <sup>121</sup> Fisher, 81.
- <sup>122</sup> Roberts, 49.
- <sup>123</sup> *Morning Post*, 8 Aug. 1793. This highlights the advantages of a week by week rental structure.
- <sup>124</sup> See Yorke 1931, 216–17.
- <sup>125</sup> The same writer also lost a staggering £82 at cards, giving a total of £138 14s for the month, prompting him to say 'I'll go no more to your watering places — why 'tis more than a whole year's expenses at Kensington Gravel Pits'. *Public Advertiser*, 15 Aug. 1792.
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