

◆ Suburban development on the Stanford Estate in Brighton and Hove in Sussex c1869–1939

By Sue Berry

Two generations of the Stanford family built up an estate and a further two then lived off the proceeds of its sale for housing. Between 1869 and the late 1930s, this estate developed as a substantial area of Victorian, Edwardian and Interwar housing aimed largely at the ‘middle classes’ of Brighton and Hove; most sold steadily and have survived. The estate made the mistake of insisting on huge houses beside the sea in Hove, believing that there was a very profitable market for them. That scheme proved hard to sell and a considerable number have been demolished. This brief study examines the development of this thousand-acre estate and the disposition of the profits.

THE STANFORD FAMILY

The aspirations of its owners determined the development and then sale of this estate. William Stanford I and his son William II built it up. William II’s daughter Ellen and her son John sold it for development. This is a brief introduction to these four Stanfords (Fig. 3).

WILLIAM STANFORD I 1764–1841 – THE PURCHASER OF THE ESTATE

William Stanford I (Fig. 2) farmed in Preston as a tenant of the Western family of Rivenhall in Essex who owned a substantial estate in Sussex. In 1793, when Charles Callis Western sold his estate in Sussex, William I bought land in the parishes of Hove, Preston and Keymer (Fig. 1). About a thousand acres of William’s purchase was close to the flourishing resort of Brighton and its small suburb of Brunswick Town in Hove. His purchase was soon known as the Stanford Estate. It will now be referred to as the Estate.¹

William I exploited the proximity of the majority of the Estate to Brighton and Hove which needed food and raw materials for building. He leased land at the southern end of Preston to George, Prince of Wales for a dairy, and rented land in Preston and in Hove to market gardeners and dairymen. In both parishes, he allowed the quarrying of chalk for lime burning and in Hove, the extraction of the brick-earth overlying the southern section of the Estate for brickmaking. These activities left the estate with ‘brownfield’ sites for which urban development was the only option

and one which he considered. In 1825, William I commissioned a design from Charles Barry for a suburban development akin to Brunswick Town to be built on land on the coast at Hove from which brick clay had been extracted. The building slump from which the resort suffered in the later 1820s deterred him. William I wanted his estate to survive a succession of heirs intact and entailed it, providing that his heirs should have only life interests in the Estate. An entail was a common means of trying to protect an estate from sale by successors, who could normally evade its terms only by paying for a private Act of Parliament.²

WILLIAM STANFORD II (1809–1853)

William II added to the Estate by buying properties in Brighton to let. By the time he died aged only forty-four in 1853, he had decided that development on the Estate would be on 99-year leases. He was clearly thinking of development on the boundary of the estate with Brighton and Hove. In his will, he laid down that the power of disposal enjoyed by his daughter Ellen, who inherited a life interest in the Estate, would be limited to the granting of leaseholds (Fig. 3).³ William incorporated other clauses also used by landowners to perpetuate the family estate and name. If the direct male line died out, the husband of an heiress had to obtain an Act of Parliament or a licence from the Crown to authorise his use of the Stanford name as the last and principal family surname, and to quarter the arms of the Stanford family with his.⁴

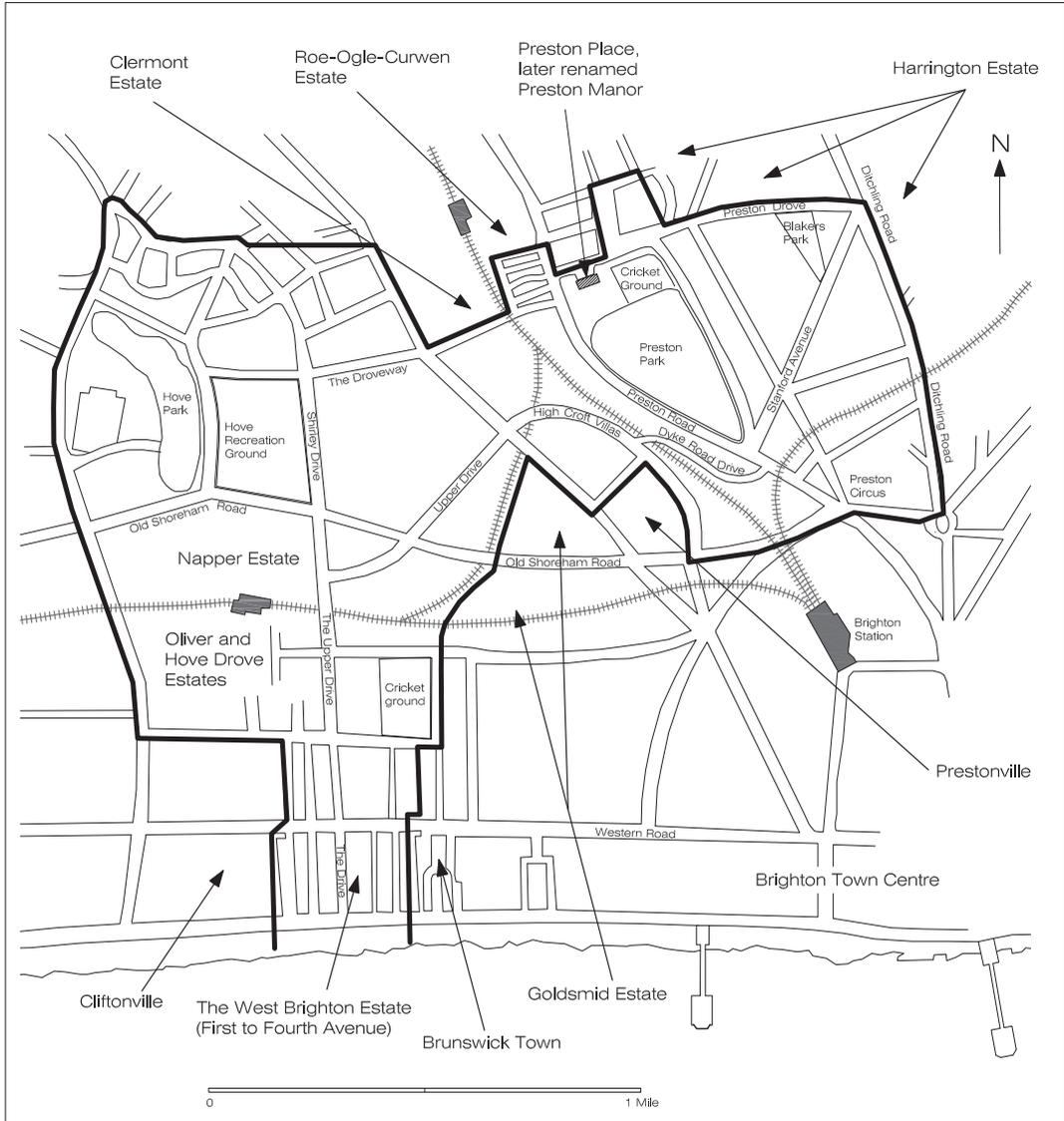


Fig. 1. The Stanford Estate and other Estates and Roads referred to in the text.

ELLEN STANFORD (1848-1932)

Ellen was only five when her father died in 1853. Using a standard mechanism in such cases, the trustees appointed by William II brought a collusive action in the Court of Chancery, *Stanford v Roberts*, by which Ellen became a ward of the court. This decision was for their protection, because Chancery approved decisions they took. The court was interested solely in ensuring that

the estate produced enough income for the care of the ward, which suited the trustees during Ellen's minority. After they had deducted their costs, the three trustees paid all income into the estate capital account in Chancery. Once the trustees and the officials of the Chancery Court had approved them, outgoings were paid from this account. The estate remained 'in Chancery' when development began soon after Ellen's marriage (her life interest

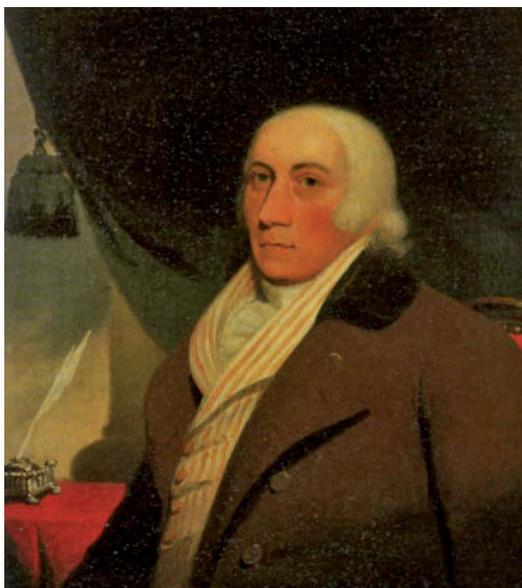


Fig. 2. William Stanford I (1764-1841), purchaser of the Estate, 1808 Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove PM090061.

required a continued trusteeship) and the estate papers reflect dissatisfaction with the slowness of the court's procedures.⁵

During Ellen's minority, the trustees (including William II's brother Edward) let William II's farms and sold his livestock and equipment.⁶ Between 1853 and 1868, rents were the major income. Outgoings were mainly repairs on the estate, the annuities that William II had left in his will to members of the family, and for Ellen's care. Ellen's mother received £1000 a year and occupancy of Preston Place (as it was then) for life, rent-free (Fig. 4). From 1854-1857, Ellen's care cost £500 a year, it rose to £1000 a year in 1858 and by 1865 to £1500 a year, approved by the trustees and the Court of Chancery. After deduction of these overheads, between 1854 and 1868 the Estate often made a loss. The best year was 1861-62 when it made a profit of £2714.⁷

Ellen Stanford grew up at Preston Place until 1867 when she married Vere Benett (Vere I), the heavily indebted owner of Pythouse in Wiltshire.

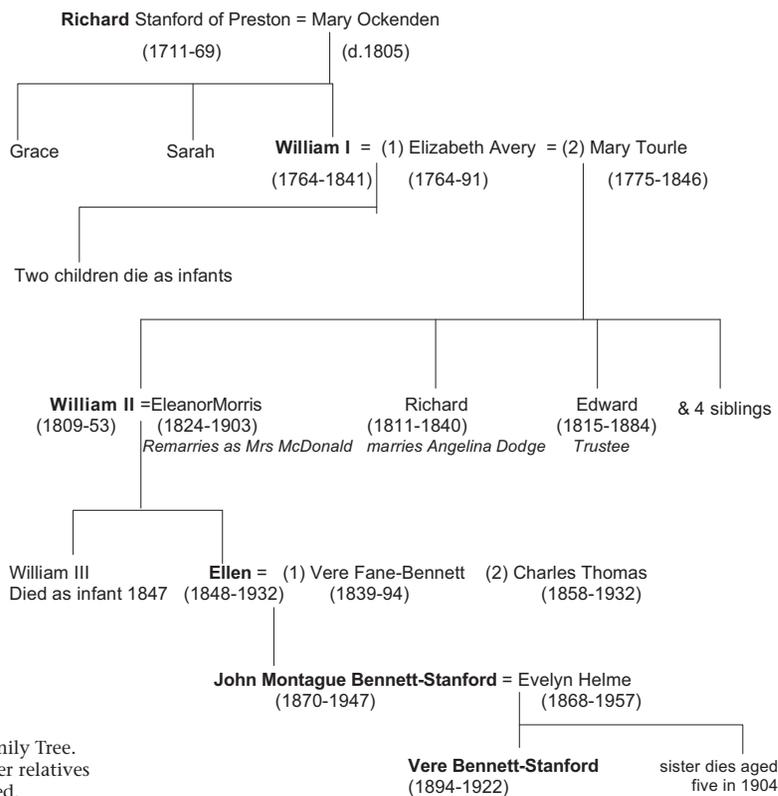


Fig. 3. Stanford of Preston Family Tree. Descent in bold and with other relatives mentioned in the text included.



Fig. 4. Preston Place in about 1820 when occupied by William I. Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove.



Fig. 5. Ellen, her son John and grandson Vere II and Ellen's mother Eleanor, c. 1898. Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove.

The couple could not use Preston Place as a residence during their married life because Ellen's mother, who had a life interest in the house, survived until 1903, outliving Vere I (Fig. 5).⁸

Vere I felt that he and Ellen should have more income and capital from the Estate and having failed in 1871 to remove the trustees successfully tried another approach. In 1891, when John was 21 and entitled to be consulted about the future of the Estate, Vere I, with the agreement of Ellen as the tenant for life, persuaded John to disentail and then resettle the life interest in this estate on himself. This device was a common means of releasing land to settle debts and increasing charges on it. John gained an annuity of about £4000 from this resettlement and the power to settle a £1000 a year on his wife to be (Evelyn Helme) and an annuity of £2000 for her should he die first, and annuities for children other than an only child, all charged against the Estate. With the agreement of Ellen and John, as life tenant and heir respectively, Vere I further increased the burden on the Estate by persuading the Stanford Trustees to buy the Pythouse Estate for £101,000. The Stanford Act of 1871 had permitted the sale of freehold land for development but obliged the trustees to spend some of the capital on the purchase of more, a condition of which Vere I would have been aware. The transaction of 1891 released capital for Vere I

and Ellen and possibly for John too as an incentive to agree.⁹

Vere I and Ellen used at least some of the proceeds of the transfer of Pythouse to sustain their lifestyle at 14 Ennismore Gardens (a fashionable address in London), Quinta Vigia in Madeira (which they rented) and at Pythouse. By 1892 Vere I owned the *Medora*, a schooner that he sailed in the Solent. He also bought high-quality bloodstock horses for hunting at Pythouse. Vere I died in Madiera in 1894 of heart trouble.¹⁰

In 1897, three years after the death of Vere I, Ellen remarried. Charles Geisler Thomas (1858-1932) was the son of a wealthy owner of a shipping line and very different from Vere I. Charles, who added the surname Stanford to his own, became a very successful local politician in Brighton, an MP for the town, and a well-known antiquarian who collected rare books and manuscripts and wrote about the history of Sussex. He was not involved with the estate, but John accused him of helping Ellen to spend his diminishing inheritance.¹¹

JOHN BENETT-STANFORD (1870-1947)

John, the only child of Ellen and Vere I and heir to the Estate, outlived his son Vere II, the last direct descendent of this family (Fig.3). His father's success in persuading John to acquiesce in the resettlement of the estate left a legacy of bitter disputes after Vere I's death in 1894. Ellen, Charles, the Stanford Trustees and its solicitors were not the only people who faced irascible behaviour from John, who had a reputation for being difficult.¹² In between game-hunting, experimenting with early film and other expensive leisure activities, John and Evelyn had one child, Vere II.

From 1897, Ellen and Charles decided not to live at Pythouse and John became the tenant, letting the estate nearby which he had inherited from his father. By then the Stanford Trustees faced a rising deficit at Pythouse, which absorbed ever more capital as agricultural rents fell. Nevertheless, John claimed the Trustees did not spend enough on it and, that he needed more income. He also felt deeply about not having a say about the development of the Estate as a whole, and opposed the sale of freehold land. He ignored the fact that his lifestyle benefitted from these sales which, by the 1890s, had been going on for twenty years. He refused to accept that no one would develop on leaseholds, kept writing to the Trustees and their lawyers on the subject and refused to listen

to the explanations from them.¹³ In 1915, when Vere II turned 21, John raised more money from the Estate by the same device used by Vere I in 1891: he persuaded Vere II to join with him in selling their reversionary life-interests in the estate to an insurance company for a substantial sum. John's own solicitor advised him that he would be relinquishing any future control over the estate by himself or Vere II. John refused to accept this and continued to campaign for control of the Estate and to demand more from it.¹⁴

VERE BENETT-STANFORD II (1894-1922)

Vere II, awarded a Military Cross during the First World War for assisting a wounded officer and a wounded soldier under heavy shellfire, died of TB in May 1922, long before his father John Benett-Stanford. Doctors believed that the conditions Vere II had endured in the trenches weakened him and allowed the disease to take hold, and his mother Evelyn placed the death-notice in the *On Active Service* section of *The Times*. He had an allowance from the Stanford estate, but did not intervene in its affairs.¹⁵

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STANFORD ESTATE ABUTTING BRIGHTON AND HOVE

By 1868, the Stanford Trustees had decided to build on the land in Preston and Hove and between 1869 and 1939, this extensive area was the main source of income and capital for the family and the Pythouse estate. Development was not straightforward and carried risks if the timing and the assessment of the market were wrong. The cost of the land and the style and minimum building value of the properties had to appeal to both builders and to investors. Most houses sold only after completion, which put the builders at risk if they funded the work themselves, as was normally the case. Profits from development for the Estate had to cover the costs of its investment in infrastructure such as roads, drains, trees and a full time surveyor to manage the project, plus the legal costs of sales.¹⁶

DEMAND – INFLUENCES ON THE STANFORD ESTATE'S DEVELOPMENT

The decision to aim development of most of the Stanford Estate in Preston and Hove at a wide range of the middle class depended on a strong demand for middle-class housing to rent; owner-occupiers

were in very much a minority. By the late 1860s movement out to lower-density housing in planned suburbs was an aspiration of many of the growing urban middle class who ranged from clerks and better paid railway company employees to successful doctors, lawyers and the owners of commercial and manufacturing enterprises and services. In addition to the working population, there were the 'annuitants' or men and women living on their 'own means' so often seen recorded on the census enumerators' schedules, some of whom clearly had boarders who might be discreetly labelled 'visitor' or 'relative' but paid rent. All might be enticed to an area of new houses provided the rent and the location were attractive. Victorian developers also had to take into account the limited scale and budgets of this market. In 1900, this mixed group was only about 20% of the population. They were generally cautious about domestic overheads and, in the later 1800s, expected to pay no more than a third of their income on rent, rates, taxes and minor repairs. Occupiers with an income of £150 a year managed without a servant on a budget of fifty pounds for these living costs; those with an income of £800 a year or more would include two servants in their budget of about £260 a year.¹⁷

Even when an estate had the balance of housing right, the income was unreliable due to building fluctuations influenced by changes in local and national prosperity. The peak of development on this estate in the later 19th century coincided with the national building boom of 1897-1904 (Fig.6).¹⁸

The Estate became open for development in 1869 when the population density of Brighton at 45.1 per acre was even higher than London's, and considered unhealthy. Brighton's high death-rates from overcrowding, the lack of an effective sewage system and of piped fresh water featured regularly in the local and national press. Just as the Estate came on to the market, both Brighton and Hove agreed to pay for the joint renewal and extension of their sewage systems and for an outfall well east of the urban area at Portobello. This was a very controversial decision because some ratepayers refused to accept the urgency and necessity of this costly project and fought it. Brighton then decided to invest heavily in buying water companies and new pumping stations and pipes and secured the necessary private acts of Parliament. It then provided an effective and profitable water service for the entire area.¹⁹

PLANS FOR THE ESTATE

The master-plan for the development of the Stanford Estate in Preston and Hove, drawn up by H.J. Lanchester (an architect and surveyor) in 1868-9, aimed at all sections of the middle-class market but carefully zoned by plot-size and housing-value to make best use of the land (Fig.1).

Copies of the original plan do not appear to have survived but the detailed descriptions in the local press in 1869 strongly suggests that the Estate trustees made only minor changes until the interwar period. The Estate hoped to attract to the prime coastal land in Hove very wealthy clients who might choose a large fashionable house beside the sea. This idea linked well with the development, from the 1850s, of the Goldsmids' Palmeira estate to the east for the wealthy middle class, and of the Vallance Estate for the same market to the west from about 1900. But compared with these, it was over-ambitious.²⁰

The focus of Lanchester's plan was a grand route across the entire Estate starting by the sea at the bottom of Grand Avenue in Hove and ending on the Preston section where the west end of Stanford Avenue meets Ditchling Road (Fig.1). The device of a road starting beside the sea and taking the eye up through an estate to the horizon had first been used in the area when Busby laid out the Brunswick Estate in Hove some 50 years before, with the landowner's house beside St Anne's Well acting as the focus of the central vista (Figs 1, 11). In the case of the Stanford Estate, the aim was to draw attention to the rising land with good sea views just north of the main Hove project, and to provide a short-cut between the two parts of the estate. The road linking Hove with the Preston Road was delayed until 1876, one reason being the steep drop from Dyke Road to the Preston valley (Fig. 1). Philip Lockwood, the Borough Surveyor for Brighton, resolved this problem. He built Dyke Road Drive from the junction of Dyke Road and the Upper Drive (at the Windmill Inn) across the railway at the junction with Stanford Road then down to the Preston Road. The west end of Lover's Walk was lost to the route and access to what remains is still by steps built as part of this scheme.²¹

As soon as Ellen, Vere I and the Trustees approved the plan for the entire Estate, Lanchester quickly undertook preliminary work on the first areas for sale. He installed road drainage, made up roads, established an estate office and had sale

signs erected. By January 1870, land was for sale as leasehold for 99 years for mansions, villas, family residences and shops. The plan was revised a little in May 1870 but development had started and, by May 1871 around 130–140 houses were standing, but where has not been established.²²

THE STANFORD ESTATE ACT OF 1871 – RATIONALE AND IMPACT

In 1871, a local paper speculated that sold as freehold, the value of the Estate would rise to about £500,000 because leasehold was unpopular locally. The Trustees, (with Ellen's agreement) had already decided to amend the terms of William II's will by the normal mechanism of obtaining a private Act of Parliament (The Stanford Estate Act), which received Royal assent on 16 August 1871. It allowed the sale of freehold land subject to the granting of building agreements, a common device used to control the quality of development on a large estate to protect the value of the land yet to be developed. Building agreements were leases for seven years that gave the occupier the option to purchase the freehold at a price equivalent to 25 years of the ground-rent paid during the term of the lease. The occupier had to build to an agreed design and minimum value within the seven years. The Estate's surveyor must have done some enforcement against builders to judge from the overall quality of the development but no evidence (such as correspondence) has yet emerged. The prospect of enforcement against builders was an important means of ensuring that they respected building covenants but when a builder or client resisted it could be expensive.²³

On completion of a building to the satisfaction of its surveyor, the Estate conveyed the land for the price agreed in the building-lease to the buyer, who also purchased the building from the builder. The new freehold conveyance issued by the Estate then united land and building on a single deed. The Stanford Estate Act laid down that rents and other profits from development were solely for the use of Ellen, a common clause in such acts and repeated in titles to land on the Estate sold after the Act. Vere I (Ellen's first husband) failed in his attempt to use the Act to remove the control of both Chancery and of the Trustees over the estate.²⁴

The Estate also included standard covenants in freehold conveyances on completion of a building for example, one prohibiting the use of steam engines. As with modern covenants about

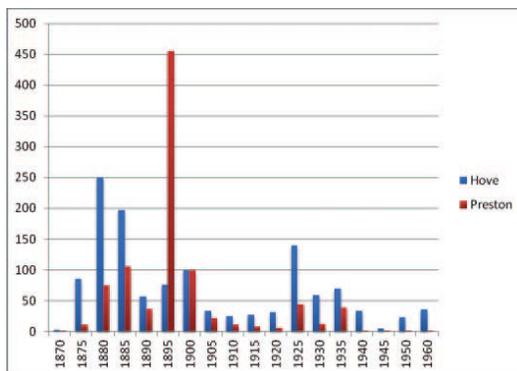


Fig. 6. Dates when building leases were granted in Preston and Hove. Graph by Pat Berry based on the conveyance book begun in 1870. ESRO ACC 2137.

domestic noise intruding into others' homes and other irritants, they worked only if enforced. No evidence has emerged that they were.

Typical of suburban developments of this period, the Stanford Estate did not provide most of the amenities expected on a middle-class estate such as places of worship, although it knew where it wanted them to be and encouraged others to incur the costs and risks. The Stanford Estate Act permitted the gift of land for churches; only All Saints Church in Hove and St Augustine on the corner of Florence Road and Stanford Avenue were beneficiaries. Plots for shops and mews were included on all the plans, but pubs were confined to Preston and west Hove. The Estate was not averse to industrial sites located near Hove station. Before 1914, the Estate sold land for factories, the extension of the goods yard and for the Albion football ground. Neither paying towards facilities nor giving away land for them ensured that the development was financially more successful than the Devonshire Estate in Eastbourne, which engaged in both forms of philanthropy and lost money.²⁵

IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT

PRESTON

The Stanfords' farmland in the parish of Preston was easily accessible to Brighton by existing roads (Fig. 1). In 1854, the relocation of the turnpike gate in the Preston Road from near Preston Place to north of Withdean removed toll charges for road access from Brighton to the northern part

of Preston. Preston (now Preston Park) Station opened in 1869, greatly improving access to London and Brighton. This improved access had already encouraged middle-class developments on the northern perimeter of the Stanfords' land. At Withdean in south Patcham, work began on the middle class Clermont estate in the late 1860s and by 1871, 150 houses were completed. To the north and west of Clermont, the development from the 1840s on the Ogle estate of very large villas also benefited (Fig. 1). The success of Prestonville (Fig. 1), begun in 1865 by Daniel Friend as a middle-class estate on land west of the Brighton-London railway line probably helped to influence the social mix of the southern part of the Stanfords' land adjacent to it. Formerly part of the Stanford Estate, by 1870 Prestonville already consisted of 200 houses. York Villas, erected in 1868-9 as 16 semi-detached villas each costing at least £300 to build (net of land costs) rented quickly.²⁶

Lanchester clearly thought that Preston should appeal to a broad middle-class market seeking suburban rather than seaside homes and good access to Brighton and to London. When the Estate laid out new roads (Fig. 7), they were for specific parts of the middle classes as reflected in the charge for a plot and the minimum amount that the builder agreed to spend on a house, both of which were in the building leases (Table 1). The graph of the socio-economic structure of the residents based on a sample of roads from the census of 1901 reflects its effectiveness and the sensitivity of occupiers to variations in rents (Fig. 9).²⁷

In 1871, the *Brighton Gazette* announced that the six-acre Prince's Dairy Estate to the south of the Preston Road viaduct and on which Preston Dairy Farm stood 'with its pretty trees, houses and meadows' had been sold by the Stanford Trustees to Aldermen Ireland and to Mr William Savage, both experienced developers who had worked in Prestonville nearby (Fig.1). *The Builder* noted the presence of Mr Lanchester at the celebratory dinner in late May. By June 1871, the site was filling up and so the Estate released further land on the west side of the Preston Road. The first plan for this larger area, of semi-detached and detached villas and a large crescent parallel to the Ditchling Road, was soon altered to the current layout of a higher density. The popularity of the Preston area resulted in the release of land north of the viaduct and the need for a new school. In 1877, the Brighton and

Table 1. Minimum building costs: Preston.

Road	Year	Agreed min in £ for building each house
Argyle Road	1871	Terraced 250
Chester Terrace	1893-85	Terraced 300
Cleveland Road	1894	Terraced 400
Compton Road	1892-6	Terraced 300
Ditchling Road	1881	Semi 450
Ditchling Road	1892	Detached 500
Ditchling Road	1892	Semi pair 750
Ditchling Road	1892	Terraced 350
Edburton Avenue	1895	Terraced 300
Edburton Avenue	1898/99	Terraced 350
Grantham Road	1895	Terraced 300
London Road	1871	Terraced 300 Princes Dairy Estate facing London Road
Millers Road	1892-6	Terraced 300
Rugby Road	1892	Detached 550
Rugby Road	1894	Semi pair 900 for two
Stanley Road - Livingstone Terrace	1875	Terraced 225

Source: ESRO ACC 2137 Stanford Estate leases, minimum build costs stated.

Preston School Board bought land for the Preston Road School.²⁸

The Stanford Trustees allowed other land uses too. The Preston Brewery expanded on the east side of Preston Circus right at the south end of the estate in Preston on the border with Brighton, on land sold in 1873 to Mr Longhurst, the tenant (Fig. 1). He supplied some of the pubs permitted on the Preston part of the Estate (Fig. 1).²⁹

Between 1872 and 1878, the Estate relocated farm buildings in Preston, adding to Hill Barn on The Droveway to turn it into Preston Farm so that all undeveloped land was cultivated. Making up the long roads typical of Preston was costly. In 1878, Ambrose Oliver laid the drainage and made up Preston Park Avenue for which he was paid £4280. The cost of such work explains why the Estate made up roads only when there was demand for plots of land.³⁰

In 1873, most of Preston was absorbed within the Borough of Brighton, subjecting development to the Borough's building regulations. The Corporation's first priority was to ensure that the roads and pavements were of a good standard before adoption; when it adopted housing byelaws, it applied them to supervise the quality



Fig. 7. Preston Drove probably about 1920. Showing trees planted by the Estate and the generous road layout. Private collection.

of domestic drains, foundations and other aspects of construction.³¹

BUILDERS ON THE PRESTON ESTATE

Development on this estate was mainly by builders with little capital who leased plots of land big enough to erect between one and four houses to the agreed design and sell them to generate more capital before taking on more land. This typically piecemeal approach to house-building made supervision essential, particularly to secure standardisation in design and quality.³²

A few builders were able to raise sufficient capital to take on more land with the consequent risk of exposure to building slumps. In 1875, Charles Comber began on Livingstone Terrace in Stanley Road where he had leased a large block of land. In 1880, he leased land in Warleigh and Clyde Roads. Ireland and Savage leased a large part of the east side of Springfield Road on which they were building by 1879. J. G. Blaker began building in Stanford Avenue, Beaconsfield Villas and Havelock Road in 1881 and then leased land in Waldegrave Road in 1882 where he built until 1889. Unusually for a Preston builder, Blaker also worked in Hove,

at Denmark Villas in 1883. Between 1880 and 1890 Fred Hallyar built in Beaconsfield Road (1888), Florence Road (1887), Ditchling Road (1886) and Warleigh Road (1879–1880). Hallyar worked with George Corney on some developments. In 1880, 1881 and 1882 they built terraced houses in Vere Road and three pairs of semi-detached houses in Florence Road. In 1883, they built along the east side of Ditchling Road, just round the corner along Vere Road, in Florence Road and on the north side of Springfield Road.³³

The Estate also modernised the village of Preston. The Crown and Anchor was rebuilt in 1887 and four new shops erected along the Preston Road (Numbers 199–205) in 1895. The architect C. Stanley Peach gave the facades pargetted gables with details indicating what the first businesses were to be: the shop front decorated with corn-ricks was a bakery.³⁴ The Estate leased a slip of land to the north of the village to Penfold for 99 years for the houses now on the south side of Lauriston Road designed by Peach. It then took on most of them to rent directly, charging between £31 and £35 by 1914.³⁵ By 1907, Mr Ballard rented adapted farm buildings in Preston village as stables. In



Fig. 8. Cleveland Road, details showing that the control of design in Preston was sufficient to ensure that facades were similar, no matter who built them. Author's photograph. This road was planted with trees in the mid-1890s; at least £400 was to be spent on the construction of each house: see Table 1.

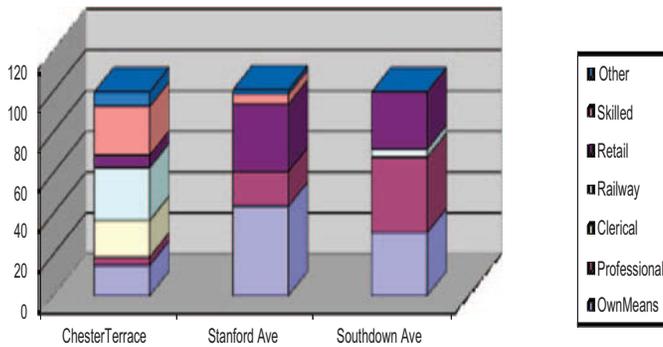


Fig. 9. Variations in occupations between three roads in Preston in 1901. Chester Terrace has the smallest terraced houses, Southdown Avenue is a larger terraced development and Stanford Avenue has large detached and semi-detached houses.

1908 Cripps, then the estate's agent, designed the new Estate Office and workshop in South Road, relocated from near Preston Place.³⁶

By 1910, the development of land in Preston was almost complete. Its success influenced the layout of the Harrington and Curwen Estates to the north, both aimed at the middle classes (Fig. 1).³⁷

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRESTON PARK AND BLAKERS PARK

In 1873, with the support of the Stanford Trustees, Ellen and Vere I, most of Preston became part of the Borough of Brighton. This ensured that the rapidly developing suburban area had the adequate sanitation, water and other facilities expected in



Fig. 10. The southern end of Preston Park as it looked in the late 1880s. Private collection.

suburban areas. Due to the success of development on the Estate, in 1875 the *Brighton Herald* remarked that the northern suburbs would soon cut a large part of the town off from the countryside and so needed a public park (Figs 1 and 10). This idea emerged after the passing of the Public Health Act in 1875 enabling local authorities to borrow money to buy land and lay parks out. The Estate plans for Preston, which show it as an open space, indicate that the Trustees also hoped that the damp area below which an underground stream called the Wellesbourne ran would be used for a park. The Trustees had already let a field to the east of the Manor for use by the International Gun and Polo Club.³⁸

By the 1870, parks had become an essential part of middle-class areas but the cost of landscaping and management and the difficulty of keeping non-residents out of such large areas deterred landowners developing large estates from running them privately. Land sold for use as public open space was often unsuitable for housing, being either damp or steep. In Preston, the low-lying land in the valley became the main area of Preston Park and a small section on the steep slope to the Dyke Ridge, a rockery. The purchase did not proceed smoothly. In 1876, negotiations over a 62-acre site to the south of Preston Manor and to the west of the London Road failed when the

Stanford Estate asked for £30,000. Residents of the Borough vociferously objected to the extra costs of the park, which were to be met by the ratepayers. Many could not see the need for a park to the north of the expanding town. In 1877, the Estate erected a lightweight fence in a style fashionable for private rural parks around the main area of land and periodically opened it for local use.³⁹

In spite of protests by ratepayers, in May 1882 Brighton Corporation borrowed £50,000 to buy and landscape the land. Ellen and the Trustees had to apply to Chancery for permission to sell, which was given in November 1882. Whilst negotiations were in progress, the Royal Counties Agricultural Show took place, perhaps a warning message to the population of the increasingly suburban area of the likely consequences of the failure of negotiations. Opened informally to the public in 1883 whilst being landscaped, the official opening was in 1884. Money left to Brighton by W E Davis of 18 Gloucester Place on the death of his wife Ann then paid off the loan.⁴⁰

The new park boosted the value of Stanford land, particularly along Preston Park Avenue where the houses are the biggest on the Preston Estate. Most of the builders who leased plots regarded the enhanced value of a view of the Park sufficiently prestigious to commission architects to design the larger houses. Although three were granted in

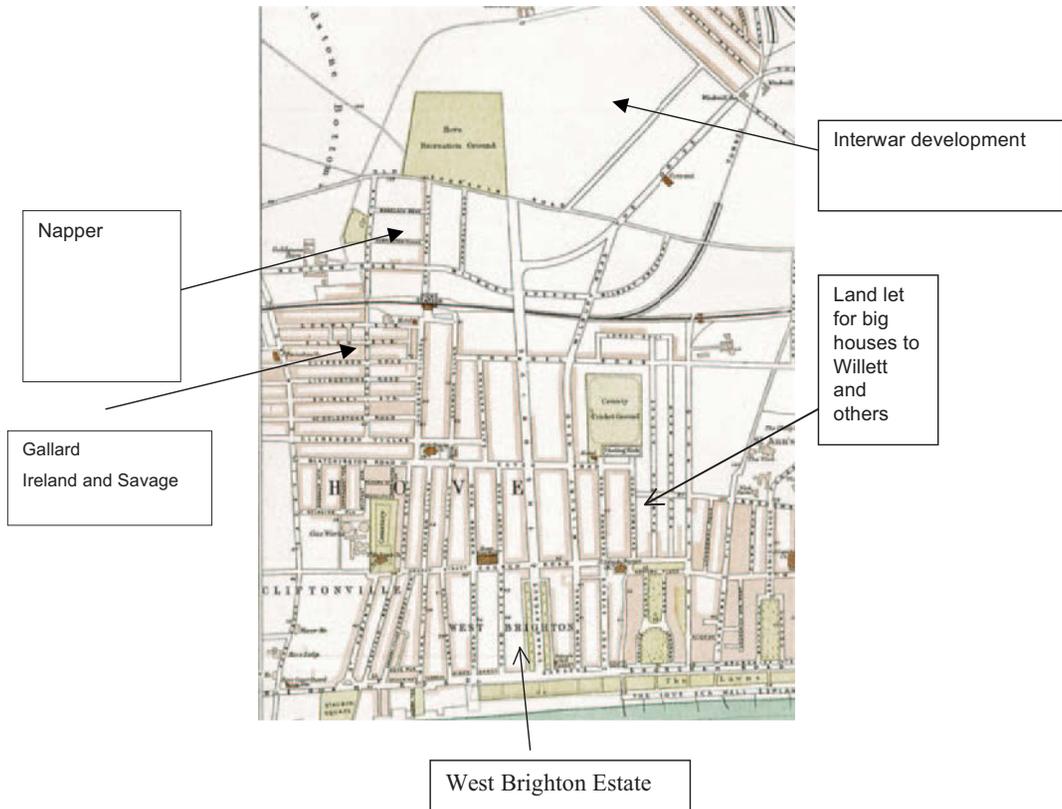


Fig. 11. Hove part of the Estate in c1895. Source: Author. Unattributed map of c1895.

1879 and 1880, the majority of the approvals were between 1897 and 1907 when the Council received 26 sets of building plans for at least thirty houses.⁴¹

In 1894, Alderman J. G. Blaker, a resident of Preston mentioned earlier as a major builder in the area, generously gave four acres of land for a second park in Preston, known still as Blakers Park. In 1896, when he was the Mayor of Brighton, he also gave £1000 towards the cost of a clock tower and a fund for its maintenance (Fig. 1). The family house overlooked the Park but such a donation of potential building land entailed the family foregoing a considerable income from its development.⁴²

HOVE – SUBURBAN RESORT AND MIDDLE-CLASS SUBURBS

In Hove, the Stanford development infilled the large open space between Adelaide Crescent and Palmeira Square to the east, and Cliftonville to the west. The majority of the parish was still

countryside and even in 1878, an unmade track ran between Cliftonville and West Hove (now Hove) station (Fig. 1).⁴³ The attempt to develop an area of high-class housing beside the sea next to the famous resort of Brighton attracted the attention of the national building press and of local papers. Preston and the development around Hove station did not command such attention because they were typical of contemporary projects elsewhere.

On 2 October 1869, the *Brighton Herald* gave a detailed description of the Hove section of Lanchester's first plan. Within Grand Avenue, two long gardens separated the road from the access to the houses (of which the east one survives). The roads closest to the sea (south of Church Road) were for terraces and those to the north of Church Road for detached and semi-detached villas. The importance of generous spacing between roads and between houses north of Church Road was emphasised. So were the good drainage and the lack of an outfall on the beach (Fig. 11).⁴⁴

Lanchester planned a promenade with lawns along the frontage south of the coastal road in Hove linking the sea-front lawns of the Palmeira Estate on the east to Mills Terrace on the west. The Trustees hoped that someone would build Subscription Rooms on a spot marked on the plan.⁴⁵ In 1870, minor alterations to the plan gave more space for gardens around the junction of Church Road with the southern section of The Drive, lost to road widening and space for car-parking in the later 20th century.⁴⁶

From 1869, the Stanford Trustees negotiated with the Hove Commissioners about sharing the costs of infrastructure such as sewers, on which the new development added pressure. From 1877, the Commissioners insisted that every new street of less than 40 feet wide had to have a footway six feet wide and those over 40 feet to have a sixth of their width on either side as footways. Pavements had to be either stone or brick and paid for by the developer or residents before adoption by the Commissioners and streetlights provided by the residents or the Estate if required. By 1882, the Hove Commissioners were prosecuting builders who failed to respect the building by-laws, their particular concern being the quality of the drains, foundations and walls of houses. Rates rose due to investment in new seawalls and other capital works which the Commissioners (and then the Borough) regarded as necessary; the Estate had to contribute to some of these works as a beneficiary.⁴⁷

The development of Hove committed the Estate to further overheads. In October 1869, The County Cricket Ground surrendered their lease on their old site, now the southern end of Grand Avenue and in 1872 the Estate paid for work on the present County Ground's boundary walls and other necessities, supervised by Mr Lanchester. In 1873, Hove Farm was relocated to Goldstone Bottom where the Estate built a new farmhouse and four labourers' cottages.⁴⁸

THE WEST BRIGHTON ESTATE

The Estate had high expectations of the income from the area around The Drive but took the decision to allow the development of the most expensive and so most risky houses along the coast by a company. The establishment of the West Brighton Estate Company (WBEC) in 1872 to manage the block of land to the south of Church Road put the Trustees at arm's length from the project, but the Board included Ellen's uncles, her

Table 2. Minimum building cost agreements; Hove.

Road	Date	Value £
Dyke Road and The Drive junction	1893	On The Drive £1600 Dyke Road £1000 Terrace £450 Shop £500
Fonthill Road	Throughout 1890s	900 semis 400 terrace
Hove Park Villas	1896	400 semis
Raddenden Road	1920	700
Selbourne Road	1879	1000
The Drive	1902	800 detached
Wilbury Avenue	1899	350 terraced
Wilbury Gardens	1894	600 detached

mother's two brothers William and John Morris and Ellen's stepfather, Captain George Varnham McDonald (Fig. 3). William Morris II raised much of the initial capital for the development. The WBEC developed First to Fourth Avenues on an area of about 40 acres for which the company paid £3800 a year in rent with the option to purchase the freehold from the Stanford Estate to sell to buyers who preferred freehold to leasehold.⁴⁹

WBEC made the mistake of recruiting 'Baron' Grant, a flamboyant director of several companies as a director to raise capital, which he failed to do. Grant became so notorious that he may have provided Trollope's model for Melmotte in *The Way We Live Now*. Grant's unfinished house on the east corner of Queens Gardens became a club for members of the Marlborough, Guards, Travellers and White's Clubs in London. As Grant had employed Sir James Knowles (1831–1908) to design his enormous but unfinished Kensington House near Kensington Palace in 1873, he may have been the person who introduced the architect to the West Brighton Estate Company.⁵⁰

Knowles's scheme for the West Brighton Estate consisted of large terraces along the sea front and a mixture of shorter terraces and semi-detached houses along the avenues (Fig. 12). The surviving drawings and early descriptions of the scheme suggest that both he and his client felt that terraces along the front helped to link the Estate to the high quality developments of Brunswick Town and Adelaide Terrace to the east but that inland, more flexibility was sensible. The national building magazines were unimpressed, regarding it as old-fashioned and by 1877, hopes were expressed that more 'Queen Annish' and other styles might appear.⁵¹

The WBEC received a sharp lesson about the limitations of their scheme when they provided all

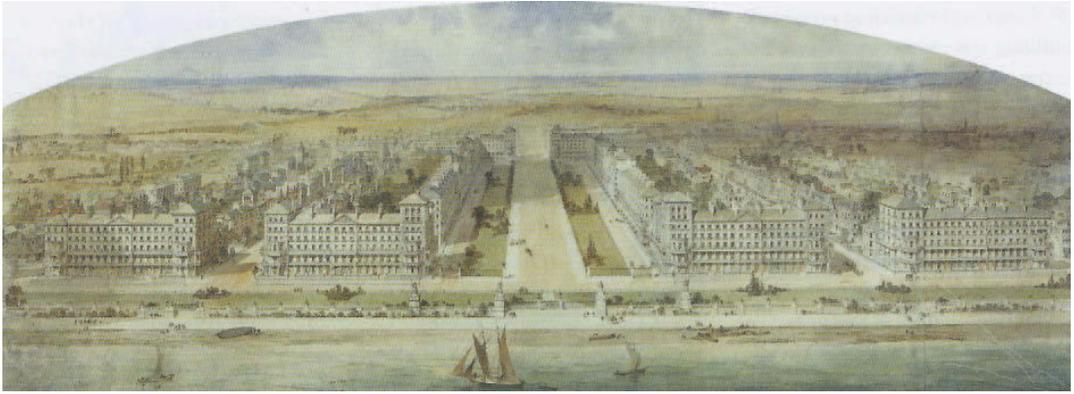


Fig. 12. Sir James Knowles's design for the West Brighton Estate, c1871. Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove.

the capital and materials for the construction of the big terraced houses of Queens Gardens, which they put out to tender, won by J.T. Chappell of Pimlico, London. They found the houses impossible to sell and let them until 1874 when they sold, with sitting tenants, below the market rate. The directors then decided that builders should raise their own capital and tried to deal only with larger firms like Chappell who could do this. He built on the Estate for 22 years, finishing in 1893 by which time he had built about 120 of the 269 buildings on this estate. About 37 small and medium-sized builders for whom the company raised some capital constructed the remainder. Some builders were so ambitious that the company, having had its fingers burnt with Queens Gardens, warned that they were endangering themselves. Edward Ockenden, who was building on the Estate by 1877, bankrupted himself in 1881 by building five large houses, one of which had 17 bedrooms, on the east side of The Drive. The company, which had tried to warn him that they were too big, took them over and let them until 1897.⁵²

By mid-1877, the WBEC had committed a considerable amount of capital to landscaping along the coast and up The Drive. Mr Mills, 'gardener to the West Brighton Estate' and the owner of a conservatory at the top of Second Avenue and nurseries in Hove laid out the gardens on either side of The Drive, landscaped the lawns along the seafront, laid out its terraced walks and planted shrubberies and flowers there.⁵³

By 1877, the WBEC had revised its plan, departing from terraces of varying lengths as in First Avenue. It designated Second Avenue for

semi-detached villas, Third Avenue for detached houses, and Fourth Avenue for large semi-detached houses, all in white facing bricks from the Barham or Crampton Companies at Sevenoaks.⁵⁴ The pace of development was quite brisk between 1877 and 1879 when the Company advanced over £70,000 to help the smaller builders. Houses sold profitably too – three houses in First Avenue fetched £10,800, two mansions in Queen's Gate and one of the Adelaide Mansions together sold for £30,650. Depending on their location, plots of land sold for between £2000 and £6000 an acre. Then in 1880 the development stalled, reflecting a national depression which affected the building trade in Brighton and Hove. Chappell had stopped building and did not start again until 1890, when he built the five houses now standing in Kings Gardens (Fig. 11). The Company then belatedly recognised that smaller houses were the secret of success and a building-boom between 1898 and 1900 completed most of the Estate.⁵⁵

Some builders employed architects to develop luxurious houses of a standard sufficient to attract wealthy Londoners. By 1877, E.W. Hudson 'of London and Brighton' was designing luxurious houses in Second Avenue for Yerbury, a builder. One house was in the 'Lombardo-Gothic' style, built with gault brick and Tisbury stone and decorated with polished oak, pitch-pine and Minton tiles inside. Finlay of London carved the oak, and Pepper and Co. of London were to supply stained glass. Hudson and Spreadborough built two large semi-detached houses adorned with 17th-century style panelling and with seawater cisterns in their roofs.⁵⁶

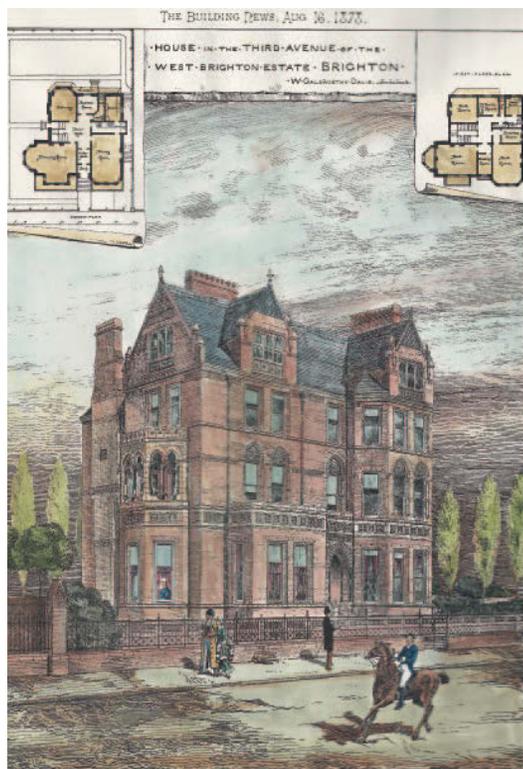


Fig. 13. A house in Third Avenue, West Brighton Estate, 1878. Design by Galsworthy Davies showing the large, ornate homes on this estate. Private collection.

From the perspective of the Stanford Trustees and Ellen and Vere I, the slow progress of the West Brighton Estate meant that after an initial spurt of development in the mid-1870s, it did not generate much capital until the 1890s. This is why the houses in the other areas in Hove were important because being more modest, they sold more steadily.

INLAND HOVE – THE VICINITY OF THE STATION

Lanchester and the Stanford Trustees considered the land around the present Hove Station (then called West Hove Station to distinguish it from the original Hove Station further to the east) as best for different types of middle class housing intended mainly for local residents. Lanchester ensured that although most of the roads there were wide enough for tree-planting, the roads designated for the more valuable housing would be the widest, with larger plots and higher minimum building costs. Wider roads such as Clarendon Villas were for

semi-detached houses, and narrower streets such as Goldstone Street were for smaller properties.⁵⁷

Some experienced builders committed themselves to leasing large blocks of land near the station. Napper took the area between The Drive and Fonthill Road, just north of Hove Station and built solid housing for affluent residents, including Hartington Villas (Figs 1 and 11).⁵⁸ George Gallard, a developer who had been one of the masterminds of Cliftonville in Hove leased 15 acres between Goldstone Villas and Sackville Road.⁵⁹ He called this new project the Hove Drove Estate, Cliftonville and immediately sought to sub-let plots of land on it. To the south of this development, Ireland and Savage named the land they bought from the Stanford Estate the Olliver Estate and built terraced houses.⁶⁰

NORTH OF CHURCH ROAD – HOMES FOR THE WEALTHY

The Estate retained direct control of the ‘up-market’ area between Church Road and the Old Shoreham Road and from 1869 paid builders to lay out roads (Figs 1, 11). Nicholson accounted for £6650 paid for installing main drains and preparing an unidentified road ready for tree-planting and paving.⁶¹ The amount of capital needed to undertake this work was a significant drain on resources and, in the 1870s, the outflow of capital was high. In 1878–79 William Willett did the drainage and road-making for The Drive as far as Dyke Road for £9157. In 1878, George Howard received £2888 for Fishbourne Road and Joseph Anscombe charged £2600 for Salisbury Road.⁶²

Only builders with more capital and awareness of the expectations of wealthy clients succeeded here. One of the most successful, Willett and Co (William Willett (1837–1913) and his son William (1856–1915)) built over a thousand large, high-quality houses in London where their best work was in and around Elsworthy Road in St Johns Wood. Designed mainly by Harry Measures, built in red brick, this development influenced the design of others such as Hampstead Garden Suburb. Willett senior also built some large, mainly terraced, houses on large London estates such as the Cadogan in Chelsea.⁶³

The Willetts weathered building slumps because the high quality and the styles of their properties were popular with the exclusive market at which they aimed. They were unusual amongst the builders of Hove because they always employed architects, using the same ones in both Hove and



Fig. 14. Upper Drive, Hove designed by Harry Measures and built by William Willett the elder. Author's photograph.

London: James Trant Smith (1880–83), Harry Measures (1883–91) and Amos Faulkner (1891 onwards). When Willett junior took over in 1903 after his father retired, he employed Ernest Newton (dates of employment not established). The houses of Lyndhurst Gardens in Belsize Park (1883–1888), Eaton Avenue (1886–93) and Elsworthy Road are in the same style as those in Eaton Gardens, The Drive, Cromwell Road, Cambridge Grove, Tisbury Road and Wilbury Road in Hove. The Willetts also built blocks of stables, such as Cambridge Stables off Wilbury Road.⁶⁴

Yet most of the builders of the large houses of Hove were local men such as Jabez Reynolds, who committed more resources than most and built houses scattered over the West Brighton and Stanford Estates, the latter mainly in Tisbury and Selbourne Roads (Fig. 11). T. W. Hyde who worked in Tisbury Road from 1877 built 13 houses, but one or two at a time was more typical. Some builders employed architects such as J. Athol Wood who worked in Salisbury Road and Galsworthy Davies who designed Doone Terrace for J.G. Sheldon

working in Lorna Road. Others did their own designs. All were subject to the approval of the Estate surveyor.⁶⁵

By 1901, the Estate south of the Old Shoreham Road was largely infilled. The census shows the impact of the deliberate zoning by value on the wide variation in the socio-economic structure of households on the estate, which ranged from small families occupying the terraces to the dominance of families in the majority of the big houses living off investments of various kinds, as shown in Fig 15. This group also dominated the more modest semi-detached houses of Hartington Villas. The Estate in Hove had a far wider range of incomes than was apparent in Preston.⁶⁶

NORTH OF THE OLD SHOREHAM ROAD

In 1918, development as far north as the Brighton to Portsmouth railway line was almost completed (Figs 1, 11). The Trustees had to decide the future of the large wedge of land to the north where development had become uncoordinated. Development had begun in 1872, when the Estate

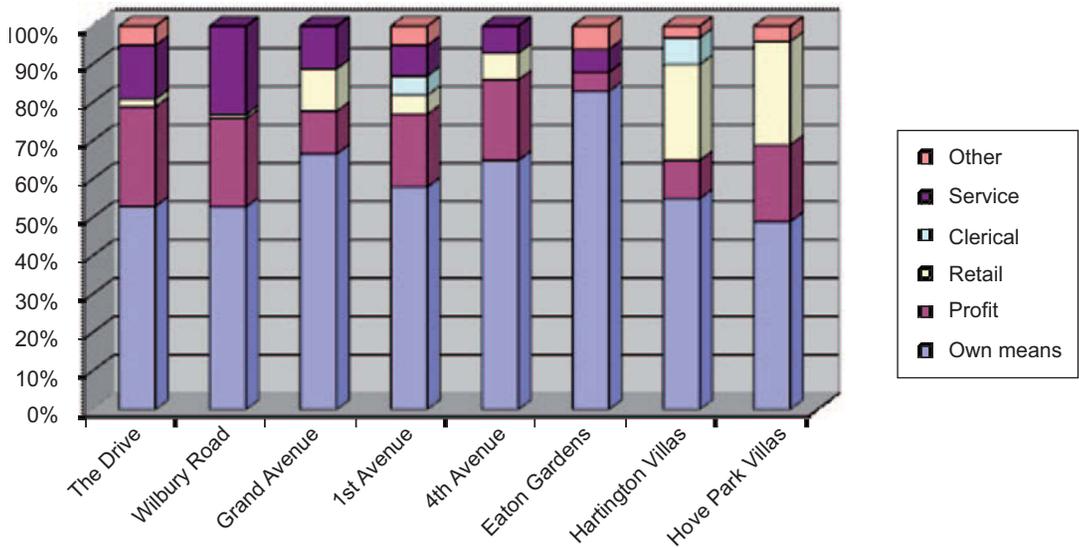


Fig. 15. The Stanford Estate in Hove in 1901, occupational pattern from census.

sold 16 acres for the Sacred Heart Convent on the east side of the Upper Drive. In 1912, it allowed the development of Mowden School on the south side of The Droveaway. Yet the Estate clearly planned to sell more land for housing north of the Old Shoreham Road before the First World War, as evidenced by its sale of land for Hove Recreation Ground and Hove Park to Hove Corporation in 1893 and 1901. Laid out in countryside, within the boundaries of the aptly-named 'Preston Rural' district, some ratepayers saw no point to either of them, for few houses stood in the area. Yet substantial plots along Dyke Road sold from 1893 until the First World War.⁶⁷

In 1900, Martyn and Martyn (the trustees' solicitors and London agents) felt that the control of development on the Estate in Hove was inadequate. There is no evidence for the trustees' response, and sales in this area continued to be piecemeal until after the First War. Sales of land fell after 1900 and remained low until the mid-1920s (Fig. 6), a pattern in keeping with national trends in spite of a severe shortage of housing nationally and in Brighton and Hove by 1914.⁶⁸

When the market revived, the Estate reacted. In 1925, Cripps (the Stanfords' agent) installed sewers and laid the road surfaces ready for development in Bavant, Lloyd, Orpen, Radinden Manor, Shirley

and Woodruff Roads.⁶⁹ Then in 1926, the Estate decided to revamp the layout of the roads on the remaining undeveloped land. The new scheme around Hove Park and Hove Recreation Ground provided plots for smaller detached and semi-detached houses in a wide range of styles common to the interwar period. It took account of changing taste, including the need to accommodate the taste of wealthy people for garages for cars, and consequently boosted sales of plots (Fig. 6). The principal of a spinal road lined by bigger properties survived, Shirley Drive becoming the northern extension of The Drive through this land.⁷⁰

The plan was not implemented precisely; in particular the Estate decided to keep the Dairy, then known as Hole's Farm (and previously Hill Barn), and so Mallory Road ends on the north side of the Dairy rather than cutting through it to The Droveaway. Kelly Road was not completed; some of the land being sold for a playing field. The many builders included Ticehurst and Martin, Willett and Barclay (who took several blocks of land) but the small builder continued to dominate development. The popularity of the area is shown by the speed at which houses were erected (Fig. 6) giving the estate its last major flow of income from Hove and Preston. Yet even in 1931, some reminders of previous land uses remained. A nursery survived

on the land behind Lloyd Road with access from it and the Dairy continued to function on The Droveaway. The low-density layout remains a very marked contrast with the older Estate in Hove to the south and with Preston to the east and boosted sales accordingly (Fig. 6).⁷¹

DEVELOPMENT ELSEWHERE

The income from land-sales shown in Table 3 below includes parts of the Estate outside the greater Brighton and Hove

HASSOCKS

By 1851, the Estate let most of its land in the parish of Keymer as a farm. The development of the Hassocks Estate as villas began in 1870 under the management of Thomas Lanson, a Brighton surveyor and architect. In 1882, using capital from the sales in Brighton and Hove, the trustees bought more land for £32,000 and began to develop it. Sales here continued into the interwar period.⁷² Road-names such as Stanford Avenue in Hassocks remain as a reminder of their involvement.

NORBURY

The Estate already owned some land at Norbury near Croydon before 1878, when the trustees bought more for £26,000. Development had begun along Stanford Road by 1903 and continued steadily until the 1930s, the first architect in charge being C.S. Peach. John Bennett-Stanford opposed the sales as freehold but failed to stop them.⁷³

KENT AND LONDON

The trustees also bought the Holborough Court Estate at Snodland in Kent with a mortgage, and two properties in London. Number 33 Tite Street, Chelsea, contained artists' studios one of which was rented by John Singer Sargent. In 1899-1900 the Estate bought Cophall House, an office block in the City occupied by 150 businesses, but had sold it by 1920.⁷⁴

ESSEX

To fulfil their obligation to invest some of the profits from sales in land in further purchases, at some point the Estate bought the 172-acre West Mersea Hall Farm in Essex. In 1895, Ellen and the Stanford Estate Trustees sold it, with the permission of Chancery, for £3250.⁷⁵ Why the Estate bought this farm is a puzzle because it is a considerable

Table 3. Income from sales of all land 1877-1932.

Years	Income from land sold
1875-April 1885	£411,155 10s. 6d.
1885-1898	£221,470 15s. 4d.
1893-1909	£89,368 19s. 6d.
1910-1918	£23,898 10s. 8d.
1919-1932	£396,499 18s. 11d.
TOTAL	£1,142,393 14s. 11d.

distance from the other estate holdings, perhaps accounting for its disposal.

WILTSHIRE

From the 1870s, the Stanford sales funded repairs, investment in new buildings and the purchase of more land in Wiltshire – spending at least £13,500 on repairs between 1897 and 1926; this is probably a considerable under-estimate. They also invested in Pythouse which was wired for electric light in 1926.⁷⁶

OVERVIEW

Development was profitable but the enticing table above (Table 3) has to be treated with care for costs have not been deducted for conventional overheads such as road-making, the salary of a surveyor, legal costs, the charges levied by Chancery, all overheads which many urban developments faced.⁷⁷

By 1884 550 acres, over half of the Estate in Preston and Hove, was subject to building agreements and when the sales were completed, the land fetched around £1000 an acre. But £53,600 had been paid on laying out roads and the trustees had to spend capital on buying more land as directed in William II's will (and enforced by Chancery) and so £71,000 was spent on the land-purchases described above.⁷⁸ Net income from the diminishing Estate was still substantial in the 1920s, around £60,000 at a peak in 1928.⁷⁹ Thus, John Bennett-Stanford was wrong to accuse everyone else of squandering all the money. Urban development was costly, and the insistence on investment in more land also absorbed capital. Towards the end of Ellen's life, in 1931, John fought hard to control the estate. In order to escape paying Death Duty he unsuccessfully proposed to manage the Estate through a limited company, compelling his solicitors to point out that as he had sold the reversion of the estate to an insurance company, he had effectively lost control of it.⁸⁰

CONCLUSION

The impact of the early Stanfords on the landscape of greater Brighton and Hove was slight, but the legacy of the Stanford Estate after 1869 was very significant because of the extent of the Estate and its crucial location, shifting middle-class housing northwards and westwards, a trend which continued into the interwar period. The Estate's own houses were generally less ambitious than those of the West Brighton Estate but those on the area between Church Road and Old Shoreham Road around The Drive were too large and proved hard to let or sell. The success stories were the more modest and higher-density developments of western Hove and Preston. The trustees' revamp of the layout of the remaining area north of the Old Shoreham Road was successful and profitable, making good use of the sweep of the land.⁸¹

From the early 1870s Ellen and her husbands, son and grandson enjoyed the lifestyle of the very wealthy, supported by income and capital from the sales of land. Judging from the correspondence of Sir Charles Thomas-Stanford, during Ellen's second marriage, the family mixed with many well-known people of the time. What the frugal William I, founder of this Estate might have thought of the speed at which his descendants ran through it all, we shall never know. It is a good example of what happened to estates where the life tenants simply wanted to enjoy spending and disproves the notion that trusts and entails could or can prevent such outcomes. Conflicts between trustees and life tenants and their heirs continue today.⁸²

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APPENDIX 1 TRUSTEES OF THE STANFORD ESTATE TO 1895 SUMMARY FROM SOURCES IN THE TEXT

10 Dec 1852	Will of William Stanford of Preston Place, esq, appointing Avery Roberts, William Tanner and Edward Stanford trustees and executors and devising all his freehold lands and tenements, subject to a term of 1000 years to certain uses, to daughter Ellen Stanford as tenant for life with power for trustees, with consent of person(s) for time being entitled to possession under limitations therein contained to estate for life or in tail, if such person(s) should be of age, to sell all or part; power to alter trustee(s)
18 Mar 1854	Bill filed in High Court of Chancery on behalf of Ellen Stanford, an infant, plaintiff v the executors and William Stanford's widow Eleanor Montague Stanford, defendants, for performance of will's trusts and administration of the estate under direction of the court; decree that the defendants should be allowed to exercise power of sale with approval of judge, 1 July 1854
12 Oct 1859	Avery Roberts replaced as trustee by Charles Henry William Gordon
26 Sep 1867	Settlement on the intended marriage of Ellen Stanford (under 21) and Vere Fane Benett, trustees P.M. Morris, M.R. Jeffreys, H.A. Fane, Alfred Seymour and Charles Forbes, William Willets the younger and George Varnham Macdonald, whereby Ellen and Vere granted and assigned the estate so devised and subject as mentioned in the will to the trustees upon specified trusts during her life; Ellen to exercise all powers of lease or consent to disposal conferred upon tenant for life by her father's will, and for substitution of trustees by Ellen and Vere; recites order authorising Ellen to make settlement of her estate under an Act to enable infants with the approbation of court the to make binding settlements of their real and personal estate on marriage (Infants' Settlement Act, 1855: 18 and 19 Vict. c.43)
1 Oct 1867	Ellen Stanford and Vere Fane Benett married at Preston; Vere obtained royal licence to use surname and arms of Stanford as directed in William Stanford's will
9 Nov 1869	Ellen came of age
23 Apr 1870	William Stanford's executor William Tanner died at Patcham
21 Jan 1884	William Stanford's executor Edward Stanford died at Brighton
21 Apr 1884	Appointment of the Revd Horace Chapman a trustee of the marriage settlement in place of H.A. Fane
22 Apr 1884	Appointment of H.A. Fane and M.D. Jeffreys in place of Charles H.W. Gordon as trustee with (as far as might be) in place of Tanner and Stanford deceased as executors of William Stanford
13 Dec 1893	Appointment of G.H. Gordon as a settlement trustee in place of Horace Chapman
27 Dec 1893	Death of M.D Jeffreys at Pinner in Middlesex)
1 Feb 1894	Appointment of G.H. Gordon as trustee in place of M.D. Jeffreys
23 Feb 1894	Death of P.M. Morris at the Hall, Uttoxeter in Staffordshire; no trustee had been appointed in his place by 1895

NOTES

- ¹ The archives held by East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO) and the resources formerly at the Brighton History Centre (BHC) are now at The Keep, Falmer. Not all of ACC 2137, the big Stanford accession has been listed in detail and so some documents are described so they can be identified. Most of the catalogued archives are now listed under the reference SFD and are referred to as such.
- This study replaces S. Farrant (now Berry) 'The Stanford Estate in Brighton and Hove' in S. Farrant ed., *The Growth of Brighton and Hove 1840-1939* (Brighton; University of Sussex Centre for Continuing Education hereafter CCE), 1981, 35-40; T. Sheriff, and R. Urbino, *Living in Style* (Brighton: Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museum, 1986), and W.F. Pickering, 'The West Brighton Estate: Hove. A study in Victorian urban development' *Sussex Industrial History* (Winter 1972/3), 14-30 other than where acknowledged in this article; *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* (hereafter *SWA*) 3 Sep 1764, 7 Aug 1769, 4 Dec 1769, 12 Aug 1793, 2 May 1796; ESRO SAS/BRI 165. SAS/BRI 167, SRL 2/4/11, ACC 2137, Trustee Accounts f.67, SAS/PN 1428; PBT 1/1/62/77, ACC 7560/51, AMS 2149; West Sussex Record Office (hereafter WSRO) Add Mss 45,344; C. Thomas-Stanford *Description of the family of Stanford of Preston, Sussex* (Chiswick: Chiswick Press, 1907) family tree unpaginated; C. Thomas-Stanford, *An introduction to the court rolls of the manor of Preston* Sussex Record Society (hereafter SRS) **27** (1921), 11.
- ² The National Archives (hereafter TNA) IR 26/1589 f.236, TNA IR18/10442; Royal Archives 33839, 33847; *SWA* 5 Dec 1791, 2 Jun 1796, 2 Jun 1806, 22 Apr 1822; *Brighton Gazette* (hereafter *BGaz*) 18 Dec 1823, Brighton Herald (hereafter *BH*) 16 May 1829; ESRO SFD 2/3/2, ACC 3412/1/64, AMS 2149, ACC 3412/1/64, TDE153, SAS/WG 821; *Brighton Patriot* (hereafter *BP*) 6 Dec 1836, 17 Jul 1837, 5 Jun 1838, 5 Mar 1839; E.W. Dunkin, *Sussex Manors* SRS **20** (1915), 333; Royal Institute of British Architects (hereafter RIBA) SA38/14(1-2); *Morning Post* 18 Oct 1825; ESRO ACC 3402/1/5/4/1-5, ACC 3412/1/78 and 141, ACC 6859/66-75, ACC 3412/4/13; *Sicklemore's History of Brighton* (Brighton: Sicklemore, 1824), 58; *The Standard* 30 Mar 1842; *Gentleman's Magazine* May 1841, 556-557; S. Farrant, 'The changing structure of landownership in the Lower Ouse Valley' *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter *SAC*) **116** (1977-78), 261-268; B. English and J. Saville *Strict Settlement: a guide for historians* (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1983), 99-104; A Furnham, 'Nepotism: the fastest way to lose the family fortune' *Sunday Times Section 7*, 4 Nov 2012, 2.
- ³ ESRO ACC 2137/8, Stanford v Roberts Receivers' Accounts, 1854-1855; PAR 387/10/3/1/54, PAR 387/10/57, SFD 2/3/1, 3 and 4.
- ⁴ TNA PROB 11/2173; F. Bentham Stevens, 'The Thomas-Stanford Trust Fund' *SAC* **74** (1933), 237.
- ⁵ ESRO SFD 2/3/1124.
- ⁶ *B Gaz* 22 Sep 1853; ESRO SFD 2/3/10.
- ⁷ ESRO ACC 2137, Receivers' Accounts.
- ⁸ ESRO ACC 8997/2, Lord Justice's Court, Stanford v Roberts, 28 Jun 1867; Brighton Local Studies Centre (hereafter BLSC) Smith's Collection undated *Brighton Gazette*.
- ⁹ ESRO ACC 2137/8, abstract of title of Lt-Col. J.M. Benett-Stanford and the Trustees of the Resettlement of 2 Nov 1891 of the Stanford Settled Estates, approved in Chancery of which he became a ward; Stanford Estate Act 1871; B. English and J. Saville *Strict Settlement*, 33; for the value of Evelyn's estate at her death in 1957 see *The Times*, 9 January 1958, 12D.
- ¹⁰ *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle* (hereafter *HTSC*) 9 Jul 1892; *Bristol Mercury* 20 Dec 1894; ESRO SFD 2/2/1.
- ¹¹ There is a story that during this period she had a child, her butler being the father, but the evidence seen at Preston Manor by the author of this article does not support that claim. In 1896, Ellen paid the costs of her butler's divorce, when his wife Jane had an illegitimate child from an affair. Ellen then acted as guarantor for the care of the boy at the Home for Little Boys (now part of the National Children's Homes) as the child was rejected by Parry, butler to Charles Thomas-Stanford from 1901; holiday let websites still display Quinta Stanford; *L.F. Salzman Victoria County History: Sussex* (London: Institute Historical Research, 1970 reprint) **7**, 19-20; ESRO SFD 1/1/5-6; *The Times* 17 Mar 1910, 23 Apr 1913, 30 Jun 1914, 1 Aug 1927, 8 Mar 1930, 12 Mar 1933.
- ¹² *HTSC* 9 Jul 1892; *Bristol Mercury* 20 Dec 1894; ESRO SFD 2/2/1.
- ¹³ Sheriff and Urbino *Living in Style* 11, citing undated J.M. Benett-Stanford Papers in the Library of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural Historical Society.
- ¹⁴ Sheriff and Urbino, *Living in Style* 15 citing ESRO ACC 2137, Statement setting out reasons for continuing the administration of the Stanford Estate by the Court, 19 Jan 1917; Chancery viewed this as a sale of the reversionary rights.
- ¹⁵ *The Times* 30 May 1922 1B; M. Corum, 'The hope of the house; the life and death of the last of the Stanfords of Preston Manor. Part Two' *Royal Pavilion and Museums Review*, 1992, 5-7; <http://www.open.edu/openlearn/history-the-arts/history/social-economic-history/military-records-witnesses-history> accessed 23 Nov 2012.
- ¹⁶ T. Hinchliffe, *North Oxford* (London: Yale, 1992), 1-65; M. Gallinou, *Cottages and Villas: the birth of the Garden Suburb* (London: Yale, 2010), 61-83.
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- ¹⁹ S. Farrant, 'The Drainage of Brighton: sewerage and outfall provision as an issue in a famous seaside resort c.1840-1880'. *SAC* **124**, 1986, 213-26; Brighton Corporation Waterworks Act 1872 (35 and 36 Vict. cap. lxxxvi); *The Builder* (hereafter *TB*) 9, 1869, 479.
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- ²¹ Maps reproduced and dated in D. Beever, 'The Stanford Estate in Brighton and Hove' *Royal Pavilion and Museums Review* (1990), 6-7; ESRO SFD 2/1-21, ACC 2137/8, ACC

- 9389, ACC 5786/54, DB/D 46/187; Brighton Borough Extension Act 1873 evidence 84, evidence of W.A. Day, solicitor to the Stanford Estate.
- ²² ESRO ACC 2137 List of accounts 1869–1870, that of 7 Feb 1870 certifies William's bill for roadmaking; The solicitor Nicholson's bill 5 Oct 1869, accounts for the work done submitted by Lancaster in 1870, accounts submitted by Nicholson 18 Jul 1870, Martyn and Martyn 13 Jul 1899, five acres for a goods yard; *TB* 106, 9 Jan 1914, 47; *BGaz* 13 Jan 1870; *BH* 2 Oct 1869, 8 Jan 1870, 4 and 5 Mar 1870, 4 Mar 1871, 13 May 1871, 20 May 1871; *BT* 27 May 1871, 409.
- ²³ Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords*, 262–265.
- ²⁴ *BH* 13 May 1871; Stanford Estate ESRO BH/P/19/19, BH/P/18/51, SFD 2/3/1098, 1205 Act 1871; Sheriff and Urbino *Living in Style* 9 citing ESRO ACC 2137, Objections to the Act; Stanford Estate Act 1871; ESRO AMS 5942/4, ACC 2137/8.
- ²⁵ ESRO ACC 2137 Martyn and Martyn 22 Feb 1900, SFD 2/3/831, SFD 2/3/669, SFD 2/3/904. D. Cannadine, *Lord and Landlords*, 320–331. www.sussexparishchurches.org.uk accessed 6 Dec 2012.
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- ²⁷ Census 1901.
- ²⁸ ESRO R/C 4/453, deeds of purchase; *BH* 27 May 1871; *BGaz* 13 May 1871; OS 25 Inch 66.5 (first edition, 1873–75) shows the farm; *TB* 27 May 1871, 409.
- ²⁹ ESRO SFD 2/3/11, SFD 2/3/83.
- ³⁰ ESRO ACC 2137, Anscombe's Bills, 5 Sep 1872, 24 Jul 1874, 1 Dec 1877, 2 Feb 1878; bills of W. Miles, 13 Apr 1877; bills for Springfield Avenue, 23 Oct 1879.
- ³¹ *BH* 18 Nov 1871, 13 Dec 1887.
- ³² Burnett, *Housing a Social History*, 197.
- ³³ ESRO SFD 2/3/721, 2/3/377.
- ³⁴ ESRO DB/D 7/2486, DB/D 7/2462, DB/D 7/4084.
- ³⁵ ESRO ACC 2137, letter from Martyn and Martyn, 28 Jun 1900, tenancy agreements 1914–15.
- ³⁶ ESRO DB/D 7/6327, DB/D 7/6370 (3 Dec 1908).
- ³⁷ *BH* 15 Jan 1910.
- ³⁸ H. Conway, *Public Parks* (Oxford: Shire, 1996), 27–28; *BH* 30 Oct 1875.
- ³⁹ ESRO ACC 2137, 22 Dec 1877, 5 Feb 1878, 23 Feb 1878; *Hampshire Advertiser* 9 May 1891; *BH* 8 Jun 1876, 9 Sep 1876, 16 Sep 1876; OS 25 Inch 66.5 (1873–75).
- ⁴⁰ *Corporation of Brighton Manual 1894–95*, 40–41; ESRO SFD 2/3/581; *Hampshire Advertiser* 24 Jun 1882.
- ⁴¹ ESRO DB/D 7/1688, DB/D 7/1746, DB/D 7/1891.
- ⁴² J. Pollard and R. Apps, *Past and present - the story of Blaker's Park* (Brighton: Friends of Blakers Park, c1995), 8–12.
- ⁴³ *Cliftonville and Hove Mercury* 29 Sep 1878; ESRO SFD 2/3/8.
- ⁴⁴ *BH* 2 Oct 1869.
- ⁴⁵ *BH* 2 Oct 1869, ESRO SFD 2/3/55.
- ⁴⁶ *TB* 27 May 1871, 409; ESRO ACC 5054/73.
- ⁴⁷ ESRO ACC 2137, Nicholson's bill, 9 Oct 1869; *BH* 2 Oct, 9 Oct 1869; J. Middleton, *Encyclopedia* 13, 132; S. M. Gaskell, *Building Control* British Association for Local History 1983, 28; *Building News* (hereafter *BN*) 10 Mar 1882, 314.
- ⁴⁸ *BH* 2 Oct 1869; ESRO ACC 2137, box of dockets, 1870, 12 Apr 1872, 1873–1875.
- ⁴⁹ Pickering, 'The West Brighton Estate', 16–17 had not identified these relationships; P. Metcalfe *James Knowles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980) 245–6, 249, 366; D. Beevers, 'The Stanford Estate in Brighton and Hove' 6–7 (acreage differs from Pickering page 16 which gives 40, which is correct from his evidence and supported by *BH* 8 Jul 1871; ESRO ACC 2137/1, Martyn and Martyn 1893.
- ⁵⁰ *BN* 15 Jun 1877, 590; A. Duncan, 'The bad baron of Kensington' *The Hill* Jul 1994, 12. T. Seccombe, 'Grant, Albert, Baron Grant in the Italian nobility (1831–1899)', rev. Michael Reed, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.londonlibrary.co.uk/view/article/11241>, accessed 20 Nov 2012].
- ⁵¹ *BN* 15 Sep 1876, 321, 15 Jun 1877, 590.
- ⁵² *BH* 2 Sep 1871; Pickering 'West Brighton Estate' 20–21; *BN* 9 Aug 1878, 124.
- ⁵³ *TB* 15 Dec 1877, 1253–4; *BN* 15 Jun 1877, 590.
- ⁵⁴ *TB* 27 May 1871, 8 Sep 1876, 15 Sep 1876.
- ⁵⁵ Pickering, 'West Brighton', 21–22.
- ⁵⁶ *BN* 15 Jun 1877, 590; A. Peasgood, 'Public transport and the growth of Brighton 1840–1940' in Farrant, *Growth of Brighton and Hove*, 41–44; West Hove was inaugurated as Cliftonville in 1865, renamed West Hove in 1879 then Hove in 1895.
- ⁵⁷ Bishop, *Brighton in Olden Times* 369; *TB* 27 May 1871, 409.
- ⁵⁸ *TB* 27 May 1871, 409. *BH* 8 Jul 1871; ESRO SFD 2/3/777, 780.
- ⁵⁹ John Lowerson and Class *Cliftonville*. (Brighton: CCE, 1977); *TB* 27 May 1871, 409; *BH* 8 Jul 1871; ESRO AMS 5942/1–3, (1872), AMS 5976/1, SFD 2/3/53, 60.
- ⁶⁰ *BH* 8 Jul 1871, 25 Jun 1872; *TB* 27 May 1871, 409; Bishop, *Brighton in Olden Times* 369.
- ⁶¹ ESRO ACC 2137, account of Nicholson's payments, Sep 1869, account to William Miles, 11 May 1877.
- ⁶² ESRO ACC 2137 Receipts for payment 1 Jan 1878, Jul 1878, 28 Dec 1878, 11 Jan 1879, Jul 1879.
- ⁶³ A. Saint, 'William Willett' <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36912/> 26 Jun 2008; D. Prout, 'Willett Built' *Victorian Society Annual* (1989), 21–46, Prout saw the company copies of deeds, whereabouts unknown, 24, 31; Upper Grosvenor Street, Mount Street, Sloane Street, Sloane Square, Draycott Place Chelsea (1891–4); H. Hobhouse ed. *Survey of London; Southern Kensington* (London: Athlone, 1986), 153.
- ⁶⁴ Saint, 'William Willett'; D. Prout, 'Willett Built' 21–46; ESRO SFD 2/3/250, 258–270, 272, 323, 332–337, 351–352, 357–360, 367–370, 385, 449, 457, 474; SFD 2/3/514–522.
- ⁶⁵ ESRO SFD 2/3/47, 278. Decennial census 1901
- ⁶⁶ *BN* 5 Sept 1879, 3 Sept 1880, 270. *Passing Notes* 27 Jul 1880. *BH*, 6 Jan 1910.
- ⁶⁷ C. H. B. Quennell, Mowden School obituary in *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 21 Dec 1935, 211; *TB* 13 Dec 1935, 1050, 1055, 1097; ESRO SFD 2/3/ 848, 1068, 1250, 1814.
- ⁶⁸ ESRO ACC 2137 Martyn and Martyn to Hunt and Currey 27 Apr, 28 Sep 1900; J. Burnett, *A social history of housing* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1978) 217–221.

- ⁶⁹ ESRO SFD 2/3/172, 793, 818, 1234, 1256, 1259; DO/C 8/1204.
- ⁷⁰ ESRO DO/C 8/1204, ACC 2137/8, annual sales and building agreements 1928-30; OS 25 Inch 65.8, 66.5 (1873-75, 1898).
- ⁷¹ ESRO DO/C 8/1204, ACC 2137/8, annual sales and building agreements 1928-30; OS 25 Inch 66.5 (1874, 1898).
- ⁷² ESRO C/E 68/5/5; ACC 2137, draft vesting deed 1926; SFD 2/3/3, SFD 2/3/7, SFD 2/3/9; *BH* 1 Apr 1871.
- ⁷³ ESRO BH/P/P/19/19, SFD 2/3/1908, 1205.
- ⁷⁴ ESRO SFD 2/2/2; ACC 2137. 9 Aug 1900, John Benett-Stanford to Hunt 9 May 1918.
- ⁷⁵ Essex Record Office T/B 424/1, on-line database, viewed 8 Feb 2013. <https://secureweb1.essexcc.gov.uk/seaxpam2012/ViewCatalogue.aspx?ID=96934> Agreement, 27 Feb 1895, for sale of property for £3250, which then formed part of freehold estate subject to trusts of her father's will, and approval thereof, 12 Mar 1895, by order of Chancery Division of High Court of Justice, in *Stanford v Roberts*.
- ⁷⁶ ACC 2137 Box 2 (1897-1926), draft vesting deed, 1926; The estate sold in 1958 after the death of Evelyn Benett-Stanford who had a life interest.
- ⁷⁷ ESRO ACC 2137/8, capital money received by trustees principally from the sales of land.
- ⁷⁸ ESRO ACC 2137, letter from the Stanford Estate Surveyor to Vere, 17 Jun 1884.
- ⁷⁹ ESRO ACC 2137 /8, typed tables of sales of land.
- ⁸⁰ ESRO ACC 2137, letter from Martyn and Martyn to J M Benett-Stanford, 1931.
- ⁸¹ *BH* 18 Nov 1871; *Brighton Guardian* 13 Jan 1868, 6 Jan 1869; ESRO AMS 5681/75/1-2, AMS 5827, ACC 3405/4, ACC 34022/13; Bishop, *Brighton in Olden Times*, 379; *Matheson's Brighton and Hove Directory* 1871, 103.
- ⁸² Earl of Cardigan and his trustees. Daily Mail on-line 1 Feb 2013, The Telegraph <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/9844317/The-Earl-of-Cardigan-and-the-battle-of-the-Savernake-Estate.html> accessed 10 February 2013, *The Sunday Times* 3 Feb 2013.
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