SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT IN FIVE NEIGHBOURING SOUTH LONDON PARISHES IN THE MIDDLE DECADES OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement of the University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Aegrotat Award

June, 2012

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ABSTRACT

The dissertation's evaluation of five mid-Victorian parishes, which were situated twelve miles from the centre of London, examined many characteristics of the inhabitants who dwelt there. It carried out investigations into population expansion, gender balance, social class profile, occupational composition, household structure and domestic service.

By selecting and evaluating a multiplicity of information from a diverse range of local, regional and national sources, the thesis not only elucidated and enhanced the documentary record of the five parishes, but connected localised developments, for instance migration, social zoning and social mobility inclinations to the changes that occurred nationwide between the 1850s and the 1880s. The London Borough of Sutton's local studies' search room and The National Archives provided much of the information needed.

A continuous research question posed throughout the thesis was the degree to which the urban expansion activities in the five parishes, or elsewhere, were in some ways similar. Locally, however, there were large parochial dissimilarities, which are, within the thesis, thoroughly analysed. Here, a general scrutiny revealed that two of the parishes, Sutton and Wallington, were quickly expanding urban areas with growing appeal to the middle-class professionals, whilst the other three, Cheam, Carshalton and, to a lesser extent, Beddington, display much slower economic and social changes. With the arrival of railway links and piped-water the disparity between the parishes became even greater. This appraisal was echoed in all the parishes' class profiles, employment and gender structures. As the 19th century progressed, Sutton's relative geographical position, in relationship to central London, became of more crucial importance, as far as urban development was concerned.

The thesis overall confirms the underlying research view that the higher than national average population rise between censuses, in a number of the five parishes, was closely linked with the ease of access to railway transportation. The research has thrown some light on the somewhat differing suburbanisation processes within five distinctive parishes, and the effects of employing different types of research methods to reveal this. Urban data can now, perhaps, be more fruitfully considered in the light of this study.

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STATEMENT OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND THANKS

I could not, without the critical help of very many people, have produced this dissertation. Leading amongst these were Dr Christopher French and Professor Keith Grieves, my supervisors. I would also like to express my thanks to the Sutton Central Library staff, especially those working in the local studies' section. They, like William Buckley, a very close friend, general guru and helper, displayed, at all times, unfailing equanimity, support and patience.

Signed declaration

This is, substantially, my own work and where reference has been made to other research, this has been acknowledged in the references and bibliography.

Signature: Date

Number of words = 90,000

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The thesis's overall objective is to present, in an innovative and improved way, the stages and directions of mid-Victorian urban development within five small south-western parishes of outer London. However, the emphasis is always on the parish of Sutton, which was ultimately by far the largest of these. The explosive urban growth of Sutton is clearly shown when contrasting its building density on early maps with subsequent ones (see Figure 1.4 and the later map Figure 1.5 below) and by Sutton's spectacular population increases, as revealed by the censuses between 1851 and 1881.

A continual comparison between Sutton's urban growth and that of the other four parishes forms the core of the dissertation. For example, Sutton and Wallington's urban expansion diverged greatly, during the above period, from that of nearby Cheam and Carshalton. Cheam, Carshalton and, to a smaller degree Beddington, also displayed much smaller economic and social adjustments. This largely arose because these parishes had very different and comparatively unchanging agricultural, commercial and social make-ups. The flood of immigrants, into Sutton and Wallington rather than the other parishes, was also mainly due to greatly varying enhancements in the parishes' railway and road infrastructures, which brought about differing degrees of access to suitable building sites. The consequent parish employment patterns were the result of adjustments to both local and national conditions, and the economic and social pressures coming from central London.

1.2 The location of the parishes in relation to central London

The five mid-Victorian research parishes, in Surrey, were located on the southern side of the River Thames, to the south of London and at a distance of approximately twelve miles from the centre of London (see Figure 1.1). These parishes Cheam, Sutton, Carshalton, Wallington and Beddington, now form the constituent parts of the London Borough of Sutton. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, they had a clear-cut distinctiveness from each other and from their larger Kingston and Croydon built-up neighbours. Figure 1.1 below shows that while the parishes were clearly separated from the harsh effects of city life, they were in no sense remote locations. The parishes could, with the advent of good rail services, be rapidly reached. They possessed, by the

1880s, prosperous commercial and retailing centres, were relatively crime free, pastoral and had a dominant youthful, mainly female, domestic employment sector.[1] The parishes revealed themselves 'as one of the most idyllic residential areas for the city man who is astute enough to realize the incalculable benefits that accrue from living in the pure unvitiated air of the Surrey countryside'.[2]

In the middle decades of the 19th century, the first of the parishes, at the western end, the sparsely populated Worcester Park portion of the parish of Cheam, merged into Malden and thence into Kingston, to the west. The next in line was the isolated community of Cheam Village, which was followed by the grouping of more densely populated settlements consisting of Sutton, Carshalton, Wallington and Beddington (see Figure 1.2 below). The last of the five parishes, Beddington, in the extreme east, was, historically by reason of extremely poor road western communications, especially in winter, always under the social and economic influence of Croydon, just as Worcester Park, in the west, was under the sway of Kingston for similar reasons. In the research period, the parishes were bounded to the north by semi-rural Morden and to the south by rural Ewell and Banstead.[3] Alan A. Jackson's much-modified map (see Figure 1.2 below) reveals the extent of London's southern built-up areas in 1901 and illustrates the urban emptiness (i.e. lack of densely built-up populated areas) between New Malden and Sutton. Jackson's map also illustrates a similar situation immediately to the north and south, of the research parishes.

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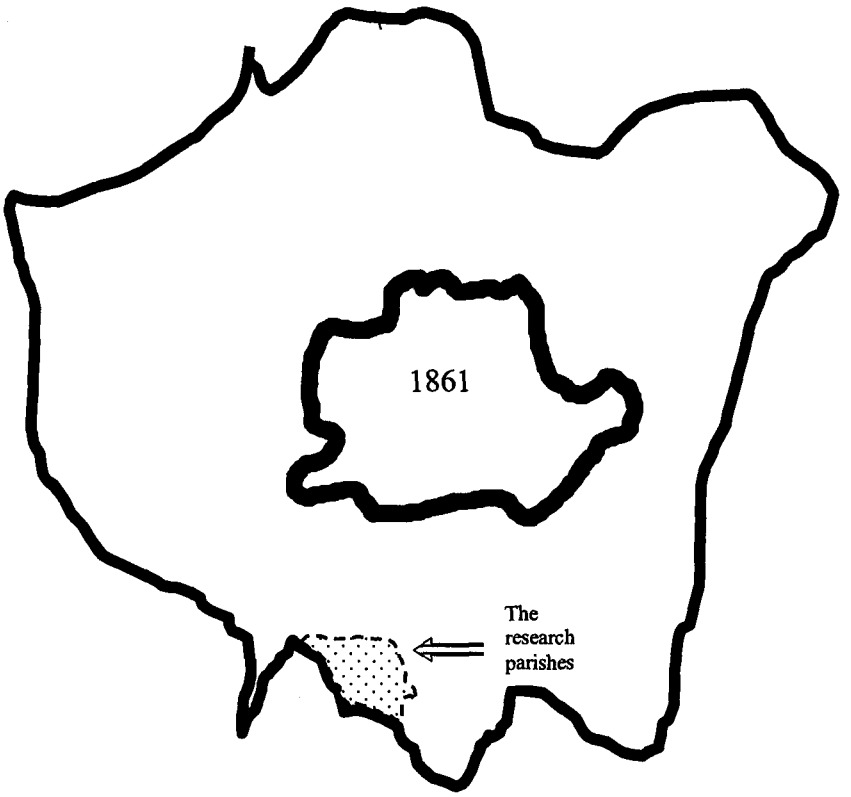
1 G. Phillips Bevan, *Tourists' Guide to the County of Surrey: Containing Full Information Concerning All its Favourite Places of Resort* (London: Edward Stanford, 1882), p.22; Percy Fitzgerald, *London City Suburbs: As They Are Today* (London: Alderman Press, 1893), p.90; P. Tilley and C. French, 'From Local History Towards Total History: Recreating Local Communities in the 19th Century', *Family and Community History,* vol.1 (5), Nov. 2001, 145, 147.

2 *Cheam Official Guide* (London: Vichery, Kyrle and Co. Ltd, 1923), p.7.

3 Evelyn M. Jowett, *History of Merton and Morden* (Merton and Morden Festival of Britain Local Committee, 1951), p.133.

Figure 1.1. Map
The inner band marks the extent of London in 1861 and the outer one indicates the present day boundary



Based, in part, on the map in D. Gilbert and H. Southall, 'The urban labour market' in M. Daunton ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), 617.

Figure 1.2. Map
London 1901: southern extent of the built-up area

1.3 The general suburbanisation process

In the mid-Victorian period the archetypal suburb was usually created by the uncoordinated actions of numerous persons. No two outer southern suburbs were precisely similar but they nevertheless did have some frequently shared features, such as their domination by a middle-class way of life, their non-standard age population patterns and the almost entire absence of large working-class housing districts or manufacturing trades. These suburbs concentrated on servicing the requirements of their affluent rail commuters and their 'rentier' inhabitants, as the research parishes' newspapers and directories frequently reveal. The existence of rail transport, in the majority of these suburbs, was furthermore a key factor to their growth. J. Parry-Lewis

observed that their notable population enlargements and the huge amounts of housing built only took place following the arrival of rail travel.[4]

However, John R. Kellett's and H.J. Dyos's studies must make us hesitant to attribute suburban growth just to the coming of rail travel.[5] Distance by rail from central London was never the only factor in determining housing location. Other issues were just as vital, for example, general rising prosperity, changing work patterns and regional population enlargement. In addition, in potential suburban areas, an abundance of cheap agricultural land (this became accessible as construction sites, with the advent of piped water) could encourage middle-class immigration by supplying possibly inexpensive rentals of socially exclusive property.[6] Further when considering rail commuters, their decision to move to an area might depend on the length of the time they were willing to spend travelling to London employment, which depended in part on the extent of their working day, the cost of their rail tickets, the regularity of train services and their likely residential nearness to the stations.[7] All these commuting aspects are considered in greater detail in Chapter 5. For pragmatic newcomers cheaper accommodation outgoings, in rural or suburban locations, had constantly to be set alongside greater rail travel expenses. So, although rail communications and the growth of suburbia were intricately entwined, the existence of both was the consequence of a rising population, growing middle-class immigration and bourgeoisie social aspirations and wealth.

1.4 Sutton's enormous urban growth compared with neighbouring parishes

Sutton, until the middle of the nineteenth century was just one of a chain of villages along a chalk spring line. It was always fundamentally a 'one street' village (and later town) on the highway from London to Brighton going south. It spread along the length of its High Street from the Green to the north (at the bottom of the hill) to the Cock crossroads to the south (at the top of the hill). It was no larger in population than any of the other hamlets. Notwithstanding this, its expansion in the second half of the century very rapidly overtook the immediate neighbouring parishes of Carshalton, Cheam, Wallington and Beddington (see Figure 1.3).

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4 J. Parry-Lewis, *Building Cycles and Britain's Growth* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1965), p.101.

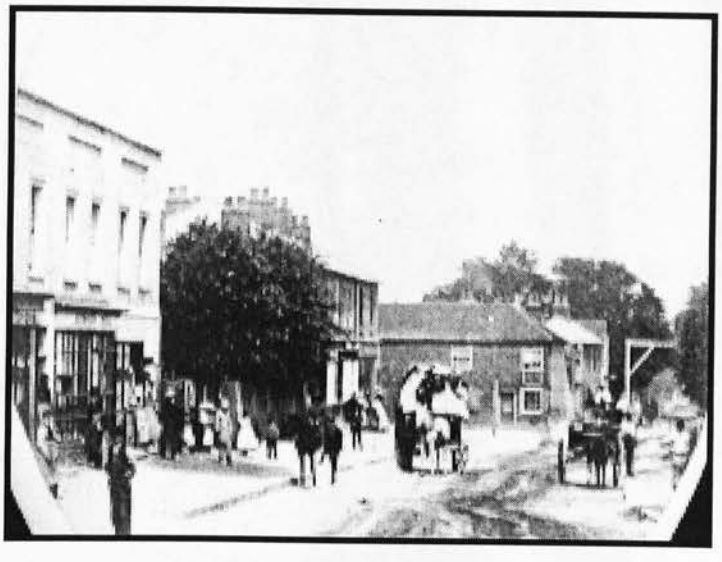
5 According to Paul Lawless and Frank Brown, *Urban Growth and Changes in Britain: An Introduction* (London: Harper & Row, 1986), p.66.

6 Kit Wedd, *The Victorian House* (Aurum Press, 2002), p.1.

7 Ray Thomas, 'Unit 23 The metropolitan area' Course Team (eds.), *Urban Development: The Spread of Cities* (The Open University Press, 1973), p.16.

The census populations' figures and the two maps (Figures 1.4 and 1.5) below clearly show Sutton's phenomenal population growth. In the four decades following the advent of the railway in 1847 the population had swelled tenfold, from 1,387 in 1851 to 13,977 in 1891. In 1841 Sutton had a population of 1,304, only slight bigger than Cheam's 1,109 but a great deal smaller than Carshalton's 2,228, but by 1861 it was easily the largest village. In 1861 the respective parish population figures were, in descending order, Sutton 3,186, Carshalton 2,538, Cheam 1,156, Wallington 983 and Beddington 573. Sutton's population had more than doubled between 1851 and 1861 and doubled again between 1861 and 1871.

Figure 1.3
Sutton High Street looking north, 1870s



Source: *Sutton Heritage Collection*

By 1891 Sutton's had grown to 13,977 while Carshalton's was only 5,425, Wallington's 3,823, Beddington's 2,607 and Cheam's 2,146. In 1901 Sutton had a population of 17,223 whereas Carshalton had an increase to a modest 6,746.[8] Sutton was by the end of the century unquestionably a small town and not a hamlet. The visual dissimilarity, in terms of building density, between 1866 and 1896 is demonstrated by the two Sutton maps below (see Figures 1.4 and 1.5). These clearly illustrate Sutton's late nineteenth century urban enlargement, particularly to the south of the railway station.

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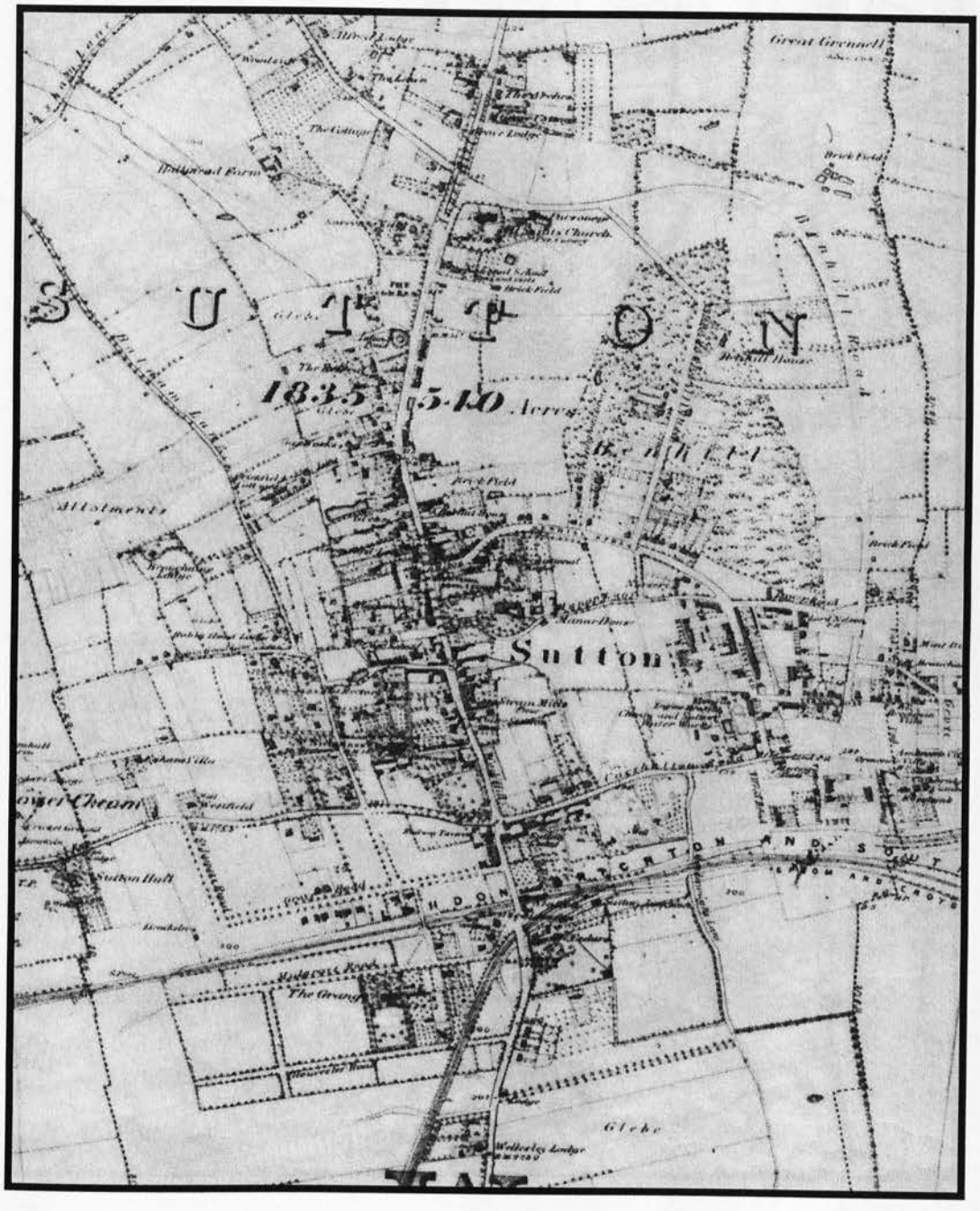
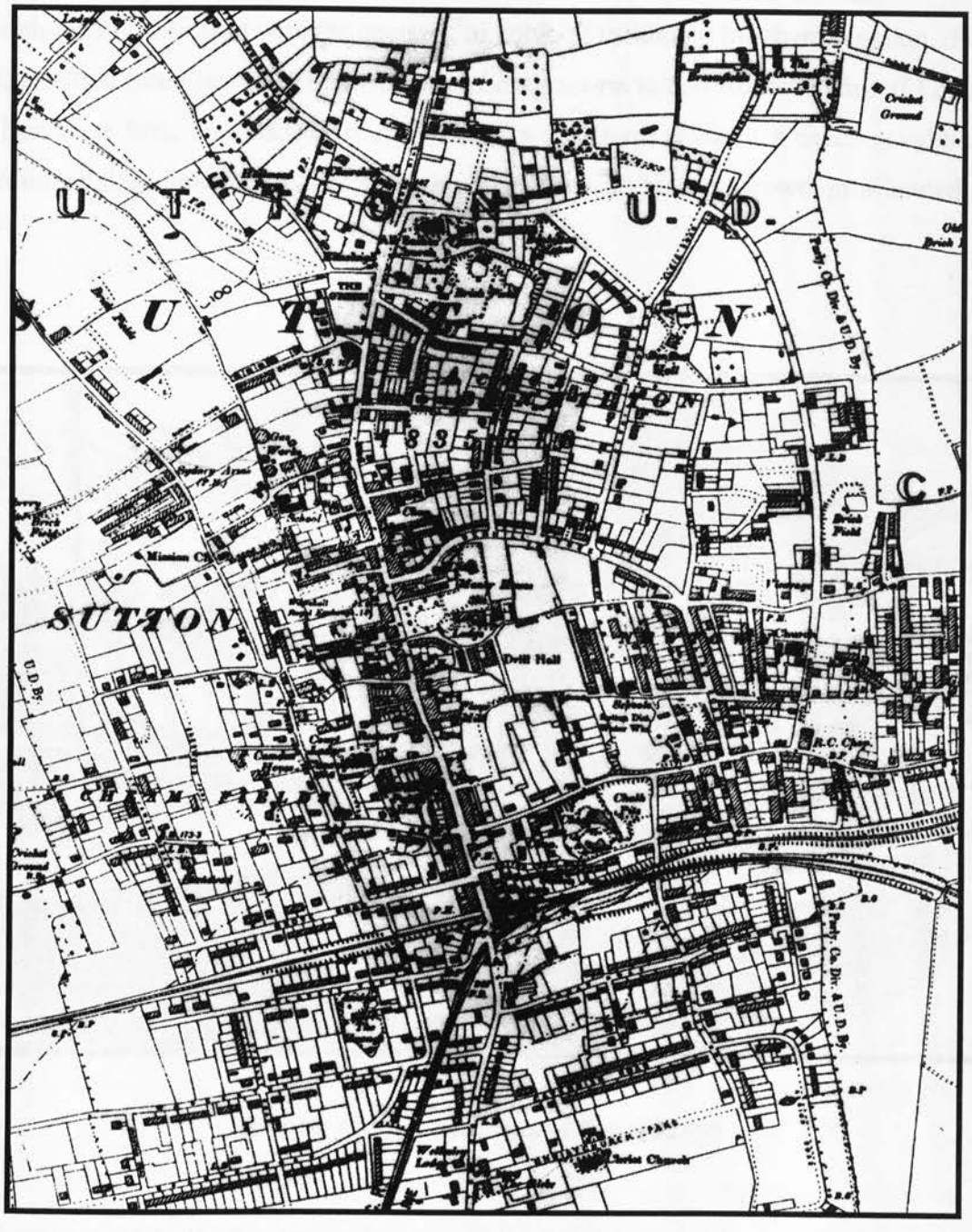
[8] The sources used were the census returns for the five parishes, 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891 and 1901. The census populations for the five parishes, up to 1901, are listed in a number of books including the *Victoria County History of Surrey* (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1912), vol. 4, 451.

Figure 1.4. Map
Sutton in 1866



Source: Ordnance Survey Map, 1866, 6 inches to 1 mile

Figure 1.5. Map
Sutton in 1896



Source: Ordnance Survey Map, 1896, 6 inches to 1 mile

Sutton possessed many desirable features for the City commuter. It became a rail junction when the Epsom Downs line opened in 1865 and its importance was additionally enhanced with the opening, in 1868, of the line to Mitcham Junction. From the station (see Figure 1.6 below) fast and easy access to and from the City of London, The West End, and elsewhere and relatively low rents made it a much sought-after residential location for city professionals and as a result housing growth proliferated.

Figure 1.6
Sutton Railway Station, 1869

Source: *Church's Illustrated Sutton*, 1869

From the 1860s, the Sutton locality saw additional enlargement as a suburban zone for middle-class commuters. The railways strengthened the existing employment appeal of the metropolis and with the advent of the railway the city dominated still greater access to its surrounding area. This in turn stimulated activities in other areas, for example in the expansion of local retail and service industries but most visibly in the building of public houses such as *The New Inn* in Newtown. There was also a growth in places of worship, for example, St Barnabas in the Newtown area and the extension to Benhilton Church on the Benhilton Estate (see Chapter 7). Urban growth was further assisted by

the provision of public services. Sutton Gas Company was founded in 1857, the Water Company in 1864 and the Electricity Company in 1899.

The local and regional powerful influence of energetic property-owners on suburban development is shown by the constructional activities of Mr Thomas Alcock. Thomas was Lord of the Sutton Manor in 1845 and was also locally the largest landowner. He, with the arrival of the railway, without much delay, placed on the market his agricultural land. By 1852, Alcock had created a prominent suburb on his estate to the east of the High Street. In the process he laid out Benhill Street, Benhill Road, and Benhill Wood Road and split up the land there into building lots. The north extremity of the area was the Benhill estate. This was mainly for middle-class dwellings; while, on the other hand, at the south end in the direction of Carshalton Road the Newtown area was intended for working-class housing. An element that made possible such developments was the availability of local building materials such as bricks. At one period there were six brickfields in or around the village associated with Alcock's activities. The resulting summer dust storms from such locations plagued the new residential areas and were reported with fury in local newspapers. Robert Smith stated that when the wind was in a northerly direction Sutton was 'canopied ... with the nauseating stench of burning clay and cinders'.[9] As a result of their odium, in Sutton, the names Brickfield Road (now Crown Road) and Brickfield Meadow disappeared from the map after 1887.[10]

Nevertheless, the railway station was then still situated a long way from the northern border of the village. House construction towards and beyond the station was prevented by the lack of suitable water sources. This situation changed after 1863 when the water-pipe laying activities of the Sutton and District Water Company permitted middle-class dwellings to be erected, for the first time, on the chalklands to the south. That is, on land away from the region delineated by the water-giving Thanet sand, on which Sutton's urban area had previously been centred. Without the laying of water pipes deep wells would have been needed, as for example in the Thicket Road area in the hilly north Sutton or in neighbouring Banstead. It is intriguing to observe how the focal point for commerce shifted up the Sutton High Street towards the station with the

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[9] Robert P. Smith, *A History of Sutton: AD. 675-1960* (Carshalton, Surrey: Derek W. James, 1970), p.60.

[10] Last mentioned in *Sutton Valuation List 1887* [RLC352.13].

coming of piped-water. By 1870, the progress of construction had reached and, indeed, passed the station. All through the Victorian era the centre of business climbed progressively up the hill while those concerns at the lower end of the road were inclined to deteriorate (a development confirmed by frequent remarks in local directories and newspapers). Commerce, below St. Nicholas Road, by the end of the century, had markedly diminished. Distance from the southerly station accounts, in part, for sluggish growth of the northerly Benhill estate. In 1913, there were still numerous vacant building plots there whereas to the south, nearer the station, the Newtown area expanded more rapidly. However, as far as the other ultimately much smaller parishes are concerned the factors influencing their comparative developments are frequently, within the rest of the thesis, compared with those of Sutton's.

1.5 Research questions

The constant underlying, overall research question, within this dissertation will be: 'How did the parishes become suburbanised, and what was the varying effect of this urbanisation on the small parish of Sutton and its immediate four neighbouring parishes, between the post-1851 railway period and the late 1880s?'

This initially involves a substantial consideration of the extent to which ease of access to rail communications encouraged the influx of middle-class city commuters, their dependent families and youthful, mainly female, domestic servants. In other words was a mid-Victorian suburb, such as Sutton or Worcester Park, initially the creation of the railways?[11] However, it will be maintained throughout the thesis that other factors were in some ways just as influential in determining the degree of urban growth. Nevertheless, the arrival of the railway possibly not merely boosted local populations, but attracted as well, a considerable number of emigrant householders who were engaged in a broader assortment of remunerative middle-class professions than the existing native population, this is revealed locally by the census returns.[12] The influx of prosperous bourgeoisie professional commuters, their families and their dependent servants, had not only an important influence on wider business developments but noticeably amplified social divisions in housing.

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[11] Gordon Rookledge and Andrew Skelton, *Rockledge's Architectural Identifier of Conservation Areas: the Sutton Edition* (Carshalton, Surrey: Sarema Press, 1999), p.30.

[12] However, even though the railway was one of the initial spurs to Sutton's urban development, horse-drawn vehicles still transported most goods. This was the case until the arrival of the motor vehicles at the commencement of the next century. All the same, the growth of road transport was greatly stimulated by the advent of a good suburban rail service and the usually resulting larger populations.

Personal monetary factors, though, did not wholly govern the relocation of the growing middle-classes. It was, as well, an amalgamation of social and economic ones and was hence, frequently, less of a spatial term than it was an attitude of mind.[13] For, frequently, as F.M.L. Thompson demonstrates, the foremost constituent in suburban development was the middle-classes' desire for a very private family home within a select neighbourhood. Each class subgroup and class, in suburbia, as exemplified in the parishes, was inclined to move to its own specific locality and fashion its own community (see parish communal studies in Chapter 7).[14] However inexpensive, and easy, commuting to city employment, as Thompson recognised, was still always of great importance.[15] This is extensively dealt with in Chapter 5.

The thesis's chapters though primarily centred on the local situation present aspects of the wider national and regional ones as well. The dissertation, in its endeavours to illuminate the complex, often non-quantifiable and interrelating elements involved in the suburbanisation question, begins with a scrutiny of an extensive range of primary and secondary national, regional and parochial materials. These include National Archives' material (TNA) for example The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway files for October 1869 and the Inland Revenue 'New Doomsday' Survey (the valuation office survey was carried out between 1910 and 1915), the censuses, commercially published directories, memoirs, histories, newspapers, maps, institutional accounts for instance, orphanage and workhouse records and also modern books and articles. The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with giving a succinct outline of the various chapters' contents.

1.6 A summary of the contents of the chapters

The introductory chapter concludes with a brief description of the ways in which the different topics have been pursued within the dissertation. Chapter Two is the Literature Review. Chapter Three is the Methodology and Sources' chapter. Chapter Four discusses Suburban Growth in the research parishes while Chapter Five deals with Transportation. Chapter Six examines the Middle-class characteristics of suburbanisation, Chapter Seven examines how and what Communities were formed

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[13] John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing 1815-1985* (London: David & Charles Ltd, 1978), p.112.
[14] Donald J. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1976), p.241.
[15] F.M.L. Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J. Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (London: Longman, 1993), p.149.

while the thesis concludes, in Chapter Eight, with findings and conclusions. It reflects on the difficulties and the problems in investigating and integrating results.

1.7 Conclusions

The thesis attempts to verify the central underlying research hypothesis, which was that a higher than the national average population expansion, within the five parishes, was closely connected with the ease of access to rail communications. However, the dissertation does not ignore other reasons for suburb creation. These include for example, physical characteristics, e.g. the presence of drinkable water, building restrictions/covenants, immigration from the countryside, the speed at which new employment was generated, both in the suburban areas and central London. It also embraces improved means of raising credit for home construction and people's rising real incomes and the assistance the new railways bestowed to these.[16]

The observations made in the thesis may have contributed at least a useful step in developing urban theorisation. They may have enhanced the understanding and knowledge of a limited part of the urban field dealing with suburbanisation. Those researchers who take this into consideration will, hopefully, be more successful in their researches. The dissertation's originality arises out of this and because this type of local inquiry has not been undertaken before, at least in the form suggested underneath. This, of course, made the research more demanding but, hopefully, more original.

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[16] Sally Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England* (Westport: Greenwood, 1996), p.6.

Chapter 2

Literature review

2.1 Introduction

The overall objective was to compare and evaluate the factors involved in mid-Victorian suburban development within the five research parishes. The emphasis within the general theoretical discussion has been on the extent to which ease of access to rail transportation encouraged the arrival of middle-class City commuters, their dependent families and domestic servants to find family homes in the parishes.[1] For what ultimately helped to shape this local commuter pattern of interactions between the two, was the speed, ease, cost and the character of the travel connections between them.[2]

Other factors, in the formation of the suburbs, will be scrutinized below in the section 'General explanations of suburban growth'. These include the roles played by landowners and builders and geographic and tenure constructional restrictions. Suburban class segregation was also vitally important which was demonstrated in the neighbourhoods occupied, the type of houses built and communities created and, in the case of the bourgeoisie, in the number and type of domestic servants employed. In addition, factors involved in the creation of dissimilar types of local communities and shaping overall attractiveness of localities to migrants will be considered. However, the critical review of all these aspects is limited because of restrictions on the size of the literature review.

The review portrays some of the theoretical explanations which are not only debated here but also form the underlying basis of the overall thesis and are frequently considered. The thesis's local research findings are valuable in that they reveal that although many of these theories were apposite to some parish circumstances they were not necessarily so in others. Even though all residential suburbs were very alike in their formation processes, as D.A. Reeder observed, they were somewhat different in their development and in the lifestyles pursued by their inhabitants.[3] Thus no single model

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1 J. Armstrong, 'Transport and the urban environment', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), vol. 3, p.229; John R. Kellett, 'The railway as an agent of internal change in Victorian cities', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (Longman, 1993), p.181.

2 H.J. Dyos: 'The Growth of a pre-Victorian Suburb, South London 1580-1836', *Town Planning* (1954), vol. 25, 53-78.

3 D.A. Reeder, 'A theatre of suburbs: some patterns of development in West London, 1801-1911', in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), pp. 254, 271.

can describe and incorporate all situations; every local area had its own unique urban structural patterns.[4] C.D. Harris and E.L. Ullman, in their influential urban study, similarly recognized that no single overall model could completely explain the whole of the cities' internal structures and their suburbs.[5] Hence, as David Thorns observed, one should be wary in analysis, of confusing external causes of change with the internal ones that influenced a particular suburb's development.[6]

Furthermore, the local research showed that parochial urbanisation events usually involved the effects of numerous supply and demand factors whose exact individual influences and procedural order were difficult to analyse and calculate and thus could only be assessed subjectively. Therefore it seems one should not assume a determinist, simplistic approach and seek precise causes, or confuse cause and effect, as it is frequently difficult to unravel the intertwining of the two. Many of the quoted secondary references recognised this. Authors' uncertainty, such as John Kellett's, was often expressed by the use by them of the terms 'felt' 'thought' and 'supposed'.

Outwardly, deterministic models have played little part in the conclusions reached by many of the main British theorists referred to in the text such as F.M.L. Thompson, H.J. Dyos, D.A. Reeder, David C. Thorns, John R. Kellett, David Cannadine, Alan A. Jackson and John Burnett. Nevertheless, numerous ideas derived from geographical models used by the early twentieth century theorists often underlie many of their arguments. All urban 'normative' models, such as some of the early American ones in their generalisations, have limitations and are open to criticism.[7] For some detractors concern primarily centres on the criticism that though they may, in their own closely defined terms, involving rational group economic behaviour, be theoretically correct, in the real world, outside the model, their assumptions and conclusions can be extremely unrealistic.[8] Further, such models are reductionist in that they fail to notice that people have dissimilar motivations and characteristics and so react in differing, and frequently in a non-economic manner, to diverse environmental features. Moreover, they are deterministic in that by condensing everything to a question of economic

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4 Paul Guinness and Garrett Nagle, *Advanced Geography: Concepts and Cases* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1999), pp. 79-80.

5 As maintained by William F. Hornby and Melvyn Jones, *An Introduction to Settlement Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p.77 when considering C.D. Harris, and E.L Ullman, 'The nature of cities', *Ann, Am. Acad. Pol. Soc. Sci.* 242. (1945).

6 David C. Thorns, *Suburbia* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1972), p.153.

7 Graham Drake and C. Lee, *The Urban Challenge* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2000), pp. 10-11.

8 D.J. Walmsley & G.J. Lewis, *People & Environment* (London: Longman Group UK Ltd., 1993), p.25.

returns they allow only a single logical behavioural outcome from any given situation. Consequently this, and the limited, partial nature of the urban data, can make many deductions very subjective. In the literature review below brief reference is made to contrasting situations in the parishes that supported or questioned established ideas.

2.2 General explanations of suburban growth

There are five clear influences, as presented in the literature, to be considered when viewing the suburban process.

The first of these is the demographic effects. In the mid-nineteenth century, the huge growth in the size of the UK's population meant that the suburban areas, in particular, had to dynamically expand very quickly and adapt to swift economic changes.[9] Christopher French holds that migration, aided by improved transportation, was the main element in the subsequent parish demographic explosion, rather than that resulting from natural population increase.[10] Reeder while basically agreeing with this, argued that the formation of suburbia was not purely a response to population growth and the resulting formation of new family units, and thus demand for new homes, but was influenced by the often localised 'imperfect market' supply of building land and capital available.[11]

The second is the rate at which affluent middle-class individuals moved into the suburbs while the poor remained in the hearts of the cities. This relocation was given extra vigour by the rebuilding of inner city areas. Kellett, in his rail cost-benefit analysis of infrastructure investment, shows the dynamic nature of interactive processes between demolition, compensation and resulting land values, and population movements.[12] Suburban expansion was the counterpart of inner-city decline.[13] The relocation process involving the bourgeoisie affected the amount, and types, of buildings constructed.[14] American bid-rent theories, such as Alonso's or Harris and Ullman's multiple nuclei

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[9] David Reeder, 'Introduction: H.J. Dyos and the urban process', in David Cannadine and David Reeder (eds.), *Exploring the Urban Past: Essays in Urban History by H.J. Dyos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.xviii.

[10] Christopher French, 'Who lived in suburbia? Surbiton in the second half of the 19th century', *Family & Community Historical Society*, Vol. 10 (2), November 2007, p.95.

[11] Reeder, 'Introduction', p.xviii.

[12] Kellett, 'The railway as an agent of internal change in Victorian cities', p.181.

[13] Cannadine and Reeder (eds.), *Exploring the Urban Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.11.

[14] M.C. Carr, 'The development and character of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley, Kent', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester University Press, 1982), p.213.

model are of some use in their efforts in explaining such events.[15] E.W. Burgess's urban model suggests that a 'ripple effect' was the means by which cities could expand outwards.[16] That is, the poor displace the artisans from their areas, who in their turn displace the lower and middle-classes from parts of their suburbs.[17] Certainly, within the research parish of Sutton, such an effect was evident in its mid-Victorian urban development, especially after the advent of piped water in the 1860s. However, whether overall in London this produced a clear-cut social train of events, as H.J. Dyos and Francis Sheppard suggest, is questionable.[18] It is thus doubtful how far decentralisation was, in itself, an adequate inducement to suburban expansion.

The third element is the availability of funds for building construction. According to P.J. Waller and Stefan Muthesius although friendly and building societies, insurance companies and banks helped to finance building construction in the suburbs, most finance came to builders through solicitors who represented local private investors.[19] Here, solicitors functioned as mortgage brokers.[20]

The fourth is the middle-class desire for social segregation and individual family houses. Generally, suburban respectability and social superiority, which involved societal segregation, was an issue of the 'right address', i.e. residence next to households of similar social status.[21] When in suburbia, every class subgroup tended to drift to its own particular neighbourhood and formed its own distinct community, with its own set of values.[22] The upper- and middle-classes disliked living near lower social classes.[23] Therefore to Thompson, property values together with morality and social standing were perceived, by the middle-class, to be dependent on the monopolisation of

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[15] Harris, and Ullman, 'The nature of cities'; John Friedmann William Alonso, *Regional Development and Planning: a Reader* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1964).

[16] As asserted by Drake and Lee, *The Urban Challenge*, p.10 based on Ernest Watson Burgess, *The Urban Community, Proceedings of the American Sociological Society 1925*, (University of Chicago Press, 1927).

[17] Validated by Michael Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.136.

[18] F.H.W. Sheppard, *London 1808-1870: the Infernal Wen* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1971), p.14; H.J. Dyos, 'Railway and Housing in Victorian London' *Journal of Transport History*, 11 (1955), part 1, pp. 11-21; part 11, pp. 90-100.

[19] P.J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 153-4.

[20] Stefan Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (London: Yale University Press, 1982), p.20.

[21] Jenni Calder, *The Victorian Home* (Batsford, 1977), p.187.

[22] Donald J. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1976), p.241.

[23] Stephen Inwood, *City of Cities: The Birth of Modern London* (London: Macmillan, 2005), p.187.

occupancy, by them, of a specific neighbourhood.[24] Consequently, the state of suburban middle-class social bliss could disappear when the social shape of the suburb was disturbed through the departure of the suburbs' leading personages and the arrival of a less desirable, socially inferior class of immigrant.[25] That is, the 'invasion' and 'succession' into an area, by lower social groups, as denoted in Burgess's classical urban model.[26] This type of event was locally evident in Sutton's urban development.

Social class was possibly more significant, to the bourgeoisie, than the immediate community. To David Cannadine social exclusiveness made suburbia one of the transit sites of mid-Victorian society.[27] (Dyos clearly shows this in his Camberwell survey.[28]) Social class was always a strong force in the formation and maintenance of suburban areas. It was subtly reflected in attitudes towards particular localities and in individual behaviour towards others.[29] According to Dyos and Reeder, suburbia provided an 'area for the manipulation of social distinction' and revealed the congruence between its physical and social structure and the social needs it resolved.[30] The suburb incorporated, for each social class, not only many amenities for the utilisation of leisure time, but supplied a habitat for the satisfaction of many of the requirements of the household.[31]

To W.V. Hole and M.T. Pountney social class, nearness, period of residence, shared values and stage in the lifecycle, shaped the degree, if not the strength, of reliance upon local communal social interactions.[32] Most authors generally support some aspects of this view. These include Anne Cooper, Ronald Frankenberg, Richard Dennis and

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[24] F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: a Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (London: Fontana Press, 1988), p.173.

[25] Peter Willmott and Michael Young, *Family and Class in a London Suburb* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960), pp. 6-7.

[26] As maintained by Brian T. Robson, *Urban Social Areas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.15.

[27] David Cannadine, 'Victorian cities: how different', in Morris and Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City*, p.127.

[28] H.J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb: a Study in the Growth of Camberwell* (Leicester University Press, 1961).

[29] Calder, *The Victorian Home*, p.184.

[30] H.J. Dyos and D.A. Reeder, 'Slums and suburbs', in H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Reality* (London, 1973), p.369; Reeder, 'Introduction', p.xviii.

[31] Nick Hayes, 'Calculating class': housing, lifestyle and status in the provincial English city, 1900-1950, *Urban History*, 36, (1), 2009.

[32] W.V. Hole and M.T. Pountney, *Trends in Population, Housing and Occupancy Rates 1861-1961* (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1971), pp. 10, 15-16; Carr, 'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley, Kent', p.224.

Stephen Daniels, Jacqueline Scherer, Colin Bell and Howard Newby, Anthony Downs, Paul Knox and Roger Ahlbrandt.[33]

Richard Dennis and Stephen Daniels and others evaluated the strength of communities by such indicators as lifestyle, culture, ethnicity, neighbourliness, residential persistence, marriage and kinship connections, membership of local churches, clubs and other interest groups, relationship between home and place of work, and the overall relationship between all the above.[34] (These aspects are analytically considered in chapter 7 when local community groups are examined.) For Dennis and Daniels it was the relative 'level of persistence' of particular social groups in a neighbourhood, rather than their long-term continuing residency at any fixed addresses, that was important in delineating a community.[35] The term community can thus imply more than just simply a geographically closely defined district such as Wandleside, Carshalton or Newtown, Sutton because communities only come into existence through the shared experiences, memories, attitudes, traditions and sentiments of the individuals who occupied them.

There was, within the parishes, little intermixing socially or occupationally between the differing social strata; there was little sense of collective community, especially between the middle-class male workers and the lower-class ones. Locally, the middle-classes, in contrast to the lower-classes, were less reliant upon their neighbourhoods and had the necessary funds to move if they became discontented with an area and the amenities it offered. The community continuum, within and between the parishes, ranged from loose-knit networks with low residential persistence in middle-class areas such as south Sutton to 'close-knit' localities with elevated amounts of multiplicity, connectedness and residential persistence in some working-class neighbourhoods such as Wandleside, Carshalton.[36] Here, the relative immobility of the inhabitants reinforced horizontal ties of friendship, workmate and peer group contacts, the vertical ties of kinship and the

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[33] Anne Cooper, 'Burnage 1880-1905, the making of a middle-class community', *Family & Community History*, vol 1 (1998); Ronald Frankenberg, *Communities in Britain: Social Life in Town and Country* (London: Penguin Books, 1965); Richard Dennis and Stephen Daniels, "Community' and the social geography of Victorian cites', *Urban History Yearbook* (1981); Jacqueline Scherer, *Contemporary Community: Sociological Illusion or Reality?* (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1972); Colin Bell and Howard Newby, *Community Studies: an Introduction to the Sociology of the Local Community* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971); Anthony Downs, *Neighborhoods and Urban Development* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1981); Paul Knox, *Urban Social Geography: An Introduction* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1982); Roger S. Ahlbrandt, *Neighborhoods, People, and Community* (London: Plenum Press, 1984).

[34] Dennis and Daniels, "Community", p.39.

[35] Dennis and Daniels, "Community", p.205.

[36] Bell and Newby, *Community Studies*, p.53.

localized pattern of employment in the mills, local shopping and leisure activities in the nearby churches and the pubs.[37] For Dennis and Daniels, the working-class communities' 'social life' was centred on the church, the public house, the street corner or 'the doorstep'.[38] Whilst to Dennis Mills such communities were characterised by 'face-to-face groups residing in close proximity to each other, enabling people to have a comprehensive knowledge of each other'.[39] These were areas of greatest class homogeneity; high levels of persistence, close-knit localities with elevated amounts of multiplicity, connectedness and residential persistence.

Middle-class mobility and wealth made it feasible for people to belong to more than one 'community', and 'to rely (as Ahlbrandt maintained) for emotional supports on those living beyond the boundaries of their residence.'[40] For Dennis and Daniels, a discussion of a middle-class community must entail a deliberation on both external and local communal relationships.[41] For social networks linked to voluntary associations of diverse kinds, rather than near neighbour contacts, strengthened middle-class cohesiveness and their idea of community.

Middle-class parish areas were, in numerous ways, the exact opposite of working-class communities. Their society was as a result less close-knit, less founded on the immediate neighbourhood than traditional working-class areas. Social class was, and is, an important influence on mobility and persistency of community patterns.

For Thompson, the decisive factor in suburbanisation was 'effective' demand, exercised by the rising middle-classes' desire for a suburban retreat. This 'effective' demand, locally and regionally, altered as the most favoured types of residences and the social prestige of various areas changed.[42] In the American models, the pattern of land use changed as the comparative appeal of diverse places (depending partly on their accessibility) or the spending power of dissimilar groups altered. Area social segregation, or separation, of different groups here depended on the ability of the

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[37] Knox, *Urban Social Geography*, p.70.
[38] Dennis and Daniels, "Community", p.218.
[39] Denis Mills, 'Defining community: a critical review of 'community' in family and community history', *Family & Community History*, vol 7/1 (2004), p.7.
[40] Ahlbrandt, *Neighborhoods*, p.22.
[41] Dennis and Daniels, "Community", p.202.
[42] F.M.L. Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in Morris and Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City*, pp. 162, 171.

various social groups to pay the rentals demanded.[43] An individual's decision to migrate, to neighbourhoods such as south Sutton, might be mainly determined by alterations in his occupational choices and income, and by his domestic lifecycle.[44] To Brian Robson an occupation/income/lifecycle model could represent this.[45]

The fifth and final element is geographical and tenure restrictions, and the role of landowners and builders in suburban development.[46] These aspects are assessed, locally, in detail in chapters 4, 5 and 6. A nodular affect, in the outer south-western suburban development, was often very noticeable. Such factors as elevation, drainage, sanitation, water supplies, accessibility, and previous and present land and residential patterns all influenced housing settlement patterns here, as Cannadine also shows.[47] Before the general use of piped water, the expansion of urban area was limited by the incidence of surface water-bearing strata. Charles Marshall's book, overall, well illustrates the importance of water-bearing subsoils on Sutton's and the other parishes' pre-1863 development.[48] Alan Jackson's map (Figure 1.2 in Chapter 1) showing the extent of London's built-up areas, even in 1901, illustrates the urban emptiness around the much urban expanded research parishes.[49] This bareness arose because such areas did not have satisfactory water supplies. Here, it is thus easy to define urban developments. Local physical conditions, in the research parishes, overcome Dyos's difficulty in his Camberwell study, in determining where suburban expansion petered out and where in Dyos's study area it became essentially urban.[50]

However, with the arrival of mains water in the late 1860s local urban expansion was free, to a limited extent, to develop from existing low-lying urban sites onto previously bare, surface-waterless and elevated chalk land. The problems of sewage disposal and water supplies were initially inextricably interconnected, as drinking water was

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[43] According to Bob Digby, *Changing Environments* (Hinemann, 2000), p.255.
[44] David Norman Smith, *The Railway And Its Passengers,* p.97.
[45] Brian T. Robson, *Urban Social Areas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.40.
[46] Kit Wedd *The Victorian House* (Aurum Press, 2002), p.11; Thorns, *Suburbia,* p.38; Cannadine, 'Victorian cities: how different', p.124.
[47] David Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords: The Aristocracy and the Towns, 1774-1967* (Leicester University Press, 1980), pp. 394-401.
[48] Charles J. Marshall, *A History of the Old Villages of Cheam and Sutton* (Cheam, Surrey: Cryer's Library, 1936).
[49] Alan A. Jackson, *Semi-Detached London: Suburban Development, Life and Transport, 1900-39* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1973), p.23.
[50] Mentioned by Dennis Mills, 'Unit 24 Suburban and exurban growth' Course Team (eds.), *Urban Development: The Spread of Cities* (The Open University Press, 1973), p.80.

frequently drawn from the same watercourses into which raw sewage was dumped.[51] Effective sewage removal, and residential drainage were features to be valued, but these were normally, however, associated with both good land elevation and well-drained subsoil.[52]

To Cannadine, the existence of 'aristocratic' landlords on the outskirts of London, in the suburbs, cannot be ignored, for they played a significant part in 'moulding urban growth'.[53] Equally to Richard Rodger, in numerous ways landowners and land developers were the most significant individual force for change.[54] For Michael Jahn, even if the phasing and character of suburban growth relied upon the expansion of demand factors in the economy, the actual site of that expansion relied, in part, upon land ownership.[55] Landowners and developers could affect decisions as to the number, and types, of dwellings erected on any particular building plot.[56] Railway companies were beholden to the landowners, for the latter, with developers, could determine the social character of the estates that were built and thus the fare-paying capacity of their rail commuters.[57] The railways were certainly important in their location choices of routes and suburban stations. This resulted in changes in land values and the greater utilisation of locations close to stations. They also affected the choice of residential abodes, house concentration involving the extensive separation of groupings of villa dwellings, patterns of other land utilisation and provided for the middle-class dividends and a 'bonanza' of new possibilities for employment.[58]

In the suburbs themselves, the rate of housing erection was, in practice, decided by covenants and stipulations, particularly as to the capital values of the construction schedules, which lessees were obligated, or were not obligated, to achieve. Dyos, in his study of Victorian Camberwell and Thompson in Hampstead, reveal this and shows

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[51] David L. Lloyd, *The Making of English Towns: 2000 Years of Evolution* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1984), p.256.

[52] Jackson, *Semi-Detached London*, p.122.

[53] Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords*, p.253.

[54] Richard Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents: housing and the land market in nineteenth-century Britain', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.49.

[55] Michael Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester University Press, 1982), pp. 145, 147.

[56] Hornby and Jones, *An Introduction to Settlement Geography*, p.92.

[57] David Turnock, *An Historical Geography of Railways in Great Britain and Ireland* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 1998), p.239.

[58] Richard Rodger, 'Slums and suburbs', in P.J. Waller (ed.), *The English Landscape* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.244.

how a range of maps, building leases, property deeds and business papers can be employed to reveal the diverse affects influencing the form and the timing of suburb development, and, on a more general basis, the underlying patterns, principles and processes at work in suburban development.[59] Suburban expansion often ensued from an earlier Enclosure Act.[60] However, in Hampstead's case it was not typical of other areas, as it had a larger set of landowners with more extensive properties.

Nevertheless, Thompson thought that the landlords' role in the development of suburbia was less important than the uncoordinated endeavours of speculative builders.[61] Cannadine appears to agree with this and asserts that large landowners were just 'one agent of (suburban) expansion among many'.[62] Similarly, Rodger felt that the influence of landowners, and the land market, should not be overstressed when considering suburban development.[63] The uncoordinated speculative construction process in Sutton generally and especially in the Newtown districts are described in chapters 4 and 6.

Simon Jenkins maintained that the landowners benefited immensely, at all points of railway construction, for example from increased land sales and ground rents.[64] Their sway was imprinted upon the very nature of neighbourhoods' developments by the restrictions they enforced on builders, and the railway services that they attracted. Landowners could even, on occasions, as was the case in Carshalton, Cheam Village and Beddington, thwart railway promoters, or property developers, by refusing to disintegrate their large estates.[65] Against this, developers and landowners could sometimes support suburban rail expansion by giving, or selling, land at a price lower than that of the marketplace valuation.[66]

Kellett wrote: 'The closer and more detailed the study, the more important become the attitudes and decisions of local landowners, builders and established residents, and the

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[59] F.M.L. Thompson, *Hampstead: Building a Borough, 1650-1964* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974); Reeder, *Suburbanity and the Victorian City*, p.2.

[60] Christopher Trent, *Greater London: Its Growth and Development Through Two Thousand Years* (London: Phoenix House, 1965), p.207.

[61] Thompson, *Hampstead*, p.87.

[62] Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords*, pp. 400, 413.

[63] Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents', p.39.

[64] Simon Jenkins, *Landlords to London: The Story of a Capital and Its Growth* (London: Constable, 1975), pp. 130-3.

[65] Jack Simons and Gordon Biddle, *The Oxford Companion to British Railway History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.485.

[66] Jackson, *Semi-Detached London*, p.228.

less readily does the mere establishment of a rail linkage seem to provide the dramatic explanation of the course of suburban growth.'[67]

2.3 Public transportation

Other factors, besides the ones listed above, appear to be equally as important. For suburbia was not involved with economic issues only, but also with a combination of economic, societal and emotional ones.[68] For, frequently, as Thompson shows, a major component in suburban growth was the middle-class individual's search for social segregation, residence in an individual family dwelling and low cost, and trouble-free, daily travelling to employment in the towns or cities.[69]

Here, urban historians are still greatly divided on the relative importance of public transport, when compared with other factors, such as the general population explosion, the middle-class desire for socially exclusive residences, and the booming demand, in the city, for white-collar workers (the supply of whom was increased by a better educational system) in galvanising late nineteenth century suburban growth.[70] Thompson (and P.J. Cain, concurring with Thompson) also thought that other forms of transportation, even with the existence of the railways, had to be considered.[71] P.J. Waller and Thompson felt that horse trams (which were not entirely the exclusive preserve of the middle-classes) rather than rail services allowed cities to extend their suburban limits, especially provincial ones, in the latter part of the century.[72] Their importance as a transport mechanism, in the 1850s, was reflected in the rise in house rents in the immediate areas horse trams served.[73] Equally, to T.C. Barker the principal revolutionary improvement, as far as urban transportation was concerned, was the

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[67] John R. Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), p.376.

[68] John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing 1815-1985* (London: David & Charles Ltd, 1978), p.112.

[69] Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J Morris and R. Rodger (eds.), p.149.

[70] Inwood, *City of Cities*, p.187; Ray Thomas, 'Unit 23 The metropolitan area' Course Team (eds.), *Urban Development: The Spread of cities* (The Open University Press, 1973), p.36; Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.147.

[71] Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, pp. 177-8; P.J. Cain, 'Railways 1870-1914: the maturity of the private system', in M.J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (eds.), *Transport in Victorian Britain* (Manchester University Press, 1988), p.101.

[72] Waller, *Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914*, p.159; Harold Pollins, 'Transport lines and social divisions', in Centre for Urban Studies (ed.), *London, Aspects of Change* (London: Macgibbon & Kee Ltd, 1964), p.40; Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', pp. 149, 175-6.

[73] M.J. Freeman, 'Introduction', in M.J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (eds.), *Transport in Victorian Britain* (Manchester University Press, 1988), p.13.

greater use of the hauling power of the horse.[74] Thompson agreeing states that Victorian society was 'at heart a horse-drawn' one.[75]

Furthermore, most people, within the suburbs, moved about on foot. Pushcarts, or horse drawn vehicles, were more important in the delivery of goods than rail services.[76] Rail services were only inclined to come into their own six miles from city centres. In the 1890s, in the London region, the areas with the most rapidly increasing populations were mainly the suburbs about four or five miles from the centre. These were within reach of the centre by horse tram.[77] Thompson, in his inner London suburb study, stated that 'whether improved transport was an essential, casual, or permissive element in suburbanisation have been matters of dispute.'[78] Dyos, in his study of Camberwell, was also unable to find any noticeable influence.[79] However, Dyos's Camberwell was located only between one and a half and two miles from the City, so it was still possible for it to be 'a walking suburb'.[80]

Waller additionally thought that railways' main input was to make sustained urbanisation possible and to reinforce connections between existing townships; in Samuel Smiles' words, 'to extend the residential area of all large towns and cities'.[81] Cain, while agreeing with Waller, maintains that the influence of the railways was more 'indirect than direct', in that they increased the possibilities of specialisation, competition and growth, and thus reduced the cost of goods and services, and concentrated old, as well as, new manufacturing industries in new, and favourable, localities.[82] David Turnock concurs, but states that it is hard to split the indirect from the direct consequences, for both interacted with each other and transformed social and economic life simultaneously.[83]

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74 T.C. Barker, 'Urban transport', in M.J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (eds.), *Transport in Victorian Britain* (Manchester University Press, 1988), p.134.

75 F.M.L. Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse-Drawn Society* (Bedford College University of London, 1970), p.8.

76 Paul Lawless and Frank Brown, *Urban Growth and Changes in Britain: An Introduction* (London: Harper & Row, 1986), pp. 61-2.

77 Inwood, *City of Cities,* p.191.

78 Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger, p.174.

79 According to Armstrong, 'Transport and the urban environment', p.245.

80 Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.69.

81 Waller, *Town, City and Nation,* p.17; Samuel Smiles, *Story of the Life of George Stephenson* (London: John Murray, 1867), p.xx.

82 Cain, 'Railways 1870-1914', pp. 99-100.

83 Turnock, *An Historical Geography of Railways*, pp. 187, 201.

Kellett confirmed the vital role of railways both as agents of distribution and communication.[84] They transformed food distribution by reducing local prices, improving the range, and freshness of perishable products offered and by allowing the importation of foreign products.[85] The railways shrank and re-ordered the sense of distance and time.[86] They saved production space, and the capital needed, by accelerating the distribution process, increased choices and concentrated institutional resources and political power in places served by the railways.[87] Railways strengthened existing population movements, and certainly acted as a catalyst by assisting in defining the shape, timing, pace and, to some extent, the character of suburban expansion.[88] (This was manifest in the research parishes with the advent of railways.) They quickened this process and opened up districts formerly remote from the main highways.[89] The railways, in their construction phase, had a direct influence on the upsurge in local land values.[90] In the parishes and in other places, they generated trade for building materials suppliers, for surveyors, solicitors, savings and insurance concerns, and a host of financial intermediaries.[91]

Thompson thought that the 'effective' supply of usable building land (such as low-quality 'sheep walks' in the parishes) was increased by good rail links (which tended to lower overall rentals).[92] The expansion of the railways extended the distance of urban migration, and as immediate landlords of as much as 8-10 per cent of the urbanised areas, was an exceptionally significant element in the urbanisation process.[93] They indirectly, according to Kellet, affected the functions of nearly twenty per cent more.[94] However, their physical effect in suburbia was proportionally less than in inner London.[95] The transformation produced by the railways, and by other new

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84 Kellett, 'The railway as an agent of internal change', p.181.
85 Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination,* p.22.
86 Freeman, 'Introduction', p.31.
87 R.J. Morris, 'Structure, culture and society in British towns', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: 2000) vol. 3, p.425.
88 Briggs, *Victorian Cities,* p.15.
89 Reeder, 'A theatre of suburbs', p.268.
90 Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, p.127.
91 Richard Rodger, 'Slums and suburbs', in P.J. Waller (ed.), *The English Landscape* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.244.
92 As quoted in Ian Bentley, 'Arcadia becomes Dunroamin', in Paul Oliver, Ian Davis and Ian Bentley (eds.), *Dunroamin* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1981), p.70.
93 D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein and the 'Law of migration', in Michael Drake (ed.), *Time, Family and Community* (Oxford, 1994), p.150; D. Mageean, 'Unit 9 Principal Themes in Migration Studies', in OU *D301* (OU, 1982), p.11.
94 Kellett, *The Impact of Railways*, p.2.
95 T.R. Gourvish, 'Railways 1830-70: the formative years', in M.J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (eds.), *Transport in Victorian Britain* (Manchester University Press, 1988), p.155.

transportation, postal and telegraphic services, were both of local and metropolitan importance.[96] Further, these strengthened the economic, social, cultural and political influence of London, at least in the southeast.[97] This was even shown, for example, in the matter, in 1852, of the revolutionary acceptance of London time by distant places along the rail routes.[98] Rail timetables now made each minute significant, as trains came and left stations at fairly precise times.[99] The railways reoriented the axis of urban enlargement.[100]

2.4 Railways and suburban growth

Waller, in agreement with Thompson, stated that suburban rail transport was only a small part of the total passenger transportation system in all areas, except the London suburbs.[101] Beyond the London region the effects of the railways on the suburbanisation process were less significant.[102]

Thorns and Jenkins firmly assert that the expansion of the London suburbs was almost completely the creation of the improved system of rail transportation.[103] For railway services were 'the only effective means' of commuter transportation, because horse-drawn vehicles, for the twelve miles or so journey to the outer western suburbs, were intrinsically too slow (there was constant need to change, or rest, the horses).[104] Michael Jahn maintains that the principal commuter links between the City and the outer suburbs, until the century's conclusion, were provided by rail services.[105] Arthur Edwards states that the consequences of tram and train travel were similar, in that it resulted in initial modular housing development, which later coalesced into patterns of ribbon development.[106] This is partly supported by examining the size of the population density ring around inner London, in the pre-railway era, 1801 to 1841 and

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[96] Liza Picard, *Victorian London; the Life of a City 1840-1870* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005), p.41.
[97] Turnock, *An Historical Geography of Railways,* p.187.
[98] Richard Tames, *A Traveller's History of London* (Gloucester: The Windrush Press, 1992), p.135.
[99] Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), p.232.
[100] R.J. Morris and Richard Rodger, 'An introduction to British urban history, 1820-1914', in R.J. Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (Longman, 1993), pp. 22-23.
[101] Waller, *Town, City and Nation,* p.162.
[102] Anthony Sutcliffe, 'In search of the urban variable', in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), p.258.
[103] Thorns, *Suburbia,* p.38; Jenkins, *Landlords to London,* p.130.
[104] Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.94; Colin Thom, *Researching London's Houses: an Archives Guide* (London: Historical Publications Ltd, 2005), p.21.
[105] Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.144.
[106] Arthur E. Edwards, *The Design of Suburbia: a Critical Study of Environmental History* (London: Pembridge Press, 1981), p.117.

in the post-railway period, thirty years afterwards. In the former period it extended three miles from the centre, but in the latter one it extended from three to ten miles.[107] In the latter period, the density radius ring of greater London almost doubled, whereas in the period before it had increased only minimally.[108] Without doubt, transport was a crucial element in defining suburban districts.[109] Asa Briggs contends that 'the building of the local and suburban railway lines helped to determine the main line of suburban growth'.[110] This was evident in the parishes by the increased rents paid for new residencies in the vicinity of Sutton and Wallington railway stations between 1850s and 1880s.

However, according to Dyos and Derek Aldcroft, it was only in the 1860s that rail transport had any significant effect in the outer suburbs, and further, it was only in the 1870s, when nearly all of the London rail terminals were open, that many of the destinations asked for by the new middle-class commuters could be reached.[111] Against this, Thompson saw, in outer suburbia, a clear inter-reliance of suburbanisation and rail services; the rail companies, in these areas, having provided services to meet the needs of the London commuters. This acted as a spur to building development.[112] Furthermore, long distance suburban rail services alter the social class basis by eventually destroying, or diluting, the aristocratic nature of the outer suburbs by allowing the influx of middle-class commuters.[113] They limited, to some extent, monopolistic local and regional market situations, but, even so, imposed their own market controlling practices.[114] Previously local social and parish governmental structures had been built on fiscal and physical seclusion. Railway connections ended rural community isolation and also increased local security (as police, and troops, could now be sent rapidly from central points to deal with disturbances).

Thompson's views find substantial support in local research findings. A scrutiny of censuses has established that the population figures of the five parishes from 1861

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[107] Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.94.
[108] Ray Thomas, 'Unit 23 The metropolitan area', p.16.
[109] Chris Miele, 'From aristocratic ideals to middle-class Idyll: 1690-1640', in Julian Honer (ed.), *London Suburb* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), p.39.
[110] Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London: Oldham Press, 1963), p.80.
[111] H.J. Dyos and Derek H. Aldcroft, *British Transport: An Economic Survey From the Seventeenth Century to the Nineteenth* (Leicester University Press, 1971), p.215.
[112] Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, pp. 166-7.
[113] Thorns, *Suburbia,* p.40.
[114] Gourvish, 'Railways 1830-70: the formative years', pp. 72, 77.

onwards were affected by the striking outcomes of trouble-free, or difficult, rail access on population augmentation and subsequent housing growth, as S. Royle also demonstrated in his study.[115] Gordon Rookledge and Andrew Skelton maintain that Sutton's rapid growth was caused by the growing demands from the incoming middle-classes, who were encouraged to come to Sutton by enhancements in rail travel.[116]

Certainly, rail services, besides furnishing opportunities for London commuting (although only for the affluent before the 1870s), supplied many of the fundamental facilities required for servicing and constructing suburbia, and for making it, through the provision of local facilities, a workable social and economic whole. Adrian Vaughan argued that railways greatly affected local growth prospects by acting as magnets attracting ancillary services such as station hotels and buffets. These sold national, regional and local newspapers and magazines at kiosks, and other commercial developments. They provided as well jobs, for both men and women, within the rail service, itself.[117] The number of permanent rail employees increased from 56,000 in 1850 to 350,000 in 1890 while the number engaged in constructing the railways between 1830s and 1870s averaged 60,000 men, or around one per cent of the male workforce.[118] The railways were constructed to transfer passengers and freight but influenced, as well, their environs and line-side activities. Nationally and locally, they had an influence on the flows of passenger and goods and encouraged industrial relocation.[119]

Even if we accept the vital role the advent of railways had in suburban development the query still remains as to whether the railway services performed a purely neutral, or positive, part in the developing of suburban social sectoring. This involves considering, for Susie Barson, the underlying fundamental, still academic controversial question as to whether the arrival of the railways created, or was the consequence of, the development of suburbia.[120] Turnock thought that the railway companies mainly performed a passive role; waiting to see what urban expansion was occurring, rather

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[115] S. Royle, 'The development of small towns in Britain' in M. Daunton ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2000 vol. 3).

[116] Gordon Rookledge and Andrew Skelton, *Rookledge's Architectural Identifier of Conservation Areas: Sutton edition*, (Surrey, 1999), pp. 12, 30.

[117] Adrian Vaughan, *Railwaymen, Politics and Money* (London: John Murray, 1997), p.153.

[118] Jeffrey Richards and John M. MacKenzie, *The Railway Station: A Social History* (Oxford University Press, 1986), p.187.

[119] Turnock, *An Historical Geography of Railways,* p.202.

[120] Susie Barson, 'Infinite variety in brick and stucco: 1840-1914', in Julian Honer (ed.) *London Suburbs* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), p.74.

than anticipating it.[121] Jack Simons and Gordon Biddle asserted that railway extensions, while occasionally a strong instigator in suburban growth, were seldom the principal causes.[122] Kellett, initially agreeing, thought that rail passenger networks needed passengers to produce sufficient revenue to run. Therefore they followed instead of coming before suburban growth. However, Kellett's views were often somewhat ambiguous, and contradictory, according to many writers such as Paul Lawless and Frank Brown.[123]

Thompson, Jackson and Barker argued that while improved general transportation made the formation of suburbia feasible, this did not make it inevitable.[124] (This is considered locally in detail in chapter 5.) Certainly, rapid and cheap rail transportation did allow further urbanisation in 1850s Bromley but not in neighbouring Bexley, in the 1860s.[125] In numerous other examples, suburbs could grow from the provision of an omnibus service, which enabled new areas to be opened up without the need for 'stables or mews'.[126] Susie Barson asserted that, in many accounts of suburbanisation, there is no straightforward cause-and-effect, for example the construction of railway stations did not automatically (as for example locally in Worcester Park, Cheam Village or Carshalton) create a centre for growth, even though this could occur at a later date. She further stated that suburbs could exist for many years with only limited commuter transportation facilities.[127]

Thompson and David Norman Smith further advance the argument that the growth of most city suburban areas came before the arrival of the railways.[128] So, did the railways merely strengthen existing tendencies by furnishing more efficient transportation, as J.M. Rawcliffe maintains?[129] The suburban setting was established in such places as Sutton and Carshalton Village, not just prior to the coming of the railways but, as well,

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[121] Turnock, *An Historical Geography of Railways*, p.230.
[122] Simons and Biddle, *The Oxford Companion to British Railway History*, p.485.
[123] According to Lawless and Brown, *Urban Growth and Changes in Britain: An Introduction*, p.65.
[124] Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J. Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), p.150; Jackson, *Semi-Detached London,* p.21; Barker, 'Urban transport', p.134; Carr, 'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley, Kent', p.213.
[125] J.M. Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester University Press, 1982), p.31; Carr, 'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley, Kent', p.213.
[126] Donald J. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1976), p.19.
[127] Barson, 'Infinite variety in brick and stucco: 1840-1914', p.74.
[128] Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger, p.150; David Norman Smith, *The Railway and its Passengers: A Social History* (Newton Abbot London: David & Charles, 1988), p.95.
[129] Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', p.78.

before the close of the previous century.[130] At the beginning of the eighteenth century Epsom, another example, was not merely a health resort and a rural market town but a suburb of London fifteen miles distant.[131]

Kellett, Dyos and the above authors' research should make us reluctant to ascribe suburban expansion purely to the arrival of the railway, or to any other innovation in conveyance technology.[132] Kellett, in assessing this problem states: 'the crux of the matter is the question as to whether the railways pursued a policy of cheap suburban fares in anticipation of demand. If this were so, if it could be shown that it is was, in fact, systematic policy and regular practice of the railway companies serving London, then there would be some justification for describing the railways as an important cause of suburban growth in the period up to 1900.'[133] Here Kellett was unsure. He asserted that, from his own research, there was not enough proof to sustain this. Rather he seems to maintain that railway growth, into the suburbs, was the consequence of previous suburban expansion.[134] Harold Carter and C. Roy Lewis wrote that 'Kellett's conclusion, that the railways exerted only a limited influence on the emergent land-use patterns of the major cities, has been widely quoted and nowhere refuted.'[135]

Overall, by the close of the 1860s, the principal physical influence of railways upon the urban property market was diminished. After the 1870s, Cain claimed rail company price competition and the gaining of new customers through line extensions, shifted to the provision of better services and facilities.[136] Consequently, apart from selling tickets, the railways had no other part in the suburban prosperity that they had helped to fashion.[137]

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[130] Reeder, 'A theatre of suburbs', p.255.
[131] Miele, 'From aristocratic ideals to middle-class idyll: 1690-1640'. pp. 39-40.
[132] Lawless and Brown, *Urban Growth and Changes in Britain: An Introduction,* p.66.
[133] Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, p.376.
[134] Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London*, p.294.
[135] Harold Carter and C. Roy Lewis, *An Urban Geography of England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 2000), p.84.
[136] Cain, 'Railways 1870-1914', p.115.
[137] Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, p.111.

2.5 The attractions of suburbia

Life in suburbia, for the bourgeoisie, was depicted, in contemporary and affirmed in modern literature, as enabling migrant households to reside tranquilly in comparative privacy. This encompassed living in relatively crime-free, orderly, predictable and socially exclusive areas; in more youthfully ordered adult societies; in newly built, fashionable detached, semi-detached, or terraced houses, within a short stroll of the countryside, the shops and the rail stations.[138] Sutton and the nearby parishes provided this; along with in Sutton and Wallington's case good commuter rail links to inner London. The parishes were then set amidst 'attractive' countryside with 'glorious hills' having 'bracing, soft and pure air that promotes good health'.[139] John Ruskin extolled the countryside around Sutton and stated that there existed 'no lovelier piece of lowland scenery in South England', whilst George Brightling viewed the area as 'probably warmer and healthier than any other place in England'.[140] In 1870, the Reverend Williams stated that many invalids came to the area to recover their health and proclaimed that the area was 'a suitable sanatorium to the overworked brains of our great metropolis'.[141] In local directory hyperbole: 'Its pure air, at once soft and bracing, is eminently promotive of health, and the soil is equally favourable to excellent hygienic conditions'.[142] This made the parishes desirable locations for suburban residence.

Such pleasant aspects and family considerations were central to the decision to migrate and to the resulting domestically focused lifestyle. Mrs Panton maintained this and suggested that such suburban retreats were perfect for young couples as: 'Rents are less; smuts and blacks are conspicuous by their absence; a small garden ... is not an impossibility, and if (the male commuter) has to pay for his season-ticket, that is nothing in comparison with his being able to sleep in fresh air, to have a game of tennis in summer, or a friendly evening of music, chess, or games in the winter without

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[138] Daunton, 'Introduction', p.30; R.J. Morris, 'Structure, culture and society in British towns', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), 404; Armstrong, 'Transport and the urban environment', p.244; G.P. Bevan, *Tourists' Guide to the County of Surrey* (London: Edward Stanford, 1882), p.61; Black's, *Guide to the County of Surrey* (1887), p.22; Percy Fitzgerald, *London City Suburbs: As They are Today* (London: Alderman Press, 1893), p.90.

[139] Church's, *Illustrated Sutton: with Street Directory* (1880), p.1.

[140] John Ruskin, *The Crown of Wild Olive* (London: Harrap, 1889), preface; George B. Brightling, *Some Particulars Relating to the History and Antiquities of Carshalton* (London: The Operative Jewish Converts' Institution, 1882), p.2.

[141] John Rev. Williams, *Historical Notes on Wallington* (Surrey: Pile, 1870), p.92.

[142] Holt's, *Directory of Sutton 1890*, p.1.

expense.'[143] Just as domestically enlightening to us are references in George and Weedon Grossmiths' fictional masterpiece, *The Diary of a Nobody,* with its epitomised icon Mr Pooter and those in Barry Pain's *Eliza Stories,* both of which novels give us inestimable insights into lower middle-class suburban aspirations, and tastes, in the Victorian era, whilst H.G. Wells' *Ann Veronica*, though equally as informative, provides us mainly with an invaluable knowledge of local upper-middle-class suburban lifestyles.[144] However, these novels have a darker side, revealing a ruthless, laissez-faire society where to be poor, or working-class, was 'the real crime'.

To Thompson, middle-class residency in outlying suburban areas had a blend of physical and social features. To him the resulting separation of the male world of distant city work from that of the family was the essence of suburbia.[145] Here, domestic servants formed an overwhelming essential and integral part of bourgeoisie 'idealised' lifestyles. Servant numbers, types, ages, genders and positional levels of service clearly revealed, for obsessed contemporaries, the rank and income of individual middle-class households and highlighted what subsection of that class they belonged to.[146] Such writers as S.S. Ellis, Mrs. C.W. Earle, Mrs. Beeton and C.V. Butler reveal this in contemporaneous commentaries.[147] Similarly modern authors such as Edward Higgs, Pamela Horn, Theresa McBride and John Pink confirm these previous writers' observations.[148] Locally, servants' historical importance is revealed by their being both the largest component and émigré grouping in the research parishes' populations (see Figure 4.6, in chapter 4). The suburban neighbourhood hierarchy was mainly founded upon status, social class, age and gender perceptions. This is well exemplified in the then immensely popular *Eliza Stories*.[149]

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[143] Mrs J.E. Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret, Hints for Young Householders* (1856), p.2.

[144] George and Weedon Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody* (Bristol, 1892); Barry Pain, *The Eliza Stories* (London, Pion, 1900); H.G. Wells, *Ann Veronica*, (Harmondsworth, 1968).

[145] Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, pp. 175-6.

[146] Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), p.93; Isabella Beeton, *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management* (1861), p.8.

[147] S.S. Ellis, *The Wives of England* (Fisher, 1843); Mrs. C.W. Earle, *More Pot Pourri from a Surrey Garden* (Nelson, 1899) and *Pot Pourri from a Surrey Garden* (1908); Mrs. Beeton's *Book of Household Management*; C.V. Butler, *Domestic Service: An enquiry by the Women's Industrial Council* (1916).

[148] Edward Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households in Rochdale 1851-1871* (New York: Garland, 1986); Pamela Horn, *The Rise & Fall of the Victorian Servant* (Gill and Macmillan, 1975); Theresa McBride, *The Domestic Revolution* (London: Croom Helm, 1976); John Pink, *"Country Girls Preferred": Victorian Domestic Servants in the Suburbs* (Featuring Surbiton and Kingston upon Thames), (Surrey, 1998).

[149] Pain, *The Eliza Stories.*

Many of the early authors mentioned above, in the text or in the footnotes, such as Ellis, Earle, Bevan, Black, Brayley, Brightling, Beeton, John Rev Williams and Ruskin were closely linked to the parishes.[150] To these might be added, Alfred Smee, Frank Richards, John Hobson and Charles Marshall.[151] More modern local writers have also been frequently referred to in the thesis and have furthered the thesis' comprehension of the parishes. These include Clayton Cook, Douglas Cluett, John Phillips, Arthur Jones, Gordon Rookledge and Andrew Skelton.[152]

2.6 Conclusions

To Dyos and others, to scrutinise the rise of mid-Victorian urbanisation, especially the expansion of the outer London suburbs, is to examine the migration of the middle-class and their dependent, mostly female servants, and the urban transformations produced by the coming of the railway.[153] To Thompson, it is the sum of an entire economic and social process, brought about through a remarkable mixture of practical bourgeoisie worldliness and sylvan optimism. It was to both authors an elitist development.[154]

Suburbs differed not just in their organizational intricacy, especially in the extent of their dependency on inner London, but also likewise in their class composition and estate development.[155] No two outer suburbs were precisely similar. They grew in rather dissimilar fashions.[156] Nevertheless, they did have some generally shared characteristics, for example their domination by a middle-class lifestyle and the near complete dearth of large working-class residential areas or manufacturing industries. Furthermore, the existence of railway transportation, in nearly all these suburbs, was a

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[150] Ellis, *The Wives of England*; Earle, *More Pot Pourri from a Surrey Garden* and *Pot Pourri from a Surrey Garden*; Beeton, *Book of Household Management*; John Rev Williams, *Historical Notes on Wallington* (Sutton, Surrey: Pile, 1870).

[151] Alfred Smee, *My Garden* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1872); F. Richards, *Sutton, Surrey and its Surroundings* (Homeland Association, 1906); John Morrison Hobson, *The Book of the Wandle, the Story of a Surrey River* (George Routledge and Son Ltd., 1924); Marshall, *A History of the Old Villages of Cheam and Sutton.*

[152] Clayton Cook, *Tales of Beddington Village* (Wallington, Surrey: Clayton Cook, 1996); Douglas Cluett, *Discovering Sutton's Heritage* (Surrey: Sutton Heritage service, 1995); D. Cluett and J. Phillips, *The Wandle Guide* (Sutton Leisure Services, 1997); Arthur Edward Jones, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Old Carshalton* (Wallington, Surrey: Fleetwing Press, 1973); Arthur Edward Jones, *From Medieval Manor to London Suburb* (Wallington, Surrey: Fleetwing Press. 1965); Rookledge and Skelton, *Rookledge's Architectural Identifier of Conservation Areas: Sutton edition.*

[153] Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.24; D. Feldman, 'Migration' in M. Daunton ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), 192; G. Rookledge and A. Skelton, *Rookledge's Architectural Identifier of Conservation Areas,* p.12.

[154] According to Robert Prosser, Michael Raw and Victoria Bishop, *Landmark As Geography* (London: Collins, 2003), p.210.

[155] Waller, *Town, City and Nation,* p.159.

[156] Thorns, *Suburbia,* pp. 77-8.

major factor in their expansion. The more the suburban process is considered, the more noticeable is the observation that perhaps the 'typical' mid-Victorian suburb was the sum of the uncoordinated actions of numerous persons and that scarcely one of its differing types of suburbs could really be asserted as having been created at all. Richard Dennis maintained that the route involved in the creation of a mid-century suburb was, in reality, generally an involuntary one.[157] All the factors involved in urbanisation were a 'multi-dimensional phenomena', which cannot be shrunk to just one feature, as Dyos demonstrated in his classic study.[158]

The suburbanisation process was thus the cumulative outcome of the interplay of numerous elements and certainly not just the creation of the railways.[159] Ultimately, we must still keep in mind Jackson's caveat that 'there is a temptation to over-emphasise and oversimplify the part played by public transport (transportation utilized by individual paying members of the public) in the growth of the suburbs'.[160] Taking note of this warning, most urban theoreticians now appear to agree that the railways were not the sole instigator for the formation of suburbs, but that the extent, and type, of suburban growth were decisively shaped by the existence, or non-existence of railway services.[161]

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[157] Richard Dennis, 'Modern London', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), 109.

[158] Discussed in D.E.C. Eversley, 'Fifth Discussion', in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), p.276; This idea is mentioned by Carr, 'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb', p.276.

[159] Eversley, 'Fifth discussion', p.258.

[160] Jackson, *Semi-Detached London*, p.212.

[161] David Norman Smith, *The Railway and its Passengers,* pp. 95-7.

Chapter 3

Sources and methodology

3.1 Introduction

The research process, by selection, analysing and reflecting on a variety of data from different sources, not only clarifies, verifies, and adds to the documentary record of the five parishes, but links localised developments such as emigration, social zoning and social mobility trends to the transformations that occurred in Victorian England overall. It additionally corroborates the underlying research hypothesis that the above national average population increases, between the censuses, in some of the five parishes were closely associated with the ease of access to rail communications.

3.2 Sources

The research sources described below were both locally and nationally based. The London Borough of Sutton's local studies' search room provided ready access to many of these. Their source material shaped and underpinned many of the opinions advanced in this thesis.

The room furnished research material such as paper copies of the censuses, annual commercial directories, weekly or fortnightly newspapers, antiquarian histories, memoirs, *ad hoc* papers, broad summaries, illustrations and pictures, maps, rate valuation books, institutional records (orphanage and workhouse records), sales brochures, property deeds, building leases, business papers, contemporary and modern books relating to the five parishes, while much of the rest of the primary research material came from The National Archives (TNA). All these helpful, but often incomplete, frequently locally under-utilised research sources, like the CEBs, gave evidence of changing population, housing, transportation and retail patterns.

Many of these restricted sources, although perhaps often insignificant in their own right, collectively helped to increase societal understanding and shape a more multifaceted representation. F.M.L. Thompson in Hampstead and H.J. Dyos in his Camberwell study showed this was the case.[1] These authors demonstrated how some of these could be utilised to reveal the diverse effects influencing the form and the timing of suburb

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[1] F.M.L. Thompson, *Hampstead: Building a Borough, 1650-1964* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974); H.J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb: a Study in the Growth of Camberwell* (Leicester University Press, 1961).

development, and, on a broader basis, the underlying patterns, principles and processes at work in suburban development.[2]

Weekly, or fortnightly, local newspapers, for instance, provided details missing from yearly directories and 10-yearly census listings.[3] Through their advertisements, for example, for domestic servants, bulk buying of such items as tea, international news such as, the American Civil War, national news relating to the Royal family, reports of local societies, and municipal matters, and particularly their attentiveness to scandalous court cases, they provided some hint of the interests of their middle-class readers.[4] Nevertheless, such newspapers were perhaps more liable to mis-information, prejudice and political bias, than the national censuses. These showed themselves in both exclusion and inclusion reporting judgements. That is, if items did not materialise in print, this did not mean they did not happen but merely that they were not written up for some reason.[5] Moreover, the local news items that related to the five parishes had little to say concerning roads such as working-class William Road, Sutton. The newspaper editors appeared to have focussed their attentions on the interests of their more affluent readers.

Contemporary fictional masterpieces also gave inestimable insights. Nevertheless, the research appreciated that much of this literature deals with domestic life in more affluent locations and was often anecdotal in character and could, in many cases, concealed wide inter-parish variations.[6] Period maps, too, markedly reveal past concentrations of industry and housing, and are surely one of the most informative of all sources for local history.[7] From a spatial viewpoint, cartographical indications show the changing supply of 'suitable' residential land, while from a social standpoint they reveal the effect of social class on housing demand. Early maps, like pictures, provide information not often present in other sources. For example, when comparing pre- and post-railway construction maps, e.g. the Enclosure Maps and Awards Beddington 1821,

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2 As mentioned by D.A. Reeder, *Suburbanity and the Victorian City* (University of Leicester, 1980), p.2.

3 D. Iredale, *Discovering Local History* (Aylesbury: Shire Publications Ltd, 1973), p.8.

4 *Sutton Journal 1863-1902, Sutton Advertiser 1873, 1881-1990, Sutton Herald 1878-1885*, and *Wallington and Carshalton Herald 1881-1897* all held on microfilm at Sutton Central Library.

5 J. Golby, 'Newspapers' in M. Drake & R. Finnegan (eds.), *Sources and Methods: A Handbook* (CUP/OU, 1994), pp. 98-103.

6 P. Tilley and C. French, 'From Local History Towards Total History: Recreating Local Communities in the 19th Century', *Family and Community History* (Nov. 2001), vol. 5, p.147.

7 J. Hunt, 'Maps and plans', in M. Drake & R. Finnegan (eds.), *Sources and Methods: A Handbook* (CUP/OU, 1994), pp. 124-132.

and the Tithe Maps for central Carshalton 1848 and that for Carshalton 1868, the observer notices the dramatic transformation in social communications that must have occurred in the lives of the contemporary residents. For instance, in Carshalton Wandleside, when railway lines were constructed, former social arteries were blocked.[8] Maps such as the Ordnance Survey Map 1866 and 1896, (6 inches to 1 mile) were used in the thesis to illustrate increases in parish population density. C.J. Marshall's map was employed to show the importance of water-bearing subsoils on Sutton's pre-1863 urban development whilst H. Turner's map of the route of The London, Brighton and South Coast Railway illustrates the importance of Sutton as a railway junction.[9]

For family data, commercially published directories, such as the yearly ones produced by Pile's and Pigot, were often less revealing than the nationally gathered census data returns. Although the directories listed persons in alphabetical order, in each road, these were usually limited to 'head of household' records only, and did not give 'menial occupations'. Similarly, they rarely specified whether the domicile supplied was a site of employment by way of workshop or retail store, location of residence or a location of business and domicile. Some of the information and statistics they employ may in some cases be, perhaps, wrong and/or out-of-date.[10] These difficulties notwithstanding, commercially published directories provide, to a limited extent, a fruitful source for comparable, year-on-year, commercial and occupational activities.[11] They were employed extensively in the analysis of the relative and absolute growth of Sutton, Cheam, Carshalton, Wallington and Beddington as commercial and retail centres during the nineteenth century. They supported some of the findings from the CEBs, for instance that with a growing population density, the percentage of population listed as 'tradesmen' declined.[12] Annual directories, during this period, are an important element in the reconstruction of the inhabitants' existence in the five parishes. Interestingly, an

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[8] Mentioned by George B. Brightling, *Some Particulars Relating to the History and Antiquities of Carshalton* (London: The Operative Jewish Converts' Institution, 1882), p.36 and as a later 1900 *Pile's Directory* observed: 'Prior to the construction of the long railway embankment which intersects a portion of the village in a sinuous line from north east to south west, and to the craze for modern improvements, Carshalton must have been one of the most picturesque as well as one of the prettiest villages in Merrie England'.

[9] C.J. Marshall, *A History of the Old Villages of Cheam and Sutton* (Cryer's Library, Cheam, Surrey, 1936), p.105; H. Turner, *The London, Brighton and South Coast Railway* (London: Batsford, 1979 vol. 2), p.210.

[10] D. Iredale, *Local History Research and Writing: A Manual for Local History Writers* (Leeds: The Elmfield Press, 1974), p.50.

[11] W.T.R. Pryce, *Directories* in M. Drake & R. Finnegan, *Sources and Methods: A Handbook* (CUP/OU, 1994), pp. 57-63.

[12] D. Mills, *Unit 17 Central Villages: Theory, Sources and Enquiries* in OU D301 (OU, 1982), pp. 75-121.

examination of the middle-class occupations listed in street directories usually coincide (but with sometimes unexpectedly improved standing) with those recorded in the CEBs.[13]

Another primary source, The London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company railway statistical tables (TNA) are essential for an understanding of the occupational structure of the parishes as they supply clear insights into the employment and social class structures of the various local areas being studied.[14] They provide information on fare structures, timings, frequencies and whether there were direct or stopping services, the relative financial and numerical importance of the two London termini, and the four parish stations (in terms of the number, class and type of tickets sold). Statistical information derived from all sources, even if incomplete, such as those relating to railway commuting, rateable values, house sale prices and rents, assist in boosting communal comprehension and endorse conclusions drawn from census data and other sources.[15] The particular consequences of modified suburban transportation links, as 'opportunity costs', was constantly assessed, within the thesis, on both sides of the housing supply/demand equation.[16]

The censuses, for the Victorian era, are definitely the best source for demographic data. So, initially, by far the bulk of the research time was spent examining census returns for the decades 1851 to 1881. According to such noted urban historians as F.M.L. Thompson and Alan Rogers, suburban studies of observed settlements nearly always commence with a summary of absolute and relative population statistics, in normally regional and national terms.[17] Hence this study began with an attempt to establish, in comparative and chronological terms, whether the five research parish

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[13] Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, (University of London, 2005), p.97.

[14] TNA: Rail 415/560 *Passenger Traffic between London and Stations within fifteen miles, in the Metropolitan District: Year Ending 31st October, 1869.*

[15] TNA: Rail 415/560 *Passenger Traffic;* TNA: Rail 950/1 *Public Timetables, 1869*; TNA: Rail 415/560 *Passenger Traffic between London and Stations within fifteen miles, in the Metropolitan District*: TNA*: Year Ending 31st October, 1869*; TNA: Rail 951/6 *Working-Timetables, 1872*; TNA: *London Brighton & South Coast Railways* Booklet, 1912; Pile's, *Sutton and District Directory* (1898); Property documents, London Borough of Sutton Public Library [Archive reference 48/4/20]; F. Richards, *Sutton, Surrey and its Surroundings* (Homeland Association, 1906); *The Sutton Approved Guide 1915*; Morgan's, *Family & Advertising Allmack* (Sutton: J Morgan High Street, 1869); Holt's, *Sutton Directory* (1903).

[16] J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley, 'The internal structure of nineteenth-century British cities – an overview', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.5.

[17] F.M.L. Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (Longman, 1993), p.154; Alan Rogers, *Approaches to Local History* (Longman Group Limited London, 1972), p.7.

populations were growing or declining, and whether they were attracting an increasing number of immigrants, or were unable to persuade their citizens not to leave. (These aspects could arise from a diverse number of factors such as the constantly changing levels of economic activity in particular local industries, alterations in communication structures, land developments, general population growth, shifting social desirability of areas and the degree of laissez-faire exercised by local governments.)

By using census figures, as Professor Smith did for the period 1801 to 1901, for Sutton, Carshalton, Cheam, Wallington and Beddington, the research project determined the parishes' rates of population growth. It additionally established whether these were above, or below, the national average, and also whether there was an immigration, or emigration factor, or if both factors were operating, in any of the parishes.[18] An evaluation of these figures helped to provide research indicators for further inquiries into aspects of the parishes' social, political and economic histories. These figures revealed, without speculating on the underlying causes or accepting the validity of a nationwide comparison of population figures, whether the rates of population increases in the neighbouring five parishes varied immensely over the nineteenth century. Furthermore, whether some parishes' populations, such as that of Sutton, increased at an even quicker pace, particularly in the post-1851 era (see Chapter 4, Figures 4.1 and 4.3). That is, in Sutton's case whether the population figures were well above any 'expected' average national increase.

Although, the CEBs (the census enumerators' books) are unquestionably the best source for Victorian demographic data they do not, by themselves, necessarily furnish all the required information. Census classifications founded on social class, or on occupations, or on administrative borders, or types of suburban development are often of limited use, as they do not necessarily offer a precise guide to the probable social life, and activities, that could be discovered in different parish areas.[19] The completeness of the latter features is more than geographical.[20] It is a tautology merely to define suburbanisation

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[18] Roger Smith, 'Population movements and the development of working-class suburbs in 1801-1851: the case of Nottingham', in Dennis Mills and Kevin Schürer (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Book* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Limited, 1996); The census populations for the five parishes, up to 1901, are listed in a number of books including the *Victoria County History of Surrey* (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1912) vol. 4, p.451.

[19] D.E.C. Eversley, 'Fifth Discussion', in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), p.274.

[20] Peter Willmott and Michael Young, *Family and Class in a London Suburb* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960), p.2.

in purely spatial terms. W.A. Armstrong himself, in his association of class with residential areas and class with household servant employment practices, fell into this trap.[21] The parish research tried to eschew circular argument snares by employing census data linked with other data sources. Further, outer suburbanisation could constantly signify dissimilar things, at different periods between the censuses, for diverse persons. Hence, studying the suburban process via the census overall, at a specific time, can result in generality and superficiality and on an individual parish basis, to limited partiality.[22]

Nevertheless, the parish residents, including their class profiles, their occupational and household structures were the focus of the census analysis. Amongst historical sources, the census enumerators' books (CEBs) are singular in that they put persons in an industrial, social, spatial and temporal framework. The front pages of the CEBs depict the geography of the enumeration districts. These were meant to be of a standard size.[23] However, when great changes in parish populations occurred the CEB districts were redefined. Consequently not all dwellings in a road will be automatically in the same enumeration district.[24] Within this thesis, the research was also interested in the mid-Victorian 'building boom', in Wallington and Sutton. There was a rapid upsurge in the construction sector in Wallington in the late 1870s, and Sutton, in the 1850s and 1860s. This was when their urban development first gathered speed. So the front pages of census books were checked to gain some idea of the 'spare capacity' in the parish housing markets. The CEB figures supplied the proportions of empty residences, or those being constructed, to occupied dwellings.

The occupational information the CEBs gave provided vital import for the reconstruction of social class.[25] The census hierarchical job designations had class connotations, which reflected the then widespread views on social merit and position.[26] A white-collar occupation, such as being a clerk, in conjunction with other variables, will help to place that person within a social class, for occupation is itself always a key

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[21] According to Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), p.158.

[22] H. Carter, 'Phases of town growth in Wales', in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), p.252.

[23] Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p.37.

[24] In Carshalton's case the number of districts was reduced from four districts in 1851 to three in 1881. This produced, for the research, difficulties in differentiating social class areas.

[25] M. Anderson 'The study of family structure', in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 52-3.

[26] Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p.97.

variable in social class.[27] This raises the difficulty of precisely defining social class and occupations.

Social class, or a sense of class awareness (class-consciousness), though rather imprecise ideas were probably the principal determinants of the growth of social segregated housing in the parishes.[28] The research argues that, usually within people's judgements of others, clear class differentiations were always present. This was all too evident within mid-Victorian society, for as Geoffrey Best said 'feelings of class antagonism were obviously there'.[29] For F.M.L. Thompson, the decisive factor in suburbanisation was also 'effective' demand, exercised by the rising middle-classes' desire for a suburban retreat away from their supposed social inferiors. This poses, of course, the difficult problem of defining class in 'subjective' (people's mental judgments) or 'objective' (for example, classification based on census returns which categorise but do not elucidate societal functioning) terms, and the social character of particular suburban areas.

In the mid-Victorian period, membership of the middle-class is therefore often difficult to identify and calculate.[30] It was certainly not purely a matter of place of residence, or occupation, or income, although all of these counted.[31] Moreover, 'in London, residence and social mixing correlated more with social stratum than with occupation.'[32] Many incoming suburbanites, such as clerks, certainly considered themselves socially superior to their possibly artisan neighbours but they themselves recognised (at any rate in some of the literature) their own monetary inferiority to many artisans at least in the early stages of their careers.[33] (This situation was partly heightened by the white-collar

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27 W.A. Armstrong 'The use of information about occupation', in E.A Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.192.

28 David Cannadine, 'Residential differentiation in the nineteenth-century towns: shapes on the ground to shapes in society', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.241; Harold Carter and C. Roy Lewis, *An Urban Geography of England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 2000), p.120; Ruth Glass, 'Urban sociology in Great Britain', in R.E. Pahl (ed.), *Readings in Urban Sociology* (London: Pergamon Press, 1968), p.68.

29 Cannadine, 'Residential differentiation', pp. 241-3; Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1875* (New York: Fontana, 1972), p.xvi.

30 Helen Long, *The Edwardian House* (Manchester University Press, 1993), p.8.

31 David Hey, *How Our Ancestors Lived* (Richmond: Public Record Office, 2002), p.11.

32 Richard Trainor, 'The middle class', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), p.688.

33 George and Weedon Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody* (Bristol, 1892), p.33.

workers' imperative social need to 'keep up appearances' and so differentiate themselves from their supposed social inferiors.)[34]

To the extent that segregated housing was concerned, according to Richard Trainor, the upper middle-class were inclined to reside in detached residences, the middle middle-class in semi-detached, whilst the lower middle-class lived in terraces, even though Martin Daunton maintained that the majority of the middle-class resided in terraces.[35] Kit Wedd argued that the middle-class was formed of ascending, socially competing, sub-classes. It was not a single social class.[36] It incorporated all persons supported by independent incomes, aside from those belonging to the aristocracy, most employers, and non-manual workers.[37] The lowest sub-group incorporated entrepreneurs such as dressmakers, tanners, small retailers, boot makers, tailors, brewers, tradesmen, dealers and schoolmasters, while the much wealthier upper sub-group included professional men, bankers, solicitors, resident gentry and retired householders reliant on independent means (the 'rentiers').[38]

The census returns themselves, in addition to the difficulties of using the CEBs to help support local class analysis, are not without their problems. They frequently cloaked as much as they revealed. Occupational categories in the listed CEBs generally were never clear-cut. The censuses include hundreds of occupational headings many of which are difficult to interpret and in some instances the descriptions and functions of these could have significantly altered over time (see Figure 3.2 below). It is hence perhaps unsuitable to utilise a twentieth-century social classification to order nineteenth-century statistics. A more critical difficulty, in the census and directories, was the inclination to employ broad delineations, for example 'labourer' or 'clerk', to leave out the branch of employment, the substance being operated on, the distinction between master and man (employee) and where persons were employed.[39] Thus making out their exact social status is not a straightforward matter. Even when a proprietor was named, the size of a business could not invariably be assessed, because recorders did not regularly include

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[34] Barry Pain, *The Eliza Stories* (London: Pion, 1900), pp. 2, 102.

[35] Trainor, 'The middle class', p.692; Martin Daunton, 'Introduction', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), p.29.

[36] Kit Wedd, *The Victorian House* (Aurum Press, 2002), p.1.

[37] Trainor, 'The middle class', p.674.

[38] R.J. Morris, 'The middle class and the Industrial Revolution', in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), p.289.

[39] P.M. Tillott 'Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses', in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 116-21.

the sum total of employees working there. Although enumerators were advised to, they rarely distinguished between 'masters' and 'journeymen', or whether a 'shoemaker', 'butcher' or a 'baker', was in fact the proprietor of a shop, or a member of staff.

Nonetheless, the research acquired (after consulting local maps) some idea, from the size and address of the building, as to the edifice's purpose and the inhabitants' economic standing. Dual jobs, especially women's, were seldom listed.[40] Retailers, such as corn dealers, coal merchants, plumbers, inn keepers, drapers or grocers, possibly employed up to 40 per cent of all 'servants' but it was often difficult to say whether these were servicing the household itself, making and preparing goods for sale or serving customers.[41] Consequently, the kind of labour these women performed remained unclear.

Another problem is that the length of a servant's stay with a particular household is difficult to assess, though there are indications that servants in more affluent households stayed longer.[42] Servant numbers, types, ages, genders and positional levels of service undoubtedly showed, for fixated contemporaries, the status and income of individual middle-class households and revealed to what subsection of that class they belonged.[43] In addition, there were a number of difficulties in using birthplace data, one of which was that they provided no information as to any migration between census dates.[44] Tracking migration patterns from the census enumerators' books was also difficult.

Moreover, one must question the accuracy of the censuses themselves. The arrangement of addresses was at times disorderly, and ages and surnames could have been mis-stated, or spelt wrongly, and there is much circumstantial evidence that suggests that enumerators were not equally as assiduous in noting occupational descriptions. One should also be alert to misinterpretations by census enumerators and inconsistency of apparent simple local job names between directories and census

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[40] D. Mills, 'The Census, 1801-1901' in M. Drake and R. Finnegan (eds.), *Sources and Methods: A Handbook* (Cambridge, 1994), p.9; Elizabeth Roberts, *Women's Work 1840-1940* (Cambridge University, 1995), p.30.

[41] Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1966), p.252; John Pink, *"Country Girls Preferred": Victorian Domestic Servants in the Suburbs (Featuring Surbiton and Kingston upon Thames)*, (Surbiton: JRP, 1998), p.56.

[42] Theresa McBride, *The Domestic Revolution* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p.74.

[43] Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), p.93; Isabella Beeton, *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management* (London, 1861), p.8.

[44] Edward Higgs *A Clearer Sense of the Census: The Victorian Censuses and Historical Research* (Public Record Office Handbooks No 28, 1996), p.146.

returns. The directories, being more accessible because of their direct selling to the paying public, tended to overemphasise higher social status more than the censuses. Interestingly, an aspect of social prejudice within the censuses was manifest, for instance the 1851 enumerator for Carshalton portrayed a lady's maid who asserted that she was working in a dwelling in Shepherds Market, London (a bordello area) within brackets by the word 'liar!' and one jobless male was described in brackets as 'a sick lazy labourer'.

Another difficulty with such socio-economic systems is that they allot households to status groupings in line with the occupation of the, generally male, household head. Amongst the working classes, nevertheless, affluence was frequently decided by total family income.[45] Further, the households represented in the CEBs are 'administrative artefacts'; they do not necessarily match up to biological family units.[46] They embrace living-in relatives, lodgers and servants. The employment of the latter symbolized the existence of the institution of domestic servitude and the absence of housing, particularly in fast growing parishes such as Sutton and was, nonetheless, functionally central to the efficient running of middle-class suburban areas. Moreover, a few individuals designated with domestic servant occupations were not automatically domestics in the households in which they resided.[47] Visitors are not normally included in the household size counts.[48]

Occupational categories recorded in the CEBs were rarely unambiguous. They were founded on industrial, as well as on social criteria, for occupational groupings, according to W.A. Armstrong, 'were made to correspond roughly with industrial groups, but not without social-class overtones'.[49] M. Anderson too recognised this in his Preston study. He incorporated CEB material and, as well, allowed for such factors as income levels and steadiness of income, and related this to information derived from literature sources.[50]

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[45] Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p.103.

[46] Higgs, *A Clearer Sense of the Census*, p.63; M. Anderson 'Standard tabulation procedures', in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.143.

[47] Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p.140.

[48] Anderson 'Standard tabulation procedures', p.142.

[49] D.R. Mills, and K. Schürer 'Employment and occupations', in Dennis Mills and Kevin Schürer (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (Leopard's Head Press Ltd, 1996), p.150; Armstrong 'The use of information about occupation', p.195.

[50] M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971).

3.3 Causal relationships

W.A. Armstrong's census schema, adopted in his survey of York, has the possibility of universality. His schema has received substantial academic support, and its employment may make comparisons with other studies, founded on similar categorisation methods, easier.[51] Any serious study of social stratification should make use of it, at any rate initially, for comparative evaluations.

This Armstrong schema as originally employed (see Figure 3.1) with the modifications listed in his 1972 chapter, was broadly used in the research analysis of social class in the five parishes. Happily, Armstrong provided a comprehensive occupational and class listing at the end of this paper, which can be utilized in the research.[52] Armstrong's schema separated occupations into five classes.[53]

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[51] E.A. Wrigley 'Introduction', in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.4.

[52] Armstrong 'The use of information about occupation', pp. 215-223.

[53] Armstrong 'The use of information about occupation', p.205.

Figure 3.1
Table of socio-economic groupings

Socio-economic grouping	Description
1	Professionals: all members of the professions (for example doctors, lawyers); all proprietors; all manufacturers employing more than 25 employees
2	Intermediate: head clerk, police sergeant, teachers, nonconformist ministers, auctioneers, all farmers; manufacturers employing between 2 and 24 employees; retailers employing more than one assistant
3	Skilled manual or shopkeeper: small shopkeepers who did not employ others; hairdressers, tailors, milliners, skilled industrial workers; clerks
4	Semi-skilled workers; all servants; partly skilled industrial workers
5	Unskilled workers; labourers
	Unknown: occupation cannot be traced
	Indeterminate: occupation that cannot be defined, for example 'a lady', 'Annuitant'

Source: Classification based on W.A. Armstrong, 'The Interpretation of the Census Enumerators' Book for Victorian Towns' in H.J. Dyos ed., *The Study of Urban History* (London, Edward Arnold, 1968), p.70

In 1972, Armstrong modified his occupational lists in the subsequent manner, for use with the 1851 CEB information:

1) all employers of 25 or more individuals were elevated to Class I, whatever their categorization in the registrar-general's 1851 list;

2) all 'merchants', 'dealers', save those definitely described as hawkers (Class V), or agents or brokers (Class II) and all individuals employed in catering, lodging and retail board were initially classed as III, regardless of the fact that the registrar-general's inventory placed them variously;

3) from Class III (or in a few cases IV), on deliberation of individual cases, those who employed no less than one person and their family, were then elevated to Class II. In catering, boarding, etc., the employment of one or more servants was taken to count for this purpose;

4) house and land proprietors, those 'living off interest' or 'of independent means', annuitants and paupers were put in Class I, II and V respectively;

5) uninformative entries, for example 'husband away', or 'spinster' were put in a residual Class X, and retired individuals were categorized on the basis of their prior occupation.[54]

Nevertheless, though Armstrong's job classification may provide an image of how populations differed, they do not describe why they differed. Furthermore, statistical relationships produced from his tabulations, do not necessarily show causal relationships. They may, in fact, simply mirror coincidences; even though, for example, Armstrong partly 'proves', according to Edward Higgs, the validity of his schema by demonstrating that the employment of servants was greater, the more elevated the household was in the social hierarchy.[55] To elucidate the fundamental causes of class difference, or change, one has recourse to behavioural models founded on other sources. Consequently, it was vital to undertake a preliminary small-scale survey so as to gain some understanding, some picture of the comparative occurrence of, for instance, the emergence, or inconsistency, of social class.[56]

3.4 The pilot survey

Therefore, prior to undertaking the CEBs investigations, an extensive preliminary trawl through the sources available at the Sutton Local History Centre was initially made. Similar to John Foster, in furtherance of this objective, a small-scale comparative survey was carried out of William Road, in the Sutton Newtown area and of Manor Road, Wallington, using directories, newspapers, sale brochures, property deeds and building leases, with the ultimate aim of discovering whether there was increased social segregation within these streets over the research period.[57] That is, did the fraction of the middle classes, who were residing next to members of the working classes, alter over time? The survey results revealed that a greater proportion of households in the Professional and Intermediate groups (Class I and II in Armstrong's schema), or those having servants, lived in the newly built, affluent and less densely populated parts of Wallington, while a greater percentage of low status households in multiple, dense occupancy, and containing boarders or lodgers, dwelt in the older Newtown area.

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[54] Armstrong 'The use of information about occupation', pp. 209-14.
[55] Higgs, *A Clearer Sense of the Census*, p.138.
[56] Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p.134.
[57] John Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1974), pp. 125-31.

A greater proportion of newcomers to the five parishes, who had professional occupations, were occupiers of the newly built, more spacious houses, while large numbers of Irish immigrants were typical of poorer, more crowded parish areas. The census data and The National Archives material later confirmed the ideas, understanding and partial models formed when doing this.

The pilot research found that social class was a very nebulous concept. For example, it was very difficult to draw a line between Class II and III when considering the social ranking of households in particular roads. The size of Armstrong's designated Class II was too small while that of his Class III was too large. So the research, to aid social differentiation, placed all clerks in Class II and not in Class III, as Armstrong did. This deviation from Armstrong's schema was prompted by the fact that his schema hindered subtle differentiation by class by placing the majority of households into Class III while he keeps the number in the uppermost social ranking groupings Class I and II relatively small.

This simplified class separation problems but the research does recognise here that this altered the overall ratio of social classes and made inter-location comparisons difficult. Moreover, to place all clerks within the higher class band II has its problems. Those involved in the occupation of being 'clerks' may have performed many similar functions but the occupation itself could also have included greatly varying levels of responsibility. Some clerks might have been engaged in keeping accounts, for example, in the local water or gas companies while others, with possibly more education and income, might have been employed in City banks, or in central or local government administration.

There is, however, no reason why a divergent occupational classification cannot be employed locally provided the research makes very clear at the outset how it deviates from the accepted national one. The conclusions drawn from such a 'localised' system must always be recorded in a fashion that is plainly comprehensible to other researchers in the field. A 'localised schema' would not necessarily impinge on an analysis of the same geographical area at different points in time ('internal validity') but must, if the research wishes to make comparisons with other areas, affect the inter-location analysis ('external validity'). 'Anarchy (of any kind in comparative categorisation) should be

avoided'.[58] (Further, here the research does recognise that it could often be too easy to over-concentrate on individual and possibly peculiar features in isolated parish situations, and ignore the wider overall affect of the forces affecting the nationwide housing pricing structure.[59])

Armstrong's socio-economic grouping with occupational positioning listing was, within the parish research, employed with some care and combined with other signs of wealth, for example, evidence of house prices from sale particulars, income or levels of rent or rates paid, as shown in the local rate books, especially if underlying processes are being analysed.[60] In addition to these sources, reference throughout the dissertation was made to contemporary documents. Such alternative sources give valuable insights into areas which Armstrong's schema either does not cover, or covers merely partially.[61]

3.5 Sample size

M. Schofield demonstrates that the employment of a small sampling size, and appropriate analysis, can drastically decrease the amount of labour involved in sorting through bulky CEBs, without significant cost in loss of detail and precision.[62] A relatively small sample of households in the five parishes (in this case it was 5%) would, if randomly selected, stand in proxy for the much bigger whole.[63] (This 5% sampling was only applied to the 1861 and 1881 parish censuses in order to obtain an overall occupational structure for the five parishes. Otherwise, in investigating general street and community patterns a full census was employed.)

However, one must still recognise that this 5% sample size, while being sufficient for a very broad definition of male occupation and social class trends, as revealed in the 1861 and 1881 censuses, might not be enough for more detailed work. Moreover, such a

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[58] D.R. Mills, and K. Schürer, 'Employment and occupations', in Dennis Mills and Kevin Schürer (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (Leopard's Head Press Ltd, 1996), p.197.

[59] Richard Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents: housing and the land market in nineteenth-century Britain', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.40.

[60] K. Schürer and D.R. Mills, 'Residential patterns', in Dennis Mills and Kevin Schürer (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (Leopard's Head Press Limited, 1996), p.353; M. Anderson 'The study of family structure', in E.A Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.78.

[61] Anderson 'The study of family structure', p.53.

[62] M. Schofield 'Sampling in historical research', in E.A Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.146.

[63] Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p.143.

small sample, though it permitted the research to state something about the mean size of all households, did not, for example, provide enough cases for the research to state anything significant about the small sub-set of residences headed by a woman. The research, therefore, in an attempt to evaluate a greater number of diverse cases concentrated mainly on comparing the occupational structures in the two parishes with the largest populations, e.g. Sutton and Carshalton.

3.6 Using databases

To compare and estimate the proportions of individuals, and households, falling into occupational and social class groupings, did not require the employment of sophisticated software such as 'Microsoft Access', but could be performed with a pocket calculator.[64] Any calculating device can be employed incorrectly, and the more powerful and complex it is, the more absurd can often be the data produced. It is vital to match the calculating tools to the job in hand. No amount of statistical cleverness can make up for quantifiable deficiencies in the original information.[65]

3.7 Conclusions

When employing the censuses there are certain practical problems. It is hard to form from the CEBs any comprehensive understanding about individuals' life styles. It is frequently difficult to construe the exact character of the working lives of those recorded on the basis of generally one- or two-word descriptions.

When reviewing the CEBs, researchers will frequently be less concerned with the occupations listed than with the inferences that they provide to economic structures. The research will be often concerned with the problems of determining the criterion on which to delineate social class. So although Armstrong's industrial classification has received a great deal of support, his all-encompassing social classification based on this has received much less. For within the Armstrong schema there exists, for many researchers, an underlying dichotomy between the economic and social positions attained by individuals. Armstrong's occupational schema is thus rather problematic for societal stratification.

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[64] Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census*, p.145.
[65] Anderson 'The study of family structure', p.70.

It would seem preferable to combine census occupational data with a broad assortment of other variables. Further, by comparatively examining a range of data from miscellaneous regional and national level sources, the research attempted to elucidate, corroborate, and supplement the local documentary record (in for instance, its consideration of the growth of civic, commercial and communal associations). In the process, it hopefully verifies the underlying research hypothesis, which was that a higher than the national average population expansion, within the five parishes, was closely connected with the ease of access to rail communications.

Notwithstanding this, the census returns were always the most important, all encompassing source of data as they provided a near complete list of the individuals in each household, their names, occupation, age, sex, relationship to the head of the household, and parish and county of origin. From this, and the number and type of servants employed and the location of the residence, the research endeavoured to define their social class.

Figure 3.2
Job titles that occurred in the research but not with the same designation in Armstrong's listing of occupational samples drawn from York enumerator's books in 1841 and 1851[66]
(Armstrong's ideas on categorisation have been used in class designation of these)

Apprenticed to Coach Smith, Class III

Beer House Keeper, Class III (without listed employees)

Bootmaker, Class III

Brewer & Cooper, Class III

Buck Makers Boy, Class IV

Butler, Class II

Calico Printer, Class III

Carman, Class III

Carpenter, Class III

Carriers Porter, Class IV

Chartered Artist Unemployed, Class II

Church Furnisher, Class II

Clerk Bank of England, Class II

Clerk of Works, Class III

Engine Fitter at Ironworks Class III

Estimating Surveyor & Joiner, Class II

Farm Bailiff, Class II

Farmer's son, Class II

"Fieldwoman", Class IV

Game Keeper, Class II

Grazier, Class II (with possible employees)

Inspector of Metropolitan Police, Class II

Lady, Class I

Law Writer, Class II

Librarian, Class II

Master Stone Mason, Class III (without listed employees)

Milkman, Class III

Painter, Class III

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[66] Armstrong 'The use of information about occupation', pp. 215 -223.

Paper Hanger, Class III

Paper Maker, Class III

Paper Sorter, Class III

Parliamentary Clerk, Class II

Photo Lithographer, Class III

Platelayer, Class III

Police Sergeant, Class II

Post Office Assistant, Class III

Publican, Class II

Pupil Teacher, Class II

Rich Lady, Class I

Shopman Cheesemonger, Class III

Skin Mill Labourer, Class III

Solicitor's Article Clerk, Class II

Toll Collector, Class IV

Wharfinger, Class III

Woollen Mattress Maker, Class III (without listed employees)

Chapter 4

Some causes and consequences of suburban growth in the research parishes

4.1 Introduction

The underlying argument throughout the thesis is that urban growth, in each parish, arose via a 'trade-off' between the rents of 'desirable homes', the population density, and the proportion of that population that commuted by rail and their relative affluence, and the accessibility and cost of travel to city employment.[1] The overall research approach, therefore, will be by means of the close assessment of the comparative effects of these pivotal demand/supply factors and then comparing the results, from the parishes, with those from other localities mentioned in the literature.[2]

The current investigation develops from evidence that the movement of people into various parts of the research parishes, which robustly 'took off' from the 1850s, was not wholly linked with one specific static issue such as differing water supplies, drainage, sanitation, topography or geography. Nor only with issues such as accessibility, previous and present land and residential patterns, entrepreneurial endeavours of local landowners and speculative builders, middle-class aspirations, trade cycles, and actions or inactions of local governments. Each of these may, nevertheless, have individually greatly influenced the formation of housing settlement patterns and parish population numbers, as David Cannadine reveals in his study.[3]

The study concentrates mainly on the two largest research parishes, Sutton and Carshalton, for the years 1861 and 1881. It does this from a spatial viewpoint, on cartographical indications of the changing supply of 'suitable', 'acceptable' residential land, while from a social standpoint concentrates on the influence of social class on housing demand. This aspect is more broadly dealt with in chapter 7.

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1 David Cannadine, 'Residential differentiation in the nineteenth-century towns: shapes on the ground to shapes in society', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.239.

2 M.C. Carr, 'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley, Kent', in F.M.L Thompson (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester University Press, 1982), p.257.

3 David Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords: The Aristocracy and the Towns, 1774-1967* (Leicester University Press, 1980), pp. 394-401.

4.2 Differing patterns of suburban growth

Long before the arrival of the railway, the five neighbouring London Borough of Sutton parishes had differing fractions of their communities employed in service occupations, agronomy and manufacturing. This occurred because the parishes were, in effect, physically isolated from each other. It is thus too easy to over-concentrate on individual and possibly peculiar features in detached parish settings and equally to ignore the existence of imperfect local market conditions and the lags between supply and demand (and, of course, vice versa) and the wider overall effect of the forces influencing the nationwide housing pricing structure.[4] Hence the question, as far as this dissertation is concerned, is the extent to which the parishes were alike; that is, was the pattern and route of their suburban growth basically very similar or dissimilar?[5]

Sutton's major period of growth came early. It pre-dated the arrival of piped water. This was when its greatest percentage increase in population occurred. At first, with the coming of the railway, urban growth took the form of 'infilling' in the low-lying, unhygienic, poorly drained but well watered Newtown district of central and northern Sutton. Sufficient, but a poor quality water supply, was locally available there from brooks and shallow wells. The provision of this was a more significant constituent in its urban development than the particular location of the railway station, which had, until the mid-1860s, no water source within its vicinity. However, the accessibility to an adequate mains water supply, after the arrival of the railways, was generally the crucial underlying factor influencing later parishes' urban development.

The chapter begins with a description and analysis of population expansion in the five parishes and the impact of immigration before describing the differing patterns of the parishes' developments prior to and after the dawn of piped water. While after that, the survey of 'The Great Depression' period of the 1880s reveals how closely later rental patterns, housing growth, immigration and the resulting local prosperity, were related to national and central London cyclical trade events. The chapter ends by discussing Sutton's unplanned 'Klondike'-like growth.

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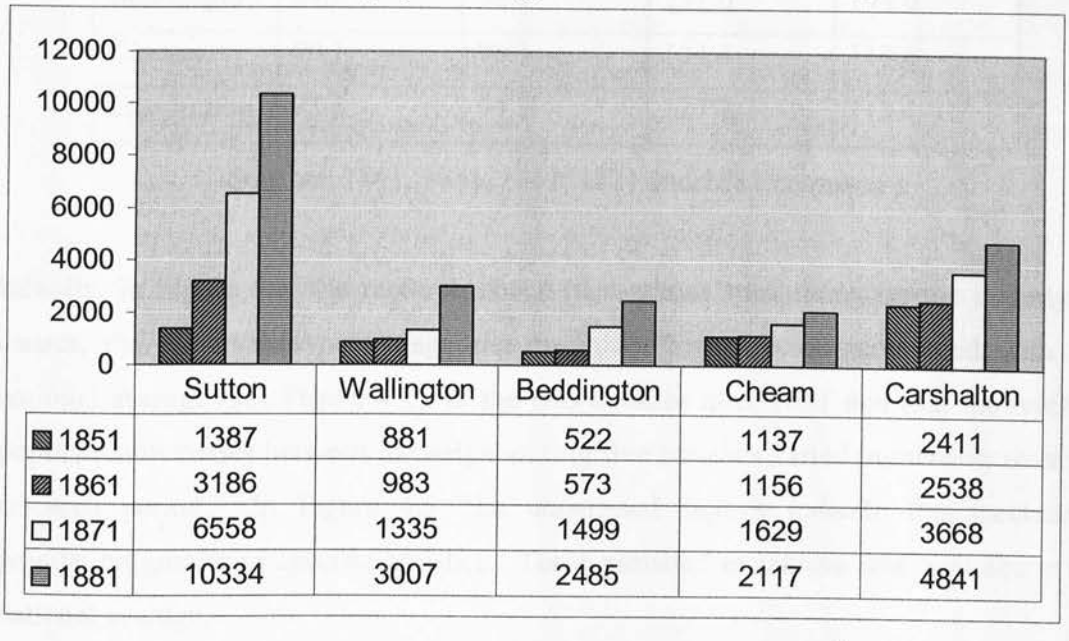
4 Richard Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents: housing and the land market in nineteenth-century Britain', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.40.

5 Richard Harris and Peter .J. Larkham, 'Suburban foundation, form and function', in Richard Harris and Peter J. Larkham (eds.), *Changing Suburbs: Formation, Form and Function* (London: E & FN Spon, 1999), p.2.

4.3 Population

In line with other suburban investigations, this research will commence with an attempt to ascertain, in relative and sequential terms, whether the proposed five parish research populations were decreasing or increasing.[6] An examination of census figures, displayed in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.3 below, assisted, as well, in providing investigational indicators for further inquiries into aspects of the parishes' social, political and economic histories. (The local percentage figures in Figure 4.3 are derived, in part, from the national ones in Figure 4.2.) The figures presented in Figure 4.3, for the five parishes, were derived from the census returns, by using the methods employed by Professor Smith when comparing the population growths of Nottingham and Radford.[7] By using census figures, as Professor Smith did for the period 1801 to 1901, the investigation revealed whether there was an immigration, or emigration factor, or if both factors were operating, in any of the parishes.

Figure 4.1
Parishes' population growth and characteristics



	Sutton	Wallington	Beddington	Cheam	Carshalton
1851	1387	881	522	1137	2411
1861	3186	983	573	1156	2538
1871	6558	1335	1499	1629	3668
1881	10334	3007	2485	2117	4841

Sources: 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881 censuses[8]

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6 F.M.L. Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (Longman, 1993), p.7.

7 The method used to determine the percentage relationship between local and national rates of population increase, is described in at least two places by Roger Smith, 'Population movements and the development of working class suburbs 1801-1851, the case of Nottingham', *Local Population Studies*, 47 (1991 Autumn) and reprinted in Roger Smith, 'Population movements and the development of working-class suburbs in 1801-1851: the case of Nottingham', in Dennis Mills and Kevin Schürer (eds.), *Local communities in the Victorian census enumerators' book* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Limited, 1996).

8 The census populations for the five parishes, up to 1901, are listed in a number of books including the *Victoria County History of Surrey* (Constable & Company Limited London, 1912 vol. 4), p.451.

Figure 4.2
The population percentage increase for England and Wales between 1851 and 1881

Census Reports	England and Wales	Population increase	National Rate (Percentage increase for England and Wales)
1841	15,914,148		
1851	17,927,609	2,013,461 (1841-51)	12.7 (1841-51)
1861	20,066,226	2,138,615 (1851-61)	11.9 (1851-61)
1871	22,712,266	2,646,042 (1861-71)	13.2 (1861-71)
1881	25,976,439	3,269.174 (1871-81)	14.4 (1871-81)

Source: Census Returns for England and Wales[9]

Figure 4.3[10]
The five parishes' percentage increases as related to national rates

	1841-1850	1851-1860	1861-1870	1871-1880
Sutton	94.4	203.8	181.8	137.7
Wallington	83.7	99.7	119.9	196.9
Beddington	89.2	98.1	231.0	144.9
Cheam	90.1	90.1	124.4	113.6
Carshalton	93.8	94.1	127.7	115.4

Sources: 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881 censuses

Initially, in Figure 4.3, the research observed, without speculating on the underlying causes, the remarkable percentage rise in Sutton's population, compared with the national average (see Figure 4.2), in the two decades after 1851 and that the rates of population increases between the neighbouring five parishes varied immensely over the research period. In Figure 4.3, the underlined figures indicate the spectacular population growth of specific parishes. These parishes' expansion was well above the national average.

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[9] homepage.ntlworld.com/hitch/gendocs/pop.html, *Genealogical Research in England & Wales*, 'Population of England and Wales 1811-1931'.

[10] The method used to determine the percentage relationship between local and national rates of population increase, is described in at least two places by Roger Smith, 'Population movements and the development of working class suburbs 1801-1851, the case of Nottingham', *Local Population Studies*, 47 (1991 Autumn) and reprinted in Roger Smith, 'Population movements and the development of working-class suburbs in 1801-1851: the case of Nottingham', in Dennis Mills and Kevin Schürer (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Book* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Limited, 1996).

Some parishes' populations increased at an even quicker pace, particularly in the post-1851 era as compared with previous decades. For example, in 1801 Sutton's population was less than that of Cheam and, in 1841, was only slightly more, proportionally, than its Cheam neighbour, but by 1861, Sutton's population (which now included the occupants of the new South Metropolitan Schools at Belmont, built in 1852) was almost double that of Cheam's and by 1881 more than five times as much. Beddington's population in 1901, as compared with 1801, had increased by almost eleven fold, Wallington's by about seven fold, Cheam's by over five fold and Carshalton's by a four fold while neighbouring Croydon had increased its by over twenty-three fold, but against this latter feat Sutton had expanded its population by nearly thirty fold.

It is extremely unlikely that the above variations within neighbouring parishes' populations, over such very short physical distances and time periods, could have occurred by dramatic, extremely localised changes in birth or death rates. The most likely explanations appear to be remarkable population movements. Even if one is unable to accept the validity of a nationwide comparison of population figures, we can still observe that the population figures for Sutton, for example, were well above any expected national increase.

The national increase in population involved the migration of people from the countryside into towns and cities. The expansion of the nation's population often conveyed to the outer suburbs of these, a large growth tempo. This frequently included, as well, the mass desertion of the city centres such as inner London, by some of the affluent, for the pleasanter areas on the peripheries, according to many authors.[11] Such population movements can also be regarded as a form of 'urban decentralization', which stayed firmly, connected to the city centres.[12] The advent of the suburban railways certainly made possible the present local daily pattern of City work and commuting. The rapidly expanding parishes were, in essence, dormitory communities relying on good communication with inner London.[13] Gordon Rookledge and Andrew Skelton maintain that Sutton's rapid growth was caused by the growing demands from the incoming middle-classes, who were encouraged to come to Sutton by enhancements in

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[11] Harold Carter and C. Roy Lewis, *An Urban Geography of England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 2000), p.120.

[12] François Crouzet, *The Victorian Economy* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1982), p.98.

[13] Anthony S. Wohl, 'The housing of the working classes in London 1815-1914', in Stanley D. Chapman (ed.), *The History of Working-Class Housing* (Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles, 1971), p.30.

rail travel.[14] Thus the influx of newcomers, into one parish rather than another, was, in part, determined by varying improvements in neighbouring parishes' railway and highway infrastructures that resulted in differing access to suitable construction sites.[15]

For those commuting from the parishes, the apposite railway link to one specific station, i.e. London Bridge, was as much the prudent prerequisite of the 'desirable neighbourhood' as the right address was its ideal.[16] This occurred because London Bridge station was within a short and easy walking distance of fast expanding, extensive, predominantly male, 'professional' City employment, to which most 'rush hour' commuters wished to travel. Sutton, as regards the London Bridge terminal, was the most favourably placed parish.[17] The mid-Victorian period saw the rapid growth of city tertiary services and the decline in local manufacturing which radically transformed the social and class composition of the increasingly 'migrant' parishes.[18] (A much more detailed discussion of improvements in transportation occurs in Chapter 5.[19] The special effects of modified parish transportation links, as 'opportunity costs', will be considered on both sides of the supply/demand equation.[20])

The advent of rail travel not only increased local populations, but also attracted immigrant householders employed in a wide range of middle-class occupations.[21] Sutton was exceptional, in the mid-Victorian period, in contrast to H.J. Dyos's Camberwell and other outer London areas, in that it contained a very high proportion of more affluent City workers, who were able to pay the necessary rail fares and also had the time to commute, whereas in the inner city suburb of Camberwell, for example, because the travelling distance was shorter workers could commute by foot to their

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14 Gordon Rookledge and Andrew Skelton, *Rookledge's Architectural Identifier of Conservation Areas: Sutton edition*, (Surrey, 1999), p.12.

15 J.A. Yelling, *Slums and Slum Clearance in Victorian London* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986), p.57.

16 Liza Picard, *Victorian London; the Life of a City 1840-1870* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005), p.99.

17 TNA: Rail 414/560 *Suburban Passenger Traffic.*

18 Ray Thomas, 'Unit 23 The metropolitan area' Course Team (eds.), *Urban Development: The Spread of Cities* (The Open University Press, 1973), p.36.

19 J. Armstrong, 'Transport and the urban environment', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), 229; John R. Kellett, 'The railway as an agent of internal change in Victorian cities', in R.J. Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (Longman, 1993), p.181.

20 J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley, 'The internal structure of nineteenth-century British cities – an overview', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.5.

21 Michael Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', in F.M.L Thompson (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester University Press, 1982), p.147.

employment.[22] Furthermore, the middle-classes who had overall much higher incomes, such as those of suburban Sutton, were the more frequent long distance family migrants.[23] The non-servant adult male members of such middle-class households, in Sutton's case, formed the majority of its mid-nineteenth century city rail commuters (see Chapter 5).

Interestingly, after considering the above chart (Figure 4.1), the analysis found that parish population figures from 1861 onwards, showed the dramatic effects of easy, or difficult, rail access on population increase. That is, where the possibility of rail travel started early, and where it was easier, the population in that parish, for example Sutton and Wallington, increased substantially in the decade preceding the census. Without doubt, as far as the parishes were concerned, the very marked population increases and the relatively vast number of dwellings constructed, occurred only after the advent of rail travel.[24]

4.4 The impact of migration

To scrutinize the expansion of mid-Victorian suburbanisations, especially the growth of the London suburbs, is to study the migration of the middle-class and their dependent, mostly female servants, and the urban transformations produced by the arrival of the railway.[25] Migration, aided by improved transportation, was the main element in the subsequent parish demographic explosion, rather than that resulting from natural population increase.[26] This is plainly revealed by an analysis of the parishes' sources of immigration and, especially in Sutton's case, by the parishes' age structures and very low internal birth rates, in the 1861 and 1881 censuses (see Figures 6.8 and 6.9 in Chapter 6). Birth rates were considerably less than those recorded nationally, as T. Barker and M. Drake's countrywide survey show.[27] This might possibly give another indication of the parishes' increasing middle-class character, in that, in the

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[22] H.J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell* (Leicester University, 1961).

[23] Colin G. Pooley, 'Patterns on the ground', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), 440.

[24] S. Royle, 'The development of small towns in Britain' in M. Daunton ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3).

[25] Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.24; D. Feldman, 'Migration' in M. Daunton ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), 192; G. Rookledge and A. Skelton, *Rookledge's Architectural Identifier of Conservation Areas,* p.12.

[26] Christopher French, 'Who lived in suburbia? Surbiton in the second half of the 19th century', *Family & Community Historical Society*, Vol. 10 (2), November 2007, 95.

[27] Theo Barker and Michael Drake (eds.), *Population & Society in Britain 1850-1980* (Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd, 1982), pp. 209, 212.

nineteenth century, birth control firstly occurred amongst the bourgeoisie and only later amongst the lower classes.[28]

The thesis's construction of Figures 4.4 and 4.5 below, dealing with sources of parish migration, involved probing numerous internally listed locations, in the census computer software employed. The data in Figures 4.4 and 4.5 were wholly derived from the on-line 1881 CBE returns. However, the totals formulated were noticeably incomplete owing to the software's inability to identify all locations. Consequently some of the totals add up to less than 100%.

Nevertheless, these tables (Figures 4.4 and 4.5) do show that the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants in the two largest parishes, Sutton (80%) and Carshalton (70%) were newcomers. The population in the other three much smaller parishes were equally mostly immigrant (over 80% in Wallington's and nearly 80% in both Beddington's and Cheam's cases). Figures 4.4 and 4.5 also reveal the very marked differences in the proportions of residents arriving in Sutton and Carshalton from different national areas and counties. Overall Sutton's newcomers came from much further away than those in neighbouring Carshalton. For example, possibly 50% Sutton's population came from far-distant counties against Carshalton's 26%. Equally, the numbers arriving from nearby rural Surrey was less perhaps in Sutton's case 26% as against 32% for Carshalton. In addition, nearly 16% of Sutton's immigrants came from further away inner London (Middlesex) as against only about 11% for Carshalton. Interestingly, it appears that inner London, in all south suburban areas, was not the main source of immigrants. 'The usual picture of central London as the reception area for immigrants, who moved to the outer suburbs later, is misleading.'[29] All the parishes, especially the more pastoral Carshalton, Beddington and Cheam received many more immigrants from nearby rural areas. Newcomers to Sutton, from inner London, tended to be middle-class, while those from rural Surrey were inclined to be unskilled working-class. According to David Feldman, in the nineteenth century, no less than 40 per cent of the demographic growth, of urban areas, can be ascribed to migration from the countryside.[30]

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[28] French, 'Who lived in suburbia?' p. 95.

[29] H.J. Dyos, *The Suburban Development of Greater London, South of the Thames, 1836-1914* (London PhD., 1952), p.424.

[30] David Feldman, 'Migration', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), p. 189.

Sutton's and Carshalton's clear-cut immigration percentage population variations, involving the sharp encountering of resident richer middle-class and affluent migrants from inner London and elsewhere with the often less affluent, more subservient ones from the countryside, were mirrored in their parish occupation and social structures.[31] (This will be discussed in Chapter 6.) The unambiguous contrasting immigration, employment and social structures in Sutton and Carshalton arose, to a certain extent, because, for topographical reasons, there was historically extremely little inter-parish migration and so small past intermingling of the two populations.[32] The social and physical isolation of the other parishes, from each other, is clearly shown in their inter-parish migrant figures (see Figures 4.4 and 4.5). Consequently, as far as this research is concerned, it is possible to consider the two parishes as distinctly separate entities. The lack of between parish migrations here may seem to contradict the indications offered by researchers like Anderson, who maintained, in accord with Ravenstein, that small-distance population movements normally prevail.[33] (The reasons for the paucity of inter-parish population movements are considered in Chapter 5.)

All five parishes' populations, by the end of the research period in the 1880s (see Figures 4.4 and 4.5 below), were overwhelmingly immigrant but they were certainly not so in 1841. However, the census of 1841 took place just before the arrival of rail services. The subsequent abrupt populace transformation, following the 1841 census, surely indicates that the above average national population growth of the parishes (see Figure 4.3), especially that of Sutton and Wallington, only arose after the advent of the railways services that permitted mass middle-class immigration into the parishes.

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[31] M. Waugh, 'Suburban growth in North West Kent 1861-1961' (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1968), p. 88.

[32] Arthur Edward Jones, *From Medieval Manor to London Suburb* (Wallington, Surrey: Fleetwing Press, 1974), pp. 76-81; Conclusions based on an analysis of the 1861, 1871 and 1881 CBE and the 1881 census discs.

[33] M Anderson, 'Urban migration in nineteenth-century Lancashire: some insights into two competing hypotheses', *Annales Démographie Historique* (1971), 13-26; E.G. Ravenstein, 'The laws of migration', *Journal of the Statistical Society* (1889 vol. 48), pp. 167-301.

Figure 4.4
Sutton's population characteristics in 1881

Sutton				**Migration to Sutton from**				**Migration from Sutton to**		
Numbers and percentages of individuals, born or not born, in Sutton				**Place of birth of individuals not born in Sutton**	**Number and percentage of persons**			**Locations to which people born in Sutton migrated**	**Number and percentage of persons**	
Born in	**Not born in**	**Total**			**No.**	**%**			**No.**	**%**
2104	8230	10334								
20.4%	79.6%	100%								
								Carshalton	189	1.8%
								Cheam	130	1.3%
								Croydon	129	1.2%
				Carshalton	130	1.3%				
				Beddington						
				Wallington	52	0.7%				
				Croydon	129	1.2%				
				Surrey (all locations)	4776	48.2%				
				Surrey (outside Sutton)	2675	**25.9%**				
				Middlesex	1442	**13.9%**				
				Kent	1029	10.0%				
				Suffolk	920	8.9%				
				Hampshire	904	8.7%				
				(Southampton)						
				Berkshire	849	8.2%		**'Far-distant counties' 50%**		
				Essex	849	8.2%				
				Sussex	369	3.6%				
				Devon	108	1.0%				
				Norfolk	93	0.9%				
				Ireland	56	0.5%				

Source: Sutton's 1881 Census

NB: The percentage total, in the number and percentage column, does not add up to 100% because the method employed could not identify all possible locations.

Figure 4.5
Carshalton's population characteristics in 1881

Numbers and percentages of individuals, born or not born, in Carshalton				Place of birth of individuals not born in Carshalton	Number and percentage of persons			Locations to which people born in Carshalton migrated	Number and percentage of persons	
Born in	**Not born in**	**Total**			**No.**	**%**			**No.**	**%**
1483	3358	4841								
30.63%	69.37%	100%								
								Cheam	228	4.7%
								Beddington	216	4.5%
								Sutton	130	2.7%
								Mitcham	52	1.1%
				Sutton	189	3.9%				
				Beddington	70	1.4%				
				Wallington	52	1.1%				
				Surrey (all locations)	2964	62.2%				
				Surrey (outside of Carshalton)	1481	**30.6%**				
				Middlesex	559	**11.5%**				
				Kent	274	5.7%				
				Sussex	214	4.4%				
				Essex	145	3.0%				
				Croydon	127	2.6%				
				Ireland	95	2.0%				
				Hampshire	90	1.9%		**'Far-distant counties' 26%**		
				(Southampton)						
				Norfolk	71	1.5%				
				Devon	68	1.4%				
				Berkshire	62	1.3%				
				Suffolk	62	1.3%				
				Berkshire	62	1.3%				

Source: Carshalton's 1881 Census
NB: The percentage total, in the number and percentage column, does not add up to 100% because the method employed could not identify all possible locations.

In Figure 4.6 below, it is noticeable that the population characteristics of Sutton and Carshalton were clearly dissimilar. In the research period, there was a more dramatic increase in Sutton's population arising from immigration than in Carshalton's. Sutton's grew sevenfold, following the arrival of rail links, between 1851 and 1881, while Carshalton's grew only twofold. Sutton had a higher proportion of newcomers and

females in its population, after 1851, than Carshalton. Sutton also had a growing female population majority as its population rose whereas Carshalton's proportion of females stayed much the same. The bulk of the two populations were however overwhelmingly immigrant and both parishes had a 'non-standard' range of age structures. Socially too (as was the case in many other initially similar suburban places) they increasingly differed in their occupational and class structures.[34]

Figure 4.6
Summary of the main Sutton and Carshalton's census findings

Census	Parish	% increase or decrease in population, if at the same rate as England and Wales	% of immigrants in the parish's population	% of females in the parish's population	% of female immigrants - preponderant age groups and principal kind of recorded occupation
1851	Sutton	94.4	55.21	50.1	26.57% Age 15-29 (Servants)
1851	Carshalton	93.8	57.85	50.1	28.93% Age 15-24 (Servants)
1861	**Sutton**	**203.8**	**70.57**	**53.1**	**36.84%** Age 15-34 (Servants)
1861	Carshalton	94.1	57.07	52.2	31.14% Age 10-24 (Servants)
1871	**Sutton**	**181.8**	**76.68**	**54.8**	**43.93%** Age 15-29 (Servants)
1871	**Carshalton**	**127.7**	**64.68**	50.7	33.99% Age 20-44 (Servants)
1881	**Sutton**	**137.7**	**79.64**	**55.0**	**46.65%** Age 15-29 (Servants)
1881	**Carshalton**	**115.4**	**69.48**	51.9	36.21% Age 20-39 (Servants)

Source: CEBs 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881

[34] Clapson, *Suburban Century*, p.3.

Generally, the research, in its comparative study of the five parishes, has revealed that there existed, in both Sutton and Wallington, a patent link between general affluence, the arrival of London commuter rail travel, the influx of the 'new bourgeoisie' and the percentage of female servants in the work-force, and that as parish populations increased in Sutton, Wallington and Beddington, the proportion of the female component grew. (This took place chiefly from the enlarged inflow of female domestics.) However, this was not the case in all parts of Cheam and Carshalton. This arose partly because Carshalton especially had, throughout the research period, a very dissimilar and relatively static social, agricultural, and mercantile structure, and had also significant transport difficulties. Carshalton and Cheam also had large estates that limited housing developments that would have been appealing to the new middle-classes. The urban development of Cheam and Carshalton only commenced in earnest in the early 1890s, in Carshalton's case, following the sale of Carshalton Park Estate to developers. Similarly the lands to the south of Worcester Park and Cheam, in Ewell and Stoneleigh, had to wait until the twentieth century before they were developed. In Stoneleigh a new rail station serving the area was then the spur to suburban growth.[35] Without doubt, transport was a crucial element in defining suburban developing districts.[36]

The thesis below, and throughout, devotes much space to domestic servants largely because they were both the largest component and émigré grouping in parish populations (see Figure 4.6 above). They further formed an essential and integral part of bourgeoisie household life. Servant numbers, types, ages, genders and positional levels of service clearly revealed, for contemporaries, the rank and income of individual middle-class households and highlighted what subsection of that class they belonged to.[37]

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[35] Alan A. Jackson, *Semi-Detached London: Suburban Development, Life and Transport, 1900-39* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1973), chapter 15.

[36] Chris Miele, 'From Aristocratic Ideals to Middle-Class Idyll: 1690-1640', in Julian Honer (ed.), *London Suburb* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), p.39.

[37] Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), p.93; Isabella Beeton, *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management* (1861), p.8.

All regions of the kingdom provided sources for the parishes' servant population. The expansion of the railways certainly helped extend the distance of this.[38] Sutton's female domestics, as in Kingston and Surbiton, when contrasted with male ones, mainly arrived from greater distances, for instance from East Anglia.[39] As far as male migration into the parishes was concerned, agrarian areas of Surrey provided the bulk of agricultural employees and gardeners, while the southern parts of London, for example Lambeth and parts of Middlesex, supplied the majority of the artisan male immigrant employees. As most household kin followed their male heads, it can be argued that servant-employing households were less migratory, in terms of distance travelled, than their employees.[40]

The servant recruitment pattern for Sutton, in the research period between the 1860s and 1880s, was comparable to that of neighbouring Kingston. As, in Kingston, in the 1860s, over 80% of the female servants were not native, most of these were born in London, Middlesex or Surrey but the remainder were born in more rural and distant areas such as Devon, Somerset or Norfolk.[41] The percentage of female domestic servants in Sutton increased at a more rapid rate than Sutton's overall population. Servant numbers rose by nearly 83.1 per cent between 1861 and the 1881. Similarly, in Kingston the numbers in service increased, but not at such a rapid rate as in Sutton; servant numbers rose by 35.2 per cent between 1851 and 1891.[42] Sutton was then, on most criteria, an extremely opulent locality.

Carshalton was dominated by a number of efficient and prosperous large landed estates. If one can correlate the ratio of male to female servants to the wealth of a district then it can be argued that generally Carshalton (and particularly the central area) was one of the most affluent parishes in the country. A similar fraction of the parishes' working population were servants, but a higher percentage of females and less concentrated

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[38] D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein and the 'Law of Migration'' in M. Drake (ed.), *Time, Family and Community* (Oxford, 1994), p.150; D. Mageean, 'Unit 9 Principal Themes in Migration Studies' in *OU D301* (OU, 1982), p.11.

[39] French, 'Who lived in suburbia?' John Pink, *"Country Girls Preferred": Victorian Domestic Servants in the Suburbs (Featuring Surbiton and Kingston upon Thames)*, (Surrey, 1998), p.18; Pamela Horn, *The Rise & Fall of the Victorian Servant* (Gill and Macmillan, 1975), p.32.

[40] Edward Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households in Rochdale 1851-1871* (New York: Garland, 1986), pp. 129, 178.

[41] Pink, *'Country Girls preferred'*, p.18.

[42] P. Tilley and C. French, 'From Local History Towards Total History: Recreating Local Communities in the 19th Century', *Family and Community History* (November 2001), p.144.

household distribution, were to be found in the other research parishes of Wallington, Cheam and Beddington.

By 1881, servants formed nearly a third of Sutton's and Carshalton's working populations. Over one-fifth of the remaining fraction was made-up from the upper-middle-classes, these included traders, teachers, clericals, independents and professionals. If one places this portion with that of the farmers, this segment now increased to almost one quarter. It was this grouping of about a quarter who were able to employ, as servants, around one third of the parishes' working populations in their homes and businesses and their grounds. However, in Wallington and Sutton, because of their different social structures, retailers and members of the commercial classes were the main employers rather than the owners of landed estates, as was the case in Beddington, Cheam and Carshalton.

In-migration transformed the size and class composition of the parishes' populations and, within the parishes, and the dimensions of the various sectors of employment. Sutton's expansion was mirrored in the proportionate increase in the number of males employed (particularly émigrés) in more modern occupations, such as those incorporating, for example, solicitors, architects, estate agents, banking, and railway workers. The 'boom town' status was further expressed in the large proportion of bricklayers and general labourers in the work force. All these workers, to some extent, were involved in the creation of the vast housing and road building expansions that occurred in the Sutton and Wallington area, which are well documented in the local directories and maps, during this period. The numbers involved in the dealing sector, in Sutton as elsewhere, also expanded and, in 1881, it was the largest sector after domestic service.[43]

Chapter 6, dealing with a detailed analysis of census statistics, gives a more complete breakdown of returns, for each parish, into social classes, employment, single or married, sex and age categories, and whether they were newcomers. An endeavour was made to assess more precisely the numbers and proportion of males commuting into the City (as denoted by the description of their employment), the number and type of servants employed (which would, usually, be a clear indication of household social class

[43] Horn, *The Rise & Fall of the Victorian Servant*, p.18.

and type of residences), and any modifications in parish patterns between these two census dates of 1861 and 1881 was noted.

4.5 Parish suburban development prior to the advent of piped water

The rapid urban development of any area, within the parishes, could not have occurred without the availability of adequate water supplies and, of course, the existence of some reason for newcomers to settle there. Before the general use of piped water and after the coming of the railway, urban expansion, in the five parishes, was restricted to the occurrence of surface water-bearing strata. Such strata were composed of expanses of sand, and gravel, from which emanated natural springs and brooks (see Figure 4.10 below).

Sutton's foremost phase of initial enlargement occurred in the badly drained but well watered Newtown district of central Sutton. This new development occupied much of the then built-up area of Sutton (see Figure 4.10). There, dwellings were crowded together and constructed with little provision for sewage and drainage. Nationally and locally water supply difficulties were, generally, of far more public concern than overcrowding.[44] However, locally, against these aspects, housing in Newtown was within a short leisurely walk of the countryside, the shops and the rail station.[45] Sutton's parochial growth in the second half of the century swiftly overhauled that of the neighbouring parishes of Cheam, Wallington, Carshalton and Beddington. This was, in part, the result of the actions of enterprising local landowners in response to the coming of the railway.

A study of urban growth in these areas illustrates the significance of landowners in carrying out or even obstructing, as in Carshalton and Cheam, the initial open action towards the creation of a building estate.[46] Nevertheless, F.M.L. Thompson considered that the landlords' function in the growth of the suburbia was less important than the uncoordinated activities of small speculative builders.[47] The connections between

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[44] Wohl, 'The housing of the working classes', p.21.

[45] G.P. Bevan, *Tourists' Guide to the County of Surrey* (London: Edward Stanford, 1882), p.61; Black's, *Guide to the County of Surrey* (1887), p.22; Percy Fitzgerald, *London City Suburbs: As They Are Today* (London: Alderman Press, 1893), p.90.

[46] Christopher Trent, *Greater London: Its Growth and Development Through Two Thousand Years* (Phoenix House London, 1965), p.207.

[47] F.M.L. Thompson, *Hampstead: Building a Borough, 1650-1964* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), p.87.

speculative construction and a suburban area, for him and others, are indissoluble.[48] David Cannadine seemed to concur with this and asserted that big landowners were simply 'one agent of (suburban) expansion among many'.[49] However, Richard Rodger felt that the influence of landowners, speculative builders and the land market, should not be overstressed when considering suburban development.[50] This was partly because the cost of leasing building plots, from the ground landowners, formed possibly only one-six of the weekly rents paid out by occupiers of the completed dwelling. Consequently, the effect of the land factor can be exaggerated, in the intricate assortment of elements that shaped house construction options and perhaps, as Rodger's suggests, as does Thompson, the status element involved in housing demand was really the crucial component.[51] For Thompson, the decisive factor in suburbanisation was 'effective' demand, exercised by the rising middle-classes' desire for a suburban retreat. Thompson's 'effective' demand, needless to say, locally and regionally, altered as the most favoured types of residences and the social prestige of different areas, to varying degrees, changed.[52]

The largest of Sutton landowners, Thomas Alcock, Lord of the Manors of Sutton, Banstead and Kingswood, between 1845 and 1865 consolidated much of his agricultural estate in Sutton into suitable building plots.[53] Alcock, in the course of this, laid out a large number of new roads and sold large strips of land along these to The National Freehold, The Perpetual, The Government Clerks' and other land investment societies who, in turn, additionally sub-divided them for housing development: 'Enabling many persons to become owners and freeholders.'[54] This resulted in fragmentary landownership. This in its turn, as elsewhere, promoted piecemeal housing developments, poor building control and created later difficulties.[55] This was very undesirable in that the laying of later utility services was, often, chaotic.

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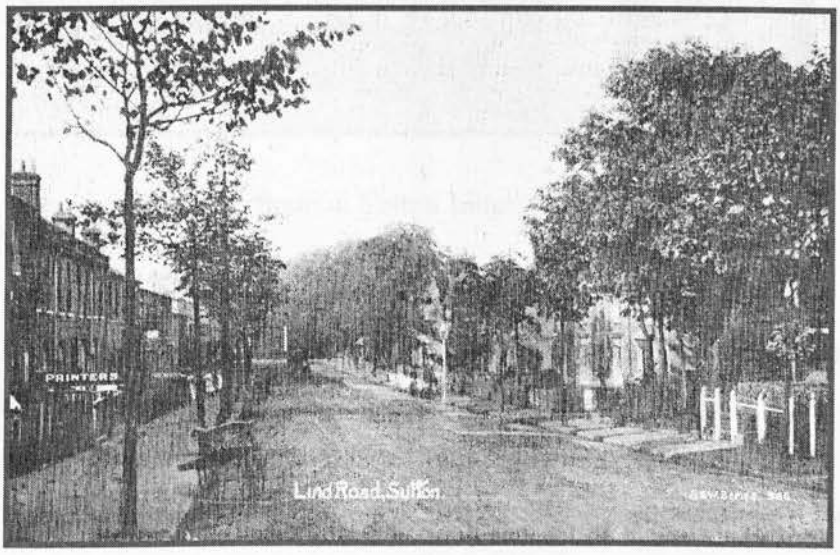
48 Andrew Saint, 'Introduction: The quality of the London Suburb', in Julian Honer (ed.), *London Suburbs* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), p.16.
49 Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords*, pp. 400, 413.
50 Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents', p.39.
51 Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents', pp. 39, 47; F.M.L. Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J. Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), p.154.
52 Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', pp. 162, 171.
53 Rookledge and Skelton, *Rookledge's Architectural Identifier of Conservation Areas,* p.18.
54 *The Town Council's Official Guide 1906, Sutton, Surrey*, p.21.
55 Brian T. Robson, *Urban Social Areas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.54.

By 1852, Alcock had fashioned two large suburbs on his lands to the east of the High Street. The Newtown Estate, the larger of these in terms of population, had basically a rectangular layout and extended south of Westmead Road and Manor Lane/Lower Road, north of the railway line, west of Sutton Grove and east of Warwick Road and Manor Park Road (see Figure 4.10 above). The Estate lay on Thanet sands where water was accessible. By 1867 William Road, Lind Road, Myrtle Road, Vernon Road, Sutton Grove and St. Barnabas Road, had been laid out and numerous small, terraced dwellings erected. Such terraced housing was for the less affluent. In 1867 there were seventeen dwellings in Carshalton Road, forty in Benhill Street and thirty-nine in Lind Road. Lind Road ran down the centre of The Newtown Estate (see Figure 4.7 below). It was its spinal cord.

Figure 4.7
Lind Road looking north in 1900



Source: Frank Burgess, *Now and then* (London Borough of Sutton Libraries and Arts Service, 1985), p.32

The Newtown Estate was an area having both variety and unity but had many unusual features. It was diverse in that the houses ranged from a few detached houses, of modest size, to many terraces of artisan cottages. In the middle of these intruded semi-detached pairs and three-storeyed terraces, in a great assortment of architectural styles. The Newtown area had, however, a unity in that the majority of the structures there were built in the mid-nineteenth century.[56] Terraced properties, in Newtown, could vary enormously in size and style of embellishment. Figure 4.8 below typifies both

[56] Property, 48/4/23 shows a detail plan of the building plots.

infilling and the mixed exterior appearance of Newtown housing. The terraced houses in the background are much less flamboyant than those in the forefront which exhibit decorated window apertures and, on the corners, false stone quoins.

Figure 4.8
Characteristic Newtown housing, the western side of William Road in 1974

Source: Sutton Library archive

Thus terraced properties could convey subtle social differences, but valid distinctions, as far as status was concerned, to potential occupiers. Small speculative builders built what would sell; for them, it was a commodity like any other.[57] An extract from *The Builder* demonstrates builders' indulging occupiers' status pretensions: 'A speculative builder...was once asked how he had been so successful and his reply was: 'Well, yer see, I always put a Corinthian cornice in the front porterco".[58] Consequently, householders, by merely occupying particular dwellings, such as Alexandra Villa, 1 William Road (see Figure 4.9 below) could perhaps convey to others their own specific social position.[59]

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[57] Reeder, 'A theatre of suburbs', p.269.
[58] ' London House Planning', Builder (5 May 1894): p. 344.
[59] Paul Lawless and Frank Brown, *Urban Growth and Changes in Britain: an Introduction* (London: Harper & Row, 1986), p.60.

Figure 4.9
Alexandra Villa

Source: Sutton Library archive

NB: Alexandra Villa was built, between 1896 and 1913, on an empty corner site. This house displays complicated ornamentation involving flint and stuccowork.

Charles Marshall's book, as a whole, well illustrates the importance of water-bearing subsoils on Sutton's and the other parishes' pre-1863 development.[60] Also, contemporary house sale and renting adverts support this assertion. Morgan's newspaper advertisements for The Benhill Estate properties (see Figure 4.10 below), in the pre-piped period, usually contained the standard remark: 'A good supply of water'.[61] In the 1860s, access to a well, for example 'pumps from (communal) well', was mentioned in some sale brochures for Thomas Alcock's developments on The Benhill Estate.[62] In a much later example, in 1878, even after the arrival of piped water, houses, near Wallington railway station, were advertised as having a 'pure water' supply.[63] However, by the 1880s, with the availability of piped water, many of Morgan's properties were just advertised with the comment: 'Gas and water laid'.[64] In a further instance, in an 1886 advertisement for the leasing of seven properties in Vernon Road, Sutton it was stated that '(piped) water (was) laid on (but) the closets (still) drained into a cesspool.'[65] In this period, with the general availability of piped water but not of

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60 Charles J. Marshall, *A History of the Old Villages of Cheam and Sutton* (Cheam, Surrey: Cryer's Library, 1936).
61 *Sutton Journal*, Sept. 1863 to Dec. 1865.
62 Property documents, London Borough of Sutton Public Library: 48/4/14-16.
63 *Sutton Herald*, 8 Feb. 1878.
64 For example *Sutton Journal*, 19 Nov. 1881.
65 Property, 48/29/27.

parish sewage systems, the quality of the sanitary arrangements in individual houses assumed greater importance. The increasing strain, caused by population inflow on the comparatively restricted water supplies and erratically constructed sewage provisions, worsened living conditions. In a number of local newspapers' sale adverts the words 'good position and sanitation' were prominent.[66] Newcomers desiring these amenities, naturally, moved into new housing developments providing these were away from the low-lying areas.

What often made main water supplies so unpleasant were not only their poor quality, but also their limited and spasmodic nature. There was always the strong possibility with intermittent provision of supply that cistern water, in small dwellings, would be befouled by the breakout of vapours into the feeder pipes. These were emitted from water closets, sewers and sink traps, when water supplies were turned off.[67] This was particularly traumatic for the consumers when the occurrence of water borne cholera was revealed to be associated with unsanitary situations such as these.[68] In 1884 the Sutton Sanitary Committee referred to irregular water supplies and stated that: 'It is now generally believed that water is the chief carrier of the Cholera poison...the question is in what condition are the cisterns, and other places in which it is stored. We learn... that in some houses the closets are flushed direct from the mains, and in others the cisterns are so placed that it is impossible to clean them.'[69] If storage cisterns supplied water to both the closet and drinking water systems, there was always the danger of contamination from back siphoning.[70]

After its arrival, even in the 1880s, the supply of piped water would still be supplemented from existing well and spring water sources. In newspaper housing advertisements, the addition of words such as 'soft', 'spring' and 'hard water' indicated this. For example, a newspaper advert from the 1880s, for detached houses in Wallington, stated that besides having piped water that they were built 'on chalk soil, well drained and had excellent supply of soft and spring water'.[71]

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66 *Sutton Journal*, 5 Oct. 1891.
67 Lyn Charlesworth, Derek Eves, Ron Mitchell and Chris Reid, *100 Years of Public Health in Sutton* (London Borough of Sutton: Environmental Health Department, 1983), p.30.
68 D.A. Reeder, *Suburbanity and the Victorian City* (University of Leicester, 1980), p.4.
69 *Sutton (Surrey) Local Board Sanitary Committee Minute Book 1883-1891*: 7 July 1884.
70 David Rubinstein, *Victorian Homes* (Devon: David & Charles, 1974), pp. 88-9.
71 *Sutton Herald*, 24 April 1880.

Figure 4.10. Map
Cheam and Sutton

The area immediately to the south of the parish of Sutton (adjacent to the parish of Banstead) did not experience urban development as the town of Sutton had, with the advent of the railways. This was because, to some extent, it lacked access to an adequate water supply and the natural features that would have encouraged urban expansion. The village of Banstead (in the parish of Banstead), itself, was not situated near a river, in a valley or on a major road crossroads. (Its water supply had to come from very deep wells.) The London to Brighton turnpike, constructed in 1755, by-passed Banstead village, and partly, again as a consequence, few dwellings were erected there in the nineteenth century.[72] Similarly the lands to the south of Worcester Park and Cheam, in Ewell and Stoneleigh, which did not have satisfactory water supplies, had to wait until the twentieth century before they were developed.

Nevertheless, where an adequate supply of spring water was available, as in Cheam Village (see Figure 4.10), rapid urban development often did not occur. In 1873,

[72] Basil E. Cracknell, *Portrait of Surrey* (London: Robert Nale, 1974), pp. 128-9.

Church's *Directory* observed that in Cheam Village 'not a single dwelling house has been erected during the year in or near the village'.[73] Cheam 'is a place which has mercifully escaped the hands of the speculative builder and been developed in a fashion that cannot but call forth admiration from those people who have seen many charming Surrey localities irreparably disfigured by the erection of unsightly dwelling houses'.[74] Sutton's changing architectural appearance, which, unlike the next-door parishes of Cheam and Carshalton was greatly transformed in the Victorian period, exhibited this. Sutton's buildings, in this epoch, were almost entirely rebuilt. This state of affairs could have arisen, to some extent, because of lack of suitable residential land.

Cheap housing development, in Cheam Village, central Carshalton and Beddington parishes was hindered by the presence, until the end of the century, of numerous grand houses, with extensive gardens.[75] (The idyllic, relatively unchanging state of Cheam Village is revealed in Figure 4.11 below.) Large landowners did not sell out to speculative developers, but rather increased their holdings of agricultural land. This sustains the notion that non-urbanisation of an area could arise from a variety of factors.

Figure 4.11
The entrance to Cheam Village looking downward from Park Lane in 1871

Source: Sutton Library archive

NB: This rustic scene was still identifiable until the 1930s before the road widening occurred.

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[73] Church's *Directory* (1873), p.11.
[74] *Cheam Official Guide* (Vichery, Kyrle and Co., Ltd, 'Remo House', 310-312 Regent Street, London W1, 1923), p.5.
[75] Margaret Thomas, *Victorian Sutton* (Wallington, Surrey: Wigs Publishing, 1998), p.70.

Even after the arrival in the southern part of Sutton of piped water, from the 1860s, water in some northern parts, especially in the hilly Benhill Estate areas (see Figure 4.10), due to pumping problems, was not provided for the whole day, or through all the week. It was usually supplied, as elsewhere, for one-hour daily, three days a week and certainly not on Sunday.[76] This, naturally, restricted residential growth. A similar situation existed in The Newtown area where locally, extremely polluted surface water was always obtainable. 'My mother...in 1876 was allowed one pail a day for drinking and cooking (from the mains water supply); other requirements were met from the water-butt or pond. Water shortage (that is, the lack of water fit for drinking) accounts for the existence of a number of small alehouses at that time. There was *The Magpie* in Church-street, *Trafalgar Inn*, Weststreet, *Eagle Tavern*, Lind-road, *Prince of Wales*, Lind-road and *The Beerhouse*, William-road. These were in addition to the present licensed premises.'[77] (According to Judith Flanders, in 1882, the ordinary individual required 22 gallons of water, per day.[78]) Shortages of 'good water' did not affect the hilly, more expensive, southern housing developments as much as the first mains were laid in the Brighton Road, and along the Carshalton and Cheam Roads, with a reservoir situated at the intersection of Ventnor and Brighton Road.[79] Subsequently, after 1871, water mains were extended to elevated, upmarket areas in Beddington, Wallington, Cheam, Carshalton and Cuddington. This made residential development on the steep, cheaper, bare chalk lands, away from the water bearing ground, even more possible and profitable.

The existence of an adequate, regular water supply was essential for urban development. Where it was not available little urbanisation occurred. In the pre-piped water period only the low-lying parish areas were thus usually suitable for settlement. However, low-lying, well-watered sites, for example in Newtown or Carshalton, nearly always presented, for house building, difficult constructional problems, although they were possibly suitable for industrial purposes being close to lines of easy communication.[80] On such plots not merely was complex land drainage expensive, but there was often a continual battle with sodden cellars, and house-hunters were always doubtful of the

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[76] Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.91.
[77] Robert P. Smith, *A History of Sutton: AD. 675-1960* (Carshalton, Surrey: Derek W. James, 1970), p.70.
[78] Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.91.
[79] C.J. Marshall, *A History of the Old Villages of Cheam and Sutton*, pp. 1-7.
[80] Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords*, p.407.

builders' capability to handle such problems.[81] The construction of new sewage drains was always extremely expensive and could encounter severe technical problems, especially in such low-lying districts. In these areas residents had no other method of drainage than communal gullies. Generally such trenches came to function as watering sites for livestock, land-drains and sewers.[82]

In the mid Victorian period, often no responsibility was put on the builders of estates or of a string of small houses to supply suitable drainage, or even satisfactory sewers.[83] 'Is it (thus) surprising when an epidemic occurs in the lower part of Sutton that it should very frequently assume a malignant character?'[84] Different local authorities, in the mid-Victorian decades, often lacked the proclivity, and also had insufficient authority, to utilize real control over urban expansion, to attain the needed systematic growth. Nevertheless, against this, when building regulations were later enforced, in London parishes, according to S. Wohl they raised construction costs and house rents, especially for the poorest after the 1880s. It 'made it almost impossible for the ordinary builder to provide dwellings at low rent'.[85] With the arrival of mains water the middle-classes fled parish low-lying areas for higher, unpolluted ground.

Locally, within the parishes, throughout the research period, the lower-classes remained in low-lying areas such as in William or Palmerston Roads in The Newtown district of lower Sutton or The Wandle Mount area of Carshalton (referred to then colloquially as 'The Irish Mount') or The Rookery in Wallington, which the superior classes, naturally, avoided on both hygienic and social grounds.[86] Brayley's account (1841) and the Wallington Tithe Map of 1839, discloses the concentration of working-class habitations, and industry, in the less desirable, heavily contaminated and lower parts of the parishes.[87]

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81 John Marshall and Ian Willox, *The Victorian House* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1986), p.37.

82 Kit Wedd, *The Victorian House* (Aurum Press, 2002), p.13; In Carshalton Village, one can still observe an earlier drainage/sewage channel running along the front of a dense row of mid-Victorian and Regency houses, with the remains of previous wells sited a short distance away, about two metres higher than the ditch, in the back gardens.

83 Arthur E. Edwards, *The Design of Suburbia: a Critical Study of Environmental History* (London: Pembridge Press, 1981), p.22.

84 Dr Cox's letter, *The Sutton and Epsom Advertiser and Surrey Reporter*, 2 Nov. 1881.

85 Wohl, 'The housing of the working classes', p.28; L. Fisher, *Economic Journal*, XV (March, 1905), p.27.

86 Wohl, 'The housing of the working classes', p.21.

87 G.W. Brayley, *48 Topographical History of Surrey* (1841).

Furthermore, in Sutton as elsewhere, high-density housing, as in Newtown, was associated with a sense of 'overcrowding' and with unhealthy living conditions.[88] Recurring deadly outbreaks of diseases, such as diarrhoea, measles, whooping cough, typhoid, scarlatina and diphiteria resulted from this.[89] These illnesses were endemic in the Robin Hood Terrace and Palmerston Road areas, in the 1880s.[90] Dr Cox (surgeon and town doctor) as late as 1882, observed that 'cesspools and wells in Palmerston Road (and the surrounding lanes) were in a shocking condition, when the Bourne water arose it flooded some of the cellars, and disturbed the sewage in various parts....'[91] Like many dwellings in Kingston, the houses were then 'destitute of the most common necessaries for decency, one water closet being made to serve several dwellings ... dirty water is brought out and emptied into the uneven gutters in the centre of the lane, and may be seen standing in fetid pools.'[92]

The ensuing diseases could entail, for the citizens of such areas, an even steeper decline into pauperism through their inability to perform paid work. This would mean, for some Sutton inhabitants, residency in The Epsom Poorhouse. In respectable middle-class eyes, rapidly socially deteriorating areas, such as The Newtown area, were linked with disease and questionable, and lax, moral conduct and were places to be strictly avoided.[93] By 1910, we find in the IR 58 field books the constant remark that Newtown's 'cottages' were 'very old & (in) bad repair'. In contrast, the field books' descriptions of the more recently built, elevated and expensive residencies, near Sutton station and in Wallington, mention sanitary innovations, often containing the words 'Bath WC' at the end of their brief descriptions. Such novelties were not cited for Newtown properties.

For the middle-class, changing standards for accommodation made living in the original areas of parish expansion, socially unacceptable. The supply of more suitable, modern housing to the south, with the coming of mains water from the 1860s, encouraged the

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88 Harold Carter, *An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), pp. 142-3.

89 *The Sutton and Epsom Advertiser and Surrey Reporter*: 1 April 1882; M.J. Daunton. *House and Home in the Victorian City: Working-Class Housing 1850-1914* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), p.275.

90 Lyn Charlesworth, Derek Eves, Ron Mitchell and Chris Reid, *100 Years of Public Health in Sutton.*

91 *The Sutton and Epsom Advertiser and Surrey Reporter*: 1 April 1882.

92 *Surrey Comet*: October 1860; Christopher French, 'Infant Mortality in Asylum Road, Kingston upon Thames, 1872-1911: an Exercise in Microhistory', *Family & Community Historical Society*, Vol. 7(2), November 2004; French, 'Taking up 'the challenge of micro-history', p.17.

93 Barrett and Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.12.

desertion of The Newtown area. This exodus enlarged the social gap, in terms of physical distance, between the various social class subgroups and increased class homogeneity in residential roads. From, for example, the Sutton rate books for the years 1862 to 1892, it is noticeable that variation in property values, within middle-class residential roads, became progressively less. That is, over the period, house occupiers increasingly belonged more exclusively to a particular class subset.[94] Builders', moreover, reinforced social segregation by erecting similarly priced houses next to each other on the newer southern developments.[95]

Migrant and native-born housing viewpoints and movements within the parishes were always shaped by the shifting availability of residences on socially 'suitable' sites. These changed as the social standing of diverse neighbourhoods altered. This was ultimately mirrored in rateable values and rental patterns. The prosperous members of the middle-class, certainly, avoided the lower lying, more densely populated, socially inferior and socially unacceptable areas. By the 1880s, parts of Newtown quickly became, when extensive housing development to the south occurred, following the arrival of mains water, characterised by overcrowding, pollution and social disorder. It was characterised by poor housing, lacking education and health care, higher mortality, no security of tenure, limited political participation, and inadequate sanitation and drinking water provision made worse by numerous 'piggeries' and stables. Within this area, especially in Palmerston and William Roads, there were also numerous small workshops and 'ale houses'.

In order to make some return on their investment in Newtown as elsewhere, developers/landowners successively reduced their rents to below the 6s weekly level, by 'filtering down' the housing stock, that is by building new and poorly constructed dwellings on previous larger sites in for example Palmerston Road, or transforming existing properties into multiple working-class tenancies.[96] Such speculative constructions, or house conversions, could be completed remarkably quickly. Speed in constructing and selling dwellings was vital for developers' and builders' financial solvency. M.C. Carr mentions, in his Bexley study, that some dwellings, at a somewhat

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[94] *Sutton Rate Books* 1862; *Sutton Rate Book* 1892.

[95] Robson, *Urban Social Areas*, p.23.

[96] Property, 48/27/2; *Sutton Journal*, 8 Aug. 1891; Anthony Sutcliffe, 'The growth of public intervention in the British urban environment during the nineteenth century: a structural approach', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.117.

later date, were constructed and finished, in less than a month.[97] The providers of building funds, such as small investors and the potential occupiers favoured such a choice as well.[98] Self-employed builders did not often have the funds to wait, so as to be able to rent out the dwellings they erected.[99] Customarily, always desperately needing funds, builders raised a mortgage, at each stage of a dwellings' construction, before beginning the next stage. Finally, when the house was finished, the speculative builder would offer it for sale, hoping thus to obtain a small profit, after paying for building materials and labour.[100] Local small builders, for example those operating in Newtown, though not burdened by modern bureaucratic regulations, and relatively free to choose their own house style and size were often badly affected by poor weather, disadvantageously poorly drained sites and faced credit difficulties in the purchase of construction materials. The majority of builders' financial existence was always precarious.

Larger dwellings, in The Newtown area, thus previously occupied by the respectable middle-classes, were now involved in a descending cycle of social class occupation. They were firstly taken over by the petit bourgeoisie, subsequently by the skilled artisans and their lodgers and were then finally further subdivided for multiple pauper residencies (see Chapter 6). H.J. Dyos depicts such a process occurring in Camberwell where older and lower-density properties were refashioned or rebuilt. In Camberwell and locally, slums and the transitional zones had continual moving frontiers, both in terms of housing and cultural characteristics. The wealthy, where they could, shunned residency in such socially intolerable locations. The desirability of older housing was constantly denigrated by the construction of more modern housing to the south closer to the railway station. This increased the social space, in terms of physical distance, between the different social class subgroups and class consistency of roads. It seemed where housing demand outstripped the supply; the poorest were always the first to suffer.

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[97] Carr, 'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley, Kent', p.247.
[98] Barrett and Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.36.
[99] Barson, 'Infinite variety in brick and stucco: 1840-1914', in Julian Honer (ed.) *London Suburbs* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), p.65.
[100] Kingsford, *Builders and Building Workers*, p.98.

A similar urban blight eventually befell the next urban development phase in Sutton, The Benhill Estate. This was built after Newtown (see Figure 4.10 above). In contrast to the Newtown development, The Benhill Estate was intended to be an upmarket middle-class district. One can observe, when comparing the Sutton maps at different dates, that The Benhill Estate never, in the Pile's *Directory* words, 'took off'.[101] Its development only occurred spasmodically, 'on a limited scale', in that many undeveloped building plots were to be seen throughout the 19th century.[102] Possibly, to some extent, this was because the Estate was situated on the then considered unhealthy clay subsoil, which was further, frequently, waterlogged. This problem made the functioning of underground cesspools, sewage soak-aways, virtually impossible. Epidemics, instances of typhoid and diphtheria, were always more prevalent on the northern clay soils of the parish. So again the incoming middle-class avoided this area.

The Benhill Estate was additionally disadvantaged in being further away from the station than later southern building developments located on healthier chalky ground. 'This (northern) part of the parish has come least under the notice of the builder, the need of adequate railway provision ...having delayed its development for residential purpose.'[103] This further handicapped the district as a site for middle-class settlement. Consequently, builders had difficulty in selling finished dwellings there (as revealed by the length of time houses were for sale in the newspapers). Further, builders were frequently over ambitious and leased too many building plots (anticipating a rising demand for dwellings) only to discover that their house sales declined as competitors built other houses around them.[104] As a result, later builders tended, on The Benhill Estate, not to take too many risks, and were inclined to erect rather monotonous, cheap conventional terrace residences on slim building plots for the artisan and lower middle-class.[105] However, speculative builders found that though terraced properties were the most economical type of dwellings, saving on bricks, labour and highway frontage land (and thus ground rent), they were also more difficult to sell than detached houses, which could be sold on an individual basis when completed to the more affluent incoming middle-classes.[106]

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[101] Pile's, *Sutton and District Directory* (1898), p.12.
[102] Pile's, *Sutton and District Directory* (1898), p.12.
[103] Pile's, *Sutton and District Directory* (1916), p.31.
[104] Pile's, *Sutton and District Directory* (1898), p.12.
[105] Parker, *The English House in the Nineteenth Century,* p.28.
[106] Wedd, *The Victorian House,* p.24.

Location (distance from the rail station), excessive population density, unsanitary conditions, deteriorating state of repair of dwellings and the resulting social rejecting by affluent newcomers caused the decline of parish locations. The existing middle-class and newcomers, with the arrival of mains water from the 1860s, were able to escape to newer, higher, uncontaminated, residential areas, closer to the rail stations. This nearness to the station even enabled them to commute more quickly and easily to central London. The poor remained in the depressed districts being unable to pay the rents and rates demanded for the newer, better properties.

4.6 The unpleasant outcomes of rapid parish urban development

The local newspapers and directories acknowledged the disagreeable effects of urbanisation after the advent of the railway, especially those caused by Thomas Alcock's building activities. 'The erection of numerous houses and shops during the last few years has undoubtedly robbed it (Sutton in the 1880s) in parts of its rural appearance.'[107] For most suburbs, like Sutton and Wallington, certainly during their initial construction stages, had all the unsightliness of building sites. The smell of burning clay and cinders and the resulting storms of dust and smog from Sutton's six brickfields polluted the air up to the 1880s, especially in the developing Newtown and Benhill Estates (see Figures 4.12 and 4.13). This was another reason why the middle-class eschewed such low-rental, socially undesirable localities.

The somewhat indistinct extract from *The Sutton Journal* (Figure 4.13 below) besides giving valuable information, such as the brickfield's location in north Sutton, on The Benhill Estate, distance from the station and the rail travelling time to central London, indicates that the purchaser of the land had the choice of either continuingly using it 'as a brickfield' or developing it 'as a building estate'. The unpleasantness caused by the brick making process was largely confined to the northern and central parts of Sutton because very restrictive covenants in housing development schemes prevented brick making in the middle-class roads near Sutton or Wallington station. So the incoming middle-class rented in newer expanding urban areas away from the toxic haze.

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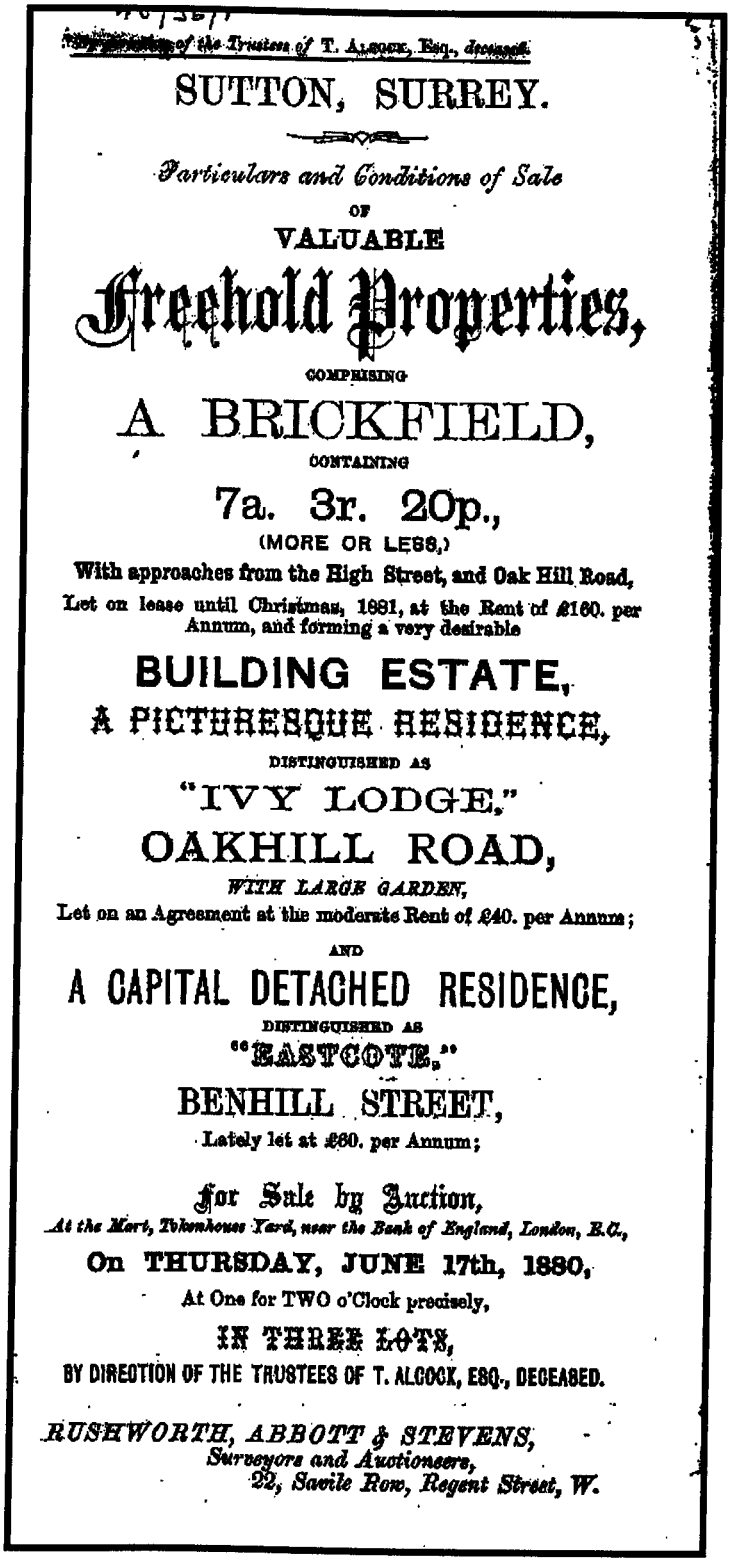
[107] Morgan's, *History and Description of Sutton, with a Directory* (J. Morgan, 6 High Street, 1889), p.i.

The abhorrence of living near, or on a brickfield, to middle-class readers, is reflected in the title of the road, Brickfield Terrace, in the Pooters' story. It conveyed, for the Grossmiths' well-off *Punch* readers, the unpleasantness of newly built suburban street developments. For the name, Brickfield Terrace, reminded them that houses were often built from bricks made from local clay, from nearby clay deposits, which were fired on site in temporary kilns.[108] Similarly, the fact that the names Brickfield Road and Terrace disappeared from Sutton's maps from the 1880s reflected public revulsion. George Cruikshank's engraved cartoon mirrored people's dislike of housing developments.[109]

[108] George and Weedon Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody* (Bristol, 1892).
[109] George Cruikshank, *London Going Out of Town or the March of Bricks & Mortar* (1829).

Figure 4.12
An announcement of the sale of a brickfield plus two accompanying properties on the northern *Benhill Estate* in 1880



By Direction of the Trustees of T. Alcock, Esq., deceased.

SUTTON, SURREY.

Particulars and Conditions of Sale

OF

VALUABLE

Freehold Properties,

COMPRISING

A BRICKFIELD,

CONTAINING

7a. 3r. 20p.,

(MORE OR LESS,)

With approaches from the High Street, and Oak Hill Road,

Let on lease until Christmas, 1881, at the Rent of £160. per Annum, and forming a very desirable

BUILDING ESTATE,

A PICTURESQUE RESIDENCE,

DISTINGUISHED AS

"IVY LODGE,"

OAKHILL ROAD,

WITH LARGE GARDEN,

Let on an Agreement at the moderate Rent of £40. per Annum;

AND

A CAPITAL DETACHED RESIDENCE,

DISTINGUISHED AS

"EASTCOTE,"

BENHILL STREET,

Lately let at £60. per Annum;

For Sale by Auction,

At the Mart, Tokenhouse Yard, near the Bank of England, London, E.C.,

On THURSDAY, JUNE 17th, 1880,

At One for TWO o'Clock precisely,

IN THREE LOTS,

BY DIRECTION OF THE TRUSTEES OF T. ALCOCK, ESQ., DECEASED.

RUSHWORTH, ABBOTT & STEVENS,
Surveyors and Auctioneers,
22, Savile Row, Regent Street, W.

Source: *Property documents, London Borough of Sutton Public Library: 48/56/1*

Figure 4.13
A newspaper announcement of the sale of the properties in Figure 4.12 on *The Benhill Estate* in 1880

SUTTON, SURREY.—To Land Societies, Builders, Speculators, and others.—A Valuable Freehold Meadow, comprising 9a. 2r. 25p., close to Sutton Green, ripe for building operations.

MESSRS. ROGERS, CHAPMAN, & THOMAS

WILL SELL BY AUCTION, at the Mart, Tokenhouse-yard, London, E.C., on TUESDAY, JUNE 22ND, at One o'clock precisely, all that very valuable FREEHOLD LAND, known as "Upper Hall Mead," containing about 9a. 2r. 25p., abutting upon the Hall Mead Estate, and to Sutton Green, and within a mile of the Sutton Junction Station, whence the West End and City are reached in half-an-hour. The land tax is redeemed, and possession will be given on completion of the purchase at Michaelmas, 1880.

Particulars, &c., may be had at the Cock and Greyhound Hotels, Sutton; of G. P. ROGERS, Esq., Solicitor, 17, Essex-street, Strand, London, W.C.; and at the AUCTIONEERS' Offices, 76, Gloucester-road, South Kensington, and 50, Belgrave-road, South Belgravia, London, S.W.

SUTTON, SURREY.—Valuable Freehold Land and Houses.

By direction of the Trustees of the late T. Alcock, Esq.

RUSHWORTH, ABBOT, & STEVENS

ARE instructed TO SELL BY AUCTION, at the Mart, Tokenhouse-yard, on THURSDAY, June 17th, at One for Two o'clock, in three lots, the following very valuable FREEHOLD PROPERTY:—

Lot 1.—A very valuable FIELD of nearly eight acres, with cottage, stabling, and other useful buildings, let on lease to Messrs. Potter and Ferige, brickmakers, until 25th December, 1881, at £160 per annum. This lot possesses a broad approach from the High-street, and has two other entrances from Oak-hill-road, it is situate near the parish church and only a short distance from the railway station, whence there is an excellent service of trains to the City and West-end; and at the termination of the existing lease the land may either continue to be worked as a brickfield or developed as a building estate.

Lot 2.—A picturesque COTTAGE RESIDENCE, distinguished as Ivy Lodge, Oak-hill-road, with large garden, conservatory, &c. Let on an agreement to Miss Jackson, at the moderate rent of £40 per annum.

Lot 3.—A capital DETACHED RESIDENCE, distinguished as Eastcote, Benhill-street, near to the preceding lots, containing eight bed and dressing-rooms, spacious drawing-room, dining-room, and good domestic offices, with large pleasure and kitchen gardens. At present let at the moderate rent of £60 per annum; but possession of this lot can be had.

May be viewed by permission of the tenants and particulars and conditions of sale had of Messrs. POLLOCK and Co., Solicitors, 63, Lincoln's-inn-fields, W.C.; of Messrs. LOFTS and WARNER, Estate Agents, No. 99, Mount-street, Grosvenor-square, W.; at the Mart; and of the AUCTIONEERS, 22, Savile-row, Regent-street, W.

Source: *Sutton Journal, Thursday June 10, 1880*

Further, housing construction was never fully completed in central or northern Sutton. Street frontages were never wholly occupied. There was always, especially in the research period, infilling and alterations to existing properties. Figure 4.14 below (around 1870) shows dwellings, on the left, being constructed to fill a gap. Vernon Road is the turning on the right.

Figure 4.14
Filling the housing gaps - in Lind Road, Newtown

Source: Sutton Library archive

Even after their initial construction, parish terraced housing developments, in for example Newtown, had few redeeming features, apart from the social life provided by the taverns, beer-shops and the churches. Conan Doyle saw streets where 'Long lines of dull brick houses were only relieved by the coarse glare and tawdry brilliancy of public-houses at the corner.'[110] The increasing sameness of building construction often resulted from the escalating utilisation of standardised components and housing plans.[111] Suburbia was then popularly perceived as generally massively middle-class and architecturally, dully uniform.[112] The *Building News* complained that suburban houses were 'cast in the same mould and stereotyped in feature.'[113] This did not apply to Newtown, which had a greater variety of styles than elsewhere. Here, this resulted

[110] Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Sign of Four* (London: Lippincott's Monthly Magazine, 1890), p.18.
[111] Stefan Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (London: Yale University Press, 1982), p.30.
[112] Thorns, *Suburbia,* pp. 15, 18.
[113] *Building News*, XLV (1893), p.399.

from the length of time, often decades, it took for streets frontages to be filled in and the atypical styles of the numerous individual speculative builders involved.

So the old villages like Sutton, as they became suburbs, eventually became buried, concealed beneath row upon row of Victorian villas. Even in upper-middle-class new communities like The Avenue, Worcester Park, writers such as H.G. Wells, in his novel *Ann Veronica*, revealed their dullness, their limited social amenities, the centring of life around the deafening, grimy, local railway station and goods yard and train timetables.[114] In the less affluent communities, such as Sutton Newtown, rapid building changes often transformed parish areas from pleasant rural locations into heavily polluted, non-middle-class socially acceptable, slums.

Charles Dickens, in *Household Words* despaired for the new suburbs such as Sutton. Dickens here reiterated William Cowper's grief for the vanishing rural areas:

'Surburban villas, highway-side retreats,
That dread th' encroachment of our growing streets,
Tight boxes, neatly sashed, and in a blaze
With all a July sun's collected rays,
Delight the citizen, who, standing there,
Breathes clouds of dust, and calls it country air.'[115]

In complete contrast, to the later expensive, house construction in the southern upland district of Sutton, some of the housing in the lower parts experienced the complete transformation from grassland to socially undesirable slum in a single generation, as Dyos also found with the Bowyer-Smith estates developments.[116] This arose locally and elsewhere, partly through the initial housing developmental procedures.[117] Without adequate control initially or later a residential area could quickly become slums. In Sutton, Thomas Alcock and subsequent land developers, on The Newtown Estate, never exercised much control and allowed builders to put up dwellings to their own designs and the land to be divided into tiny plots. The middle-class deserted such

[114] H.G. Wells, *Ann Veronica* (Harmondsworth, 1968); Michael Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.22.
[115] Charles Dickens, *Household Words*, University of Toronto, (1973); William Cowper, 'Retirement', in William Cowper, *The Poems of William Cowper, Esq.* (New York: Charles Wells, 1835), p.156.
[116] Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.84.
[117] Reeder, 'A theatre of suburbs', p.265.

unpleasant, low-rental, tightly packed areas while the poorer working-class were tied to such localities by their lack of financial resources and their need to be within easy reach, by foot, of their workplaces.[118] The working-class generally had to reside close to their place of employment, living in low rental, squalid areas.[119]

4.7 Later urban developments in Sutton

By 1864 the local directory recorded Sutton's growth, mainly in Newtown, with the following words. (Those) 'who return after two or three years' absence, scarcely recognise the village (Sutton). On every side new houses have been erected and old ones enlarged or converted into shops, while new sites are marked out for additional dwellings.'[120] For there was then a sudden and astonishing demand for accommodation, even in these appalling areas, stimulated by the arrival of the railway, in mid-century, and the abrupt escalation in the population. The population doubled between 1851 and 1861 and in the subsequent decade doubled once more. However, prior to 1863, 'before the water mains were laid' ... 'there were no houses south of the Cock except the tollgate and Sutton Lodge'.[121] After 1863, with the coming of piped water in Sutton, dwellings spread southwards up the High Street past the Cock Hotel, up the hill towards the new station (see Figure 4.15 below).

The coming of piped-water was critical for later urban middle-class developments. In Sutton, this latter event transformed the availability of the supply of suitable building sites by permitting modern, better, healthier but relatively cheap rented accommodation (as compared with inner London) to be erected on previously virgin chalk lands in higher localities closer to the railway station. This new plentiful, inexpensive supply of urban land, even with large local population increases, kept local rents down. This was soon, however, reflected in the reappraisal of rateable charges and rents and the progressive decay of formerly acceptable middle-class residential neighbourhoods (see Figure 6.13, 'Estimated annual rental value, and the rates paid, in October 1892 in the Sutton district').

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[118] Donald J. Olsen, 'House upon house: estate development in London and Sheffield', in H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973 vol. 1), p. 338.

[119] Armstrong, 'Transport and the urban environment', p.231.

[120] Church's *Directory* (1864).

[121] C.J. Marshall, *A History of the Old Villages of Cheam and Sutton*, p.100.

Accommodation in these new urban areas was much more expensive. Parochial social class movements to more physically and socially agreeable, less densely populated, healthier areas on higher ground nearer the railway station were closely related to the property rents paid. Here, rents served as reasonably reliable representation of a family's wealth and social position.[122] This was because houses, their dimensions and state of repair in concert with the character and reputation of the neighbourhood, echoed social categories. As a result of rental differentiations, the poor mainly remained in the low-lying, unsanitary areas. The social divide, as far as physical distance was concerned, became greater.[123] With rapid population increases and the availability of new more socially acceptable building sites the social status of areas could change quite quickly.[124]

In Sutton, by 1869 there were eight houses between the tollgate and the railway station. This total, by 1878, had risen to thirty-seven on the western side and eighteen on the eastern side of the Brighton Road. Immediately to the south of the station, in Cedar Road, there were only six houses in 1869, but twelve on the southern side and two on the northern, by 1878; Mulgrave Road in 1869 had fifteen, but in 1878 had thirty-five. In 1869, on the Carshalton Road, there were six on the southern side and twelve on the northern one, but by 1878 this had increased to eleven on the southern side and twelve on the northern one. 'Whole streets of houses have been built near (mostly to the north of) the Railway Station. The houses are chiefly on the estate of Mr Bridges, the Lord of the manor. Newly made roads were (to the north) Bushey, Woodside, Brunswick and Thicket, (to the east) Robin Hood, Park Road West and St. James's, (to the south) Worcester, Gloucester, Stanley and Cedar.'[125] The construction of numerous new parish roads points to the confidence of parish developers that middle-class housing expansion would continue. Such up-to-date parish dwellings often displayed in their design and their residence and road names, the frequently forcefully articulated, enlarged confidence and enthusiastic hopes of the rapidly expanding middle-class settlements.

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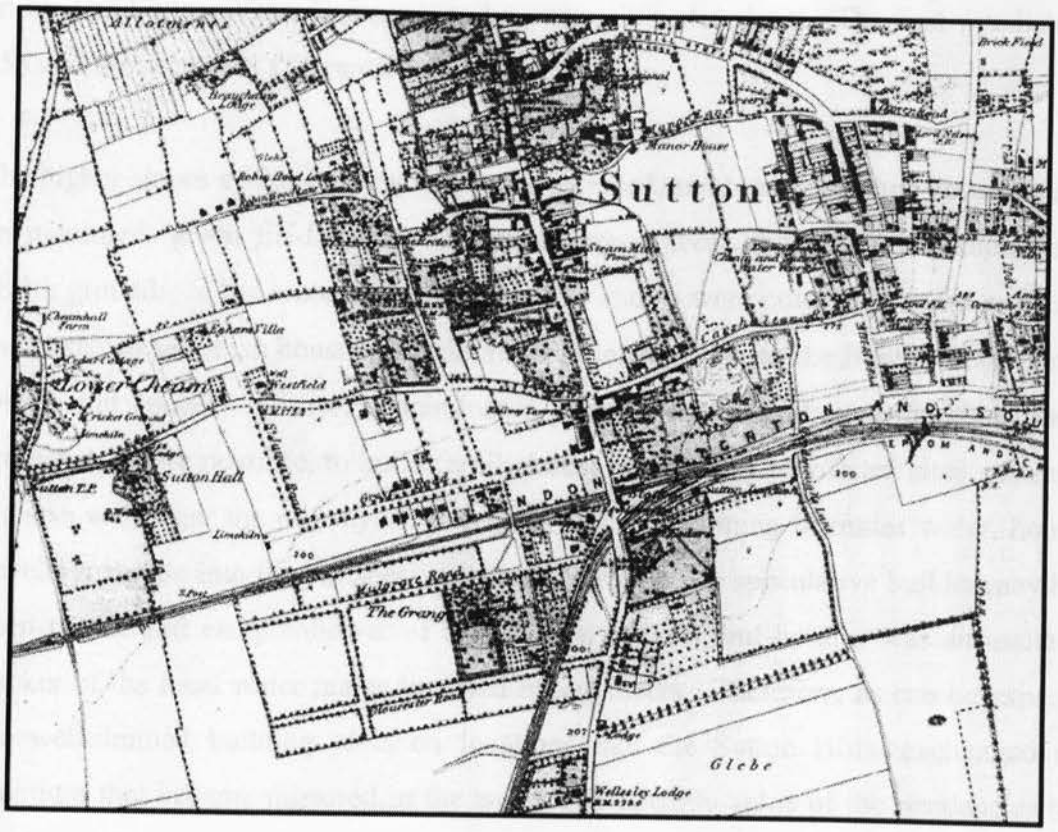
[122] Nick Hayes, 'Calculating class': housing, lifestyle and status in the provincial English city, 1900-1950, *Urban History,* 36, (1), 2009, 136.

[123] F.M.L. Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (Longman, 1993), p.154; Alan Rogers, *Approaches to Local History* (Longman Group Limited London, 1972), pp. 162, 171.

[124] F.M.L. Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (Longman, 1993), p.154; Alan Rogers, *Approaches to Local History* (Longman Group Limited London, 1972), pp. 162, 171.

[125] Church's *Directory* (1870), p.2.

Figure 4.15. Map
Central and southern Sutton



Source: Ordnance Survey Map, 1868, 25 inches to 1 mile

The properties built to the 'south of the (Sutton) station were all high class'.[126] It was an area 'where numerous fine villas have been erected that warranted the hope of continued growth and prosperity in Sutton'.[127] 'Practically the whole of the (area) is given to the residences of a superior class, with rents ranging from £50 to five times that sum.'[128] The majority of such properties were erected for letting.[129] The mid-Victorian period can be perceived as heralding an era of marked change in the pattern of housing. The golden suburban tenet here was low-density villa settlements at a circumspect distance from the station.[130] In an 1873 house auction, some semi- and detached properties were advertised in Goodenough and Cedar Roads. The first detached house in Cedar Road had four bedrooms and a water closet on the first floor and a kitchen, drawing, dining, breakfast and washroom on the ground floor. The second had, in

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126 Robert Smith, *A History of Sutton*, p.69.
127 Church's *Directory* (1880), pp. 29-30.
128 Pile's, *Directory* (Wallington, Surrey: William Pile, 1895), p.11; Pile's *Directory* (1904), p.5.
129 Thom, *Researching London's Houses: an Archives Guide,* p.30.
130 Richard Trainor, 'The middle class', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), p.693; Jack Simmons, *The Railways in England and Wales 1830-1914* (Leicester University Press, 1978), p.128.

addition, a servant's bedroom, a dressing room, a stable, coach house and loft over, and a basement incorporating a larder, coal and wine cellar. Both properties had water laid on by The Sutton Water Company and a servant's water closet. The first was listed at £55 and the second at £65 rental per annum.[131]

The higher slopes of Sutton now had newer terraced, semi- and detached houses erected on untainted 'green field' sites. Chalk soil areas, were always more acceptable, on health grounds, to the incoming middle-classes and so were potentially more profitable, and easier to sell, than housing developments such as those on the Benhill Estate, in the lower, and socially inferior, contaminated parts. Parish developers therefore always preferred, where possible, to build family houses on virgin, unpolluted sites, especially if these were near the railway stations. So, with the coming of mains water, housing development ate into the parishes' rural countryside. The speculative builder may have been the natural camp follower of the railway navvies, but he also was an assiduous tracker of the local water mains installed by engineers. Therefore, as can be expected, the well-drained building plots on locations like the Sutton Hills, exchanged at a premium that became mirrored in the worth and rateable value of the residencies built on them and in the social prestige of their initial residents.[132] (The effects of past housing patterns can still be seen imprinted on present day price and housing structures[133]).

Local house advert descriptions connected attractiveness, healthiness and social aspiration. These three elements were crucial to sale promotions and were 'never far from the consciousness' of auctioneers.[134] An agreeable hilly site usually attracted the best customers. Carshalton on the Hill was like Carshalton Beeches, a name invented to sell houses.[135] Adverts for housing often included such words as having a 'charming', 'central', 'healthy' and 'elevated' position.[136] (Sutton station, itself, around which much of the later housing expansion occurred, was 214 feet above sea level.) In 1903, the Sutton & Cheam Building auction brochure for land near Sutton station, advertising the sale of fifty-three building plots, stated that 'Sutton and district have for very many

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[131] Property, 48/8/3.
[132] Marshall and Willox, *The Victorian House*, p.38.
[133] Robson, *Urban Social Areas*, p.28.
[134] Hayes, 'Calculating class', 124.
[135] Arthur Edward Jones, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Old Carshalton* (Wallington, Surrey: Fleetwing Press, 1973), p.51.
[136] Muthesius, *The English Terraced House*, pp. 24, 26.

years rightly enjoyed the reputation of being one of The Healthiest Localities near London (being) 300′ above sea level. The air is very dry and bracing. The sub-soil is chalk. The country around is exceptionally rich in natural beauty and abounds in picturesque lanes and walks.'[137] The local authorities, in their statements, also promoted these desirable characteristics, for example: 'The Sutton Council takes pride in making Sutton one of the healthiest and most attractive towns in the suburbs! They pride themselves on their low death rate.'[138] The Surbiton Council also proclaimed such wholesome ideals.[139]

For a household, from the lower classes, aspiring to upward social mobility, movement to a higher status housing area in a residential suburb, such as Sutton, was the desirable aim.[140] As W.E. Mowrer remarked, in a different context: 'There is no more culturally acceptable symbol of superior status than living in the suburbs'.[141] In Sutton and Wallington, the plentiful supply of new terraced, semi- and detached villas for the incoming professionals, away from the contaminated low-lying districts, with comparatively low rents, compared with inner London, satisfied their social and economic aspirations.[142] Here, accommodation promised a blend of domesticity with privacy within increasingly socially segregated areas. In their drive to attain 'respectability', members of the incoming lower-middle-class expended relatively more of their earnings on their rented accommodation than did those in the working-class. They did this in their vigorous attempts to distinguish themselves from the lower order.[143] This reflected a marked change in lower-middle-class attitudes and aspirations. 'The Victorian middle classes were the most home-centred group in British history.'[144]

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[137] Property, 48/57/1; 48/28/4.
[138] *Sutton Journal*, 20 May 1914.
[139] French, 'Who lived in suburbia?'
[140] Peter Willmott and Michael Young, *Family and Class in a London Suburb* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960), pp. 3-5.
[141] W.E. Mowrer, 'The Family in Suburbia', in William Mann Dobriner (ed.), *The Suburban Community* (New York: Putman & Son, 1958), p.46.
[142] Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents', p.67.
[143] N.J. Morgan and M.J. Daunt on, 'Landlords in Glasgow: a study of 1900', *Business History,* 25, 1983, 264-5.
[144] F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: a Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (London: Fontana Press, 1988), p.152.

Middle-class novelettes of the period reassured their readers as to the merits of this.[145] The fictional Mr Pooter and Eliza's husband, in the Barry Pain's stories exhibited this form of behaviour.[146] Eliza's husband said, 'I am fond of my home, and any additions to (it)...gives me sincere pleasure.'[147] Mr Pooter centred his interests on his new six-room rented home, 'The Laurels' (a pretentious name usually reserved for upper-class dwellings), with his do-it-yourself activities, as much as on his clerical job. 'After my work in the city, I like to be at home. What's the good of a home, if you are never in it?'[148] Mr Pooter did not hesitate to paint his cast iron bath red with non-heat-resistant enamel paint! His notion of a superior life was fixed on his dream suburban home, as were Carr's suburbanites.[149] It could be argued that love of the home, and domestic life, was then perceived by the middle-class 'as a religion in its own right'.[150] Locally, housing revealed in its architecture and its house and street names, for example Grove House, Hackbridge Lodge, Worcester and Cavendish Roads, the often aggressively expressed, increased self-assurance and inspirational expectations of the fast developing middle-class communities.

4.8 Renting, as against buying a property

Thus, as a consequence, those who could afford to avoid the contaminated central and northern parts of Sutton moved to more socially agreeable, expensive rented property nearer the station. Rents, as always, represented a pincer point between tenants' demands and the supply of particular type of properties. Undesirable districts had lower rents and rates while the more desirable had higher ones. The social standing of dwellings and their inhabitants was plainly revealed by rental and rateable values.

In the Newtown area, the 'filtering down' rental process is exemplified in 1867, by seven converted cottages in William Road, in the very poorest and unsanitary area of Sutton, being rented out from 3s 6d to 3s 9d a week while one-storey cottages, in the well-named area, entitled The Rookery, in lower Wallington, had similar extremely low

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[145] Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p.194.
[146] Jenni Calder, *The Victorian Home* (Batsford, 1977), p.184.
[147] Barry Pain, *The Eliza Stories* (London: Pion, 1900), p.3.
[148] Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody,* p.27.
[149] Flanders, *The Victorian House,* p.xxiv; Carr, 'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley, Kent', p.216.
[150] L. Hapgood, ''The New Suburbanites' and contested class identities in the London Suburbs, 1880-1900', in Roger Webster (ed.), *Expanding Suburbia: Reviewing Suburban Narratives* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000), p.46.

estimated rental values of around £5 per annum.[151] In 1891, *The Sutton Journal* carried the following advert for William Road: 'To Let Cottages in good repair, rents 4s and 6s per week'.[152]

During the research period and well into the 1890s, locally the rents and resale prices, of the bulk of existing lower and middle priced houses, that is those with yearly rents of between £8 and £30, tended to be fairly stable.[153] For instance, the Sutton Rate Books of 1862, 1887 and 1892 provide, for old established properties, at the lower end of the scale, a similar gross rental valuation, such as an estimated valuation of between £8 to £12 for William Road and £11 to £29 for Lind Road dwellings.[154] Even the Inland Revenue field books of 1910 confirm this continuing rental pattern.[155] Most of the buildings constructed within the parishes in the mid-Victorian period still existed in the 1910s. So one is able to reflect back to the 1860s 'rateable values and number of rooms in a house ...as a surrogate measurement for social structure, (and) rents as a surrogate for the economic structure of a parish.'[156] Nevertheless, the rents and sale and resale prices of more expensive properties did markedly fluctuate, as for instance in 'The Great Depression' after the 1880s (see page 61).

In the early 1860s, in the more upmarket, Lind Road, in Sutton (see Figure 4.16 below), next to William and Palmerston Roads, rents for six dwellings, in the northern, lower-lying part (backing onto Palmerston Road), started from 5s 6d.[157] In 1869 and 1895 the same properties, in the same road, were advertised at 6s per week.[158] In 1903, two houses in Lind Road were still being advertised with rents of 6s per week. These had two bedrooms, a parlour, kitchen and a washroom. Five more were available, in the same street, for 7s per week. These had, in addition, coal cellars.[159]

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[151] Property, 48/27/2; Wallington Rate Book 1884.
[152] *Sutton Journal*, 8 Aug. 1891.
[153] Muthesius, *The English Terraced House*, pp. 18, 21.
[154] *Sutton Rate Books 1862; Sutton Valuation List 1887; Sutton Rate Book* 1892.
[155] TNA: IR 58/81040.
[156] Evelyn Lord, *Investigating the Twentieth Century: Sources for Local Historians* (Stroud: Tempus, 1999), p.45.
[157] Property, 48/27/2.
[158] *Sutton Journal*, 12 August 1969; 16 May 1895.
[159] Property, 48/57/1.

Figure 4.16
Lind Road looking north in the 1960s

Source: Frank Burgess, *Now and then* (London Borough of Sutton Libraries and Arts Service, 1985), p.33

Figure 4.17 below gives the rents for seven small terraced houses in Vernon Road, Newtown. These rents show the prevailing 6s 0d rent level for parish cottage properties. Rents and the resale prices of houses remained fairly constant in such districts from the 1860s up to the First World War.[160] Interestingly, none of the tenants' names, in Figure 4.17, appear in local directories or in the census' books relating to Vernon Road. This might indicate the transient nature of much of the tenancy in The Newtown area.

Figure 4.17
Rents for seven cottages, in Vernon Road, Sutton, in July 1886 [161]

No.	Tenant's name	Rent
1	Mr Young	6s 0d
2	Mr Lane	5s 6d
3	Mr Taylor	5s 6d
4	Mrs Euston	6s 0d
5	Mr Maynard	5s 6d
6	Mrs Brown	5s 6d
7	Mrs Smith	5s 6d

[160] Muthesius, *The English Terraced House*, pp. 18, 21.
[161] Property, 48/29/27.

For the working-class as a whole, rents usually represented fifteen per cent of their income, while for the unskilled the percentage was possibly higher.[162] Their rental payment pattern reflected their social class. Having little accumulated savings, they generally rented their dwellings by the week and were reliant on their landlords for repair and maintenance of the building fabric.[163] The working-class, in part, because of their depressed financial circumstances and possibly poor payment record, had to remain where they were and had to pay more per square foot for their living space and a higher proportion of their income than the middle-class.[164] The property document archive of the London Borough of Sutton provides some uses of this evidence of weekly renting, sale and re-letting of cheaper properties.[165]

Helen Long argues that a smaller number of the middle-classes, proportionally, than the working-classes owned, rather than rented, their own homes.[166] Locally and nationally, there was then no disgrace in being a tenant.[167] Renting was then considered the most rational, cost-effective, and simplest, kind of occupancy arrangement for the socially mobile middle-classes, especially in times of adverse mortgage rates.[168] It also gave households the opportunity to move frequently, without difficulty, as their families increased or decreased in size, or their economic situation altered.[169] Furthermore, there was little legal protection for the mortgage holders as mortgages could be called in at short notice.[170]

Generally the middle-classes held that it was sensible to allocate around eight to ten per cent of their income to payment of rent, but irresponsible to spend more than one eighth.[171] Locally, rents for middle-class properties were generally around ten per cent of the purchase price of a house in the 1850s and 1860s as against the fifteen per cent

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[162] Parker, *The English House in the Nineteenth Century,* p.31.
[163] Yaffe Claire Draznin, *Victorian London Middle-Class Housewife* (London: Greenwood Press, 2001), p.27.
[164] Muthesius, *The English Terraced House,* p.17; This is supported, to some extent, by W.V. Hole and M.T. Pountney's observation in *Trends in Population, Housing and Occupancy Rates 1861-1961* (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1971), p.32 that the rent, the price per square metre of a house's floor space, declined as its size increased.
[165] For example, Property, 48/27/2, 48/4/33, 48/4/38, 48/4/39, 48/4/42, etc.
[166] Helen Long, *The Edwardian House* (Manchester University Press, 1993), p.8.
[167] Wedd, *The Victorian House,* p.14.
[168] Colin Thom, *Researching London's Houses: an Archives Guide* (London: Historical Publications Ltd, 2005), p.30; Daunton, *House and Home*, p.199.
[169] Flanders, *The Victorian House,* p.xi.
[170] Michael Ball and John Sunderland, *An Economic History of London, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 2001), p.186.
[171] Parker, *The English House in the Nineteenth Century,* p.31.

required of the working-class for Newtown properties. The Sutton bourgeoisie pattern conformed to the general regional one. For example *The Sutton Journal*, during the autumn of 1863, advertised a detached house for sale or rent. The sale price was £350 while the rent demanded was £35, and again in 1880, 'an attractive well-built detached FAMILY RESIDENCE' was advertises at a sale price of £900 and a rental of £100.[172] The more affluent, in contrast to the poor, having saving reserves and less likely to default, usually paid quarterly, or half-yearly on renewable leases of from 'three, five or seven years', on tenant repairing leases.[173] For example, a detached house in Wallington, in 1878, was advertised on a repair lease at £75 rental per annum, while another was advertised at £30 without, and £30 with such a rental agreement.[174]

4.9 The Wallington case study

The Wallington case study below demonstrates that all-embracing housing schemes could become financially worthwhile provided the appropriate state of affairs existed. This could occur if better transport was combined with advantageous surroundings, and the fervent activities of entrepreneur landlords who were keen to make the most of their rents. This particular section concludes by explaining why urban development in Wallington was more successful than that in Worcester Park, Cheam Village and Carshalton.

In contrast to Thomas Alcock in Newtown, Nathaniel Bridges, the major landowner in south Wallington, instigated the firmly controlled Danbury Terrace and Maldon Road developments (see Figure 4.18 below).[175] The middle-class residences here had very restrictive covenants. The leases stated the exact social demands for commodious and costly houses, and affluent tenants. The building line of each potential dwelling, in relationship to the road, was strictly defined. Also the building type, whether terraced, detached or semi detached, and their construction costs were stipulated. In the restrictions placed on the sale of twenty plots covering four and half acres, abutting Manor Road and Queens Road, Wallington, in 1876 Bridges specified that dwelling houses on the plots 1 to 22 inclusive must cost at least £800 and that shops should cost no less than £600. 'The value to be estimated at the net first cost in material and labour

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[172] *Sutton Herald*, 24 April 1880.
[173] *Sutton Herald*, 24 April 1880.
[174] *Sutton Herald*, 22 February 1878.
[175] Rookledge and Skelton, *Rookledge's Architectural Identifier of Conservation Areas*, pp. 24-6.

of construction at the lowest current prices.' Further, 'no builder, on any Lots (to use the site) as public-house, tavern or beer-shop.' [176]

Figure 4.18
Nathaniel Bridges' Wallington Estate Developments, 1869

Source: Ian Bradley, June Broughton and Douglas Cluett, *All our yesterdays* (Sutton Leisure Services, 1977), p.15

NB: The Danbury Terrace, in this photograph, was being constructed. It was completed in 1870.

Taverns, sometimes euphemistically called hotels, were viewed with ambivalence by the middle-classes and were thought, by them, to lower the tone and value of neighbourhoods. Besides, upper-middle-class or lower-middle-class gentlemen usually drank in their clubs or at home.[177] In the parish of Carshalton the more affluent areas such as Carshalton Beeches and Carshalton on the Hill never had public houses.[178] Similarly, newer, upmarket parish building plots owned and rented out by large landlords near Sutton station tended to have restrictive covenants. This was apparent in the regulations placed on the type, value and uses to be made of them.

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[176] Property, 48/28/3-4.
[177] David Hey, *How Our Ancestors Lived* (Richmond: Public Record Office, 2002), p.12.
[178] Jones, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Old Carshalton*, p.174.

However, the distinction between landowner, builder and property promoter, within the parishes as elsewhere, was often blurred.[179] Some property-owners, such as Nathaniel Bridges, in Wallington, transformed themselves into builders and used their own workers to labour directly under their instructions. Some property-owners, on the other hand, retained builders, under contract, to carry out the entire construction assignments. The Wallington Rate Book of 1884 confirms this tendency. Interestingly, Nathaniel Bridges, through his building company, i.e. Bridges & Co, retained the ownership of much of the newly constructed properties after they were built on his former Wallington estate, in for example Harcourt, Manor, Alcester and Maldon Roads and Danebury Terrace.[180]

Many local landlords, on the other hand, as described in the Rate Books or later Inland Revenue field books of 1910, were relatively small capitalists, such as retailers, publicans, tailors, domestic servants, solicitors, mechanics, spinsters, businessmen, and small builders themselves.[181] The number of houses owned by individuals could vary from one to several hundred. Perhaps less than 50 percent of such property-owners left more than £5,000 on their death.[182] In some of the local valuation books, especially those of middle-class Wallington, there are lists of owners, the occupations of renting householders, the distribution of rented, non-rented and empty property in particular roads. It showed that some builders were living in one of their own constructed houses.[183] This latter situation could, possibly, have continued until these were sold, or rented out. Such an arrangement saved on the builders' own accommodation costs and also showed their confidence in their dwellings' constructional qualities.[184] In Wallington, as elsewhere, speculative construction just meant building houses in anticipation of a demand for them.[185] Perhaps generally up to ninety-nine per cent of all types of dwellings were erected speculatively, that is not individually commissioned but

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[179] P.J. Aspinall, 'The internal structure of the housebuilding industry in nineteenth-century cities', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.87.

[180] *Wallington Rate Book* 1884.

[181] P.W. Kingsford, *Builders and Building Workers* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), p.98; The Inland Revenue field books of 1910 provide housing information regarding rateable value, rents, who was the resident, who was the landlord and a depiction of a particular building.

[182] M.J. Daunton, *House and Home in the Victorian City, Working-Class Housing 1850-1914* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), p.103.

[183] Wallington Rate Book 1884.

[184] Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, p.169.

[185] Dennis, *English Industrial Cities*, p.162; Throughout the final quarter of the century, overall in London, vacant houses were rarely below 4 per cent of the total according to P.J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.154.

anticipating a possible market, as H.J. Dyos illustrated in his account of Victorian Camberwell.[186]

For landowners, such as Nathaniel Bridges, financial risks were negligible, for they possibly even obtained rents that represented a greater return than if they had just collected rents from farmers or market gardeners.[187] The price of potential building land, in the laissez-faire atmosphere that then existed in the parishes, was, more often than not, determined by the interplay between existing returns for agricultural uses and by the speculative element. This was its expected future price as housing plots which, particularly, in the case of Wallington and Sutton, was mainly determined by the cost, and accessibility, to City employment.[188] Landowners' profits depended on timing their developments, or selling or leasing decisions, at the most rewarding point of an upward building cycle.[189] The demand and supply of housing was continually influenced by such factors as the price of building materials, land rentals, the organisational arrangements of the various trades within the building industry, accessibility to good transportation links, the level of market saturation and the cost and supply of credit and, above all, whether the area, for relatively expensive properties, was socially acceptable.[190] These elements affected not only the number of houses built, their construction time and their quality, but also the types of dwelling erected.[191]

The resulting house construction, in both Wallington and Sutton, and elsewhere, was influenced by the expected rental risks and also its rate of rental return relative to other types of investments.[192] Potential investors were advised to invest in property by for example *The Sutton Journal* and to expect much higher returns than they could get from the other major secure investment, which were governmental Consols.[193] This extra yield was necessary, as landlords needed to raise, perhaps, roughly two-thirds of sale price on some kind of mortgage. This could oblige the prospective landlord to save

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[186] Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.219.
[187] Barrett and Phillips, *Suburban Style*, p.17.
[188] Ray Thomas, 'Unit 23', p.20.
[189] F.H.W. Sheppard, *London 1808-1870: the Infernal Wen* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1971), p.102.
[190] Sheppard, *London*, p.102.
[191] Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents', pp. 39, 60.
[192] Michael Ball and John Sunderland, *An Economic History of London, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 2001), p.187.
[193] Vanessa Parker, *The English House in the Nineteenth Century* (The Historical Association, 1970), p.31.

capital funds the equivalent, roughly, of a year's earnings.[194] In 1872, The Royal Commission on Friendly and Benefit Building Societies calculated that possibly five-sixths of mortgages raised were on dwellings of a lower value than £300.[195]

By the late 1860s, local building societies were extolling the use by their middle-class customers of their payment-by instalment mortgages. The building societies, listed below, terminated when the shares were paid up, as can be seen by their advertisement.[196] In Sutton, in 1869: 'a Society was established under the title of the 'The Sutton and East Surrey Benefit Building Society ...It advances money to its members on the security of (the) property, and for every £100 so advanced, £1 per month for 12 years has to be repaid. ...Upwards of a thousand shares have already been taken in this Society, which is considered by its promoters a successful result'.[197] It paid out 'to investors 6 Per Cent. And Bonuses Are Secure'.[198] In 1882, the Sutton and Carshalton 468th Star-Bowkett Building Society, after listing its trustees, directors, solicitor and secretary, stated that: 'The Society advances to its Members sums of £100 to £400 on Freehold or Leasehold Property, repayable in $12^1/_2$ years, free of Interest or other charges', with a 'Subscription of 6d. per Week for each £100 Share, Which is returnable with Bonus on completion of the Society.'[199]

Even though permanent building societies had existed in the parishes, prior to the 1870s, it was not until after the First World War that they started to have an important effect on homeownership. For although friendly and building societies, insurance companies, and banks helped to finance building construction in the suburbs, most finance came to builders through solicitors who represented local private investors.[200] Here, solicitors functioned as mortgage brokers.[201] This can be seen in local newspaper advertisements.

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[194] Harold Bellman, *The Thrifty Three Millions* (London [The Abbey Road building society]: 1935), pp. 31-40.
[195] According to Harold Bellman, *The Thrifty Three Millions*, pp. 31-40.
[196] T.H. Lloyd, 'Royal Leamington Spa', in M.A. Simpson and T.H. Lloyd (eds.) *Middle Class Housing in Britain* (London: David & Charles, 1977), p.130.
[197] Morgan's *Family & Advertising Almanack* (Sutton, Surrey: J. Morgan, High Street, 1869), p.2.
[198] Church's *Directory* (1873), p.11.
[199] This advert appears on page 121 of George B. Brightling, *Some Particulars Relating to the History and Antiquities of Carshalton* (London: The Operative Jewish Converts' Institution, 1882).
[200] Waller, *Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914*, pp. 153-4.
[201] Muthesius, *The English Terraced House*, p.20.

Embracing a mortgage presented a number of hazards. There were no tax advantages for mortgage holders but equally there were no legal residential rent restrictions that later shaped the supply of rented property. The risk of rent default was however often great, especially in The Newtown district.[202] Thus, the rate of return had to be substantially higher than that obtainable on Consols.[203] On the other hand, the opportunities for investment open to the thrifty mid-Victorian were far more limited than those of his twentieth-first century descendant. Anyone who wished to earn a greater return for his savings than he could from Consols, without undue risk, was almost forced to invest in mortgages, 'basic ground-rents' and improved ground-rents.[204]

In the 1870s and early 1880s Wallington matched Sutton's huge housing growth.[205] From the 1870s onwards, residential and retail construction was much simpler in Wallington than in the nearby Carshalton village, because it was ringed, to the south, by mainly open fields. Much of this common land became private property following the Enclosure Award of 1853.[206] Along with the leftover parish farmland, such lands ultimately became clear and profitable construction sites.[207] Houses were built there by Nathaniel Bridges that attracted migrants who while requiring easy travel to their City employment, still desired to live in pastoral surroundings.[208]

Wallington Station (being on the London Bridge line, see Figure 4.19), moreover, in contrast to Carshalton's, furnished better, more rapid railway links with the City together with those to Sutton and Croydon.[209] This was a great benefit for middle-class male commuters and further enhanced the 'desirability' of residential areas near the station. The station's opening, like that of many others, encouraged the creation of a

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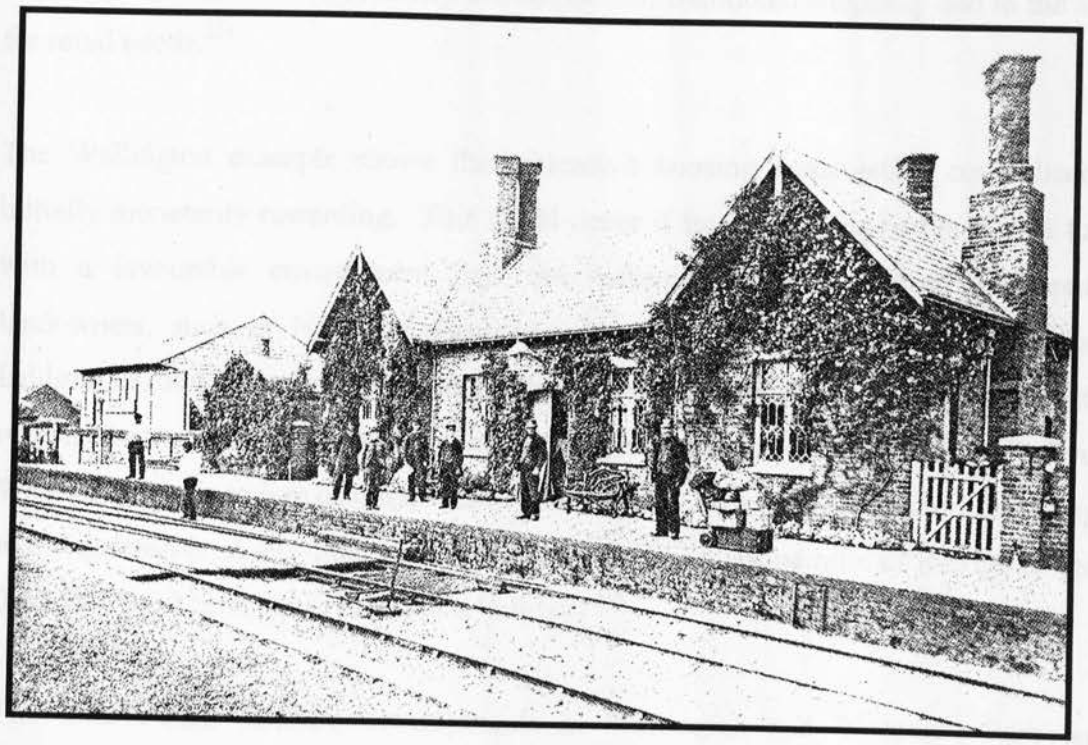
[202] Muthesius, *The English Terraced House,* p.17.
[203] Paul Balchin, 'An overview of pre-Thatcherite housing policy', in Paul Balchin and Maureen Rhoden (eds.), *Housing: the Essential Foundations* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.2.
[204] Donald J. Olsen, *Town Planning in London: the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Yale University Press, 1964), p.158.
[205] Rookledge and Skelton, *Rookledge's Architectural Identifier of Conservation Areas,* p.18.
[206] Rookledge and Skelton, *Rookledge's Architectural Identifier*, p.17; Elsewhere, suburban expansion often ensued from an earlier Enclosure Act, such as in F.M.L. Thompson *Hampstead*, according to Christopher Trent, *Greater London: Its Growth and Development Through Two Thousand Years*, p.207.
[207] Jones, *From Medieval Manor*, p.100.
[208] J. Armstrong, 'Transport and the urban environment', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge, 2000 vol. 3), 243; M. Thomas, *Victorian Sutton,* p.6.
[209] TNA: Rail 414/560 *Suburban Passenger Traffic.*

middle-class suburb.[210] In the photograph one can observe only two rail tracks (restricting train rerouting movements – see Chapter 5) but a surprising number of employees plus the rambling roses.

Figure 4.19
Wallington Station, 1860s



Source: Ian Bradley, June Broughton and Douglas Cluett, *All our yesterdays* (Sutton Leisure Services, 1977), p.4

In addition, the climatic environment, on the loftier grounds adjacent to Wallington (around 140 feet above sea level), was healthier than that in the Carshalton manufacturing basin, and with the coming of piped water and good transport links, even the underlying chalky subsoil in the southern Wallington area furnished dry and comparatively inexpensive, building sites.[211] This greatly increased the 'effective' supply of usable building land and tended to lower overall rentals and thus encouraged further population movements.[212]

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[210] Barson, 'Infinite variety in brick and stucco: 1840-1914', p.75.
[211] F. Richards, *Sutton, Surrey and Its Surroundings* (Homeland Association, 1906), pp. 24, 79.
[212] Ian Bentley, 'Arcadia becomes Dunroamin', in Paul Oliver, Ian Davis and Ian Bentley (eds.), *Dunroamin* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1981), p.70.

In the 1870s rapid growth in housing also occurred in lower Wallington. 'Wallington will soon rank among the most prosperous places in the country ... of the 131 houses 70 are occupied by labourers, mechanics servants etc, 24 by those engaged in trade or business on the spot, and 37 by those of the wealthier class.'[213] By 1882, with the growth of shops around Wallington station, this fashionable 'villa' region was less dependent on Carshalton, formerly the largest and traditional shopping hub in the area, for retail needs.[214]

The Wallington example shows that extensive housing construction could become initially monetarily rewarding. This could occur if improved transportation was fused with a favourable environment, and the enthusiastic endeavours of entrepreneur landowners, such as Nathaniel Bridges, who were eager to maximise their rents. Bridges seized the opportunities offered by the construction of a railway station with a reasonable train service to London Bridge and the existence of piped water; 'To live in Wallington, ... is to live healthy, wealthy and wisely. It is near enough to London to be easily accessible at any time and near enough to the glorious hills of Surrey, to reach them in a short time for a ramble or a holiday.'[215]

The middle-class housing developments in Wallington and Worcester Park were overwhelmingly the product of the railway. (Before the arrival of the railway, the populations of Wallington and Worcester Park were, in contrast to Sutton and Carshalton Village, very small.) In Worcester Park, for example, in 1865, The Landed Estate Company only laid out the middle-class Avenue Estate (see Figure 4.20 of The Avenue below), four years after the arrival of the railway connecting Worcester Park Station to Wimbledon and hence later to the city via Waterloo. However, this 'suburb' location, in contrast to that of Wallington's, in H.G. Wells' words, never did take 'off'.[216] For although there was a provision of comparatively inexpensive, rapid, and dependable transport, in the shape of railway travel, this never encouraged long-term housing growth by offering a pecuniary incentive for developers.[217] The southern part of Alan A. Jackson's map (Figure 1.2 in Chapter 1) showing the extent of London's

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[213] Church's *Directory* (1871), p.8.
[214] John Rev. Williams, *Historical Notes on Wallington* (Sutton, Surrey: Pile, 1870), p.91.
[215] *Wallington, Waddon and Beddington Guide* (Abbey Publicity Services, George Street Croydon, 1920), p.10.
[216] H.G. Wells, *Ann Veronica,* p.2.
[217] David Turnock, *An Historical Geography of Railways in Great Britain and Ireland* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 1998), p.238.

built-up areas, in 1901, reveals the urban emptiness between New Malden and Sutton and the lack of urban development in Worcester Park and North Cheam.[218] Worcester Park, as compared with New Malden or Surbiton, stayed remote from adjacent bigger centres of population.

H.G. Wells, who resided at number 41 The Avenue, from 1896 to 1897, based his 1909 novel *Ann Veronica* on his experiences there. The Avenue 'ran in a consciously elegant curve from the railway station into an undeveloped wilderness of agriculture, with big, yellow brick villas on either sides'.[219] The abruptly ascending Avenue was fortuitously laid out in a southwest direction, which avoided the then prevailing November to January smogs, flooding, the pollution and stench from the station goods yards themselves, and also from the nearby working-class area and the Green Lane sewage works, situated beside the highly polluted Beverley Brook.

Figure 4.20
The Avenue, Worcester Park, 1880s

[218] Jackson, *Semi-Detached London*, p.23.
[219] H.G. Wells, *Ann Veronica*, p. 2.

However, as in the Bandon Hill area of the Beddington parish, urban development could occur more accidentally. Charles Carew gambled himself into bankruptcy and his estates were sold in 1859. The developers who bought the estates in the 1860s built Bandon Hill, a small settlement to the south of the existing railway line next to Sandy Lane. (This development largely accounts for the marked rise in the Beddington population figure for 1871, shown in Figure 4.1.) The developers had perhaps anticipated the construction of a new station to serve this area, but this did not happen until forty years later. Bandon Hill Halt was opened in 1906. Even so, Thompson thought that the landlords' role in the development of suburbia was less significant than the uncoordinated endeavours of speculative builders.[220]

In contrast to Sutton and Wallington, Cheam, Carshalton and Beddington retained their pastoral nature a great deal longer. They 'never lost (their) individuality'. The villages still possessed a 'heart' surrounded by a variety of pre-Victorian buildings. They not did have 'endless rows of identical Victorian villas'.[221] Urban growth around Worcester Park, Cheam and Carshalton stations and in much of Beddington was limited and was reflected in the absence of extensive Victorian speculative building, which was so evident in Wallington and Sutton.[222]

Central Carshalton until nearly the end of the century, was still 'a pretty village embowered in trees and watered by the Wandle ... broken into byways'.[223] Graceful houses, and many habitations of the gentry, with, in some instances, the river meandering through the grounds, were still to be observed in Carshalton. It was, 'the most picturesque of all villages in England'.[224] Here traditional social ways continued, as one member of the gentry stated: 'There was still much of the feudal system left, it will take a long time to die, and I hope it might never do so.'[225] Carshalton's especially large population 'explosion' had to wait until it was prompted by additional railroad expansion and improvements, following The First World War.

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[220] F.M.L. Thompson, *Hampstead: Building a Borough, 1650-1964* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), p.87.
[221] *Surrey County Magazine* (July 1973), p.31.
[222] Morgan's *Family & Advertising Almanack* (Sutton, Surrey: J. Morgan, High Street, 1866), p.6; Rookledge and Skelton, *Rockledge's Architectural Identifier of Conservation Areas,* p.17.
[223] G.P. Bevan, *Tourists' Guide to the County of Surrey: Containing Full Information Concerning All Its Favourite Places of Resort* (London: Edward Stanford, 1882).
[224] Church's *Directory* (1873), p.8.
[225] Clayton Cook, *Tales of Beddington Village* (Wallington, Surrey: Clayton Cook, 1996), p.17.

After the 1850s Carshalton Village, as a result of poor rail and road communications and declining waterpower-based manufacturing, lost its dominance, in terms of population, residential growth and retailing, to the Sutton hamlet and to nearby housing developments, for instance those near Wrythe Green, Hackbridge and, particularly, Bandon Hill.[226] By 1882, these had, together with those around Wallington Station, a greater number of shops than Carshalton Village.[227] In Figure 4.21 below, we can see that in 1845 Carshalton had more retail outlets than Sutton but, by 1882, the situation was reversed. Nevertheless, in this period, both centres still provided a broad diversity of shops.

Figure 4.21
Retail and general services outlets in the two largest parishes for the years 1845 and 1882

	Sutton		Carshalton	
	1845	1882	1845	1882
Taverns	3	4	4	7
Carriers, omnibuses/coaches	2	10	3	3
Victuals, e.g., baker, butcher, grocer	5	63	13	19
Personal services, e.g. coiffeur	1	4		10
General services, e.g. blacksmith	1	23		16
Miscellaneous	1	40	8	7
Footwear	1	15	3	8
Clothes	6	26	7	6
Grain retailers			2	
Insurance Broker	1		1	
Post Office	1	2	1	1
Cafes/restaurants		3		

Source: Pigot's *Directory*, 1845, and Kelly's *Directory*, 1882

However, in the 1880s after the building boom of the 1870s many local builders and developers, like Nathaniel Bridges got into financial difficulties or, in Worcester Park Land Estate Company's case, went bankrupt.[228] Dyos's Camberwell also illustrates builders' reactions to cyclical building situations.[229]

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[226] D. Cluett and J. Phillips, *The Wandle Guide* (Sutton Leisure Services, 1997), p.66; Pigot's *Directories* (1826 to 1845).

[227] Kelly's *Directory* (1882).

[228] John Nelson Tarn, 'Housing reform and the emergence of town planning in Britain before 1914', in Anthony Sutcliffe (ed.), *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning 1800-1914* (London: Mansell, 1980), p.75.

[229] Dyos, *Victorian Suburb,* pp. 80-2.

4.10 The 'Great Depression'

The parishes' building booms and depressions, as shown by house occupancy rates, the number of dwellings constructed and the ratio of annual rents to house sale prices, were intimately linked with the migration of the middle-class newcomers into their areas.

Recurring building cycles could be exacerbated or dampened by local conditions. A pendulum effect operated in the parochial middle-class housing market with upswings and downswings in the demand reflected in the price and rental value of undeveloped land and finished property. Local upsurges in prices arose in the late 1870s from a general nationwide enhancement in personal incomes and expectations of future speculative profit. This resulted in builders swamping some of the parishes with new untenanted dwellings. However in the business downturn of the early 1880s prices and construction decreased.[230] Such movements were closely linked to regional and national building cycles, although there was of a lag of possibly up to three years between the two.[231] The parishes' connections to the City always put them in the orbit of the broad pressures directing the expansion of London. These forces were mainly the availability of capital, prevailing interest rates, the growth of adequate suburban transportation facilities, demography and popular future expectations

Generally, oscillations in house-construction, in the parishes, coincided directly with the national tendency. Consequently, the tempo of local house construction, and the financial rate of return on it, tended to follow the greater London pattern and occurred in a series of undulating building cycles, but this was accentuated, at different times, by differing rates of immigration into the various parishes, especially in rapidly expanding middle-class Wallington (see Figure 4.3 above). There was, in the more populous Sutton, a rise in house construction earlier (reflecting an increasing yield on capital invested in house building), in the beginning of the 1850s and a larger one in the later 1860s, but less so in the 1880s. The local newspapers indicate cyclical trends by the number and length of time properties and building plots were advertised, their selling prices and the varying ratio of house rentals to sale prices.

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[230] Carr, 'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley, Kent', p.216.
[231] Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents', pp. 57, 60.

In Wallington and Beddington a sharp drop in construction and then a massive expansion, from the middle to the late 1870s until the early 1880s occurred, which was followed by a reduced tempo in the 1890s.[232] This trend can be seen in the fluctuating percentage increases in the number of bourgeoisie households, in Manor Road, Wallington, on The Bridges' Estate, in these periods (see Figure 4.22 below).

This table reveals a large house occupancy expansion, from the middle to the late 1870s until the early 1880s, which was followed by a reduced tempo in the 1890s. This is also reflected in Wallington's percentage population increase, which was much higher than the national average (see Figure 4.3 above). Both Figures 4.3 and 4.22 confirm locally the national building trend.[233] Local housing expansions and slumps, as revealed by residential tenancy rates and the relationship of yearly rents to home sale prices, were closely connected with immigration. Hence, it might be maintained, that building cycles, at least as far as the parishes were concerned, were perhaps 'little more than a migration cycle in disguise'.[234]

Figure 4.22
Number of households in Manor Road and their percentage increase

	1851	**1861**	**1871**	**1881**	**1891**
Number of households	28	36	49	88	97
The percentage increase on the previous decade		28.6	46.4	79.6	10.2

Source: 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881 and 1891 censuses

Local builders and developers had expected, in the 1880s, the good times of the 1870s to continue and so they increased their rate of construction. They were further encouraged to do so by the availability of easy credit. The flood of newly constructed properties coming onto the market, in the early 1870s, is well illustrated by the very larger number of auctions advertised in the *Sutton Journal*. These involved the public sale of small blocks of recently built properties and building plots (with the suggestion from the advertisers that, for small savers, these were a worthwhile investment) rather than the sale of individual houses.

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[232] Muthesius, *The English Terraced House,* p.20.
[233] Muthesius, *The English Terraced House*, p.20.
[234] A.K. Cairncross, *Home and Foreign Investment, 1870-1913* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), p.25.

However, in the late 1870s and early 1880s the usual above ten per cent ratio of house sale prices to rentals on properties in the parishes dramatically worsened, especially in the vastly expanding new housing area, aimed at the upper-middle-class, around Wallington Station built by Nathaniel Bridges. Many of his dwellings and building plots were now on the market for over a year. Similar conditions existed, according to Dyos, on newly built estates in Dulwich, in 1881. There, house vacancy rates were as high as forty per cent.[235] (This shows that the parishes were not immune from general London market trends.) Rent stability, as exhibited in working-class Newtown, Sutton did not apply to dwellings in the upper price range such as those in Wallington or South Sutton. Similarly constructed upper middle-class houses, locally and in other suburbs, could vary significantly in price and rent, according to their location within a particular district and the time at which they were advertised for occupation. Their valuations could also dramatically alter with changes in architectural fashions and modifications in the accepted levels of physical and social 'desirability'.[236]

In the 1880s, local parish rents, for expensive properties but not for working-class ones, in this period, were depressed. For example detached houses, in Wallington, on the Bridges' estate, in Springfield and Clarence Road were advertised for rent at £56 per annum, or for sale at £1050 (a return of 5%); others had a rental of £83 and a sale price £1400 (a return of 5.9%). A similar situation existed in Beddington, for instance a detached dwelling was advertised 'To Be Let or Sold Freehold at £2000 or rented at £110 per annum' (a return of 5.5%). The building depression, particularly in Wallington on the Bridges' estate, seems to have extended into the 1890s. In 1891 one property was marketed there with the following words: 'To be Let or Sold – Rent or leases £80, price Freehold £1800, Manor-road Wallington'.[237] This rent represented only 4% of the house sale price, not the customary more than ten per cent. If Bridges & Co, the property developer, had to pay $4^1/_2$ per cent on the general loans they raised then the rent they received here, on this house, signified a substantial loss.

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[235] Dyos, *Victorian Suburb,* pp. 80-2.
[236] Robson, *Urban Social Areas,* p.14.
[237] *Sutton Journal,* 8 Aug. 1891.

Even in the less depressed Sutton area, dwellings were advertised for less than the ten percent plus ratio, in the late 1870s and 1880s. For example one middle-class property was advertised with a rental of £98 11s and a sale price of £1100 (a return of 9%).[238] Nevertheless, after the building depression of the 1880s, from parish newspapers, the balance of economic supremacy appears, in the mid-1890s, particularly in Sutton, to have been reversing back in the landlords' favour as it had been in the 1860s and 70s. Again the landlords could expect to earn their net '7 per cent yield' on the middle-class property investments as they had in the 1860s, on an overall prevailing general interest rate of $4^1/_2$ per cent and much more than ten percent net on working-class dwellings, with their shorter life prospects.[239] Returns of such a size, chiefly in the form of rent, were crucial for parish urban development. The Inland Revenue field books of 1910 confirm this improvement in middle-class rental values.[240] These field books were very helpful in verifying other local findings, such as ownership, rental status and state of repair of dwellings, as well.[241]

4.11 Sutton's unplanned 'Klondike'-like growth

Sutton and later Wallington were, by the end of the research period, in many ways, typical expanding outer Victorian suburban areas, with their relative dearth of 'troublesome' poorer housing districts. Within such suburbs there was a progressive provision of cottage hospitals, greater variety of church denominations, multiplicity of social and sports associations, superior retail outlets (in Sutton's case), and educational institutions. The involvement of incoming professional classes in the club, political and social life of the parishes will be discussed later in Chapter 7. By 1881, Sutton was no longer the pre-1851 village that it had been, but was now a 'boom town'.[242] The travel guides of the pre-World War 1 period vividly describe the town's growth. For example Black's stated that Sutton was, 'two miles of villa residences on the Downs'.[243]

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[238] *Sutton Herald*, 1 March 1878; *Sutton Journal*, 19 Nov.r 1881.
[239] *Sutton Journal*, Aug., Sept. and Nov. 1869.
[240] TNA: IR 58/81040.
[241] The Valuation Books (TNA IR 58); According to Christopher French in 'Taking up 'the challenge of micro-history.' Social conditions in Kingston upon Thames in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', *The Local Historian*, vol. 36(1), Feb. 2006, p.17, '(They) are an invaluable ...source for micro-studies of housing in particular localities.'
[242] Morgan's, *Family & Advertising Almanack* (Sutton, 1865), p.5.
[243] Black (A & C Ltd), *Guide to Surrey* (1908), p.55.

Sutton, being a railway junction on important routes, underwent a considerably larger expansion in residential property and population and subsequent retailing growth than its four neighbouring parishes.[244] Already by the mid-nineteenth century, Sutton was one of the most populated, and prosperous, of the outer southern suburbs of London. Sutton exhibited all the classical features of brash, rapidly expanding new suburbs. The village, now a town, was an unplanned 'commercial centre, a crossroads and a station, but not a living community with (an identifiable) heart'.[245] Visually Sutton (see Figure 4.23 below) had turned into just 'a row of shops on a hill'; 'a procession of shops, villas, and terraces, scattered in every direction-houses, gardens, and cottages all pell mell-and at every possible elevation'.[246]

Figure 4.23
Sutton High Street looking northwards, from just outside the railway station, 1890

Source: Sutton Library archive

[244] Church's *Directory*, p.26; M. Thomas, *Victorian Sutton*, p.28.
[245] *Surrey County Magazine* (July 1973), p.31.
[246] Edward Walford, *Greater London* (London, Cassell & Company Limited, 1883), p.2007.

The parish church of St Nicholas had vanished entirely from sight hidden behind 'The Golden Mile' of retail outlets that now occupied the High Street. These shops hide from view the majority of the previous signs of Sutton's existence. The town ceased to be a village of largely timber framed weather boarded cottages, with red pantiled roofs (as can be still seen in Cheam Village and in Lewis Hind's contemporary photographs).

The construction of Sutton's streets were the uncoordinated endeavours of numerous speculative builders, which is indicated by the countless small differences in the still existing houses' exteriors, such as the confused variations in the designs of, for example, bays, doors and windows, and the many gaps in the correlations of the eaves.[247] Buildings' exterior details still gives one some idea, in for example the Newtown area, of houses' construction dates.[248] Parish speculative builders over-built and constructed as quickly as possible so as to keep costs down. This often resulted in numerous empty, unfinished buildings and unfilled building plots and frequent insolvencies, especially in the 1880s. There were many roads such as those on The Benhill Estate where up to four or five decades passed between the occupation of the first and the final building plots. Similarly, Dyos's Camberwell survey shows builders establishing a succession of housing developments, within the various building cycles, which had no connection with each other, save in their initial marketability.[249] However, Dyos also reveals that the seemingly haphazard muddle of neighbourhoods, often unattractive dwellings, and complex road configurations, were, in reality, quite to be expected if one considers the detailed history of property development in Camberwell.[250] Moreover, F.M.L. Thompson maintains that although we may not now appreciate the resulting residences these were, at the time, what the suburbanites desired. Such dwellings met their needs, and must be viewed architecturally and structurally as a cohesive and self-supporting whole, even with their often-sodden cellars.[251] The physical and social desirability of residential areas, as this chapter illustrates, could frequently change.

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[247] Hayes, 'Calculating class', 124.
[248] David Stenhouse, *Understanding Towns* (Hove, East Sussex: Wayland Publishers, 1977), pp. 45-48.
[249] According to John Nelson Tarn, 'Housing reform and the emergence of town planning in Britain before 1914', in Anthony Sutcliffe (ed.), *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning 1800-1914* (London: Mansell, 1980), p.75.
[250] According to Hey, *How Our Ancestors Lived,* p.77.
[251] Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J. Morris and Richard Rodger, p.180.

By the 1880s, Sutton High Street and the surrounding area became so cluttered with uncoordinated building that little space was left for later civic amenities. 'From the station downwards to Benhill ...we find very little vacant land, so little indeed, that if the Urban Council should ever decide upon a recreation ground, it will experience some difficulty in securing a site large enough without pulling down some of the existing buildings.'[252] In 1902, the Sutton directory was still complaining that 'Sutton has no recreation ground so called, and it is one grievance in certain quarters against the local authority that it does not provide one'.[253] Subsequently, Sutton created Manor Park by pulling down existing buildings, but it was only opened in 1914. Local authorities, like Sutton, at this critical and revolutionary juncture in suburban development, often lacked the desire, and also had insufficient powers, to exercise effective control over urban developments, to attain the required orderly growth. Different Sutton local authorities, from the mid-Victorian period up to the Second World War, stridently proclaimed their low rating policy, their very prudent expenditure record, their laissez-faire attitude towards private building developments, Sutton's increasingly fast and, in real terms, cheaper rail commuter services and the healthy nature (at least for the incoming professional classes) of Sutton's elevated residential sites near the railway station.[254] Sutton had, by 1901, a population of 17,223 and was unquestionably a small town and not a village. The area was popular with upper- middle-class commuters who frequently worked in the City, which was, then, at the pinnacle of its prosperity and worldwide influence.

4.12 Conclusions

Rail distance from central London alone, was never the sole element in deciding migrants' residential location. Increasing overall inner London rents were constant factors persuading the middle-classes to move further away to places like Sutton. Cheaper property rentals, in locations such as Sutton, compared with the inner city, had however always to be balanced against increased travelling and other costs.[255] Other issues were also significant in location choice, such as the time taken to complete the rail journey, the frequency of train services and the proximity to the station, or to a

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[252] Pile's, *Sutton and District Directory* (1898), p.11.
[253] Pile's, *Sutton and District Directory* (1898), p.31; Pile's *Directory* (1902), p.31.
[254] *The Town Council Official Guide, Sutton (Surrey) 1906*, p.11; *Sutton Approved Guide 1915*, p.7; Brightling, *Some Particulars Relating to the History and Antiquities of Carshalton*, p.2.
[255] Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents', p.67; Arthur E. Edwards, *The Design of Suburbia: a Critical Study of Environmental History* (London: Pembridge Press, 1981), p.118.

horse bus stop, so as to be able to gain access, easily, to the station each morning.[256] Added to these was the need to gain access to adequate water supplies and good sanitation and as Thompson always emphasised, privacy and status considerations.[257] (This latter topic is more fully handled in Chapter 7.) Hence, no single model can describe and incorporate all situations and every local area has its own unique urban structural patterns.[258]

The advent of mains water was critical for later urban middle-class developments. With the coming of mains water, the existing and incoming middle-class residents rapidly migrated to more physically and socially acceptable, better drained, less overcrowded, healthier, elevated but more expensive localities, closer to stations. By the 1890s, the distance from the stations, undue population density, unhygienic surroundings, the deteriorating state of repair ensured the social rejection by the affluent of formerly tolerable parish localities. Consequently, the residential attitudes of both immigrants and native born were continuously influenced by the changing availability of houses on 'suitable' and 'desirable' land. This was eventually reflected in rateable values and rental patterns.

Accommodation in these new urban areas was much more expensive, having higher rents and local authority rates. As a result, the social divide, as far as physical distance was concerned, became greater; class separation escalated and roads became more uniform in class terms. The rental instability for more expensive properties in 'The Great Depression' period shows how tied Sutton and Wallington and their numerous commuters and rentiers were to the prevailing financial patterns of the London area and how their prosperity (i.e. the rate of return on their investments), the rental patterns, house prices and the number of immigrants entering and parish dwellings built were influenced by external fiscal factors. Therefore, the movement of people into various parts of the research parishes was rarely connected with only one specific static local issue but frequently involved a changing arrangement of national and regional social and financial ones.

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[256] Ray Thomas, 'Unit 23', p.16.

[257] Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J. Morris and R. Rodger (eds.), p.149; Ray Thomas, 'Unit 23 The metropolitan area', p.16.

[258] Paul Guinness and Garrett Nagle, *Advanced Geography: Concepts and Cases* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1999), pp. 79-80.

Chapter 5

Transportation

5.1 Introduction

The underlying research approach, when dealing with aspects of transportation change, will be via a close assessment of the comparative influence on the suburbanisation process of pivotal demand and supply factors; namely, the 'trade-off' between the rents asked, and paid for 'desirable homes' and the accessibility and cost of rail travel to city employment.[1] Researchers, like F.M.L. Thompson and David C. Thorns, all observed in outer suburbia, a clear connection between rail services and suburbanisation.[2] This process was the collective result of the interaction of many factors.[3]

There is, however, no agreement between urban historians on the comparative importance of the components involved. Numerous authors such as John R. Kellett, H.J. Dyos, F.M.L. Thompson, Alan A Jackson and T.C. Barker maintain that while railways made the creation of suburbia possible, this did not make it inevitable. Notwithstanding this, the overall extent, and type, of suburban growth was considerably shaped by the existence, or non-existence of good railway services and, to a smaller extent, by the actions of landowners.[4]

5.2 Road transportation

The first part of this chapter will be concerned with road communications. This aspect cannot be ignored, for Victorian society, particularly with regard to the conveyance of local goods, was 'at heart a horse-drawn' and, by and large, a pedestrian one.[5] The railway era was the supreme period for horse hauling power. Rail travel encouraged road transportation. Without horse-drawn vehicles 'the railways would have been like stranded whales... for these (horse-drawn vehicles) were the only means of getting

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1 David Cannadine, 'Residential differentiation in the nineteenth-century towns: shapes on the ground to shapes in society', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.239.

2 F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: a Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (London: Fontana Press, 1988), pp. 166-7; David C. Thorns, *Suburbia* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1972), p.40.

3 D.E.C. Eversley, 'Fifth Discussion', in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), p.258.

4 David Norman Smith, *The Railway and Its Passengers: a Social History* (Newton Abbot London: David & Charles, 1988), pp. 95-7.

5 F.M.L. Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse-Drawn Society* (Bedford College University of London, 1970), p.8.

people and goods, right to the doors, of houses, warehouses, markets, and factories, where they wanted to be.'[6] Most people then moved about on foot and walked to their work destinations.[7] John R. Kellett thought that, in the 1880s, 'only one person in twelve in the southern suburbs used public transport' and these were usually from the middle-classes.[8] Neither train nor omnibus, prior to 1870, unlocked suburbia for the lower reaches of the working-class, because for a workman to spend a shilling a day on fares alone was unrealistic on earnings of a pound, or less, a week.[9] For working-class males, to work in distant locations, the cheapness of accommodation on suburban land was outweighed by transportation costs.[10] 'The fares (for workmen) must not exceed the difference between the rent of their homes in the overcrowded districts ...and the lower rents in the suburbs.'[11] Rent and the cost of food, in both inner London and suburbia, were together the largest items in their budget.[12] Christine Take felt that few 'workers (working-class ones journeying to work) travelled beyond Sutton' in this period.[13]

Moreover, a study of the local inter-parish road traffic situation may aid overall research by comparing the various influences involved in the suburbanisation process. Locally, there existed, between the five parishes, a marked physical divide, which was created by an extremely poor east-west road system. This arose from water obstructions such as that caused by the route of the river Wandle rather than from the influences of former manorial arrangements.[14] This in effect isolated the parishes from one another and this, to some degree, explains why the parishes were so divergent in their urban development. This physical separation was reflected in inter-parish population movements before and after the arrival of the railroads. In 1881, for example, inter-parish migration, according to the census, was less than 3% between the two largest parishes Sutton and Carshalton (see Figure 4.4, in the previous chapter). The parishes'

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6 Thompson, *Victorian England,* p.13.

7 Paul Lawless and Frank Brown, *Urban Growth and Changes in Britain: An Introduction* (London: Harper & Row, 1986), pp. 61-2.

8 John R. Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), p.369.

9 Jack Simmons, *The Railways in England and Wales 1830-1914* (Leicester University Press, 1978), p.37.

10 François Crouzet, *The Victorian Economy* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1982), p.98.

11 *Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, First Report, PP*, 1884-85, XXX, 49.

12 Anthony S. Wohl, *The Eternal Slum: Housing and Social Policy in Victorian London* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), p.26.

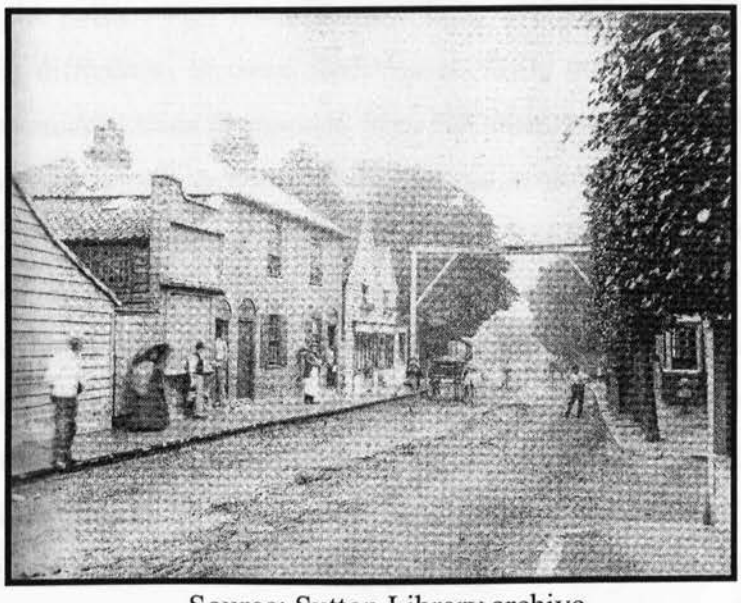
13 Christine Take, *The Development of Transport in a South London Suburb – Sutton (1906-1920)* (Sutton, Surrey: Sutton & District TUC Resources Centre, 1984), p.39.

14 A.E. Jones, *From Medieval Manor to London Suburb* (Surrey, 1974), pp. 76, 125.

great growth, in the research period, was mainly due to good rail links rather than good roads.

General road improvements, within and between the parishes, after the arrival of the railway, were very slow to come. For example, Figure 5.1 below shows the most important parish road, the extremely steep Sutton High Street. The illustration reveals the road's four-carriage width and its unmade filthy state. This became exceptionally dusty in the summer months, mud-covered in winter and was not paved until the 1860s, although the crossroads at the top of the High Street always performed a vital role in Sutton's pre- railway history. Here, close to the Cock Inn, stood the tollgate on the London to Brighton turnpike (see Figure 5.2). The turnpike was the nearest moderately good road, but this again ran north to south rather than east to west, so was unable to link up the parishes.[15] The illustration above and the one below demonstrate the limitations of local road transportation in the pre- and post-railway era and, to some degree, the rural nature of lands to the south of the Cock Hotel. Sutton's tollgates were only finally abolished in 1882.[16]

Figure 5.1
The poor state of the High Street looking downhill and northwards towards *The Greyhound Inn* in the 1860s



Source: Sutton Library archive

NB: In the photograph, the majority of the shops and houses were of timber construction. The archway over the road carried the signboard of *The Greyhound Inn.*

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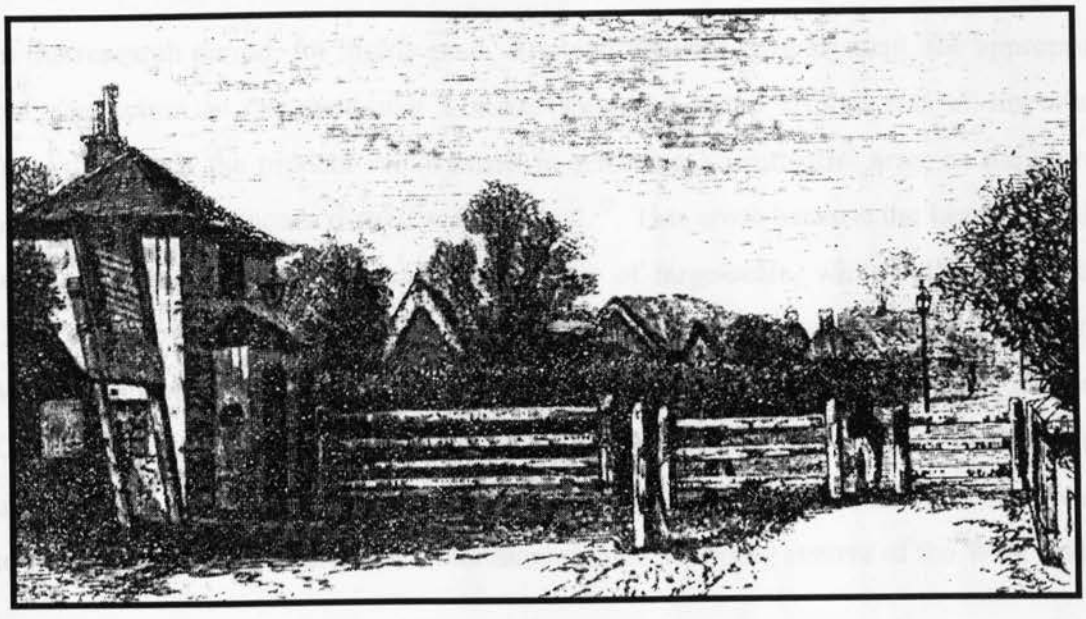
[15] Basil Cracknell, *Portrait of Mid Surrey* (The Surrey County Magazine, May 1979).
[16] Margaret Thomas, *Victorian Sutton* (Wallington, Surrey: Wigs Publishing, 1998), p.57.

Figure 5.2
The Toll-Bar and Sutton Lodge on the Brighton Road, just south of Sutton station, in 1865



Source: *Church's Illustrated Sutton*, 1869

5.3 Southern suburban railways

The influence of the railways, and other factors, differed markedly between the southern and northern suburbs and again between them and the inner London environs. For example, suburban railway stations to the south of the Thames had a distinct advantage over those to the north. This arose because their city workers did not encounter the same travelling difficulties as those from the northern, northwestern or eastern outer suburbs. Many middle-class commuters from the latter, who worked in the city, spent as long travelling by horse bus from a West End rail terminus as they did, by train, from their suburbs.[17] It took as long to travel the slightly less than fifty miles to Brighton as it did to travel approximately five miles between Paddington and London Bridge Station.[18] The London omnibuses only saved commuter's physical effort, rather than time, as they travelled at little more than walking pace.[19] Moreover, rail passengers on lines constructed to the south of the Thames, had the advantage over those travelling on the north ones, in these being closer to the West End and the City and having relatively unhindered access to termini such as Victoria, London Bridge and Waterloo.[20] Also,

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17 Christopher Trent, *Greater London: Its Growth and Development Through Two Thousand Years* (London: Phoenix House, 1965), p.202.

18 Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), p.366.

19 J. Armstrong, 'Transport and the urban environment', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), p.230.

20 F.H.W. Sheppard, *London 1808-1870: the Infernal Wen* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1971), p.10.

Parliament raised little objection to the construction of lines through the area south of the river.[21]

In the research period, for highly paid, city 'professional' employment, the appropriate rail connection to one particular London station, London Bridge was all-important. It was as much the prudent requirement in selecting a residential area, as the correct address within the chosen district was its ideal.[22] This arose because the London Bridge terminal was within a short walking distance of large-scale, white-collar, expanding City employment, to which the majority of male commuters wanted to travel.[23] Victoria, in contrast, the other London terminal on The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway (which served the southern suburbs), after the completion of the rail underground system, tended to be used, by the middle-class, as the terminus from which to travel to reach the fashionable entertainment and shopping centres of the West End.[24]

In 1869, on The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway nearly two and a half times as many passengers travelled to London Bridge as to Victoria and rail receipts were three and a half times as great.[25] This indicates the greater monetary and numerical importance of London Bridge as compared with Victoria to the rail company. The two Figures 5.3 and 5.4 below display the relative importance of the London Bridge rail branch, on which Sutton, Cheam and Wallington were located but Carshalton was not. Being situated only on the Victoria branch line greatly disadvantaged Carshalton. Carshalton had a very poor train service to London Bridge.

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21 Sheppard, *London 1808-1870,* p.145.

22 Liza Picard, *Victorian London; The Life of a City 1840-1870* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005), p.99.

23 Ray Thomas, 'Unit 23 The metropolitan area' Course Team (eds.), *Urban Development: The Spread of Cities* (The Open University Press, 1973), p.36.

24 Only in 1884 was the Inner Circle underground, that connected the majority of the main line termini, following lengthy hold-ups, finished.

25 TNA: Rail 414/560 *Suburban Passenger Traffic.*

Figure 5.3
The possible ticket percentages for London Bridge (1869)

Males commuting to London Bridge, $^{7}/_{10}$ of the London ticket total													
Sutton				**Cheam**				**Wallington**				**Carshalton**	
Percentage of London tickets													
1st	**2nd**	**3rd**		**1st**	**2nd**	**3rd**		**1st**	**2nd**	**3rd**		**1st**	**2nd**	**3rd**
13.58	25.27	31.1		24.1	19.11	26.7		8.05	14.84	47.04		7.84	10.36	51.8

Source: Data derived from Figure 5.10

Figure 5.4
The possible ticket percentage for Victoria (1869)[26]

Males commuting to Victoria, $^{3}/_{10}$ of the London ticket total													
Sutton				**Cheam**				**Wallington**				**Carshalton**	
Percentage of London tickets													
1st	**2nd**	**3rd**		**1st**	**2nd**	**3rd**		**1st**	**2nd**	**3rd**		**1st**	**2nd**	**3rd**
5.82	10.83	13.35		10.32	8.19	11.46		3.45	6.36	20.16		3.36	4.44	22.2

Source: Data derived from Figure 5.10

5.4 The Impact of the Railways: tickets and passengers

Sutton possessed numerous advantages. It was at a rail junction and its city workers residing there did not encounter the same commuting problems found in neighbouring parishes. Sutton also had plentiful supplies of cheap 'green-field' building sites. These became available with the coming of piped water. Such virgin sites attracted middle-class newcomers by providing low-priced property rentals, compared with the inner city. Locally, proximity to a station such as Sutton with all its advantages and the existence of very poor parish roads which effectively isolated the nearby parishes from each other, were possibly the main reason why rents, for similarly built houses, differed so greatly between the five parishes and over the research period. Each suburban development could often be very different from its neighbour.

[26] Data derived from Figure 5.10.

Those stations which were at rail intersections provided more alternative routes and thus usually had advantages when travelling. Hence locations like Sutton, being a railway junction on important routes, with very good rail services to both London Bridge and Victoria termini, underwent a considerably larger expansion in residential property and population and subsequent retailing growth than its less rail-favoured four neighbouring parishes (see Figure 4.3, in chapter 4).[27] Sutton had greater journey flexibility compared with Wallington and particularly Carshalton and enticed more immigrants by reason of this particular facility. Figure 5.5 below displays Sutton station's importance, as a railway junction compared to Carshalton and Wallington.

Figure 5.5. Map
A mid-nineteenth century southern London rail map

Sutton had benefited from rail facilities ever since the inauguration of the Croydon and Epsom rail line, in May 1847. In May 1865 the new Banstead-Epsom branch line from Sutton was opened. This was largely meant to serve the Epsom racing throngs who now

[27] Church's, *Illustrated Sutton: with Street Directory (1881)*, p.26; M. Thomas, *Victorian Sutton*, p.28.

had easy transportation right to the track. Throughout Epsom race week of that year, more than 70,000 passengers were conveyed to that event. Sutton's location was further enhanced when the direct route to London Bridge and Victoria, via Mitcham Junction, became available, from 1 October 1868.[28] Shortly after this the Epsom line was extended to Dorking and on to the coast. Sutton's rail tentacles now reached from the Banstead Downs to the south, to Carshalton and Wallington in the east, Cheam in the west and Morden in the north and a scrutiny of the greater London rail network shows that from Sutton, within the angle of the lines from Victoria and London Bridge to East Croydon, there was an extremely dense labyrinth of junctions, and linking branches, that permitted a virtually boundless arrangement of routes (see Figure 5.5).[29] 'There (were) no dead-end branches.'[30] Sutton's importance was fully recognised, later in 1910, by the proposed five and half mile direct line, which would connect it to Wimbledon.[31] If that line had been built, Sutton would have been only eighteen minutes by rail travelling time from Victoria and twenty minutes from London Bridge.[32]

Sutton, of the five parishes, was the most favourably placed one with regard to London Bridge.[33] From Sutton, in the 1860s, on each weekday, at least fifteen trains on the Sutton-Carshalton and seventeen trains on the Sutton-Wallington branch went directly to and from London.[34] By1881, the number of trains to London from Sutton had greatly increased, there were twenty-one on Sunday and sixty-seven on weekdays but from neighbouring Cheam there were only fourteen stopping trains on Sunday and thirty-nine stopping trains on weekdays. It is noticeable that between 1871 and 1881 Sutton's population rose by just under 3,000 to over 10,000 while Cheam's only increased by less than 500 to just over 2,000. By 1901 Cheam had a population of 3,404 but Sutton had one of over 17,223. Prior to the arrival of the railway Sutton's and Cheam's populations were both much the same size (see Figure 4.1, in the previous chapter). The overwhelming importance of London rail commuting, particularly the direct services to London Bridge, is perhaps illustrated here. However, after the 1880s Sutton never again

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28 Henry Patrick White, *Greater London: a Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain* (David & Charles, 1963 vol. 3), 58.
29 Reginald Davies and M.D. Grant, *London and Its Railways* (London: David & Charles, 1983), pp. 10-11.
30 White, *Greater London,* p.60.
31 Davies and Grant, *London and Its Railways,* pp. 108-113.
32 Alan A. Jackson, *London's Local Railways* (London: David & Charles, 1978), p.313.
33 TNA: Rail 414/560 *Suburban Passenger Traffic.*
34 TNA: Bradshaw Tables, 1869.

displayed the same dramatic percentage rates of population increase as was shown in the three previous decades (see Figure 4.3, in chapter 4).

In 1869 the journey from Sutton to London Bridge was 'accomplished in 25 minutes'.[35] Previously, in the 1850s, the trip took '40 minutes'.[36] However, in 1903, according to a sales brochure for fifty-three plots on the Sutton & Cheam Building Estates, which were 'ten minutes walk', to the southeast of the station, it states that both Victoria and London Bridge can (now) be reached in '23 minutes'.[37] This is reconfirmed by *The Sutton Approved Guide 1915* which stated that: 'In twenty-two minutes it (Sutton) can be reached from either City or the West-End.'[38] Rail services to London, from such places as Sutton, were then often quicker than the present ones.[39] Line improvements, its intersectional position and extensions strengthened the prospective suitability for residency of the Sutton area, already amplified by the arrival of piped water supplies, and reinforced the employment pull of the City. Sutton was in an extraordinary advantageous rail position. The relatively large size, as a proportion of its total workforce, of the number of 'white-collar professionals' travelling first- or second-class to London perhaps clearly illustrates how prosperous overall, the parish was compared with parishes elsewhere such as Dyos's Camberwell.[40] Sutton was then surely 'a place of residence for City men'.[41]

Sutton's importance as a rail hub is at once apparent in the three Tables immediately below. Figure 5.6 shows that the majority of rail tickets were purchased in the two largest parishes Sutton and Carshalton but those sold in Sutton were mainly the profitable first- or second-class ones. The number of all tickets bought in Wallington and Cheam was much smaller than those sold in the other two parishes. In proportion to its parish population Wallington's station was the busiest. However, it chiefly dealt with unprofitable third-class passengers on the London Bridge line. Many of its customers, especially the third-class ones, must have walked in from neighbouring parishes such as Carshalton and Beddington (where there was no railway station);

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35 Morgan's, *Family & Advertising Allmack* (Sutton, Surrey: J Morgan High Street, 1869), p.2.
36 Property documents, London Borough of Sutton Public Library [Archive reference 48/4/20].
37 Property, 48/57/1.
38 *The Sutton Approved Guide 1915*, p.7.
39 Trent, *Greater London,* p.192.
40 Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.192.
41 Morgan's, *Family & Advertising Almanac* (1869), p.2.

wheeled transportation was difficult and expensive, as the roads were in a dreadful condition.[42]

Figure 5.6
The proportion of London ticket sales for each of the parishes' stations (1869)

	Stations and parishes				No station	
	Wallington	Carshalton	Sutton	Cheam[43]	Beddington	Total
Population 1871	1335	3668	6558	1629	1499	14689
Percentage of total population of the five parishes	9.1	25.0	44.6	11.1	10.2	
Number of return tickets	30694	67090	102953	18095	-	218832
Percentage of parishes' tickets	14.0%	30.6%	47.0%	8.3%	-	
All rail classes	1 ticket to 1.53 residents	1 ticket to 1.22 residents	1 ticket to 1.1 residents	1 ticket to 0.74 residents	-	
1st class	1 to 0.17	1 to 0.14	1 to 0.21	1 to 0.25	-	
2nd class	1 to 0.32	1 to 0.18	1 to 0.40	1 to 0.20	-	
3rd class	1 to 1.03	1 to 0.90	1 to 0.49	1 to 0.28	-	

Source: As Figure 5.10

Figure 5.7 below again indirectly reveals that the commuters utilising Sutton and Cheam stations were, overall, of higher social and economic status than those using Wallington and Carshalton, and that, probably, contemporary housing developments in the nearby areas reflected this.[44] It also explains, by showing the numbers travelling in profitable first- and second-class and unprofitable third-class, why there was a large difference in total receipts between moneymaking Sutton and Cheam journeys, as compared with relatively unprofitable Wallington and Carshalton ones.

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42 Kenneth N. Ross, *A History of Malden* (New Malden, Surrey: Vizetkelly & Co., 1947).

43 The figures for the parish of Cheam are misleading, as they do not include those for Worcester Park station (operated by *The London & Southampton Railway Company*), which are not available in full. Worcester Park station was situated on a rural branch line between Wimbledon and Epsom, which attracted relatively little traffic.

44 TNA: Rail 950/1 *Public Timetables, 1860.*

Figure 5.7
The proportion of 1st, 2nd and 3rd class tickets sold to London Bridge and Victoria combined for each parish station, for the year ending 31st October, 1869

Parish stations													
Sutton				Cheam				Wallington				Carshalton	
Percentage of tickets				Percentage of tickets				Percentage of tickets				Percentage of tickets	
1st	**2nd**	**3rd**		**1st**	**2nd**	**3rd**		**1st**	**2nd**	**3rd**		**1st**	**2nd**	**3rd**
19.4	36.1	44.5		34.4	27.3	38.2		11.5	21.2	67.2		11.2	14.8	74.0

Source: Data derived from Figure 5.10

Sutton's overwhelming importance as a railway centre is also immediately noticeable in Figure 5.8 below. The majority of season tickets were sold for Sutton and the majority of passengers used them in all stations except Carshalton. This, however, is based on the questionable assumption that season ticket commuters travelled to London for six days a week and for 50 weeks a year, which, of course, exaggerates the position, held by season ticket holders. While holding a season ticket did not necessarily mean that an individual was middle-class it did indicate that such a person had the requisite funds to pay well in advance for ones expected journeys. This would imply that such individuals had a regular job, an adequate income and that they expected this to continue.[45] Charles Booth stated, 'It is only the man whose position is assured who can treat railway or tram fares as a regular item of his daily budget'.[46] The higher social status of Cheam is again revealed here, while the low percentage for Carshalton may have implied a poorer clientele, or that the station was used more for occasional journeys such as those to Victoria. If workmen had been able to afford season tickets from 1860s they would have benefited greatly. Workmen's Cheap Trains' daily single tickets to the London termini (see Figure 5.9 below) were, over the whole year, cheaper than standard third-class single prices but not as cheap as annual third-class seasons. If an annual season was purchased the cost of a single from Sutton could be as little as 4d, against 6d for a Workman ticket.

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[45] H.J. Dyos and Derek H. Aldcroft, *British Transport: An Economic Survey from the Seventeenth Century to the Nineteenth* (Leicester University Press, 1971), p.351.

[46] Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1892), p.263.

Figure 5.8
Annual season ticket sales, on The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway, in October 1869, for London Bridge and Victoria, for four of the research parish's stations

Parish stations								
		Cheam		Sutton		Wallington	Carshalton	Total
No. of season tickets		388		2915		540	188	4031
	% of total	9.6		72.3		13.4	4.7	
	% of all parish stations' tickets	8%		69%		14%	9%	
	% of all individual station's tickets	98%		89%		84%	46%	

Source: Data derived from Figure 5.10

Figure 5.9
The price of Workman Train singles (to Victoria and London Bridge), 1912

Epsom		**9d**
Ewell		**8d**
Sutton		**6d**
Cheam (Village)		**7d**
Hackbridge		**6d**
Carshalton		**6d**
Wallington		**6d**

Source: The London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company booklet, 1912

As one might expect, for The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway Company, Sutton was the most profitable suburban station and consequently the most lucrative research parish station. Figure 5.10 below illustrates this. Receipts for Sutton were four times greater than those for Cheam, whilst those for Wallington and Carshalton trailed well behind both of the other stations. However, the number of passengers using Wallington was more than one and half times greater than those utilising Cheam, while those using Carshalton were only an eighth of those travelling via Sutton. Nevertheless, more commuters were utilising Carshalton than either Cheam or Wallington, but the bulk of Carshalton's commuters consisted of the less profitable, from the company's standpoint, third-class travellers.

Figure 5.10

The total numbers of tickets sold and the receipts received, for London Bridge and Victoria combined, for the four parishes, for the year ending 31st October. 1869

Parish Station	Single tickets						Return tickets						
	1st		2nd		3rd		1st		2nd		3rd		
	No.		No.		No.		No.		No.		No.		Totals
Sutton	5116		6872		11843		17400		33786		39856		
	5116		*6872*		*11843*		*34800*		*67572*		*79712*		*As singles 2059015*
													As returns 102953
Receipts		£333		£412		£532		£1162		£1703		£1450	£5590
Cheam (Village)	2188		1013		1868		5136		4438		5987		
	2188		*1013*		*1868*		*10272*		*8876*		*11974*		*As singles 36191*
													As returns 18095
Receipts		£206		£74		£111		£413		£268		£272	£1344
Wallington	1731		4963		9740		2671		4038		15768		
	1731		*4963*		*9740*		*5342*		*8076*		*31536*		*As singles 61388*
													As returns 30694
Receipts		£54		£268		£360		£78		£92		£98	£950
Carshalton	324		533		7896		601		739		1074		
	324		*533*		*7896*		*1202*		*1478*		*2148*		*As singles 13581*
													As returns 67090
Receipts		£14		£28		£133		£34		£42		£66	£317

Source: TNA, Rail 415/560 *Passenger Traffic between London and Stations within fifteen miles, in the Metropolitan District: Year Ending 31st October, 1869*

In their urban studies, historians clearly show the differing affects of rail services on passenger movements and urban growth between the southern inner and southern outer suburbs. H. J. Dyos, in his scrutiny of Camberwell was unable to detect active railway influences on overall suburbanisation.[47] David Thorns and Simon Jenkins, on the other hand, maintain that the expansion of the outer London suburbs was virtually completely the creation of the railways.[48] These suburbs with their large middle-class immigrant

47 Armstrong, 'Transport and the urban environment', p.245.

48 Thorns, *Suburbia*, p.38; Simon Jenkins, *Landlords to London: the Story of a Capital and Its Growth* (Constable London, 1975), p.130.

populations were dependent on City employment.[49] Here, rail services were 'the only effective means' of commuter transport.[50] Therefore, it was inconceivable, prior to the arrival of the railroads, for any but the most unhurried and wealthy commuter to select distant southwestern localities, such as Sutton, as the location from which to make every-day excursions to the city. Even though, before the 1850s, outer suburban rail fares to such places were relatively high compared with earnings, these came progressively down, in real terms (with the declining cost of living), throughout the course of the latter part of the century. Locally, fares, in monetary terms, remained much the same throughout the research period and up to the First World War. This is well illustrated by single and return fares from Sutton to the London termini in this period (see Figure 5.11 below).[51]

Figure 5.11
Single and return fares from Sutton to the London termini

Sutton		Single fare				Return fare		
		1st	2nd	3rd		1st	2nd	3rd
1906		1/9	1/4	11d		2/6	2/3	1/8
1903		2/-	1/4	11d		2/6	2/3	1/8
1869		2/-	1/6	1/-		2/6	2/-	1/9

Sources: TNA, Rail 414/560 *Passenger and fare statistics 1860-69*; Holt's, *Sutton Directory* (1903); F. Richards, *Sutton, Surrey and its Surroundings* (Homeland Association, 1906), p.101

Suburban railways offered more than twice the speed, greater reliability and punctuality at less cost, than the stagecoaches.[52] By 1869, the one-way journey to the London termini of Victoria or London Bridge, by rail, from for example, Sutton, lasted only around twenty-five minutes.[53] The return railway fare was 2s 6d first, 2s 0d second

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[49] H.J. Dyos: 'The Growth of a pre-Victorian Suburb, South London 1580-1836', *Town Planning* (1954 vol. 25), 53-78.

[50] Michael Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', in F.M.L Thompson (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester University Press, 1982), p.94; Colin Thom, *Researching London's Houses: an Archives Guide* (London: Historical Publications Ltd, 2005), p.21.

[51] This enables the investigation to use ticket data from later periods to help fill in gaps in earlier research material.

[52] T.R. Gourvish, 'Railways 1830-70: the formative years', in M.J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (eds.), *Transport in Victorian Britain* (Manchester University Press, 1988), p.76.

[53] Church's, *Illustrated Sutton* (Surrey, 1880), p.26.

class and 1s 9d third class.[54] Against this, in 1826 the stagecoach took around an hour and a half to complete the London journey from Sutton and the single fare was 3s. 6d, if one commuted within, and 2s. 0d if one travelled on top.[55]

Hence, for the first time, with the advent of rail travel, it became possible for the middle-class white-collared workers, such as a fictional Mr. Pooter, to live far away from the City, to commute to their work each day, moderately cheaply and quickly, in contrast with rail's precursor the horse-drawn carriage.[56] This benefit had formerly only been experienced by the extremely rich. Nevertheless, to judge the effectiveness of rail services purely on the number of passengers carried is to ignore the cheaper and faster hauling of goods and the other services the railways also provided.[57] The arrival of the railways progressively cut freight prices and the local cost-of-living. Prior to the railways, general goods, especially coal, trekked down the dreadful highways in very slow cumbersome wagons at high cost. Coal was then a vital essential both as a domestic fuel and in the prospering local industries of Carshalton. Regrettably (for those concerned), after the coming of the railways, reduced transportation costs, increased outside competition and the availability and greater efficiency of coal-powered machines sealed the fate of local water-powered manufacturing. Fortunately, the facilities offered by railways greatly improved local growth prospects by acting as magnets attracting ancillary services. These included station hotels, buffets and national, regional and local newspaper and magazines sold at kiosks, other commercial developments and providing jobs, for both men and women, within the rail service, itself.[58]

The social and economic life of the local communities revolved around the railway stations and their associated goods yards.[59] For static and isolated urban areas such as Worcester Park, cut off from local established commercial lifelines by poor roads, the railway stations, when they were built, became the hubs of communal interactions and the departure point for business, holiday and entertainment excursions.[60] 'Our suburb

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[54] TNA: Rail 414/560 *Passenger and Fare Statistics 1860-69.*

[55] Picot's *Directory* of 1826 for Carshalton; M. Wilks, *The Book of Carshalton: At the Source of the Wandle* (Midsomer Morton, 2002), p.91.

[56] George and Weedon Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody* (Bristol, 1892).

[57] P.J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.161.

[58] Adrian Vaughan, *Railwaymen, Politics and Money* (London: John Murray, 1997), p.153.

[59] H.G. Wells, *Ann Veronica* (Harmondsworth, 1968).

[60] Barry Pain, *The Eliza Stories* (London: Pion, 1900), p.3.

has a train service which is particularly convenient for the theatres ...two or three times every month I ...take Eliza to the dress-circle.'[61] They were a necessary part of suburban living.[62] However, this separation of a home base from a fountain of cultural activities, for the younger newcomers, increased their sense of intellectual isolation. H.G. Wells' novel, *Ann Veronica,* demonstrates this.[63]

As vital a factor as the rail fare, when deciding where to reside, must have been the much longer journey times, on slow stopping trains, to daily employment in central London, from stations to the south of the research parishes. The lack of urban development immediately to the south of the five parishes, which, is illustrated by Alan A. Jackson's work (see Figure 1.2), is, in part, explained by this.[64] The areas to the south only developed with later line electrification. Figure 5.12 below, illustrates the limits of urban growth and the marked tailing off, in terms of numbers travelling and total receipts, of stations to the south of Sutton. Even though Figure 5.13 shows that the rail fare per mile, apart from that to Epsom, was slightly reduced, rail fares per mile only significantly rose after Leatherhead station was reached. Figure 5.12 also reveals the escalating relative importance, in terms of tickets sold, of travel to London Bridge after Sutton station was reached.

Figure 5.12
Passenger numbers and rail receipts, on The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway, in October 1869, for London Bridge and Victoria.

		London Bridge				Victoria			
	Distance, in miles, from Victoria	**No.**	**% of Sutton**	**Receipts**	**% of Sutton**	**No.**	**% of Sutton**	**Receipts**	**% of Sutton**
Sutton	12.80	15,420		£824		4122		£230	
Epsom	15.50	8,663	56.2%	£409	50%	966	23%	£62	27%
Leatherhead	19.50	2,345	15.2%	£183	22.2%	404	9.8%	£31	13.5%
Dorking	23.50	1,601	10.4%	£163	20%	390	9.5%	£41	17.8%

Source: TNA. Rail 414/560 *Passenger and fare statistics 1860-69*

[61] Pain, *The Eliza Stories*, p.3.
[62] Jeffrey Richards and John M. MacKenzie, *The Railway Station: a Social History* (Oxford University Press, 1986), p.166.
[63] According to Richard Tames, *A Traveller's History of London* (Gloucester: The Windrush Press, 1992), p.176.
[64] Jackson, *Semi-Detached London*, p.23.

Figure 5.13
Rail fares per mile

	Distance, in miles, from London Bridge	1st class return	Rail fare per mile		Distance, in miles, from Victoria	1st class return	Rail fare per mile
Sutton	13.53	2/6	0.19d		12.80	2/6	0.20d
Epsom	17.00	3/0	0.18d		15.50	3/0	0.19d
Leatherhead	21.25	4/0	0.19d		19.50	4/0	0.21d
Dorking	25.00	6/0	0.24d		23.50	6/0	0.26d

Source: TNA, Rail 414/560 *Passenger and fare statistics 1860-69*

The actual physical rail distance from central London alone was never the sole factor in deciding ones residential location, as can be appreciated when considering Carshalton and Worcester Park. Other issues were significant, such as the social 'attractiveness' of an area, the time taken to complete the rail journey, the level of fares and frequency of train services, and the proximity to the station, so as to be able to gain access, easily, to the station each morning.[65] Suburbs differed not just in their organizational and social make-up, but also in the extent of their dependency on inner London.[66] They grew at different rates and in a somewhat different manner, and their class composition and estate developments were dissimilar.[67]

Another underlying fundamental theoretical question to be considered is whether or not railways expansion anticipated demand or simply followed, somewhat unwillingly, the initial growth of the suburbs? John R. Kellett was uncertain.[68] Nevertheless, in the outer suburbs the prospect of future population enlargement producing profitable passenger traffic, in specific areas, rather than the existence of centres of populations, did encourage the railway companies to build stations on existing lines rather than new lines. This was locally evident. Here, the middle-class housing developments in Wallington, as those of Worcester Park, were overwhelmingly the product of the railway. Before the arrival of the railway, the hamlet of Wallington, in contrast to Sutton and Carshalton Village, was tiny, consisting merely of a cluster of houses close to The Duke's Head public house, which was situated next to Green Road and Manor Road North. In 1847, when The London to Croydon Railway was connected to Sutton,

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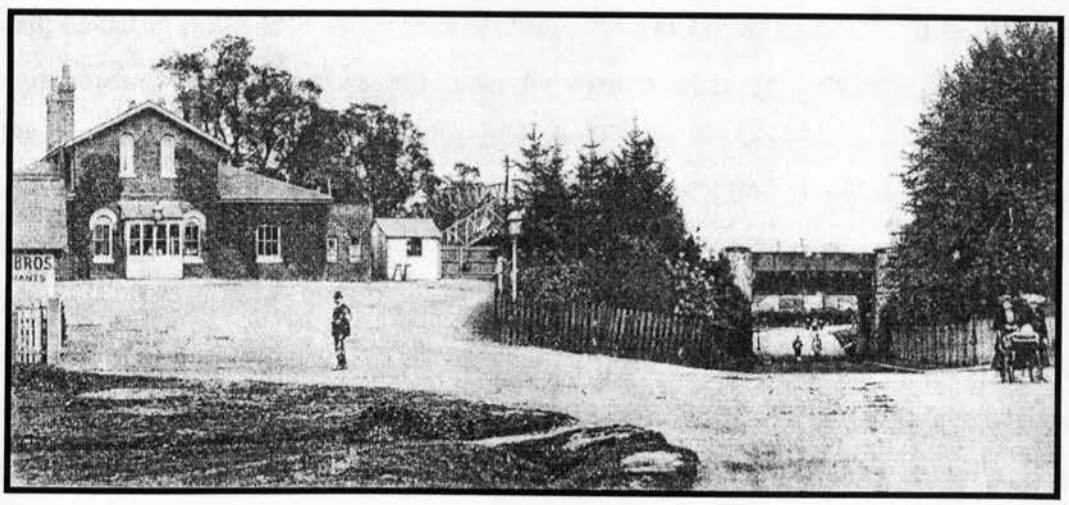
65 Ray Thomas, 'Unit 23', p.16.
66 Waller, *Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914*, p.159.
67 Thorns, *Suburbia*, p.77-8.
68 Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, p.376.

a station was constructed in the fields to the south of these buildings. The area's emptiness, in terms of population, is shown by the fact that its station was initially called 'Carshalton' because the nearest populated centre, of any size, was the village of Carshalton.[69] However, almost at once, the area around the once isolated station became populated.

Thus stations along outer commuter lines were frequently built in open countryside far removed from the then prevailing urbanised zones, as was the situation with the positioning of the stations in rural Wallington and Carshalton Beeches.[70] These railway lines were often so removed from their more obvious sources of traffic, that their stations such as Worcester Park's, could possibly be considered as adverts formed in iron, glass, and brick, instead of a facility provided by a public carrier (see Figure 5.14 below).[71] Several of these stations such as Worcester Park developed, with the usual hotel (the Railway Inn, in Worcester Park's case, Figure 5.15) into the core of a new, very small suburb, whose functional and physical connection with London, initially at least, was the railway itself.[72]

Figure 5.14
Worcester Park Station in the 1880s



Source: Sutton Library archive

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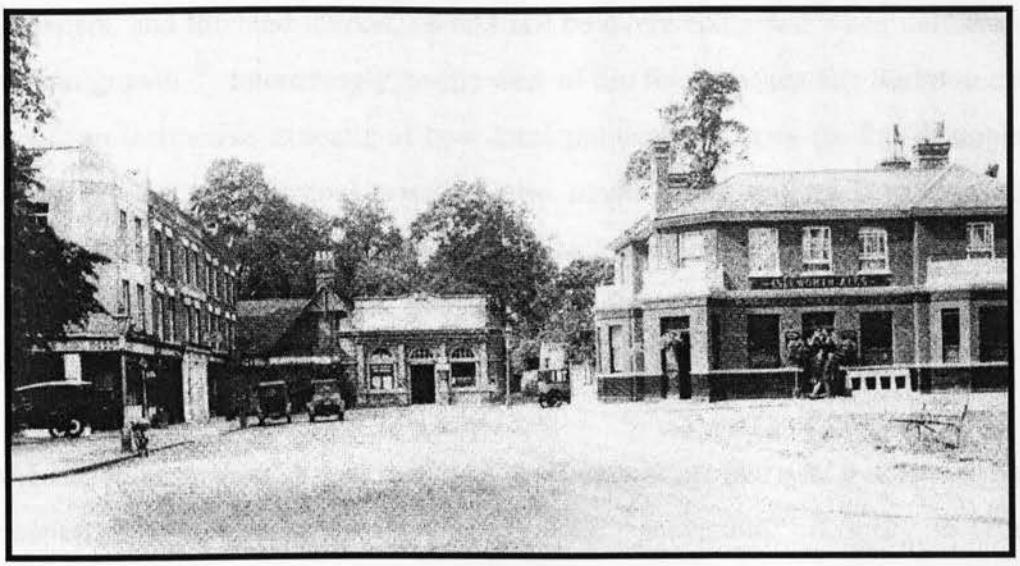
69 Douglas Cluett, *Discovering Sutton's Heritage* (Surrey: Sutton Heritage service, 1995), p.51.
70 Trent, *Greater London,* p.204.
71 J.B. Gent, 'Introduction' to J.C. Anderson, *A Short Chronicle Concerning the Parish of Croydon in the County of Surrey* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1882), p.v; Richard Tames, *A Traveller's History of London* (Gloucester: The Windrush Press, 1992), p.266.
72 Trent, *Greater London,* p.204; Thom, *Researching London's Houses:* p.33.

Figure 5.15
In 1930s *The Railway Inn*, on the right, was opposite Worcester Park Station



Source: David Rymill, *Worcester Park & Cuddington: a walk through the centuries* (Worcester Park, Surrey: The Buckwheat Press, 2000), p.9

NB: Previously, to the left of *The Railway Inn*, had been H.G. Wells' 'little clump of shops about the post-office' before the entrance to The Avenue.[73] In the photograph the post office and the butchers' are still there.

In numerous ways landowners and land developers were significant forces in such stations being positioned away from existing centres of population.[74] Even though rail companies always desired suitable sites for their stations, they usually had to purchase those on the cheapest land available consistent with the avoidance of land purchasing problems.[75] Landowners could on occasions thwart railway promoters, or property developers, by refusing to disintegrate their large estates.[76] This is plainly seen in the five research parishes. Wallington's station opening predated Carshalton's by thirteen years. This arose because The Carshalton Park Estate blocked access to suitable sites. Similarly, no station could be erected in Carshalton Beeches or Beddington because of the Estate's opposition.[77] Beddington had to wait until 1906 for a small station, at Bandon Hill Halt. This demonstrates the influence that a landowner could have on stations' locations. Jack Simmons writings provide us with an understanding into how

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[73] H.G. Wells, *Ann Veronica* (Harmondsworth, 1968), p.2.
[74] Richard Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents: housing and the land market in nineteenth-century Britain', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.49.
[75] Harold Carter and C. Roy Lewis, *An Urban Geography of England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 2000), p.84.
[76] Simmons and Biddle, *The Oxford Companion,* p.485.
[77] John Phillips, *Old Carshalton* (The London Borough of Sutton, 2008), p.7.

relations between local authorities, landowners and railway companies were formulated.[78] However, Richard Rodger asserted that the overall influence of landowners, and the land market, should not be overemphasised when deliberating on suburban growth.[79] Interestingly, to the west of the five parishes, the Surbiton example presents an instructive example of how local political pressures (in this example from the Corporation in Kingston) possibly also could affect rail track routing and the founding of railway stations. Townships, which acquired a railway station later than neighbouring districts, such as Carshalton or Kingston could still, initially, thrive but later could experience a marked relative urban decline.[80]

F.M.L. Thompson, Alan A Jackson and T.C. Barker argue that whilst railways made the formation of suburbia feasible, this did not make it inevitable.[81] Locally, in Worcester Park large-scale urban expansion never occurred although there was a provision of relatively cheap, quick, and reliable transportation, in the form of rail travel. Here, the existence of a rail services never stimulated suburban development by providing a financial inducement for developers; even with provision of sixpenny workman's fare to Waterloo and cottage rents of seven shillings per week (see Figure 1.2).[82]

Intriguingly (and perhaps contradictorily), H.J. Dyos made the observations that rents were overall lowest in those areas of the south-eastern suburbs not served by workmen's trains.[83] Competition for housing, from working-class migrants, would appear to have raised not only the housing density but also the general rent level of an area.[84] This is supported, to some extent, by W.V. Hole and M.T. Pountney's observation that the rent, the price per square metre of a suburban house's floor space, declined as its size

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78 Jack Simmons, *The Railway in Town and Country* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1986), pp. 141-70.

79 Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents', p.39.

80 G.B. Greenwood, *Kingston upon Thames: a Dictionary of Local History* (Surrey: Martin & Greenwood Publications, no date given, but published later than 1966), p.47.

81 F.M.L. Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (Longman, 1993), p.150; Jackson, *Semi-Detached London*, p.21; T.C. Barker, 'Urban transport', in M.J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (eds.), *Transport in Victorian Britain* (Manchester University Press, 1988), p.134; M.C. Carr, 'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley, Kent', in F.M.L Thompson (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester University Press, 1982), p.213.

82 Thorns, *Suburbia,* p.63; Margaret Bellars, *Kingston: Then and Now* (Esher, Surrey: Dr. E.M. Lancet, 1977), p.97.

83 David Cannadine and David Reeder (eds.), *Exploring the Urban Past: Essays in Urban History by H.J. Dyos* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.97.

84 Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents', p.47.

increased.[85] Increasing overall rents were always a factor persuading the middle-classes to move further away from the City centre.[86]

H.G. Wells described Worcester Park, in his unflattering fictional portrayal based on his time there, as a 'suburb' that had not 'come off'.[87] Worcester Park's continuing urban bareness is revealed in one native's memory of his youth: 'As small boys, we used to walk across the fields from the Worcester Hotel (at the end of The Avenue) to the Hogsmill River (some miles distant) to swim in the stream'.[88] The population of the Worcester Park area, in the 1880s, was still so small that cricket was regularly played on the now impossibly busy main shopping street of Central Road (then called 'Cheamside') and its emptiness is also further emphasised in the original station's name of 'Old Malden'. It was called this after the nearest locally populated settlement. For many new south suburban stations, finding distinctive place-names was not, at times, a simple task. Stations' names were often changed as the size of population settlements altered when once isolated stations became populated centres. In a more extreme local case, The Woodcote Estate (near Sutton, Surrey) was just over thirteen miles from central London but it was built nearly fifty years after a train service from Caterham to Purley was opened.[89]

As a result the construction of railway stations did not, automatically, create a centre for growth.[90] Rapid and cheap rail transportation did not always promote large-scale urbanisation.[91] Railways never did have the same uniform influence on all the parishes. For example, the provision of suburban services had little initial direct impact on the pace of urban development on Carshalton, Worcester Park or Cheam Village. There, other factors were more important in determining communal growth. For example, from the beginning, Carshalton station suffered from grave drawbacks, being built on an embankment with no sidings, which impeded entry for goods commerce.[92] Consequently, freight still had to be carted to or from Sutton or Wallington stations.[93]

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85 W.V. Hole and M.T. Pountney, *Trends in Population*, p.32.
86 Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents', p.67.
87 Wells, *Ann Veronica*, p.2.
88 Bellars, *Kingston, Then and Now*, p.98.
89 David Turnock, *An Historical Geography of Railways in Great Britain and Ireland* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 1998), p.238.
90 Susie Barson, 'Infinite variety in brick and stucco: 1840-1914', in Julian Honer (ed.) *London Suburbs* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), p.74.
91 Rawcliffe, 'Bromley', p.31; Carr, 'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb', p.213.
92 Jones, *From Medieval Manor*, p.80.
93 Phillips, *Old Carshalton*, p.7.

Further, immediate worthwhile building prospects were not possible as the station was situated in the low-lying and dilapidated manufacturing northern quarter of the village. This industrial district was singularly abhorrent to the incoming bourgeoisie servant-employing group, being massively befouled by water, ground, odour and auditory and atmospheric pollution, particularly on either side of Papermill Lane.[94] Furthermore, Carshalton had not the advantage of neighbouring Wallington Station of being a 'green field' construction area.[95] Wallington Station, moreover, in contrast to Carshalton's, furnished better, more rapid railway links with the City (being on the London Bridge branch line) together with those to Sutton and Croydon.

In numerous other examples, suburbs could also grow elsewhere in outer London from the provision of an omnibus service, which enabled new areas to be opened up without the need for the railways or 'stables mews'.[96] Moreover, as maintained by H.J. Dyos and Derek Aldcroft, it was only in the 1860s that rail transportation had any noteworthy influence on most of the outer suburbs. However, Sutton was an exception here. Its rapid population growth 'took off' in the 1850s (see Figure 4.1 in chapter 4). Dyos and Aldcroft additionally maintained it was only in the 1870s, when most of the London rail terminals were open, that many of the destinations requested by the new middle-class commuters could be reached.[97]

All writers, including John R. Kellett, maintain that rail passenger suburban networks needed middle-class passengers, particularly those travelling first-class, to produce sufficient revenue to run.[98] Consequently, they tended to follow the relocation of the affluent middle-classes to the suburbs. Locally, Victorian Sutton exemplifies this. Rail companies' profitability was then wholly based on their first- and second-class customers and not on their third-class ones. The London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway (which provided rail services for all the parish stations apart from Worcester Park) estimated that the average cost of a third-class ticket was 4s. 3d, which only produced a return of 3s. $1^{1}/_{4}$d.[99] The company thus recognised that increasing third-class passenger numbers would cut its net revenue margin and its profit ratio.

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94 Wilks, *The Book of Carshalton*, p.106.
95 Wilks, *The Book of Carshalton*, p.106.
96 Donald J. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1976), p.19.
97 Dyos and Aldcroft, *British Transport*, p.215.
98 According to Simmons and Biddle, *The Oxford Companion*, p.485.
99 David Cannadine and David Reeder (eds.), *Exploring the Urban Past: Essays in Urban History by H.J. Dyos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.96.

Therefore, as can be expected, the middle-class client was always warmly welcomed by the company as an ideal customer, for he, the male commuter, paid a high first-class fare, asked for no specific discount and travelled by advanced booked tickets.[100] The developing parishes, such as Sutton, according to the local directories, also welcomed him as a significant consumer.

Nationally, first- and second-class rail receipts, in 1850, comprised approximately 70 per cent of the total, but by 1860, they were surpassed by those gained from third-class fares.[101] This perhaps, partially, explains later low railway shareholders' dividends.[102] Countrywide, Richard Dennis states, numerous rail companies (apart, that is, from The Great Eastern Railway which according to John R. Kellett shaped suburban growth instead of just stimulating it) were completely opposed to the promotion of working-class journeying at reduced fares mainly because it was financially not remunerative.[103] In effect, railway companies would have to subsidise their very full, and slow, third class trains, which had to stop at all stations along routes.[104] The profitable, non-stopping first class 'express' trains not only attained higher speeds, thus shortening journey times, but, from the company's viewpoint, they were much more fuel-efficient, when full, than the much slower stopping trains. This is because stopping trains were always mechanically much slower to accelerate to economical speeds and even slower to stop without excessive braking. Furthermore, third-class stopping passenger trains could delay more profitable long-distance traffic.[105] The time taken by the slower Workmen's Train, compared with first and second-class expresses from Sutton to London Bridge, or Victoria, was often more than one and half times as long. Moreover, it meant catching, if one was a workman, a slow and possibly overcrowded train, before 7 am after the 1880s.

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[100] Richard Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1984), p.125.
[101] Geoffrey Freeman Allen, *Railways in Britain* (London: Marshall Cavendish Books Limited, 1979), p.56.
[102] Gourvish, 'Railways 1830-70', p.75.
[103] Richard Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1984), p.125; Jackson, *Semi-Detached London*, p.25; Kellett, *The Impact of Railways*, p.376.
[104] Andrew Saint, 'Introduction: the quality of the London Suburb', in Julian Honer (ed.), *London Suburbs* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), p.18.
[105] Simmons and Biddle, *The Oxford Companion*, p.485.

5.5 Railways and segregation

Social class divisions were an early and continuous aspect of every suburban passenger's rail journey.[106] The rail companies tried to avoid the mixing of social classes by providing separate carriages and scheduling separate worker trains at earlier times in the morning.[107] Furthermore, the companies begrudged providing unprofitable cheap workmen's services, which as well could upset their middle-class customers by the presence of purportedly ill-mannered workers on their station platforms, awaiting their trains.[108] In addition, they believed that the provision of a third-class service aided the creation of working-class suburbs.[109] This would entail the possible loss of income, for as the middle-classes moved further away, the companies would be deprived of highly profitable non-peak hour travelling by middle-class households, to other areas, and perhaps more importantly to other rival rail companies.[110] Further to which was the additional heavy rate burden on the railway companies (also faced by the remaining affluent residents), to be encountered as a suburb became more poverty stricken.[111] This was evident in Camberwell, with downward shift into deprivation, where the rateable value per head was by the the1890s the lowest in south London.[112] There was, as well, the anxiety that the lower middle-class, for example clerks who could pay for the more costly second-class fares, would utilize the low-priced third-class trains for preference.[113]

The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway Company's timetabling, structured by scheduling separate worker trains at earlier times in the morning and by the running of fast 'express' non-stopping trains to London Bridge or Victoria from Sutton at peak times, meant that differing rail class passengers, and passengers from different parish stations along the route, did not intermingle.[114] (The Express Service ticket fare was, in that period, approximately twenty percent more than the normal one.[115]) The company,

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[106] Michael Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 21-2; Pain, *The Eliza Stories*, pp. 74-80, 249-250.
[107] Martin Daunton, 'Introduction', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), p.10.
[108] Sheppard, *London 1808-1870*, p.155.
[109] Guy R. Williams, *London in the Country: the Growth of Suburbia* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975), p.44.
[110] Harold Pollins, 'Transport lines and social divisions', in Centre for Urban Studies (ed.), *London, Aspects of Change* (London: MacGibbon & Kee Ltd, 1964), p.43.
[111] David Norman Smith, *The Railway and Its Passengers*, pp. 105-6.
[112] Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.192.
[113] Richards and MacKenzie, *The Railway Station*, p.167.
[114] Daunton, 'Introduction', p.10.
[115] TNA: Rail 414/560 *Suburban Passenger Traffic.*

and its first- and second-class customers, both welcomed fast, direct segregated train services. To travel first- or second-class from Sutton on a segregated train was a clear sign of social status. Eliza's husband, in Barry Pain's novel, indicated his greater social standing, after his promotion to the position of head clerk, by immediately travelling first-class. For 'when you are travelling ...you cannot always pick and choose your company ...I felt this very much at the time when I had a second-class season ticket.'[116]

Furthermore, the middle-classes, by utilising direct rail services from Sutton station, which did not have third-class carriages, could avoid being distressed by the presence of supposedly uncouth labourers, when they were awaiting their trains.[117] Later in the day, on off-peak slower stopping trains, the rail company tried to avoid the mixing of social classes, by providing separate coaches for each class. It could be contended, even if one accepts the criticism of their vociferous radical critics, that the railway companies, by dividing their passengers into various classes, were only 'reinforcing' behavioural predispositions.[118] For consciousness of class is both one of our key judgemental processes and also a fundamental factor in our social classification of shared events.[119] Both railway companies, and for that matter land developers, dreaded the 'plague' of working-class suburban development and were only interested in middle-class customers.[120] Social class divisions were a continuous aspect of every peak, or off-peak parish passengers' rail journey.[121]

F.M.L. Thompson saw, in outer suburbia, a clear inter-relationship between suburbanization and rail services.[122] The rail companies by their scheduling and traffic policy tended to filter different classes into different areas and into better, or poorer housing.[123] This, in turn, affected the amount, and types, of dwellings constructed.[124] A nodular affect, on parish development, was very noticeable. Areas such as southern Sutton became, effectively, one class and mainly tertiary industry centres, largely serving the needs of city commuters and 'rentiers'.[125] 'They form a homogeneous

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[116] Pain, *The Eliza Stories*, pp. 70, 74-75.
[117] Sheppard, *London 1808-1870,* p.155.
[118] Cain, 'Railways 1870-1914', p.101.
[119] Thorns, *Suburbia*, p.28.
[120] Jenkins, *Landlords to London*, p.133.
[121] Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination*, pp. 21-2; Pain, *The Eliza Stories*, pp. 74-80, 249-250.
[122] Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society,* pp. 166-7.
[123] Hole and Pountney, *Trends in Population*, p.32.
[124] Carr,'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb', p.213.
[125] Jenkins, *Landlords to London*, p.137.

civilization' (of their own).[126] Locally, this found favour with the majority of upper-middle-class newcomers who wished to reside in those areas nearest the station with a first-class express service to the city, away from the lower classes. Therefore, they resided in southern Sutton, eastern Cheam and northern Wallington rather than in, for example northern Carshalton.

In the south London region, according to David C. Thorns, the railway companies, in marked contrast generally to their behaviour in the provinces, adjusted their activities, to their commuting customer base.[127] Certainly, within the parishes, as elsewhere, a hierarchy of train services, and prices, based on train speeds and the social class of passengers existed.[128] The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway's Company's actions indirectly stimulated population growth and social class segregation, more in some parishes than in others. Thus, City commuter services, in contrast to that of road, not only allowed a clearer, and more extended division of workplace from home, but also decreased the physical contact between the social classes.[129] With the daily outpouring of City commuters, home life and inter-class contact was now, to some extent, divorced from the place of male employment.

5.6 Rail companies' tariff policies

Once suburban stations were constructed and a specific social class supplied the bulk of commuters, the inertia element in rail policy became apparent. Railway companies' fares were then geared to encourage commuting by the dominant user group. Locally, the research shows that the rail companies by their scheduling and traffic policy tended to filter different classes into different areas and into better, or poorer housing between and within the parishes.[130]

The inertia element in rail policy became evident, once stations were built and a particular social class provided the majority of commuters. Railway companies' fares were then geared to encourage commuting by the dominant user group. The relative rail tariffs set a companies' investment policy toward particular stations. This then did not

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[126] C.F.G. Masterman, *The Condition of England* (London: Methuen, 1909), p.69.
[127] Thorns, *Suburbia,* p.40.
[128] M.J. Freeman, 'Introduction', in M.J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (eds.), *Transport in Victorian Britain* (Manchester University Press, 1988), p.47.
[129] Davies and Grant, *London and Its Railways,* pp. 13-14.
[130] W.V. Hole and M.T. Pountney, *Trends in Population, Housing and Occupancy Rates 1861-1961* (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1971), p.32.

change for decades (see Figure 5.11 above). The rail companies, from that point on, took more account of their user base than the rail distance to central London. When comparing Figures 5.16 and 5.17 below one observes that, although the distances varied, the fares to Victoria and London Bridge were very similar for each of the four stations; Carshalton and Wallington are identical. The only major anomalies were the cost of Sutton third-class return tickets to London Bridge and that of third-class return tickets from Carshalton and Wallington to Victoria and London Bridge, on which no reduction in price was made. Perhaps the price of the first was used, by the rail company, to encourage traffic while the pricing of the returns from Carshalton and Victoria was utilised to discourage traffic. On the Worcester Park line the single ticket cost for the three classes of travel was1s 9d, 1s 3d and $10^{1}/_{2}$d. These were much the same as those from Sutton and Wallington, and journeys took much the same time to London i.e., around 25 minutes.[131]

Figure 5.16
Rail fares, on The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway, in October 1869, to and from London Bridge, for four of the research parish's stations

Parish Station	Opening dates of railway stations	Distance, in miles, from London Bridge	Single fare			Return fare		
			1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Carshalton	1868	12.31	1/9	1/4	10d	2/6	2/-	1/8
Wallington	1847	13.20	1/9	1/4	10d	2/6	2/-	1/8
Sutton	1847	13.53	2/-	1/6	1/-	2/6	2/-	1/6
Cheam (Village)	1847	14.61	2/-	1/6	1/-	2/6	2/-	1/10

Source: TNA, Rail 414/560 *Passenger and fare statistics 1860-69*

[131] George B. Brightling, *Some Particulars Relating to the History and Antiquities of Carshalton* (London: The Operative Jewish Converts' Institution, 1882), p.36.

Figure 5.17
Rail fares, on The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway, in October 1869, to and from Victoria, for four of the research parish's stations

Parish Station	Opening dates of railway stations	Distance, in miles, from Victoria	Single fare			Return fare		
			1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Carshalton	1868	10.66	1/9	1/4	10d	2/6	2/-	1/8
Sutton	1847	12.80	2/-	1/6	1/-	2/6	2/-	1/9
Cheam (Village)	1847	13.16	1/10	1/6	1/-	2/6	2/-	1/10
Wallington	1847	13.21	1/9	1/4	10d	2/6	1/9	1/8

Source: TNA, Rail 414/560 *Passenger and fare statistics*

The inertia component in The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway Company's tariff strategy was all too apparent. Their ticket prices tended to be constant for years. The company centred its principal commercial competitive endeavours on occasional fare reduction offers to encourage travel by its most profitable group, first-class passengers. This certainly appertained in upmarket Sutton and Cheam Village where the railway company 'actively engaged in the public service – with a watchful eye on the interests of its patrons, provides every encouragement to travel, not only by the granting of monthly and quarterly season tickets at reduced rates, but by the issue of cheap day tickets to Victoria and London Bridge at periodic intervals'.[132] Similarly, The London and South Western Railway, partially because of the fixed location of its outer suburban stations, within the middle-class commuting belt, adopted this approach and concentrated on encouraging first-class travel from its main stations.[133] (The general inertia element was always evident in the rail companies' policy towards Worcester Park and Carshalton stations.)

Continual maintenance of stations was a large fraction of any rail companies' outgoings. Countrywide, building stations, with their accompanying sidings, could account for nearly a fifth of total railway construction costs.[134] Hence railway companies were

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[132] *Cheam Official Guide* (Vichery, Kyrle and Co., Ltd, 'Remo House', 310-312 Regent Street, London W1, 1923), p.6.
[133] Edwin Course, *London Railways* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1962), pp. 206, 212.
[134] Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, pp. 80-1.

reluctant, at any rate to begin with, to provide costly station facilities. Generally, companies' unremitting endeavour seemed to be to encourage first-class traffic, to reduce expenditure and so increase their returns and price their tickets to 'what the market could bear'.[135] Once stations became unprofitable because they derived most of their revenue from third-class class tickets, they persistently received distinctly less favourable treatment from their companies. This was reflected in the rail services provided and their maintenance. This in its turn, in a self-perpetuating fashion, preserved the original social class groupings of the stations' users. The tendency for every class subgroup to drift to a particular neighbourhood was hence further reinforced by railway company procedures.[136] F.M.L. Thompson thought that in such situations rail companies' tariff policies acted as a spur to continual segregated class housing developments.[137]

Understandably, locally, The London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company did not encourage working-class commuting.[138] For example, its outlay on facilitating train services from and to Carshalton and Wallington stations (these had the largest proportion of loss-making, third-class ticket sales) was much less than that for moneymaking Sutton, according to Arthur Jones and the *Directories*.[139] As a result, both Carshalton and Wallington stations had much shorter platforms than Sutton and thus could not deal with longer trains. Many trains passed through lesser stations, such as Carshalton, without stopping on their way to the major populated areas. There were fewer trains from Wallington and Carshalton than from Sutton station and these also had fewer carriages and were of the slow and stopping variety. The infrequency of trains and the greater time needed to complete a London journey could discourage people from living in such areas. A further disadvantage encountered if one travelled from Cheam, Wallington or Carshalton was that one had, in 'the rush hours', to change trains at Sutton for the non-stop services to London Bridge or Victoria.[140]

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[135] G.R. Hawke, *Railway and Economic Growth in England and Wales, 1840-1870* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 322-3.
[136] Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London*, p.241.
[137] Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, pp. 166-7.
[138] Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', p.144.
[139] Arthur Edward Jones, *An Illustrated Directory of Old Carshalton* (Wallington, Surrey: Fleetwing Press, 1973), p.71.
[140] TNA: Rail 951/6 *Working-Timetables, 1872.*

The situation in the second largest parish Carshalton and in diminutive Worcester Park, demonstrates how the rail companies often curtly, firmly disregarded locally held opinions. In 1868, the year of Carshalton's station opening, an estate developer's ad proclaiming the station's advantageous location announced that 'the Metropolis will be reached in 20 minutes'. However, this, as was the case with many advertising assertions, was too hopeful a prediction. Soon there were protests concerning the extreme tardiness of the rail service provided. Pile's *Directory*, later in 1899, serving as a representative for public dissatisfaction, expressed the prevailing view that 'the inadequacy of the (Carshalton) train service is such as seriously to interfere with the prosperity of the village'.[141] There were only 'a few fast trains in the middle of the day – particularly to Victoria – and late at night (the train services) are much to be desired'.[142] The London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company had refused, in 1896, an appeal from Carshalton Urban District Council for an additional train in the morning, with the sharp reminder that Carshalton commuters were already served by the bustling Wallington Station, in the adjacent parish, in addition to its own.[143] Holt's *Directory*, by 1911, in its constant battle with the railway company had become so dispirited that it produced the following statement: '(Carshalton) residents are hoping that, with the growing importance of the parish, the (railway) directors may soon see their way to considerably improve the service of the trains'.[144] Prompt and frequent rail services from Carshalton only became available following the 1920s electrification of the lines.

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[141] Pile's, *Beddington, Carshalton & Wallington Directory* (1899), p.65.
[142] Pile's, *Beddington, Carshalton & Wallington Directory* (1901), p.30.
[143] Arthur Edward Jones, *An Illustrated Directory of Old Carshalton* (Wallington, Surrey: Fleetwing Press, 1973), p.71.
[144] Holt's, *Directory of Sutton, Carshalton, Wallington and District 1911*, p.303.

Figure 5.18
The 1862 rail timetable – Worcester Park Station to Waterloo

Its commuting public similarly considered the services provided by The London & Southampton Railway Company on the unsuccessful Worcester Park line, to be poor. In 1862 even though seven trains travelled daily between Worcester Park station and Waterloo (see Figure 5.18 above), in both directions, the departure time of the fast evening train, from Waterloo, was too early, and the morning one from Worcester Park was too late.[145] The rail company was unimpressed by the strong criticisms expressed perhaps because the Worcester Park station was of relatively little pecuniary importance to it. The station was situated on a rural branch line between Wimbledon and Epsom, which attracted modest remunerative traffic. Similarly, the shuttle service, from Beeches Halt offered on the line between West Croydon and Sutton, aroused censure because the train service was infrequent and extremely slow. The line's two coach trains only stopped when requested to. Further, the halt's platforms were too short to accommodate longer trains.

Most communities were all too aware of the benefits, in an era when rail travel was so crucial, of a good service and as a result criticisms of railway companies often focused

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[145] David Rymill, *Worcester Park & Cuddington: a Walk Through the Centuries* (Worcester Park, Surrey: The Buckwheat Press, 2000), pp. 3-5.

on the unsatisfactory service they provided.[146] Locally, this centred not only on the train schedules but on the state of the amenities provided, for example the condition of waiting rooms and the means of access to the stations; communal discontent was especially evident in Carshalton, with its majority of unprofitable third-class paying customers. To these, the shabby Carshalton station was 'scarcely of a character to do credit either to the town or the (London, Brighton & South Coast Railway) company' and the third-class carriages were described as being 'the home of the English flea'.[147] Egress and access to rail stations was a constant problem as, for instance, in Worcester Park.[148] A special act of Parliament, in 1871, was needed to allow the wealthy inhabitants of The Avenue (see Figure 5.19 below) access, by a muddy track across Malden Green Common, to the station. In Carshalton's case, *Pile's Directory*, in 1896, mockingly asserted that, from the station booking office, waders were obtainable and necessary 'to navigate the so-called cinder path leading to 'Westmead Corner' (where the mucky entrance to Short's dairy farm then bordered Lower Road). In Wallington, a local directory, as late as 1884, referring to the main road, remarked that 'a public road is now made from the Green to the Church. It is hoped ere another twelve months there will be asphalting to the station.'[149]

Figure 5.19
The heavily wooded Avenue, 1880s

[146] Arthur E. Smailes, *The Geography of Towns* (Hutchinson University Library London, 1953), p.57.
[147] Pile's, *Beddington, Carshalton & Wallington Directory* (1899), p.65.
[148] Ross, *A History of Malden*, p.131.
[149] Pile's *Sutton and District Directory* (1884).

Even with such a financially successful station as Sutton the railway company warily waited a long time, some twenty years, before improving the basic passenger facilities initially provided in 1847. Perhaps 'the fact (that the) railway company did not expect to do much business was pretty evident from the accommodation provided. The booking office, parcel office, stationmaster's office, porters' room, waiting rooms, etc., were all comprised in one little wooden shed not more than thirty feet long and half-a-dozen feet deep at the outside.'[150] Furthermore, the railway company never got round to building a new and more suitable station on the west side of Sutton High Street to eliminate the passenger and freight difficulties presented by the existing one.[151] 'The need for adequate railway provision' was now constantly emphasised in the directories.[152] 'The existing station is scarcely up to modern requirements ...but there are as yet no signs of the new station!'[153] The railway company's constant concern appeared to be to promote traffic, to keep costs down and maximise where it could, its profits. That is, there had to be a large demand, for example, for freight yard facilities before these were provided. It was only in 1901, for example, that two extra sidings were constructed at Sutton station, to cope with nearly impossible freight difficulties.

Regardless of the defects discernible in their railway services, the majority of councils and commercial enterprises (involved with property sales) and rail companies (to boost their revenues) encouraged middle-class immigration by always positively promoting in print the often erroneous notion of there being good rail services in their areas.[154] Such 'interest' groups were all too mindful of the advantages, in an age when rail commuting to the City was so essential in a parishes' development, of upholding this view. This was all too manifest in the local literature of that time. Two years after the station at Cheam was opened, in 1849, The London and Southampton Railway report stated that the station 'affords such peculiar advantages for suburban residence and for short excursions'.[155] *The Cheam Official Guide* later went further and claimed that 'each train accomplished the journey of thirteen-and-a-quarter miles (to London) in just over half-an-hour' and with 'ease and rapidity ...enables business men to reach their offices

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[150] Pile's, *Sutton and District Directory* (1899), p.16.
[151] Pile's, *Sutton and District Directory* (1904), p.5.
[152] Holt's, *Directory of Sutton 1911*, p.2.
[153] Pile's, *Sutton and District Directory* (1915), p.30.
[154] P. Newby and M. Turner, 'British suburban taste, 1889-1939', in Richard Harris and Peter J. Larkham (eds.), *Changing Suburbs: Formation, Form and Function* (London: E & FN Spon, 1999), p.42.
[155] Reports and Accounts of *The London and Southampton Railway* [SB05.] (The National Archives).

in the morning and their homes in the evening', which was never strictly, true.[156] From 1850s onwards, local estate agents often provided dubious information in their adverts as to the advantages of an area, the distance a property was from the station and from central London and the time it took by train to travel there. For example, in the *Sutton Journal* of 1880 (see Figure 4.13, in the previous chapter) a property near Sutton Green was advertised as being 'within a mile of Sutton Junction, whence the West End and City are reached in half-an-hour'.

The railways were unquestionably significant in their positional choices of routes and suburban stations. This resulted in transformation in land values and the much greater utilisation of locations close to stations. This was especially the case in the five research parishes. There, appalling roads hindered effective transportation between and within the parishes. Frequently, it was often easier to travel by train than by road, between neighbouring parishes.[157] A comment at the bottom of a Sutton boarding school's advert for daily scholars, in George B. Brightling's book, indicates that, possibly, passenger rail services were easier to use than those of the road, between the adjoining parishes of Carshalton and Sutton: 'Day Pupils travel from Carshalton (to 6, Reigate Villas, Brighton Road, Sutton) by 8.40 a.m. Train.'[158] Social and economic life within the parishes nearly entirely centred on areas within easy walking distance of the stations.

5.7 Parish roads

The extremely poor state of the parish roads is well illustrated at the western end towards Kingston, by the Worcester Park example, where practical road communication to the eastern parishes stopped. 'The roads were very bad and rough: there were no pathways or ditches, and there was plenty of water lying in the roads. Some years before 1850 I was told that on the road across the Green to Cheam carts and wagons would sometimes sink into ruts almost up to the axles.'[159] 'Cheamside', which linked Washington and Longfellow Roads, downhill to Worcester Park station, consisted still, in the 1900s, of an unmade track with cottages and farms and a huddle of shops close to the station. Road travel was further restricted along 'Cheamside' by the 'dip' under the

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[156] *Cheam Official Guide* (Vichery, Kyrle and Co., Ltd, 'Remo House', 310-312 Regent Street, London W1, 1923), p.6.
[157] Pile's *Sutton and District Directory* (1884); M. Thomas, *Victorian Sutton*, p.57.
[158] Brightling, *Some Particulars Relating to the History and Antiquities of Carshalton*, p.123.
[159] Ross, *A History of Malden.*

railway bridge, which was always, and is, subject to flooding in wet weather (see Figure 5.14). In the pre-railway period, stagecoaches took the easier Church Road, the Old Malden route to Ewell and Epsom and never went via Worcester Park, along the difficult, very precipitous Central Road ('Cheamside'), towards Cheam Village. At the extreme eastern end of the five parishes, water obstructions also often cut communications between Carshalton Village and Sutton and between Carshalton and Beddington.[160] 'Lower Road (at the northern end of William and Lind Roads), the main highway for a considerable portion of the population between Sutton and Carshalton ...in winter time is practically impassable.'[161] Moreover the parish minor roads were, themselves, in an even more dreadful condition.

Between and within the parishes, general road enhancements, following the coming of the railway, were extremely tardy to arrive partly because of the physical terrain. Also for ratepayers (as elsewhere) with other uses for local rates, deferment of outlay on road upgrading, or other services, was often evident.[162] The middle-class possibly considered that the latter contributed little benefit, and that they already paid more than their fair share, of communal services.[163] In that period the rate levy was founded on a genuine property tax and was aligned with current land uses and the rentals connected with these. Consequently, this provided an inducement, especially for those middle-class residents whose income hinged on the ownership of local property, to be actively opposed to improvements.[164]

5.8 The importance of proximity to rail stations

Convenient access to a rail station was often of prime important in newcomers' choosing of abodes.[165] Locally, proximity to a station with good services was perhaps the main reason why rents, for similarly built houses, differed so greatly between the parishes and over the research period. For instance, in the 1850s, prior to the station in Carshalton was opened, rents for cottages, were much lower in Carshalton and Beddington than in Wallington and Sutton, and even when Carshalton station did open

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[160] *Sutton Journal*, 25 March 1869.
[161] Pile's, *Directory* (Wallington, Surrey: William Pile, 1889), p.vii.
[162] Jenni Calder, *The Victorian Home* (Batsford, 1977), p.173.
[163] Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.283.
[164] Geoffrey Crossick, 'Urban Society and the Petty Bourgeoisie in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), pp. 314-15.
[165] Peter Brandon, *A History of Surrey* (London: Phillimore & Co, 1977), p.115.

in 1869 they were still lower, probably in part because of the poorer rail service offered by the Carshalton one.[166]

Generally, residential rental prices tended to rise, providing there was an acceptable train service, as the distance from the railway station was decreased, until a point between a quarter and a half a mile from it was attained, where prices tended to become lower.[167] Such a distance would not involve male commuters in too much exertion and would avoid the need for them to pay for horse transportation, to and from the station. The distance of this outward spread of the rental effect from a station depended on topography and the directional routes of existing roads, and the existence, or size, of foul smelling and noisy railway goods yards immediately next to the station.[168] There was, consequently, often an inner band around the stations, and their good yards, occupied by working-class dwellings.[169] For example, land directly adjacent to Worcester Park station was distinctly working-class in contrast to the middle-class Avenue housing area a hundred yards away.[170]

Where stations were located some distance from existing population centres and road communication was poor, as in Wallington or Worcester Park, this tended to stimulate shops and housing developments all along and at the rear of the station road.[171] The cottages inhabited by the serving classes were followed by the terraces and semidetached houses of the lower-middle-class and finally the bigger residences of the 'carriage folk' commuters, the first-class train season-ticket holders.[172]

To belong to the parish 'carriage folk', especially in central Carshalton and Cheam, implied having individual, or group, access to a private, or mews, stable and coaching house.[173] The existence of these in Cheam led The London and Southampton Railway Company to lay out, in front of Worcester Park station, an extremely large semi-circular open space for commuters wishing to park their carriages or ponies and traps when arriving or departing from that station (see Figure 5.14 above). The station forecourt

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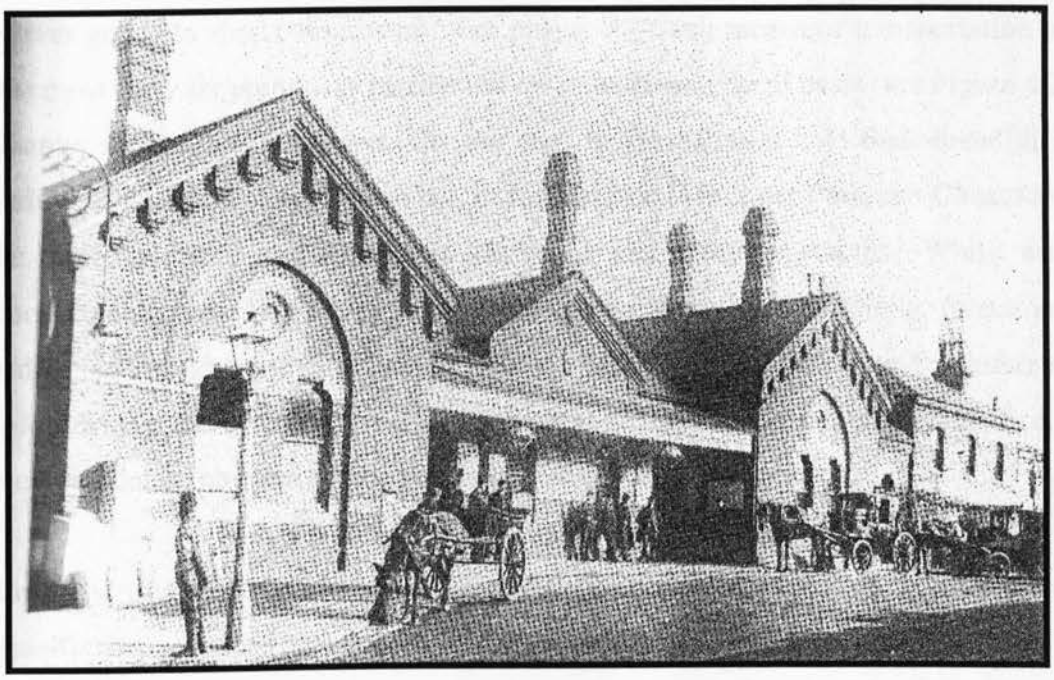
[166] Property, 48/4/38-9.
[167] Armstrong, 'Transport and the urban environment', p.247.
[168] Armstrong, 'Transport and the urban environment', p.218.
[169] Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities,* p.393.
[170] Rymill, *Worcester Park & Cuddington,* p.6.
[171] Smailes, *The Geography of Towns*, p.116.
[172] *Wallington Rate Book* 1884; Property, 48/28/3-4; Church's *Illustrated Sutton* (1879), p.11; Jackson, *Semi-Detached London*, pp. 21, 222.
[173] Thompson, *Victorian England: The Horse-Drawn Society*, p.17.

stayed much the same, for over a century.[174] In Sutton, because of its more densely settled nature, houses with attached stables became proportionately less frequent. Moreover, handling horse-drawn vehicles became an increasingly problem in the growingly congested, extremely steep, Sutton streets and, crucially, regularly employed town horses could not, like present motor vehicles, then be left out on the streets overnight, but had to be cared for in, possibly, rented stables and cost around 10 shillings each, per week, to feed.[175] Notwithstanding this, from the newspaper adverts, 'Horses AND Traps' could be hired from some of the local inns such as *The Nelson* in Lower Road, Sutton and cabs could also be hired from outside Sutton station, as Figure 5.20 below shows.[176]

Figure 5.20
Cabs waiting for hire outside Sutton Station in the 1880s



Source: Sutton Library archive

Local retail outlets, in such initially isolated areas with appalling highways, complemented those provided by regional shopping centres, such as Croydon and much later Sutton, and the services of West End stores. 'Mail ordered' items could be sent from these by rail freight and postal parcel services. The suburban consumers regarded

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[174] Bellars, *Kingston: Then and Now*, pp. 93-6.
[175] F.M.L. Thompson, 'Nineteenth-century horse sense', *The Economic History Review*, Second Series XX1X (February 1976, vol. 1), pp. 77-8.
[176] *Sutton Journal*, 30 May 1891.

the new stores in the West End as superior, more stylish and with a greater range of stock than that provided by local parish vendors.[177] According to R.J. Morris, these West End shops were, possibly, the initial places where the middle-classes, from the parishes or elsewhere, found out about new household equipment.[178] Many items, such as tobacco, were usually much more expensive locally than in central London.[179] Rail commuters frequently brought back home from the City more costly things, such as fish and meat, each evening. 'Coming from the city in the evening (Sutton) gentlemen often carried a bass (a fish) with pheasant tails protruding!'[180] Barry Pain's and the Grossmith brothers' witty novels both refer to the humorous consequences of bringing perishable items of food, especially fish, from the London stores and the poor quality and staleness of locally purchased products.[181]

Even after the arrival of the railways, pushcarts or horse drawn vehicles were needed to deliver goods to shops, houses or other places.[182] Such means of transportation meant that most daily shopping was carried out on an extremely local basis (see Figure 4.21, in Chapter 4).[183] This was especially the case in the parishes with their dreadful inter-parish roads. Parish shops provided, in for instance Worcester Park and Cheam mainly the basic necessities, for example milk, bread, and bulky vegetables. Whilst walking from stations like Wallington, in Wallington's case in a northerly direction, the pedestrian would have then passed a row of retail outlets including the baker's, the coffee house, the chemist's, the tobacconist's, the stationer's and the post office, with accommodation above for their proprietors.

Similarly, immediately around Worcester Park station there existed a 'little clump of (small) shops about the post-office'.[184] Furthermore, improved rail services, even within the parishes, tended to encourage road transportation, which was indicated, in part, by increasingly complex local road networks. The bustle in the new suburbs after the advent of the railway just added to the numbers of local carters and tradesmen, who

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[177] Calder, *The Victorian Home*, p.25.
[178] R.J. Morris, 'Structure, culture and society in British towns', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge, 2000 vol. 3), p.403.
[179] Pain, *The Eliza Stories*, p.256.
[180] *The Herald* (newspaper} c.1958 'Bits and pieces of bygone Sutton (10)'.
[181] Pain, *The Eliza Stories* .
[182] Lawless and Brown, *Urban Growth and Changes in Britain*, pp. 61-2.
[183] John Marshall and Ian Willox, *The Victorian House* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1986), p.104.
[184] Wells, *Ann Veronica*, pp. 2-3.

supplied the majority of local requirements.[185] It is noticeable that there was a marked decline in Carshalton's pre-eminence as a shopping centre and that there was a general growth of retail outlets around or near expanding housing developments (see Figure 4.21 in chapter 4).

Charles Hayes found that there generally existed residential patterns where 'point-to-point' prices 'formed a jagged line, with peaks close to the stations and dips between the stations'; and forming in nearly every example, a 'rough pyramid with its apex at or near the suburban station'.[186] This housing pattern, and the resulting rent structure were, of course, influenced by the social esteem of the area.[187] However, the realities of accessibility versus this rent model did not always appertain, as non-price distortions, as in Carshalton, were frequently present.[188] The railways unquestionably transformed urbanisation, modified individuals' employment chances, and locally stimulated residential and commercial growth especially around points such as rail stations.[189]

5.9 Conclusions

Victorian Sutton, according to Rookledge and Skelton, was the handiwork of the railways, whose importance was underlined, in the other research parishes as well, by extremely poor road communications, in an east-west direction.[190] Sutton, to the above authors, possessed many desirable features. It was a rail junction and its city workers certainly did not encounter the same travelling difficulties as in the other parishes. The uniform first-class fare structure between the stations (see Figures 5.16 and 5.17), train frequencies and timings, the existence of direct services to London Bridge and Victoria all favoured it. Copious supplies of inexpensive virgin land (this became available as building sites, with the arrival of piped water) encouraged middle-class immigration by providing low-priced property rentals, compared with the inner city. However reduced housing overheads for newcomers had always to be balanced against increased commuting costs.

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[185] Sally Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England* (Westport: Greenwood, 1996), p.131.

[186] C. R. Hayes, 'Suburban Residential Land Values Along the C.B, and Q. Railroad', *Land Economics*, XXXLII (1957), 177-81. The original idea of such a pattern came from Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (Chicago: Chicago III, 1933).

[187] Michael Ball and John Sunderland, *An Economic History of London, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 2001), p.178.

[188] Rodger, 'Rents and ground rents', p.55.

[189] Armstrong, 'Transport and the urban environment', pp. 232, 247; C.G. Pooley, 'Patterns on the ground' in M. Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), 439.

[190] Rookledge and Skelton, *Rockledge's Architectural Identifier of Conservation Areas*, p.30.

Locally, in the parishes, there existed a complex interfacing between The London, Brighton & South Coast Railway Company's rail scheduling structure and the resulting pattern of segregated housing. The company by its policies helped to separate the classes into precisely distinct, and socially separate, localities; this was especially the case in those parishes, such as Sutton, that grew most rapidly.[191] The company strengthened existing population movements, and undoubtedly acted as a catalyst by assisting in defining the shape, timing, pace and, to some extent, the character of parish expansion.[192] This was all too evident, when considering company policies with regard to less profitable stations such as Carshalton and Worcester Park.[193]

As a consequence of the advantageous features listed above, Sutton became one of the most flourishing and populated of the southern outer London suburbs of the Victorian and Edwardian era. Unsurprisingly, many districts such as Sutton that provided better, faster railway services, lower ticket prices and segregated housing were more appealing than others.[194] This was shown by the increasing number of trains passing through its station and the dramatic rise in its population. Certainly, in all the research parishes, as J. Parry-Lewis suggests elsewhere, the very marked population increases and the vast number of dwellings constructed occurred only after the advent of rail travel.[195]

Nevertheless, Kellett's and Dyos's research should make us reluctant to ascribe suburban expansion solely to the arrival of the railway.[196] For although, overall, the railways may have speeded up and accentuated existing social trends and aided the development of specific geographical areas, they rarely determine general suburban characteristics.[197] Other factors must be considered here such as the affects of physical environments, the actions of land developers, rising national prosperity, changing work patterns and population enlargement. At the same time, immigrants' location choices depended, in part, on the time available for commuting, the size of the householder's

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[191] J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley, 'The internal structure of nineteenth-century British cities – an overview', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.6; Colin G. Pooley, 'Choice and constraint in the nineteenth-century city: a basis for residential differentiation', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), pp. 202, 204.

[192] Asa Briggs, 'The Victorian City: critics & defenders', in Camilla Lambert & David Weir (eds.), *Cities in Modern Britain* (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1975), p.15.

[193] Jones, *An Illustrated Directory of Old Carshalton*, p.71.

[194] John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing 1815-1985* (London: David & Charles Ltd, 1978), p.109.

[195] J. Parry-Lewis, *Building Cycles and Britain's Growth* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1965), p.101.

[196] Lawless and Brown, *Urban Growth and Changes in Britain*, p.66.

[197] Sheppard, *London 1808-1870*, p.154.

income, the desire for residence in an individual family dwelling in a select area and access to low cost and fast daily travel to employment in the City.[198]

All the aspects involved were 'multi-dimensional phenomena', which cannot be telescoped to simply one element, as Dyos confirmed in his study.[199] The suburbanisation process was always the cumulative outcome of the interplay of numerous elements.[200] Thus, ultimately, one must bear in mind Alan A. Jackson's warning that 'there is a temptation to over-emphasise and oversimplify the part played by public transport in the growth of the suburbs'.[201] Taking this caution on board, the majority of historians now seem to agree that the railways were not the exclusive cause of the formation of suburbs, but that the extent, and type, of suburban expansion were significantly affected by the existence, or absence of good railway services.[202]

[198] Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', p.149.
[199] Discussed in Eversley, 'Fifth Discussion', p.276; Carr, 'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb', p.276.
[200] Eversley, 'Fifth Discussion', p.258.
[201] Jackson, *Semi-Detached London*, p.212.
[202] David Norman Smith, *The Railway and Its Passengers,* pp. 95-7.

Chapter 6

Middle-class characteristics of suburbanisation

6.1 Introduction

The principal focus of this chapter will be on the middle-class features of the research parishes, as exhibited in their class profiles, gender distributions, occupational and household structures, domestic services and housing categories (as largely grouped by their rental/rateable evaluations). The conclusions reached are supported by census returns for the five parishes for the years 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881 and 1891. These sustain the view that the main element shaping parishes' urban developments was their varying levels of overall growing 'middle-classness'. This was shown, in the CEBs, by their differing proportions of rising city commuting white-collar workers, their degree of dependency on youthful domestic female servants and their differing formation of residential districts with distinctive social segregation. Within the censuses, the research found that an undisputable sign of an increasingly middle-class district within the parishes, over successive decades, was the rising proportion of female, generally young servants, resident there. However, when considering such data, much of the analysis is centred on a detailed comparison of the records for the two largest parishes, Sutton and Carshalton, for the years 1861 and 1881.

The chapter continues with a description of the middle-class groupings, their characteristics, their relative and increasing size, escalating social class separation, the bourgeoisie employment of dependent domestic servants and the resulting changing age and gender ranges and working compositions of the parishes.

6.2 Membership of the middle-class

To most urban historians, such as R.J. Morris, mid-Victorian suburbanisation was 'substantially the creation of the middle class'.[1] It was 'predominantly an affair of the middle classes'.[2] F.M.L. Thompson thought, like many other authors, that the decisive factor in the formation of suburbs was 'effective' demand, exercised by the rising middle-classes' desire for a suburban retreat away from city stress. Once settled there,

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[1] R.J. Morris, 'The Middle-class and the Industrial Revolution', in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), pp. 286, 304.

[2] Jack Simmons, 'The power of the railways', in H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973 vol. 1), 298.

the middle-classes, while tending to live in individual family dwellings serviced by relatively cheap, unmarried young female domestics, in socially segregated areas, expected also to maintain easy commuter rail access, for their employed male members, to city jobs.[3] Distinctly dissimilar socially segregated areas, which were previously evident in different small districts of London, were inclined simply to be maintained and extended further away into larger, and more rigid, zones in suburbia such as Sutton.[4]

The features that distinguished bourgeois settlements and individual membership of 'middle-classness' are often difficult to identify and calculate.[5] The middle-class was not a single social class.[6] The middle-class was fashioned from ascending subclasses. Extremes of wealth were very noticeable within the middle-class subgroups.[7] The middle-class ranged from relative affluence to near poverty, extending upwards from a salary of £150 a year, paid to a fictional clerk like Mr Pooter, to an equally imaginary rich city merchant such as Soames Forsyte.[8] Grossmiths' fictional masterpiece, *The Diary of a Nobody,* with its epitomised icon Mr Pooter and also Barry Pain's *Eliza Stories* give us inestimable insights into lower middle-class suburban aspirations, and tastes, in the Victorian era.[9] They illustrate lower-middle-class male heroes' attempts to ascend the social escalator and the hurdles they encounter, while at the same time farcically endeavouring to exercise masculine patronisation and authority in their own domestic households. The Pooters' household lived in Holloway, a typical London suburb, in the late Victorian period. Their way of life was comparable, in many ways, to those of a similar subclass residing in Sutton. There are, within Grossmiths' book, dealing with the Pooters, topographical references to Sutton as illustrated by Mrs James' frequent visits to the Pooters, from burgeoning Sutton, and their return visits to her. John Galsworthy based his Forsyte novels dealing with the upper middle-class way of

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3 F.M.L. Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (Longman, 1993), pp. 162, 171; Paul Lawless and Frank Brown, *Urban Growth and Changes in Britain: an Introduction* (London: Harper & Row, 1986), p.66; David Norman Smith, *The Railway and Its Passengers,* p.97; Helena Barrett and John Phillips, *Suburban Style: the British Home, 1840-1960* (London: Macdonald & Co, 1987), p16; F.M.L. Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (Longman, 1993), p.149.

4 Kit Wedd, *The Victorian House* (Aurum Press, 2002), p.13.

5 Helen Long, *The Edwardian House* (Manchester University Press, 1993), p.8.

6 Wedd, *The Victorian House,* p.1.

7 Lawless and Brown, *Urban Growth and Changes in Britain,* p.58.

8 George and Weedon Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody* (Bristol, 1892); John Galsworthy, *The Man of Property* (London, 1906).

9 According to G. Cunningham, 'The riddle of suburbia: suburban fictions at the *fin de siècle*', in Robert Webster (ed.), *Expanding Suburbia: Reviewing Suburban Narratives* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000), p.57.

life on his memories of time spent in his father's house, Coombe Warren, in the New Malden area, which abutted the research parish of Cheam.[10]

Even with problematic distinctions, people then possessed a clear idea as to what social group or subgroup they belonged to.[11] The fictional Mr Pooter firmly believed that he was middle-class. 'I thought it was *possible* for a City clerk to be a *gentleman.*' Although, the upper-working-class, the artisan and tradesmen who Mr Pooter encountered (who Mr Pooter recognised as possibly earning more), doubted this and disliked the lower middle-class assuming the demeanour of the upper-middle-class.[12] The 'artisan' working-class might be richer and 'might possibly call themselves my equals' but they 'are not careful enough about respectability', as Barry Pain's absurd hero observed.[13] The Pooters' lower middle-class social position was clearly indicated, to the readers of the *Punch* magazine, by their living in a noisy terrace house in Brickfield Terrace backing onto a railway line.[14] In contrast, the upper middle-class, in real life, tended to live in detached residences, the middle middle-class in semi-detached, while the lower middle-class, such as the Pooters and Barry Pain's hero, dwelt in terraces.[15]

Roy Lewis and Angus Maude observed that when households lived in dwellings in middle-class neighbourhoods they felt middle-class.[16] For Richard Centers, social subgroups arose from people's 'feelings of loyalty' towards a particular group and 'is no more or less than what people collectively say it is'. They have 'an entirely subjective kind of membership', which is founded on 'an individual's 'ego" and 'his or her sense of 'belongingness".[17] Within middle-class subclasses, members become aware of how they are perceived and accordingly alter their behaviours in attempts to conform to implicit directives.[18] This conforming can determine their lifestyles,

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[10] Margaret Bellars, *Kingston: Then and Now* (Esher, Surrey: Dr. E.M. Lancet, 1977), pp. 63-4.
[11] H.G. Wells, *Ann Veronica* (Harmondsworth, 1968), pp. 42, 45, 319.
[12] George and Weedon Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody*, p.33.
[13] Barry Pain, *The Eliza Stories* (London: Pion, 1900), pp. 102, 2.
[14] According to L. Hapgood, ''The new suburbanites' and contested class identities in the London Suburbs, 1880-1900', in Roger Webster (ed.), *Expanding Suburbia: Reviewing Suburban Narratives* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000), p.38.
[15] Trainor, 'The middle-class', p.692.
[16] Roy Lewis and Angus Maude, *The English Middle Classes* (London: Phoenix House, 1950), p.18 as quoted in Nick Hayes, 'Calculating class': housing, lifestyle and status in the provincial English city, 1900-1950, *Urban History,* 36, (1), 2009.
[17] Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), pp. 27, 78 as quoted in Hayes, 'Calculating class'.
[18] David Hey, *How Our Ancestors Lived* (Richmond: Public Record Office, 2002), p.71.

clothing, bodily odours and even language. When utilising this accommodating route, the middle-classes also observed how other social groups behave. They also regarded their subgroup and how they themselves behaved. Consequently, subgroup partisanship involves the collective interpretation and critical surveillance of the cultural differences appertaining to other subgroups and classes. Thus each subclass is intensely conscious of subtle marks of dissimilarity. All of this helps to generate social demarcation lines as markedly exhibited by lower middle-class Mr Pooter and Eliza's husband in their behaviour towards working-class groups. Social class, or a sense of class awareness (class-consciousness), though somewhat inexact ideas, were main determinants of social segregation in the suburbs.[19]

Nationwide, the proportion of the population belonging overall to the various divisions of the middle-class increased in the research period. This national enlargement was more than reflected in the London suburban setting. The number of persons (in the middle-class grouping) earning £200 to £500 per year (according to Geoffrey Best), in the interval between 1851 and 1871, doubled.[20] In 1860 the number of persons per 10,000 of the population, for income tax purposes, earning more than £200 was 30, but by 1886 this total had increased to 70.[21] Not only were jobs in the tertiary sector increasing, as a proportion of total employment, but jobs within the tertiary segment were also becoming more varied. London, as compared with the provincial cities, had, by the 1870s, a greater proportion of its inhabitants within the middle-class groups and was also the largest centre of personal affluence within the kingdom.[22] These factors made the London suburbanisation process somewhat different to that in the provinces.[23] Nationally, perhaps 13.4 per cent of the population belonged to the middle-classes in 1851. By 1881 that percentage had grown by 3 or 4 per cent.[24] For example clerks, such as Mr Pooter or Eliza's husband as a percentage of the employed males, increased

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[19] David Cannadine, 'Residential differentiation in the nineteenth-century towns: shapes on the ground to shapes in society', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.241; Harold Carter and C. Roy Lewis, *An Urban Geography of England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 2000), p.123.

[20] Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1875* (New York, 1972), pp. 82-3.

[21] W.V. Hole and M.T. Pountney, *Trends in Population, Housing and Occupancy Rates 1861-1961* (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1971), p.32.

[22] W.D. Rubinstein, *Elites and the Wealthy in Modern British History* (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1987), p.36.

[23] Colin Thom, *Researching London's Houses: an Archives Guide* (London: Historical Publications Ltd, 2005), p.21.

[24] John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing 1815-1985* (London: David & Charles Ltd, 1978), p.189.

from 2.5 per cent, in 1851, to over 7 per cent in 1901, in figures from 115,000 to 900,000 individuals.[25] Their general standard of living rose over this period.

6.3 Immigration and class structures in Sutton and Carshalton

The advent of the mid-Victorian suburban railways made possible the daily pattern of city work and commuting from many southern Surrey areas. Such areas now became very attractive to the middle-classes because they provided easy rail access to central London, possessed prosperous commercial and retailing centres, ample supplies of comparatively inexpensive houses for rent and were relatively crime free and pastoral.[26] (This was discussed in chapter 5, which dealt with improvements in transportation.) It may be contended, by some, that what ultimately determined the overall speed and size, of the communities' expansion, to the south of the Thames, was the closeness and character of the interactions between them and central London.[27]

Such settlements were, in essence, dormitory communities relying on good communication with inner London.[28] Suburbs like Sutton soon became, in effect, dominated by one class, the bourgeoisie, and mainly tertiary industry centres, largely serving the needs of city middle-class rail commuters, their households and 'rentiers', as discussed in chapter 5.[29] 'They (were) the creation not of the industrial, but of the commercial and business activities of London; they form a homogeneous civilization' (of their own).[30] The 'rentiers' and émigré members of high earning occupations (who were predominantly employed in the city and were hence daily rail commuters) and the wealth of their households helped to determine the overall affluence of an area. 'The proximity of the town (Sutton) to the great metropolis, added to the natural advantages

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[25] P.J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.148.

[26] G. Phillips Bevan, *Tourists' Guide to the County of Surrey: Containing Full Information Concerning All Its Favourite Places of Resort* (London: Edward Stanford, 1882), p.61; Black's, *Guide to the History, Antiquities and Topography of the County of Surrey* (A&C Black, 1861), p.22; Percy Fitzgerald, *London City Suburbs: As They Are Today* (London: Alderman Press, 1893), p.90.

[27] H.J. Dyos, 'The Growth of a pre-Victorian Suburb, South London 1580-1836', *Town Planning* (1954 vol. 25), 53-78.

[28] Anthony S. Wohl, 'The housing of the working classes in London 1815-1914', in Stanley D. Chapman (ed.), *The History of Working-class Housing* (Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles, 1971), p.30.

[29] Simon Jenkins, *Landlords to London: the Story of a Capital and its Growth* (Constable London, 1975), p.137.

[30] C.F.G. Masterman, *The Condition of England* (London: Methuen, 1909), p.69.

attaching to the district' was stated as the principal reason for its 'mushroom growth' ... 'with the introduction of railways'.[31]

The proportion of such rail commuters was much higher in middle-class communities, such as Sutton, than in working-class ones such as H.J. Dyos's mid-Victorian Camberwell and other outer London semi-rural areas such as Cheam and Carshalton.[32] For the middle-classes, residential location, in relation to work, tended to become less important than to the working-classes, who were inclined, overall, to reside within the inner London suburbs.[33] Hence a resulting and extremely visible and distinctive feature of middle-class southern suburban life was rail commuting into inner London. Here, as in Sutton, the daily morning 8 to 9 am crowds, attired in dark, formal dress, walked in an orderly fashion towards the rail station and returned each evening from the city after 5 pm. In neighbouring Wallington: 'Most of one's friends' fathers worked in the Civil Service in London, or the Bank, or some City firm, and there would be a daily stream of them walking to and from the station'.[34] The rail timetable determined much of the working day.[35] It set up the gender and social class patterns of the daytime hours.

In Worcester Park and Wallington, and to a much lesser degree in Sutton, suburbs could become middle-class male deserts during the daytime. They became female dominated zones with the departure, by train, of adult males into central London each weekday morning, while the city, in its turn, became a ghost town with the exit of office workers each evening. The local residential street rhythm alternated between morning hustle and bustle and afternoon sluggish stillness. This would be occasionally broken by a succession of tradesmen who arrived to deal with the requirements of the housewife through the day.[36] As Katherine Chorley, in her account of Alderley Edge, a Manchester suburb, says: 'After the 9.18 train had pulled out of the station, the Edge became exclusively female. You never saw a man (except)...the doctor or the plumber...the gardener or the coachman...until the evening train came in and the male procession took place again in reverse.'[37] Suburban life tended to be focused around the

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[31] *The Town Council Official Guide, Sutton (Surrey) 1906*, p.9.
[32] Waller, *Town, City and Nation,* p.159.
[33] John Collins, 'Unit 25 The growth of the shanty town' Course Team (eds.), *Urban Development: The Spread of Cities* (The Open University Press, 1973), p.110.
[34] Eileen Whitening, *Anyone for Tennis?* (London Borough of Sutton Library & Arts Services, 1979), p.57.
[35] Simmons, 'The Power of the Railways', pp. 295-6.
[36] Simmons, 'The Power of the Railways', pp. 295-6.
[37] Katherine Chorley, *Manchester Made Them* (London: Faber, 1950), p.147.

railway station, with its platform bookstall and coal yards and its nearby small shops (as discussed in chapter 5).

This daily lemming-like trekking had, from local and national newspaper reports, intimidating real, or 'perceived', crime implications for both the inner City and local areas.[38] In daytime the parishes were threatened by the lack of adult male family protectors, while at night criminals were active in the empty city. The dependency on inner city services was increased by the fact that many of the wealthy businessmen stayed on in the city after work, socialising in their clubs and places of entertainment.[39] As a result of this and the enormous and constant inflow of newcomers into the parishes, local cultural societies and clubs with their associational life were only slowly established. It was only when these did arrive that the rapidly enlarging populated parishes gained a real life of their own.

As Sutton developed, becoming more and more appealing to white-collar workers, its fundamental middle-class character increased. In Sutton, in the CBE returns of 1861 and 1881, the relative size of Classes I and II, which were formed of mostly immigrant middle-class members, was usually greater than was the case nationally (within Armstrong's recognized categorization, see Chapter 3). (French also discovered this in his Surbiton survey.[40]) Locally, Classes I and II categories (including clerks) together grew from 30% of all households, in 1861, to 38% of all households by 1881. Nevertheless, the biggest class was still Class III, which was around one-third of all recorded households. This group was composed of semi-skilled and skilled workers who were required to service the parish. However, Sutton had a smaller Class III (even with the exclusion of clerks) than was the situation nationwide. During the same decades, the percentage of households in Class IV and V declined from 36% to 29%. The bulk of the occupations listed for these, for both sexes, were of an unskilled nature, e.g. 'labourers' or 'domestics'. Sutton's local employment profile was increasingly dominated by the dealing and services and construction sectors, which reflected typical features of suburban demand and consumer expectations.

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[38] D.J. Walmsley & G.J. Lewis, *People & Environment* (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1993), p.243.

[39] Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), p.xxxiv.

[40] Christopher French, 'Who lived in suburbia? Surbiton in the second half of the 19th century', *Family & Community Historical Society*, Vol. 10(2), November 2007, 98.

Following the London trend, newcomers to Sutton, born outside Surrey, tended increasingly to be middle-class, occupying more lucrative work positions. They formed a growing percentage of Sutton's population. Most of these 'professionals' commuted by rail to their workplaces in the city. Affluent professional commuters and non-commuting 'rentiers', positioned at 'the top of the social pyramid', supported a multitude of local services and dependents.[41] The local directories often acknowledged this state of affairs.[42] In the 1861 Sutton section of the national census, according to a sample analysis, well-off immigrants formed 37 per cent of the male working population. They were, however, over-represented in the more age-remunerated professions (that is, occupations where salary increased with the age of the person) such as architecture and engineering (84 per cent), clerical and legal work (82 per cent), teaching (75 per cent), railroad employment (65 per cent), policing (64 per cent), domestic service (55 per cent), bricklaying (50 per cent), commercial activities (45 per cent), and as independent entrepreneurs (43 per cent). They were, nevertheless, under-represented in poorly remunerated occupations such as agricultural (32 per cent) and general labouring (28 per cent).

The number of rich non-commuting middle-class 'rentiers', who had retired to Sutton living on earnings gained from investment in stocks and shares, railways, property and land, was also increasing. Their consumer demand enlarged the numbers involved in the dealing, or retailing, segment of Sutton's economy. This in its turn enticed more members of the middle-class to migrate there, by being able to cater for their needs.[43] Perhaps, in the London region, at least three out of twelve suburban inhabitants were dependent on the middle-class for some form of employment.[44]

However, even as the bulk of the new bourgeois professionals journeyed in the morning to their white-collar London jobs, the rest of the inhabitants remained behind in suburbia to service their needs. This involved, for male workers, a marked increased employment in the various construction trades. The additional incoming middle-class population, as well as needing houses, required more schools, public buildings and churches, to take care of their educational and moral welfare. The entire building sector comprised almost one-quarter of the total employment in Sutton (see Figure 6.1 below).

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[41] Brian T. Robson, *Urban Social Areas* (Oxford University Press, 1975), p.7.
[42] Church's, *Illustrated Sutton: with Street Directory* (1880), p.28.
[43] Church's, *Illustrated Sutton: with Street Directory* (1880), p.1.
[44] Donald J. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1976), p.310.

Other local building stimuli, which were mirrored in the employment composition of Sutton, were the construction of roads and of waterworks, a reservoir and the laying of water supply pipes, in the 1860s. This amplified the magnitude of the 'mining sector', which incorporated these in 1871, to 10% of the labour force. All such constructional activities were recorded, with great pride and glee, in the local newspapers and directories and were there portrayed as signs of suburban progress. Even though, for the remainder of the century, construction stayed a significant factor, it did not keep its place as the main sector of the economy, once much of the town had been constructed.

The overall numbers employed in Sutton's local economy could not have been achieved without growing consumer demand from this expanding émigré middle-class. The immigrants' high 'upper' occupational percentage figure mirrored Sutton's frenetic building boom and was the major element in the comparatively high percentage of daily rail commuting, referred to in chapter 5. They were also an important factor in family formation, in the 30-40 year old age band, and servant employing.[45] In contrast, immigrants from nearby rural Surrey tended to be unskilled working-class. Figure 6.1 below illustrates the preponderance of farm labourers from Surrey and the domination of the services and property sectors by London migrants in Sutton's employment structure. Also going every day, into the parish, was an influx of less affluent service workers from the nearby rural areas and much general crisscross travel by workers, in a mainly south-north direction, from neighbouring districts.

Figure 6.2 below shows that Sutton was progressively developing into a bustling outer London commuter suburb in the 1850s and 1860s, with the influx of bourgeois professional households. This was when Sutton's urban development first grew substantially. The local and national forces affecting Sutton's employment profile gave rise to a profile very dissimilar to that displayed nationally. It can be maintained that an inflow of professional migrants was inclined to invigorate job opportunities by enlarging the demand for local goods and services, but this ignores the strains, as exhibited from the 1860s, in many parts of the five parishes as elsewhere, on the availability of accommodation, drinking water, sanitation and health services.[46]

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[45] Edward Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households in Rochdale 1851-1871* (Garland, 1986), p.109.
[46] D. Mageean, 'Unit 9 principal themes in migration studies' in *OU D301* (OU, 1982), p.31.

Figure 6.1
Sutton Migratory Structure of Occupational Groups 1861–1881 (%)

		Birthplace percentages					
Occupations	**Census dates**	**Sutton**	**Surrey**	**London**	**Rest of Britain**	**Over seas**	**Not Known**
Agriculture	**1861**	27.71	33.74	7.23	28.92	1.20	1.20
	1881	6.82	34.09	9.09	50.00	0.00	0.00
Mining	**1861**	53.84	33.33	8.33	4.50	0.00	0.00
	1881	9.67	14.29	28.57	47.47	0.00	0.00
Building	**1861**	18.82	20.00	3.53	57.65	0.00	0.00
	1881	20.55	10.96	13.70	54.79	0.00	0.00
Manufacturing	**1861**	16.83	25.74	17.82	39.61	0.00	0.00
	1881	14.29	10.39	40.26	32.46	2.60	0.00
Transport	**1861**	61.29	16.13	6.45	16.13	0.00	0.00
	1881	21.25	20.00	12.70	46.05	0.00	0.00
Dealing	**1861**	13.48	17.98	29.21	38.21	1.12	0.00
	1881	11.29	12.90	40.32	30.65	4.84	0.00
Industrial Services	**1861**	9.09	18.18	40.91	31.82	0.00	0.00
	1881	3.13	0.00	62.50	34.37	0.00	0.00
Public Service and Professional	**1861**	1.72	18.97	31.03	46.56	1.72	0.00
	1881	5.66	11.32	33.96	47.17	1.89	0.00
Domestic Service	**1861**	11.27	22.55	22.18	42.19	0.36	1.45
	1881	8.17	15.95	19.46	56.03	0.39	0.00
Property Owning and Independent	**1861**	2.56	12.82	43.59	38.47	2.56	0.00
	1881	3.02	3.08	52.54	35.81	5.55	0.00
Labourers	**1861**	38.46	26.92	3.85	25.00	0.00	5.77
	1881	18.00	24.00	10.00	48.00	0.00	0.00

Source: CEBs 1861 and 1881

An additional factor in the comparative distribution of occupations, in Sutton, but not in Cheam and Carshalton, in the mid-nineteenth century, was a relative, and absolute, decline in manufacturing and a relative decrease in agrarian employment between 1841 and 1861 and also their dramatic reduction, as a percentage of the total workforce in 1881 compared with 1841. In Figure 6.2 below, the percentage figures, rather than the number total for each employment sector, are more significant. For Sutton's population jumped in percentage terms more than seven hundred percent between 1841 and 1881, from 1,304 to 10,224 and, within that period, more than three hundred percent between

1861 and 1881. In 1881, compared with 1861, the proportion engaged in agriculture was lower but the numbers were higher. This perhaps reflected the rapid growth of market gardening employment in neighbouring Carshalton and Cheam. There agrarian activities, with the shift to horticulture, were very profitable. They employed roughly 20 per cent of the two parishes' working population, throughout the research period, compared with 18 per cent for England and Wales in 1861, and 11.5 per cent in 1881.[47]

Furthermore Carshalton still had a fairly prosperous, water-based industry, which provided alternative employment opportunities for some, especially in Ansell's paper mill. Even in 1861, according to the CEBs, Ansell's paper mill, in Papermill Lane, was still the main employer in the five parishes. It had sixty-one employees incorporating seventeen female paper workers and one female paper-maker. The higher paid twenty-seven male paper-makers were relatively prosperous perhaps receiving around £1 5s 0d per week compared with the £1 3s 0d to £1 1s 0d paid to millers and in the region of 14s to local agricultural labourers.[48] Male wages, as in domestic service, were normally around two times those of females'.[49] Possibly a sign of this opulence can be measured from the social standing occupied by the mill foreman, Henry Smitherman of 15 Papermill Lane. His household, besides including himself, his wife and his five children, also had a resident servant. Ansell's mill employed nearly a quarter of Carshalton's male craft employees and the entire female ones. The paper mill plant had a major influence on artisan male in-migration, especially from Kent. However, Carshalton's dealing sector was now in relative decline from the 1840s.

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[47] Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain,* p.79.

[48] M. J. Daunton, *Progress and Poverty: an Economic and Social History of Britain 1700 - 1850* (Oxford, 1995), p.427.

[49] T.M. McBride, *The Domestic Revolution: The Modernisation of Household Services in England and France 1820-1920* (Croom Helm, 1976), p.50.

Figure 6.2
Sutton's Occupational Structure 1841-81

	Occupied Population					
	1841		1861		1881	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Agriculture	31	270	8	170	5	344
Mining	1	8	7	149	7	482
Building	4	35	16	340	16	1102
Manufacturing	7	60	2	43	2	138
Transport	1	9	3	64	3	207
Dealing	6	52	10	213	11	758
Industrial Services	1	8	1	21	1	69
Public Service & Professional	6	52	6	126	8	551
Domestic Service	29	252	31	659	37	2549
Property Owners and Independent	11	96	4	84	3	207
Labourers	3	26	12	255	7	482
	100	868	100	2124	100	6889

Source: CEBs 1841, 1861 and 1881

6.4 Domestic servants

Middle-class social pressures dictated, that as income increased over a lifetime, the household should move to superior, larger and dearer and more socially exclusive dwellings and employ more servants.[50]

The employment of servants then not only defined middle-class household status but also was essential for the efficient functioning of any increasingly prosperous middle-class suburban area. For Mrs. Isabella Beeton, who resided in the neighbourhood, for some time, in close by Epsom, the higher the earnings of households, the bigger proportionately the number of servants that should be employed.[51] With £200 per annum a maid-of-all-work might be employed, but with £1,000, Mrs. Beeton's opinion was that six servants might be hired. It seems that lower-middle-class clerk households, like Mr Pooter and Eliza's husband, in order to maintain their social status, needed to

[50] F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: a Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (London: Fontana Press, 1988), p.172.

[51] Isabella Mary Beeton, *Book of Household Management* (Ward, Lock and Co, 1861), p.8.

employ at least one live-in servant.[52] When their financial circumstances improved they would be expected to hire more domestic help, now 'we (Eliza's household) kept two servants.'[53]

The Butler Report of 1916 showed that nationwide the highest concentration of indoor domestics was in the county of Surrey.[54] In Kingston, domestic service represented '66% of all female employment in 1851, rising to a peak of 75% in 1871, before declining to 70% in 1881.'[55] In Sutton, which did not have Carshalton's alternative employment openings, domestic service corresponded to 79 per cent of all female employment by 1881, which was still higher than in neighbouring Kingston's, at the same time.[56] In Sutton, servant numbers increased by almost a half, between 1861 and 1881. They formed over a third of the working population by 1881. On the average, almost every middle-class household in Sutton employed a domestic servant, by the 1880s; two-thirds of such domestics were in the general servant category.[57]

Servants tended not to be natives, but migrants in expanding suburban areas. In a period when alternative female occupational choices were rare, servants were enticed to come to middle-class settlements, such as Sutton and Carshalton, by the opportunities presented by domestic service. It is thus not surprising that, in the mid-Victorian period, over three-quarters of all locally paid female work in Sutton and some adjacent suburban areas such as Surbiton was in domestic service.[58] Even so, domestic service was also the chief occupation of locally born females. However, given the enormous in-migration of females below the age of 29, the native females of the five parishes and belonging to the lower socio-economic groups, though employed in domestic service, were a small proportion of that total work force. One consequence of the large proportion of female domestic servants, resident within Sutton, was that the activity rate for female employment was comparatively high and growing as in Surbiton.[59]

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[52] John Pink, *"Country Girls Preferred": Victorian Domestic Servants in the Suburbs, (Featuring Surbiton and Kingston upon Thames)*, (Surrey, 1998), p.74.
[53] Pain, *The Eliza Stories*, pp. 145, 150.
[54] C.V. Butler, *Domestic Service: An Enquiry by the Women's Industrial Council* (1916), p.131.
[55] Tilley and French, 'From Local History Towards Total History ', 143.
[56] Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households in Rochdale,* p.60; Tilley and French, 'From Local History Towards Total History', 143.
[57] Pamela Horn, *The Rise & Fall of the Victorian Servant* (Gill and Macmillan, 1975), p.18.
[58] French, 'Who lived in suburbia?', 101.
[59] French, 'Who lived in suburbia?', 102.

Nearly all of the native and newcomer female servants were single. Few immigrant or native married women (with husbands and/or children) were acceptable as resident domestics; when they were employed it was normally outside the contracting households, as laundresses and charwomen.[60] There were fewer older than younger female domestics listed in the CEB registers; maybe because to be a long-term female servant meant, in many cases, renouncing the hope of marriage.[61] Members of the female domestic service workforce were extremely short-stay residential workers throughout their often brief, unmarried, working lives.

Male servant migrants tended to be fewer, and older, than their female counterparts.[62] They occupied higher indoor status positions, or worked mainly outside (which became the male area) as coachman-grooms or gardeners.[63] For instance, in the 1861 census, in Carshalton, the best part of male servants, 80 out of a total of 98, were employed as gardeners and grooms and, in some measure as, coachmen. However, in many adverts, male servants could portray themselves as the 'counterparts of the maid-of-all-work' in that they could carry out a broad variety of domestic duties, as shown in the following advert.[64] 'Wanted a situation as a Groom or Helper can wait at table.'[65] Outside work increased as a percentage of declining male service employment in all five parishes collectively as elsewhere, between 1861 and 1881.[66] In Surbiton and Kingston 'males were less than 10% of the indoor servant workforce in 1851 and less than 5% in 1871'.[67]

The middle-class formed, as in Sutton, around a third of Carshalton's working populations. It was this class, in both Sutton and Carshalton, who were able to employ, as servants, nearly one third of parishes' working population in their homes and businesses and their grounds. However, in Sutton and Wallington, because of their different social structures, retailers and members of the commercial classes were the main employers rather than the owners of landed estates, as in Carshalton, Beddington

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60 R.I. Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales* (CUP, 2000), p.135.
61 Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales*, p.135.
62 R.I. Woods, 'The population of Britain in the nineteenth century', in M. Anderson (ed.), *British Population History* (Cambridge, 1996), p.27.
63 Robert Brink Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850* (Longman, 1998), p.176.
64 Horn, *The Rise & Fall of the Victorian Servant,* p.73.
65 *The Sutton Journal* 17 Jan.1867
66 Horn, *The Rise & Fall of the Victorian Servant*, p.71.
67 Pink, *"Country Girls Preferred"*, p.89.

and Cheam.[68] In Figures 6.3 and 6.4 below, are the changing sizes of the principal occupational groupings in the two largest parishes, Carshalton and Sutton, in the years 1861 and 1881.

Figure 6.3
The main servant-employing occupational groups for Carshalton and Sutton in 1861 and 1881

		% of Carshalton's occupied population	% of Sutton's occupied population		% of Carshalton's occupied population	% of Sutton's occupied population
Employers of servants	**Occupational groupings**	**1861**	**1861**		**1881**	**1881**
Upper to Lower Servants	Property owners and independents	4.9	6.4		8.4	8.8
Upper to Lower Servants	Public service and professionals	9.14	7.5		8.14	10.00
Middle to Lower Servants	Industrial services	2.00	2.99		6.0	7.8
Middle to Lower Servants	Dealing	7.31	9.90		8.1	9.88
Middle to Lower Servants [69]	Agrarian activities	5.2	3.12		6.7	2.0
Total		**28.55**	**29.91**		**37.34**	**38.48**

Source: CEBs 1861 and 1881

[68] M. Ebery and B. Preston, *Domestic Service in Late Victorian and Edwardian England 1871-1914* (Reading, 1974), p.59.

[69] See Tables 6.7 and 6.8 below for Mrs Beeton's definitions of servant categories.

Figure 6.4
The principal non-servant employing groups for Carshalton and Sutton in 1861 and 1881

	% of Carshalton's Occupied Population	% of Sutton's Occupied Population		% of Carshalton's Occupied Population	% of Sutton's Occupied Population
Occupational groupings	**1861**	**1861**		**1881**	**1881**
Agrarian labourers	20.30	10.52		17.80	4.00
General Labourers/ Dealing	20.80	27.75		14.00	21.00
Domestic service	**30.44**	**30.59**		**31.00**	**36.83**
Total	**71.54**	**68.86**		**62.80**	**61.83**

Source: CEBs 1861 and 1881

Locally, the annual wages paid to 'Lower Servants' were at the bottom end of the pay scale listed in the Figures 6.5 and 6.6 below but their relative personnel pay positions, with regard to Mrs Beeton's listings, were very similar. However, by the end of the 1870s local and inner London wages seemed to have improved.[70] From the local newspaper adverts, nurses could now expect to obtain about £16, general servants £18, housemaids £14 to £18, parlour maids £20, plain cooks £12 to £14, and cooks £20 to £25 per annum, depending on age and experience.[71] More costly 'Upper Servants' were generally taken on from central London agencies or through adverts in national newspapers such as *The Times*.[72]

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[70] Frank Edward Huggett, *Life Below Stairs: Domestic servants in England from Victorian times* (London: Murray, 1977), p.53.

[71] *Sutton Herald* newspapers (26 April 1879, 3 May 1879, 17 May 1879, 14 June 1879).

[72] Huggett, *Life Below Stairs.*

Figure 6.5
Categorization and annual salary for central London male servants, 1861

Male servants		
Upper servants		**Annual Salaries £**
House Steward		40-80
Valet		25-50
Butler		25-50
Cook		20-40
Middle servants		
Gardener		20-40
Footman		20-40
Under Butler		15-30
Coachman (livery supplied)		20-35
Lower servants		
Groom		15-30
Under Footman		12-20
Page or Footboy		8-18
Stable boy		6-12

Source: Isabella Beeton, *Book of Household Management* (1861), p.8

Figure 6.6
Categorization and annual salary for central London female servants, 1861

Female servants		
Upper servants		**Annual Salaries £**
Housekeeper		20-45
Lady's Maid		12-25
Head Nurse		15-30
Cook		14-30
Middle servants		
Upper Housemaid		12-30
Upper Laundry-Maid		12-18
Lower servants		
Maid-of All-Work		9-14
Under Housemaid		8-12
Stillroom-Maid		9-14
Nursemaid		8-12
Under Laundry-Maid		9-14
Kitchen-Maid		9-14
Scullery-Maid		5-9

Source: Isabella Beeton, *Book of Household Management* (1861), p.8

The ratio of male to female domestics and their distribution, throughout the research period, was radically different in Carshalton to that in the other four parishes. Carshalton's position was extremely unusual. There the ratio was about 1 male to 2 females and that was considerably below the national average.[73] The national norm was about 1 to 11 in 1871 and that that existed in the four other research parishes was approximately 1 to 5.[74] As males were twice as costly as female servants to employ, as indicated by Mrs Beeton in her book, it can be contended that generally Carshalton, and surely the central area, was an extremely prosperous parish.[75] The higher cost of employing males, in part, occurred because males had more alternative opportunities of employment than female, for instance a groom could become a public coachman, a valet a secretary, and a cook a hotel chef.[76] In addition, this was to a certain degree a consequence of the fact that employers of male servants were taxed in the period between 1777 and 1937.[77]

Male servants, in the inside household chain of command, were likely to be at the apex, to be working in households with above two employees and to carry out more specific responsibilities, frequently entailing less physical work.[78] A *Punch* cartoon, of 1863, illustrated a female domestic loaded with a heavy scuttle filled with coal, labouring upstairs and followed by an arrogant, stylish and fine-looking butler who was delivering a letter on a silver tray.[79] Male servants' appearances were of critical importance, as their fine dress uniforms and physical conditions communicated to the outside world an upper middle-class family's wealth and social standing.[80] 'I married my wife for her money, I engage my footmen for their looks', as the husband of a notable patrician and local writer, Mrs. C.W. Earle, commented.[81] Male servants, were an essential token of

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[73] Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1966), p.42.
[74] Hill, *Servants*, p.42; J.R. Gillis, 'Servants, sexual relations and the risks of illegitimacy in London, 1801-1900' in Judith Lowder Newton, Mary P. Ryan and Judith R. Walkowitz (eds.), *Sex and Class in Women's History* (London: Routledge, 1983), p.131.
[75] Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, p.8; McBride, *The Domestic Revolution*, p.50.
[76] Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, p.178.
[77] Huggett, *Life Below Stairs*, p.21; Kristine Hughes, *The Writers' Guide to Everyday Life in Regency and Victorian England* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Writers' digest books, 1998), p.37.
[78] Edward Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households in Rochdale 1851-1871* (New York: Garland, 1986), p.65.
[79] Joan Perkin, *Victorian Women* (London: John Murray, 1993), p.174.
[80] Asa Briggs, *Victorian Things* (London: Batsford, 1988), p.225.
[81] Mrs. C.W. Earle, *More Pot Pourri from a Surrey Garden* (Nelson, 1899), p.187.

property, the external indication of social prestige, and helped define the incoming upper middle-classes.[82]

In the five parishes, only the larger households, mainly in Carshalton and Beddington, with heads of high social status employed male servants. Such male heads, in general, were financially and socially well established, normally being over the age of thirty and having possibly postponed the age at which they married before establishing their households.[83] Nationally, the majority of servant-employing households had fewer than two domestics; a single domestic being the norm.[84] The more wealthy households, as judged by the occupations of the heads, or the areas in which the houses were located, usually employed more, and older staff.[85]

Older residential staff tended to fill the higher servant categories, such as cooks or housekeepers, and had mainly migrated, as in Kingston and Surbiton, from rural backgrounds.[86] As the majority of Carshalton's servants, both male and female (as in Surbiton) were older and more costly than those employed in the other research parishes, or nationally, it can be contended that overall Carshalton (and certainly the central district) was a very wealthy parish. Upper servants, in Carshalton and Beddington, throughout the period, represented 15 to 20 per cent of the total servant population.

In Carshalton and Sutton, as elsewhere, between 1851 and 1881, there was a wide variation in the number and proportion of servants employed by the various middle-class groupings.[87] Their proportional growth in domestics, probably as in Surbiton (more than in Kingston, see Figure 6.7 below), indicates a growth in general prosperity. It could also point to extra affluence for a few households. Such households could thus increase the number of domestics they could employ.[88] This lack of middle-class

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[82] Robert Brink Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850* (London: Longman, 1998), p.176; Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.93.

[83] Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households in Rochdale,* p.110.

[84] D.A. Reeder, 'A theatre of suburbs: some patterns of development in West London, 1801-1911' in H.J. Dyos ed., *The Study of Urban History* (Arnold, 1968), p.266.

[85] Pink, "*Country Girls Preferred*", p.59.

[86] Tilley and French, 'From Local History Towards Total History', 143; S. Nicholson, *A Victorian Household: based on the diaries of Marion Sambourne* (1988), p.65; Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households in Rochdale,* p.100.

[87] Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households in Rochdale*, p.58.

[88] Tilley and French, 'From Local History Towards Total History', 144; Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households in Rochdale,* p.103.

homogeneity was reflected in often-subtle geographical road, and areas of roads, segregation between the various subgroups.[89]

Figure 6.7
Servant Distribution in Surbiton and Kingston, 1851 & 1871

	1851		1871	
	Surbiton	Kingston	Surbiton	Kingston
Percentage of females (over 13 years) who were servants	19%	13%	**35%**	16%
% of dwellings with no servant	70%	79%	**55%**	78%
% of households with one servant	14%	12%	13%	13%
% of households with 2 or 3 servants	13%	6%	**23%**	7%
% of households with over 3 servants	3%	3%	**9%**	2%

Source: John Pink, *"Country Girls Preferred": Victorian domestic servants in the suburbs, (Featuring Surbiton and Kingston upon Thames)*, (Surrey, 1998), p.89

Consequently, as in Surbiton, servants, particularly male ones, in Carshalton, were not equally distributed. Their spread in Carshalton was even more extreme than in Surbiton. Although, in 1861, some 77, out of the Carshalton's 527 households, employed 333 domestics, giving a mean per household of 4.32 the heaviest concentration was in the central Carshalton district. Nine households in central Carshalton employed 6 or more indoor servants, the total being 63; giving a mean of 7. Furthermore, four of these also had coachmen, lodge-keepers, grooms and gardeners who lived separately in dwellings on the estates. In the CEB, William A.B. Cator, Rector of Carshalton living at The Parsonage, had a wife, daughter-in-law, son and one visitor. He employed six servants, one a widow aged 45, and four single females aged 15, 22, 24 and 41 and one single male, a butler, aged 28. Another family, that of John Head of Hackbridge Lodge aged 38, classified, by the census, as a gentleman, contained besides his wife, aged 25 and one very young daughter aged 1, five female and two male servants; namely a nurse, a cook, a housemaid, a lady's maid, a general servant, a footman and a gardener. The nearby household of Thomas Rickles of Grove House aged 54, a large farmer (owner of 472 acres), was perhaps equally as wealthy. It included a wife aged 48 and four children and seven domestics. These servants were a butler, a cook, a lady's maid, laundry maid, two housemaids and a kitchen maid. The above indicates the great opulence of major central Carshalton residences; with greater

[89] Richard Rodger, *Housing in Urban Britain 1780-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.38.

wealth employers, such as these, employed more staff and thus were able to display enhanced status.[90]

A difficulty with assessing the number of servants employed in each middle-class household was the frequent use, in the CEBs, of the lone appellation 'domestic' without a qualifying adjective. The definition of occupational groupings seemed dependent, on occasions, on the interpretation of the local census enumerator. Edward Higgs argues that census data greatly overstates the number of living-in domestic servants.[91] However, in nearby Kingston in Surrey, between 1851 and 1891, domestic servants without a kinship relation to head of the household correspond to as much as 83 per cent to 87 per cent of those recorded as servants by enumerators.[92] The bulk of local parish servants working in the research parishes, as in Higgs' Rochdale or Kingston, were 'true servants'.[93] Only a minority of servants, such as male gardeners, lived in their own homes. The bulk of the rest lived in the households where they laboured. This, *per se*, enlarged the average size of households beyond the national mean.

Notwithstanding the above, in all five research parishes right through the period, the majority of females were recorded as not having any employment other than scholars, daughters or wives. This described many single daughters in their late twenties and thirties.[94] This latter listing gives an indication of middle-class social status. The social standing of a gentleman's wife and daughters, it was then held, would be ruined by undertaking unskilled household tasks or paid work, for 'if a lady, but touch any article ... in the way of trade, she loses caste and ceases to be a lady.'[95] To attain this latter social objective, and improve the 'lady of the house' social position, large numbers of female servants were employed.[96] The only other areas of noteworthy local female employment were manufacturing and dealing. These involved those who worked as seamstresses, shirt makers, milliners, dressmakers, or in dealing and retailing and those not considered as servants, but in public service and (perhaps) 'professional' such as teachers and governesses. The men, with jobs, were recorded in the CEBs as having a greater range of occupations than the women. This topic was dealt with in chapter 3.

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[90] Kathryn Hughes, *The Victorian Governess* (Hambledon P, 1993), p.60.
[91] Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households in Rochdale*, p.26.
[92] Tilley and French, 'From Local History Towards Total History', 144.
[93] Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households in Rochdale.*
[94] Hughes, *The Victorian Governess*, pp. 13-14.
[95] Huggett, *Life Below Stairs*, p.11; S.S. Ellis, *The Wives of England* (Fisher, 1843), p.463.
[96] Wedd, *The Victorian House,* p.36.

6.5 Parish non-standard age band ranges

Another sign of fast increasing populous bourgeoisie settlements were their youthfulness. Young immigrants, such as single female servants in their teens and twenties, and middle-class domestic employers, in their early thirties and forties, decreased the average age, and the mean working age, of the overall parishes' populations (see Figure 6.8 and 6.9 below). These moreover were the key elements behind the two largest parishes', Sutton and Carshalton, population expansion, as was the case in French's Surbiton.[97]

Figure 6.8
Sutton and Carshalton's sex and age structure in 1861

	% Population of Males			% Population of Females			% of Total Population	
Age Group	Sutton	Carshalton		Sutton	Carshalton		Sutton	Carshalton
0-4	7.55	6.79		6.80	6.71		14.35	13.50
5-9	5.57	5.46		5.79	5.77		11.36	11.23
10-14	4.14	4.72		5.69	4.92		9.83	9.64
15-19	**3.02**	**4.49**		**5.69**	**4.92**		8.71	9.41
20-24	**3.01**	**4.69**		**5.83**	**5.40**		8.84	10.09
25-29	**3.55**	**4.02**		**4.81**	**4.84**		8.36	8.86
30-34	**3.86**	3.49		**4.43**	3.04		8.29	6.53
35-39	**3.56**	2.38		2.28	2.61		5.84	4.99
40-44	3.32	2.08		2.07	3.10		5.39	5.18
45-49	2.72	2.40		2.01	3.05		4.73	5.45
50-54	1.84	1.63		2.21	2.14		4.05	3.77
55-59	1.63	1.63		1.87	1.59		3.50	3.22
60-64	1.22	1.79		1.14	1.70		2.36	3.49
65-69	0.68	1.03		0.64	1.11		1.32	2.14
Over 70	1.23	1.20		1.84	1.30		3.07	2.50
Total	**46.90**	47.80		**53.10**	52.20		100	100

Source: CEBs 1861

[97] French, 'Who lived in suburbia?'

Figure 6.9
Sutton and Carshalton's sex and age structure in 1881

	% Population of Males		% Population of Females		% of Total Population	
Age Group	Sutton	Carshalton	Sutton	Carshalton	Sutton	Carshalton
0-4	7.09	6.89	6.06	6.69	13.15	13.58
5-9	6.54	5.66	5.45	5.79	11.99	11.45
10-14	4.74	4.70	5.01	5.14	9.75	9.84
15-19	**3.51**	**4.61**	**8.77**	4.90	12.28	9.51
20-24	**2.55**	**4.80**	**7.83**	4.92	10.38	9.72
25-29	**2.30**	**4.61**	**5.78**	4.82	8.08	9.43
30-34	3.22	3.00	**4.81**	3.15	8.03	6.15
35-39	3.21	2.40	2.61	2.65	5.82	5.05
40-44	2.84	2.07	2.37	3.06	5.21	5.13
45-49	2.20	2.39	2.53	3.05	4.73	5.44
50-54	1.76	1.67	2.19	2.13	3.95	3.80
55-59	0.81	1.64	1.21	1.61	2.02	3.25
60-64	0.76	1.43	1.12	1.58	1.88	3.01
65-69	0.22	1.05	0.47	1.12	0.69	2.17
Over 70	0.85	1.18	1.19	1.29	2.04	2.47
Total	**42.60**	48.10	**57.40**	51.90	100	100

Source: CEBs 1881

In Sutton and Carshalton the bulk of migrants were in the fifteen to thirty-five year old age groups. The arrival of females, chiefly potential domestic servants, took place mostly among females younger than 29 but older than 15 years of age, that is to say those females of young, employable and marriageable ages. Between 1861 and 1881, the proportion of females in Carshalton, within the age range 15 to 29, remained much the same, a small reduction from 15.16 per cent in 1861 to 14.64 per cent in 1881. Nevertheless, the proportion in Sutton (in tandem with its great population increase) was very much enlarged, from below 16.33 per cent in 1861 to 22.38 per cent in 1881. Usually, the largest grouping of Sutton females was aged between 15 and 20 in 1861 but by 1881, following the general national trend, according to Kristine Hughes, the age range for the largest grouping appears to have increased to between 16 and 22.[98]

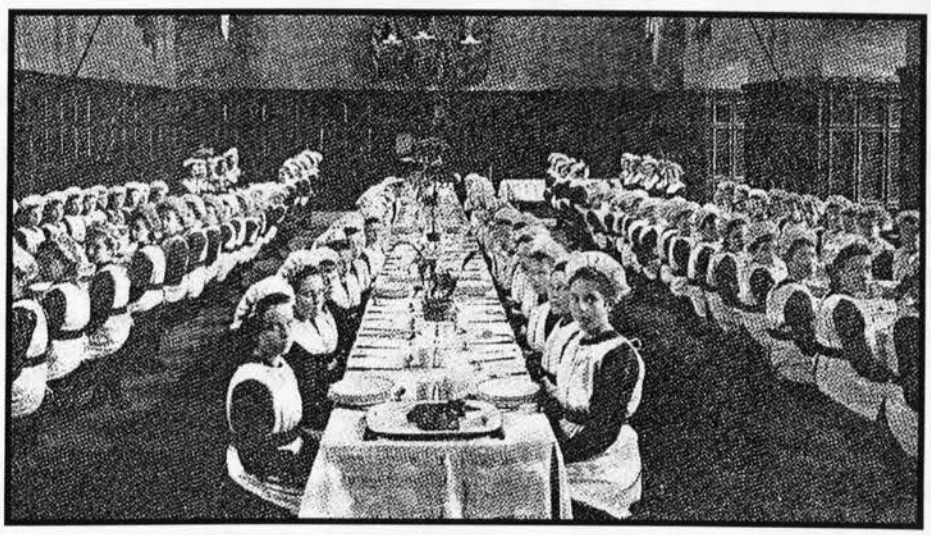
This probably arose because of increasing educational restraints and the availability of alternative female work, such as clerical and retail employment in the London region. The alleged 'servant crisis', i.e. the difficulty in finding servants, particularly young

[98] Hughes, *The Writers' Guide,* p.43; Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households in Rochdale,* p.62.

ones, became markedly apparent in the 1870s.[99] Servants were central to middle-class Victorian life.[100] This shortage meant more to the bourgeoisie than just getting by with fewer domestics; it endangered, as well, a critical measure of their social standing.[101] The scarcity of youthful servants was mirrored in a reduction in the numbers of young domestics obtained from poor law institutions and orphanages.[102] Locally, a note in the Royal Orphan Asylum Beddington School's record book of 12 January 1891 indicates this. This female orphanage was a large, ancient charitable institution specialising in training upper- and middle-servants (see Figure 6.10). The note stated that 'Mrs. Maltby arranged that the ladies cooking class should hold their meetings on one afternoon of the week in the school, in consequence of there being fewer (potential servants) at the Orphan Asylum'.[103]

Figure 6.10

Royal Orphan Asylum Beddington School Hall, 1900



Source: Ian Bradley, June Broughton and Douglas Cluett, *All our yesterdays* (Sutton Leisure Services, 1977), p.10

NB: The school occupied Carew Manor, Beddington between 1869 and1939. Little food is shown on the tables, as the meal is yet to start.

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[99] Butler, *Domestic Service,* p.9.

[100] S. Nicholson, *A Victorian Household: Based on the* [local] *Diaries of Marion Sambourne* (1988), p.65.

[101] Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed*, p.94; Burnett, *A Social History of Housing*, p.189.

[102] Higgs, *Domestic Servants and Households in Rochdale,* p.201.

[103] Quoted by Margaret Thomas, *Victorian Sutton* (Wallington, Surrey: Wigs Publishing, 1998), p.49.

The account below gives some idea of how young female servants, in better parish establishments, were perhaps cared for. This is indicated by the girls' treatment as orphanage guardian selected pupils, in The Royal or inmates in The South Metropolitan District School, in exceedingly regulated and scrutinized surroundings.

Every year The Royal, a domestic service training charity provided between ten to fifteen girls, aged fifteen or over, with three year apprenticeships to middle- and upper-class households. The school had about ten employees and looked after around 140 girls between the ages of 7 and 16.[104] No salary was paid to the trainees, but a 'reward of £3.3s. at the end of the term of Apprenticeship and £2.2s. at the expiration of one year after the term of apprenticeship' was bestowed.[105] The employing households were, nevertheless, required to have donated frequent contributions beforehand, to the charity. The charity's two-minute books demonstrate the unsanitary, chilly, damp and non-ventilated condition of the buildings. This, possibly, more than the meagre food and garments and the want of outdoor exercise, explains why usually, at any one time, approximately 10 per cent of the girls were in the sanatorium. Even to the managing Lady Visitors the girls appeared to be over-controlled, over-harshly regulated and with excessive lesson time use in stressing hands-on housework. The minutes revealed the contrast between the sycophantic manner exhibited by the staff, to the guardians and the benefactors (probably potential inmate employers) with the 'authoritarian depersonalised' remoteness of the staff in the direction of the apprentices.[106]

A reliable indication of progressively expanding bourgeoisie communities was their rising proportion of middle-class dependants, particularly male ones. The Sutton table (Figure 6.11 below shows the changing fraction of the population that had no earnings from employment and have therefore been categorized as dependents. However, this grouping might have contained a number of females, for example farmers' wives, who might have laboured on the farm but not been accredited as having an occupation on the census return. It does not embrace 'gentlewomen' or 'gentlemen', or others who by implication are not reliant on the earnings of others.

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[104] K.D. Herring, *My Story* (Girton History Group, 1999), p.1.
[105] Royal Female Orphanage *Minute Book of the General Court of Guardians*, vol. 1 (July 1871-May 1881), 101-102.
[106] J. Gerard, *County House Life: Family and Servants, 1815-1914* (Oxford, 1994), p.9.

Figure 6.11
Sutton's Ratio of Occupied to Dependents

	Total Population		Male Population		Female Population	
	% Occupied	% Dependent	% Occupied	% Dependent	% Occupied	% Dependent
1841	44.94	55.06	63.61	36.39	25.51	74.49
1861	42.47	57.53	62.47	37.53	24.76	75.24
1881	40.65	59.35	54.44	45.56	29.83	70.17

Source: CEBs 1841, 1861 and 1881

The table above clearly displays how the percentage of males with occupations decreased steadily over a 40-year period and how the proportions of working females, overwhelmingly working-class and engaged in domestic service, increased generally by 1881. There was no sign of any direct swapping of occupations between females and males, neither was the percentage drop in male employment likely to have been accounted for by a rise in retirement. There were no important alterations in the proportion of males of suitable retirement age between 1841 and 1881. Nor can the occurrence be accounted for by a change in the proportion of those not yet of an employable age.

The following factors are likely to have accounted, in part, for this state of affairs. There were, for example, growing openings in domestic service for females and Sutton's increasing failure to maintain farming employment. Many native-born male agrarian workers, with declining agricultural employment, had either to change occupations by becoming, for example, labourers, in the booming building frenzy, or outdoor servants such as gardeners for the affluent commuters and 'rentiers', or migrate to inner city areas in search of work. All the same, the main cause must probably have been the general expansion of universal educational opportunities for a greater number of adolescents, which provided an alternative to looking for employment. However, although Sutton's overall social class male dependency rate rose due to this, it grew substantially even greater as the proportion of middle-class families within the parish increased. This occurred because middle-class adolescent males were expected to stay longer in education than working class ones. (The census returns confirm this trend.) On the other hand, the growing percentage of middle-class female dependants was masked and more than compensated for, in Figure 6.11 above, by the large inflow of

female domestic servants. The only other constant trends, in Sutton, over the research period, was the increasing male proportion between the ages of ten and nineteen, a marked growing female fraction of the same age and the general drop in the percentage of those in the 60 to 69 age group. The latter condition may indicate the effects of past immigration while the reduction in percentage size of the Sutton's over-30s grouping, in 1881, may reflect its now comparatively slower rate of growth.

6.6 Escalating social class separation

Members of the various middle-class competitive sub-groups wished to divorce themselves from their social inferiors. The 'right address' was a crucial factor in this separation. To all social groups house status was all-important. 'One never loses by a good address', lower middle-class Lupin Pooter stated when replying to his father's concern that he was now spending half his income on renting an upmarket furnished apartment in Bayswater. With an increased salary, people like Mr Pooter's family possibly moved to bigger rented houses, better addresses, with positively no railway line at the back, but larger gardens at the front.[107] 'It was evident to me (Eliza's husband) ...that, with our pecuniary position going upwards ...we should move into a new house, something more appropriate to our class of life'.[108] Lupin, Mr Pooter's son articulated the prevailing social class view that to live next to members of an inferior class, as his father did, in a rented noisy terrace house, was repugnant, it was 'a bit 'off'.[109] However, a 'good address', although it attained the goal of dwelling next to families with the same, or better, social characteristics, usually entailed increased expenditure, in terms of rent and rates, This expenditure was normally greater than was the case if a householder lived in lower status areas.

Within suburbia, the viewpoints of both native and incoming middle-class households towards dwellings and particular housing areas were constantly affected by their shifting accessibility and 'desirability'. If neighbourhoods were not easily reached from the nearby railway station or were socially unsuitable, then the middle-class immigrants or natives would rarely stay there in large numbers.[110] In due course this was echoed in the changing pattern of local authority rates and rental fees asked for. The overall

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[107] According to Jenni Calder, *The Victorian Home* (London: Batsford, 1977), p.187.
[108] Pain, *The Eliza Stories*, pp. 145, 150.
[109] George and Weedon Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody* (1892), p.277.
[110] David Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords: The Aristocracy and the Towns, 1774-1967* (Leicester University Press, 1980), p.406.

urbanisation process, in Sutton as elsewhere, especially with the arrival of piped water, tended to filter different classes into different areas and into better, or poorer housing.[111] A satisfactory water source and a good environment were now firmly intricately interlinked to the social status of an area.[112] Social spatial divisions between the classes became more marked. Property values plus morality and social standing were perceived, by the middle-class, to be dependent on the monopolisation of occupancy, by them, of a specific neighbourhood.[113]

The rapid social decline of former middle-class central areas of Sutton, from the 1860s, stimulated a southward uphill migration of the middle-class residents and newcomers towards the newer properties erected by the station, for example those in Cedar, Worcester and Mulgrave Roads (see map, Figure 6.27). This in turn, in a cumulative way, spurred the remainder of the socially mobile also to gain residency there.[114] As a result, previous middle-class house prices, rents and local authority rates, in the older lower districts and on the northern Benhill Estate, declined in 'real terms' as piped water became more available and gave access to more desirable elevated southern areas.

In Sutton, the social status of houses was clearly shown by their rental values. These served as fairly dependable, quite easily available, monetary gauges of households' social class and social standing.[115] This was because dwellings, their size and condition together with the nature and standing of the locality, mirrored social divisions. They can be viewed as outward, impartial manifestations encapsulating markers for more nebulous factors such as households' spending, wealth and male household heads' occupations and incomes. Dwellings, while being both a personal and public space, formed an inner and external sign of a households' financial and social status. They reflected their ambitions, and usually became indistinguishable from the household family members' ways of life. They fashioned a much wanted, keenly sought gathering place for household security, and monetary and cultural resources. M. Savage

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[111] W.V. Hole and M.T. Pountney, *Trends in Population, Housing and Occupancy Rates 1861-1961* (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1971), p.32.

[112] Christopher French, 'Infant Mortality in Asylum Road, Kingston upon Thames, 1872-1911: an Exercise in Microhistory', *Family & Community Historical Society*, Vol. 7(2), November 2004; Christopher French, 'Taking up 'the challenge of micro-history', Social conditions in Kingston upon Thames in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', *The Local Historian*, vol. 36(1), Feb. 2006, p.17

[113] Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, p.173.

[114] Dennis Mills, 'Unit 24 Suburban and exurban growth' Course Team (eds.), *Urban Development: The Spread of Cities* (The Open University Press, 1973), p.79.

[115] Hayes, 'Calculating class': housing, lifestyle and status in the provincial English city, 136.

maintains that 'place and attachment to place are themselves crucial factors in class formation'.[116] Therefore, housing categories can give us invaluable hierarchical insights into past subclass structures. Rental values, as a measure of subclasses, are possibly more objective gauges than, for example, occupational statuses or wealth or family connections.[117]

Figure 6.13 below, in its endeavour to link class and subclass to property values, in the second half of the nineteenth century, shows the principal roads, in terms of housing densities plus rental values for the Sutton district in 1892. (The advantages in utilising rental values, as a gauge of social structure, were their monetary range, their placing a clear numerical value on dwellings and their conciseness.) The Figure 6.13 is divided up to illustrate a progression from the poorest to the richest roads; from roads occupied by the lowest working-class sub-groupings to thoroughfares inhabited by the highest middle-class ones.

Typically householders in the census, categorised by employment as working-class, lived in houses with a rental value of below £20. Lower middle-class terraced housing, such as that of the fictional Mr Pooter's, started at above the £20 level. Households, like Pooter's, existed in the 'no man's land' between the respectable working class and the beginning of the mainstream lower middle class. A six-room terrace house next to some unpleasant feature (e.g. a railway line), such as the Pooters', in the 1880s, could be annually rented from £20 and cost from £90 to construct, while the rent of a middle middle-class, ten-room one would be around £55. An upper middle-class, sixteen-room residence could be annually rented for around £100 and cost approximately around £1,500 to construct in 1861.[118]

Nick Hayes' table below (Figure 6.12) that relates rateable value to social class was based on an analysis of data from Nottingham for the years 1900 to 1950. In this provincial city the middle-classes then formed 85 per cent of the suburban population while the lower classes formed only 15 per cent of the population. Hayes divided his middle-class into three subclasses. As a percentage of the total population, the upper

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[116] M. Savage, 'Urban history and social class: two paradigms', *Urban History*, 20 (1993), 70 as quoted in Hayes, 'Calculating class'.

[117] Hayes, 'Calculating class', 114.

[118] Vanessa Parker, *The English House in the Nineteenth Century* (The Historical Association, 1970), p.23; Susie Barson, 'Infinite variety in brick and stucco: 1840-1914', in Julian Honer (ed.) *London Suburbs* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), pp. 65, 82, 93.

middle-class was 25 per cent, the middle middle-class was 40 per cent and the lower middle-class was 20 per cent. After much qualifying (that is a considering of job classifications and income ranges) he arrived at the rateable values displayed in Figure 6.12.

However, the results of Victorian Sutton's research, when relating social class to rental/rates, were somewhat different due to the following factors. The Sutton investigations examined a housing situation half a century earlier, taxes, retail prices and real wage differentials were different, the economy was a service one influenced by central London employment, the middle-class was proportionately smaller in size. Further the 'unrefined' rateable values for properties, especially those in Newtown, were often unreliable indicators. They often incorporated not only dwellings' use as residential accommodation but also their utilisation as well as industrial, agricultural and services centres. For example, some residences were small shops and others had piggeries, stables, repair and warehousing centres in rear outbuildings.

Nevertheless, there were some similarities in the relative hierarchical house payment patterns for Nottingham and Sutton, if one can assume that the rates paid in Nottingham were firmly connected with the rental values of properties. If this was the case then the ratio mean figures for Nottingham rates in Figure 6.12 for the four groups could possibly be similar to that portrayed by the rentals for Sutton in Figure 6.13. In both cases, the skilled working class might then have paid in rent slightly more than half as much as those in the lower middle-class, the middle middle-class may have paid up to two and half times as much as the lower middle-class while the upper class could have paid twice as much as the middle middle-class.

Figure 6.12
Rateable value against class, Nottingham 1900-50 (1934 constant prices)

	Upper middle class		Middle middle class		Lower middle class		Skilled working class
Mean	**£103**		**£48**		**£19**		**£11**
St. dev (σ)	£37.2		£14.9		£5.9		£4.1
Highest decile	£147		£68		£26		£16
Upper quartile	£117		£60		£22		£12
Median	£97		£48		£20		£10
Lower quartile	£80		£36		£15		£9
Lowest decile	£68		£30		£12		£8

Source: Nick Hayes, 'Calculating class': housing, lifestyle and status in the provincial English city, 1900-1950, *Urban History,* 36, (1), 2009, 135

Figure 6.13
Estimated annual rental value, and the rates paid, in October 1892 in the Sutton district.

	Road	Gross Estimated Annual rental value	Rates payable in the pound	Rateable Value	Rate at 16d in the pound
Pre- piped water northern developments	Palmerston	£8 to £12	6s 10d to £1 1s 0d	£6s 10d	6s 10d to £1 1s 0d
	William	£8 to £12	8s 8d	£8 to £10	8s 8d –12s 8d
	Benhill Street	£9	10s 8d	£8 to £17	10s 8d
	Lind	**£11 to £29**	**13s 0d to £1**	**£8 to £20**	**13s 0d to £1**
	Vernon	**£16 to £26**	**12s 0d to £1**	**£11 to £34**	**12s 0d to £1**
	Lower	£25 to £46	£1 8s 0d	£10 to £20	£1 8s 0d
	Robin Hood Lane	£28 to £46	£2 10s 0d	£28 to £76	£2 10s 0d
	Thicket	£42 to £52	£2 10s 0d	£36 to £60	£2 10s 0d
	High Street	£90	£3	Mainly shops	£3
Post- piped water southern developments	Cedar	£60 to £80	£4	£39 to £72	£4
	Mulgrave	£75	£4	£37 to £225	£4
	Worcester	£70 to 120	£5 to £7	£36 to £100	£5 to £7
	Brighton	£60 to £200	£3 to £9	£64 to £120	£3 to £9

Key:

A working-class area with generally a rental value of between £8 and £12

A socially mixed area with generally a rental value of between £11 and £29

Source: The Sutton Rate Book, October 1892

In Figure 6.13 Palmerston Road, William Road and Benhill Street, with backyard tenements, basements and terraced housing, were in the bottom band (see Figure 6.14 below). People dwelling in these streets were employed as general and agricultural labourers, gardeners, bricklayers, plasterers, bakers, carpenters, messengers, laundresses and dressmakers. Houses here had a rateable value, in some individual cases, of below £10 and rents of around 5s to 6s per week (see chapter 4). For example, on 10th June 1867 three cottages, in the north-eastern part of William Road (The Nelson Cottages), were advertised for sale at rentals of 5s 6d per week; each had three rooms, an outbuilding and a backyard.[119]

[119] Property documents, London Borough of Sutton Public Library [Archive reference 48/27/2].

Figure 6.14
Larger terraced houses at the north-western end of William Road

Source: Sutton Library archive

NB: The Victorian terraced houses above, constructed between 1867 and 1896, have been, over the years, much modified, but were originally erected in their unimproved state for rental to the working-class. They were erected to fill in gaps, in the initial development. Each of them has a separate habitable basement. This feature was uncommon in Newtown. The Nelson cottages, mentioned above, were situated on the opposite side of the road.

Houses (in Figure 6.13 above) in the next band of roads with a rental value of £10 to £20+, such as Lind and Vernon Road, and even some in Lower Road, had mixed social groupings. Tenancy in these roads formed a flexible monetary/rental border between the lower middle-class and the skilled artisan class. In Lower Road in 1867, one semi-detached freehold cottage, with 'an estimated annual rental value of £46', contained three bedrooms, two sitting rooms and a washhouse. In the rear were a workshop, stable and coach house, a rear garden, but it also had a large piggery.[120] A detached house, in the same road, in 1878 was advertised at £40 per annum.[121] It had two attics, four bedrooms, two sitting rooms, kitchen, usual offices, fore-court, yard at the side and buildings in the rear while Fern Cottage, in 1898, was advertised at £38 10s per annum. It had three bedrooms, sitting room, kitchen and a scullery.[122]

[120] Property documents, London Borough of Sutton Public Library [Archive reference 48/40/9].
[121] Property documents, London Borough of Sutton Public Library [Archive reference 48/8/21].
[122] Property documents, London Borough of Sutton Public Library [Archive reference 48/9/21].

Residents in the subsequent rental band, living in detached houses with a rental value of between £25 and £60, were distinctly bourgeoisie and so were the roomy semi- and detached dwellings built later, in the boulevards to the west, east and south of the station such as in Cavendish, Cedar Roads and Mulgrave, (see Figures 6.15, 6.16 and 6.18 below). Higher professionals such as doctors, architects, general managers, company directors and clergymen populated these. For example in Cedar Road Alfred Fletcher, at number 129, was a toffee merchant, James Hawkins, at 132, was a surveyor, Arthur Rolls, at 148, was a general manufacturer and interestingly at 135, 138, 159 and 161 the heads of the households were commercial clerks. Similarly in nearby Cavendish Road there was a grouping of commercial clerks. In Mulgave Road, at number 99, John Morgan was an auctioneer, Richard Knight, at 100 was of independent means, William Cox, at 101, was a doctor, William Nicholas, at 103, was a merchant, John Hagger, at 106, was a wine merchant, William Bagnell, at 107, was an architect and surveyor, Sidney Perry, at 108, was a landscape artist, John Ludlow, at 113, was a parliamentary agent and John Finley, at 114, was an alderman of the City of London. The High Street was, in the main, a mixed social area containing proprietors and resident shop workers.

Figure 6.15
Cavendish Road, 1890s

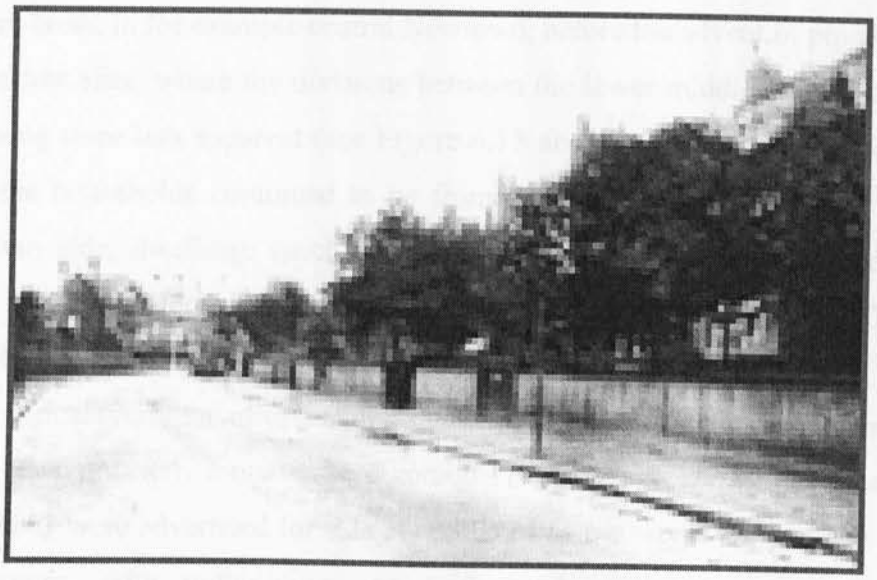
Source: Sutton Library archive

NB: The fine semi-detached villas, in the above photograph, date from the early 1870s.

Figure 6.16
Cedar Road, 1890s

Source: Sutton Library archive

Figure 6.17
Albion Road, 1890



Source: Sutton Library archive

NB: Albion Road was the most easterly of the Victorian developments.

Figure 6.18
Mulgrave Road, 1900

Source: Sutton Library archive

NB: Mulgrave Road here appears as a mixture of Victorian and Edwardian development.

There were areas, in for example central Newtown, before the advent of piped water and to some extent after, where the divisions between the lower middle-class and working-class housing were less apparent (see Figure 6.13 above). In Lind Road, for instance, many of the households continued to be from different social subgroups.[123] On the north-eastern side, dwellings (such as those in Figure 6.19 below) backed onto the relatively low-lying, decaying backyard tenements of Palmerston Road. These were occupied by those employed in working-class occupations such as general labourers, gardeners, bricklayers, laundresses, dressmakers, tailors, a butcher, a foremen and a shepherd. Two northerly large terraced cottages (in Clarence Terrace) in Lind Road on 10th June 1867 were advertised for sale at rentals of 6s per week. These each contained four bedrooms, with outbuilding and back yard, well of water and services. Unfortunately, these backed onto Palmeston Road.

[123] Property documents, London Borough of Sutton Public Library [Archive reference 48/27/2].

Figure 6.19
A terrace of small houses, on the north-eastern side of Lind Road, that were erected for the working-class.

Source: Sutton Library archive

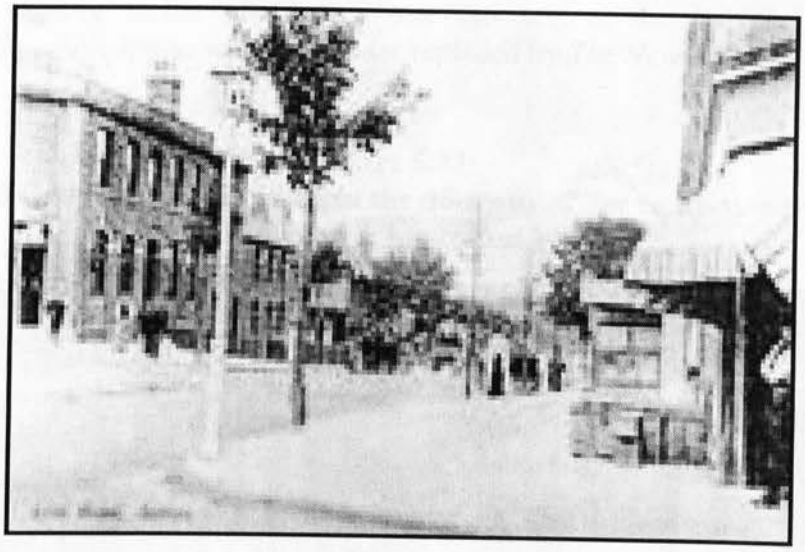
Houses towards the higher, south-western end of Lind Road (such as those in Figure 6.20 below) were occupied by the lower middle-class. It is noticeable that the last two semi-detached houses in Figure 6.20 have elaborate decorations. Variety in outside decoration was a characteristic of the Newtown area.

Figure 6.20
Victoria Cottages and Jubilee Villas, Lind Road

Source: Sutton Library archive

At the southern end of Lind Road three houses were auctioned, on 27th January 1871. These had annual rents of £20, £22 and £28. They had three bedrooms, two sitting rooms, all with stove, kitchen with dresser and range, scullery with copper and stone sink, and outside water closet.[124] Lower middle class personages, besides small shopkeepers, were resident in this area of Lind Road. These included governesses, salesmen, clerks, agents, a clergyman and some teachers. In Figure 6.21 below one can see on the left *The New Town* public house and on the right the shopping area that extended into Vernon Road (see Figure 6.22). In the Victorian period numerous small local retail outlets, such as the confectioners at 10 Lind Road, existed in Newtown (see Figure 6.23)

Figure 6.21
The southern end of Lind Road



Source: Sutton Library archive

[124] Property documents, London Borough of Sutton Public Library [Archive reference 48/9/21].

Figure 6.22
Vernon Road, 1869

Source: Sutton Library archive

NB: In this slightly earlier photograph one can see, in the distance, the earlier *Windsor Castle* public house which was later replaced by *The New Town.*

Figure 6.23
Miss Bessie Gardner standing in the doorway of her confectioners, at 10 Lind Road, in around 1910

Source: Sutton Library archive

Occupants and spectators alike usually quickly recognised to which social classes houses, in particular roads such as Lind Road, belonged. To move into one of these would either improve or lower the social status of a household and thus its present and future social contacts, behaviour and consumption pattern. Consequently, for contemporaries, the positional address within a road, particularly in a lengthy one such as Lind, where different subclass groups were often clustered, was usually a crucial factor in determining a household's social class. Oscar Wilde's Lady Bracknell, in *The Importance of Being Earnest,* gave voice to this viewpoint by asserting that to live on the wrong, unfashionable side of Belgrave Square was as bad as *not* living in Belgrave Square itself. Householders, by merely occupying specific dwellings, in certain sections of a road, could convey to others their own social status. In the mid-Victorian period, there were also in many areas such as Newtown often numerous short household movements between, and within, roads.[125] These arose possibly because of tenancy arrangements (most households rented, rather than owned, their homes), changing family incomes and household sizes. So it was possible for an individual household to change its apparent sub-class (or think it had) by short movements in mixed social areas. Society was then much more nomadic.[126] According to Colin Pooley, the middle-classes were endeavouring, within this simplistic premise, to 'minimise negative externalities' and 'maximise positive' ones.[127] The upper middle-class, elitist society of H.G. Wells' Worcester Park appears as select and small. 'They're artistic people, Vee (Ann Veronica). That's the fact about them. We're (a) different (social class).'[128] Approximately nine out of ten suburban houses were let, instead of being owner-occupied.[129] Dyos found, in his Camberwell study that between 75 and 85 per cent of residential property was rented.[130]

In Newtown, socially better and poorer streets were, particularly before the arrival of piped-water, situated next to each other. This juxtaposition is extremely noticeable when one observes the position of the very hilly Thicket Road district. A narrow road

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[125] J.M. Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', in F.M.L Thompson (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester University Press, 1982), p.75.

[126] F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: a Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (London: Fontana Press, 1988), p.171; Colin Thom, *Researching London's Houses*, p.30.

[127] Colin G. Pooley, 'Choice and constraint in the nineteenth-century city: a basis for residential differentiation', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.210.

[128] Wells, *Ann Veronica*, p.211.

[129] Stefan Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (London: Yale University Press, 1982), p.17.

[130] Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*, p.90.

from the impoverished parts of the Newtown Estate containing Palmerston and William Roads only separated this upland area, consisting solely of large houses. The estimated rental value for properties in Thicket Road was around £45 compared with that of £8 in neighbouring William or Palmerston Roads.[131] This extreme social separation arose because water, away from the Thanet sands, in the Thicket Road area, was only gained from costly deep dug wells sunk into the boulder clay. So the expense of access to water precluded the construction of cheaper houses on this steep location. Within the very small area of Newtown, as elsewhere, class 'parochialism' displayed as much pretentiousness, acute awareness of definite, minute graduations in social hierarchy, as those dwelling in later built upper middle-class locations to the south of Sutton station.[132] Parish respectability and social superiority, which involved societal segregation was an issue of the 'correct address' within and between roads.[133]

Generally, all localities (and thus their housing stock) tended to worsen in terms of social prestige as the less affluent households migrated in and comparatively affluent residents drifted further away. The exceptions to this were those areas effectively isolated by the arrangement of the nearby roads, or braced by occupancy agreements in opposition to social transformations.[134] Furthermore, houses, in the mid-Victorian period, were normally depreciating assets as they aged and their subsoils became more befouled with sewage or as the term of the lease shortened and newer, and more fashionable and up-to-date residences, with lower maintenance costs, competed with them for potential occupant attention.[135] In the latter part of the nineteenth century, new houses in south Sutton tended to diminish in size as families became smaller and fewer servants were now required. The omnipresent new suburban semi-detached, in the roads such as Egmont, Worcester and Cavendish became the dominant new accommodation type for the middle middle-class (see Figure 6.24 below). Chronologically separated bands of diverse dwellings, from Newtown up the hillside towards Sutton station, visually not only showed changing Victorian architectural tastes, but also strengthened contemporary views of the nature of local gradations of societal segregation.

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[131] *Sutton Rate Book* 1862; *Sutton Valuation List* 1887.
[132] Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1974), p.132.
[133] Calder, *The Victorian Home*, p.187; Stephen Inwood, *City of Cities: The Birth of Modern London* (London: Macmillan, 2005), p.187.
[134] Walmsley & Lewis, *People & Environment*, p.240.
[135] Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, p.171.

Figure 6.24
Semi-detached houses in Egmont Road in the 1880s

Source: Sutton Library archive

NB: Egmont Road was laid out in the 1880s and was named after Lord Egmont, a local resident, who resided in Nork House, Banstead.

It is noticeable, from, for example, the Sutton rate books for the years 1862 to 1892, that variation in property values, within middle-class residential roads, became progressively less. That is, over the period, house occupiers increasingly belonged more exclusively to a particular class subset.[136] Locally, apart from the central Newtown district, there was usually, a clear separation of the very rich from the very poor by street within the parishes. This especially occurred after the arrival of piped water in the late 1860s. The National Archives 1910 IR 58 field books substantiate the streetwise social divisions within the parishes. The statistics they presented, on for example street rental patterns (see Chapter 4), were consistent with those given by other, much earlier, sources. However, in the secondary literature, there is still much divergence of opinion amongst historians on the class segregation by street issue, i.e. it is suggested that streets were rarely wholly homogeneous in terms of social class.[137] However, local research

[136] *Sutton Rate Books* 1862; *Sutton Rate Book* 1892.

[137] Richard Dennis, 'Stability and change in urban communities: a geographical perspective', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.255.

suggests that streets were more socially segregated in the newer, more high-priced southern housing areas.

Figure 6.13 above reveals that house addresses in the northern, lower parts of Sutton, tended to have the lowest values. Similarly dwellings, in the lowest parts of Carshalton, Beddington and Wallington, were the least expensive, partly because they were situated in areas where brewing, lavender and mint distilling together with other industries, which previously derived power from the Wandle, were located. A pattern was established where industrial and polluting activities were located in the older, northern, lower parts of Carshalton and Sutton. This tendency was strengthened by the horrendous sewage situation that existed. The coming of piped water tended not to solve but accentuated sanitary difficulties.[138]

In Sutton, Wallington and Carshalton those dwellings in the southern, more elevated parts, with the advent of piped water installed water closets. They allowed their contents, via defective cesspools or open ditches (in some cases), to be discharged downhill onto the lower working-class districts. This became an acute problem, especially in Sutton's Newtown area, as the population massively increased and more water closets were installed. Dr Cox (surgeon and town doctor) stated, in 1882, that: 'There were shocking odours observable from the High Street at night', that 'the town's water supply must be contaminated' and that The Newtown district 'had no proper system of drainage'.[139] Sutton's sewage flowed relatively unhindered downhill eventually reaching The Victoria Pond on Sutton Green, at the bottom of the northwestern side of the High Street nearly opposite *The Cricketers* public house, until the 1890s (see Figure 6.25 below). The pond served as a discharge point for Sutton's surface water drains.

[138] The situation is discussed at a national level by W.V. Hole and M.T. Pountney, *Trends in Population, Housing and Occupancy rates 1861-1961* (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1971), p.5.

[139] *The Sutton and Epsom Advertiser and Surrey County Reporter*, 1 April 1882.

Figure 6.25
The Victoria Pond, 1880s

Source: Sutton Library archive

NB: The pond was noted more for its pungent stench than its attractiveness!

The local authority always resisted attempts to raise local rates to pay for civic improvements.[140] Indeed, the parish always proclaimed and prided itself on setting as low a rate tariff as possible, being financially sound and having a low level of loan indebtedness.[141] 'It is one of the lowest rated of all the towns surrounding the Metropolis.'[142] Housing, as with all other material assets, was a 'scarce resource' and so subject to a competitive price mechanism. Here, the rich had a distinct advantage over the poor, being able to 'bid' more but needing only to allocate a smaller proportion of their total income, to obtain the dwellings they desired.[143] In 1867, approximately half of the national income was received by just one tenth of the population.[144]

Combining data on the type and size of dwellings occupied, their rental and rateable value, their geographical location, the number and sex of servants employed and the

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[140] The situation is discussed at a national level by Calder, p.173; Geoffrey Crossick, 'Urban Society and the Petty Bourgeoisie in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), pp. 314-15; Paul Balchin, 'An overview of pre-Thatcherite housing policy', in Paul Balchin and Maureen Rhoden (eds.), *Housing: the Essential Foundations* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.1.

[141] *The Town Council Official Guide, Sutton (Surrey) 1906*, p.11.

[142] *Sutton Approved Guide 1915*, p.7.

[143] J.A. Rex, 'The theory of housing classes', in Camilla Lambert and David Weir (eds.), *Cities in Modern Britain* (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1975), p.336.

[144] Parker, *The English House in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 5-6.

occupation of the heads will generally provide us with the social status of households.[145] The very general social tenet was that, within, generally, socially uniform areas, the upper middle-class were inclined to reside in detached houses, the middle middle-class in semi-detached, whilst the lower middle-class lived in terraces.[146] Below, from the Sutton 1881 census, in descending order, are three highly selective household examples from different middle-class social echelons to illustrate the above principle. Firstly, William Flack aged 39, a broker, was distinctly upper middle-class. He lived in a large detached house Glenhurst, on The Common. He had a wife and three daughters and employed four unmarried female servants, a governess aged 25, a cook aged 40, a lady's maid aged 26, and a housemaid aged 17. Secondly, another city white-collar professional, only slightly lower in the social hierarchy, John Barry aged 39, a clerk at The Bank of England, resided in an up to date semi-detached house in Grange Crescent. He had a wife and two daughters and employed two servants, a cook aged 21 and a housemaid aged 15. The last example, Robert Gabb aged 48, a clerk, had not the same standing as the previous two. He dwelt in a terraced house in Gander Green Lane. He had a wife and one daughter but employed only one general servant aged 38. These three Sutton examples attempt to illustrate a rough overall linkage between job categories, type of houses and residential roads lived in, the number of servants engaged and middle-class social esteem.

Middle-class surburbanisation not only produced basic spatial transformations, but also increased markedly the differentiation between social groups, especially in those areas such as Sutton that grew most rapidly (although, on this point, there is some divergence of opinion amongst historians).[147] Generally, parish respectability and social superiority, which involved societal segregation, was an issue of the correct address.[148] Social spatial divisions between the classes became more marked in Sutton, as is suggested by the gender district figures, from the censuses, in Figure 6.26 below, following the coming of the railways and after the arrival of piped water supplies, in the research period (as discussed in chapter 4 and 5). The Sutton Rate Book for October

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[145] Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, p.8; McBride, *The Domestic Revolution*, p.50.

[146] Trainor, 'The middle-class', p.692.

[147] J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley, 'The internal structure of nineteenth-century British cities – an overview', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.6; Colin G. Pooley, 'Choice and constraint in the nineteenth-century city, pp. 202, 204; Richard Dennis, 'Stability and change in urban communities: a geographical perspective', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.255.

[148] Calder, *The Victorian Home*, p.187

1892, household data in the censuses, local maps, newspapers' house sale particulars and building records all confirm this trend.

6.7 Gender ratios, as an indication of social class

An indication of a middle-class district was always its marked female gender predominance. As the membership size and standard of living of the middle-classes rose, growingly numbers of female servants proportionately and absolutely were hired. This accounted for the mounting disproportionate gender situation in Sutton, Wallington and Beddington in Figure 6.26 below. An undisputable sign of an increasingly middle-class district in the Gender Balance tables below (see Figures 6.28, 6.33 and 6.35) was the rising percentage of female resident there.

Sutton, when compared with Carshalton and Cheam, was always more of a service centre than a fairly equally balanced agrarian and manufacturing employment area. In Cheam and Carshalton their fairly stable traditional employment structures partially explains why, in the period 1861 to 1881, there was a less disproportionate sex ratio in them than in the other three research parishes. In Sutton, on the other hand, though there was a small surplus of males in 1841 by 1861 the balance had altered abruptly in favour of females. In the following two decades this tendency was heightened (see Figure 6.26 below). As the total population of Sutton expanded so enormously over the period (by 692.5%), the explanation seems to be, that the arrival of females into the parish produced a sexual imbalance of substantial magnitude. Examining place of birth and employment data earlier in this chapter (see Figure 6.1) confirms this. The resulting gender patterns can be clearly seen in Figure 6.26 below. The gender balance, within the five parish populations overall, apart from the notable exception of Cheam and Carshalton, was preponderantly in favour of females. However, it should be mentioned here that there existed nationwide an 'excess' of females over males throughout the length of the Victorian census period.[149]

[149] D. Mills, 'The Census, 1801-1901' in M. Drake & R. Finnegan (eds.), *Sources and Methods: A Handbook* (CUP/OU, 1994), p.33.

Figure 6.26
The increasing sex disparity between Carshalton and Cheam and the other three parishes

	% of Sutton's total population		% of Carshalton's total population		% of Wallington's total population		% of Beddington's total population		% of Cheam's total population	
Census Reports	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1851	50	50	50	50	48	52	51	49	52	48
1861	47	**53**	48	52	47	**53**	50	50	50	50
1871	45	**55**	50	50	45	**55**	44	**56**	51	49
1881	45	**55**	48	52	43	**57**	42	**58**	52	48

Source: CEBs 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881

The gender distribution (see Figure 6.28 below) indicates for successive censuses the movement of the Sutton middle-classes, with their dependent domestic servants, up the hill to newer, more prestigious areas around the station while Figure 6.32 shows the relative lack of movement exhibited by Carshalton bourgeoisie.

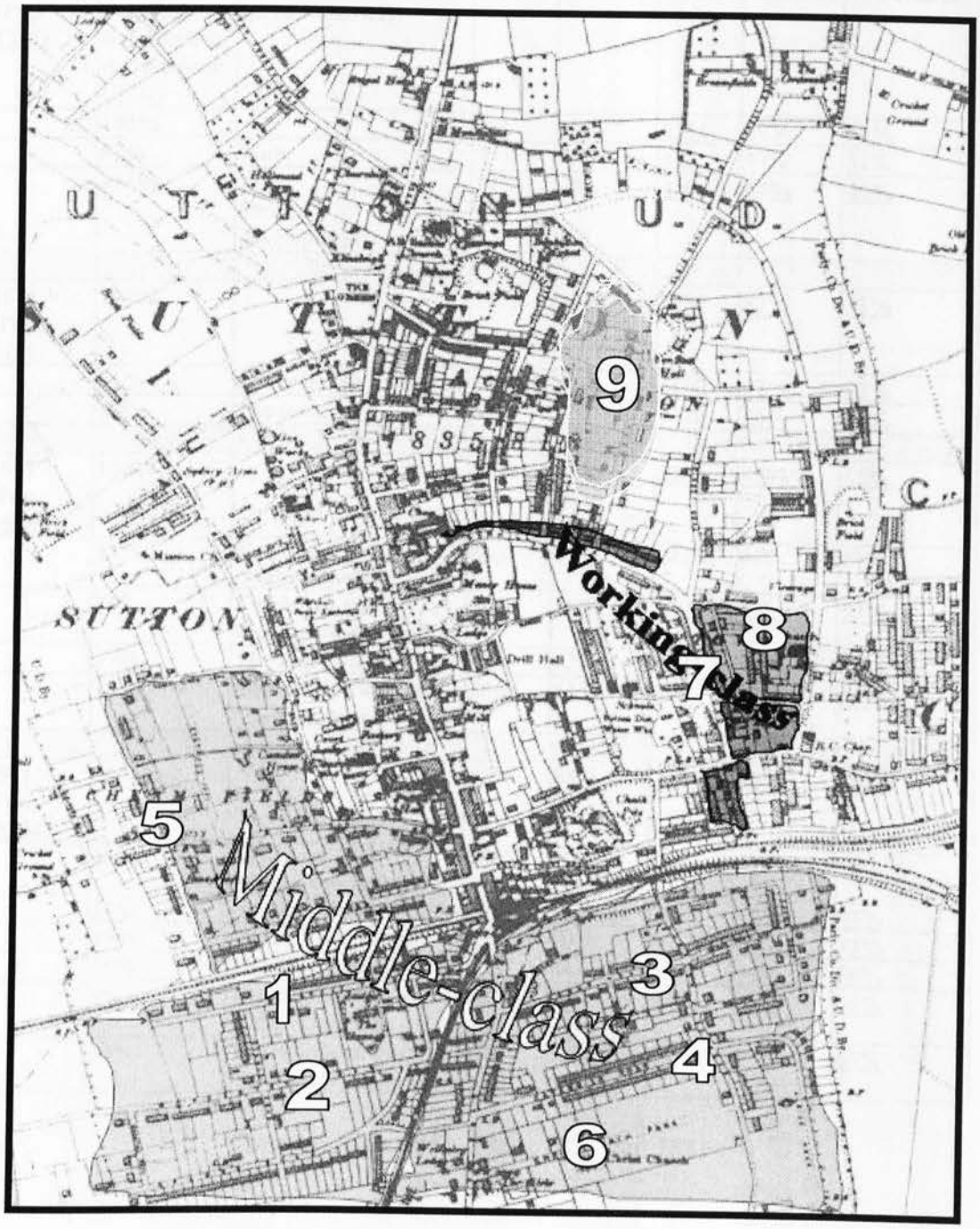
However, the geographical size of enumerators' 'districts' in Figure 6.28 and 6.32 below were not the same locally in every census. 'Districts' in successive censuses did not always incorporate identical streets. Generally an enumerator was expected to handle data from around 200 dwellings. As parish populations and hence housing density greatly increased, existing enumerating districts were often sub-divided and their geographical size drastically reduced. More 'districts' were then normally added for each parish. In Sutton's case, because of its population growth in a southerly direction, these increased from two in 1851 to six districts in 1881. However, in Carshalton the number of districts was reduced from four districts in 1851 to three in 1881. (This produced, for the research, difficulties in differentiating social class areas.) Consequently, the designated localities in the 'districts', listed in the gender parish tables below, can only be broad, if helpful, approximations and can only roughly be compared with those in previous censuses.[150] Nevertheless, the general increasing middle-class nature of the Sutton parish and the progressive movement of the middle-class to new housing in the south are implied by the CEB gender figures in Figure 6.28.

[150] Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited* (University of London, 2005), p.37; Edward Higgs, *A Clearer Sense of the Census* (London: HMSO, 1996), pp. 28-32.

Figure 6.28 below, for Sutton, reveals the marked overall parish change from sex parity in 1851 to a predominant female majority by 1861. There is even a female predominance in The Newtown working-class servicing area in 1861 and 1881. The thirty-year period progressive movement of the upper middle-classes, their dependents and servants up the hill towards Sutton station is inferred by the 1871 and 1881 figures. The changing gender balance and the population numbers (i.e. the proportionate reduction in the Newtown numbers and, in effect, an increase in the numbers living in the middle-class south), by district, involved, points to this. The remarkable growth of the High Street, 'The Golden Mile', as a service and shopping centre, is distinctly seen in the 1871 and 1881 figures (this was discussed extensively in chapter 4).[151] The numbers engaged in the dealing sector, here and elsewhere, expanded and, in 1881, it was the largest sector after domestic service.[152] It is significant to note how the centre of trade (revealed by the occupancy figures), with the arrival of piped-water, advance up the High Street in the direction of the station. Figures 4.10 and 4.16, in chapter 4, display the principal roads while Figure 6.27 below reveals the main social class areas based on 1871/81 census returns.

[151] Sutton essentially is, and always was, a 'one street village/town'.
[152] Horn, *The Rise & Fall of the Victorian Servant*, p.18.

Figure 6.27 Map
An indication of Sutton's social class composition



Social class road markings were based on the 1881 census

Key: ■ Working-class ☐ Middle-class

1. Mulgrave Road	4.Cavendish Road	7. Lind Road
2. Worcester Road	5. Robin Hood Lane	8. William Road
3. Cedar Road	6. Christchurch Park	9.Thicket Road

Source: Ordnance Survey Map, 1896, 6 inches to 1 mile

Figure 6.28
Sutton's Gender Balance

1851 (Pop. 1387)	**% of Parish Population** (information derived from CEBs)	**Districts (predominately)**	**Males**	**Females**	**Total**	**% Males**	**% Females**
	100%		**702**	**685**	**1381**	**50%**	**50%**
	67%	West	457	474	931	49%	51%
	33%	**East** (newer developments)	245	211	450	**54%**	**46%**
1861 (Pop. 3186)	**100%**		**1072**	**1214**	**2286**	**47%**	**53%**
	51%	The rest - Northern part	550	610	1160	**47%**	**53%**
	49%	The town	522	604	1126	**46%**	**54%**
1871 (Pop. 6558)	**100%**		**2374**	**2888**	**5262**	**45%**	**55%**
	22%	**Newtown** (Working-class area)	693	730	1423	49%	51%
	26%	**The north and the area below the station**	801	908	1709	**47%**	**53%**
	17%	**The High Street**	494	637	1131	**44%**	**56%**
	17%	**The Southern part** (Upper middle-class area)	386	613	999	**39%**	**61%**
1881 (Pop. 10334)	**100%**		**4515**	**5576**	**10091**	**45%**	**55%**
	21%	**Newtown** (Working-class area)	1002	1070	2072	**48%**	**52%**
	22%	Northern part	1058	1173	2230	**47%**	**53%**
	19%	Cheam Road	898	1018	1916	**47%**	**53%**
	15%	**The High Street**	667	842	1511	**44%**	**56%**
	9%	**The High Street** south to the Cock Hotel	383	550	933	**41%**	**59%**
	14%	**The Southern part** (Upper middle-class area)	507	923	1434	**35%**	**65%**

Source: CEBs 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881

Socially, the class composition of the designated districts in Carshalton, compared with Sutton, is much more mixed and so more difficult to clearly interpret, especially the 1881 census district figures. The Carshalton census enumerators, for convenience, put households of dissimilar social class together. Nevertheless, certain districts retained their distinct class nature.

The crucial but somewhat hidden factor to be considered when pondering Carshalton sex and age structures was not just the large proportionate size, within its work force and population, of the servant sector, but its exceedingly uneven geographical distribution. This, when not recognised, can distort the picture presented by the figures in Figure 6.26 above.

Figure 6.32 below, for Carshalton, indicates, to some measure, how varied the types of employment and, indirectly the housing categories, could be within a very short distance. For example, the above average percentage figure for female employment occurred in the extremely pleasant, pastoral and affluent district of central Carshalton. This neighbourhood, around the ponds, was crammed with grand houses (see Figure 6.29 below).

Figure 6.29
The houses around the Upper Ponds

Source: Sutton Library archive

Here, the wealth of the rich and their size as a proportion of the householder population, determined the overall affluence of the locality.[153] Their estates (as was the case in the parish of Cheam) occupied much of the residential and open space of the parish and they provided much employment. Many of the palatial houses had originally been built for rich city traders and financiers. However, competition, for land close to the ponds, arising from its pleasant locations, resulted in some of the house frontages being rather diminutive. Nevertheless, architecturally they were intricately and expensively designed. The area around the ponds retained its upper middle-class, 'millionaire' status, until the end of the nineteenth century. The other main populated area, with a female gender preponderance, Carshalton High Street was still a large but relatively declining inter-parish service centre (see Figure 6.30).

Figure 6.30
Carshalton High Street, 1895

Source: Ian Bradley, June Broughton and Douglas Cluett, *All our yesterdays* (Sutton Leisure Services, 1977), p.4

NB: The trees in the background were in Carshalton Park. These trees reached down into Carshalton High Street.

[153] Camilla Lambert and David Weir (eds.), *Cities of Modern Britain* (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1975), p.172.

The social class mix of the central Carshalton region was in sharp contrast with the nearby northern areas of above average percentage for male residence and employment (around Mill Lane, Beddington Corner and The Wrythe). These areas, occupied by the working class, were in very highly contaminated but declining water-powered manufacturing zones. 'Here [in this kind of suburban area] are to be found all the misery, squalor, dirt, and degradation, which so tickle fashionable fancy with regard to the East End.'[154]

The village was both extremely industrialized and rustic (see Figure 6.31 below). Carshalton had a varied housing make-up with affluent dwellings close at hand to fetid backyard tenements behind the shops. In the village, there were wooden and brick weather boarded houses from the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and timber-framed dwellings from the close of the middle ages. In contrast, Sutton swiftly lost its weather-boarded cottages when it rapidly developed in the mid-19th century.

Below, in contrast to the central Carshalton district, are some typical households, dependent on the rich, in the immediate filthy surrounding areas. For example, Private House, Sutton Hill Pit, included family members who were employed by households, around the Ponds, as domestics. The house contained the householder Henry Hersey, an agricultural labourer, his wife, six daughters and one son. The two older, single daughters, aged 18 and 20, were both laundresses. The four other daughters aged 8 to 14 were scholars and the single son aged 16 was an errand boy. Similarly George Foster's household of Grove Villa, a gardener by trade aged 53, included Elizabeth, his wife and his daughter Susannah who were both externally employed as laundress workers, and five younger, non-employed siblings. Likewise, the local gentry employed most of James Deal's household of James Road. James was a smith by trade and aged 48. His wife and three eldest daughters were laundresses and the eldest son was a gardener. There were four other children below the age of 13 not employed. Another smaller household of 64 Palmerston Road, Carshalton contained Daniel Brown a gardener aged 57, his wife (not employed) aged 50, and three sons. Two of who were gardeners while another one was a general labourer.

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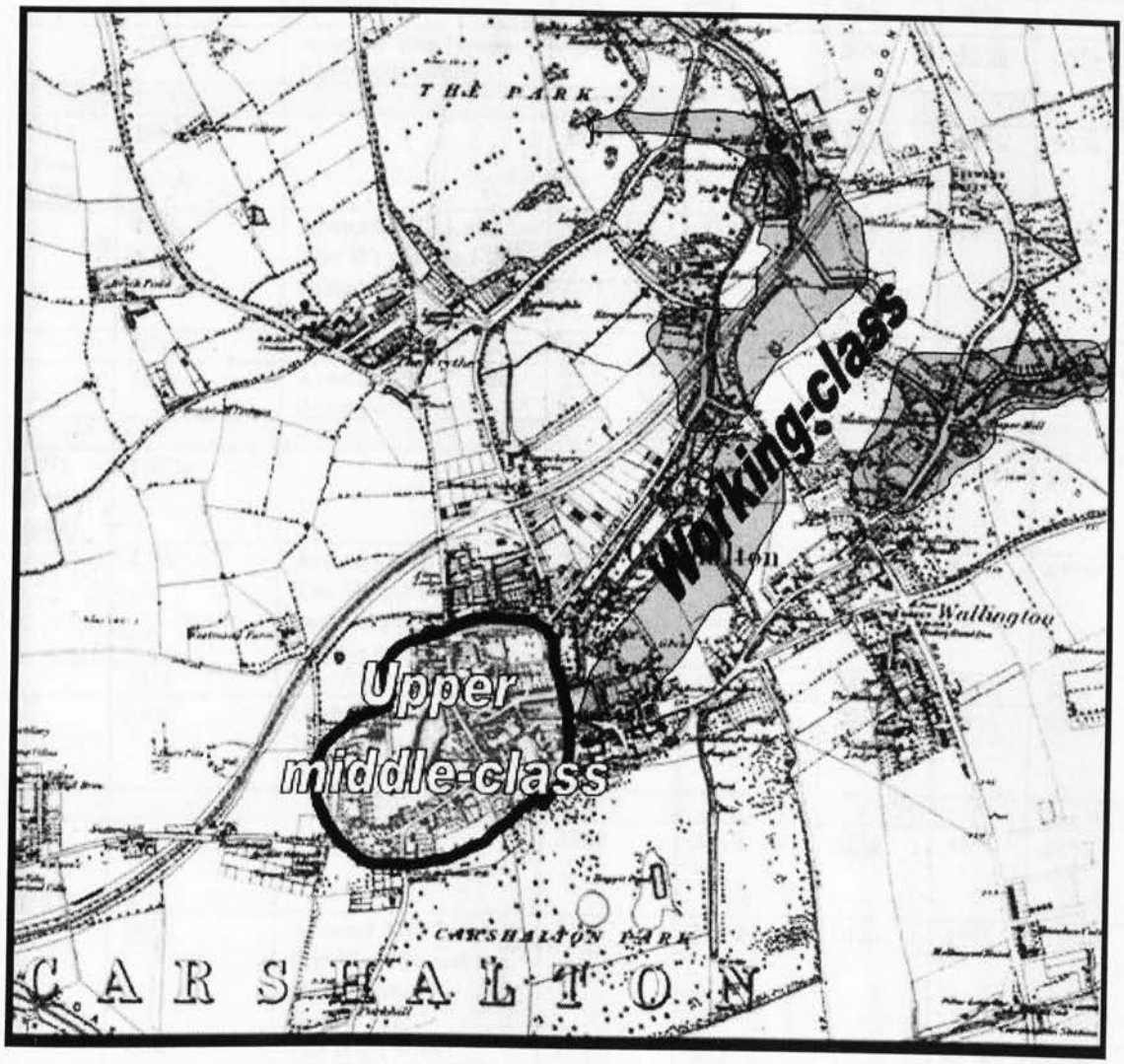
[154] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 Dec. 1884.

The above poor neighbourhoods were only a few hundred feet away from the abodes of the extremely rich. Locally, in the more rural parishes of Cheam, Carshalton and Beddington: 'There was a marked division between the rich and poor, wages of servants were low, the rich were very rich and the rest were, fairly poor or very poor.'[155]

Figure 6.31 Map
Carshalton and Wallington – an indication of social class



Social class road markings were based on the 1881 census

Key: ■ Working-class

□ Upper middle-class

Source: Ordnance Survey Map, 1868, 25 inches to 1 mile

Figure 6.32
Carshalton's Gender Balance

Census							
1851 (Pop. 2411)	**% of Parish Population** (information derived from CEBs)	**Districts (predominately)**	**Males**	**Females**	**Total**	**% Males**	**% Females**
	100%		**1203**	**1212**	**2411**	**50%**	**50%**
	24%	**Around Mill Lane** (Working-class)	309	265	574	**54%**	**46%**
	39%	The High Street	467	463	930	50%	50%
	17%	Eastern part	196	206	398	49%	51%
	21%	**Around The Ponds** (Upper middle-class)	231	278	509	**45%**	**55%**
1861 (Pop. 2538)	**100%**		**1211**	**1327**	**2538**	**48%**	**52%**
	41%	**Around Mill Lane, The Wrythe** and **the eastern part** (Socially mixed)	517	530	1047	49%	51%
	40%	The High Street	471	532	1003	47%	53%
	19%	**Around The Ponds** (Upper middle-class)	223	265	488	**46%**	**54%**
1871 (Pop. 3668)	**100%**		**1828**	**1861**	**3689**	**50%**	**50%**
	42%	**Around Mill Lane, The Wrythe** and **the eastern part** (Socially mixed)	777	757	1534	**51%**	**49%**
	26%	The High Street	466	475	941	50%	50%
	33%	High Street to Burrow Hedges (including **The Ponds**)	585	629	1214	**48%**	**52%**
1881 (Pop. 4841)	**100%**		**2328**	**2510**	**4838**	**48%**	**52%**
	50%	**Around Mill Lane, The Wrythe** and **the eastern part** (Socially mixed)	1193	1230	2423	49%	51%
	35%	The High Street	796	875	1671	48%	52%
	15%	Northern part (including **The Ponds**)	339	405	744	**46%**	**54%**

Source: CEBs 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881

It could be argued that outer southern suburban development was, partially, about changes in the labour/employment market, which was reflected in alterations in the social class composition of a particular district.[156] Disparity in the gender ratios, between the parishes, arose through changes in the relative sizes of the employment segments in each parish. These were reflected in their social class composition.[157] In Sutton and Wallington's case, in the research period, there was a marked increase in the service/tertiary sectors and an increasingly wealthy middle-class suburban grouping (i.e. Class I and Class II categories) and so there was increasing female gender preponderance.

6.8 Conclusions

The expansion of suburbia and the railway system were inextricably interconnected, but the existence of both was the product of growing middle-class immigration and middle-class prosperity.[158] The advent of rail travel not only increased local populations, but also attracted a substantial number of immigrant householders who were employed in a much wider range of remunerative middle-class occupations. These newcomers brought with them or hired an increasingly large émigré servant population to service their homes.[159] The in-migration of affluent middle-class professional commuters, their families and their dependent servants, had not only a significant effect on overall commercial growth but markedly increased social separation.

The village of Sutton, by the mid-1850s, had numerous attractions for the bourgeoisie. It had an effective transport infrastructure, competent local government, plenty of cheap building plots and so was in a commanding position to achieve urban enlargement. The improved transportation provided by the railways increased residential choice, while making more differentiated the accommodation provided by the marketplace. It rapidly became, in succeeding decades, an ideal residential location for those (i.e. male middle-class white-collar workers) desiring employment in the city. It 'is now recognized as one of the most desirable localities for suburban residence. Its situation is perfect.'[160] Sutton quickly became an expanding urban area with growing appeal to the middle-

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[156] J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley, 'The internal structure of nineteenth-century British cities – an overview', p.18.

[157] Johnson and Pooley, 'The internal structure of nineteenth-century British cities – an overview', p.18.

[158] Helena Barrett and John Phillips, *Suburban Style: the British home, 1840-1960* (London: Macdonald & Co, 1987), p.26.

[159] Michael Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900', in F.M.L Thompson (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester University Press, 1982), p.147.

[160] Holt's, *Directory of Sutton, Carshalton, Wallington and District 1904*, p.3.

class professionals. With the introduction of the railway 'the Sutton of old speedily threw off its lethargy and its tranquil village aspect and became, in a very few years, a busy thriving community'.[161] For the middle-classes, suburban areas, such as Sutton, had a blend of physical and social features. 'It was an *ad hoc* world, whose vitality came from meeting the needs of its own inhabitants, and which, in an architectural sense, almost literally invented itself as it went along.'[162] Henceforward, the Sutton area witnessed further spectacular growth as a suburban location for middle-class commuters. The railways reinforced the existing employment pull of the city and with the coming of the railway the city commanded even better access to its hinterland.[163]

All the parishes (apart from Cheam, see Figure 6.34 below), as with other expanding suburban areas, in the research period, represented comparatively youthful societies, very much dependent on the services of a large number of young, mostly female, migratory workers and had non-standard age patterns.[164] However, Sutton and Wallington's urban development differed very much from that of close at hand Cheam and Carshalton. Cheam, Carshalton and, to a lesser extent Beddington, showed much slower economic and social changes. This was mainly because these parishes had a very dissimilar and relatively fixed agrarian, commercial and social structure and had, as well, grave transport problems. They had sizeable estates that limited housing developments that would have been appealing to the new middle-classes. Consequently, it is essential to scrutinize the mechanisms and processes that maintained the social divisions within the parishes.[165]

Kingston, Sutton's near neighbour, again was dissimilar in numerous ways to that of neighbouring New Malden and Surbiton. This illustrates the possible dangers of generalising the research findings from one geographical area to another, even over small distances. Percy Fitzgerald maintained that each suburban area could have 'a note of its own' which might influence 'even the character and pursuits of the natives.'[166] Nevertheless, the majority of southern suburbs were in some ways similar in that the

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[161] Holt's, *Directory of Sutton 1905*, p.3; Rookledge and Skelton, *Rookledge's Architectural Identifier of Conservation Areas*, p.12.
[162] D.A. Reeder, *Suburbanity and the Victorian City* (University of Leicester, 1980), p.2.
[163] Ray Thomas, 'Unit 23 The metropolitan area' Course Team (eds.), *Urban Development: The Spread of Cities* (The Open University Press, 1973), pp. 16, 19.
[164] M. Daunton, 'Introduction' in M. Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 vol. 3), 30.
[165] Robson, *Urban Social Areas*, pp. 7, 12.
[166] Fitzgerald, *London City Suburbs*, pp. 204-7.

pattern and route for their suburban growth was essentially very alike.[167] The influx of newcomers, into Sutton and Wallington rather than the other parishes was due, in part, to varying improvements in the parishes' railway and highway infrastructures, which resulted in differing access to suitable construction sites.[168] The resultant parish employment patterns were the outcome of adjustments to both local and national circumstances.

Figure 6.33
Wallington's Gender Balance

Census							
1851 (Pop. 881)	**% of Parish Population** (information derived from CEBs)	**Districts** (predominately)	**Males**	**Females**	**Total**	**% Males**	**% Females**
	100%		**419**	**462**	**881**	**48%**	**52%**
1861 (Pop. 983)	**100%**		**462**	**521**	**983**	**47%**	**53%**
1871 (Pop. 1315)	**100%**		**601**	**734**	**1335**	**45%**	**55%**
1881 (Pop. 3007)	**100%**		**601**	**734**	**1335**	**43%**	**57%**
	10%	**Northern** (industrial area)	326	294	620	**53%**	**47%**
	35%	**Middle**	333	436	769	**43%**	**57%**
	54%	**Southern** (new middle middle-class housing developments)	636	982	1618	**39%**	**61%**

Source: CEBs 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881

[167] Richard Harris and Peter .J. Larkham, 'Suburban Foundation, Form and Function', in Richard Harris and Peter J. Larkham (eds.), *Changing Suburbs: Formation, Form and Function* (London: E & FN Spon, 1999), p.2.

[168] J.A. Yelling, *Slums and Slum Clearance in Victorian London* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986), p.57.

Figure 6.34
Cheam's Gender Balance

Census							
1851 (Pop. 1137)	**% of Parish Population** (information derived from CEBs)	**Districts** (predominately)	**Males**	**Females**	**Total**	**% Males**	**% Females**
	100%		**592**	**546**	**1138**	**52%**	**48%**
	24%	Northern Cheam Village to Sutton (an agricultural area)	168	109	277	**61%**	**39%**
	76%	From Worcester Park	224	437	861	49%	51%
1861 (Pop. 1156)	**100%**		**578**	**578**	**1156**	**50%**	**50%**
	57%	Southern part of the parish	338	324	662	51%	49%
	43%	Worcester Park onwards	240	254	494	49%	51%
1871 (Pop. 1629)	**100%**		**839**	**795**	**1629**	**51%**	**49%**
	67%	Southern part of the parish	568	334	1096	52%	48%
	33%	Worcester Park onwards	271	261	533	51%	49%
1881 (Pop. 2117)	**100%**		**1103**	**1014**	**2123**	**52%**	**48%**
	54%	Southern part of the parish	616	534	1157	**54%**	**46%**
	35%	Worcester Park onwards	380	366	746	**51%**	**49%**
	10%	Cheam Village + middle part	106	114	220	**48%**	**52%**

Source: CEBs 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881

Figure 6.35
Beddington's Gender Balance

Census							
1851 (Pop. 522)	**% of Parish Population** (information derived from CEBs)	**Districts**	**Males**	**Females**	**Total**	**% Males**	**% Females**
	100%		**265**	**258**	**523**	**51%**	**49%**
1861 (Pop. 573)	**100%**		**286**	**286**	**572**	**50%**	**50%**
1871 (Pop. 1499)	**100%**	(A large middle-class housing development)	**656**	**843**	**1499**	**44%**	**56%**
1881 (Pop. 2485)	**100%**		**942**	**1298**	**2240**	**42%**	**58%**

Source: CEBs 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881

Chapter 7

Community

[Penultimate Draft, January 2012]

7.1 Introduction

There was, within the parishes, little intermixing socially or occupationally between the differing social strata; there was little sense of collective community, especially between the middle-class male workers and the lower ones. Visits by the middle-class to lower-class communities were restricted. As a local dweller said, it was 'seldom undertaken ... Even (nearby) places like Mitcham, Brixton, Islington, the East End and so on were spoken of (by the middle-classes) with aversion and to be avoided whenever possible.'[1] Not only did the two groupings have differing working hours and workplaces but along with increasing social and geographical separation came job segregation polarity; both factors reinforcing, and clearly marking, social standing.[2]

Middle-class parish social life was distinctly different from that of the working-class. For full participation in wide-ranging middle-class activities, involving such personages as civil servants, widowed ladies, solicitors and businessmen, as described by H.G. Wells (who was resident in the parishes for some time), included outings to the theatre, dinner parties, church activities, participation in cricket, badminton, croquet and tennis clubs and giving musical evenings; involvement in these created their own circle of intimates.[3] Such intimates shared not only many matching tastes but, more importantly, similar social status. To participate in such activities one would need not only spare time and particular social abilities, but also surplus income. These features effectively debarred the working-class or made them feel excluded. The parishes' communities' differing life styles might also be reflected in their attendance at different churches, cafes and retail outlets.[4] As far as their free time was concerned, the upper-middle-class or lower-middle-class gentlemen from the parishes might spend theirs socialising or drinking in their London clubs or at home while those within the poorer communities, such as that around Palmerston Road, possibly imbibed in nearby public houses or beer shops.[5] The pubs were the chief sites for male social contact. These

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1 Eileen Whitening, *Anyone for tennis?* (London Borough of Sutton Library & Arts Services, 1979), p.57.

2 Brian T. Robson, *Urban Social Areas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p.11.

3 David Rymill, *Worcester Park & Cuddington: a walk through the centuries* (Worcester Park, Surrey: The Buckwheat Press, 2000), p.28.

4 Helen Long, *The Edwardian House* (Manchester University Press, 1993), p.9.

5 David Hey, *How our ancestors lived* (Richmond: Public Record Office, 2002), p.128.

included tiny alehouses such as *The Victory* beer-house in William Road, *The Eagle Tavern* in Lind Road and *The Cross Keys*, the smallest beer-shop in Sutton, on the corner of William and Vernon Roads.

Thus the incomes, occupations, lifestyles, leisure pursuits and which neighbourhoods classes resided in, differed greatly. An analysis of some of these features commences below with a scrutiny of the geographically concentrated and socially close-knit parishes' working-class communities, and how these communities attempted to cope with social and financial difficulties. Later, aspects of working-class communities are then contrasted with those of the more spatially dispersed, relationally loose-knit middle-class ones. Lastly, the consequences of lack of adequate amenities and suburban political detachment from central government, partially arising from the relative vast scale of parish in-migration, are considered.

7.2 Identifying a 'community'

There has been much debate as to what the concept of community entails.[6] One helpful, but very general definition, was provided by Ronald Frankenbery who thought that a community was 'an area of social living marked by some degree of social coherence'.[7] Richard Dennis and Stephen Daniels and others have provided more complex descriptions. These usually incorporate significant indicators such as lifestyle, culture, ethnicity, neighbourliness, residential persistence, marriage and kinship connections, membership of local churches, clubs and other interest groups, relationship between home and place of work, and the overall relationship between all the above.[8] Such approaches, which are discussed by Ann Cooper in her article on *Burnage,* are centred on the multiple and comparative elements that form a 'community'.[9]

The term community can thus imply more than just simply a geographical closely defined district because communities only come into existence through the shared experiences, memories, attitudes, traditions and sentiments of the individuals who occupied them. Further, communities exist only when interactions between members

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[6] Anne Cooper, 'Burnage 1880-1905, the making of a middle-class community', *Family & Community History*, vol 1 (1998), p.39.

[7] Ronald Frankenberg, *Communities in Britain: social life in town and country* (London: Penguin Books, 1965), p.15; Denis Mills, 'Defining community: a critical review of 'community' in family and community history', *Family & Community History*, vol 7/1 (2004), 6.

[8] Richard Dennis and Stephen Daniels, 'Community' and the social geography of Victorian cites', *Urban history Yearbook* (1981), p.39.

[9] Cooper, 'Burnage', p.39.

have the function of meeting wants and attaining group objectives.[10] Perhaps, they can only acquire 'recognisable' meaning when they are compared with less formalised societal settings. Colin Bell and Howard Newby agreeing thought that a 'community usually (only) gains perspective when it is contrasted with non-community'.[11] A comparative dichotomous approach to the notion of community will be followed throughout this chapter, not only within the parishes but also between the five parishes. The community continuum, within and between the parishes, ranged from 'close-knit' localities with elevated amounts of multiplicity, connectedness and residential persistence in some working-class neighbourhoods such as Wandleside, Carshalton, to loose-knit networks with low residential persistence in middle-class areas such as south Sutton.[12] Middle-class areas were, in many respects, the exact opposite of working-class communities.

All parish areas, to some degree, underwent continuous modification in the character of their inhabitants. In Anthony Downs' words, 'they experience constant changes in the identity of their residents'.[13] What is more to Downs, the movement of middle-class households from older, socially and physically deteriorating areas to newer ones with better-rented accommodation was huge, and the influences of such migrations could be all pervasive.[14] Parts of deteriorating zones were, with the departure of the bourgeoisies, taken over by rooming houses, as in The New Town district of Sutton. Such 'an area of transition' frequently became a slum.[15] For Bell and Newby it was often 'a bleak area of segregation of the sediment of society; an area of extreme poverty, tenants, ramshackle buildings, of eviction and evaded rents, an area of working mothers and children of high rates of birth, infant mortality, illegitimacy and death.'[16] Even so, inhabitants of such a neighbourhood could have had a greater sense of community than those of the newer, less crowded, more prosperous middle-class areas.

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[10] Jacqueline Scherer, *Contemporary community: sociological illusion or reality*? (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1972), p.5.

[11] Colin Bell and Howard Newby, *Community studies: an introduction to the sociology of the local community* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971), p.16.

[12] Bell and Newby, *Community studies*, p.53.

[13] Anthony Downs, *Neighborhoods and urban development* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1981), p.50.

[14] Downs, *Neighborhoods and urban development*, p.4.

[15] Bell and Newby, *Community studies*, p.95.

[16] Bell and Newby, *Community studies*, p.96.

Locally, the middle-classes, in comparison to the lower-classes, were less reliant upon their neighbourhoods and had the necessary funds to flee if they became discontented with an area and the amenities it offered. They could repudiate one rental location for another. Their wealth and mobility made such options feasible. They could escape to more appealing localities while the poor had to remain or migrated to slummy neighbourhoods because of their poverty, as Jacqueline Scherer also observed.[17] Social class was, and is, an important influence on mobility and persistency of community patterns. Varied sorts of class mobility produced dissimilar social and neighbourhood structures. The generally increasing middle-class nature of Sutton and the progressive movement of the middle-class to new housing in the south are plainly revealed by the CEB gender figures in Figure 6.28 'Sutton's Gender Balance' in chapter 6 while Figure 6.13, 'Estimated annual rental value, and the rates paid, in October 1892 in the Sutton district' in chapter 6 clearly shows the progressively higher rateable value in the newly developing middle-class residential roads in the southern areas following the arrival of pipe-water.

However, although numerous working-class households did not remain at the same address for very long, they rarely moved far away. For Dennis and Daniels it was the relative 'level of persistence' of particular social groups in a neighbourhood, rather than their long-term continuing residency at any fixed addresses, that was important in delineating a community.[18] The longer inhabitants were in a set area the more emotionally involved they became. They frequently viewed their neighbourhoods as enduring communities. Geographically immobility, Paul Knox contended, resulted in such residents being more able and willing to establish local ties.[19] These working-class residents in their rented accommodation were more loyal to their neighbourhoods than shorter-term middle-class inhabitants were to theirs. Similarly Roger Ahlbrandt, in agreement, stated that 'longer term residents are more attached and are more loyal than shorter-term residents'.[20] However, even with the working-class, communities often were not constant, lasting collectives. They were not necessarily entrenched in fixed areas and permanently unchanging in both make-up and direction.[21] Nevertheless, some local areas of deprivation then (i.e. areas around Mill Lane and Palmerston Road), are

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[17] Scherer, *Contemporary community,* p.14.
[18] Dennis and Daniels, 'Community', p.205.
[19] Paul Knox, *Urban social geography: an introduction* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1982), p.73.
[20] Roger S. Ahlbrandt, *Neighborhoods, people, and community* (London: Plenum Press, 1984), p.51.
[21] Scherer, *Contemporary community,* p.15.

still even now, occupied by the lower-classes. The stress for the urban historians, therefore, ought to be on not only assessing economic, demographic or geographical markers, but also on the altering, shifting nature of neighbourhood social class composition. This process involved, for Bell and Newby, a continuous reconsideration of 'changing social relations'.[22]

In this chapter demographic data dealing with the size and density of various social class localities, their reliance or relative autonomy from other ones, changes in their age, sex and class make-up and their rates of in-migration will be considered and residence persistence in the same neighbourhood, in lower-class and middle-class areas, rather than at the particular locations will be determined. Bell and Newby suggested this type of approach in their book on the sociology of the local community.[23] The amenities provided by the local neighbourhood or those further away, for example in central London, and the people's involvement with them will also be assessed.

7.3 Kinship and residential persistence

Within the parishes, kinship and persistence of residency, as a concept, in defining communities, was assessed (via census and directory sources) by scrutinising marriage and kinship arrangements, and by gauging the length of household tenure, as Cooper attempted in her study.[24]

A detailed comparison of the two largest working-class districts was made. The first, the Mill Lane district of Carshalton, conformed to conventional criteria (that is, it was a close-knit community with elevated amounts of multiplicity, connectedness and residential persistence and exhibited pronounced kinship relationships) whereas the second, The New Town working-class area of Sutton, did not. Perhaps the reason for this was that the first was the centre of a long established industrial zone while the second was populated with artisans and unskilled workers who serviced directly the requirements of the wealthy. Sutton never had major manufacturing. It was always mainly a service centre. Nevertheless, much of the leisure activities of both working-class locations were similarly focused on their parochial public houses and churches and the amenities they provided. These dense, close-knit communities, where everyone

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[22] Bell and Newby, *Community studies*, p.51.
[23] Bell and Newby, *Community studies*, p.48.
[24] Cooper, 'Burnage', p.38.

knew everyone and interacted, had also a restricted array of occupations and comparatively stable populations. To Dennis Mills such communities were characterised by 'face-to-face groups residing in close proximity to each other, enabling people to have a comprehensive knowledge of each other'.[25] Here there was neighbourliness and friendship but little privacy.

Carshalton's Wandleside, in the centuries prior to the 1840s, was a very important water mill based manufacturing district.[26] This was centred on the Paper Mill Lane (which was later renamed Mill Lane) region. By 1840 there were some thirteen mills in the Carshalton locality, according to G.W. Brayley.[27] However, after the 1840s the water mill based manufacturing suffered a significant decline.

Mill Lane was a straight, narrow, very long road alongside the canal that fed the water mills, with no exits on western and only a few bridge exits on the eastern side. It thus had all the characteristics of a traditional geographical community for it was within a long established, isolated, restricted, geographical and definable area. One might envisage the members of such close-knit communities, because of egress and entrance difficulties, as staying, on a day-to-day basis, within the small territory they live in. Paul Knox would have supported the assertion that the relative immobility of the inhabitants reinforced horizontal ties of friendship, workmate and peer group contacts, the vertical ties of kinship and the localized pattern of employment in the mills, local shopping and leisure activities in the nearby churches and the pubs.[28] In the less affluent, industrial districts of Mill Lane and neighbouring 'Wrythe' areas these pubs were *The Cricketers*, *The Lord Palmerston*, *The Cottage of Content*, *The Rose*, *The Wheatsheaf* and *The Prince Albert.* Each of these taverns had its own particular clientele. At nearby Beddington Corner *The Skinners' Arms* served the local skinning mill. These public houses furnished free-time activities, food, light, warmth and especially alcoholic drinks, such as beer, which were an essential part of the working-class males' leisure time.[29] 'The pub was the only place for (boisterous) social contact

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[25] Mills, 'Defining community', p.7.

[26] Gordon Rookledge and Andrew Skelton, *Rockledge's Architectural Identifier of Conservation Areas: the Sutton edition* (Carshalton, Surrey: Sarema Press, 1999).

[27] G.W. Brayley, *48 Topographical History of Surrey* (London: G. Willis, 1841).

[28] Knox, *Urban social geography*, p.70.

[29] Brian Harrison, 'Pubs', in H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973 vol. 1), 169.

and amusement.'[30] They, with churches and schools, performed important social functions. They were all essential for making and keeping social contacts and building-up a sense of communal togetherness.[31]

Dennis and Daniels thought that high levels of intermarriage and kinship were amongst the criteria for a strong feeling of belonging and of social cohesion and they utilised both marriage and kinship links as indications of a strong feeling of community.[32] When scrutinising the Mill Lane census returns for the years 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881 one is struck by the frequent occurrence of certain slightly unusual surnames. For example, starting with the census of 1841, one notices the surname Smitherman. The listed Richard Smitherman was then 67 years of age. Richard was born in Maidstone, Kent. If one ends ones chronological search with the 1881 census we find that over twenty of his male descendants were living in Mill Lane. Richard was a foreman in the paper mill, while his male descendants were employed in the same trade as managers, engineers and foremen. Similarly, the Bonners were employed in papermaking from 1841 until 1861. The last Bonner, Jacob, in the 1871 census, was listed as a carpenter. The original Bonner, James came from Suffolk. He had twelve male descendants living in Mill Lane during this period. Other families, such as the Duffs, the Browns, the Nashs, and Hortons, were present for at least twenty years, working again in the paper milling trades.

The elevated degree of residential and occupational nearness, in Mill Lane, between family members not only made for greater intensity of interaction between kinfolk but made possible as well the significant role of the matriarch in its strengthening of kinship ties.[33] Michael Young and Peter Willmott emphasised that the matriarch role was crucial in that it supplied practical support. For example it performed this in providing caring for grandchildren. This possibly permitted a daughter or daughter-in-law to undertake work for example in the mills. Kinship, in Mill Lane, may also have become an agency of social control, which passed on rules of behaviour, information, attitudes and beliefs.[34] If one was a wholly integrated member in such a grouping one had to accept its practices. A person's actions reflected not only on himself, but as well on the

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[30] Robert P. Smith, *A History of Sutton*, (Sutton: Derek W. James, 1970), p.49.
[31] F.M.L. Thompson, *Hampstead: Building a borough, 1650-1964* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), p.380.
[32] Dennis and Daniels, 'Community', p.216.
[33] Knox, *Urban social geography*, p.70.
[34] Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (London: Penguin, 1957).

social standing of his kin.[35] In the community everybody was identifiable and could be positioned in a social structure. This resulted in a personalizing of explanations, events and issues. Familiar characters and names became inescapably linked with all that occurred. 'The 'Welfare State', was not even a dream but we had many of its benefits at far less cost, coal, boots, clothing and slate clubs collected small amounts weekly whilst the old Friendly Societies made provision for sickness, etc. There was much give and take among neighbours of home-made jams, wines, pickles, mushroom ketchup, crab jelly, etc.'[36]

The Carshalton Roman Catholic Irish communities were essentially ethnic rather than geographical entities. They were nevertheless restricted to their own 'enclaves'.[37] In Carshalton, they lived in hovels in the Kings' Arms Yard and Post Office Yard, behind The High Street. (These were locally nicknamed 'The Irish Yards'.) The Irish had a common culture, a similar religion and distinctive language, a small population and dissimilar social arrangements to external groups. There existed there a strong community feeling of belonging together and a lasting allegiance to their church and Irish residents in the area, as Dennis and Daniels and others have also revealed in their studies.[38] All these Irish communities shared the repeated experience of difficult times. This increased their interdependence, which was supported by a strong friendship and kinship networks. This mutuality was the mainspring of the social institutions linked with the area, their community spirit and lifestyle.

Consequently the communities promoted immobility and thus made it hard for individuals to move to outside non-Irish locations to attain riches and social position founded on their abilities. To Bell and Newby, being a member of such a 'community will reinforce and encapsulate a moral code, raising moral tensions and rendering heterodoxy a serious crime, for in a community everyone is known and can be placed in the social structure'.[39] Members of these communities did not assume middle-class lifestyles. The all-embracing mesh of relationships asphyxiated individualism and limited free will. The Irish enclaves lacked many services but had a high level of homogeneity in terms of social and demographic composition. Nevertheless, the Irish

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[35] Bell and Newby, *Community studies*, p.138.
[36] Robert P. Smith, *A History of Sutton*, p.68.
[37] Dennis and Daniels, 'Community', p.214.
[38] Dennis and Daniels, 'Community', p.214.
[39] Bell and Newby, *Community studies*, p.24.

did, as Ahlbrandt showed in his work, venture outside their areas to go to church, for recreation, shopping and to find marriageable partners (as is indicated in the place of origin section for wives on the Carshalton census forms).[40]

The common surnames, throughout the censuses, for both Carshalton Irish areas, were Sullivan and Murphy and the usual male first name was Michael. Still, even though the Irish formed only 3% of Carshalton's population they were a prominent group, as far as the local newspapers were concerned. The newspapers perhaps overemphasised the Irish part in local petty crimes such as thieving and poaching from the nearby large, rich estates. All, certainly the middle-classes, viewed them as an untrustworthy lot. According to the local censuses no non-Irish family would employ an Irish person as a servant and there was an absence of Irish names in the mill trade records for skilled workers. The Irish women were restricted to outside jobs such as being laundresses or 'chars'. The men had unskilled labouring jobs. The Irish were social pariahs, suffered from occupational, and residential, discrimination in the mid-Victorian period, and were socially and economically restricted to their own communities.[41]

In the newspapers, a constant theme was always verbatim court reports of local or regional Irish sensational crimes. Locally, all the people, even the young, in 'The Irish Yards' were regarded as lawbreakers. This antipathy was exemplified, in 1879, by the enormous nationwide and local newspaper exposure given to Kate Webster's, a thirty-three year old native of Ireland, criminal life, and ensuing execution, for the slaying in Richmond, of her female employer.[42] (Richmond is next-door to the London Borough of Kingston upon Thames, which in its turn is next to the London Borough of Sutton.) This grisly murder, with its selling of human fat as lard in the Richmond streets, as one can see from the size and duration of the newspaper coverage, both parish and countrywide, may have substantiated a great deal of the middle-class communities' apprehension appertaining to domestics, particularly Irish ones.[43] In many press adverts the words 'English servants preferred' or 'No Irish' cropped up.[44]

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[40] Ahlbrandt, *Neighborhoods*, p.23.

[41] Colin G. Pooley, 'Choice and constraint in the nineteenth-century city: a basis for residential differentiation', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.221.

[42] Pamela Horn, *The Rise & Fall of the Victorian Servant* (Gill and Macmillan, 1975), p.146.

[43] *Sutton Herald* newspaper (29.03, 5.04, 12.04, 19.04, 26.04.1879); W.H. Johnson, *Surrey Murder Casebook* (Countryside Books, 2000), pp. 7-16; Horn, *The Rise & Fall,* p.39.

[44] Horn, *The Rise & Fall,* p.114.

The working-class New Town district of Sutton was, in many ways, distinctly different from Wandleside in Carshalton. The New Town district was not isolated, hemmed in by natural barriers, long established and a geographical definable area. Further persistence of house or area tenure and general close kinship relationships were absent in the William Road area. William Road was the centre of a semi- and unskilled working-class locality. As in the Mill Lane area, census and especially directory data were considered, in this example, for the following roads Palmerston, William, Lind, Albert, Alfred, Lower, Myrtle, Robinhood Cottages, and Vernon Road. The 1870s, 1880s and 1890s directories were very useful in that they provided an unusually diverse alphabetic list of surnames of all households in the Sutton parish plus a list of householders in each street, with in some cases the occupation of the householder.

No trades were listed for poorer roads such as Palmerston, William, Albert, Alfred and Benhill Road. Further, there were not more than two identical surnames in any road. Few surnames occurred more than once in any road or grouping of nearby roads. Perhaps because of the huge, constant rate of immigration into Sutton, in such a few years, there were no large family groupings. There were a few exceptions. In the 1881, the surname Martin was listed thirteen times, five of whom were in the William Road area while the surname Harris (the most common) was listed fifteen times but divided between the William Road and the George Street (on the western side of The High Street) area. The George Street neighbourhood was again a very poor area. However, there was no firm indication, within the 1881 census, to show a family relationship between the families with the Martin or Harris surnames, even though the males that held the same last name were born within the parishes. However, between Broughtons and Mearings, over two censuses, a family relationship could be detected. One needed to examine more than one census. Michael Anderson, in his study, used three successive censuses to establish kinship relationships while four consecutive censuses were employed in the researcher's own Mill Lane scrutiny, discussed above.[45]

[45] Michael. Anderson, *Family structure in Ninetieth-century Lancashire* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 56-62.

The men listed as Harris were predominately bricklayers, carpenters, lath renders, paperhangers and plasterers. So were Martins (whose surname cropped up three times) and Hooks (whose last name also occurred three times). The surname Faulkner appeared four times in the vicinity of William Road. Only one surname, 'Mearing', in Palmerston Road, stayed in the trade directories between 1872 (Holt's) and 1890 (Church's). Some surnames, such as Mitchell, Seal, Faulkner, and Martin existed in the 1880 and 1890 directories but not in the 1872 one while Broughton, in Palmerston Road, existed in the 1872 and 1880 directories but not in the 1890 one. Even so the families, in their short stays, generally remain in the same road as for example in the Broughton case.

Nevertheless, such working-class neighbourhood communities, as for example Sutton's Newtown, Mill Lane, Carshalton, or Longfellow Road, Worcester Park with their clearly defined social frontiers, still had in many respects the characteristics of small 'villages'.[46] For example, most of the thirty cottages occupied by gardeners, agricultural labourers and craftsmen, in Longfellow Road, Worcester Park could be rented for about seven shillings per week.[47] The parish of Cheam valuation list of 1863 gives an estimated gross rental value of £12 and a rate value of £10 while that of 1874 and 1882 gave figures of £11 and £9 for these properties.

Here residents, with their limited funds available for travel, had to be in close geographical proximity with their communities, to maintain social contacts.[48] Generally, the lower the social class of individuals the narrower, and less geographically diffuse, were their networks of social contacts.[49] As one lower-class Bethnal Green resident exclaimed 'I wouldn't like to live on the other side of the canal. It's different there.'[50] Nevertheless, perhaps, such writers as Michael Young and Peter Willmott in their 1957 Bethnal Green study, give too starry-eyed a vision of daily working-class life.[51]

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[46] D.R. Green, 'Street trading in London: a case study of casual labour, 1830-60', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.130.

[47] David Rymill, *Worcester Park & Cuddington: a walk through the centuries* (Worcester Park, Surrey: The Buckwheat Press, 2000), p.141.

[48] M.C. Carr, 'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley, Kent', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The rise of suburbia* (Leicester University Press, 1982), p.224.

[49] Willmott and Young, *Family and Class in a London Suburb*, p.78.

[50] Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (London: Penguin, 1957), p.111.

[51] Young and Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London.*

For the 'close-knit' working-class community, such as that in Mill Lane, Carshalton, social class, nearness, period of residence, shared values and stage in the lifecycle, shaped the degree, if not the strength, of reliance upon local communal social interactions.[52] On the other hand, members of the 'loose-knit' middle-class communities, such as those living along the Brighton Road or around the Carshalton Ponds, were able to and needed to maintain, and extend, their social relationships, and choice of marital spouses, over a wider geographical area than those of the lower-classes, partly because of their greater mobility, social skills, affluence and also because they lived in areas with lower population densities and thus had more limited choices.[53] Against this, the greater the distance such parish migrants were from their original homes the greater the possibility that they would have identification with, and participation in, overall suburban affairs. For by migrating to the parishes they severed their former social and kinship ties.[54] Numerous other features pertaining to loose-knit middle-class communal relationships, which differed markedly from the close-knit ones of the working-class, will be dealt with, in greater depth, later in the chapter.

Generally, the middle-class newcomers, as compared with the working-class ones, especially after the arrival of piped-water, were more mobile and moved more easily, within the parishes and to other suburban areas, as more fashionable rented dwellings became available and their stage reached in the domestic lifestyle changed. As a result, according to the parish census returns, their relative general persistence in one particular area and their local family connections were less. Although this chapter's focus is slightly more on the amenities utilized by the working-classes this may offset, to some degree, the overemphasis placed on middle-class lifestyles in other chapters. Notwithstanding this, numerous features pertaining to loose-knit middle-class communal relationships, which differed markedly from the close-knit ones of the working-class, will be dealt with in greater depth later in the chapter.

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[52] W.V. Hole and M.T. Pountney, *Trends in population, housing and occupancy rates 1861-1961* (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1971), pp. 10, 15-16; Carr, 'The development and character, of a metropolitan suburb', p.224.

[53] Richard Dennis, 'Stability and change in urban communities: a geographical perspective', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), pp. 265-6.

[54] David C. Thorns, *Suburbia* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1972), pp. 117, 127.

7.4 Social and financial support

Social or personal support systems involving family, neighbours, friends and workmates, were more readily available in traditional communities such as Wandleside but with little kinship support and with such a short housing duration The New Town working-class was greatly dependent on local churches and the compassion of the middle-class in times of financial difficulty. Locally: 'The welfare of the poor is ... diligently cared for by the benevolent amongst gentry.'[55] However, the social relationships between lower-class communities and the considerate gentry were extremely authoritarian. The latter often displayed aspects of paternalism in their dealings with the former. 'There was much touching of forelocks and great respect was given to the gentry, to whom of course many ... were dependant for their well being.'[56] Previously to the research period, the amalgamation of parishes brought about by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 led to the establishment of a workhouse in Epsom to which no 'self-respecting', or for that matter, any person wanted to go.

In Sutton: 'It was, of course, really a crime to be poor (regardless of the cause) and as there was no such thing as a benign Welfare State to succour such unfortunates, there must have been numberless cases of real suffering and starvation. Neither can I (as a member of the privileged upper-middle-class) recall ... (fund raising) events ... to help so many deserving causes.'[57] The lower-classes were, in effect a separate race, plainly identifiable to the middle-class community by their language, odour, conduct, garments and build.[58] Clayton Cook described locally, in the late Victorian period, the smallness and harshness of parish relief and the way in which the 'gentry' controlled its provision in the more rural parts of the parishes, in the latter part of nineteenth century. Here, the landed gentry or higher classes, who dwelt in the larger residences, practiced a 'form of crude welfare state' for the respectful needy. For example, Cook recalls a son's memory of his mother who 'needed treatment to have all her teeth taken out and replaced ... going with her doing the rounds to the large houses around the village (Carshalton) asking for letters to the hospital. These letters held much sway, as the

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[55] *Events in Sutton between 1862 – 1880* (Abstracts from Morgan and Church's Family & Advertising Almanacs).

[56] Clayton Cook, *Tales of Beddington Village* (Wallington, Surrey: Clayton Cook, 1996), p.17.

[57] Whitening, *Anyone for tennis?*, p.57.

[58] Alison Ravetz with Richard Turkington, *The Place of Home, English domestic environments, 1914-2000* (London: E& FN Spon, 1995), p.1.

gentry, who gave sizeable donations to the hospital, could more or less dictate who could, and who could not, have free hospital treatment.'[59]

However, in Sutton, a few endeavours to promote civic attitudes among the 'deserving poor' (i.e. individuals who wished to improve their material and moral worth) were mentioned by the directories. The middle class directories and newspapers often expressed an aggressive self-help philosophy, which found its expression in the Old Testament inspired notion of the 'survival of the fittest'. Their male readerships were in the main pious, industrious, and sober living and earnest-minded and was typically 'self-made'.[60]

The Morgan *Directory* of 1864 stated that 'it is encouraging to know that with the increase of material prosperity, efforts are being made on every hand to promote the intellectual, social, moral and religious life of the (lower-class) population. The clothing club, coal club, saving bank, and numerous friendly societies testify to the benevolent spirit abroad, whilst the efforts of the various religious communities manifestly show the activity of the religious life in the locality.'[61] In 1869 Morgan's mentioned in glowing terms: 'The working men of Sutton have started a Co-operative Society for the sale of household items'.[62] However, in the previous year, Morgan's *Directory* had earnestly asserted that The Co-operative Society 'will foster habits of self-help and self-reliance in place of that dependence on the wealthier classes which is the great bane of poverty'.[63] By 1880, The Sutton Institute in Vernon Road, Sutton, had come into being for individual members of the working-class and to provide for their collective welfare. Wednesday evening 'was regularly devoted to lectures, essays, discussions, musical evenings, impromptu speaking, and other means of mutual improvement and amusement'.[64] There were also Bible Classes on Sunday afternoon, Mutual Benefit Society on Tuesday afternoons and Mutual Saving Bank meetings on Saturday evening.[65]

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[59] Cook, *Tales of Beddington Village*, p.16.
[60] Mark Girouard, *The English Town* (London: Yale University Press, 1990), pp.274, 296.
[61] Morgan's *Directory* (1864), p.5.
[62] Morgan's *Directory* (1869), p.3.
[63] *Events in Sutton between 1862 – 1880* (Abstracts from Morgan and Church's Family & Advertising Almanacs).
[64] Church's *Directory* (1880), p.22.
[65] Church's *Directory* (1880), p.191.

Such inspiring institutions were willingly provided and financially assisted by members of the middle-class community in the hope that they would improve the moral worth and conduct of the lower-class communities. However, the latter's interests were often, in reality, generally centred around activities in their indigenous boisterous pubs and beer houses, where alcohol was more available, and cheaper, than pure, locally drinkable water.

In central Carshalton a similar type of welfare organisation appeared, The Cottage Reading Rooms and Library, but its membership was not free which, of course, restricted access to the better off members of the lower-classes. The terms were 8d. per week, 2s per quarter and 6s for annual subscription. According to Pile's *Directory* for 1878 it had 'two rooms: one for reading and social gatherings in which refreshments are supplied; and the other room is for games and smokers'. In addition to books and a place in which to read them, courses of lectures were provided, and musical and dramatic entertainment of an 'improving' character were arranged. In an almanac for 1882 it was advertised as 'Open from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. Newspapers, Books, Maps, Chess, Bagatelle, Billiards, Smoking Room, Refreshments, etc.' Carshalton's Cottage Reading Rooms appear to have achieved a certain degree of celebrity, for in 1882, Pile's *Directory* proclaimed that they had been given that year a signed portrait of Princess Beatrice: 'few institutions, especially of so humble a nature, have received such a great honour' remarked the editor. The secretary-ship was honorary, but carried the cachet of being a 'good work'. The Reading Rooms were re-titled by Kelly's *Directory* in 1907 as the 'Working Men's Club'.

However, thankfully, a very large integrated and extensive grouping of religious institution provided, at a subsidised charge, not only much needed welfare support but also places of enlightenment and amusement. Even seemingly middle-class denominations, as Dennis and Daniels research has revealed, could incorporate substantial numbers of lower-class families amongst their congregations.[66] Furthermore, H.J. Dyos thought that these became the social hub, for a larger fraction of the community, than they served, even though the data for church attendance do not always suggest this.[67]

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[66] Dennis and Daniels, 'Community', p.218.

[67] H.J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb: a study in the growth of Camberwell* (Leicester University Press, 1961), p.163.

Listed in Pile's *Sutton and District Directories,* by the 1880s, connected with, and subsidised by, religious institutions or the benevolent wealthy were the following 'wholesome' instructive activities: Sunday Schools, Choirs Practices, Girls' Singing Classes, Sutton Vocal Associations, Bible Classes, Bands of Hope, Girls' Friendly Societies, Lads' Brigades, Lending Libraries, Floriculture, Horticultural and Literacy Societies (winter season), Annual Flower Shows, Clothing Clubs, Coal & Clothing Clubs, Clothing and Blanket Clubs, Shoe Clubs (St Barnabas), Slate Clubs, Penny Banks, Soup Kitchens, Fathers' and Mothers' Meeting Clubs, Men's Benefit Clubs, Boys' Industrial Classes, District Visiting Societies and adult Friendly Societies.[68] In all the parishes' churches, Sunday schools, in the morning and afternoon, were large and apparently prosperous. Sunday School excursions, with the accompanying picnic, were noted in the directories as rare treats for the children. A number of churches had annual Tea Parties, which in All Saints' (Benhilton, lower Sutton) case, in the 1880s, was often attended by over 400 people.[69] There were flourishing Bands of Hope, which numbered in St Barnabas' (Sutton, New Town) case around '80 members, who were, through the kindness of their friends, enabled to take part in the most recent united temperance concerts and *fête* at the Crystal Palace.'[70] In 1873, it is recorded that the parish school children (through the churches) 'in August held their annual festival in the Manor House's grounds, to enliven, which Mr Wilson (the occupant of the Manor House) contributed an excellent band of music and refreshments for adult friends'.[71] The most prominent loyal citizens, either out of concern for the welfare of the 'deserving poor', or out of a sense of civic responsibility, or just to exhibit their own lofty positions would sometimes allow the free use of their estates for respectable team games such as cricket or for Christian moralistic, edifying events.

Sutton was abundantly supplied with both public and private establishments for the education of the young.[72] Thirteen private educational establishments, wholly for the middle-class, for the Sutton area, are listed in Church's 1880 *Directory.* A large boarding school for young gentlemen occupied Carshalton House until 1883. Schooling

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[68] Arthur Edward Jones, *From Medieval Manor to London Suburb* (Wallington, Surrey: Fleetwing Press, 1974), p.94; Pile's, *Sutton and District Directory* (1896), pp. 75-77; Holt's, *Guide to Sutton*, (Sutton: Christopher Holt, 1896).

[69] *History of the Church and Parish of All Saints' Benhilton* (Sutton Library Archive RLC 274.221, 1963), p.9.

[70] Rymill, *Worcester Park & Cuddington*, p.14.

[71] *Events in Sutton between 1862 – 1880* (Abstracts from Morgan and Church's Family & Advertising Almanacs).

[72] Church's *Directory* (1880), p.17.

for the middle-class, in suburbia, was always private and socially exclusive.[73] Schooling was essentially an issue of social class and so there was no integration between the classes.[74] For the lower-classes, The Carshalton Board Schools were built in Camden Road; that for the girls being opened in 1874, the boys' building in 1876, and an infants' department in 1884. A School Board for Sutton was formed in April 1874, which regulated in Sutton a boys and girls and infant school in New Town and a boys and girls school in West Street.[75] According to Knox, relationships formed amongst cohort of lower-class children at school could be carried over into work, courtship and street life; they later, after leaving school, started working together, praying together and having fun together in their own communities.[76]

Churches, together with taverns and schools, furnished a focus for community events. Such establishments acted as diversions and masked, for some, in New Town, as elsewhere, the miseries of a short lived mid-Victorian existence.[77] Judging by the number that were constructed, parish churches obtained their support virtually completely from their immediate neighbourhood. One could perhaps explain the spread of churches and church organizations as an endeavour to promote a feeling of localism. Confirming this, Dennis and Daniels' article advances the proposition that 'the proliferation of churches and church organizations (was) ... an attempt to maintain a sense of localism (and was not an attempt to destroy) local community structures'.[78] To many inner city slum, or parish inhabitants, like those living in William Road, Sutton for example, dwelling in deprivation beside their taverns and churches, their stark surroundings provided them with a separate, vibrant and beneficial sub-culture, which was perhaps more residentially satisfying and certainly cheaper than living in pleasanter districts.[79] Their full involvement in parish public house, and especially church, activities were important, for they acted both as social and welfare centres.

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[73] D.A. Reeder, *Suburbanity and the Victorian City* (University of Leicester, 1980), p.10.
[74] Hey, *How our ancestors lived*, p.115.
[75] Church's *Directory* (1880), p.20.
[76] Knox, *Urban social geography*, p.71.
[77] Anthony Sutcliffe, 'The growth of public intervention in the British urban environment during the nineteenth century: a structural approach', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), p.119.
[78] Dennis and Daniels, 'Community', p.218.
[79] Sutcliffe, 'The growth of public intervention', p.118.

The construction of new pubs and churches, which acted as social centres, helped to attract renters and buyers to the area. Consequently, vital to the financial survival of shrewd developers were the construction, possibly before houses were erected, of gleaming taverns and splendid churches or the ubiquitous sombre 'tin chapels'. (The latter were often erected with the usual accompanying school on land given by the ground landlord, who, one cynically might surmise, thought that such an action might increase an area's 'respectability' and thus increase the value of its residential land and, therefore, their rents!).[80] This was a widespread practice in that period.[81]

When, for example the railway arrived in New Malden, Surrey, in 1846, the village grew rapidly around its religious centre, Christ Church. In Sutton, Thomas Alcock used some of the proceeds from land development sales to endow All Saints, Benhilton, erected in 1863, and donated money towards the rebuilding of the parish church, St. Nicholas, in 1861.[82] In south Wallington, Nathaniel Bridges performed a similar function in developing his agricultural property around the new station, whilst giving generously by supplying a new church. Likewise, in Worcester Park, the land developer, Land Estates Company, paid for the erection of St Mary's Church.[83] The massive reconstruction of the Carshalton parish church, All Saints, in the same period, was instigated by the endeavours of affluent middle-class parishioners, many of whom were new to the parish, who were distinctly fervent in their church-going, as were those in F.M.L. Thompson's Hampstead.[84] To newcomers the Carshalton church was then the hub of their community.

'The growth of Sutton between 1861-71 was phenomenal. The population doubled, shops, houses and new roads appeared in every direction and accommodation for church life became imperative.'[85] Religious institutions were erected between 1860-1873 at an astonishing rate, to match the class and ethnic make-up of the increasing population. Three sizeable churches and five larger chapels were constructed. In the working-class communities there was an abundance of diminutive back-street chapels of often-smaller denominations. These furnished the spiritual life of those involved with a colour that

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[80] Mark Girouard, *The English Town* (London: Yale University Press, 1990), p.265.
[81] Reeder, *Suburbanity and the Victorian City*, p.8.
[82] Church's *Directory* (1880), p.5.
[83] Rymill, *Worcester Park & Cuddington,* p.32.
[84] Brightling, *Some particulars relating to the history and antiquities of Carshalton,* pp. 59-88; Thompson, *Hampstead,* p.381.
[85] Robert P. Smith, *A History of Sutton*, p.58.

was possibly missing in more affluent communities.[86] The arrivals of the following were recorded with great civic pride in Sutton's local directories and newspapers. For example, in 1867, The Clifton Crescent Wesleyan Methodist Chapel was opened but plans were already in hand for a new and bigger structure on the Sutton Court estate adjoining the Carshalton Road.[87] In 1873 Hill Road Baptist Chapel was opened. The total costs for its construction, furnishing and the land came to £2,250. In West Street, The United Methodist Free Church was erected and another small chapel was opened in Marshall Road. Before 1873 United Methodist convened in a hut on a site in West Street. In 1872, in Lind Road, The Primitive Methodist Chapel was replaced by one with an accompanying schoolroom '40ft 6in long and 28ft 6in wide', at a cost of £1,070.[88] The final years of the century witnessed the burgeoning of churches of all denominations. In 1883 St Barnabas (Sutton, New Town) was opened and within a few years it had 4,000 parishioners.[89] It was followed in 1888 by Christ Church and in 1892, for the Catholic community, Our Lady of the Rosary. The construction of all the above, besides providing additional employment, offered a further attraction for potential inhabitants. Sutton and Carshalton, by the beginning of the 1880s, included not just four parish churches but a Methodist church, a Baptist chapel and a Congregational church as well.

Public houses, schools and churches were essential for making and keeping social contacts and building up a sense of communal togetherness. As Kate Tiller stated, 'For some, religion was the primary factor in defining a feeling of community, of belonging and of shared values'.[90] They promoted group objectives that stipulated conduct by ethical rules. And, in the case of church attendance, there was the added desire for social status recognition.[91] 'Membership of the Church of England (All Saints, Carshalton) provided a kind of social badge and the secular hierarchy maintained a corresponding order of precedence within its congregation.... The social structure of the church was exemplified, not only in the constitution of the vestry and choice of burial place, but even in divine worship itself. A pew in the church was a status symbol, and a parishioner who could not aspire to a pew himself did, at least, hope to get a share

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[86] Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1974), p.136.
[87] Robert P. Smith, *A History of Sutton*, p.58.
[88] Church's *Directory* (1880), p.16.
[89] *History of the Church of St Barnabas, Sutton, New Town, 1884-1984* (SBPS, 726).
[90] Kate Tiller, 'Religion in nineteenth century Britain' in J. Golby (ed.) *Communities and families* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.156.
[91] Thompson, *Hampstead*, p.380.

of one ... at £5 per year.'[92] Even a central seat placing, within orthodox religion, was too expensive for the poor of the working-class community!

Incoming migrants, by their involvement in pub, or church, or both activities showed their desire to belong to their new community.[93] Public houses supplied here, for working-class men, an escape from overcrowded domestic residences. Taverns, sometimes euphemistically called hotels, were viewed with ambivalence by the parish middle-class communities and were thought, by them, to lower the tone and value of neighbourhoods. This is illustrated by the restrictions placed on the sale, locally, in upper-class Wallington, of twenty plots (Nathaniel Bridges' housing development): 'no builder, on any Lots (to use the site) as public-house, tavern or beer-shop.'[94] In the parish of Carshalton the more affluent areas such as Carshalton Beeches and Carshalton on the Hill never had public houses.[95] However, elsewhere in working-class communities, land developers would open taverns and would, perhaps, also install a landlord to share in the pub's profits, as was the case with *The Nelson*, at the northern end of William Road in Sutton.[96]

The largest concentration of taverns was in the poorest sections of the five parishes where each pub had its own particular clientele. Those in the neighbouring Carshalton village were centred in the less affluent, industrial districts. There were, in addition, three taverns located near Carshalton's railway station *The Sun Hotel*, *The Railway Tavern* and *The Hope* but this was not a middle-class area.[97] Public houses in the Newtown area of Sutton included *The New Town*, *The New Inn*, *The Windsor Castle*, *The Nelson* and *The Victory*. *The New Inn* itself can be traced back to 1867. Edward Guile, a London house painter, then bought for £450 two dwellings called Rosemary Cottages, together with their outbuildings in Myrtle Road, at a local auction.

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92 Jones, *From Medieval Manor to London Suburb*, p.118.
93 Hey, *How our ancestors lived*, p.71.
94 Property documents, London Borough of Sutton Public Library: 48/28/3-4.
95 Arthur Edward Jones, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Old Carshalton* (Wallington, Surrey: Fleetwing Press, 1973), p.174.
96 John Marshall and Ian Willox, *The Victorian House* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1986), p.102; Property, 48/27/2.
97 Reeder, *Suburbanite and the Victorian City*, p.8.

Every tavern was slightly different and drew its customers from one specific quarter. Pubs were certainly very popular with lower-class communities. In the 1860s, the pubs provided 'ale at fourpence or twopence a pint, tobacco fourpence an ounce, cigarettes five a penny, small cigars (flats) twopence, matches one farthing a box, clay pipes free, customers were plentiful'.[98] Milk was obtainable at around three and halfpence per pint. There was also in Sutton '*The Magpie* in Church-street, *Trafalgar Inn*, West-street, *Eagle Tavern*, Lind-road, *Prince of Wales*, Lind-road and *The Beerhouse*, William-road'.[99] Locally, the chronic shortage of suitable drinking water, prior and after the coming of piped water to affluent communities, was one reason for the existence of so many small alehouses, in poorer neighbourhoods.[100]

7.5 Communal entertainment

For Dennis and Daniels, the working-class communities 'social life' was centred on the church, the public house, the street corner or 'the doorstep'.[101] The intense utilisation of communal outdoor space made for an elevated level of primary local social interaction and there was usually something of interest to be seen. There were always the outdoor vendors. The dress, the cries and the antics of hawkers enlivened the street scene. There were muffin, catsmeat, hot-potato, fly-paper men, Italians with their dancing bears, German bands, Italian women fortune tellers, and even performing chimney sweeps.[102] Nevertheless, one day in the year was memorable for every Victorian Sutton community, as Mrs Horner remembered. 'Derby Day (The Epsom Derby Race Course was only a few miles away) was the event of the year locally and crowds of inhabitants congregated in the High Street (Sutton) to watch the procession of landaus and coaches roll past with fashionably dressed society folk (including the Prince of Wales) and to see the picturesque attired coasters.'[103]

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[98] Robert P. Smith, *A History of Sutton*, p.49.
[99] Robert P. Smith, *A History of Sutton,* p.70.
[100] Robert P. Smith, *A History of Sutton*, p.49.
[101] Dennis and Daniels, 'Community', p.218.
[102] Robert P. Smith, *A History of Sutton*, p.64.
[103] Sutton & Cheam Advertiser, 'Sutton's Little Old Lady', Thursday, March 16th, 1939.

Viewing the street scene was free but entry and travel to amusements put on by private companies and private sports clubs was out of the reach of the majority of the working-class community. Entry was restricted by price, by dress or by class codes. Locally, public and private restrictions on entry to institutions reveal an unmistakable attitude of social superiority, and explicit power by the middle-classes, over the 'lower orders'. 'Class distinction was ... exemplified by the cricket pavilion in Beddington Park. ... It had two toilets, which displayed prominent signs. One showing 'Gentlemen' and the other 'Men''.[104] 'Membership (by lower-classes) of the local golf or cricket clubs was somewhat difficult to obtain as it was rather a 'closed shop' affair.'[105] Although, the private Sutton Cricket and Football Club, on Cheam Road, in the 1880s, offered lawn tennis and athletics plus refreshments the entry prices were substantially beyond the means of the poor. Admission to cricket matches was only 6d (for the suitably attired) but for a workman to spend this amount was unrealistic on earnings of a pound, or less, a week.[106] The annual cricket subscription was substantially higher being £1 10s with an additional 10s 6d for playing members. The tennis subscription was 10s 6d plus an additional £3 13s 6d for playing members. The price of dinner in the pavilion was 2s per person while refreshments were whisky and soda 5d, claret 6d, lemonade 2d and bottled ale 3d. For important matches and events a military band was often hired.[107] Centres of commercial amusement, apart from the pubs, were far beyond the means of the working-class community.

In 1875 a transitory skating rink was opened in the High Street. The price of admission was again 6d. The public hall, Sutton, was only opened in 1877 (with an auditorium capable of holding 700). It was not a municipal venture so entry was not subsidised. Subscription lectures were given there but it was, in addition, a venue for concerts, theatricals, and light entertainment 'and even private gentlemen hired the hall for balls'.[108] Carshalton's public hall was erected earlier in 1874 and was at one time let, in part, to The London and Provincial Bank.[109] It was, in fact, the village community centre of its time. This centre, unlike Sutton's, had social rather than commercial aims. It even received charitable contributions, including £10 from Carshalton Gas Company.

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[104] Cook, *Tales of Beddington Village*, p.17.
[105] Whitening, *Anyone for tennis?*, p.57.
[106] Jack Simmons, *The Railways in England and Wales 1830-1914* (Leicester University Press, 1978), p.37.
[107] Sutton Cricket & Football Club – Cheam Road, a programme for 1889.
[108] *Events in Sutton between 1862 – 1880* (Abstracts from Morgan and Church's Family & Advertising Almanacs).
[109] Jones, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Old Carshalton*, p.44.

The hall was let for social, business and political meetings and 'The Teetotallers, the Mutual Improvement Society, the promoters of Penny Reading and occasionally Entertainments, as well as religious bodies hold gatherings of various kind here'.[110] Earlier in 1870, in Cheam, 'the Parochial Room opened'.[111]

At the commencement of the research period, Sutton, Carshalton, Wallington and Cheam had no municipal recreation grounds for the playing of cricket and football. There was, however in Sutton 'a space of two or three acres at the lower end (on Sutton Common waste lands) of the town'.[112] A private meadow in Rose Hill Park was then the arena for sport. Sutton Cricket Club was established there in 1861. The losing side paid for a 'supper' at the *Greyhound* or *Red Lion* public houses. Later a permanent private cricket ground was established on the Cheam Road. The Cheam Common Cricket Club was established in 1872. The inaugural match took place in a field belonging to Mr Pennington (possibly close to the Drill Inn), between the married and single members. The bachelors won with scores of 78 and 78 and 28 for 8. There appeared to have been a separate Worcester Park cricket team at this time, against whom Cheam Common were victorious in the summer of 1874.[113] In 1873, in Wallington, there was a 'flourishing Cricket Club of over forty members'. They played 'in the grounds of J.T. Wilson Esq. (the occupant of the Manor House, in Sutton). J.T. Wilson Esq. and other great landowners, either out of a sense of duty, or because of charitable feelings, or just to display their importance, as the foremost upper-class citizens in the parishes, allowed or encouraged numerous suitable activities, without charge, to take place on their estates. In Carshalton, the non-public Carshalton Park had sporting amenities such as a cricket ground and a golf course. Carshalton Football Club was founded there in 1897. In 1875 the parish directories list other sports such as hockey, cycling and football. 'We used to walk home in our football boots, and the state of the ground in mid-winter was terrible.'[114]

For the wealthy middle-class young, within the parishes, private expensive social and sporting facilities, well away from the unloved lower-classes, were available. For example, private parish enterprises such as *The Stanley Hotel* according to Pile's

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[110] Holt's, *Directory of Sutton, Carshalton, Wallington and District 1878*, p.22.
[111] Church's *Directory* (1871), p.2.
[112] Pile's, *Sutton and District Directory* (1896), p.52.
[113] LBSA, Cheam and Cuddington parish magazines, 2236/5/1,3.
[114] Rymill, *Worcester Park & Cuddington,* p.115.

Directory for 1887 could furnish for the discerning upper middle-class 'Suites of Private Apartments, Coffee Room, Private Sitting and Reception Rooms, Commercial Room, Bath Room, Lavatories etc', together with 'Spacious Billiard Room with two First Class Tables, Large and Well Stocked Cellars, Good Stabling, Pleasure Grounds, Lawn Tennis, Bowling Green and Fine Cricket Ground etc.' It even made an international appeal, proclaiming 'French' and 'German' spoken. An illustration of the hotel, which accompanies the advert, shows ladies and gentlemen promenading about a lawn in front of the building while a small number of players playing single wicket cricket close at hand.[115] Similarly, *The Railway Inn* (in Worcester Park) also, with its function rooms, served as an upper-middle-class social venue for annual dinners for a number of local organisations while *The Barrow Hedges* (in Sutton) and *The Greyhound* (in Carshalton) were frequented by the world of fashion, particularly the sporting portion of it.[116] The Greyhound was also 'very popular ... as the headquarters of the Friendly Societies' such as Ancient Order of Foresters, Ancient Order of Shepherds, and Manchester Unity of Fellows.[117]

Higher-income neighbourhoods, such as those appertaining to those areas described above, had highly structured systems. They often had Church of England churches, private schools, garden clubs, clubs for tennis and golf, political organizations, and informal contacts amongst local government and business, which did not require a formal neighbourhood organization.[118] Nevertheless, those with higher incomes with possibly more sophisticated tastes, in contrast to those from lower income communities, were more apt to socialize with people residing outside of the area. Middle-class mobility and wealth made it feasible for people to belong to more than one 'community', and 'to rely (as Ahlbrandt maintained) for emotional supports on those living beyond the boundaries of their residence.'[119] Nevertheless, the near neighbourhood was the germane focal point for many higher-income individuals.[120] These were more apt, than members of the lower-classes, to organise and be involved in voluntary organizations and to utilise limited private neighbourhood amenities.

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[115] Jones, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Old Carshalton*, p.53.
[116] Rymill, *Worcester Park & Cuddington,* p.8; Jones, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Old Carshalton*, p.174.
[117] Church's *Directory* (1880), p.192.
[118] Downs, *Neighborhoods and urban development*, p.20.
[119] Ahlbrandt, *Neighborhoods*, p.22.
[120] Ahlbrandt, *Neighborhoods*, p.27.

Locally, higher-income, more often than lower-income households, belonged to organizations concerned about neighbourhood problems, as Ahlbrandt also observed.[121] This was well illustrated in the local parishes, and other areas, by, in Sutton and Carshalton's case, the thirty years continual ratepayers' opposition to a proposed public sewage scheme, which in these parishes would have mainly benefited the 'despised' working-class communities in the low lying areas.[122] Newspaper correspondence on this subject often expressed such opinions as: 'The cost (of it) will be ruinous, and of its efficiency, I have grave doubts.'[123] In outer suburban areas, such as the parishes, rates and rents tended to be lower than inner London ones because sanitary regulations were less strictly enforced and also, of course, because building land was cheaper.[124] 'It (Sutton) is one of the lowest rated of all the towns surrounding the Metropolis.'[125]

The parish local authorities were much slower, than those in the inner London suburbs, in intervening. They provided only minimum services and were mainly passive players in the suburbanisation process. So the greater part of the newspapers' editorials and correspondence sections and directories produced by the parsimonious bourgeoisie concentrated on the need to avoid the costs which would arise from solving the sewage situation, the provision of local amenities such as public parks and the finding of more burial spaces.[126] In 1881, for example: 'The churchyard of St Nicholas (Sutton's parish church) was growing so full that a gentleman, whose premises adjoined the churchyard, had had to raise his fence three times owing to the increase in the height of the soil ...bones and coffins had not only been exposed, but had been turned up, thrown on the surface, and carried away. ...' Neighbouring churches' graveyards, such as that of Benhilton's, were considered distinctly unsuitable 'owing to the nature of the soil and want of drainage. ... (In these) they die first and are drowned afterwards.' [127] In response to this horrendous state of affairs St Nicholas Churchyard was closed as

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[121] Ahlbrandt, *Neighborhoods*, p.151.

[122] Anthony Sutcliffe, 'The growth of public intervention in the British urban environment during the nineteenth century: a structural approach', in J.H. Johnson and Colin P. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities* (London and Canberra: Croon Helm, 1982), pp. 107-8, 121.

[123] *The Sutton and Epsom Advertiser and Surrey Reporter*, 23 Nov. 1881.

[124] Anthony S. Wohl, 'The housing of the working classes in London 1815-1914' in Stanley D. Chapman (ed.), *The History of Working-class housing* (Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles, 1971), pp. 33-4; Anthony S. Wohl, *The Eternal Slum: housing and social policy in Victorian London* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), p.296.

[125] *Sutton Approved Guide 1915*, p.7.

[126] Pile's *Directory*, *Sutton and District Directory* (1898), p.35.

[127] *The Sutton & Epsom Advertiser*, 12 Nov. 1881.

regards new graves in 1887 and Sutton Cemetery was eventually opened, but only in 1890.[128]

Hence, if some menace to members of the middle-class occurred, that is some event that threatened the existing agreeable status quo or their local politic power, then the wealthier parish inhabitants formed formal neighbourhood organizations in reaction to that peril. As a group they were only concerned with their own self-interest, maintaining their independence, and keeping the rate burden down. Parishes like Sutton 'should manage its own affairs and spend its own money'.[129] This found its later expression in the Sutton Mayor's 1914 speech delivered when opening Manor Park. 'They (the council) want the residents to help them in preventing the greedy other districts from putting out their claws and taking possession of their nice little nest egg (Sutton itself). Hear, hear (from the crowd.)'[130] This declaration on behalf of the Council was in response to a continuous movement, in the local directories and newspapers, for aggrandisement amalgamations with other much poorer parishes and greater involvement in London-wide affairs. For example, 'unless its (Sutton's) borders are enlarged by the inclusion of the whole or a portion of some of the neighbouring parishes ...it can never become a populous borough likes its neighbours Croydon and Wimbledon, owing to its restricted area'.[131]

Sutton's immigrant adult middle-class males, especially the wealthier portion, who largely worked in the city, dominated the parish politically, economically and socially. The remaining employed population segments, the servants, artisans and unskilled, who were equally émigré, mainly just serviced their needs and arrogant caprices. The paragraphs below describe society from the middle-class viewpoint. The bourgeoisie had an overwhelmingly desire bordering on hysteria to divorce themselves physically and socially from the lower classes, especially their own working-class domestic servants. To the middle-class, the often ungrateful working-class only existed to facilitate the wishes of the middle-class community.

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[128] Pile's *Directory, Sutton and District Directory* (1898), p.35.
[129] *The Sutton and Epsom Advertiser and Surrey Reporter*: 1 April 1882.
[130] *Sutton Herald*, 20 May 1914.
[131] Pile's *Directory, Beddington, Carshalton & Wallington* (1909), p.5.

7.6 Middle-class households

The majority of the male middle-class wage earners worked outside the parishes and treated them as dormitory or bedrooms of the city. Radical changes in transportation, especially rail, transformed the social and urban topography. City jobs were now, in terms of time, closer to Sutton and the other research parishes, for Scherer a transformation in 'transportation altered the world (social and economic) landscape'.[132] In Sutton as elsewhere, the comparative dearth of older middle-class single males, the long commuter journey, the preponderance of small nuclear families consisting of husband, wife, and children, who were served by young, unmarried domestic servants, were characteristic of the new suburbs.[133] In Sutton, in the census returns of 1861 and 1881, the comparative size of Classes 1 and 2 (within Armstrong's recognized categorization) formed mostly of immigrant middle-class members, was usually greater than was the case nationally. French similarly found that this was so in his Surbiton study.[134] Classes 1 and 2 grouping (including clerks) locally increased from 30% of all households, in 1861, to 38% of all households by 1881. They were listed in the local directories, employed servants, and frequently dwelt in big, often named residences, as Cooper also discovered.[135] Their homes were typically one-family residences with gardens.

To Knox, their way of life was centred unswervingly on their nuclear families' social standing, their quest, or their retention, of wealth and the seclusion in which to relish these.[136] Within the Victorian family, hierarchy was firmly founded upon gender, age and status.[137] Males and females, and even children, had clear roles and lived, or worked, in different locations.[138] This family model entailed the unquestioned acceptance of a male head of the household who maintained his dependent family members and the accompanying necessary servants.[139] In his best seller *The Angel in the House*, Coventry Patmore depicts men as success orientated, while their wives are described as self-abnegating and submissive.[140] The microcosmic dichotomy of

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[132] Scherer, *Contemporary community*, p.xi.
[133] Scherer, *Contemporary community*, p.20.
[134] Christopher French, 'Who lived in suburbia? Surbiton in the second half of the 19th century', *Family & Community Historical Society*, Vol. 10(2), Nov. 2007, 98.
[135] Cooper, 'Burnage', p.37.
[136] Knox, *Urban social geography*, p.72.
[137] Mark Clapson, *Suburban Century: social change and urban growth in England and the United States* (Oxford International Publishers Ltd., 2003), pp. 69-70.
[138] Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), p.xxii.
[139] Long, *The Edwardian House,* p.12.
[140] Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House* (Boston [Mass]: Ticknor & Fields, 2 vols, 1863).

domestic power, and status, revealed above, probably expressed, for middle-class members (at least for the males), their notion of an idyllic world, where each class, and its associated community, was in its allotted social and geographical place, and where males and females, and even children, had clear roles and lived, or worked, in different locations.[141] There was, as a result, a clearer identifiable difference between the private, family world of women and the public, work role of men, and also between the communities of the various classes, leisure and work-time.[142] Some husbands, who were not attended to (to their own satisfaction), perhaps stayed late at their London clubs or, in the case of working-class Sutton males, spent their evenings in the taverns![143] To F.M.L. Thompson the separation of the male world of work from that of the family was the essence of suburbia.[144]

Generally, suburban respectability and social superiority, as in Sutton, involving societal segregation, was an issue of the correct address.[145] The middle-class tended to move into defendable, protected communes occupied by residents with similar interests, 'in an attempt', according to Knox, 'to find refuge from potentially antagonistic rival groups'.[146] Social class was more significant than community. Eileen Whitening describes such a situation in late Victorian Wallington. 'The suburban society of Outer London when I was young was an unbelievably enclosed and exclusive one. There was a fine degree of snobbishness as regards which road you lived in, which school you attended, what your father did for a living (factory work was non-existent in our immediate area and practically every father travelled daily to the City to an office job of some kind or other); and, most of all, your accent – upper class, middle class, or just plain 'common'. We seldom heard an Irish, Scottish or North-country voice, and almost never a foreign one.'[147]

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[141] Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.xxii.
[142] C. Hall, 'The butcher, the baker, the candlestickmaker: the shop and family in the Industrial Revolution', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (Longman, 1993), pp. 311, 318, 320.
[143] Flanders, *The Victorian House*, p.xxxiv.
[144] F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: a social history of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (London: Fontana Press, 1988), pp. 175-6.
[145] Jenni Calder, *The Victorian Home* (Batsford, 1977), p.187.
[146] Knox, *Urban social geography*, p.73.
[147] Whitening, *Anyone for tennis?*, p.57.

Social pressures were applied more subtly, but with just as deadly an effect, in middle-class parish communities as in working-class ones. On middle-class newcomers, in face-to-face contact, accepted codes of conduct were imposed and enforced by strong, informal controls such as ridicule and ostracism, or clandestinely by way of gossip. There was also less chance in a small, class-ridden suburb like Sutton, with its higher social visibility, of being anonymous than in the vast impersonal city.[148] 'Respectability', displaying the correct form of behaviour and associating with the right kind of people, was all-important for the impecunious Sutton lower-middle-class. The working-class were less inclined to ostracise newcomers than to use openly and frequently offensively behaviour to those who offended their social mores.[149]

Locally, desirable street names were now a social prerequisite for the middle-class communities. The retention of this was the cause of considerable bourgeois comfort. These were, possibly, as important, or more important, than the actual architecture displayed by the houses themselves. Astute local developers recognised this, as can be seen in the names they called their new residential roads.[150] Those used locally were often aristocratic-sounding such as York, Mulgrave, Worcester, Grange and Cavendish Road. Elsewhere, suburban areas also could appeal to potential customers by reflecting their supposed rustic charms in their names, for example Kensal Rise, Maida Vale, Camberwell Green and Shepherd's Bush.[151]

Locally, parks and gardens furnished a form of social class frontier lines between communities. Social separations and gradations were always significant in that they separated the 'respectable' from the 'non-respectable' communities and, consequently, provided a sense of identity and security for established or aspiring middle-class social groups. H.J. Dyos, in his study, while revealing the intricate social rankings that could subsist in what seemed to be a physically homogenous locality, shows that its social class structure could also be indicated by the non-existence of tree-lined roads in working-class districts, rows of specific trees, such as laburnums and acacias in middle-class thoroughfares, and horse chestnut and limes in even more affluent streets.[152]

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[148] Thorns, *Suburbia,* pp. 23, 141.

[149] Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1974), p.135; George and Weedon Grossmith, *The diary of a nobody* (Bristol, 1892), pp. 111-12.

[150] Alan A. Jackson, *Semi-Detached London: Suburban Development, Life and Transport, 1900-39* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1973), p.128.

[151] Stephen Inwood, *City of Cities: The Birth of Modern London* (London: Macmillan, 2005), p.202.

[152] H.J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb: a study in the growth of Camberwell* (Leicester University Press, 1961).

The middle-class front gardens, in Mulgrave and Cavendish Road, Sutton or in The Avenue, Worcester Park while reinforcing the physical, and psychological, separation from the neighbours and the public street forming a buffer zone, was for public exhibition, as was the parlour, front or drawing room where guests were received. These areas both indicated a middle-class household's status and gentleman's outward success.[153] Substantial proportioned residences, as those in the Brighton Road, Sutton, such as Lansdown, Engledue, or Rossiniere, with gardens at both back and front, by the last part of the century, became for the middle-class community the prototypical suburban house form. Locally, upper-middle-class dwellings such as those in Grove Road, Sutton were often concealed from the view of the 'hoi polloi', behind high privet hedges, tall shrubbery or walls, a form of landscape, to some extent, copied from the writings of the estate designer J.C. Loudon.[154] Sutton was well known for its tree-lined boulevards such as those of Cheam Road and the stunning Christchurch Park with its copper beech trees. Christchurch Park was laid out as a road in 1888.

For the family coming to reside there, privacy was 'our primary classification' and was far more important than 'comfort, convenience and cheerfulness.'[155] The reclassification of suburban space, with the construction of low-density housing as in south Sutton, was a quintessential mid-Victorian phenomenon, which coincided with enhanced domestic ideals.[156] Even as the very fashionable newly built middle-class semi-detached houses, with elaborate, overstressed open front gardens, in for example Cavendish Road, Sutton, of course, were a conceit; for while giving the households an illusion of privacy and snobbishness they attempted to give passers-by the false impression that the occupiers dwelt in residences that were twice as large.[157] In chapter 6, Figure 6.13, 'Estimated annual rental value, and the rates paid, in October 1892 in the Sutton district', exposes the dramatic differences in rateable between the poorest and riches areas in Sutton.

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[153] Linda Osband, *Victorian House Style* (Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles, 1991), p.8.
[154] Long, *The Edwardian House,* p.11.
[155] Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House; or, How to Plan English Residences, From the Parsonage to the Palace* (London: Murray, 1864), p.74.
[156] R.J Morris and Richard Rodger, 'An introduction to British urban history, 1820-1914', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (Longman, 1993), pp. 21, 23.
[157] Jackson, *Semi-Detached London*, p.133.

The front garden arrangement, in middle-class roads, often made casual neighbouring fairly hard, and so, as a result, local social networks were inclined to be founded more on voluntary associations for example private clubs and Church of England churches. The middle-class only lived alongside each other but not together. They perhaps did not have communities, but 'three bedrooms and a bath'. Scherer alleged that for them 'neighbours' were less significant than possessing 'a private garden'.[158] People might discover themselves living next to people with whom they shared naught in common save their ethnic group. As a result in such a societal set-up, individuals might have few mutual friends. So as to find these, they were more apt to travel outside the locality for emotional and social support. Their society was consequently less close-knit, less founded on the immediate neighbourhood than traditional working-class areas. The poor, in contrast, because of their penury, found it fiscally onerous to keep up social connections further away.

Thus, middle-class living styles and values, as much as location, seemed to be the social adhesive fastening the members together. For Dennis and Daniels, a discussion of a middle-class community must entail a deliberation on these characteristics and an analysis of both external and local communal relationships.[159] For social networks linked to voluntary associations of diverse kinds, rather than near neighbour contacts, strengthened middle-class cohesiveness and their idea of community. Middle-class society, according to Knox, was formed of loose-knit, secondary relationships.[160] Members frequently depended for emotional support on those residing away from the boundaries of their residences.

The middle-class communities, socialising away from the immediate neighbourhood, were often a self-selected group having a similar preference for free time and social activities. Such communities' unity was strengthened by 'person-orientated' (that is, association with people having comparable cultural interests) instead of social standing or pecuniary-inclined way of life, as was the case in working-class communities.[161] Low levels of neighbourliness were the result of social class insecurity as consequence of migrating to socially new, unfamiliar surroundings, the lessening in contact with now distant relatives, the desire for family privacy and the more home-centred lifestyle.

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[158] Scherer, *Contemporary community*, p.20.
[159] Dennis and Daniels, 'Community', p.202.
[160] Knox, *Urban social geography*, p.72.
[161] Knox, *Urban social geography*, p.72.

The larger middle-class houses were often designed for two very separate, distinct communities, firstly the middle-class family itself and secondly their, relatively cheap dependent working-class servants. For example, in the 1881 census, Thomas Rickles, a large manufacturer, living at The Mansion, 118 Woodcote Grove, Carshalton had a wife and three daughters. He employed seven unmarried servants. Five single females, a cook aged 33, a lady's maid aged 26, two housemaids aged 37 and 18, one kitchen maid aged 16, and a butler aged 28 and a footman aged 19. Another household that of J.P. Gassiott, a County Magistrate, living at The Culvers in 1881 had only two visitors when the census took place but employed five unmarried female servants and two single male domestics. These were one unspecified domestic aged 47, one house servant aged 67, one cook aged 43, one housemaid aged 38, one kitchen maid aged 22, and one footman aged 28 and one Italian valet, aged 32. The above demonstrates the great affluence of parts of the area; with superior riches householders such as the above engaged more employees and consequently were able to exhibit superior social standing.[162] However, the middle-class family members always wished to keep their inter-class contact with social inferiors, within the home as in the wider community, to a minimum.[163] (In an 1873 house auction, all semi- and detached properties were advertised in Goodenough and Cedar Roads with 'a servant's water closet'.[164])

The drawback to the nearness of the servants was that it violated the privacy of the family. The necessity of having to keep the servants close at hand but separate, and the provision of separate sleeping quarters for female and male servants, produced difficulties that were not easily resolved.[165] When not serving the family, these working-class domestics were restricted, by their employers, to the basement or attic. The only domestics the adult family members usually saw were the footmen, the grooms and the better-educated housekeeper, lady's maid, parlour maid and butler. The dwellings and the patterns of daily life were carefully planned to prevent one group of residents encroaching on any other. The parish middle-class communities appeared sometimes to look upon this rising third of the local population, their drudges, as a foreign and unfriendly tribe: 'the attitudes of mind and the ways and customs of

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[162] Kathryn Hughes, *The Victorian Governess* (Hambledon P, 1993) p.60.

[163] John Pink, *"Country Girls Preferred": Victorian domestic servants in the suburbs (Featuring Surbiton and Kingston upon Thames)*, (Surbiton: JRP, 1998), p.12.

[164] Property, 48/8/3.

[165] According to Vanessa Parker, *The English House in the Nineteenth Century* (The Historical Association, 1970), p.9.

servants are as incomprehensible to us as those of the gypsies'.[166] To this might be affixed the widespread, and overpowering initial concern, as to the honesty of a new employee.[167]

Domestic servants, mostly young, single, female and briefly resident, overworked ('on duty theoretically from 6.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. or later') with little free time, often laboured alone or with just one or two other servants in upper or middle-class households.[168] In such surroundings servants gained no feeling of class solidarity, and so the vast majority stayed politically inert and disconnected from full involvement in the local working-class community.[169] The majority of the parishes' inhabitants, being working-class, dependent servants or even members of the impoverished lower-middle-class had little say in parish affairs. (Nationally, between 1832 and 1867, the middle-classes made up the majority of the urban electorate for municipal, as well as parliamentary, elections.[170])

Furthermore, the separation of members of parish middle-class households from the lower-classes occurred not only by geographical segregation but also by their deliberate policy of restricting access to their private houses by the use of servant 'doorkeepers' at such access points as the tradesmen's entrance. Servants functioned, in the parishes as elsewhere, as middlemen between the 'common' tradesmen, for example general dealers, butchers and milkmen who provided the middle and upper-classes with goods and services and 'decent' visiting society.[171] The middle-class always wished to keep their inter-class contact with social inferiors, in the home, as within wider society to the minimum.[172]

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[166] Burnett, *A Social History of Housing 1815-19,* p.196; Grossmith, *The diary of a nobody*, pp. 125, 143, 189; Mrs. C.W. Earle, *More Pot Pourri from a Surrey Garden* (Nelson, 1899), p.192; P. Taylor, 'Daughters and mothers - maids and mistresses: domestic service between the wars' in J. Clarke, C. Critcher and R. Johnson (eds.), *Working-class Culture* (1979), pp. 123, 133.

[167] Mrs. Taylor, *Practical Hints to young females* (1815), pp. 36-37; S.S. Ellis, *The Wives of England* (Fisher, 1843), p.311.

[168] Flanders, *The Victorian House,* p.100.

[169] C.V. Butler, *Domestic Service: An enquiry by the Women's Industrial Council* (1916), p.49; J. Burnett, *Useful Toil: Autobiographies of working people from the 1820s to the 1920s* (1974). p.169.

[170] Richard Trainor, 'The middle class', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge, 2000 vol. 3), 706.

[171] M. Ebery and B. Preston, *Domestic Service in Late Victorian and Edwardian England 1871-1914* (Reading, 1974), p.65; Grossmith, *The diary of a nobody*, p.69.

[172] Pink, "*Country Girls Preferred*", p.12.

7.7 The provision of private and civic amenities

According to one local historian amusements for the middle-classes 'could not really compete with the purpose-built palaces of entertainment which were proliferating ... in London'.[173] The middle-class family abodes, in the suburbs such as Sutton, were thus separated from the inner-city organs of sophisticated amusement and culture.[174] As a result of this and the enormous and constant inflow of newcomers into the parishes, local cultural societies and clubs were only slowly established.

In suburbs, like Sutton and Wallington, frequently social amenities, apart from public houses and churches were only built after numerous dwellings were constructed.[175] It was assumed, to begin with, that residents would travel by rail and find a variety of services, entertainment and cultural activities, in central London.[176] The dependency on inner city services was increased by the fact that many of the wealthy businessmen stayed on in the city after work, socialising in their clubs and places of entertainment.[177]

Suburbs such as Worcester Park, as compared with Surbiton or New Malden, remained isolated from surrounding larger centres of population, were cut off from established commercial lifeline and lacked economic flexibility or amenities, so the railway stations became the hubs of communal interactions and the essential part of suburban existence, a lifeline to London culture.[178] H.G. Wells described Worcester Park, in his unflattering portrait, as a 'suburb' that had not 'come off'[179] 'A suburb (such as Worcester Park) usually has no centre of its communal life ...Human life refuses to wait ... a generation is created which has learnt to do without them (social amenities).'[180] It was only when social amenities did arrive that the rapidly enlarging populated parishes gained a real life of their own. This reduced their sense of cultural isolation.[181]

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[173] Jones, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Old Carshalton*, p.44.
[174] Andrew Saint, 'Introduction: The Quality of the London Suburb', in Julian Honer (ed.), *London Suburbs* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), p.21.
[175] Patrick Nuttgens, *The Home Front: housing the people 1840-1990* (Chatham, Kent: Mackays of Chatham PLC, 1989), p.124.
[176] Calder, *The Victorian Home,* p.25; Nuttgens, *The Home Front*, p.124.
[177] Flanders, *The Victorian House,* p.xxxiv.
[178] Jeffrey Richards and John M. MacKenzie, *The Railway Station: a social history* (Oxford University Press, 1986), p.166.
[179] H.G. Wells, *Ann Veronica* (Harmondsworth, 1968), p.2.
[180] *Listener*, BBC Feb. 1935.
[181] Richard Tames, *A Traveller's History of London* (Gloucester: The Windrush Press, 1992), p.176.

However, the degree to which middle-class cultural amenities were missing in a particular area, after the arrival of the railways, seems to have depended on whether there existed a previous village or small town with thriving amenities. For example, old towns such as Croydon, Epsom, Kingston and Richmond, and to some extent Carshalton Village and Cheam Village, had previously had social facilities and were thus, to some degree, independent of those of central London. Many of these were old-established boroughs, market towns, watering places or spas, and so they all offered pre-existing centres, around which suburban expansion could grow.[182] In them urbanized skills, services and amenities were already present. Francis Sheppard and others also feel this was the case.[183] Although the suburbs can be thought of as a Victorian invention, even as early as the seventeenth century a few members of the affluent middle- and landed-classes commuted to the City, from the parishes.[184] Both Arthur Edward Jones and the Carshalton Parish Registers sustain the idea of early London commuting.[185]

Outer suburbs lacking amenities such as Sutton, without doubt, as their size grew beyond a certain point, were inclined to develop them and make them available for a quickly growing hinterland of their own; although this tended, in the case of the research parishes, to be an astonishingly lengthy process.[186] This long run urbanisation process could either draw in retired people looking for an out-of-town residence (as was so evident in the census returns for Sutton), or small-scale industry. Even before this occurred, each local parish centre tended to provide the majority of the goods needed by the family and servants. They had thus their own dynamic elements. Additional urban development provided opportunities for general property investments in, for example water, gas, rail, asylums, hospitals, schools, retail and omnibus enterprises and the provision of other civic services, besides those solely concerned with domestic housing.[187] The construction of all these ventures stimulated local employment. This demonstrates that outer southern suburban areas, eventually, like the five research

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[182] D.E.C. Eversley, 'Fifth Discussion', in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), p.276.

[183] F.H.W. Sheppard, *London 1808-1870: the Infernal Wen* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1971), p.154; H.J. Dyos and Derek H. Aldcroft, *British Transport: An economic survey from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth* (Leicester University Press, 1971), p.350.

[184] F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester University Press, 1982), p.1.

[185] A.E. Jones, *From Medieval Manor to London Suburb* (Wallington, Surrey: Fleetwing Press, 1965); Carshalton Parish Registers, Micro-fiches 1538-1837.

[186] R.J Morris and Richard Rodger, 'An introduction to British urban history, 1820-1914', in R.J Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (Longman, 1993), p.23.

[187] Reeder, *Suburbanite and the Victorian City*, p.6.

parishes or Dyos's inner suburban Camberwell, had, or could have, their own corporate identity, develop into self sufficient communities, engender their own services and trades and have their own close-knit working-class districts.[188]

In Sutton, it took nearly three decades, after the railway station was built, for it to acquire some civic services; before that there was no public park, no hospital, no public library or town hall. The Morgan *Directory* for 1864 ended with the following statement: 'the need of a Public Hall or room is increasingly felt. The want of this restrains many movements which would otherwise be made for the intellectual benefit of the public'.[189] The public hall was only opened in 1877 and then only made possible by the efforts of a private company. This was thirty years since the railway station was erected. Kingston's older pedigree as an ancient borough, with all its amenities, is shown by its new town hall being erected in 1838, well before the arrival of the railway.[190] The public hall's opening, as was that of The London and Provincial Bank in upper Sutton, was welcomed as a 'visible sign of progress' by Church's *Sutton Directory*.[191] In 1894 a caretaker's residence and rooms at the side of Sutton Public Hall were added.

The Sutton Police Station, in the High Street, was opened in 1854. The Sutton Gas Company was established in 1856 but even in 1900 many cottages, in the poorer communities, still used paraffin lamps.[192] By 1874 Sutton was sparsely lighted by 133 gas lamps, at an annual cost of £3 16s each. However, there was no public lighting in Belmont or Cheam Village. A volunteer fire brigade was established, in Sutton, in 1875.[193] Although there were several doctors in Sutton, one had to travel to Epsom, even in the 1880s, to obtain the services of a dentist. The Cottage Hospital in Carshalton was not opened until the 1880s. In 1902 The Masonic Hall was belatedly erected in upper-class Grove Road, while merely in 1902 were plans prepared for the erection of a public bath, which was opened in 1903. The Salvation Army only arrived in 1904. The Sutton Local Board was very slow to act over sewage and refuse collection and it only commenced the latter in the 1880s. In 1902, the Sutton directory

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[188] Wohl, *The Eternal Slum,* p.293; John Davis, 'Modern London', in Peter. J. Waller (ed.), *The English Urban Landscape* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.131.
[189] Morgan's *Family & Advertising Almanack* (Sutton, Surrey: J. Morgan, High Street, 1865), p.5.
[190] June Sampson, *Kingston Past* (London: Historical Publications Ltd, 1997), p.103.
[191] Church's *Directory* (1880), p.28.
[192] Margaret Thomas, *Victorian Sutton* (Wallington, Surrey: Wigs Publishing, 1998), p.59.
[193] Church's *Directory* (1880), p.25.

was still complaining that 'Sutton has no recreation ground so called, and it is one grievance in certain quarters against the local authority that it does not provide one'.[194] Sutton only created Manor Park by pulling down some existing buildings, but it was only opened in 1914.

Notwithstanding the above, the local newspapers and directories constantly promoted civic pride, and encouraged and welcomed any 'visible sign of (urban) progress'.[195] In 1845 Sutton had merely been a small country hamlet but, within less than seventy years, it could claim a public hall, public rooms, a library, baths, board schools, churches and chapels, and a local newspaper (jointly with Epsom and Croydon), a gas works, tennis courts, allotment grounds, a horticultural society, cricket teams, a park and its own Urban Council, which came into being in 1874.

Nevertheless, this separation of a parish home base from a fountain of cultural, up to date, fashionable activities in central London, for many of the younger upper-middle-class newcomers and their offspring, increased a sense of intellectual isolation.[196] 'She (Ann Veronica) wanted to live', to escape this dreariness 'to inhale a deep breath of air-London air, to walk out of a cell into a free and spacious world.'[197] For 'Morningside Park (Worcester Park) had been passive and defective.'[198] H.G. Wells (a local author) in his novel, *Ann Veronica*, describes the dullness and air of conscious elegance of suburbia, with all its social gradations, and the centring of life around the local railway stations and train timetables.[199] H.G. Wells' rebellious middle-class young heroine (Ann Veronica) eventually flees to the enlightenment and excitement of South Kensington and, perhaps rather anti-climactically, ultimately attains middle-class respectability by getting married and managing a conventional household. One of the Grossmith brothers' characters, the youthful Lupin Pooter, expresses much the same sentiment as Veronica: 'I am not going to rot away my life in the suburbs'.[200]

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[194] Pile's *Directory, Sutton and District Directory* (1898), p.31; Pile's *Directory* (1902), p.31.
[195] Church's *Directory* (1880), p.28.
[196] Tames, *A Traveller's History of London*, p.176.
[197] Wells, *Ann Veronica*, pp. 2-3, 4, 96, 107.
[198] Wells, *Ann Veronica*, p.144.
[199] Michael Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p.22.
[200] Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody*, p.277.

Most suburban areas, perhaps, did not have many supporters apart from their own residents.[201] However, though its social and visual characteristics might have been the curse of academics and the upper-class, its inhabitants themselves often feel differently about these aspects.[202] Such suburbs had their supporters. Even in H.G. Wells' Worcester Park, perhaps a high percentage of its upper-middle-class community preferred to keep their comparative seclusion, as they were mostly retired overseas traders and colonial administrators and possibly did not mind the fast but inconvenient rail service.[203] Similarly, many of the older middle-class married newcomers in other parts of the parishes may have viewed suburban existence in much the same manner. Their daily lives were focused on their retreat over their front doorsteps, into the privacy of their own kingdoms, and their attachment to their families.[204] These householders seemed, at times, merely to wish to exclude the frightening miseries of the mid-Victorian world, when they made their entrance into their, generally rented, homes.[205] To the bourgeoisie, the physical and class community seclusion found in the suburbs was frequently an emblem of a more crucial political, social and cultural detachment.[206]

Their larger homes offered not merely living space but room as well for leisure. They may have had amenities such as children's nursery and schoolroom, a study, a library, a billiard room, a music room, a conservatory and a rear garden. The social functions performed by the back and front gardens for the middle-classes were different. The non-utilitarian back one was for family recreation, or for growing fruit and vegetables; for our fictional hero Mr Pooter it was 'for sowing mustard-and-cress and radishes'.[207] Here, away from 'pecking order' problems, so evident in the rest of society, individual members of a family, of both sexes, could socialise harmoniously.[208] With their energies devoted to their private suburban world the allegiances, and concerns, of those

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[201] Inwood, *City of Cities,* pp. 188-9.
[202] Nuttgens, *The Home Front,* p.122.
[203] Rymill, *Worcester Park & Cuddington,* pp. 5, 31.
[204] Flanders, *The Victorian House*, pp. xl, xliii.
[205] Long, *The Edwardian House*, p.11.
[206] Helena Barrett and John Phillips, *Suburban Style: the British home, 1840-1960* (London: Macdonald & Co, 1987), p.36.
[207] Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody*, p.34.
[208] Leonore Davidoff and Catharine Hall, 'The Architecture of Public and Private Life: English Middle-Class Society in a Provincial Town 1780 to 1850', in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), p.335.

dwelling in suburban middle-class communities were inclined to diverge away from the energetic opinionated in the inner city.[209]

7.8 Conclusions

The development of suburbia, which robustly took off in the 1840s, was not entirely governed by obvious monetary pressures.[210] It was also a combination of economic and societal ones and was thus, often, less of a spatial term than it was an attitude of mind.[211] For, often, as F.M.L. Thompson shows, a major component in suburban growth was the middle-class individual's search for social community segregation, residence in an individual family dwelling and low-cost, and trouble-free, daily travelling to employment in the City.[212] When in suburbia, every class subgroup tended to drift to its own particular neighbourhood and formed its own community.[213]

Middle-class parish areas were, in numerous ways, the exact opposite of working-class communities. Their society was as a result less close-knit, less founded on the immediate neighbourhood than traditional working-class areas. Middle-class society was formed of loose-knit, secondary relationships. Similarly, the restricted housing movements of the poor were not the same as the wider ranging ones of the rich. The relative dichotomous approach taken in this chapter indicates this and reveals that the concept of communities could imply more than just a geographical unit. It shows that communities could vary along a number of additional dimensions such as their inhabitants' residential persistence, marriage and kinship links, membership of local and external churches, clubs and other interest groups. It was often hard when considering these to decide where some communities started and finished. However, certainly the feeling of community was strongest in areas where the lower-classes had the strongest communal and kinship ties. These were areas of greatest class homogeneity; high levels of persistence, close-knit localities with elevated amounts of multiplicity, connectedness and residential persistence.

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[209] P.J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.145.
[210] Barrett and Phillips, *Suburban Style,* p16.
[211] Burnett, *A Social History of Housing,* p.112.
[212] Thompson, 'The rise of suburbia', in R.J Morris and R. Rodger (eds.), p.149.
[213] Donald J. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1976), p.241.

In suburbia, a clear separation of the very wealthy from the very poor was, in the research period, soon apparent. 'There was a marked division between the rich and poor, wages of servants were low, the rich were very rich and the rest were, fairly poor or very poor.'[214] Society then was exceptionally hierarchical and the distribution of wealth, political and social power was extremely inequitable. The suburban process resulted in a polarisation of distrustful societal groups into distinctive communities and the accentuation of inequalities between them.[215]

Undoubtedly, within the research parishes, there was some uniformity of views on some particular issues within groups but rarely between all social groups. The one thing the bulk of all suburban communities appeared to agree on, in an age lacking much public welfare, was the need to maintain the existing status quo; to live their lives, in the case of working-class communities, in their traditional way. All communities disliked outside bodies' interference in their affairs and to some degree deplored progressive modernity. Nevertheless, the majority of inhabitants of economically booming Sutton, with all its ugly constructional defects, might have agreed that Sutton (and its surrounding more rural parishes) was 'probably one of the most favourably located townships in the South of England. Sufficiently removed from the Metropolis (London) to preserve unimpaired all its rural characteristics; it is yet close enough to suit the requirements of those who have to transact business in the great city. Indeed, as a suburban residence, it is admittedly one of the most agreeable and convenient in the neighbourhood of London.'[216]

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[214] Cook, *Tales of Beddington Village*, p.16.
[215] Guinness & Nagle, p.97.
[216] Holt's, *Directory of Sutton 1890*, p.1.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

[Penultimate Draft, January 2012]

The research choice of the mid-Victorian period for parish investigation was not an entirely arbitrary one. This was an era in which small suburbs, such as the five local parishes, experienced the most far-reaching changes. Former diminutive rural villages like Sutton and Wallington within a few decades became vigorous towns. Improved communications, increasing prosperity, changing work patterns and population enlargement, all furnished the momentum for their suburban development.[1] The parochial thoroughfares now appeared more cared for and established, and the parishes were transformed from mainly a refuge of the migrant rich to being the homes to less affluent white-collar groups.[2] So, by the end of the century Sutton and Wallington, especially, had grown into superbly developed and economically efficient, if distinctly unplanned and unattractive, suburbs.

The new 'professional' middle-classes became firmly, contentedly established there, within twelve miles of The City.[3] Their nomadic outlook was influenced by the changing costs of access and the available supply of 'suitable' and 'desirable' residential land; the later feature being reflected in the rents demanded.[4] The neighbourhoods, in for example the vicinity of Sutton and Wallington stations with the advent of mains water, represented, for the middle-classes, excellent locations in which to reside, in that while they were far enough away from the congested City they were still, with the arrival of the railways, within short commuter time of secure, relatively well-paid City employment. The coming of the railways certainly further reinforced the ex-ordinary employment pull of the City.[5]

Nevertheless, taking Alan A. Jackson's word of warning on board, the bulk of historians now concur that the railways were not the sole instigators of the suburbs' formation, but that the size, and kind, of urban growth were significantly affected by the existence, or

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1 Kit Wedd, *The Victorian House* (Aurum Press, 2002), p.1.
2 David C. Thorns, *Suburbia* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1972), p.94.
3 J.M. Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester University Press, 1982), p.28.
4 Rawcliffe, 'Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81', p.406.
5 H.G. Wells, *Anticipations of the reaction of mechanical and scientific progress upon human life and thought* (Chapman & Hall, 1902), p.61.

absence, of railway services.[6] Other factors were equally as significant. These included the developmental roles performed by builders and landowners and geographic and tenure constructional restrictions. Suburban class segregation was likewise of crucial importance. The shifting class neighbourhoods occupied confirmed this latter feature, which was also shown by the type of dwellings constructed and communities formed and, in the case of the middle-class, in the number and category of domestic servants employed.

The restricted influence of the railways was revealed by its lack of uniform urban effect on all the local parishes. Hence, always relentlessly considered throughout the thesis, is the underlying general research question, which is the extent to which municipal growth activities in the five parishes were in some ways alike; that is, was the pattern and route for their suburban enlargement basically very similar or dissimilar?[7] Whilst it can be argued that while urban parishes' developments mirrored many of the social features in middle-class households and gave spatial articulation to their own impression of their social status there were also great parochial differences.[8] The thesis continuously stresses this.

No two parishes in social, economic and physical features were identical but the dissimilarities were often hard to differentiate.[9] Nevertheless key instant architectural divergences were continually visible, in contrast to Sutton and some degree Wallington, the neighbouring Cheam and Carshalton Villages 'never lost (their old-fashion architectural) individuality'.[10] The suburbs had different societal and occupational structures, rates of urban growth, physical characteristics and differing alterations were made to them as the community's constructional agenda changed with time, and finally, they had shifting social and employment make-up as they were transformed from semi-rural district to residential localities.[11]

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[6] Alan A. Jackson, *Semi-Detached London: Suburban Development, Life and Transport, 1900-39* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1973), p.212.

[7] Richard Harris and Peter J. Larkham, 'Suburban Foundation, Form and Function', in Richard Harris and Peter J. Larkham (eds.), *Changing Suburbs: Formation, Form and Function* (London: E & FN Spon, 1999), p.2.

[8] D.A. Reeder, 'A Theatre of Suburbs: Some Patterns of Development in West London, 1801-1911', in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), pp.254, 271.

[9] P. Oliver, I. Davis and I. Bentley, *Dunroamin* (London: Pimlico, 1981) p.10.

[10] *Surrey County Magazine* (July 1973), p.31.

[11] M.C. Carr, 'The development and character of a metropolitan suburb: Bexley, Kent', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester University Press, 1982), p.216.

The thesis's overall analysis and theorising were always firmly based in the data. Its investigations into population expansion, gender balance, social class profile, occupational make-up, housing, household structure and domestic service were strengthened by findings based on local non-census data and parish census returns. Such returns, where applicable, were exemplified with instances of named households. The research endeavoured to lay the stress less on trying out established theory than on discovering new explanations, when considering the data. 'Substantive' theory may become 'formal' theory later on, as evidence 'from other substantive [cases is] compared and examined for common elements'.[12] Although the research was always well aware of the background literature it restricted its theorising to that revealed by the parish data.

The methodology used in this six-year study was derived from a synthesis of local, regional and national studies. This kind of fusion, with its constant detailed analysis, has not been undertaken with these particular parishes before. It was innovative in that it not only incorporated a major discussion of the people's economic and social behaviour but also was even more locally centred, in some ways, than many other studies. The above does not imply that the basic 'background' and 'focal' theories are altered as an outcome of the study, but rather that urban formations can now be perhaps viewed from other angles.[13] It would be interesting to see, in some future investigations, if any of the researches', perhaps novel, findings are confirmed, and also if the views expressed by these are similar to those in the study or might be radically different, and reflect the changing nature of suburban study.

The results of the research have thrown some light on the somewhat differing suburbanisation processes within five distinctive parishes, and the effects of employing different types of research methods to revealing this. Urban data can now be more fruitfully elucidated in the light of the parish research. Nevertheless, the investigations were restricted in their scope. They dealt with five specific parishes, in one particular small south-western London location, and touched only on some aspects of the mid-Victorian lives. Even so, some of the research findings have wider significance in that they may deepen understanding in this area.

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[12] P. Woods, *Inside Schools: Ethnography in educational research* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1986), p.147.

[13] E. Phillips and D. Pugh, *How to get a Ph.D.* (The Open University Press, 1987), p.59.

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Map in Gilbert, D. and Southall, H. 'The urban labour market' in Daunton M. (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (2000 vol. 3), 617. The inner band marks the extent of London in 1861 and the outer one indicates the present day boundary.

The much-modified portion of the southern section of the map (London 1901: southern extent of the built-up area) in Jackson, Alan A., *Semi-Detached London: Suburban Development, Life and Transport, 1900-39* (London: George Allen & Unwind Ltd, 1973), p23.

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