

Sources for the History of Housing in English Provincial Towns in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

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The subject of urban housing development has been attracting increasing attention over the last two decades from a wide range of social, economic and architectural historians and geographers, examining the prosperity of the building trade, the role of landowners in development, the extent of town planning, the rise of philanthropy and self-help movements and many other questions. This article provides an introduction to the wide variety of sources available, illustrated with examples. The references contain a bibliography of guides to the content and location of particular sources [1].

Only sources for the history of houses erected by private builders and by industrialists, building societies and philanthropic associations have been considered. No attempt has been made to cover the vast subject of local authority housing which began to be provided in the late nineteenth century. Original and published sources have been arranged according to the aspects of building development they illustrate, starting with sources for dating and categorising the development, followed by detailed sources for the design and construction of the houses, then sources for identifying the people involved and finally sources for their legal and financial arrangements. Many of the sources, however, serve more than one purpose and therefore appear in more than one section of the article.

Most of the sources can be found in county or city record offices and local history collections. University libraries and the British Library's Manuscript Department also hold relevant material, especially estate records. The National Register of Archives identifies the location of some of these [2]. Many records are still in the possession of estates or corporate bodies and others are possibly still with descendants of developers, architects, surveyors and building contractors. The British Records Association is encouraging solicitors to deposit deeds in local record offices, but many are still in their offices. The British Library's Map Library, Newspaper Library and Official Publications Library all hold relevant material, and the published sources are also generally available at other major reference libraries. Any different locations are indicated.

Date and Type of Development

Statistical Records

A good source for locating and dating the greatest periods of building activity in the nineteenth century are the published census abstracts. They give statistics of inhabited

and uninhabited houses and, additionally from 1811, the number of houses under construction for each district, together with the number of families living there. In 1831, the breakdown of occupational groups becomes more detailed. Further statistics of population, the number of rated houses and the type of amenities provided in each town can be found in the reports of the boundary commissioners in 1837, along with maps of the boundaries [3].

Contemporary Descriptions

Increased periods of building activity usually attracted the attention of writers of topographies and guide books. Although they may be unreliable, they often provide information which would be difficult to locate as easily elsewhere and include detailed descriptions of particular streets [4]. Two examples illustrate their potential use. Granville's guide to spas describes the housing market in Leamington Spa in 1841:

If the stranger desires to lodge himself more like a man *comme il faut*, he will secure a first floor in Union-parade, or Lansdowne-place, or in the Upper-parade, and pay from eight to ten guineas a week for the same. [5]

The description of the now dilapidated Ardwick Green in Aiken's guide to the Manchester area in 1795 as "particularly distinguished by the neatness and elegance of its buildings, . . . principally inhabited by the more opulent classes" [6], is a reminder of the changing residential composition of particular areas. Houses built initially for one middle class family may later have been subdivided for multiple occupancy. Diaries and correspondence may also comment on building development [7], and directories often include relevant statistics, although these may have been reissued unamended in subsequent editions. The books and periodicals generated by the housing reform movement in the nineteenth century may provide dates of construction for philanthropic developments: these will be described fully in the next section.

Maps, Plans and Illustrations

An approximate date of construction can be obtained from a wide variety of maps and plans [8]. In addition to the large-scale Ordnance Survey maps begun in the 1840s, there are privately surveyed town plans, which, even if they do not show a block plan of individual buildings, at least show which were developed on open land, and, by the street pattern, the extent to which the area was planned [9]. This was determined largely by the pattern of landownership, and evidence for this can be found on late eighteenth and early nineteenth century enclosure maps and awards if they were drawn up before land was developed for building [10]. Similar information may be obtained from the tithe maps and apportionments of 1836–51, although some urban areas are omitted. Copies are held at the Public Record Office at Kew along with many other government department maps [11]. Further information about dates and types of houses may be obtained from fire insurance plans, prints, photographs and estate maps and from architectural plans submitted to local government inspectors, to be described fully in the next section.

Directories, Rate Books and Fiscal Records

A more precise date of construction can often only be found by tracing the first occupiers in street directories and rate books in the hope of finding the first entry for houses when they were still empty. Although commercial directories are available for the eighteenth century, street directories do not appear until the early nineteenth

century, by which time street numbering was being introduced, and even then they are not comprehensive [12]. Changes in street name or numbering complicate the search. Initially, rate books only include one name per property, but after 1834 there are generally separate columns for owners and occupiers. Property descriptions also vary, but are usually brief. The rateable value in the rate books and valuation lists appears to have been based on a notional figure for the annual rent of each property [13]. Its main use is to suggest the relative status of houses within the same street. Some local authorities have destroyed their rate books except for every fifth or tenth year. Land tax returns survive mostly for the period 1780–1832 when they were kept for electoral purposes, although some earlier and later returns exist. From 1772 they showed owners and occupiers separately. Property descriptions are rare before 1825. The Public Record Office has an almost complete set for 1798, when redemption of the land tax started [14].

Sales Literature and Records of Occupiers

The market which the developers and builders were aiming at is reflected in newspaper advertisements or sale particulars [15]. One Manchester newspaper, for example, contained an auction notice in 1792 for a meadow, together with one unfinished "large well-built Messuage or Dwelling House, four stories high, containing five Rooms on a Floor", the remaining land being "very eligible for erecting genteel Houses, having two delightful Fronts" [16]. Directories, rate books, poll books, electoral registers and the 1841–1881 decennial census returns show who the subsequent occupiers were [17].

Design and Construction of Houses

Architects' and Builders' Records

Many of the houses in speculative developments were erected to standard designs by builders, but during the nineteenth century there is increasing evidence of the role of architects in designing suburban villas and philanthropic developments. The survival rate of architects' and builders' records is usually too low to be relied upon [18]. Very little provincial material relating to small urban domestic architecture of this period has been deposited in the Royal Institute of British Architects Manuscripts and Drawings Collections, most of the plans in this category being architects' designs for their own houses [19]. The indexes at the National Register of Archives contain references to builders and also land and estate agents, surveyors, auctioneers and architects, but only a small proportion appear to concern housing development in sizeable towns. I did not find any plans among the miscellaneous builders' records I examined in Manchester, but the records of William Fairbank junior, surveyor, in Sheffield include a detailed specification for ten cottages and a double house, with ample evidence of building materials and structural features [20].

Landowners' Records

Landowners, by the use of restrictive covenants, frequently imposed stringent conditions on the materials used, the standard of amenities provided and the prohibition of offensive trades or cellar dwellings. The Ducie estate records, for example, contain a building lease of 1822 for land near Manchester specifying buildings "of Brick or Stone or both and set in lime mortar . . . at least six yards in height from the first floor" and with "sashed windows and stone window sills for the greater ornament

thereof, . . . fronted with good stock Brick or with seconds and white ends" [21]. Some landowners' agents even provided the builders with an elevation. A building agreement of 1825 in the Ducie estate records specifies that paving and drainage were to be done according to plans provided by the agent [22]. Plans of building plots are relatively common among the records of landowners, but less common are ground plans of individual houses. The records of industrialists, building societies and philanthropic housing associations are all worth searching for plans or written descriptions of the houses they erected.

Records of Building Regulation

Local authorities gradually acquired the power to regulate the construction of buildings, starting in the late eighteenth century with improvement acts to prevent street obstructions and regulate foundations, guttering, chimneys and other features [23]. They were allowed to adopt the Town Improvement Clauses Act of 1847, which provided for the appointment of surveyors, nuisance inspectors and officers of health. Additionally, local boards of health were established in areas of high mortality after the Public Health Act of 1848. Local bye-laws for building regulation could be adopted for the first time without a local Act of Parliament following the Local Government Act in 1858. These powers were made more effective by the Public Health Act in 1875 and the issue of model bye-laws in 1877. The history of building regulation and indeed of local government organisation varies from one town to another [24]. Plans could be requested by local authorities from 1848, but most date from 1875 onwards. Building control and drainage plans are often the only sets of architectural plans to survive, although some may have been sampled. They may still be with council departments rather than in the record office. Drainage plans usually contain full floor plans, sections and possibly elevations with the drainage routes marked on them and are accompanied by application forms. The reports from surveyors and sanitary inspectors who examined the plans and visited the sites are recorded in the minute books, many of which have contemporary indexes.

Illustrations

Prints of high class housing are more usual than working class housing, although photographic surveys of the latter were often made before their demolition [26]. The principal national collection of topographical views is in the British Library [27]. The equivalent for photographs is the National Buildings Record. Established during the Second World War to record buildings damaged or at risk, its holdings are clearly arranged in a county by county sequence. Although best known for its pictures of churches and country houses, it includes views of lesser domestic buildings and urban scenes, many dating from the early years of the century [28].

Insurance Records

A certain level of architectural description can be established from the data on the fire insurance plans published by Charles E Goad Ltd from the late nineteenth century onwards, mainly designed to record commercial property but also including nearby housing [29]. They show street numbering before the Ordnance Survey maps do. Colours are used to denote different building materials and the position of skylights, and a variety of symbols indicate types of doors and windows. The number of storeys is printed on the plans, along with the height of adjoining buildings if the roof line varied in each block. Subsequent alterations were pasted onto the original plan until a

new edition was printed. Building materials are mentioned on fire insurance policies, which may survive among deeds. The policies also contain an estimate of the value of the property, although this may be an under-estimate. The policy registers of insurance companies are time-consuming to search because of their usual lack of topographical indexes [30]. The registers of the two largest companies, the Sun and the Royal Exchange, are in the Manuscript Department of the Guildhall Library [31].

Publications of the Housing Reform Movement

Books and periodicals published by architects, sanitary engineers, doctors and other housing reformers are a major source for nineteenth century working class housing, contrasting conditions in speculative developments with those in philanthropic projects. Illustrations in these periodicals, however, may represent buildings as intended rather than as actually erected. The titles of periodicals are indexed in the *British Union Catalogue of Periodicals* (1955–1958), which gives their dates and libraries where they are held. There are no comprehensive indexes to periodical articles [32], but most periodicals have an index of article titles and illustrations in each annual or six-monthly volume. This category includes *The Builder* (established 1842), the *Building News* (established 1854), *The Architect* (established 1869) and the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (established 1835). The *Journal of the Society of Arts* (established 1852) and the *Journal of the Statistical Society* (from 1887 *Royal Statistical Society* (established 1838) have decennial indexes. Other relevant articles can be found in the *Transactions of the Sanitary Institute of Great Britain* (1879–95) and in the *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science* (1857–86). Even the *Illustrated London News* contained articles on provincial housing, which can be traced through the indexes of engravings.

Records of Professional Associations

Local societies of architects and sanitary engineers were often actively involved in surveying badly constructed working class housing and making recommendations for improved building regulations. For instance, the Manchester Society of Architects had a sub-committee which reviewed the disparate nature of building bye-laws and commented on the vested interests of local boards, "composed of Shopkeepers, Warehousemen, one or two Building speculators and perhaps the Agent to the principal Landowner and in all probability two or three Farmers or Tenants who are entirely in the hands of the Agent" [33]. Their records include minutes, a synopsis of local board bye-laws and correspondence with other professional bodies, including the RIBA. They aimed to advance the role of architects in house design and supervision. They frequently collaborated with the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association, which had visiting committees to report on the state of individual streets.

Local Government Publications

Official records also contain written evidence of housing conditions in particular areas or streets. Local boards of health submitted reports to the General Board of Health from 1848 to 1857. They are held by the Department of Health and Social Security Library [34] and there are smaller collections at the British Library and other major reference libraries.

Parliamentary Papers

The reports of Royal Commissioners and of select committees of both Houses of

Parliament include local evidence to support the national recommendations they were making [35]. Although there is no comprehensive topographical index to the evidence in the parliamentary papers, the weightiest reports, such as that of the *Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes* (1884–5), indicate which towns are covered by the evidence.

Identity of Participants in Development

Maps and Plans, Contemporary Descriptions and Official Publications

The names of the landowner's family, and possibly his country seat, are often commemorated in street names. Landownership is shown on enclosure maps, and tithe maps. It may also appear on privately surveyed town plans. The writers of topographies and guide books often heap praise on particular landowners and developers who have made large-scale urban improvements. Similar identifications are to be found in reformers' books and periodicals and in parliamentary papers.

Landowners' Records

The original landowners could be estates or a wide variety of corporate bodies including companies, charities, cathedral chapters and even borough councils themselves. Their minute books record not only general policy, but also action regarding particular developers or building contractors. Their names also appear in building leases or conveyances, some of which are accompanied by plans. Counterpart leases were filed in the landowners' records and were usually registered as well. Manorial court rolls record the transfer of copyhold property. Some landowners' agents filed the applications for building leases. The Duke of Norfolk's agent in Sheffield, for example, kept notebooks containing these details in the early nineteenth century [36]. Estate maps showing building plots may include the names of purchasers or lessees, and the first tenant recorded in the rentals may have been the building contractor. Further references may be contained in the agents' correspondence or accounts. Similar types of records were kept by industrialists who erected housing for their workers.

Records of Building Societies and Philanthropic Associations

Building societies in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were responsible for building houses for those who had paid subscriptions. During the nineteenth century, however, they increasingly lent money for the purchase of existing houses. As well as printed regulations, building society records usually include several types identifying their members. The records of the Rob Roy Building Society, Salford, include a list of shareholders in 1835, showing the state of their accounts with the society [37], and mortgages by members to the trustees. A list of shareholders in an agreement of 1864 between the trustees and the members of the Rusholme and Withington Estate Benefit Building Society, Manchester, is numbered to correspond with a plan of the plots allocated [38]. There may also be contracts with workmen. The *Building Societies and Land Companies Gazette* contains financial reports of individual societies.

Most of the major philanthropic housing associations were based in London, but some had provincial branches and there were small regional organisations. Printed annual reports and prospectuses are more likely to have survived than records identifying the shareholders, but minutes, accounts, correspondence, plans, deeds and contracts may survive. The annual reports of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes were quoted in their journal, *The Labourer's Friend*.

Deed Collections

Apart from estate archives, deeds may be found among the records of solicitors' firms, whose clients included subsequent purchasers of the property. These may include building leases or possibly just an abstract of title if the property was sold off in separate lots [31]. Reconveyances of mortgaged property are also found. Railway companies, which obtained Acts of Parliament to buy up and demolish large areas of housing to make way for stations and lines, thereby acquired large collections of deeds, some of which have been transferred to the Public Record Office in Kew. Deed registries were established in the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1704, the East Riding in 1708, the North Riding in 1736 and in Middlesex in 1709. The registers and name indexes are now in the county record offices [40].

Process of Development

Development involved the transfer of the land, the acquisition of finance, the contractual arrangements and finally the physical work of clearing the site, providing the amenities of paving, lighting and drainage, and building the houses. Speculative building was carried out in a variety of ways. Some landowners were actively involved in planning and financing the development themselves, but more frequently they left this work to developers, who were often lawyers, merchants or substantial building craftsmen. Building contractors may have worked with other craftsmen on the site themselves or employed sub-contractors to do the work.

Contemporary Descriptions and Official Publications

Topographies and guide books can provide a surprising amount of detail. Granville's guide to spas and bathing places in 1841 quotes many statistics designed to impress the reader with the efforts of Robert Grainger, the developer of Newcastle, where:

after filling up certain immense valleys with the soil removed from places that rose considerably above the intended level, two hundred and fifty thousand loads were carted off the premises—equal to four and a half millions of cubic feet of soil,—sufficient to cover one hundred and three acres of land one foot thick. The digging and carting alone, exclusive of the sums paid for depositing the soil, cost the sum of 21,500l. [41]

Books and periodicals provide facts and figures for philanthropic ventures. J. Hole, for example, gives a breakdown of the cost of model cottages in Leeds into separate figures for drainage, construction, legal fees and mortgages, and bankers' and architects' fees [42]. Further insights into the mechanism of development can be gained from the records of professional associations of architects, and from the evidence in parliamentary papers.

Landowners' Records

Published sources provide useful information to be checked in the records of landowners and developers. The estate records of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl Fitzwilliam in Sheffield City Library Archive Department contain excellent series of agents' correspondence. In 1792, the Earl Fitzwilliam received a letter from his agent advocating the promotion of development on Little Sheffield Moor on the grounds that the rent would cover the cost of fencing and levelling and the increased rent obtained by granting building leases would match the cost of a private Act of Parliament to

permit development [43]. The accounts of the Duke of Norfolk's agent for the late eighteenth century show the cost of surveying the ground [44]. Estate accounts also show the income from the sale or lease of plots. Minute books, plans and deeds record how the land was divided up, who it was transferred to and on what conditions. Some landowners entered into a prior agreement for building and only drew up a formal conveyance or lease after the houses had been constructed.

Private Acts of Parliament

Before the Settled Land Act of 1882, many landowners whose estates were entailed had to obtain expensive private Acts of Parliament in order to sell land or grant leases longer than 21 years for building. The classification of Acts of Parliament is difficult to summarise [45]. Private acts, unless they were declared public, were unpublished before 1798, although privately printed copies of unamended bills may exist in estate records. The text of the acts can be seen in the House of Lords Record Office. Only their titles are cited in the volumes of *Statutes at Large*. Estate bills were introduced initially into the House of Lords, and their progress is referred to in the *Journals of the House of Lords*, for which there are sessional indexes. In addition, George Bramwell's *Analytical Table of the Private Statutes Passed Between 1727 and 1812* (1813) and *1813 to 1834* (1835) provide a useful index. Printed volumes of *Local Acts* first appeared in 1798 and *Private Acts* (mainly estate acts) in 1815. The HMSO *Index to Local and Personal Acts 1801-1947* is a guide to these. Public acts were published in sessional or later annual volumes and their short titles are recorded in the HMSO *Chronological Table of the Statutes*, published annually. The acts describe the expected improvement in value from development and may hint at an element of town planning. In 1792, the Dean and Chapter of Bristol obtained an Act to provide "a regular and a grand Plan of Building which would be all Ornament to and very much improve the said City" in addition to bringing in "a very large increase of Rent to the amount of several Hundred Pounds per Annum" [46]. Petitions for and against the bill, judges' reports and, occasionally, plans constitute the House of Lords Main Papers, which are indexed under the date of the first reading. The minutes of the House of Lords committees are even more interesting, because some of the witnesses quote the exact improvement in the price of land per acre.

Records of Developers, Builders, Architects and Surveyors

Where they exist, the records of developers and building contractors will reveal the arrangements for obtaining loans to purchase or lease land and for preparing the site and contracting out any work to other craftsmen. Their records may contain conveyances or leases, mortgages, correspondence, copy specifications, plans, tenders, estimates, contracts, bills and accounts. Their wills may provide details of houses retained as an investment. Architects and surveyors who planned and supervised the work kept similar records. The records of William Fairbank, surveyor, in Sheffield include tenders for houses at Rawmarsh in 1839 and comparative estimates based on them, quoting the prices of materials [47]. Fairbank's accounts include his fees for measuring building plots for the Earl of Surrey and the Duke of Norfolk in the 1780s [48]. The survival rate of builders' records, however, is extremely poor, and the only ones I found in Manchester Central Library Archive Department were a sub-contractors' bill for slating two new houses in 1789 and a letter from the contractor to the client about payment [49]. The records of building societies and philanthropic associations have been described in the previous section.

Solicitors' and Bankers' Records

As solicitors and bankers were involved in making the necessary legal and financial arrangements for development, their accounts and correspondence may be expected to contain useful material, but a long search through their records will probably be required to find anything relevant [50].

Records of Bankruptcy and Litigation

Further insight into the methods and motivations of building speculators can often best be obtained when the development goes wrong and the main parties are declared bankrupt or file law suits against each other. The property of bankrupts is described in detail in the sale notices in *The London Gazette*, for which there are annual name indexes.

The records of court proceedings are held mainly in the Public Record Office at Chancery Lane, although some are out-stored and not immediately available [51]. The Bankruptcy order books (class B1) record proceedings in disputed bankruptcy cases: apart from the first volume, they contain name indexes. The Chancery proceedings (C11-C16), covering the period 1714-1875, also contain innumerable interesting cases. For instance, the bill drawn up by a mortgagee in Bath in 1794 against the mortgagor, Charles Spackman, a coach-builder and developer of Lansdown Crescent, for non-payment of interest, lists all the building contractors to whom Spackman leased plots, together with the rents they paid him [52]. Another Chancery bill I examined concerned the breaking of covenants by James Gill, a developer on the Liverpool Corporation estate, in 1818 [53]. Gill had allowed cellars to be used as dwellings and had neglected to pave the new streets, but he claimed that all the lessees on the Corporation estate broke their covenants. This bill is accompanied by a plan showing which plots had been sold. There are name indexes to the plaintiffs in Chancery cases drawn up for periods of approximately 50 years, but no topographical references are given. The Court of Exchequer bills and answers (E112) are arranged by county. There is no overall name index, but incomplete calendars alphabetical by plaintiff within each regnal year, giving the county. In 1841, the equity jurisdiction of the Court of Exchequer was transferred to Chancery. A name index to the bills of the Chancery Court of the Palatinate of Lancaster (PL6) is in progress, but it has only reached 1700 so far. The bills end in 1853. The business of all these courts was taken over by the Supreme Court of Judicature in 1873. Many cases were brought to the courts of equity by mortgagees who were being sued in the common law courts by building speculators who were in financial difficulties and who were denying the terms of the mortgage. The main problem with using these records is the complete lack of topographical indexes.

Availability of the Records

The researcher may find that, in spite of the wide variety of sources which can be used for this important subject, there are insufficient available for one area to provide a complete picture of the development and to allow for a systematic statistical analysis. The very low survival rate of the records of the people who actually built the houses and the inaccessibility of many others in solicitors' offices and elsewhere make the task of substantiating the pieces of information derived from contemporary writers more difficult. Some local authorities have sampled voluminous series of records, such as

rate books and building control plans, owing to a shortage of storage space. Furthermore, the lack of topographical indexes to such series as litigation records and fire insurance policy registers makes their information effectively unavailable except to those able to make an exhaustive search, but with the advance in information technology it is to be hoped that funding may be provided in the future to draw on these valuable historical resources.

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References

The following abbreviations are used:

- MCA. Manchester Central Library, Archive Department (documents reproduced with the permission of the City of Manchester Leisure Services Committee).
 SCA. Sheffield Central Library, Archive Department.
 JRUL. John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Manuscript Department (documents reproduced with kind permission).
 PRO. Public Record Office.
 HLRO. House of Lords Record Office.
 HC. House of Commons.
 HL. House of Lords.
 HMSO. Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- [1] The research for this article is based on work carried out for the University of London MA in Archive Studies in 1982-3, but the bibliography has been updated. The standard works in English Provincial Housing are C. W. CHALKLIN, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: a study of the building process 1740-1820* (1974), and J. N. TARN, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy: an account of housing in urban areas* (1973).
 - [2] Quality House, Quality Court, London WC2.
 - [3] *Reports of the Royal Commission on Municipal Corporations' Boundaries*, sessional papers, HC 1837, vols xxvi-xxviii.
 - [4] See bibliographies listed in W. B. Stephens, *Sources for English Local History* (revised edition, 1981), p. 11 (works by Gross; Martin and McIntyre; Anderson), p. 27 (Cox, Fussell).
 - [5] A. B. Granville, *Spas of England and Principal Sea-Bathing Places*, ii (1841, reprinted 1971), p. 223.
 - [6] J. Aiken, *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles Round Manchester* (1795, reprinted 1968), p. 205.
 - [7] W. Matthews, *British Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of British Diaries 1442-1942* (1950) gives locations.
 - [8] See J. B. Harley, *Maps for the Local Historian: A Guide to British Sources* (1972).
 - [9] J. West, *Town Records* (1983), pp. 150-65 includes locations of town plans.
 - [10] W. E. Tate, comp, *Domesday of Enclosure Acts and Awards* (ed. M. E. Turner, 1978) gives locations.
 - [11] HMSO, *Maps and Plans in the Public Record Office*, i: *British Isles c 1410-1860* (1967).

- [12] J. E. Norton, *Guide to the National and Provincial Directories of England and Wales, Excluding London, Published Before 1856* (1950) gives locations. See also J. West, *Town Records*, pp. 218-23.
- [13] See M. J. Daunton, 'House Ownership from Rate Books', *Urban History Yearbook* (1976), pp. 21-7.
- [14] See J. S. W. Gibson, and D. Mills (ed.) *Land Tax Assessments c 1690-1950* (1983).
- [15] See W. B. Stephens, *Sources*, p. 24 (Cranfield's hand-list), p. 25 (British Library; Milford and Sutherland). W. S. Ward (ed.) *Index and Finding-List of Serials Published in the British Isles 1789-1832* (1953), J. West, *Town Records*, pp. 237-71, And J. S. W. Gibson, *Local Newspapers 1720-1920* (1987) also give locations.
- [16] *Manchester Mercury and Harrop's General Advertiser*, 25 Dec. 1792, advertisement for meadow on Pendleton Road.
- [17] J. R. Sims, *A Hand-List of British Parliamentary Poll Books* (1984) gives locations.
- [18] H. M. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1600-1840* (1978) mentions locations of records.
- [19] R. Raper, comp. and J. Bettley (ed.) *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Cumulative Index* (1989).
- [20] SCA, Fairbank Papers, CP-2-(116), Eldon Street, early 19th century.
- [21] JRUL, Ducie Muniments, D340b/T68, counterpart lease to John Heaton, 4 March 1822, for Johnson Street, Cheetham.
- [22] JRUL, Ducie Muniments, D340b/E29, agreement with James Murray, 14 Oct. 1825.
- [23] See S. M. Gaskell, *Building Control: National Legislation and the Introduction of Local Bye-Laws in Victorian England* (1983).
- [24] J. West, *Town Records*, pp. 194-205, gives dates of improvement acts and incorporations.
- [25] P. J. Aspinall, *Building Applications and the Building Industry in Nineteenth Century Towns: the Scope for Statistical Analysis* (1978) gives locations.
- [26] See W. B. Stephens, *Sources*, p. 30 (Wall; Nunn). M. W. Barley, *A Guide to British Topographical Collections* (1974) and J. West, *Town Records*, pp. 339-48, also give locations.
- [27] M. W. Barley, *Guide*.
- [28] N. H. Cooper, 'The National Monuments Record', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, iii (1967).
- [29] G. Rowley, *British Fire Insurance Plans* (1984) gives locations.
- [30] M. W. Beresford, 'Building History from Fire Insurance Records', *Urban History Yearbook* (1976), pp. 7-14.
- [31] H. A. L. Cockerell and E. Green, *The British Insurance Business 1547-1940: An Introduction and Guide to Insurance Archives in Great Britain* (1976) gives locations.
- [32] See W. F. Poole, *An Index to Periodical Literature* (third edition by W. I. Fletcher, 1882, with four supplements to 1901): this is an American publication, but contains references to many British periodicals.
- [33] JRUL, Manchester Society of Architects Papers, 3/3/62, memorandum on local board acts, 26 July 1876.
- [34] Hannibal House, Elephant and Castle, London, SE1. Access by written applica-

- tion to the Librarian. See H. J. Smith, 'Local Reports to the General Board of Health', in L. M. Munby (ed.) *Short Guides to Records*, xxiv (1972).
- [35] See W. B. Stephens, *Sources*, p. 16 (Powell—indicates completeness of holdings at specified libraries), p. 17 (Ford and Ford's select list for 1833–99; Gabine; official indexes); P. Cockton, *Subject Catalogue of the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers 1801–1900*, iv (1988).
- [36] SCA, Arundel Castle Manuscripts, S384, notebooks 1824–1850.
- [37] MCA, L516e, third annual report.
- [38] MCA, M/c 790, list, 21 March 1864.
- [39] See G. Green, 'Title Deeds: A Key to Local Housing Markets', *Urban History Yearbook*, 1980, pp. 84–91.
- [40] See F. Sheppard, V. Belcher and P. Cottrell, 'The Middlesex and Yorkshire Deeds Registries and the Study of Building Fluctuations', *London Journal*, 1979, v, pp. 179–217.
- [41] A. B. Granville, *Spas of England*, i, p. 275.
- [42] J. Hole, *Homes of the Working Classes, with Suggestions for their Improvement* (1866), p. 185.
- [43] SCA, Wentworth Woodhouse Manuscripts, F121/11, letter from Charles Bowns, 12 Jan 1792.
- [44] SCA, Arundel Castle Manuscripts, S185/18–54, Vincent Eyre's accounts, 1777–99.
- [45] See W. B. Stephens, *Sources*, pp. 21–2, for a short guide to classification, and M. Bond, *Guide to the Records of Parliament* (1971) for more detail.
- [46] HLRO, Original Act, 32 Geo III no 172 (cap. 30).
- [47] SCA, Fairbank Papers, CP-2-(71), CP-2-(41), CP-2-(44).
- [48] SCA, Fairbank Papers, AB 3, accounts, c1779–88.
- [49] MCA, Misc. 803/3–4, bill from T. Sandbach for houses in Cupid's Alley, 29 Aug. 1789, and letter from J. Mills, 29 Dec. 1789.
- [50] L. S. Pressnell & J. Orbell, *A Guide to the Historical Records of British Banking* (1985) gives locations.
- [51] See, *Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office*, i (1963) for a full list of records.
- [52] PRO, C12/202/30, bill of J. Lowder, 29 Nov. 1794.
- [53] PRO, C13/723/11, bill of E. Eyes, 17 Nov. 1818.

Abstracts of Periodical Literature

SIMON PEPPER

DAVID ANDREWS & BRENDA WATKIN, **A Timber-Framed Building at Bocking, Essex Archaeology and History**, 19 (1988), pp. 215–22. The paper reports the recent excavation and reconstruction of an early 16th-century building in Church Street, Bocking, together with an 18th-century gambrel-roofed wing. An excellent set of drawings illustrates the timber framing, mouldings, and some construction details.

SALLY A. KITT CHAPPELL, **A Reconsideration of the Equitable Building in New York**, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XLIV (March 1990), pp. 90–5. Conventional opinion has it that the Equitable Building (1912–1915) at 120 South Broadway in New York was the embodiment of all that was wrong with skyscrapers, and was thus a major cause of the 1916 zoning ordinance which restricted the height, size and arrangements of buildings in the city. A closer look at the evidence reveals that a blueprint for the zoning regulation was complete in 1913 when the Equitable had just been begun. In the clash of conflicting ideologies surrounding the zoning movement, the Equitable was more a convenient symbol than a principal cause of the new ordinance. The earlier misjudgement has obscured the building's place in two other areas in the history of architecture: elevator engineering, and the adaptation of management techniques to building construction.

WILLIAM B. FRIEDRICKS, **A Metropolitan Entrepreneur Par Excellence: Henry E. Huntington and the Growth of Southern California, 1898–1927**, *Business History Review*, 63 (Summer 1989), pp. 329–55. Henry E. Huntington, according to this article, placed his imprint on the development of his region, the Los Angeles basin, to an extent unique among urban entrepreneurs. His great wealth and foresight, and especially his interest in street railways, real estate development, and hydroelectric power, enabled him to become a *de facto* city planner for one of the most important metropolitan regions in the USA.

ANDOR GOMME, **Stoneleigh after the Grand Tour**, *The Antiquaries Journal*, LXVIII (1988) Part II, pp. 265–86. Examination of the account books and other papers, now chiefly deposited in the Record Office of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford-upon-Avon, has enabled a chronology to be prepared of the long-drawn-out construction and decoration of the eighteenth-century west range of Stoneleigh Abbey. The contributions of the four architects principally involved—Fran-