

## Brighton Youth Hostels

### Brighton [Patcham] Youth Hostel 1938 to 2007

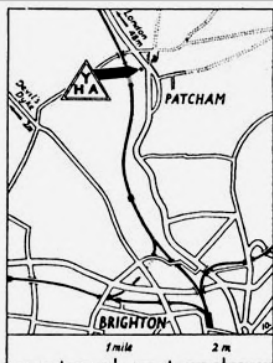
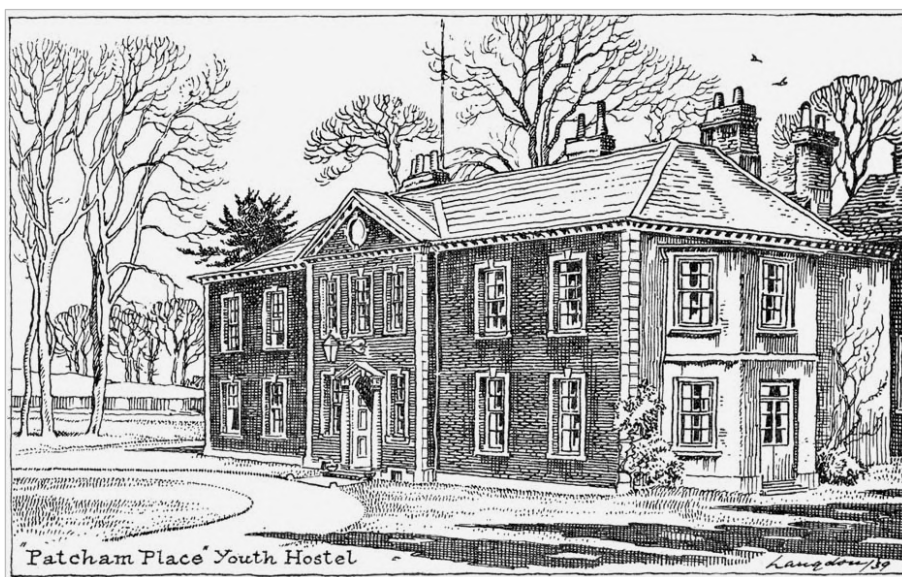
Patcham Place, London Road, Brighton BN1 8YD

Historic County: West Sussex

YHA Regions: London, London/South

GR: TQ 300089

Coast Joint Hostel, Southern, South



**PATCHAM.** *Patcham Place, Patcham, Brighton, 6, Sussex.* The Y.H.A. is indebted to the Corporation of Brighton for the use as a hostel, at a nominal rent, of a fine Queen Anne mansion which would otherwise have been demolished as a white elephant. Extensive work has been done to prepare and equip the house and the result is one of the most spacious and dignified hostels in the whole of the country. Originally built in Tudor times for the De la Warr family, it later passed into the hands of George Neville, Lord Abergavenny. Other owners of the mansion were a branch of the Shelley family and a long line of Paines. In the late eighteenth century Paine rebuilt much of the house, including the facade which is seen to-day. It was a particularly

happy reconstruction for the proportions of the house and of the rooms have that particular welcoming quality so characteristic of the golden period of English house building. Although there is some messy "development" in a south-easterly direction the hostel is close under the downs, and a few minutes walk leads on to chalky downland paths east and west of the Brighton-London road and the walker is set for miles of high open country towards Steyning in the west and Lewes in an easterly direction. A longer walk *via* Lewes and Ringmer brings one to Cross-in-Hand. In Patcham village there is an interesting church with a mural painting, "The Doom," which was discovered under 36 coats of whitewash in the 70's, and close by is a fine tithe barn and a peculiar dove cote.

*M35, W35: PROVISIONS Hostel \*\*\*: STATION Preston Park 2m: BUS No. 5 from Brighton: BATHING Sea 4m: DISTANCES Lewes 8m, Steyning 8m, Chelwood Gate 17m, Cross-in-Hand 20m.*

- 1: an attractive sketched postcard by Langdon, dating from the hostel's first months. It captures from a less usual angle a view of the north-west corner; the end bay indicates the position of a large common room downstairs and a huge dormitory above;
- 2: an informative description of Patcham hostel and its location, from a 1939 YHA Regional Guide (both YHA Archive)

YHA's *London Region News* of December 1938, shown below, described how the original Patcham Place was built in Tudor style in 1588 [or, according to other sources, 1558] and how it then passed through various hands until in 1764 it was bought by a Major John Paine, who improved, enlarged and beautified the house so that little remained of the original building. He constructed the Queen Anne façade with its black mathematical tiles, and built the fine hunting stables that still stand to the rear. Later it was sold to the Kemp family, but fell from grace in the 1880s and then gradually dropped into disrepair. Brighton Corporation bought it in 1926 for £6,600 as part of a public parks extension programme, but they had no use for the mansion itself. In 1937 there were fears that it might be demolished, but the YHA negotiated for a lease and this was readily granted.

# YHA LONDON REGION NEWS

Vol. I. No. I.

DECEMBER, 1938

ONE PENNY

## NEW DOWNLAND HOSTEL Patcham Place ready for Easter

**F**OR long, unused, unwanted, its glass the target for the stones of a hundred children, marked down by its owner, Brighton Corporation, for demolition as a white elephant too big and expensive to maintain as a monument, the beautiful Queen Anne Mansion of Patcham Place, Patcham, Sussex, is to become one of London Region's finest and largest hostels. It will open at Easter, 1939, with, initially, about 70 beds. It is open now unofficially with 20 beds for working parties cooking for themselves. The house has been leased from the Corporation, which has decorated the outside and glazed windows on two frontages. The inside is in bad repair.

Patcham will form another link in the chain of hostels along the South Downs, the only expanse of country in the Region comparable in popularity as a holiday district with such centres as the Lakes or Devonshire; the house with its black glazed bricks and white paint makes a hostel of striking, dignified and at the same time inviting appearance.

Five miles north of the English Channel, Patcham village lies in a gap in the downs, through which the London to Brighton road passes, a hundred feet from the hostel, and is about half way between Steyning and Lewes.

Within two hundred yards of the hostel footpaths lead the walker on to the downs, while the cyclist has only to travel a short distance up the main road to come to cross country roads running under the north side of the downs.

Patcham Place was built in 1588 by Sir William West, Baron de la Warr. His son Thomas sold the house to Richard Shelley, relative of the ancestors of the poet, and his family lived there until well into the 17th century when it was bought by Anthony Stapley, whose descendants sold it to Mr. John Gilly (or Lilly). After passing through his hands to George Neville, Lord Abergavenny, it came, in 1764, into the possession of Mr. John Paine, better known as Squire Paine, to whom we are indebted for the beautiful house that is to be the new hostel. He improved and altered the house, converting the Tudor building to that shown in the photograph, and at the south end built a big stable, now used by the Brighton Council, for his stud of hunters. Three generations of Paines held the house between then and the

middle of the 19th century, when it was bought by Captain Nathaniel Kemp, the last owner on record. From the '80's of last century until the '20's of the present, the Kemp executors leased it to a variety of tenants. In 1926 it was bought for £6,600 by Brighton, the walls were pulled down and the gardens thrown open to the public. Two years

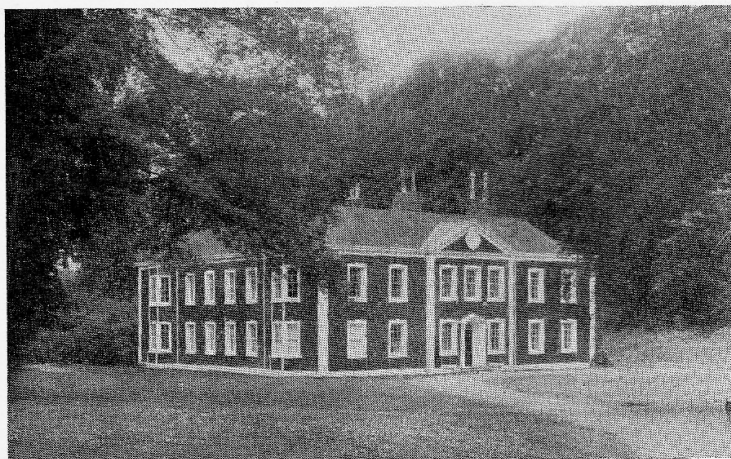
### —OURSELVES—

THE NEWS makes its appearance after many months of deliberation as London Region's own newspaper. Every month punctually on the first Saturday THE NEWS will be on sale at hostels and elsewhere to tell members what is happening in the Y.H.A. We exist primarily to tell you the news—news of the region, and news of our neighbours at home and abroad. If anything happens in the Y.H.A. we will hear of it and will report it for the information of our readers.

There will be articles of general interest, too, including some regular features, and our correspondence columns are open to members for the exchange of ideas on hostel and other open-air topics.

Get THE NEWS every month and be in the know.

Patcham Place, Sussex



ago some rooms in the house were used as overflow schoolrooms by the Corporation, but since then it has been empty.

Local people felt concern for the future of the old country house, which it was known might be demolished, and much pleasure has been expressed that the Y. H. A. has taken it, so that it will be preserved in good condition for at least a number of years.

Patcham village is worth visiting for itself. The church contains an old mural painting "The Doom," which, painted in 1170, was discovered under 36 coats of whitewash in 1876. The oldest monument is to Richard Shelley, of Patcham Place, and is dated 1594.

Close by the church is an immense tithe barn, and a brick pigeon cote of considerable age.

[Continued on page 2, col. 1]

Patcham Place Hostel owes much of its inception to Mr. P. C. Phillips, known to hostellers from Cape Wrath to the Needles as "Phil" and at the moment he is in charge there.

He is busy as a beaver working on the place—doing up old buildings for hostels is his hobby—but he found time to tell a *News* reporter about his task.

"After the council gardeners had cut down the ivy that was pushing into some of the windows, I moved in," he said. "First I made myself a base in the best small room in the house—a charming room with alcove cupboards, good paint and wallpaper—and from this camp I made expeditions of cleanliness and order. For five days I swept, for two I dusted and for two days I burned what I had thus collected

"Then I decided to forget all about the fungus growing in cupboards, the long festoons of wall paper, the paneling dropping from the walls and the holes in the ceilings and started, instead, on painting the back outside woodwork and glazing where necessary—for the children have not quite forgotten their old target!—so as to finish the exterior work by the winter. Now I am free to begin inside."

We started walking through the rooms.

"It's true we shall have to take down all those panels in that bay," he said, pointing to a window in a future common room, "and we shall want pounds of plaster for ceilings and walls, and yards of architraving for the doorways, but on the whole there will not be so very much heavy work to do. Most of it will be necessary but hidden work. The only obvious results will be cleaned paint and new distemper or paper."

An urchin poked his head round the front door with a "Please, mister . . ."

"All right," said Phil, "you can look over for ten minutes, as you didn't come in last week."

As the child disappeared he explained. "I let the children look over to see what we are doing. And they

give a lot of help, just so's they can stay in the house. Two lads who were here last week have been back to give me a hand, clearing up and burning junk . . . I gave them a leaflet about the hostels, perhaps they'll be members some day."

In the kitchen was a grimy object in a boiler suit looking as unlike as possible the young solicitor that he normally is.

"Been up the chimney," he grinned. "Hobby of mine—and roofs—cleaned it a bit. Can't find the safety valve of the boiler, though. Have another shot."

And with that he disappeared up the chimney like a hobgoblin.

"As you see," said Phil leading the way across the panelled hall and up a shallow staircase with delicately fashioned balusters, "we have some equipment already."

In one room was bedding from Charing, now closed, and in another blankets from Twyford, and yet another room was prepared as a dormitory for working parties.

Three bathrooms, a dozen or more bedrooms, airing cupboards and storage cupboards, all these we passed to come to one room at the end of the house.

A shambles, a consummation of all that a housewife fears most—wallpaper peeling, ivy growing through the windows, plaster powdered on the floor, dust measurably thick, great holes in the floor, all these and more stopped me aghast at such a nightmare of a room.

"I keep it as a reminder of what it was like before the dusting and cleaning," explained my guide as he saw the look of horror on my face.

"Come again soon," Phil admonished me as I bade him good-bye. "You can do a bit of work if you like."

There was something else that Phil said. "It's a beautiful house," he said, "and it's going to be a good, simple, plain hostel. Clean, yes, but not a wax polish, bring-slippers, affair."

*Previous page and above: Issue No. 1 of The London Region News, published in December 1938, led with this article on Patcham Place; from this it is clear how derelict the lovely house had become. Fungus, dry-rot, damp and filth everywhere necessitated the employment of shock tactics to get the hostel in order (YHA Archive).*

YHA took charge of the building in 1938 and, as so often seems to have been the case, it was operating prematurely and unofficially by December for the benefit of the first work parties by providing twenty beds for their use. The hostel opened in earnest on 7th April 1939, in time for a good first season, soon followed by a chaotic period of joint hostel and civil defence use. Much later, in February 1946, *London Region News* could look back on the intervening years with a clear eye:

From then on [September 1939] London Region struggled to keep the hostel open, but as months went past one room after another was taken for civil defence purposes, and finally the mansion was requisitioned outright. So Patcham Place never really got into its stride, and the structural work originally planned was never completed.

Typical of the struggle was the uncertainty from day to day for the warden and members. The hostel was restricted at the outset of war, but was available in 1940, at least in November and December, and again by the end of 1941. *London Region News* bulletins helped make sense of the chaos, and advised early in 1942 that Patcham Place was available, but by April it was within the access-restricted defence area, meaning that only local members could stay:

Visits to Patcham, Lewes, Hockley and Felixstowe YHs unrestricted until 15th Feb, and will not be permitted after that date. Members living in the restricted area can use these hostels at any time [*LRN* January 1942]... Cooking facilities are limited, as they have also to be used by non-hosteller occupants of the building. They are sufficient for about 6 members at any one time [*LRN* April 1942]

There were 1417 bednights in 1943 before Brighton Corporation suspended the lease and enforced closure in August, for the duration of the war. In 1944-45 Patcham Place remained under requisition, though efforts were being made to secure its release.



YOUTH HOSTEL,  
PATCHAM PLACE,  
PATCHAM,  
BRIGHTON.

(E) SODA ACID EXTINGUISHERS.  
(NEW POSITIONS)

(B) ALARM BELL

(S) ALARM RASING POINT

ATTIC

6-BEDS  
STORE.

N

SCALE 1 in = 8 FT  
APPROX.

20 BEDS. 16 BEDS. 2 BEDS.

15 16 17

10 BEDS. 8 BEDS. 2 BEDS.

25 22 21

18 19 20

FIRST FLOOR

COMMON ROOM. ENTRANCE HALL. COMMON ROOM.

DINING HALL. SCULLERY. KITCHEN. OFFICE.

MEMBERS' KITCHEN. CYCLE STORE.

W. A. COGGAN,  
31 FETTER LANE,  
BRIGHTON.  
16-1-1917.

4

The same regional news bulletin started beating the drum again early in 1946:

#### Wardens Want Help to Get It Re-opened Soon

Now the house is to have another lease of life. Already cleared of civil defence equipment and with the blast walls removed, some of its grace and dignity can again be seen. But a great deal has to be done before it reaches the standard of 1939, and then it was far from completed. The Corporation are doing much of the work, but the YHA will also have a lot to do. We appeal for working parties and individual volunteers – at any time. The new wardens are Mr and Mrs McAlpine [Epping Forest wardens, 1939 and 1942], and they will be glad to welcome any helpers. The address of the hostel is Patcham Place, Brighton 6, Sussex, and we hope that many members, including local ones, will write to them there and offer their help. The more assistance they receive the sooner will the hostel be reopened.

The irony of the jeopardy that YHA had twice found itself in would not have been lost on those closely involved in Brighton hostel's work parties: immediately before YHA took over in 1938 the building was near derelict, used as emergency classroom overflow, and severely damaged. After the war it was left severely ruined again.



1: Ron Day photographed the hostel, under scaffolding, soon after the war; 2: an early colour photograph (both YHA Archive)

The MacAlpines stayed in post for the first six years or so after the 1946 reopening, followed by a short stint by Mr and Mrs Woodroffe, who witnessed the granting of Grade II listed status for Patcham Place in 1952. Almost everywhere in YHA's network in the early post-war years there was a steep increase in usership up to 1950, followed by a steady decline through the new decade. Patcham followed the trend, reaching a high of 9,600 overnights in 1949 before falling to 6,600 in 1956. Mr and Mrs William Stimpson were the wardens from 1953 to 1958.



## PATCHAM PLACE

Mr and Mrs Dennison arrived in 1959. A curiosity of Patcham's history in the 1960s, reflecting wardens' gradually improving conditions of service, is that a temporary hostel near Patcham Place, at a location now unknown, opened on Wednesday nights in August when the main hostel exercised its newly-entitled 'closed night'. It operated in 1963 (558 bednights), 1964 (844), 1965 (982), 1966 (1161), 1967 (1309) and 1968 (820), and is the only such once-a-week temporary replacement known to have operated in YHA.

By 1964 Agnes and Bill Ash had taken on the wardenship. They presided over the hostel's most settled period, staying for 20 years until their retirement in 1984. They were followed by Dave and Sandra Llewellyn in 1984-92 and Guy Holdsworth and Veronica Schotman in 1993-96. Stephen Vanozzi, Craig Thomas and Nikki Kirk managed Patcham hostel, by now renamed simply *Brighton*, up to the new millennium.



*This 1970s view of the Patcham Hostel was taken by well-travelled member Ron Sant (author's collection)*

Back in 1939, beds had been provided for 35 men and 35 women. During the war the hostel capacity diminished to barely half that number, probably less during hectic and restricted times. On reopening, there were 80 beds. This number remained stable until the 1980s, during which decade there was some experimenting with the capacity: the number of beds fell to 70 in 1984-6. Then YHA planned for expanded accommodation through the removal of staff to a house purchased in the village, acquired freehold. The bed numbers edged upwards to 84, until the new century, as did yearly overnights. Record numbers stayed in 1992: 17,000. By 2000 the hostel provided four 6-bedded, two 14-bedded and two 16-bedded rooms – ever a somewhat institutional arrangement here, abetted by austerity-type furnishings: Duncan Simpson remembers unsuccessful aspects of PDMP modernisation work in the 1990s, with *inappropriate Macdonald's plastic table and chairs in the dining room*.

After over 60 years' continuous post-war use, the facilities were regarded as old-fashioned and the considerable expense of renewal could not fall either on YHA, the leaseholder, or on Brighton Corporation, the landlord. Patcham youth hostel soldiered on for another few years, with Craig Thomas, Nigel Pallett and John Leopold holding the fort. There had been some last-gap improvements to room comforts, at the expense of overnight totals; after 2002 there were only 56 beds available, located in fewer, less crowded rooms. 12,000 had stayed in 2001, but the final year's total was just 5,200. YHA advertised that Patcham would close at the end of October 2007. The last use, confirmed by the manager, was actually a month before that. The staff house was sold in November 2007.

When YHA withdrew, Brighton Corporation was left for a second time with its empty key historic building in which it was reluctant to invest heavily. It was reported as unoccupied in 2010, but by 2015 had been sold and was the subject of considerable rebuilding work to establish high-end office facilities within.

Meanwhile, YHA frequently expressed a wish to find a replacement for Patcham in a city that embodies much of the youthful verve for which it aims to provide. After six fallow years, a new hostel was found.



Four YHA publicity images of Patcham hostel in its final stages in May 2005, along with a 1960s pin badge and hostel stamp

## Brighton [Old Steine] Youth Hostel 2014 to present

Royal York Hotel, Old Steine, Brighton BN1 1NH  
Historic County: West Sussex

GR: TQ 312039



The imposing entrance to YHA Brighton. The Royal York hotel's fine tracery work has been maintained (YHA publicity photograph)



Brighton's new youth hostel opened on 17th November 2014, initially with 151 beds in its 51 bedrooms.

Information kindly made available by Rebecca Hudgill, YHA Brighton's first manager, included these two historical backgrounds:

#### From Brighthelmstone to Brighton

Brighthelmston had gained its town charter in 1313, allowing it a weekly market. The street plan of the Lanes is that of medieval Brighton, and locally the small alleyways are known as 'twittens' and 'catcreeps'.

In 1783 the Prince of Wales visited Brighton and was the first to recognise its attractiveness. His Royal Pavilion grew from farmhouse to palace in stages between 1787 and 1823, during which time he became Regent and then King George IV. The arrival of royalty and associated hangers-on changed Brighton's fortune. Many of the grand squares seen in Brighton today were started during the Regency period.

During the 1800s the health benefits of the seaside were marketed as alternatives to the waters of the spa towns. Initially, this was a trend for the wealthy, but by the end of the 19th century the success of the Industrial Revolution and the expansion of the railways meant that people of all classes could escape the city smog, and towns like Brighton thrived. Many of Brighton's grand hotels were built in the 19th century to accommodate this influx of visitors, the Royal York being one of them.

#### One Hundred Years of the Royal York, Brighton, by Harry Preston

Written by Mr Preston on 27th September 1919 to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the hotel's opening

In the days of the Regency there stood on the west side of the Old Steine the Castle Hotel, with a large ballroom attached, which was the chief assembly room of Elegant Brighton in those days...

The Prince decided that the ballroom would make a suitable chapel for his new palace, and so the Castle Hotel was pulled down, the ballroom was converted into a royal chapel, and at the south end of the Old Steine the Royal York Hotel was built. On 27th Sep 1819 it opened to the public.

The Royal York was intimately connected with the Royal Pavilion. In 1824 the hotel was described as much patronised by the nobility. In common with all the leading hotels of the period it was designed chiefly for visitors who engaged suites of apartments and took their meals in the privacy of their own dining room. In 1838 landlord Harry Pegg, who managed it for 20 years, effected considerable enlargement of the building.

The Royal York may have been the subject of a Brighton hotel described in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*. It was also used by the newly married Charles Dickens in 1837.

It was used by greater and lesser royalty, ambassadors, and politicians including Lloyd George. Beau Brummel referred to it. There was a petition by Royall Cinque Ports lodge of freemasons to rededicate the hotel as the Royal York Lodge. In the 20th century stage stars Vesta Tilley, Beerbohm Tree and Fred Emney, conductors Sir Thomas Beecham and Sir Henry Wood, opera stars, writers JM Barrie, Hilaire Belloc, John Galsworthy, GK Chesterton, Arnold Bennett, and George Belcher, cartoonist of *Punch* all stayed at the Royal York.

Harry Preston took over the hotel in 1901 and further enlarged it, but much survived then from the original. The central staircase dates from 1901 [every banister still carries the carved monogram 'RY', as shown right], and a fourth storey was added.



John Harris, the hostel's maintenance manager, has a deep and enthusiastic knowledge of the 200-year-old building, its many curiosities, its hidden corners. He tells how the original hotel was gas-lit throughout, electricity not being installed until the twentieth century. All guest rooms had a fireplace, still a decorative feature in the hostel. Originally, guests would have used commodes in the privacy of their own rooms, the contents taken away by chambermaids to sluice cupboards. The basement is vast, and still hints at former uses as staff quarters, coal chute and storage, general stores, pantry, kitchen and other 'below stairs' functions.



YHA Brighton's breezy hostel stamp

As in so many cases in Britain between the wars, established hotels fared badly and many such businesses closed. The Royal York suffered this fate and was converted to council offices in 1930. It also housed the town's registry office for



a while. It was converted back into a hotel, the Radisson Blu, in 2006, and plans were partially completed to provide spa rooms in the cellars. The hotel company withdrew after the financial crash of 2008 however and by 2014 the Royal York building changed hands again. It was bought for £4.5m by a company called Development Securities plc with whom YHA signed a 100-year lease to operate the hostel, an arrangement understood to relate to continuing ownership by Brighton Council. The Coastal Communities Fund gave its generous support to refurbish and regenerate the building into a stylish, modern youth hostel whilst maintaining many of its original features.

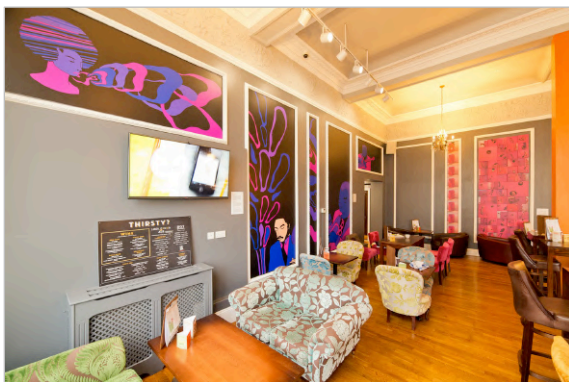


*YHA Brighton, as viewed from Old Steine Gardens. The Royal York was built as a distinguished hotel in 1819, though it may have incorporated parts of older buildings. It was named after the Duke of York, cousin of the Prince Regent (author's photograph on a blustery day in March, 2015)*

There are about 35 seats in the licensed Café / Bar area; the dining room seats about 50 more. The hostel's 24-hour reception is based at the foot of the main staircase. Among the many facilities are a conference/meeting room, a self-catering kitchen, luggage store and an ironing room. There is a bike store in the cellar.



1 2



3 4



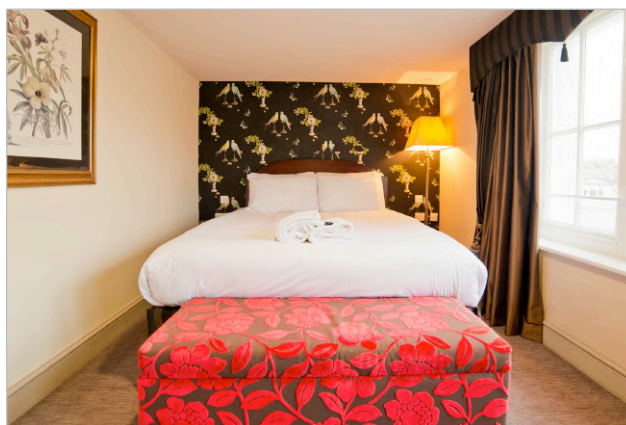
*The main circulating rooms at YHA Brighton.  
1: the spacious Café / Bar area. This is directly adjacent to – 2: the hostel reception;  
3&4: lounge and dining areas for varied dining, social and relaxation use (images, YHA Archive)*



All the hostel's bedrooms are en suite; 18 are double rooms. As with YHA's new Cardiff Central hostel, YHA Brighton also offers premium rooms.

There are now 180 beds across the 51 rooms, ranging from single to eight beds. On the first floor are one 8-bedded room with bunks, five 6-bedded rooms with bunks, five 4-bedded rooms with bunks, three double rooms with double beds, one single en-suite room and one accessible 3-bedded room with a single bunk over a double and a wetroom adjoining. There is a lift to all floors, with an emergency phone.

On the second floor are five 6-bedded rooms with bunks, one 5-bedded room with a single bunk over a double bed and two single bunks, seven 4-bedded rooms with bunks, one double room with double bed, one twin room with bunks. The third floor has 16 premium-range double rooms with double beds, TV, soap, towels, two pillows per person, storage space, dressing table and chair. There is one twin room with 2 single beds. 12 rooms benefit from a sea view, while some have a roll-top bath.



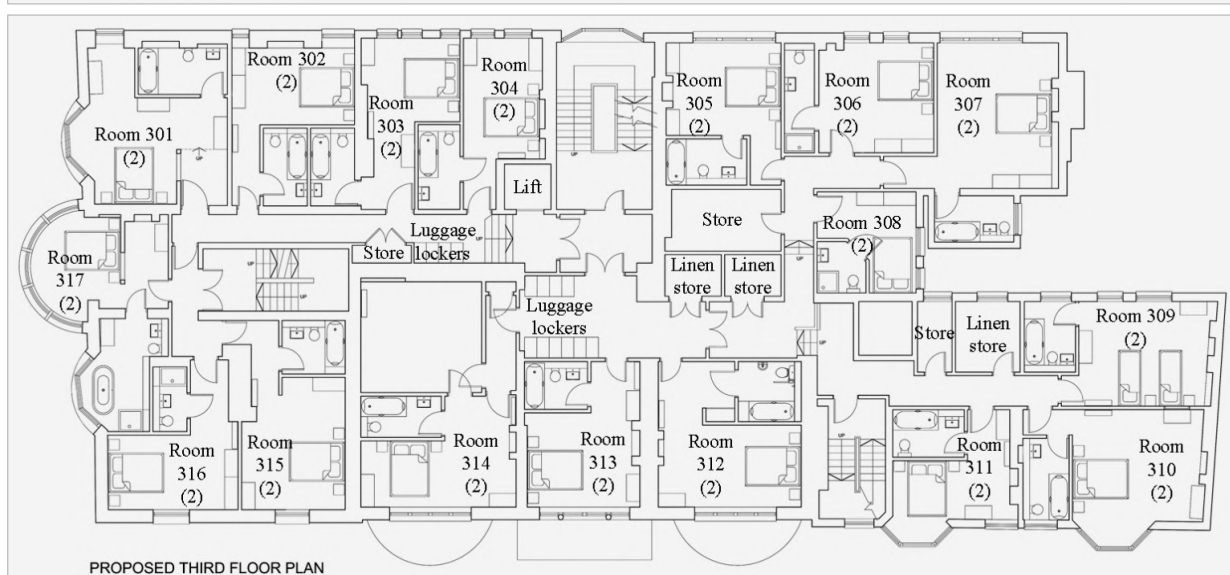
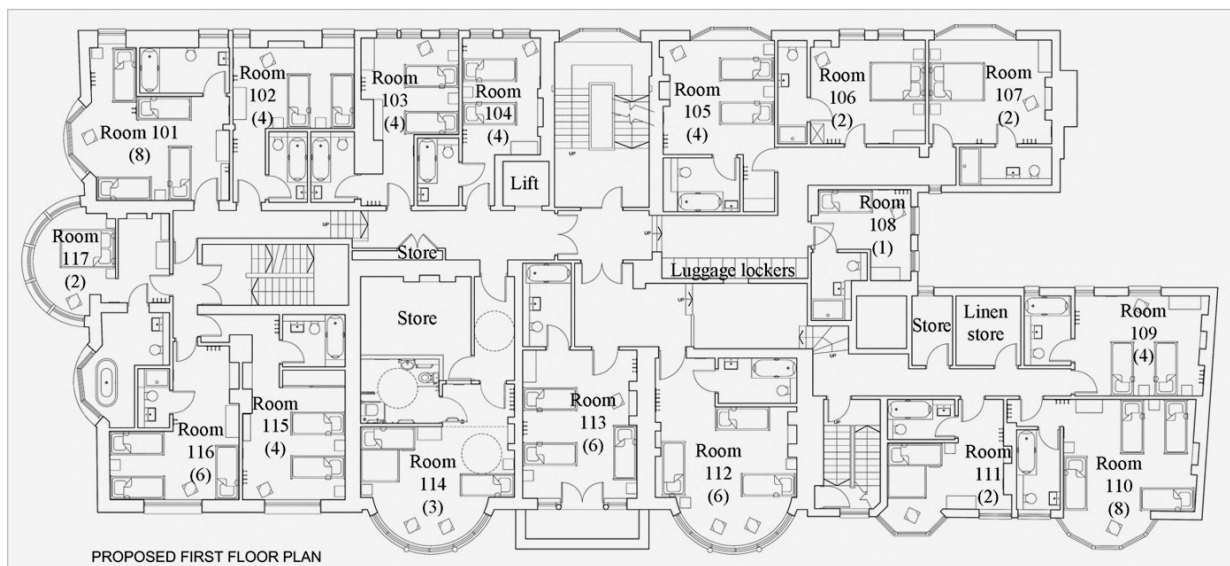
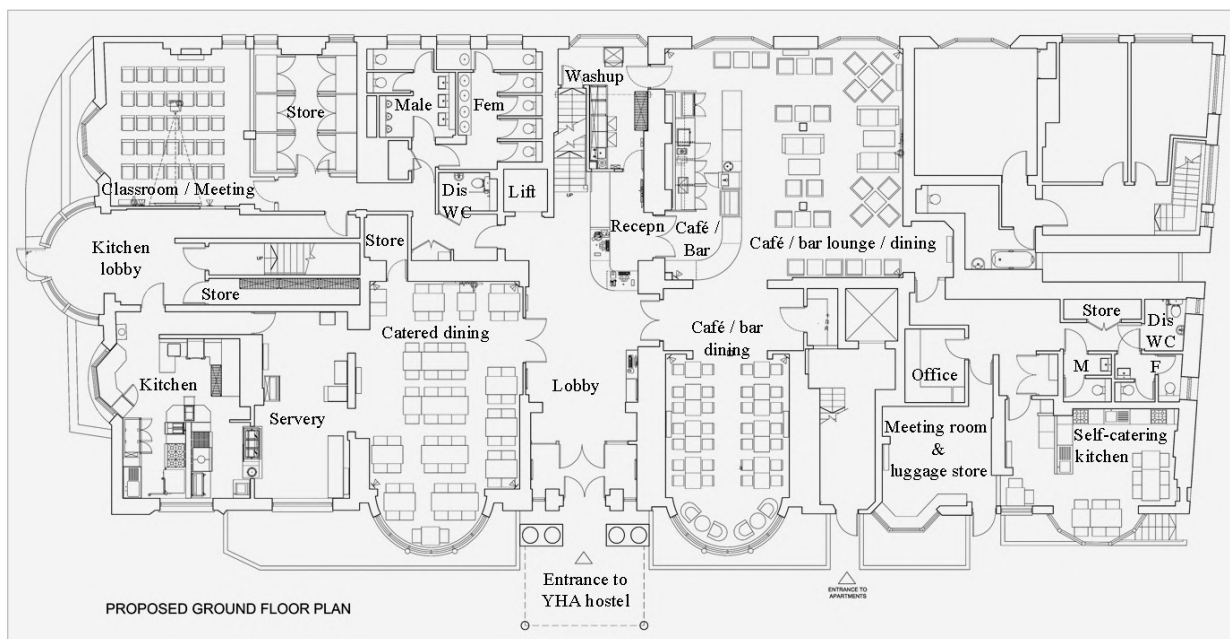
*The high standard of bedroom at YHA Brighton. The images reflect the quality provision of the hostel's offering, whether standard or premium (images, YHA Archive)*

YHA Brighton shares with the contemporary YHA Cardiff Central a remarkable success story. Both replaced popular but outdated earlier hostels that had limited opportunity for improvement and modernisation. In both cases the earlier hostels accommodated fewer than 10,000 guests per annum in their final years. Both the new hostels have outstripped their predecessors many times over; the Sussex hostel has approached 50,000 guests each full year since its opening. Both recent additions have taken advantage of very large ex-hotel premises to achieve their potentials in their bustling cities. YHA Brighton's managers have been Rebecca Hudgell (2014-16), Desmond Byrth (2016-19) and Suzanne Taylor (2019 to present).



*1: the rear of YHA Brighton on the south-west side. It is handy for the National Express coach station, located adjacent;  
2: the south-east face of the hostel. Its attractive bay-windowed rooms overlook the sea. A small proportion of the entire building, consisting of a ground floor corner café to the left of picture 2, a portion to the right of the main entrance above the ground floor and the entirety of floor 4 are in private ownership (author's photographs, March 2015)*





Above are samples of the proposal plans for YHA Brighton as drawn up in 2013, based largely on the previous hotel provision for the ground, first and third floors. In reality the layout is little changed after six years of hostel operation. There have been changes to the washroom block on the ground floor and minor differences to bed numbers and types in a few rooms (YHA Archive)

Overnights – inclusive periods each year as follows									
1939-1991: previous Oct to Sept; 1992: Oct 1991 to Feb 1993; 1993-present: Mar to following Feb									
♣: Patcham Place Youth Hostel; Δ: Brighton Old Steine Youth Hostel									
●: closed during year; W: wartime closure; *: 17 month period; †: opened November 2014									
...	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3004♣
1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949
open ♣	open ♣	open ♣	1417●♣	W♣	W♣	5402♣	7576♣	8975♣	9689♣
1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
9573♣	8563♣	7879♣	open ♣	7137♣	7332♣	6662♣	6922♣	6937♣	8066♣
1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
8207♣	8227♣	8314♣	7279♣	8249♣	8475♣	9030♣	9985♣	10115♣	10823♣
1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
11604♣	11624♣	12213♣	13034♣	13233♣	12077♣	11345♣	10843♣	9749♣	9709♣
1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
9485♣	7896♣	7260♣	6873♣	8947♣	12132♣	13231♣	13156♣	14177♣	15609♣
1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
16036♣	14781♣	17370*♣	12742♣	13011♣	13611♣	12683♣	12668♣	12892♣	12485♣
2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
12092♣	10480♣	9201♣	8189♣	7894♣	7660♣	7422♣	5215♣	...	...
2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
...	...	...	...	7449†Δ	48564Δ	49370Δ	49569Δ	45811Δ	48583Δ
2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029
openΔ	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...



Civic pride (author's photograph, March 2015)