

Title Page:

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

THE GUARDIANS OF THE POOR AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE
POOR LAW IN SOUTH HAMPSHIRE 1870 - 1914

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ABSTRACT

Faculty of Arts
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The Guardians of the Poor and the Administration of the Poor Law in
South Hampshire 1870 - 1914

by Rosemary Sylvia Helen Groves

In this study of the poor law in three unions in South Hampshire between 1870 and 1914, namely the Southampton Incorporation, and the South Stoneham and the New Forest Unions, the poor law is set in its wider context of the social, economic and party political background of the three areas, and policies and reasons for their adoption are examined within this context. Although traditions of non-partisan administration were maintained at elections, the poor law in the urban area of Southampton was influenced to a major degree by the nature of party politics within the town, and local councillors and magistrates used the poor law elections and administration to further the interests of the Conservative and Liberal parties at other local and parliamentary elections in areas of policy and patronage. Certain matters were dealt with in a partisan way by the Board, notably temperance and religious issues. In suburban South Stoneham the maintenance of the Conservative party's local prestige was a factor in prompting guardians to serve, but the Board was apparently run in an entirely non-partisan way, in contrast to other local institutions. In the New Forest the poor law was used as a means of exerting social rather than political control by the gentry over the rest of local society. In this the New Forest is shown to be unusual in that the power of the gentry had not declined here as elsewhere by 1870, and the local landowners played an active part in poor law administration, a role which was augmented by institutions peculiar to the New Forest such as the Court of Verderers and the New Forest Association, formed to negotiate with the Crown over local commoners rights.

The occupational and economic background of guardians (as measured by rateable and probate valuations) is examined in detail, in order to investigate more closely the role of the boards of guardians in local society, beyond that of administration of the poor law. This part of the study also illustrates some of the reasons why the Boards adopted certain policies and also some of the factors influencing individuals as guardians. Particular occupations are shown to have been especially relevant to poor law administration, such as in Southampton those connected with the drink trade, or those involving ownership of large amounts of property, while in the rural areas the role of leisured groups, known as private residents, was particularly important in establishing a dominant position on both Boards. In areas of policy all three boards were conservative and placed the highest premium on the saving of ratepayers' money throughout the period covered, although from the 1890s, particularly in Southampton, treatment of deserving groups gradually improved, under pressure from the Local Government Board.

To my husband, Richard Groves, and my father Robert Storrar, both of whom were involved and most supportive during the researching of this thesis, and neither of whom lived to see it finished.

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INTRODUCTION

Three neighbouring areas have been chosen for this study of the operation of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century poor law. They are the unions of the New Forest and South Stoneham, to the west and to the north and east of Southampton respectively, and the Southampton Incorporation, the body which administered the poor law in the port itself. The New Forest was an almost entirely rural area while the town of Southampton was an established urban centre, expanding by degrees over the period into neighbouring, rural South Stoneham. The study is concerned with the policies and preoccupations of these three Boards of Guardians, and with the influences which affected them, including the impact of party politics, of the central authority, and most importantly of the various individuals who were elected to the Boards themselves. To this end the backgrounds of individuals in terms of occupation and wealth are examined in detail. These local policies are set in the national context of changing opinion regarding the treatment of paupers, and the economic circumstances of the times and of the three areas concerned. In addition the wider role of the Boards of Guardians is considered, in relation to the part they played in local politics and society.

CHAPTER 1

THE NATIONAL POOR LAW FROM 1834

The Poor Law as it was administered in 1870 had in some respects moved considerably away from the principles of the creators of the Act of 1834 (1), yet in others the central authority and the Boards of Guardians were closer to the spirit of the Act than they had been in its earlier years, and were to become even more so. The representatives of the Local Government Board in 1906-9 were to urge the Royal Commission to return to the principles of 1834. It is clear, however, that the previous thirty-five years of poor law administration had seen a determination on the part of most poor law authorities broadly to adhere to those principles, as far as the treatment of the able bodied was concerned. In other respects the period after 1870 represents one of considerable change, particularly in the provision offered to those whose destitution was recognised as involuntary. The framers of the legislation of 1834 envisaged a poor law administration which deterred, through the principles of less-eligibility, all those whose situation made pauperism, in theory, a matter of choice. Thus, while the aged, children and the sick had no option in many cases but to rely upon the parish, the able bodied and their families, released from the cycle of parish relief and low wages imposed by the Old Poor Law, would eventually be able to be independent of relief. A system of workhouses was to be created in which different types of pauper were to be separated from each other, allowing deterrent principles to be applied to those who could be independent by means of the workhouse "test", while providing care for those who could not. Outdoor relief was to be reduced to the minimum. The system was to be run by locally elected Boards of Guardians, subject to the supervision of agents of the central authority, but with local autonomy preserved in the financing of relief from local rates.

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As a principle, deterrence was a remarkably successful one in practice. Although cases such as the Andover Workhouse scandal were exceptions to the general pattern, the threat of the workhouse remained effective as a deterrent to all but the most desperate of applicants, throughout the life of the new poor law. This was not necessarily because of the harsh conditions that applied, in that it would have been hard to find a dietary "less eligible" than that of the meanest labourer, or living conditions which were less attractive, and in any case the imposition of such an environment conflicted with the humane principles which many guardians held (2). However, it was not only the conditions imposed in the workhouses, the lack of imagination and miserliness of guardians, or the inhumanity of relieving officers and workhouse masters that primarily ensured deterrence. It was the monotony and tedium of workhouse life within all workhouses and amongst all classes of pauper, together with the stigma of pauperism, which nationally and consistently had the most deterrent effect (3).

While the able bodied, both men and women, were subjected to the deterrent Labour Test after 1852, all workhouse inmates were institutionalised by the wearing of uniform, by the discipline, and by the workhouse regime with its "dreariness, squalor and inappropriate treatment" and the "utter monotony" of the diet (4). As the century wore on, the values inculcated in the national schools made the prospect of dependence on the poor law, outside and especially inside the workhouse, horrifying and demeaning. The working classes were being educated to a belief in self reliance and respectability and the prospect of pauperism became increasingly repellent. In addition, the possibility of removal under the settlement laws made application to the poor law authorities unattractive even after the passage of the Union Chargeability Act in 1867 when removal within Unions was abolished altogether (5). Thereafter removal could not take place if a pauper had been resident in a union for more than one year, but it remained a threat in areas of migrant populations, and the port of Southampton

was one which attracted migrants looking for work.

Problems relating to the collection of pauper statistics mean that a completely clear picture of the trends in pauper numbers is hard to establish. Figures from 1839-1847 are based on those for the quarter ending 25th March each year, while from 1849 onwards returns were made for single nights on the 1st January and 1st July. Nevertheless, it is clear that the numbers of paupers increased rapidly after the implementation of the 1834 Act. Outdoor relief numbers rose from just under 800,000 in 1839 to more than 1,200,000 in 1847, while indoor relief figures rose from approximately 100,000 and 200,000 over the same period. In the late 1850s numbers fell relative to the population, only to start rising steeply again in the 1860s (6). The figures bore witness to fundamental miscalculations on the part of the framers of the 1834 Act. What had been presumed was that the able bodied, once the burden of poor rates upon employers had been reduced and poor relief restricted, would find work obtainable, whereas the series of depressions of the Victorian age meant that there were men and women able to work, for whom no work could be found. The Act also failed to take into account a related problem which increasingly preoccupied the later Victorians - that of the "residuum" - those who were incorrigibly opposed to work, frequently engaged in crime, and for whom the deterrent workhouse and the Labour Yard held few terrors. How was society to separate the residuum from the "respectable" or "deserving poor", and cater for the both groups acceptably? How was it also to cope with the problems of unemployment of skilled and respectable workmen?

The 1834 Act had planned for the creation of segregated accommodation within union workhouses, where the numbers of the paupers and the resources of the Union would make such new, large and specially designed institutions possible. All paupers were to be offered the workhouse and within the institutions the aged, sick, lunatics and children were to be cared for, while in separate accommodation the able bodied were to be

subjected to the "Test" and encouraged to independence as rapidly as possible. Even for the able bodied, the Poor Law Board envisaged "a commodious and efficient workhouse" in which they would be set to work (7). However, examples of such institutions were rare. Many unions were unwilling to create new workhouses if an old poor house existed (Southampton's for example, was not built until the mid 1860s), new unions were often reluctant to spend the necessary capital, and so all classes of pauper frequently found themselves grouped together in unsegregated wards in "General Mixed Workhouses". Often the workhouses were too small to accommodate the paupers who needed relief, especially in times of high unemployment, and hence many of them continued to receive it outside the House.

Although there has been some disagreement amongst historians as to the extent of outdoor relief after 1834 (8), it would appear that outdoor relief under the New Poor Law continued in many cases to be as widespread as under the Old. Until 1908 the numbers of outdoor paupers were never less than double those on indoor relief after 1834, and in distress years, such as the 1840s, the ratio of outdoor to indoor paupers nationally was as much as 7:1 (9). Numbers only fell in the 1900s as a result of the increased paupers receiving indoor relief and also because of the introduction of old age pensions for paupers in 1911 (10).

There has been some dispute as to the severity of the New Poor Law in the years after 1834, and the traditional view of the harshness of its implementation has been scrutinised recently. David Roberts noted how the Commissioners soon sanctioned the giving of adequate outdoor relief after 1834, especially in kind, often coupled with work on the roads (11). Ursula Henriques has supported the harsh interpretation however, stressing the hardships of those on outdoor relief and the problems the poor encountered in escaping from the poor law, especially from the workhouse, once they had become paupers (12). Norman McCord, in his investigation of the years immediately following the passage of the Act on

Tyneside, has concluded that the new law, under the close supervision of the local Assistant Commissioner, was brought smoothly into practice at a time of local prosperity. Guardians demonstrated a concern for the local poor and interpreted the law liberally (13). Similarly in Durham Peter Dunkley found in the 1830s that the new law was favourably interpreted, with much civic pride taken in the construction of new workhouses which were efficiently and humanely run (14). Nevertheless, in the 1840s in the same area the trade depression resulted in a "squeezing" of poorer ratepayers, with consequent economies made in poor law administration, for example in the imposition of Poor-Law - Commission-approved dietaries and the severe restriction of outdoor relief. The workhouse test was often not applied, outdoor relief to the able bodied was simply refused. Dunkley, Derek Fraser and others have concluded that there were great variations in the way in which the poor law was implemented so that no one Union was the same as any other. Boards of Guardians had considerable latitude, while directives could be withheld by the central authority if local circumstances rendered them inappropriate (15).

In some cases the latitude was incorporated officially into the system, through the Orders issued by the Poor Law Board concerning outdoor relief, or in the way the guardians themselves interpreted their role and the Board's directives. Under the Outdoor Relief Prohibitory Order of 1844 the able bodied could be relieved "on grounds of sudden and urgent necessity, accident or sickness" and this order was applied by the central authority to most rural unions. As a result very few able bodied men were listed as receiving outdoor relief, since in most cases they were relieved under the sickness clause, and guardians would look for some "trifling ailment" as a pretext (16). All unions not covered by this Order were issued with the Outdoor Relief Regulation Order in 1852, a continuation of the Outdoor Labour Test Order which had been issued to some industrial unions in 1842 in response to the deepening trade depression. These two orders were less stringent

than the Order of 1844 which prohibited outdoor relief to the able bodied, other than in exceptional circumstances, because to apply this to industrial areas of high unemployment was judged to be inflammatory. They permitted outdoor relief to the able bodied provided that they be set to work at a prescribed labour test. The order was resisted by guardians not only because it meant they had to employ extra staff, but also because some of them considered the labour test inappropriate for honest and genuine unemployed operatives, damaging to industrial skills and hindering genuine seekers after work. They also protested vehemently at the "unwarranted interference with their cherished powers of discretion", whereupon the Poor Law Board retreated and reissued the order to cover all able bodied males with "the usual exceptions" (17). None of these Orders were rescinded by the central authority until 1911 and hence continued to govern the administration of the Poor Law in South Hampshire for most of the period covered by this study.

Nevertheless, Boards of Guardians had considerable incentives for paying outdoor relief, and continued to do so after 1834. It was much cheaper than keeping a pauper in the workhouse, it could be seen as more humane because it kept families together and the paupers preferred to be relieved in their own homes, and it kept a ready pool of labour within parishes and unions for seasonal demand - particularly agricultural work, but it was also useful for manufacturers as well. Most guardians paid rates of outdoor relief that were too low to support the pauper families, on the assumption that there would be other sources of income, to which they turned a blind eye. For example, Manchester guardians paid outdoor rates of less than 1s per capita per week, at a time when rag collectors in Bradford were earning between 1s and 1s 6d a day, presumably with a family to support (18). In effect this was often a continuation of the Old Poor Law practice of paying allowances-in-aid-of-wages, and it was used in East Anglia and the south-east of England between 1834 and the 1880s on a regular basis, so that a Local Government Board report of 1881 commented on the widespread use of "the old abuse of

relief in aid of wages". Most authorities agree that the system subsidised the small and irregular earnings of casual workers, or widows, or the parents of large families, although they vary as to the extent of the practice (19). Allowances for the aged in the 1890s were acknowledged to be less than adequate in the LGB Circular of 1899, on the assumption that other sources of income were usually available (19a).

In East Anglia the practice of taking one or two children into the workhouse was revived, and here also the Roundsman and Ticket systems were also used in order to allow farmers to economise on poor relief. Tickets frequently directed the pauper to the parish surveyor for work, and less formally paupers would be set to work on the roads in return for out-relief in a number of Unions (20). The custom in the New Forest of guardians also serving as waywardens must have facilitated this, and may have also applied elsewhere. Certainly it was widely accepted that the guardians used the highway rate in order to provide relief, and the Poor Law Commissioners complained in 1845 that "there is no periodical return of the highway rate: a rate which is liable to great abuse and is, we fear, in not a few parishes converted into a subsidiary poor rate for the relief of able-bodied labourers" (21).

By the 1860s therefore the Boards of Guardians were adept at circumventing the more stringent aspects of the Poor Law Board's regulations should they wish to do so. On the whole the central authority's control over local events appears to have been tenuous in the early years of the poor law, as the guardians clung to the traditions of local independence so dear to the hearts of local administrators, while the Poor Law Commission and then Board attempted to apply national standards (22). Although the Poor Law Commission had "formidable powers to inspect, advise, report, prosecute..." guardians could still challenge the inspectors, even to the extent of defying writs of mandamus, according to Roberts (23). The central authority was hampered by lack of staff, and while it had the power to disallow, it could not enforce

expenditure (24). Inspectors were limited to twice yearly annual visits to each Union, while returns were made as to costs and pauper numbers. This was not the experience of every union, however, and Norman McCord has shown that supervision in Tyneside was close even in the years immediately after 1834 (25). Nationally it became progressively more detailed as the Poor Law Board and the Local Government Board from 1871, sought to obtain information as to trends in pauper treatment, and a tighter control over local affairs, and much of the evidence in the present study supports the view that the Local Government Board's oversight of the minutiae of local administration after 1870 was considerable, although it was not easy to force the guardians to do what they did not want to do. Much of the central authority's effort was directed towards trying to make Boards of Guardians implement their policies as to differentiation of classes of pauper, and to administer appropriate treatment to the "deserving" groups, the sick, the aged and children. In this they ran up against one of the strongest of all guardian motivations, the desire for economy. Michael Rose describes the guardians as "self-interested to the point of corruption, hard-hearted guardians of the rates rather than the poor" (26). Men of standing, it was maintained, were not prepared to become guardians, and the Boards were therefore composed of lower-middle-class shopkeepers, publicans and farmers, whose chief concern was to save the rates (27). As such they preferred to grant out-relief rather than accommodation in the workhouses, they skimped on their allowances, and they paid their staff the minimum, therefore only attracting officers of the lowest calibre (28).

THE POOR LAW 1870 - 1900

In the 1860s depression set in again, and was particularly concentrated in two major centres of population. In London severe winters had impoverished ratepayers in the East End, while in Lancashire the Cotton Famine 1861-5 saw intense distress in a number of

unions, with ratepayers in both areas unable to meet the demands made of them by Boards of Guardians. Emergency funds were provided under the Union Relief Aid Act of 1862, and the Public Works Act of 1863 empowered local authorities to borrow money to finance local improvements on which to provide work for the unemployed. The Poor Law Board urged generosity, and charities were founded to keep skilled, respectable working men from taking relief, but it was clear by the end of the 1860s that the poor law could not cope with the demands being made upon it. Outdoor relief had risen by 20% between 1860 and 1870. The response of the Poor Law Board was a crusade against outdoor relief for the able bodied. The new regulations were for the first time to apply not only to male applicants for relief, but also to women.

The "Crusade" against the Able-Bodied

The Goschen Minute of 1869, followed by the Local Government Board's Circular of December 1871, urged that distinctions be made between the "deserving" poor, and those who were incorrigibly dependent upon poor relief. Those of the former who were capable of independence, were to be given charitable help and thus saved from pauperism. The latter were to be dealt with by the most rigorous application of deterrent principles. Outdoor relief was to be severely restricted for all able bodied paupers, including single women, newly-deserted wives, and widows with children. The provision of indoor relief, on the other hand, for the non able-bodied, was to be improved - the crusade was not seen as an economy measure by the LGB, although in practice it was often interpreted as such. The new policy was to be educative, as described by Henry Longley, a Local Government Board Inspector, with procedures clearly laid down and uniformly administered to paupers who were left in no doubt as to their nature. There was the certainty of a workhouse test if a pauper applied for relief, to encourage providence, and sufficient workhouse accommodation to provide deterrent discipline for the

undeserving. Longley envisaged this system to be a gradualist and educative process, but in effect the policy was implemented rapidly to serve repressive and economic ends, with overall numbers of paupers and their ratio to the population as a whole being the standard criteria of LGB inspectors (29).

Charities were to play an integral part in the administration of the new system. In 1861-4 the Select Committee on Poor Relief had condemned charitable supplements to poor relief, and the Goschen Minute also identified charities as attracting paupers, particularly to London where sums spent on charity in the 1860s nearly equalled the national poor law budget. It was an important facet of the crusade, therefore, that the giving of charity be regulated to avoid duplication amongst themselves and with the poor law, with consequent apparent benefit for the poor, but in fact entailing an irredeemable slide into pauperism. The Charity Organisation Society took on this role in 1869, condemning all aid that did not distinguish between the deserving and the undeserving, directing its efforts and resources to putting the former back on the rails, but insisting upon the maintenance of the full rigour of the poor law in dealing with the latter. In South Hampshire the COS was active for a number of years in at least two of the areas covered by this study (30).

Although the Goschen Minute and the Circular of 1871 were never given the force of Orders, and it remained legal to give outdoor relief to the able bodied, approximately one third of the Boards greeted them with enthusiasm, and total outdoor poor numbers dropped by 33% between 1871-6. After 1876 outdoor relief numbers for the whole country stabilised around the 500,000 mark for the next thirty years, entailing when population growth is taken into account a decrease in outdoor pauper numbers from 2.4% of the population to 1.7% between 1876 and 1893. Indoor numbers increased over the same period by 35% (31). A few Unions abandoned outdoor relief altogether, including Brixworth, Bradfield and

Whitechapel, while a Test Workhouse for a number of London Unions was established at Poplar in 1871, and others in Manchester and in Birmingham in 1881. An awareness was growing at this time, however, as to the involuntary and widespread nature of poverty. Historians have debated the exact timing of the development of this view, but it appears to have had its beginnings in the late 1860s and 1870s with the renewed insistence upon making distinctions between the deserving and undeserving, and gradually gained in acceptability until it culminated in the legislation of the Liberal governments of 1905 - 14, and the deliberations of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws of 1905-9 (32). With it went a growing criticism of the poor law as unfit to cope with poverty on a scale as revealed by for example, Mearns' The Bitter Cry of Outcast London 1883-4, by the Pall Mall Gazette, by William Booth, by the Christian Socialists and the founders of the settlement movement.

In the 1890s and 1900s the sociological surveys of Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree had particular impact in that they drew attention to a greater level of poverty in London and in York than had been appreciated by contemporaries (33). Historians since have differed as to the extent of any improvement in the living conditions of the poor in the late nineteenth century. Real wages rose between the 1870s and mid 1880s, benefiting from the falling prices of the Great Depression, and did not fall until the 1900s, while overall it has been maintained that there was a substantial improvement in the conditions of workers (34). Nevertheless, it has been argued by those who do not accept the "ameliorist" view of Victorian living standards, that the rising population, the uneven distribution of falling prices and the continuance of many of the factors that gave rise to poverty in earlier periods mean that there are considerable doubts as to the overall improvement in living standards (35). Certainly, there remained substantial numbers living in poverty, identified by Booth as 31% of London's population. Rowntree identified 28% living in primary and secondary poverty in York, and these findings were later supported by investigations in the 1900s in Reading, Northampton and Warrington (36).

The reasons for their poverty were also significant and had implications for the traditional categorisation of the able-bodied as "undeserving" poor. Rowntree's investigations showed that "almost 43% of those who were inadequately nourished were in this state because of circumstances over which they had little control", in that much poverty arose from low wages, unemployment on account of seasonal and casual work, technological innovation, or causes such as sickness, widowhood, large families or old age (37).

In the late 1880s and 1890s also ideas of what came to be known as national efficiency reinforced the view that the poor law was incapable of providing for all the various categories of the poor (38). Critics of the poor law increasingly emphasised the undesirable moral effects of herding together all categories of pauper, and the "contamination" that resulted from children, the aged and the sick being accommodated in the same institution as the loafers and habitual paupers.

The chronic unemployment of the 1880s irreparably damaged the ability of many respectable working men to maintain their independence by means of thrift, friendly societies and trade unionism. Amongst the less respectable, a series of riots such as that of Trafalgar Square in 1886, and in the East End of London in the same year, and the strikes of 1888 - 90 drew particular attention to the problem of poverty caused by unemployment, and elevated it to one of social disorder. The fear that socialism might gain more than a foothold amongst the poor, particularly as the new unskilled unions began to establish themselves amongst those who did have work, increased the willingness of Victorian society to view the poor in a different light (39). In the 1880s therefore the renewed conviction of the late 1860s and 70s that different types of pauper required differentiated treatment, developed into a recognition that the unemployed would have to be dealt with by policies other than those of the deterrent poor law, and possibly also by agencies other than the Boards of Guardians. In 1886 the Local Government Board issued

the Chamberlain Circular, urging local authorities to schedule necessary public works and to co-ordinate with the poor law to provide temporary, non-pauperizing work for the unemployed in periods of depression (40). The circular was issued five times between 1886 and 1893, and led eventually to the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905 and the Labour Exchanges of 1909. Distress committees and the provision of public works were rarely successful in alleviating the problems of depression, however, since the necessary funds and staff to administer them were often not forthcoming (41). Charities also attempted to provide schemes for the unemployed, such as training for a new trade, or agriculture (42), but they were treated with suspicion by the unemployed since they usually enquired closely into the backgrounds of applicants, as did municipal public works schemes, which owed much to the investigative methods of the distrusted COS.

The Local Government Board and the Boards of Guardians continued to maintain that the poor law could cope with unemployment, a belief confirmed by the Select Committees on Distress from Want of Employment, which sat in 1895 and 1896. A number of expedients were attempted, such as the farm colonies established by the Local Government Board at Felixstowe, or the "journeymen" scheme adopted by Ecclesall Union (43). In 1896 the Select Committee recommended relief without disenfranchisement to unemployed workmen, with relief works provided by the guardians, but its recommendations were ignored as an upturn in trade resulted in a temporary diminution of the problem. Jose Harris has shown how the confidence of the guardians and the Select Committees was misplaced, disregarding as it did the fact that since 1870 the poor law had not been a major source of relief for the unemployed, because genuine unemployed workmen feared the labour test which impaired their industrial skills and prevented them looking for work. Unemployment returned after the South African War, and with it steeply rising costs for which relief to the unemployed was blamed. In fact able bodied paupers accounted for less than one-fifth of indoor paupers, and most of these received relief because of

sickness or temporary disablement (44).

The LGB continued to discountenance the granting of outdoor relief to the able bodied, and for reasons of economy Boards of Guardians remained unwilling to maintain even the respectable unemployed and their families outside the workhouse. In a number of cases guardians refused to grant any of the unemployed deserving status, so that in the 1900s in Glasgow the involuntary unemployed were still being labelled as "undeserving" (45), although some were no doubt still maintained outside the workhouse on the sick registers. Even in Poplar where the ILP members Crooks and Lansbury entered the Board in 1893, outdoor relief was not offered to the able-bodied unemployed until the winter of 1904-5 when 24% of wage earners were out of work (46).

Fundamentally, therefore, although the worst effects of the "crusade" were limited after the mid-1880s there were few changes in the treatment of the unemployed, either as provided by the poor law or resulting from the intervention of the state, in the period before 1900. Other groups fared better, however, in the new climate which prevailed from the late 1880s onwards in the treatment of the deserving poor.

The "Deserving Poor"

1. The Aged

Booth and Rowntree had identified a number of causes of poverty, chief amongst which were low wages, unemployment and old age. The fates of those suffering from these three causes were closely linked - one of the first effects of low wages and unemployment was to render families unable to care for their aged relatives, and it has been asserted that it was this factor that caused the rise in pauper statistics at times of depression (47). From its inception in 1834 the New Poor Law had been somewhat ambivalent in its treatment of the aged. The new law stipulated that the principle of less eligibility

should not be applied to the deserving poor, amongst whom the aged were counted. In Gateshead the Assistant Commissioner urged the guardians to interpret the law liberally regarding the elderly married paupers, who should not be separated in the workhouse (48). However, thereafter the policy of Guardians tended to be to offer meagre allowances to the elderly on outdoor relief, or to make an offer of the House, in order to encourage relatives to take in their aged relatives, a policy which was widely adopted after 1870 under the "crusade". While aged married couples were allowed to have their own rooms within the workhouse, in 1863 180 of the 643 unions in England and Wales had made no special provisions (49).

In 1885 however the Local Government Board attempted to encourage special treatment for the elderly, advising that all aged married couples should have their own bedroom in the workhouses, while in 1891 and 1892 books, journals, tobacco and snuff were allowed. Against the background of debates as to the necessity for old age pensions, and the deliberations of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor of 1895 and of various select committees, circulars of 1895 and 1896 further relaxed deterrence for those on indoor relief, ending uniform time tables in the workhouses, giving the aged the freedom to leave the workhouse when they wished and to receive visits. In 1899 the Chaplin Committee recommended that the elderly be given outdoor relief wherever possible, adequate to their needs, while increased comforts and privileges were to be offered within the workhouses. In 1900 a Circular issued by the LGB authorised the giving of "adequate" outdoor relief to the elderly (50). In the Circular issued in 1911 the aged were specifically excluded from prohibition of outdoor relief, although by this time most were about to receive old age pensions.

To a considerable extent by the 1890s the central authority in relaxing deterrence for the aged was confirming existing practice in a number of unions, where public opinion had already forced guardians to introduce

benevolent treatment for the elderly. Two out of five in the population over 65 were paupers, as the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor found in 1895. Many regarded the concessions made by the Local Government Board to non-deterrent treatment of the elderly a sideline to the far more important discussions as to the feasibility and practicalities of the provision of state pensions.

2. Pauper Children

Another sizeable group of paupers were children under 16, whom the Webbs found constituted one third of all paupers at the time of the 1906-1909 Poor Law Commission (51). The Poor Law Commissioners and Board also attempted to ensure that children living in the workhouses received separate and non-deterrent treatment, but frequently workhouse children were accommodated with all classes of pauper in general mixed workhouses, and even in 1906 14,000 children were still living in workhouses. A number of expedients had been tried, sanctioned by the central authorities, in order to remove them from such institutional care. Kay-Shuttleworth had advocated the creation of district schools to accommodate children from a number of unions, and where the standard of their education could be assured - the only means, he believed, whereby children could escape from returning pauperism in later life. Although some such schools continued in the larger cities until the 1890s, the experiment with these "barrack schools" was largely discredited by the 1870s, following their condemnation by many observers, not least Mrs. Nassau Senior, on the grounds that they stifled children's individuality, they lacked provision for exercise and holidays, and spread disease (52). A number of unions tried boarding-out children - often a thinly disguised form of outdoor relief to the children's relatives - from the 1870s. Some of the barrack schools were divided into cottage homes (for example in Neath, and Birmingham in the late 1870s)

where groups of 20 - 30 children were accommodated on a single, separate site, while in the scattered homes of the 1890s in Sheffield children were grouped in similar numbers, but attended the local board schools, as did many workhouse children at this time. Others remained in the workhouses (including the "ins and outs" who came and went from the workhouse as much as 12 times a year), attending the workhouse schools, and from the 1890s their regime began to improve. A diminishing number of children were apprenticed, while others (who often had parents still living) joined emigration schemes - in the case of Southampton, to Canada.

Children on outdoor relief, living with their parents, received little attention from Boards of Guardians until after the passing of the Education Act of 1870. An Act of 1855 had empowered guardians to pay school fees, but few did so. In 1873 attendance at school was made a mandatory condition of outdoor relief for children. Even so many boards ignored the provision, or asked for it to be waived. Thereafter supervision of children receiving outdoor relief was patchy, and as in the case of the aged poor, the most important developments occurred beyond the poor law with the Education Acts of 1905 (and of 1914) and 1906 providing for school meals and medical inspection of children at school (53). In 1889 and 1899 guardians were authorised to adopt children who were in need of care, but the provisions were mostly applied to children who had been orphaned or deserted, rather than mistreated, while an Order of 1905 which empowered guardians to feed necessitous children was largely ineffective because it branded children as paupers. Finally, the Circular of 1911 prescribed closer supervision of the homes of children receiving outdoor relief, concerning diet, clothing, cleanliness and so on, and in 1913 children were prohibited from being in workhouses for more than six weeks.

3. The Sick

The early years of the New Poor Law saw the principle of less eligibility applied to the sick poor, for whom the minimum of care was to be provided, either on outdoor relief, or in workhouse sick wards, usually staffed by fellow paupers. Medical officers were restricted in the granting of relief by the authority of the relieving officers, and guardians would do nothing to alleviate the poor diets which were a major cause of sickness. Major changes came in the 1860s, however, with activities of the Workhouse Visiting Society after 1859, and the publicity given in the Lancet in 1865 to the appalling conditions for the sick in workhouses. In 1867 it was reported in Parliament that "workhouses, of a deterrent character, have been applied to the sick, who are not proper objects for such a system" (54) and Goschen sanctioned the extension of medical advice to all in 1870 (55). Also in 1867 the Metropolitan Poor Act provided for separate asylums for the sick, insane and infirm of London, with dispensaries for those on outdoor relief (56). The result of this was the establishment in London of poor law infirmaries and isolation hospitals which were to become, in effect "state hospitals", augmented by dispensaries, not only for paupers but also, following the Medical Relief Disqualification Act of 1885, the sick poor generally (57). Outside London things were slower to change, and some guardians continued to maintain that less eligibility should be applied to the sick. Gradually, however, major towns built their own workhouse infirmaries and isolation hospitals, apart from the main workhouse itself, while the insane were sent to County Lunatic Asylums or boarded out with relatives from 1889. The poor gradually came to see a distinction between the workhouse and the infirmary, and to seek treatment in the latter, greatly to the annoyance of some guardians still bent on strictest economy, but to the general approbation of the LGB Inspectorate. In 1902 the LGB officials agreed to the treatment of those who were receiving friendly society benefits, although they

continued to urge that medical treatment should only be given within institutions rather than at home. By 1913 most poor law inmates were those unable to care for themselves outside, either elderly, ill or children.

WORKHOUSE DESIGN

A standard for the distinctive treatment of different classes of indoor pauper, and by implication the more appropriate and better treatment of both the able bodied and the non-able bodied, exists in the designs for new workhouses. If aged paupers, children, the sick, the able bodied, the vagrants, were to be kept apart and treated differently, then the workhouses had to be so structured to make this possible, and by the 1870s this was starting to occur. Before this date general mixed workhouses had been built in most urban and rural unions, and clearly Boards were not likely to abandon them in favour of separate provision for the various classes of pauper. In most cases the central authority's campaign for differentiated treatment resulted in the building of separate pavilions on the same site, with the building of a separate infirmary in some cities, as occurred in Southampton in the 1890s. In London and some other major cities, however, the huge numbers involved resulted in the building of institutions on separate sites, while new workhouse designs after 1870 clearly show the central authority's intentions to separate the various classes of pauper (58). Over the years, furthermore, the character of the general mixed workhouses that remained also changed. While they had been established as institutions in which the unemployed would be encouraged to find work or to emigrate to an area where work was more plentiful, by the end of the century many had been transformed either into homes for the elderly, or into hospitals. M.A. Crowther gives the example of Bridge, in Kent, a rural union which in its early years was populated by unemployed labourers, but after the First World War was exclusively inhabited

by the aged and unmarried mothers. In Bromley, however, the workhouse became a hospital (59).

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT 1894

By the 1890s costs of poor relief nationally were beginning to rise steeply, largely as a result of improved treatment for the deserving poor. Pressures for increased expenditure came, as has been shown, from a number of quarters, not least from the LGB itself in the treatment of the deserving, but at the time the central authority and, later, writers on social policy attributed increased costs to the influence of working class guardians elected after 1894. The Local Government Act (60) abolished all qualifications for the guardianship except for one year's residence, and enfranchised therefore all resident men and women, and also male lodgers. The poor were disenfranchised to an extent by the Act's insistence upon twelve months' residence and personal registration. Workhouse inmates did not get the vote and nor could anyone who had received relief within the previous twelve months become a guardian. The expectation was, nevertheless, that this measure would result in the election of many more working class guardians and consequently a relaxation of deterrent principles. The LGB expected the new franchise to cause a "general bouleversement of accepted methods and doctrines" (61). The Webbs described the LGB Chief Inspector's view concerning the likelihood of the "the demagogic dispensation of relief" while Slater in 1935 said that the "instinctive hostility to the principle of less eligibility" on the part of working men was to have "notable effects" in dealing with unemployed men, and the principles of deterrence and the "rising force of democracy" were on a collision course (62). Anne Digby has also found that in East Anglia the Act resulted in "an increase in numbers of women and of working men on the boards; they helped to humanise conditions of the sick, the old, and the young in workhouses" (63).

However, there was no rush of new candidates to take part in poor law administration, according to Keith-Lucas (64) and any changes in poor law policy resulting from the election of working class guardians was of necessity gradual rather than sudden. The election of women guardians did result in some cases in increased vigilance on the part of visiting committees, and in the care of the sick and of children. Nevertheless, as McCord has shown, many working men, as small ratepayers, were wedded to economy, and opposed to poor law expenditure not only on these grounds, but also because of a belief in self-help and a dislike of the residuum (65). Deterrent aspects of the poor law remained even for favoured groups. By the 1890s although quantities in workhouse diets were far more generous than those of the labouring poor, the content was still disciplinary; sometimes even salt was not allowed on the table (66). No playing cards were permitted when regulations on books and newspapers for the aged were relaxed in the 1890s, and in 1913 visiting of the aged was only allowed on three days a week. Deterrence remained unabated in official policy furthermore, for those groups thought undeserving, notably unemployed able bodied single men, and particularly vagrants.

VAGRANTS

Vagrancy was a growing problem before the First World War. Between 1860 and 1908 vagrancy admissions nationally increased from 1,542 to 17,083 (67). The LGB attempted to impose uniform treatment of vagrants and guardians met in annual Poor Law Conferences from the 1870s to co-ordinate policy, although many Boards refused to co-operate with the imposition of expensive measures. From 1871 guardians were allowed to detain casual paupers until they had performed a morning's work, and from 1882 they could be kept in the workhouse for two nights, being released early on the third day in time to find work. Casual wards were to incorporate

severely deterrent work - oakum picking and stone breaking. Way tickets were introduced after 1867 specifying destination and casual wards along the vagrant's route, valid for one month's food and lodging, in an effort to control the problem and to prevent indiscriminate charity. Vorspan refers to official callousness and appalling conditions in some casual wards, while many tramps avoided the poor law in favour of doss houses, charities, the streets and prisons (68). Elsewhere, however, vagrants regarded workhouses as "Queen's mansions", and the Webbs described how deterrent conditions were regarded as attractive by the tramps, who were assured two nights under the same roof, while the genuine working man was thereby prevented from seeking work. From 1892 vagrants were allowed to leave early in the morning to help those genuinely anxious to find work, identified by the Webbs as two thirds of tramps in times of depression, one third at others (69).

THE POOR LAW IN CRISIS 1895-1914

Casual numbers began to rise sharply towards the end of the century with figures for 1900 twice those of 1885. This mirrored other worrying increases in pauper statistics so that while paupers only accounted for 2.4% of the population in 1900 (as opposed to 8.8% in 1834) (70) numbers on indoor relief were growing at a pace which considerably outstripped the fairly static outdoor relief figures. Thus, while indoor pauper numbers grew by 76% between 1871-2 and 1905-6, costs increased by 113% (71). Outdoor relief numbers fell by 25% from 1,032,800 in 1870 to 775,217 in 1890, to increase to 916,377 (88% of the 1870 level) in 1910 before dropping back to the 1890 level by 1914, with the introduction of old age pensions and the pre-war boom. Costs of outdoor relief increased by 32% between 1892 and 1905.

Therefore, by the early 1900s, both outdoor and indoor numbers and costs were rising, and yet investigations by campaigners such as Booth and Rowntree

were revealing a huge proportion of the population living in conditions upon which the poor law had no impact. Although the central authority and many guardians themselves, at annual conferences, remained convinced of the ability of the poor law to cope with the problems of poverty, increasingly social reformers looked to state-run collective solutions reaching well beyond the scope of the 1834 Act.

All these factors combined to bring about a national crisis of confidence in the administration of poor relief. The depression of 1903-5 saw the introduction of radical policies in Poplar and West Ham concerning the unemployed, while in Sheffield, Kensington and Manchester test workhouses were operated, with the LGB's thorough approval, to enforce deterrent principles. At the same time the Unemployed Workmen's Act of 1905 (72) was seen to be incompatible with the deterrent poor law, while failing to cope with problems of cyclical lack of work. The campaigns from many quarters for changes in the state's provision for the poor were of long-standing, while more recently the Boer War had given rise to acute concern about national efficiency and the health of potential recruits to the armed forces. With the creation of the new Liberal government of 1905, incorporating many politicians committed to New Liberalism, the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress was appointed in the same year.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE POOR LAWS 1905 - 1909

The Royal Commission was able to clarify and demystify much of the working of the 1834 Act, and to demonstrate the extent to which less eligibility was no longer applied to the deserving groups. At the same time, it also showed the lack of uniformity over the country in the treatment of the poor, the way in which they were at the whim of local guardians who might or might not be conscientious, corrupt, efficient or

excessively economical. The extent to which complementary services, both voluntary and state-run, had grown up alongside the poor law to meet its deficiencies was also demonstrated, and the system was condemned for failing to address the causes of destitution rather than simply attempting to relieve the consequences of it. The LGB itself was castigated in the Minority Report for failing to ensure adequate, uniform and differentiated treatment for deserving groups and for allowing "a rising tide of extravagance and corruption" (73).

The representatives of the LGB blamed increases in pauperism on the relaxation of the principles of 1834 and argued for the continuation of the system with less-eligibility firmly applied. Both the Majority and the Minority reports of the Commission, however, concluded that those principles had broken down, and were anyway inappropriate as a means of dealing with unemployment. They did not encourage the workshy to work, but simply to cadge from other sources, while the genuinely unemployed were not catered for in stone-yards which ruined their skills, and their families suffered. The Commission found that outdoor relief to the able bodied was rarely granted by guardians, but where it was given it was inappropriately applied since it rarely prevented continued or increased destitution. The refusal of relief to the able bodied rarely had the effect of increased support from relatives, adequate support from charities or of preventing the loss of what few personal possessions the paupers possessed. Instead the able-bodied remained pauperised, and their health deteriorated to such an extent that they became permanently chargeable to the authorities, where this might have been prevented had earlier remedial action been taken. Much the same, they concluded, applied to the outdoor treatment of the sick and to children on outdoor relief.

THE POOR LAW 1909-1914

With the Reports of the Poor Law Commission in 1909, therefore, the Act of 1834 stood condemned, and both the Majority and Minority Reports advocated wholesale and radical changes in the state's provision for the poor, with the institution of a new system which would be designed to be curative of destitution, rather than simply an agency of relief. The poor law's structure continued to exist however until after the First World War, while the Liberal government of the time tackled the various problems identified piece-meal through legislation establishing Labour Exchanges, Trade Boards, Old Age Pensions, and National Insurance. The guardians remained at their posts, therefore, and continued to administer the Act of 1834, defending their positions at annual conferences on the poor law (74).

There was a tightening up of administration by the Local Government Board in the period immediately before the war, in answer to the Commission's accusation that poor relief was loosely administered, with insufficient enquiries made by guardians as to individual circumstances. The most important provision to emerge was the 1911 Outdoor Relief Regulation Circular, which replaced those of 1844 and 1852. It provided for the granting of outdoor relief to able bodied men and their families, upon administration of a Labour Test (as had been the position in the majority of unions under the 1852 Order). A dossier was to be kept upon all paupers and their families, who in future were to be regarded as individual cases in need of appropriate treatment, with regular review - which could result in alterations and even cessation of relief. Treatment of the non-able bodied was changed with boarding out committees made mandatory in 1909 and increased boarding out of children following the Boarding Out Order of 1911, although many remained in workhouses, while also in 1911 regulations for the granting of outdoor relief to families with children were tightened. The practice of removing the sick from workhouse contacts

increased, as did the recruitment of nurses (pauper nurses had been forbidden by the LGB in 1897).

CONCLUSION

The nineteenth century poor law evolved from the beliefs of the Commissioners of 1834 into an operating institution, with many of the initial principles diluted by local administrators and conditions. Every area had its own idiosyncracies, which a local study is well suited to illustrate, but at the same time all Boards of Guardians, even those operating under Local Acts, as Southampton was, were in theory required to conform to the law in terms of their relief procedures. It is the extent to which local variations differentiated one area from another which forms the basis of any comparative local survey such as the present one, and this survey of the national poor law outlines a number of policy areas in which comparisons may be made. The treatment of paupers is one such area, including the response of the individual unions to the LGB's crusade against outdoor relief for the able bodied in the 1870s, and the extent to which local boards implemented the central authority's instructions to treat deserving groups separately. How did the Boards of Guardians of South Hampshire treat the different groups of the deserving, the aged, the children, the sick, lunatics; and how did guardians view the situation of the unemployed, and vagrants? The relationship between the Boards of Guardians in South Hampshire and the Local Government Board serves to illustrate the extent to which the guardians were able to guard their local independence, and that to which the LGB was able to enforce their wishes. The role of charity and pressure groups is a further area which can be examined, as can the extent to which the Local Government Act of 1894 had an impact upon elections, guardians and policy. The extent to which the guardians' views changed over time is another area in which national policy is reflected in the local - attitudes which applied in 1910

were in many ways different from those of 1870, and Southampton in particular had its own activists who were anxious to see reforms in the treatment of poverty of the kind demanded by the social reformers of the 1890s and 1900s, and those who opposed them, for a variety of reasons.

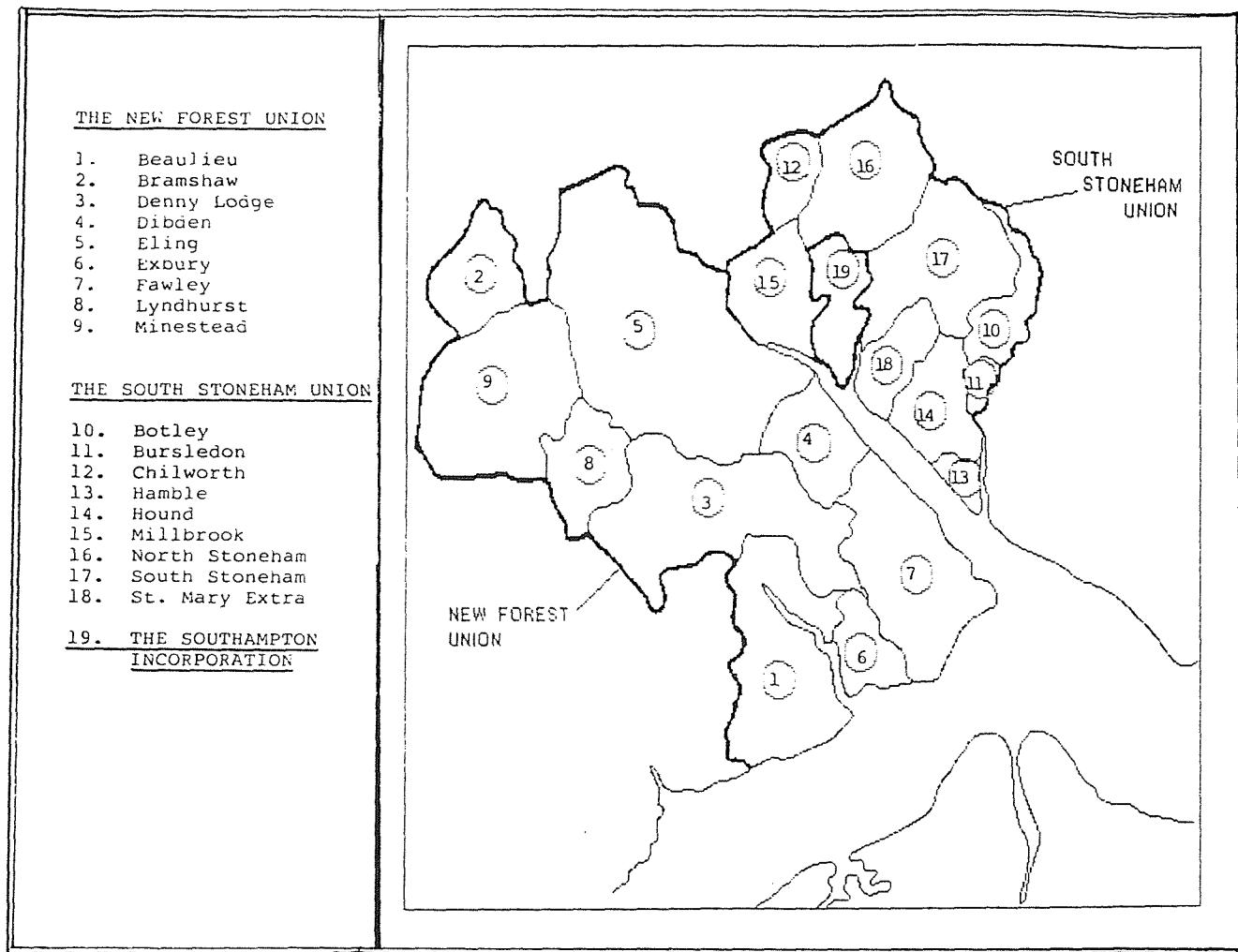
Attitudes to reform, economy and the treatment of paupers were bound up to a considerable extent in local politics, and the Boards of Guardians in the three unions to greater or lesser degrees played a part of local party rivalry. Local party politics illustrates also the extent to which the Boards of Guardians' affairs reached beyond poor law policy, however, so that the function of the present study is not simply to assess the way in which the poor law was administered in South Hampshire, but also to look at the role of the Boards of Guardians in local society. Thus the Guardians can be seen as a forum for pursuing local party rivalry, or exerting pressure for particular causes which were not necessarily central to the poor law, as a part of the social structure of their localities, and as a focus for the local ambition of those anxious to play a part in local administration. To assess the role of the guardians in its totality in a particular area, therefore, it is essential to look beyond the implementation of policy to who they were, and to identify them as individuals, with different backgrounds, preoccupations and interests.

CHAPTER 2THE SOUTHAMPTON INCORPORATION AND THE SOUTH STONEHAM AND NEW FOREST UNIONS

The three poor law areas of "South Hampshire" that make up the present study consist of the Incorporation of Southampton, and the Unions of the New Forest and South Stoneham. As their titles imply, the New Forest and South Stoneham Unions were created as a result of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, while the Southampton Incorporation was established as a result of a Local Act passed in 1772 (1). The three areas concerned bordered on each other, with the South Stoneham Union completely enclosing Southampton to the north and extending to the east along Southampton Water and the eastern Solent, while the New Forest Union covered a large portion of the New Forest area, with its eastern border marching alongside the western end of the South Stoneham Union, and then down the western side of Southampton Water. While Southampton was largely built over by 1870, and entirely so by 1914, the two Unions in 1870 were largely rural. South Stoneham was becoming more urban, however, and this period was to see the town expanding into the South Stoneham union area, particularly in the parishes that bordered upon the eastern side of Southampton Water.

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the local context for the study of the poor law and its guardians in South Hampshire, in terms of geography, populations, economic activity, local government organisation and party politics.

Map 1: The New Forest and South Stoneham Unions and their parishes, and the Southampton Incorporation, in 1870



Union boundaries are marked in heavy black lines.

In all three areas the populations were increasing over the period, as the following table indicates:

Table 2:1 - Populations (2)

	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
New Forest	13,496	13,221	13,986	14,600	16,373
South Ston'm	32,201	41,275	51,123	80,611	50,370*
Southampton	48,055	52,939	55,463	61,319	119,039*

* These figures refer to the period after the annexation of the parishes of Portswood and Shirley to Southampton from South Stoneham in 1909. The following table indicates the figures that would have applied to

Southampton and South Stoneham had Shirley and Portswood not been transferred to the town in 1908. It therefore gives a clearer picture of the respective population growth in these three areas over the period.

	<u>1871</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>
New Forest	13,496	13,221	13,986	14,600	16,373
South Ston'm	32,201	41,275	51,123	80,611	99,767
Southampton	48,055	52,989	55,463	61,319	86,096

Expressed as an index, taking the population of each union in 1871 as 100, the same figures are as follows (the final "Adjusted 1911 figure" is that reflecting the position had Shirley and Portswood not been transferred from South Stoneham to Southampton):

	<u>1871</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>Adjusted</u> <u>Figure</u>
New Forest	100	97	103	108	121	
South Ston'm	100	128	158	250	156	309
Southampton	100	110	115	127	247	179

The population of the New Forest shows the smallest growth - 21% over the 40 years between 1871 and 1911, a figure which undoubtedly reflects the migration of rural dwellers from the area. Southampton's population grew very rapidly - by 147% during the same period, but these figures are distorted by the addition of Shirley and Portswood to the Incorporation area in 1908, and a more accurate figure is that of 79% which would have been the case had the Incorporation's boundaries not been altered. In South Stoneham the population growth between 1871 and 1911 was 56%, and including Shirley and Portswood 209%, the most rapid in the area. Urban populations were being created here for the first time during the years covered by this study, and this factor was to have a considerable effect upon the character of the Union, and upon its local government, social and political structure.

THE NEW FOREST AND SOUTH STONEHAM UNIONS

The New Forest Union, the smallest in terms of population, was a largely rural area which possessed, at the beginning of this study, only one major centre of population. This was the parish of Eling, at the eastern end of the Union, bordering on the South Stoneham parish of Millbrook, and eventually to become a suburb of Southampton. Eling in 1871 had a population of 6,093, and by 1891 the parish still had under 7000 inhabitants, but this meant that it comprised nearly half the population of the whole Union. The parish consisted of a number of different villages, of which Totton was the largest, and formed, in 1875 "almost a continuous town with shipbuilding yards, breweries, timber wharves and other waterside business places". The town was in decline, according to the local Directory (3), which maintained in 1875 that "it has been a place of great commerce, particularly in the coal, timber and corn trades, but has been much reduced since the communication by railway from Southampton to Salisbury has been open". The 1871 census indicates that 14% of the New Forest's male population was engaged in industry, while the largest occupational group was the Agricultural, and that 10% of adult males were "labourers".

By the end of the period the village of Fawley was also growing in size, as was Lyndhurst. Nevertheless, these were not large places, and in 1871 their populations were 1,896 and 1,544 respectively, and they were still under 2000 in 1891 (1,950 and 1,867). The rest of the Union consisted of smaller villages and farms, while there were a number of large estates. Two of the parishes were in effect "closed" in that all the property was owned by one landowner, namely the Montagus in Beaulieu parish, and the Forsters, and later the Rothschilds, in Exbury.

South Stoneham Union was very much more populous than the New Forest and more diverse in its economic structure. It consisted of a number of rural parishes - Botley, Chilworth, North and South Stoneham and

Hamble, and some more urban ones closer to Southampton. To the east of the town lay Hound and St. Mary Extra, both of which were gradually becoming more populated, residential areas. St. Mary Extra later became the urban district of Itchen, with Woolston, an area of poverty and poor housing, further downstream. Portswood and Millbrook, closer to the town, were effectively its suburbs. Portswood was an area of "scattered merchants' villas and estates" in 1868, while Millbrook was growing as "streets of smallish houses" were built with "fields stretched between them" (4). Millbrook parish was better known by its constituent parts, namely Shirley and Freemantle, with the areas of Banister and Fitzhugh also claiming separate treatment in certain matters to do with drainage and water supplies. By the 1890s not only Hound and St. Mary Extra, but also South and North Stoneham were becoming more urban, as the suburb of Bitterne grew into South Stoneham and the villages of West End and Hedge End expanded, and the railway town of Eastleigh became established in North Stoneham. Kelly's Directory for 1899 reported that Eastleigh was a village, but by 1913 said that it has "grown immensely in the last few years, owing to the erection of the large carriage and locomotive works of the London and South Western railway, the place having risen from a mere village to an important town" (5).

Farming was the main occupation of the rural parishes, as it was also in the New Forest, while farmers and market gardeners gave way to more urban occupations in the suburban areas, and in Woolston and Itchen there were major shipbuilding works which were to suffer various vicissitudes during the years covered by this study. The 1871 census for South Stoneham shows that farming did not occupy the same prominence in the economy of the Union as a whole as it did in the New Forest. In the former only 19% of the adult male population was engaged in agriculture, while other occupations such as the professions, commerce and industry accounted for almost equal numbers.

The Local Government Act of 1894 brought a number

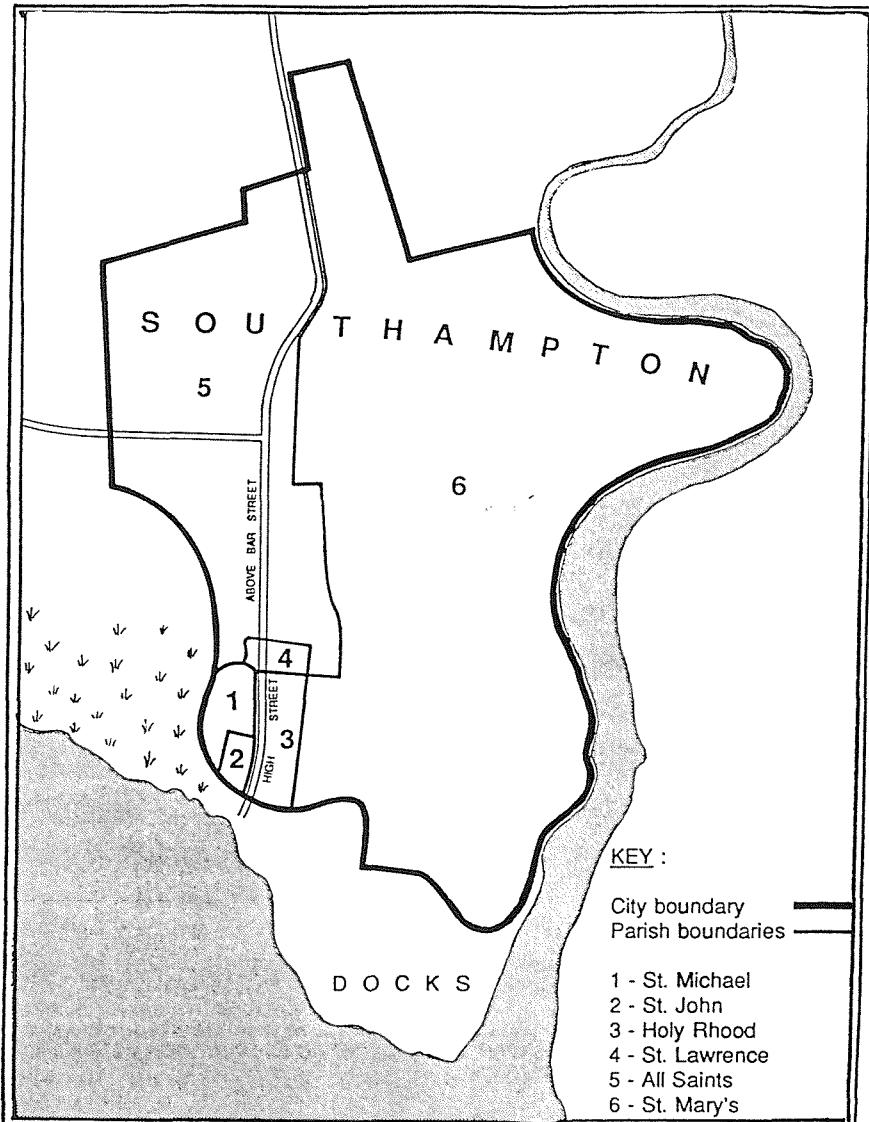
of changes to both the New Forest and the South Stoneham Unions in terms of parish organisation. In the New Forest Eling parish had been subdivided in 1833 to create the special sanitary district of St. Mary's Eling separate from Eling itself. In 1894 the relatively sizeable populations of the villages that made up the Eling parish were recognised and given their own representatives on the Board of Guardians. This created the new civil parishes of Marchwood, Colbury, Copythorne, Netley and Eling itself. In South Stoneham Shirley was separated from Millbrook, St. Mary Extra became Itchen, Hedge End, West End, Bitterne and South Stoneham were created out of the old South Stoneham parish, and Eastleigh separated from North Stoneham. Finally in 1909 the parishes of Shirley and Portswood were transferred to the Southampton Incorporation, at which point the Southampton Union came into being.

SOUTHAMPTON INCORPORATION AND UNION

The Southampton Incorporation consisted of the old parishes of the town, namely St. Lawrence, St. John, St. Michael's and Holy Rhood, all of which are grouped in the old High Street area to the south of the Bargate, with St. Mary's parish - a large area to the east and north of the High Street, Above Bar Street and The Avenue - and All Saints, the parish to the north and west.

Map 2:

The parishes
of the
Southampton
Incorporation
1772-1909



The four small parishes were densely populated and included some of the worst slums in the city, while also being the home of many of its most important businesses. All Saints was a more prosperous parish, where many of the city's well-to-do lived, as they did also in the more northerly parts of St. Mary's. St. Mary's was also an area that was being heavily built over in the later nineteenth century, but in 1870 its more northerly areas, Northam and Newtown, were still separated by open spaces. It was always the largest and most populous parish in the incorporation, with much of the town's poorest housing in its southern wards, and many ratepayers in St. Mary's were amongst the poorest in Southampton. St. Mary's poverty is illustrated by the following table, included in the letters of the Southampton Incorporation to the LGB in 1894,

enumerating the number of tenements in the various parishes (6):

Table 2:2 Tenements in Parishes of the Southampton Incorporation in October 1893

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Tenements</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Tenements</u>
All Saints	586	St. Mary No. 1 (Newtown)	336
Holy Rhood	80	St. Mary No. 2 (Nicholls Town St. Mary's)	713
St. John	69		994
St. Lawrence	6	St. Mary No. 4 (Northam)	433
St. Michael	146		

Equivalent wards of Southampton Council are given in brackets for the St. Mary's parochial subdivisions.

In 1894 the only changes made to the Incorporation were to divide St. Mary's into four electoral areas, while St. Lawrence and St. John, having been united for poor law elections, were divided, and St. Lawrence was combined with its neighbour, Holy Rhood. For the 1914 poor law election the old Incorporation parish boundaries and apportionment of guardians was abandoned in favour of a ward system based on that of the Council.

Southampton's economy was dominated by the docks augmented by numerous small workshops and industries. The 1871 census shows that the industrial class and the commercial constituted the largest groups in the town with approximately 30% of the male population in each group, with shopkeepers of various kinds accounting for a further 16%. The labouring class amounted to 13% of the adult male population, many of whom were casual workers (7). Casual employment caused great problems at times of economic distress, and was blamed for the town's inability to cope with the unemployed during such periods. A report on Southampton's poor in 1905-6 commented that "If it were not for the casual dock labour it would not be impossible to deal with unemployment in Southampton in times of stress" (8).

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ORGANISATION

In the New Forest the Board of Guardians shared authority in the area with a small number of parochial boards. These included school boards which were created in the eastern parishes of Fawley and Eling in the latter part of this period, and burial boards in Lyndhurst and Eling, and the parish councils after 1894. There were, however, no other official organisations whose power matched that of the Guardians. This is in contrast to South Stoneham and Southampton, in both of which other organisations also possessed wide powers over similar areas, such as the borough Council of Southampton, boards of health and urban district councils. After 1894 all the guardians of the New Forest became rural district councillors, while before this date they had also served as the Sanitary Board following the Public Health Act of 1875 (9). Although they were two separate bodies, in the New Forest the guardians were almost invariably also waywardens on the local Highway Board, so that the newspaper was able to comment in 1893 that "Guardians are also members of the Highway Board, and they were re-elected as waywardens at the large vestry meeting held ... last Tuesday", and this would have facilitated the employment and payment of paupers from the Highway Rate, as described in Chapter 1 (10). The guardians were responsible for school attendance under the Elementary Education Act 1876 (11), vaccinations (12) and registrations and the appointment of the registrar (13). The New Forest Board exemplifies to the fullest degree of all the Boards of Guardians in South Hampshire the extent to which they were an "all purpose administrative agency which accumulated functions largely because it was universally available", as Derek Fraser has described the role of rural Boards of Guardians (14).

In the South Stoneham Union the Board shouldered many of the same responsibilities, but here there were gradually established a number of bodies which meant that the guardians did not have such wide-ranging powers as applied in the New Forest. Portswood came under the Southampton Board of Health and Council, and therefore

the South Stoneham Sanitary Board was not responsible for it, while Shirley (most of Millbrook parish in effect) also had its own Local Board of Health. In 1894 this was transformed briefly into the Shirley UDC, before being subsumed into Southampton Council in 1895. Thereafter the Southampton Incorporation campaigned to take over Portswood and Shirley so as to make the poor law boundaries "co-terminous" with those of the Council (and obtaining considerable financial advantage at the same time in terms of vastly increased numbers of ratepayers in areas of low pauperism), achieving their aim in 1908.

In Hound and St. Mary Extra school boards were established respectively in 1874 and 1878, and one was also set up in South Stoneham and another in Eastleigh in the 1890s. Eastleigh achieved its own Local Board of Health in 1893 which was transformed into an Urban District Council in 1896, and a UDC was also set up in Itchen in 1898.

This considerable variety of local boards meant that the South Stoneham guardians did not enjoy the same degree of local authority as did those of the New Forest. The guardians were also the sanitary board for most of the union before 1894, but when the Local Government Act was passed guardians for the rural parishes of Botley, Hamble, Bursledon, South and North Stoneham and Chilworth also became Rural District Councillors, while those for the suburban and urban areas remained simply guardians. In addition the Highway Board in South Stoneham was a completely separate institution and, unlike in the New Forest, election as a waywarden did not mean that an individual would also become a guardian or vice versa.

In Southampton the Board of Guardians shared local responsibility with the Council, many of whose members were able to sit as ex-officio guardians before 1894, as were the local magistrates, in common with those in Unions created in 1834. In addition, Southampton possessed its own School Board from 1872, so the Board of Guardians was responsible for the administration of

the poor law, while many of the responsibilities of rural unions were vested in these other authorities in the city. It still possessed the same powers over vaccinations, however, and it also enjoyed an uneasy relationship with the Board of Health over the management of isolation hospital facilities for paupers, a particularly sensitive issue in a port where migrants might bring infectious diseases from overseas.

While the Boards in the two unions were securely under the authority of the Local Government Board, the status of Southampton's Incorporation, having been formed under a Local Act, was less clear cut. In the 1850s 12 of the country's most populous parishes were administered under Local Acts, but their autonomy was gradually being whittled away by court decisions and also by a series of Acts in 1843, 1847 and 1867 which eroded local exemptions (15). Under Section 39 of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 the Poor Law Commissioners could issue regulations to local act incorporations in matters of relief, and had the power also to force their dissolution (16). Southampton, in company with various other local act incorporations, had accepted the authority of the Poor Law Board in the 1850s and by the 1870s was in constant touch with the LGB's inspectors.

THE CONTEXT OF LOCAL PARTY POLITICS IN SOUTH HAMPSHIRE

The conduct of party politics and the way in which it affected the Boards of Guardians in these three areas differed enormously. In Southampton there was considerable rivalry locally between the Conservatives and Liberals in the earlier part of this period, while later on Radicals, "Progressives", Labourites, Socialists and Ratepayer parties became active. The Conservatives gradually came to dominate local representation, although not the parliamentary. In South Stoneham and the New Forest the parties' activities were less noticeable, but in general in the country areas the Conservative party predominated, with challenges from other groups on various occasions.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the Conservative ascendancy was subject to challenge from various different political groupings in these two unions. The increasing urbanisation of such districts as Bitterne, Itchen and Eastleigh in the South Stoneham Union, and Eling in the New Forest, also had an effect on local party activity, with firstly the Liberals and then later, Ratepayer, and in South Stoneham, Labourite groups becoming more active.

Southampton - the Standing of the Parties

In Southampton the town was divided politically in the early years of this study, both in national and municipal politics, between Liberals and Conservatives. At local level both parties were active, with established ward and central organisations in the 1870s and with the newspapers devoting more space in their columns to political meetings and attendances. Southampton was a two member borough and Appendix 1, which sets out the various MPs for Southampton and South Hampshire between 1870 and 1914, shows that until 1906 the Conservatives usually had at least one MP representing the borough, if not two (the exception being the years 1880-2).

The Conservatives experienced problems with a growing radicalism in their party, although they were rarely as divisive as those of the Liberals. They usually chose candidates associated with the town's commercial interests (e.g. Alfred Giles MP 1878-80, 1885-92 consulting engineer to the Dock Company. Sir Barrington Simeon MP 1895-1906 director of the South Western Railway Company). In the 1892 election however, Tankerville Chamberlayne, a local landowner, stood as an independent Conservative following a quarrel with the local party. He was president of the Beaconsfield Club (the Conservative working-men's club) and had a considerable sympathy for and following amongst working men, as a result of which he topped the poll at the election and at those of 1895 and 1900. The Conservatives benefited from the Redistribution Act of 1885 (17) by the extension of the borough boundaries

to include the suburban areas surrounding the town (Freemantle, Shirley, Bitterne, Itchen and Woolston were the most important areas), and also from the divisions nationally and locally in the Liberal Party.

The Liberals of Southampton were riven by internal disputes between moderates and radicals, as they were elsewhere as social questions loomed larger on the national agenda. David Powell has described the difficulties the Liberals had in attempting to reconcile their traditional views and sympathies with the claims of an "increasingly class-conscious Labour movement" and the problems of achieving electoral unity experienced by Southampton Liberals provide a local example (18). In Southampton the moderates tended to favour the election of MPs representing shipping and other major commercial interests while the radicals increasingly preferred candidates who would support policies of social reform. The Reform Act of 1867 (19) had admitted a substantial number of working class voters which benefited the Liberal Party (20) and while it was usually possible for the Southampton Liberals to agree on one candidate, who would often have a connection with the shipping and mercantile interests of the port (21), the selection of the second was to become increasingly problematic in the 1890s. The second candidate in 1892 was Charles Burt who declared himself to be "in thorough sympathy with the efforts of the working class" (22) and it became common thereafter for the demand to be made that the second candidate should be a representative of working men. In 1893 the question first arose as to whether to form a separate Labour association, and in 1894 the radicals broke away from the main party when they chose their first parliamentary candidate in Ramsay Macdonald, who was adopted as candidate for the election of 1895 by the Gladstone Liberal and Radical Working Men's Club. Club members formed a Labour Electoral Association in 1894.

Labourite groups at local elections in the 1890s and 1900s made slow progress, fielding only a small number of candidates. The Fabians and the ILP were small organisations with few meetings but the SDF

was well organised in the town (23). By 1906 they were in a controlling position in some local trade unions, including the Seafarers, and also dominated the Trades Council by this time. The Liberal Southampton Times commented in 1906 that "The Labour movement in Southampton is governed by the members of the SDF, who have declared war to the death upon Liberalism" (24). Nevertheless, socialism had insufficient supporters in Southampton to have an impact at national elections. In 1906 the Liberal "Progressives" were unwilling to support Harry Quelch, the Labour candidate, who stood on a broad programme of social reform with the backing of the Southampton Trades Council (25). Two Liberals were therefore fielded at this election, against two Conservatives, with Mr. Quelch standing in addition. He came bottom of the poll while the Liberals held both seats in this year of national Liberal landslide, and for the rest of the period. Later the career of Mr. T. Lewis, a prominent local politician, as a national candidate for Southampton was shortlived in 1910 because as a socialist he failed to mobilise sufficient votes.

After 1890 a number of parties or pressure groups made their appearance at local level. In 1892 the Gladstone Liberal and Radical Working Men's Club mentioned above began to comment upon the poor law administration and to campaign generally in the interests of radical policies. Their members were mostly Liberals and Radicals and sometimes members of the SDF. In 1890 a Trades Council was established which with the ILP and others supported the Labour Representation Committee and later Party after 1900. Sometimes the word "Labour" is used before 1900 to describe candidates at local elections (as in 1892 when eight "Liberal, Radical and Labour" candidates stood in St. Mary's (26)) and in 1892 a Labour candidate was elected for the School Board, with the first Social Democrat elected to the Council in 1894. After 1900 the Labour groups were increasingly independent of the Liberals, although co-operation was frequently urged to stop the Conservatives sweeping the board. Fabians, the ILP and the SDF were also active, and there was a considerable overlap in terms of membership of these

various groups, as one might expect (27). The Liberal Southampton Times in the 1890s urged them to combine for fear of letting the Conservatives in at local elections, as occurred when D.C. Bicker-Caarten and J.C. Burbage split the "Progressive" vote, allowing in a Conservative at the guardians' election in 1893.

The Labourites took some time to establish themselves in municipal party politics in Southampton, and only achieved significant numbers of councillors and guardians in the years immediately before the First World War. While an SDF member became a councillor for three years in 1894, it was not until 1901 that a continuous run of Labour members became established, amounting for the most part to under 10% of councillors until 1912, when their numbers rose to 14%. The first Labourite guardian (T. Lewis) was not elected until 1905, and numbers remained negligible until 1914 when they rose to seven (29).

The newspaper's fears about the effects of Liberal divisions upon Conservative fortunes were well founded, and it continued to deplore the opposition of Liberal candidates by radicals in local elections in the 1890s and 1900s (30). Towards the end of the period covered by this study the Conservatives came to dominate local representation in the town, on the Council and the Board of Guardians. It was not only the divisions in the Liberal Party that were responsible for this however. J.H. Bulmer in her study of the introduction of Liberal social reforms in Southampton from 1906-1914 has formed the view that attitudes in Southampton remained substantially of the "laissez faire" variety. Liberal reforms were not opposed, but neither were they welcomed enthusiastically in the town. The movement away from the Liberals in the 1890s and 1900s, at a time when they were divided over social reform and later when they became national advocates of it, no doubt reflected this lack of enthusiasm (31). In addition, the inclusion of the suburban wards of Shirley and Portswood within the town for municipal elections from 1895, and poor law elections from 1908, also assisted the Conservatives.

This growing Conservatism in local politics was in direct contrast to the success of the Liberal candidates in the 1906 general election, and they were re-elected in 1910. The reason for this lies in the fact that social reform played a very small part in the election of 1906 in Southampton, and only a slightly larger one in 1910, when some of the Liberal reforms had been enacted. The dominant issue in the 1906 election in Southampton, as elsewhere, was tariff reform. In Southampton's case this was of immediate significance in that it was argued that the docks would suffer if free trade was jeopardised. The Liberal candidates therefore played down social reform in both these elections, especially the first one, aware that in Southampton it was not a vote winner, and that Liberalism in the town had been damaged by the divisions it engendered within local party ranks (32).

Nonconformity and Temperance were thriving aspects of the town's political life. Southampton Liberals were in the forefront of the campaign to amend the Education Bill of 1870 and the Nonconformists later matched the Anglican groups for control of the School Board from 1871. Temperance from the 1870s until well into the 1900s was a keenly disputed issue at some general elections (33) and also on the Board of Guardians, making its presence felt not only in workhouse policy but also over public house rating.

The word "Ratepayers" was used frequently in Southampton during this period to describe a number of individuals of different party feelings. The first mention of the Ratepayers Party occurs in St. Mary's in 1887, but it is clear that this was a short-lived "front" for the Liberals of this parish. Later on, in 1894 Liberals and Conservatives combined to form the Southampton Ratepayers Association (34), and in 1902 they renamed themselves the Municipal Reform Association - a similar name to that used elsewhere by ratepayers' groups formed in order to campaign for the limitation of the rating burden (34). They did not have a very significant impact upon local Southampton politics - two members became guardians before the RPA was founded, but

one, S.J. Vincent, was elected guardian in 1902. Four members later became councillors, occasionally standing as independents, while their president was a candidate for the council on a number of occasions. Their limited success may have been because their policies were very similar to those of the Conservatives in Southampton during this time (35). Later still another Ratepayers Party emerged following the annexation of Portswood and Shirley, and most of the guardians for these two areas sitting on the Southampton Board stood in the name of Ratepayers, although most were in fact Conservatives.

Finally the independent representative appeared in the 1900s, and from 1898 the Board of Guardians had an independent guardian, and from 1902 independent councillors were also elected. Political independence on the Board of Guardians was linked with women guardians exclusively at this time, the Southampton voters rejected women with party labels in the 1890s when they stood as ILP candidates, but in 1898 elected a female independent and in 1907 she was joined by another, until there were 5 women guardians by 1914 (37).

In Southampton therefore local party politics developed from a two party state to one in which after the 1890s challenges were increasingly coming from the left of the Liberal party, while Ratepayers and independents were also having a small impact. In the two Unions the situation is both more clear cut in terms of the domination of the areas by one party - the Conservatives - but also complicated by peculiarly local phenomena. In South Stoneham the multiplicity of local representative bodies resulted in the creation of numerous ratepayers groups, some of which masked Conservative and Liberal activities, others having a geographical representative function. In the New Forest ratepayers and commoners groups were created representing a rather older and more traditional state of affairs, but also reflecting the challenge from the Liberals for at least one of the parishes of the union.

Party Politics in the New Forest 1870 - 1914

The area of the New Forest was, to judge by parliamentary elections held during the period, a Conservative bastion. The parliamentary constituency in 1870 was that of South Hampshire which before 1885 was a very large area covering most of the southern half of the county. After 1885 it was divided, but the frontiers of the new constituency (the South Western Division of Hampshire) still extended considerably beyond the borders of the Union (38) and was solidly Conservative throughout the period until the Liberal landslide of 1906. It was held until 1885 by Lord Henry Scott, and then by Mr. H. Compton, both local men. In the by-election of 1905 the Southampton Times maintained that Sir Robert Hobart of Hythe, the Liberal candidate, had a strong following in the south and west of the constituency (an area encompassing the New Forest Union), while elsewhere the Conservatives and Unionists predominated (39). The Conservative Party had faced Liberal challenges in 1885 and 1892 but at subsequent elections the Conservative candidates had been unopposed until the by-election of 1905 caused by the Hon. John Scott-Montagu's inheritance of his father's peerage. On this occasion H.F. Compton, son of the H. Compton who had held the seat in the 1880s, narrowly retained the seat by a majority of 199 votes. This slender victory however, was converted into one for the Liberals by 48 votes in 1906 after a record poll of 92%. In 1910 the Conservatives won back the seat by over 2,000 votes.

Figures for the general elections in the New Forest between 1885 and 1905 indicate the strength of Liberalism in the area and the extent to which the 1906 vote was occasioned by the loss of Scott-Montagu as a popular, twice-unopposed local candidate, augmented by the controversy over Free Trade v. Protection:

Table 2:3 New Forest Parliamentary Elections 1885 - 1906

1885	H. Compton (C)	4281	Bompas (L)	3511	
			Conservative majority	770	
1886	H. Compton (C)	u/o			
1892	Lord John Scott Montagu (C)	4481	King (L)	3726	
			Conservative majority	755	
1895	" " " "	" "	u/o		
1900	" " " "	" "	u/o		
1905	H.F. Compton (C)	4539	Sir R. Hobert (L)	4340	
			Conservative majority	199	
1906	Sir R. Hobart (L)	4949	H.F. Compton (C)	4901	
			Liberal majority	48	
1910	W.F. Perkins (C)	u/o			

In the 1880s and 90s the Conservatives had a comfortable margin of 20% more votes than the Liberals, but by the 1900s this had declined. After the first election in which he stood however, Lord John Scott-Montagu was unopposed, so clearly the Liberals could not always mount a challenge - particularly not against a popular local candidate such as Scott-Montagu. However, in the Free Trade versus Protection atmosphere of 1905 and 1906 the gap narrowed and disappeared altogether. The agricultural nature of the New Forest was an important factor in this Liberal victory, in that the New Forest farmers had a direct interest in cheap imported corn in order to feed their livestock (40). The reversion of the Guest family of Wimborne in Dorset (just beyond the Forest boundary) to the Liberals over free trade entailed the loss of many tenants' votes to the Conservatives, according to F.M.L. Thompson (41). In the 1906 election it is clear that local Conservatives were thoroughly split over the free trade issue in the South Hampshire constituency, and the Hon. Evelyn Ashley withdrew the support he had given to Mr. Compton in 1905, taking presumably a number of Romsey votes with him. Ashley was a Freetrader, Compton a half hearted Protectionist. This withdrawal may have been crucial given the Conservative depleted majority in 1905. Clearly Compton was not such a popular candidate as Scott-Montagu, and he did not stand for the seat

again.

The elections of 1905 - 6 indicate that the Liberal votes in that year were to a degree the result of a special set of circumstances, rather than indicative of very strong support for the Liberals. Nevertheless, in South Stoneham, the swing to the Liberals was not strong enough to overturn the Conservatives in 1906, so the underlying support for the Liberals in the New Forest was clearly such that it could be built upon for this victory in a way that did not happen in the adjacent Southern Division constituency.

At a more local level the Conservatives dominated the county council elections from 1889. The area was divided into three seats for the these elections, Lyndhurst, Eling and Fawley, and all were held by the Conservatives throughout the period. In 1888 the County Council elections were not contested, but in 1895 Liberal Radicals stood in both Lyndhurst and Eling, unsuccessfully. Subsequently the county council elections were rarely contested and the seats were held entirely by the Conservatives.

Liberalism in the New Forest therefore was not in general a powerful force during the period covered by this study, yet the Conservatives could not afford to be too complacent, particularly in view of the fact that the Liberals were strong enough to take the parliamentary seat in 1906. Conservative organisation had begun at least in the 1870s - in April 1876 six Conservative associations existed in the Forest, including those in the parishes of Minstead, Lyndhurst and Bramshaw, while in Totton a J.P. and ex-officio guardian was chairman and an elected guardian secretary (42). A Liberal organisation was not created however, until the General Liberal Association of the New Forest was formed at Hythe in September 1885, and in the General Election of 1886, despite the fact that the M.P., Mr. Compton, had a walkover, a Liberal "van" toured the area. Thereafter the New Forest Liberal Association had its headquarters in Romsey. Liberalism, such as it was in the New Forest Union, was associated

with the eastern end of the area, that closest to Southampton, where commuters to and from Southampton were becoming established (43).

At the local level Liberal candidates stood at more elections than at county or national level, but Appendix 5 indicates the extent to which the Conservatives dominated the Board of Guardians. Although the politics of 60% of those who served between 1370 and 1914 are not known, of those who can be identified 49 out of 54 elected guardians (90%) were Conservatives (44). Nevertheless, at the Board of Guardians' elections Liberalism's presence was being felt to a degree in the late 1880s. In April 1886 (45) a report in the Southampton Times linked the South Stoneham and New Forest Unions together for the first time to discuss prospects for the forthcoming guardians' elections, and there were Liberal challenges in this year and in 1891, 1892, 1894, and 1899 (46), and the area had a Liberal district councillor between 1899 and 1910. Elsewhere at guardian and district council level the Conservatives were unchallenged, except in Lyndhurst where a Ratepayers Association was formed in 1907 over the issue of the town's drainage.

The Conservative ascendancy at local level in the New Forest Union was not seriously endangered, however, during the period of this study. Those prominent in local politics were almost invariably Conservative. Amongst the lists of attendances and officers at the Conservative party annual meetings and ward meetings can be found the names of virtually all the JPs for the area, and therefore almost all the ex-officios on the Board of Guardians (47). Conservative ward association meetings are reported frequently in the press, and the challenge from other parties at local level was limited to that in the waterside villages of Eling, Dibden and Fawley, and Lyndhurst. Furthermore, as will be seen, such challenges usually depended, as did that of the Ratepayers Association in Lyndhurst, upon the existence of local issues and personalities for their success, and were not made simply for the sake of asserting a party presence. On the whole the Liberals reserved their

energies chiefly for the parliamentary elections where, assisted by areas outside the guardians/district council area, they were more successful at any rate in 1906.

However, in the New Forest there was an added dimension to local politics which did not exist elsewhere, and had its roots in the system of land tenure peculiar to the area. The passing of the New Forest Act in 1877 (48) had resulted in the reconstitution of the Court of Verderers as the organisation representing the Forest's commoners, with the power to levy dues or rates upon commoners' properties. For many they were the focus of local authority following a long battle with the Crown over enclosures in the middle of the century (49). Only those with 75 acres of freehold land or more could stand for election. In effect the office was only held by large and often titled landowners, and almost invariably they were Conservatives, although party does not appear to have entered into their election. For example, in one of the rare contested Verderers elections, that of 1890, a Conservative, W.C.D. Esdaile, and a Liberal, Briscoe Eyre, both stood with the support of Lord Montagu, formerly a Conservative MP (50).

In the 1860s two organisations had been founded in the Forest to press for an Act of Parliament to protect the rights of the commoners against the Crown. These organisations were the New Forest Association (with a Conservative secretary in W.C.D. Esdaile, a substantial landowner) and the Commoners' Defence Association, led by the Liberal G.E. Briscoe Eyre, and set up according to F.E. Kenchington to promote the interests of the smaller commoners and "somewhat radical in spirit" (51). In 1875 a meeting of the Defence Association was attended by large numbers of guardians, opposing the threat to commoners' rights contained in the government's plans for the Forest (52). The Act of 1877 contained substantial changes as a result of such lobbying, which preserved many of the New Forest commoners' ancient rights (53). By the 1900s the New Forest Association represented the south western area of the Forest, while a new Commoners' League was

established in 1896 to cover the northern and central areas. In 1899 it was extended to cover the entire area. There was also a Commoners' Committee which contained spokesmen "from all four areas of the Forest" (54) which had the right to attend Verderers meetings, and to speak on issues with the aim of "bringing about a better feeling between the Commoners and the Verderers and of making the wants and views of the former better known to the latter" (55). The League, Committee and Verderers campaigned together against the Military Manoeuvres Bill of 1896 and the Crown Enclosures Bill of 1899, both of which threatened commoners grazing rights, and had the support of the Commons Preservation Society, a national body which was said to have been instrumental in the creation of the League.

However, the Commoners' League also saw itself as the representative of the less wealthy commoners of the Forest against the wealthy landowners and relations between the League and the Association were not always smooth. In 1896 Lord Montagu attempted to bring about a reconciliation between the League and the New Forest Association, which G.E. Briscoe Eyre had accused of being a body which only cared for the commoners' rights of the large landowners. In 1900 the League wanted to put up its own candidate for the Verderers election, but was prevented by the clerk who said they would have to pay the costs of a poll. The League accused the Verderers of being a virtually "self-elective body" because of the high qualifications for election and the Court's power to co-opt members, while "the payment of the expenses of an election practically from the head money of the commoners" favoured the existing class of membership (56). Pasmore (57) refers to the Verderers as "A court of reactionary landowners with substantial vested interests in the maintenance of common rights". On occasions however, the League was more successful and a Mr. J. Jeffery, a League member, Conservative JP and landowner (maybe this was why he was acceptable to the Verderers?) sat as a Verderer for a number of years.

Forest Defence Association) clearly saw itself, therefore, as the pressure group on behalf of the less privileged New Forest commoners. It was not a party organisation, however. One of its founders was R.W.S. Griffith, a Liberal (and chief chemist of the Schultz Gunpowder Company's factory at Eyeworth), but its vice-chairman and Secretary was F.J. Strange, a farmer, a guardian and a Conservative.

Forest Commoners' politics played an important part in the background to the New Forest Board of Guardians and District Council. Members of the Verderers were often magistrates and thus ex-officio guardians. Some guardians were League and later Defence Association members, including the secretary F.J. Strange, and G.E.B. Eyre. The concerns of the commoners created a community of interest in the complaints that all of them, whether large landowners or small, had against the Crown, but they were also responsible for tensions between the various groups, particularly the New Forest Association and the League.

Party Politics in South Stoneham 1870 - 1914

Conservatism was the traditional party of the South Stoneham Union as it was in the New Forest, but here the expansion of Southampton permeated more than one parish of the Union, and resulted in a more varied pattern of party representation in the South Stoneham area than in the New Forest.

In terms of the parliamentary constituency it has already been mentioned that the South Stoneham area was split from the New Forest in 1885, and became the western end of its new constituency (the Southern division of Hampshire) which included Winchester and extended as far east as Gosport. In contrast to the New Forest, this seat was retained by the Conservatives throughout the period, although in 1906 the majority of the existing MP was cut from 3,547 (in a total poll of 11,203) in 1900 to just over 1000 votes. It was on this

occasion that the Conservative Hampshire Advertiser commented that "the rising urban districts" of Gosport and Eastleigh might be sufficient to "turn the scale" against the sitting M.P. Mr. Lee (58). Nevertheless, the Conservatives of the constituency were capable of bringing out sufficient votes when the need arose and the strength of the party is indicated by the fact that, while tariff reform spelt disaster for the Conservatives in Southampton and the New Forest, the constituency which included the South Stoneham Union managed to retain its existing MP.

At county level the Conservatives held most of the seats in the area during the whole period from 1889 to 1914. When the county council elections were held for the first time there were five seats within the South Stoneham Union area, and of these all were held by the Conservatives with the exception of Shirley and Freemantle, where the Liberals fielded J. Lemon, a prominent Liberal and ex-Mayor of Southampton. In 1897 the Liberals used another ex-mayor (Colonel Edward Bance) to win the parish (and county council ward) of South Stoneham, the area to the east of Southampton which was becoming increasingly built over. However, in neither ward was Liberalism sufficiently entrenched, and in 1900 the Conservatives won South Stoneham back again and retained it until the end of the period, just as they won Shirley and Freemantle in 1894. Elsewhere in the Union area the Liberals were not successful until 1910, when they gained both wards in St. Mary Extra (the parish had been split into Itchen Pear Tree and Itchen, Sholing and Woolston in 1903) (59). Thus in the county elections the Liberals, wielding prestigious candidates, only successfully challenged the Conservatives in the urban areas of the South Stoneham Union. However, there were a number of contested elections in the more rural areas - notably in Millbrook in 1895, South Stoneham in 1898 and 1910, and Hound in 1910, so the Conservative hegemony was under more obvious attack here than it was in the New Forest - despite the fact that they managed to retain the parliamentary seat in the Free Trade election of 1906.

As the county elections indicate, party politics in the area was fundamentally that of a Conservative - Liberal rivalry, with the Conservatives at parliamentary and county level very much in the majority. At parish and union level however, particularly in the urban areas of the Union, the Liberals were rather more successful. Appendix 4 gives figures for those guardians whose party affiliations are known (42% of the total), most of whom came from the urban and suburban parts of the Union (Millbrook, St. Mary Extra, Portswood). The Conservatives were by far the largest party on the Board in South Stoneham, but the Liberals were present in greater numbers than in the New Forest, both in percentage and numerical terms. Ward organisations were established first by the Conservatives as an extension of those of Southampton, and in the rural areas the only mention of organised party activity throughout the period is that of the Conservatives. After 1878 however, the Liberals were strong competitors in the Hound and St. Mary Extra parishes (Woolston and Itchen). At a parish level the traditional party battle was often conducted not under the names Conservative and Liberal, but in those respectively of the "Church" and of the "Ratepayer Interest". Ratepayers' parties occur in two guises - as another name for Liberals and Nonconformists in St. Mary Extra and Eastleigh (where their opponents were the "Church" party, at School Board elections), and as the champions of geographical areas within South Stoneham and Millbrook parishes.

As in Southampton the "Labourites" only became active in the South Stoneham Union by the end of the period. Labour Representation Councils were established in Eastleigh (by the local ILP) and Bitterne in 1913 (60), while in Woolston, Itchen and Shirley Labour candidates successfully contested local ward elections for Southampton Council and Itchen UDC between 1907 and 1914 (61).

CONCLUSION

In terms of geography and demography the present

study is concerned with three increasingly populated areas, but areas which differed in most other respects. Economically Southampton was a diverse commercial city, while the New Forest was still primarily agricultural, populated by farmers, labourers and landed gentry. South Stoneham was a union divided between rural and increasingly urban populations, with a more complex local government structure than either of the other two areas, reflecting its developing and changing demographic status.

In party political terms the three areas presented very different aspects. In South Stoneham the Conservatives dominated as in the New Forest, but despite the clear Liberal challenge at local and county level, were able to hold the parliamentary seat throughout the period. This was not the case in the New Forest. Here Liberalism made fewer challenges locally and at county level than in South Stoneham, yet in the national election of 1906 the Conservatives were overturned. This was, however, in a year of country-wide Liberal landslide in which unique local factors were involved, including the effect of the Conservative advocacy of Protection and the defection of Ashley from the Conservatives, and the adoption of a new candidate in 1905. To what extent votes came from outside the New Forest Union area to achieve this is not clear - the headquarters of the Liberal Association were in Romsey, and the newspaper reported in 1905 that Liberalism was strong to the south and west of the constituency. This could have meant areas to the west of the Union, but also probably referred to the Eling area, which was certainly in the south. Eling is the one parish in the New Forest Union which demonstrated a strong link with Liberalism during the period (62).

Therefore the evidence from the parliamentary election in the New Forest in 1906 supports the view that the Conservatism of the area was under some threat from the Liberals, although at a more local level this threat was rarely put into practice. Ward organisation and challenges at county level add further weight, while the unique Verderer/Commoner organisations of the Forest

indicate a challenge here to the wealthy Conservative magistrates and landowners.

In South Stoneham the competition between Liberals and Conservatives was more obvious because it was carried on at the county level in addition to the parliamentary, while the Liberal presence was much stronger in the suburban and urban areas of this Union than it was in the New Forest. Nevertheless, in the New Forest and in Southampton the free trade election of 1906 resulted in triumph for the Liberals, while in South Stoneham the Conservatives managed to hold on. It is possible that the strong presence of the Liberals in the urban areas of the Southern Division constituency mobilised the Conservative vote more effectively there than in the New Forest. In South Stoneham also the party map diversified in the 1880s and 1890s to include Labourites and Ratepayers. Thus the suburban areas of the South Stoneham Union in later years bear a considerable resemblance to the city itself, with local and county rivalry between Liberals and Conservatives, Church and Nonconformity, and various ratepayer groups, becoming complicated by the introduction of Labourites after 1890.

Finally, in Southampton the competition between Liberals and Conservatives was most evenly balanced of all the areas of this study, in terms of both national and municipal politics. The city showed a natural bias towards Conservatism in its parliamentary representatives and at local level also, helped by divisions within the Liberal Party. Conservative radicalism is seen in the successful candidacy of Tankerville Chamberlayne at the parliamentary level, but within the Liberal party radicalism was both more divisive and had less impact at parliamentary elections. Labourite candidates were slow to have an effect at local elections also, and the picture is further complicated by the influence of Nonconformity and the Temperance movement. It is the relationship between these various groups at municipal and the poor law level, which are explored in the next section of this study.

SECTION II - PARTY POLITICS AND THE POOR LAW IN SOUTH HAMPSHIRE

INTRODUCTION

Although party politics were not always explicit in either the proceedings of the Boards of Guardians or in their elections, none of the three boards which are the subject of this study was immune from their influence. Even in the New Forest, an area not noted for overt party activity, national elections, and county elections after 1888, provided a party political framework for the guardians' elections. Similar factors governed party political life in South Stoneham, while in addition the party politics of other local boards provided a further context for party activity which affected the Board and upon which, on occasions, the Board had an impact. In Southampton the Incorporation was only one of three organisations serving the whole city, and party rivalry was active and keen in the town for most of the years between 1870 and 1914.

To what extent, therefore, did this local party rivalry affect the Boards of Guardians? What other factors existed in these three poor law areas which had an impact upon the Boards in either their elections or their composition? To assess these various influences it is necessary first to look at the electoral systems which applied in the Southampton Incorporation and the two unions, before examining the extent and the nature of the party politics of the three boards themselves.

CHAPTER 3THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM IN SOUTH HAMPSHIRE

While the New Forest and South Stoneham Unions were established under the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, Southampton operated under the terms of its own Local Act until 1894. The Local Act made little difference to the way in which paupers were cared for in the borough after 1870, and in many respects the Incorporation was a Union in all but name. However, its election regulations were quite different from those governing the 1834 Act Unions, so that its voting procedures, its property qualifications and the rules as to the frequency of elections all differed from those of its neighbours, until 1894 when the Local Government Act put an end to most of its individuality. As a result Southampton's Board of Guardians operated under very different conditions from those in the Unions, in addition to those differences which arose from the fact that Southampton was a totally urban incorporation, while the two unions were largely rural.

FREQUENCY OF ELECTIONS

As was the case with a number of locally-elected organisations, the guardians' elections were held in April in all three areas, with the occasional exception of Southampton's, which were tied to the Easter vestry meetings. In the two Unions elections were held annually until 1894, all the guardians standing for re-election. In 1894 it was decided in the New Forest that elections should thereafter be held every three years for the whole Board, while in South Stoneham one third of the guardians resigned each year.

In Southampton the system changed a number of times during the period. Before 1878 all the guardians were re-elected annually, no guardian being permitted to serve for more than two years in succession, although they could become guardians again after an interval. In some parishes, however, guardians were hard to find

and the rules were amended in 1878 to permit guardians to be re-elected indefinitely. This stopped protests at vestry meetings in the smaller parishes from pressed men who complained that they had too much to do to be guardians - in 1863 William Hickman had complained that the guardianship was "a very troublesome duty" (2). It also meant that those who enjoyed the role could make a career for themselves in poor law administration (3). In 1894 the system was altered once more so that one third of guardians retired each year, as in South Stoneham, and then in 1908 with the imminent arrival of Shirley and Portswood, it was altered yet again, so that the entire Board was elected triennially (4).

THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS

Prior to 1894 when the secret ballot was introduced at local elections, guardians' elections under the 1834 Act were conducted by means of the delivery of ballot papers to voters' houses and their collection a few days later. The Returning Officers in South Stoneham and the New Forest were the Guardians' clerks (solicitors with offices in Southampton), aided by the rate collectors, the count involving "nine hours hard labour" (5). Complaints were occasionally received from ratepayers who had failed to receive a paper, for which the clerks' excuse was that there was always a discrepancy between the number of assessments in the ratebooks and the papers issued, since ratepayers often owned more than one assessed property. Clerks and collectors of rates and voting papers frequently had declared party preferences, however, and in Southampton electors and guardians were not slow to accuse them of party bias on occasions. Dubious electioneering practices were by no means unknown elsewhere, as for example in Leeds in the 1870s "when voting papers went undelivered in some cases, to be filled up or altered by collectors who were self-confessed party members" (7).

In Southampton the electoral system provided for a

very much greater degree of local accountability to the burgesses of their poor law representatives. Before 1894 the Local Act provided for the election of guardians by a show of hands at the Easter Vestries, with a poll later if it was demanded (usually paid for by the contesting candidate since a sure way to electoral unpopularity was to demand a poll at the ratepayers' expense). When this occurred the cabs and carriages of the party faithful were wheeled out to ferry likely voters to the poll (8). The annual vestry meetings were opportunities for the discussion of poor law affairs and the conduct of individual representatives. Voting and attendance records would sometimes be published in the press before the elections, and candidates would be cross-questioned as to their conduct (9). Favourite topics on these occasions would be increases in salaries for poor law officials, or the wellbeing of the paupers versus the costs of poor relief (10). Although disputes as to poor law policy occasionally occurred at the more formal elections for the South Stoneham and New Forest Unions (11) it is clear that the vestry meeting system was a far more immediate form of accountability, at which guardians who failed to satisfy their electors in a face-to-face confrontation could be summarily rejected, often as a result of prior party organisation (12).

The change in the rules in 1878 to allow guardians to serve for as long as they wished, subject to annual re-election, maintained vestry accountability. Thus there were a number of occasions between 1878 and 1894 when Southampton guardians were rejected because their conduct in the previous year did not meet with the approval of the electors (13). It also had the effect of securing long-term, unchallenged guardianships for some individuals (14). Before this the difficulty in finding enough candidates to fill the vacancies occurring every two years, meant that electors could not be too hard on their guardians for fear of not finding a replacement. However, vestry meetings were not always a hive of democratic activity. In the smaller parishes the numbers attending vestry meetings were not usually very great, and in 1867 the Southampton

Times was able to print the names of the total attenders at one such meeting. They were 15 in all, from whom four guardians had to be found. In addition, vestry elections were frequently not contested at all (15), although the situation in Southampton never deteriorated to the point at which no guardians could be found, as occurred in both South Stoneham and the New Forest. Thus there was no guardian for Chilworth parish between 1869 and 1884, or for Bramshaw West between 1876 and 1879, and on other occasions in Hamble and North Stoneham guardians had to be co-opted as "qualified to act where no guardian has been elected" (16).

The ending of the vestry elections coincided with a decline in the number of contested elections for the Board of Guardians in Southampton after 1894, and may well have contributed to it. Before 1894 30% of all guardians' elections were contested, whereas afterwards contests only amounted to 26% of the total.

THE FRANCHISE

Under the terms of the Poor Law Amendment Act all ratepayers who had been resident in an area for one year were entitled to vote in guardians' elections, the number of votes they received being dependent upon the size of their accumulated assessments. Thus a ratepayer with assessments valued at under £200 received one vote, those between £200 and £400 received two votes, and those over £400 three. In 1844 these qualifications were amended, however, under the Public Health Act (17) to lower the qualifications generally, but also to reward the wealthier ratepayers with more votes, as follows:

Less than £50 rating assessments	= 1 vote
£50 - £100 worth of rating assessments	= 2 votes
£100 - £150 " " " "	= 3 votes
£150 - £200 " " " "	= 4 votes
£250 and over	= 5 votes.

Collection Act of 1869 (18) occupiers who paid rates were entitled to vote, and owners also qualified for the vote in respect of the same property. The maximum number of votes permitted to any one individual at the guardians' elections was therefore twelve, and the system clearly permitted large property owners a greater say in the electing of poor law representatives.

The local election system, however, was too complicated for some voters. In 1892 the Southampton Times commented upon a guardians' election in the South Stoneham Union "There were a good many spoilt papers and a considerable amount of "plumping", some of which was to no avail as the ratepayers had confounded the elections of the Guardians with the School Board election, where the cumulative vote prevails" (19). The School Board franchise permitted a voter to use all his votes in favour of one candidate, the guardians' elections did not.

The creators of the Southampton poor law franchise did not see the need to give extra weight to the wealthy as did the framers of the national franchise. In Southampton before 1894 the "bastard ballot", as a correspondent to the Southampton Times put it, did not apply (20). Instead each individual received one vote in respect of his rated property in a parish, although if he owned property in another parish he could also vote there. Large property owners in Southampton therefore had no more weight at elections than did the smallest ratepayer, except insofar as individuals had property scattered in a number of parishes, when they could vote more than once within the Incorporation.

In 1894 the plural voting of the 1834 Act was swept away in unions covered by the 1834 Act and those under Local Acts, and all householders were enfranchised under the Local Government Act (21). Working men who had previously been excluded from Boards by the property qualification, could now stand as candidates at elections, and in all three areas the overall rateable valuations of guardians declined in value after this time as poorer guardians were recruited (22). However,

it was not to be expected that the 1894 Act would have the same effect in Southampton as it may have done elsewhere. In Unions governed by the 1834 Act with the multiple franchise detailed above, the change from a structured, cumulative franchise to one in which every ratepayer had one vote, was expected to result in the election of more working class guardians. In Southampton electors in poor law elections had always had one vote each, although the multiple voting in different parishes was ended, as was the guardians' property qualification. Therefore, while some changes were made, changes in the type of guardian elected after 1894, with more poorer representatives, cannot be attributed in Southampton to changes in the electoral system to the same extent as it can be elsewhere.

In Southampton the new Act had the effect of making the guardians' elections very much more like those of the Council. Whereas previously candidacies for the guardianships would be proposed at vestry meetings by individuals (with advance notification of proposers and nominees being given in the press in some cases), after 1894 they were announced in the papers with their proposers and seconders, and campaigns would be conducted via public meetings and canvassing. Elections were held by secret ballot. This process was complete when, in 1914, the Board of Guardians adopted the same wards as the Council.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE GUARDIANSHIP

The New Poor Law stated that the rating qualification for guardians was to be fixed at not more than £40 per annum, and the Webbs commented that £40 was usually the level fixed upon (23), but a survey of rating valuations in both the South Stoneham and the New Forest Unions has revealed a number of guardians serving before 1894 whose valuations were less than this figure, so it may be that lower qualifications were set (24). In Southampton once again arrangements differed under the Local Act. In St. Mary's parish all guardians had to be "in possession or occupation of an Estate therein

of the Yearly Rent or Value of Ten Pounds or upwards" (25) and paying rates in the parish for poor relief. In all other parishes the minimum amount was £20. St. Mary's was referred to as "Poor St. Mary" by a correspondent to the Southampton Times in 1866 (26) because of its low rating assessments. It is possible therefore that the qualification was set at a lower level to allow for a wider choice of candidate for the guardianship in a parish less wealthy than others in the Incorporation, in 1772. However, by the late nineteenth century average rating assessments in St. Mary's, with the exception of one district, were very much on a par with averages elsewhere in the city:

Table 3:1 Rateable Values and Mean Assessments

<u>Parishes</u>	<u>Total Rateable</u>	<u>Mean</u>
	<u>Value in 1893</u>	<u>Assessment</u>
St. Mary's No. 1	£28,053	£13
St. Mary's No. 2	£28,687	£13
St. Mary's No. 3	£33,165	£14
St. Mary's No. 4	£57,458	£28
St. Michael's	£4,689	£14
St. John	£1,118	£14
All Saints	£58,762	£26
Holy Rhood	£12,000	£39
St. Lawrence	£4,939	£78

(27)

Source: Southampton Rating Records

Thus, it was the city parishes of Holy Rhood and St. Lawrence, both of which contained a number of large businesses, together with the residential area of All Saints and the Northam area of St. Mary's No. 4 which had the wealthiest valuations. By the 1890s, therefore, there seems little justification for St. Mary's having a lower property qualification than other parishes. As in the two unions, it was not unknown in Southampton for individuals to become guardians whose rates were below the qualification level, and it seems likely that the qualifications were disregarded. There is no evidence of any check being made upon valuations or of any guardian being challenged on this account, although on

one occasion at least one candidate was challenged on the grounds of his residence being outside a parish. It is possible that property qualifications were waived in the two unions because of a shortage of guardians, but in Southampton this was not a problem, particularly after 1878 and only before this date in the smaller city parishes.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE BOARDS

South Stoneham and the New Forest

In South Stoneham twenty elected guardians represented the nine parishes of the Union until 1887. At this point the number increased to twenty-one, with an extra guardian being awarded to North Stoneham, the parish which contained Eastleigh. In 1894 the guardians and district councillors totalled 31 as guardians were awarded to Portswood, Eastleigh and Shirley and other newly created civil parishes in the old South Stoneham parish. In 1901 the growing populations of Portswood and Sholing dictated another rise, to thirty four. In the New Forest similarly the numbers of guardians steadily increased, although not so many as in South Stoneham. In 1883 the nineteen original members of the Board were increased by one when St. Mary's Eling was created a separate civil parish from Eling itself (28), and another was added in 1894. Three more guardians were added later, one each in 1899, 1904 and 1910 recognising growth in both Eling and Lyndhurst.

Until 1894 resident JPs served as ex-officio guardians, which in the New Forest meant that ten magistrates were allowed to serve and they did so with considerable commitment (29). In South Stoneham similarly there were a number of magistrates entitled to attend the Board as ex-officio guardians, but very few did so. The role of the ex-officio guardians is discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

Southampton

In the city the numbers of elected guardians serving on the Board varied less than it did in the Unions, remaining at 18 from the start of the Incorporation until its end in 1908. At that point the membership jumped to thirty-one, as all the Portswood and Shirley guardians arrived, but clearly the numbers were judged to be too many, and they were reduced to 26 in 1914.

In Southampton regulations regarding ex-officios were governed by the Local Act, which permitted all the resident JPs to attend, with the Mayor, the Recorder, the two bailiffs and the senior aldermen in addition. The Mayor was the President of the Board of Guardians, with an elected member as the Deputy-President, who normally presided at meetings. At the time of the Local Act there had been only five magistrates and, since aldermen were appointed for life, there was no possibility of argument about who were the senior. By the 1870s the situation had changed radically in favour of the non-elected guardians, so that the clerk wrote to the LGB in 1879 to explain that there were eighteen elected guardians, and thirty-eight ex-officios (30). Immediately after the creation of thirteen new magistrates in 1893 there were 49 ex-officios. As will be shown in a later chapter (31) the ex-officio guardians of Southampton were able to use their weight of numbers to have a decisive influence on some of the guardians' decisions.

In 1894, as in the two unions, the ex-officio element of the Board was abolished, the Deputy-president becoming the Chairman with an elected vice-chairman - the same situation as had existed in the two unions since 1834. At this point, therefore, the opportunity to influence the poor law administration was lost to all local councillors and magistrates and became the sole preserve of the directly elected representatives.

CRITERIA FOR THE REPRESENTATION OF PARISHES

The allocation of guardians to individual parishes within the three poor law areas indicates some of the concerns and rivalries of the guardians at this time. Guardians were re-allocated on a number of occasions between 1870 and 1914, and different criteria were used which demonstrate the extent to which property rights, populations and geographical factors - particularly the sensitivity of rural parishes to control by urban and vice versa - were important in the operation of poor law unions.

According to the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1844 (32) guardians were to be allocated according to population or the "circumstances of any parish included in a Union". In the Local Government Act of 1894 reference was once again made to populations as the criterion of representation, together with "the distribution and pursuits of the population and to all the circumstances of the case". In effect, the reference to "circumstances" in these Acts was used in South Hampshire to allocate guardians according to additional criteria although populations were generally to play a part. Three factors were used during the period as the basis for the allocation of guardians, namely populations, overall rateable values and numbers of rating assessments.

Southampton

In 1870 most of the parishes of Southampton had four guardians each, with the exception of St. Lawrence and St. John which each had two, and St. Mary's - the largest in area, assessments, rateable value and population - which also had two. In 1876 it was proposed, by two Liberal guardians, that the representation of the Incorporation be rearranged, in recognition of these inequities. There is no record of Conservative opposition to this, either on the Board of Guardians or the Corporation, despite the fact that the Conservatives had the majority on both bodies in 1876 when the decision was made, and the Liberals had the

most to gain in that they were strong in St. Mary's. It is likely that the Conservatives were influenced by the fact that the giving of more guardians to St. Mary's, where most paupers came from, would result in tighter administration. However, the Liberals monopolised all eight seats from the parish over the next nine years, gaining a majority on the Board thereby. In 1878 the distribution of guardians was rearranged therefore and St. Mary's was then given eight representatives, with the smaller parishes of St. Michael's and Holy Rhood reduced to two each, and St. Lawrence and St. John combined with a further two. However, this was unsatisfactory on a number of counts. Table 3:2 indicates how St. Mary's in 1891 still possessed double the population per guardian of any other parish, nearly double the assessments of any other parish, and a considerably greater rateable value per guardian than the others. However in the reorganisation Southampton Council (33) clung to the notion of continued separate representation for the smaller parishes and St. Lawrence and St. Michael's retained one guardian each until 1914, with St. John and Holy Rhood combining to receive one between them. This was in spite of the fact that separate representation had been discarded for the council elections in 1890 with the creation of the Town ward, which had three councillors, but may well have been the Council's way of redressing the balance slightly in favour of the Conservatives, since Holy Rhood, St. Lawrence and St. John all returned Conservative guardians. The guardianships released from the small parishes were given to St. Mary's, with one also from All Saints, so that between 1894 and 1914 St. Mary's had twelve representatives.

The criterion for representation to which the Borough Engineer, who was given the task of reorganisation in 1894, was told to pay particular attention was the number of assessments per guardian. Table 3:2 indicates the extent to which he succeeded in making a fairly equitable arrangement by this standard, with between 700 and 800 assessments per guardian in the larger parishes. In the smaller ones, however, the number of assessments was lower in relation to other

Table 3:2

Comparison of Populations, Assessments and Rateable Values by parish for the Southampton Incorporation

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Population in 1891</u>	<u>Assessments</u>	<u>Rateable Value</u>	<u>Number of Guardians</u>	<u>Population per Guardian</u>	<u>Assessments per Guardian</u>	<u>Rateable Value per Guardian</u>
<u>1870 - 1893</u>							
<u>All Saints</u>	11055	2254	£58,762	4	2440	563	£14,690
<u>Holy Rhood</u>	1057	304	£12,000	2	662	152	£6,000
<u>St. Lawrence</u>	313)	63)	£4,939)	1)	328	97	£3,378
<u>St. John</u>	613)	195	£1,818)	2)			
<u>St. Michael</u>	1943	343	£4,689	2	913	171	£2,344
<u>St. Mary</u>	37558	8553	£147,363	8*	5273	1069	£18,420
<u>*from 1878</u>							
75							
<u>Population in 1901</u>							
<u>1894 - 1914</u>							
<u>All Saints</u>	10547	2330	£80,339	3	3516	776	£26,779
<u>Holy Rhood</u>	1157)	365	£20,576	1	1396	365	£20,576
<u>St. Lawrence</u>	239)						
<u>St. John</u>	514	128	£2,153	1	514	128	£2,135
<u>St. Michael</u>	1344	265	£5,979	1	1344	265	£5,979
<u>St. Mary 1)</u>		2188	£36,259	3)		729	£12,086
<u>St. Mary 2)</u>		2404	£36,077	3)		801	£12,026
<u>St. Mary 3)</u>	47518	2323	£36,621	3)	3959	774	£13,207
<u>St. Mary 4)</u>		2370	£87,993	3)		790	£29,331

Source: Southampton Parish Rate books.

parishes, varying between 128 for St. John and 265 for St. Michael's. Had all these small parishes been put together however, some would have been entitled to complain on the grounds that rateable values per guardian were too high. The guardians themselves used this standard when they complained that St. John had a very low rateable value with one guardian, while Holy Rhood and St. Lawrence were valued at nearly ten times the amount, but ignored the fact that St. Mary's No. 4 was even more discriminated against with a rateable valuation of £29,331 per guardian.

The impossibility of satisfying everyone clearly made the Borough Engineer's task very difficult in 1894, but at no time was the population of a parish mentioned as a standard for the allocation of guardians. He did, in fact, achieve a reasonably equitable settlement for All Saints and St. Mary's by the standards of population, assessments and rateable values, and his reasons for awarding the smaller parishes one more guardian than they had councillors were perhaps linked to other circumstances - namely personalities and party politics. He was accused of anti-Conservative bias when a Conservative guardian and councillor (and also the Conservative Registration Agent) complained "Some of the wards have been manipulated with a view to prevent the return of some of them (guardians) again", and a letter was received by the Southampton Times complaining that two Conservative guardians would lose their seats (34). The loss of an All Saints seat certainly represented one less Conservative guardian (35), while St. Lawrence and St. John had been Conservative too since 1881. However, they created a Conservative enclave in St. John, Holy Rhood and St. Lawrence which returned Conservative guardians for the rest of the period, and fears for Conservative fortunes were proved groundless in that they held the majority from 1893 until 1898 on the Board of Guardians. The Town ward however, reflecting the influence of the Liberal St. Michael's parish, frequently returned a Liberal councillor in the 1890s (36). The Conservative Council had entrusted the supervision of the task to a subcommittee composed of 7 Liberals to 4 Conservatives, which may indicate a

complete unconcern for the partisan effects of a re-allocation of seats, or alternatively an assumption that the party balance would be maintained, which is what occurred.

The criterion employed in the 1894 redistribution of guardianships in Southampton, therefore, was the representation of property, as judged by rating assessments and valuations. The Conservatives in 1878 made no attempt to prevent the re-allocation of seats to St. Mary's, which was clearly not in their interests given the Liberal domination in this parish, although they were able to use their weight of ex-officio members to redress the balance (37) while in 1894 efforts appear to have been made to preserve Conservative parishes in the face of the expansion in St. Mary's representation. Suggestions of party political bias were made in both 1876 and 1894, but in fact the Council appears to have made considerable efforts to preserve some degree of continuity in party representation.

The New Forest

The New Forest Union consisted of a substantially rural area, which had at its eastern end an expanding town. It is possible that in the creation of this Union, semi-urban Eling was linked to the rural New Forest rather than being grouped with the other western suburbs of Southampton, so that the landowners of the area might continue to exercise an influence in poor law elections and the administration of poor relief in the parish. Magistrates had fulfilled a decisive role under the Old Poor Law, and continued to do so in some cases under the New (38), and there are a number of instances of rural parishes and urban ones being linked together in unions with gentry influence thus facilitated in the urban centres. This occurred in the case of Northampton where a number of rural parishes, controlled by a group of gentry, were grouped in a Union with an urban centre, with resulting tensions between them (39). Furthermore, in the Gateshead Union, a political motive existed in grouping the town with rural parishes, in that it was thought "seriously

undesirable that Guardians of the same clique (in this case the moderate liberals) should have the sole control of a Union" (40). By the 1870s, as is discussed in Chapter 5, there is clear evidence of the New Forest gentry exercising influence in order to exclude radical candidates at the guardians' elections. Anthony Brundage illustrates the way in which representation in urban/rural unions in Northampton was balanced in favour of the rural interest by "consistent under-representation of the urban parishes included in the union" (41). Similarly in the New Forest concern to limit the influence of Eling is clear both in the representation pattern of the 1870s, and in the modifications made between 1870 and 1914 (Table 3:3). In 1870 Eling had five guardians, with a population per guardian of six times the other parishes of the union. In 1883 a new guardianship was established, when the sanitary district of St. Mary's Eling was created for the town of Totton (the "principal place" of Eling according to the Directory of 1875 (42)), but the remainder of Eling parish retained its original four guardians for the outlying villages, which were the homes of substantial New Forest landowners (43). To have merely given one of Eling's original guardians to St. Mary's Eling would have deprived these more rural villages of representation, giving over one seat on the Board to the urban interest.

It is population increases which seem to have determined increases in the total number of guardians on the New Forest Board, and in December 1893 the LGB specifically approved the apportionment of guardians in the Union on this basis (44). This is in contrast to what happened in Southampton, but considerations of population in the New Forest were not allowed to result in urban centres outweighing the rural parishes. Thus, the increasing size of the eastern villages of the New Forest Union, and of Eling, resulted in more guardians being allocated to these areas, but there were no reductions or re-distributions of guardians between parishes during the 1870 - 1914 period, and the rural parishes kept their original guardians with the Board's overall size being increased. As a result rural

Table 3:3

Comparison of populations, Assessments and Rateable Values by parish for the New Forest Union

Parish	Population in 1891	Assessments	Rateable Value	Number of Guardians	Population per Guardian	Assessments per Guardian	Rateable Value per Guardian
<u>1870 - 1893</u>							
<u>Beaulieu</u>	864	179	£6,278	2	432	89	£3,139
<u>Bramshaw H</u>	450	88	£1,609	1	450	88	£1,609
<u>Bramshaw W</u>	273	77	£665	1	273	77	£665
<u>Dibden</u>	621	161	£4,096	1	621	161	£4,096
<u>Denny Lodge</u>	308	84	£3,457	1	308	84	£3,457
<u>Eling</u> *	6462	925	£12,422	5/6	1292/1077	185/154	£2,484/£2,070
<u>Exbury</u>	329	68	£1,837	1	329	68	£1,837
<u>Fawley</u>	1950	495	£10,086	3	650	165	£3,362
<u>Lyndhurst</u>	1867	380	£6,945	2	933	190	£3,472
<u>Minstead</u>	868	230	£5,748	2	434	115	£2,874

Population
in 1901

<u>1894 - 1914</u>							
<u>Beaulieu</u>	833	204	£6,234	2	416	102	£3,117
<u>Bramshaw</u>	474	158	£2,369	2	237	79	£1,184
<u>Denny Lodge</u>	304	84	£3,457	1	304	84	£3,457
<u>Dibden</u>	650	161	£4,096	1	660	161	£4,096
<u>Exbury</u>	293	68	£1,837	1	293	68	£1,837
<u>Lyndhurst</u> *	2141	537	£9,406	2/3	1070/713	268/179	£4,703/£3,135
<u>Eling</u> *	2644	544	£12,422	2/3	1322/713	272/181	£6,211/£4,140
<u>Colbury</u>	982	141	£5,436	1	982	141	£5,436
<u>Copythorne</u> *	1470	299	£5,403	1/2	1470/735	299/149	£5,403/£2,701
<u>Marchwood</u>	695	130	£2,757	1	695	130	£2,757
<u>Netley Marsh</u>	1177	248	£6,329	2	588	124	£3,164

*Eling, Lyndhurst and Copythorne each received an extra guardians in 1899, 1904 and 1910 respectively.

guardians continued to outnumber the urban representatives on the New Forest Board for the entire period, despite imbalances in populations and assessments, while the claims of Eling for more guardians on the grounds of rateable valuations were disregarded throughout. Yet as the Southampton guardians claimed, and as the Local Government Board confirmed in the case of South Stoneham (see below), rateable valuations were a legitimate criterion for the allocation of guardian seats. Eling's rateable values totalled more than £12,000 (Table 3:3) so that with two guardians after 1894 rateable values stood at £6,211 per guardian. In 1899 another guardian was awarded, but rateable values were still in excess of £4000 per guardian in Eling with three representatives. Other parishes in the union with high rateable values received extra guardians however, so that Lyndhurst in 1904 and Copythorne in 1910 each brought their rateable values down to under £4000 per guardian by these means, but Eling's rateable values remained high. The only comparable rateable value by the end of the period was that of Colbury at £5436, but its population and assessments per guardian were lower than those of Eling, and furthermore this was also one of the sub-divisions of the old Eling parish of pre-1894.

Increases in guardians in the New Forest, therefore, were made as populations demanded them, but consistently protected the representation of the rural parishes against the growing urban area. These rural parishes were the homes of many of the New Forest gentry, who retained a close involvement in the Board of Guardians throughout the period, even after the ending of ex-officio membership in 1894. As will be shown in later chapters of this study (45), the landowners and gentry of the New Forest had a number of motives for wanting to restrict guardians from the Eling area and to retain control of the Board. New guardians were awarded by the County Council, and the New Forest gentry were securely represented on this body (46).

South Stoneham

The tensions that existed in representative terms between the urban and the rural in the New Forest are seen in a similar form in South Stoneham where the populations were growing more rapidly, as was the urban spread of Southampton. Here the representational balance between rural and urban parishes tipped against the rural in the period after 1894, where they lacked the protection of landowners and gentry that existed in the New Forest. Furthermore, the rural parts of the South Stoneham Union were less clear cut in that the union had changed radically since it had first been established, with Southampton's suburbs reaching far into what had been, in 1834, country parishes.

Table 3:4 indicates the extent to which population, assessment and rateable values varied considerably from area to area, both before and after 1894. In 1887, when the first addition to the guardians' numbers was made during the period, it was the very high rateable valuations in North Stoneham which prompted the change. In 1894 it was the suburban growth of Southampton which resulted in the award of more guardians to the old South Stoneham parish area (Portswood, West End, Hedge End, Bitterne and South Stoneham itself) and in Millbrook and North Stoneham (for Eastleigh). The Local Government Board announced that it wished to take into account both rateable valuations and populations in approving the County Council's recommendations, and the following figures were supplied by the clerk of the South Stoneham Guardians:

Table 3:5 Populations and rateable values

	<u>Populations</u>	<u>Rateable Value</u>
Portswood	9,862	£31,923
Eastleigh	3,582	£29,751
South Stoneham*	5,296	£23,910

*excluding Portswood

Table 3:4

Comparison of Populations, Assessments and Rateable Values by parish for the South Stoneham Union

Parish	Population in 1891	Assessments	Rateable Value	Number of Guardians	Population per Guardian	Assessments per Guardian	Rateable Value per Guardian
<u>1870 - 1893</u>							
<u>Botley</u>	1114	3333	£4,676	2	538	150	£2,388
<u>Bursledon</u>	698	192	£2,770	1	698	192	£2,770
<u>Hamble</u>	423	103	£2,183	1	421	103	£2.183
<u>St. Mary Extra</u>	5896	310	£11,644	3	1965	103	£3,881
<u>Millbrook</u>	17777	not available	£45,500	4	3763	not available	£13,875
<u>South Ston'm</u>	18740	2406	£39,201	4	3242	800	£13,551
<u>North Ston'm</u> *	1596	217	£17,352	1/2	1569/784	217/103	£17,352/£8,676
<u>Chilworth</u>	258	46	£2,021	1	258	46	£2,021
<u>Previous Parish</u>							
		Population in 1901					
SS	<u>Bitterne</u>	2406	725	£9,814	1	2406	725
SS	<u>Hedge End</u>	893	416	£4,130	1	893	416
SS	<u>Portswood</u> *	17958	3840	£74,330	3/4/6	5986-2993	1246-640
SS	<u>West End</u>	1419	195	£6,747	1	1419	195
St.M	<u>Sholing</u>	5277	1238	£2,681	1	5277	1238
St.M	<u>Itchen</u>	25547	6140	£120,865	6/8	4258/3193	1068/801
NS	<u>Eastleigh</u> *	7779	2270	£57,233	2/3	3884/2593	1135/763
M	<u>Millbrook</u>	1299	not available	£7,795	1	1299	not available
M	<u>Shirley</u> *	25547	6410	£120,865	8	3193	801
	<u>Botley</u>	856	370	£4,289	1	856	370
	<u>North Ston'm</u>	1600	486	£15,499	1	1600	486
	<u>Chilworth</u>	245	46	£1,126	1	245	46
	<u>Bursledon</u>	811	309	£3,338	1	811	309
	<u>Hamble</u>	391	134	£2,174	1	391	134
	<u>Hound</u>	3832	598	£16,828	2	3832	598
	<u>South Ston'm</u>	1419	195	£6,747	1	1419	195

81

* The parishes of St.Mary Extra, Millbrook and North Stoneham received one extra guardian each in 1880, 1881 and 1887 respectively. In 1900 Portswood received one extra guardian, and in 1901 Portswood and Eastleigh an extra guardian each, and Itchen two.

Previous Parish abbreviations: SS = South Stoneham, St.M = St. Mary Extra, NS = North Stoneham, M = Millbrook.

source: Rate books for the parishes of the South Stoneham union. Those for Millbrook are missing hence the number of assessments is "not available".

Rateable values appear to have achieved supremacy on this occasion, in that some guardians argued that representation be allocated in terms of populations, but in the end Eastleigh received two guardians, Portswood 3 and South Stoneham 3. No mention was made of assessments. Here, as in the New Forest, the distribution of guardians protected the rural parishes, to the extent of creating new parishes in the rural areas. Thus the pre-1894 rural parishes of Hamble, Burseldon, Chilworth, North Stoneham and Botley retained their guardians, while new parishes at Hedge End, West End and South Stoneham were set up out of the old South Stoneham parish. Neither the populations, assessments nor the rateable values per guardian of the new parishes created from South Stoneham parish, nor of the older rural ones, matched those of Portswood, Eastleigh, Itchen or Shirley, so clear efforts were made to protect rural interests. Four of these rural parishes, including two of the new ones - West End and South Stoneham - had populations in 1901 which fell below the minimum number of 300 to qualify for a parish council under the 1894 Act, which indicates a considerable determination to enfranchise them separately at Rural District Council level (the South Stoneham Board of Guardians). However, in the rapid expansion of suburban Southampton it would be unrealistic to expect the rural interests to be protected to the extent of continuing to ensure that they dominated the union, as happened in the New Forest. The rural parishes totalled seven guardians whereas previously they had had six, the suburban parishes eleven, against eight previously. Four guardians came from parishes that were neither urban nor completely rural, namely Hound, Bitterne and Millbrook, which effectively balanced the guardians evenly if they were to vote with the rural parishes. As is to be seen below, geographically divisive issues were not unknown in the affairs of the South Stoneham guardians.

Similar motives were apparent later on, when the division between urban and rural parishes on the Board was once again clearly uppermost in the guardians' minds. In 1901 Eastleigh applied to the County Council

for two more guardians. The Council referred to the Board for their comments and the clerk produced a table of populations and rateable values (48). The numbers of guardians allotted to each parish were arranged in such a way as to reveal how many came from the urban areas and how many from the country parishes. Thus suburban Eastleigh, Portswood, Shirley, St. Mary Extra and Sholing together sent 17 guardians, the rest 13, so that by this time the rural parishes were even more outnumbered by the suburban and urban. At this point, however, there was an additional complicating factor in that the older established area of Portswood did not wish to see Eastleigh gaining more weight on the Board, and in the end the County Council awarded three extra guardians to Portswood, one to St. Mary Extra and one to Eastleigh.

There is some evidence that the guardians' concern for economy overrode the worries of the rural guardians of South Stoneham as to being overwhelmed by the urban representatives. Urban areas were likely to be areas of greater pauperism than rural parishes, and this exerted a greater pressure for large numbers of guardians to monitor applications for relief through personal knowledge of paupers. In 1880 St. Mary Extra applied for another guardian and Thomas Warner, a guardian from Botley, an out-lying rural parish, commented "He wished it to be remembered the class of people who populated these districts (sic). If they looked at Woolston and Itchen Ferry ... the growing population were not of a class who would possibly be able to support themselves at all times" (49). Clearly local knowledge of pauperism was an advantage in a guardian, and St. Mary's got their extra guardian, with another for South Stoneham and Millbrook the following year. In 1883 the necessity for a large number of guardians for Millbrook was justified when it was stated that about half the permanent relief cases came from the parish, and guardians were asked to visit them bi-annually (50).

These considerations remained important in the South Stoneham Union, and were to result in considerable

disagreements amongst the guardians on an urban/rural basis in the 1900s, arising from demands for reallocations of relief districts - the areas under the control of individual relieving officers. Relief districts were changed in this union on a number of occasions, in 1897, 1906, 1910 and 1912, reflecting the growing and shifting pauper populations in parts of the union. Agreement over such decisions was hard to achieve; no rural parish wished to be coupled with an urban one with large concentrations of paupers at the other end of the district. The Royal Commission on the Aged Poor of 1895 had drawn attention to the problem, finding that relieving officers often had too large an area and too many paupers to visit the houses of applicants regularly (51). Rural guardians in the South Stoneham Union were concerned for the welfare of "their" paupers, often elderly, and that they should not have to walk too far to find the relieving officer. The LGB was suspicious that such considerations resulted in lenient treatment of outdoor paupers (52), but the South Stoneham guardians' concern for economy overrode this, in that poor supervision of outdoor paupers resulted in abuses of the rates, as in the case of Millbrook. Underlying these disagreements was the resentment of rural parishes with small numbers of paupers at being forced to share the burdens of higher pauper numbers in the urban ones, which they had had to do since the Union Chargeability Act 1865 (53). F.W. Rogers has shown how the Gateshead Union typifies this type of conflict in the 1840s (54), while the Bradford Union was dismembered in 1848 for this reason (55). In South Stoneham the rural parishes understandably resented paying for urban paupers, but when offered the chance to be rid of some of them in the annexation of Portswood and Shirley to Southampton, tried very hard to retain them. The reason for this was that Portswood and Shirley were the least pauper-ridden of the urban parishes of the Union, it was Itchen and Millbrook where pauperism was greatest.

The representation of urban and rural parishes on the South Stoneham Union therefore reflects similar trends to those of the New Forest, in a determination to

protect rural interests, even to the extent of under-representing urban ones. However, South Stoneham's rural parishes had lost their dominance on the Board through the urban spread of Southampton before 1894, with the suburbanisation of Shirley, South Stoneham and St. Mary Extra, parishes which had eleven guardians between them out of the total of 19. There were therefore no clear-cut decisions to be made as to urban/rural representation in 1894 since the loss of rural supremacy was already a fait accompli. Considerable tensions between these areas remained, however. Party politics was less of a factor in this rivalry, in that although the rural areas were mostly Conservative and the urban parishes were certainly areas where Liberalism was strong, so also were the Conservatives, particularly in Portswood (56). Furthermore, as will be shown in later chapters (57), South Stoneham lacked the rural and landed gentry of the New Forest, whose influence was clearly to be seen in the representation patterns of the latter Union.

CONCLUSION

The different electoral systems that existed in South Hampshire before 1894 caused differing views as to the poor law on the part of the electorate. In Southampton the greater accountability of the guardians through the vestry system, coupled with the absence of the cumulative vote at elections, resulted in a system in which property had less influence than in the two Unions, operating under the law of 1834. The Conservatism of the majority of guardians in these rural and suburban areas may not be unconnected with this. Similarly in Southampton, the vestry system was probably responsible for encouraging public interest in the poor law, in that contested elections were fewer after 1894. This also meant that the Act of 1894 had less impact in Southampton than might have been expected, given that the post-1894 franchise was similar to that which had existed earlier. Further, the abolition of the property qualification for guardians had probably been anticipated in all three areas by its being ignored.

This is likely to have resulted in an even greater determination to protect the rights of property under the post-1894 franchise.

However, the 1894 Act did make an appreciable difference in other ways, notably in completely changing the electoral system in Southampton, establishing uniformity in this respect across the whole of South Hampshire. The influence of property declined in Southampton in the abolition of the ex-officios, as it did also in the unions, where the process was taken further in the abolition of the cumulative vote. Nevertheless, at least in the New Forest the influence of the landowning gentry remained through the determination to retain a rural majority on the Board. In South Stoneham similar factors are also seen in the preservation of separate and generous representation for rural parishes after 1894. Furthermore, in all three areas property appears to have been the most important factor in the allocation of guardianships. Thus the representation of property after 1894, even though it had been abolished in the franchise and in guardian qualifications by law, remained the key criterion in allocating guardians to parishes. Although growing populations weighed with guardians in the New Forest and South Stoneham, it is clear that they were much less important than rateable valuations, while in Southampton the claims of the large population of St. Mary's to equal representation were ignored.

In all three areas therefore the democratising aspects of the 1894 Act were being undermined in its implementation. New Liberal egalitarianism is clear in the enfranchising of all householders, lodgers and the abolition of the property qualifications and ex-officios. Yet in the drawing of parish boundaries to protect small rural populations, and the preservation of guardianships by such groups, the implementation of the Act discriminated against the newly enfranchised voters in the towns. While population growth in urban parishes was certainly the prompt for increased representation in the New Forest and in South Stoneham, as it was in Southampton, those anxious to see the rural

areas continue to have a voice in poor law affairs secured the representation of the rural parishes to an extent often unjustified by any of the criteria discussed in this study. By this means gentry influence in the New Forest Union was continued, while in South Stoneham the rural parishes continued to resist their complete domination by the spread of Southampton. In Southampton itself small old parishes continued to send representatives to the Board of Guardians in numbers out of all proportion to their populations, while the property-linked criteria of assessments and rateable values continued to be stressed in such considerations. Property in a number of guises, therefore, continued to be a key factor in the post 1894 poor law in South Hampshire.

Behind a number of the decisions as to guardianships, lurks the suggestion of party influence, although in Southampton efforts appear to have been made to avoid the accusation of party bias in the allocation of seats. It is with these considerations that the next chapters deal.

CHAPTER 4SOUTHAMPTON - THE BOARD OF GUARDIANS AND MUNICIPAL PARTY POLITICS

Derek Fraser has shown how the "struggle for power within the Poor Law was often part of a much broader contest for total local control", and even if the political interest in the poor law was intermittent it was occasionally intense "as rivals settled political scores whose origin lay outside the Poor Law itself" (1). Although in the years after 1834 party politics often featured prominently in the battles over the introduction and implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act (2), by the later period with which the present study deals, partisan rivalries involving boards of guardians were less common. Pat Ryan, in her study of East London poor law politics at the turn of the twentieth century, has shown how party politics often did not affect poor law elections, even after the County Councils Act of 1888 and the Local Government Act of 1894 had increased political awareness at elections. Political affiliations were never mentioned, contested elections were rare in some unions, and the issues non-political - with the notable exception of Poplar (3). Michael Rose, in his introduction to Pat Ryan's study, wrote that "the political polarities which might be expected in the late nineteenth century poor law do not emerge in Pat Ryan's account" (4). Political affiliations were not often mentioned at guardians' elections, nor did they govern the making of policy (5). Party politics, if they impinged upon the elections, were usually related to issues other than poor law ones, the elections serving as a means of assessing relative party strengths. After 1900 elections tended to be even less partisan, although Poplar was a notable exception, where the poor law became the focus not only of local party politics but also of national interest (6). The object of this chapter, therefore, is to examine the impact of party politics on the Southampton Incorporation, and to assess to what extent they were the consequence of factors originating from outside the Board, and how far they resulted from controversies relating to the poor

law itself.

In Southampton on the whole it was also rare, but not unknown, for poor law issues to be the subject of party political battles, either at elections or during meetings. Nevertheless, the guardians' elections were frequently, if not explicitly in terms of stated affiliations, governed by party politics because they were regarded as dress rehearsals for those of the Council, with the guardians' elections in some wards and parishes seen as indicators of party standing. The guardianship was also seen in some cases as an apprenticeship for would-be local councillors, and there were numerous occasions when individuals elected as guardians later became councillors. As the Southampton Times commented in 1894 "Many of our leading men have served their apprenticeship to public life in the capacity of guardians" (7).

Figure 1: Southampton Board of Guardians Party Membership 1870 - 1914

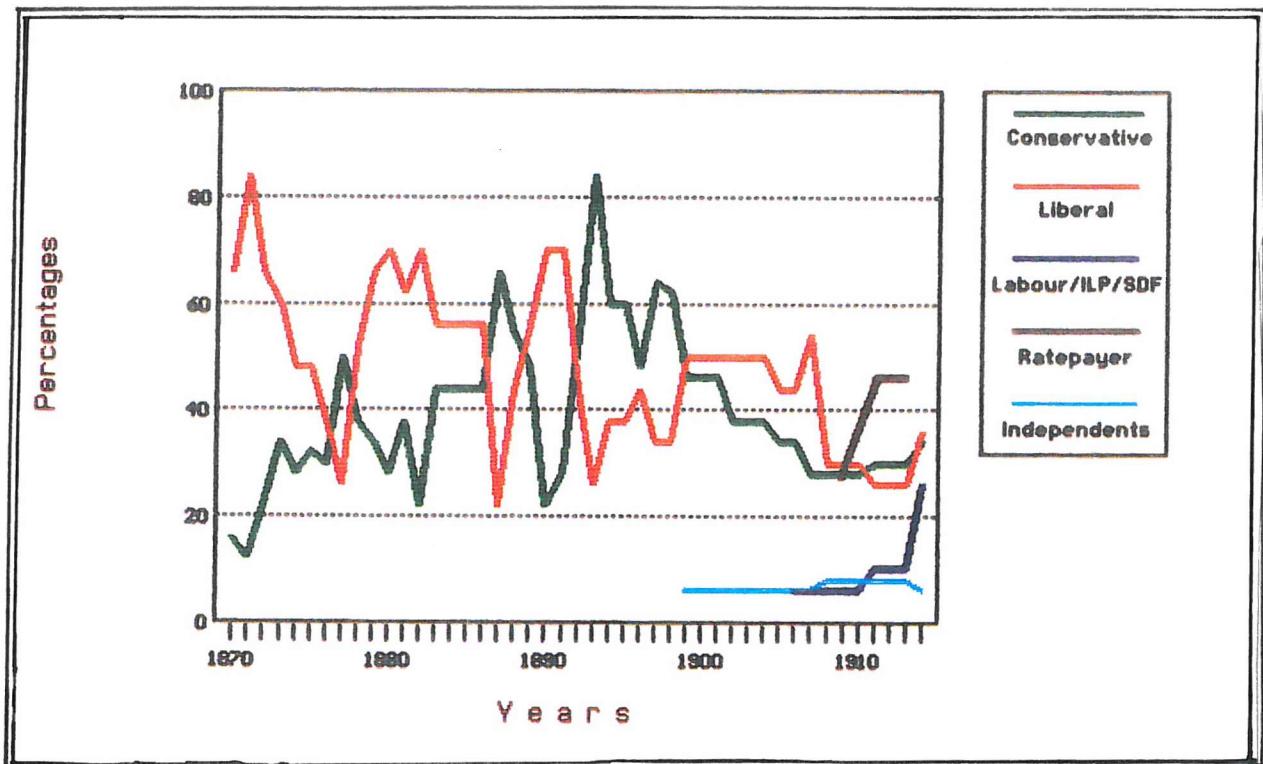
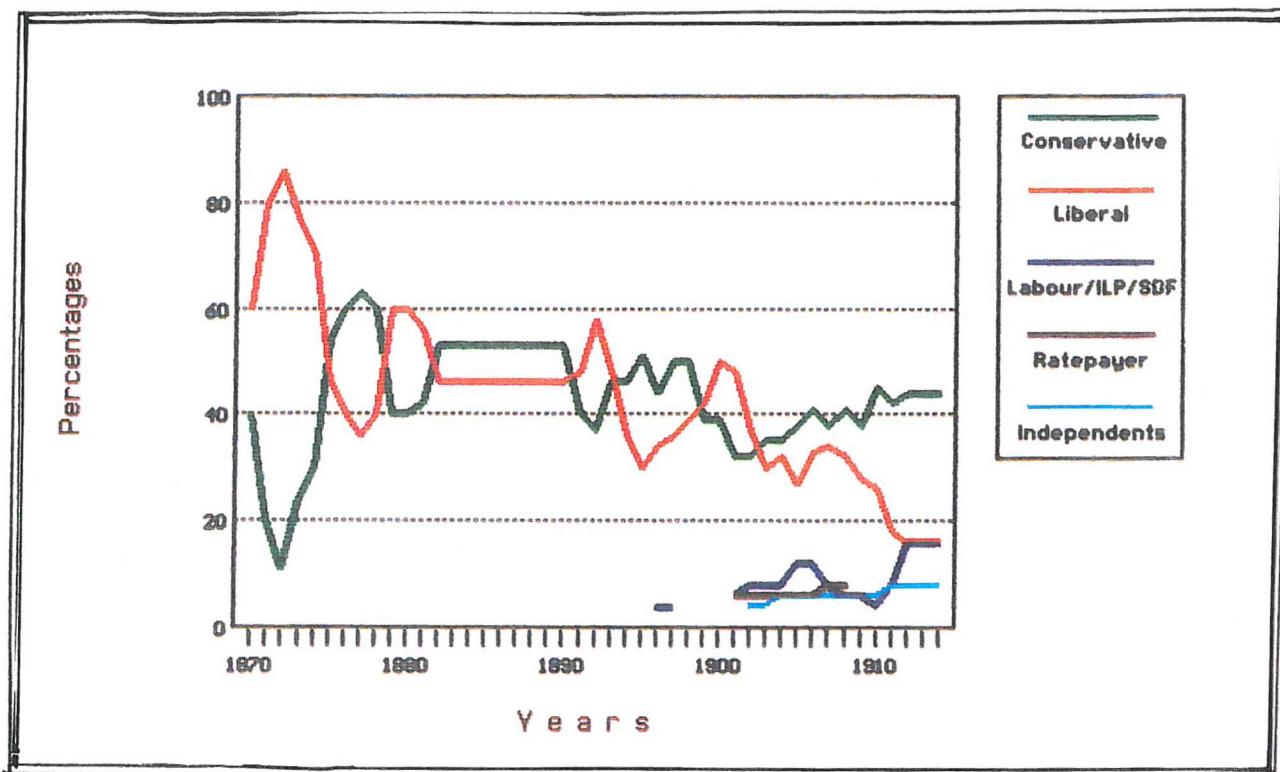


Figure 2: Southampton Council Party Membership 1870 -
1914



Details as to the methods and success rate for assigning of party affiliations to individual Southampton guardians and councillors are given in Appendix 3.

The representation of most of the parties follows roughly similar trends on both organisations, particularly in relation to the two major parties - the Conservatives and the Liberals. The Ratepayers group, furthermore, appeared within four years on both the Council and the Board, although the special interests of the Portswood and Shirley parishes from 1908 onwards meant that the Ratepayers' group was far more strongly represented on the Guardians between 1908 and 1911 (8). However, the appearance of the Labour/ILP/SDF took place rather earlier on the Council than the Board; while the first "labour" councillor was elected in 1895, and established a consistent position from 1901 onwards, it was not until 1905 that the first guardian was elected from these groups.

How does one account for the changing and varied fortunes of the two major parties locally during this

period on these two institutions? Before 1880 the two parties' situations were similar on both organisations, although after 1878 the Liberals had a larger majority on the Board than they had on the Corporation. After 1880, however, when according to Temple Patterson partisanship died away on the Corporation (9) both the bodies saw a period of calm which in the case of the Corporation lasted until 1890, with the parties evenly spaced and constant in their relationship to each other. This was the time when apparently shipping and commercial interests dictated a suspension of party rivalry in order that important negotiations might take place with the Corporation presenting a united front. On the Board of Guardians, however, unanimity ended in 1887 with a sharp dip in Liberal numbers when a dispute took place over the rating of the city's largest commercial enterprise, the Dock Company (10). Liberal fortunes rose again in 1890, coinciding with the decision by the Corporation to abrogate all party rivalry entirely by agreeing to re-elect all existing councillors unopposed, in order to absorb the extra areas of Shirley and Freemantle with minimum confusion.

In 1893 the Conservatives on the Board surged ahead of the Liberals, indicating the damage that the failure of the Liberals and radical groups to co-ordinate their candidates did to their cause, and also probably a reaction to the labour unrest of the early 1890s in the town. Liberals found it very difficult to regain the robust form they had enjoyed in the 1870s and 80s (11). Their situation was the culmination of much Liberal-Radical squabbling both nationally and locally, augmented by national election defeats (12). This Conservative leadership was sustained on the Board and followed by the Council. Their dominance was short-lived, however, so that in 1899 the Conservatives lost their majority on the Council having already lost it on the Board of Guardians. In 1903 they won back their Corporation majority, but on the Guardians it was not regained until 1908.

The presentation of the relationship between the

parties on the Board and the Corporation in graph form illustrates two factors which require explanation. The first would seem to be a natural "edge" on the Board in favour of the Liberals which is not present on the Corporation. This is clear between 1878 and 1886, and later between 1899 and 1908, when the Liberals maintained a majority on the Board for much longer than they did on the Council. The only time when the Conservatives enjoyed a convincing period of majority was in the 1890s, when Liberal morale was low and they were riven by disputes with their left wing. Part of the Conservative ascendancy on the Council was due to the incorporation of Shirley and Portswood into the council area in 1890, after which both areas returned a number of Conservatives (Shirley and Portswood did not join the Incorporation until 1908). However, the Liberals' majorities on the Incorporation Board may also have been due to other causes. Some Liberals were strongly identified with policies of economy and such policies were always popular with the Southampton electorate (13). There is almost no evidence to suggest that the burgesses of Southampton were motivated out of a concern for pauper welfare. Concern for rating bills appears to been a priority, even in the later years when pauperism was no longer seen as evidence of universal shiftlessness, at least in the cases of the "deserving". While there is evidence of individual Southampton Liberals displaying concern for pauper welfare (14) it is questionable how far such sentiments represented a party view, and also how popular it would have been with the electorate.

The second factor is the apparent greater volatility of the parties' representation on the Board than on the Council, in that the party swings appear to be rather more exaggerated in the case of the Board. The explanation for this is also probably linked to the issue of Liberal majorities on the Board. Thus such majorities are more plausibly attributable to factors peculiar to poor law policy and administration, which also distorted the parties' representation so that the party complexion of the Board of Guardians did not more closely reflect that of the Council. The Liberal

majority of 1878 - 86 therefore was primarily due to the awarding of 6 extra guardians to the Liberal stronghold of St. Mary's in 1878, at the expense of the smaller parishes. The electors of St. Mary's took advantage of their new weight on the Board to return uniformly Liberal guardians until 1887, when the crisis of confidence arose amongst the St. Mary's voters over the rating of the Dock Company. This resulted in the returning of numerous Conservatives, although they lost their seats in 1890 when things reverted to their more Liberal traditional pattern in St. Mary's. Religious and temperance issues also caused the guardians elections to vary from those of the Council, as is described later in this chapter.

Electoral practices unique in the local area to the Southampton Incorporation also had an impact upon the Board of Guardians, affecting party representation. As was described in Chapter 3 the vestry meeting system of elections before 1894 for the Board of Guardians provided arenas for the discussion of issues which the council elections did not possess. This permitted the parties to air contentious issues involving their opponents to a greater extent than would have occurred in towns whose elections were held through the less personal means of the delivery of voting papers. Individual involvement in the elections was therefore greater than in Council elections, and particularly contentious areas of poor law policy therefore had more impact than they otherwise would have had. The Local Government Act of 1894 extended the electorate to a degree, and one might have expected more radical Liberals to be elected as a result. Liberal numbers did rise on both the Council and the Board, but Conservative representation held up well, indicating the success of the Conservative appeal to the working class electorate in the town in the 1890s (15).

Later, however, Liberal strength increased still further, and remained in the majority on the Board although they were overtaken by the Conservatives on the Council. This continued Liberal majority on the Board

between 1901-7 appears to be a result partially of Conservative failure to counter it effectively, and partly because the challenge from Labour was directed primarily at the Council during this period, resulting in less division of Liberal support at poor law elections.

Pat Ryan and Pat Thane among others have described the attitudes of the left in relation to the poor law (16). The SDF favoured exerting popular and local control over the poor law, seeing it as a useful training ground for their activists. The ILP and the Labour Party on the other hand agreed that it was so abhorred by the working classes that there was a case for bypassing it altogether and called for total abolition. Given however that the poor law and the workhouses existed, it was important that they should be administered in the working class interest. M.A. Crowther has shown how this could entail more outdoor relief and more humane administration of workhouses, thought to attract working class votes (17), but in Glasgow Labour guardians were strict administrators, determined to offer more in-maintenance than elsewhere in Scotland (18). In East London Pat Ryan has found that the Labour guardians of Poplar were untypical in their manipulation of the poor law, elsewhere in London the left wing failed to have a similar impact (19), and Valerie Corrigan has found that in Tynemouth the Labour Party only became a force in poor law politics in the 1910s (20). Nevertheless, when partisan politics did occur in East London poor law elections, it was often as a result of a revival in Liberal radicalism, as occurred after 1886, or an active labour movement (21).

In Southampton the left wing appears to have largely ignored the Board of Guardians as an electoral goal until the mid-1900s - even in the case of unsuccessful candidacies there were far more from the left wing for the council elections than for the Board's. This may have been as a result of ideological aversion, or it may possibly reflect the dilemma that the radical Liberals also felt at the conflict between better treatment for paupers, including

the unemployed, and the effect this had upon rating bills of the independent poor. Faced with this difficulty left-wingers in Southampton, as elsewhere, may have found it less problematic to direct their attention towards council representation (22), particularly since, as J.H. Bulmer has shown, social reform did not figure highly in the electorate's priorities in Southampton (23).

There is reason to believe that the parties were more concerned about the winning of certain wards at the guardians' elections, rather than about who had the majority on the Board of Guardians. It has already been shown how the Conservatives did not seek to oppose the awarding of more guardians to Liberal St. Mary's in 1878, and how some care was taken when new guardians were allocated in 1894, not to upset the existing party balance more than necessary (24). It was often the case that with a little effort one or other of the two major parties could have increased their numbers of guardians at the cost of swaying a very small number of vestry electors (25). However, Council elections tended to be more frequently contested than those for the guardians. Between 1870 and 1914 there were 242 elections held in the parishes of the Southampton Incorporation, 115 of which were contested - 47%. During the same period there were 283 elections held in different wards for the Council, of which 211, or 74%, were contested. On occasions the Southampton Times deplored, as in the poor law elections of 1902, the "usual story of indifferent electors and apathetic abstentionists" (26).

Nevertheless, although the press tended not to comment upon it and although the number of contested elections declined after the vestry system was abolished, public interest in local electoral contests was at least as great as its interest in those for Southampton Council, as is shown in Appendix 2. Public interest in both events increased somewhat furthermore between 1899 and 1914 (a period which spans that during which the Southampton Times often asserted that there was little interest in these events). In addition, a rather greater interest was shown in the poor law

elections than in those for the Council in most of these elections, although comparative information on voting figures is lacking for all but a few years. This may have been as a result of the national debate surrounding the poor law during this time, while the building of the Infirmary at Shirley Warren was a major project (27).

Increasingly during the later years of this study the guardians' elections moved closer in form to those of the Council and also in the way in which they were reported, which may have also encouraged public participation. The new ballot established for the elections of 1894, was similar to that for the Council. The press began referring to the poor law areas of the Incorporation by their ward names (so for example, St Mary No. 1 became Newtown, St Mary No. 4 Northam). Electioneering methods became more like those for the borough elections with advertisements being taken in the papers, so that in 1899 the Southampton Times ran the slogan "Vote for Atkins - Fair Rating and Economy" (28), while committee rooms and canvassers were employed in support of candidates seeking election to the Board. Finally in 1914 the Union went over to the borough wards for its elections. In 1911 and 1914 furthermore the newspaper gave totally party-based reports, listing the candidates' parties for the first time in the official lists and its report of elections results, together with the voting figures - both parties and voting figures had been given for many years at municipal elections.

The role of the parties and their interest in poor law politics, together with the occasions when electoral party conflict arose over poor law policy, are clarified by a detailed examination of the guardians' elections in the individual parishes of the Incorporation. In terms of local party rivalry at the Guardians' and Council elections, it is clear that in some parishes the role of party at the elections was far more vital than in others, although party control in some of the smaller parishes could have resulted in a majority on the Board in certain years. Yet the parties do not seem to have been equally concerned about all the parishes of the Incorporation, often saving their battles for the borough elections.

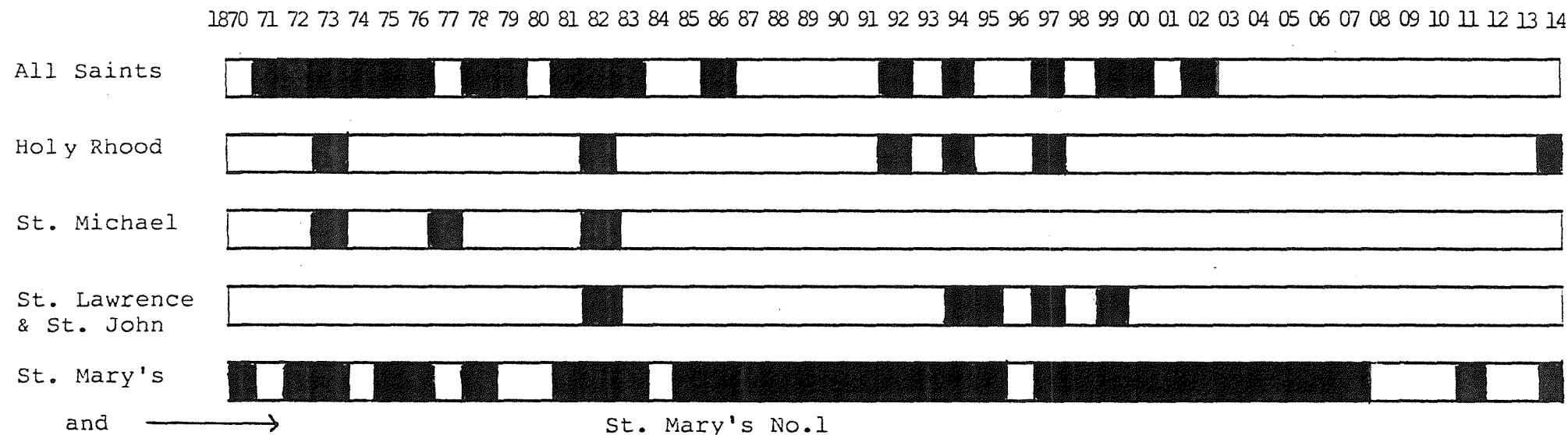
PARTY POLITICS IN THE PARISHES OF THE SOUTHAMPTON
INCORPORATION

All Saints

All Saints was the second largest of the parishes of the Incorporation and the area where many of Southampton's well-to-do lived, and the Southampton Times in 1866 called the parish the "professedly Conservative ward" (29). In the period after 1890 this was true of both the ward and the parish in that the Liberals only obtained representatives in the parish in four out of the 23 years between 1891 and 1914 (1891 and 1911 - 1914). Similarly the council representation for the parish was also Conservative dominated. However, electoral activity in All Saints appears to have decreased, as judged by the frequency of contested elections; in the period between 1870 and 1890 there were contested elections in 12 of the 20 (60%) years involved in this parish. In the later period 1891-1914 there were 6 contests only in the 19 (31%) elections held. Furthermore four of the 20 years in which there were no contests before 1890 occurred at the end of the period, leading into the later one of lessening activity (Table 4:1).

Table 4:1

The Incidence of Contested Elections for the Southampton Board of Guardians 1870 - 1914



68

St. Mary's No.2



St. Mary's No.3



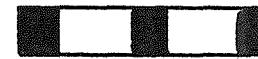
St. Mary's No.4



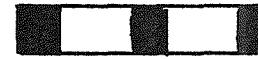
Key:

Black infilling denotes years in which contested elections occurred.

Portsmouth



Shirley



Note: In the smaller parishes, with only one representative each, elections were held once every three years after 1894. In St. Mary's and All Saints one third of guardians retired annually. From 1908 all guardians were elected triennially.

The increase in the number of uncontested elections in All Saints would appear to indicate a diminution of party rivalry in the parish at a time when the parties were prepared to agree that, with the Liberals dominating St. Mary's, the Conservatives should do the same in All Saints. Contested elections for the Corporation also decreased in All Saints after 1880, so while they were contested in every year (from 1870) prior to this date, in only 10 of those which followed to 1914 were candidates opposed.

However, although the parties were prepared to compromise, party rather than personality remained the usual criterion for choosing candidates and voting. Party rivalry was always on a Liberal-Conservative basis - no other party intruded in All Saints (Appendix 3). Nominations at the guardians' elections, furthermore, were invariably made on a party basis when a contest was likely, indicating a tight party discipline in the area.

While the Conservatives dominated the council representation in the parish in the years up to 1890 their position in terms of guardianships was not quite so strong. The Liberals controlled the parish and ward representation at the start of the period and, while the Conservatives regained the control of the parish they had established in the 1860s at both municipal and poor law elections in 1873 and 1874, the Liberals were represented between 1879 and 1881 and 1886 and 1890 in greater numbers at the guardians' elections. It has already been noted that the 1880s was a period of truce between the parties, and in 1879 - 1880, 1884-5 and 1886-90 the four candidates put forward were the result of compromise between the parties, and this permitted the Liberals to regain a toehold in the parish. In 1889 this compromise extended to St. Mary's when both parishes were divided equally and a joint address was issued to the electors on behalf of all the candidates in All Saints. However, such harmony was not to last for long - St Mary's was represented by far more guardians than All Saints and the Liberal generosity in sharing the representation there was probably the result

of the drubbing they had received in 1838 when they were accused of over-rating the town's chief employer, the Dock Company (30). After 1890 the Conservative domination of All Saints was virtually complete apart from a Liberal intrusion in the 1911 poor law elections.

All Saints therefore was a parish in which party politics on the Board of Guardians coincided with those of the Council, and where stability in the representation of the parties on the Council was mirrored in the guardians' elections. This is as one would expect from an area returning one quarter of the guardians of the Incorporation, and at municipal elections two fifths of the councillors. Party politics here appear to have had almost no independent existence apart from those which governed the Council, with the exception of an intrusion of religious controversy in 1882 (see below), and problems over the Dock Company in the late 1880s (31). In 1894, when the Council representation for All Saints was reduced from twelve to three, the ward became a political backwater, attention focussing even more on the populous and poverty-ridden St. Mary's.

St. Mary's

In St. Mary's the prize for the parties was more important because for most of the period the parish returned far more guardians than anywhere else to the Board (8 from 1878, or nearly 50% of the Board), while it also returned 9 councillors out of a total of 30 for the whole Corporation. One would expect therefore an even closer identification with the Council here, if poor law politics were a reflection of wider municipal competition.

St. Mary's was a much poorer area than All Saints on the whole (32) and it was here that the Liberal party had its strongholds (Appendix 3). The party also spawned a number of more radical offshoots in St. Mary's such as the Liberal and Radical ward associations, and after 1890 "Lib-Labs", SDF, ILP and Labour candidates all

stood at local elections. The local ward associations at this point were known as "Liberal and Radical", the name "Progressive" also being frequently used (33). Members of the ILP, Fabians and the Trades Council (34) were also members of the Liberal associations, and were active at the guardians' and municipal elections in St Mary's. It was in this ward that the word "Labour" was apparently first used electorally in Southampton in a municipal byelection in 1892 (35), and in the guardians' elections of 1893 for candidates chosen by the Trades Council. Individuals whose names appear in this context were often also members of the Gladstone Liberal and Radical Working Men's Club. The first socialist guardian was elected from St. Mary's No. 1, in 1905. Two St. Mary's wards - Northam and St. Mary's - were also the key left-wing areas at council elections, electing an SDF member and ILP members in a number of years after 1901 (36).

A Ratepayers' Party was also founded in 1887 which was clearly a branch of the Liberal Party, endorsing candidates for the guardians' elections of that year who were also the official candidates of St. Mary's Liberal Association. The Liberal party in this year had considerable difficulty in finding candidates willing to stand owing to the party's unpopularity following the dispute over the rating of the Dock Company (37), and the creation of this Ratepayers' Party may have been in reaction to this. Certainly it had no connection with the Ratepayers' Association that contested the guardians' election of 1902, or with the ratepayers candidates who represented Shirley between 1908 and 1914 on the Southampton Board of Guardians. J.H. Bulmer describes how the Ratepayers Party was founded in 1900 as a response to rating increases. Its strongholds were mostly outside the Incorporation area, and therefore it was not until Shirley and Portswood were annexed from the South Stoneham Union that Ratepayer representatives were elected in significant numbers as guardians (38).

St Mary's was therefore a more volatile parish in the party sense than was All Saints, and it was here also that occasional independent groups briefly saw the light of day. In effect, such candidates were the forerunners of the labour and socialist groups which were to take root in St Mary's in the 1890s. They objected to the traditional party formula in the 1870s and 80s, and particularly to the gentlemanly compromise that existed in municipal politics in the 1880s, and they tried to obtain representation outside the local Liberal/Conservative organisations. One such group was the Working Men's Party of 1871, founded by a Mr. Knowles, whose sole policy objective appears to have been to protest at the control the two major parties exerted over the council and guardians' elections. In both All Saints and St Mary's in this year compromises were reached at the municipal elections between the parties, so Knowles put up his own candidates, all of whom were defeated. In 1877 Knowles complained further that the guardians elections were decided at St. Mary's Radical Association, indicating the frustration he felt at the hegemony of the major parties in Southampton. In other years, as a similar protest, working men's candidates were put up at the municipal elections in 1884, 1885, 1886, 1890 and 1891. Such candidates were outside the major party organisations, although on occasions they can be identified as having links with either the Conservatives or the Liberals.

Party rivalry remained stronger than in All Saints throughout the period here. As is indicated by Table 4:1 contested elections occurred in 16 of the 20 (80%) years between 1870 and 1890 (when the parish was undivided) and in 47 of the 68 (69%) elections held in the parish between 1891 and 1914 when it was divided into separate wards. Almost invariably candidates at elections in this ward were nominated by members of the same party, indicating tight party control over elections. Nevertheless, the fewer number of contested elections in the later period indicates that, as in All Saints, the competition between the parties seems on this evidence

to have diminished slightly towards the end of the period of this survey.

The presence of so many alternatives on the Liberal wing of the party divide after 1890 and the frequency of contested elections indicates that the Liberal hold on St Mary's was by no means as strong as that of the Conservatives on All Saints. It was the situation in St. Mary's that lay at the root of the Liberal insecurity on both the Council and the Board of Guardians, in that they were challenged from the 1890s by a number of more radical organisations. The Liberal reaction was sometimes to resist by a refusal to compromise over candidates, and at others to compromise out of a desire not to let the Conservatives in.

The Conservatives made considerable efforts to overturn the Liberals in St. Mary's. Before 1890 the circumstances had to be exceptional for a Conservative challenge to be successful, as for example in 1887-9 when rating issues and then temperance were major factors affecting voting (39). After 1892, however, the Conservatives secured for themselves a permanent presence on the St. Mary's representation for the Board of Guardians. In 1893 they repeated their success of 1887 in acquiring nearly all of the St. Mary's seats and one of the wards of St. Mary's became known to the readers of the Southampton Times as the stronghold of "Toryism, Beer and Bible" (40). This was a time of considerable excitement electorally for Southampton in that feeling was running high in the town over trade union membership, and shipworkers' disputes and the dock strike of 1890 were recent memories. The Southampton Free Labour Association had by then been in being for two years, the meetings of various unions were reported frequently in the press, sympathy being expressed at them with strikers in other parts of the country (41). The danger of this climate producing a Conservative election victory was foreseen by the Southampton Times which, in a leader of 1st April 1893 questioned whether "Liberals and Labour" should be regarded as separate parties, urging their amalgamation for the forthcoming guardians' elections. However, this

did not happen, and 8 Conservatives were opposed by 11 Liberals and Labour in St. Mary's. In the election, it was asserted "working men" wasted their votes by only voting for the three trades council candidates (42), demonstrating clearly the way in which the Liberal and radical vote was split in the parish.

After 1893, although Conservative strength reverted to less startling levels in the parish, they nevertheless retained a solid representation on the Board for the area for the rest of the years up to 1914, in numerical terms roughly equal to the Liberal guardians. This was a very much more favourable position from their point of view than that of the 1870s and 1880s, and was to be decisive in giving them the majority on the Board for more of the time after 1892 than they had before. A similar pattern is seen on the Council also during this period when the representation of the St Mary's wards was shared between Liberals, Conservatives, Independents, Labour and Ratepayers' representatives, with the Liberals under even greater threat than at the guardians' elections from all these different groups.

It was in St Mary's therefore that the party battles of Southampton local politics were centred, and where there was invariably party activity at virtually all the guardians' elections. The parish elections clearly reflected those for the council in party terms, and in this most partisan of the Incorporation's parishes the influence of municipal and parliamentary politics is clearly seen. Yet the poor law added an additional dimension to the electoral politics of the parish. It was here that poor law controversies had the strongest impact in that disputes over religion prompted a rare candidacy of a local dissenting minister in 1873. In 1837 the crisis over the Dock Company's rating caused the Conservatives (standing as Independents) to rout the Liberals completely in the parish. In 1889 the issue of public house rating prompted the candidacy of "A Temperance Eight" (43) who

were defeated by a Conservative/Liberal coalition, while the parish became the centre of a teetotal campaign in the late 1890s (44). It was this issue which was partially responsible for the Liberal supremacy in the parish representation which was not seen at ward level in the late 1890s and 1900s, but the tendency for the left-wing to challenge the municipal representation rather than that of the poor law was also an important factor.

St. Mary's therefore, the largest parish in the Incorporation, was also the most active in a party sense, and the most diverse. Its size was the reason for both the diversity and the activity, providing the widest spectrum of interests in the town, and also the greatest number of votes, making the parish the most important at parliamentary and municipal elections. It was here therefore that parliamentary and council elections were won and lost, and much of the town's electoral activity was concentrated in these wards, spilling over into poor law elections. In St. Mary's also a number of factors relating to poor law politics are most clearly demonstrated. The close relationship between poor law and municipal politics is apparent, but so also is the impact of issues which were important in poor law administration - namely those of rating, religion and temperance. The smaller parishes of the Incorporation, St. Lawrence, St. John, St. Michael and Holy Rhood, however, led a rather quieter existence which in itself is of significance in assessing the role of party politics in Southampton's poor law affairs.

The Smaller Parishes

Had the parties attached importance to which one of them controlled the Southampton Board of Guardians, they would have made greater efforts than they did to influence the elections in the smaller parishes. From 1878 until 1894 St. Mary's sent 8 guardians to the board, All Saints a further four. After 1894 the St Mary's guardians were increased to 12, All Saints decreased to 3. However, the total number of guardians in the Incorporation between 1870 and 1908 was 18, and

between 1870 and 1894 the small parishes and All Saints together possessed the majority of the Board's guardians and could have controlled it were they of the same party. (Between 1870 and 1878 the smaller parishes had 12 guardians between them, 1878 - 1894 they had six. All Saints had four.)

Yet party activity as seen in St. Mary's rarely occurred in these smaller parishes, and rivalry was certainly on a lesser scale than in All Saints. On the face of it it seems that neither party was particularly concerned about the representation of these areas. One reason for this may have been the small number of councillors they controlled - the four parishes were encompassed by the Town ward of the council with three councillors only after 1894, elected in successive years. Nevertheless, before the reorganisation of council representation that took place in 1890 there were 9 councillors elected for Holy Rhood, St. Michael's and St. Lawrence & St. John (out of a total of 30). A second possibility is that the traditions of apparent non-party involvement here dictated a more harmonious style than elsewhere in the town. These small parishes prided themselves on their unanimity. Polls were to be avoided because they were expensive, and were only to be held on occasions when feelings were running very high indeed. This they did for example in 1873 during a dispute over the appointment of a new chaplain, when the first poll in 28 years was held in St. Michael's. The more prosaic factor of the difficulty of finding guardians may also have dictated a different atmosphere in these areas. Until 1878 these small parishes had to provide 12 guardians, and no guardian could serve for more than two consecutive years. As a result compromises had to be made in order to find men willing to serve (45). Although the rules were changed in 1878 permitting guardians to serve as long as they wished, and the numbers involved reduced to 6, traditions of compromise persisted, particularly since it proved possible to find willing guardians who were prepared to serve for years on end, despite the time-consuming nature of the task.

Therefore while party rivalry was certainly less in these areas than elsewhere in the Incorporation, various factors appear to have made the overt electioneering and party nominating patterns of St. Mary's and All Saints inappropriate here. Yet party consciousness is also evident in that on the whole before 1890 the parishes' municipal and poor law representation roughly coincided (46). The Liberals tended to predominate in the early years, shifting towards the Conservatives later, as also happened at ward level. However, a comparison between the party representation in the parishes and that of the wards indicates that the former was far steadier and more constant than the latter, where far more interest was taken in the elections, and representatives tended to change more often. Therefore the conclusion must be that the parties paid more attention at ward level than they did for the poor law elections in their representation of these parishes. Had they wished to win the entire Incorporation they would surely have been much more energetic in their efforts here.

The number of contested elections during the period 1870 - 1914 indicates the low rate of party activity for the poor law elections - there were only 12 contests during the period, out of 90 elections held in all the smaller parishes (Table 4:1). At municipal elections contests were much more frequent in that of 85 elections held in the area, 33 were contested. At the guardians' elections although the electoral contests were spread evenly over the years, party nominations occurred very much more often in the earlier period indicating a lessening of party concern for these parishes in the later years of the study.

There is therefore considerable evidence to show that partisan rivalry was very much less in these small parishes than it was in St. Mary's. Yet it was not entirely discounted, in that most of the guardians elected from these parishes were identifiable in terms of party, which requires a level of activity in attending party meetings. In addition, in the early years it is likely that instead of becoming involved in

the guardians' elections with official candidates and party meetings, the parties used rather more informal methods in the smaller parishes. In the period up to the early 1880s single individuals apparently dictated the representation in these areas to a considerable extent. The vestry meetings were small affairs, and in Holy Rhood in 1888 they were pleased to be "one happy family" (47). In these circumstances civic leaders were frequently to be found nominating candidates at successive elections. In 1871 George Gorsuch was named by the Southampton Times as "the recognised controller of its (St. Lawrence's) municipal representation" (48), and others of the same type were J.E. Le Feuvre in Holy Rhood and W.G Lankester, an ironfounder who owned property in a number of parishes. Le Feuvre was a Conservative councillor, while Gorsuch and Lankester were Liberals, but they did not only nominate those of their own party. Lankester was "a leading Radical" and councillor, whose interest in the guardians' elections arose in part from an interest in the "conditions and wants" of the paupers (49). In 1873, however, his concern for "The Question" of Dissent versus the Established Church, led him to stand as a guardian in order to oppose the Church party on the Board. From the later 1880s the tendency of particular individuals to appear repeatedly at vestry meetings decreased - possibly because the finding of representatives became much easier after 1878 when the smaller parishes' representation fell from 12 to 6 guardians. This was also the period of compromise in the All Saints elections, which was continued into the post 1890 period.

Nevertheless, the electors of these parishes were capable of strong feelings when the occasion demanded, and in the 1870s and 1880s religion (on two occasions) and the town's commercial prosperity prompted very much larger attendances than usual at vestry meetings, and contested elections. However, these events all belong to the period before 1894 - in the years after the redistribution of seats on the Board, and the alteration of the voting system there were no criticisms apparently of the guardians from these parishes which surfaced at

election times. The electors returned the same individuals year after year, and apparently took little interest in the poor law elections.

Therefore, the tendency was for these small parishes, which in the early years could have contributed to the parties' rivalry in the town, to have uncontroversial, non-party elections. In comparison with council elections for the area, the poor law elections were uneventful and amicable, and such party involvement as there was was low key and moderate. Yet these parishes could have materially affected the party complexion of the Board of Guardians. The inevitable conclusion must be, therefore, that the major parties were not interested in controlling the Board for its own sake, but simply in party rivalry in those areas recognised as having an impact on municipal politics - namely St. Mary's, with its very much greater representation on both Board and Council and, to a lesser extent, All Saints.

The role of party politics in the Incorporation's elections and meetings is further illustrated by an examination of two of the most controversial partisan issues which arose for the Southampton Board, namely religion and temperance.

Religion

Religion was for some parts of the South Hampshire area a controversial and political issue. In the New Forest and in the rural areas of South Stoneham the Church of England was supreme, but in Southampton and the urban parishes of South Stoneham there were many Nonconformists, and there was considerable rivalry in local party politics between them and the Anglicans. The religious census of 1881 indicates that the active Nonconformists and Anglicans in Southampton were roughly equal in numbers, but the numbers of Nonconformists had been growing over the previous years very much faster than the Anglicans (50).

The issue of religion affected the Boards of

Guardians in two ways. Firstly in both Southampton and in some of the parishes of South Stoneham it was a topical and controversial partisan issue by virtue of the rivalry between what the Southampton Times referred to as the "sectarian" and "non-sectarian" groups on the School Boards. The former denoted the Church of England representatives, so called by their opponents, while the latter was the name adopted by the Liberal/Nonconformists in Southampton. In Southampton large numbers of clergymen became members of the school board after 1871, although the compromise that existed between the two parties in school board politics in the 1870s and 1880s meant that the competition between the church representatives and the Nonconformists/Liberals did not affect other local bodies (51). In the 1890s representatives of the two groups continued to occupy seats on the School Board, in company with some Labourites (52).

Secondly, the issue of religion in the workhouse was one which occasionally impinged upon poor law policy and elections in Southampton. In 1873 the appointment by the (Liberal) Board of Guardians of a Nonconformist minister to the chaplaincy, caused considerable controversy. The original appointment of the Nonconformist minister Mr. Gregg was overturned with the help of large numbers of ex-officios at a meeting in April 1873. At the election vestry meetings held shortly afterwards attendances were much higher than usual, with the customary harmony of the smaller parishes of Holy Rhood and St. Michael's disrupted by Anglican candidates being opposed by Dissenters. Clergy usually did not stand as candidates for the guardianships (53), but in St. Mary's a Nonconformist minister stood in opposition to an Anglican and both here and in All Saints other nomination patterns clearly show that the religious question was the deciding factor. In All Saints a Liberal offered to pay the election expenses on behalf of his nominee (presumably to avoid the stigma of an expensive ballot) and at the election the Conservatives produced cabs and other vehicles to convey their voters to the "close and exciting" poll (54). The Liberals labelled themselves

the "nonsectarians", as in the School Board elections, and fought in the name of a national crusade against sectarian discrimination. One Liberal maintained that it was "time the working classes put their shoulders to the wheel and said that they will not allow ... preference of one sect over another in the country"; another referred to "religious equality" (55). The result of the election was that three Liberals were elected in the Conservative parish of All Saints, three in Holy Rhood, two in St. John, and St. Mary's and one in St. Michael's. In all of these except St. Mary's this represented a decline in Liberal strength on the Board of Guardians, although they retained the majority of seats. Subsequently a compromise was reached with an Anglican and Mr. Gregg being appointed to act as chaplains jointly.

This dispute over the appointment of a new chaplain caused the furore that it did because of the way in which Southampton reflected wider, national issues of religious debate in the 1860s and 70s. Nonconformity was well established in all parishes of the town (as the election results of 1873 indicate) and in 1870 the mayor, Frederick Perkins, had caused a stir by holding the corporation's annual religious service in the Above Bar Congregational Chapel (56). The campaign organised by the National Education League over the Education Bill of 1870, which was strongly supported by the local branch in Southampton, had also occurred only shortly before. In addition the national debate on disestablishment of the Church of England was a topic under active discussion in Southampton, with evangelical and High Church Anglican supporters engaged in dispute over the place of confession and "Popish ritual" in services at St. Michael's and St. Lawrence's churches (57).

Therefore the dispute over the appointment of a workhouse chaplain excited feelings that ranged much more widely than concern for the religious welfare of the paupers. However, religion was integral to the Poor Law in that the 1834 Act dictated that no inmate of a workhouse should be proselytised (58) and the



Southampton guardians were anxious to cater for the different religions of the paupers. They also, perhaps more importantly, were anxious not to offend those in the town who felt strongly about the possibility of "poaching" members of one "sect" to another. Such feelings were at the root of the School Board religious rivalry. Sensitivity as to the religion of workhouse inmates was a feature of other poor law unions; religion was important to many guardians in Gateshead, who were similarly sensitive to the religious persuasions of their inmates, and paid heed in the appointment of chaplains and in provision made for non-Anglicans (59). Similarly in Birmingham service on the Board of Guardians was seen as a legitimate Christian duty "The Christian man ... may serve Christ in the polling booth or on the platform, in Parliament, in the Town Council or on the Board of Guardians (60).

Attitudes which prompted such religious rivalry continued beyond the 1870s. In 1882 a Conservative guardian from All Saints incurred the wrath of his own party by supporting the chaplain who had been accused of dishonesty. Other Conservative guardians refused to stand with him and his party was routed at the election. The issue aroused strong Conservative party feeling and the rank and file organised themselves vigorously to back the member who had supported the chaplain, and to oppose the Liberals in St. Mary's. In 1885 the guardians decided not to hold services in the Sick Wards at all because it was impossible to cater for all sectarian tastes. Nevertheless in 1890 the guardians were paying 5s. per head per week to a special house in Southsea, set up to cater for the needs of Roman Catholic pauper children in the area (61).

However, after this although the guardians remained sensitive to the issue, there were no comparable controversies. In 1894 when another chaplain was appointed there were no feelings of the kind aroused in 1873. Two Anglicans were proposed for the post, and there was a large attendance of guardians and ex-officios for the vote, as was customary when patronage and offices were to be dispensed. This vote was taken

by ballot which may indicate that it was an unusually sensitive issue since individuals' voting was usually public and revealed in the press (62). In 1903 a guardian commented that a Nonconformist priest had been found to have held a service in which the congregation numbered two Nonconformists and nearly 30 Anglicans (63). The fact that this could happen without major protest indicates a lessening of religious feeling, and in 1907 the guardians refused to provide separate services for Roman Catholics on the grounds that the Nonconformists would want the same treatment. By this time therefore separate services for Nonconformists and Anglicans, as presumably supplied by the chaplains appointed in 1873, were no longer thought necessary.

Therefore, just as the party rivalry at guardians' elections in Southampton usually reflected the wider context of municipal and parliamentary politics, so did the partisan nature of the guardians' religious disputes. All the controversies described related very much to the poor law and the workhouse, but they acquired their heat from the context of religious rivalry in the town. Derek Fraser has written that "Urban political leaders saw religious grievances as a vitally important motivation for political action" and he emphasises the importance in the 1870s of the Nonconformist search for religious equality (64). Although the Southampton Board of Guardians did not reflect the town's religious rivalry to the same continuous extent as did the School Board, nevertheless, the politicisation of some of the guardians' elections was undoubtedly a reflection of the same factor.

Drink, Temperance and the Licensed Victuallers

Drink was another issue that caused poor law policy to be conducted upon partisan lines on occasions, and once again it was an issue which had strong links with Liberalism in a national context. Furthermore, like religion, temperance was to be found at many levels in Southampton's political life. The Southampton Temperance Association was formed in 1835 and had many branches, and the co-ordinating Temperance Council

numbered many prominent people amongst its members, including some guardians (65). It acted as a general co-ordinator for the many Southampton temperance associations, said in 1898 to number between 37 and 40, and as the orchestrator of local campaigns, such as that against Sunday opening in the 1880s. The extent to which temperance was an issue locally was demonstrated in 1878 when the chances of the Liberal candidate, Henry Bompas, being elected at a parliamentary by-election in Southampton, were wrecked by the inability of the temperance Liberals to accept his initially less than wholehearted support for their cause (66).

An indication of the quantities of drink involved in pauper diets in the three Unions which are the subject of this study, is given in the returns to Parliament for 1885 (67). The figures are drawn from the decade in which temperance first began to have an impact upon the Southampton Board of Guardians:

Table 4:2 "Quantity of Wine, Spirits and Malt Liquor"

	<u>Spirits</u> <u>Pints</u>	<u>Wine</u> <u>Pints</u>	<u>Malt Liquor</u> <u>Gallons</u>	<u>Average Work- house inmates</u>
New Forest	298	5	500	82
Southampton	374	626	2195	453
South Ston'm	341	145	1921	212

It is likely that paupers chiefly drank malt liquor, and if the quantity of such liquor is divided by the figure for average workhouse inmates, the result is an average of 9 gallons for every South Stoneham inmate, 6 gallons in the New Forest, and 4 gallons for every Southampton indoor pauper. This may indicate the Southampton Board's sensitivity to temperance pressure.

Opposition to the provision of drink in workhouses had acquired a national pressure group in the 1870s with the formation of The Drink Reform League (68). The temperance campaigners in Southampton wanted to ban drink in the workhouse, partly because they identified drink as a major cause of pauperism, but partly also

because it would represent a considerable victory locally in the temperance battle. A South Stoneham guardian in 1903 said that "three quarters of pauperism came from drink", while the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws of 1909 maintained "take away casual labour and drink, and you can shut up three quarters of the workhouses" (69). Clashes over the consumption of alcohol in workhouses was a common feature of many poor law disputes (70). The Southampton drink lobby had several concerns; they wished to retain the consumption of alcohol in the workhouse, both for the value of the contract to the local brewing interests, and also because to ban drink from a public institution would have been a considerable local defeat. Another concern, and the one which affected all the licensed victuallers of the city, was the guardians' rating powers over public houses. Brian Harrison has described the way in which the Conservatives, in their efforts to increase their working class voting support after the 1867 Reform Act, courted the non-temperance vote (71). From the election of 1874, therefore, the Liberal party had a third reason to attack "the trade", in that public houses often became a forum for election meetings of the Conservative Party, following the passage of the Licensing Act by the Liberal government in 1872.

In the area of drink for the paupers, the guardians had already banned beer in the workhouse in 1876 (72), except on the doctor's recommendation, although this was a deterrent measure in the harsh climate of 1876. In 1880 they resolved that "We do not believe that any members of the Board would wish to enforce a strict teetotal regime" (73) and, in common with the guardians of the two Unions, appear to have continued to decide that to deprive the paupers of alcohol altogether would have been excessive. Nevertheless, the guardians were broadly in agreement already with the LGB which ruled in 1884 that no strong drink should be supplied except on medical advice (74).

The Guardians' powers over public house rating however aroused considerably more interest and activity.

The Temperance Electoral Association was active in the 1880s, and in 1888 mounted their strongest challenge when eight "Abstainers" stood in St. Mary's (three of whom were elected), a challenge which was repeated in 1889 with rather less success. In 1888 the Licensed Victuallers Association responded by issuing a circular asking for support for Conservative candidates, and stating that 1887 had proved a "splendid victory" for the "licensed victualling trade interest", when "the former board was very jealous of interference with the rateable values of public house property". In 1887 the Conservatives had obtained a majority on the Board for the first time in ten years (Figure 1), and in 1888 the Association urged that guardians be returned "pledged to support your interest" once again, as opposed to the "five or six pledged teetotalers ... who are doing all they can to injure the publican's trade" (75). A president of the Licensed Victuallers Association stood as a Conservative candidate in 1888, as did a later president in 1899. The electorate returned the Conservatives again on this occasion, but with a slightly reduced majority.

The Conservatives dominated the Board of Guardians throughout the 1890s, so to that extent the temperance movement can be judged unsuccessful in its electoral ambitions. However, feelings about the exercise of the Board's rating powers regarding public houses remained strong. A Liberal candidate in the election of 1899 demanded an independent valuer because, he claimed, "... some of the members were looking after their friends" and "this was especially necessary in the case of the public houses" (76), while in 1898 a temperance candidate was put up in opposition to a wine and spirit merchant in the poor law elections (77). This was W. J. Atkins, who went on to be chairman of the Board himself later, and led the campaign of 1899 against the then Assessment Committee for their rating of public houses. It was also claimed in the 1899 election that Inland Revenue returns, previously agreed to be the basis of rating assessments, had been ignored in the case of licensed houses by Conservative guardians in committee. 1899 was clearly the peak of the

teetotallers' campaign on this issue, but the temperance movement remained active in Southampton - in 1904 and 1905 there were accusations made concerning the policies of the magistrates' Licensing Committee (78), by which time a second Licensing Act in 1904 had exacerbated the situation. Elsewhere the issue was also a source of controversy; clashes occurred in Liverpool between temperance supporters and Conservatives in the early 1900s (79), while in Gateshead temperance supporters had gained a majority on the Board of Guardians by 1900 (80).

Many licensed victuallers and wine and spirit merchants served as guardians in Southampton during this period (81) - Geoffrey Crossick has written of their "notorious" interest in local government elsewhere (82). One guardian in particular was an indefatigable campaigner for teetotalism and added considerably to the worries of the licensed victuallers lobby - George Parker, a Liberal who sat for St. Mary's. He directed his attacks chiefly at the guardians themselves and in 1885 maintained "as long as brandy drinking prevailed in the parlour of the House, so long would rottenness obtain" (83). In 1889 he accused the guardians in the temperance election propaganda of running a "boozing hall" (84). In 1898 he was still a guardian and still a ferocious abstainer, and so incensed at the guardians' continuing to consume alcohol in the house during long meetings, (for which purpose they would adjourn to the Master's quarters) that he accused them of running "a cheap brothel" - greatly to the outrage of his fellow guardians. In 1899 he was attacking the Master for allegedly receiving presents of "whiskey" from a contractor, and he broadened his attack in his election address of March 1899 to accuse all the guardians of receiving bribes of whisky from local tradesmen. A door keeper was produced who said that he believed that all the whisky coming to the house was sent by the guardians themselves for their own use. Nevertheless, despite these charges and the fact that Parker found them difficult to substantiate, his fellow Liberals rallied round when a special meeting was proposed to consider his charges properly. Other guardians had

clearly and understandably lost all patience with Parker - one said he should be publicly horse-whipped - another that he was "a damned liar" (85) His support was considerable in that he was always returned with a huge majority for his seat in St. Mary's (he was first elected in 1885 and then served continuously between 1896 and 1914). To add to the Board's discomfiture he was a man of some influence - Senior Bailiff 1908-9, chairman of the Temperance Association 1906, and the author of "Wayside Notes", a column in the Southampton Times. The partisan Southampton Times noted in 1902 that he had "a very numerous following outside the Board and he imparts a picturesqueness to the personality of the Incorporation" (86). "Picturesque" may not have been quite the adjective his colleagues would have used, but his sentiments would have found sympathy in the Webbs, who wrote in condemnatory terms of "petty corruption and convivial drinking" between guardians and workhouse officials in Poplar (87).

Like religion, temperance was an issue of considerable local importance, partly on account of the campaign for teetotalism in the workhouse, which had important moral implications and also publicity value, partly on account of the powers the guardians possessed in the rating of public houses. Both these objectives, however, belonged in the wider political and national context, just as did the intermittent rivalry between religious groups, and it was this context which resulted in such heat at the guardians' elections and meetings, rather than their impact on poor law policy itself.

Conclusion

The relationship between the Board of Guardians in Southampton and the town's overall party structure was a close one. The Board's elections were regarded, at any rate in some of the parishes, and particularly St. Mary's, as important testing grounds for local party popularity. Nevertheless, Council elections were contested more often and the Labourites in the 1890s directed their attention towards the Council and the

School Board before they looked to the Board of Guardians. The evidence would appear to indicate, therefore, that the Board of Guardians in Southampton was not generally the subject of partisan rivalry at elections on its own account. The guardians and other local politicians maintained the fiction that the poor law was not affected by party, and much of its business was non-controversial in any partisan sense. In the smaller parishes, moreover, which before 1894 had the ability to outvote, with All Saints, the party-dominated St. Mary's, the parties were less concerned, although at ward level activity was greater. The awarding of extra guardians in 1878 and 1894 was carried out with party either disregarded or efforts made to ensure parity (88). The press did not mention party in connection with any individual in its listings of candidates for the guardians' elections until 1911.

Nevertheless, poor law elections in certain parishes and at certain times were ruled by party considerations because the Board existed in a partisan environment in which other elections, municipal and national, were the prizes. Although party was rarely mentioned at elections, it was implicit in nomination patterns in All Saints and St. Mary's and party clearly mattered in these parishes of the Incorporation, particularly the latter. Mr. Knowles' frustration at the stranglehold of the major parties in St. Mary's in the 1870s is clear in his formation of his own, short-lived, Working Men's Party, while the Southampton Times wrote in 1881 that "The Board is constituted politically and therefore the election becomes largely a party matter" (89). Another candidate - a Liberal temperance campaigner - attacked the hypocrisy of the outwardly unpartisan Board in 1899 as follows: "There were no politics at the Board of Guardians, but he could tell them that Toryism was rampant there and its effects were very pernicious to the ratepayers. No politics indeed!" (90). It is clear, therefore, from the Southampton example, that simply because parties were not explicitly mentioned at elections or at meetings, this does not mean that party was not an important issue.

The view that the politicisation of the poor law in these years was due primarily to its position amidst a number of other elected bodies, is supported on the whole by the evidence from Southampton. Nevertheless, one cannot say that the Board of Guardians had no party life of its own. The parties' strengths were different on the Board from the Council at various times, particularly in the 1880s and in the late 1890s and 1900s. The vestry meeting system, in existence under the Local Act until 1894, dictated more personal and probably more accountable elections than those of the Council, which were bound to be reflected in different electoral patterns, while certain issues, such as religion and drink, aroused strong partisan feelings. In later years, although contested elections were fewer, voting strength at guardians' elections was considerable. It was largely the effect of these issues which gave the poor law elections their individuality and a tendency to continue to favour Liberalism which was not seen elsewhere.

CHAPTER 5THE NEW FOREST AND SOUTH STONEHAM BOARDS OF GUARDIANS AND
PARTY POLITICS

In the two Unions of South Stoneham and the New Forest the effect of Southampton on party politics was clear in the suburban areas, but at the same time traditions of non-partisan local administration persisted, particularly in rural parishes. Apparent independence in party politics overlaid a fundamentally Conservative loyalty which nevertheless was facing challenges from Liberal and, in a few cases, "Labourite" supporters. The situation was further complicated in South Stoneham by a different and very much wider range of representative institutions than existed in the town. Nevertheless, similar questions can be posed as to the party political situation in these two Unions namely, to what extent did party politics influence the elections to the Boards of Guardians; what other influences affected them, and how far were the issues which were factors in guardians' elections related to the poor law, or part of a wider political context?

If, as was demonstrated in the previous chapter, the party identification of candidates in urban poor law elections was intermittent and rarely explicit, in rural areas it was generally even more so. In their study of local government in the twentieth century Keith-Lucas and Richards state that "In rural areas the party element in local elections was normally unknown" (1), while in the rural Wincanton Union party affiliations do not appear to have been a factor in guardians' elections, and only six contested elections were held between 1857 and 1894 (2). This was despite the fact that from 1871 onwards the Boards of Guardians became the centre for a great deal of local administration. Their responsibilities included those for vaccination, river and other forms of pollution, cattle disease, public health, water supplies, burials, the collection of police and county rates, census collection, school attendance and many others (3).

1. THE NEW FOREST - THE BOARD OF GUARDIANS AND LOCAL POLITICS

In Southampton the level of partisan activity at the guardians' elections was clear from the numbers of individuals to whom party affiliations could be ascribed, even though their parties were not explicitly declared at elections. In the New Forest it has proved far more difficult to ascribe party affiliations to candidates at poor law elections, and this indicates the extent to which party played a very much lesser part in local life and in the elections to the New Forest Board of Guardians than it did in Southampton. The figures given in Appendix 5 indicate that almost all the guardians for whom a party has been identified were Conservatives, but this still represents only 39% of all the guardians elected. In the period after 1894 slightly more individuals' politics have been identified, indicating an increased degree of party consciousness in the area (local party association meetings were more frequently reported) but still the impression is that party mattered little to the guardians and their electorate.

The overwhelming Conservatism of the known party adherents on the Board of Guardians is very much in keeping with the context of local party politics in the New Forest, as described in Chapter 2 (4). Party activity was not great and elections were rarely contested (5). Such contested elections as there were were almost invariably held in the Southampton suburb of Eling, or after 1894 in its various subdivisions. The reasons for the electoral activity in this parish lay in its industrial base and relatively high population density, which gave rise to problems requiring costly publicly-provided solutions, and in the parish's proximity to Southampton which facilitated the spread of the city's party politics to this area.

In the 1890s the Liberals entered local politics, seeking to exploit the dissatisfaction in the locality concerning the prospect of increasing rates, in an attempt to gain party representation in Eling, the parish closest to Southampton. Liberal candidates were found

to challenge the sitting district councillors and guardians over gas lighting and school board issues. So, when Josiah Pike stood against the existing guardians in 1891 at Eling it was over the issue of the installation of gas lighting in Totton. The Southampton Times announced that the contest was made "a political battle by the Radicals of Totton", and "At Totton more excitement prevailed than has been witnessed in the old days of parliamentary elections" (6). In 1892 the Radicals contested the Eling poll again in order to oppose plans to set up a School Board.

Later in the 1890s party rivalry became more intense, and it no longer required a prominent local issue to result in a contested election in Eling. Contests took place in 1898 and 1899 when local economic conditions were playing their part in party feeling. The Liberals found a candidate in 1899 who managed to rally enough support to ensure his election to the Board. He was A. J. Andrews, a parish councillor, school board member and unsuccessful county council candidate in the election of 1895. In 1899 the parish council electors were urged to "Vote for Stokes, the British workman" (7) and Andrews stood in the district council elections of the same year as the working man's candidate. His election bill said "Let them all come up and vote for Andrews, the friend of the Unemployed" (8). This was a rather more successful platform for him than one he had adopted a year earlier in the guardians' elections as "A large ratepayer and one of the largest employers of labour" and resulted in his election (9). That the vote was thought worth cultivating in this area by the Liberals of Southampton was clear from the fact that two radical aldermen from the town campaigned in the contest, "which alone proved the very strenuous exertions Mr. Andrews' friends had made on his behalf" according to the Conservative Hampshire Advertiser. Meanwhile a meeting of the New Forest Conservative Association was held in order to keep him out (10).

However, after 1899 the Liberal party's activity decreased in Eling. Andrews and his fellow-guardians were not challenged at any elections until 1907, when he

and two of his Conservative colleagues (all existing guardians) campaigned together against a challenger who stood in the name of "More Smoke" and "More Employment" - Andrews' own platform in 1899 (11). The 1890s therefore represent a period of intense activity on the part of the Liberals of Eling, which was aroused by the local disputes concerning expenditure in the area. This activity was then fuelled by the emergence of a candidate who was politically ambitious locally, but this was the only Liberal to be elected from the parish, and even he was prepared to forget his party affiliation in later years (12). The election of 1899 was the last one in Eling to be contested until 1907, and this one was clearly not fought on party lines. However, in 1913 there was apparently a party contest, since three Liberals were defeated by two Conservatives and one whose politics are unknown, and it was on this occasion that Andrews lost the seat on the District Council that he had held for the previous twelve years. Andrews' long service as a guardian had therefore not won him the loyalty of the electorate when party was obviously the basis of a contested election.

Elsewhere in the New Forest Union Liberals became guardians in Bramshaw (1894-1910), Dibden (1894-1904), and Fawley (1902-10), but never as the result of a contested election, nor was their party declared when they offered themselves as candidates. The fact that these Liberal candidates were unopposed hardly indicates major party rivalry between the two major parties. Nor was there any great party activity in Lyndhurst, the only other centre of population of any size in the Union. This village faced similar problems to those of Eling, concerning recurring troubles with its drainage, necessitating much postponed but ultimately costly solutions. However, there is little sign of Liberal activity here apart from an unsuccessful attempt at the County Council elections in 1895. All the rest of the evidence points towards a Conservative-dominated area, although party is rarely mentioned. The Conservatives won the county election of 1895 as they did every other between 1888 and 1914, and while the politics of all the Lyndhurst guardians have not been identified, virtually

all those that have were Conservatives (Appendix 5). There were only two contested elections for the Board of Guardians between 1870 and 1914, one in 1891 and the other in 1907, the second a year when large sums of ratepayers' money were at stake. On both occasions Conservatives were challenged for their seats on the Board by individuals representing the Lyndhurst Ratepayers Association (13). In 1907 the election was won by two of the Conservative candidates, but the third was defeated by the local Roman Catholic priest, who was a vocal champion of the pro-drainage faction amongst the Lyndhurst ratepayers.

Liberalism therefore, which constituted such a threat at national elections that it was triumphant in the admittedly unusual circumstances of 1906, did not have an equal impact in the New Forest local arena. The challenge at county level was at its most active in 1895, but for the Board of Guardians and the District Council (from 1894) party politics mattered much less than they did for the parliamentary elections. Eling was the only parish where the Liberals actively challenged the Conservative supremacy, and even here their challenge was confined to the 1890s and was for rather exceptional reasons. There is no sense in which Eling was the St. Mary's of the New Forest, with party rivalry in local elections acting as a dress rehearsal for the parliamentary struggle, in that the rivalry of the 1890s was not sustained into the period when the Liberals won the parliamentary election, nor was there a ready supply of Liberal candidates.

However, although party was rarely mentioned in elections to the New Forest Board, except in the cases outlined above at Eling, there is evidence to indicate that the elections were not left wholly to the whim of those who might fancy a chance at local representation. Just as in Southampton in the smaller parishes certain individuals at times appeared to be playing a crucial role in the nomination of candidates, so the same happened in the New Forest in the 1880s. In Eling a local citizen, Sir Henry Paulet, appears to have played such a role. He was a much-respected member of the local

gentry from an ancient family, a local benefactor and a Verderer in 1884. He was active in the fight in 1881 to ensure that Colbury, Netley, North Eling and Marchwood avoided the costs of the St. Mary's Burial Ground, representing those districts at the Local Government Board Enquiry with W.G. Roy. He does not appear to have held local office himself during this period apart from the Verderership, but in 1883 he nominated all the successful guardians for Eling (the only occasion when individual nominators are known) and he was for many years the chairman of the Netley Marsh Ratepayers Association which had between 1880 and 1887 nominated the guardians for Eling, which each year were elected by the ratepayers. After his death in 1886 W.H.S. Stanley, a Conservative landowner, became chairman of the association, and in 1889 and 1899 when guardians for Eling were elected, new candidates were held to have been "brought out" (14). By whom it is not stated, but the wording indicates an agency at work securing candidates.

Although Stanley was a Conservative the nominees of the Netley Marsh Ratepayers were not always of the same party - in 1883 there were a Conservative and a Liberal nominated together by the Association while they were opposed by a second Liberal. It would appear therefore that the Ratepayers Association was not simply a pseudonym for the Conservative party, but rather a means whereby the local gentry vetted and nominated the men elected to the Guardians, and it may have been "Radicals" that they were anxious to keep off the Board. In 1886 Josiah Pike, when he stood as a Liberal in St. Mary Eling commented on the activities of local "vested interests" operating against him. The Liberal Southampton Times wrote "The latter (Pike) avowed himself a Liberal in his politics, and his attempt to gain a seat on the Board aroused a feeling of great hostility on the part of those who look upon such offices almost in the light of vested interests" (15). This tends to support the suggestion that a proprietorial interest was being taken in the Guardians' elections. Furthermore, many of the same individuals who became guardians also served on other local bodies, in addition to the near-automatic

membership of the New Forest Highway Board for guardians. In the year when Pike stood for election the Lyndhurst Burial Board had three guardian members out of 13, the Eling School Board four out of seven, the Fawley School Board two out of five; so to an outsider the local governing group in the New Forest must have looked like a fairly closed shop. The same group were also to be found represented upon the New Forest's own unique organisations, the Verderers, the New Forest Association, the Commoners Defence Association and the Commoners' Committee (16).

If it is correct that the local gentry wanted to control local representation (their motives are explored in Chapter 8), then the possibilities for so doing were easily exploitable. While in Eling the influence of the gentry was operated through the Netley Marsh Ratepayers Association, the activities of the Association were not mentioned in the press after the 1880s. However the patterns of kinship, landownership and employment in the Forest were such that many elected guardians were linked to the wealthiest in the Forest by close ties (17). Some of the wealthy gentry of the New Forest were concerned enough to become members of the Board of Guardians themselves on occasions, and not simply in an ex-officio capacity, while ex-officio guardians were often frequent attenders at Board meetings (18). In the background were the unique local pressures related to the enclosure of land and commoners rights, outlined in Chapter 2, in the context of which the politics of the New Forest were enacted, which served to enhance the role of local landowners. Many ex-officios were leading members of the various New Forest landowners' and commoners' associations and societies, as were many elected guardians.

After 1894 when the ex-officios were discontinued some stood for election to the Board (19). Possibilities for influence remained therefore to an extent after 1894, both directly and also through the links mentioned above. However, there is some evidence to show that the guardians chafed at such influence and were glad to see the back of the ex-officio guardians. When offered the

opportunity to co-opt guardians in 1894 they rejected the suggestion that they should do so from the ranks of previous ex-officios, choosing two former elected guardians instead (20). Furthermore, although the parliamentary electors had since the 1860s chosen a member of the leading New Forest landowning families of the Montagus or the Comptons for their MP, in 1906 the local sitting MP, Mr. Compton, elected the previous year and son of a previous MP, was rejected in favour of Mr. Hobart of Hythe.

Therefore, the various New Forest organisations, the Board of Guardians and the parochial institutions all provided the means whereby the gentry of the New Forest could play a leading role in local representation and government. In one instance their role took on a more formal existence in the activities of the Netley Marsh Ratepayers Association, who were anxious to combat the growth of radicalism in Eling and to ensure that the local representatives were of their own choosing. At a party level the area was a Conservative one, with many of the local gentry, and guardians, active in the local party associations. The strength of the Conservative Party locally is indicated by the parliamentary and county council election results, although not so much by the local elections. Here party was rarely mentioned and does not seem to have been a factor in Board of Guardians' elections, except in Eling in the 1880s and 90s, where the Conservatism of the area emerged in contrast to the Liberal ambitions of certain local individuals.

2. SOUTH STONEHAM

The South Stoneham Union, with its multiplicity of local representative institutions (21), was a far more complex area in terms of party politics and local issues than was the New Forest. It was an area in which Southampton's rural hinterland was fast giving way to the suburbs of the town itself. In these suburban parishes - Millbrook, South Stoneham, Hound and St. Mary Extra - the problems which in the New Forest were confined

chiefly to the parish of Eling were magnified by the greater populations concerned and the consequent scale of the expenditure involved. In most of the suburban parishes of the South Stoneham Union responsibility for these specific issues was not that of the Board of Guardians/Sanitary Board/District Council, but of a specially constituted parochial board, and it was these boards which were the focus of local attention. The Board of Guardians was therefore often pushed out of the central role it played in local affairs in the New Forest, to play second fiddle to these other local institutions, both in terms of the interest of the parties in elections and the issues that were important to the electorate.

As was the case in the New Forest, the South Stoneham Board of Guardians was a primarily Conservative one, although the same problems have been encountered in the identification of party affiliations. This is in itself testimony to the non-partisan complexion of many of the guardians' politics, since the chief source of information as to party is attendance by individuals at party meetings. Most of those who were active attenders at such meetings were Conservatives from the suburban parishes around Southampton, where the partisan nature of the town's politics spread through close association with the borough. Thus the parties of 82 or 42% of guardians is known, and of these 69 were Conservatives (35% of total membership) and 14 were Liberals (7% of total membership) (Appendix 4).

As in Southampton the experience of the individual parishes differed from each other, and the political context in which the South Stoneham Board of Guardians operated is best illustrated by an examination of some of the parishes in detail.

Millbrook Parish

Millbrook, located at the western end of the Union, was in many ways typical of South Stoneham in that it was local institutions other than the Board of Guardians that provided the opportunity for local party activity, and it

was the issues that concerned these local institutions which were the controversial ones in the parish. It was also typical of the South Stoneham Union in that while the poor law administration was occasionally affected by the politics of other organisations, more often than not it was ignored by the local parties. Before 1894 it was the Shirley Local Board of Health that was the focus of attention for the residents of Millbrook. Later they concentrated upon the Southampton Council with the absorption of the area into the borough.

The issue which dominated local politics in Millbrook at the end of the nineteenth century was drainage. The problem arose because of the affluence of Shirley, where "in many parts a superior class of houses were being put up, while ... at Freemantle ... there resided a large number of people who could only afford to pay small rents" (22). As a result the residents of Freemantle felt an increasing sense of grievance in the 1870s. This centred upon the state of drains and the water supply, the subject of a damaging Local Government Board report in 1879. The residents of Banister, Hill and Fitzhugh felt much the same and in 1887 representatives from these three areas and Freemantle gained a majority on the Local Board of Health. The Shirley residents were represented by the Shirley Ratepayers Association, and this body continued to exist in various incarnations for the next 30 years, so that after 1908 when Shirley joined the Southampton Union, the Ratepayers Association was the political organisation the Shirley guardians represented. The other areas formed their own Ratepayers Associations to represent their interests, and the area remained divided politically until a drainage scheme had been decided upon and implemented, in 1890 (23).

The guardians' elections attracted much less interest than the Local Board's, but local board rivalries spilled over into poor law elections, just as Council politics affected some parishes of Southampton. In the 1880s the elections to the Shirley Local Board were vigorously contested and the meetings were often lively with onlookers being "too demonstrative" (24). Contested

elections were held in almost every year between 1879 when the Ratepayers Association was formed, until 1893, when the Local Board was abolished. In contrast there were only 9 contested elections in Millbrook parish (the poor law equivalent of Shirley) between 1870 and 1894. Furthermore, as Appendix 6 indicates, the elections to the Local Board attracted more voters than did those of the guardians, when voting figures are available.

Although contested elections were rare, the guardians' elections in the area were governed by the same regional differences that beset the quarrel over the drainage of the area, with guardians seen as representatives of either Freemantle or Shirley. In 1875 "the appalling state of the roads in Freemantle" prompted the candidacy at the poor law election of a Mr. Kinkhead "for Freemantle and Major General Lewis for Shirley", despite the fact that in South Stoneham Highway Board members were not always guardians as well. In 1876 the newspaper commented that Shirley had two representatives on the Board of Guardians and Millbrook and Freemantle one each (although the parish was not divided into wards for the poor law elections) (25). In 1879 the Freemantle Ratepayers Association returned two of its candidates to the Board of Guardians. This rivalry continued and in 1884 a poll had to be held in Millbrook because the Vice Chairman of the guardians was opposed at the poor law election, because of his leadership of the "pro-drainage" faction on the Shirley Local Board of Health (26). The vice-chairman was Major-General Lewis, previously chairman of the South Stoneham Board. He clearly relished the peace of the guardians' meetings following the rough and tumble of the Shirley Board of Health because he remarked in 1884 that "He had been a guardian for ten years and during that time he could not recollect a single word calculated to wound the feelings of anyone. He spoke rather feelingly because he had been chairman of another public body where, unhappily, a very different state of affairs existed" (27).

These events illustrate the way in which the politics of the Local Board of Health, relating to expensive and necessary reforms, spilled over into the

poor law arena, investing the guardians' elections with an excitement and partisanship they otherwise would not have had. There are a variety of reasons why the citizens of Millbrook and other parishes in the South Stoneham Union preferred to contest elections for boards other than the Guardians. The guardians' elections were translated into only a small percentage of the Board's total membership in each parish, so the local groups may not have thought fighting the guardians' elections so worthwhile. Furthermore, the union was geographically divided in that Millbrook was separated from the rest of the Union by Southampton. Its sense of unity was further eroded by the institutional fragmentation of the union's area, with a multiplicity of separate authorities existing in the different parishes. Portswood, on the other side of the town from Millbrook looked to the Southampton Council as its sanitary authority, and council elections were consequently of greater interest. Further east Hound and St. Mary Extra had their own school boards, and later urban district councils were established in Itchen and Eastleigh.

A glance at the financial demands made respectively upon the electorate of Millbrook by the guardians and the local board indicates a further factor. In 1893 the guardians' rate demand for the half year amounted to 2.8% of rateable values in the union, while the demand from the Shirley Local Board was 4.4%. Therefore, the greater cost of the local board, coupled with the fact that while "the poor are always with us", "nuisances, outlets, cesspools and noisome ditches" were things that the electors of Freemantle, Banister, Sidford and Fitzhugh felt they should not have to put up with (28). The need for drainage was urgent, costly and contentious, that of coping with the poor was constant and therefore less immediate. In other parishes the same considerations applied to the elections for the School Boards in terms of actual and potential expense.

The respective rating demands made of the Millbrook ratepayers also demonstrate how justified were the fears of ratepayers when faced with the introduction of new administrative boards. They knew that the sums required

by these boards would be greatly in excess of those which they were paying to the guardians. While the guardians continued to be responsible for sanitary matters they could carry out the kind of holding operation with which the New Forest guardians managed to resist the creation of separate boards to deal with the drainage problems of Lyndhurst or Totton. Once in being, furthermore, local boards were apt to find issues upon which money needed to be spent over and above the purposes for which they were created. Thus in 1883 fire hydrants were installed in Shirley at a cost of £1000, and were much criticised as a waste of money. In Freemantle the expression "stave off" was used to describe the object of a ratepayers' meeting called there when it was suggested that a School Board should be formed in the area. At Eling in April 1892 William Coxwell, clerk to the New Forest Guardians, said at a meeting that unless a voluntary rate of 4d in the £ was found each year a School Board would come, and an expenditure of £8000 would be necessary to meet the LGB's requirements. The interference of the LGB in local affairs was viewed with much suspicion as likely to be expensive. In Shirley when they scrapped their expensive drainage scheme in 1884 for a cheaper one (costing £5000 as opposed to £19,000) catering for a smaller area, one of the advantages was that the scheme was fundable out of revenue rather than capital, and the LGB would therefore not be involved.

National party labels only became important in the area after the absorption of Shirley and Freemantle into the Southampton borough in 1894. Party was never mentioned in the affairs of either the Local Board of Health nor the Board of Guardians in Millbrook before the demise of the Local Board in 1893. When the borough boundaries were extended to include Shirley and Freemantle in 1895 party rivalry, in conformity with the partisan nature of the Council elections in the rest of Southampton, was also introduced for the first time into local elections. Between 1895 and 1914 6 Conservatives, 5 Liberals and 2 Labour candidates (in 1911 and 1912) represented the Shirley ward. In Freemantle the numbers for the major parties were the same, with a Labour man elected in 1905. Freemantle had had a Working Men's

Association since 1889 and in 1894 the Harcourt Liberal/Radical Club successfully sponsored two "working men" candidates for the Local Board of Health elections when this body was attempting to fight off the annexation proposals of Southampton Council. However, it was only when the Millbrook ward was created in 1909 that the area returned more than one Labour representative (in 1911 and 1912), while Shirley returned two more in the same years and a third in 1913, and it was at this point that Labour overtook the Liberals as the strongest rivals to the Conservatives on Southampton Council (Figure 2 p. 90) (29).

In contrast, Millbrook's representatives on the Board of Guardians continued to acknowledge no party at all during this later period. Nevertheless, the Shirley Ratepayers Association was still active, recruiting support from both major parties in what was possibly an anti-Labour move, but not contesting any elections overtly until the guardians' elections of 1908, when Shirley joined the Southampton Union. In keeping with the policies of other ratepayers groups elsewhere in the country (30), and with its earlier role of resisting expenditure by the Local Board of Health, its chief policy at this time was to resist extra demands upon the ratepayers' pockets. It was anticipated that the annexation of Shirley by the Southampton Union would put up the rates considerably, and so it proved, with an increase from the old figure of 1/6 to 2/11 (31). Once the area was annexed to Southampton in 1908 the local guardians therefore stood initially as Ratepayers and only later as either Liberals or Conservatives.

Party therefore, as was the case in the New Forest, appears to have been irrelevant in most of the poor law elections in Millbrook parish. It was never mentioned, nor is there any indication that it mattered until the very end of the period, by which time the parish had been absorbed into the Southampton Union, where party politics were for the most part the norm in poor law elections. The issues that governed the poor law elections, such as they were, were for the most part

those of the Local Board of Health rather than the poor law.

South Stoneham Parish - including Portswood

South Stoneham parish was a large area extending from the suburbs of Southampton to the rural fringes of the union. Poor law elections bore similarities to those in Millbrook and also in Eling in that electoral interest in these rural areas before 1890 was mostly concerned with obtaining local men as their representatives. In 1878 the Bitterne and West End Ratepayers Protection Association campaigned for the election of a West End farmer rather than a Portswood candidate, and in 1877 a Mr. Ede had written to the board suggesting that with 3000 residents Bitterne deserved its own guardian. This was achieved when the parish was divided in 1894.

Portswood, however, resembled the parishes of the Southampton Incorporation in that it took its cue at poor law elections from those for the council. It came under the Southampton Board of Health rather than the South Stoneham Sanitary Board before 1894, and after 1890 the district was absorbed into the Southampton Council area, just as was Shirley. In 1888 a Portswood Ratepayers Organisation was in existence but since it covered Newtown as well, its attention was primarily directed to Southampton Council affairs. It was largely a Conservative area. Any councillors from Portswood who were elected before 1890 (by virtue of property within the borough) were Conservatives, and after 1890 only two Liberals were elected to the Council amongst a host of Conservatives (and a couple of independents) from 1890 to 1914.

The poor law was clearly the least important local government organisation in the eyes of the local electorate. As in Millbrook, it is entirely understandable that their attention should be directed towards the Council. Portswood tended not to bother very much about its poor law elections, according to the Southampton Times, which in April 1888 complained of

the apathy of Portswood ratepayers who would not stand for the Board of Guardians' elections. As a result Portswood "the borough part of the parish, contains three fifths of the total population of South Stoneham, but only one fifth of the representation" (32). The tedium of the poor law elections, with their absence of either issues or partisanship was relieved somewhat after 1890, however. Now that Portswood was part of the borough the relationship between the Council and the poor law asserted itself on the Southampton Incorporation model, and party governed the nominations for the Board of Guardians elections from this point onwards. Virtually all of those elected were Conservatives, as was the case of the Council during this time, but still the poor law attracted little attention at elections, with only one fifth of the electorate voting in 1900.

St. Mary Extra and Hound

Ratepayers' groups played an important role in the politics of these two eastern, suburban parishes of the Union, just as they had in Millbrook, and to a lesser extent, Portswood. However, while in Millbrook and South Stoneham ratepayers' associations had a geographical representative function, in St. Mary Extra and Hound they were linked to local party politics. In the early years of this study the issue here was not sanitary reform, but concerned education. Thus at School Board elections the Liberal/Radical/Nonconformist group in Hound and St. Mary Extra challenged the Anglican "Tory clique" under the title of Ratepayers Associations (33). In general in the earlier part of this study to be a Ratepayer in Hound or St. Mary Extra also meant being a Liberal, and probably a radical, given the strong identification of the members of the Ratepayers' groups with the Nonconformist cause on the local school boards. The Ratepayers' chief preoccupation, as in Shirley and Southampton, was economy. The School Board of St. Mary Extra proved, as did the Shirley Local Board, to be a more expensive institution than the local poor law. Thus in 1891 the Guardians' rate as a percentage of rateable value

amounted to 2.4%, while the St. Mary Extra School board needed 3.5%. Hound School Board's share was 2.1%, so it was slightly cheaper, but new building projects in this parish still aroused considerable hostility. In 1883 the Ratepayer/Radical group in Hound tried to frustrate the building of a new boys' school at Sholing (34), and given that new schools were planned at Woolston and Netley at the same time the issue was one of considerable sensitivity. School Board elections were almost invariably contested, so that there were contests in all but one year between 1878 and 1894 in St. Mary and on 7 out of 9 occasions in Hound.

Later the *raison d'etre* of the ratepayers' groups broadened in an effort to combat the rise of Labour, the party advocating costly solutions to the problems of urban overcrowding in the rapidly growing area of Itchen in the 1900s. Thus at this time they were recruiting support from both Conservatives and Liberals, at least one and often two of whom were running as a "working man's representative" (35). By this time therefore the Ratepayers were putting up candidates to suit the working class population of Itchen, but by 1907 they were on the retreat as far as the Itchen UDC was concerned in all but Sholing, this coinciding with the increase in the Labour representatives on the Council.

Party politics were more prominent in these parishes than in any others of this study with the exception of St. Mary's and All Saints in Southampton. The Liberals and the Conservatives were well organised in this area from the 1870s, with ward organisations of the Liberal Two Hundred (the Southampton Liberal organisation) established in Hound and St. Mary Extra in 1878, while the Conservatives already had their ward organisations in being by this time. In the late 1880s the Woolston Radical Association was also active, and by the 1890s the Liberal/Radical group also encompassed a Labourite candidate and a joint address was issued in the St. Mary Extra School Board election of 1893. There is a similarity with Southampton in this, and as was also the case in Southampton such unanimity was not to last, and Itchen UDC had a "small"

Labour group by 1907 (36). Their numbers increased until 1910 when the Liberals and Conservatives forgot their differences to combine for both the UDC and the County Council elections, and the large number of candidates who stood in 1913 (26 for 15 seats) indicates a continuance of the Labour challenge.

The activity of the ratepayers' groups and the prominence of the major parties in these parishes had their effect upon the elections for the Board of Guardians, both in increased interest in guardians' elections at certain points, and in the partisan nature of some of them. In contrast to the school boards the annual elections for the Guardians were only contested seven times in Hound and eight in St. Mary Extra over the 1870 - 1914 period. However, five of the contested elections in St. Mary took place after 1894, out of seven elections held, indicating an increasing competitiveness in the guardians' elections during this time, as a result of the rivalry surrounding the elections to the UDC. Voting figures also indicate increasing interest in the guardians' elections at a time when increased numbers were also voting for the UDC (Appendix 6).

As elsewhere, parties were never mentioned in pre-election press reports, and could have been unimportant in the selection of guardians. Nevertheless the Conservatism of the guardians in contrast to the Liberal challenge on the school boards is striking and may have resulted from efforts to keep Liberals off the Board (37). For many years the Conservatives held all the seats for the parishes, while on the School Board the parties were evenly balanced. However, the Liberals gradually made inroads, just as they were doing in the New Forest. In 1887 a Liberal joined two long-serving Conservative guardians (38) for St. Mary and in 1892 a second Liberal was elected so that the Conservative guardians were in a minority for the first time in the parish. In Hound, where the Liberals were represented on the School Board in the 1880s, the Conservatives represented the parish on the Board of Guardians until 1890 when a Liberal was elected

to one of the two seats. The Liberals maintained their majority on the St. Mary Extra and Hound seats on the Board of Guardians until 1901. From 1904 the impact of the Labour challenge to the Conservatives and Liberals on the UDC is seen clearly in the growth in Ratepayer strength on the Board, so that in the next three elections, held in 1904, 1907 and 1910 three out of four guardians elected were Ratepayers.

These two suburban parishes of the South Stoneham Union reflect a number of trends already observed elsewhere in poor law politics. There is the Conservatism that was also seen in the New Forest, facing a Liberal challenge in the 1890s, as occurred in Eling. There is the strength of the Ratepayers' Associations, as seen in Southampton and Millbrook, and having much in common with them in their devotion to economy. The close identification of the Ratepayers' Associations with the Liberal Party is also a feature seen in Southampton's Ratepayers Party in the 1880s (39) but in these two South Stoneham parishes the links appear to have been very much more sustained. Their explicit opposition to the growth of the Labour Party in Itchen after 1900 is also a distinctive feature - such may have been an aspect of the Shirley Ratepayers Party in the 1900s, but here the evidence is very clear.

The Rural Parishes - Botley, Hamble, Chilworth, North Stoneham, Burseldon.

These rural parishes have much in common with the New Forest in that there was little evidence of electoral excitement. During the 1870s Chilworth was so little concerned about its poor law affairs that no guardian was elected at all until 1885, and North Stoneham also had difficulty finding representatives. As was also the case in the New Forest guardians were frequently the local incumbents for these parishes, or otherwise members of the local leading landowning families - such as the Warners in Botley, the Scovells in Hamble, the Gaters in South Stoneham. Party had no place that can be discerned in the guardians' elections and contested elections were very rare.

The only exception to this electoral peace was the area of Eastleigh in the parish of North Stoneham. The town was growing rapidly from the 1880s as a result of the establishment of the railway works - in 1891 its population was 3,609, by 1901 it had risen to 7,779 - an increase unmatched anywhere else in the Union. From the 1880s onwards the Eastleigh residents were anxious to establish their own civil parish, and in 1891 the newspaper recorded that "the desire of the people of Eastleigh was that their district should be put into a proper sanitary state" (37), while in the 1890s the campaign also began to create a separate School Board for the area. In the 1880s Eastleigh secured the election of guardians from their own area to the Board as part of the representation of the North Stoneham parish, and in 1894 Eastleigh, together with a number of other parishes, was awarded two guardians of its own. After prolonged campaigning (40) a Local Board of Health was set up in 1893, and in 1896 a UDC was created. A school board was also established in 1893 which, according to the Southampton Times, contained a majority of "Progressives anxious to ensure religious education free of sectarian bias" (41).

Party politics in Eastleigh did not have a marked impact upon these local institutions, with the exception of the School Board, which was clearly divided after and including the elections of 1897 into Church/Conservatives, Independents and Radical/Nonconformists. In 1896 a short lived Ratepayers Association collapsed from lack of support, and in 1900 only one third of the electors went to the poll to elect their local Council. The area's lack of enthusiasm for party politics is also clear from the late arrival of Labour in Eastleigh - it was only in 1913 that the ILP decided to set up a Labour Representation Council to secure the election of Labour candidates at the UDC elections. The absence of party in the area may have been due to the fact that there seems from the correspondence between Eastleigh residents and the Local Government Board to have been a considerable degree of consensus about the need firstly for a local board so that Eastleigh could run its own

affairs, and secondly for an efficient drainage scheme (42). The South Stoneham guardians were attacked as dilatory: "Our affairs are at present in the hands of the South Stoneham Board of Guardians, two members of that Board representing Eastleigh. Their meetings are held three miles distant and very little, if anything is done for the improvement of the place" (43).

CONCLUSION

The South Stoneham Board of Guardians, in party terms, seems to have been very much the bridesmaid to a number of local brides, in the shape of the Shirley Local Board, the Southampton Council, the School Boards and UDC of St. Mary Extra, Hound and Itchen. Be it for reasons of policy or rating levels, in all the areas of the Union party attention was first paid to the local institution, and secondly, if at all, to the Union elections. Where party played a role in the Guardians' elections it tended to reflect developments which occurred in other institutions, where those institutions existed. In the rural parishes there was no mention of party, and indeed in the earlier years of this study, some of the rural parishes found it hard to find guardians to represent them. Contested elections, even in suburban parishes, were invariably more frequent for other boards than they were for the guardians, and the issues that preoccupied the electors and affected elections tended to be those of sanitation and education, rather than pauperism or the poor law.

In all these factors the South Stoneham Board of Guardians bore a resemblance to the Southampton Board which also appeared to play second fiddle to the Council, but in the case of South Stoneham there is virtually no evidence of that role ever being challenged, as did occur in Southampton when controversial aspects of poor law policy were at stake. Poor law policy in South Stoneham was largely non-controversial, mainly because the guardians were able to maintain low rating levels as a result of the considerable expansion in rateable values (44). In

party terms the suburban parishes also bore similarities to Southampton. Ward organisations were offshoots of the Southampton party structure, rivalry on parochial institutions was often as great as that in municipal Southampton - only the greater emphasis on Ratepayers Associations is in contrast.

There are party similarities with the New Forest as well in that South Stoneham was also a Conservative area, but in the suburban parts of the Union this was under a much stronger threat than in most of the New Forest. Furthermore, although the New Forest Board did not pale into insignificance in a political sense in comparison with other more contentious institutions, party was usually not a factor at poor law elections here. The exception is a brief period in Eling in the 1890s, when costly measures were instituted by the Guardians as the Sanitary Board, and the School Board were created. Growing unemployment and probably a dislike of landowner influence prompted a brief period of Liberal and Radical activity. In addition Lyndhurst also had a Ratepayers Association as did St. Mary Extra, Hound and Shirley, but although this group was involved in drainage (and sanitary matters loomed large for the New Forest Guardians, more so than poor law policy before 1894), they appeared far later than did the Ratepayer Associations of the South Stoneham Union. These groups faced problems earlier and on a larger scale than did rural Lyndhurst in the 1900s - the spread of suburban Southampton into Shirley and neighbouring districts was advanced by the 1870s and the Local Board dates from the 1850s. Similarly the school boards of St. Mary Extra and Hound were the target of the Ratepayers groups on the eastern side of the city, while those of the New Forest attracted no such attention that can be discovered. It is likely that the spread of Liberalism from Southampton to the eastern suburbs and its links with Nonconformity was responsible for this difference, whereas to the west Southamptonian Liberalism was only really making an impact in Eling in the 1890s (and then somewhat intermittently), relatively late in terms of the ward associations of Itchen and Woolston.

In later years party activity to the east of Southampton was stimulated by the rise of Labour, but there is no sign of the left before 1914 in the New Forest Union - did they perhaps regard it as infertile ground in view of the area's apparent entrenched Conservatism? Eling bore similarities to Itchen and Woolston in terms of occupations and the decline of industry in the 1880s and 90s yet although there were Labour councillors elected for Millbrook and Shirley, the neighbours of Eling, none stood or were elected in the New Forest. However, Labour was only becoming established in South Hampshire in the years immediately before 1914, with some success on the Southampton Council but only small numbers of seats on the Southampton Guardians and the Itchen UDC. In Eastleigh the Labour Representation Council was only set up in 1913 and, given the fitful role played by the Liberals in Eling at this point, to expect more radical ideologies to have taken root is perhaps unreasonable (45).

The limited success locally of the Liberal Party in the New Forest and the absence of anything more radical points to a more rural and conservative political existence in this part of South Hampshire. The predominant Conservatism of the area mirrors that of the rural parishes of the South Stoneham Union, and of the suburban areas as far as the Board of Guardians was concerned, for much of the period covered by this study. But in the New Forest there are also indications of other factors at work in determining local representation, in the activities of some members of the local gentry. Ex-officio involvement with the Board of Guardians was greater than elsewhere (46), while the Netley Marsh Ratepayers Association seems to have had a role to play for a time in determining who should stand at guardians elections.

In these two rural Unions therefore party politics were relegated to a back seat in the election of guardians. The traditions of non-partisan poor law administration, to which guardians in all three Unions would occasionally pay lip-service (47), and which is

apparent in other local studies (48), were maintained here. For example, in 1896 the South Stoneham guardians refused to discuss a circular on Protection and Free Trade because "it was bordering on politics which they had always set their faces against at the Board", as the Chairman put it (49).

Nor did the issues which caused so much controversy for the Southampton guardians, drink and religion, have much of an effect in the New Forest or South Stoneham. In the New Forest the temperance movement appears not to have had any dealings with the Board of Guardians or its elections. In South Stoneham occasional pressure was exerted upon the guardians not to serve liquor in the workhouse, but temperance supporters tended to be economy campaigners who resented paying for such luxuries as alcohol for paupers, rather than teetotalers of the fanaticism of George Parker, in Southampton (50). Most guardians believed that to withdraw drink from the indoor poor altogether would be inflicting an unnecessary hardship, and on the whole the issue did not greatly disturb the equanimity of the South Stoneham Board.

In the two Unions religious controversy was also not a factor of importance. Far more clergymen became guardians and it is possible that they did so because religion was not a controversial issue (51). Religious issues and appointments went completely unreported in the New Forest, perhaps because in what was primarily a rural area, the Church of England was not challenged sufficiently by other denominations - although there was a Roman Catholic church in Lyndhurst. In South Stoneham, despite the local electoral contests between the Church and Ratepayers (who were in effect the Conservative and Liberal/Nonconformists respectively) at the School Board elections of Hound and St. Mary Extra, the appointment of a new workhouse chaplain in 1879 caused no controversy at all. In 1897 the guardians refused to build a chapel at the workhouse, but this was not as a result of religious disagreement but out of a concern for economy - "If it were not a question of money I think we should all be

unanimous", said the Chairman (52). Similarly in 1904 some of the South Stoneham guardians wanted the chaplain's resignation, not on religious grounds of any sort, but because he was not giving value for money. The chaplain's response was to produce a list of the times which he had spent on his duties, asserting that his health was quite equal to the work (53). Later in the same year a motion for the appointment of a full time chaplain for the workhouse at a cost of £120 p.a. was defeated in favour of one proposing a part-time chaplain who lived within two and a half miles of the workhouse.

However, the absence of overt party involvement in either issues of policy or elections does not mean that it did not exist at all in relation to the two Boards of Guardians concerned. The Conservatism of most of the guardians whose politics can be identified prompts the supposition that both the Boards of Guardians were at the very least the preserve of the Conservative Party, because of the weight of rural representatives. The Liberals were not in a position seriously to challenge this Conservative hegemony in either Union, which reflected the parliamentary and county position (54), except in the suburban parishes, and other parties emerged too late in the period to be of significance. In addition, the poor law was uncontroversial because of its low rating demands, and in South Stoneham there were more important battles to fight on the potentially costly parochial boards. These factors, and the tradition of non-partisan poor law administration, meant that the Boards of Guardians in the New Forest and South Stoneham were not the subject of partisan battles. Party rivalries were directed instead towards bodies where either the battles could be won, such as the parochial boards, or county and parliamentary elections.

SECTION III - ISSUES AND POLICYINTRODUCTION

This section of the study of the poor law administration and guardians in South Hampshire is concerned with the policies pursued by the various Boards of Guardians, and some of the factors which prompted individuals to become guardians. What were their interests and concerns? Did individuals become guardians out of a desire to influence the treatment of the poor, or were other factors more important?

Two poor law issues overrode and encompassed all others. One was the way in which the paupers were to be relieved - how many were to be catered for, who were they to be. Increasingly the controversial areas of pauper policy were what special treatment was to be given to those whose pauperism was involuntary - the aged, the sick, the children - and how were the able bodied unemployed to be catered for? The second issue was that of economy, which for most guardians was the most important factor in the consideration of the treatment of paupers. Economy and the need to save the ratepayers' money affected almost all the decisions made by the guardians of the three areas, whether those decisions were immediately to do with pauper welfare or whether they related to the administration of workhouses and unions.

Finally, what was the part played by the ex-officio guardians? The factors which motivated them were in many aspects similar to those of the elected members, but certainly in Southampton and in the New Forest they appear to have had different concerns in addition, which prompted them to play a part in poor law policy, and different methods also of playing that part.

CHAPTER 6THE RATES AND ECONOMY

The two most important aspects of the administration of the poor law were the care of paupers, for which the system was created, and the level of the rates, concern for which was the prime reason for the passage of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. In the 1870s anxiety at the level of rates prompted the "crusade" against relief for the able bodied, the effects of which are discussed in the next chapter which deals with poor law policy. Some savings were made, but by the mid-1880s its harshest effects had been ameliorated as interest nationally increased regarding the condition of the poor. Concern for economy remained, however, in a constant watchfulness on the part of guardians for unnecessary expenditure, and became even more necessary as the effects of depression in the 1890s and 1900s resulted in increased pressure on ratepayers and in considerable increases in pauper numbers and costs.

Economy was the issue that was raised most frequently at the guardians' elections and meetings in all three areas. At times it was an issue that was linked to that of the welfare of paupers - the Southampton Times in 1893 set out the aims of the Liberal/Labour candidates at the guardians' elections as "to ameliorate the lot of the inmates of the House and the poor generally, whilst saving ratepayers' money" (1). However, the saving of money was also very much more often seen as an end in itself, and this is the theme that occurred most often at the guardians' elections. Particular individuals made their names in local politics through their zealous searching after economy. The level at which the rate was set was obviously of concern to guardians whatever their wealth - but on the whole those most prominently concerned with rating and economy tended to be the guardians who possessed property with high rateable valuations.

Table 6:1 Leading Economy Campaigners

<u>Guardian</u>	<u>Parish</u>		<u>Union</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Rateable Valuation</u>
J. Sheppard	North	Stoneham	SS	Farmer	£722
J. Gater	South	"	SS	Farmer	£950
W.G. Roy	Eling		NF	Private Resident	£635
W.H. Chapman	St. Mary Extra		SS	Builder	£253
P.B. Hayward	St. Mary Extra		SS	Grocer	£249
G. Parker	St. Mary's Soton	S		Commercial Agent	£471
R. Spencer	Millbrook		SS	not known	£40
(2)					

All these individuals, with the exception of Spencer, possessed property which gave them the maximum number of votes under the poor law franchise and were therefore amongst the wealthier in the community, in terms of property if not income. Similarly, in Sunderland Peter Wood has found that those who campaigned most noticeably for economy were those with the highest rateable valuations (3). With high valuations the guardians listed above were certainly amongst the highest ratepayers, and it is likely that the farmers and the builder at least found their high valuations resulted in rates bills which may have strained their incomes. (4). Sheppard on one occasion in 1886 attacked "those sitting in the upper part of the Boardroom" for only coming to the Board to waste the ratepayers' money, being "the smallest ratepayers themselves" (5).

Self interest was clearly a motive in the concern these individuals felt for economy, but there were some whose motivations were clearer than others. In the New Forest A.J. Andrews, the leading Liberal manufacturer, was a vociferous advocate of economy, but this chiefly took the form of agitating for a reduction in his own rating bills and those of his fellow manufacturers in Eling. Similarly in South Stoneham, the "agriculturalist" John Gater's concern for economy was probably the result of his assertion that "in South Stoneham (parish) the rates come from the land" (6),

while a further example of a farmer who was very concerned about poor law expenditure was Mr. Sheppard (7). Before the passing of the Agricultural Rates Act of 1896 (8) farmers and large landowners paid the highest rates in South Stoneham and elsewhere (9).

Nevertheless, those with less property also felt the impact of the rates keenly. Norman McCord has shown how poorer ratepayers were affected by rising rates in the late nineteenth century, with many increasingly owning their own houses. Even those who did not pay their own rates felt the indirect pressure of increased rating bills. Prolonged depression, such as occurred periodically during this time, brought financial difficulties for many such ratepayers, many of them small shopkeepers of the type who frequently became guardians (10). E.P. Hennock has written of how "the system of local government finance tended to push a section of the inhabitants, often a predominantly lower middle-class section, into municipal politics" (11). Mr. Spencer's property placed him in the category of those who only had one vote in poor law elections - the lowest therefore of the rateable value groups recognised by the Public Health Act of 1844 which determined the poor law franchise (12). Spencer's feelings about economy were shared by "A poor ratepayer" who in March 1877 wrote to the Southampton Times to say "I am ready to acknowledge any gentleman who is in reality "A poor man's friend", but at the same time feel bound to support those who discourage pauperism, and thus show themselves true friends of that large class who, though paying rates, are as needy as some who receive relief, but are too noble minded and independent to become paupers" (13).

This was the dilemma of those who espoused the "humane" school of pauper relief which became more popular after the restrictions of the 1870s and early 1880s - if adequate levels of relief were to be provided, particularly outside the workhouse, it was possible that the poorest ratepayers would find themselves impoverished. This particularly applied to times when increased revenue was required because of

local distress, as occurred in Southampton and its surrounding area in the 1890s and 1900s. The view that the guardians did not sufficiently understand the need to keep the rates down was enunciated by a candidate for the St. Mary's guardianship in Southampton in 1880 who clearly saw himself as the representative of a class with whom many guardians had little in common. He maintained that "the working class part of the population in the parish was not sufficiently represented" he being "one of themselves", and that for this group in society it was only the claims of the "truly needy - especially the aged" which needed to be catered for by the poor law (14).

THE RATES BURDEN

Of all the powers of the Boards of Guardians the most sensitive was the power to fix and levy poor rates. Throughout the period concerned the poor law in all three areas took by far the largest amount of the local budgets. In Southampton for example in 1882 the rate was 20d in the £. Of this amount, which yielded £15,630, the Borough's share was £5,390. This relationship was maintained until 1914 (although the Borough was catching up) despite the sometimes very heavy claims of the School Board rate, and the small rate for the Free Library. Thus in April 1894 the rate was again 1s 8d in the £, the Borough share being £8,890. In Southampton furthermore the power of the guardians in this respect was rather greater than in the two unions because of the provisions of the Local Act. Therefore, in Southampton it was the guardians who employed the rate collectors, whereas in the unions the overseers of each individual parish were responsible for fixing the rate (based on the demands not only for the poor law, but the sanitary board, the highways authority, the school boards, the police and after 1888, the county, and sundry parochial bodies) and its collection.

In the two Unions the poor law rating demands on individuals varied little between the start of this

survey and its end, but in Southampton greater pressure was felt as demands increased considerably in the 1890s from 15d in the £ in 1870 to 1/10 in 1897 and to 2/6 in 1907 (the year before the annexation of Portswood and Shirley), while expenditure increased from £7833 in 1870 to £13,224 in 1908. (15). In the New Forest in 1871 the rate was 1/6 in the £, in 1905 it was 2/-. In South Stoneham it rose only from 1/4 in the £ in 1874 to 1/6 in 1908, but expenditure on indoor and outdoor relief increased from £3318 in 1870 to £9387 in 1908 (the last year in which the union existed in its 1834 form). The considerable increase in costs was made possible for very much the same rate in the pound as over thirty years earlier by the huge increases in rateable values in this Union. In 1873 the rateable value of the South Stoneham Union was £134,301, by 1908 (the year of the annexation of Shirley and Portswood) it was £418,000, an increase of 211%. In the New Forest however, rateable values rose less, in that in 1871 they stood at £56,167, and in 1905 at £78,218 (a 39% increase), but here the costs of relief actually fell from £2139 in 1870 to £1273 in 1914 (15). The rates continued to increase, however, because of the county council rating demands which were growing while those of the poor law were relatively static. In Southampton the total rateable value was £166,821 in 1870, by 1894 it was £238,981 (43% increase) and in 1908 it was £355,523, an increase of 113% on the 1870 figure. By 1914, after the acquisition of Portswood and Shirley the total figure was £640,585, and increase of 80% on that for 1908. Southampton's rateable values rose by far less between 1870 and 1908 than did those of South Stoneham, and its increasing rates reflected this lack of leeway in the town's rateable valuations.

The respective burdens of poor relief can be demonstrated by the following table which gives the average costs of poor law expenditure per head of the population in each area:

Table 6:2 Average Cost per head of Population

<u>Date</u>	<u>Union</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>	<u>Average cost</u>
		<u>at Census</u>	<u>over ten years</u>	<u>per head over ten years</u>
1870-79	Southampton	48,055	£65,835	£1.36
"	South Ston'm	32,201	£29,346	£0.91
"	New Forest	13,496	£17,857	£1.32
1880-89	Southampton	53,173	£52,824	£0.99
"	South Ston'm	41,262	£32,338	£0.78
"	New Forest	13,210	£14,653	£1.10
1890-99	Southampton	55,463	£61,084	£1.10
"	South Ston'm	51,123	£40,309	£0.78
"	New Forest	13,986	£15,771	£1.12
1900-08	Southampton	61,409	£109,735	£1.78
"	South Ston'm	80,550	£73,706	£0.91
1909	Southampton	104,824	£179,700	£1.71
"	South Ston'm	37,106	£54,570	£1.47
1900-09	New Forest	14,599	£20,262	£1.38
1910-14	Southampton	119,039	£166,430	£1.39
"	South Ston'm	50,370	£36,618	£0.72
"	New Forest	16,373	£16,562	£1.01

(16).

One of the reasons why the poor law in Southampton was a more controversial and contentious subject than it was in the two Unions is clearly demonstrated by these figures. The Incorporation's costs were the highest per head of the population of the three areas, and they were rising for most of the period (17). It can be seen that while Southampton and the New Forest in 1870 had roughly comparable levels of expenditure per head, by the 1900s the borough had outstripped the Forest by £0.40 per head of population. In the New Forest, average costs per head fell over the years until after 1900, which may help to explain why the poor law

was not a controversial issue to the New Forest ratepayers. South Stoneham was the cheapest area both in terms of rating and costs per head until the 1900s, but between 1900 and 1908 costs here were rising as the union became more urban. Pauperism also increased at this point, but in South Stoneham rates were still contained at relatively low levels, thanks to the Union's constantly expanding rateable value. The high figure for 1909 is probably accounted for by the immediate costs of the loss of Shirley and Portswood to Southampton (see below). Expenditure costs per head later fell by considerable amounts between 1910 and 1914, as a result largely of the introduction of old age pensions for paupers in 1911.

ANNEXATION OF PORTSWOOD AND SHIRLEY BY SOUTHAMPTON 1909

The concern of the guardians of South Stoneham and Southampton for rating levels is illustrated by the dispute between the two unions from the late 1890s over the annexation of Shirley and Portswood. The determination of the Southampton guardians to annex these two parishes arose from their resentment at the widely differing rating levels in the two poor law areas. In the two suburbs, where the populations enjoyed all the advantages of living close to the city centre, they were paying rates which at 2/11 in the £ in Southampton in 1908 compared to only 1/6 in Shirley, were almost half those of their borough neighbours (18). Similarly, the determination of the South Stoneham guardians to resist the removal of Portswood and Shirley was born of the concern that without these two wealthy parishes, their rates would increase.

The spectre of annexation hung over the South Stoneham Union from the 1890s onwards, preventing them from building a new infirmary or any other new accommodation for their paupers. The LGB was anxious to see the transfer effected, and would not allow major building at South Stoneham's West End workhouse until the matter was resolved. The financial implications were considerable. In 1908 when annexation was imminent

the rural parishes calculated that without the two wealthy areas of Portswood and Shirley, 4d would be added to their rates. Yet they were faced with a dilemma, because legal costs meant that it was also expensive to resist annexation, and numerous parish councils and ratepayers groups announced they were opposed to resisting the claims of Southampton to these two parishes. Eventually the struggle was pursued to the Appeal Court, where South Stoneham lost, and Shirley and Portswood became part of the Southampton Union in 1909. The cost of litigation had been £4,650, while the South Stoneham guardians had to pay £7,200 to Southampton to compensate them for Shirley and Portswood's share in the South, Stoneham union's institutions. Shirley and Portswood, when they arrived in Southampton, were faced with an increased rating bill of £37,000 or 40% more than their previous rate - Southampton's eagerness to acquire them was understandable.

SANITATION, EDUCATION AND THE POOR LAW

In Southampton the poor law accounted for the majority of the rate demand - in 1894 the rate was set at 1/8 in the £ to cover the 10d required by the guardians, twopence halfpenny for the borough, a halfpenny for the Free Library and 6d for the School Board. Therefore the poor law attracted considerable attention from those who wished to economise on overall rating demands. Elsewhere, however, different priorities prevailed and the poor law was the least of the ratepayer's worries.

In the New Forest there appear to be no occasions when matters of poor law policy or expenditure became an issue at guardians' elections. Instead it was either issues that had little to do with the Board of Guardians which dominated the elections - such as the need for more work in the Eling election of 1899 (19), or more frequently issues which came under the Guardians' other role as the local sanitary authority. In their capacity as the Sanitary Board before 1894 and as Rural District

Councillors afterwards the guardians had control over this area of local life in addition to administering the poor law. In the New Forest the need for sanitation threatened the rates for the duration of this study and the guardians were determined to avoid expensive drainage policies if they could. Thus in 1881 they became the centre of a controversy about the St. Mary Eling churchyard which was full, and the need for a new one raised the question of cost. It was in the interests of economy therefore that the Special Sanitary District of St. Mary Eling was created in 1883 so that only St. Mary would pay for the new burial ground, but the residents were careful thereafter to ensure that their drainage district was not used for any other potentially costly projects. Perennial complaints about the drainage of the area and Southampton's sewage, discharged into Southampton Water, were ignored thanks to the apathy of the ratepayers.

In 1891 when the Totton radicals (20) contested the Eling election, their main election promise was that "no gas would come to Totton if elected and that lamp standards would be uprooted" - once again the issue of economy was the overriding factor. In the 1880s the issue of sanitation in Lyndhurst was first raised, when an LGB enquiry was held into the town's lack of drainage. The board defended itself vigorously at the enquiry and successfully urged the perpetuation of the status quo. The issue was shelved until the early 1900s, when clearly the situation had reached a point when improved drainage was essential, and by 1907 a system had been installed at a cost of £10,000. There are no references in the press to this having been a controversial decision, maybe partly because the Board organised compensation for property owners whose land had been affected, but in the election of 1907 it was reported that "canvassing has been actively carried on by some of the retiring members" (21), so clearly existing guardians/rural district councillors felt a need to defend their policies. It would appear however, that it was not the drainage scheme as such which caused interest in the election, but the delay in its implementation. The local Roman Catholic priest,

who was elected a guardian in the contested election for Lyndhurst of 1907, protested about those who had been left out of the scheme. "The people of Lyndhurst had been put to great expense but still 112 houses were unconnected out of 497." (22)

In South Stoneham sanitation was usually taken care of by local boards of health and, as was shown in Chapter 5, the attention of the electorate was directed mostly at these bodies and at the school boards, with the creation of active Ratepayers' groups in these areas dedicated to the saving of money (23). Economy was the most important issue at elections to these bodies, and the concern that the poor law should also be administered economically tended to be seen as part and parcel of a general campaign for economy in the area. In particular the conflicts between the various groups in Shirley and Freemantle spilled over into the guardians' elections. The arguments over the drainage of Shirley, Freemantle and adjacent areas in the 1880s reflected the concern of one group of ratepayers to acquire drainage and clean water supplies, while others wished to minimise the cost of the installations by limiting them in terms of area. More generally the ratepayers' groups formed to contest elections and policies on other local boards, would stand at the guardians' elections also, with their representatives pursuing the economy campaign on the Board of Guardians (24).

However, as in the New Forest, the South Stoneham Guardians in their capacity as the local sanitary board resulted in the Board being the centre of ratepayer action about sanitation where no local boards existed. In Woolston in 1893 the Local Government Board insisted that a "proper scheme of sewerage and sewage disposal should be carried out", their patience having run out in the face of the guardians' plans to cope with new building using existing cesspools and bye laws. Ratepayers in Woolston however met in the hope of dissuading the central authority from carrying out an "expensive system of drainage", but the LGB insisted that the price of a special drainage district (which

would confine the expense to Woolston, as had occurred at St. Mary Eling) was that their plans be carried out to the letter (25). Similarly in the 1890s the South Stoneham guardians came under considerable attack for their dilatory methods in bringing adequate drainage to the rapidly growing town of Eastleigh, and here too a special drainage district was eventually created to prevent the costs of Eastleigh's sewage system falling on the rest of the Union's ratepayers (26). The guardians' concern for economy resulted in considerable delays in creating sanitary conditions in Eastleigh, and the situation was not finally resolved until Eastleigh was given its own Urban District Council in 1893, after which street lighting, channelling, kerbing, paving and eventually sewage schemes were started. Judgements on the South Stoneham guardians were harsh and they have been accused of "abrogating their responsibilities" by "not starting the work a number of years earlier than they did" (27).

POOR LAW CONTRACTS

The importance and influence of ratepayers' groups in local politics, particularly in areas of official patronage (28) and expenditure (29) has been described by Norman McCord, and the present study illustrates the effectiveness of pressure group activity in influencing the guardians' policies. In South Hampshire letters were frequently written by ratepayers' groups about items of expenditure. For example, the Hound Ratepayers and Property Owners Protection Association wrote to the guardians complaining that too many of them had visited the asylum at Knowle and had thus involved the ratepayers in great expense (28). Similarly in 1887 a letter was received from a Hound vestry meeting protesting at the amount of liquor consumed in the workhouse (29). Much pressure was also exerted over sanitation. But it was in the area of tenders for workhouse and out relief contracts that economies might most obviously be made, and upon which the poor law guardians were most frequently subject to outside pressure. In 1895 the Southampton Ratepayers

Association questioned the guardians' acceptance of meat and drapery tenders which did not reflect the lowest possible price (30) and in 1896 secured the resignation of a guardian who had a "connection" with the Co-operative Supply Association, one of the Board's suppliers (31). In 1902 the Ratepayers Association in St. Mary's accused the Board of "unwise expenditure" (32) and in 1909 the guardians were accused of corruption in tendering policy - "favoured tenderers" would be given inside information by guardians to be used in pricing goods (33).

The alertness of these various pressure groups as to policies regulating the granting of poor law contracts, demonstrates the extent to which tenders were regarded as an area in which not only money could be saved, but where graft and corruption on the part of Boards of Guardians were possibilities. Both the Act of 1834 and the Southampton Local Act prohibited guardians or their relatives from supplying goods to the poor law administration, but the law was disregarded at times in Southampton and came close to being so in South Stoneham on occasions. Between 1870 and 1874 there are instances of guardians successfully tendering to supply goods to the Southampton workhouse (34). Although later in the decade the policy had changed, and guardians were explicitly discontinuing tenders once they had accepted office (35), in 1899 the suspicion of graft remained, if not on their own account then in the interests of others. The Ratepayers' Association in 1895 accused the guardians of "political jobbery" in giving a drapery contract for £500 to the highest bidder rather than the lowest, and a member of the association commented that "Any tradesman who tendered without getting the ear of one of the members of the Board was in a fool's paradise" (36). At a Liberal candidate's election meeting in 1896 it was remarked "With regard to the Board of Guardians certain gentlemen seem to be looking after the interests of their friends more than those of the ratepayers (37)". In the same decade the Liberal guardian, George Parker, regarded the Tenders Committee as the most important of all the guardians' committees. "If he could not go into the accounts of

milk, groceries and potatoes and other things which did not come before the Board, he should not serve on the Removals Committee" he said, when told the Conservative majority on the Southampton Board would not allow him to serve on Tenders (38).

In South Stoneham similarly the guardians were scrutinised carefully for fair dealing. In 1902 it was agreed that members of the tenders committee be nominated separately (to allow for individual objections) instead of collectively as hitherto, and complete lists of tenders were frequently published in the press, as they were on occasions in the New Forest. It was only in 1907, however, that the guardians agreed that no guardian or a relative should submit a tender. P.B. Hayward remarked, "Members had looked after their sons and relations in the past, and that had caused considerable unpleasantness" (39).

Nevertheless, a policy of excessive economy in the granting of contracts could back-fire. In South Stoneham it conflicted with the getting of value for money; South Stoneham preferred butchers, for example that had a "good family trade" to the cheapest tenderer, because complaints had been received from paupers about inedible meat. In the New Forest in 1905 very few tenders were received at all because, the clerk said, the guardians were too niggardly in paying their accounts (40).

ECONOMY, PAUPERS AND PARTY

In Southampton, the area in which party politics played the most prominent part in poor law administration, there was almost complete unanimity between Liberals and Conservatives over the years as to the necessity for economy. Both parties presided over years in which pauper numbers and costs both rose and fell. It was a Liberal board in the 1870s that began to implement the Local Government Board's instructions on the restriction of relief, and in 1870 the Liberal deputy president of the Southampton Incorporation said that "the poor rates were strictly to prevent

starvation, nothing less (sic)". He also advocated increasing the number of guardians from St. Mary's parish in order more effectively to control outdoor relief "100 cases would be struck off the books thereby", he maintained (41). In 1877, however, a Liberal alderman commented "There seemed to him to be a dead set against the respectable poor" concerning new regulations for outdoor relief, while on the same day in the South Stoneham parish of Millbrook a Conservative is reported as commenting that "he hoped the comforts of the deserving poor would be looked to as well as the ratepayers" (42). Both Liberals and Conservatives presided over the years of the "crusade" against outdoor relief in the 1870s and 1880s, and both were in power also in the 1890s and 1900s when relief numbers and costs began to rise increasingly rapidly (43). It is possible to find evidence, therefore, for both parties' consideration for the rates and for the paupers, at least those who could be called deserving.

Nevertheless, most of Southampton's leading economy campaigners were Liberals. W.J. Atkins, who led the temperance attack in the 1890s in the interests of "Fair Rating and Economy" was a Liberal (with the backing of the ex-mayor Alderman Lemon at elections (44)), as was George Parker, the guardian who was so suspicious about the activities of the Tenders Committee, and who campaigned for economy and temperance throughout his twenty-eight years as a guardian. However, in the city and particularly from the 1890s onwards, Liberal economisers, concerned for radical support, were careful to combine their campaigning after economy with a zeal for pauper welfare. So Atkins, in keeping with Liberal tradition in Southampton and South Stoneham, opposed salary increases and in particular the building of the Incorporation's new Infirmary at Shirley (estimated to cost in excess of £70,000). In this he was strongly supported by all the other Liberals on the Board, including Parker (45). However, he also spoke in favour of humanity, in the form of removing children from the proximity of other paupers in the workhouse, and of improving facilities for the "imbecile poor" and more "enlightened treatment for the genuine paupers but

more rigorous treatment for the professional cadger" (46).

The Liberal Southampton Times was also careful to support both the economical and the humane aspects of poor law administration. For example, in 1875 the South Stoneham Union operated stringent regulations concerning outdoor relief, virtually excluding single people from applying. The poor rate as a result had been reduced from 1/4 in the £ to 10d in 1877, and the newspaper applauded the policy when it commented, "In the interests of the poor and the ratepayers alike the guardians have put their foot down upon that indiscriminate and wholesale system of relief which is responsible for a large proportion of the chronic pauperism in this country" (47). Its humane credentials were to the fore later however, when in 1898 it maintained that the title of "Guardians of the Poor" instead of "Poor Law Guardians" was preferable because the former was "expressive of more compassionate ideas against the latter's stressing of seeing that the ratepayers' money is efficiently spent" (48). It was able to ride both horses, however, when writing of the new infirmary. In 1895 it welcomed plans to spend £70,000 on the Shirley Warren Infirmary, but in 1899 it took the board to task for the £100,000 that the project was by then costing, while in 1903 it again welcomed the new building with "its comfortable quarters for the deserving poor" (49). Although in the 1870s therefore the Southampton Liberals were identified with policies of restrictions in relief, by the changed climate of the 1890s and in the era of New Liberalism and with the radical vote to consider they wanted the best of all worlds, to be thought of as "humane" but also careful with ratepayers' money. Later, in 1906 the Southampton Times condemned the poor law as "cumbersome in its operation and extravagant in its administration" (50), and its comments tended to become increasingly critical. In 1910 it welcomed the Minority Report of the Royal Commission, although local Liberals preferred the solutions advocated by the Majority (51).

Ratepayers' groups never attained a majority

position in Southampton and their role was mostly confined to campaigning at elections, with significant numbers of ratepayer guardians being elected only in 1887 in St. Mary's and for Shirley and Portswood between 1908 and 1914 (52). Only in 1887 did the election of ratepayer candidates result in any marked decreases in costs (53), in the somewhat unusual circumstances of the controversy over the rating of the Dock Company, provoking as it did particular attention to the problems of local prosperity and rating levels (54). The election of Ratepayers at later guardians' elections (55) coincided with steeply rising costs in Southampton's poor relief in 1902 and 1908 and it would seem that the arrival of a minority of ratepayer guardians was a reaction to such increases, particularly since they represented the newly acquired Shirley and Portswood, whose rates rose dramatically in 1909. Nevertheless, in the context of Southampton politics, where both the two major parties espoused economy the ratepayers' groups lacked the appeal they achieved elsewhere, and failed to gain a great deal of specific local support (56). In contrast in East London the Poplar Municipal Alliance was formed in 1905 to combat rate rises resulting from the Board of Guardians' expensive policies regarding the unemployed, with sufficient support to enable them to attain a slight majority on the Board in 1907 (57).

Little evidence of Southampton's Labourite, Trades Council or ILP members' attitudes to rating levels has been found during these researches. The attention of left-wingers in Southampton was primarily directed towards the council (58), and in South Stoneham at the Itchen UDC, and when the Gladstone Liberal and Radical Working Men's Club in Southampton focussed on the poor law they concentrated on pauper welfare, although implicit in their platforms was the inevitability of rating increases if pauper treatment was to be improved. It was for this reason that Delmar Bicker-Caarten, a prominent radical, advocated the transference of poor law responsibilities to other authorities (59). Their difficulty is amply illustrated by the feelings of those describing themselves as "working class" and "a poor

ratepayer" above. Certainly T. Lewis, a prominent left-winger in Southampton and SDF guardian from 1905, was accused of wanting profligate spending, "caring nothing for the rates, even to the extent of 20s. in the £ in favour of the poor" (60). It was this emphasis on liberality in the 1890s and 1900s which made Liberal radicals, Labourites and socialists so dangerous to central Liberal electoral fortunes. Miss Passmore, a socialist, was accused by a Liberal candidate of wanting the workhouse to be "a large free hotel" (61).

In the New Forest on the rare occasions when party played a part in elections as it did in Eling occasionally, sanitary issues were paramount. In these elections it was the "radicals of Totton" who campaigned to reduce expenditure on such items as gas lighting and drainage (62). Later A.J. Andrews, the Liberal district councillor, was personally identified with reductions in rates for business premises (see below). Nevertheless, the New Forest Board were by no means profligate and were equally anxious to avoid expenditure, as for example, concerning the coming of the School Board in Eling (63).

In South Stoneham similarly the guardians ran a very economical administration (64), but any effect of the parties on this is hard to discern. Party involvement was limited to the suburban parishes of Hound and St. Mary Extra, and to a lesser extent Millbrook and Portswood, and these parishes did not return enough guardians to establish a majority on the board, nor did they elect guardians from one party only. The Ratepayers' groups in St. Mary Extra and Hound were important in their own areas and would be expected to be influential on parochial organisations, but numerically on the Board of Guardians they lacked comparable strength. However, what they lacked in voting strength they made up in noise and nuisance value at meetings and elections. Certainly the reduction in the numbers of those on outdoor relief in the late 1870s coincides with the emergence of radical/ratepayer groups in Hound and St. Mary Extra, but equally central policy was also urging such reductions, and guardians identified with

both the Liberals and the Conservatives were keen economisers. Furthermore, numbers rose again very soon, and in the 1890s and 1900s when ratepayers' groups were very active at parochial levels (65), they increased dramatically.

In South Stoneham it was also frequently Liberals who campaigned about economy, and as was noted in Chapter 5, many Ratepayers Party members in the South Stoneham Union were also Liberals, and in some cases radicals. In 1892 at the St. Mary Extra Burial Board election the Liberals with Trades Council and Labourite support challenged the Conservatives for control of the Board. Their campaigning address pledged them to work for "an economical expenditure of public money, and the maintenance of an independent local government" (66). This, however, is the only instance of official party electoral activity on the part of either the Liberals or Labourites in which economy was reported in the press as being specifically mentioned in elections held in the South Stoneham Union. On the South Stoneham Board itself Liberals tended to support economical policies, particularly on salary increases for officials. However, on this non-partisan board the issue was not a party platform in the sense that the party obviously promoted economical policies which most members supported, so much as a matter upon which individuals tended to lead their own crusades. One of the Liberal leaders, the radical P.B. Hayward, made economy his chief concern, and throughout the 1880s and 90s he was to be found campaigning for less expense on the many organisations which he served. He started the Hound Ratepayers Association and was a member of the School Boards of both Hound and St. Mary Extra. He became a guardian and used the position to campaign against salary increases, against drainage for Woolston, against the annexation of Portswood and Shirley, against the lack of close monitoring of the workhouse bricklayer's work (67). Nevertheless, like his Liberal colleague W.J. Atkins in Southampton, he too managed to be paupers' champion at the same time, and it was said of him that he worked hard to increase pauper allowances on his local relief committee (68).

Other Liberal guardians in South Stoneham were also economisers. John Gater, a guardian in the 1880s who was very concerned about the rates, was a Liberal, as was W.H. Gater who in 1897 demanded an investigation into rising costs of outdoor relief to see who "deserved relief and who had relatives to support them" (69). Another Liberal and Radical who worked hard for economy was the Mr. Spencer already mentioned, from Millbrook, who became a guardian in 1891 after a number of attempts, and lost his seat in 1892. He wrote to the press in 1892 about the "waste and extravagance of the South Stoneham Union". In 1893 he complained further about the quantity of meat consumed in the house - 9,000lbs over the government allowance, he maintained (70). In contrast to the attitude taken in Southampton, and possibly due to the absence of any radical critics of poor law policy in South Stoneham in the 1890s, most guardians who tended to pursue economy in the union had few stated qualms about the effects that such aims would have upon those concerned for the well being of the paupers. One suspects that had the Liberal party been organising the promotion of economical policies in the 1890s in this union, then in the age of radicalism and New Liberalism more care would have been taken to dilute campaigning for economy with humanity.

However, concern for economy was not an exclusively Liberal phenomenon. J. F. Sheppard, the farmer from South Stoneham, was a Conservative. In the 1860s Conservatives had led the fight against the building of a new workhouse in Southampton, and in the 1880s opposed continuing the expensive legal fight with the Dock Company - although their motives may not have been solely those of economy for private ratepayers (see below). W. H. Chapman of St. Mary Extra was also a Conservative, and an economy campaigner on the Board of Guardians and the School Board in the 1880s, and W.G. Roy, an elected guardian and ex-officio in the New Forest, who campaigned frequently for economy, was later a Conservative county councillor. Furthermore, the Conservative party dominated both the New Forest and South Stoneham boards, and hence all efforts to save

money in the Boards' administration and expenditure were in this sense Conservative policies.

Concern for the ratepayers' money carried to vociferous lengths on frequent occasions was a common factor in all the three guardians who became county councillors from the rural areas in 1889 - namely Hayward, Sheppard and Roy. Roy in the New Forest was the chief organiser of the campaign to separate St. Mary from the rest of Eling in 1881 over the burial board incident (and he replaced one of the two guardians identified with the opposite policy in the elections of 1881). He led the guardians' opposition to drainage for Lyndhurst in the 1880s, he brought the costs of the School Board at Fawley to the board's attention. He maintained that the rates in Fawley once there was a School Board were 1/- in the £ whereas they had previously been 3d "owing to the requirements of the Privy Council". He mentioned this to show what the expense of a School board would be, "and people would be wise to keep it off if possible" (71). He kept a close eye on the guardians' clerk, resulting in more than one heated argument between the two men over Roy's proposal to re-site the Registration office from the clerk's offices in Southampton, as an economy measure to save the £12 rental the clerk charged (72).

COMMERCIAL RATING

Although not obviously a party matter, the rating of commercial property was crucial to the economical management of the poor law, and the most controversial aspect of the guardians' rating and assessment powers. In the New Forest and South Stoneham the rating of commercial businesses was a matter for the guardians' meetings; in Southampton it was at times an electoral issue of considerable importance. Both parties were anxious to get the rating of large business concerns right, both wanted to save ratepayers' money while they also did not want to be accused of undermining the prosperity of businesses by placing too heavy a rating burden upon them. Nevertheless, in the most momentous

battle over commercial rating in the borough, the Liberals took the view that commerce should be pressed to the utmost to yield rating revenue, while the Conservatives supported the business concerned.

During the time of this study the major factor in Southampton's prosperity was its commercial trade via the railway and the docks. The Dock Company's finances at this time were rarely secure (73), and its rating bill was a matter of considerable importance. In 1874 the Company's rate was reassessed at £18,000 but it was decided not to levy it for the time being, given that P & O were at this point thought likely to leave Southampton altogether (74). In 1886 the Dock Company was still in financial difficulties, not having paid a dividend for several years and also considerably in debt because of the need to provide more extensive facilities. It asked the guardians to reassess an increased rating demand, on the grounds of "the exigencies of the Company's present position" (75). The Board's figure was not acceptable, however, and the Company challenged the guardians' assessment, and as a result of the Company's victory in the case, the Board was forced to pay considerable costs, and also to pay back a large portion of the rates bill for 1886 which had already been paid. In the election of 1887 the Liberals were defeated in St. Mary's as a direct result of the previous Liberal guardians' responsibility in thus incurring costs for the ratepayers, and they lost the majority that they had enjoyed on the Board for the previous nine years. The attitude of their opponents was to be summarised thus "We shall not starve investors out of the town by excessive or injudicious ratings. The Town needs trade and more of it" (76). At least one Conservative at this time who led the opposition to the Board's policies, D. R. Meldrum, was said to have connections with P & O.

Other issues of commercial rating continued to be raised at frequent intervals at the meetings of the Southampton Incorporation. In addition to the Dock Company, other commercial concerns which challenged their rating assessments over the years were the London

and South Western Railway, which eventually bought the Dock Company in 1892, the Gas Company and the Cold Storage Company. The threat of court action after 1887 remained a potent one for the guardians; in 1902 it was stated at a Guardians' meeting that the Dock Company's rating assessments "had not reached the limit" but that the Board preferred to go on adding to the assessment by small amounts "in an amicable way" thus avoiding a large increase and "the probability of a very expensive appeal" (77). Arbitration was used if the Board and the commercial concern could not reach agreement, but if a dispute continued then an appeal would be heard by the Recorder, the Mayor, Sheriffs and the aldermen - as in the case of the Gas Company in March 1898 (78). However, there were occasions when the guardians were too lenient with companies - in 1905 they gave an "allowance" against an increased rate assessment for the Cold Storage Company because it was making a loss, and the individuals who had signed the cheque were surcharged (although later let off) by the LGB.

Principal employees of major commercial concerns in Southampton do not appear to have tried to become guardians in order to influence rating policy directly. They may have concluded that, in a town where critics of the guardians' policies over rating did not hesitate to accuse their opponents of corruption (notably concerning tenders for contracts or the rating of public houses), subtle pressures concerning the size of business ratings which stressed the relationship between profits, prosperity and employment may well have had more effect than the direct representation of interests on the Board. In most cases furthermore the head offices of the shipping and railway concerns were located in London. Numerous smaller businesses, many of whom were dependent upon the docks and other large businesses for their livelihoods, did have representatives on the Incorporation, and some major businesses furthermore were represented on the Town Council (to the leading personalities of which appeals against rating assessments were directed).

shipbuilding works in Woolston, rating seems to have been less controversial, and here also there was no direct representation of the shipping interest (79). Regular revaluations occurred at intervals, and appear to have been received without major protest. This may have been because of the South Stoneham Guardians' policy which was stated in 1907 as being "to encourage industry which provided work for the area, and to deal liberally with industrial rating", and because of this policy the Assessment Committee of the Union had a disagreement with the Overseers of Itchen over their decision to increase the rating of the Thorneycroft works against the advice of the committee (80). The only major ratepayer with which the South Stoneham guardians appear to have had to deal in a conflict over rating policy was the Treasury, over their assessment of Netley Hospital in 1897. The Treasury was in a strong position - they refused to accept the Guardians' assessment and instead decided to make their own, and the Board appears to have had no right of appeal against the subsequent valuation by the Treasury Valuer.

In the New Forest, unlike the other two unions, major employers in Eling had no scruples about obtaining representation on the Board of Guardians and using their positions to attempt to influence their own rating bills (81). Mr. Andrews, in election campaigns between 1898 and 1907 (82) and at guardians' meetings, used his position as a guardian in an unabashed fashion to obtain a reduction in his own company's rating bill. Messrs. Rose and Andrews, along with various other businesses in Eling, had been revalued in 1900 and Andrews protested vehemently about the way in which this had been done, not as part of a general revaluation, but as a result of a revaluation specifically directed at local businesses. Later he was one of only three guardians to vote in favour of accepting the appeal by his own firm and that of Spooner and Bailey, of Eling. It seems rather extraordinary that he was even allowed to vote on this occasion, but his reputation with the ratepayers of Eling seems to have been unharmed by this use of his official position to further his own concerns, and he was returned unopposed for a number of years

afterwards. Maybe as the town's largest employer it was recognised that it was in the interests of the ratepayers as well that his rates be kept down (83).

Commercial rating was an issue less identified with party than either religion or temperance, except in the quarrel between the Southampton Board and the Dock Company in the 1880s. The desire to save ratepayers' money was at the root of all policies concerning the rating of commercial businesses in the area. Although in the dispute with the Dock Company the prosperity of the Company was the major issue in the argument over the size of its rating, it was the guardians' zeal to charge businesses appropriate rates and mitigate those of individual ratepayers, which was at the bottom of business rating policy generally. Concern for poor law finances also underlay the anger of the electorate at the Southampton guardians of 1887 incurring costs. It was also one of the most important areas of policy for those who became members of the Boards of Guardians. The rates were amongst a firm's larger overheads, and one in which the guardians bore a heavy responsibility. This was not only in terms of personal liability if they miscalculated, but also in terms of the prosperity of the company concerned, and on occasions concerning their and their party's hopes of re-election. The issue was also significant in the New Forest as an example of blatant self-interest at work, and it is likely that had a guardian behaved in a similar way in Southampton as Andrews did, then he would have been ruled out of order, given the Southamptonians dislike of the use of influence in other areas (workhouse contracts, for example).

CONCLUSION

Sidney and Beatrice Webb wrote scathingly of the quality of many guardians, after the first enthusiasm for the 1834 Act evaporated and the "philanthropic squires", millowners and merchants ceased to attend. In their place, they wrote, came a "working membership" of small shopkeepers and farmers notable chiefly for

their "inefficiency, parsimony and petty corruption" (84). Many other writers on the poor law have commented upon the unwillingness of guardians to spend money (85). Although the present chapter deals with individual attitudes rather than overall policy, the "parsimony" of the guardians is clear, and there is also some evidence of "petty corruption". Concern for the rates overrode virtually all other matters in poor law administration and was the determining factor in most areas of policy, as it was also in the broader areas of local government, including the sanitary and education matters mentioned in this chapter. It appears to have mattered more to party members and the electorate than obtaining representatives of their own party as guardians, as was seen in Southampton in 1878 and in the rural parishes of the South Stoneham Union (86). All guardians were ratepayers, and it was natural therefore for them to be concerned for their own rates, although generally it was those individuals with the highest rateable valuations, and hence paying the highest rates, who campaigned most vigorously. But not all large ratepayers reacted in this way. Derek Fraser, for example, has shown how larger ratepayers in Sheffield supported the considerable expenditure involved in the building of a new workhouse, while smaller ratepayers were opposed (87). One or two guardians openly campaigned to get their own rates reduced, although this was rare, while others appear to have used their position as guardians to influence the granting of contracts. A number of local politicians made their names and careers out of campaigning for economy on a number of different institutions, while the need to save money resulted in major crises in poor law administration such as the commercial rating of the Dock Company in Southampton and the dispute over the annexation of Shirley and Portswood.

On balance the Liberal Party has been found to be most identified with policies of economy in this study, although some Conservatives were equally keen to save money. Thus in the two unions the resistance to expenditure on sanitary reforms was largely carried out under the aegis of Conservative-dominated boards and

some well-known individual economisers were Conservatives. The evidence that links Liberals with economy is also largely associated with the campaigns of particular individuals in these two more rural areas, but in Southampton Liberals were associated in particular with the tenders issue, and also with the emphasis on rating commercial property and public houses heavily in order to save ratepayers' money. In addition, the Liberal policy of teetotalism was also advocated in the interests of economy, while Liberals resisted the building of the new Infirmary in the 1890s. As has already been noted the Liberals in Southampton were the dominant party on the Board of Guardians for much of the period of this study. Retrenchment and the reduction of public expenditure were important aspects of Gladstonian Liberalism and, since the poor law rate accounted for the majority of the local rating demand in Southampton, the identification of the party with economy may have been a factor in accounting for their poor law electoral success, in contrast to the greater Conservative control of the Council (88). Norman McCord has described "the thread of inconsistency" in British radicalism, with its "simultaneous support for social amelioration and maintenance of rigid economy in public expenditure" (89) and the present study illustrates this well. So in Southampton and to a lesser extent in South Stoneham, Liberals supported policies of economy, but in the 1890s the official Liberal line on the overriding need for economical policies was ameliorated to an extent in the town, with comments in both the Liberal press and from individuals as to the need for humanity in administration. As will be seen in the next chapter, greater humanity, as a result of a number of different pressures, was introduced into the local poor law administration in the later years of this study.

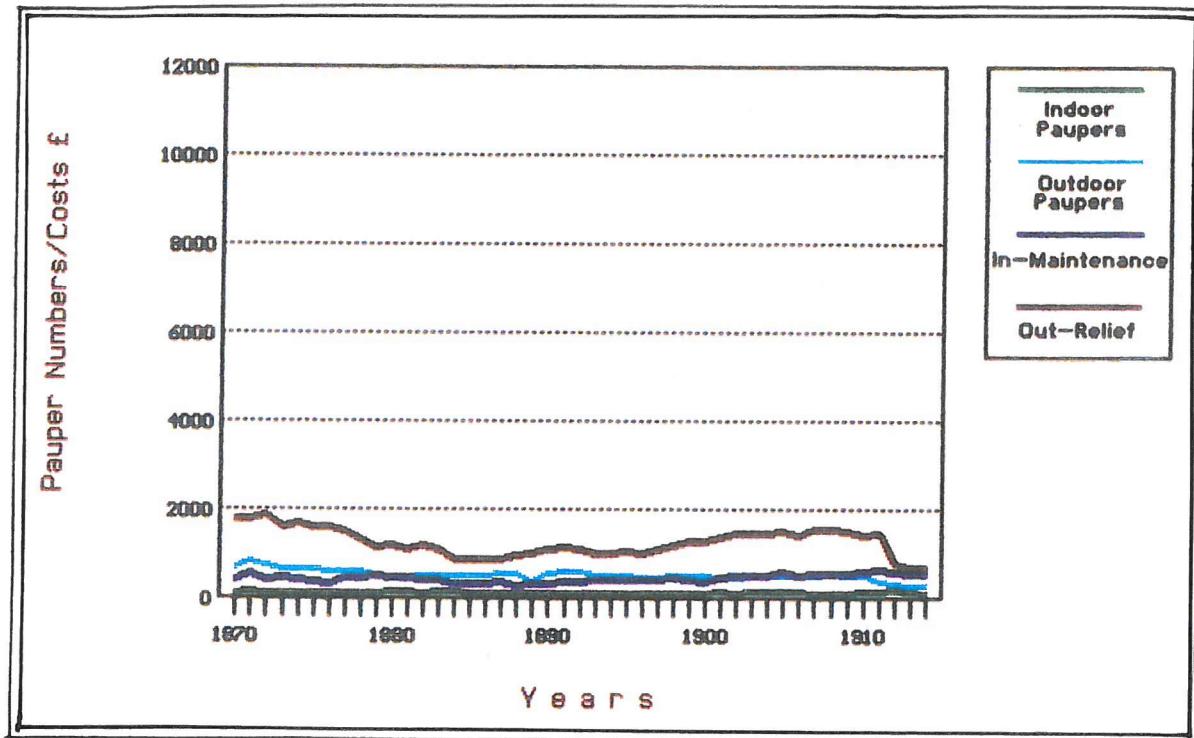
CHAPTER 7PAUPERISM AND POLICY

Poor law policy after the introduction of the New Poor Law in 1834 varied considerably in its adherence to and divergence from the letter of the law. Local variations were legion, but broadly by 1870 it was the opinion of the authorities in London that administration had become too lax, and from 1870 onwards they attempted to persuade the local areas to tighten up on the granting of relief to those who were "undeserving". This particularly applied to those on outdoor relief, and especially to the system of granting relief to the able bodied, but in some areas such austere policies affected the totality of paupers. These policies continued for most of the rest of the period covered by this study in the case of the able bodied, except in times of unemployment, but were relaxed in the 1890s for those who fell into the "deserving" category - the sick, the aged and children.

Official policy stressed economy in the costs of pauper relief, and also attempted to revitalise the distinction made in 1834 between the deserving and the non-deserving poor. The latter were legitimate objects of relief, the former were to be deterred by workhouse conditions and factors such as a labour test from applying for poor relief at all. However, a number of pressures meant that in some areas it was extremely difficult to contain outdoor relief at the levels achieved during the 1870s (1). By the late 1880s and the 1890s costs and numbers were again increasing as more lenient attitudes were adopted by the Local Government Board and local guardians resulting in policies which were less harsh for the "deserving poor". Unemployment in the 1900s caused costs to rise still further as is shown in Appendix 8.

1. THE NEW FOREST

Figure 3 - Indoor and Outdoor Paupers and Costs of In-maintenance and Outdoor Relief for the New Forest Union 1870 - 1914



(2)

In the New Forest the policy of the guardians as indicated by pauper numbers and costs appears to have been remarkably consistent throughout the period, with little variation in the numbers of those being catered for, particularly in the case of indoor paupers. The numbers of those on outdoor relief also changed little during the period, once some reductions had been made during the 1870s, until after 1910 when the numbers of outdoor paupers began to decrease. Given that this was a time of rising population, therefore (the population of the New Forest Union increased from 13,496 in 1871 to 16,373 in 1911), the New Forest guardians appear to have maintained a fairly restrictive attitude to the granting of poor relief, which did not change throughout the period.

Closer analysis of the figures, given in Appendices 7 and 8, indicates that while the number of paupers in each category - indoor and outdoor - remained reasonably constant, the numbers of the able bodied on outdoor relief declined considerably (3). While numbers of able bodied indoor paupers as a percentage of the whole remained fairly steady at 2% - 3% throughout the period, there was a considerable fall in the percentage of outdoor able bodied pauperism (4). Thus, in the 1870s the percentage of able bodied outdoor paupers to the whole was in the region of 8% - 10%; by the 1900s this had declined to 4% - 5%, the decrease occurring in both male and female paupers. In addition, the amount of relief in kind to the outdoor able bodied also decreased - from £408 per half year in 1872 it fell steadily to £56 in 1914. Mr. Fry, Relieving Officer for the New Forest parish of Fawley, said in 1901 "Formerly he had given 100 to 125 gallons of bread weekly - now it was 25 gallons only" (5).

In terms of cost, however, there were some greater fluctuations than there were in numbers of individuals, and the evidence points to a reduction in the quality of relief for much of the period. Thus while the costs and numbers of those on outdoor relief fell together between 1872 and 1880 the reduction in costs continued for longer, until in 1885 the division between numbers relieved and the costs of relief was much narrower than it had been in earlier years (Figure 3). One may conclude, therefore, that overall sums expended on outdoor relief in the New Forest became less generous between 1885 and 1897 than they had been previously, after which the disparity increased and greater sums were spent to relieve the same number of paupers (6). After 1907 the indoor poor also appear to have had more spent on them, but the increases were less great than those for outdoor relief.

Several factors may help to account for these alterations in pauper numbers and costs in the 1870s and in the 1900s, and will be seen to have affected figures in the other two areas also. Official policy was

clearly one of the most important reasons. One would expect in these circumstances that outdoor relief in particular would decrease after 1870, with the possibility of indoor pauper numbers being affected also. This should not necessarily entail cost reductions however, since LGB policy after 1870 encouraged differentiated and less deterrent, and consequently more expensive, treatment for those who deserved poor relief (7). The fact that costs of indoor relief in the New Forest workhouse decreased slightly in relation to numbers relieved between 1880 and the early 1890s, indicates that, contrary to national LGB policy, the indoor poor of the New Forest are likely to have received worse treatment rather than better.

In the numbers on outdoor relief in the New Forest no concessions were made, apparently, to the problems of the late 1870s in agriculture, when a succession of poor harvests from 1873 onwards, coupled with foreign competition, resulted in depression and rural unemployment. However, this would also have been a time of difficulty for the New Forest farming ratepayers. It is likely that it was their interests which were reflected in a considerable stringency in relief levels during this time, with the costs of outdoor relief at their lowest level for the whole period between the mid 1880s and 1890s. While agricultural wages fell after 1875, however, real wages were maintained due to falling prices so it is possible that relief levels were restricted in these circumstances in order to maintain the deterrent aspects of outdoor relief in comparison with the living standards of the local poor (8). Certainly the living conditions of some New Forest labourers appear to have been wretched (9). Nevertheless, it would appear that the restrictions apparent during this period reflected considerable efforts on the part of the guardians to reduce the numbers receiving relief as far as possible, even though conditions were harsh. The chairman of the New Forest guardians commented in 1883 that "having had a very wet winter indeed, and consequently numbers of people out of employment, he yet never remembered relief lists so very

small (hear, hear). This was due in great measure to their efficient Relieving Officers, and to the patient care with which the Board investigated every case brought before them; at the same time he did not think that any really deserving case had been sent away unrelieved" (10).

By the 1890s New Forest outdoor pauperism was apparently not the same problem that it had been in the middle of the century. Although figures for the relief of the aged are not separately available throughout the period, it is likely that this was the area, together with relief for the sick, upon which the New Forest guardians' energies were increasingly concentrated, rather than the outdoor able bodied. Mr. Fry remarked in 1901 that "As time had gone on more and more generosity had been shown to the aged poor" (11), and in 1896 and in 1901 he commented on the extent to which the pauper problem had decreased. In January 1896 relief cases were said to be "very light" and Mr. Fry himself had only two to present. He had been relieving officer since 1851 and at the beginning of his tenure he had "20, 30 or 40 cases to bring before the Board. He had seen the hall outside crowded with men out of work, and the board really didn't know what to do with them. They had a few old people on the books and also some temporary cases, but both had been minimised greatly" (12).

Statistical returns also indicate the extent to which the New Forest's paupers were increasingly the aged. LGB figures from 1906 show that there were 143 indoor paupers in the House on 1st January, and the Union relieved 129 aged indoor paupers during the year (13). Returns to the LGB, relating to two nights only in the year (the 1st January and 1st July) tended to underestimate actual relief figures by as much as 50%, so this figure would indicate that approximately half the workhouse population consisted of the aged, a rather greater proportion than the national figure for this time, which has been estimated at 1 in 3 in workhouses in England and Wales (14). On outdoor relief there were 500 on 1st January, and in all 639 aged poor

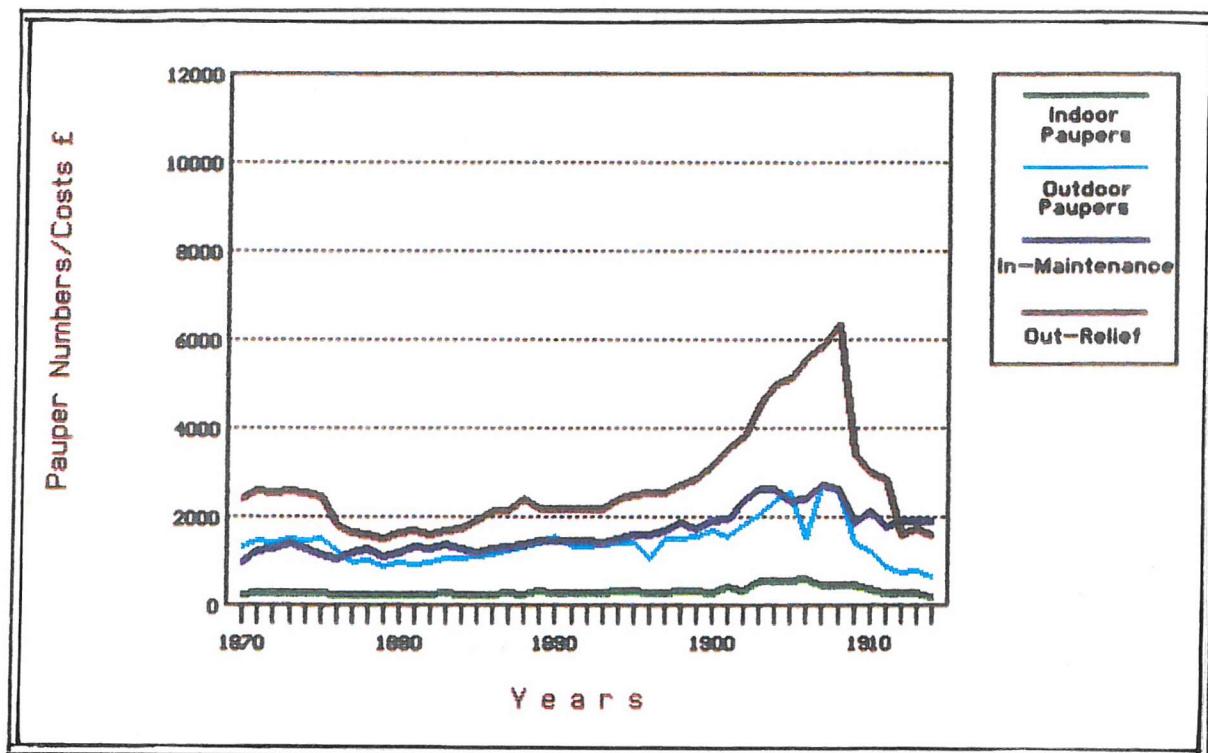
relieved during the year (15). This preponderance of elderly paupers may serve to explain the increasing costs in the New Forest, in that pressure from a number of sources, not least the LGB itself, had been growing in the 1890s to improve the care of the elderly within the poor law. The LGB at this point was increasingly stressing the principle of "adequate" relief for deserving groups. Investigation must be rigorous but once it had been proved that relief was legitimately to be granted, it should be of an order to sustain "a decent living" (16). Both the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor of 1895 and the Select Committee on the Aged Deserving Poor 1899 condemned the giving of inadequate outdoor allowances to the aged.

As for the alterations in pauper numbers after 1910, the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 (17) was also applied to paupers after 1910, relieving the New Forest guardians of almost all their elderly paupers. In 1911 there were 711 aged paupers outside the workhouse in the New Forest, falling to 18 in 1912, and to zero in 1913. The numbers inside the workhouse fell also, from 208 in 1912, to 21 in 1913.

The evidence from the New Forest therefore, points to a decreasing problem in relation to able bodied pauperism, with its place taken chiefly by the aged poor towards the end of the period. This was a phenomenon common to many rural unions, where the working population had migrated to the towns, leaving an ageing rural population likely to be dependent upon poor relief. Anne Digby has made the point that "The typical country workhouse was an almshouse for the aged and infirm and the children, which was administered with humanity" (18), and such a one in respect to its clientelle that of the New Forest appears to have been by the 1900s. The Union was beset by slight increases in costs towards the end of the period, possibly the result of central pressure for better treatment of the aged, but relatively minor in comparison with the problems faced by other unions, and particularly those of South Stoneham and Southampton.

2. SOUTH STONEHAM

Figure 4 - Indoor and Outdoor Paupers and Costs of In-maintenance and Outdoor Relief for the South Stoneham Union 1870 - 1914



(2)

In the earlier years of this survey South Stoneham was still largely a rural union, and here, as in the New Forest the guardians managed to maintain indoor pauper numbers at the same level for a considerable portion of this study, but with costs increasing slightly over the years, particularly after 1898. By this time the increasing urbanisation of the union had produced much greater stresses upon the poor law administration, with increases in all levels of pauperism and fluctuations in costs. Relieving Officers in 1902 had over 300 cases each and in 1903 the house was said to be nearly full, with South Stoneham guardians unable to offer the workhouse test to the outdoor poor. The increases of the post-1900 period coincided with a national economic depression between 1903 and 1905, and with great local

distress which reached a high point in 1903. The distress experienced in Southampton spilled over into the neighbouring union, which had already had its own local difficulties associated with the shipping trade. In the Woolston/Itchen area employment was dependent to a considerable extent upon the Naval Shipbuilding Works which collapsed as a result of fire, a severe winter and labour troubles in 1891, the buildings not being occupied again until 1900 (19). Yet despite these strains on the system, interest in elections to the Board of Guardians was no greater than before, and the number of contested elections during this period varies little from that in earlier years, although before 1914 there was a slight increase in voting numbers in Itchen (20). As has been shown, the rateable value of the Union was increasing rapidly, with the result that even increases in pauper numbers of the order illustrated in Figure 4 could be absorbed without major increases in rates (21).

Despite the increasingly compassionate climate for the claims of the "deserving poor", the South Stoneham guardians were very unwilling to allow their costs to rise, and did everything that they could to resist the growth in out relief in the 1890s, which worried them greatly. The Minutes for 26th January 1897 register concern as to "large and increasing annual amounts" expended upon relief and a committee was appointed to consider the tightening of outdoor relief regulations. As a result the following were issued: No outdoor relief was to be granted except in sickness or special circumstances to: able bodied single men or women, able bodied widows without children or with one child only, deserted wives with or without families, single women pregnant or with illegitimate children, those having relatives capable of supporting them, those living with relatives or with adequate "collective" income, men who refused to work at reduced wages, anyone under 45 except those proved to be drawing sick pay from a friendly society, habitual drunkards and bad characters. All outdoor relief in future was to be granted for a maximum of 26 weeks.

The key phrase in these regulations may well have been "in sickness or special circumstances" in that exceptions of this sort allowed numerous cases to be included on outdoor relief, and were the ways in which Boards of Guardians circumvented the regulations of the Poor Law Board in earlier times (22). In 1902 the situation had worsened, and more regulations were introduced. A factor which illustrates the changing climate in which relief was administered by this time, however, is the exception for those drawing sick pay from a friendly society. In 1879 the South Stoneham guardians were criticised by the Vicar of St. Luke's church for refusing relief to a man with a £100 life insurance policy, which he refused to hand over to the Board as a surety of repayment. The vicar's view was that it was wrong to discourage thrift on the part of the poor, and by the 1890s the South Stoneham guardians were in agreement (23). In 1894 the practice of taking only half the payment from a friendly society into account when calculating relief was legalised by the Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Act (24). Henceforth thrift was to be encouraged whereas previously destitution had been the only qualification for relief.

Regulation of the outdoor poor numbers proved rather more problematic than of the indoor. Here, as in the New Forest, their numbers dropped in the late 1870s, from 1467 outdoor paupers in 1875 to 954 in 1877. This decrease was more abrupt than in the New Forest but also occurred as a result of official pressure to limit outdoor relief. The restrictions on outdoor relief did not go unopposed. In the election of 1877 in Millbrook a Mr. Fletcher, a timber merchant from Eling and long-serving guardian in the New Forest, stood for the South Stoneham Union with the backing of six large ratepayers, so he said, who held the Union's rules were too strict. At "a crowded meeting" in Millbrook he was supported by a number of prominent Shirley and Southampton citizens who maintained that "the rules were cruel to poor people", and he topped the poll "by a long way" at the subsequent election (25). Following the increasingly rapid rise in outdoor pauper numbers of the 1880s, 1890s and 1900s, costs and numbers for the

outdoor poor fell hugely in 1909, reflecting the transfer of the outdoor poor of Shirley and Portswood to Southampton (Southampton gained over 1600 outdoor paupers in 1909). Finally, the same fall in outdoor numbers occurred as was seen in the New Forest, resulting from the introduction of Old Age Pensions. Thus in 1910 there were 298 aged outdoor poor in South Stoneham, while in 1911 there were 9. However, indoor aged pauper numbers did not drop nearly so much - in 1910 there were 67, while in 1913 there were still 45, the problem being that the aged indoor poor often had nowhere to go once old age pensions began, or no-one to care for them, outside the workhouse. Unlike the New Forest where the aged appear to have been considerably in the majority amongst the paupers, in South Stoneham they were less so. In 1906 there were 117 aged paupers, while 565 paupers in total received indoor relief on 1st January, Similarly there were 2488 outdoor paupers on the same night, but only 521 aged outdoor paupers (26).

There were always relatively more able bodied outdoor paupers in the South Stoneham Union than in the New Forest. Here the numbers of the able bodied outside the workhouse reached a high point of 17% of the total numbers relieved in 1875, before falling to between 10% and 12% - slightly more than the New Forest - in the 1880s and 1890s as is shown in Appendix 7. In the 1900s however, the numbers began to increase again to between 11% and 14%, reflecting the impact of unemployment in the urban areas of the Union. The percentages of the able bodied on indoor relief were always less than in the New Forest, between 1% and 3% throughout the period, confirming the impression already gained of strictness in the New Forest administration in comparison with elsewhere in that it was more lenient to relieve the able bodied outside the workhouse, as well as rather cheaper. Although South Stoneham had, in percentage terms, fewer indoor able bodied poor, it had a large workhouse, built in the 1860s, and added to thereafter, (27) but which, for much of the period, was only two thirds full. In 1894 the Southampton Times in a leader pointed out that the South Stoneham workhouse had a

capacity for 350 paupers, with at that point only 238 in it (28).

One may speculate why the South Stoneham guardians failed to offer the workhouse to more of their outdoor poor. One reason in the early years might be the increasing realisation amongst guardians nationally that the workhouse was an inappropriate method for dealing with unemployment and distress, involving as it did the division of families, the loss of a home, and making the search for work very much more difficult. Another reason might be the more prosaic one that it was more expensive to relieve a pauper inside the workhouse than outside it (see Table 7:1 below). However, clearly also the capacity of the workhouse did impose limits, and in the later years it could not meet the demand for places. The empty spaces mentioned in 1894 had been filled by 1903, the point at which outdoor pauper numbers (and costs) in South Stoneham began to take off.

The movement of costs in relation to pauper numbers in Figure 4 indicates that amounts of relief became only slightly more generous towards the end of the period. The costs of outdoor relief followed the increasing numbers of outdoor paupers closely in the earlier years, and continued to do so until 1903, when costs and numbers started to rise rapidly. After this in the years of economic distress, outdoor relief costs considerably outstripped numbers, with relief having the appearance of being virtually out of control, with a full workhouse and no possibility of a workhouse test. A similar trend is seen in the case of indoor relief after 1895 in that it became more generous in relation to numbers of paupers. Indoor costs did not fall in South Stoneham as they did in the New Forest after 1870, but instead tended to increase slightly, reflecting LGB policy to provide better standards of relief to the deserving indoor poor.

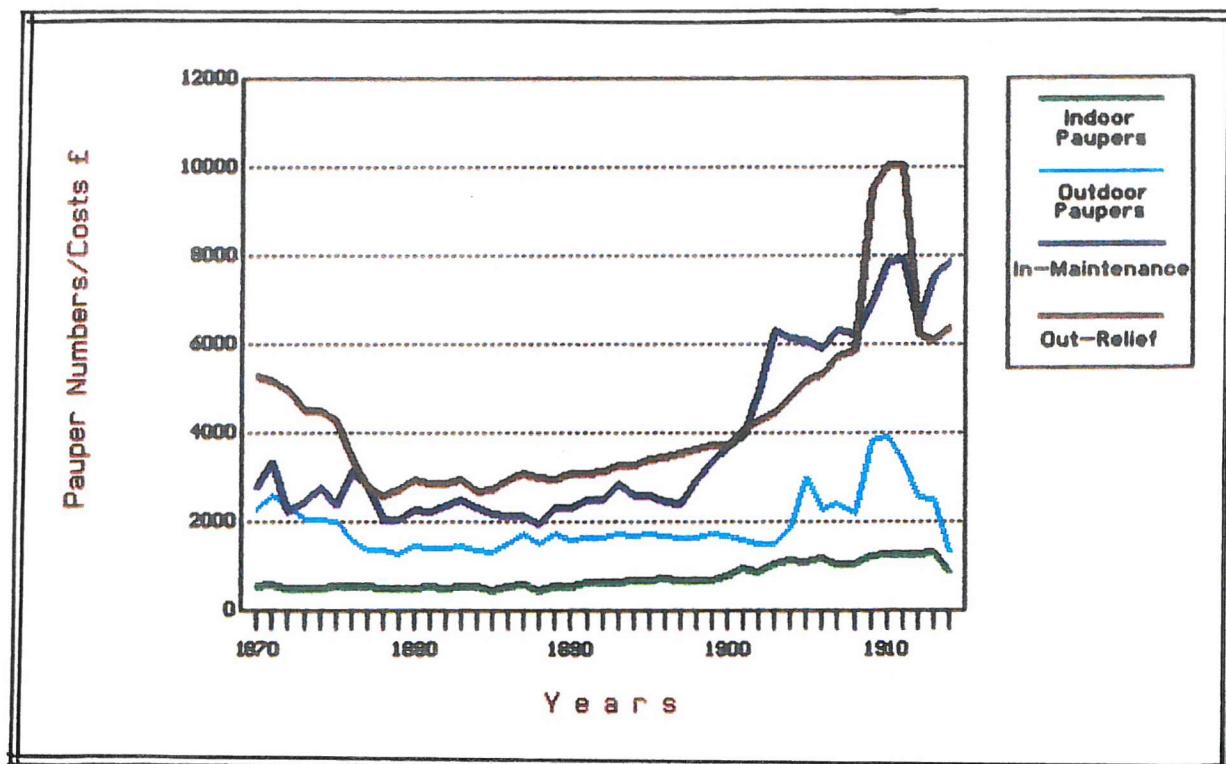
SUMMARY - NEW FOREST AND SOUTH STONEHAM

In South Stoneham the impact of the Local

Government Board's exhortations in the 1870s on the local boards to tighten relief policies can be more clearly seen than in the New Forest. The effects of an increasingly urban population and unemployment upon the costs and numbers on outdoor relief are also clear, particularly towards the end of the period, as opposed to a union where apparently the majority of paupers by the end of the period were aged. Attempts to control indoor and outdoor relief levels were successful in this Union as they were in the New Forest after 1870, and a tight hold of relief was maintained throughout the period until the 1900s. Unlike in the New Forest the growth in outdoor relief was not to the same extent the result of greater generosity to the aged paupers, but a consequence of urbanisation and unemployment in the 1900s, so that, despite considerable efforts to keep outdoor relief costs down (see below) the distress levels of the 1900s dictated otherwise.

3. SOUTHAMPTON

Figure 5 - Indoor and Outdoor Paupers and Costs of In-maintenance and Outdoor Relief for the Southampton Incorporation and Union 1870 - 1914



In Southampton industrial and commercial unemployment trends made the greatest impact upon pauperism, with the additional problem of the port attracting migrant labour. As a result relief costs and pauper numbers varied considerably from year to year. There is the same drop in pauper costs as was noticeable in the two Unions, with a rapid reaction to official policy occurring progressively from 1870 onwards in the case of the outdoor poor. Costs remained reasonably low until the late 1880s, but in 1886 they started to rise steadily, before a dramatic increase after 1900, as occurred in South Stoneham. Numbers of paupers followed similar trends, and in Southampton, as in South Stoneham, relief appears to have become slightly more generous after 1875 for the indoor poor as costs fluctuated but tended to increase faster than numbers, and for the outdoor poor from the mid 1890s. From 1897 this more generous treatment became more marked as indoor costs increased dramatically, while pauper numbers also rose but not at the same rate. The same did not apply to outdoor relief, however, in that costs and numbers both rose in the 1900s (costs increasing steadily, numbers very erratically), and it is only between 1908 and 1912 that costs outstripped numbers by considerable amounts.

While the numbers of indoor poor did not increase markedly with the acquisition of Shirley and Portswood in 1909, costs continued to rise as they had done over the previous 12 years. Outdoor pauper numbers rose massively, however, as Portswood and Shirley's outdoor poor were added to the Southampton list. In 1911 both indoor and outdoor costs fell, as did the number of outdoor poor, a fall that here as elsewhere may have been helped by increasing employment nationally from 1910, but seems to be largely accounted for by the drop in the numbers of aged paupers. Thus in January 1911 there were 214 aged indoor poor, and 711 aged outdoors. By January 1912 the numbers of outdoor paupers had fallen to 18, and to zero in January 1913. In 1912 the aged indoor poor still numbered 208, but in 1913 they had been reduced to 21. Thus the passing of the Old Age Pensions act in 1908 had a considerable impact upon

pauper numbers, but numbers in Southampton fell by more than is accounted for by the newly created old age pensioners, as the distress of the earlier 1900s eased somewhat after 1910 (29).

Economic conditions in the country as a whole do not appear to have affected the numbers of those relieved in the earlier years of this study in either the New Forest or South Stoneham. In Southampton also the economic depression of the 1870s coincided with reductions in the numbers relieved, but to an extent the town was protected from national economic trends by the continuing expansion of the dock trade (30). Shipping reversals in the late 1870s plunged the town into continuing depression (31) until the end of the 1880s, but the guardians managed to contain their costs despite these problems. In the 1890s attention was focused upon the plight of Southampton's poor as a result of national and local publicity concerning living conditions (32), and a series of strikes in the 1880s and 90s in Southampton. Their treatment at the hands of the guardians from this point began to change and, although the aim of reconciling the claims of the poor with those of the ratepayers remained the object of every guardian who spoke on this subject in Southampton, the reality was a more relaxed attitude to the deserving poor.

Southampton's port business ceased to thrive in later years, and in the depression of 1903-5 the town experienced particularly acute problems which were not wholly solved before 1914. In 1910 the guardians reported to the LGB that there was considerable distress owing to the laying up of two "boats" from the White Star and American Lines for the winter, while casual labour at the docks remained a problem, offering "a few days' work to the large proportion of the men instead of six days' regular employment so as to assure a constant supply of men ready at hand when required" (33). A few years earlier guardians in Poplar had earned national publicity and the intense disapproval of the central authorities for the measures they instituted to cope with distress amongst the casual labourers from the

London Docks. In the absence of a majority of radical politicians no such extremism was evident in Southampton, although in 1905 the guardians did contemplate one measure adopted by the Poplar guardians, the buying of land in the countryside in order to provide work for the unemployed, but the plan was not carried through (34).

Southampton's problems in dealing with able bodied paupers are illustrated by comparing percentages of the adult able bodied catered for inside and outside the workhouse, over the period (35). In the 1870s between 9% and 19% of paupers were adult able bodied relieved outside the workhouse, while between 1% and 5% were adult able bodied indoor paupers. By the 1890s the guardians' efforts to reduce the numbers of the able bodied who received outdoor relief were reflected in an increasing proportion relieved in the workhouse, so that at this time there were between 9% and 11% relieved outside, and 6% and 10% inside. However, from 1904 the figures diverge, reflecting the impact of increasing unemployment and distress at this time, and also the intense pressure on space within the workhouse. Thus in 1904 there were 9% of total paupers in the category of able bodied adult outdoor poor, and only 3% of indoor. The problems of South Stoneham and Southampton by this time therefore were very similar.

COMPARISON OF POLICY BETWEEN THE THREE AREAS

Southampton, with its large population, was coping with a problem on an entirely different scale from the New Forest, as one would expect, and was subject to hugely different demands. South Stoneham had much in common with the New Forest in the years covered by the beginning of this survey, but towards the end was subjected to many of the same pressures as Southampton.

If the costs of relief in the three areas are compared (Figures 3,4 and 5) the steadiness of the New Forest indoor and outdoor figures in comparison with those for South Stoneham and Southampton is apparent.

The relatively simple job the New Forest guardians had in administering an increasingly aged pauper body, in comparison with that of their eastern neighbours, is revealed in an initially falling level of outdoor costs, levelling off after 1884 and increasing only slightly after 1902. South Stoneham's indoor pauper costs rose towards the end of the period, but were nothing in comparison with those of Southampton, and by this period indoor pauper numbers were considerably restricted in South Stoneham by the fact that the workhouse was full. The limited rise in indoor pauper costs in South Stoneham furthermore is compensated for by the very much greater increases in the outdoor figure. The graphs also indicate how South Stoneham, in terms of outdoor pauperism, was increasingly dealing with a similar problem to that of Southampton, to the extent that it made sense to transfer much of the urban area of the Union to the town (36). This, however, was simply to transfer the burden to Southampton, where the enormous increase in outdoor pauper costs after 1909 is clear.

The table below gives average costs per recipient in each decade of this study for the three areas for indoor and outdoor relief.

Table 7:1 Average Costs of Indoor and Outdoor Relief per recipient.

	<u>Indoor Relief</u>			<u>Outdoor Relief</u>		
	<u>South-</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>South-</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>South</u>
	<u>ampton</u>	<u>Forest</u>	<u>Ston'm</u>	<u>ampton</u>	<u>Forest</u>	<u>Ston'm</u>
1870-79	£5.12	£4.86	£4.62	£2.30	£2.98	£1.75
1880-89	£3.95	£3.79	£5.52	£2.11	£2.59	£1.78
1890-99	£4.11	£4.34	£5.78	£2.20	£2.12	£1.81
1900-09	£5.63	£5.02	£5.25	£2.72	£3.18	£2.38
1910-14	£6.41	£5.31	£7.55	£3.15	£3.36	£2.73

Source: Parliamentary Papers

For most of the period, the South Stoneham Union had the highest costs per capita for indoor relief of the three areas, although they were exceeded by those of Southampton in the 1900s. It is likely that these high costs in the early years of this survey in South

Stoneham reflect the high standards of care, by poor law criteria, of the South Stoneham workhouse. Thus the LGB Inspector, T.H. Murray Browne, wrote in 1873 that the workhouse was "an extremely good one". The next LGB Inspector, Baldwyn Fleming, wrote in 1877 "This workhouse is beautifully kept and in very satisfactory order" (37). By contrast, in the New Forest, where indoor relief costs were lower for most the period, the workhouse was constantly criticised for such things as the state of its buildings and its dampness in winter, its poor vagrants' and receiving wards and its lack of fire-escapes and inadequate sanitation (38). In Southampton similarly there were a number of criticisms made, and the workhouse was constantly being modified, often at the insistence of the LGB, to provide more suitable accommodation for paupers (39). South Stoneham's, therefore, appears to have been a workhouse which to a degree was a model for the others in the neighbourhood, in the early years of this survey. The humanity of the South Stoneham guardians is also seen in the fact that they did not reduce relief costs in the 1870s and 1880s to the same extent as did the New Forest guardians.

Later on, however, as the South Stoneham workhouse began to fill up to its capacity, its standards appear to have fallen. The LGB began to press urgently for alterations to the workhouse to provide more room, particularly for the children who could not be segregated fully from the other paupers, and whose health suffered, with repeated outbreaks of ringworm which the Inspector blamed on insanitary drains (40). The Inspector became increasingly critical, citing, for example, poor medical care in 1890, lack of space for lying-in and in the sick wards in 1895, the childrens' lack of boots in 1896 (41). The growing costs of both Southampton's and South Stoneham's in-maintenance bills reflect the shifts to which they were put in the 1900s to increase their accommodation at which point per capita costs in the two unions were smaller. Later when South Stoneham lost the paupers from Shirley and Portswood their per capita costs increased again as they were left with accommodation which they could no longer use efficiently and compensation to pay to Southampton.

By contrast, the per capita levels of outdoor relief in the South Stoneham union were lower than the other two, indicating that while its indoor costs and level of relief were, in the early years, rather more generous than elsewhere, it made up for this by economising on its outdoor paupers, a policy which had the virtue of apparent humanity, as well as economy. In Southampton the effects of the crusade against outdoor relief are clear in the fall in costs per recipient in the 1880s, but after this outdoor costs increased, as they did in South Stoneham from the beginning of the period. In the New Forest however costs fell in the 1890s, before increasing in the 1900s as its predominantly elderly pauper population, for whom "adequate" relief was national policy, exerted greater pressure on poor law costs.

Within these figures and those contained in Appendix 8 there are various trends observable where comparisons and contrasts can be drawn between the three areas, particularly in the treatment given to various classes of pauper.

THE ABLE BODIED

The history of these three Unions indicates increasingly strict administration of relief to male able bodied paupers. In the New Forest in the 1880s and afterwards there were often apparently no able bodied men relieved outside the workhouse at all, and only a small number inside it (typically in 1883 there were 11 able bodied men and 10 able bodied women relieved inside the workhouse out of 505 total paupers on 1st January (42)). In the other two areas, allowing for the different scale of their pauper problems, considerable efforts were made to reduce able bodied pauperism. Deterrence is apparent in both Southampton and South Stoneham where labour tests were in use in 1870 as a condition of outdoor able bodied relief, and in Southampton a new post of Superintendent of Outdoor Labour was created in the 1890s. The task set varied according to what was needed at the time, so that in

1871 able bodied men were working on the Common, and in 1895 on the new Infirmary site at Shirley Warren, but oakum picking was set in 1882 for "Paupers of idle, profligate and drunken habits and paupers being mothers of illegitimate children" (43).

In recognition of the use made by guardians nationally of other categories relating to relief allowing for sickness or accident to the individual or a member of the family, the LGB gradually demanded more exact breakdowns of able bodied pauper numbers. Classifications of outdoor able bodied poor were divided from 1885 into those relieved from "Sickness" and "Other causes", and from 1891 the indoor able bodied were divided into those "In Health" and "Temporarily Disabled". The second was the largest category in Southampton in 1914. In all three areas most of the paupers who were relieved outside the workhouses were those who were classified as sick, although the number grouped under "Other causes" rose in Southampton and South Stoneham towards the end of this survey. Most able bodied men acknowledged as such were relieved in the workhouses until they began to fill up in the late 1890s. Therefore, the guardians were at least attempting to follow the law in relieving, as far as possible, only those they could classify as sick, outdoors. The rise in "other causes" of pauperism towards the end of the survey indicates the problems they had keeping to this resolve in the urban areas where unemployment caused able bodied pauper numbers to rise increasingly, and where both workhouses were so full that "the house" could not be offered.

When percentages of those adult able bodied on outdoor and indoor relief are compared (44), the New Forest appeared to have a decreasing problem, but to be pursuing strict relief policies to those that remained. In Southampton deterrent policies towards the male able bodied were followed for most of the period, and the guardians successfully limited the numbers of the adult able bodied both outside and inside the workhouse until the 1890s, when economic circumstances resulted in growing numbers outside. In 1899 because of high

workhouse numbers the Relieving Officers were instructed to offer 5s or 6s to people, presumably aged, if it would keep them out of the house in the care of relatives or friends (45). This is unlikely to have been particularly generous, despite the fact that the Southampton guardians referred to the offer as applying "humane principles", since in 1904 it was maintained that outdoor relief had been at the same level for eighteen years, namely at 5s plus half a gallon of bread (46). In South Stoneham despite concern voiced in the minutes and in new regulations about the able bodied, there were fewer within the workhouse in percentage terms than in the other two areas, suggesting that this union pursued less deterrent policies towards the male able bodied, particularly in the earlier years of this survey. The numbers of the adult able bodied on outdoor relief increased, as they did in Southampton, and both workhouses were full by the 1900s. The New Forest was therefore alone in having a decreasing able bodied pauper host amongst these three unions, increases in South Stoneham and Southampton seem to reflect shared problems relating to unemployment and economic decline.

Deterrence is also seen in the offering of relief in kind. In the New Forest and Southampton substantial amounts of outdoor relief were given in kind. In the New Forest this amounted in 1870 to £355 worth in kind to £1748 in money - approximately one fifth of total outdoor relief therefore being offered in kind. In Southampton the amount in kind was smaller relative to the whole, £600 worth in 1870 to £5262 in money. Relief in kind was less welcome to the poor than was relief in money; it restricted freedom and meant the guardians could be sure that relief was being used for the purposes for which it was intended (47). South Stoneham did not choose to operate such a deterrent until 1902 when its outdoor relief figures began to rise alarmingly, from which point the guardians offered relief in kind on a regular basis. This greater leniency in the South Stoneham guardians was counteracted by the fact, as has been shown, that their outdoor relief costs per recipient were lower than in the other two areas (Table 7:1).

Able bodied women were relieved in greater numbers than men in all three areas to enable them to care for their children (48). Most of them were also outdoor paupers, and in Southampton they constituted in the 1880s approximately one seventh of the total numbers of those on outdoor relief, declining to one tenth in 1910. Of these, large numbers would have been widows with children who were exempted from some of the Local Government Board's regulations concerning the prohibition of outdoor relief and for whom "Relief in aid of earnings remained the lot ... under the New Poor Law" (49). The guardians came under considerable pressure in the 1870s to restrict relief given to able bodied women, particularly the mothers of illegitimate children or deserted wives. Women had been excluded from the terms of the Outdoor Relief Prohibitory Order of 1844 and that of 1852 (50) but in 1870 the LGB dictated that widows with one child should receive no outdoor relief, but should be offered the workhouse instead. The reference to the Labour Test for mothers of illegitimate children indicates the methods used in this strict period in the poor law's history to deter such applicants for relief in Southampton, and in 1879 there was a minor scandal about the punishment meted out to a female pauper for refusing to pick oakum (51). However, as the following statistics indicate, there were always far more able bodied and non-able bodied women than men in the same categories relieved outside all three workhouses. It seems likely that, allowing for the fact that many of such women were elderly, many were also either single or deserted wives and that the guardians of South Hampshire were not especially draconian in the application of the law to women and their children. The figures for outdoor relief support this in that they indicate little significant change between the 1870s and the 1900s in the numbers relieved, except in the cases of non able-bodied women and children in Southampton and South Stoneham. At the same time indoor relief numbers (Appendix 8) for these groups did not increase significantly.

Table 7:2 Southampton Outdoor Paupers

	<u>Able Bodied</u>		Children under 16	<u>Non Able Bodied</u>	
	Men	Women		Men	Women
1878	40	161	469	133	409
1888	19	209	468	170	479
1898	29	164	410	171	361
1908	69	199	655	341	835

South Stoneham Outdoor Paupers

	<u>Able Bodied</u>		Children under 16	<u>Non Able Bodied</u>	
	Men	Women		Men	Women
1878	19	130	402	113	236
1888	41	159	513	171	361
1898	61	116	515	279	485
1908	67	252	961	371	908

New Forest Outdoor Paupers

	<u>Able Bodied</u>		Children under 16	<u>Non Able Bodied</u>	
	Men	Women		Men	Women
1878	13	47	161	84	219
1888	3	46	157	90	183
1898	5	35	86	99	203
1908	0	28	125	110	255

(2)

It may be concluded, therefore, that the guardians of South Hampshire continued to relieve the majority of women with children outside the workhouse for most of the period, and that little allowance was made for LGB policy in this area. The Unions avoided the issue by classifying most women as non-able bodied, but there were rarely less than three times the number of able bodied women on outdoor relief than there were able bodied men. Some able bodied women, however, were

hardened cases, who were presumably exactly the type that the guardians feared would corrupt and further pauperise their fellows if they were all in the workhouse together. Many of these the magistrates imposed upon the Southampton guardians, and their letter book describes the "drunken women who, on being taken before the Justices on that charge are frequently sent to the workhouse instead of being committed to prison. It has been found that ordinary tasks of household work and washing are not sufficient to deter such characters from remaining in the workhouse" (52).

PAUPER CHILDREN

The treatment of children varied considerably in the three areas. In none of them were there very many children in the workhouse - in the New Forest there were usually less than 20, while in South Stoneham the highest number in the workhouse school was 74 in 1874, and in Southampton there were 66 in the house in 1898. All three unions possessed their own workhouse schools, and although the South Stoneham union and Southampton Incorporation discussed the possibility of forming a district school between them, they all preferred to educate their own workhouse children. The bar to the formation of a district school was the inequality between the South Stoneham standards and those of Southampton. The latter's school, according to Baldwyn Fleming was "wretched", while the school in South Stoneham was reported to be "far above the average" in 1877 when the suggestion was made (53). Nevertheless, standards were clearly not high, if this workhouse school was so exceptional, because a report of the school inspector in the same year reported that the boys were "stationary", while the girls were "very backward" and the schoolmistress was not qualified. The inspectors' reports of the workhouse schools were rarely commendatory - in 1895 in South Stoneham "reading (was) slovenly, handwriting, spelling, arithmetic very weak" (54). All three unions had great difficulty in retaining schoolmistresses, and Southampton and South Stoneham also employed "industrial trainers" to train

the boys in a trade, such as shoe-mending, and the girls for service.

On various occasions the New Forest and South Stoneham guardians contemplated sending their workhouse children to the local schools, and the South Stoneham children briefly attended West End school in 1881. However, it was invariably more expensive for children to be educated outside the workhouse in numbers of more than twenty, and the boys soon returned to the workhouse school, despite the guardians' professed wish to see them removed from the workhouse. The LGB Inspector was also anxious to see them educated with non-pauper children, and regretted in 1896 that the Board had no power to compel the South Stoneham guardians to bring this about (55). It was not until 1895 in the New Forest and 1904 in the case of Southampton, that the workhouse schools were closed - in both cases some considerable time after the desirability of removing children from the workhouses had been recognised and advocated nationally. The South Stoneham school was not closed until 1909.

It was not only in the area of education that the opportunity to remove children from the proximity of other paupers existed. A number of unions recognised the need to find other forms of accommodation for pauper children, and various experiments were tried, including district schools, cottage homes and scattered homes, as described in Chapter 1. All three unions in this study were institutions in which total segregation of different classes of pauper was impossible, yet the removal of children from the workhouses was not achieved in any case until after 1900 - once again far later than occurred in pioneering unions elsewhere, such as Sheffield. The LGB Inspector was always concerned for the welfare of children on his visits to the workhouses, and in 1877 recommended the Southampton guardians send their boys to the Portsea Island school as did a number of other local unions, but it was not until 1897 that they went, and then briefly, when pressure on space in the workhouse became acute. A solution, in the case of orphaned children, or those whose parents' consent

could be obtained, was to "emigrate" them to Canada, and in 1870 22 children were sent from Southampton, followed by 58 a year later, while more left from South Stoneham in 1897.

The South Stoneham Union, uniquely in this study, favoured the boarding out of children, the costs of which appeared in its accounts between 1889 and 1897 and again from 1907 until the end of the period. In the New Forest boarding out fees appear in 1909, and for Southampton only in 1911 despite the urgings of the Local Government Board as to the necessity to remove children from the workhouse entirely, and as a result of the Local Government Board Order of 1910. In 1896 the Southampton Times recommended the setting up of cottage homes for pauper children, but in September 1904 scattered homes were rejected by the Southampton guardians, one of whom commented "The question of taint was all rot and it would be well to consider the ratepayers. Children were well treated in the workhouse" (56). It was only in 1910 that separate accommodation appears to have been provided for the Southampton pauper children, with the purchase of Hollybrook House for the boys, once the workhouse was too small to house the Portswood and Shirley paupers in addition to those already there. In 1911 the guardians were considering building a "babies' bungalow" and in 1913 the girls were to be moved out as well.

In the New Forest the guardians saw no reason to treat indoor pauper children particularly favourably. In 1894 the LGB wrote to the guardians insisting that meat be included in the children's diets. The guardians' response was to refuse, maintaining that the children were already better fed than those outside the house - the principle of disciplinary diets was well preserved in the minds of the New Forest guardians. M.E. Crowther has shown how, although diets were by this time far more generous than those of the poor identified by Rowntree in York, the meals remained dull and unappetising - even salt was not always allowed on the table (57). The Hampshire Independent commented in 1894 that the New Forest guardians were reverting to

their old "illiberal views". "If pressed to its logical conclusion ... the standard of the workhouse treatment of children is to be that of the slums for rags and the gutter for starvation" (58).

Despite the slow response of the guardians of South Hampshire to developments elsewhere concerning the care of workhouse children, there are indications of some improvements in the treatment they received towards the end of the period, in Southampton at least. A bequest provided for an annual children's treat as early as the 1870s (59), but it was only in the 1890s that a humanising of the regime is apparent. The children began to attend fêtes locally, or to go on outings in the summer, and in 1909 the boys went to a holiday camp by the sea for three weeks. In South Stoneham and the New Forest, however, no similar events were recorded.

Children on outdoor relief received little attention from the guardians beyond an addition to the payment made to their parents for their keep. In theory the payment of outdoor relief from 1873 was conditional upon any children in the family attending school, and in 1869 one in 10 of those children on outdoor relief nationally had fees paid for them (60). School fees were paid by the South Stoneham Union from 1877 until 1895, and in Southampton from 1889 to 1896, but the New Forest does not appear to have made any such payments. In practice, however, the guardians did not pay enough to cover the paupers' costs, and it is doubtful therefore if many of the pauper children on outdoor relief were able to attend school. Thus in 1877 the South Stoneham guardians paid twopence halfpenny towards the costs of a child's education, but the local schools charged sixpence a week (61), while in 1882 they wrote to the LGB enquiring as to whether they should stop outdoor relief because a child was found not to be attending school. The LGB replied that they should, but the outcome is not recorded (62).

THE SICK AND THE AGED

In both the New Forest and South Stoneham unions there are few indications of any changes in the treatment of the deserving adult poor, the sick and the aged. In Southampton, however, things improved considerably from the 1890s onwards, in response to changes in national policy (63). A number of minor changes in policy indicate the climate of these years. Elderly men were allowed tobacco from 1892, and the guardians provided magazines from 1893. By 1901 stoneware had been bought for the aged women to replace tin tableware, and they were allowed out on Sundays and to wear their own clothes. Also in 1901 an old men's cottage was bought to relieve pressure on the workhouse, the elderly women having had their own separate accommodation from 1897.

None of these three areas was in the least progressive in sick care until Southampton's Infirmary was built in 1898. In all three unions for the first twenty years after 1870 sick care was provided within the workhouse, with nursing provided by fellow-paupers, often imbeciles, in the early years. In the New Forest in 1877 both the workhouse nurses were aged paupers of 76 and 61 years, assisted by a man of 30 "not quite right in himself", a situation that provoked an enquiry by the LGB (64). In 1877 and 1884 respectively South Stoneham and the New Forest first appointed trained nurses, although in 1890 the LGB were still able to criticise the South Stoneham guardians for the poor medical care and untrained nursing the paupers received (65). In Southampton similar conditions applied until the 1890s when it was decided, because of pressure of numbers in the workhouse, to build the new Infirmary at Shirley Warren. In this institution the sick poor received what must certainly have been in appearances very different treatment from that of the sick ward in the workhouse. It was built on a high ground site on the outskirts of the city, in far healthier surroundings than those of the workhouse in central St. Mary's Street. Here medical treatment could be delivered free from the obvious taint of pauperism which care in the

workhouse inevitably implied.

The care of lunatics, and the physically handicapped, often took place in asylums and special homes provided for the purpose, such as the asylum at Knole, near Fareham, or the home for deaf and dumb children at Portsmouth. Some lunatics were cared for in the workhouses, however, and their treatment was the subject of inspections by the Commissioners in Lunacy at regular intervals. Southampton had 30 lunatics in the workhouse in 1900, the New Forest had 4 in 1898. Most of those who were in the workhouse were those whose diagnosis was recent and possibly temporary, and as with other deserving cases their regime, at least in Southampton, appears to have become more kindly in the 1900s, although it was far from being acceptable by late twentieth century standards. For example, underblankets were provided for their beds in 1901, and "a dozen comfortable chairs" were bought, while arrangements were made for them "to be taken out of bed if only for part of the day" (66).

FEMALE GUARDIANS

In Southampton and South Stoneham the care of the sick and of children in the workhouse, and to an extent outside it, were the levers used by women to become members of the Boards of Guardians. There was in law no bar to women becoming members of Boards under the 1834 Act, and the first woman guardian was elected to the Kensington Board in 1875, and joined by 50 others by 1885 (67). After the passing of the Local Government Act of 1894 800 female guardians were elected (68), and in South Hampshire, where no women attempted to become guardians until after 1894, they stood initially upon the issue of pauper welfare (69).

In the first instance it was two female ILP members who stood, unsuccessfully, for the Southampton Board. Partisanship was not a vote-winner for female candidates in Southampton, however, and it was an Independent, Mrs. Walter, who was elected in 1898, and she was then

re-elected until she failed to stand in 1911. Her election platform was her independence of party (she was later found to vote with both Liberals and Conservatives on various issues, while she was also a member of the Charity Organisation Society) and her special ability to understand the problems of women paupers. A number of other women stood in the same year, but it was not until 1907 that another was elected - a Mrs. Palmer who stressed not her socialism, but her nurse's ability to provide specialist advice on the treatment of the sick. The recognition that female indoor paupers did have special needs was acknowledged also in the creation of a Women's Visiting Committee for the workhouse in 1899. In 1911 the role of women in the welfare of children was also officially recognised when the LGB decreed that one third of every union's boarding out committee must be women. Southampton, unlike South Stoneham or the New Forest, must have been able to comply with this instruction from amongst its guardians since a third woman was elected in 1911, and by 1914 there were five women guardians in the town.

When Mrs. Walter stood for election in 1898 it was quite clear that she was supported simply because she was a woman. At an election meeting in that year one attender commented "He had been ashamed as he listened to think that he had ever voted for party men as guardians for party purposes" - a comment which recognised the changing climate in which the poor law operated in the 1890s, as more than simply a vehicle for local partisan rivalry. In this environment the special role that women had to play in pauper welfare was increasingly recognised, and at another meeting held to support all the female candidates of that year their understanding of female and child paupers was stressed. "A Ratepayer" wrote to the newspaper "The guardians are supposed to overlook both male and female wards, but does common decency allow them to do so?" (70).

Nevertheless, the candidacy of women as guardians was not without opposition. The Southampton Times wrote "The prospect of women securing seats on the Southampton Board of Guardians seems to excite some

people to ebullitions of wrath that are quite unseemly", referring to the views of Alderman Lemon, a much-respected ex-mayor of the town (71). He maintained that "There are matters with which men, with their larger business experience, may be peculiarly fitted to deal" (72) and this view may have prevailed in the New Forest, where no women stood for the board's elections at all. However, it is significant that although Mrs. Walter was made acting Chairman of the guardians on one occasion, she was never offered the position as a permanency. Nor was Mrs. Vokes, vice-chairman of the South Stoneham guardians in 1914 offered the chairmanship the following year, although the succession was customary. Mrs. Vokes was the wife of one of the South Stoneham guardians, and was the only woman to be elected to the South Stoneham board.

VAGRANTS

One group of paupers upon which the three unions appear to have been in considerable agreement was the vagrants. The numbers of these "Knights of the Road" (somewhat implausibly named by New Forest guardians in 1905 (73)) remained reasonably untroublesome through most of the 1870s at about one per night in January in the two unions, and between 10 and 13 in Southampton. The guardians took a fairly benign view of them at this time, in that many appeared to be genuinely seeking work, and the South Stoneham Union even wanted to remove the labour test, and give them a better diet in 1872, but were restrained by the LGB's insistence on uniformity (74). However, in the 1880s the numbers began to increase, particularly in Southampton, and by the 1890s they were troubling the two unions also as large amounts of "roaming people" were attracted by dock work (75). In the 1890s up to 60 tramps would be in the Southampton workhouse overnight on 1st January, and in the New Forest in 1896 there were 26. In 1901 the Southampton Times wrote "Tramps are overrunning the country in ever-increasing numbers. In the old days they might be bona-fide mechanics or journeymen" but now these were the exception (76). After this numbers

increased still more, reaching a high point in 1909 when there were 77 vagrants in the Southampton casual ward on 1st January, although by this time the two unions figures' had begun to fall (77).

Several conferences were held in Hampshire for local guardians, and in 1899 South Stoneham guardians took the lead in trying to organise a uniform system of treatment for the vagrants (78). In the New Forest the regime became more strict. A guardian questioned the workhouse master in 1907 "There has been a great decrease of tramps since you have been here. Can you tell me how it is done?" The master replied "No Sir: I am still of the opinion that they do not appreciate me" (79), a remark which implies a policy which supports Rachel Vorspan's assertions concerning the continuance of "official callousness" (80). Clearly a uniform system was essential - the New Forest was said to be acquiring more tramps in 1901 because they had not adopted the single cell system operated in Winchester, Christchurch and Southampton (81), but later in 1904 the Master announced that he was using the tramps to work the workhouse farm, and a profit was being made which relieved the rates; "The master has found tramp labour very useful" (82).

Vagrants nationally reached a high point in numbers in 1908 (83), and in South Hampshire numbers fell off after this as well, probably because of increasing employment.

PAUPERISM AND PRESSURE GROUPS

Pressure groups as such did not exert a sustained influence on poor law policy in any of the three unions, and the history of groups trying to influence the guardians' decisions does not indicate that such pressure was effective unless there was a considerable body of similar opinion already present amongst the Board's members, as was the case of the Southampton Ratepayers Party's campaign over tendering policies (84).

In Southampton the local branch of the Charity Organisation Society attempted to influence the Board of Guardians. Their policy was to distinguish between the deserving poor and those for whom relief was an encouragement to idleness. The former they would attempt to preserve from dependency and pauperism by the co-ordination of charitable efforts and the judicious granting of assistance, the latter were to be dealt with by the strict application of the deterrent principles of 1834 by the poor law authorities. There was to be rigorous cross-checking between the COS and the guardians to ensure that those who were found "unworthy" of relief would not get it from other sources, and that relief was not duplicated.

The Southampton branch of the COS was founded in 1875, and led by Dr. R.W.W. Griffin, a poor law medical officer. Despite his position he attacked the guardians' administration in a number of articles in the Hampshire Independent in 1875, accusing them of using the poor rates to subsidise poverty. He showed that Southampton's poor law expenditure per head of the population was higher than the national average, while he also maintained they were providing free medical attention for a quarter of the town's population (85). A small number of guardians became members of the Southampton COS (86), while the chairman of the South Stoneham guardians attended the conference which set up the local branch. The Southampton deputy-president was for a time a member of the local COS Executive Committee, initially as an individual, after 1882 as a right attached to his office. The Southampton guardians agreed that the relieving officers' books should be open to COS scrutiny, although they refused to go to the expense of submitting lists of paupers to the society.

The founding of the local COS in Southampton in 1875 coincided with the application of stringent policies in the administration of poor relief in the town. Ruth Hutchinson Croker, in her study of the impact of the LGB's stricter policies on outdoor relief

of the 1870s on Southampton, has noted a number of measures which enabled relief to be administered more rigorously after 1875. These included the repeal of the section of the Local Act that limited service on the Board to two years in 1878, enabling guardians to build up expertise over longer periods of office. As was shown in Chapter 3 (87) however, this measure also relieved some parishes of the difficulties they had experienced previously in finding guardians willing to stand at elections. She also notes increased attendances at board meetings which between 1877 and 1893 totalled 1,110 individual attendances, while over the longer period of 1854 to 1874 they numbered only 697, and the appointment of a Removals Officer in 1877 which resulted in considerable numbers of paupers being removed from the town "thereby effecting a great saving" (88). The marked drop in costs of relief per head of the population, as demonstrated in Chapter 6 Table 6:2 (89) is also evidence of the success of the more stringent policies, as are falling rating levels, which declined from 2/3 in the £ in 1870 to an average of 10d in the £ between 1880 and 1890 (90). Finally, their impact may also be seen in the sharp fall in outdoor relief per recipient which occurred in 1876 and was maintained thereafter, as is shown in Appendix 9 (91).

Nevertheless although these measures were instituted after 1875, it seems unlikely that they resulted from COS pressure to any considerable extent. The "crusade" was being implemented in Southampton before the formation of the local COS, and the considerable fall in outdoor relief in Southampton indicated by Figure 5 dated from 1870. Nor was the COS able to persuade the guardians to adopt its more enlightened policies. The COS urged that higher levels of relief should be disbursed to fewer paupers, but in Southampton the costs per recipient of relief (Table 7:1) did not rise until the 1890s. Croker also mentions the failure of the reformers to deter paupers from applying to the Free Dispensary for relief, as opposed to the Provident

Dispensary, for which a premium of 2d a week was charged (92).

The COS also failed to secure the co-operation of those whose support was essential if they were to succeed. COS efforts to co-ordinate relief lists with clergy records of those receiving charity foundered on the latter's failure to provide information (93), and the COS largely failed to achieve the support of the Southampton clergy, essential if private charity was to be controlled (94). In addition their criticisms of the administration of private charities also frustrated their efforts to co-ordinate relief. After 1880 the attacks made by Dr. Griffin on the relieving policy of the guardians resulted in an "open rift" between the two organisations (95), and the society's unpopularity increased in the town as the economic crises of the 1880s began to have an impact and their policies were seen to be inappropriate for dealing with large numbers of unemployed (96). By the 1890s increasing distress and the realisation that poor relief was sought by those lacking work, rather than those shirking it, increased the unpopularity of the Society in the town.

The direct impact of the COS upon the Southampton Board of Guardians would appear therefore to have been limited. Strict policies of relief were already in place before the COS was formed, implemented as a result of central policy co-inciding with the guardians' devotion to economy. The pressure it exerted on the Board of Guardians in the late 1870s may have been responsible for some minor shifts in policy, but the relationship between the COS and the guardians deteriorated in the 1880s and with it is ability to achieve the results it wanted. Only two guardians, one in South Stoneham (Mr. Crew) in the 1870s, and Mrs. Walter in Southampton in the 1890s and 1900s, are known to have been COS members (97).

In the 1890s a further group attempted to influence the guardians' policies, as the radicals of the Gladstone Liberal and Radical Working Men's Club briefly became the self-appointed watchdogs of pauper welfare.

Prominent amongst their number was Delmar Bicker-Caarten (98), who wrote a series of articles which appeared in the Southampton Times in 1890 entitled "The Exceeding Bitter Cry of Outcast Southampton" (99). This drew attention to the living conditions of the poor in the slums of St. James's Ward in the ancient centre of the town, where eventually the St. Michael's Improvement took place. Bicker-Caarten, a Fabian and ILP member, gave a lecture in 1893 on poor law reform in which he advocated old age pensions free from the taint of pauperism and the transference of all other poor law responsibilities to the municipalities. John Exten, another Fabian and Liberal/Radical, advocated evening board meetings, the payment of trade union rates to guardians, pensions and work schemes for the unemployed. Three members of the Club stood at the guardians' election of 1893 but only one succeeded in being elected (100), and thereafter the club's electoral activity was directed primarily towards the Council.

The impact of the Club on the board of guardians was limited, and they did not concentrate upon poor law issues, other than a campaign for increased visiting hours for the elderly in the 1890s. In 1892, however, the club was active concerning the treatment of the schoolboys in the workhouse and over the dismissal of the schoolmaster whom they believed to have been a scapegoat for the guardians' parsimony. At this point the Liberals had recently regained control of the Board, but the chairman and another guardian had been insulted by the schoolmaster and the majority on the Board were determined to resist pressure on his behalf.

The Southampton Trades Council was another organisation which occasionally attempted to supervise areas of poor law policy in Southampton. They were concerned more with issues relating to pay and to workers' welfare than with pauper policies. Thus in 1903 they wrote to protest at levels of relief being given to men engaged in clearing ground at Shirley Warren - the 2s. a day the guardians were "paying" was getting the work done cheaply and undercutting other workers (101). Later the Council wrote again,

protesting at the dismissal of a workhouse worker, and in 1913 they took up the cause of a dismissed lodge keeper. They appear not to have been concerned with the details of local poor law administration, but welcomed the publication of the Royal Commission's Minority Report in 1909, condemning the Majority Report as "reactionary and mischievous", while they also noted that none of the recommendations made would affect the causes of pauperism, destitution and unemployment (102).

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD

When the deputy president of the Southampton guardians was informed by the Gladstone Liberal and Radical Club in 1893 that he was answerable to the whole electorate, he replied that he was responsible only to the members (of the Board) and to the electors of St. Mary's "and then only at Easter" (103). The accountability of the guardians in all three unions depended largely upon their being challenged at elections, yet it was only in certain parishes of Southampton that contested elections were commonly held (104). Many guardians served unchallenged for many years (105) and in these circumstances the only body to whom the guardians were responsible for their policies was the Local Government Board.

The role of the Local Government Board in the oversight of Boards of Guardians has been briefly detailed in Chapter 1 (106). The Board had few powers as such, and these were chiefly financial and often negative. Thus they had to be applied to for loans so that workhouse building could take place, and they were able to surcharge guardians for allowing illegal expenditures or, as in the case of Southampton commercial ratings, permitting companies to pay less rates than they should (107), although this power was threatened but apparently never actually used in South Hampshire between 1870 and 1914. Orders of the central authority were binding upon Boards of Guardians, but it lacked the personnel and also the means to enforce compliance upon recalcitrant boards.

By the 1870s the Poor Law Board and its successor, the Local Government Board, thoroughly aware of the varied nature of poor law administration nationally, were anxious to achieve national uniformity of relief, and also to reduce the amounts paid out in outdoor relief while enhancing the institutional treatment given to deserving groups. By the 1890s their concern was increasingly directed towards persuading Boards of Guardians to give "adequate" relief to the deserving - the aged, the sick and children - both inside and outside the workhouse, while attempting as ever to restrict the granting of relief to the able bodied other than within a well-regulated workhouse. To this end the direction of policy became concerned not only with broad areas but with the its minutiae (108). As has been shown, increasingly detailed returns were required of boards concerning numbers and categories of paupers, and the impression given by the correspondence between these three Boards and the LGB is of a detailed oversight of policy. For example, the Board had to be notified as to every official appointed and his or her salary and previous experience; permission had to be sought for temporary allocations of outdoor relief to named individuals which were contrary to the Board's Orders; alterations in pauper diets had to be notified as were changes in the usage of buildings.

In the broad areas of policy the LGB successfully influenced the South Hampshire boards. Thus all three areas tightened up on the granting of relief in the 1870s, and to varying degrees attempted to restrict outdoor relief, at least to able bodied men, for most of the period. Although the three boards did not increase indoor relief to the deserving initially, as the LGB wished, by the 1890s and 1900s in conformity with national policy, all three were increasingly generous to the indoor poor. In particular the sick, in Southampton, and the aged in the New Forest were much better provided for by the end of the period.

The Local Government Board Inspector was also vigilant and active. For almost the entire period

covered by this study the Inspector was a Mr. Baldwyn Fleming, who visited workhouses twice yearly, and was supported by six monthly inspections of workhouse schools and by inspections by the Commissioners in Lunacy. Although he did not deal with the correspondence between the Boards and the LGB, his opinions are frequently to be found in annotations to the files, and he emerges as an energetic champion of deserving pauper welfare, in his concern for standards within workhouses, and also a stickler for efficient and impartial administration, designed to reduce numbers of outdoor paupers. He took, as was to be expected, very much the LGB line as outlined by J.S. Davy to the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws in 1906, that the able bodied should receive relief only under conditions of less-eligibility (109). He did not rely solely upon the guardians for his information, but watched the local press. Thus in 1895 he noted a report of an attempted suicide at the South Stoneham workhouse, and requested that the LGB investigate (110). His vigilance and support for expensive measures to improve the lot of the deserving poor were not always appreciated, and when he retired in 1910 not all the Southampton Guardians were prepared to vote him "thanks and appreciation" (111).

Nevertheless, it is clear that although the LGB had considerable powers to elicit information, and although it had to be consulted about a great many of the details of policy, boards of guardians were able to resist its wishes to a large extent. In Gateshead the Board only heeded the LGB when it suited them (112), and in South Hampshire similarly the guardians, although they generally adhered to the LGB's wishes, were capable of defiance also. For example, it was noticed in 1887 that the New Forest Union dealt with its permanent relief cases by allowing those from individual parishes to be seen by the guardians for the same parishes with the relief officers. The LGB was anxious that the entire Board should deal with all relief cases, on the assumption that guardians who dealt habitually with paupers they knew were likely to be less exacting than strangers would be. The New Forest Board was unwilling to alter its methods, however, and successfully resisted

attempts to make it do so. The system was still in operation in 1890, with the concession that the chairman of the Board would initial relief lists in future. An LGB official commented, "The guardians are at liberty to take what steps may appear to them to be best, but I doubt whether the bringing of the List in future before the whole Board and the initialling of the Chairman will be more than formal". Bladwyn Fleming's comment testifies to the powerlessness of his position, "It is wholly inconsistent with the intention of constituting a "Board of Guardians" that cases should be decided by the Guardians of the particular parishes from which they come. It entails all the mischief arising from personal sentiment and personal interest in connection with the cases ... This correspondence confirms the view that I have long held that "permanent lists" ought to be abolished. It however would seem useless to prolong these communications with the Guardians" (113). Elsewhere inspectors were more successful in encouraging the stringent application of outdoor relief principles, as for example in Glasgow after 1890 (114), but the crucial factor was the guardians' willingness to conform in these areas where the LGB lacked the power to enforce.

In Southampton similarly the guardians were capable of resisting the LGB's wishes. A prolonged correspondence took place in 1893 concerning the indoor paupers' "dietary" which did not conform with, but which the guardians insisted was better than, that laid down by the LGB and which the guardians refused to change. A favourite tactic was that of prevarication, as was also seen in other unions (115), and on this occasion the matter was referred to committee and the LGB repeatedly put off when it persisted in its request that the guardians conform.

However, in the greatest of its struggles with the Southampton Board the LGB was ultimately successful. One of the LGB's major concerns during this period was with the gradual improvement of standards for indoor paupers. In Liverpool the inspectorate played a crucial role in the improvement of hospital and institutional

provision (116) and similarly in Southampton the conditions of the indoor paupers became a matter of increasing concern for Baldwyn Fleming. He began to press for the building of a separate infirmary for sick paupers in the early 1890s, while the guardians resorted to various minor alterations to the existing workhouse to increase the accommodation. In 1897 Fleming addressed the guardians as to the urgent need for an Infirmary; "The Local Government Board is desirous, where local circumstances render it practicable, to separate the administration and control of the sick department from that of the workhouse proper". "You in Southampton are now going through the experience which has befallen every large and important Union in the country. The Isle of Wight several years since built their detached infirmary, and I trust will shortly sever the administration from the workhouse." His interest in more efficient and rigorous administration was clear, the removal of the sick, he said, would allow "due classification and the comfortable accommodation of healthy inmates".

However, like many other LGB inspectors, his fundamental concern was for pauper welfare, which he believed a system which separated the different classes of pauper would best serve. "If there is one class more to be pitied even than the poor ratepayers, that is the poor who are actually destitute, and of those who are actually destitute the most to be pitied are the aged and the sick. They are in your hands. You are their Guardians, and to you only have they to look for treatment - good treatment or the reverse" (117). By September 1898 the guardians had "resolved to build a new Infirmary for the Sick Poor in accordance with the wishes of the Local Government Board" (118).

CONCLUSION: HOW CRUEL WAS THE SOUTH HAMPSHIRE POOR LAW?

This question, similar to that posed by David Roberts in 1966 concerning the years immediately following the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, has been taken up by a number of historians since

(119). In relation to the national situation and to individual unions, in the later period with which this study deals, most authorities appear to agree that "cruelty" was less the issue than the disciplinary nature of institutional life. Deterrence by this time rested not so much upon less-eligibility, than upon the social disgrace of being known to be in receipt of poor relief, with genuine improvements taking place in the conditions of the deserving poor (120). Nevertheless, it is an issue that has been addressed in various forms by a number of local studies in recent years, and it is appropriate therefore to add the South Hampshire experience to the accumulated evidence.

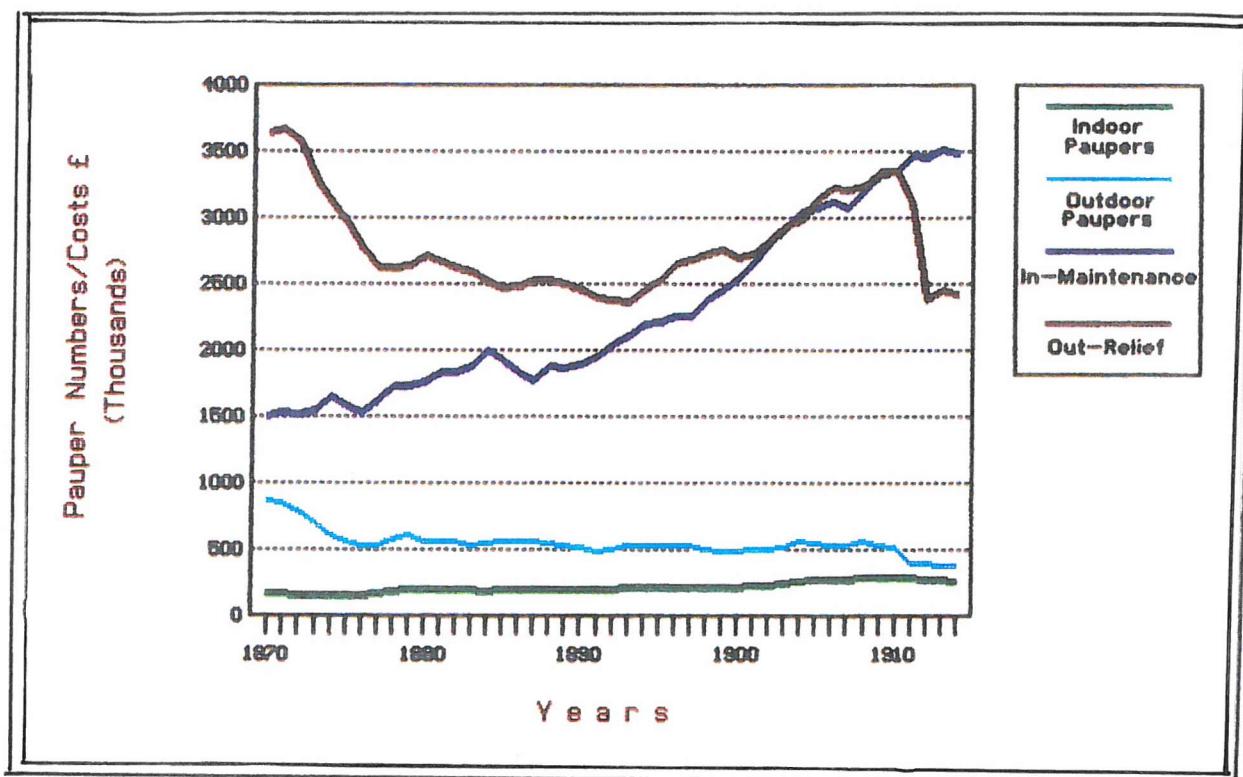
In the administration of outdoor relief the assessment of "cruelty" is not easily achievable. It could be said to depend upon the liberality with which such relief was dispensed so that, for example, the continuance of allowances-in-aid-of-wages after 1834 has been judged to be evidence of kindness (121). Perhaps as important, however, particularly as judged by the standards of the day, was the consistency with which relief was dispensed, within certain limits. Thus a lack of cruelty in the administration of outdoor relief could be said to depend upon the efficiency of boards in establishing criteria for relief which they then ensured were administered impartially. The guardians' concern for the size of relief districts, for example, arose partly because they did not want aged outdoor paupers to have to walk a long way to receive relief (122). Provided relief was then granted to all those who qualified for it, and the grounds for qualification were not unduly stringent, then such relief could not be judged to be cruel. Another standard whereby outdoor relief can be judged is its capacity to meet the needs of a crisis, such as economic depression and the needs of the temporarily unemployed.

If these criteria are applied to the crusade against outdoor relief of the 1870s, then those boards of guardians who responded to the LGB's exhortations to reduce relief to able bodied male paupers, single women, newly deserted wives and widows with children, cannot be

said to have been particularly benevolent. The sharp decline in outdoor relief in Southampton from 1870 and particularly in South Stoneham between 1876 and 1878 (Figures 4 and 5) indicates a sudden change of policy which must have been very difficult for the poor to bear, and was not the gradualist approach that Henry Longley of the LGB had envisaged (123). Local studies indicate that other unions did not always respond in a similar way. The drop in outdoor relief in the New Forest, for example, was more gentle and occurred over a longer period. In Sunderland the campaign against outdoor relief in the 1870s had some effect (124), but after an initial fall outdoor relief remained at a high level in Wincanton throughout the 1880s and 1890s, while in Gateshead the demands of the LGB in the 1870s were largely ignored (125). Given that the South Hampshire guardians also resisted the LGB's requests that spending on indoor relief should be increased to provide adequate relief to deserving indoor paupers, their actions can be viewed as, at the least, an unimaginative and penny-pinching reaction to central policy.

It is also fair to say, however, that national figures for outdoor relief and costs indicate that in England and Wales overall spending on outdoor relief and numbers fell considerably over the same period of years as they were falling in Southampton and South Stoneham, namely 1870 - 1878 (Figures 4 and 5):

Figure 6 - Indoor and Outdoor Paupers and Costs of
In-maintenance and Outdoor Relief for England and Wales
1870 - 1914



(126)

In addition, in both South Stoneham and Southampton relief costs tended to increase faster than numbers (although less rapidly than national figures), while the treatment of women was not as harsh as it could have been.

In the later years of this study outdoor relief in Southampton and South Stoneham escalated rapidly with economic depression and unemployment, and changing regulations concerning relief for the aged and widows (127). These increases were very much greater than those nationally, as Figure 6 shows. Other unions had similar problems, so that in Houghton-le-Spring outdoor relief predominated throughout over indoor, while in some northern unions outdoor relief was "out of control" in 1909 (128). The guardians' response in South Hampshire was to restrict the amount of outdoor

relief granted to individuals at low levels. Thus in Southampton relief levels stayed at the same amount between 1886 and 1904, while in the severe winter of 1903/1904 the Mayoral Relief Fund had applications from unemployed men already receiving inadequate poor relief (129). The unemployed fared badly in Southampton during this period of distress, with councillors insisting that care for the unemployed should not rest with any organisation other than the poor law authorities (130). In South Stoneham levels were consistently lower than in the other two areas, and the conclusion that their outdoor relief rate was also inadequate is supported by their paying of school fees at a level well below the actual costs. In the New Forest there was little increase in outdoor relief levels over the years, indicating that it too was far from generous (131).

The South Hampshire guardians therefore failed to allow sums on outdoor relief which were adequate to the needs of paupers, but they did make efforts to deal with distress. Their reaction in the early 1900s to economic crisis and unemployment was benevolent to a degree, in that they relieved far more paupers and their overall outdoor relief costs increased considerably to meet the demand from individuals. They disliked the Outdoor Relief Regulation Order of 1911 because it restricted the granting of outdoor relief to the male able-bodied (132). It seems very likely that they made use of the non able bodied categories to satisfy the scrutiny of the LGB, in that common reasons for the granting of outdoor relief at this time were "nervous debility" or "debility", "infirmity" and even "vertigo" - hardly serious ailments (133). Table 7:1 indicated increases in levels of spending on non-able-bodied paupers, which makes it highly likely that these categories were being used to provide outdoor relief to the virtually able bodied.

The extent of the increases in non able bodied male pauperism is clear from the following statistics: In Southampton the category of non able bodied male paupers increased by 199% between 1898 and 1908, the figures having risen only slightly between 1878 and 1888 and

having remained fairly constant between 1888 and 1898. In South Stoneham the increase was spread over more years, namely 151% between 1878 and 1888, 163% 1888 - 1898, and 132% 1898 - 1908. In both areas the figure for non-able-bodied female paupers doubled between 1898 and 1908.

Both the Southampton and South Stoneham workhouses were full by the end of the century, and in those circumstances it was difficult for the guardians to offer anything other than outdoor relief without adopting radical policies. Other unions had similar problems, so that in Sunderland the workhouse was full in the 1890s and 1900s, and it was a common problem when most workhouses had been built forty or fifty years earlier. South Hampshire's lack of initiative is demonstrated by comparison with Gateshead, however, where a more expensive and innovative policy was adopted. A new and energetic group of guardians, elected after 1894, took a more critical view of outdoor relief than did their predecessors, establishing specialist institutions for the care of the aged and the infirm. They built a new workhouse in the 1890s where classes of pauper could be segregated and a workhouse test applied. The guardians in Gateshead were determined, apparently, to make a clear distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor. Nor did they neglect the unemployed, and started their own fund in 1894-5 (134). In Poplar another new group of guardians also adopted radical policies, of a very different kind (135).

In Southampton and South Stoneham there was little innovation of any kind in relief; both were constrained by their lack of spare workhouse space, and their extreme reluctance to spend money in providing more pauper accommodation. The plans of the Southampton workhouse (136) indicate that, despite minor additions, the workhouse that was erected in 1867 remained substantially unchanged until the building of the Infirmary was started in 1898. The preoccupation with economy of the South Hampshire guardians was shared by all of those unions which have been the subjects of

local studies, and in a number of unions in the 1890s and 1900s the LGB tried to counteract the guardians' niggardliness, particularly in the treatment given to indoor paupers. Thus in Tynemouth the LGB was pressing the guardians to increase spending (137), and in Houghton-le-Spring, similarly, the workhouse was very full but the guardians could not be persuaded to extend it (138). Exactly the same pressures were being applied to the Southampton and South Stoneham guardians in the 1890s.

The resistance to avoidable expenditure on the part of many guardians indicates the extent to which they were still guardians of the rates in the 1890s and 1900s, rather than guardians of the poor. All three graphs (Figures 3,4 and 5) indicate a failure to increase spending consistently on the indoor poor in the 1870s, despite the LGB's wish that segregation of different groups of paupers, probably necessitating new accommodation, and improved quality of relief, should take place (139). National figures (Figure 6), in contrast, show a steady increase in both indoor pauper numbers and spending from 1877, in response to the LGB's call for "adequate" relief, which it pressed from the 1870s onwards, together with the strict application of 1834 principles (140).

In the 1890s, however, South Hampshire was not alone in seeing a liberalising of the regime for indoor paupers. In Houghton-le-Spring noticeably better conditions resulted from those on in-maintenance from the 1890s, while in Gateshead the "enlightened" group of guardians removed children, the aged and the infirm from the general mixed workhouse - a decade earlier than such changes were made in South Hampshire. Minor modifications which humanised the regime in the Southampton workhouse did take place in the 1890s, however, and considerable changes occurred eventually in provision for the aged, sick and children. In addition, reforms were instituted in 1909-1912, following the publication of the Reports on the Royal Commission, including the setting up of a boarding-out committee in 1910 and the establishment of dossiers for

those on outdoor relief, but both developments were preceded by LGB Orders. Nevertheless, none of these unions could be said to be progressive. In all but Southampton spending on the indoor poor lagged behind national increases in England and Wales (Figure 6). South Stoneham was certainly more reactionary by the 1900s than it had been in its earlier, unstressful days, while the conservative nature of the New Forest's administration is clear from the figures for outdoor, and particularly indoor relief.

A further standard of cruelty in poor law administration is the evidence from minutes and letter books concerning individual cases of cruelty to paupers. Although the LGB insisted that references be taken up for all workhouse employees, the rapid turnover in many posts indicates that the jobs were not congenial. Salaries tended to be low and staff untrained, and women in particular did not stay long. The standard of employee was therefore not very high, and in these circumstances it would be unreasonable to expect the level of care to be imaginative.

There were, however, very few clear and proven cases of cruelty in South Hampshire during the forty four years that are the subject of this study. No doubt it was only the major instances of cruelty that reached the minutes, the newspapers or the correspondence with the LGB, and the burden of proof was invariably with the complainant. There were no scandals in the South Stoneham union records, but in the New Forest in 1877 the death of a lunatic in Fareham asylum was blamed upon the guardians because he had been "kept in the Union in a state of great neglect and filth" (141). In Southampton a number of complaints were made (142), three of which were serious. In 1892 the guardians dismissed the schoolmaster following his over-working the boys on cleaning duties, but not because of his treatment of the children but because he had been insolent to the master and had talked to the press. In 1906 the guardians failed to dismiss a night attendant who broke the jaw of a pauper, and in 1911 they waited for a court conviction and questions in

the House of Commons before dismissing a boys' home attendant who had injured a boy's ear. The only instance of an employee being dismissed following a complaint was in 1906 when a nightwatchman who had failed to admit a dying woman was sacked. The Southampton Times commented "It is symptomatic of a deplorable want of system which leaves poor people at the mercy of careless officials" (143). The guardians' usual unwillingness to dismiss employees who had mistreated paupers no doubt arose because of the nuisance entailed in finding replacements, but it also illustrates their attitude to such cases: complaints about mistreatment were most frequently dealt with in correspondence with the LGB with the comment that they had been investigated and "found to be without foundation". Such a finding was rarely questioned by the LGB.

South Hampshire guardians are revealed in this survey of poor law policy as a group of people who preferred not to tackle the difficult problems of poor relief in the 1870s to 1914 period either radically or imaginatively. Rather they were forced into reforms piecemeal by the LGB when resistance was no longer possible. Social reform, as was shown in Chapter 2, was not a popular issue in Southampton, and hence the guardians were unlikely to liberalise their regime greatly of their own volition (144). The Southampton Times wrote in 1904 "The poor law is a failure because it has been administered by unsympathetic men" (145). Although there were some individual guardians who were personally motivated towards sympathetic treatment of the poor (146), such a conclusion seems an acceptable one on the whole for all three South Hampshire unions. It is true that they were for the most part not the sort of unions to hit the headlines because of obvious cruelty. However, taken overall the impression is one of economy extinguishing benevolence, particularly at the time of the crusade in the 1870s and 1880s, while thereafter, despite humane instincts and some leniency and improvements in relief, the most striking examples of reform happened considerably later than in some other unions, and for the most part under pressure. Thus

during the 1870s and 1880s outdoor relief was severely restricted, the only sign of leniency being the apparent exclusion of women with children from the general limitations on outdoor relief for the able bodied. Indoor relief in the New Forest remained at similar levels throughout the period, although outdoor relief appears to have become more generous in all three areas before 1914. Nevertheless, while in the New Forest the needs of the aged seem to have prompted more generous relief, in South Stoneham and Southampton it was as much pressure of economic distress and their inability to offer the workhouse test which resulted in the considerable growth in numbers relieved outdoors, and in costs. Few improvements resulted in the treatment of the poor in South Stoneham, and in this union the regime appears to have become less enlightened, in comparison with Southampton, in later years. For Southampton indoor paupers in the last twenty years of this study there are elements of enlightened policy, in the increasing trend for separate treatment for groups of deserving paupers, and particularly in the building of the Infirmary. Once again, however, such separate treatment was largely the result of pressure of numbers - the purchase of new accommodation could hardly be avoided.

CHAPTER 8INTERESTS AND INFLUENCE - ELECTED AND EX-OFFICIO
GUARDIANS

The position of guardian was potentially one of considerable local influence. Firstly, there was the opportunity to affect the conduct of poor law policy, relating either to the day to day management of indoor and outdoor relief, or to more specific matters. In Southampton involvement was important for reasons over and above poor law administration. Guardians hoped to influence party politics, the temperance issue and the religious question, for example, and the paramount need to keep the rates down was of overriding importance to them in all the three areas. The welfare of the paupers was also a factor - and increasingly guardians were identified with the rhetoric and occasionally the reality of improved care for the "deserving poor". In addition, some of those who served as guardians in rural areas may have been prompted to do so for reasons unconnected with the poor law, but with the guardians' other functions as the sanitary authority, or as rural district councillors after 1894.

Other patterns of influence attached to the Boards of Guardians were less related to specific powers of administration and had more to do with the concerns of the unions in which the boards were located, serving to reinforce the local structures of either political life or rural society. Such patterns can be seen most clearly in the early years covered by this study in the relationship of ex-officio guardians to the boards with which they were connected. Until 1894 the magistrates of South Stoneham and the New Forest, and the magistrates and some of the councillors of Southampton, were entitled to serve as ex-officio guardians. In many aspects their interest in the poor law administration was similar to that of their elected colleagues. Nevertheless, distinct differences can also be seen in the role the ex-officios played between one area and another, which serve to illustrate the very different characters of these three unions.

REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE MEMBERSHIP OF EX-OFFICIO
GUARDIANS

The fact that Southampton operated its poor law under the terms of a Local Act, meant that in the matter of ex-officio guardians, as in a number of other areas, the law differed from that prescribed by the Poor Law Amendment Act. Under the Act of 1834, all JPs resident in a rural union, but not those in the boroughs, could serve as ex-officios. In South Stoneham, as will be seen, ex-officio guardians did not attend many meetings between 1870 and 1894, but in the New Forest many magistrates took this entitlement very seriously. In all there were ten magistrates on the New Forest Bench, all of whom were entitled to attend guardians' meetings, while in South Stoneham there were thirteen.

In Southampton not only were the JPs permitted to attend board meetings as ex-officios, but so too were the Mayor, the Recorder, the senior aldermen and the two bailiffs. In the New Forest the maximum number of ex-officios generally attending meetings was five or six, but in Southampton, although ex-officios tended to be less conscientious about poor law matters than the JPs of the New Forest, on one exceptional occasion in 1883 no less than 27 ex-officios attended to elect a new Treasurer. At the time of the Local Act of 1772 (1) there had been only five magistrates and, since the aldermen were appointed for life, there was also no argument about who were the senior. However, by the 1870s the situation had changed radically in favour of the ex-officio guardians. In 1879 the clerk wrote to the LGB to explain that there were eighteen elected guardians, and thirty-eight ex-officios, and immediately after the creation of thirteen new magistrates in 1893 there were 49 ex-officios (2). Therefore when an issue was to be decided at the Southampton Board meeting in which the ex-officio guardians were interested, they were in a position to overwhelm the elected guardians by considerable numbers.

In the same letter of 1879, the clerk wrote that

only six ex-officios regularly attended Board meetings, so the numerical power of the Southampton ex-officios was only used on exceptional occasions. In the New Forest, however, there were ten ex-officios and 17 - 20 elected guardians, which clearly meant that the ex-officios could not outvote the elected members. Nevertheless, it will be argued that in the New Forest, as elsewhere in Britain at this time, the ex-officios had considerable influence, which had little to do with their strength of numbers. In contrast, in South Stoneham, ex-officio influence appears during the 1870 - 1894 period to have been almost non-existent.

The differing attitudes of the framers of the Southampton Local Act and of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 can be deduced from the regulations governing committee membership by ex-officios (3). In Southampton it was rare for ex-officios to become involved in detailed matters of policy and clearly the Local Act did not envisage that they should. They were not permitted to become members of committees (where the Board's detailed business was done), and indeed they frequently left the Board's meetings before the routine matters of poor law business were discussed. In the Unions however, ex-officio guardians were entitled to serve on the guardians' committees, and on some, such as the Assessment Committee there was a prescribed number of ex-officio members. The ex-officios in Southampton were therefore denied a role in the detailed administration of the poor law in the city, although the fact that they were permitted to be members of the Board at all was more than borough magistrates under the 1834 Act were allowed.

THE COMMITMENT OF ELECTED AND EX-OFFICIO GUARDIANS

An indication of the importance attached to membership of a Board of Guardians is illustrated by the commitment guardians made to the task.

In Southampton in the earlier years of this study up to 1878, elected guardians had to retire after two

years' service on the Board, and this would have discouraged those from standing who were anxious to make a name for themselves in local politics. Before 1878 the ban on standing more than twice running for election meant that those who had established some experience in the administration of the poor law, were denied the opportunity to build on that experience and also a reputation for themselves in the field. After 1878 guardians could stand for re-election as often as they liked, and some served for very long periods indeed (4). The average length of a guardian's service increased from 1.77 years before 1878 to 3.0 years between 1878 and 1890, and to 6.3 years after 1890. There is no evidence that, once guardians were allowed to serve for more than a two year period, there was any difficulty in finding candidates, and this increase in average length of service is therefore a measure of the growing satisfaction guardians felt in their roles. One long-serving Southampton guardian told a new colleague in 1906 "The longer you serve, the more you like it" (5). Once in office there was a marked tendency for incumbents to be re-elected, and this was strengthened by the ending of the vestry meeting system in 1894. Criticism of individual guardians became more difficult once this direct method of elections was abandoned.

In South Stoneham length of service averages hardly varied between the earlier and later periods, being 6 years before 1894 and 5 years afterwards, but in the New Forest they increased from 4 years before 1894 to 7 years afterwards. In both Unions, furthermore, there were guardians who also served for very long periods (6). Figures regarding attendances at meetings show that a large, and in the case of the two Unions, an increasing proportion of guardians attended meetings in the 1890s and 1900s, although in Southampton the numbers dropped slightly after the turn of the century. In the New Forest the difference is very striking - an increase of 18% over the 1870s figure, while in South Stoneham average attendance rose by 11% between 1900 and 1914.

Table 8:1 Elected Guardian Attendances as a percentage of total elected membership

	<u>1870 - 79</u>	<u>1880 - 89</u>	<u>1890 - 99</u>	<u>1900 - 14</u>
Southampton	79%	86%	84%	75%
South Ston'm	67%	N/A	70%	78%
New Forest	57%	64%	71%	75%

(7)

There is some evidence, therefore, based on these local studies, that the personal satisfaction the guardians gained from their roles was increasing during the years covered by this study (8).

For some guardians, their motives for standing were those of wishing to have a career in local party politics, to make names for themselves on the local governing institutions, and to affect local decisions. In South Stoneham and the New Forest there were few opportunities to become members of other local representative organisations - the only "progression" that could be made in terms of locally elected office was to the county councillorship, and there were very few opportunities to do this. Thus in South Stoneham only three elected guardians later became county councillors and in the New Forest one (9). Some guardians were members of other parochial elected bodies, while a few others became JPs, in addition to those magistrates who, before 1894, sat as ex-officios.

In Southampton, however, there were a number of opportunities for those ambitious to have a role in local party politics to further their careers. The Southampton Corporation was the most important elected body in the town, and the councillors also constituted the Sanitary Authority, while the School Board attracted those concerned to play a part in the religious rivalry which marked the passage and implementation of the Education Act of 1870. The importance of the Corporation in Southampton tended to be enhanced as the years of this study passed, so that after 1888 the town became a county borough and the corporation acquired

further powers after 1890, when Shirley and Portswood became part of the borough.

One might expect therefore, that the politically ambitious of the town would see the Board of Guardians, with its less central role in the area than the Corporation, as a stepping-stone to higher political office on the latter. To an extent this was the case, but the relationship between the two organisations appears to have changed over the years. A number of Southampton guardians also served as members of the Southampton Corporation. The figures are as follows:

Table 8:2 Guardians who became Councillors and vice versa

	<u>Number of Guardians</u>	<u>Number who became Guardians</u>	<u>Number who became Councillors</u>
	<u>who were also Councillors</u>	<u>then Councillors</u>	<u>then Guardians</u>
1870-1890	23 (17%)	22	4
1890-1914	39 (37%)	16	15

Thus the percentage of those guardians who also became councillors increased considerably in the latter part of this survey, so that the task of local government in Southampton was increasingly concentrated in the same hands. The reason for this probably has much to do with the fact that after 1878 guardians could serve for as many years as they wanted on the Board, so that those anxious for local office would have increasingly seen it as a legitimate object of their ambition. These would no doubt also have been the people most likely to want to become councillors.

The numbers who became guardians after they first became councillors also increased markedly after 1890 (although the numbers who first became guardians fell). It would seem therefore, that to serve on the Board of Guardians in Southampton was increasingly perceived to be an object of local political ambition in its own

right, rather than a stepping stone to a councillorship, and that the two offices were more equally valued in this later period. In 1894 ex-officio guardians were abolished, and it is likely that this may have resulted in local politicians prizing the guardianships more, partly because the opportunity to influence the Board as ex-officios no longer existed, partly because the elected guardians could no longer be dictated to by the ex-officios (10). It has also been shown how towards the end of the period the Guardians' elections were attracting voters in greater numbers than did those for the Council (11). There seems no doubt that these two phenomena are related - the Board of Guardians was perceived by those standing for election to be a rewarding institution to serve upon, partly because of the increasing electoral interest that the Board enjoyed. This is despite the decreasing number of contested elections, indicating presumably less party rivalry or disagreements over policy (12).

Developments nationally in poor law policy served to enhance the role of the guardians. In the earlier years of this survey the administration of a still largely deterrent poor law system must have been a thankless task, but the movement in national policy from the 1890s onwards towards more discrimination offered guardians who were concerned to provide "treatment" to deserving paupers a less rigid system in which to deal, while economy and deterrence were still official policy for the able bodied. Guardians, furthermore, became amongst the most vehement defenders of the poor law in the debate over the continuance of the existing system and the need for fundamental social reform, particularly following the Royal Commission reports in 1909, channelling their efforts through annual conferences attended, usually, by the chairmen and vice-chairmen of the Union Boards. However, the guardians' position was made less easy by the extent to which the poor law became the focus of national debate concerning the treatment of the poor and the need for social reform, and criticism became more acute as unemployment increased after 1900 and Boards of Guardians showed themselves incapable of coping with it

on a large scale (13). As has been shown, some criticism came briefly in the 1890s from the Gladstone Liberal and Radical Club, and later from the Trades Council, and a branch of the National Committee for the Break-Up of the Poor Law was in existence in Southampton in 1910 (14). Locally there were other problems also associated with being a guardian. It had always been a time-consuming task - in the early years in Southampton prospective guardians refused to serve on account of the time demanded (William Burbidge, for example, in 1871, declined to sit as a guardian for St Michaels, claiming his time was fully occupied as Harbour Master). By the 1900s the size and complexity of the task had increased enormously as the Southampton minute books for this period bear witness. In the years up to 1895 minutes of three years' meetings were contained in one book, after that date they became increasingly lengthy until after 1910 one book only sufficed for six months. As a guardian remarked in 1905 when moving the printing of minutes "The work of this Board is ten times as much as formerly" (15).

In the rural unions the problem was compounded for those who lived some distance from the Union by the travelling involved. In March 1899 the newspaper commented "Those who happen to be members of the South Stoneham Board of Guardians, the Highway Board and the Assessment Committee as well, had a long day on Tuesday. Commencing at 11 o'clock some of the members were at work till after 6 in the evening ... the Board of Guardians and the Highway Board sitting at the same time" (16). If the Board sat until 6 o'clock on a winter evening at the boardroom at West End, then the Millbrook guardians faced a long journey home in the dark, as would those from Beaulieu or Fawley in the New Forest. For some potential guardians such problems made membership almost impossible - in 1891 the Southampton and District Labour Council proposed that a "working man" be "appointed" to the Board. One of the guardians commented that "a working man must have the necessary qualification, and he would want his expenses paid as he could not afford to devote his attention to the Board's business for nothing" (17). One of the

things that radicals advocated in Southampton in their campaign for poor law reform, was for measures to make it easier for working men to become guardians (18).

With the increasing complexity of poor law administration had also come a greater measure of personal responsibility laid on individual guardians. In Southampton after 1900 expensive and drastic remedies were taken to try to alleviate the increasing pauper problem of the Incorporation. The Infirmary was built at Shirley Warren at considerable cost at the insistence of the Local Government Board. The parishes of Shirley and Portswood were annexed to the city's poor law area. The Local Government Board's supervision was increasingly close, to the extent of threatening the surcharging of three guardians in 1906 for £600 because they had sanctioned a repayment of rates to the Dock Company. Three more guardians only escaped a surcharge of £380 the following year on appeal. In 1911 questions were asked in Parliament relating to the conduct of the Southampton guardians over the maltreatment of a boy in their Boys' Home by the chief attendant, and amidst a glare of publicity the guardians overturned a previous decision and dismissed the official concerned (19).

Thus the evidence points to an growing commitment on the part of elected guardians to their role, but also to an increasingly time-consuming and complex task which bore a considerable weight of collective and sometimes individual responsibility. These pressures may have been a deterrent to some; to others the burdens of the task may have added to their sense of civic responsibility and hence the satisfaction they derived from their position.

THE ROLE OF EX-OFFICIO GUARDIANS

The commitment of ex-officio guardians was often very much less than that of the elected board members, but the following figures on ex-officio attendance illustrate the differing participation of magistrates in poor law administration in the three areas:

Table 8:3 Total Ex-Officio Attendances at meetings
sampled quarterly

	<u>Southampton</u>	<u>South Stoneham</u>	<u>New Forest</u>
1871	6	0	6
1872	10	0	15
1873	16	5	7
1874	13	3	17
1875	10	0	12
1876	14	0	15
1877	7	0	10
1878	17	0	10
1879	3	1	15
1880	4	2	12
1881	26	2	14
1882	14	2	10
1883	8	1	9
1884	6	2	9
1885	5	5	4
1886	3	3	9
1887	4	4	4
1888	1	2	9
1889	13	1	3
1890	11	4	4
1891	4	3	4
1892	7	3	5
1893	1	3	3
1894	1	2	4

(20)

The figures show that in South Stoneham ex-officio guardians were far less frequent attenders at Board meetings than were their counterparts in the other two areas. Furthermore the same names occur frequently on the South Stoneham list of attenders, indicating that only a very few individual magistrates actually carried out their duties as ex-officios, and they did not come very often. In contrast in the New Forest, although the figures show a tendency to decrease towards the end of the period, the ex-officios were much more frequent

attenders. Furthermore, when after 1894 JPs were excluded from the Board as ex-officios, a number stood for election and in all almost half the New Forest JPs in this later period stood as candidates for the guardianship during their time as magistrates. This was not unknown elsewhere - M.A. Crowther shows how in Bromley after 1894 the local gentry continued to sit as elected guardians once they were denied ex-officio places (21).

Similarly in Southampton although the numbers tended to diminish, there were large ex-officio attendances. The figures in Southampton fluctuated in a way not seen in the other two areas, and this variation illustrates the chief reason for ex-officio interest in the Board of Guardians' affairs. Southampton ex-officios would often attend the first meeting of the guardians' year, in April, with the aim of promoting the interests of their own political party, in order to be present for the election of the Deputy President. If party rivalry was high (either because a guardian prominent in local politics was standing for election as deputy-president, or for reasons to do with Board policy or local controversy) it was common to see a large ex-officio attendance at this meeting. This was particularly so if the elected Board was fairly evenly balanced between the two parties. From the late 1880s, as party rivalry decreased in the town (22), ex-officio attendance at the guardians' meetings also declined.

In the New Forest ex-officio attendances also decreased towards the end of their permitted time in office. The reason for this may well have been the increasingly elderly nature of pauperism in the New Forest, with growing numbers of the outdoor poor by the later years in this survey composed of the aged. Although costs were rising slowly from the later 1890s, at the point when the JPs were excluded from the Board of Guardians the pauper problem in the New Forest was reasonably controllable and predictable, and therefore not so much in need of ex-officio regulation. 1884, a year in which New Forest ex-officio attendances fell

markedly, was also the year in which outrelief numbers reached a low point from the heights of the 1870s, while costs had been stable for several years.

Although, as will be seen, the interests of ex-officio guardians in these three poor law areas differed considerably from each other, one preoccupation which they shared both across union boundaries and with their elected colleagues, was the necessity to seek to control the appointment of poor law officials.

PATRONAGE

The guardians' powers of patronage were valued highly by both elected and ex-officio guardians in all three unions. The boards had a number of places to fill, both as paid officials in the workhouses and also those of clerks, relieving officers, chaplains, medical officers, public vaccinators and other positions. Most of these jobs attracted salaries, and in some cases pensions as well, and those which related to poor law administration outside the workhouse were keenly sought-after. In Southampton the power of appointment to certain posts was seen as an important aspect of party influence, and majorities on the Southampton Incorporation were used, therefore, to secure partisan appointments to a number of positions. Ex-officios invariably attended in large numbers when such posts were to be filled, and the distribution of political spoils was the most consistent factor in accounting for their attendance at the guardians' meetings.

The office of Deputy-President (the mayor was President of the Southampton Incorporation, ex-officio) was almost invariably contested on a party basis - on only one occasion between 1870 and 1914 was a compromise reported in the press. This was in 1879, when a Liberal Deputy President was proposed by Conservatives and Liberals together. A very much more common pattern was for ex-officios before 1894 to use their numbers to attempt to offset the weight of numbers for the opposing party amongst elected guardians. So in 1878 numerous

Conservative ex-officios failed to secure a Conservative DP in a year of Liberal majority, but were more successful in 1881. In this year the highest ex-officio attendance in the Southampton record (26 ex-officios) attended to see the election of D.R. Meldrum (Conservative) as Deputy-President over L. Button (Liberal) (23). On this occasion a majority of Conservative ex-officios succeeded in imposing one of their own party upon a majority of Liberal elected guardians, and the ex-officios involved represented two-thirds of the total number of Southampton magistrates, and was therefore a sizeable turnout. The habit of the ex-officio guardians attending the Board en masse as they did for these elections was greatly resented, understandably, by the elected or "legitimate" guardians, as one of their number put it in August 1865 (24), and serious consideration was given before the local act was amended in 1877 to requesting its repeal, in order to get rid of the ex-officios entirely.

After the exclusion of the ex-officios, party remained the factor governing the Deputy President's election, and in 1898 the Southampton Times wrote in a leader of the forthcoming election "The Conservatives being in the majority the new chairman will of course be one of their number, and we understand that they are to meet as a caucus on Tuesday to see if they cannot arrange their personal differences in private" (25). In 1903 the DP's election was concluded as a result of "pre-arrangements" based on party lines (26) with the office contested by a Liberal temperance reformer and a Conservative wine and spirit merchant - clearly a dispute that reflected more than simple party rivalry. In 1910 a guardian commented regarding the new Chairman's election "It was no secret that the elections had been arranged on both sides" (27).

In South Stoneham there was little controversy over who should become the chairman of the Board until the late 1890s. Before this the chairmanship was in the hands of well-to-do citizens drawn chiefly from the rural areas, with the exception of R.R.L. Rosoman, who

was guardian for St. Mary Extra, and who served as chairman between 1882 and 1898. However, after his resignation battles occurred between the rural and the urban parts of the union over the chairmanship, which reflected the anxieties, mentioned in Chapter 3, of the disparate sections of this union that the board should not be biased in its policies towards either one (28). In the New Forest also the chairman's elections appear to have caused little obvious controversy - the vice-chairman elected in 1875 subsequently became chairman in 1881, and remained so for the whole of the rest of the period. Nevertheless guardians, both elected and ex-officio, felt strongly about official appointments because, at a time when corruption amongst poor law employees was not uncommon, they hoped to ensure that they would get honesty and value for money in their officials. High attendances of elected and ex-officio guardians occurred in 1877 and 1880 for the selection of a new master and matron, and in 1881 7 ex-officios and the full number of 18 elected guardians were present for the appointment of a new relieving officer.

While there is no evidence that such appointments were made in either the New Forest or South Stoneham according to party membership, in Southampton the selection of poor law officials was another area of important party patronage. Such posts were also sources of income or power in their own right. Large numbers of guardians invariably attended the Board when appointments were to be made, and before 1894 ex-officios also came to record their votes in large numbers, often leaving after the appointments and before other business was taken. Examples of offices which attracted such attention were those of Medical Officer (for which the salary was £150 per annum in 1892), Treasurer, Board Solicitor (9 ex-officio guardians attended to support Bernard Harfield in 1887), Registrar, Public Vaccinator (29). In 1883 the victorious candidate for the post of Treasurer was elected with the support of 14 ex-officio votes, including his own. In all 20 ex-officios attended this meeting, out-numbering the 16 elected guardians. In late December 1886 the highest number of ex-officios

found to have attended any meeting in South Stoneham - four - attended to elect a new sub-registrar and there was reported to be "considerable feeling about it" in North Stoneham and Eastleigh (30).

Perhaps the most crucial appointment was that of clerk. For much of this survey the Southampton Guardians had one clerk - C. Crowther Smith. He was a known Conservative and his election in 1860 resulted in Liberal protests, but his political impartiality thereafter does not appear to have been called into question, and his holding of the office was never challenged. The guardians valued long service and the experience that it brought, furthermore, and in the years before 1878 when guardians went out of office after two years the clerk's experience was clearly invaluable. However, that considerable importance was attached to this post by the parties locally is clear from the fact that when a new Clerk was appointed in 1896 the election was very close and the winning candidate succeeded by one vote only. He was a Conservative, and the Liberal guardians accused one of his Conservative supporters of voting when he was disqualified as the result of an "illegal practice" in the last parliamentary election (31). Subsequently his disqualification was confirmed and the Liberal candidate (who had also served as deputy-clerk for some time) was given the job instead.

The impact the clerk could have upon the poor law was potentially great, in that he was responsible for all the Board's correspondence, he represented the Board on legal occasions and advised them as to regulations, and he also had considerable power over elections through his responsibility for the delivery of voting papers. Voting papers could therefore be selectively delivered and collected, altered, burned, or filled out by party agents (32). In both the New Forest and South Stoneham the clerks were attenders at Conservative party meetings but there is little evidence to show that the poor law elections in these areas were anything other than always above board. In the election for the Shirley Local Board of Health in 1881, however, accusations were made that

the "the voting papers were so manipulated" that the Ratepayers' Association topped the poll (33). At South Stoneham Union elections in 1884 and 1888 complaints were received that voting papers had not been delivered to all those entitled to them, nor collected from everyone who had received them, a situation the guardians condemned as "unsatisfactory" (34).

The position of clerk was also important because he was often, as was the case in Southampton for part of the time covered by this study, the removals officer. Removal was often a greater deterrent to applicants for relief than the workhouse test (35) and the guardians, in the interests of economy, were vigilant as to the exercise of their rights in these matters. In a port, where large numbers of migrant workers were attracted by the possibility of work, the post was particularly important (36) and in 1894 the clerk was accused of inefficiency by guardians concerned at the number of paupers in the workhouse who did not come from Southampton (37).

The poor law appointment which excited the most attention in Southampton was that of Rate Collector. Ex-officio attendances were high for such appointments, and also on the occasions when in 1881, 1884 and 1885 their appointees were accused of inefficient collection. The position was important not only as a lucrative one (in 1877 the pay in St. Mary's was to be £80 per annum with 5% commission; which would amount at this point to about £200, by 1891 the collector in All Saints was earning £120) but also as a source of political influence much valued by the local parties. The Rate Collectors were in a position to enfranchise local electors because they knew who was qualified to vote (who had paid their rates) and because they knew rateable values, how many votes each ratepayer in the Unions, before 1894, was entitled to. In addition the rate collector could ensure that his own party's voters were enfranchised by the simple expedient of making sure their rates were collected, recorded and testifying as such at Borough List Revision sessions. On these occasions attempts would be made by the parties, via

counsel, to disqualify voters from the opposing side by alleging unpaid rates. In addition, rate collectors were also thought to be in a position to influence the way in which burgesses cast their votes, and in 1881 a newspaper article with the headline "Collectors as Political Agents" described the practice (38). This office, therefore, was much prized by the parties locally, and often fiercely contested. In the New Forest the appointment of a rate-collector for Eling in June 1886 was considered important enough to cause the highest attendance figures of both ex-officio and elected guardians of the New Forest survey. Eling's rate-collector was very important - the parish made the largest contribution in the Union to the Board's funds, and his fee was assessed (as in Southampton) as a percentage of the rate collected and so likely to be the largest of all local rate-collectors. Similarly, in 1911 there were 106 applications for the post of rate-collector in the South Stoneham Union. Ex-guardians were frequently appointed to such positions and it is likely that some of those who stood for the guardianship did so in the hope that thereby they might achieve election to local office later. Once elected, furthermore, the parties would support their men when under attack. Thus in 1895 a Liberal Rate Collector (a Mr. Yelf) was accused of disobeying the guardians' instructions and of insulting one of them. He received total support from the Liberal members of the board, while the Conservatives to a man wanted him dismissed (39).

Interest in other office-holders in the employ of the guardians arose from two concerns. One was the perennial desire for economy. The guardians were parsimonious with salaries (40), although they regarded long service as a good reason for an increase in salary, and tended to pay new holders of posts very much less than their long-serving predecessors. Long service was also rewarded by pensions, and in the 1900s the Southampton Incorporation had a considerable number of ex-officials to whom it was paying pensions, including their ex-clerk (41). Therefore, to obtain an official post for a deserving or dependent friend or relative was

not only to ensure their livelihood while they were in the position, but also in many cases to provide them with security for life. The second concern arose from the suspicion of the ratepayers about the quality and honesty of the poor law employees. Norman McCord writes of officials removed for drunkenness, incompetence and neglect of duty, and rate collectors who were also embezzlers (42). In Southampton in 1875 a relieving officer was dismissed for misappropriating pauper relief when it was noticed that the cards upon which relief was entered for individual paupers did not tally with the amounts received. Similarly in the New Forest in 1880 a relieving officer was accused of the same offence and in 1884 and 1888 guardians, both elected and ex-officio, attended in large numbers for the appointment of new relieving officers.

The issue of patronage was one which prompted the interest of all guardians, whether elected or ex-officio. In other areas of poor law administration it was the attitudes of the ex-officios which illustrate most clearly the wider roles played by the Boards of Guardians in the life of their local communities. Ex-officio guardians were not in any way, however slight, accountable and hence involved themselves only in those aspects of the poor law which they judged to be important locally.

EX-OFFICIO GUARDIANS IN SOUTHAMPTON

The prime importance of the Board of Guardians in the party rivalry of Southampton is seen in the preoccupation of the ex-officio guardians with patronage, the issue which called them to the Board of Guardians in the greatest numbers in Southampton. Their interest in matters of policy was usually confined to those issues which had a wider impact upon the rest of the town, and upon which the parties took differing views. Because of the importance of the religious issue to the two political parties, for example, ex-officios were always to be found in attendance when religion in any shape or form was to be discussed. For

example, eight attended to choose the new chaplain in 1873 (43), and in December 1874 when a decision was to be made as to whether or not the paupers should be allowed out of the workhouse to attend church at St. Mary's, next door, five ex-officios attended (44). In 1882 eleven came to discuss the possible misappropriation of £10 by the chaplain (45).

The rating issue was another partisan issue which brought the ex-officios out in force (46). So, when the Dock Company came up for re-rating in 1875, with the implications this would have for the town's prosperity and the rates of private householders, ex-officios attended a number of meetings where the matter was discussed to lend their weight in the voting. Large numbers of ex-officios, 15 on one occasion, 17 on another, came to the Board to take part in the decision as to whether the guardians should appeal against a court decision reducing the rate they had set (47). Shortly before this the London and South Western Railway's rates had been contested in the courts hence perhaps the guardians' sensitivity on this occasion, and shortly afterwards the Gas Company also contested its rates (48). Discussions about salary increases, which had direct implications for the rates, also usually attracted ex-officio attention (49).

Ex-officios in Southampton rarely concerned themselves with issues which did not relate to party politics and the interest of Major-General Tryon JP, who attended almost every meeting between 1870 and 1884, in the welfare of individual paupers was exceptional. In 1879 he wrote to the LGB about a particular female pauper whom he believed had been unduly punished by the guardians (50). Another ex-officio, Dr. Hearne, attended regularly during the smallpox epidemic of 1871 and tried to assume a measure of personal control over vaccinations in the town (the Local Government Board accused the guardians of laxness in the supervision of vaccinations), and he was to be found attending other meetings where medical matters were discussed. High ex-officio attendances were recorded during the smallpox epidemic, no doubt partially out of a concern for the

disease's containment, partially because of a continuing dispute which developed between the Board of Health and the Guardians over their respective duties during outbreaks of contagious diseases, while many ex-officios were also members of the Board of Health.

In Southampton therefore it was party political issues, including matters of patronage and rating policy, which generally excited ex-officio interest in the meetings of the Board of Guardians, rather than the day to day running of the Board. With a very few exceptions, matters of routine administration or a paternalistic concern for pauper welfare were either not of interest to them, or possibly beyond their brief by either tradition or custom, or implicit in the Local Act's excluding them from committees. That political patronage was the paramount reason for most ex-officio attendance in Southampton is clear from the fact that as party rivalry decreased in the 1880s in the city, ex-officio attendances decreased also. Detachment from everyday matters of administration on the part of ex-officios has been observed elsewhere of nineteenth century Boards of Guardians (51), but in the Unions two very different patterns of ex-officio involvement in their Boards of Guardians emerge.

THE NEW FOREST

In the New Forest, as in South Stoneham, party objectives were not openly pursued by ex-officios (52), and there seems to have been no dispensation of patronage according to party affiliation (53). They were involved with appointments in both Unions, and there were individuals who demonstrated a particular interest in various policies in both areas. There the similarities with Southampton cease, however, because in the New Forest, the ex-officios clearly regarded the business of the Board as theirs not only to supervise but, for much of the period between 1870 and 1894, to influence by the fullest exercising of their rights as members of the Board.

The Webbs wrote that ex-officio interest in routine matters of poor law administration soon waned after the introduction of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, and that they soon only attended for the making of salaried appointments (54). Derek Fraser maintains that "even where magistrates took an initial interest, the boring routine of poor relief soon drove them away, and in many unions magistrates took no interest at all" (55). In other unions, such as those of East Anglia, Northamptonshire and Gateshead (56) ex-officio involvement after the first few years of the new poor law was minimal. However, the interest taken by the New Forest ex-officios in all aspects of poor law administration in their Union may be compared, at this late stage in poor law history with that of a few others, notably those ex-officios in Somerset and in Tynemouth and Houghton-le-Spring, and Bromley (57). In all these unions the ex-officio guardians played an active part in the running of the poor law, and even in Southampton ex-officios took an active, if selective, role in the Board's affairs until 1894. After that date the participation of the local gentry as elected guardians in the New Forest Board was considerable (58).

The involvement of the ex-officios on the New Forest Board of Guardians, which invariably included most of the Forest's major landowners in their number, was both direct and indirect. At elections the landowners wielded more votes than most electors (59), and it is likely that the ex-officios were also involved in the nomination of guardians (60). In addition ex-officios in the New Forest demonstrated their concern for routine administration by attending the Guardians' meetings regularly and frequently (Table 8:3).

In addition to the Board's everyday affairs, ex-officios in the New Forest made a point of attending when controversial and important matters were under discussion, some of which were similar to those which caught ex-officio attention in Southampton. The numbers of ex-officios attending rose as they did in Southampton for the appointment of officials - e.g. a

new Master and Matron for the workhouse, a new chaplain, a new relieving officer (61). The ex-officios tended to be present in greater numbers for the quarterly reading of accounts (62) and also for certain specific issues. For example, in October 1882 protests were raised because many ex-officio members were absent when the possible re-siting of the Registration Office for the New Forest area from the offices of the Clerk in Southampton, to the workhouse at Eling was discussed. The move was prompted by reasons of economy, and Mr. Woodroffe, a Lyndhurst magistrate, protested that the matter was being introduced for the first time "when so many members of the Board were absent at Quarter sessions in Winchester" (63). Eventually the matter was held over until the next meeting, at which seven ex-officios and sixteen guardians attended.

Indirectly, there were opportunities for influence by many ex-officios which went beyond their personal presence at Board meetings and involvement in elections, and were possible because a great number of the New Forest magistrates were important landowners in their parishes. Anthony Brundage describes the close involvement that the local gentry had in the establishment of poor law unions, particularly in the inclusion or exclusion of certain parishes (64). They would also ensure that more populous parishes in "their" union were deprived of guardians commensurate with their populations (65) in order to ensure the dominance within the union concerned of the rural landowners. The position of the magistracy, he maintains, was enhanced by the Act of 1834 not only by their role in the formation of unions, but also by the provision for ex-officio guardianships and by the franchise which applied to landowners. Peter Dunkley has shown, furthermore, that in playing a major part in the administration of poor relief in the rural areas, the magistracy's role was a continuation of the part played by local justices under the old Poor Law. He maintains that interference by the Bench was a common feature in parochial administration and not, as Brundage has held, the action of a "maverick few" (66). In the period after 1834 Brundage found landowners willing to

play active roles as ex-officio or (occasionally) elected guardians on the Boards. Contested elections, furthermore, were rare, and thus the nominee of a landowner or the landowner himself could rely upon being re-elected time after time (67). Although the reasons for landowner involvement in the establishment of poor law unions, and the extent of their continuing interest has been a matter of dispute (68), the situations Dunkley and Brundage describe concerning the early years of the new poor law, bear considerable similarities to that of the New Forest, where there were a number of wealthy landowners and magistrates who involved themselves extensively in poor law meetings and where contested elections were also very rare (69).

It is possible that the local magnates played a part in the shaping of the New Forest Union after 1834, in the same way as that described by Brundage concerning Northamptonshire (70). He describes the problems encountered by the Assistant Commissioner who was setting up Northampton's unions, as he attempted to reconcile his own ideas of sensible union boundaries and types of population, with the desires of the landowners who wished personally to control the new boards of Guardians, unions and the poor relief policy they administered. Fraser maintains that the Assistant Commissioners were not concerned to oblige the landowners (in Norfolk the Holkham estate was divided between five separate unions) but rather to ensure their goodwill in the establishment of the new system (71). One of the problems lay in the necessity to group rural unions with market towns, when the rural and the more urban areas did not feel any community of interest (72). Brundage mentions that there was "antagonism between Northampton and the surrounding rural parishes" and neither the townsmen nor the country people wanted to be united in one union with each other (73). What tended to happen in the Northampton case was that rural parishes with a number of landowners were grouped with the town, while other country parishes under the control of single magnates were united in separate unions. These latter were more susceptible to magisterial influence and the landowners used considerable

persuasion to ensure that they were created with this in mind (74).

In the New Forest the type of union described by Brundage in Northamptonshire which was completely under the control of a landed magnate, was not created. Instead rural and urban interests were balanced in the country parishes' favour, with the union still susceptible to a considerable amount of landowner influence. Some country parishes were controlled by magnates, others had a number of gentry and landowning families. However, the developing urban area of Eling was of an increasingly different character from the rural parishes with which it was united in the New Forest Union. Norman McCord shows how in the Gateshead Union it was arranged that the Liberals of Gateshead itself should be counterbalanced by neighbouring rural areas (75). Such may have been the case in the New Forest where, although the extent of strong party feeling in the 1830s may or may not have been a factor, the rather more populous Eling was separated from Millbrook and linked to the substantially rural parishes of the New Forest (Lyndhurst was the only other centre of population in the 1830s, and this was described as a village in the directories). The Eling guardians could be easily outvoted in that they had five guardians, while the rest of the Union had 16, and the town of Lymington was left out of this Union and established as a separate entity.

The New Forest, it can be argued, was a Union where members of a fairly tight group of local families were able to exercise joint control over the Board of Guardians if they wished to do so through ties of property ownership, deference and employment. Landowner control in some New Forest parishes was considerable. A number of the rural parishes were substantially owned by individual landowners. Beaulieu, under the Montagus, is the obvious example, but Exbury also was owned by one landowner (initially the Forsters, later the Rothschilds). In areas where the poor rate was potentially a heavy charge on the rural population, such "closed" parishes (76) gave

considerable advantages to the landowner. Undesirable tenants could be excluded and only the "law-abiding, deferential and morally sound" were welcome (77). Before the Union Chargeability Act of 1865 (78) it was in the interests of individual parish magnates to control pauperism in their own parishes, and pauperism could indeed be restricted in such parishes by not giving likely paupers house-room. Other New Forest landowners served as ex-officio guardians and attended the Board with regularity. While not in the same position as the Montagus or the Forsters they nevertheless owned most, if not all the property in the area, and included the Comptons of Minstead, the Eyres of Bramshaw, the Drummonds of Fawley - and there are numerous other examples of very wealthy individuals in the New Forest Union who had much in common with the landowners in "closed" parishes such as Beaulieu and Exbury (79).

G. E. Mingay describes the "long tradition of deference" in Lincolnshire in the nineteenth century, composed of "a combination of prudence, gratitude for past indulgence and hope for future favours (which) was influential among tenants who customarily followed the landlords' political wishes" (80). Such deferential attitudes were less strong by the late nineteenth century; F.M.L. Thompson writes of a decline by eighteenth-century standards, particularly as a result of the economic problems of the 1880s and legislation passed at the same time (81). Both Mingay and Mills (82) stress that deference in the nineteenth century should not be exaggerated, but the New Forest was cut off to a considerable extent from much of nineteenth-century progress, politics and commerce. Although some of the New Forest gentry were newcomers (83), one would expect aspects of traditional deferential patterns to persist here to an extent, while landowners such as the Montagus maintained the same care and involvement in the local community as identified by Mingay (84).

Deference based upon the prestige of New Forest families such as the Montagus or the Eyres, or upon a

community of interest as New Forest commoners, was reinforced by economic ties such as those between landlord and tenant. A similar pattern is seen in the Hexham Union, where the tenants (and also agents and bailiffs) of the Duke of Northumberland were guardians "for many decades" (85). Many of those who became guardians were the tenants of landowning JPs in the Forest (86). 58% of the area's JPs had rateable valuations of more than £250 per annum, denoting considerable landed estates and properties, with consequent weight in local affairs. They were supported by the many others of similar outlook in the New Forest who were landowners, albeit on a rather more modest scale, who lived in the more populous parishes of the Union - Lyndhurst, Eling, Netley, Fawley. Amongst these were Sir Henry Paulet who ran the Netley Marsh Ratepayers Association, which controlled the nominations for the guardianships in Eling, and his successor W.H.S Stanley J.P. (87). Many were united by political party - the Conservatives (only one ex-officio is known not to have been a Conservative, G.E.B. Eyre, who was a Liberal with a local radical reputation) and also through the New Forest Verderers politics and their interests as commoners.

In addition, employees, direct beneficiaries and relatives of the landowners also served as guardians. Incumbents of parishes in the New Forest were frequently elected as guardians (88). If such clergy were not related to ex-officios their livings might be in their gift (e.g. Minstead and Beaulieu, whose incumbents were appointed by the Comptons and Montagus respectively). Stewards also often became guardians, so that between 1870 and 1894 the stewards to the estates of the Sloane-Stanleys, the Montagus, the Forsters and the Drummonds were all members of the Board. This is to name every family in the New Forest whose rateable property was valued at more than £1,000, with the exception of the Eyres of Bramshaw (and both G.E. Eyre and his son G.E.B. Eyre served as ex-officio guardians) and of these Lord Montagu and Mr. Drummond were also ex-officios.

Brundage describes how many Northamptonshire parishes after 1834 were "securely in the grip of the local peers, squires and clergymen" (89) which helped to outnumber the "minority of heavily populated "unruly" parishes lacking large resident proprietors" on the Boards of Guardians. Such was the case in the New Forest, where the rural parishes heavily outnumbered the most populous parish, Eling, in terms of elected guardian representation and ex-officios, both in 1851 and 1871:

Table 8:4 Populations and Representation in the New Forest

	<u>Population in</u>		<u>Number of</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Resident</u>
	<u>(1851)</u>	<u>1871</u>	<u>elected</u>	<u>per single</u>	<u>Ex-Officios</u>
			<u>Guardians</u>	<u>guardian</u>	<u>1871</u>
			<u>1871</u>	<u>1871</u>	
Beaulieu	1777	989	2	494	2
Bramshaw	760	501	2	250	1
Denny Lodge *		361	1	361	0
Dibden	487	542	1	542	1
Exbury	384	360	1	360	0
Fawley	1801	1896	3	632	3
Lyndhurst	1527	1544	2	772	4
Minestead	1054	923	2	461	2
Eling	5817	6093	5	1218	6

* Denny Lodge was part of Beaulieu in 1851.

As was shown in chapter 3 (90) Eling was discriminated against in the number of guardians it possessed in terms of both populations and rateable values, and this situation was maintained throughout the period. In 1871 it did have more resident ex-officio guardians, but this would not always necessarily have been the case unless the location of residence played a part in magisterial appointments. Even allowing for changes in populations from 1834 to 1871 it would seem very likely that Eling was more populous than the rural parishes when the Union was established. The figures

for 1851 show that although the rural parishes' populations were in decline between 1851 and 1871 at a rate of 674 over the twenty years, while those for Eling were growing, it is likely that in 1834 the number of guardians awarded to the various parishes in the New Forest Union were not justified in terms of populations. The other commonly accepted standard of representation of rateable values and assessments in individual parishes (91) appears more equitable in 1834, but it was also more favourable to the landed magnates and gentry whose influence could be felt in the rural areas.

It is likely therefore that the rural parishes in 1834 were given a weighting in terms of representatives against the more urban one. However, other parishes became more populous and therefore potentially "unruly", particularly Fawley (which included the town of Hythe) and later, Lyndhurst. An indication of "unrulyness" is given in Chapter 5 (92) and it was in Eling that the Liberals contested the guardianships in the 1890s. In 1894, as was shown in Chapter 3, the re-allocation of guardians took care to favour property and rural parishes rather than the claims of those with higher populations (93).

Ex-Officio Motivation in the New Forest:

Having examined how it was that the ex-officio guardians were able to exert control over the New Forest Board of Guardians, it is necessary to ask why they should wish to do so.

It was the presence of large numbers of wealthy landowners in the New Forest which dictated their interest in the Board of Guardians in this Union, it is argued. As Dunkley has demonstrated (94) magistrates played an important part in the administration of relief under the Old Poor Law, and the tradition thereby established was carried on in some country areas under the New, as Brundage has shown (95). The opportunities for substantially influencing the conduct of local poor law policy were such that the established landowners of

the New Forest were therefore carrying on traditional practice in continuing to involve themselves in the poor law. Ruscombe Foster has found that the landed gentry were still powerful in areas of Hampshire in 1852 (96), and it was because there were so many influential families in the New Forest Union, that they were able to maintain their position.

Many of the New Forest gentry were in a position to nominate elected guardians from their parishes, and even members of the gentry who were not substantial landowners were able to control the guardianship in their area of the New Forest. The most obvious example of this is Sir Henry Paulet's leadership of the Netley Marsh Ratepayers Association in the 1870s and 1880s, his place being taken after his death by W. H. S. Stanley (97). This control was resented by others in the area who attempted to resist the right of the association to monopolise the guardians' elections. It is possible that other landowners exercised similar control over the representation in other parishes, although there seem to have been no other formal arrangements such as the Netley Marsh Association. It is tempting to suggest that this supervision was party motivated, in that the ex-officios were overwhelmingly Conservative in their politics, and it was the radicals of Totton who were excluded by the Netley Marsh Association. Liberalism, while not a major force in the Union, was nevertheless by the 1900s said to be strong in the southern and western parts of the constituency (the Union area in part) and took the seat in 1906. However, the Association also nominated Liberals. This may have been because Conservatives were not willing to stand, or it may have been that the Association was concerned not to let urban radicals onto the Board, whose attitudes were at variance with the more rural values of the New Forest landowners.

As country landowners of considerable wealth many of the New Forest gentry shared common interests in poor law policy. All large ratepayers felt a shared desire to keep down the rates, but in the case of landowners this interest was more acute, because of the effect

increasing poor rates could have upon tenants and their rents. G.E Mingay shows how the agricultural depression which began in the late 1870s and continued until the early years of the 1890s affected the great landowners directly in terms of their income, putting both profits and rents under pressure (98). Although the New Forest was not an arable area and as such did not feel the impact of the depression as keenly as cereal growing counties, its dairy produce and sheep trade were affected by competition from abroad during the late nineteenth century (99). The passage of the Agricultural Rates Act in 1896 (100) recognised the burden borne by landowners in the local rates demands, by halving their contributions and paying a subsidy to the local authorities from central government funds. However, large landowners had a further consideration, which was that rate increases, especially in periods of agricultural depression, would result in their tenants not being able to afford to pay their rents. Good tenants were to be valued, and landowners responded by reducing rents and also "taking the rates off their shoulders" (101). Hence the personal interest of the landowners as owners of highly rated estates in reducing their rating burdens in a time of falling income, was reinforced by their concern for their tenants. In Chapter 7 it was noted how the costs of poor relief in the New Forest were reduced at the time of the agricultural depression, and it was suggested that this was in order to protect the farming ratepayers and tenants of the landed gentry (102). Nor were such pressures confined to the period of depression in the 1880s, but were part of the traditional relationship between tenant and landowner. As such an ex-officio guardian who was also a landowner was accustomed, as his predecessors had been, to attempting to regulate relief levels in the interests of his tenants' pockets (103).

A further traditional motivation in the pre-1834 period is the paternalistic one, which Dunkley argues was a major factor in the magistrates' close involvement with the disbursement of relief before the New Poor Law. The magistrates' paternalistic feelings, he argues, were prompted by a desire to preserve the social hierarchy of

which they were the head, which was based upon a "chain of accountability" which prompted the magistrates to grant relief to paupers against the wishes of overseers, select vestries, or the majority of the small ratepayers. Dunkley accepts that a number of developments in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had eroded traditional rural paternalism (104), and the years of laissez faire doctrine and individualism between 1834 and 1870 continued this trend. Thompson maintained however that, despite a general decline in paternalism in these years, "a central core of benevolence ...was well maintained until the late nineteenth century" (105).

Furthermore, although concern for paupers would also have run counter to the concern for tenants mentioned above, in the New Forest one finds some evidence that the landowners there cared protectively for their tenants and villagers, and this care may therefore have extended to the poorest in society. The Montagus played active roles in village life and in providing for the poor of Beaulieu, and such a role was not confined to the great magnates of the New Forest. Sir Henry Paulet was another local aristocrat who contributed to various items of public expenditure, (for example in 1881 he offered £200 to purchase a burial ground for St. Marys Eling (106), and in 1882 he contributed £15 for the upkeep of a bridge at Bartley (107)). One can argue, therefore, that a paternalistic tradition might also have been important in the involvement of some ex-officio guardians in the New Forest. A similar motive is seen in the role of Major-General Tryon J.P. in Southampton.

For the most part the participation of ex-officios in the New Forest Board of Guardians appears to have been acceptable to the elected members of the Board, but there are indications of some rebellion in the Union against the overlordship of the landowners. The complaint about "vested interests" referred to in Chapter 5 (108) indicates that there was some resentment outside to the control exercised over elections, the challenge being couched in party political terms in

Eling. The argument between the Commoners and the Verderers demonstrates the resentment at the oligarchic control exercised by the New Forest landowners over commoners affairs (109), and the emergence of Liberal/Radical politics in Eling in the 1890s and the increasing Liberal vote in the New Forest constituency were shaking the Conservative hegemony (110).

On the Board there are two indications of similar feeling. One concerns the transfer of the chairmanship in 1882 from its ex-officio holder to an elected guardian, which took place under controversial circumstances. Initially, until 1881, a Mr. J. Everett of Colbury Manor was chairman. He was an elected guardian until 1875, after which he attended the Board as an ex-officio. In 1881 he announced that he would be away for some time and the vice-chairman, who was always an elected guardian, stood in for him. When the next chairman came to be elected in April 1882 after the guardians' annual election, Mr. Everett was proposed by a fellow ex-officio, but for the first time a contest arose for the office as Mr. Curtis, last year's elected vice-chairman, was proposed also to continue in the office. Mr. Curtis won and continued in the office until after 1914. It is possible that the challenge to Mr. Everett arose because he was an ex-officio, or it may be that Mr. Curtis simply proved himself a better chairman (since he remained in office continuously for at least 32 years afterwards, he must have been reasonably competent). A third alternative also exists in that the contested election may have been due to the strong feeling in the parish of St. Mary's Eling, that it should have its own representation on the Board apart from the rest of the Eling area. In 1883 this occurred and Curtis sat as one of the guardians. Everett lived in Eling, but outside the St. Mary's area, and possibly the opposition to his continued chairmanship arose from the wish to stress St Mary's claims to separate representation.

The second example of resistance to ex-officio wishes concerns the refusal of the elected guardians in 1894 to take advantage of the Local Government Act's

provision that two guardians may be co-opted onto the Board without the need for election (111). Two of the ex-officios urged that these two places should be offered to the ex-officios who were about to lose their rights as guardians, but when the matter was voted upon the ex-officos were the only ones to vote in favour of the proposal. When one of the ex-officios wrote to the LGB for clarification of the point, an elected guardian condemned the action as "irregular". Two defeated ex-elected guardians were finally offered the places, interpreted by the Board as a "solatium" for those who had not been elected (112).

The involvement of the ex-officios in the New Forest Board of Guardians was, uniquely in this study, an involvement in the every day administration of policy as much as it was concerned with controversial events. It was in this way quite different from the Southampton Incorporation. It is likely that the New Forest Board's unique and solitary role in local administration was a contributory factor in encouraging ex-officio interest, but traditional practice, the social organisation of the New Forest and landowner concern for rates are likely to have been the most important factors. In South Stoneham the position was markedly different.

SOUTH STONEHAM

In South Stoneham, as Table 8:3 demonstrates, ex-officio attendance was the thinnest of all three areas. There is little difference between the earlier years and the later, although on the basis of this survey ex-officios attended in slightly greater numbers immediately before 1894, but the increase is so small as to be almost insignificant. If there was a growth in ex-officio attendance then the reason was probably the slow but steady increases in both indoor and outdoor expenditure, and in outdoor pauper numbers which had started in the early 1880s after the cutbacks of the 1870s. Ex-officios, although often wealthier than most in their local society, were nevertheless very sensitive to increases in poor law costs as high individual ratepayers, even if they were not landowners with

tenants.

In South Stoneham despite the lack of general ex-officio interest, there were individual ex-officios who attended the board regularly. Admiral Coote was often present in the 1880s, as was Colonel Grimston at the same time. Admiral Martin was the most conscientious, and a keen advocate of economy, as he made clear in August 1887 when he attended on behalf of "the ratepayers of Bitterne" (113) to protest about the cost of alterations to the Boardroom. Grimston and Martin later became county councillors, and it may be that they made their reputations for local concern by their activities in the ratepayers' interests. Similarly in the New Forest Colonel Macleay became a county councillor in 1889, having been an ex-officio guardian and magistrate, and W.G. Roy, who had been an elected guardian, became an ex-officio, magistrate, county councillor and Verderer all in the same year - 1889.

However, while there was some similarity between individual ex-officio attendance in the two Unions it did not extend to ex-officio attitudes generally. In South Stoneham, unlike the New Forest, the ex-officios never attended in large numbers, but it is possible that they relied upon one of their number to carry out a supervision of the Board (or possibly that one was deputed to perform this function). Colonel Grimston was referred to as the representative of the ex-officios. They were represented on the Board's committees with the Assessment Committee divided into ex-officio and elected membership to ensure representation of each group, in a ratio of 5 ex-officios to 8 elected guardians (a rather higher ratio than that relating to ex-officio versus elected guardian attendances (Table 8:3). Unfortunately no attendance records of committee meetings exist, so it is not known whether the South Stoneham ex-officios attended committees with any more diligence than they attended full meetings.

Another possibility is that the ex-officios were content to allow the elected guardians to be responsible for poor law business because they knew that there were

a large number of middle class elected guardians with similar backgrounds to their own. In Chapter 10 the rateable values of guardians' property is analysed, and the South Stoneham rating figures indicate that there was no great difference between the ex-officio and elected groups. In party terms, furthermore, they are likely to have been united, in that many of the service officers and others who served as South Stoneham guardians were Conservatives as were Grimston and Martin. They also may have had confidence in the chairman for similar reasons. Until his death in 1873 J.H. Forbes, an ex-officio, was chairman of the South Stoneham Board. His successor was Captain Best, an elected guardian from Burseldon who came from a similar background to Mr. Forbes, in that the latter had been member of the Committee of Management of the Royal South Hampshire Infirmary, and Best was its chairman (later to be succeeded by Sir Henry Scott (Lord Montagu), the New Forest magnate, local MP, ex-officio guardian and leading member of many local institutions). Best's successor was T. Warner, a member of the principal landowning family of Botley, and in 1882 he was followed by R.R.L. Rosoman, an elected guardian like Warner, and prominent citizen of St. Mary Extra, who remained chairman for 25 years and was also a member of St. Mary Extra School Board on the Church and Conservative side. All these individuals were prominent in their local communities, all were citizens of substantial wealth. all were Conservatives. Clearly therefore, the chairmanship of the Board remained in similar hands, ex-officio or not.

However, another factor in ex-officio involvement in South Stoneham is the impossibility of establishing the same type of magisterial control over the South Stoneham Union as existed in the New Forest. For ex-officio influence to exist in the New Forest not only did ex-officios have to attend the Board of Guardians regularly and in significant numbers, but the local society had to be structured in such a way that magistrates were in a position of social supremacy, and thereby able to influence elections and the conduct of elected guardians. Relationships needed to exist

which, if they were not wholly deferential, nevertheless needed to reflect an obligation on the part of tenants, employees, incumbents, tradesmen, to the local gentry. In the New Forest these types of relationships did exist in a number of parishes, and it is argued that the magistrates were in a position to exert considerable influence over poor law policy over and above their numerical strength at meetings and their power to influence poor law elections.

In South Stoneham a similar state of affairs was rare. There were almost no landowners in South Stoneham who compared in terms of rateable value with those of the New Forest - only J.W. Fleming of Chilworth Manor owned land of a similar order of rateable value as that of the wealthy Forest magistrates (114). None of the South Stoneham landowners were in a position to control parishes as the Montagus did, tenant/landowner relationships were much rarer because there was less farmed land in this more urban union, and there were few families of similar background to the New Forest magnates who could unite in common interest. Most of the magistrates of South Stoneham were far less wealthy in rateable value terms, and many were retired service officers who did not own much land (which tended to attract the highest rateable valuations). Service rank in South Stoneham was a common factor in the appointment of magistrates, but in the New Forest landed wealth tended to be the criterion. David Cannadine has described the factors undermining aristocratic power from the 1880s onwards, creating the need to defend the traditional rural order from "disintegration" (115). In South Stoneham the old order was already a thing of the past, if it had ever existed in the same way as it did in the New Forest. Furthermore, South Stoneham was a large union in terms of population - in 1861 it had 25,542 inhabitants which made it second only to Southampton in its immediate vicinity. The more ratepayers there were to control, the more difficult such control was to exercise, even if there were landowners in a position to do so. Nor were there any urban landlords who became ex-officio guardians who could have exerted the urban equivalent of influence

over their tenants.

In these circumstances the "chain of connections" which Disraeli believed bound rural society together (116) rarely existed in South Stoneham as it did in the New Forest. Furthermore, those ex-officios who are mentioned in the press and the minutes as being reasonably regular attenders (Colonel Forbes, Admiral Coote, Admiral Martin, Colonel Grimston above) all came not from the rural areas, but from suburban Bitterne where clearly patterns of influence such as those of the New Forest would not have existed, but where there were anxieties about representation (117). Any form of social control therefore was almost impossible to exercise in South Stoneham as it has been argued occurred in the New Forest, and which was reinforced by the ex-officio presence on the Board of Guardians. It is suggested therefore that this is a prime reason for lack of ex-officio interest in the South Stoneham Board of Guardians, at any rate on the scale that occurred in the New Forest.

The possibility of political control was also limited by these same factors. Whereas in Southampton, and possibly in the New Forest, ex-officio guardians had party political motives for attending their Board of Guardians, in South Stoneham it was not feasible for ex-officios to hope to influence the party politics of the Board, because they lacked the standing to do so. In South Stoneham, as in the New Forest, party politics were not given any recorded mention in the dealings of the South Stoneham Board, yet the Conservative nature of the constituency is clear from the parliamentary elections. All rural representatives whose politics are known were Conservatives, but in the urban parishes Conservatism was under more determined threat than it was in the New Forest (118). One would therefore expect the Board of Guardians to be an arena in which a Conservative ascendancy would be valued by the party locally. Apart from the fact that a strong Conservative group existed on the Board however, there is no evidence from policy decisions, chairman's or the guardians' elections, that members of the party attempted to do

this. Instead a strict non-party administration was adhered to, as far as the press and official records are concerned. Party rivalry and the Liberal threat were directed primarily at the various parochial boards. A number of reasons why this was the case were suggested in Chapter 5, chief among them being the disparate and scattered nature of the Union, the Conservative dominance at parliamentary level, the greater costs and rates of the parochial boards, and the non-controversial nature of the local poor law administration.

CONCLUSION

There were clearly many reasons why individuals wished to become guardians, many of which have been indicated earlier in this study. Some were mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, which has attempted to show the extent to which wider issues relating to party politics and social control were important factors in causing individuals to stand for election to boards of guardians or to involve themselves as ex-officios. The power of patronage in Southampton as a means of furthering party interest appealed to all guardians, elected or ex-officio, and elsewhere it was also seen as an important aspect of poor law administration. As the study of the New Forest ex-officios shows, however, membership of a rural board could offer opportunities for influence that went far beyond those of poor law administration to affect local society.

The evidence of South Stoneham and the New Forest indicates two markedly different patterns of ex-officio involvement. In the New Forest there existed a close-knit, rural and landowning social structure, where the community was to a considerable extent bound together by chains of accountability. It has been suggested elsewhere that ex-officio involvement largely ceased in the few years after the establishment of the New Poor Law (119), but it has been shown by this study to have been active and influential in the New Forest. It is argued that ex-officio participation in poor law affairs occurred in the New Forest partly because it was

traditional that it should do so, but more importantly because it was possible to maintain gentry control, given the numbers of individuals from similar wealthy landowning backgrounds. They had common interests in keeping down the rates, both in their own and in their tenants' interests. It is also possible that influence was exerted in favour of Conservatism, but although the Liberals won the election of 1906 they were not very strong at a local level and both the Netley Marsh Ratepayers' Association and Lord Montagu exercised their influence in favour of Liberals as well as Conservatives. It is more likely that it was radicalism against which any party influence was directed. The ex-officios' involvement in the poor law can therefore be seen in the New Forest as an aspect of a form of rural life which was under considerable attack (120) or non-existent elsewhere (121). Paternalism may also have played a lesser part as a motivating factor, while habits of deference, shared interests as commoners, landlord/tenant and employer/employee relationships, all made indirect influence of elections and meetings feasible and helped to establish the magistrates as full and active members of the New Forest Board of Guardians.

SECTION IVINTRODUCTION

"Who were the guardians?". To an extent a start has been made to answering this question in the last chapter in relation to southern Hampshire, and indications of particular interests identified. As yet however the identities of elected guardians have only been touched upon in the most general terms. With no clear idea of who the guardians were it is difficult to get to the heart of the poor law administration in a locality because, although the poor law operated within a national legal framework, every union differed in its policies, and the source of policies was an individual and unique group of guardians. Hence, it is useful to identify individual interests and motivations as far as possible, for which it is essential to have a knowledge of who the administrators were.

Information as to guardians' individual backgrounds increases understanding as to why individuals became guardians. So far such reasons have been identified as concerned with factors such as party politics, poor law policies and traditional roles in society. By studying the backgrounds of individual guardians different motives can be suggested, often connected with the welfare and prosperity of the guardians themselves, which are likely to be common to members of the same or similar groups. By calculating the relative size of different groups, it is also possible to assess the impact their concerns might have had on the Boards, and also by implication to an extent the concerns and interests of the electors who put them there. A further area of enquiry is the position and importance of poor law administration, relative to other local government institutions.

Two main areas of research have been found to be practicable. The first of these is the occupations of individuals, the second is individual wealth as measured firstly by rateable valuations and secondly, where possible, by probate assessments.

CHAPTER 9OCCUPATIONS OF GUARDIANS

The investigation and classification of the occupations of individual elected guardians adds considerably to the information so far presented concerning the position of the Boards of Guardians in South Hampshire society. By comparing the occupations of guardians with those of the population as a whole in the census returns, and also with those members of other locally elected bodies, it is possible to begin to assess the status of guardians in individual areas. A broader and more complete idea is also gained of why individuals became guardians, often connected closely with the welfare and prosperity of individuals themselves, with motives likely to be common to members of the same or similar occupation groups.

CLASSIFICATIONS

The sources of information regarding occupations are almost invariably local directories, either for Southampton itself or for Hampshire as a whole (1). The occupation groups chosen for this study are those to which a significant number of guardians and other individuals in the three areas belonged. A full description of occupation groups and of the various specific occupations found within them is given in Appendix 11 (2). Most are self-explanatory, but some require amplification:

The Commercial group includes all those offering services of various kinds - agents, auctioneers, insurance agents, undertakers, stock and share brokers. In rural areas this group was less varied than in the town, being almost exclusively made up of auctioneers and estate agents.

Professionals - in rural areas this classification effectively means clergymen, with the exception of a few solicitors and school masters. In urban areas the professional group also includes accountants,

architects, barristers.

Private Residents - a group not greatly found in Southampton but overwhelmingly in South Stoneham and the New Forest. The Private Resident group consists of all those whose names appear in the indices of private residents in the directories, or under the private resident classifications in village directories, without also appearing in the Commercial section under another occupation. The group includes those who have retired from business, and also those of private means, while rating evidence indicates that the means of some of those who lived in rural areas were considerable. The category also includes a number of retired service officers, most of whom lived in South Stoneham.

Principal Landowners. Directory entries for rural areas in South Stoneham and the New Forest usually include someone who was described as the parish's principal landowner - someone who owned a significant proportion of the land of the area. Because the prestige of such individuals and their local influence as landlords and patrons of church livings was often considerable, they have been classified separately.

THE SURVEY

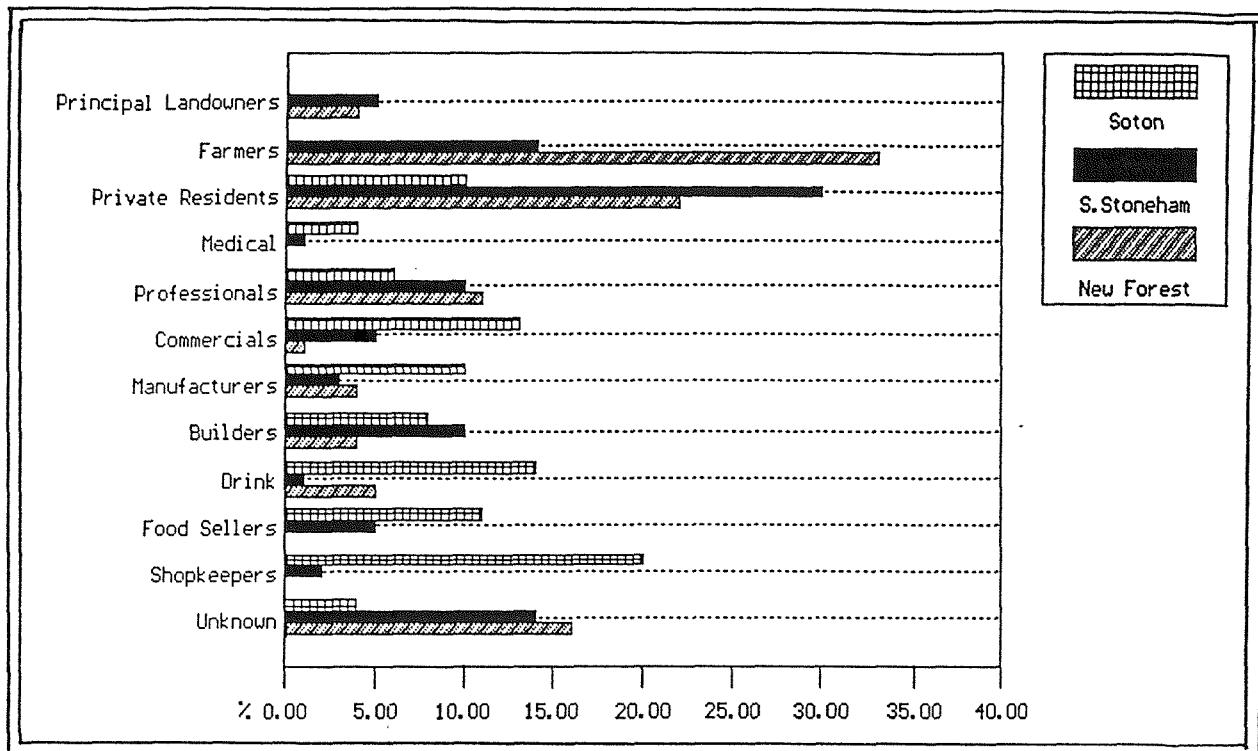
Information concerning the occupations of individuals who served as guardians or as other locally-elected officials during the period, has been acquired in a large number of cases. The table below indicates the numbers of persons involved and the numbers and percentages of those for whom occupations have been ascertained. In most cases (with the exception of the Southampton School Board) over 90% of occupations have been found. In the case of guardians the rate varies between 92% and 96% while that for councillors of the Southampton Council and various South Stoneham parochial boards is marginally less:

Table 9:1 Retrieval of Occupational Information

<u>Board</u>	<u>Number of Individuals</u>	<u>Number of Occupations found</u>	<u>Percentage found</u>
Southampton Guardians	218	207	95%
Southampton Councillors	186	170	91%
Southampton School Board	57	41	71%
South Stoneham Guardians	186	175	94%
South Stoneham Parochial Boards	142	128	90%
New Forest Guardians	138	135	98%

COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONS BETWEEN UNIONS

Initially the compositions of the three boards of guardians in terms of occupation have been compared with each other:

Figure 6Occupations of South Hampshire Elected Guardians 1870-1894

It can be seen that in Southampton most guardians were members of occupational groups involving defined professions or trades, with the shopkeeping, drink, manufacturing and commercial occupations the most prominent. In South Stoneham, the guardians' occupations covered the entire spectrum of the graph bridging the gap between the urban Incorporation and the totally rural New Forest. All those groups represented in Southampton are also found in South Stoneham, albeit in quite different proportions, but included also are those groups found in the New Forest, the farmers and the principal landowners. Particularly striking in relation to South Stoneham are the large numbers in the private resident category, a group which, as will be seen later, were unlike the private residents of the New Forest in that many of them came from the suburban areas and were usually less wealthy. In the New Forest the medical, shopkeeping and food selling groups are completely absent, and instead an overwhelming number of guardians are found in the farming and private resident groups.

Some of the discrepancies between the three areas are clearly simply because of urban and rural situations - one would not expect to find many farmers in urban Southampton. Other figures require more explanation. Why for example were the private residents and farmers so anxious to become guardians in the rural areas? Why in Southampton did shopkeepers and local businessmen become guardians while private residents were less prominent? Another question that requires answering is to what extent did these occupational characteristics change between 1870 and 1914?

THE THREE BOARDS OF GUARDIANS 1870 - 1893 AND 1894 - 1914

In order to assess this, further analyses have been undertaken to compare the earlier years of the study with the later, using 1894, the year of the Local Government Act, as a dividing year:

Figure 7

Occupations of Southampton Elected Guardians 1870-1893 and 1894-1914

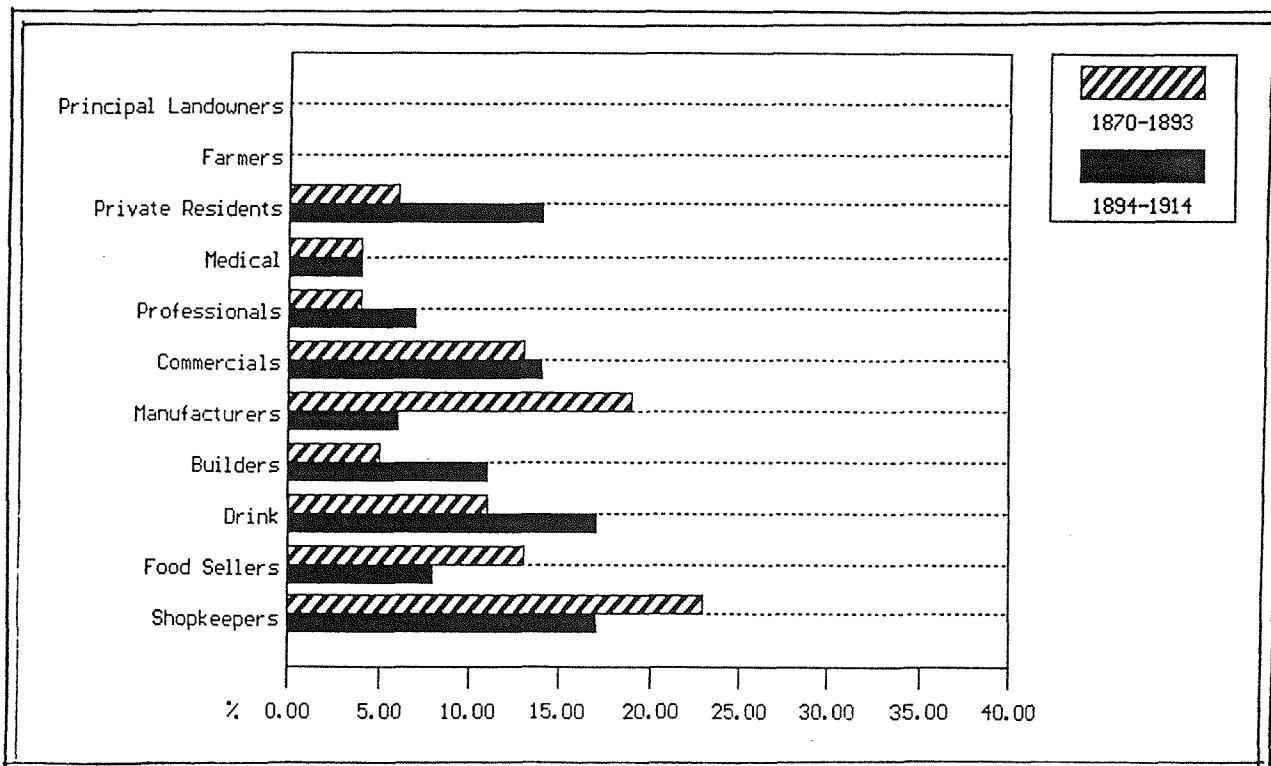
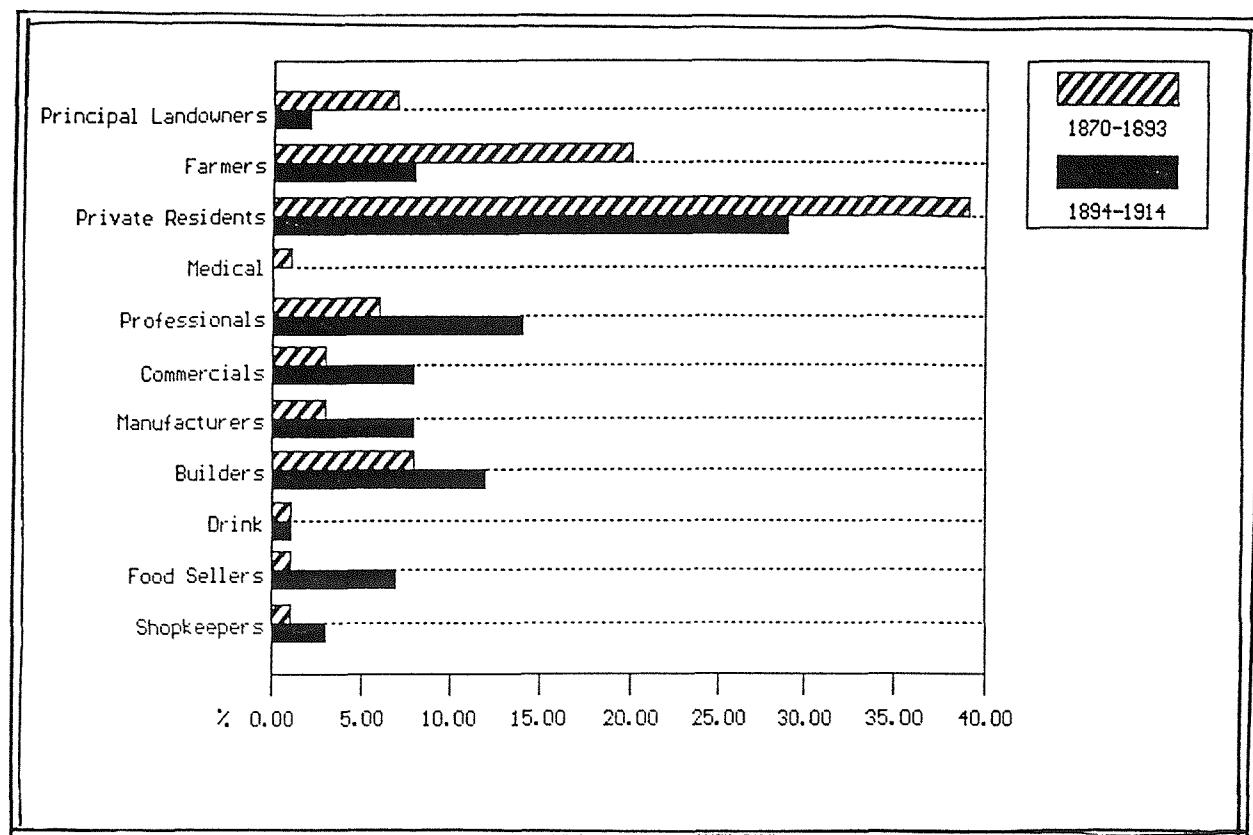
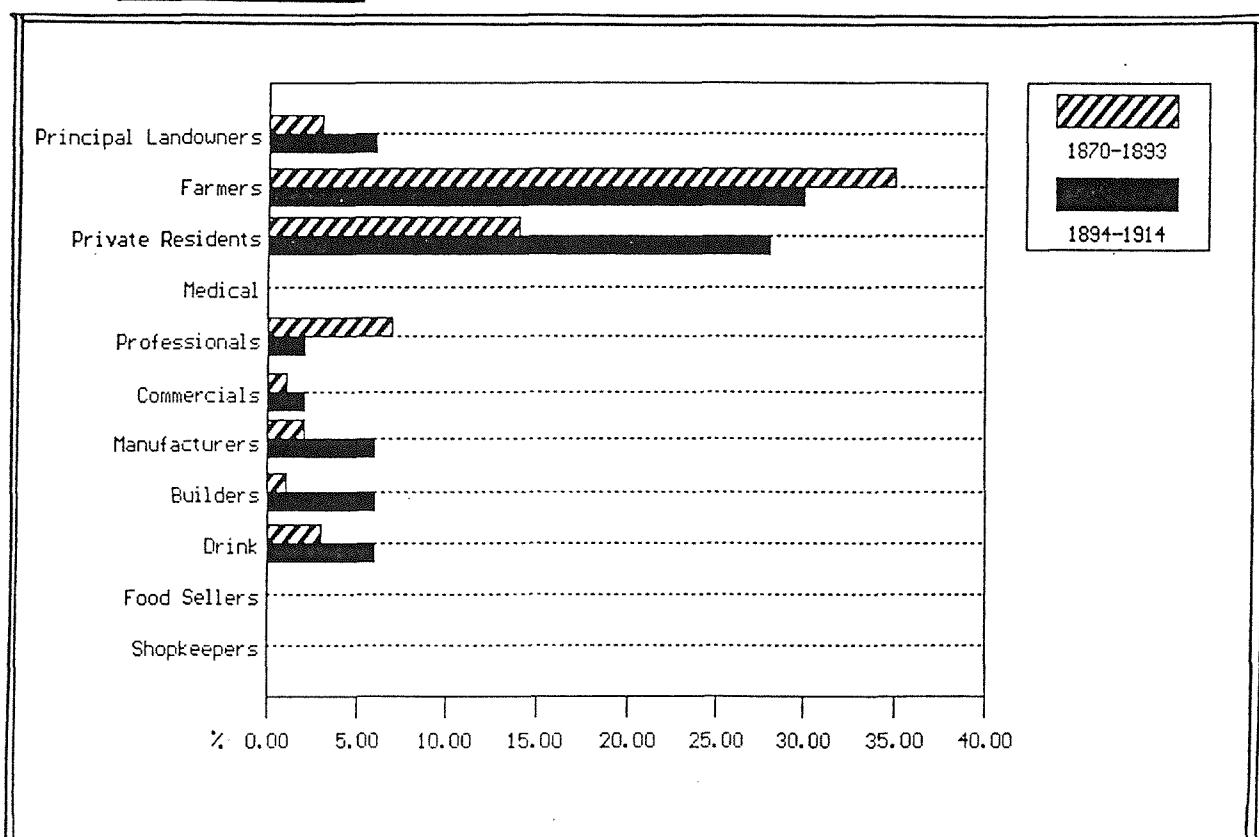


Figure 8Occupations of South Stoneham Elected Guardians 1870-1893 and 1894-1914Figure 9Occupations of New Forest Elected Guardians 1870-1893 and 1894-1914

Clearly while overall occupational patterns remained similar, there are some significant changes in the groups which occurred between 1870 and 1914. There are some overall trends observable in that in all three areas the private residents remained strong, and in Southampton and the New Forest they increased their representation towards the end of the period. Only in South Stoneham did their numbers decrease, but even so they were by far the largest group on the Board. To an extent this decline is attributable to the transfer of Shirley and Portswood from the South Stoneham Union to Southampton in 1908, two parishes where Private Resident membership was very strong. The numbers of Farmers also declined towards the end of the period in both the unions, as did the numbers of principal landowners in South Stoneham, no doubt reflecting the growth of suburban Southampton, but also the impact of the Agricultural Rates Act of 1896 which relieved the landed population of some of their rating burden (3). In the New Forest, however, the number of principal landowners increased, probably as a result of the exclusion of the ex-officio guardians in 1894, reflecting the desire of the New Forest gentry to maintain their control of poor law affairs through becoming elected guardians.

Other trends distinguish one area from another. In the New Forest and South Stoneham, but not in Southampton, there was a tendency for more tradesmen to be represented in the later period, particularly builders. The increasing spread of Southampton towards the suburbs was mostly responsible for this - in South Stoneham in particular it is noticeable that manufacturers, food sellers, commercial and builder guardians were all to be found in the suburban parishes in this later period. In South Stoneham and the New Forest also the distribution of guardians changed after 1894, with more guardians being awarded to these suburban areas bordering the town, with a resulting increase in the same type of guardian as had been elected for Southampton in the earlier period.

In Southampton, in contrast, representation was moving away from tradesmen, with the exception of the

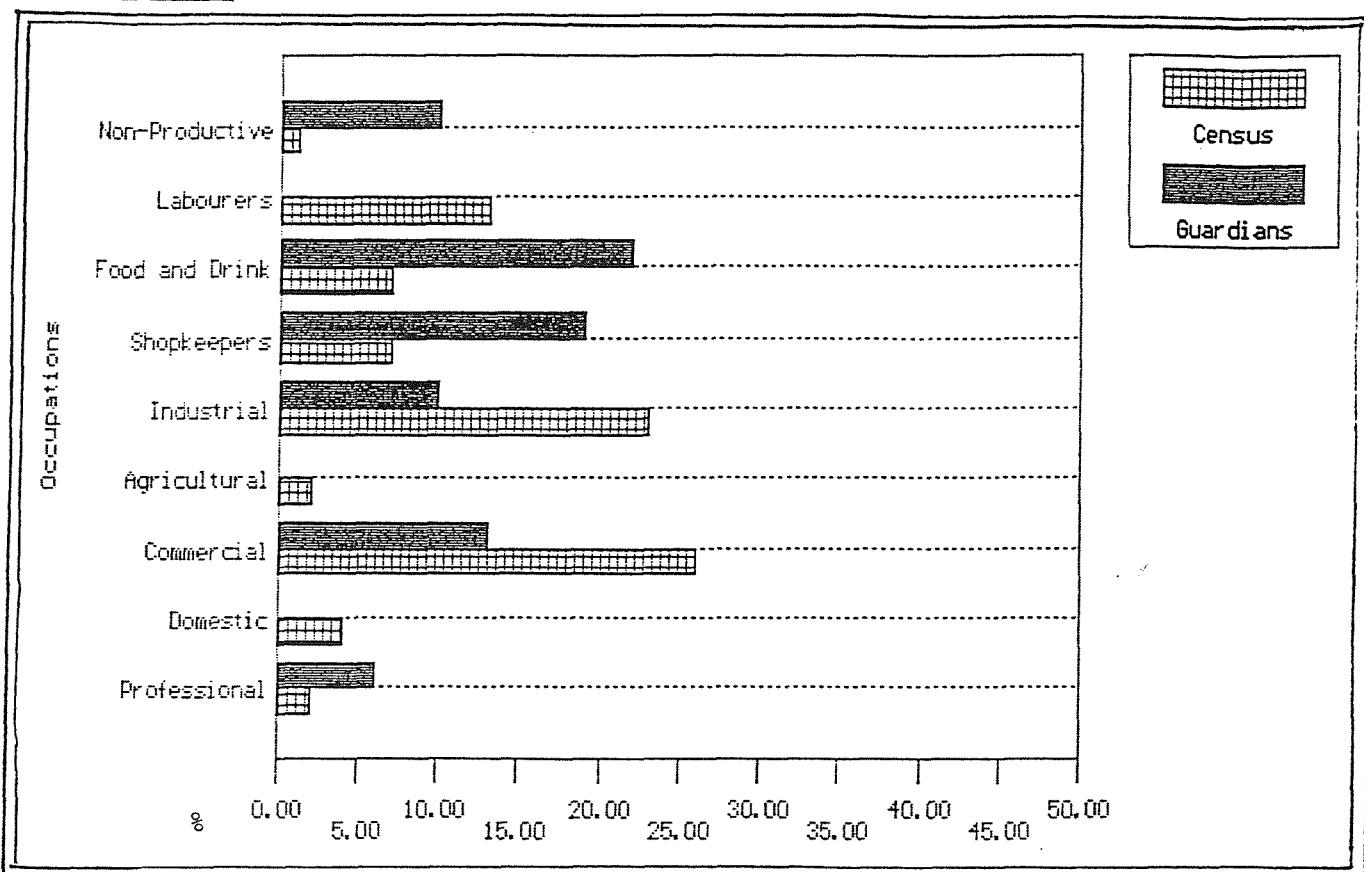
drink trade, which had a particular vested interest in maintaining its numbers. The professionals and private residents increased their share of seats on the Board, so that Southampton's occupational profile was becoming more like that of the two rural/suburban unions in the later period.

THE CENSUS

One reason for discrepancies in occupational patterns between the three areas could possibly be an absence or major presence of such occupations amongst the population as a whole. In order to establish the percentages of those occupation groups found amongst guardians in the general male population, comparisons have been made with information contained in the census. The census is not a totally satisfactory source for this purpose, in that only the 1871 census of those taken between 1870 and 1914 yields information on the basis of "Superintendent Registrar's Districts" - in effect for the same areas as covered by the South Stoneham and New Forest Unions. In all later censuses occupation figures are given for counties and major towns only, and it is therefore only in 1871 that comparative figures covering the entire area are available. A further problem is that the figures in this census are not broken down in such detail as they were later on, in terms of the minutiae of occupations. It has therefore been necessary to amalgamate some of the occupation groups used in Figures 6, 7, 8 and 9 of this study, in order to make comparisons with those of the census (4). The results of this comparison are as follows:

Figure 10

Occupations of Southampton Guardians compared with 1871 Census

Figure 11

Occupations of South Stoneham Guardians compared with 1871 Census

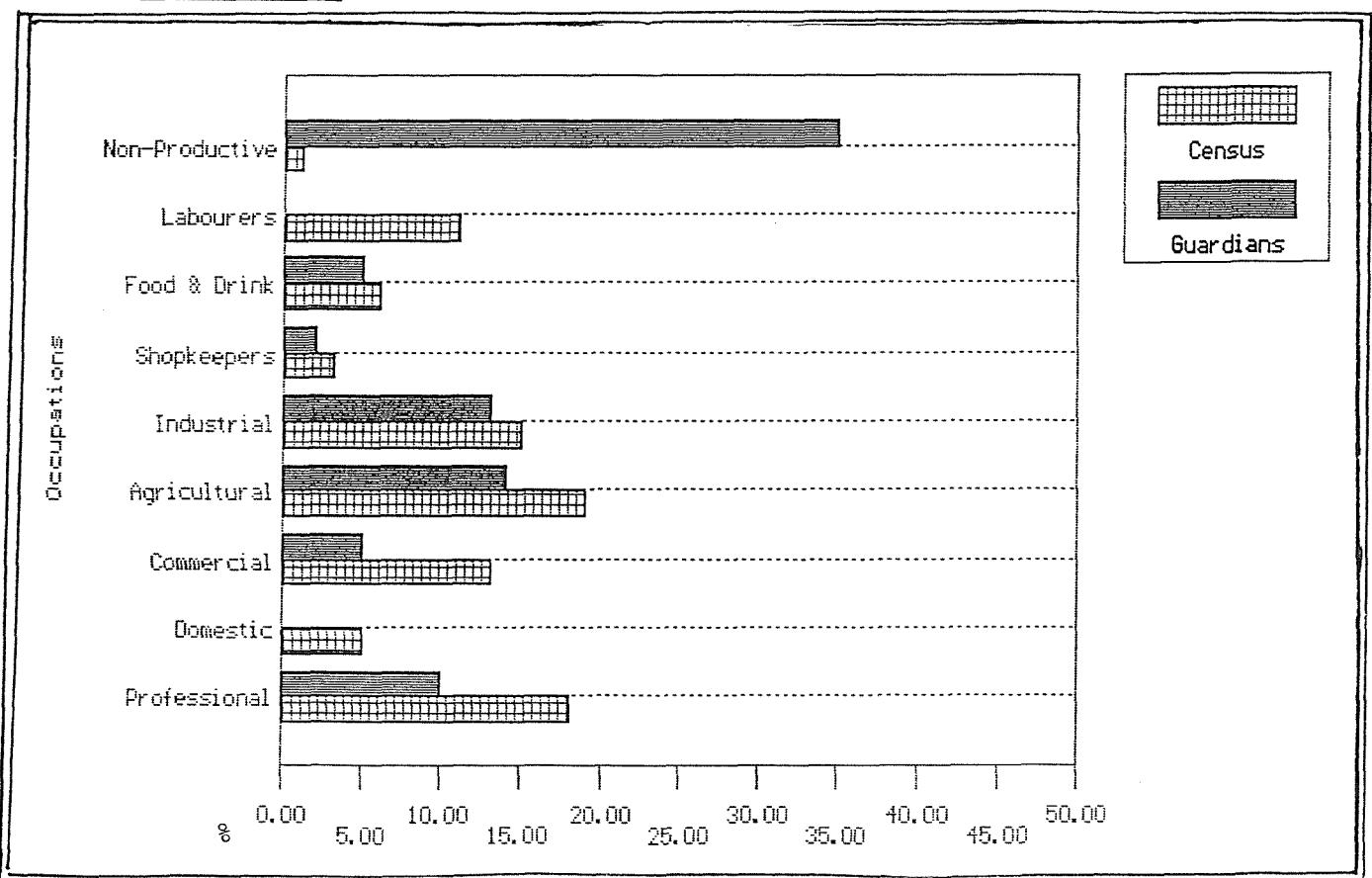
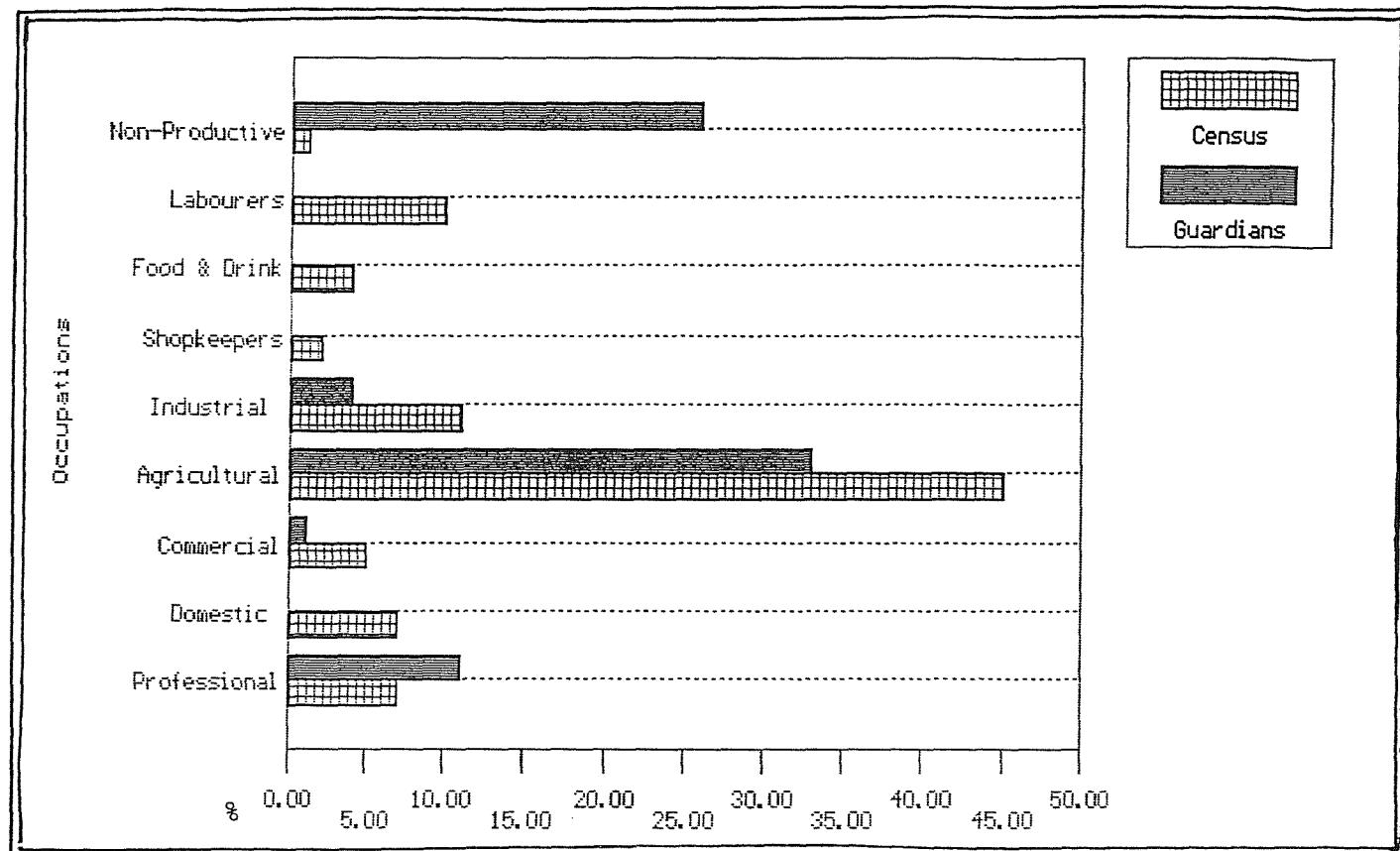


Figure 12

Occupations of New Forest Guardians compared with 1871
Census



Above all it is the role of the leisured and in some cases the landed group in rural poor law administration which is highlighted by this comparison. In the town, however, the group traditionally identified with post-1834 local government, the shopkeepers, stands out.

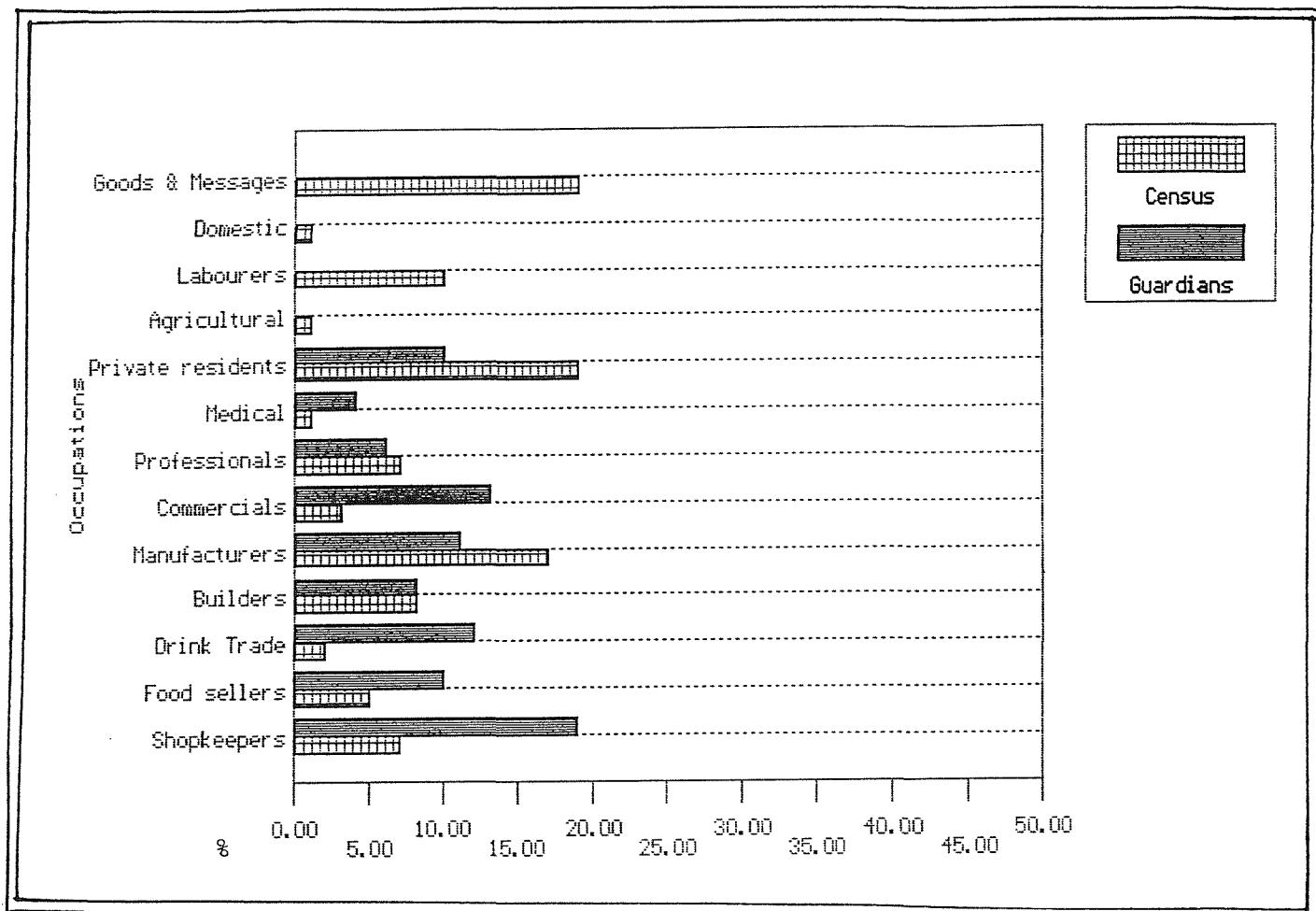
In the New Forest and South Stoneham it was the landed and private residential group that dominated the Boards of Guardians to an extent that exceeded the already strong representation of the agricultural and non-productive groups in the population. In these Unions, furthermore, although there were some non-agricultural occupations represented in the census, they were not present on the Board of Guardians to a comparable extent. Professional men also became guardians in greater numbers than they existed in the population. In Southampton the keenness of shopkeepers of all kinds to become guardians is clear, while manufacturers and builders, who are classed

together in the census, tended not to do so. Commercial men also tended not to become guardians, although included in this census group is the very large "Conveyance of Goods and Messages" category, many of whom are unlikely to have served because they would have either been too poor to qualify for the guardianship (dock labourers, messengers, railway porters, grooms, for example) (5) or because they were disqualified by absence at sea (seamen were the largest subgroup in this category). Further explanations for these features are suggested later in this chapter when individual occupation groups are analysed.

Unfortunately the information given in the 1871 census is insufficiently detailed to compare occupations in the more precise form adopted for the guardians and other representative bodies in this survey (figures 9:1 and 9:2). It is not possible to separate, for example, manufacturers from builders or private residents from those engaged in agriculture, which would have included many in the rural areas. However, in Southampton a further comparison is possible, with the census of 1891 (the mid-point in this survey), where the figures are broken down to an extent which makes a direct comparison with the occupation groups used in this survey possible:

Figure 13

Occupations of Southampton Guardians compared with
1891 Census



The table supports the impression formed from the less precise 1871 census that shopkeepers of various types (the largest group on the Board), were represented in proportions which exceeded by considerable amounts their presence in the total male population. There were also significantly more of the professions, the medical profession, and commercial businessmen as guardians, while as was the case with the 1871 census, fewer manufacturers and private residents. The only significant difference between the 1871 census and that of 1891 is that now that builders are specified separately in the census, it can be seen that they also

became guardians in far greater numbers than their proportional strength existed in the male population as a whole.

Some groups in the census were not represented amongst the occupations of the Southampton guardians, namely the Farmer, Domestic Servant, Labourer and the "Conveyance of Goods and Messages" categories. The absence of guardians from the first of these is easily explained - there were very few "farmers" in Southampton (most of those appearing in the 1891 census were really market gardeners). The fourth group was primarily involved in the railway and port activities of the town, and employed 19% of the male population. There were only three guardians directly associated with the port, although many of those engaged in commerce would have been so indirectly (but represented elsewhere in the Census). As has already been described, many port employees and seaman were likely to be disqualified from membership of the Board through the nature of their jobs or their poverty, as were labourers and domestic servants.

While the property qualifications technically excluded labourers and other working class groups before 1894 from becoming guardians, after this date representatives from these census categories were still not willing to stand for election, apparently. Contested elections tended to decrease in most parishes in Southampton after 1894, so it is likely that the representatives of poorer occupation groups were not excluded by being defeated in electoral contests but that they simply did not stand. It is also known that the Labourites, who would have been the group most likely to have represented these occupations, did not make great efforts to ensure that their supporters became guardians (6).

There is evidence to show that the Southampton guardians were an elite group in occupational terms and it is likely that individuals in working class occupations did not attempt to become members for this reason. The Board drew its representatives from most

of the other main groups in the census, but generally omitted those in a obviously subordinate position. Thus guardians tended to be solicitors and barristers but not law clerks, for example. A stumbling block here could be the fact that we are dependent upon guardians' own descriptions of themselves. Thus a law clerk might call himself a lawyer for the sake of prestige. This may have happened, but evidence concerning rateable values of those in given occupation groups indicates that most guardians were too wealthy for this to be an important factor (7).

Summary

This comparison of occupations from the census and on the Boards of Guardians supports a number of general conclusions. The 1871 census shows that the Boards represented the social composition of their areas to a considerable extent, although groups such as shopkeepers in Southampton and private residents and farmers elsewhere tended to become guardians in considerably greater numbers than their proportion existed in the populations as a whole. The greater detail of the 1891 census supports the same conclusions that were drawn for 1871 in Southampton, and also indicates those groups which were not represented on the Incorporation Board. In most cases the reasons for their absence are likely to have been disqualification on the grounds of property which existed formally before 1894, although this appears to have been waived on occasions (8). Both before and after that date the exclusions caused by the law may have been maintained by custom, and the guardians remained an elite group in occupational terms relative to the local population.

OCCUPATION AND MOTIVATION

Although no doubt many guardians served for reasons totally unconnected with the ways in which they earned their livings, in a number of cases it is possible to identify links between the occupations of individuals and

and membership of the Boards. In some cases, furthermore, occupation groups would have found such membership advantageous.

Shopkeepers and Food Sellers

The present study confirms that Southampton was no exception to the rule that shopkeepers were for much of the nineteenth century after 1835 an important governing group in many towns. The group, consisting of a variety of different specialities, and also the food selling group, were both urban phenomena in that they provided few members for the rural parts of South Stoneham or for the New Forest Board. In Southampton the shopkeepers was the largest group on the Board, and both groups contributed far more guardians than their numbers in the male population as a whole merited. In South Stoneham shopkeepers and food sellers came from the suburban and urban parishes - Eastleigh, South Stoneham, Portswood, Millbrook, Shirley and Itchen, and increased their membership towards the end of this survey, at the expense of groups such as the landowners, private residents and farmers. In the New Forest there was only one shopkeeper in the entire period.

As a group the shopkeepers lack the cohesion of other more defined occupations, but as distributors or providers of services their interest in the prosperity of the town and the level of local taxes was direct and immediate. The "shopocracy" was for much of the nineteenth century after the passing of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 an important governing group in many towns, and Southampton was no exception (9). They were active in a number of areas of Southampton's local government and many became councillors although, as in the case of shopkeeper guardians the numbers of shopkeeper councillors declined in the later years. They also formed one of the largest groups amongst the directors of the Chamber of Commerce during the period covered by this study (10).

It would seem likely that the size of the shopkeeper representation in all local government

institutions in Southampton had much to do with their rateable wealth, which was often considerable (11). High ratepayers, and employers, obviously had a major interest in the size of the rates and if their rates did not necessarily form the major part of their budgets, as they would with less wealthy concerns, in a competitive market they were an important factor. Derek Fraser has shown how tradesmen in Liverpool were penalised in rating terms, in that they were assessed at 12% of their income, while labourers were assessed at 4%, a doctor at 2% and the wealthy at 1% (12). It is likely that the same thing happened in Southampton, in that shopkeepers, like builders, had much of their wealth in rateable property (13). Shopkeepers also were concerned to keep the rates low in the interests of their customers - the lower the rates, the more spending money available.

Both the shopkeepers and the food sellers were probably interested professionally in the granting of workhouse contracts and, as was shown in Chapter 6, serving guardians tendered for contracts in the 1870s (14). By 1880 however, the climate had changed, and an ex-officio guardian asked for his boots and shoes contract with the workhouse to be cancelled now that he was responsible for administering the poor law. By the 1890s shopkeeper membership of the Southampton Board, among sellers of both food and other goods, was on the decline. The possibility exists that this decline was connected with the more stringent application of the rules which would no longer permit the guardians to tender for contracts.

In South Stoneham most of the shopkeepers were sellers of food, and they did not amount to a significant group before 1890, while after this point their numbers began to grow as a result of increasing urbanisation. It was shortly after this, in the 1900s, that tendering policy became a sensitive issue on the South Stoneham Board of Guardians (15) so the possibility exists that members of this occupation group might have become guardians in the hope of influencing tendering policy. The number of shopkeeping guardians generally increased on the South Stoneham Board in this

later period, possibly as a consequence. Conversely, if this interpretation is correct, then shopkeepers might have wished to become guardians in order to ensure fair play.

The Drink Trade

This group was represented in large and increasing numbers on the Southampton Board of Guardians, equalling the shopkeepers in the later period. In South Stoneham, however, the numbers involved were negligible, and in the New Forest they were not much greater. While there were far more public houses, hotels and breweries in Southampton than in the two unions, the chief explanation for this lies in the close links between "the drink question" and local Southampton politics (16), and the threat that a temperance ascendancy on the Board of Guardians presented to the trade.

Of all the occupation groups represented on the Boards of Guardians, the drink trade demonstrates the closest links between personal fortunes, and membership as a guardian. Most representatives of the trade were not wealthy, unless they were brewers or hoteliers. The majority of publicans and licensed victuallers had rateable valuations of under £100. Probate research has indicated that the lower an individual's rateable valuation, the more likely it is that his total wealth will have been in proportion to the rates he paid (17). Licensed victuallers and publicans were likely therefore to be relatively poor individuals whose prosperity was closely linked to the trade they did in their public houses. The Board of Guardians, with its power to affect the war with teetotalism, was an important battleground and sellers of alcohol were anxious to become guardians to influence hostilities, while they were also concerned about their rates. Trade membership reached a peak in the 1880s when the temperance campaign began to affect the Board, and thereafter remained at a high level.

Table 9:2 The Drink Trade as a percentage of total Southampton guardians

1870-79	-	9%
1880-89	-	14%
1890-99	-	12%
1900-14	-	13%

The Builders

In all three areas the number of builder guardians increased in the later years of the study. Some were artisans, and all those from the New Forest and some from South Stoneham were of this type, with rateable valuations under £50. Many of them, however, were wealthy individuals who were speculators on their own behalf in the development of urban areas (18). Thus the wealthiest South Stoneham builders came from the developing suburbs of St. Mary Extra, Portswood, Shirley and, in the 1890s and 1900s, the new town of Eastleigh. Many of Southampton's builders fulfilled the same role, some of them being owners of whole streets of houses.

As owners of large amounts of rated property the builders clearly had a considerable interest in any local rate-making body. In Southampton they formed one of the largest occupation groups on the Council, and in South Stoneham builders were well represented on the school boards and urban district councils. A high rating bill could have a depressive effect upon rents, even where occupiers paid the rates, as was customary (19), and the increased numbers of builders who became guardians in the later period reflected the growing rating bills in Southampton and South Stoneham. Such an interest extended beyond those who might have been expected to own property, such as builders or estate agents. E.P. Hennock has shown how the ownership of small house property was in many towns "the favourite investment of the small man" (20), and the ratebooks indicate that many individuals owned small amounts of property in addition to their own houses.

Manufacturers

In Southampton many of the local businesses operated on a small workshop basis and, except for the docks, there were no large manufacturing concerns that wielded local economic power on a scale approaching the coal or factory interests that dominated the boards of some northern unions (21). Manufacturers constituted one of the largest groups in the early half of the period, but later their numbers dwindled. Furthermore, the census comparison reveals that there were proportionately far more in the community than achieved local office on the board, and manufacturers were present in greater numbers on both the Council and the Bench.

It is possible that wealthier manufacturers may have been deterred from joining the Southampton Board because of the Board's attitude to business rating valuations. The town's chief business concerns (The Dock Company and the London and South Western Railway) were not represented on the Board of Guardians, although they did not lack sympathisers. The guardians' policies showed their concern not to penalise those firms bringing trade, profits and employment to the town and they were no doubt also applied to an extent to other businesses and manufacturing enterprises (22). Furthermore, wealthy manufacturers and businessmen had the opportunity to watch over the Board in an ex-officio capacity, in that many of them were councillors and magistrates and hence ex-officio guardians until 1894. One example of such scrutiny was that of W.G. Lankester, the wealthy ironfounder, who was prominent at local elections in a number of parishes in the early years of this study, although only once did he actually become a guardian (23).

In the New Forest, in comparison with the great weight of landed, agricultural representatives, the small urban interests were hardly represented in occupational terms in the early period, and landed control of the guardianships in these areas was almost absolute. Although the edge of Southampton Water was

an industrialised area, very few of those employed there became guardians until the later years, when the number of guardians elected from this urban area was sharply increased (from 6 before 1894 to 11 afterwards) under the Local Government Act of 1894. During this later period the attitude of the guardians towards large business rating valuations differed considerably from that of Southampton. Manufacturers were rated separately from their factories, and in the New Forest are revealed as being considerably less wealthy than many of the landed representatives of the area. All except one manufacturer owned property valued at less than £100, but their businesses were often worth considerable sums:

Table 9.3 1898 Industrial Business Rating Figures -
Eling Parish

	£
Ashby's Brewery	172
Fletcher and Co.	287
Rose and Andrews	130
Schutz Gunpowder Co	70
Butt, Boulton & Co	124.

Despite the fact that, with these valuations, industries paid lower rates than many of the Forest's private individuals, firms were ever vigilant in attempting to get their rating burdens reduced, and by 1909 the valuations of all these concerns had decreased. By contrast, the valuations of many private individuals rose over the same period (24). In 1900 a number of businesses wrote to protest at the revaluation of their premises in isolation rather than as part of a general revaluation (25), and although rates were rising elsewhere in the Union, it does appear that in Eling, at least, major firms were being singled out for revaluation by the overseers and guardians of the Assessment Committee. Such actions prompted the candidature and activity of Mr. Andrews in arguing and voting for reductions in his own rating assessments (26). These events support the view that manufacturers in Eling were acting in part in protection of their

personal interests in being members of the Board. It can be assumed that manufacturers elsewhere had similar interests, but on neither of the other two Boards did they think it necessary or politic to take such overt action.

The Commercial Group

All those in commercial occupations had in common higher rateable valuations than most (27). With the wealthy shopkeepers, builders and manufacturers, some of them constituted the leading businessmen of Southampton. Most of them had no apparent personal interest in membership of the Board of Guardians. The exception is a few estate agents in Southampton who, like the builders, were owners of tenanted property and who would therefore have had a similar interest in rating levels and their effect on rents. Most men in this group had a substantial stake in the town's prosperity, however, and their membership of the Board undoubtedly reflected a professional interest in rating levels, as was the case with the manufacturers. In common with the non-clerical professionals, their business acumen would also have been useful - the guardians appreciated "sound men of business" (28).

Professionals

This is a group present in considerable numbers in all three areas and increasing in number in the latter half of the survey. It contains a number of different professions and, while in the two Unions most professionals outside Southampton were clergymen of the Church of England, in Southampton there was a greater variety. In rating terms most professionals on the Boards of Guardians were not wealthy, with the exception of the rural clergy. Lawyers and accountants usually had low rateable values, although lawyers who became Council members tended to be wealthier. However, this was a period when professional men were increasingly recognised for their qualifications, education and the stability of their incomes (29) As a result their presence as elected representatives on Boards of

Guardians and other institutions was increasingly valued, and this may help to account for the small increase in the numbers of professionals who became guardians in Southampton and South Stoneham in the later period.

The contrast between the willingness of clergymen to become guardians in South Stoneham and the New Forest and their absence on the Southampton Board is most marked. In South Stoneham and the New Forest clergymen amounted to 6% and 9% of the membership respectively. In Southampton there were only three clergymen-guardians during the entire period. One reason for the contrast is that the town's local politics was governed by party rivalry, while in the two Unions party politics was the exception rather than the rule. For candidates for the guardianships in Southampton party identification, if not necessary was at least usual, and it may well be that the clergymen of Southampton wished to appear to be remote from party political squabbles, particularly since the town was sharply divided between Nonconformity and Anglicanism. Country clergymen on the other hand would have felt free to become guardians both out of a concern for the poor and also because their local knowledge would be of assistance in the administration of relief. No clergymen became councillors in Southampton, where involvement in party politics did not even have the merit of a Christian concern for the poor, as was the case with the guardians. Furthermore, those clergymen who did become members of the Southampton Board of Guardians came from poor livings, indicating that an interest in the welfare of the poor is likely to have been a most important factor in their membership.

By contrast, in Southampton clergymen were to be found frequently as members of the School Board (Figure 14 below). They formed the majority of the membership throughout the Board's life, and the struggle between Nonconformity and Anglicanism (which was also between Liberals and Conservatives) was most marked at elections. In South Stoneham there were a few clergymen on the School Boards of Hound and St. Mary Extra. Given the fierce national debate over education

and religion such involvement was probably regarded as legitimate by the Church of England and the Nonconformists - even a duty - but a closer connection with local party politics, at any rate in Southampton, was not.

In the rural areas there were large numbers of clergymen guardians, representing rural parishes in the South Stoneham Union more frequently than urban. In the New Forest they helped to ensure the continued influence of the landed gentry in the area's poor law and sanitary administration (30) with whom, in a few cases, the rateable value of their houses and land put them on a par (31).

The Medical Profession

The graphs demonstrate that there were very few of this group who became guardians. Far more doctors in Southampton became councillors, and it may be significant that the medical profession in Southampton did not regard their specialist knowledge as particularly important in applying the poor law. Even when poor law policy stressed the needs of the "deserving" poor in the 1890s and 1900s medically qualified men did not become guardians. As E.P. Hennock has pointed out, doctors were busy men who found it difficult to be free regularly for committee meetings. At the same time, he has found doctors in Birmingham and Wolverhampton over a comparable period formed 5% and 9% of the council. Nevertheless, in Exeter and Leeds their numbers were much lower, at approximately 3%, or rather the same as the Southampton guardians (32). The incentive for doctors to become councillors he identifies as a concern for public health, and undoubtedly in Southampton this would have also applied. The same wide ranging responsibilities did not apply to membership of the Board of Guardians. There would have been an unwillingness also to trespass on the preserve of the workhouse medical officer (H.W.R. Bencraft, who became a councillor himself in 1899), while in addition to serve as a guardian would have barred doctors from acting as poor law medical officers

themselves, although this was not a very popular duty. There is only one instance of a doctor attempting to use his specialist knowledge as a guardian, and that was Dr. Hearne, an ex-officio, who attended the Board on a number of occasions during the smallpox epidemic of 1871. As a member of the Local Board of Health he, in company with other ex-officios, had a close interest in the way the guardians organised isolation measures and vaccinations. Not least was the concern of the Board of Health that no extra expense should fall to them because the guardians were not doing all they should.

Nevertheless, when a nurse, Miss Thornton, became a guardian in 1908, one of the aspects she stressed was her specialist knowledge which would enable her to advise on the treatment of the sick.

Private Residents

The Private Resident group is one whose precise nature varies with the area in which they are found. In the New Forest they appear to have been (from the size and nature of their rating valuations) in many cases landed country gentlemen. In South Stoneham the numbers of private residents were considerably greater, but here it seems that it was only a minority who owned land in substantial quantities, and that many were retired businessmen, as they were also in Southampton, or service officers (33).

In South Stoneham private residents remained one of the most significant groups on the board, while in the other two areas their numbers rose over the period. The reason for this growth may lie in the fact that after 1894 magistrates could no longer serve as ex-officio guardians. In both the New Forest and in Southampton many ex-officio guardians were private residents. It is possible that when such individuals could no longer become ex-officio guardians, they then tried to maintain their influence over poor law affairs by ensuring that new guardians were elected from similar backgrounds. In addition, in the New Forest the farmers, the largest group on the board before 1894, declined in numbers

markedly after this date, leaving a vacuum which the private residents easily filled.

In party terms most of the private residents of both the New Forest and South Stoneham were Conservatives, and the majority in South Stoneham came from the suburban parishes where the Liberal party and other groups were making headway in the 1890s and 1900s. Thus in the New Forest of the 28 who served on the Board 17 are known to have been Conservatives, one a Liberal. In South Stoneham there were 49 private residents, 20 known Conservatives and five Liberals. In the suburban areas of the New Forest, furthermore, the Liberals were also making gains during the same period. It is probable therefore that the private residential group constituted a Conservative bloc on both boards, augmented by other groups such as the Professionals - largely clergy of the Church of England.

Not only were the rural Unions able to benefit from recruiting those with the time to devote to being guardians, but once elected in both South Stoneham and the New Forest private residents probably had an importance in terms of influence beyond their numbers. In both cases private residents tended to serve for longer periods once elected than did other occupation groups, and sitting guardians were rarely challenged at elections in rural parishes. An analysis of attendances at meetings also shows that they were more constant attenders than any other group. Many were also ex-service officers, particularly in South Stoneham, which would have enhanced their feelings of camaraderie on the Board and unity of purpose. In addition, almost all the chairmen and the vice-chairmen of South Stoneham and New Forest were private residents.

This leisured group was therefore in a uniquely powerful position on both the South Stoneham and the New Forest Boards of Guardians during this period, while their numbers were increasing on the Southampton Incorporation as well. They have a claim to be the single most powerful occupation group across the South Hampshire area in poor law administration. They

are likely to have been conservative in their views as well as often Conservative in their politics, and the slow pace of innovation on all three boards may well reflect their influence. Chairmen and vice-chairmen attended regional poor law conferences from the 1890s onwards, where the system was stoutly defended against its critics, and in the rural South Hampshire areas chairmen were usually private residents. If the same was true of other unions in the area then their role in poor law affairs must have been of great influence.

The Farmers

A problem arises as to exactly what "Farmer" means. In South Stoneham farmers were often substantial individuals, on a par with private residents and principal landowners in the New Forest, who styled themselves farmers because their land tended to be their chief source of income. In the Forest wealthy landowners often called themselves private residents, and the wealthiest employed stewards to administer their estates (34). At the wealthier end of the rateable values scale, therefore, the division between farmer and private resident is somewhat blurred, although probate evidence helps to distinguish between them (35). When these two unions are compared, in the New Forest there were more small farmers (with rateable valuations of £100 or less) and although membership of the Board of Guardians imposed considerable penalties in terms of both time and money, in the early years they were anxious to serve as guardians. The figures are as follows:

Table 9.4 Elected Farmer Guardians

	<u>1870-1893</u>	<u>1894-1914</u>
South Stoneham	19%	7%
New Forest	21%	11%

Farmers dominated the representation on the Boards of Guardians in many rural unions (36), and in the New Forest and South Stoneham the landed interest and the

private residents were far more numerous on the Boards than they were in the general population. Anne Digby has shown in her studies of the East Anglian poor law that their interest arose partially from a concern for rating levels, but also because of the need to preserve a pool of labour for the times when it was needed on the land during the agricultural year (37). It was therefore to their advantage to maintain a number of unemployed agricultural labourers on out-relief in order to meet seasonal demand, and they would evade the Local Government Board's instructions as to offering the workhouse. However, with the agricultural depression of the 1880s and 1890s the need for large reserves of labour decreased, and concern for the rising rates became more pressing. By 1909 the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws reported that in rural unions "the one idea of the farmers was to keep down the rates" (38). The success that the guardians of the New Forest experienced, with their large farming and landowning contingent, can be seen in the way in which poor law costs in the New Forest remained far more steady than they did in either of the other two areas (39).

The numbers of farmer-guardians fell in South Stoneham after 1894 to a considerably greater extent than they did in the New Forest, partly as a result of the growth of suburban Southampton, partly through economic factors. The Agricultural Rates Act of 1896 (40) provided for agricultural land to be exempted from half its rate, the deficit being made up by the Local Government Board from central funds. Before the Act farmers with large land holdings paid the highest rates. Once freed from a large portion of their rating burdens, therefore, they were no longer as keen as they had been to become guardians. In South Stoneham, furthermore, the suburban growth of Southampton meant that fewer farmers were likely to become guardians in the parishes closest to the city. It was in this union therefore, that the numbers of farmer guardians dropped most dramatically. It was in South Stoneham also that farmers felt the rates most keenly, in that they were more than double those of the New Forest. Thus in

1895 the rates in South Stoneham were one shilling and three farthings, and in the New Forest they were fivepence halfpenny in 1901. New Forest farmers therefore were not suffering from such high rates before 1896, nor did they notice the reduction to the same extent afterwards.

Principal Landowners

The local role preferred by most principal landowners was that of J.P. and therefore, if they had any connection with the Boards of Guardians it was usually as ex-officios. A few, however, were elected to the Boards as follows:

Table 9.5

	<u>1870-1893</u>	<u>1894-1914</u>
South Stoneham	7%	2%
New Forest	3%	6%

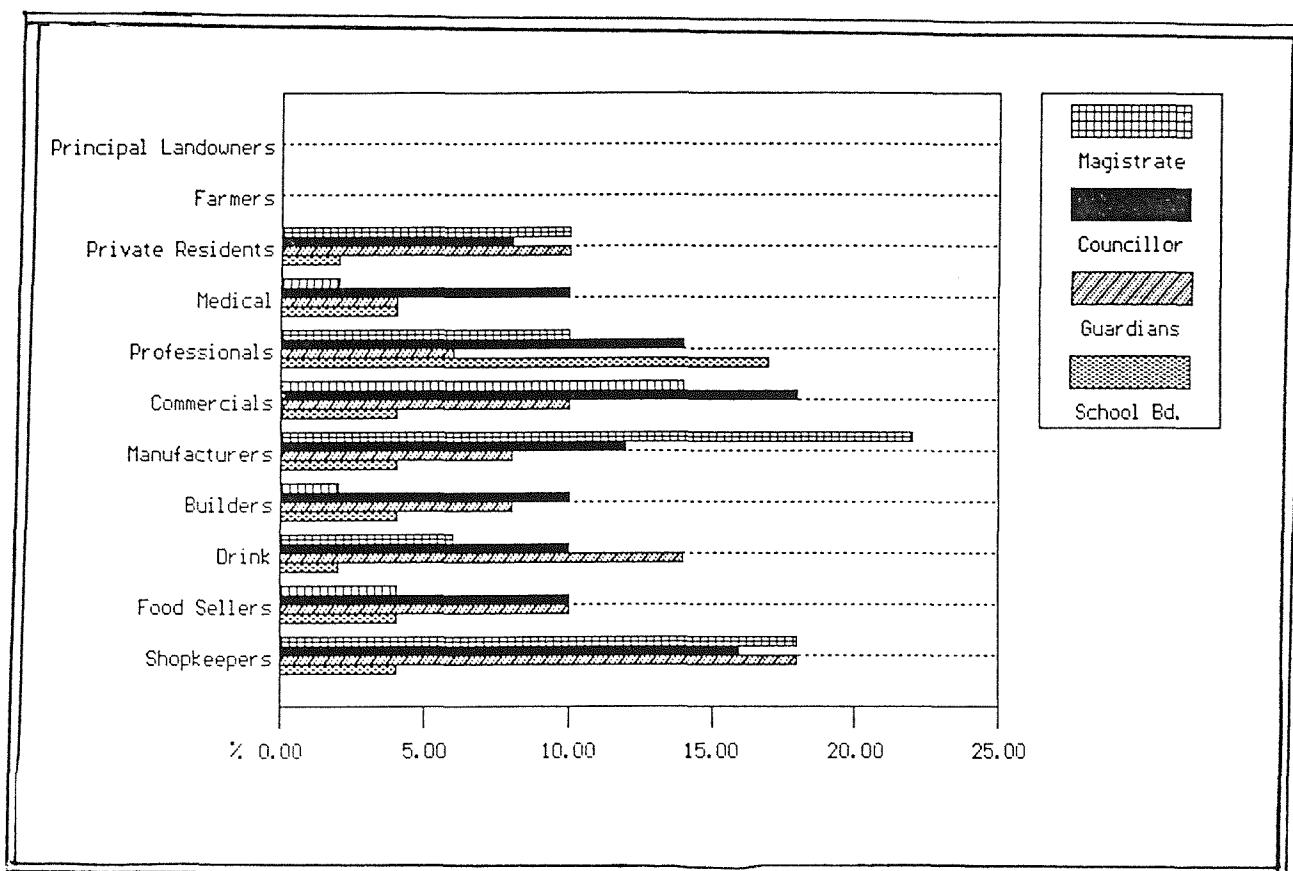
New Forest principal landowners were men of considerably more substantial means in terms of rated property than those of South Stoneham, and it was the position in society that this gave them which prompted them to continue to fulfil a traditional role in the administration of poor law affairs (41), as was shown in Chapter 8. Their reluctance totally to give up their involvement in the Forest's local government is seen in the increasing numbers of landowners elected to the Board after 1894 (42). In South Stoneham, however, most of the principal landowners were farmers and less wealthy than their counterparts in the New Forest. Of the six elected New Forest principal landowners, three had rateable valuations of over £2000, one between £1000 and £2000, and the last two just under £800. In South Stoneham all elected principal landowner valuations except one were under £1000. The South Stoneham landowners lacked the status and position of those of the New Forest, and their interest in the area's poor law and sanitary administration largely failed to survive the Agricultural Rates Act.

MAGISTRATES, COUNCILLORS, GUARDIANS AND OTHER BOARD
MEMBERS

By comparing the occupations of the Guardians with other board members, it is possible to create a picture of the relative status of these various institutions in the eyes of the local electorates.

Figure 14

Occupations of Southampton Magistrates, Councillors,
Elected Guardians and School Board Members 1870-1914

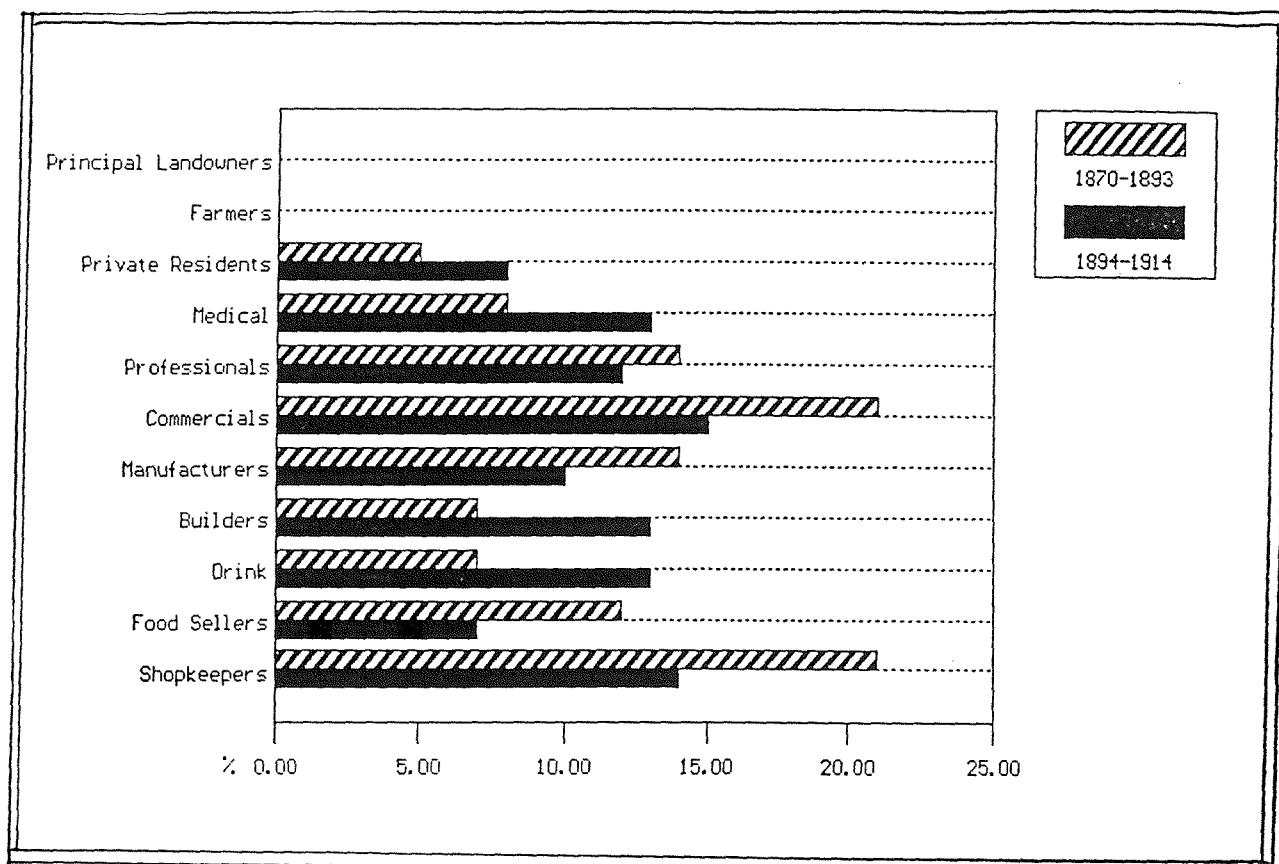


In Southampton the Board of Guardians was seen by aspiring local politicians as a step towards the Council, and possibly even the magistracy (43), and the graph indicates the extent to which the Council and the Board of Guardians drew their members substantially from the same occupation groups. The proportions vary in some cases, however, so that more members of the drink trade became guardians than councillors, while higher

status professions, such as doctors, professionals and commercial men joined the council. The School Board in contrast, attracted clergymen who were anxious to play their part in the religious rivalry that underlined the education debate. Perhaps not surprisingly more private residents became magistrates than were attracted to other bodies, but the bench was also the preserve of leading manufacturers and shopkeepers. Such individuals often played prominent roles on the Chamber of Commerce and the local party organisations, and were reported amongst attenders at local functions. Such patterns coincide with those described by Pat Waller, who has shown how the local elite were often unwilling to stand for election to local bodies, preferring instead to give their time to more socially rewarding and less time-consuming institutions such as chambers of commerce, professional and trade associations, voluntary religious or philanthropic bodies. Nor did they need to be elected members of local government organisations, in that there were many channels of influence whereby they could affect decision-taking, private, business and social. The Southampton magistrates possessed such an avenue of influence in their use of their ex-officio powers at the Board of Guardians' meetings in Southampton (44).

Figure 15

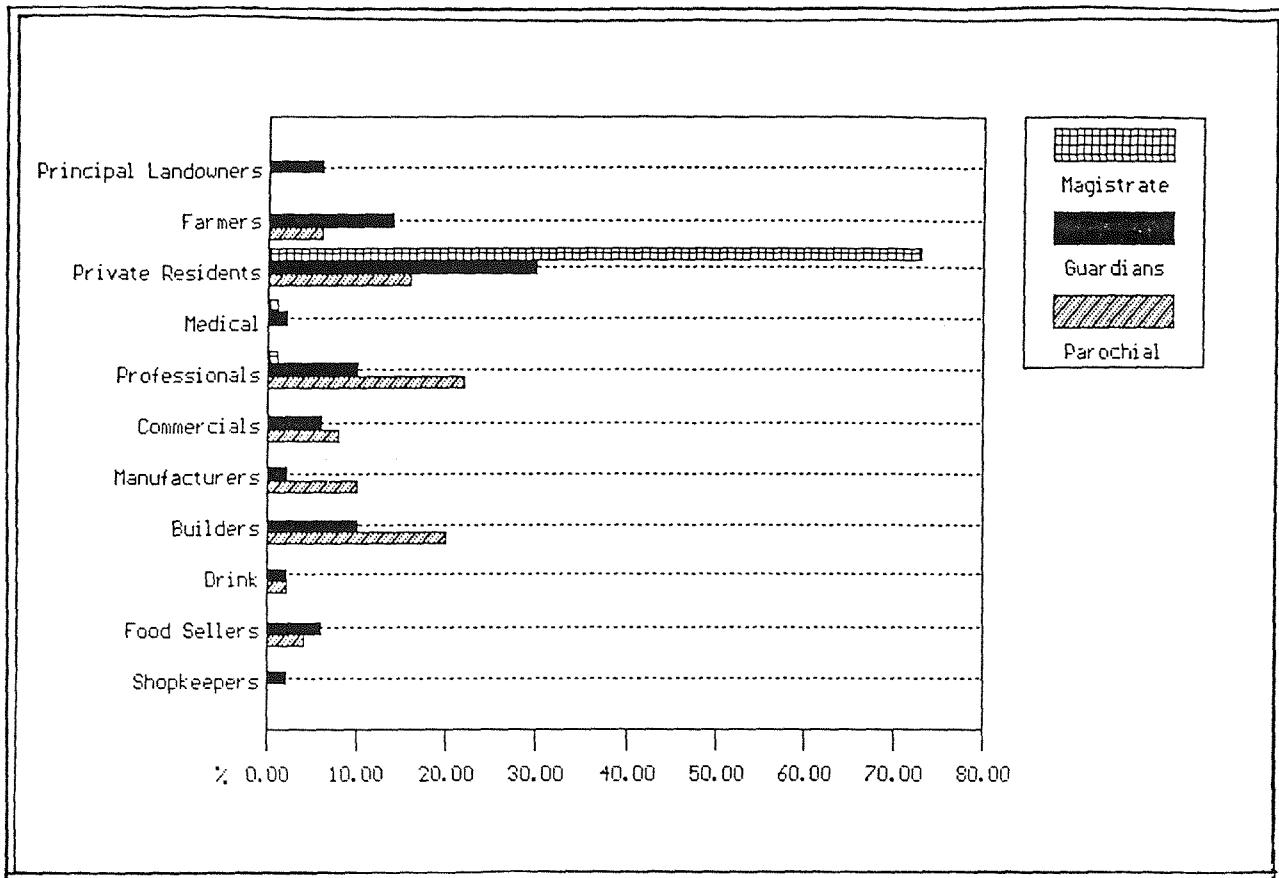
Occupations of Southampton Councillors 1870-1893 and 1894-1914



When Council membership before and after 1894 is compared with that of the Board of Guardians it can be seen that many of the changes that occurred on the Board were also to be seen in council membership. The most noticeable of these was a common tendency for the shopkeeping groups, the manufacturers and commercials, prominent in most of Southampton's representative institutions, to see their position eroded as time went on. In their place appeared firstly Private Residents, who were well represented on the Bench and who in the later period increased their numbers on other local bodies, and secondly groups whose interests favoured representation on rate-making organisations - the Drink Trade and the Builders. The same groups also increased their numbers amongst the guardians.

Figure 16

Occupations of South Stoneham Magistrates,
Elected Guardians and Parochial Board*members 1870-1914



* The Shirley Local Board of Health

Hound School Board

St. Mary Extra School Board

Itchen UDC

Eastleigh UDC

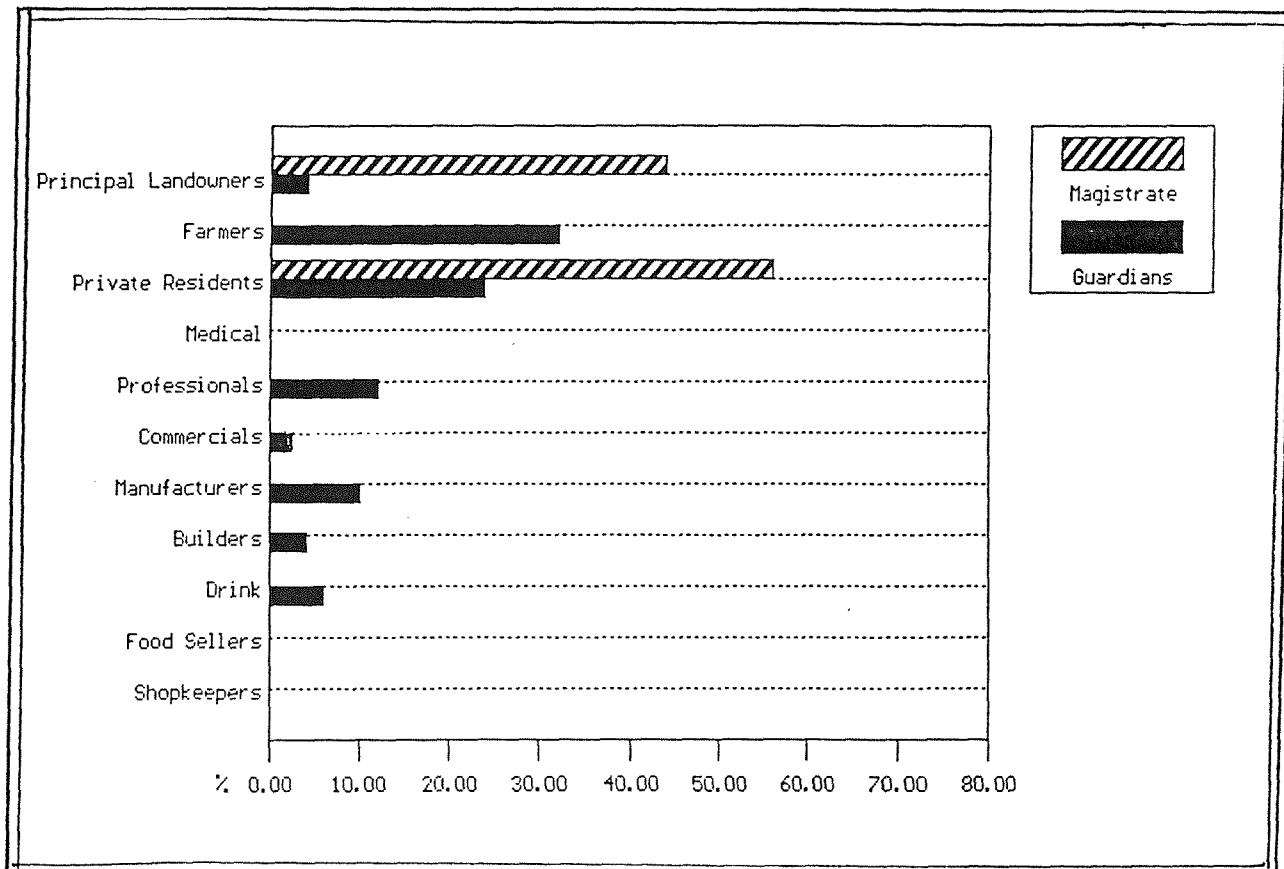
This is not to cite every parochial board that existed during this period in South Stoneham, but they are those which attracted press attention, and for which it has been possible to retrieve the necessary information. Other boards include the South Stoneham School Board, created in the 1890s, the Shirley UDC, which took over briefly from the Shirley Local Board of Health in 1894 before being subsumed into Southampton Council, and the parish councils from 1894.

In the South Stoneham Union the urban nature of the parochial boards in comparison with the Board of Guardians is clear - the Private Residents were by far the largest group on the Board, while there were a number of leading occupation groups on the parochial organisations. The parochial boards existed chiefly

in the suburban and urban areas of this union - local boards of health, urban district councils, school boards etc, and to a considerable extent their occupational character repeated that of Southampton. The Board of Guardians, therefore, presented what might be termed a more leisureed aspect so that in a time of increasing urbanisation, private residents retained a strong presence on all local institutions, but particularly the Board of Guardians, and it has been suggested that the reason for this was to protect the Conservative interest. This strong private resident membership did not originate solely from the rural parishes however, and most suburban parishes were represented by private residents on the South Stoneham Board of Guardians.

Figure 17

Occupations of New Forest Magistrates and Elected
Guardians 1870-1914



In the New Forest the extent to which landed interests dominated the Bench and Board of Guardians is clear - all the *ex-officio* guardians were either landowners or private residents, and elected guardians for the most part were farmers or private residents.

Therefore, in the two Unions the position of private residents was strong - in the New Forest particularly so, with magistrates and elected guardians drawn substantially from their ranks, while in South Stoneham they were also a major group on all local institutions, although rather less so on the parochial boards. In Southampton, the more important the institution, the more private residents it had - so there were considerable numbers amongst the magistrates, rather less so on the Council and Guardians, but their numbers there were increasing.

CONCLUSION

The roles of several occupation groups in local government in southern Hampshire stand out in this survey. Firstly there is the dominance of the shopkeepers in Southampton, in contrast to their virtual non-existence in the more rural unions. Unlike professionals and commercial men, shopkeepers do not appear to have moved out of the city and thus become guardians in the suburban areas. Instead they remained in Southampton, and they dominated local representation for much of the period, albeit in slightly declining numbers in the latter part of this survey. In company with the shopkeepers, other occupation groups are also identified with urban representation - commercial men, manufacturers, the drink trade - but in Southampton towards the end of the century the place of many of these groups was being challenged by private residents. They were a relatively small group on the Council and the Guardians, but their numbers were increasing on both organisations, and they were very strong on the Bench. In Leeds at an earlier point in the century, Derek Fraser shows how the gentry and

professionals were gradually surrendering their hold on the Council (45), but in Southampton at this later point, private residents, with professionals, were taking steps towards increasing that role on two of the town's representative institutions.

Beyond the city's boundaries they played major roles on the Boards of Guardians in the two rural unions. The expansion of the city saw a growth in the numbers of what might be called "urban" occupations on these Boards, but this did not greatly erode the share of private resident membership at Union level both amongst the guardians and also on the Bench.

In the New Forest trade representatives had even less of an opportunity to become guardians, and the board was dominated by a majority of group members who, probably of all the three areas studied, saw representation in occupational terms. Thus in the New Forest tradition held that the gentry - the principal landowners and the private residents - played an important part in poor law administration, both as elected and ex-officio guardians. Their determination to maintain this role is clear in the continuing numbers of private residents and principal landowners who became guardians in the later years once ex-officio guardians had been abolished. Farmers added to the numbers of landed guardians in the New Forest, represented in far greater numbers than in the census, confirming the view that these occupational groups had much to gain from controlling the locality's rates in the interests of the landowners and their tenants.

What impact did guardians' occupation have upon the Boards? In the New Forest and to an extent in South Stoneham the concerns of landowners must have predominated. In the New Forest out-relief levels were high which provided for a flexible agricultural labour force and rates were always much lower than in the other areas, which suited landowners and tenants. Elsewhere some groups had particular concerns relating to their own occupations in being members of Boards of Guardians. Shopkeepers and food sellers may have had an interest in

tendering policy which attracted them to the Boards. The drink trade in Southampton was concerned for the rating of public houses and wished to combat the attempts by the temperance lobby to make gains in local government. Many guardians were anxious to keep down the rates above all else, especially landowners and farmers before 1894, and manufacturers, builders and others connected with rented property. and those such as shopkeepers whose wealth was found in highly rated urban premises. The manufacturers of Eling in the New Forest indicate the extent to which some guardians were prepared, and permitted, to use their positions to further their own economic interests. The growing importance of private residents with the time to devote to the guardianship may have led to more efficient administration, and it may be significant that the LGB inspector named South Stoneham in the early years as one of the best run workhouses in his area. Later on, however, as was shown in Chapter 7, the South Stoneham guardians lost control of relief costs and numbers, in the depression years of the early 1900s.

To what extent do the guardians' occupations throw light on the interests of the electorate? To a considerable degree the electorate only had a very narrow choice - candidates for the guardianships were not that plentiful. In Southampton, where there were many contested elections, occupation would have played second fiddle to party politics in many cases, but it must have been an influential factor on occasions. The temperance debate is one instance when voters would have cast their votes according to occupation, while the expertise of the nurse is another example. Her candidature, and that of women generally, was justified in terms of better treatment for paupers and reflected a changing mood in the electorate. In rural areas farmer voters are likely to have voted for one of their own kind, particularly where there was a split in a parish between urban and rural interests - as there was in South Stoneham parish (with the suburb of Portswood at its western end) before 1894. Eling is a similar example. In the New Forest if a member of the gentry stood for election then he was likely to get in

- contests were rare and avoided if possible.

Finally, it is clear that there was an evolutionary pattern to the social composition of the three Boards. As urbanisation and the suburbs spread, the rural unions acquired a social composition more identified with trades and professions, and their occupational structure began to look rather more like Southampton. Southampton, on the other hand, was beginning to look slightly more like suburban South Stoneham in its composition, particularly after it incorporated some parts of South Stoneham into its area in 1908. Its occupational pattern became more diverse, in much the same way as did that of the Council. The early overwhelming dominance of shopkeepers was being challenged by the end of the century by increasing numbers of guardians drawn from other occupation groups - the drink trade, builders, professionals and private residents all increased their share of the membership.

At the same time the large numbers of shopkeepers on the Southampton Board and growing numbers of professionals and private residents help to explain the Board's increasingly Conservative politics in the later years of this survey. James Cornford has identified the rise of white collar workers, such as professionals and wealthy shopkeepers, as central to the success of the Tory party in the later years of the century (46), while the Conservatism of the suburbs of Southampton, particularly Portswood, echoes the Conservative trend in lower middle class suburbs identified by Henry Pelling in areas such as Fulham, Ormskirk, Newington and Morningside (47).

These analyses of occupations have given some indication of the status of those who served on boards of guardians. The census returns, individuals' occupations and the rateable valuations associated with those occupations (48) indicate that the guardians tended to be drawn from groups other than the poorest in society, and that there were considerable differences between individuals in terms of background.

Nevertheless, many of the occupations identified in this survey in the urban and suburban areas belong to those itemised by Geoffrey Crossick and others as being those of members of the lower middle class. Amongst those he identified were groups found on the Southampton and South Stoneham boards, namely small shopkeepers, businessmen and minor professional people. To groups such as these he ascribed "a deep commitment to traditional values", and such a commitment can be seen in the resistance to change identified in the policies of the Southampton and South Stoneham boards, reinforced by the considerable lengths of time for which some guardians served. Furthermore, in occupational terms the type of individual who served as a guardian in Southampton during this period, changed little during the period covered by this survey. In addition, the "sense of threat" which Crossick identifies from groups below them in the social order, casts more light on the guardians' greater concern for economy than sympathy with the poor in their administration (49). The "threat" has been described by Pat Waller as a "closing of ranks" by the working classes in the late nineteenth century, giving rise to "a sullen egalitarianism - a feeling that if state services and ordinances had to be extended, these could be financed principally, even wholly, by the better off" (50). In Southampton in the 1890s and 1900s both organised labour and, later, the unemployed, were increasingly pressing in their demands (51).

The question of attitudes associated with the status and class of individual guardians, raised in relation to Crossick and Waller's references to the anxieties of the lower middle class, necessitates as precise an understanding as possible of the status of individual guardians. Yet occupational analyses are not precise in identifying status and the attitudes of representatives, both to the administration of the poor law, and to each other, can only be satisfactorily understood when the position of individuals is more clearly identified (52). A survey of individual wealth has therefore been undertaken in order to gain a clearer picture of the types of people who served on Boards of Guardians, both in relation to other local institutions, and also to each other.

CHAPTER 10RATEABLE VALUES

The second of the two areas of research into the backgrounds of individual guardians mentioned in the introduction to this section, is concerned with the wealth of local representatives, as measured by rateable valuations. As a source of information regarding wealth, rating records are useful in that they are readily accessible, with the virtue of giving a contemporary assessment of wealth. Thus it is often possible to ascertain rateable valuations for the years of an individual's tenure of office. They also indicate a standard which would have been clearly visible to contemporaries, namely a house and, in some cases, a landed estate.

Nevertheless, as measures of overall wealth, rating records are not ideal. Wealth, particularly in the case of the better off, is likely to have been possessed in other forms, and for this reason a study of probate records has been made, and where possible has been used as a "control" for information gleaned from rating records. The findings of this investigation are presented in full in Appendix 15, but in broad terms the probate investigation has indicated that there is a greater probability of a rating valuation comparing fairly precisely with a probate valuation (calculated in each case as percentages of average figures), when the rating valuation is below £100 than when it is over this figure. Some in higher rateable value groups will have had considerably more private wealth than indicated by their rated property, while some whose assets were primarily invested in land or housing, such as builders or farmers, have been shown not to have been as wealthy at death as their rateable valuations indicated.

RETRIEVAL OF INFORMATION

The following table indicates the extent to which rateable valuations have been ascertained for the members of the various local institutions in South

Hampshire 1870-1914:

Table 10.1: Success Rate of Rating and Probate Research

<u>Area</u>	<u>Total Number of Local Representatives(1)</u>	<u>Number of Rateable Valuations Retrieved</u>	<u>Percentage of Rateable Valuations Retrieved of Total</u>
Southampton	704	517	74%
South Ston'm	433	328	76%
New Forest	210	190	90%

RATEABLE VALUE GROUPS

Data concerning the rateable values of local representatives has been assembled according to the following classifications:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Rateable Valuations</u>
I	£200 and above
II	£150 - £199
III	£100 - £149
IV	£50 - £99
V	£1 - £49

These groups have been chosen since, under the Public Health Act of 1844 (2), the franchise that applied to all Unions created under the Poor Law Amendment Act was to be one vote for every £50 of rating valuation, up to a total of 5 votes. The last group has been subdivided to show those individuals whose valuations fell above and below £25 (Group V a and b respectively), a figure which is close to the mean figures for all rating assessments in the three areas concerned:

Mean Rateable Values

Southampton	£24
South Stoneham	£23
The New Forest	£24

It is particularly important to know how many representatives had valuations on or below the mean figure, since this enables the impact of the Local Government Act of 1894 in the election of working men to boards of guardians to be assessed (3). Further, once they were guardians, it has been suggested that working men sought to influence the policies of the boards in favour of the poor. The example of Poplar and the activities of Lansbury and Crooks is the best known instance (4), but Anne Digby found working class guardians in Erpingham in Norfolk after 1894 attempting to raise the standard of relief even at extra cost to the ratepayers' pockets (5). However, Keith Lucas maintains that the 1894 Act did not substantially increase the numbers of working men on the boards (6), a finding confirmed by Peter Wood in the Sunderland Union (7), while Norman McCord found that such individuals were not usually in favour of measures that would increase the rates. On the contrary, their presence on the Boards was thought to be especially valuable by those guardians interested in efficient and economical administration (8). Not only were these lowest ratepayers often very anxious to keep the rates down but also, because they lived in the poorer areas, were more likely to be aware of the circumstances of individual paupers and therefore able to tailor relief to meet particular circumstances - in effect, to restrict relief to the deserving.

For the purposes of this study divisions have not been continued over £200, partly because the electoral law did not do so, but also because over £200 rateable valuations are less common than lower valuations. Although rateable valuations could vary considerably at this level, to present such differences in graph form would result in considerably more groups to be plotted while the impact of the presentation would be

diminished. Furthermore, probate evidence indicates that at this level the differences in rateable valuations between individuals is less significant, bearing in mind that rateable valuations and wealth at death are less likely to be closely related than they are with lower rateable valuation groups. The very much greater value-distribution contained within Group I than any other rating group can to a certain extent introduce a distorting effect, but at the same time, the fact that rateable values of the region of £23-£24 were the average means that a relatively small section of the population as a whole would have been eligible for this highest valuation group. A study of the types of property represented by different rating valuations (9) indicates substantial variations between the various groups. Property valued at under £30 in Southampton would have been a small, probably terraced house, while a valuation of over £60 was the rate for a detached suburban dwelling. A farm would frequently be valued at between £100 and £200, but could be worth more than this, while a substantial country house with land in the New Forest was often worth more than £250.

Although it could be argued that by 1870, let alone 1894 or 1914, voting qualifications set in 1844 would be considerably out of date, it is valid to use those established by the 1844 Act since there is no evidence of overall revaluations of rated property having taken place in any of the three areas covered by this study between 1870 and 1914, although individual ratings did increase. Furthermore, mean rateable values were, during the 1870-1914 period, considerably lower than the £50 qualification for two votes, indicating that a valuation of £50 for rating represented property considerably in excess of the average. Every extra £50 would have entailed ownership of amounts of property contributing to an individual's standing in the eyes of contemporaries.

COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE THREE UNIONS 1870 - 1914

Figure 18

Southampton: Rateable Valuations of Magistrates, Councillors, Elected Guardians and School Board members. (10)

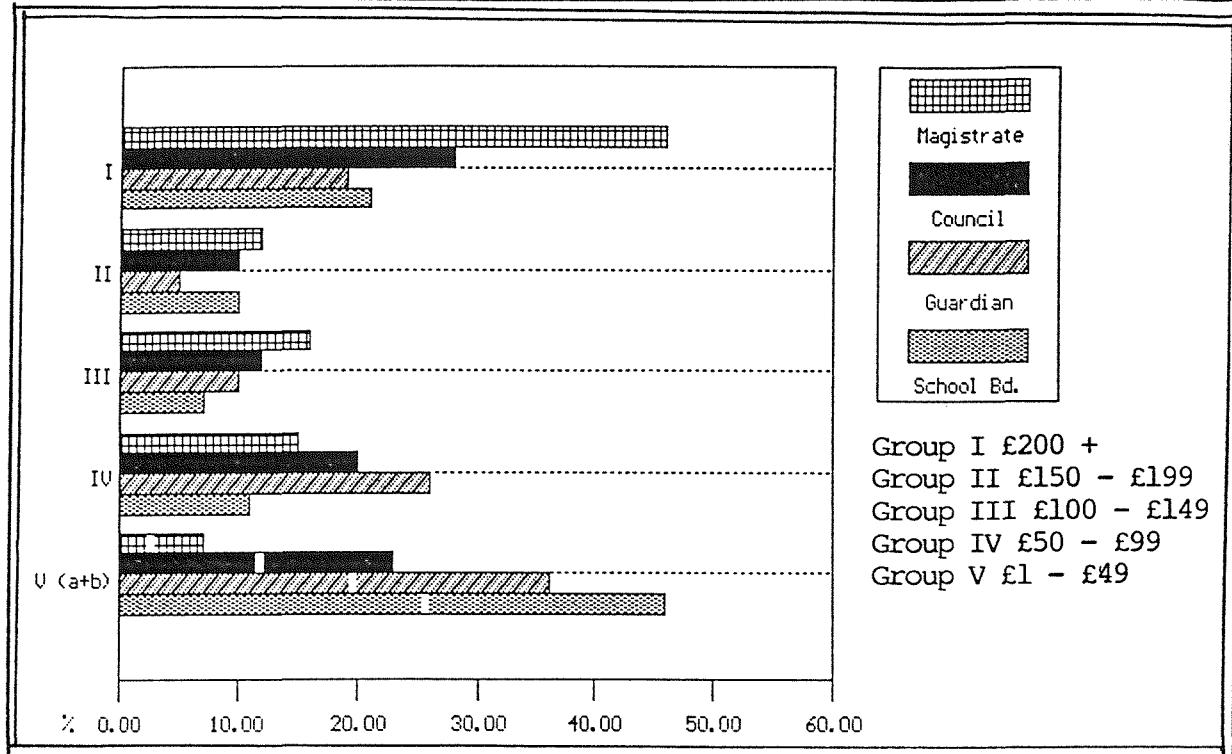


Figure 19

South Stoneham: Rateable Valuations of Magistrates, Elected Guardians and Parochial Board members (11).

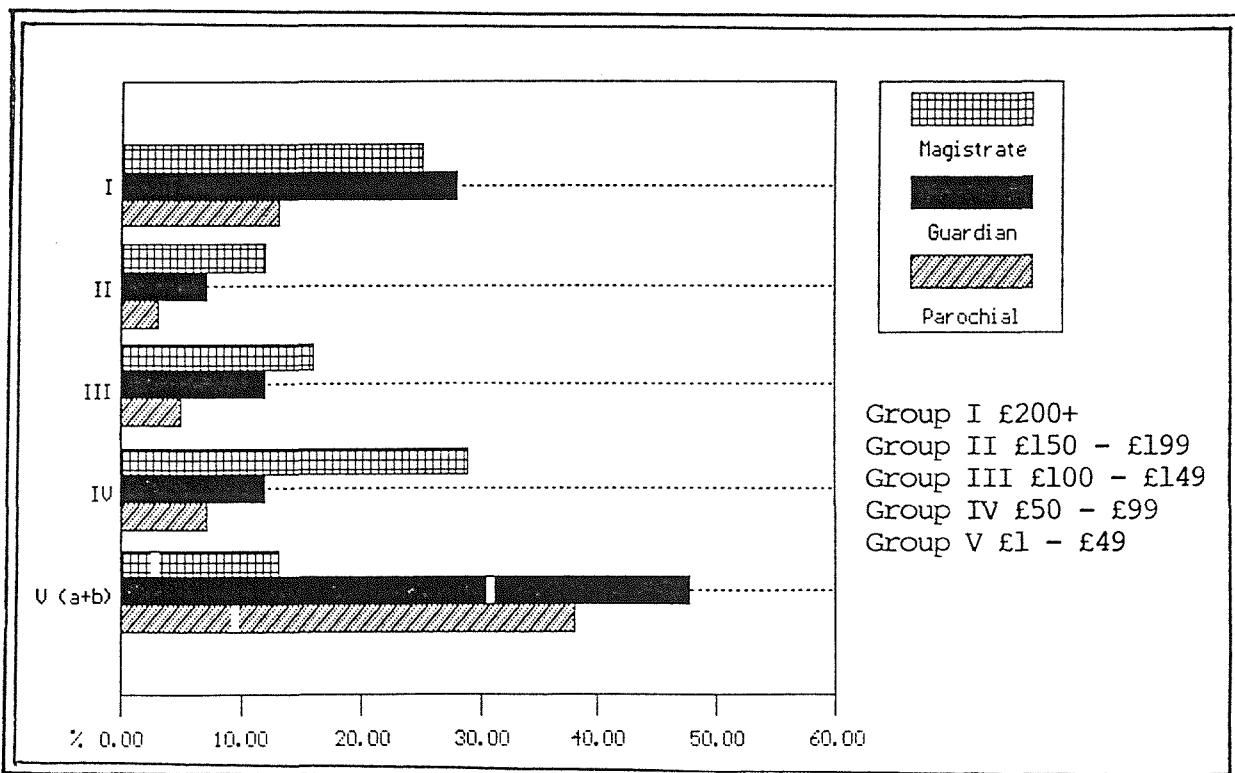
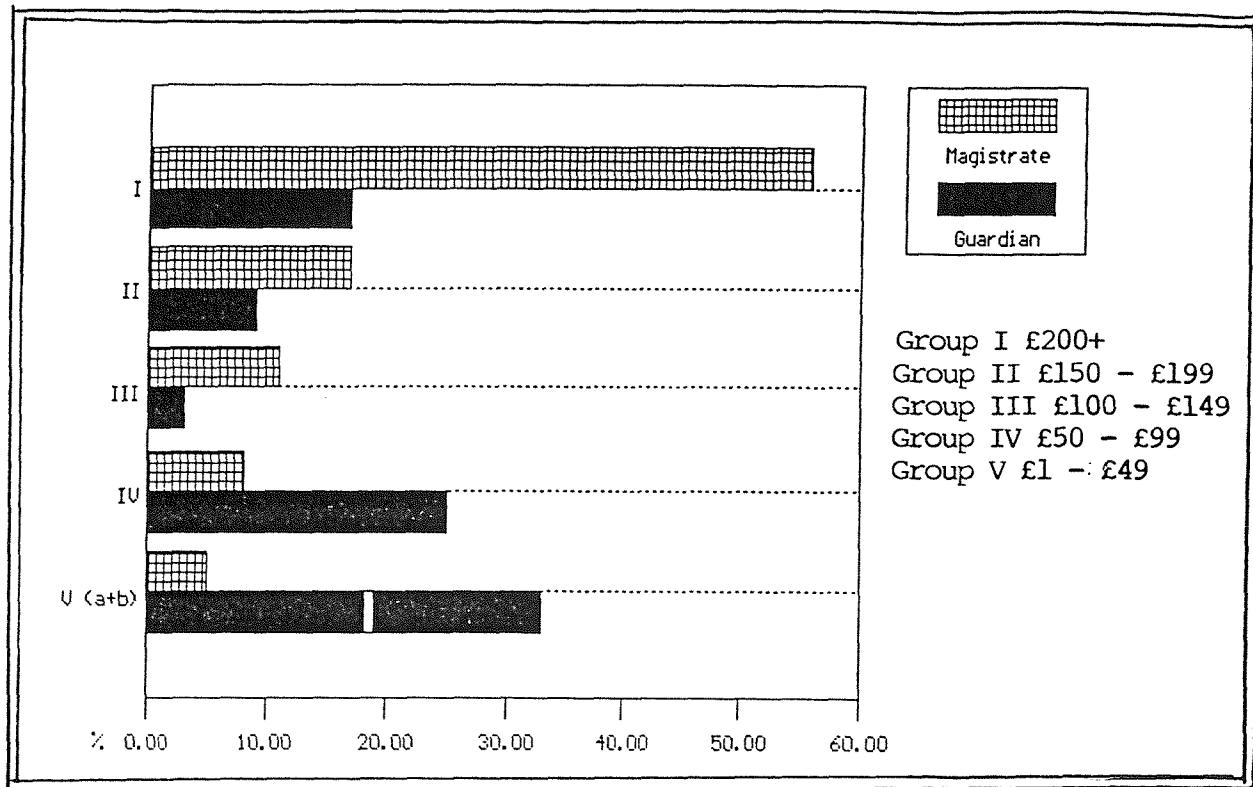


Figure 20The New Forest: Rateable Valuations of Magistrates and Elected Guardians

These graphs reveal that most local representatives were chosen from among individuals considerably wealthier than the majority of residents, in that most representatives had property with rateable value greater than the mean, and were worth more than £100 pa. In addition, in the region of a quarter of all local representatives were members of the highest category (12).

Nevertheless, in all three areas and on all organisations apart from the magistrates, the largest group of rateable values relates to the poorest amongst the ratepayers. When Group V is subdivided slightly over 10% of individuals fell on or below the mean rateable value level, and in every instance they represented less than half those in Group V - in Southampton considerably less. Relatively small numbers of local representatives therefore were occupying houses of average or less rateable values, while in the cases of Southampton Council and the New Forest Board of Guardians almost equal numbers of

representatives are located in Group IV as in Group V, shifting the balance in the organisations concerned to slightly more prosperous representatives.

When the different institutions are compared it is clear that the wealthiest individuals served as magistrates. Those of the New Forest in particular were much wealthier than the guardians, and the probate investigation confirms this (13). Here clearly magistrates and ex-officio guardians of the New Forest were for the most part drawn from the area's gentry, reinforcing the belief that such individuals would have seen the need to adopt a traditional supervisory role concerning the poor law administration in the area. The New Forest Union, furthermore, was part of a stratified society in which the guardians were considerably less wealthy than the magistrates, which in all probability increased the magistrates' desire to be closely involved in the poor law administration.

The picture that emerges from the graph relating to South Stoneham is rather different. Here the rateable valuations of the magistrates and guardians are fairly comparable, supporting the argument put forward in Chapter 9, that in South Stoneham magistrates and many guardians were drawn from a similar social stratum. The rating evidence, furthermore, is supported by the probate study contained in Appendix 15. Magisterial supervision of the guardians was therefore not necessary here because not only were many magistrates and guardians ex-service officers or private residents, but they were also from a similar background in terms of property and overall wealth.

When the South Stoneham parochial boards are considered it is clear that these organisations were run by a very different group on the whole (14). Most of the wealthier members came from the School Boards of St. Mary Extra and Hound, while the Shirley Local Board of Health and the Itchen and Eastleigh Urban District Councils in particular were dominated by the least wealthy. The explanations are not hard to seek - in Shirley there was a constant battle over sanitation, and

the poorer ratepayers represented the concerns of the poorer areas of this parish (particularly Freemantle) for a share in the arrangements being made for Shirley (15). At a later date after 1893 Itchen was a nursery of radicalism on both the School Board and later the Urban District Council. No doubt also the greater numbers of representatives needed to run these parochial institutions brought about an increase in the numbers of poorer representatives; before 1894 Millbrook sent five guardians to the South Stoneham Board, St. Mary Extra three; after 1894 these numbers increased to eight and five respectively, but many more representatives were needed to staff the parochial boards (Itchen UDC, for example, had 16 members).

In Southampton there was a hierarchy of institutions, with the magistrates on the whole the wealthiest in the town, followed by the Council, then the Guardians and finally the members of the School Board, and once again these findings are confirmed by the probate study. To be a member of the local Bench therefore, was an office more greatly prized by the wealthiest ratepayers in the town than Council membership, although clearly service as a councillor would have been a frequent route to the magistracy. The difference between the two in rating terms was probably not that great, in that further analysis has shown that the majority of magistrates in Southampton in the wealthiest group had rateable valuations of less than £500. As such they were very different from those of the New Forest (where half the magistrates who became ex-officio guardians had property worth more than £1300), although of equivalent wealth to those of South Stoneham. There were slightly more wealthy councillors than guardians, and rather more guardians who were in the lowest group (£1 - £49). The large numbers of School Board members in the lowest group is accounted for to a considerable extent by the large numbers of clergymen who served on it. Many of them had almost no rated property at all, and they lived in tied houses which were often not rated in their own names.

region, therefore, including members of Boards of Guardians, had rateable valuations for the most part above the average. The evidence from rateable valuations therefore supports the contention made in Chapter 9 (16) that those who became guardians were an elite rather than a representative group. It also shows that many guardians came from rateable valuation groups slightly above the mean figure for all rateable valuations (Groups IV and Va), so that they are likely to have been members of the lower middle class, as described by Crossick (17). The wealthiest in Southampton and the New Forest moved towards the Bench. Only in South Stoneham were many magistrates and guardians of similar wealth, and here the magistrates played very little part in poor law administration. In the other two areas wealthier magistrates (and councillors in Southampton) used their ex-officio powers to supervise the Boards of Guardians until 1894. Guardians tended on the whole to be wealthier than members of other elected institutions in the two unions where the Boards had unique union-wide responsibilities, and Southampton guardians were wealthier than School Board members.

The status of the New Forest and South Stoneham boards in their areas, as measured by the wealth of their members, is enhanced when the length of service of individual guardians is taken into account. On this basis, those guardians in the wealthiest group increased their representation from 25% of the Board to 40%, while the least wealthy group's share of the representation decreased from 32% to 21%. Similarly, in the New Forest the wealthiest group's representation increased from 16% to 19%, while that of the least wealthy fell from 35% to 23%. Thus in the more rural areas the wealthy tended to serve for longer periods than the poorest. Their experience in poor law administration would have been enhanced thereby, with the effect of increasing their influence on their respective Boards of Guardians.

In Southampton there was no similar phenomenon, however - the balance between the various rateable

valuation groups on this Board remains very much the same as before when length of service is calculated. Service on the Southampton Board of Guardians was therefore less weighted against poorer guardians, and it was not only the competition for representatives from the council, with its far wider powers, which encouraged this. The guardians' considerable rating powers would have made service on a Board attractive to those who were most sensitive to rating increases. They made the poor rate and oversaw the collection of rates in the Southampton area, whereas in the two unions their powers were restricted to assessment and the making of the rate, which was collected by the overseers. In Southampton, furthermore, those members of the Council and the Bench before 1894 who had an interest in poor law affairs were not excluded from the Board before 1894 because they were not elected - many served as ex-officios, and there were far more magistrates and councillors eligible to do so than in the Unions. This left the elected membership more open to poorer representatives than elsewhere.

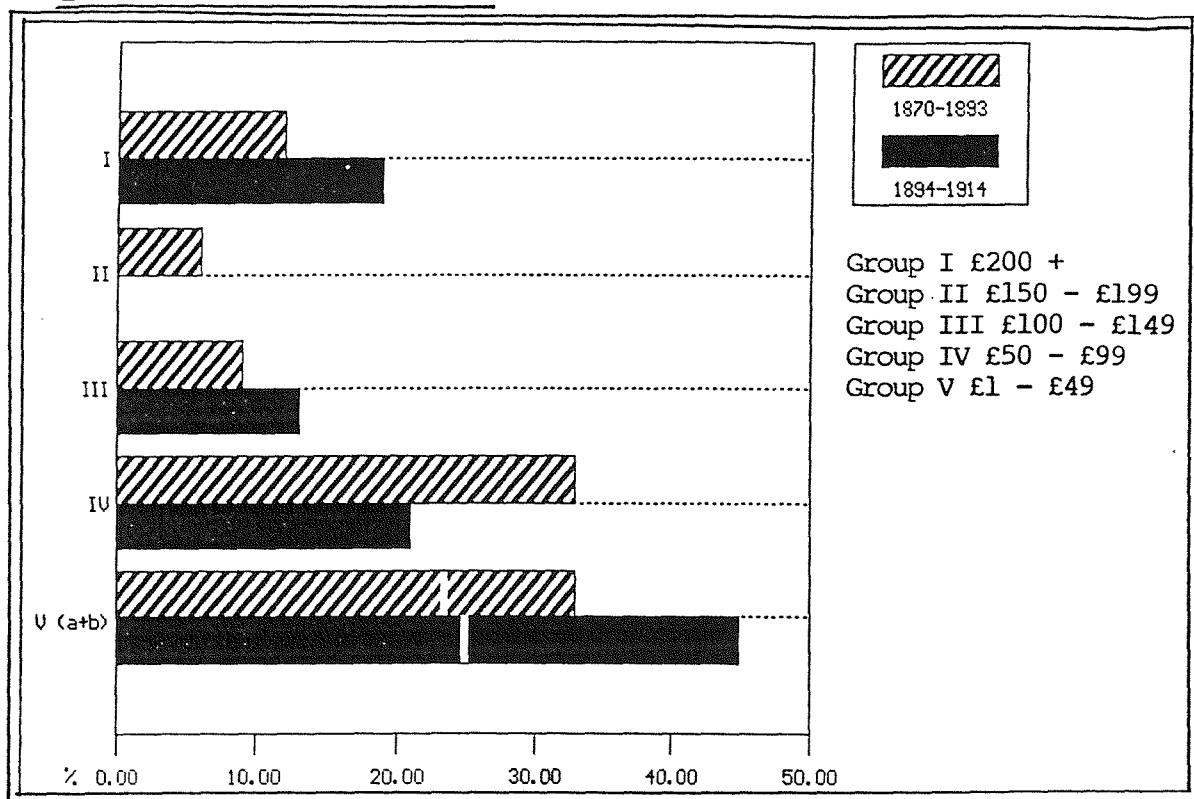
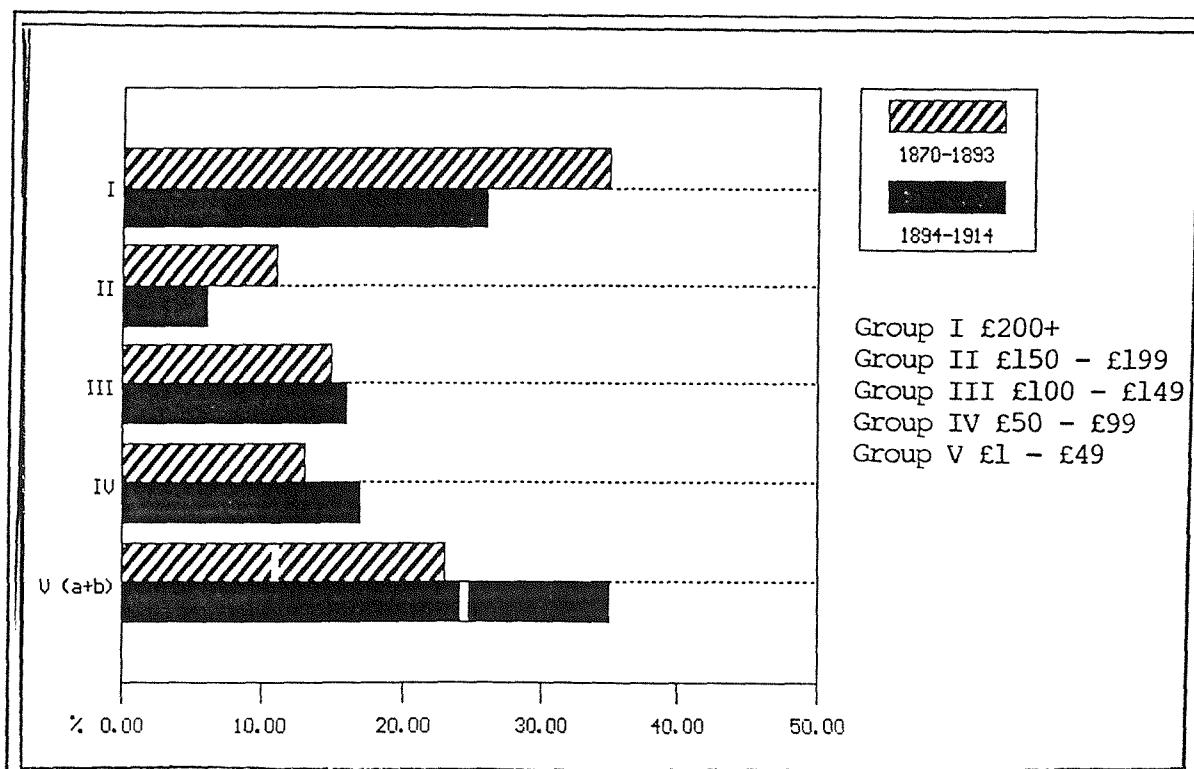
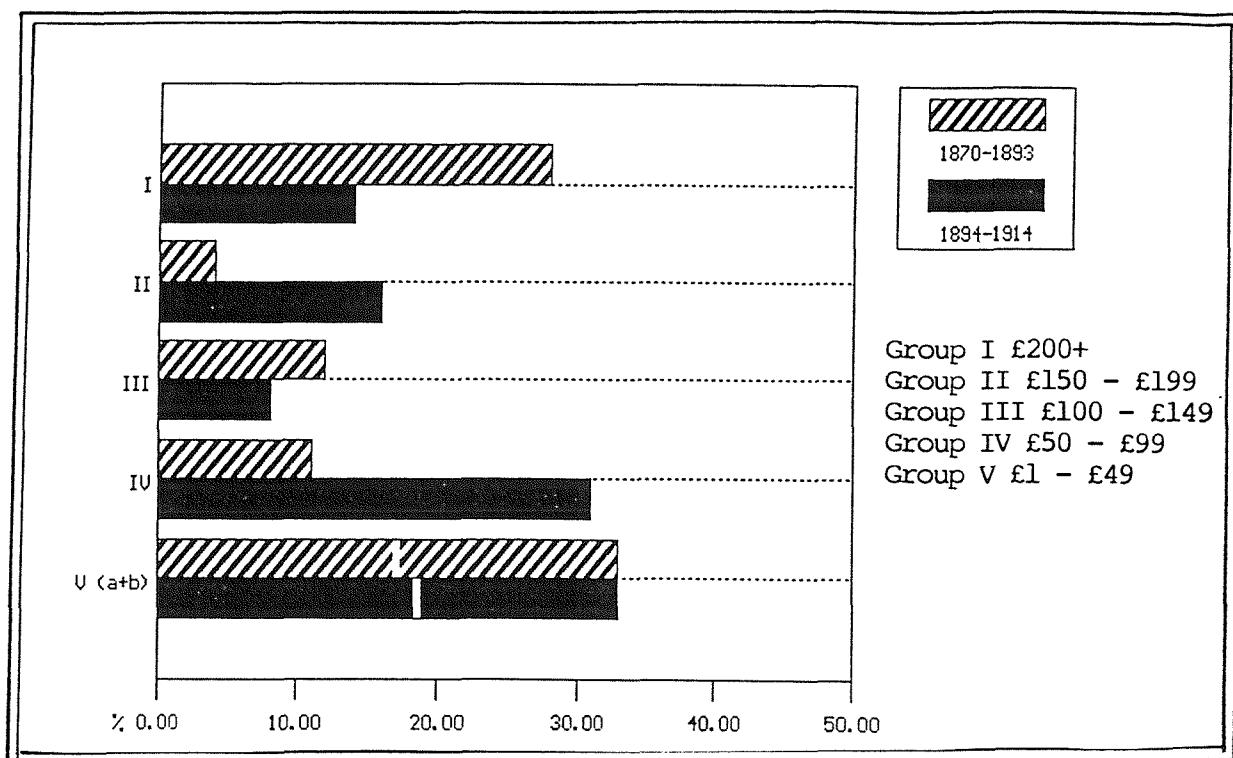
Rateable Values before and after 1894Figure 21Rateable Valuations of Southampton Elected Guardians
1870-1893 and 1894-1914Figure 22Rateable Valuations of South Stoneham Elected Guardians
1870-1893 and 1894-1914

Figure 23

Rateable Valuations of New Forest Elected Guardians
1870-1893 and 1894-1914



In all three areas the trend over these years was for the number of wealthy guardians to decrease. This is seen in Southampton, South Stoneham and the New Forest but, while in Southampton and South Stoneham in the later years of this survey it was the poorest group of guardians that increased most, in the New Forest it is the two poorest which are the largest, while the numbers of guardians in the poorest group in the New Forest remains fairly constant both before and after 1894. It is significant therefore that in all three areas, and despite the ending of the property qualification, the guardians were still drawn from an elite group, in that the majority had rateable valuations considerably above the average (18). Nevertheless, the Local Government Act (19) did result in more poorer representatives being elected in South Stoneham and particularly in Southampton (where those with property of average and lower rateable valuations increased in proportion to other groups after 1894).

A number of factors influenced the election of poorer representatives generally in the period after 1894. The Local Government Act swept away the multiple vote for large ratepayers and the property qualification for guardians, ended the vestry meeting election system in Southampton and enfranchised all burgesses, service voters and women. The result of this was that working men's representatives appeared in greater numbers than before on local representative organisations in South Hampshire (20), but there was no startling change in overall representation of wealth. Southampton is the most extreme example, where the numbers of guardians on average or lower rateable valuations increased by 9%. Nothing similar occurred in the rural areas however, in that in South Stoneham the numbers of the poorest guardians remained the same, while in the New Forest, the bastion of tradition, the guardians and the gentry who controlled the poor law representation appear to have resisted the entry of the poorest ratepayers, by recruiting those of more substantial property in the £50 - £100 bracket.

There were a number of other factors which enhanced the election hopes of the less wealthy. Implicit in the ward organisations of both major parties of the 1880s in Southampton was the increased importance laid upon the urban population's vote. By the 1890s the radicalism of both the Conservative and Liberal parties and the emergence of the left as a force to be reckoned with in Southampton political life, and in that of suburban South Stoneham, all increased the opportunities of the less wealthy to involve themselves in public life. While the left was slow to establish itself in Southampton as a force in local affairs (21) its emergence cannot have failed to heighten the awareness of poorer voters and candidates of the opportunities for local representation, although few guardians had any sympathy with the activists in the Labourite groups who stressed improved treatment for paupers (22).

It is possible to link the party politics of guardians with their rateable values and therefore to identify wealth with party characteristics.

Information has been gathered concerning party affiliations and ratings for 81% of guardians (181 individuals) and 56% of councillors (156 individuals) in Southampton. The anxiety of Ratepayer and Independent representatives to save the rates is linked to the fact that guardians and councillors from these parties came from the lowest rateable value groups, as did Labourite representatives. However, it was the Conservative and Liberal guardians who existed in the largest numbers, and there were both more wealthy Liberals than Conservatives, and also more with average or lower rateable values. Southampton Conservatives tended to own property in the £25 - £150 bracket, while the Liberal party tended to attract members from all parts of the rateable value spectrum, possibly because of the division of the party into Liberal and radical elements.

In the rural areas ward organisations of the major parties started to appear in the 1880s, following the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1884 (and its accompanying Redistribution Act) (23), which had given the parliamentary vote to agricultural workers, and the County Councils Act 1888 (24). With the Act of 1894 all rural electors were also able to participate in the local elections on equal terms. Poorer ratepayers and guardians in the two Unions would have been as concerned about rate increases as those in the town, and in South Stoneham, where rates rose considerably towards the end of the period, with sharply increasing numbers of paupers, such feelings caused the formation of a number of Ratepayers groups and the vigilance of the economy campaigners on the Board of Guardians (25). Most of the poorer guardians came from the urban parish of Itchen. The wealthy retained a considerable involvement in this Union, however, representing not only the rural parishes, but also Millbrook, Eastleigh and Portswood.

In the New Forest the rates were rather lower than in South Stoneham, and this, in addition to the gentry's supervision, may help to account for the fact that the poorest group in the New Forest did not increase after 1894 to the extent that it did elsewhere. The large

numbers of guardians from Group IV in the New Forest after 1894 is made up to a considerable extent of guardians from the Eling area. This parish elected the most guardians to the Board and was the preserve of the Netley Marsh Ratepayers Association in the 1880s and 1890s. It has already been suggested that this group of New Forest landowners was attempting to keep radicals off the Board of Guardians, and it seems likely that they were also ensuring that representation remained with the more prosperous of the area and also with members of the gentry as far as possible. Thus after 1894 the Eling area was represented mostly by principal landowners and private residents, with only the occasional farmer, a clergyman and a hotelier (26). Contested elections and changes in representation were few.

The Local Government Act therefore did not cause large numbers of working class representatives to be elected on to the South Hampshire Boards as a whole. Certainly the numbers of poorer guardians increased after 1894, but their numbers never outweighed other groups, even in Southampton. As was shown in Chapter 3 those responsible for the allocation of guardians and the re-drawing of poor law parish boundaries after 1894, continued to stress the representation of property rather than populations (27). These influences, augmented by those which pertained in the New Forest, succeeded in ensuring that the boards of guardians in all three areas remained the preserve of wealthier groups.

Where poorer guardians were elected, as in Southampton, their numbers were not large enough to effect great changes in policy, even had they wished to do so. Rather, as was shown in Chapter 7, pressure of economic circumstances and from the Local Government Board resulted in somewhat more generous relief, while economy remained the watchword for poorer guardians and their electors as much as for the wealthy (28). Rising pauper numbers and increased rates in all three unions, but particularly in Southampton and South Stoneham, put poorer ratepayers under greater pressure.

The conservative nature of administration in the period from 1890 onwards, and in general the boards' unwillingness to make expensive modifications in policy, indicates that poorer guardians in these unions at any rate did not result in greater liberality of relief. Rather their influence may be seen in the constant searching for the most economical policies.

OCCUPATIONS, RATEABLE VALUES AND PROBATES

When occupations, rateable values and probate valuations are considered, conclusions reached as to the wealth of certain occupational groups are confirmed. Principal landowners were very wealthy indeed and, less predictably, private residents also were often very well off. This has implications particularly for South Stoneham where there were many private residents who constituted the largest group on the Board, especially when considered in terms of the length of their service. (Wealthy guardians as a whole tended to serve for longer on both the New Forest and the South Stoneham boards.) South Stoneham was seen, from the occupation and rating survey, as a Board still maintaining a rural pattern in terms of the large numbers of private residents recruited and the Conservatism of the Board. They reinforced their hold on the poor law administration by serving longer than other guardians, by attending more meetings than other members and by almost completely securing the positions of chairman and vice-chairman. Ex-officios did not maintain any form of control, as they did in the New Forest, and instead private residents conducted poor law affairs to a considerable extent. It was suggested that private residents in South Stoneham came from similar backgrounds to the magistrates, making ex-officio involvement in the poor law administration superfluous. This suggestion is confirmed by the discovery through probate valuations that private residents were likely to be considerably more wealthy than their rateable valuations suggested. This is in contrast to the parochial boards of South Stoneham, where private residents were not able to control events and where Southampton's party politics

intruded.

In the New Forest the confirmed wealth of private residents adds to the picture of a cohesive gentry which acted in concert to control the poor law, and other aspects of the Forest's administration, notably the various commoners' organisations (29). The motive for ex-officio involvement in the New Forest was in part party political, but primarily to maintain the power of the gentry, in particular through protecting their tenants from rating increases. Also since farmers are revealed as a group wealthy in terms of land, but not in terms of the probate value of their estates, it is all the more likely that they were a group whom landlords were anxious to protect from high rates in periods of depression. Farmers who left relatively little to their heirs in comparison with the rateable value of the land they had farmed, were less likely to have had plentiful cash with which to pay the rates.

CONCLUSION - OCCUPATIONS AND WEALTH

The comparison between the Boards of Guardians and other local representative institutions in rating terms illustrates an aspect insufficiently revealed by the occupational analysis, namely an assessment of the social stratum of guardians as opposed to other representatives. Representatives on most local organisations in South Hampshire had rateable valuations generally above the average figure for assessments, with magistrates as the most wealthy in most cases. Those attracted to local office, and particularly those who became magistrates, councillors or guardians, were therefore an elite rather than a representative group. Both these researches and the comparison with the census indicate that guardians were rarely in subordinate positions. This applies even in the later period, when the passing of the 1894 Local Government Act might have led to more working men coming forward. More poorer guardians were recruited, particularly in Southampton, but the numbers were not sufficient to constitute a major bloc on the Board, or to change policy even if

they had wished to do so. At the same time, there were significant numbers of guardians, particularly after 1894, who were close enough in terms of wealth to the poor to feel the antagonism described by Crossick (30), and the continuance of policies that tended to place economy before reform is understandable.

Guardians who served on rural boards tended to be wealthier in South Hampshire than their urban colleagues, but in suburban areas there were some wealthy private residents who played a central and influential role in South Stoneham's poor law administration, particularly given the absence of ex-officio involvement. In the New Forest similarly private residents and the landed gentry were actively and closely involved, from motives that were in part traditional, in part party political, but which also probably were connected with commoners' politics in the Forest.

How do the findings of these researches relate to those of others who have worked in this field? While a number of historians have looked at the identity of local councillors, fewer have done the same for the poor law guardians. Geoffrey Crossick in his study of Kentish London saw election to Boards of Guardians as indicative of social standing (31). These chapters have shown that for all three boards the guardians were to a considerable extent an elite group. This is particularly the case in the two rural unions in terms of occupation and wealth. In Southampton there were many wealthy guardians, but there were also larger numbers here on lower valuations. Clearly in the city being a guardian did not carry the same cachet as did election to the council, but in the rural areas where there were fewer competing authorities, the guardians had considerable local power and membership was valued accordingly.

In terms of occupation a study of the Tynemouth guardians from 1834 onwards has shown how people involved in the main industrial concern - coal - dominated the board, giving way later to shopkeepers and

small businessmen. Much the same was said of Lancashire (32). In this later period the main economic concern of the New Forest and, to an extent, South Stoneham, namely land, was strongly represented, but manufacturing concerns in Southampton did not occupy a dominating position. However, small businessmen of various types were frequently guardians in the town, with publicans, professionals and private residents. Shopkeepers, identified by E.P. Hennock as the stalwarts of municipal representation by the 1870s, were also in a strong position in Southampton (33). In rural unions farmers, quarry owners, innkeepers and landowners' representatives became guardians in Lancashire, while Anne Digby, in her studies of the poor law in rural Norfolk also identified the farmers as the chief group from whom guardians were drawn, with some agricultural labourers and women elected after 1894 (34). In South Hampshire the farmers were certainly active but the control of the local gentry and private residents was too strong to permit the election of many working men or women. The present study has also laid more emphasis than others have on the role played by the local gentry and other groups who had the leisure increasingly necessary for poor law administration.

Who, then, were the guardians of South Hampshire? They have been revealed here as a mixed group in occupation terms, not totally representative in occupation or wealth of the areas from which they came. For many of them the influence the board of guardians could have upon personal prosperity was an important factor in prompting them to become guardians. Although in the city the competition from other institutions meant that the Board of Guardians recruited in part from the less wealthy, in the rural unions the guardians were also frequently individuals of considerable wealth and local prestige. Although the number of poorer representatives grew after 1894, the increasing involvement of the often wealthy private residents in poor law administration indicates that the erosion of confidence in the poor law nationally during the 1900s was not affecting the social standing of representatives it attracted in the local area (35).

The evidence from this study indicates that in South Hampshire between 1870 and 1914 the administration of the poor law was a fulfilling and recognisably responsible function in local society, with strong and important links with local politics, recruiting in the suburban and rural areas substantially from many of society's leaders as its administrators.

CONCLUSION

There have been a number of studies in recent years made of the way in which the New Poor Law was operated at local levels (1). Many have been concerned with the years immediately after 1834, others have covered the entire operative span in one Union from 1834 until the late 1930s. The result has been to demonstrate the variety of styles of administration that were possible, despite the attempts of the Local Government Board and its predecessors to achieve uniformity in the dispensation of relief. How does South Hampshire fit into the picture that is gradually being assembled concerning the overall patterns of administration? To what extent was there a uniform system of poor relief as borne out by the policies adopted in these three poor law areas and others that have been the subject of local studies? What factors relating to the three unions concerned made for differing policies and practices on the part of the three Boards of Guardians?

There were a number of features of the nineteenth century poor law which meant that an individual requesting relief was dealt with within a recognizable framework regardless of the Board of Guardians to which he presented himself. The poor law was administered according to a national law, passed in 1834 and amended on a number of subsequent occasions (2), and supplemented by Circulars issued by the central authority which had the force of law (3). Even though Southampton operated for most of the period under the terms of its Local Act, it was effectively governed by the same rules and regulations that applied to 1834 Unions and under the supervision, although not the control, of the LGB. In the area of financial policy this was carried to the lengths of threatening to surcharge guardians who failed to adhere to the letter of the law (4). This study has shown how the supervision of the Local Government Board during the period concerned was increasingly detailed (5), that its Inspector was energetic and conscientious in insisting upon the implementation of the Board's wishes, although the LGB was frequently frustrated by the guardians over details. Further, in major and expensive areas of policy

he was eventually able successfully to insist that his wishes were carried through (6). From 1868 annual conferences were held to co-ordinate policy, and locally efforts were made throughout the period to establish a unified policy in the treatment of vagrants in order to discourage tramps attracted by the prospect of casual work in Southampton (7). Economic circumstances which affected the whole country to greater or lesser degrees, such as the depression of the 1880s and the unemployment of the 1900s, resulted in pressure upon many urban Boards of Guardians which strained their institutions and revenue. Similarly changing opinions nationally regarding suitable treatment for the deserving poor resulted in a climate in which many boards created more compassionate regimes for the sick, the aged and workhouse children, developments encouraged by the growth in radical politics during the period, particularly the emergence of New Liberalism and of the left wing parties.

The Local Context of Poor Law Administration in South Hampshire

Despite all these pressures for uniformity, however, the poor law was administered by locally elected guardians and therefore a considerable variety of administrative systems emerged. In the early years covered by this study, some unions implemented the crusade against the able bodied poor with alacrity, in others it had scarcely any effect (8). Later even within London alone in the 1890s and 1900s, restrictive unions such as Whitechapel, St. George's in the East and Stepney, existed in close proximity to the Poplar Board of Guardians who represented the opposite extreme (9). Elsewhere guardians in Glasgow and Gateshead, for example, adopted strict relief policies during these years (10), while those of Wincanton were confronted with fewer problems and could afford to be more relaxed (11). An investigation such as the present one which is based upon three localities is bound to expose aspects of local individuality which meant that the poor law was administered differently and the administrative machinery was used for different purposes by the guardians. To a considerable extent the

individual nature of the poor law administration in the separate unions studied was the result of the differing local contexts, economic, political and social, in which it operated.

Although Southampton was not an important industrial town, it nevertheless had a number of distinctive features which meant that its pauper problems were at times acute. It was a major port and most of those in poverty were substantially dependent upon one major source of casual employment, and upon the vagaries of trade, with attendant problems of migrant labour for the poor law authorities. Although it was not affected by depression in the 1880s as much as were other towns, in the years after 1900 there was considerable unemployment. South Stoneham provided a meeting place for rural and urban economic patterns. This union was primarily agricultural in 1834, but by the 1870s Southampton was spreading beyond its borders so that Portswood was included as part of the Southampton Board of Health's responsibilities. It contained areas where there was a great deal of poor housing and employment was dependent upon the shipbuilding industry; other villages were fast becoming suburbs of Southampton or urban centres in their own right, such as Eastleigh, with rural parishes remaining to the east. By the 1900s pauperism in the union had ceased to be a matter of routine administration and resources, as in Southampton, were increasingly stretched as unemployment in the urban parishes became more pressing. To this extent the problems presented to the Southampton and South Stoneham guardians were by these years similar ones, and they reacted in similar ways, with outdoor relief growing out of control in the early 1900s as unemployment increased. In the New Forest, however, the situation was very different from either Southampton or the later years of South Stoneham. This was an almost completely rural area which owed little, except in its eastern fringe, to its proximity to the port. Traditional patterns of agricultural life persisted, and pauperism was a minor problem, dealing increasingly with the aged, and subject to few of the stresses of its more urban neighbours.

respect to deal with its growing pauper problem than was its Southampton neighbour. In South Stoneham the urban area was expanding rapidly, and with it the overall rateable value of the union, so that rates did not have to rise markedly to pay for increased levels of pauperism (12). South Stoneham's poor law administration was rarely controversial, no doubt to a considerable extent for this reason. In Southampton, however, the rateable value was largely complete for most of the period under study, and therefore extra revenue could not be anticipated from the building of more housing. Instead the guardians had to cope with a growing problem of unemployment and pauperism from finite resources. As a result rates increased markedly over the period (13) and the Southampton Board of Guardians was the subject of greater controversy and scrutiny than either of the other two which have been the subject of this study.

Politically the organisation of the three areas were markedly different. Southampton was actively politicised, with the major parties well-organised and evenly balanced. Their rivalries had clear implications for the poor law administration, if not necessarily for poor law policy, in a number of areas, some peripheral to the poor law, others, such as religion, teetotalism and patronage, central. It was also governed by a Local Act which meant that the magistrates and councillors of Southampton could interfere with the guardians' affairs until 1894 in a way not permitted in boroughs governed by the 1834 Act, and these powers were used extensively to promote local party advantage (15). The power to dispense patronage has been identified by both Derek Fraser and Norman McCord as crucial elements in politicising the poor law (16), and in Southampton it was easier for party leaders to do so than in most other urban unions because of the special provisions of the Local Act. In South Stoneham and the New Forest party was never an explicit issue for the Board of Guardians, but the parliamentary electorate almost always elected Conservative MPs, which in South Stoneham meant that the primarily Conservative Board of Guardians was likely to form a bastion against the growing radicalism of some of the urban parishes. In the New Forest the issue of party was complicated by a

unique New Forest politics necessitated by the extensive forest area, the need to negotiate with the crown administrators and the requirement to administer common rights (17), and the elite of the New Forest wished to maintain its dominance through control of all these institutions.

The social background of the three poor law areas and of the guardians themselves has also been shown by this study to have been of considerable importance. The New Forest was a union in which traditional patterns of social organisation persisted (18). The gentry, who were numerous and also wealthy (19) were able to maintain to a considerable extent the traditional habits of control which had disappeared elsewhere (20). The Board of Guardians and Sanitary Board, and later Rural District Council, as the only agencies of local government, were the focus of community interest for social and financial reasons, and possibly also to an extent, party political. In South Stoneham, the absence of such traditional patterns in an area where the economic and demographic structure was changing rapidly, was also to have significant implications for the composition of the Board, in that ex-officios were rarely involved, and instead elected private residents, often of a similar background to the local magistrates, maintained a considerable representation on the Board. In Southampton control in the interests of party politics was exercised by the magistrates and councillors of the town over the Board of Guardians until 1894 through the unique provisions of the Local Act, while after this date the Board remained an important focus of party rivalry, both in terms of issues and elections (21).

In all three poor law areas the identity of individuals who became guardians had a considerable effect on their attitudes to poor law administration. Unlike some northern industrial unions, the Southampton Board was not dominated by any one economic interest (22), but instead a wide range of occupational groups were represented, including those shopkeepers traditionally found on local representative institutions in nineteenth century Britain, but their numbers were decreasing. In

the rural union, in common with many others (23), farmers and the landed gentry, the major economic interest, were in a considerable majority. In some cases matters of policy were directly related to the occupations of guardians, such as the concern of licensed victuallers to frustrate the temperance campaign (24). Other occupational groups, such as shopkeepers, manufacturers or multiple property owners - builders or estate agents - were likely to be more affected by rate increases than other representatives. Farmers, whose landed property made them especially vulnerable to high rating assessments, were also invariably concerned for the level of the rates (25). More broadly, private residents, particularly in the New Forest and South Stoneham played a central role in poor law administration throughout the period, a role which, given the expanding nature of the task, they were one of the few occupation groups able to fill (26). In the New Forest this resulted in the local gentry effectively controlling the policy of the Board, as they also appear to have controlled the choice of guardians, and it has been argued that this control was important to them both economically and socially (27).

A further aspect of the background of individuals who became guardians which has been shown to be significant is that of wealth (28). Guardians were likely to be more wealthy in the rural areas than in the town, particularly in the New Forest, but in all three areas the majority of guardians were of above average wealth as measured by rateable value, confirming Crossick's classifying boards of guardians amongst "elite committees" (29). However, in all three areas guardians were elected in significant numbers from amongst the poorest rateable value groups and it has been argued that this was to have the effect of reinforcing the guardians' preference for economical policies (30). In the years after 1894 more poorer guardians were elected while the strain imposed upon the poor law through rising unemployment in South Stoneham and Southampton increased. The policies of the guardians in both these unions, resistant to expensive change and penny pinching, particularly in outdoor relief and in providing for the unemployed, exemplifies the extent to which, as McCord, has shown and which the works

of Crossick and Waller have illustrated, poorer guardians were unlikely to favour increased spending (31). The only exception to this has been shown to be the slow and gradual improvement in treatment of the deserving poor in Southampton from the 1890s (32).

The greater understanding that has been acquired during this study as to the backgrounds of individual guardians and other representatives has also clarified the wider role of the guardians in local society. Thus, the study has shown how the part played by local boards of guardians in South Hampshire was very much broader than simply that of the administration of poor relief to local paupers. They performed a number of other functions relating to local party rivalry and the maintenance of a traditional social order.

THE BOARDS OF GUARDIANS AND LOCAL SOCIETY

The issue as to whether or not Boards of Guardians were a means of social control, in the sense of magistrates and the gentry manipulating the boundaries of unions and controlling policy, has been the matter of considerable debate. Brundage has suggested that in 1834 and afterwards unions were established according to the wishes of the local gentry, who subsequently controlled policy to maintain their authority in these areas (33). Others have disagreed, maintaining that the gentry's interest in the administration of the poor law was shortlived after 1834. In many unions this was the case, so that for example, in Norfolk and Sunderland magistrates took little interest in poor law administration. In Houghton-le-Spring and Wincanton however, both rural unions, the local gentry remained influential throughout the century, while in Hexham and Tyneside their employees and tenants were elected guardians (34). Derek Fraser, in criticising Brundage's case, maintained that "in many Unions magistrates took no interest at all" and that such interest rarely survived long after the setting up of the 1834 unions (35). He also wrote that it was Brundage's choice of area, Northampton, where there was "an unusually high

concentration of aristocratic landowners", and his focussing upon the early years of the New Poor Law, which meant that his example was "atypical". Yet this study has shown how ex-officio control was maintained in the New Forest into the 1890s, a considerably later date than the early years described by Brundage. Admittedly this was also a union where there was a high concentration of gentry, and where the institutional background offered other avenues for such control.

It is very likely that in the New Forest the Board of Guardians was used as a means of social control. All the New Forest ex-officio guardians before 1894, and substantial numbers of the elected guardians throughout the period, were members of the New Forest gentry (36). The New Forest possessed a complex governing structure unique in South Hampshire where the Court of Verderers and the pressure groups associated with it reinforced the power of the local gentry. The continued position of the New Forest landowners depended upon them protecting their tenants in times of depression and the rate-making powers of the Guardians were an essential element in this (37). It was not therefore paupers and the poor who were the sole objects of control, although regulation of pauperism in the interest of lower rates involved this, but tenants, elected guardians and those who voted in local and parliamentary elections, in order that the traditional structure of New Forest society might be maintained, even after 1894. Gentry control of the nomination of guardians reinforced the control exercised over the Board, and it is clear that in the case of Eling in the 1890s, determined and successful efforts were made to keep urban radicals off the Board (38). In addition the electoral boundaries and numbers of representatives were manipulated in order that property and rural parishes might continue to be over-represented, against the spirit of the Local Government Act to preserve gentry authority (39).

The Board of Guardians and Party Politics

In his critique of Brundage, Fraser has pointed out that in "in mixed counties with their plurality of

interests and urbanised counties ... the opportunities for unchallenged landed domination were far less" (40), and this has been borne out by the South Hampshire example. However, in South Stoneham and Southampton the position of the Boards of Guardians meant that they could be used for political ends beyond those of poor law administration. In South Stoneham, although local society was no longer organised on the New Forest model, if it ever had been, in its place a non-landed group of private residents and retired service officers attempted to perform a similar function, but with the interests of the Conservative party at heart (41). This was in contrast to the parochial boards of South Stoneham which were run by very different individuals (42) and where radicals and later Labourites had much more success in obtaining membership. These boards were occupied with controversial local issues requiring expensive solutions, and consequently attracted overt party activity. In South Stoneham no attempts were made by ex-officios to control the Board of Guardians. Instead it was left to its own devices, partly because before 1894 South Stoneham poor law administration was non-controversial in rating terms and also in terms of policy, dealing with a manageable degree of pauperism in a situation of growing rateable values (43), but also because the private residents of South Stoneham were of the same background as the magistrates. The opportunities for social control did not exist in South Stoneham as they did in the New Forest (44).

In Southampton the vestry election system in existence before 1894 did not favour property to the same degree as did the ballot in the 1834 unions (45). Nevertheless, Southampton institutions, particularly the magistrates, Council and Guardians were the preserve of elite groups who intended that they should remain so (46). Working class representatives were to be feared for the effect it was thought they might have upon pauper policy and also the rates, particularly those charged to commercial interests. The town had an established tradition of working class radicalism and the introduction of potentially mass voting in 1894, rather than the old, small vestry groups was guarded against, as in the two unions, in the construction of electoral districts that

favoured property rather than populations (47). To this extent, therefore, the elite of Southampton were also, as they were in the New Forest, manipulating the poor law electoral machinery to achieve their own ends, and a similar phenomenon was seen in both South Stoneham and the New Forest. Such policies clearly made it much more difficult for Southampton's Labourite (and other left wing) candidates to be elected to the Incorporation Board. Although there were more poorer guardians after 1894 than before and the power of the ex-officios was destroyed, it is clear that there was little danger of an over-turning of previous policies, which continued much as before. Elections remained primarily battles between the two old parties before 1914 although policy softened towards the deserving poor.

The Boards of Guardians also provided an arena in which local politicians could attempt to further party political and other local ambitions in both Southampton and South Stoneham. In Southampton the Board attempted to preserve the fiction that it operated outside party considerations, except when the poor law conflicted with entrenched beliefs, such as temperance or religion, and when new guardians were apportioned went to considerable trouble to ensure that the party balance was maintained (48). Determined efforts to maintain a non-party poor law administration were also seen by Pat Ryan in East London, particularly in the unions of Stepney and Whitechapel, but the present study has shown that an absence of party labels at elections does not necessarily denote a lack of party involvement (49). Rather the study has served to support Fraser's assertion that the parties viewed the local poor law administration as an integral part of the competition that existed between them within other local institutions (50). Rivalry between the two major parties was firmly established in Southampton, and although politics was rarely mentioned at elections it was a crucial factor in determining their outcome (51). Partisan rivalry in Southampton poor law elections was not directed at acquiring a majority on the Board of Guardians, but at achieving success elsewhere. Pat Ryan observed the same phenomenon in East London, with poor law elections seen as a dress rehearsal for the

parliamentary (52). The Incorporation board provided a forum in which local party rivalries could be exploited as a means of cementing party advantage for the council and parliamentary elections. As a result elections were important measures of party success, particularly in key parishes such as All Saints and St. Mary's, which controlled the majority of council seats. Between elections Southampton magistrates and councillors used the powers granted them under the Local Act to dispense patronage according to party membership, a power that was greatly prized and used to the utmost (53). After 1894 powers of patronage were still used extensively to distribute favours to the party faithful.

Yet the Board was not simply operating in a context established by other, more important local institutions. It was valued in the town as an institution in its own right, and the evidence shows that it was thought to have an important role to play right up to 1914. Although party tension on the Board waxed and waned, it was as keen at times in the later years as it was in the earlier, and the truce that existed in Council party politics in the 1880s was not reflected to the same degree on the Board of Guardians. Although service as a guardian was seen by some as an apprenticeship for councillors, the traffic was by no means one way, and in later years more councillors became guardians than the other way round (54). Numbers of voters increased at the guardians' elections and, although contests were less frequent than for council elections (55), the Board had its own party political issues, such as the concern for religious provision at the workhouse, the battle over temperance, the problem of commercial rating, the building of the Infirmary, and a party profile which did not totally reflect that of the Council (56). The control of the Board by the two parties changed more frequently than did that of the Council, and the Liberals tended to dominate the Board while the Conservatives more often formed the majority on the Council. This may have been because of the Liberal identification with economical policies, but it was also because in 1878 Liberals acquired a stronger representation on the Board through extra seats being awarded to St. Mary's. Later the Liberals were able to

stay in power on the Board because Labourite groups preferred to challenge for Council seats rather than those for the Guardians (57). The Board was clearly not seen by left-wingers as a priority, and although paupers acquired a formidable champion in the SDF guardian T. Lewis, elected in 1905, more moderate left-wingers preferred an intermittent campaign from outside the Board for reforms, along the lines of those later advocated by the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws 1905-9. This is far from the situation discovered by Pat Ryan in some parishes in East London, where radical Liberals and labour movements tended to increase interest in poor law elections (58). Similarly, in West Ham and Poplar it was "radical guardians and philanthropic women" who responsible for pioneering changes from within Boards of Guardians after 1894 (59). Southampton did, it is true, have some female guardians who interested themselves particularly in the cases of women and children.

In the two unions party politics was not obviously present either at elections or at meetings, but it was nevertheless an important element in local attitudes to the poor law. The role of the South Stoneham guardians in support of Conservatism locally has already been described. In the New Forest, where there was a less strong Liberal presence locally than in South Stoneham, but where paradoxically the Liberals won the general election of 1906, the local magistrates and landowners performed the same function in the interests of continuing gentry control. This would appear to have been less important to them than maintaining Conservative party supremacy. The Conservatives' position was very strong locally (60) and most guardians whose politics are known were Conservatives, but there are also examples of Liberals being sponsored in the New Forest by Conservatives in both local elections and also those for the Verderers (61), and it seems likely that it was class rather than exclusively party which was the motivating factor here.

POOR LAW POLICYThe Administration of the Poor Law in South Hampshire

None of the guardians of South Hampshire could be classed as innovators of policy. They were conservative in almost every respect, guardians of the rates for the most part rather than guardians of the poor. However, while they were unimaginative in their conduct of policy they were not needlessly oppressive (62), although the Southampton and South Stoneham guardians joined the crusade against outdoor relief with alacrity in the 1870s, and failed to spend more upon indoor relief, as the LGB intended. This was not the case in all unions (63), but supports the generally accepted view that the crusade in the way it was put into operation, although not as it was envisaged by the central authority, was purely repressive. It was implemented rapidly rather than gradually, particularly in South Stoneham, affecting indoor as well as outdoor paupers equally and failing to discriminate between deserving and non-deserving applicants (64). From the mid-1880s South Hampshire indoor relief costs showed a slow but, by the 1890s, a steady tendency to rise faster than indoor pauper numbers, indicating that more money if not automatically better conditions was being provided.

The tendency to move away from deterrent principles nationally towards policies of greater humanity in the treatment of the deserving is confirmed in the poor law regimes of South Hampshire (65). Towards the end of the period the guardians of Southampton in particular moved towards more enlightened policies, partly as a result of the efforts of the Local Government Board and its experienced local inspector. As a consequence in Southampton new accommodation was provided for the sick and gradual changes were achieved in the treatment of the aged and of pauper children. However, Southampton was still slower than some other Unions (66) to separate the aged and children from other paupers (although in Sunderland in 1909 as in Southampton children were still accommodated in the workhouse (67) and their outdoor relief levels in the early 1900s were clearly inadequate

(68). Nor did they take any initiative to provide more relief than the minimum for the unemployed, but in this they were not exceptional. In Tynemouth also, where there was considerable unemployment at this time, the guardians refused to involve themselves in the plight of the unemployed, other than to relieve destitution (69), and the same was true in other north-eastern unions (70). For major changes requiring considerable expenditure, the Southampton guardians had to be pushed and cajoled into taking action by the LGB.

In South Stoneham and in the New Forest policies of even greater conservatism were pursued. The New Forest was fortunate in not having an acute pauper problem at any time between 1870 and 1914, and considerations of pauper welfare were generally not allowed to interfere greatly with the pursuit of economy, an order of priorities shared by all ranks of local society. The New Forest guardians found themselves criticised on a number of occasions by the LGB Inspector and the local press for unimaginative and at times unhygienic conditions of indoor relief (71). Nevertheless, in the New Forest most paupers were catered for outside the workhouse by relief committees composed of local guardians, a practice which suited local farmers and the guardians in enabling them to keep down the rates, which the LGB Inspector saw as lax administration and likely to encourage leniency on the part of the guardians (72). The New Forest guardians no doubt thought themselves humane because most of their paupers were relieved outside the workhouse, and it was compassionate to allow elderly paupers, who increasingly made up the majority of New Forest paupers, to remain in their homes. Nevertheless, both indoor and outdoor relief levels in the New Forest increased more slowly than they did in Southampton or South Stoneham, while costs per pauper head fell over the period (73), and it is unlikely therefore that the New Forest paupers were receiving adequate relief. New Forest guardians retained until late in the period the concept of less-eligibility in relation to deserving paupers (74).

In South Stoneham the impression is of a well-run but strict union in the 1870s and 1880s which gradually became

overwhelmed by the vastly increasing levels of pauperism of the 1890s and 1900s, a not uncommon phenomenon for unions given the unemployment of these years. The same occurred in Southampton. The retired service officers and private residents who were the backbone of the Board had a manageable task in the earlier years, which they carried out in rigid adherence to LGB principles. The "crusade" against outdoor relief was implemented somewhat too strictly for some local residents (75), the guardians also saw no reason to encourage innovations in policy such as the boarding out of children or the sending of them to non-workhouse schools (76). The Union's gradual transformation into a predominantly suburban and urban area by the turn of the century began to put pressures on the board which became acute after 1900. A full house made any workhouse test impossible, and outdoor pauper numbers grew increasingly out of control until Portswood and Shirley were removed and given to Southampton. When judged on grounds of humanity, the South Stoneham guardians attracted praise from the LGB Inspector for the way they ran their workhouse and for the conditions therein (77) although their policies were not particularly enlightened for the most part. They also maintained the maximum number of paupers on outdoor relief, which would have been humane but for the fact that their relief rates were lower than in either of the other two unions. Nevertheless, they made extensive use of the clauses in LGB Orders which permitted outdoor relief in disguised form to the able bodied, as did the guardians of Southampton, and their policies towards female paupers were lenient.

The present study provides further confirmation of the persistence of outdoor relief after 1834 (78). By 1871 12.6% of all paupers nationally were receiving relief inside workhouses (79). In South Hampshire this figure was 16.6%, and national trends are further supported by the fact that during the crusade against outdoor relief more than three quarters of paupers were still relieved outside the workhouse (80), even though in South Hampshire outdoor relief to the able bodied was pared to a minimum (81). Of the three unions, the New Forest consistently had the smallest percentage of paupers inside its

workhouse and Southampton the most.

To what extent does this study indicate that a uniform system of poor relief was administered in South Hampshire? In many respects the answer must be that paupers in South Hampshire could expect similar treatment regardless of union, and that treatment was uniformly conservative and for the most part unprogressive. All three unions implemented the crusade against outdoor relief in the 1870s, applying its precepts to indoor relief as well (82). In South Stoneham the conditions in which an indoor pauper was relieved were likely to be better than in the other two unions at the beginning of this survey, but at the same time an outdoor pauper was likely to receive less generous relief. In all three unions male able bodied applicants were increasingly unlikely to receive outdoor relief, but at the same time the guardians were prepared to include them under the "temporarily disabled" category. In the New Forest (83) relief appears to have been less generous in the middle years of this study at a time of agricultural depression, but in Southampton during the same period relief levels fell, and expenditure per pauper head increased later with the ending of the crusade in the later 1880s. In the New Forest, by the 1900s, the majority of paupers were aged, but in Southampton and South Stoneham other classes of pauper still accounted for most of their numbers (84). It was economic depression and unemployment which was to place the system under acute strain in South Stoneham and Southampton in the 1900s, with the result that many paupers found themselves receiving outdoor relief in these two areas because there was no space for them in the workhouses, while the New Forest always had fewer paupers inside its workhouse than the other two areas. Conditions in the South Stoneham workhouse appear to have deteriorated, although some improvements gradually occurred in the treatment of indoor paupers from the 1890s, and it was in Southampton that the treatment was the most progressive, and that not greatly so. It was only in Southampton that an Infirmary was built for the treatment of the sick. Workhouse children in all three areas received a raw deal in the way the guardians ignored reforms being

put into practice elsewhere.

In all three unions there was a common attitude to the priority given to economical administration, and each board of guardians attempted to guard their independence in resisting the LGB's efforts to bring about improvements in pauper care (although not to reduce costs during the crusade against outdoor relief) and in the case of Southampton, those of the COS to interfere with policy. Differences in treatment lie in the details of relief statistics - South Stoneham was the least generous in its rates of outdoor relief (85), but a pauper who applied for relief in this union was more likely to receive it outdoors than he was in Southampton or the New Forest. In Southampton the size of the pauper problem was much greater than in its neighbours, and the quality of care in comparison with South Stoneham in the early years was not high but the improvements in standards later apparently greater than in the other two workhouses.

The Pre-eminence of Economy

In all three unions the paramount concern was for the level of the rates. The South Hampshire guardians were at one with most of the other unions in this respect, but not all unions interpreted the need for economy as inimical to innovation (86). In South Hampshire, where the crusade of the 1870s was implemented with vigour (87), change was delayed for as long as possible in the interests of economy. The Southampton guardians decided to reject the COS attempt to regulate relief and charity, but on account of its criticisms and interference, rather than because they disagreed with attempts to save money. Rather in Southampton relief levels remained low despite the fact that the COS encouraged appropriate and sometimes more generous relief to fewer, and deserving paupers. The lack of success of the COS in South Hampshire coincides with the findings of other local studies, in that the Society was not successful in the north-east either, except in a few small unions. Pat Ryan has found it establishing control in some East London unions, while it also was

influential in a few rural unions, such as Bradfield and Brixworth but in general its impact has been described as "slight" (88).

Clearly there was little pressure at any point from the electorate for innovation, and investigations in this study as to the background and wealth of guardians have shown that their personal circumstances frequently reinforced their preference for economical administration in local government (89). Certain groups amongst the ratepayers of South Hampshire had particular interests in keeping the rates down. These included all poor ratepayers, on whose behalf Ratepayers' Parties were active, but also occupation groups such as landowners, farmers, builders and estate agents. While guardians were unlikely in most cases to serve in order to reduce their own individual rates (although Mr. Andrews in the New Forest was an exception(90)), their backgrounds, with much of their personal wealth located in rated property, were likely to reinforce their disinclination to spend more than was necessary upon the poor. To pursue economical policies energetically and prominently was a sure route to local political advancement as county councillors (91), and Liberals in particular, although not exclusively, have been identified with economy as an election platform in Southampton (92).

Liberalism and Economy were natural bedfellows. In the early years Gladstonian principles of low taxation applied equally to local rates as to national revenue, while the party's poorer supporters in Southampton, particularly in St. Mary's, demanded that the rates be kept down. It is important not to make too much of a party political connection with the issue, in that Conservatives presided over reductions in expenditure, and in the two unions Conservative dominated boards maintained economical principles throughout the period. Nevertheless, in Southampton individual Liberals tended to have a greater identification with economical policies, including teetotalism and the supervision of workhouse contracts (93). At the same time Liberals are also identified with rating policies that attempted to take pressure off private ratepayers by ensuring that

businesses bore their due share of the rates, particularly large concerns such as the Dock Company and public houses (94). It is probably more than coincidence that Liberals in Southampton tended to be either wealthy or rather poorer than Conservatives, who occupied the middle bands in rateable wealth (95). With many party activists coming from the ranks of the less well-off party identification with economy was to be expected. After 1894 more guardians of average or lower rateable values were elected, many of them Liberals, and the Board's anxiety not to spend money was maintained. Nevertheless, in these later years the purse-strings were loosened in all three unions to an extent (96). Much of the pressure for this was irresistible, however, resulting from the huge increases in unemployment in Southampton and South Stoneham in the years after 1900 and pressure on workhouse space.

However, the Southampton Liberal party in the later years of this study was anxious to publicise its concern for humane policies for the deserving (97). Its actual record in this regard is less impressive, particularly in Liberal opposition, despite the moving pleas of the Inspector, to the building of the Infirmary. The Liberals clearly found it politically unacceptable to contemplate spending major sums and it was left to the Conservatives to carry the measure through. The Liberal dilemma indicates the increasing importance of New Liberalism at the local level in Southampton and the need to favour measures that would ensure continued radical support. Although the Labourites, Fabians, ILP and SDF members were not able successfully to maintain a concerted campaign for improvements in pauper conditions in Southampton, their presence as splitters of the Liberal vote meant that the Liberals had to appear to cover the same ground in order to compete for radical support (98). Very few Labourite guardians either stood as candidates or were elected, and thus there was little pressure from within the Board for major reforms. It may well have been the problem of reconciling the Labourite goal of greater spending on the poor, with the fact that under the existing system such spending would inevitably come from those little better able to afford

it, which led those on the left of Southampton's party politics to direct most of their electoral activity at the Council. Nevertheless, increasing radicalism, the central authority and changing national sentiment put pressure on the Liberals locally which was instrumental in bringing about more benevolent attitudes on the part of Liberal guardians. Such attitudes were responsible for the minor alterations in policy which made the life of Southampton's workhouse inmates more tolerable in the years before the First World War. This study has shown the willingness of guardians of all parties in Southampton to deal kindly with deserving paupers from the 1890s in minor policy areas such as, for example, diet, visiting hours and the wearing of paupers' own clothes (99). Nevertheless, such policies hardly denote a wholehearted commitment to pauper welfare, and it is fair to say that the result of any influence on the part of New Liberalism upon Southampton's Liberal guardians was largely cosmetic, and that little substantive change occurred. J.H. Bulmer has shown how the measures of social reform enacted by the Liberal governments between 1906 and 1914 were greeted with minimal enthusiasm in the town (100), and the paucity of major reform measures undertaken during this period by the Liberal majority on the Board of Guardians indicates that they differed little from their fellow citizens in this matter. The problem remained that the guardians of Southampton were dependent upon a finite rating resource. If they wished to improve the condition of Southampton's poor then the money necessary had to come from the pockets of existing ratepayers - unlike central government, they had no new sources of income upon which to draw (101). Their reluctance to follow whole-heartedly down the New Liberal road and provide major improvements in pauper welfare in the years before 1914 is understandable.

Paternalism

If the pursuit of economy and the particular interests of guardians were major factors in encouraging membership and deciding policy, to what extent was a paternalist or ideological concern for pauper welfare important? If the policies and statistics for the

entire 45 years of this study are assessed, then it seems clear that concern for pauper welfare came a poor second to saving the ratepayers' money in Southampton and its neighbours. It would have been exceptional and surprising to find this was not the case, but this does not mean that on an individual level guardians were not motivated by a degree of compassion. In the 1890s in the New Forest, where comparisons of expenditure and pauperism indicate that relief levels became less generous over the years (102), the guardians nevertheless defied the LGB Inspector and continued to have relief committees composed of guardians who knew outdoor paupers personally, which was likely in rural areas and in the opinion of the Inspector to make for lenient relief policies, at least in terms of granting and maintaining relief to individual paupers and pauper families outside the workhouse (103). In urban areas the reverse was the case, and personal knowledge of paupers was encouraged as likely to bring about greater control of relief, as in 1878 when more guardians were granted to St. Mary's parish in Southampton (104). Both in the New Forest and South Stoneham the guardians catered for most of their paupers on outdoor relief, albeit at low and "unrealistic" levels, which appeared more humane since families stayed together in their own homes, although it was by far the cheaper form of relief when compared with the costs of maintaining paupers in the workhouse (105). South Stoneham guardians were also concerned that their paupers should not have to walk too far to the relief office. Increasingly paupers in these unions were the elderly and those in the workhouse were apparently treated kindly by the end of the period.

The climate outside the workhouse occasionally set the scene for more humane treatment. There are a number of instances throughout the survey and reported in the press, of individuals concerned for the well-being of the deserving poor. In the Millbrook elections to the South Stoneham Board in 1878 protests came from successful candidates about the severity of the cuts in outdoor relief (106). In the New Forest there is evidence that some of the gentry accepted the necessity for noblesse oblige, and it is likely that other families

did also. In later years treats and gifts - provided by individuals and by the guardians - are increasingly recorded for the workhouse inmates in all three unions, and policy towards the deserving mellowed in accordance with national opinion and central guidance from the late 1890s (107). This initially affected the elderly, but also the sick and eventually workhouse children. In Southampton a number of guardians were anxious to treat deserving paupers kindly in the 1890s, and tinkering with policy in Southampton eventually saw the elderly, the sick and children all catered for under separate roofs from the old workhouse in conditions that were far removed from those of the 1870s and 1880s.

The Influence of Personal Background on Policy

As has been shown, the occupations of many guardians meant that economical administration was likely to be a priority. Many guardians in addition were drawn from the poorest rateable valuation groups, and therefore in some cases were little wealthier than the poor themselves (108). Others, belonging to higher rateable value groups, were the owners of more than one property and thus were paying multiple rates.

In addition, there were a number of other features relating to the guardians' powers which meant that becoming a guardian could serve individual interest. In the rural New Forest the close relationship between land ownership, the well-being of tenants and the level of the rates meant that landowners, their agents, incumbents, tenants and relatives continued to be closely involved in the poor law at a later date than did ex-officios and the gentry in many other unions (109). The way guardians involved in business in the New Forest used their powers to ensure favourable rateable valuations is a further example (110). Similarly in Southampton and South Stoneham the pursuit of self-interest is seen in aspects of the close attention paid to tendering policies, while licensed victuallers were so concerned to resist the efforts of the temperance campaigners that their numbers amongst the Southampton guardians increased in later years. More broadly, the pursuit of religious

causes, teetotalism and the support of party advantage were also personal concerns which had only a tenuous connection with the administration of workhouses and outdoor relief but which were effectively served by ensuring supporters became guardians (111).

The maintenance of substantially the same policies throughout the years of this study is understandable in view of the type of people who became guardians. Analysis of occupations and wealth through rateable valuations and probates indicates that similar types of individuals held office throughout, always an elite group whose style of living placed them, for the most part, considerably above average ratepayers (112). The balance shifted towards more leisured occupational categories towards the end of the period, partly because of the increased demands of the task (113), partly because in the rural areas farmers tended not to become guardians after the Agricultural Rates Act of 1896 had relieved them of half their rating bills. More private residents became guardians in Southampton and the New Forest, where there were also more landowners amongst elected guardians from 1894, and private residents remained the strongest group in South Stoneham, attending more meetings and serving for longer than other groups (114). It was not from such as these that unorthodox or adventurous alterations in policy were to be expected. Further, while there were more guardians elected from poorer rateable valuation groups in South Stonham and Southampton after 1894, those elected from average or lower than average ratepayers were insufficient to bring about changes. Nor is it clear that they would have wished to do so; as has been shown, living closer to the poor they would not have appreciated greater liberality nor, as poor ratepayers, could they afford it (115). Their concern was clearly for economical policies, although if greater humanity for the deserving could be achieved within the framework of existing rate levels then that was desirable.

The Influence of the Local Government Board

The Local Government Board is seen for most of the

later years of this survey as an initiator of policy and a regulator in the interests of better, more efficient and more humane administration for the deserving. It continued to maintain its opposition locally to relief for the able bodied, so that permission had to be obtained for the outdoor relief of the able bodied by name (116). Its supervision was increasingly close, particularly in financial matters, and its requirement for statistical returns became more and more detailed, and consequently its attempts to erode local independence more thorough (117). Although certain matters were beyond its control, such as workhouse "dietaries" or the composition of relief committees, because its powers did not extend far enough or because of the inertia of the guardians, the Board also succeeded in getting major changes enacted. The chief of these was the building of the Southampton Infirmary at Shirley Warren, but the rationalisation of poor law provision through the annexation of Shirley and Portswood to Southampton was also to an extent the result of LGB policy coinciding with the Southampton Incorporation's interest (118). Baldwyn Fleming, the Inspector for most of the years covered by the study, emerges as an energetic and conscientious civil servant, genuinely concerned not only for efficient administration on principles which clearly distinguished between deserving and undeserving groups of paupers, but also as a true friend of the former (119). Regarding the able bodied, his views reflected those of the LGB as was to be expected, which had changed little since the days of Henry Longley during the crusade of the 1870s, or even those of 1834, that outdoor relief should only be administered to these groups under principles of less-eligibility.

In drawing attention to the work of Baldwyn Fleming this study coincides with that by Lawrence Feehan on Liverpool's poor law, where the LGB Inspectorate played a crucial role in raising standards (120), and disputes the view taken by the Minority Report of the Royal Commission of 1905 - 9 which criticised the Inspectorate, writing "It has failed to get adopted with any thoroughness or uniformity, the authoritative views on the treatment of the sick, the children and the deserving aged to which

the LGB has, since 1895, given repeated utterance" (121). Nevertheless, the generally accepted view that the LGB was powerless to interfere with the local independence of guardians (122) has also found support in South Hampshire in the defiance of the Board in matters such as the Southampton "dietary" or the New Forest relief committees (123), and generally in the patience required by the Inspector in attempting to win the Boards of Guardians over. In Tynemouth it was found that the guardians were able successfully to resist the LGB, but in Houghton-le-Spring and Wincanton guardians usually eventually complied with the Board's instructions.

Poor law policy in South Hampshire has been shown to have been conservative and lacking in startling innovation, increasingly humane on the margins but, particularly in the two unions, anxious to restrict expenditure as much as possible. In adopting such policies it was considerably more reactionary than the most progressive but in keeping with the policies of many other boards. In Southampton the evidence indicates a more enlightened policy concerning details towards the end of the period, but a great reluctance to spend the large sums thought necessary by the LGB to provide adequately for deserving cases.

The greatest area of diversity that has arisen in this study lies not in the administration of relief, but in those functions which the poor law administration carried out in the three areas beyond the operation of the poor law. In the New Forest the gentry used it to help maintain a traditional, threatened social order; in South Stoneham a newer governing group managed to preserve its power and support the Conservative party, while in Southampton party groups used the opportunities given by a unique poor law organisation to impose their own preferences. In Southampton party politics was acknowledged and overt, and the poor law guardians clearly identified partisans, in South Stoneham it is likely that the Conservative party interest was uppermost in the minds of governing groups, but never stated as

such. The Conservative party's position was relatively assured in South Stoneham, as it was in the New Forest. In this area, however, it seems more likely that it was the maintenance of the gentry's position, rather than that of the Conservative party which was uppermost in the minds of magistrates and the landowners and private residents amongst the guardians. In all three areas, therefore, the electoral machinery of the poor law and the Boards of Guardians themselves were used either to reinforce local party aspirations or to support existing social structures.

Perhaps because of the opportunities the poor law administration gave to further party or class interest, there is little evidence of a general decline in support in South Hampshire in the later years before 1914. Certainly the system was under great strain, particularly in Southampton and South Stoneham where unemployment was rising, but it was adapting slowly to the need for change in its treatment of the deserving, while by the end of the period concerned improvements in trade saw a lessening of the problem of able bodied pauperism. Measures such as the Old Age Pensions Act were removing the responsibility for pauperism from the Poor Law, and although this was far from a vote of confidence in the efficiency of the poor law as a means of relieving the destitute, it was likely to be a popular measure locally to relieve the ratepayers by providing for the aged from central funds, rather than the rates. In the turnout at urban elections, the quality of the guardians and the time they were prepared to devote to the task it is clear that although the system was under national attack, it received strong support locally. It would appear that before 1914 in South Hampshire, for a variety of motives, the poor law was seen as a valuable institution performing a number of useful functions, not all of them directly involved in poor law administration.

APPENDIX 1PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION IN SOUTH HAMPSHIRE1870 - 1914Southampton

1868 - 1874	Gurney (C)
	Hoare (L)
1874 - 1878	Gurney (C)
	Perkins (L)
1878 - 1880	Giles (C)
	Perkins (L)
1880 - 1882	Lee (L)
	Butt (L)
1882 - 1885	Lee (L)
	Giles (C)
1885 - 1886	Giles (C)
	Commerell (C)
1886 - 1888	Giles (C)
	Commerell (C)
1888 - 1892	Giles (C)
	Evans (L)
1892 - 1895	Chamberlayne (C)
	Evans (L)
1895 - 1900	Chamberlayne (C)
	Simeon (C)
1900 - 1906	Chamberlayne (C)
	Simeon (C)
1906 - 1910	Phillips (L)
	Dudley Ward (L)
1910 - 1914	Phillips (L)
	Dudley Ward (L)

Appendix 1 (continued)South Hampshire

1868 - 1885 Scott (C)

South Western Division (NF)

1885 - 1892 H. Compton (C)

1892 - 1895 Scott-Montagu (C)

1895 - 1900 Scott-Montagu (C)

1900 - 1905 Scott-Montagu (C)

1905 - 1906 H.F. Compton (C)

1906 - 1910 Hobart (L)

1910 - 1914 Perkins (C)

Southern Division

Fitzwygram (C)

Fitzwygram (C)

Fitzwygram (C)

1900 - 1903

Fitzwygram (C)

1903 - 1906 Lee (C)

Lee (C)

Lee (C)

APPENDIX 2
SOUTHAMPTON PARTY POLITICS

COMPARATIVE VOTING FIGURES FOR POOR LAW & COUNCIL
 ELECTIONS

GUARDIANS' ELECTIONS

1900 April Votes Cast

St. Mary No. 1	972
St. Mary No. 2	896
St. Mary No. 3	757
St. Mary No. 4	699
Total	3,324

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

1899 November Votes Cast

*Newtown	679
Trinity & Nicholls	1471
Town	
St. James & St. Marys	1310
Northam	841
Total	4,301

1903 April

St. Marys No. 1	868
St. Marys No. 4	708
Total	1,576

1903 November

Newtown	652
Northam	741
Total	1,393

1911 April

St. Mary No. 1	2026
St. Mary No. 2	2528
St. Mary No. 3	1495
Portswood	5110
Total	11,159

1910 November

Newtown	1138
Trinity	935
St. Marys	1035
Portswood & St. Denys	1855
Total	4,963

1914 April

St. Marys	1253
Northam	1223
Newtown	1253
Bevois	1669
St. Denys	725
Shirley	602
Freemantle	396
Total	7,152

1913 November

St. Marys	1011
Northam	1083
Newtown	920
Bevois	1142
St. Denys	1128
Shirley	959
Freemantle	820
Total	7,063

Only voting figures for which others are available for comparison, in the same geographical area and in a previous or subsequent year, have been included in this table, although other voting figures are available. The franchise for the Board of Guardians and the Council were the same.

SOURCE: Election Reports in the Southampton Times

Appendix 2 (continued)Interpretation

In every year but one for which a comparison can be made between the Poor Law and Council elections, the guardians polled more votes than the councillors. The exception is the elections of 1900 and 1899. After 1900 the votes cast in the guardians elections increase every year when the same parishes are compared. In 1911 they top those for the Council by a considerable margin. This could have been because by this time poor law elections were held triennially, and the possibility of changing the entire Board attracted more voters, while those for the Council came round in rotation annually. In addition the high figure could reflect the concern of Portswood, given that the parish had been part of the Southampton Union for three years, and there was considerable controversy about the spending of money which had been paid by the South Stoneham Union to Southampton. In 1913/14 when the Board of Guardians and the Council used the same ward divisions in their elections for the first time, the figures are nearly the same.

*Newtown ward was not exactly comparable in geographical area to St. Mary's No. 1, in that part of Bevois ward also came within the St. Mary's No. 1 area. It is not known how many voters would have been involved, but geographically the portion of Bevois included in St. Mary No. 1 was about 25% of the total No. 1 area. Therefore, one might expect the total for St. Mary No. 1 to be approximately 25% higher than that for Newtown.

APPENDIX 3PARTY AFFILIATIONSMethod

It is possible to arrive at an accurate assessment of an individual's political leanings by an accumulation of evidence from a number of sources. Thus membership of party organisations, such as in Southampton the Liberal 200 (established 1879) can be noted, together with lists of attendance at political meetings and of those on the platforms at meetings called in support of municipal and national candidates. A further source in Southampton is the burgess and parliamentary voters revision sessions, held annually in early autumn, and reported in the press.

In Southampton the newspapers were fairly coy for many of the years of this study as to the party politics of the individuals who stood at council and other elections, and it was not until 1911 that the Southampton Times began formally listing all candidates and nominators with their political parties in the run-up to the guardians' elections in the city. However, the paper was much more frank in its leaders and its accounts of party meetings, and it would also announce candidates standing for various parties in accounts of ward meetings, and by these various means it has been possible to ascribe party affiliations for most of the individuals concerned in this study, both guardians and town councillors. Similar methods have been used in the rural areas, using the Hampshire Advertiser with the Southampton Times as sources, although information regarding the rural guardians was far less easily obtainable than in the case of the more politicised town. It is important to mention in this context that the Southampton Times was a Liberal newspaper, and the Hampshire Advertiser a Conservative one, but nevertheless as sources of the party political origins of individuals they have both proved equally informative. On occasions the Liberal Hampshire Independent has also been the source of information.

Appendix 3 (continued)1870 - 1914 Political Affiliations in Southampton

Total elected guardians	224
Political Affiliations Known	196 (87%)
Total elected councillors	276
Political Affiliations Known	255 (92%)
Total Conservatives	77
(34% of total elected guardians) (36%)	
Total Liberals	107
(48% of total elected guardians) (47%)	
Total RPA	5
(2% of total elected guardians) (2%)	
Total Labour/ILP/SDF	7
(3% of total elected guardians) (1%)	
Total Elected before 1894	146
Total Elected after 1894	78
Total Conservatives before 1894	53 (36%)
Total Liberals before 1894	81 (55%)
Total Conservatives after 1894	24 (30%)
Total Liberals after 1894	26 (33%)
Other parties after 1894	12 (15%)

The figures in brackets relate to the same individual Conservatives, Liberals and guardians from other parties calculated in terms of years of service. This was done in order to see whether the number of guardians elected over the 1870 - 1914 period corresponded when calculated on an elected, once-only basis, and on a yearly basis. In fact in none of the three areas was there a significant difference in the figures when calculated on this basis, so it is safe to conclude that the comparative strengths of the various parties when reckoned on a once-only basis is an accurate reflection of the situation.

Appendix 3 (continued)

The success rate in attributing political affiliations for the Southampton Incorporation (and the Council) as these figures demonstrate, has been high. The figures illustrate that the Liberals were the dominant party in terms of numbers elected. However, when the figures are divided at 1894 Liberal strength can be shown to have dropped in subsequent years, while that of the Conservatives remained fairly constant in percentage terms with the pre 1894 figure.

However, the Conservatives did not maintain their strength equally over the later years. They reached their peak in 1894, and maintained a majority over the Liberals until 1899, after which they declined considerably. The Liberals, from a low point in the 1890s, were in the ascendant in the 1900s before declining after 1908.

Appendix 3 (continued)Southampton Board of Guardians - Party Membership for
All Saints and St. Mary's Parishes 1870-1914

Figures represent actual numbers of elected guardians

	<u>All Saints</u>		<u>St. Mary's</u>				
	<u>Lib</u>	<u>Con</u>	<u>Lib</u>	<u>Con</u>	<u>Lab</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>RPA</u>
1870	3	1		2			
1871	3	1		2			
1872	4			2			
1873	3	1		2			
1874	3			2			
1875		4		2			
1876		4		1			
1877		3		1			
1878		4		7			
1879	2	2		8			
1880		2		8			
1881		4		8			
1882	4			8			
1883		4		8			
1884		4		8			
1885		4		8			
1886	1	3		7			
1887	1	3	6			2	
1888	2	2	3	4			
1889	2	2	4	4			
1890	2	2	8				
1891	2	2	8				
1892		4	7	1			
1893		4	1	6			
1894		4	5	7			
1895		3	5	7			
1896		3	7	5			
1897		3	5	7			
1898		3	5	6		1	
1899		3	8	3		1	
1900		3	8	3		1	
1901		3	8	3		1	
1902		3	8	2		1	1
1903		3	8	2		1	1
1904		3	8	2		1	1
1905		3	7	2	1	1	
1906		3	7	3	1	1	
1907		2	8	1	1	2	
1908		2	6	1	2	1	
1909							
1910							
1911	1	2	4	4	2	1	
1912							
1913							
1914	1	2	2	3	1		

Con - Conservative. Lib - Liberal. Lab - Labourite
(including ILP, SDF, Fabian). Ind - Independent. RPA -
Ratepayers.

Elections for the Board of Guardians were
held triennially from 1908.

APPENDIX 4

Similar methods to those used in Southampton to ascribe party affiliations can be used in the New Forest and in South Stoneham, although there has been a lesser success rate here because fewer references are made in the newspapers to these factors. Nevertheless, the politics of a number of guardians is known and are set out below.

1870 - 1914 Political Affiliations in South Stoneham

Total elected guardians	192	
Political affiliations known	82	(42%)
Total Conservatives	69	
(35% of total elected guardians)	(35%)	
Total Liberals	14	
(7% of total elected guardians)	(9%)	
Total elected before 1894	88	
Political affiliations known	52	(59%)
Total Conservatives before 1894	42	
Total Liberals before 1894	10	
Total elected after 1894	104	
Political affiliations known	29	(27%)
Total Conservatives after 1894	18	
Total Liberals after 1894	11	

Although the information is clearly far from complete in the case of South Stoneham, the Conservatives appear to have been the largest party on the Board here, as they were in the New Forest. After 1894 however, the Liberals' figure is over half that of the Conservatives, whereas before it was less than a quarter. This reflects a decline in known Conservative strength rather than an increase in Liberal representation. During this time furthermore, guardians whose politics are known amounted to only 27% of the total Board, and

Appendix 4 (continued)

generally represented the more urban parts of the Union, closer to Southampton. Politics once at the Board were largely immaterial, but mattered more in the urban areas, as they did in Southampton, because they (a) reflected a general party rivalry in these parishes (b) were a facet of the more hotly contested elections for other local bodies, such as School Boards and Local Boards of Health.

APPENDIX 51870 - 1914 Political Affiliations in the New Forest

Total elected guardians 136
 Political Affiliations Known 54 (39%)

Total Conservatives 49
 (36% of total elected guardians) (40%)

Total Liberals 7
 (5% of total elected guardians) (8%)

Total elected before 1894 78
 Political affiliations known 27 (34%)
 Total Conservatives before 1894 25
 Total Liberals before 1894 2

Total elected after 1894 58
 Political affiliations known 29 (50%)
 Total Conservatives after 1894 24
 Total Liberals after 1894 5

Total Ex-Officios 18 (Before 1894 only)

Total Conservative ex-officios 10
 Total Liberal ex-officios 1

The only significant variation when the figures are calculated in terms of years of service is the discrepancy between the 50% of guardians after 1894 whose politics are known, compared with the figure of 28% when their politics are reckoned in terms of the number of years they served as a percentage of the whole.

The evidence therefore is not complete, but tends to confirm the supposition that the Conservative ascendancy in the New Forest as a whole was reflected in the composition of the Board. Furthermore, the Conservative domination was much stronger in the New Forest than it was in South Stoneham on the evidence available. This reflects the way in which Southampton, with its strong Liberal party, affected a number of parishes in South Stoneham (Millbrook, St Mary Extra and Hound), but only that of Ellng, in the New Forest.

APPENDIX 6Voting Figures South Stoneham Union

<u>Year</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Board</u>	<u>Total</u>
		<u>Votes</u>		<u>Votes</u>
		<u>Cast</u>		<u>Cast</u>
1875	Millbrook	3602		
1878			St. Mary Xtra Sch. B.	3207
1879	Millbrook	3810		(458)
	Hound	534		
1882			Shirley LBoH	7264
				(1816)
1883			Shirley LBoH	6801
				(1700)
1884	Botley	279	Hound School Board	857
	South Ston'm	4581		
	Hound	436		
	Millbrook	6700	Shirley LBoH	11890
				(2378)
1886			Shirley LBoH	8681
				(1736)
1887	St. Mary Xtra	1297		
	Hound	483		
1888	South Ston'm	5923		
1889			Shirley LBoH	10195
				(2039)
1892	Millbrook	6686		
	South Ston'm	5851		
	St. Mary Xtra	1146		
1893	Hound	726		
	St. Mary Xtra	1434	St. Mary Xtra Sch. B.	4385
				(626)
	Millbrook	7309	Shirley LBoH	13255
				(2651)

Shirley LBoH - Shirley Local Board of Health

St. Mary Xtra Sch. B. - St. Mary Extra School Board

Figures in brackets indicate the number of electors likely to have voted at these elections, calculated by dividing the total votes cast by the number of places to

Appendix 6 (continued)

be filled on each board, and assuming that each elector used all the votes to which they were entitled.

Franchises differed for these various local institutions. Since the Local Board and the School Board voters had the same number of votes as there were places on the board, it is to be expected that the votes for the latter would be higher than for the guardians before 1894, where each voter had between one vote and 6 according to rateable value (see Chapter 3). Comparisons are rarely possible before 1894 between the local boards and the Board of Guardians because the number of voters cannot be worked out from the votes cast without knowing how many votes each voter had for the latter elections. However, it is worth noting that in 1884 the Hound School Board election attracted 857 voters (this figure comes from the Southampton Times) while the Hound guardians election only had 436 votes cast, and these votes would have come from fewer individuals given the franchise. This was the year in which the Hound voters were trying to resist the building of a new boys' school in Sholing. This evidence therefore would support the view that the voters were more interested in the school board elections than those for the guardians.

The figures show a generally increasing number of votes being cast at successive poor law elections up to 1894, indicating a rising interest generally in local elections, and the same is broadly true of the local boards. It could also be a function of a steadily increasing population, although not of increasing rateable values in that there were apparently no revaluations during this time.

The figures also illustrate some points concerning the Local Board of Health in Shirley. In 1884 the number of voters reached a peak, when the "drainage faction" were defeated - those wanting the expensive solution to Shirley's drainage problems. However, when incorporation within the borough of Southampton loomed in 1893 voting increased still more.

Appendix 6 (continued)

After 1894 direct comparisons are possible when the poor law franchise was changed to the same type as the local boards.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Board</u>	<u>Total</u>
		<u>Votes</u>		<u>Votes</u>
		<u>cast</u>		<u>Cast</u>
1894			Shirley UDC	14489
1898	Shirley	2601	Itchen UDC	8716
1899			Eastleigh UDC	1246
			Itchen UDC	2213
			Woolston School Bd.	9737
1900	Portswood	1553		
1902			Itchen UDC	1973
			St. Mary Xtra Sch.Bd.	709
1904	St.Mary Xtra	1810		
1907	Shirley	1569		
	St.Mary Xtra	2445		
1910	St.Mary Xtra	3374	Itchen UDC	5358
			County Council: Itchen	433
			South Ston'm	588
			Woolston	341
			Hound	536

The electorate's interest in poor law elections relative to those of a local board is illustrated by comparing those for the Shirley UDC of 1894 and those of Shirley parish in 1898 - the latter are approximately two thirds of the former (and those for Shirley UDC in 1894 are less than for the Local Board of Health in 1893). Furthermore, in 1907, the year in which annexation to Southampton and increasing rates were to be decided those voting in Shirley for the poor law elections is less than those who voted in 1898. The newspaper reported that there was very little interest in the election and that before 5 o'clock only eleven people had voted in Millbrook!

Appendix 6 (continued)

Towards the end of the survey there is evidence of greater electoral interest on the part of Itchen voters. In 1904 the numbers voting in the guardians election of St. Mary Extra increased at a time when there was considerable resistance to the building of a new workhouse infirmary, but they are still less than those voting for the School Board in the same parish in 1902. By 1910 however, the numbers voting in the St. Mary Extra guardians' elections have increased again by nearly double. The numbers voting for the Itchen UDC by this time have grown also from a trough in 1899 - 1902, at a time when Labour candidates are beginning to make their presence felt on this board (they had 2 members in 1907 and four in 1908, declining to two again in 1910) This greater interest in local elections generally at this time may be a reflection of local concern at the possibility of increased Labour voters and councillors. There were, however, no Labour guardians before 1914.

APPENDIX 7PERCENTAGE OF ABLE BODIED ADULT PAUPERS ON INDOOR AND
OUTDOOR RELIEF IN RELATION TO TOTAL PAUPERS

	<u>Southampton</u>		<u>South Stoneham</u>		<u>New Forest</u>	
	<u>Outdoor</u>	<u>Indoor</u>	<u>Outdoor</u>	<u>Indoor</u>	<u>Outdoor</u>	<u>Indoor</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1870	19	3	11	1	8	2
1871	15	5	12	1	10	3
1872	17	3	13	1	10	1
1873	15	1	13	1	9	1
1874	15	1	16	1	9	2
1875	14	2	17	1	10	3
1876	19	4	14	1	9	1
1877	9	4	12	1	8	2
1878	11	3	13	1	10	2
1879	10	3	10	1	11	2
1880	12	2	13	1	8	2
1881	13	3	10	2	9	2
1882	12	8	10	3	11	3
1884	10	4	12	2	9	4
1885	10	3	10	1	8	2
1886	11	4	11	2	9	3
1887	15	4	12	2	9	3
1888	11	2	12	1	8	2
1889	13	5	19	1	8	3
1890	10	5	8	1	6	3
1891	10	6	10	1	8	3
1892	9	7	10	1	9	2
1893	9	6	8	2	7	0
1894	9	7	9	2	7	3
1895	9	7	9	2	7	3
1896	9	7	8	1	4	3
1897	11	8	9	1	4	3
1898	11	10	9	1	7	4
1899	8	7	9	1	4	2
1900	6	9	11	1	4	3
1901	7	8	14	1	4	2
1902	7	8	11	1	4	2
1903	6	8	11	1	5	3
1904	9	3	12	1	4	1
1905	8	4	12	1	4	0
1906	9	4	13	1	4	0
1907	9	4	13	1	5	0
1908	7	4	9	1	4	1
1909	9	4	8	2	4	2
1910	9	2	8	2	5	0
1911	7	2	13	2	7	5
1912	6	2	10	2	7	5
1913		2		1		4
1914		1		2		2

Source: Parliamentary Papers. Annual Returns of Paupers relieved on 1st January each year 1870 - 1914.

Appendix 7 continued

These figures bear out the impression that the New Forest had the strictest relief system in the area. Both the other two unions attempted to follow a strict policy of relief for able bodied adults in the later 1870s and 1880s, when percentages relieved outside the workhouses fell, but in Southampton the decline is more clearly defined than South Stoneham. In South Stoneham the guardians were forced to allow able bodied relief to take place outside the workhouse from the late 1890s. In Southampton absolute relief levels indicate similar problems, but they were able to accommodate higher percentages inside the workhouse.

APPENDIX 8NUMBERS RELIEVED AND COSTS OF RELIEF IN SOUTHAMPTON,
SOUTH STONEHAM AND THE NEW FOREST 1870 - 19141. SOUTHAMPTONA. Numbers of Paupers

	INDOOR PAUPERS			Vagrants	OUTDOOR RELIEF			TOTAL RELIEVED		
	ABM	ABF	Total		ABM	ABF	Total			
1870	47	63	510	9	101	428	2262	2764		
1871	72	89	585	7	166	491	2588	3173		
1872	49	59	502	4	85	404	2366	2868		
1873	5	34	463	14	56	345	2050	2513		
1874	11	26	474	10	60	319	2036	2510		
1875	20	46	534	2	64	304	1971	2505		
1876	36	48	519	4	35	181	1576	2095		
1877	29	44	512	8	32	146	1360	1812		
1878	23	44	481	10	40	161	1373	1804		
1879	12	49	469	14	30	157	1263	1732		
1880	11	41	499	13	53	200	1451	1950		
1881	26	48	513	10	49	201	1403	1913		
1882	25	40	491	12	30	200	1402	1893		
1883	25	49	527	13	29	199	1443	1970		
1884	29	51	525	21	30	164	1352	1877		
					<u>S O</u>					
1885	20	47	459	18	1	24	155	1321		
1886	42	60	544	42	1	42	199	1508		
1887	50	57	559	32	7	57	585	1722		
1888	51	26	439	14	11	8	209	1489		
1889	52	63	542	22	4	70	238	1713		
1890	58	52	541	20	6	37	193	1597		
	<u>H D H D</u>									
1891	20	56	9	52	616	24	22	191	1632	
1892	27	66	22	45	616	34	26	5	181	1614
1893	27	62	16	41	604	32	17	7	200	1711
1894	34	78	16	40	661	61	25	9	198	1670
1895	25	75	20	55	666	39	12	18	192	1713
1896	28	74	23	58	703	38	26	5	190	1683
1897	16	84	31	51	649	19	13	18	162	1627
1898	72	85	28	49	678	53	13	16	158	1631
1899	30	66	23	50	677	18	15	14	164	1726
1900	50	10	36	50	779	45	20	3	147	1652
1901	53	76	39	42	923	43	27	20	257	1559
1902	56	76	51	25	828	34	13	9	157	1504
1903	33	21	40	4	1054	33	8	13	152	1483
1904	76	3	43	1	1118	33	23	46	223	1874
1905	59	18	33	6	1094	39	30	23	220	2969
1906	74	37	39	5	1155	38	38	58	226	2261
1907	69	28	33	26	1021	27	28	64	236	2378
1908	76	47	9	23	1053	66	27	42	199	2174
1909	99	55	35	28	1198	77	51	91	365	3810
1910	42	49	20	23	1239	48	45	91	373	3901
1911	30	25	26	14	1247	44	47	49	262	3335
1912	35	29	27	23	1241	37	30	49	211	2545
1913	23	29	27	23	1288				2506	4149
1914	15	17	11	14	844	41			1324	3935

Appendix 8 (continued)B. Costs

	<u>In-Maintenance</u> £	<u>Outdoor Relief</u>			<u>Total In-Maintenance and Outdoor Relief</u>	
		<u>In</u>	<u>Cash</u>	<u>£</u>	<u>In Kind</u>	<u>£</u>
1870	2751	5262	600			7833
1871	3337	5155	554			8492
1872	2224	4955	347			7179
1873	2439	4506	374			6945
1874	2761	4497	401			7258
1875	2368	4284	244			6652
1876	3106	3411	191			6517
1877	2796	2777	166			5546
1878	2052	2585	159			4637
1879	2040	2736	186			4776
1880	2275	2930	231			5205
1881	2221	2850	225			5071
1882	2365	2842	173			5207
1883	2492	2947	179			5439
					<u>Total Out-Relief</u>	
1884	2322	2694	206		2900	5222
1885	2155	2703	235		2938	5093
1886	2113	2948	276		3224	5337
1887	2114	3097	302		3399	5513
1888	1955	2968	234		3292	5247
					<u>School Fees</u>	
1889	2289	2941	259	1	3201	5490
1890	2285	3084	275	14	3373	5658
1891	2485	3101	305	17	3406	3891
1892	2488	3114	338	4	3456	5944
1893	2853	3272	308	4	3584	6437
1894	2563	3272	327	5	3460	6023
1895	2567	3419	368	5	3723	6299
1896	2438	3464	343	6	3813	6251
1897	2399	3551	314	6	3871	6270
1898	2937	3625	357		3892	6919
1899	3356	3724	312		4036	7392
1900	3666	3717	281		3998	7664
1901	3946	4082	340		4422	8368
1902	4966	4255	302		4557	9523
1903	6337	4441	426		4867	11204
1904	6146	4804	558		5362	11508
1905	6107	5156	706		5862	12157
1906	5916	5335	767		6102	12191
1907	6305	5726	687		6413	12923
1908	6234	5856	855		6711	13224
1909	6911	9514	1131		10645	17970
1910	7845	10036	1276		11312	19672
					<u>Children Boarded Out</u>	
1911	7913	10059	761	61	10881	19208
1912	6440	6202	663	114	6979	13833
1913	7542	6079	476	180	6821	14959
1914	7874	6349	476	142	6967	15543

Appendix 8 (continued)

2. SOUTH STONEHAM

A. Numbers of Paupers

	INDOOR PAUPERS				OUTDOOR RELIEF			TOTAL			
	ABM	ABF	Total	Vagrants	ABM	ABF	Total	RELIEVED			
1870	-	12	191	9	33	146	580	1494			
1871	11	11	256	-	35	176	1453	1709			
1872	1	6	250	1	44	178	1413	1663			
1873	3	10	255	1	53	187	1468	1723			
1874	7	10	255	-	61	216	1455	1710			
1875	3	9	254	-	75	229	1467	1721			
1876	11		206	1	29	174	1226	1432			
1877	3	9	214	-	19	130	954	1168			
1878	10	9	233	7	23	137	972	1205			
1879	8	10	217	1	6	111	852	1069			
1880	11	10	209	5	25	126	928	1137			
1881	6	17	222	1	11	106	909	1131			
1882	12	28	223	2	10	116	954	1177			
1883	12	23	243	3	21	132	1021	1264			
1884	11	19	226	1	28	129	1035	1261			
					S	O					
1885	6	17	207	-	13	7	119	1093	1300		
1886	12	19	232	-	18	8	128	1125	1357		
1887	18	12	260	3	30	8	392	1210	1470		
1888	10	10	225	-	27	14	159	1317	1542		
1889	15	1	281	-	37	11	160	1414	1695		
1890	16	3		-	10	2	123	1249	1514		
	H	D	H	D							
1891	9	6	3	8	251	-	10	16	131	1309	1560
1892	3	8	5	10	249	-	28	7	133	1323	1572
1893	8	8	7	8	246	-	16	9	123	1372	1618
1894	14	4	22	2	298	3	24	5	125	1382	1680
1895	10	4	15	5	291	-	2	2	192	1398	1689
1896	8	4	12	6	268	-	17	5	108	1054	1622
1897	9	4	10	2	256	1	25	8	128	1481	1737
1898	7	6	16	2	306	12	45	16	116	1494	1800
1899	9	-	16	4	295	5	47	6	129	1534	1829
1900	9	2	14	2	262	1	44	16	171	1664	1926
1901	4	3	7	7	406	6	23	3	253	1545	1951
1902	3	11	6	11	306	11	49	7	197	1794	2252
1903	5	6	9	17	513	2	62	15	218	2027	2540
1904	2	7	9	12	528	4	59	39	248	2334	2862
1905	7	1	15	3	543	5	72	46	275	2555	3098
1906	7	12	21	10	565	8	45	66	295	1488	3053
1907	8	7	18	9	430	9	38	71	303	2728	3053
1908	11	5	21	7	444	20	39	28	252	2580	3221
1909	13	12	12	13	456	14	20	13	142	1381	2030
1910	10	9	11	9	339	17	11	7	122	1214	1648
1911	6	10	6	8	258	12	15	26	122	858	1214
1912	6	1	9	6	255	3	14	7	90	722	1080
1913	4	1	3	3	252	-			738	1123	
1914	8	1	11	3	162	9			604	969	

Appendix 8 (continued)B. Costs

	<u>In-Maintenance</u> £	<u>Outdoor Relief</u>		<u>Total In-Maintenance</u> <u>and Outdoor Relief</u>			
		<u>In Cash</u> £	<u>In Kind</u> £				
				<u>School Fees</u>			
1870	942	2376		3318			
1871	1231	2569		3800			
1872	1279	2532		3811			
1873	1416	2602		3798			
1874	1255	2543		3798			
1875	1108	2453		3561			
1876	1028	1791		2819			
				<u>Total Out-</u>			
				<u>Relief</u>			
1885	1245	1713		44	1757	3002	
1886	1179	1904		48	1952	3131	
1886	1271	2115		51	2166	3437	
1887	1288	2106		59	2165	3453	
1888	1351	2380		22	2465	3816	
				<u>Children</u>			
				<u>Boarded Out</u>			
1889	1453	2191	99	39	68	2397	3850
1890	1420	2180	45	66		2291	3711
1891	1433	2186	48	80		2314	3747
1892	1443	2191	44	3		2238	3681
1893	1381	2187	34	5		2226	3607
1894	1507	2381	34	6		2421	3928
1895	1599	2477	34	6		2517	4116
1896	1565	2547	23			2570	4135
1897	1688	2527	6			2533	4221
1898	1855	2698				2698	4553
1899	1735	2875				2875	4610
1900	1881	3181	46	13		3181	5602
1901	1924	3520				3520	5444
1902	2350	3817	71			3888	6238
1903	2639	4548	96			4554	7193
1904	2638	4993	86			5079	7717
1905	2371	5139	135			5724	7827
1906	2416	5572	237			5830	8438
1907	2699	5870	221	21		6112	9030
1908	2646	6355	145	15		6515	9387
1909	1844	3382	138	9		3529	5457
1910	2109	2976	150	11		3087	5314
1911	1779	2870	104	21		2995	1494
1912	1881	1568	93	13		1674	3718
1913	1887	1697	95	6		1798	3902
1914	1907	1578	90	87		1755	3881

Appendix 8 (continued)

3. THE NEW FOREST

A. Number of Paupers

Appendix 8 (continued)

B. Costs

	<u>In-Maintenance</u> £	<u>Outdoor Relief</u>		<u>Total In-Maintenance</u> <u>and Outdoor Relief</u>	
		<u>Total</u> £	<u>In Kind</u> £		
1870	391	1748	355		2139
1871	544	1780	396		2324
1872	410	1855	408		2265
1873	445	1584	374		2067
1874	412	1655	365		2067
1875	359	1564	264		1923
1876	309	1594	286		1903
1877	423	1486	315		1891
1878	445	1292	226		1737
1879	463	1145	205		1608
1880	447	1171	236		1613
1881	418	1097	246		1515
1882	374	1185	263		1559
1883	405	1097	262		1502
				<u>Total OR</u>	
1884	316	851	231	1082	1398
1885	321	832	196	1028	1349
1886	314	867	167	1034	1348
1887	331	867	177	1151	1482
1888	275	963	161	1124	1399
				<u>Children</u> <u>Boarded Out</u>	
1889	303	1005	180	1	1488
1890	318	1062	172		1552
1891	339	1122	195		1656
1892	352	1081	184		1617
1893	373	986	138		1497
1894	409	989	123		1519
1895	379	1017	111		1507
1896	379	987	100		1466
1897	377	1069	117		1563
1898	422	1151	115		1688
1899	392	1237	77		1706
1900	370	1238	281		1689
1901	437	1365	99		1901
1902	464	1439	85		1988
1902	488	1451	107		2046
1903	493	1432	106		2031
1904	558	1478	106		2142
1906	489	1396	96		1981
1907	510	1534	113		2157
1908	534	1536	119		2189
1909	545	1474	111	8	2138
1910	593	1387	103	12	2105
1911	633	1446	100	12	2201
1912	573	769	77	12	1444
1913	513	650	59	8	727
1914	535	649	56	8	721
					1273

Appendix 8 (continued)

Key: ABM = Able Bodied Males
ABF = Able Bodied Females
1885 onwards S and O = Those relieved from sickness
" " " other causes
1891 onwards H and D = In Health
Temporarily Disabled

Source: Parliamentary Papers..

Annual Statements of the Sums expended for Relief during the Year ended 25th March and of the Number of Paupers in receipt of relief on 1st January 1870 - 1914 inclusive.

Any gaps in the figures represent gaps in the parliamentary records for these particular statistics. However, the records also contain other information, in the following categories:

Indoor Paupers: Children under 16. Not able bodied (divided into males, females and children). Insane (similarly divided).

Outdoor Paupers: Children under 16. Not able bodied (divided as above). Insane (divided as above.)

Returns are also made for paupers in separate institutions, usually beyond the Union area.

AGED PAUPERISM

Return for each Union and Parish in England and Wales of the Number in receipt of Indoor and Outdoor Relief August 1890 who were over 60 years of age.

	Indoor Relief			Outdoor Relief			TOTAL	Total* Paupers in 1890
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total		
NF	22	11	33	71	145	216	249	635
S	127	88	215	126	436	562	777	2138
SS	67	31	98	109	235	196	344	1514

Source: Parliamentary Papers 1890-91 (36) Vol. LXVIII.563

Statement with regard to Persons in receipt of Poor Law Relief on 31st December 1910 who received Old Age Pensions and ceased to be chargeable to Guardians during the four weeks ended 28th January 1910, 1911, 1912 and 1913.

March 1906	Jan 1910	Jan 1911	Jan 1912	Jan 1913	Increase or Decrease between March 1906 & Jan 1913											
					I	O	I	O	Indoor No	Indoor %	Outdoor No	Outdoor %	Total No	Total %		
NF	129	639	113	511	115	497	111	22	99	18	-30	23.3	-621	97	-651	84.8
S	187	494	258	683	214	711	208	18	21	-	-10	32.3	-90	100	-100	82.6
SS	117	521	67	298	63	9	51	13	147	68	+30	16%	-453	91	-423	62.1%

Total* pauper numbers in 1906:

NF 643
S 3418
SS 3053

Source: Parliamentary Papers 1913 Vol. LV.781

Key: I - Indoor
O - Outdoor
NF - The New Forest Union
S - The Southampton Incorporation and Union
SS - The South Stoneham Union

* Total numbers of paupers in receipt of relief on 1st January.

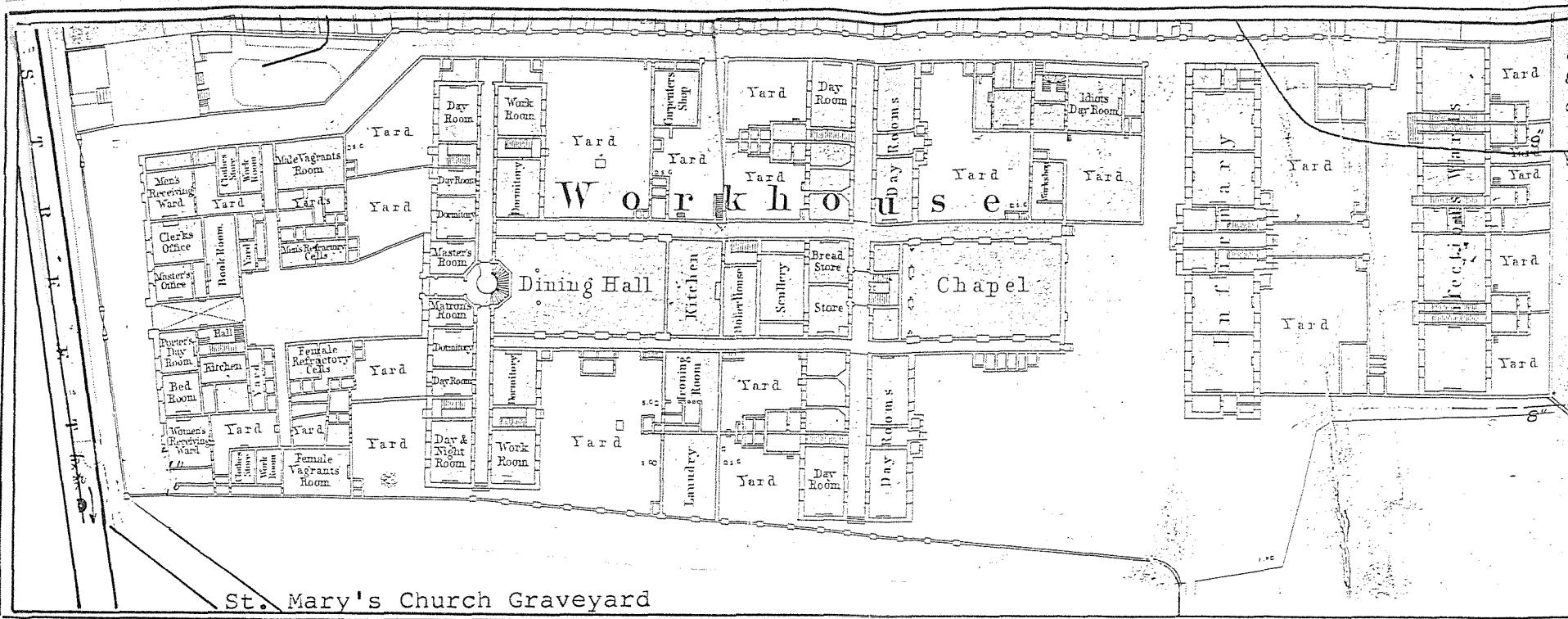
A comparison between the figures given in these two tables indicates the extent to which the New Forest's pauperism by 1906 was composed chiefly of the aged, and the change that had occurred since 1890 when roughly one third only of paupers were aged. In South Stoneham aged paupers accounted for approximately one fifth of pauperism, the position changing little between 1890 and 1906. In Southampton aged paupers represented about one third of total paupers in 1890, but this share decreased by 1906 to one fifth.

APPENDIX 9SOUTHAMPTON 1870 - 1914COST OF RELIEF PER RECIPIENT

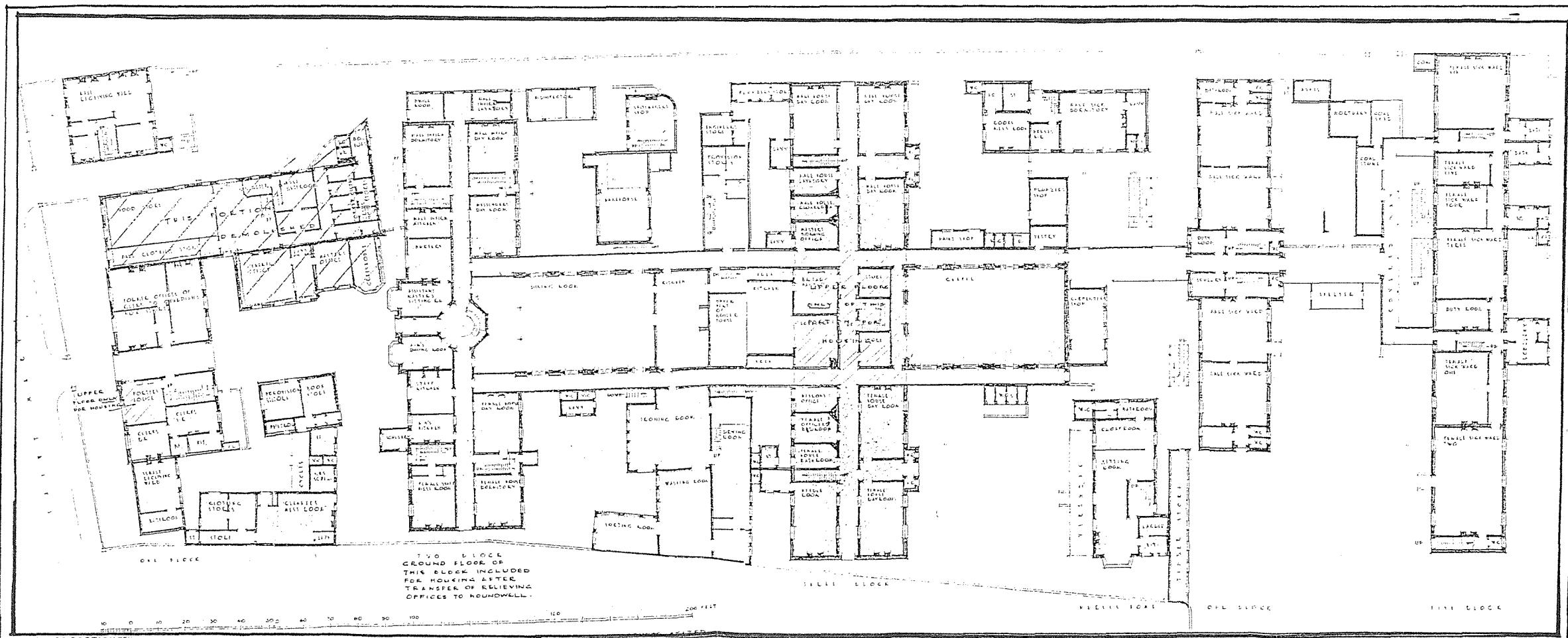
	<u>Indoor Paupers</u>	<u>Outdoor Paupers</u>
	£	£
1870	5.39	2.59
1871	5.70	2.20
1872	4.80	2.24
1873	5.26	2.38
1874	5.82	2.40
1875	4.43	2.22
1876	5.98	1.82
1877	5.46	1.86
1878	4.26	2.01
1879	4.34	2.31
1880	4.55	2.17
1881	4.32	2.19
1882	4.81	2.15
1883	4.72	2.16
1884	4.42	2.14
1885	4.69	2.22
1886	3.88	2.13
1887	3.78	1.97
1888	4.45	2.21
1889	4.22	2.14
1890	4.22	2.11
1891	4.03	2.08
1892	4.03	2.14
1893	4.72	2.09
1894	3.87	2.07
1895	3.85	2.17
1896	3.46	2.26
1897	3.69	2.37
1898	4.33	2.38
1899	4.95	2.33
1900	4.70	2.42
1901	4.27	2.83
1902	4.76	3.02
1903	6.01	3.07
1904	5.49	2.86
1905	5.58	1.97
1906	5.12	2.69
1907	6.17	2.56
1908	5.92	3.08
1909	5.76	2.79
1910	6.33	2.89
1911	6.34	3.26
1912	5.18	2.74
1913	5.85	2.72
1914	9.32	5.26

Source: Parliamentary Papers. Annual returns for paupers relieved on 1st January of each year 1870-1914. Annual returns of costs of relief for the half-year to Michaelmas in each year.

APPENDIX 10



A plan of the Southampton Workhouse in 1869 adapted from the Ordnance Survey. Source: Southampton Record Office.



A Plan of the Southampton Workhouse in 1910 adapted
from the "Plans of the Southampton Workhouse" 1910
Southampton Record Office SC/AG 13/2/ 2 and 3.

APPENDIX 11OCCUPATIONS WITHIN OCCUPATION GROUPS

Many of the occupation groups used in this study include various more specialist occupations. The lists below indicate the various occupations included in each group.

1. Shopkeepers

Cycle dealer
Stationers
Firewood merchant
Piano Dealer
Outfitters
Chandlers
Florists
Bookbinders
Tailors
Corn and/or coal dealer
Drapers
Leather merchants
Tobacco sellers
Booksellers
Furniture dealer
Hosier
Printers
Plate glass sellers
Photographers
India Rubber merchant
Gunsmiths
Merchants

2. Food Sellers

Greengrocers
Bakers
Grocers
Butchers
Fishmongers
Confectioners
3. The Drink Trade
Licensed Victuallers
Publicans
Innkeepers
Hoteliers
Wine & Spirit Merchants
Brewers

4. Builders

Builders
Carpenters
Joiners
Plumbers

5. Professionals

Clergymen - Anglican
" Nonconformist
RC Priest
Solicitors
Architects
Headmaster
Lawyers
Barristers
School teacher
Engineers
Registrar
Industrial chemist

6. Manufacturers

Coachmakers
Pipemakers
Boot & Shoe makers
Cabinet makers
Upholsterers
Watchmakers
Ironmongers
Millers
Leather manu'ers
Gold & Silversmiths
Shipwrights
Yachtbuilder
Rope makers
Masons
Scalemaker
Brick manu'er
Brassfounder

7. Commercial

Bank Manager
Stock & Share broker
Insurance broker
Undertaker
Auctioneers
Estate agents
Commercial traveller
Carrier
Surveyors
Pawnbrokers
Agents
Shipping agent
Ship broker
Land agent
Undertaker

Appendix 11 (continued)CENSUS AND OCCUPATION GROUPS1871 Census

	<u>Census</u>	<u>Guardians</u>
1.	Professional Class - General & Local Govt) Defence) Learned Professions)	Professionals
2.	Domestic Class Domestic Service	None
3.	Commercial Class Buyers & Sellers of) Money, Houses,) Goods) Conveyance of Men etc)	Commercials
4.	Agricultural Class Persons possessing or) working land) engaged about) animals)	Farmers
5.	Industrial Class Art or Mechanic) Productions) Persons working in) Minerals)	Manufacturers Builders
6.	Industrial Class (Shopkeepers) Persons working &) dealing in) Textiles) Vegetable & Animal) substances)	Shopkeepers
7.	Industrial Class (Food and Drink sellers) Persons working &) dealing in Food & Drinks)	Food Sellers Drink Trade
8.	Indefinite & Non-Productive Labourers and others Persons of Rank or Property not returned elsewhere	Private Residents Principal Landowners

Appendix 11 (continued)1891 Census

1.	Professional Class	General or Local government)	
		Defence)	Professionals
		Professional)	
2.	Domestic Class	Domestic Service)	None
		Other Service)	
3.	Commercial Class	Merchants/agents)	
		Dealers in Money)	
		Insurance)	Commercial
		Conveyance of Goods and Messages)	
4.	Agricultural and Fishing Class	Agriculture)	
		Fishing)	Farmers
		Woods/gardens)	
5.	Industrial Class Makers of:	Machines/implements)	
		Carriages/harness)	Manufacturers
		Ships/boats)	
		Chemicals)	
		Furniture)	
		Animal Substances)	
		Mineral Substances)	
		Houses		Builders
		Food/lodging		Food Sellers
		Spiritous Drinks		Drink Trade
		Books/prints maps)	
		Textiles Fabrics)	Shopkeepers
		Dress)	
		Tobacco)	
		General commodities)	
6.	Unoccupied Class	Unspecified Occupations)	Private Residents Principal Landowners

APPENDIX 12OCCUPATIONS AND RATEABLE VALUE GROUPS

Key to Rateable Value Groups:

I = £200 - £249
 II = £150 - £199
 III = £100 - £149
 IV = £50 - £99
 V = £0 - £49

Occupations and Rateable Valuation Groups

Tables are presented in actual numbers:

1. Shopkeepers

<u>Group</u>	<u>Southampton</u>	<u>South Stoneham</u>	<u>New Forest</u>
I	9	1	
II	3		
III	3	5	
IV	11	2	
V	14		1

2. Food Sellers

<u>Group</u>	<u>Southampton</u>	<u>South Stoneham</u>	<u>New Forest</u>
I	4	3	
II	2		
III	5	2	
IV	3	2	
V	7	3	

3. The Drink Trade

<u>Group</u>	<u>Southampton</u>	<u>South Stoneham</u>	<u>New Forest</u>
I	2		
II	4		
III	3		
IV	7		3
V	7	1	2

4. Builders

<u>Group</u>	<u>Southampton</u>	<u>South Stoneham</u>	<u>New Forest</u>
I	5	5	
II	1		
III		2	
IV	1	1	
V	1	7	4

5. Manufacturers

<u>Group</u>	<u>Southampton</u>	<u>South Stoneham</u>	<u>New Forest</u>
I	4		
II	1		
III	1	1	1
IV	8		
V	8	1	1

6. Commercials

<u>Group</u>	<u>Southampton</u>	<u>South Stoneham</u>	<u>New Forest</u>
I	4	2	
II	1	1	
III	3		
IV	1	5	
V	10	5	

7. Professionals

<u>Group</u>	<u>Southampton</u>	<u>South Stoneham</u>	<u>New Forest</u>
I	3	5	1
II		1	1
III	1	1	2
IV	3	4	1
V	2	3	4

8. Medical

<u>Group</u>	<u>Southampton</u>	<u>South Stoneham</u>	<u>New Forest</u>
I			
II			
III	2		
IV	1	1	
V	2	2	

9. Private Residents

<u>Group</u>	<u>Southampton</u>	<u>South Stoneham</u>	<u>New Forest</u>
I	4	14	7
II		7	4
III		7	2
IV		6	
V	7	14	3

10. Farmers

<u>Group</u>	<u>Southampton</u>	<u>South Stoneham</u>	<u>New Forest</u>
I		16	8
II		2	4
III		6	
IV		1	11
V			

Appendix 12 (continued)11. Principal Landowners

<u>Group</u>	<u>Southampton</u>	<u>South Stoneham</u>	<u>New Forest</u>
I	3		6
II			
III			
IV			
V			

The wealthiest occupations are seen from this analysis to have been the private residents in the rural and suburban areas, and principal landowners, South Stoneham farmers, some New Forest farmers and clergy, builders in Southampton and South Stoneham, and some Southampton manufacturers. In the New Forest occupation groups which in the other two areas had some wealthy representatives tended towards poorer individuals, such as food sellers and artisans rather than wealthy shopkeepers and property-owning builders, and there were more poor builders who were probably artisans in South Stoneham than in Southampton. Guardians who offered a service such as professionals, those engaged in commerce or medicine tended not to have substantial wealth in rateable property, although there are some wealthy members of the two former categories. Significant numbers of shopkeepers, most food sellers and members of the drink trade were members of the poorest group, as were some farmers in the New Forest. Here the only wealthy groups are those members associated with landownership and the gentry, private residents, principal landowners and a few farmers.

APPENDIX 13SOURCES OF RATEABLE VALUATIONSSOUTHAMPTON

Rating records for Southampton exist for most of the areas concerned, in the Southampton Record Office. The ratebooks for the original parishes of the Southampton Incorporation - St. Mary (divided into four areas), All Saints, Holy Rhood, St. Michael, St. Lawrence and St. John (rated separately) are kept under the reference SC/AG/8/2 - 7. After 1894 Portswood and Shirley were joined to the municipal area, but they did not join the poor law area until the creation of the Southampton Union in 1908. A small number of valuation lists have survived, and these are the sources which have been used for the present study. Their reference is SC/AG/9/1 and 2 for Portswood 1899 and 1909, and SC/AG/9/7/1 for Shirley 1909.

SOUTH STONEHAM

The rural parts of the South Stoneham Union were incorporated with the Winchester City area and the rating valuations for these parishes are at the Hampshire Record Office in Winchester, under the general reference 3M62. Records for those parts of the Union transferred to Southampton are in the Southampton Record Office under the references SC/ASS and SC/AG. For some areas the relevant rating valuation lists are missing, and in the cases of Shirley, Itchen and Eastleigh documents entitled "Duties on Land Values" compiled for the Commissioners of Inland Revenue (Division of Southampton) for 1910-16, which contain rating valuations, have been consulted. Their references are: Shirley 152M82/11/15-19, Itchen 152M82/11/5-9 and Eastleigh 152M82/11/20 21. They date from very late in the period under study and are therefore not totally satisfactory, but have been useful in completing records for a small number of individuals.

Appendix 13 (continued)THE NEW FOREST

The rate books for the New Forest Union, afterwards Rural District Council are also kept at the Hampshire Record Office under the reference 22m 74A Nos. DDR 18 - 107.

SURVIVAL OF RATING RECORDS

An almost complete set of rating records (rate books) exists for the City of Southampton, relating to those areas which formed the area of the Incorporation. For those areas added to the Incorporation records are limited to the rate books for 1899 in the case of Portswood and 1909 in the case of Shirley, supplemented by the Duties on Land Values.

In the cases of South Stoneham and the New Forest Unions rating records are not complete, but exist for a sufficient number of years in most parishes for the purposes of this survey. It is not necessary to consult every single rating book when attempting to discover individual rating valuations, but it is important to try to acquire the valuation for the period relating to an individual's service as a guardian. Books were generally consulted at intervals of five years for the present study, with the intervening years used only if a particular individual proved elusive. On occasions intervals had to be longer because rating records are missing.

In only three areas were rating records so scanty as to affect the comprehensiveness of the survey. These are Millbrook parish, Portswood, and Eastleigh after 1894. All three areas fell within the South Stoneham Union. It has been extremely difficult to track down valuations for some of the residents of these areas.

Given complete records, however, as exist in most cases, it is possible to be reasonably confident that an

Appendix 13 (continued)

accurate picture of individual rating valuations has been assembled. This is particularly so in rural areas because parishes contained a relatively small number of households and individuals of the same name were few and far between unless they were related. In urban areas the task is more complicated. In Southampton there is an array of large rate books to be consulted, with innumerable names contained within them in the cases of the larger parishes. In Southampton the number of individuals involved is over 700, and many people owned property in a number of different localities, so multiple ratings cannot be ruled out.

Nevertheless, even in the case of Southampton, it has been possible to acquire information concerning a large number of individual representatives on the various local organisations. It is important to note furthermore that any inaccuracies are invariably on the side of under-estimation, since errors occur through missing entries rather than creating ones that do not exist. Since the conclusion of this rating survey has been that local representatives, including guardians, in South Hampshire tended to be wealthier than the average, any omissions, if rectified, would only serve to enhance this aspect of the survey and the assessment of the wealth of individuals.

APPENDIX 14THE WORTH OF RATEABLE VALUATIONS

As an indication of what given amounts of rateable value were worth in terms of property during the period, the following figures are given as examples:

SOUTHAMPTON

A terraced house in the Polygon	£12
"The Town Quay" public house	£50
A house in Carlton Crescent, All Saints	£60
A cycle factory	£233

THE NEW FOREST

H. Holley's house (plumber) at Lyndhurst	£14
F. Fry's house (retired relieving officer) at Fawley	£37
Admiral Heathcote's (private resident) house at Bramshaw	£62
Crown Hotel, Lyndhurst	£85
Farms near Beaulieu	£129
	£237
Dibden Rectory and Glebe	£278
"Warrens" - G.E.B. Eyre's (principal landowner) house	£1325

SOUTH STONEHAM

R. H. Angell's house (Itchen councillor)	£17
F. Willan's house in the Southampton suburb, Bitterne	£46
Botley Rectory	£48
Lt. Eden's house (private resident) in Bursledon	£60
A shop in High Street, Shirley	£90
C.E. Carey's farm at Botley	£148
Schultz Gunpowder Company	£440

In all three areas a terraced house in an urban area would have a rateable value in the region of £15 - £20, while a detached house in a suburban area such as

Appendix 14 (continued)

Thornhill, Fawley or Shirley would be valued at between £60 and £70. Farms were rated according to size between £100 and £900 in both the New Forest and South Stoneham, while commercial property such as factories attracted valuations in excess of £200.

For individual citizens therefore, a rateable value of over £50 denotes a sizeable house, or possibly a number of properties.

PROBATE VALUATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES

In order to test the accuracy of rating valuations as a measurement of wealth, attempts have been made to compare these valuations with those at death through probate records. Efforts have been made to include all those who served as local representatives in South Hampshire between 1870 and 1914.

Obtaining probate valuations for a large number of people whose dates of death are not known is not an easy task, and the success rate is not as high in this case as it was in that of rating valuations. 159 valuations were discovered, amounting to 22% of the total number of individuals involved. The figures break down as follows:

Table 1: The success rate in discovering rateable and probate valuations

	<u>% of Rating</u>	<u>% of Probate</u>	<u>Number of Probate</u>
	<u>Valuations</u>	<u>Valuations</u>	<u>and Rating</u>
	<u>Discovered</u>	<u>Discovered</u>	<u>Valuations</u>
Southampton	94%	27%	102/372
South Ston'm	89%	20%	32/162
New Forest	90%	16%	31/190

Clearly, given the relatively low percentage of the total group for whom probate valuations have been obtained, the conclusions drawn from the survey must necessarily be tentative.

Appendix 15 (continued)RELATIVE WEALTH OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE THREE AREASTable 2: Mean Rateable and Probate Valuations compared

	<u>Mean</u> <u>Rateable</u> <u>Valuations</u> <u>Known</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>Rateable</u> <u>Values of</u> <u>Probates</u> <u>Known</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>Rateable</u> <u>Values of</u> <u>areas 1890s</u> <u>Known</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>Probate</u> <u>Valuations</u> <u>Known</u>
Southampton	£252	£266	£24	£12,418
South Ston'm	£271	£217	£23	£9,301
New Forest	£573	£564	£24	£46,871

On the whole the mean figure for the rateable valuations of those for whom probate valuations are known, correlates well with the mean rateable valuation figure, except in the case of South Stoneham, where probate valuations were discovered for individuals who were, on average, slightly less wealthy than the average in rateable values for this union. If all probate valuations were known in South Stoneham, therefore, it might be found that mean probate valuations were somewhat higher than revealed by the present survey.

It will be seen that the 31 individuals from the New Forest whose probate valuations are known, were very much more wealthy at their deaths than the 32 South Stoneham or 102 Southampton representatives, both in rating and probate terms. The probate valuation figures therefore support the findings of the rateable valuation survey that some New Forest representatives were drawn from considerably wealthier backgrounds than those from the other two areas, despite the fact that mean rateable values for the three areas are directly comparable.

The extent to which the wealth of New Forest representatives exceeded that of those from South Stoneham and Southampton, is modified by the following figures however. Here the ratios of mean rateable valuations is compared with the ratios of probate

Appendix 15 (continued)

valuations, taking Southampton figures as 1:

Table 3: Ratios of Mean Rateable and Probate Valuations

	<u>Mean Rateable</u> <u>Valuations</u> <u>Known</u>	<u>Mean Rateable</u> <u>Values of</u> <u>Probates</u> <u>Known</u>	<u>Mean Probate</u> <u>Valuations</u> <u>Known</u>
Southampton	1	1	1
South Ston'm	1.07	.81	.74
New Forest	43.9	47.1	26.49

Thus, the considerable disparity between rateable valuations of Southampton, South Stoneham and New Forest representatives, is nearly halved when probate valuations are considered. While the New Forest representatives were much wealthier than their neighbours to the east, therefore, a considerable amount of their wealth was invested in highly rated land, and was therefore revealed in their rating valuations. At death, although those represented in this survey were wealthy, their overall wealth did not exceed that of those from other areas by the degree which rateable valuations would suggest.

Distribution of discovered Probate Valuations

A factor which supports judgements as to the usefulness of this survey of probates as a comparison with rateable valuations, is that probate valuations have been discovered for individuals from all levels of rating, and are distributed as follows (groups used are the same as those for Chapter 12):

Appendix 15 (continued)Table 4: Numbers of probate valuations discovered for individuals in separate Rateable Value groups

	I	II	III	IV	V
Southampton	14	23	21	20	26
South Stoneham	8	2	9	3	10
New Forest	7	2	4	4	3

While the size of the sample makes comparisons suspect for South Stoneham and the New Forest, those for Southampton are distributed fairly evenly amongst all the rateable valuation groups.

Comparisons of Probate and Rating Valuations

In order to compare probate and rating valuations, averages of all rating valuations and probates for the three areas have been calculated, individual valuations then being compared in terms of these average figures, and then tabulated in percentage terms. The figures have then been examined to see how many probate valuations fall within 10% of rating valuations. These figures have then been assigned to their appropriate rateable valuation groups as follows: In each case the left hand figure is the number of correlations within 10% in the group, the right hand figure the total number of probate valuations discovered in each group.

Table 5: Numbers of Probate Valuations falling within 10% of Rateable Valuations

	I	II	III	IV	V
Southampton	1/14	3/23	4/21	4/20	18/26
South Ston'm	0/8	0/2	2/9	0/3	3/10
New Forest	0/10	0/2	1/3	3/3	2/3 (1)
 Totals	 1/29	 3/27	 7/33	 7/26	 23/39

Bearing in mind that only a small number of probate valuations are known relative to those representatives for whom rating valuations have been assigned, the present study would appear to support the view that there is a greater likelihood of an individual's total wealth being represented by his rateable property at the lowest end of the scale. Thus in all three areas it is group V (£1 - £49) which bears the closest correlations between probate and rateable valuations. Therefore, the present study suggests that rateable valuations provide an acceptable measure of an individual's wealth when the rateable valuation is a low one. In higher rateable value groups it is likely that rate valuations will vary from probates by factors of more than 10%. Thus, if a man's property was assessed for rating at a sum greater than £100, then it is less likely that his wealth at death would relate closely to the rated property he owned when he was alive.

In these higher groups, where probate valuations are less likely to correlate within 10% of rateable valuations, the evidence also indicates that wealth at death was generally less than revealed through rateable valuations. The following table indicates the numbers of probate valuations that are greater than rateable valuations and vice versa, for each rateable valuation group. Probate valuations which are greater than rateable valuations are represented by the left hand side of each set of figures, those lower by

Appendix 15 (continued)

the right hand side:

Table 6: Numbers of Probate Valuations greater than Rateable Valuations and vice versa

	I	II	III	IV	V
Southampton	3/11	8/15	4/17	13/7	11/15
South Ston'm	1/7	2/0	2/7	1/2	8/2
New Forest	6/4	0/2	1/2	2/1	2/1
<hr/>					
Totals	10/22	10/17	7/26	16/10	21/18
<hr/>					

It is clear from this table that in the wealthier groups (Rateable Valuations of £100 and above - Group III) an individual's wealth at death is likely to have been lower his rateable valuation would have indicated. In the lower groups (rateable valuations below £100) the reverse is the case, although in the case of Group V the figures nearly balance.

Implications for existing rateable valuation groups

Since there are fewer correlations of 10% or less between probates and rateable values in higher rate groups, and further that probates tend to be lower than rateable valuations (measured as percentages of the mean) in these groups, it could be concluded that differentiation between the higher rateable values is misleading. The justification given in Chapter 10 for such a differentiation, was that in 1844 the Poor Law Board believed that £50 levels of rates were sufficiently important to be the criteria for multiples of votes. Further, in Appendix 14 examples of rating values of different types of property are given, and clearly there were considerable differences between different types of property in rating terms. Since one of the criteria of status was and remains the type of house an individual lives in, then recognition of these

Appendix 15 (continued)

variations is important in constructing a measurement of status.

However, the present study has made it clear that rating records may not be sufficient evidence of wealth for those who owned substantial property i.e. more than £50 worth. Probate evidence indicates that gradations of wealth over £50 rateable value may be eroded by probate valuations varying by more than 10%, and over £100 frequently indicates lower percentage figures. Over £100 therefore there is a tendency for graded rateable values to exaggerate differences in wealth. It would seem reasonable therefore to group all those individuals with higher rateable valuations together, since their wealth, although more than the lowest group, was less clearly measured by rateable valuations. The following table indicates those representatives whose valuations fell into the lowest category (£1 - £49) and those who owned more than this figure.

Table 7: Representatives' Rateable Valuations above and below £50

A. Southampton

	<u>Magistrates</u>	<u>Councillors</u>	<u>Guardians</u>	<u>School Board</u>
£1 - £49	7%	21%	19%	48%
£50 +	89%	75%	62%	48%

B. South Stoneham

Parochial Boards

£1 - £49	4%	31%	39%
£50 +	82%	59%	28%

C. The New Forest

£1 - £49	5%	34%
£50 +	86%	57%

Appendix 15 (continued)

Although the Boards of Guardians were lesser local institutions when compared with the Bench in rating terms, it is significant that on none of the three Boards surveyed did guardians with property worth more than £50 number less than 55%. The figures vary from 57% in the New Forest, to 59% in South Stoneham and 62% in Southampton. If this finding is compared with the breakdown of rateable valuations into the five groups specified in Chapter 10 p. 301, then a somewhat different picture emerges of the status of guardians. Thus, when five rateable value groups are considered occurring at £50 intervals, Southampton guardians have rather fewer wealthy individuals than South Stoneham, but when only two are compared, as above, Southampton emerges as the area with most guardians in the above £50 category. Clearly, as was stated in Chapter 10, Southampton guardians were part of an elite group of governors in the city. They were separated for the most part from the population of the town by above-average rated property, having much in common with the types of individual who served as councillors and magistrates in that they also were to an even greater degree wealthier than the norm.

In the case of the New Forest, the analysis above serves to confirm conclusions already reached concerning the differences between magistrates and guardians in this area. There are clearly far more magistrates with valuations in excess of £50 than guardians - almost all the New Forest magistracy were worth more than £50, while 34% of guardians were worth less. This would confirm the suggestion that the New Forest gentry were in a sufficiently superior social position for the "chains of accountability", deference and party interest to be applicable, that were suggested in Chapters 8, 9 and 10 (3).

In South Stoneham the grouping of rating figures above also serves to support suggestions made in Chapters 9 and 10 as to similarities between the Board of Guardians and the Bench in social composition, so

Appendix 15 (continued)

that the magistrates of South Stoneham were content to leave the Board to run its own affairs. The contrast with the parochial boards is clear - the guardians were very much wealthier. Furthermore private residents in South Stoneham tended to be wealthy (see below), entailing common ground between them and wealthy magistrates.

Occupations, Rateable and Probate Valuations

The present study casts further light on the relative wealth of different occupations, already suggested in Appendix 12 and Chapter 9.

All the principal landowners who served as guardians in the New Forest had rateable valuations in the wealthiest category, as one might expect. However, they were not only wealthy in land, but in other terms as well. Probate valuations have been found for half the principal landowners, and discrepancies between rateable valuations and probates, favouring the latter, vary between 46% and 120%. Similarly in the case of the private residents probate information has been found for 17% of all private residents who served in the three unions (the survey, as usual, is not a large one). In the New Forest three private residents are represented and of these two were very much more wealthy than rating suggested - 54% and 72% respectively. If such a trend were to be repeated across the entire group of New Forest private residents, then the picture already suggested of a cohesive gentry acting in concert to control the poor law and other aspects of New Forest administration, is reinforced. In South Stoneham also they are thought to have acted in concert, without magisterial interference. Here probate valuations are known for nine private residents (out of 59), and 8 had probate valuations exceeding ratings by 78% to 561%. In Southampton similarly, out of 20 private residents, eight probate valuations are known and of these five exceeded ratings in percentages varying between 60% and 347%. Private residents, following the rateable

Appendix 15 (continued)

valuation survey, were thought to have encompassed wide varieties of wealth, but the study of probate records indicates that as a group they are likely to have been of greater wealth than their rating assessments usually reveal.

Groups that have been over-valued through rating valuations include builders and auctioneers. Of the former whose probate valuations have been discovered all were found to have a greater percentage of rated wealth - varying between 18% more to 1935% (4). The three auctioneers whose probates have been found were over-valued by 31% to 251%. In rural areas the farmers similarly were likely to be wealthier in rating terms than in overall wealth. In South Stoneham of the seven farmers whose probates have been found, only one had a surplus of probate over rating, all the others had rateable values which exceeded probates by between 71% and 598%. If farmers tended to be wealthy in terms of land, but not in cash, then this would support the theory that farmers were a group whom landlords were anxious to protect from high rates in periods of depression. Farmers who left relatively little to their heirs in comparison with the rateable value of the land they had farmed, were less likely to have had plentiful cash in their lifetime with which to pay rates.

Most occupation groups are not consistent in either over-estimating or under-estimating either probates or ratings, but there are a few where correlations between the two within 10% come more often than elsewhere. Of the 41 individuals whose probate and rating valuations were within 10% of each other, four were manufacturers, three were professionals, seven were shopkeepers and merchants (34% of the total). These figures are clearly not large enough to be conclusive - but they would serve to confirm the first two occupations as amongst the least wealthy in the community, while the shopkeepers, in Southampton at least, were amongst the wealthiest.

Appendix 15 (continued)SUMMARY

This survey of probate valuations has attempted to act as "control" on the rating valuation survey conducted in Chapter 10, and appears both to detract from and also to support its findings.

Clearly there are problems with divisions of rateable valuations, of exactly where these should come in order to present the truest picture. This probate survey has called into question the divisions adopted in Chapter 10, by showing that rating valuations in excess of £50 and £100 per annum, are a less reliable guide of total wealth than they are for the £1 - £49 group. As is the case today, poorer property owners are likely to have virtually all their wealth tied up in their houses, while the wealthier had it in other forms.

Nevertheless, the rating divisions used in Chapter 10 are justifiable in terms of the Poor Law Board's divisions under the Act of 1844, and also because they reveal some of the variations in wealth which would have been clearly visible to contemporaries - namely a house, and in some cases, land. Furthermore, by grouping rateable valuations differently, in terms of the poorest group, and then all the rest, one of the most important findings of the previous rating groups are confirmed. This was that the guardians, magistrates and councillors of the South Hampshire area were an elite group in that the wealth of the majority was considerably more than the average. This was particularly the case in Southampton in that by this classification the guardians are revealed as somewhat wealthier than those in the two Unions. In the case of South Stoneham, the similarity of rateable background between magistrates and guardians is borne out to a considerable extent, and this supports the contention made in Chapters 8, 9 and 10 that a reason for a lack of ex-officio involvement there is the common background shared by magistrates and many guardians. The social divisions of the New Forest observed in the same chapters is also borne out - the

Appendix 15 (continued)

magistrates of the Forest are clearly seen to be much more wealthy than the guardians, but the wealth of private residents is confirmed, and New Forest farmers are also shown to have been individuals whose wealth was located primarily in their land, and who would have suffered considerably, therefore, from rating increases, particularly before the Agricultural Rates Act of 1896.

(1) In the New Forest there were ten representatives for whom probate valuations were discovered but not rateable ones, hence the discrepancy between these figures (totalling 21) and those in Table 1 relating to total probate valuations discovered.

(2) Where percentage figures do not add up to 100% this relates to those individuals for whom rating valuations have not been discovered.

(3) The eminence of certain individuals in New Forest local government is made clearer by an examination of their probate valuations. For example, Lord Montagu left property worth £19,145, but W.G. Roy, who became one of the Forest's first county councillors in 1888 and was also a JP, was worth £26,065 at his death, although his rateable valuation was much less than Lord Montagu's (£635 as opposed to £1,176). Similarly Sir Henry Paulet, who appears to have controlled local elections in the 1880s in Eling left £75,841 while his rateable valuation was £403.

(4) J. Nicholls, builder of Nichollstown in Southampton. In South Stoneham similarly J. Treherne of Eastleigh was valued at 177% for rates and 463% for probate.

ACCURACY OF RATEABLE VALUATION AND PROBATE RESEARCH.

The possibility exists that inaccuracies or variations may occur in the survey which may either cause 10% correlations to occur, or prevent them from occurring where they should. Two types of inaccuracy are possibilities:

A. Over-estimates of Rating Valuations. This is unlikely, since no valuation has been ascribed to an

Appendix 15 (continued)

individual unless his name appears as the owner of a property (with the exception of a very few cases when a valuation is ascribed to an individual through an address only, the individual having moved on and a rate book being missing for the date when he was in residence. Even in this case there is likely to have been an under-estimate - individuals often owned more than one rated property.). However, it is possible for an individual's rating and probate valuations to be completely at variance owing to (a) a change in individual circumstances between the time when he held office and the date of his death; (b) an individual owning more rated property than the average, so that while his total wealth might be closer to, or less than, the average for probate valuations, his rated property is higher than average rateable values.

B. Probate Valuations exceeding Rating Valuations.

The group in which most probate valuations exceed ratings is the lowest, where most probate valuations have been found, and where also most correlations within 10% of averages have been discovered. This may simply be a result of the size of the group, but could also be accounted for by a change of circumstances between office and death. Human error can also result in missing some rating entries (especially likely in urban areas where there are a bewildering amount of such books to be examined and of individual names to be considered, often with multiple entries for each person in different locations). Incomplete rating records, such as occurs in the case of South Stoneham, can also affect rating discrepancies.

Nevertheless, while it is possible to under-value rating records, it is not possible to over-value them, hence rating records remain an acceptable method of assessing status, when the result suggests that individuals are generally of above-average wealth. Were the reverse the case then rateable values would be less reliable, but since it has been established that local representatives were mostly of above-average wealth as measured by ratings, then any under-estimation, while regrettable, does not alter the conclusion.

NOTESCHAPTER 1 - THE NATIONAL POOR LAW FROM 1834

- (1) The Poor Law Amendment Act 1834 4-5 Wm. IV cap. 76.
- (2) E.P. Thompson The Making of the English Working Class Gollancz London 1964 p. 267 and D. Fraser (ed.) The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century Macmillan London 1976 p. 17.
- (3) Michael Rose The English Poor Law 1780 -1930 David & Charles, Newton Abbott 1971 p. 160. A. Digby The Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century Historical Association pamphlet London 1982 p. 17. Thompson op. cit. p. 267.
- (4) M. A. Crowther "The Later Years of the Workhouse 1890-1929" in P. Thane ed. The Origins of British Social Policy London Croom Helm 1978 pp. 36 and 217.
- (5) Union Chargeability Act 1867 28-29 Vict. cap. 79.
- (6) Anne Digby op.cit. p.24. The different standards referred to relate to "the figures for 1839-47 being based upon the quarter ending 25th March of each year, and those for 1849-98 on the mean figures for 1 January and 1 July of each year".
- (7) Circular of August 25th 1852, 5th Annual Report of Poor Law Board 1853 pp. 21-22, quoted in Sidney and Beatrice Webb English Poor Law History Part II Cass and Co. 1963 page 119, in English Local Government London 1929.
- (8) K.D.M. Snell Annals of the Labouring Poor - Social Change and Agrarian England 1660 - 1900 Cambridge University Press 1985 p. 131.
- (9) M.A. Crowther The Workhouse System 1834-1929 Methuen London 1981 p. 6.
- (10) Anne Digby "The Rural Poor Law" in D. Fraser (ed.) The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century Macmillan London 1976 p. 163.
- (11) David Roberts "How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law" Historical Journal Vol. 6 1966 p. 99.
- (12) Ursula Henriques "How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law?" Historical Journal 1968 p. 366.
- (13) J.H. Treble Urban Poverty in Britain 1830-1914 Methuen London 1979 p. 140.
- (14) Norman McCord "The Implementation of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act on Tyneside" in International Review of Social History Vol XIV 1969 p. 90.
- (15) Peter Dunkley "The Hungry Forties and the New Poor Law: A Case Study" Historical Journal Vol. 17 1974 pps. 329 - 346. Derek Fraser op. cit. p.17.

Notes to Chapter 1 (continued)

- (16) Anne Digby "The Labour Market and the Continuity of Social Policy after 1834: The Case of the Eastern Counties" in Economic History Review XXVIII 1975 p.73.
- (17) M. Rose op. cit. p. 140.
- (18) J.H. Treble op. cit. pp. 142 (quoting the Manchester Guardian 5th April 1848) and 17.
- (19) P. Dunkley op. cit. p. 334. A. Digby op. cit. p. 72.
- (20) A. Digby op. cit. pp. 73 - 82.
- (21) P. Dunkley op. cit. p. 340.
- (22) David Roberts Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State Yale University Press New Haven 1960 p. 117. Digby op. cit. pp. 20 and 21.
- (23) D. Roberts ibid. p. 117.
- (24) U. Henriques Before the Welfare State - Social Administration in Early Industrial Britain Longman London 1979 p. 251.
- (25) N. McCord op. cit. p. 98.
- (26) M. Rose op. cit. p. 137.
- (27) S. and E. Webb op. cit. p. 229 and M. Rose op. cit. p 137.
- (28) Norman McCord "Poor Law and Philanthropy" in Fraser op. cit. p.98.
- (29) Henry Longley Report on Outdoor Relief in the Metropolis in the LGB'S Third Annual Report for 1873-4 pp. 136 - 206, quoted in K. Williams From Pauperism to Poverty Routledge & Kegan Paul London 1981 p 96.
- (30) Ruth Hutchinson Croker "The Victorian Poor Law in Crisis and Change: Southampton 1870-1895" Albion Spring 1987 pp. 19 - 44.
- (31) K. Williams From Pauperism to Poverty Routledge & Kegan Paul London 1981 pp. 101 and 103.
- (32) A number of writers have investigated the late nineteenth century consciousness and investigation of poverty. Gareth Stedman Jones in Outcast London Oxford University Press 1971 pp. 283 - 290 saw the 1880s as a significant turning point in Victorian views of poverty, while E.P. Hennock in "Poverty and Social Theory in England - the Experience of the Eighteen-eighties" Social History 1976 pp. 67 - 90 maintains that the 1860s and the 1890s were the periods of innovation, a view that is supported by Pat Thane in The Origins of British Social Policy Croom Helm London 1978 pp. 12 - 13.
- (33) Andrew Mearns The Bitter Cry of Outcast London 1883. William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army in 1890, published

Notes to Chapter 1 (continued)

In Darkest England and the Way Out. Charles Booth's Life and Labour of the People of London, published in two reports to the Royal Statistical Society of May 1887 and May 1888 with subsequent publications eventually ending in 1903 (17 Vols. London). Seebohm Rowntree Poverty: A Study of Town Life York 1902. D. Owen English Philanthropy Havard 1965 pp. 243, 503/4, 514.

- (34) G.H. Wood Journal of the Royal Statistical Society 1909 (Vol 72) p.99 quoted in J.H. Treble op.cit. p. 186.
- (35) Keith Burgess "Did the late Victorian Economy Fail" in T.R. Gourvish and Alan O'Day (eds.) Later Victorian Britain 1867-1900 Macmillan London 1988 pps. 259 and 160. R.B. Court Economic History 1870-1914 p.280.
- (36) Bowley and Burnet Hurst Livelihood and Poverty 1915 p. 38 quoted in J.H. Treble op. cit. p. 188.
- (37) J. H. Treble op. cit. p.91.
- (38) C.F.G. Masterman Heart of the Empire, London 1905. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, Cd. 2175/1904 para 142, quoted in Jose Harris Unemployment and Politics - A Study in English Social Policy 1886-1914 Clarendon Press, Oxford 1972 p. 147.
- (39) Derek Fraser in Evolution of the British Welfare State Macmillan London 1973 says that in new unionism for unskilled workers "there was a very real sense of labour organising itself into a separate interest in society which was soon reflected within the political system" p. 129. The same book provides a comprehensive list of the various books and the personalities who carried out surveys in the late Victorian period into poverty pp. 124 - 128.
- (40) J. Harris op. cit. p. 51.
- (41) Local Government Board Circular 15th March 1886.
- (42) For example William Booth's "Darkest England" programme, and the Salvation Army's later farm colonies.
- (43) S. and B. Webb English Local Government: English Poor Law History Part II Vol I Frank Cass London 1963 p. 368 Bentley E. Gilbert The Evolution of National Insurance Joseph London 1966p. 240 - 241.
- (44) J. Harris op. cit. p. 148.
- (45) Pat Thane The Foundations of the Welfare State Longman London 1982 p. 13.
- (46) In Poplar the ILP members Will Crooks and George Lansbury became guardians in 1892, and persuaded their fellow guardians to implement the new policies of differentiated treatment for all groups of deserving poor. S. and B. Webb op. cit. pps. 396-7.
- (47) M. E. Crowther op. cit. p. 63.

Notes to Chapter 1 (continued)

- (48) N. McCord op.cit. p. 102.
- (49) M. A. Crowther op. cit. p. 252.
- (50) J. Harris op. cit. p. 147.
- (51) S. and B. Webb op. cit. p. 246.
- (52) Ibid. p. 283 - 284.
- (53) Francis Duke "Pauper Education" in D. Fraser The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century Macmillan London 1976 pp. 71 - 81 gives a description of the educational provision made for pauper children.
- (54) Hansard 1867 Vol. CLXXV p. 163 quoted in S. and B. Webb op. cit. p. 321.
- (55) 22nd Annual Report of the Poor Law Board 1870 pps. XLIV-XLV quoted in S. and B. Webb op. cit. pp. 322-323.
- (56) Metropolitan Poor Act 1867 30 and 31 Vict. 5 cap. 106.
- (57) Medical Relief Disqualification Act 1885 48 & 49 Vict. Ch. 46, 47.
- (58) K. Williams op. cit. p.128.
- (59) M. A. Crowther op. cit. p. 232.
- (60) Local Government Act 1894 56 and 57 Vict. cap 73.
- (61) 25th Annual Report of the Local Government Board 1895-6 quoted in J. Harris op.cit. p. 93.
- (62) S. and B. Webb op. cit. p. 482 and Dr. Gilbert Slater "The Relief of the Poor" in H. Laski ed. A Century of Municipal Progress 1835-1935 Allen & Unwin 1935 p. 357.
- (63) A. Digby The Poor Law in Nineteenth-Century England Historical Association pamphlet London 1982 p. 35.
- (64) B. Keith Lucas The English Local Government Franchise Blackwell Oxford 1952 p.43.
- (65) N.McCord "Ratepayers and Social Policy" in P.Thane ed. The Origins of British Social Policy Croom-Helm London 1978 p. 24.
- (66) K. Williams op. cit. p. 135.
- (67) Rachel Vorspan "Vagrancy and the New Poor Law in Late Victorian and Edwardian England" in Economic History Review no. 92 1977 p. 63.
- (68) Ibid. pp. 67 and 68.

Notes to Chapter 1 (continued)

(70) K. Williams op. cit. p. 103 from the LGB's figures.

(71) Minority Report on the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress 1909 Cd. 4499, xxxvii p.988 quoted in E.Keith-Lucas and P.G. Richards A History of Local Government in the Twentieth Century Allen & Unwin London 1978 p.160.

(72) Unemployed Workmen Act 1905 Edward VII cap. 18.

(73) M. Rose op. cit. p. 41.

(74) Ibid. p. 47.

CHAPTER 2 - THE SOUTHAMPTON INCORPORATION AND THE SOUTH STONEHAM AND NEW FOREST UNIONS

- (1) The Southampton Local Act 1772 13 Geo.III cap.50.
- (2) Sources for Population Tables are the Census Records, Parliamentary Papers.
- (3) Kelly's Hampshire Directory 1880 p. 82 Hampshire Record Office
- (4) A.Temple Patterson A History of Southampton 1700 - 1914 Volume III Southampton University Press 1975 p. 29.
- (5) Kelly's Hampshire Directories 1899 and 1913 pps. 175 and 184 Southampton Record Office
- (6) Southampton Letter Book 30.1.94.
- (7) Chapter 9 p. 270.
- (8) "A Report on the poverty of the town, especially in the parish of St.Mary's 1905-6" quoted in J.H.Bulmer The Impact of Liberal Welfare Reforms in Southampton 1906-1914 M. Phil.Thesis University of Southampton 1984 p. 5.
- (9) Public Health Act 1875 39 and 39 Vict. cap. 55.
- (10) Southampton Times 1.4.93. Chapter 1 pp. 11 and 14.
- (11) Elementary Education Act 1876 39 & 40 Vict. cap. 79
- (12) Vaccination Act 1840 3 & 4 Vict. cap. 32.
- (13) Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths Act 6 & 7 Will, IV cap. 86.
- (14) Derek Fraser The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century Macmillan London 1976 p. 17.
- (15) David Roberts Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State Yale University Press New Haven 1960 p 296, and A. Digby op. cit. p.21.
- (16) Redistribution Act 1885 48 & 49 Vict. Ch. 23.
- (17) David Roberts op. cit. pp. 292 and 296.
- (18) Parliamentary Reform Act 1867 30 & 31 Vict. Cap. 102.
- (19) David Powell New Liberalism and the Rise of Labour Historical Journal Vol. 29 1986 p. 369.
- (20) A. Temple Patterson op. cit. p16.
- (21) e.g. Charles Parker Butt, M.P. 1880-82, a maritime and mercantile lawyer, F.H. Evans 1888-1900 Deputy Chairman of the Union Company and a director of the Dock Company, and Colonel Ivor Philipps 1906 - 1914, brother of the deputy chairman of the Royal Mail Company.
- (22) Southampton Times 5.7.90.
- (23) J.H.Bulmer The Impact of Liberal Welfare Reforms in Southampton

Notes to Chapter 2 (continued)

1906-1914 M.Phil. thesis University of Southampton 1984 p. 11.

(24) Southampton Times 4.11.06. quoted in J.H. Bulmer op. cit. p. 10.

(25) J.H. Bulmer op.cit. pp. 16 and 17. She writes that in 1906 the SDF appeared to dominate the politics of the Trades Council, while in 1911 the Liberals had lost all say in its affairs.

(26) Southampton Times 9.4.92.

(27) For example D. Bicker-Caarten - a guardian (1892) and councillor (1901) was a Fabian, a member of the ILP, and stood as a Liberal in the local elections. A close associate of his, a Mr. Kitcher, was a leading member of the Gladstone Working Men's Club, a guardian, and stood as a "Labour" candidate in a municipal by-election in 1892. J. Exten, a well known ILP member, also stood as a Progressive Liberal.

(28) Southampton Times 8.4.93.

(29) Southampton Times 3.11.94.

(30) Southampton Times 10.4.97. In 1895 the Southampton radicals adopted Ramsay Macdonald as their candidate for the General Election, splitting the Liberals and radicals. He came last in the poll, and probably cost Mr. Evans, the leading Liberal, his seat. In 1896 a by-election was held, and on this occasion the Southampton ILP and Liberals made a pact that the Liberals should not be opposed. The central office of the ILP strongly disapproved of Macdonald's local deals with the Liberals whom Kier Hardie saw as "a spent force". D. Marquand Ramsay Macdonald Jonathan Cape London 1977 pps. 37 - 41.

(31) J.H. Bulmer op. cit. pp. 14 and 224.

(32) ibid. pp. 14, 154, 223, 224 and 238.

(33) In the by-election of 1878 Liberal temperance supporters effectively wrecked the chances of the Liberal candidate Henry Bompas by insisting upon a temperance commitment from him, and similarly in the by-election of 1888 drink was also an important issue.

(34) Southampton Times 15.1.94.

(35) Bryan Keith-Lucas and Peter G. Richards A History of Local Government in the Twentieth Century Allen & Unwin London 1978 p.67.

(36) J. H..Bulmer op. cit. p. 7.

(37) Southampton's female guardians were:
 Mrs. Sarah Walter 1898 - 1911 Independent
 Sister Thornton 1907 - 1911 Independent
 Mrs. Palmer 1908 - 1914 Socialist
 Mrs. Clibborn 1911 - 1914 Ratepayers Party
 Mrs. R. Poulton 1911 - 1914 Conservative

Notes to Chapter 2 (continued)

(38) Its eastern border was that of the South Stoneham Union, to the north it included Sherfield English, north of Romsey, and extended to the west as far as Ringwood and to the south to include Lymington.

(39) Southampton Times 18.11.05.

(40) A.J.P. Taylor in the prologue to D. Read Edwardian England Historical Association Croom Helm London 1982 pp. 5 and 6.

(41) F.M.L. Thompson English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century Routledge and Kegan Paul London 1963 p. 201.

(42) Colonel Reynardson and J. Sampson, respectively.

(43) Chapter 5 pp. 124 and 125.

(44) Chapter 5 p.122 and Appendix 4.

(45) This candidate was one Josiah Pike, an "avowed Liberal" of Rumbridge Farm, as reported in the Southampton Times 14th April 1886. His candidacy aroused considerable hostility, not the least because of the cost the contest would entail - a factor which may have frequently deterred other would-be guardians, for the difficulty of opposing incumbent guardians was made worse because a poll was paid for out of the rates. In Southampton the proposer of a challenger at a vestry election would often volunteer to pay a portion, or all the costs of a poll, to avoid precisely this penalty.

(46) Hampshire Advertiser 15.4.91. The newspaper commented that the contest had been made "a political battle by the radicals of Totton". In 1892 the Totton Radicals "brought up some voters" to the Eling poll.

(47) The notable exception was G.E. Briscoe Eyre, a member of the publishing family, and a Radical.

(48) The New Forest Act 1877 49 & 50 Vict. cap. 21.

(49) F. E. Kenchington The Commoners New Forest Hutchinson London Chapter II passim.

(50) In the contested election of 1890, Esdaile and Eyre were opposed by one J. Newman, of Brockenhurst, and later in 1906 the Verderers were forced once again to a poll. No party was mentioned on either occasion.

(51) F.E. Kenchington op.cit. p. 97.

(52) Southampton Times 17.3.75.

(53) F.E. Kenchington op. cit. p. 99.

(54) Hampshire Advertiser 1.2.96.

(55) Hampshire Advertiser 22.2.99.

Notes to Chapter 2 (continued)

- (56) Southampton Times 27.1.1900
- (57) A. Pasmore Verderers of the New Forest Pioneer 1976 Ch. 4 pp. 71 - 82.
- (58) Hampshire Advertiser 20.1.06.
- (59) One of their candidates was P.B. Hayward, who had had an active career as a guardian (see Chapters 6 and 7).
- (60) St. Denys and Bitterne Park Labour Representation Association.
- (61) Chapter 5 pps. 129 - 139.
- (62) Chapter 5 p. 122 - 124.

CHAPTER 3 - THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM IN SOUTH HAMPSHIRE

- (1) Derek Fraser "The Poor Law as a Political Institution" in D. Fraser ed. The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century Macmillan London 1976 pp. 111 and 112.
- (2) Southampton Times 2.4.1863.
- (3) Chapter 8 p. 225.
- (4) Southampton Times 11.4.08.
- (5) Southampton Times 14.4.1883.
- (6) Chapter 8 p. 238. Southampton Times 11.3.81.
- (7) D. Fraser Urban Politics in Victorian England Leicester University Press 1976 p. 60.
- (8) Southampton Times 19.4.1873.
- (9) Southampton Times 4.4.1891.
- (10) Southampton Times 26.4.1862. On this occasion the guardians for All Saints and St. Mary's were attacked for increasing officers' salaries. Southampton Times 15.4.1871 where economy is urged by attenders at the St. Mary's vestry meeting and 7.4.1866 where a relieving officer is accused of harshness in his dealings with the paupers.
- (11) For example Southampton Times 31.3.77 for details of criticism voiced at elections concerning the South Stoneham guardians' reductions in outdoor relief levels.
- (12) For example Southampton Times 15.4.71 when Mr. Hare was rejected by All Saints burgesses for voting a bonus payment to the clerk. Southampton Times 19.4.73 when guardians were rejected on religious grounds at the vestry elections and Southampton Times 22.4.76 when a guardian was rejected for supporting temperance.
- (13) Southampton Times 16.4.1887. In 1887 John Robson was passed over for re-election following his part in the Dock Company re-rating scandal (Chapter 6), while D.R. Meldrum, a prominent Conservative and Anglican, was defeated with his party in 1882 over his championing of the chaplain, who was accused of pocketing a donation Southampton Times 15.4.82. See also the rejection of all the Liberal guardians from St. Mary's in 1888 during the dispute over the Dock Company's Rating, chapter 6 p. 166 - 168.
- (14) P.W. Randell Poor Law Relief in Somerset, with particular reference to the Wincanton Union 1834-1900 M. Litt. thesis University of Lancaster 1983 makes the same point concerning the guardians of this union p. 34.
- (15) Chapter 4 p. 107.
- (16) Southampton Times 7.4.60.
- (17) Public Health Act 1844 11 and 12 Vict. Cap. 63.

Notes to Chapter 3 (continued)

- (18) Poor Rate Assessment and Collection Act 1869 32 & 33 Vict. Cap 41.
- (19) Southampton Times 16.4.1892.
- (20) Southampton Times 14.4.1866.
- (21) Chapter 1 p. 27.
- (22) Chapter 10 pp. 310 - 315.
- (23) S. and B. Webb English Poor Law History Part II Vol. 1 Frank Cass London 1963 p. 230.
- (24) Chapter 10 pp. 310 - 312.
- (25) Southampton's Local Act op. cit.
- (26) Southampton Times 14.4.1866.
- (27) The figures for this table are derived from the Southampton Rating Records, which are kept at the Southampton Records Office Ref: SC/AG/8/2 - 7. Total rateable values are given for each parish, as are total numbers of valuations.
- (28) Chapter 5 p. 126.
- (29) Chapter 8 p. 223.
- (30) Southampton Guardians' Letter Book 12.4.79.
- (31) Chapter 8 *passim*.
- (32) Poor Law Amendment Act 1844 7 and 8 Vict. cap. 101.
- (33) The County Councils were empowered to re-distribute representatives under the 1894 Act, and the Southampton Corporation and Council therefore organised the re-allocation in Southampton, just as they had in 1878 under the Local Act.
- (34) Southampton Times 30.6.1894.
- (35) Chapter 4 pp. 97 - 100.
- (36) Chapter 4 pp. 105 - 109.
- (37) However the Conservative ex-officios attempted to use their weight of numbers to redress the balance. Chapter 8 p. 233 and 234.
- (38) P. Dunkley "Paternalism, the Magistracy and Poor Relief in England 1795-1834" International Review of Social History vol. XXIV 1979 pps 373 - 391. A. Brundage "The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law: A reappraisal of the revolution in government" English History Review 1972 pp. 28 - 35.
- (39) A. Brundage "The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law" English History Review 1972 p 37.

Notes to Chapter 3 (continued)

(40) N. McCord "The Implementation of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act on Tyneside" International Review of Social History Vol. XIV 1969 p. 97. See Chapter 8 of this study in which the relationship between the landed gentry of the New Forest and the poor law administration is explored more fully.

(41) Brundage op. cit. p. 33.

(42) Kelly's Hampshire Directory 1875 p. 68 Hampshire Record Office

(43) For example Sir Henry Paulet in Netley Marsh, the Timsons of Tachbury Mount, Eling, the Drummonds at Copythorne, J. Everett of Colbury Manor.

(44) New Forest Guardians Letter Book 4.12.93. PRO MH 12 10894.

(45) Chapter 8 p. 125

(46) Chapter 5 pp. 124, 124 and 128.

(47) Southampton Times 9.12.93.

(48) South Stoneham Minutes 1.10.1901. SRO D/AG F.

(49) Southampton Times 7.2.1880.

(50) Southampton Times 23.6.1883.

(51) S. and B. Webb English Poor Law History Part II Vol. I op. cit. p. 353.

(52) Chapter 7 p. 210.

(53) Union Chargeability Act 1865 28 & 29 Vict. cap. 79.

(54) F. W. Rogers "Gateshead and the Public Health Act of 1848" Archaeologica Aeliana XLIX 4th series 1971 p. 158.

(55) Derek Fraser Urban Politics in Victorian England Leicester University Press 1976 p. 72.

(56) Chapter 5 p. 135.

(57) Chapter 8 p. 257, Chapter 9 pps. 293 and 294, Chapter 10 p. 306.

CHAPTER 4 - SOUTHAMPTON - THE BOARD OF GUARDIANS AND MUNICIPAL PARTY POLITICS

- (1) D. Fraser "The Poor Law as a Political Institution" in D. Fraser (ed.) The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century Macmillan London 1976 p. 111.
- (2) D. Fraser op. cit pp. 111 - 127.
- (3) Pat Ryan "Politics and Relief: East London Unions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" in Michael Rose (ed.) The Poor and the City Leicester University Press 1985 p.146.
- (4) Michael Rose ibid. p. 12.
- (5) See for example P. W. Randell Poor Law Relief in Somerset, with particular reference to the Wincanton Union 1834-1900 M. Litt. thesis University of Lancaster 1983 p. 35. Pat Ryan op. cit. p. 146.
- (6) Pat Ryan op. cit. p. 134. Noreen Branson "Poplarism" in P. Thane (ed.) The Origins of British Social Policy Croom Helm London 1978.
- (7) Southampton Times 16.6.94. Chapter 8 p. 227
- (8) It was in 1911 that the parishes of the Southampton Board were reorganised into wards and the ratepayer representatives either lost their seats or reverted to former party affiliations.
- (9) A. Temple Patterson A History of Southampton 1700-1914 Vol III Southampton University Press 1975 Ch.4. In contrast in 1868 the Southampton Times wrote that the whole town was burdened with "party tyranny", no man who was not "an avowed partisan" could hope to hold public office (Southampton Times 5.12.68). By 1881 the newspaper commented of the Board of Guardians that "official candidates (are) proposed by the parties" (Southampton Times 16.4.81) and reference made to party "caucuses" (Southampton Times 8.4.82).
- (10) Chapter 6 p. 167.
- (11) Chapter 2 p. 47.
- (12) David Powell "New Liberalism and the Rise of Labour" Historical Journal Vol. 29 1986 pp . 369 - 374.
- (13) Chapter 6 *passim*.
- (14) Chapter 6 pp. 160 and 161.
- (15) Chapter 2 p. 46.
- (16) Pat Thane "The Working Class and State "Welfare" in Britain 1880-1914" Historical Journal Vol. 27 1984 pps.883 - 891. Pat Ryan op.cit. pp. 253-4.
- (17) M.E. Crowther The Workhouse System 1834 - 1939 Methuen London 1981 p. 79.

Notes to Chapter 4 (continued)

- (18) Kenneth M. McNeilly Public Provision for the Poor in Glasgow 1890 - 1914 M.Phil. thesis University of Glasgow 1986 p. 59.
- (19) Pat Ryan op. cit. pps. 155 - 165.
- (20) June Valerie Corrigan The Administration of the Poor Law in the Tynemouth Union 1830-1939 M. Phil. Thesis Goldsmiths College 1985 p.184.
- (21) Pat Ryan op.cit. p.155.
- (22) Chapter 6 p. 149. Chapter 7 p. 207.
- (23) J.H. Bulmer The Impact of Liberal Welfare Reforms in Southampton 1906-1914 M. Phil. Thesis University of Southampton 1984.
- (24) Chapter 3 pps. 74 - 76.
- (25) See below in the discussion of Holy Rhood, St Lawrence, St John and St Michael's parishes, pps. 105 - 109.
- (26) Southampton Times 31.3.02.
- (27) Chapter 7 p. 199 and Chapter 6 pps. 160 and 161.
- (28) Southampton Times 25.3.99.
- (29) Southampton Times 3.11.66.
- (30) A further motive however was said at the time to be in order to avoid the expense of a poll: Southampton Times 7.4.88.
- (31) Chapter 6 pps. 167.
- (32) Chapter 3 p. 75 for a comparison of rateable values and populations for the Southampton parishes.
- (33) "Progressives" - defined by Temple Patterson op. cit. as younger members of the Liberal party who wanted to end the oligarchy of the "old guard" - particularly Alderman Lemon p. 106.
- (34) The Southampton Trades Council was led for many years by the ILP member W. Bonner and H.G. Wilson, a Labour councillor, JP, School Board member who was also a member of the Liberal Council in 1895.
- (35) Southampton Times 26.11.92. Chapter 2 p. 48.
- (36) T. Lewis was the first socialist guardian elected for St. Mary's and he was later elected as a councillor for the SDF in 1901, 1904 and 1907.
- (37) Chapter 6 p. 167.
- (38) J. H. Bulmer op. cit. p. 7.

Notes to Chapter 4 (continued)

(39) Southampton Times 16.4.81 In 1881 the Conservatives imported the "formidable" Mr. Whitchurch, a former guardian from Holy Rhood, a stalwart Conservative and Anglican, but his efforts were of no avail.

(40) Southampton Times 4.11.93, referring to Trinity Ward, an area corresponding to parts of St. Mary's No. 2.

(41) Formed in 1890 of masters and men to promote trade and avert strikes by discussion. It had more than 2000 employee members and 44 employers in 1891 Temple Patterson op. cit. p 93. The Southampton Times 22.4.93 reported that Southampton Trades Unionists expressed sympathy with strikers in Hull.

(42) Southampton Times 8.4.93.

(43) Southampton Times 1.4.89.

(44) Chapter 4 p. 166.

(45) Southampton Times 2.4.64.

(46) The Conservatives were so unconcerned about their representation in St. Michael's that in 1878 they failed to point out to their supporters in the parish that the C. Gidden who was standing as a guardian there was not J.T. Gidden, a prominent Conservative and guardian in St. Michael's the previous year, but his brother, a Liberal. The Southampton Times, always ready to believe the worst of Conservatives, alleged that the lack of contest in this parish was because the Conservatives thought their own candidate was standing, and rejoiced at the upsetting of Conservative plans, maintaining that they had hoped to see an evenly balanced board 9:9, instead of which the Liberals had a majority of two. Southampton Times 27.4.78.

(47) Southampton Times 7.4.88.

(48) Southampton Times 15.4.71.

(49) Southampton Times 16.4.81.

(50) On the morning of Sunday 1st December attendance at church was 5,111 and chapel 4,655, while since 1851 4,781 sittings had been provided in church and chapel, with the church accounting for only 124 of them Southampton Times 17.12.1881 quoted in Temple Patterson op. cit. p.32.

(51) From 1871 until 1889 the two parties were evenly represented on the Board with a Roman Catholic as the eleventh member. In 1889 six Liberals were elected, and in 1895 increased membership saw the complete ending of the former equality.

(52) A number of Labourites were elected from 1892, earlier than to either the Council or the Board of Guardians. The Board was enlarged in 1897 to include the Shirley/Freemantle areas and the parties of all the members become rather more difficult to trace. There is an indication, however, that the Conservatives

Notes to Chapter 4 (continued)

increased their representation with these extra areas, before the Board was disbanded with the 1902 Education Act. One phenomenon not seen elsewhere in Southampton was the very substantial numbers of Liberals in the late 1890s who called themselves Independents - possibly to indicate a lack of partisanship in dealing with the "sectarians" on the Board, possibly not to deter Labour supporters.

- (53) Chapter 9 p. 283.
- (54) Southampton Times 19.4.73.
- (55) Mr. Woolridge Southampton Times 19.4.73.
- (56) Southampton Times 1.1.70.
- (57) A. Temple Patterson op. cit. p. 34.
- (58) Poor Law Amendment Act 1834 4 & 5 Will. IV Cap. 76.
- (59) F.W.D. Manders The Administration of the Poor Law in the Gateshead Union 1836-1930 M. Litt. Thesis University of Newcastle 1980 pp. 59 and 60.
- (60) A.W.W. Dale The Life of R.W. Dale of Birmingham 1899 quoted in D. Fraser Urban Politics in Victorian England Leicester University Press 1976 p. 250.
- (61) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 4.12.90.
- (62) Southampton Times 10.3.94.
- (63) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 4.7.03.
- (64) D. Fraser Urban Politics in Victorian England op. cit p. 265.
- (65) Hon. Mrs. E. Yorke (from Itchen), Alderman Bone, Mrs. Andrews, J.R. Smith JP, G. Treherne JP, H. Radford.
- (66) A. Temple Patterson op. cit. p. 26.
- (67) Return of Quantity of Spirits and Wine consumed in Workhouses in England and Wales 1885 Parliamentary Papers 1886 (206) LVI.763.
- (68) N. Longmate The Workhouse Temple Smith London 1974 p. 226.
- (69) S. and B. Webb English Poor Law History Part II Vol. II Cass & Co. London 1963 p. 526.
- (70) N. McCord "Ratepayers and Social Policy" in Pat Thane (ed.) The Origins of British Social Policy London Croom Helm 1978 p. 21.
- (71) Brian Harrison Drink and the Victorians London Faber 1971 p. 279.
- (72) Southampton Times 22.1.76 quoted in Ruth Hutchinson Crocker "The Victorian Poor Law in Crisis and Change" Albion Spring 1987 p. 34.

(73) Southampton Times 3.4.80.

(74) N. Longmate op. cit. p. 226.

(75) Hampshire Independent 14.4.88.

(76) Southampton Times 4.3.99.

(77) The wine and spirit merchant was W.S. Jenvey, who had been chairman of the Board of Guardians in 1896, but was defeated in the following election. He stood again in a by-election in 1898, when he was opposed by a teetotaler, and the poll cost £31, causing Jenvey to be called "a dear guardian"! Southampton Times 12.2.98.

(78) Southampton Times 21.1.05.

(79) Bryan Keith-Lucas and Peter G. Richards A History of Local Government in the Twentieth Century London Allen & Unwin 1978 p. 112.

(80) J. V. Corrigan op. cit. p. 184.

(81) Chapter 9 p. 265 and 278.

(82) G. Crossick An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society - Kentish London 1840-1880 London Croom Helm 1978 p. 97.

(83) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 24.9.85. SRO SC AG1/1/22.

(84) Southampton Times 27.4.89.

(85) Southampton Times 18.3.99.

(86) Southampton Times 22.3.02.

(87) S. and B. Webb op. cit. p. 397.

(88) Chapter 3 pp. 73 - 78.

(89) Southampton Times 16.4.81.

(90) Southampton Times 4.3.99.

CHAPTER 5 - THE NEW FOREST AND SOUTH STONEHAM BOARDS OF GUARDIANS AND PARTY POLITICS

- (1) Bryan Keith-Lucas and Peter G. Richards A History of Local Government in the Twentieth Century Allen & Unwin London 1978 p. 111.
- (2) P.W. Randell Poor Law Relief in Somerset, with particular reference to the Wincanton Union 1834-1900 M. Litt. Thesis University of Lancaster 1983 p. 35.
- (3) Raymond Barker Houghton Le Spring Poor Law Union 1837-1930 M. Litt Thesis University of Newcastle 1974 p. 148.
- (4) Chapter 2 pp . 52 - 55.
- (5) Between 1870 and 1914 there were 388 possible elections in all the parishes of the New Forest Union. Of these 23 were contested. Between 1870 and 1893 there were 235 elections, 7 of which were contested, while between 1894 and 1914 there were 153 elections, 16 being contested. The only other parish vexed by comparable problems was Lyndhurst, but here there were far fewer contested elections - possibly because there is little sign of Liberal party activity in this parish.
- (6) Hampshire Advertiser 15.4.91.
- (7) Southampton Times 1.4.99 Stokes stood in opposition to both the Conservative and "Progressive" candidates in this election as the representative of labour.
- (8) Southampton Times 25.3.99.
- (9) Southampton Times 19.3.98.
- (10) Hampshire Advertiser 22.3.99 and 5.8.99.
- (11) Hampshire Advertiser 30.3.07.
- (12) Andrews stood as a district councillor unsuccessfully in 1894 and 1898 before being elected in 1899, was a parish councillor, a member of the School Board and also an Overseer, besides standing as a county councillor in 1895. He also attempted to get himself co-opted as a guardian in 1894.
- (13) Southampton Times 16.1.07.
- (14) Southampton Times 30.3.89 and 25.3.99.
- (15) Southampton Times 14.4.86.
- (16) Chapter 2 pp . 56 - 58.
- (17) Lord Montagu and his son, Lord Henry Scott, were both briefly elected guardians, and Lord Montagu also attended meetings as an ex-officio. The Rev. J. Compton was an elected guardian and brother of Sir Henry Compton, while Mr. F. Compton, the local MP was an ex-officio and fairly frequent attender. The Comptons were lords of the manor of Minstead and also controlled the

Notes to Chapter 5 (continued)

chapelry of Lyndhurst. The Montagus were the largest owners of common rights in the New Forest, thus many of those exercising those rights did so because the Beaulieu estate permitted it, and this would include not only farmers but those who hunted over the land. The same would apply to other major New Forest landowners. Incumbents, stewards and tenants also became guardians whose livelihoods depended upon the goodwill of the landowners. Chapter 8 *passim*.

- (18) Chapter 8 pp. 231, 241 - 243.
- (19) W. G. Roy and F. Compton, both previously ex-officio guardians, were elected in 1894 to the Board of Guardians for Marchwood and Minstead parishes respectively.
- (20) Chapter 8 p. 254. Southampton Times 29.12.94.
- (21) The Shirley Local Board of Health and UDC, the St. Mary Extra and Hound School Boards, Itchen and Eastleigh UDCs were the most important.
- (22) Southampton Times 16.10.80 Report on a Shirley Ratepayers Association meeting.
- (23) It was shortly before this time also that the campaign for pure water supplies was conducted in Southampton. A Temple Patterson Southampton - A Biography Macmillan London 1970 pps. 155 - 6.
- (24) Southampton Times 23.1.86.
- (25) Southampton Times 3.4.75.
- (26) Southampton Times 12.4.84. The poll cost £36. 13s and was held "simply to gratify one gentleman ... whose aim was to try and unseat our vice-chairman", in the words of one of the guardians quoted in the Southampton Times 29.3.84.
- (27) Hampshire Advertiser 12.4.84.
- (28) Southampton Times 16.8.84 from the Inspector of Nuisances Report.
- (29) Northam had two Labour councillors by 1913 and St. Mary's had elected T. Lewis - Socialist - in 1913.
- (30) The Poplar Municipal Alliance for example, as detailed in Pat Ryan "Politics and Relief: East London unions in the late nineteenth and early 20th centuries" in Michael Rose (ed.) The Poor and the City Leicester University Press 1985 p.163.
- (31) See Chapter 6 p. 153.
- (32) Southampton Times 14.4.88.
- (33) P.B. Hayward April 1880 School Board election of St. Mary Extra Southampton Times 10.4.80.

Notes to Chapter 5 (continued)

(34) Considerable sums were involved, when a new infants school was planned for Woolston in 1882 the cost was estimated at £1,500 or £5 a head.

(35) Southampton Times 23.3.02 reports a discussion in which candidates agree to run as members of the Ratepayers Associations rather than as party members. Southampton Times 23.3.02 names two individuals as working men's representatives on the Itchen UDC.

(36) Southampton Times 23.3.07

(37) Chapter 8 p. 258.

(38) R.R.L.Rosoman 1869 - 1898 and W.H. Chapman 1875 - 1891.

(39) Chapter 4 p. 101.

(40) Brian Luffman The Development of a Late Victorian Railway Town October 1984 pp. 25 - 34.

(41) Southampton Times 18.4.91.

(42) South Stoneham Letter Book 4.3.93 PRO MH/12/1060.

(43) Brian Luffman op. cit. p. 27 quoting a petition to the LGB in 1892.

(44) Chapter 6 p. 151.

(45) June Valerie Corrigan The Administration of the Poor Law in the Tynemouth Union 1830-1939 M. Phil. thesis Goldsmiths College 1985 p. 184 notes that Labour was only a force on the Tynemouth Board of Guardians in the 1910s.

(46) Chapter 8 pp. 231, 241 - 3.

(47) Southampton Times 1.5.86. Timothy Falvey, a journalist, Liberal guardian and councillor, commented that in former days there had been "no political feeling at Guardians' elections". Major General Lewis above also remarked on the lack of partisan activity on the Board of Guardians of South Stoneham, in pleasant contrast to the Shirley Local Board.

(48) P.W. Randell Poor Law Relief in Somerset with particular reference to the Wincanton Union 1834-1900 M. Litt. thesis University of Lancaster 1983 p. 35. F.W.D. Manders The administration of the Poor Law in the Gateshead Union 1836-1930 M. Litt thesis University of Newcastle 1980 p. 35. J.V. Corrigan op. cit. p. 184 wrote that elections in Tynemouth were contested only in the urban areas of the union.

(49) Southampton Times 14.3.96.

(50) Chapter 4 p. 177.

(51) Chapter 9 p. 283 - 4.

Notes to Chapter 5 (continued)

- (52) South Stoneham Guardians' Minutes 4.5.97. SRO D/AG F 1 - 24
- (53) South Stoneham Guardians' Minutes 30.8.04. SRO D/AG F 1 - 24
- (54) Chapter 2 pp .. 52 - 54 and 59. Appendix 1.

CHAPTER 6 - THE RATES AND ECONOMY

- (1) Southampton Times 1.4.93.
- (2) Chapters 9 and 10 *passim* for occupational categories, rateable valuations and sources.
- (3) Peter Wood "Finance and the Poor Law: The Sunderland Union 1836 - 1914" in M. Rose (ed.) The Poor and the City Leicester University Press 1986 p. 43.
- (4) Chapters 9 and 10 for a fuller discussion of the strains the rates imposed upon farmers, builders and other owners of property who relied upon it for their income, rather upon than salaries and profits. Pp. 279, 282, 287.
- (5) Southampton Times 4.12.86.
- (6) Southampton Times 7.2.80.
- (7) In 1885 Sheppard complained about the amount of coal used in the workhouse and requested that the accounts be made more elaborate for the further information of ratepayers. In 1886 he was the leading protagonist in a "Scene" over the appointment of an inspector of cowsheds in which he accused the master of the workhouse of inefficiency. It was on this occasion that he accused his fellow-guardians of wanting to waste ratepayers money, as a result of their unwillingness to pursue the issue.
- (8) Agricultural Rates Act 1896 59 & 60 Vict. Cap. 16. The Act provided for a subsidy from central government to relieve the rating costs of agricultural land, which was to be exempted from half its rates.
- (9) Chapter 9 p. 287.
- (10) Norman McCord "Ratepayers and Social Policy" in Pat Thane The Origins of British Social Policy Croom Helm London 1978 p. 23.
- (11) E.P. Hennock "Finance and Politics in Urban Local Government in England 1835-1900" Historical Journal No. 6 1966 p. 214.
- (12) Chapter 3 p. 67. Later on a "Spencer" from Millbrook was a pauper, but it is not known if it was the same man, or possibly if it was his father.
- (13) Southampton Times 31.3.77.
- (14) He did not succeed in his candidature, but subsequently stood successfully in School and Highway Board elections in the South Stoneham Union: His name was G. Giles, and as a "Baker and Provision dealer" he classified himself as working class. His views on poor relief were as follows: "He would discourage the able bodied from applying for relief, but would respect the claims of the truly needy, especially the aged". Southampton Times 10.4.80.
- (15) Appendix 8.

Notes to Chapter 6 (continued)

(16) Sources: Statement of the Cost of In-maintenance and Outdoor Relief for the half year ended Michaelmas 1872, annual returns in Parliamentary Papers 1873 (103C) LV.291. Census Records Southampton and Hampshire Directories. In order to provide a direct comparison, figures in the years 1909-14 (with the exception of those for the New Forest 1900-1909) have been averaged and grossed up to ten years' expenditure before being divided by total population. Southampton and South Stoneham's figures are given for 1900-08 and 1909 separately because in 1909 Shirley and Portswood were removed from South Stoneham and added to Southampton, hence also the variations in the population figures.

(17) Chapter 7 p. 184.

(18) In this South Stoneham and the New Forest were fortunate. The Hampshire Advertiser commented in 1907 "It is a the tendency to increased expenditure which has aroused the public to a sense of its duty. In one part of Hampshire the rating demands have increased during the past five years by no less than 158%" Hampshire Advertiser 9.3.07.

(19) Chapter 5 p. 123.

(20) Hampshire Advertiser 15.4.91 and Chapter 5 p. 122 - 123.

(21) Hampshire Advertiser 23.3.07.

(22) Southampton Times 1.6.07.

(23) Chapter 5 pp . 129 - 133 and 136 - 137.

(24) E.P.Hennock has shown how the formation of a local board would usually result in the formation of a Ratepayers Party also, upon which they would attempt to gain election to the local board and "inaugurate a period of economy" in the sense of keeping the rates down. "Finance and Politics in Urban Local Government in England 1835 - 1900" op. cit. p. 217.

(25) Southampton Times 4.10.93.

(26) Bryan Luffman The Development of a late Victorian Railway town "Eastleigh - A home for Londoners in Hampshire" 1988 pp . 23 - 30.

(27) Ibid. p. 31. Also South Stoneham Letter Books PRO MH/12/1060.

(28) The chairman was able to reply to this that the guardians had paid their own expenses Southampton Times 28.3.79.

(29) Southampton Times 7.4.87.

(30) Hampshire Advertiser 6.4.95

(31) Hampshire Advertiser 16.5.96.

(32) Southampton Times 22.3.02.

Notes to Chapter 6 (continued)

- (33) Southampton Times 24.4.09.
- (34) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 2.6.70. 25.6.74. SC AG1/1/22.
- (35) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 1.4.75 In 1875 an ex-officio whose firm supplied beer to the workhouse was asked if he wished to discontinue the supply: SC AG1/1/22. Later W. Jenvey asked to be relieved of a beer contract when he stood for the guardianship in St. Marys. Southampton Times 13.1.98.
- (36) Hampshire Independent 6.4.95.
- (37) Hampshire Advertiser 16.5.96.
- (38) Southampton Times 29.5.97.
- (39) Southampton Times 20.1.06.
- (40) New Forest Guardians' Minutes 2.4.05 PLIII/12/1-19. Other examples in South Stoneham Letter Book PRO MH/12/1060.
- (41) Southampton Times 22.10.70.
- (42) Southampton Times 7.4.77.
- (43) Chapter 4 Figure 1 p. 89 and Chapter 7 Figure 5 p. 184.
- (44) A. Temple Patterson Southampton - a Biography Macmillan London 1970 p.158.
- (45) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 11.5.99 and 8.6.99. SC AG1/1/22
- (46) Southampton Times 4.3.99 and 9.1.04.
- (47) Southampton Times 31.3.77.
- (48) Southampton Times 19.3.98.
- (49) Southampton Times 10.1.03.
- (50) J.H. Bulmer The Impact of Liberal Welfare Reforms in Southampton 1906 - 1914 M.Phil. Thesis Southampton University 1984 p. 142.
- (51) Ibid. p. 143.
- (52) Chapter 4 p. 101 and Chapter 5 p. 134.
- (53) Chapter 7 Figure 5 p. 184.
- (54) Chapter 6 p. 167.
- (55) Chapter 7 Figure 5 p. 184.
- (56) Chapter 4 p. 101.
- (57) Pat Ryan "Politics and Relief: East London unions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" in Michael Rose (ed.)

Notes to Chapter 6 (continued)

The Poor and the City 1834 - 1914 Leicester University Press 1985 p. 163.

(58) Chapter 4 p. 89.

(59) Chapter 7 p. 237.

(60) Southampton Times 14.3.14. He was accused of "caring nothing for the rates, even to the extent of 20/- in the £, in favour of the poor".

(61) Southampton Times 24.3.1900.

(62) Chapter 5 p. 123 and Chapter 6 p. 155.

(63) Appendix 8 and Chapter 7 Figure 3 p. 174 and Chapter 5 p. 123.

(64) Appendix 8 and Chapter 7 Figure 4 p. 179 and p. 190.

(65) Figure 4 p. 179.

(66) Southampton Times 23.4.92.

(67) The South Stoneham guardians employed 13 "indoor officials" in 1899, and also a tailor, engineer, shoemaker, bricklayer, white washer and painter. Southampton Times 11.3.99.

(68) Southampton Times 30.3.09.

(69) Southampton Times 16.1.97.

(70) Southampton Times 8.4.93.

(71) Southampton Times 13.12.84.

(72) Southampton Times 4.11.82.

(73) A. Temple Patterson A History of Southampton 1700-1914 Vol. III Southampton University Press 1975 ch VI pp. 42 - 54.

(74) A. Temple Patterson ibid. p. 9 and Southampton Times 25.4.74.

(75) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 23.9.86. SC AG 1/1/22.

(76) Southampton Times 31.3.88.

(77) Southampton Times 23.3.02.

(78) Southampton Times 5.3.98.

(79) The only major employer who was also a guardian here was R. Scovell of Hamble, a shell fish merchant and the principal landowner of the parish.

(80) Southampton Times 13.4.07.

(81) For example N.S. Ashby of Ashby's Brewery in Eling 1899 - 1910,

Notes to Chapter 6 (continued)

J. Fletcher of J. Fletcher timberyard 1894-1898, G. Wadsworth, chief chemist to the Schulz Gunpowder Works.

- (82) Chapter 5 p. 123 - 4.
- (83) Chapter 5 p. 123.
- (84) Sidney and Beatrice Webb English Poor Law History Part II Vol. 1 Frank Cass London 1963 p.229.
- (85) See for example E.P. Hennock Fit and Proper Persons Arnold London 1973 p. 210. Michael Rose The Poor and the City 1834-1914 Leicester University Press 1985 p. 12. M.A. Crowther The Workhouse System Methuen London 1981 p. 51.
- (86) Chapter 3 pp.. 74 and 83.
- (87) Derek Fraser Urban Politics in Victorian England Leicester University Press 1976 p. 74.
- (88) Chapter 4 p 91.
- (89) Norman McCord "Ratepayers and Social Policy" op.cit p. 30.

CHAPTER 7 - PAUPERISM AND POLICY

- (1) Chapter 1 pp . 18 and 19.
- (2) Source for Figures 3, 4 and 5, Tables 7:1 and 7.2: Parliamentary Papers. "Six monthly returns to the Local Government Board for paupers relieved on the 1st January" of each year, and "Costs of relief for the six months ended at Michaelmas" of each year.
- (3) Ibid.
- (4) Appendix 7.
- (5) Southampton Times 19.1.01.
- (6) Few guardians paid sufficient outdoor relief to maintain a pauper's family, assuming other income was available. Michael Rose "The Allowance System and the new Poor Law" Economic History Review 1966 No. 19 p. 613.
- (7) Ann Digby "The Rural Poor" in Derek Fraser (ed.) The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century Macmillan 1976 p. 169.
- (8) E. Feuchtwanger Democracy and Empire Edward Arnold London 1985 pps. 112 - 116. Keith Burgess "Did the Late Victorian Economy Fail?" in T.R. Gourvish and Alan O'Day (eds.) Later Victorian Britain Macmillan London 1988 p. 258.
- (9) In a report sent to the LGB in support of the campaign to improve Lyndhurst's drainage in 1876 details are given of a family paying 2s. rent for a cottage of three bedrooms with no w.c., in which lived the husband and his wife, her mother and seven children. The labourer's wages were 12s. a week. Their clothing was "scanty and dirty" MH 12 10887.
- (10) Hampshire Independent 21.4.83.
- (11) Southampton Times 19.1.01.
- (12) Southampton Times 11.1.96 and 19.1.01.
- (13) Appendix 8.
- (14) The reason for the LGB's under-estimation of actual pauper numbers in its figures was because, by taking only the numbers in workhouses on two dates in the year, it did not get an accurate figure for total numbers of paupers relieved over the course of the whole year. Figures as to aged paupers are from D. Thomson "Workhouse to Nursing Home: Residential Care of elderly people in England since 1840" Ageing and Society Vols. 3 - 4 1983-4 p. 47.
- (15) Appendix 8.
- (16) Pat Thane The Foundations of the Welfare State Longman London 1982 p. 73.
- (17) Old Age Pensions Act 1908 8 Edward VII Ch. 40.

Notes to Chapter 7 (continued)

(18) Anne Digby in Derek Fraser (ed.) op. cit. p. 169.

(19) A. Temple Patterson A History of Southampton 1700 - 1914 op. cit. p. 96. South Stoneham's figures are complicated by the handover of paupers for Shirley and Portswood to Southampton in 1909, when 97 inmates from the South Stoneham workhouse at West End moved to St. Mary's workhouse, and outdoor paupers living in Shirley and Portswood were transferred. Those for Southampton are distorted also by the same factor.

(20) Appendix 5.

(21) Chapter 6 p. 151.

(22) Anne Digby in Derek Fraser (ed.) op. cit. p. 158.

(23) The Webbs mention the anomaly existing in poor law administration regarding thrift. Many unions required paupers to show signs of thrift, but elsewhere an annuity, a cottage, an investment, was a disqualification for relief. S. and B. Webb English Poor Law History Part II Vol. 1 op. cit. p. 450.

(24) Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Act 1894 57 & 58 Vict. Ch 25.

(25) Southampton Times 7.4.77 and 14.4.77.

(26) Appendix 8.

(27) South Stoneham Letter Book 11.4.72 PRO MH 12 11043.

(28) Southampton Times 12.5.94.

(29) Appendix 8.

(30) A. Temple Patterson Southampton - A Biography Macmillan London 1970 p. 164.

(31) A. Temple Patterson A History of Southampton 1700-1914 op. cit. Chapter 6.

(32) Chapter 1 pps. 18 and 19 and Chapter 7 p. 222.

(33) Southampton Guardians' Letter Book 21.2.1910 SC AG 2/12.

(34) Pat Ryan "Poplarism" in Pat Thane (ed.) The Origins of British Social Policy London Croom Helm 1978 p. 65.

(35) Appendix 7.

(36) The transfer of Itchen to Southampton occurred after the First World War.

(37) South Stoneham Guardians' Letter Books 31.7.72 and 23.1.77 PRO MH 12 11043 and 11045.

(38) New Forest Guardians' Letter books 20.3.76 and 6.5.89 PRO MH 12 10087 and MH 12 10891.

Notes to Chapter 7 (continued)

(39) In 1897 the LGB Inspector listed the additions that had been made to the Southampton Workhouse namely: 1876 two new Imbeciles' blocks. 1879 purchase of adjoining property. 1880 No. 5 block remodeled for imbeciles. 2 existing blocks given to sick wards. 1884 new vagrants wards. 1887 new aged men's accommodtaion. 1890 No. 5 block extended. Address to the Southampton Guardians from Baldwyn Fleming 15.11.97 SC AG 14/12.

(40) South Stoneham Guardians' Letter books 17.3.99 PRO MH 12 11055.

(41) South Stoneham Guardians' Letter books 8.5.90. 25.4.95 12.6.96, PRO MH 12 1054, 1055.

(42) Appendix 8.

(43) Southampton Guardians' Letter books 28.4.71, 15.9.82, 29.11.95 SC/AG/1 and 3.

(44) Appendix 7.

(45) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 20.7.99.

(46) Southampton Guardians' Letter books 13.8.04 SC AG 2/10.

(47) Relief in kind is identified as such by David Roberts "How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law" Historical Journal 1966 No. 6. "The poor preferred a 9s or 10s wage to relief payments of 3s food enough to get through the week, and work on the roads." Relief in Kind was also stipulated by the Poor Law Commission in 1834 to make up half outdoor relief to the able bodied.

(48) Appendix 8.

(49) Michael Rose "The Allowance System and the New Poor Law" Economic History Review 19 1966 p. 618.

(50) Chapter 1 p. 7.

(51) Southampton Guardians' Letter books 10.1.79. SC AG 2/10.

(52) Southampton Guardians' Letter books 15.9.82. SC AG 2/10.

(53) South Stoneham Guardians' Letter books 7.2.77 PRO MH 12 11045.

(54) Ibid. 20.2.95.

(55) Ibid. 8.4.96.

(56) Southampton Times 6.2.04 quoted in J. H. Bulmer The Impact of Liberal Welfare Reforms in Southampton 1906-1914 M. Phil. Thesis 1984 p. 149.

(57) M.E. Cowther The Workhouse System 1834 - 1939 Methuen London 1981 p. 217.

(58) Hampshire Independent 27.7.95.

Notes to Chapter 7 (continued)

- (59) Southampton Guardians' Letter Books 9.8.78. SC AG 2/10.
- (60) Francis Duke "Pauper Education" in Derek Fraser (ed.) The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century op. cit. p. 81.
- (61) South Stoneham Guardians' Letter books 9.8.78 and 29.12.83. PRO MH12 11045 and MH12 11047.
- (62) Ibid. 17.10.82.
- (63) M.W. Flinn "Medical Services under the New Poor Law" in Derek Fraser (ed.) The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century op. cit. pps. 64-65.
- (64) New Forest Guardians' Letter Book 19.5.77. PRO MH 12 10887
- (65) South Stoneham Guardians' Letter book 8.5.90 PRO MH 11051.
- (66) Southampton Guardians' Letter Books 21.6.01 SC AG 2/10.
- (67) S. and B. Webb op. cit. p. 234.
- (68) N. Longmate The Workhouse Temple Smith London 1974 p. 267
- (69) A woman had first become a member of the school board in Southampton in 1895, but there were no female councillors before 1914.
- (70) Southampton Times 3.3.98 and 26.3.98.
- (71) Other women guardians had more to put up with than "unseemly ebullitions of wrath". A candidate in the guardians' elections of 1900 commented that his female opponent's policies were "eminently illogical and eminently feminine". Southampton Times 24.3.1900.
- (72) Southampton Times 26.3.98.
- (73) Southampton Times 25.3.05.
- (74) South Stoneham Guardians' Letter Book 4.1.72 PRO MH 12 11043.
- (75) Southampton Times 7.4.94.
- (76) Southampton Times 30.3.01.
- (77) Appendix 8.
- (78) Southampton Times 1.2.99.
- (79) Southampton Times 19.1.07.
- (80) Rachel Vorspan "Vagrancy and the New Poor Law in late Victorian and Edwardian England" Economic History Review 1977 No. 97 pp. 57 - 81.
- (81) Southampton Times 11.5.01.

Notes to Chapter 7 (continued)

- (82) Southampton Times 9.4.04.
- (83) Rachel Vorspan op. cit. p.63.
- (84) Chapter 6 pps. 157 and 158.
- (85) Ruth Hutchinson Crocker "The Victorian Poor Law in Crisis and Change: Southampton 1870-1895" Albion Spring 1987 p. 23.
- (86) Crocker identifies two deputy presidents of the Southampton Board as COS members, plus three of the board's officials Ibid. p. 24.
- (87) Chapter 3 p. 64.
- (88) Southampton Times 6.1.77 quoted in R.H. Crocker op. cit. p. 32.
- (89) Chapter 6 p. 152.
- (90) R.H. Crocker op. cit. p. 28.
- (91) Appendix 9 and Table 7:1 p. 188.
- (92) R. H. Crocker op. cit. p. 36.
- (93) Ibid. p. 38.
- (94) Ibid. p. 39.
- (95) A. Temple Patterson op. cit. pp. 106 - 107.
- (96) R. H. Crocker op. cit. p. 42.
- (97) Mr. Crew described his philosophy in 1877 as follows: When he had been elected three years previously "the cry was then raised of the heavy rates". He maintained that the guardians had never wished to abolish outdoor relief entirely, as they were being accused of doing, but that they "had to consider the condition of the poor ratepayer as well as those applying for relief." "Their object was to teach persons to be provident and discountenance undeserving cases." Southampton Times 24.3.77.
- (98) Mr. Bicker-Caarten stood at the guardians' elections in 1892 as a Liberal, in 1893 for "Labour" with John Exten, and in 1901 he was elected to the Council as a Liberal.
- (99) A. Temple Patterson op. cit. p. 106 - 107.
- (100) H. Kitcher, who stood as a "Labour" candidate, with Bicker-Caarten and Exten as his unsuccessful colleagues.
- (101) Southampton Times 7.2.03.
- (102) J. Bulmer op. cit. p. 138.
- (103) Southampton Times 20.8.92.

Notes to Chapter 7 (continued)

- (104) Chapter 4 p. 98.
- (105) Chapter 8 p. 225.
- (106) Chapter 1 p. 14.
- (107) Chapter 6 p. 168.
- (108) Derek Fraser "The English Poor and the British Welfare State" in W. J. Mommsen (ed.) The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany German Historical Institute 1981 p.22.
- (109) S. and B. Webb op. cit. p. 477.
- (110) South Stoneham Guardians' Letter Book 3.10. 1895 PRO MH 12/11054.
- (111) Workhouse Committee Minutes, Southampton Board of Guardians 25.1.10. SC AG 3/4
- (112) F.W. Manders The Administration of the Poor Law in the Gateshead Union 1836-1930 F.W.D. Manders M. Litt thesis Newcastle 1980 p. 166.
- (113) New Forest Guardians' Letter Book 9.5.90 PRO MH/12 10891. These were common views amongst the Inspectorate. The Webbs detail the views of the Inspector for the North-Western Counties who condemned the system of having relief committees made up of guardians from the parishes from which paupers also came from. S. and B. Webb op. cit. p. 740.
- (114) Kenneth M. McNeilly Public Provision for the Poor in Glasgow 1890-1914 M. Phil. Thesis 1986 p. 59.
- (115) P.W. Randell Poor Law Relief in Somerset, with particular reference to the Wincanton Union 1894-1900 M. Litt. thesis University of Lancaster 1982 pp. 43 - 45.
- (116) Lawrence Feehan Charitable Effort, Statutory Authorities and the Poor in Liverpool 1850 - 1914 Ph.D Thesis 1987 p. 458.
- (117) Address to the Guardians by Baldwyn Fleming 18.11.97 SC AG 14/12.
- (118) Southampton Guardians' Letter Books 29.9.98 SC AG 2/10.
- (119) Chapter 1 pps. 11 and 12.
- (120) Pat Thane The Origins of British Social Policy London Croom Helm 1978 p. 12.
- (121) F.W. Manders The Administration of the Poor Law in the Gateshead Union 1836-1930 M. Litt. Thesis Newcastle 1980 p. 162.
- (122) Chapter 3 p. 84.
- (123) Chapter 1 p. 16.

Notes to Chapter 7 (continued)

(124) Peter Wood "Finances and the Urban Poor Law: Sunderland Union 1836-1914" in M. Rose (ed.) The Poor and the City 1834-1914 Leicester University Press 1985 p. 39. P.W. Randell Poor Law Relief in Somerset, with particular reference to the Wincanton Union 1834-1900 M. Litt. Thesis University of Lancaster 1983 p. 307.

(125) F.W.D. Manders op. cit. p. 162.

(126) Source: Parliamentary Papers: Annual Returns to the Local Government Board for pauper numbers and costs relating to Inmaintenance and Outdoor Relief in England and Wales.

(127) Local Government Board Circulars on relief for the Aged Deserving Poor 4th August 1900 Jose Harris Unemployment and Politics - A study in English Social Policy 1886-1914 Clarendon Press Oxford 1972 p. 147.

(128) R.G. Barker Houghton le Spring Poor Law Union 1837 - 1930 M. Litt. Thesis Newcastle 1974 p. 141. F.W.D. Manders op. cit p. 96.

(129) J. H. Bulmer op. cit. p. 128.

(130) Ibid. p. 129.

(131) Michael Rose quotes an LGB Inspector who understood the problems that niggardly rates of outdoor relief posed for the poor. "It is in the interests of the poor rather than the rich that I plead for the abolition of outdoor relief." LGB 20th Annual Report 1890-1 App. B, No. 60, report by T.L. Murray-Browne, quoted in M. Rose "The Allowance System and the New Poor Law" Economic History Review 1966 No. 19 p. 620.

(132) J.H. Bulmer op. cit. p. 153.

(133) Report of the South Stoneham Union Lady Day 1904 SC AG Box 1/13.

(134) F.W.D. Manders op. cit. pp. 102 and 164.

(135) Chapter 1 p. 30. P.A. Ryan Poplarism op. cit. pp. 60 - 70.

(136) Appendix 10 - Plans of the Southampton Workhouse.

(137) J. V. Corrigan The administration of the Poor Law in the Tynemouth Union 1830 - 1939 M.Phil. thesis Goldsmiths' College 1985 p. 163.

(138) R. G. Barker Houghton le Spring Poor Law Union 1837-1930 M. Litt. Thesis Newcastle 1974 p.221.

(139) K. Williams From Pauperism to Poverty Routledge and Kegan Paul London 1981 p. 91. Pat Thane "Women and the Poor Law in Victorian and Edwardian England" History Workshop Vol. 5-6 1978 p. 38.

Notes to Chapter 7 (continued)

(140) Pat Thane The Foundations of the Welfare State Longman London 1982 p. 73.

(141) Hampshire Independent 23.5.77 reported in the New Forest Guardians' Letter book PRO MH 12 10887.

(142) In 1871 in Southampton a complaint to the LGB maintained that an applicant for outdoor relief had died following relief being refused, and a similar case in 1879 occurred when a medical officer was accused of failing to attend a case, and a similar case arose in 1901 over the death of a workhouse inmate. In 1898 an enquiry was held into the over-working of a female pauper. Southampton Guardians' Letter Books SC AG 2/10.

(143) Southampton Times 17.11.06 quoted in J.H. Bulmer op. cit p. 140.

(144) Chapter 2 p. 48.

(145) Southampton Times 2.1.04 quoted in J.H. Bulmer op. cit pp. 129/30.

(146) Chapter 6 pp.. 160-161.

CHAPTER 8 - INTERESTS AND INFLUENCE - ELECTED AND EX-OFFICIO GUARDIANS

- (1) Southampton Local Act 1772 13 Geo III Cap 50.
- (2) Southampton Guardians' Letter Books SC AG 2/10
- (3) In South Stoneham in the 1890s the following committees existed - Tenders, Building, Assessment and Finance, while it was common also to have a workhouse committee.
- (4) George Parker guardian 1894-1914, John Patstone 1881-1911 and William Batchelor 1876-1906, but he was first elected in 1863.
- (5) Southampton Times 7.4.06.
- (6) Long service as a guardian was not unusual. In Somerset twenty years was by no means rare, while such guardians were also regular attenders. The result of such long service was a wealth of experience and continuity, but little innovation. P.W. Randell Poor Relief in Somerset, with particular reference to the Wincanton Union M. Litt. thesis University of Lancaster 1983 p.1.
- (7) The Sources for these figures are the Minute Books of the Guardians in the three unions with figures taken at three monthly intervals as follows: Southampton 27th January 1870 - 6th April 1914; South Stoneham 4th January 1870 - 20th October 1874 and 8th July 1890 - 18th July 1893 and 7th May 1895 - 29th April 1913; New Forest 9th October 1871 - 9th January 1881 and 30th September 1895 - 7th March 1905. The gaps in these series of dates relate to gaps in the records.
- (8) Anthony Brundage refers to 50% attendance in the years after 1834 as being "remarkably high". A. Brundage "The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law" English History Review 1972 p. 46.
- (9) J. Sheppard 1889, Major Ringrose-Voase 1891, P.B. Hayward 1908 and in the New Forest W.G. Roy 1889.
- (10) Chapter 8 pp. 206 - 208.
- (11) Appendix 2.
- (12) Chapter 4 pp. 95 and 96.
- (13) M. Rose The Poor and the City Leicester University Press 1985 p. 12.
- (14) Chapter 7 pps. 205 - 208. J.H. Bulmer The Impact of Liberal Welfare Reforms in Southampton 1906 - 1914 M.Phil. thesis Southampton University 1984 p. 139.
- (15) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 27.7.05. SC AG1/1/22.
- (16) Hampshire Advertiser 9.3.89.
- (17) Southampton Times 31.10.91.

Notes to Chapter 8 (continued)

(18) Chapter 7 p. 207. Bryan Keith-Lucas and Peter G. Richards describe how membership of a local authority could impose a heavy financial burden, especially as a result of the loss of earnings due to the time spent in the town hall or council house. A History of Local Government in the Twentieth Century Allen & Unwin London 1978 p. 94.

(19) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 11.5.11. SC AG1/1/22.

(20) Figures derived from a quarterly survey of meetings held between 1871 and 1894 (when ex-officios were abolished). Percentage figures are not possible in this case given the fluctuating numbers of magistrates in Southampton.

(21) M.E. Crowther The Workhouse System 1834-1929 Methuen London 1981 p. 80.

(22) Chapter 4 p.90.

(23) Southampton Times 16.4.81.

(24) Southampton Times 26.8.65.

(25) Southampton Times 16.4.98.

(26) Southampton Times 21.3.03.

(27) Southampton Times 23.4.10.

(28) Chapter 3 p. 84.

(29) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 1.6.71, 7.9.71, 12.5.81, 26.4.83, 25.2.92. SC AG1/1/22.

(30) South Stoneham Guardians' Minutes 5.1.87. D/AGF.

(31) Southampton Times 3.10.96, 14.11.96.

(32) "The distributors of voting papers will always in contested elections be chosen if possible for their adhesion to the party views of the clerk, especially when his own happens to be the reflex of the Board in possession, willing and perhaps anxious to retain office" - Leeds Vestry minutes 1828-44 in D. Fraser "The Poor Law as a Political Institution" in D. Fraser (ed.) 'The Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century' Macmillan London 1976 p. 113-114.

(33) Southampton Times 11.3.81.

(34) Southampton Times 28.11.81.

(35) Michael Rose "Settlement, Removal and the New Poor Law" in D. Fraser (ed.) op. cit. pp. 27-35.

(36) David Ashforth "The Urban Poor Law" in D. Fraser (ed.) op. cit. p. 144.

Notes to Chapter 8 (continued)

- (37) Southampton Times 21.4.94.
- (38) Southampton Times 11.3.81.
- (39) Southampton Times 2.11.95, 21.3.96. Southampton Guardians' Minutes 22.8.95, 17.10.95, 19.10.95, 20.2.96.
- (40) Chapter 7.
- (41) Southampton Incorporation Accounts SC/AG/10 1 and 3.
- (42) N. McCord "The Poor Law and Philanthropy" in D. Fraser (ed.) op. cit. p. 98-99.
- (43) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 3.4.73 and 17.4.73. Southampton Times 5.4.73. SC AG1/1/22.
- (44) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 10.12.74. SC AG1/1/22.
- (45) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 19.1.82. SC AG1/1/22.
- (46) Chapter 6 pp. 166 - 170.
- (47) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 4.3.75 11.3.75 25.11.75 SC AG1/1/22
- (48) Southampton Guardians' Minutes 24.5.75. SC AG1/1/22.
- (49) For example Southampton Guardians' Minutes 19.6.90 concerning a salary increase for the chaplain and the vote in September 1890 which tried to rescind the previously agreed rise.
- (50) Southampton Guardians' Letter Book 10.1.79 SC AG 2/10.
- (51) See for example N. McCord "The Implementation of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act on Tyneside" International Review of Social History Vol. XIV 1969 p. 97 concerning the role of the ex-officios of the Gateshead Union.
- (52) Chapter 5 *passim*.
- (53) The politics of some of the ex-officios is known. There were 18 JPs between 1870 and 1894 in the New Forest, of whom 8 were known to be Conservative, and one Liberal. In these circumstances in the New Forest any party patronage would undoubtedly have been directed towards Conservative party supporters, but with such a preponderance of Conservatives in the New Forest one imagines that party would not have entered into appointments, except possibly and occasionally negatively.
- (54) S. and B. Webb English Poor Law History Part II Vol.1 in English Local Government Cass and Co. London 1929 p. 229.
- (55) D. Fraser "The English Poor Law and the British Welfare State" in W. J. Mommsen (ed.) The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany German Historical Institute 1981 p. 27.

Notes to Chapter 8 (continued)

(56) Anne Digby Pauper Palaces Routledge & Kegan Paul London 1978 p. 153. K.D.M. Snell Annals of the Labouring Poor - Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900 Cambridge University Press 1985 p. 116. N. McCord "The Implementation of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act on Tyneside" International Review of Social History Vol. XIV 1969 p. 97.

(57) P.W. Randell says that attendance of ex-officios at meetings of the Wincanton Board of Guardians was "not unsatisfactory". Poor Law Relief in Somerset, with particular reference to the Wincanton Union 1834-1900 M. Litt. thesis University of Lancaster 1982 p. 40. J. V. Corrigan The Administration of the Poor Law in the Tynemouth Union 1830-1939 M. Phil. thesis Goldsmiths College 1987 p. 354. Bromley's Board of Guardians was dominated for 40 years by Lord Sydney and George Warde. M. E. Crowther The Workhouse System Methuen London 1981 p. 80.

(60) Chapter 5 p. 125 - 126.

(61) New Forest Guardians' Minutes 29.1.77, 8.11.75, 28.11.81 respectively.

(62) For example New Forest Guardians' Minutes 5.4.80.

(63) Southampton Times 21.10.82.

(64) A. Brundage "The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law: A reappraisal of the revolution in government" English Historical Review 1972 pp. 28-35.

(65) Ibid. page 42.

(66) P. Dunkley "Paternalism, the Magistracy and Poor Relief in England 1795-1834". International Review of Social History XXIV 1979 pp. 386 - 387.

(67) A. Brundage op. cit. p. 33.

(68) Derek Fraser "The English Poor Law and the Welfare State" op. cit. pp. 24 - 26.

(69) Chapter 5 p. 123.

(70) A. Brundage op. cit. p. 44.

(71) Derek Fraser "The English Poor Law and the Welfare State" op. cit. p. 25.

(72) L.F.C. Pack A Study of the Evolution of the methods of Poor Relief in the Winchester Area 1720 - 1854 M.A. Thesis University of Southampton 1967 identifies this as the criterion for the setting up of unions in Hampshire "Taking the market town as a centre and comprehending those surrounding parishes whose inhabitants are accustomed to resort to the same market" p. 31.

(73) A. Brundage op. cit. p. 37.

Notes to Chapter 8 (continued)

(74) Ibid p. 39.

(75) N. McCord "The Implementation of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act on Tyneside" International Review of Social History Vol. XIV 1969 p. 97.

(76) "Closed Parishes" where one landowner owned all the property and controlled who lived in the parish. See for example Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth Century Britain D.R.Mills London Croom Helm 1980 page 76, for a definition of "open" and "close" or "closed" parishes, although Mills argues elsewhere in this book that the distinction between open and closed parishes is not truly valid, and he prefers a fourfold classification.

(77) Ibid. p. 23.

(78) Union Chargeability Act 1865 28 & 29 Vict. Cap. 79.

(79) Wealth as measured by rateable value - see Chapter 10. Rateable value is a most reliable source for estimating wealth and influence in this context, in that it was based on property values, and the highest rateable values related to landownership.

(80) Mingay op. cit. p.174 referring to R. J.Olney's study of Lincolnshire Politics 1832-1885 Oxford University Press pp . 40 - 48.

(81) F.M.L. Thompson English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century Routledge and Kegan Paul London 1963 p. 196.

(82) Mills op. cit. p.31. Mingay op. cit. p. 174.

(83) F.E. Kenchington The Commoners' New Forest Hutchinson London p. 87.

(84) Mingay op. cit. page 185. "Many owners kept up the tradition of annual feasts for the tenants on the squire's birthday" for tenants, workers, and so on. Mingay describes how the squire modernised cottages, helped establish schools and pay for the schoolmaster, encouraged village friendly societies, presented a football ground or a cricket field, built waterworks, provided a reading room. The Montagus are described in much the same terms by Lady Troubridge and Archibald Marshall in Lord Montagu of Beaulieu Macmillan London 1930 Chapter XXII pps 262 - 8 and by H.E.C. Widnall in The Beaulieu Record Pioneer 1973 pp . 312, 339, 348.

(85) J.V. Corrigan op. cit. p. 354.

(86) Anthony Brundage describes how in the years immediately after 1834 the influence of ex-officio guardians was secured by tenants serving as guardians. A. Brundage op. cit. pp . 28-29.

(87) Chapter 5 pps. 131 and 132. Sir Henry Paulet was one of an old southern Hampshire family, a member of which had been granted Netley Abbey by Henry VIII.

(88) Chapter 9 p. 283.

Notes to Chapter 8 (continued)

- (89) A. Brundage op.cit. p. 34.
- (90) Chapter 3, Tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 for full comparisons of populations, rateable values and assessments in 1891 and 1901 pp. 75, 79 and 81.
- (91) Chapter 3 pp. 73 - 85.
- (92) Chapter 5 p. 123 and 126.
- (93) Chapter 3 pp. 73 - 85.
- (94) P. Dunkley op. cit. *passim*.
- (95) A. Brundage op. cit. *passim*.
- (96) Ruscombe Foster The Politics of County Power Harvester Wheatsheaf Hemel Hempstead 1990 pp. 151 and 156.
- (97) Chapter 5 p. 126.
- (98) G.E. Mingay The Gentry London Longman 1976 page 169. The concept of a long lasting depression in agriculture has been challenged, but it acknowledged that there were some very bad years at this time, notably 1879, 1884-7 and 1892-5. Prices fell between 1873 and 1896. H. Perkin The Rise of Professional Society Routledge London 1989 p. 37.
- (99) F.E. Kenchington op. cit. p. 75.
- (100) Agricultural Rates Act 1896 Vict. 59 & 60 Cap. 16.
- (101) G.E. Mingay The Gentry op. cit. p. 170. F.M.L. Thompson op. cit. p. 196. Many hereditary tenants were swept away by the difficulties of the 1880s, giving way to newcomers who lacked traditional ties to an estate and habits of deference.
- (102) Chapter 7 p. 188.
- (103) P. Dunkley op. cit. p. 388. David Cannadine has also detailed the manner in which traditional landlord-tenant relations were eroded by the strains imposed by the depression in agriculture of the 1880s. D. Cannadine The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy Yale University Press New Haven and London 1990 p. 50.
- (104) P. Dunkley op. cit. pages 373-4 and page 391 where he cites the enforcement of the game laws, the destruction of housing to create "close" parishes, the "economic rationalisation of estate management" such as the ending of living-in, hiring fairs, and the increase of day labour.
- (105) F.M.L. Thompson op. cit. p. 210.
- (106) Southampton Times 4.6.81.

Notes to Chapter 8 (continued)

(107) Southampton Times 22.4.82.

(108) Chapter 5 p. 126.

(109) Chapter 2 p. 56 - 58.

(110) Chapter 2 pp. 53 - 56.

(111) Chapter 2 p. 40.

(112) Southampton Times 29.12.94.

(113) Southampton Times 27.8.87.

(114) Fleming's rateable valuation was £1,763. For the sake of example the rateable valuations of various New Forest landowners and magistrates were as follows: H. S. Stanley of Cadnam £1,817, G.E.B. Eyre of Bramshaw £4,123, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu £1,176. See Chapter 10 for a fuller discussion of elected guardians, ex-officios and rateable valuations.

(115) D. Cannadine op. cit. pp. 27 - 60.

(116) Disraeli is quoted in G. Himmelfarb "The Idea of Poverty" History Today 1984 No. 4 page 23.

(117) Chapter 5 p. 142.

(118) Chapter 5. p. 129, 136 - 137.

(119) S. and B. Webb English Poor Law History Part II Cass and Co. London 1929 p. 229. Also N. McCord op.cit. page 97. Derek Fraser "The English Poor Law and the British Welfare State" op. cit. p. 25.

CHAPTER 9 - OCCUPATIONS OF GUARDIANS

- (1) Directories. Kelly's Southampton Directories 1870 - 1914, Southampton Public Library, Local History Collection. Kelly's Hampshire Directories, Hampshire Record Office, Winchester. These, given knowledge of addresses which is available in almost every case, and the dates of elected service, offer a reliable and accurate guide concerning occupations of individuals, although the categories used by directory compilers are sometimes rather vague. In some cases directory information is supplemented by references in the press or minute books to certain individuals.
- (2) In some cases there may have been one or two representatives of an occupation group not given on the graph. To present such small figures in percentage form would be misleading. Thus there was a corn and coal dealer on the New Forest Board between 1877 and 1886 and also a grocer in 1871. The total numbers of such individuals are negligible. See Appendix 11 for a full list of occupations within the groups used in this survey.
- (3) Agricultural Rates Act 1896 Vict. 59 & 60 cap.16.
- (4) Appendix 11.
- (5) Chapter 3 p.69.
- (6) Chapter 4 p.94 and 95.
- (7) See individual occupation sections later in this chapter and Appendix 12.
- (8) Chapter 10 p. 305.
- (9) E.P. Hennock Fit and Proper Persons Arnold London 1973 p. 217. T. Vigne and A. Hawkins in "The Small Shopkeeper in Industrial and Market Towns" make the point that specialist shopkeepers, particularly in urban areas, because of their requirements for large amounts of capital had considerable social status, G. Crossick (ed.) The Lower Middle Class in Britain Croom Helm London 1977 p. 206.
- (10) Calculations based upon the length of service of individual directors of the Chamber of Commerce indicate that shopkeepers represented 17% of the directors, professionals and manufacturers 15% each and the commercial group 26%. Food sellers accounted for 10%, the Drink Trade 6% and Builders 2%.
- (11) Appendix 12.
- (12) Derek Fraser Power and Authority in the Victorian City Blackwells Oxford 1979 p.45. Quoting E.F. Rathbone William Rathbone. A Memoir 1908 p. 253.
- (13) John Vincent Pollbooks Cambridge University Press 1967 p.38 found that the wealthiest shopkeepers tended to be chemists, booksellers, drapers and wine merchants, and so it has also proved in Southampton.

Notes to Chapter 9 (continued)

- (14) Chapter 6 p. 157 - 159.
- (15) Chapter 6 p. 159.
- (16) Chapter 4 pp. 113 - 118.
- (17) Appendix 15.
- (18) Chapter 2 p. 37, 39 and 41.
- (19) Appendix 12. J. Treherne, a builder from Eastleigh, had rateable valuations totalling £1006, while L. Button's in Southampton totalled £1472.
- (20) E. P. Hennock "Finance and Politics in Urban Local Govt in England" Historical Journal 1963 p. 214.
- (21) J. V. Corrigan The administration of the Poor Law in the Tynemouth Union 1830-1939 M. Phil thesis Goldsmiths College 1985 p. 185 and F.W. Manders The Administration of the Poor Law in the Gateshead Union 1836-1930 M. Litt. Newcastle 1980 p. 50.
- (22) Chapter 6 pp. 166 - 170.
- (23) Chapter 4 p. 108.
- (24) For example William Powell, Principal Landowner from Lyndhurst, whose rates increased from £174 in 1896 to £207 in 1909. G.E.B. Eyre, landowner of Bramshaw, received a valuation of £223 for his house in 1886 which was valued at £450 in 1911 for what appears to be the same property.
- (25) At the time it was said that a complete revaluation would take too long (12 months) and cost too much (£2000). Southampton Times 7.7.1900.
- (26) Chapter 6 p. 169.
- (27) Appendix 12.
- (28) Southampton Times 10.4.69. Derek Fraser notes that businessmen brought "an aura of respectability" and also "business acumen, enlarged municipal vision and organisational talent" to local administration. Derek Fraser Power and Authority in a Victorian City op. cit. p. 159.
- (29) W.J. Reader Professional Men Weidenfeld & Nicolson London 1966 pp. 146 -161.
- (30) Chapter 8 p. 247.
- (31) Appendix 12.
- (32) E.P. Hennock Fit and Proper Persons Arnold London 1973 pp. 37, 44 and 194.
- (33) In attempting to categorise this occupation group more precisely a number of refinements have been attempted. Age of

Notes to Chapter 9 (continued)

individuals could be relevant to whether or not they were retired, but in most cases this is not known. Where possible a previous occupation has been ascertained, confirming retired status, but this has only been possible in Southampton where earlier directories can yield such information. One investigation which does throw some light has been the enquiry into probate valuations (Appendix 13). While bearing the limitations of this survey in mind, it seems clear that in a number of cases private residents from Southampton and South Stoneham had probate valuations considerably larger (in percentage terms) than their rating values. Thus there were 79 private residents in Southampton and South Stoneham. Probate values were found in 17 cases (21% of the total) and of these 13 were found to be considerably in excess of rateable values. In South Stoneham 8 out of 9 of these probate valuations were found to be in excess of ratings by between 78% and 561%. (In the New Forest insufficient probate valuations were found.) The implications of this would seem to be that although urban private residents may have had lower rateable values than some of their rural counterparts, in terms of actual property at death they may have been considerably wealthier than their ratings suggest. By measuring wealth in rateable values one is probably underestimating that of private residents, particularly since there is evidence in the offices they held on various voluntary organisations that the local prestige of certain individuals was considerable.

- (34) H. Compton's steward was John Sampson, guardian 1871-83, 1894-1914. Chas Snell, guardian 1880-93 was steward of H. Mitford's estate, and the Drummond's steward was also a guardian.
- (35) (Appendix 13) Most private residents for whom rateable and probate valuations have been found show a tendency to be undervalued in rating terms. Out of twenty private residents, fifteen had greater wealth proportionately when measured by probate than by rating. For the farmers the reverse is the case, so that nine farmers have been assigned probate valuations, and of these seven had ratings which were proportionately greater. It is likely, therefore, that farmers' wealth was primarily located in their land, while private residents, on the other hand, are likely to have possessed wealth invested elsewhere.
- (36) Ann Digby "The Rural Poor Law" in D. Frazer (ed.) The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century Macmillan, London 1976 page 153.
- (37) Ibid. pp. 157-8.
- (38) Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission 1909 vol i, page 143 of the 8vo edition, in S. and B. Webb English Poor Law History Part II Cass & Co London 1963 p. 230.
- (39) Chapter 7 Figure 3 p. 173 and 174.
- (40) Agricultural Rates Act 1896 59 & 60 Vict. Cap. 16.
- (41) The concern of the Conservative country gentry for the

Notes to Chapter 9 (continued)

administration of the poor law in the 1880s is demonstrated by their anxiety during the passage of the County Councils Bill in 1888 that the poor law should not become the responsibility of the new elected county bodies. Lord Salisbury convinced them to support the Bill by the fact that the poor law was to remain the responsibility of the guardians, including at this point, the ex-officios. The Local Government Act of 1894, with its more democratic franchise for guardians' elections, was a Liberal measure. Donald Southgate The Conservative Leadership Macmillan London 1974 p.131.

(42) A member of the Compton family was a guardian from 1894-1901, as were five other members of the New Forest principal landowning families.

(43) Chapter 8 p. 227.

(44) Pat Waller Town, City and Nation Oxford University Press 1983 p.292. Also Denis Smith Conflict and Compromise - Class Formation in English Society 1830-1914 Routledge & Kegan Paul London 1982 p. 61.

(45) D. Fraser Urban Politics in Victorian England Leicester University Press 1976 p. 129.

(46) James Cornford "The Transformation of Conservatism in the late Nineteenth Century" Victorian Studies Vol. 7 1963 pps 59 and 65. Half the shopkeepers elected to the Southampton Board of Guardians after 1894 were Conservatives, as were most of the professionals and private residents.

(47) H. Pelling Social Geography of British Elections 1885-1910 Macmillan London 1967 pp. 41, 278, 388.

(48) Appendix 12.

(49) G. Crossick The Lower Middle Class in Britain Croom Helm London 1977 pps. 12, 16, 29, 34, 40 and 47. Derek Fraser in Power and Authority in the Victorian City Blackwells, Oxford 1979 makes the point that the "municipal energy" for expensive sanitary reform waned in Leeds once more "upper working class and lower middle class elected representatives shopkeepers, tradesmen, small merchants, artisans, craftsmen and publicans, became elected." p.69. Also John Vincent Pollbooks op. cit. p.38 for lower middle class occupations.

(50) Pat Waller op. cit. p.120.

(51) Chapter 4 pps. 103 and 104. Chapter 2 pps. 39 and 42. A. Temple Patterson A History of Southampton Vol III Southampton University Press 1975 Chapter 8 pp. 80 - 94.

(52) The problems of using occupations as a definition of class or of stratification have been described by R.S. Neale. He sees occupations as being insufficiently homogeneous, and looks to other criteria, such as income, wealth and manners to establish strata within a society, while class entails the assessment of "ascribed status". R.S. Neale Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century Routledge & Kegan Paul London 1972 p. 20.

CHAPTER 10 - RATEABLE VALUES

(1) "Local Representatives" in the three areas held office on the following organisations:
 Southampton: The Bench. The Council. The Board of Guardians. The School Board.
 South Stoneham: The Bench. The Board of Guardians/Sanitary Board/Rural District Council. School Boards. Local Boards of Health. Urban District Councils.
 New Forest: The Bench. The Board of Guardians/Sanitary Board/Rural District Council.

(2) Public Health Act 1844 11 & 12 Vict. Cap. 63.

(3) The Local Government Act 1894 56 & 57 Vict. cap. 73.

(4) P.A. Ryan "Poplarism 1894-1930" in Pat Thane (ed.) The Origins of British Social Policy Croom Helm London 1978 *passim*.

(5) Anne Digby Pauper Palaces Routledge & Kegan Paul London 1978 p. 81.

(6) Chapter 1 p. 13. B. Keith-Lucas (in The English Local Government Franchise Blackwell Oxford 1952 page 43) says that there was no rush of new candidates to take part in the poor law. Other authorities note an increase in working class guardians after the Act. Thus in Evolution of National Insurance Joseph London 1966 Bentley Gilbert writes (p.236) that able bodied inmates, especially in London, increased as sympathetic working men became guardians. The Webbs, English Poor Law History Part II Vol 1 Frank Cass London 1963 p. 235 also said that the result of more open elections after 1894 was often more generous relief, despite the disapproval of the central body.

(7) Peter Wood "Finance and the Poor Law: The Sunderland Union 1836-1914" in Michael Rose (ed.) The Poor and the City Leicester University Press 1985 p. 41.

(8) N. McCord "The Poor Law and Philanthropy" in D. Fraser ed. The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century Macmillan London 1976 p. 105 makes the point that the arrival of working class guardians did not occasion more generous attitudes towards the poor, because they were often ratepayers.

(9) Appendix 14.

(10) For sources of all the graphs in this chapter, see Appendix 13 "Sources of Rateable Valuations".

(11) "Parochial Board members": St. Mary Extra and Hound School Boards. Eastleigh and Itchen Urban District Councils. Shirley Local Board of Health and Urban District Council.

(12) Other analyses have shown that, although South Stoneham had more magistrates and guardians in the highest group than did the New Forest, in fact it was in the New Forest that the wealthiest individuals encountered in this survey lived, as judged in both Rating and Probate terms. For example, amongst New Forest magistrates were members of the Drummond family,

Notes to Chapter 10 (continued)

(30) Chapter 9 p. 299.

(31) G. Crossick An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society Crom Helm London 1978 pp. 89 - 91.

(32) J. V. Corrigan The Administration of the Poor Law in the Tynemouth Union 1830-1939 op. cit. p. 185. R. Boyson "The New Poor Law in North-East Lancashire 1834-1871" Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society LXX 1960 p. 54.

(33) E. P. Hennock Fit and Proper Persons Arnold London 1973 p. 207.

(34) Anne Digby "The Rural Poor Law" in Derek Fraser (ed.) The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century Macmillan London 1976 pp. 157-8

(35) Chapter 9 pp. 285 - 287.

(1) See "Theses and Dissertations" section of the Bibliography and in addition for example R. Boyson "The New Poor Law in North-East Lancashire 1834-1871" Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society LXX 1960. Peter Wood "Finance and the Poor Law: The Sunderland Union 1836-1914" in Michael Rose (ed.) The Poor and the City Leicester University Press 1985. N. McCord "The Implementation of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act on Tyneside" International Review of Social History Vol. XIV 1969. P. Dunkley "The Hungry Forties and the New Poor Law" Historical Journal 1974 and "Paternalism, the Magistracy and Poor Relief in England" International Review of Social History XXIV. A. Brundage "The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law" English History Review XXIII 1975 p. 44. Ruth Hutchinson Croker "The Victorian Poor Law in Crisis and Change Southampton 1870 - 1895 Albion Spring 1987.

(2) For example in the 1844 Poor Law Amendment Act op. cit. and the Local Government Act 1894 op. cit.

(3) Chapter 1 p. 12.

(4) Chapter 6 p. 168.

(5) Chapter 7 pp. 208 - 212.

(6) Chapter 7 p. 212.

(7) Chapter 7 pp. 202 - 3.

(8) Chapter 7 p. 214.

(9) Pat Ryan "Politics and Relief: East London Unions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" in The Poor and the City M. Rose (ed.) Leicester University Press 1985 p. 134.

(10) F.W.D. Manders The Administration of the Poor Law in the Gateshead Union 1836 - 1930 op. cit. p. 163 and Kenneth McNeilly Public Provision for the Poor in Glasgow 1890 - 1914 op. cit. J.V. Corrigan The Administration of the Poor Law in the Tynemouth Union 1830 - 1939 op. cit. p. 354.

(11) P.W. Randell Poor Law Relief in Somerset with particular reference to the Wincanton Union 1834 - 1900 op. cit.

(12) Chapter 6 p. 151.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5.

(15) Chapter 8 pp. 233 - 239.

(16) Norman McCord "Ratepayers and Social Policy" in Pat Thane The Origins of British Social Policy op. cit. p. 21. Derek Fraser The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century p. 114.

(17) Chapter 2 pp. 56 - 58.

(18) Chapters 8 and 9.

Notes to Chapter 11 (continued)

- (19) Chapter 9 p. 267. 285 - 9. Chapter 10 p. 311 and Appendix 12.
- (20) Derek Fraser "The English Poor Law and the British Welfare State" in W. J. Mommsen (ed.) The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany German Historical Institute 1981 p. 23 - 27.
- (21) Chapter 4.
- (22) Chapter 9.
- (23) Anne Digby "The Rural Poor Law" in Derek Fraser The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century op. cit. p. 153.
- (24) Chapter 9 p. 278.
- (25) Chapter 9 pp. 287 - 288.
- (26) Chapter 8 p. 229.
- (27) Chapter 8 pp. 249 - 254 and Chapter 5 p. 126.
- (28) Chapter 10.
- (29) Chapter 10 p. 317.
- (30) Chapter 10 p. 315.
- (31) N. McCord "Ratepayers and Social Policy" in Pat Thane (ed.) The Origins of British Social Policy op. cit. p. 30. Chapter 9 p. 299.
- (32) Chapter 7 pp. 195 - 203.
- (33) A. Brundage "The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law" English History Review XXIII 1975 *passim*.
- (34) P.W. Randell Poor Law Relief in Somerset with particular reference to the Wincanton Union 1834 - 1900 op. cit. p. 1. J.V. Corrigan The Administration of the Poor Law in the Tynemouth Union 1830 - 1939 p. 354.
- (35) Derek Fraser "The English Poor and the British Welfare State" in W.J. Mommsen (ed.) The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany op. cit. p. 25.
- (36) Chapter 8 p. 242 and Chapter 10 p. 305.
- (37) Chapter 8 p. 251.
- (38) Chapter 5 p. 125 - 127.
- (39) "In the division of a parish into wards regard shall be had to the population according to the last published census for the time being, and to evidence of any considerable change of population since that census, and to the area and to the district and pursuits of the population, and to all the

Notes to Chapter 11 (continued)

circumstances of the case." Local Government Act 1894 op. cit.

- (40) Derek Fraser "The English Poor and the British Welfare State" in W.J. Mommsen (ed.) The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany op. cit. p. 25.
- (41) Chapter 8 pp. 258 - 9.
- (42) Chapter 5 pp. 129 - 141.
- (43) Chapter 8 pp. 254 - 259.
- (44) Chapter 9 p. 256. Chapter 6 p. 152.
- (45) Chapter 3 p. 69.
- (46) Chapters 9 and 10 *passim*.
- (47) Chapter 3 p. 77.
- (48) Chapter 3 p. 74.
- (49) Pat Ryan "Politics and Relief: East London unions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" in M. Rose (ed.) The Poor and the City op. cit. p. 146.
- (50) Derek Fraser "The Poor Law as a Political Institution" in D. Fraser (ed.) The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century op. cit. p. 111.
- (51) Chapter 4 *passim*.
- (52) Pat Ryan "Politics and Relief: East London unions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" in M. Rose (ed.) The Poor and the City op. cit. p. 155.
- (53) Chapter 8 pp. 233 - 239.
- (54) Chapter 8 p. 227.
- (55) Chapter 4 p. 95.
- (56) Chapter 4 *passim*.
- (57) Chapter 4 94 - 95.
- (58) Pat Ryan "Politics and Relief: East London unions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" in M. Rose (ed.) The Poor and the City op. cit. p. 155.
- (59) Pat Thane Foundations of the Welfare State op. cit. p. 35.
- (60) Chapter 2 pp. 52 - 55 and Chapter 5 p. 122 and *passim*.
- (61) Chapter 5 p. 126 and Chapter 8 p. 250.
- (62) Chapter 7 p. 212 - 221.
- (63) Chapter 7 p. 214.

Notes to Chapter 11 (continued)

(64) Gilbert Slater "The Relief of the Poor" in H. Laski (ed.) A Century of Municipal Progress 1835 - 1935 op. cit. p. 354. K. Williams From Pauperism to Poverty op. cit. p. 101.

(65) M.A. Crowther The Workhouse System op. cit. p. 82.

(66) Chapter 1 pps. 23 and 24. F.W.D. Manders The Administration of the Poor Law in the Gateshead Union 1836 - 1930 op. cit. p. 119.

(67) P. Wood "Finance and the Urban Poor Law: Sunderland Union 1836-1914 in M. Rose (ed.) The Poor and the City op. cit. p. 43.

(68) Chapter 7 p. 192.

(69) J.V. Corrigan The Administration of the Poor Law in the Tynemouth Union 1830 - 1939 op. cit. p. 201.

(70) Keith Gregson "Poor Law and organised charity: The relief of exceptional distress in norht-east England 1870 - 1910 in M. Rose (ed.) The Poor and the City op. cit. p. 106.

(71) Chapter 7.

(72) Chapter 7 pp . 210 - 211.

(73) Chapter 7 p. 174.

(74) Chapter 7 p. 197.

(75) Chapter 6 p. 160.

(76) Chapter 7 p. 196.

(77) Chapter 7 p. 195.

(78) Derek Fraser "The English Poor Law and the British Welfare State" in W.J. Mommsen (ed.) The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany op. cit. pps. 22 - 23. K. Williams From Pauperism to Poverty op. cit. p. 88.

(79) David Ashforth "The Urban Poor Law" in D. Fraser (ed.) The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century op. cit. p. 135.

(80) Appendix 7.

(81) Chapter 7 p. 190.

(82) Chapter 7 passim.

(83) Figure 3 p. 174 and p. 175.

(84) Appendix 8.

(85) Table 7.1 p. 188.

(86) F.W.D. Manders The Administration of the Poor Law in the Gateshead Union 1836 - 1930 op. cit. pp . 119 and 164.

Notes to Chapter 11 (continued)

(87) Chapter 7 pp. 173 - 190.

(88) Keith Gregson "Poor Law and organised charity: The relief of exceptional distress in north-east England 1870 - 1910" in M. Rose (ed.) The Poor and the City op. cit. pps. 102 - 122. Pat Ryan "Politics and Relief: East London unions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" in M. Rose (ed.) The Poor and the City op. cit. pps. 134, 146. S. and B. Webb English Poor Law History Part II Cass and Co. London 1929 p. 446. E.M. Sigsworth In Search of Victorian Values Manchester University Press 1988 p. 62.

(89) Chapter 9 *passim*.

(90) Chapter 6 p. 169.

(91) Chapter 6 p. 166

(92) Chapter 6 pp. 159 - 166.

(93) Chapter 6 pp. 159 - 163.

(94) Chapter 6 pp. 166 - 168.

(95) Chapter 10 p. 313.

(96) Chapter 7 *passim*.

(97) Chapter 7 pp. 159 - 163.

(98) Chapter 6 p. 162 - 163 and Chapter 7 pp. 206 - 107.

(99) Chapter 7 pp. 199 - 200.

(100) Chapter 7 pps. 205 - 208. J.H. Bulmer The Impact of Liberal Welfare Reforms in Southampton 1906 - 1914 M.Phil. thesis Southampton University 1984 p. 224.

(101) A reference to "The People's Budget" and the new taxes introduced by Lloyd George in 1909.

(102) Chapter 7 p. 175.

(103) Chapter 7 p. 211.

(104) Chapter 3 p. 74.

(105) Chapter 7 p. 188.

(106) Chapter 6 pp. 159 - 166.

(107) Chapter 7 *passim*.

(108) Chapter 10 *passim*.

(109) Chapter 9 pp. 247 - 249 and Chapter 10 pp. 282 - 290.

(110) Chapter 6 p. 169.

Notes to Chapter 11 (continued)

- (111) Chapter 4 pp . 109 - 118.
- (112) Chapter 10 *passim*.
- (113) Chapter 9 pp . 266 and 267 and Chapter 8 p. 229.
- (114) Chapter 9 pp . 285 - 287.
- (115) Chapter 10 pp . 314 - 315.
- (116) Pat Waller City Town and Nation op. cit. p. 277.
- (117) D.C. Moore "The Gentry" in G.E. Mingay The Gentry op. cit. p. 395
- (118) Chapter 7 pp . 208 - 212.
- (119) Chapter 7 p. 212.
- (120) L. Feehan Charitable Effort, Statutory Authorities and the Poor in Liverpool c1850 - 1914 Ph.D. Thesis University of Liverpool 1987 p. 458.
- (121) Report of The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress 1909 Cd. 4499 xxxvii p. 988.
- (122) For example Derek Fraser "The English Poor Law and the British Welfare State" in W.J. Mommsen (ed.) The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany op. cit. p. 23.
- (123) Chapter 7 pp . 208 - 212.

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