

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

POOLE, 1815 - 1881

SUBURBAN GROWTH AND SOCIAL CHANGE

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis is an examination of the southern English seaport of Poole as it developed and changed during the nineteenth century. Its experience during the period 1815 to 1881 provides an illustration of how a town whose economy was rooted in the pre-industrial world reacted to the changes, social and economic, occurring around it. The period under investigation is divided into two sections, 1815-1840 and 1841-1881, with the second being sub-divided into 1841-1860 and 1861-1881. The town's physical and economic growth will be examined along with the resulting political and social change, recognising that these factors are invariably interlinked. The periods chosen fall naturally into place, starting with the watershed year of 1815 and ending in 1881, the year by which Poole's economy had clearly undergone a fundamental change and an important new town had established itself a few miles to the east. Over this sixty five year period, the typical life span of a healthy and fortunate man, changes occurred in Poole which saw it lose its oft proclaimed independence and become a virtual satellite of neighbouring Bournemouth.

The first half of the thesis is a comprehensive study of Poole's key status groups and their role within its administrative and social structures, with an emphasis on named individuals from within each group as being representative of their peers. The second half concentrates on the changing economy within and around the town and its ruling, mercantile classes' reaction to these changes. The emphasis on the individual is maintained by a detailed study of four of the town's twelve census districts over a forty year period, in 1841, 1861 and 1881. The four districts, accounting for approximately one third of the town's population, are representative of the different ways in which it was developing. One of them is in the old, maritime part of the town whilst the other three are the new, more suburban areas which were added to the town in the 1830s. Their growth, and the way in which one of them reflected the rise of Bournemouth forms the final element of this thesis.

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PREFACE

One of the most celebrated opening sentences in modern literature occurs in L.P. Hartley's novel The Go-Between - 'The past is a foreign country, they do things differently there.' Much of the appeal and potency of this statement lies in its self evident truthfulness as much as in its literary conceit. It is one of the tasks of the historian to ascertain just how different the past actually was and to offer explanations for the differences, a task which is doubly difficult when dealing with urban history, a discipline which (almost by definition) deals with the recent past, possibly even within living memory. This relative familiarity can still present problems for the reader who is unfamiliar with either the ethos of the period and, more probably, the specific town or suburb under investigation. It is therefore the purpose of this preface to briefly explain certain salient features of the town of Poole in the years immediately after Waterloo, a period of great change for Britain. A simple but effective method of doing this is to describe the economic, political and social aspects of the town in order to explain many of the inferences in the first chapters of this thesis.

Poole came into being because of its harbour and although never a major port, it was successful for several hundred years and particularly so once it began participating in the lucrative Newfoundland trade. This enabled it to prosper, especially in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when it was a centre for the fish, whale meat, oil and furs brought back to Europe from that cold and often fog-bound island on the other side of the Atlantic. One result of this prosperity was the emergence of the merchants engaged in the trade as the most important and influential citizens within the town. However, their importance tended to be restricted to their own 170 acre fiefdom.

In politics, too, they were dominant. Poole was, like most other English boroughs, ruled by a Corporation whose membership was usually self-selective and self-perpetuating and this lasted until the passing of the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act. This occurred at a time when parties were becoming more institutionalised, when 'Whigs' and 'Tories' were transforming themselves into 'Liberals' and 'Conservatives' and the philosophical differences between them were hardening. In Poole there was the added dimension of the presence outside of the town

of the Manor of Canford. Its 'Lord' owned much of the land around the town and there was a long history of enmity between the two. Thus in Poole, 'party' was closely related to either loyalty to the town or manor, the former being largely Tory and the latter largely Liberal. When the 1832 Parliamentary Reform Act was passed, the borough found itself with new boundaries and these included the parishes which 'belonged' to the manor and therefore, in those days of open voting, gave its Lord extra influence over Poole's affairs and particularly in its selection of its members of parliament.

One other significant piece of legislation (in a significant decade for reform), The Municipal Corporations Act, gave Poole an elected council for the first time, but it too allowed the Manor the opportunity to involve itself more fully in the town's domestic affairs. Thus party politics in Poole became a matter of the Tory merchants and their allies against the Liberal manor and its friends within the town. This manifested itself in a long battle between the two factions over the validity of the first contested municipal election and a claim for compensation over the loss of his post by the town clerk to the old Corporation. It is against this background that the role and status of the merchants and other occupational groups, many of them newly enfranchised by the 1832 Reform Act, are examined in the first half of this thesis.

The social structure of nineteenth society was also different in several significant ways. State involvement in people's lives was minimal when compared with the mid and late twentieth century, and one of the themes running through this thesis is an investigation of how households, far more independent and self-sufficient than they are today, were structured. Were they multi-generational, for instance? How many of them included one of Victorian society's archetypes, the domestic servant? How large were they? By using concepts normally the preserve of the sociologist these questions are answered, along with other, more basic ones such as how people earned their living and how class based were towns such as Poole? Poole's new Workhouse, a product of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, is also studied in order to reveal who were at the bottom of the town's social structure.

This thesis therefore examines and analyses one particular town at one particular period in its history. It emphasises the role of many of its citizens in the administration, political and social, of the town's life, and their reaction to changes in the economy and in the political system. It also describes their response to the way in which changes in transport, such as the coming of the railway, and in social and living habits were helping shape the area's future and how some of them failed to recognize this. In short, this thesis examines and explains how nineteenth century Poole was indeed 'a foreign country where they did things differently.'

Chapter 1

POOLE BEFORE 1815

The most southerly part of the ancient kingdom of Wessex consists of heathland, an area where gravel and sand usually form the sub-soil, and where the predominant vegetation is coarse grasses, bracken, gorse and heather. This land, the 'Egdon Heath' of Hardy's novels, was not easily farmed and it remained sparsely populated until the nineteenth century. Today it supports one of Southern England's largest conurbations, the adjoined towns of Poole, Bournemouth and Christchurch. In recent years Wimborne has been drawn into this built up area, which now has a total population of 403,000.¹

The largest of these towns, Bournemouth, exists solely because of the Victorian embrace of the seaside holiday and is today one of Britain's major resorts. Its western neighbour, Poole, although also a holiday resort, is a much older town, with very different origins, and this thesis seeks to examine and explain the social, economic, political and physical developments which were to lead to its eventual transformation from a successful but relatively minor port to a modern industrial and commercial and holiday town with a population in excess of 130,000.² It will be argued that this occurred later than it might because of the failure of civic leaders and businessmen to recognise and adapt to the social and cultural changes taking place in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The methodology for studying Poole during this period is based upon the use of a variety of primary sources - census enumerators' returns, commercial directories, poll-books, newspapers, and documents from the borough archives, in short as many of the extant and relevant printed and manuscript records as possible. It makes particular use of the census records, especially those from 1841 onwards when individual names were revealed for the first time. It will be a feature of this thesis that individuals will be regarded as representing many, if not all of their peers in their social and economic group. As Morris points out, 'It

¹ Bournemouth, 154,400, Poole, 130,900, Christchurch, 40,500 and East Dorset District (formerly Wimborne District), 77,200. (Preliminary 1991 census figures.)

² In effect, the fortunes of the port have turned a full circle, for Poole is today a successful cross-channel ferry port, with daily services to France and the Channel Islands.

should never be forgotten that society, the working class, the elite, the chapel are abstractions ... It is individuals who are social actors.³

The oldest permanent settlement on the Dorset heathlands was Wareham. This Saxon town grew up on the banks of the River Frome, one of two rivers which flow into Poole Harbour, and was once an important port. By the twelfth century Wareham's viability as a port was uncertain because of its location on a narrow, winding and increasingly shallow river at a time when ships were becoming larger and more dependent on sails rather than oars for propulsion. It was also vulnerable to attack by rival armies in the civil wars of the period. Poole Harbour was, however, too convenient and useful a natural amenity to be abandoned and by the end of the twelfth century a new trading settlement became established on a peninsula on its northern shore.

With a circumference in excess of a hundred miles, but its sole entrance measuring only 285 metres across, Poole Harbour at high water resembles a huge lake. It is, according to local legend,⁴ the second largest natural harbour in the world, and although much of it is shallow it has the double high tides which are a feature of the sea around this part of the south coast, and deep water channels. It was where one of these channels passed between two opposite shores that the port of Poole was established.⁵ By 1224 it was a recognised port, as an entry in the Patent Rolls of Henry III reveals. In an addendum to a letter to the Barons of the Cinque Ports there occurs: 'In the same manner it is written to the bailiffs and trusty men of Portsmouth, Southampton, Seaford, Poole etc.'⁶ A quarter of a century later these bailiffs and trusty men were sufficiently wealthy and had enough confidence in their community to

³ R.J. Morris (ed.), Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth Century Towns, (Leicester, 1986), p.3.

⁴ This, as is implied above, is debatable. It would appear to depend on definitions of harbours, at what state of the tide they are measured etc. This has not prevented Poole's proud claim entering various text books.

⁵ See map 1.

⁶ Cited in H.P. Smith, History of the Borough and County of the Town of Poole, Vol.1, (Poole, 1948), p.119. The original is in Latin and Poole is written as "De La Pole".

purchase their independence from their manorial lord, William Longspee of Canford.⁷

From the outset Poole was a community of merchants, never a farming settlement or market town. Its main trading during the middle ages was naturally (given the ship technology of the period) with ports that were reasonably close, on both sides of the English Channel. Cherbourg, for example, was the home port of a total of 98 ships which came into Poole in the years 1466 and 1505, whilst Barfleur provided 25 and St Malo twenty in 1505-6. Guernsey's total for 1466 and 1505 was 56, and the other Dorset ports, Weymouth with 27 ships in 1505 and Lyme with 46 for both years, were important trading partners. In total the arrivals and departures at Poole in 1505-6 are recorded as 119 native ships, four Irish, 27 Channel Islands, 175 foreign, and two of uncertain origin.⁸

The nature of this trade is described by Dorothy Burwash who states that 'Such English vessels as came from Dorsetshire or the ports of the West carried away small cargoes of cloth and, in the later period, mares, returning with wine, iron, or bay salt. Ships from St Malo, Barfleur, Cherbourg, and Guerade brought canvas and linen and took away the same English products.' The same writer also comments on the successful nature of Poole's overseas trade, noting that 'only in Poole and its creeks, however, did the English ships succeed in capturing a larger share of the trade than their foreign competitors.'⁹

In the early seventeenth century Poole was 'handsomely built, and well provided with shipping'¹⁰ and had capitalized on the new habit of smoking tobacco. Because of its position

⁷ The Longspee Charter, traditionally attributed to the year 1248, is discussed in detail in Smith, pp 143-149. In effect it gave Poole's merchants the right to manage their own affairs, and act as agents for the manor, instead of having the manor's servants present to collect tolls or settle grievances.

⁸ Cited in D.Burwash, English Merchant Shipping, 1460 - 1540,(Toronto, 1947), pp. 220-2.

⁹ Op.Cit., p.159.

¹⁰ L.G. Legg, Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties, p.67, cited in T.Willan, The English Coasting Trade,(Manchester, 1967) p.155.

near clay beds it became the chief port for shipping the raw material for pipe-making to London, and even as far afield as Newcastle.¹¹ The clay was dug out in square blocks of about half a hundredweight and the extent of this trade is shown by the fact that between Christmas 1632 and Christmas 1633 457 tons were shipped to London.¹² Sixty years later the figure was 3,114 tons (between Christmas 1690 and Christmas 1691), 2,215 tons of which went to London. In addition to the clay, Poole was shipping the finished pipes, and '482 gross, two hogsheads and chests went to Portsmouth, Cowes and Newcastle.'¹³ Poole also continued to handle a wide variety of other goods, including iron, farming implements, and farm produce.

The town was fortunate in having another natural resource nearby. This was the stone from the Isle of Purbeck, a compact peninsula on the southern shores of the harbour, and during the eighteenth century enormous quantities were shipped to London and other south coast and east coast ports. The stone was used for paving streets, courtyards, and kitchens and the trade was undoubtably helped by the various Acts of Parliament empowering towns to effect this improvement. Southampton, for example, had an Act passed in 1770¹⁴ and Portsmouth had done the same two years earlier. From mid-summer to Christmas 1743, Poole shipped 216,700 'smooth pavure stones', 176,000 of which went to London. There were also '412 tons of wall stones, some tons of pebble stones and some thousands of feet of gun stones.'¹⁵

One visitor to the town in the first half of the eighteenth century was Daniel Defoe. In his journey through the country in 1722 he came to Poole and described it thus : 'South....., over a sandy wild and barren country we came to Pool [sic], a considerable sea-port, and indeed the most considerable in all this part of England; for here I found some ships, some

¹¹ Willan, *op.cit.*, p.116.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.155.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ A. Temple Patterson, A History of Southampton, 1700 - 1914, Vol. 1 (Southampton, 1966), p.47.

¹⁵ Willan, *op.cit.*, p.75.

merchants, and some trade; especially here were a good number of ships fitted out every year to the Newfoundland fishing, in which the Pool men are said to have been particularly successful for many years past.'¹⁶

Defoe's mention of Newfoundland is particularly significant for among the items shipped from Poole in the half-year ending Christmas 1749 were 2,954 seal-skins, an indication of Poole's involvement in this more distant trade. The Newfoundland connection was to prove the most profitable of Poole's trading ventures, but it was also to be the highest point reached by the town as a seaport until (arguably) its re-emergence as a cross-channel ferry port after 1973. When the Newfoundland trade went into decline after the Napoleonic Wars Poole's social and economic development was to come from different sources. Its importance to the evolution of the town and its impact on its citizens, though, warrants a brief survey of the trade in order to establish the situation in which Poole found itself in 1815.

Poole's trade with Newfoundland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has today become part of the town's mythology, the impression perhaps being given that it was the island's sole trading partner and life-line. This was not so; Poole did not have a monopoly of the trade, but it was, with Dartmouth, the most important West Country port involved in the supply of the necessities of life for people living and working in Newfoundland and customer for their products.

The discovery of America had been in many ways a disappointment to the trading nations of Western Europe. Sparsely inhabited, it offered little to match the coveted wealth of Asia and indeed, acted as a barrier to the long sought for western route to that continent. But 'To this general unattractiveness.....exceptions began to appear. The Newfoundland fishery was one of the first.' 'After Cabot's discovery, the West Countrymen....resorted to Newfoundland.'¹⁷

¹⁶ D.Defoe, A Tour Through England and Wales (Everyman edition, London, 1928), p.209.

¹⁷ J.A. Williamson, The Ocean in English History, Oxford (1979), p.28.

Those West Countrymen included the merchants of Poole, who were among the first people to commercially exploit the island's great natural resource, the cod fish, and the trade was already well-established in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. It became a triangular trade with English ships sailing to Newfoundland each spring laden with cargoes of salt, bread, flour, and other foodstuffs, woollens and hardware. The fish, fish oils, and the products of the seal fishery were then taken either to the West Indies or to Spain and Portugal. From the West Indies the English ships would bring home sugar, rum or coffee, and from Iberia, wine, and fruit. Most of the seal products came to England, but fifty per cent of the codfish went to Spain and Portugal and twenty-five per-cent to the West Indies.¹⁸

A unique feature of the Newfoundland fishery was that the majority of those who took part in it were 'ship fishermen' or, to use a more modern phrase, long-distance 'commuters.' Their base was in England, not Newfoundland, and the island was regarded simply as a convenient 'ship' moored amidst wondrous fishing grounds. Each spring they would sail across the Atlantic, fish all through the summer, and return home in the Autumn. This practice went into decline from about 1765 as the island's resident population increased in size, although the eighteenth century was generally a period of expansion for the West Country merchants. Keith Matthews maintains¹⁹ that the Dorset fishermen participating in the trade had, unlike their Devonshire counterparts, little real involvement in the deep sea fishery, but concentrated instead on the inshore fishery. Thus as the native-born Newfoundlanders became available to take on this work, the Poole fishermen allowed their traditional role to atrophy.

The trade reached its peak during the Napoleonic Wars, when the French and Americans were excluded from participating in it. During the year 1794, a total of 400 vessels entered

¹⁸ C.N.Parkinson (ed.) The Trade Winds. A Study of British Overseas Trade During the French Wars 1793 - 1815. (London, 1948), pp.231-2.

¹⁹ From information provided by Professor Matthews in a letter to the writer dated 29 October 1981 and based on his lecture to the Society of Poole Men in March 1981. His Lectures on the History of Newfoundland, 1500 - 1830 published by Memorial University, St Johns, in 1973, contains a wealth of information on the migratory fishery.

St John's harbour, but by 1815 the number had risen to 852.²⁰ Many of the ships presumably came into St John's on several occasions during the year, especially the twenty present that were Newfoundland built, but the figures for English (or British) ships sailing to Newfoundland in 1807 show Poole's important role in the trade. Liverpool topped the list²¹ providing 60 vessels, with Poole just two behind with 58. After Poole came the Scottish port of Greenock with 39, reflecting the growth of St John's as a city and the subsequent demand for the products of the industrial revolution. Then came the Devon ports of Dartmouth and Teignmouth with 37 and 34 respectively. Thus Poole was undoubtably one of the most important centres of the trade but was rivalled by Liverpool, a town whose size and importance was significantly greater. Liverpool's involvement in the Newfoundland trade began at the same time as Poole's but it was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that it became a major participant. Its nearness to the Cheshire salt fields, a commodity vital to the cod fishermen, was an important factor in producing this change, as too was its location in the industrial North West where many of the goods needed in Newfoundland were produced.

In 1815 Poole had long been an established town and port. It met the criteria of economic geographers as to what precisely made a settlement a town. To Pirenne, for example, a town or city was a community of merchants²² and Poole had always been this, whilst Maine and Maitland²³ suggested that it was the existence of a legally constituted government which distinguished a town from a village. Poole's corporation had been established by charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1568 and possessed considerable power within the borough. Although geographically in Dorset, Poole was administratively outside it, and was one of only ten 'county-corporates' in England, hence its official title (until 1974) of 'The Town and County of the Borough of Poole.'

²⁰ Parkinson (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.243.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Cited in E. Jones, Towns and Cities, (Oxford, 1966), p.6.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.7.

However, at the beginning of the period under examination in this thesis the town was failing to expand in the same way as others which had once been of similar size and importance. Southampton's population, for example, rose from 2,939 in 1696 to 12,108 in 1801 and by 1841 it had reached 37,769.²⁴ The great naval ports of Plymouth and Portsmouth also experienced similar expansion and by 1831 had reached 75,534 and 50,389 respectively while Poole's was much smaller at 6,959.

Reference has been made on two previous occasions in this chapter to contemporary descriptions of Poole by travellers. In the footsteps of Legg and Before came one William Daniell and his rather dismissive comments about Poole perhaps serve as an apt summing up of the town in the years immediately after the end of the war. 'It is a clean little town' he wrote, 'seated on the north side of the bay to which it owes its name, its site being a peninsula, joined by a narrow isthmus to the mainland, which in this vicinity, is a bleak and desolate heath.'²⁵

Daniell's description, written in 1823, places Poole firmly in context. It was a little town by comparison with Southampton and Portsmouth. It was in many ways separated from the rest of the country by its inhospitable hinterland. And now its traditional reason for existing, its maritime trade, was in decline. The Newfoundland fishery was now open to all nations including the Americans, and although the ending of the war did not mean that the trade was wiped out overnight, it could no longer be the main source for Poole's wealth. The next chapter will examine the social and economic structure of the town as it entered the post-war era, and in effect, a new century.

²⁴ Cited in E. Welch, Southampton Maps from Elizabethan Times, (Southampton, 1964), p.25.

²⁵ W. Daniell, A Voyage Round Great Britain, (1978 reprint of the original 1824 edition), vol. VII, p.83.

Chapter 2

SOCIAL STRUCTURE, 1815 - 1841

The year 1815 is among the most popular starting dates for books, theses and syllabuses on English history. There are valid reasons for this, not least the psychological effect of a final victory on a nation that had been at war (with only a fifteen month interlude) for twenty two years. Thus a generation of politicians, military men, merchants, farmers and craftsmen who had known nothing but the special conditions created by the war had to adjust to a peace time economy.

The citizens of Poole were a little premature in celebrating 'The Return of Peace to Europe' as a printed handbill put it. They naturally regarded Bonaparte's abdication in early April, 1814 as the finale to the wars. Their civic celebrations were on a grand scale and in two stages. The town was, according to Sydenham, 'brilliantly illuminated on the evening of April 18; and on the following day a ball was held at the town hall attended by the principal inhabitants; whilst on the succeeding evening a display of fireworks closed these preliminary festivities.' The climax to the celebrations occurred in the Market Place and adjoining streets on July 26 when 'a public dinner took place, embracing nearly the whole population of the town, without distinction of rank or circumstance.'¹ Sydenham phrases it rather curiously, stating that apart from the Mayor who sat alone, 'every other individual, gentle or simple, promiscuously mixed.'²

The evening finished with another firework display and, as the 'Account of Expences (sic)' published later reveals, this public feast cost the Corporation £463.2.6d. The 35 cwt of beef

¹ J. Sydenham, The History of the Town and County of Poole, (Poole, 1986) Reprint of 1839 original), p.146.

² *Ibid*, p.147.

consumed was the most expensive item at £131.13.4d, followed by £96.0.0.d for the '1,280 gallons of strong beer.'³ At two pints per person, the organisers, 'a committee of upwards of thirty gentlemen'⁴ could hardly have been accused of encouraging drunkenness. The merchant George Garland donated an 'honest plum pudding, of about a hundred weight'⁵, a size which presumably gave everyone a piece. Yet these celebrations were premature, not just because Bonaparte was to re-emerge from exile within twelve months, but because the end of the war would also herald the end of a long and important period in Poole's history, rather than the start of a new and even more prosperous era.

The year 1815 brought change to many people. As one economic historian noted, using a phrase and making a statement which perhaps inadvertently betrayed that she was herself writing in the years immediately after 1918, 'No great war leaves the economic condition of a country as it found it.'⁶ This comparison is echoed by a more recent historian, Derek Beales, who says 'The impact of the war on the economy was comparable with that of the First World War.'⁷ Clive Emsley reinforces these statements when he states that 'The financial cost of the war was also high. Over £1500 million was raised during the war years in loans and taxes to pay for the war.' He also cites a paper presented to the Royal Statistical Society during the Second World War which maintains that 'it was estimated that the loss of life among servicemen was proportionately higher between 1794 and 1815 than between 1914 and 1918.'⁸

³ Uncalendared Document, Poole Borough Archives.

⁴ Op.cit. p.147.

⁵ Sydenham, op. cit., p.147.

⁶ L.C.A. Knowles, The Industrial and Commercial Revolution in Great Britain during the Nineteenth Century, (London, 1926), p.9.

⁷ D.Beales, From Castlereagh to Gladstone, 1815 - 1885, (1969), p.36

⁸ C.Emsley, British Society and the French Wars 1793 - 1815, (1979), p.169.

Wars have to be paid for, in money as well as in lives, and just as there was a generation to whom peace was a novelty, so the next one was to live through a period of depression. The nation's total debt in 1816 was a massive £878,023,833 according to Knowles, whilst Webb rounds it up to 'some £900 million', a sum which 'nearly quadrupled its pre-war figure.'⁹ To reduce this debt, there was heavy taxation, particularly on what today would be called 'consumer goods' because the temporary tax on income had been removed.

There was of course some optimism in the immediate aftermath of Waterloo. The Times noted in September that 'The French funds continue to rise, in contemplation of an immediate Peace, and a change in the administration - Exchange too is rising in favour of England, and the trade begins to revive.'¹⁰ This revival was short lived for the annual value of British exports, which had been in excess of £50 million in 1815, fell to £41.6 million in 1816, climbed back to £46.4 million in 1817 but had dropped to only £35 million in 1819 and stayed around this mark until the mid eighteen-thirties.¹¹

A sure sign of this depression was the fall in prices after the peace had returned. During the course of the war prices had nearly doubled, but according to Beales, had returned to their old levels by 1821.¹² T.S. Ashton is equally precise, pointing out that from 1814 'there was a fall, swift at first, then more gradual, until 1830 a level was reached, slightly below that of 1790, and less than half that of 1814.'¹³

⁹ R.K. Webb, Modern England, From the Eighteenth Century to the Present, (First edition, 1974) p.156. The figure cited by Knowles is from Public Income and Expenditure, 1869, XXXV, p.306.

¹⁰ The Times, 6 September 1815.

¹¹ Figures taken from Value of Exports of Produce and Manufactures of United Kingdom, Customs Tariffs of the United Kingdom 1800 - 1897, C8706, 1897, p.51. Cited in Knowles, p.135.

¹² Beales, op. cit., p.37.

¹³ T.S. Ashton, Industrial Revolution 1760 - 1830, (Oxford, 1968), p.114.

The year 1815 was therefore not just one which saw a great military victory and a final return to peace. It also heralded the start of a new social, economic and even political era for the United Kingdom and its people. In a not particularly original phrase, it was really the opening year of the nineteenth century.

That century traditionally presents us with an image of great cities, the London of Charles Dickens or the Birmingham of Joseph Chamberlain, which as Asa Briggs points out 'came into existence on the new economic foundations laid in the eighteenth century.'¹⁴ But, as Armstrong reminds us, 'a town like York was still a more representative example of urban England than a town like Liverpool.'¹⁵ The bustling cities were, apart from the capital, in the Midlands and the North. The South, contemporary novelists suggest, continued its quiet agricultural way with only the unrest of the farm labourers to disturb its gentle lifestyle. There is little in the novels of Jane Austen that convey the changes taking place at this time¹⁶ and that pre-eminent chronicler of southern England, William Cobbett, depicts a predominantly rural society. The best known literary contrast between the two halves of England is that drawn by Elizabeth Gaskell in her 1855 novel North and South, and in a comment that could have been written to support Margaret Hale's doubts about her proposed move to the north, G.M. Young has it that 'industry was a wonder, and almost a terror, to strangers from the leisurely south.'¹⁷

Poole was one of the exceptions to this southern rule, being an urban (although hardly industrial) enclave in one of England's more rural counties. The 1811 Census shows Dorset to have a population of 124,693, with 12,982 families engaged in agriculture, 9,607 in trade, manufacture

¹⁴ A. Briggs, Victorian Cities, (Harmondsworth, 1977), p.18.

¹⁵ W. A. Armstrong, in D. Cannadine, Lords and Landlords, the Aristocracy and the Towns, 1774 - 1967, (Leicester 1980), p.36.

¹⁶ Mansfield Park does imply changes taking place in social ethics, but it does not implicitly describe the coming of an industrial society.

¹⁷ Cited in J. Kester, Protest and Reform, the British Social Narrative by Women, 1827 - 1867, (Wisconsin, 1985), p.164.

and handicrafts, and a further 4,232 families described as being engaged in 'other' activities. A comparison between Dorset and the national figures is shown below as table 2.1.

	Agriculture	Trade etc.	Others
Dorset	48.4%	35.8%	15.8%
England	34.6%	45.9%	19.4%

Table 2.1: Occupational Comparison between Dorset and the English Average, 1811.

The same census underlines Poole's urban, commercial nature for it lists the town as having 1,029 houses and 1,032 families 'chiefly employed in trade, manufactures and handicrafts', plus a further 72 families involved in other occupations. These would have been those in service, fishing or of independent means. No families are listed as being employed in agriculture. Ten years later, the figure for trade, manufactures and handicrafts had risen to 1,311, whilst only 65 families appear in the 'other' column. There were, curiously, now two families in the 'agriculture' column. These two censuses reveal the rapid increase in population that Poole experienced in this ten year period, from 4,816 to 6,390.¹⁸

The population totals give an indication of one change brought about by the war's end. In 1811 there were 2,143 men and 2,673 women, an imbalance of 1 : 1.247, but by 1821 the ratio had reduced to 1 : 1.20, there now being 3,014 men to 3,376 women. It is reasonable to suggest that this change was brought about by men returning from the war for, after 1815, the services of large numbers of soldiers and sailors were no longer required.

Course states that there were 125,000 merchant seamen discharged in 1815¹⁹, and Emsley confirms this with '200,000 common soldiers and sailors demobilised between 1814 and

¹⁸ In 1801 it was 4,761, and it had only reached 6,459 by 1831. The real increase therefore occurred between 1811 and 1821.

¹⁹ A.G. Course, The Merchant Navy. A Social History, (1963), pp. 198-199.

1817.²⁰ Certainly the Royal Navy saw a dramatic decline in the numbers of both ships and men when the 'wartime Navy of 140,000 men was reduced overnight to 35,000, and within a year to 20,000.'²¹ A similar reduction is recorded in other studies ²² of the post 1815 Navy and, given the existence of reliable records in what was for the times a bureaucratic organisation, must be taken as reasonably accurate. The figure for the Merchant Navy (to use its modern title), however, becomes more realistic when it is realised that in this period there existed no permanent body of seamen for the Royal Navy. There was 'no specialised corps of fighting seamen, employed in war or peace.' Before the Crimean War 'an increase came, when required, from 'the seamen', not 'the fighting seamen'; in effect from the Merchant Navy and the fishermen. These people, hurriedly - indeed often brutally - collected to man the new ships when the war broke out, were not the permanent concern of the State at all; and when the affair was over they were released - the bulk of them anyway - to go back (with heartfelt joy as a rule) to their original callings.'²³ The slight increase in the number of men in Poole ²⁴ recorded in the 1821 Census could well have been caused by the run down of Britain's fleet, and the decline in trade in the post-war years.

One indication that the end of the war had resulted in an increase in the number of men back in England is that there were more weddings in 1815 than in the years before and after Waterloo. This occurred in Poole where there was a mean of 46 weddings a year between 1811 and 1814, and a mean of 49.6 between 1816 and 1820, but 77 in 1815.²⁵ The parish registers of St. James' Church, Poole, reveal that the month with the highest number of weddings was

²⁰ Emsley, *op.cit.*, p.173.

²¹ P. Kemp, *The British Sailor. A Social History of the Lower Deck*, (1970), p.188.

²² E.g., J. Winton, *Hurrah for the Life of a Sailor. Life on the Lower Deck in the Victorian Navy*, (1977) pp. 15-16.

²³ M. Lewis, *The Navy in Transition, 1814 - 1864, A Social History*, (1965), p.58.

²⁴ The actual figure is 168.

²⁵ 1821 Census.

October ²⁶ thus neatly supporting the suggestion that the bridegrooms were men returning from the wars.

This increase was repeated for the county as a whole (although curiously in Weymouth it occurred in 1814) with 1815 having the second lowest number of marriages of any year between 1811 and 1820. The figures for Dorset and for three other boroughs in the southern (and therefore maritime) part of the county are shown below as table 2.2

	<u>Dorset</u>	<u>Poole</u>	<u>Weymouth</u>	<u>Wareham</u>	<u>Bridport</u>
1811	812	43	56	2	27
1812	813	44	54	3	23
1813	846	50	60	4	30
1814	955	47	73	5	38
1815	1126	77	51	11	44
1816	975	52	59	7	35
1817	933	54	65	4	36
1818	947	49	41	6	38
1819	1043	38	57	4	34
1820	1084	55	60	10	40

Table 2.2 : Marriages in Dorset and Four of its Boroughs, 1811 - 1820.

Even inland areas of the county, such as the division of Sturminster, saw an increase in weddings in 1815, as did the division of Shaston East which contained areas that are now (officially or unofficially) suburbs of modern Poole.²⁷ In this latter division the figure rose from

²⁶ 5,6,6,7,8,7,5,5,3,10,4,8. This only adds up to 74 whereas the census citing the Parish of St James' as its source has 77.

²⁷ Great Canford, i.e. Longfleet and Parkstone, plus Corfe Mullen, Lytchett and Wimborne. The last three are all part of the East Dorset District Council area, but are still inescapably part of the Bournemouth-Poole conurbation.

112 in 1814 to 166 in 1815, falling back to 110 in 1816. Dorset was not unique in experiencing a marked increase in weddings in 1815. A comparison with other counties, selected at random by using the simple principle of alphabetical order, shows that in Durham and Essex (the next two after Dorset) the same sort of increase occurred. Even when an inland county is selected, such as Staffordshire which would not have produced as many seamen as Dorset, the pattern remains the same. Thus there would appear to be statistical evidence to show that the large numbers of men released from military service returned home and in a small way, boosted the population figures for their towns. Not all were comfortably accommodated, though. Emsley notes that 'The begging ex-serviceman was a common figure in ballad literature.'²⁸

As would be expected, after so many weddings, there was an increase in the number of children baptised in the years immediately after 1815²⁹ and of the various age sets recorded in the 1821 census, the under-fives are the largest category at 918. But despite the higher birthrate the rapid rise in the population between 1811 and 1821 (from 4,816 to 6,390) was not maintained over the next decade, for by 1831 the number of people living in Poole had only increased by 69 persons to 6,459. Thus, just as the economy stagnated throughout the 1820s and into the 1830s, so Poole failed to maintain its growth in population. In a century whose outstanding feature was perhaps the creation of huge cities and towns, Poole showed signs of remaining in an earlier era.

However, the population began to rise again in the 1830s and in 1841 it was 8751, an increase of over 2000. Where had this increase come from? Obviously the relatively large proportion of the population of 1821 who were under thirty³⁰ is one answer, but the other possibility,

²⁸ Emsley, *op. cit.*, p.175. The itinerant soldier has always been a character in English folk song, and one whose presence in the communities he visited was usually unwelcome. Sailors, on the other hand, were invariably depicted as heroes.

²⁹ 1815 : 132 1816 : 162
1817 : 202 1818 : 201
1819 : 147 1820 : 213
Source : 1821 census figures for St James'.

³⁰ 64%, i.e. 4091 out of a population of 6,390.

immigration, is difficult to quantify with accuracy. The 1841 Census was the first to ask a question about each individual's birthplace, and then only if they had been born in their county of residence. Thus all that can be measured is what proportion of Poole's citizens of that year were born in the county of Dorset and how many were born in Scotland, Ireland or 'foreign parts.' From 1851 it is possible to measure inter-county migration, and from 1861 to state precisely in which town people were born. This is a topic which more properly belongs in chapter 7 and will therefore be dealt with in more depth when the years after 1840 are examined.

All the figures quoted so far are for the parish of St James or the 'Old Town', the 170 acre peninsula containing the original medieval settlement, but the surrounding villages or hamlets which were eventually absorbed by the town must also be considered. It should, however, be noted that modern Poole was not created from an amalgamation of smaller towns and villages. Rather, these hamlets were (and are still being) settled by inhabitants of Poole who sought to move out of the confinement of the old town and people from other parts of the county and further afield.

These outer areas were the parishes of Hamworthy, Longfleet, Parkstone, and Canford Magna, the last named containing the Manor which had originally given the town its independence and which still maintained a political influence. To the west, Hamworthy is separated from the town by a narrow channel running between the quays and leading into Holes Bay, whilst Longfleet and Parkstone are to the north and east respectively, and Canford Magna lies further to the north, beyond Longfleet.³¹ Hamworthy, Parkstone and Longfleet were brought into the borough for parliamentary electoral purposes in 1832, and were consolidated within it three years later when the Municipal Reform Act was passed.

³¹ See map 2. Over the years the names have become more precise. Today's Parkstone is a much smaller area than that shown in nineteenth century maps, and suburbs such as Lilliput and Canford Cliffs which lie within the 'old' Parkstone have developed a distinct territory and character of their own.

Hamworthy, a settlement dating from Roman times, was throughout the nineteenth century the smallest of the outer parishes, its population of 330 in 1801 remaining fairly constant until the 1860s. Not until 1881 did it exceed 500 and was still only 673 in 1891. In 1821 there were 50 houses containing 58 families, with only twelve of them being engaged in agriculture. Forty families were in trade or manufacturing, and six were classed as being in 'other' occupations. The 'trade and manufacturing' was mainly shipbuilding.

The land at Hamworthy still formed part of the Manor of Canford, and there was always a degree of suspicion by the Poole Corporation towards the Manor's involvement in the town's affairs. One of its two M.P.s was the Lord of the Manor, the Hon. W.F.S. Ponsonby, elected in 1826. Even after the manor changed hands in 1846, it still maintained its influence and involvement in the town's affairs. As Thompson states, this influence was 'something much more shadowy and delicate than secure proprietary ownership.'³²

Thus when in 1833, the Corporation's tentative plans for building a bridge to link Poole with Hamworthy were shelved through lack of money, it was the Lord of the Manor (and his supporters in the town) who promoted an Act of Parliament which enabled the bridge to be constructed.³³ The two areas were physically joined together in 1834 but, as the census figures show, Hamworthy remained under-populated throughout the century.

Longfleet was the most obvious area for growth outside the confines of the old town, simply because it was the nearest. In 1801 it already had a population of 504 and in 1821 it had risen to 810, housed in 125 dwellings. Agriculture was the main occupation, engaging 77 families, but there were a further 33 in trade, manufacture and handicrafts, and sixteen supporting themselves in 'other' ways. Longfleet, soon to be an area for the better-off was, in this period, still primarily rural. Despite a hiatus in its growth during the 1820s (the population in 1831 being only 840), the suburban trend was renewed in the thirties and by 1841 had reached 1,281.

³² F. M. L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century, (1971), p.42.

³³ D. Beamish et al, The Pride of Poole, (Poole, 1974), pp.77-83.

It is maintained at a later point in this thesis that there were, by this time, two distinct Longfleets.³⁴

Parkstone was different. This area, with the English Channel as its southern boundary also had the majority of its 1821 population engaged in agriculture and trade, but there were 28 families who did not come under these categories, thus suggesting a more financially independent class.³⁵ It was also a more aesthetically appealing area with woods, hills and chines³⁶ leading to the sandy beaches of the sea shore. It had its share of heathland but, like the embryonic Bournemouth a few miles to the east, had a landscape that was beginning to be recognised as attractive and, most importantly, healthy.

To the growing leisured sections of society, the advantages of removing themselves from the cities in summer were primarily, but not solely, to do with health. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Sussex resort of Eastbourne, was described as 'one of the favourite summer retreats for sickness, indolence and dissipation.'³⁷ Bournemouth, with its motto 'Pulchritudo et Salubritas', was to base its growth on its healthy air and pleasant surroundings, at a time when 'The pursuit of health and enjoyment were becoming ends in themselves.'³⁸ This greatly benefitted towns such as '...Torquay and Bournemouth, whose success reflected the growing number of mid-Victorians, mainly elderly and female, with private incomes and delicate

³⁴ See below, p.124.

³⁵ In 1821 there were 49 families in agriculture, 12 in trade. In 1811 there were 36 in agriculture, 15 in trade, and only 9 'others.'

³⁶ A 'chine' is a valley leading to the sea, and the word is apparently peculiar to the Bournemouth-Poole area and the Isle of Wight. 'Branksome Chine' beach is an example.

³⁷ Cited in D. Cannadine, Lords and Landlords, the Aristocracy and the Towns 1774 - 1967, (Leicester, 1980), p.236.

³⁸ J. K. Walton, The English Seaside Resort, a Social History, 1750 - 1914, (Leicester, 1983), p.6.

health.³⁹ Although Bournemouth did not begin its development until 1838, Walton notes that 'The 1831 Census suggests that wealthy residents were already congregating conspicuously in some of the south coast resorts'⁴⁰ and Parkstone's growth supports this, although Poole and its suburbs are not mentioned in his work. It is Bournemouth that has attracted the interest of social historians.

The spectacular growth of Bournemouth occurred in the second half of the century and is therefore more the concern of later chapters, but it does serve to illustrate the growing importance of an awareness of surroundings in choosing a place to live. Bournemouth, 'the marine village in a pine forest', describing itself as 'the two season resort' - 'a winter health resort and a summer seaside town'⁴¹ was to capitalise on its climate and surroundings from the outset. Parkstone had all the features that made Bournemouth attractive, but as part of Poole it was in Dorset. Bournemouth was in Hampshire, a fact which seems to have prevented the two towns from encroaching on each other's territory.

Parkstone, unlike Poole, Hamworthy and Longfleet, was not affected by the hiatus in population growth in the 1820s. Instead, the number of inhabitants rose from 385 in 1821 to 609 in 1831 and had reached 862 a decade later. In 1801 it had been the most sparsely populated of the outer areas with 206 inhabitants, but by 1841 it was vying with Canford Magna for second place behind Longfleet.⁴² Today it is divided into its 'upper' and 'lower' parts, but as mentioned in footnote 31 is a smaller area than that shown on nineteenth century maps.

³⁹ Ibid, p.63.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Cannadine (ed.), op. cit., p.179.

⁴² It overtook it in 1861, and twenty years later had replaced Longfleet as the largest suburban area.

Canford Magna must also be considered because although it was not formally incorporated into the borough until 1933, it had long been within Poole's 'sphere of influence' and was in area the largest of the outer parishes. Its population in 1801 was 687 and it remained relatively static throughout the century. It still had fewer than a thousand people in 1841.⁴³ The 1821 census records Canford Magna as having 136 houses and 882 people who were overwhelmingly engaged in agriculture. Out of a total of 178 families, 147 were classed as earning their living in this way with only 23 in trade and eight 'others'.

Much of the land surrounding the 'old town' was owned at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the Webb family although the last male holder of the Lordship of the Manor of Canford to bear the name Webb had died in 1797. The estate was held in trust and passed in 1825 to the aforementioned William Ponsonby, third son of the Earl of Bessborough, who had married the late Sir John Webb's grand-daughter. Today some of the estate survives and is owned by Lord Wimborne, a descendent of Sir John Josiah Guest, the Welsh ironmaster and Liberal member of parliament for Merthyr Tydfil who had purchased it in 1846 for £354,000 as a 'sound social investment'.⁴⁴ It was also a political one for although Sir John remained member for Merthyr, later Guests became members for Poole and for East Dorset, albeit as Conservatives.

So far the population of Poole and the settlements around it have been discussed and described simply as numbers, with only an occasional acknowledgment of the human dimension when occupations or the number of dwellings are mentioned. The bare figures that make up a population give only a slight indication of the social structure of a town for they tell us only how many people congregate in a given area but virtually nothing of how they live their lives, nor the similarities or differences between them. Thus it is the more significant of Poole's various social groups which will now be examined.

⁴³ Actually 968. Even in 1901 it was only 1,524.

⁴⁴ Cited in F.M.L. Thompson, (1971), op. cit., p.40.

That Britain is a class-based society must be beyond dispute. Sociologists rely upon it as the bedrock of their research and it is frequently blamed for many of contemporary Britain's social and economic ills. But, as Laslett points out, class is contentious and technical. It is, he maintains, part of a vocabulary 'designed for nineteenth and twentieth century society.'⁴⁵ Although Laslett's main concern was seventeenth century society, his point is valid for towns such as Poole as it existed in the early nineteenth century. Its social structure still resembled that of the previous century and possibly earlier ones. 'Pre-industrial England' said D. Smith, 'had been dominated by landowning and mercantile interests whose interpenetration was well over two centuries old by 1830.'⁴⁶

If 'class' in its modern sense did begin to emerge around the beginning of the nineteenth century as historians such as E.P. Thompson⁴⁷ have argued, (and certainly by the middle of the century it was an accepted and emotive term)⁴⁸ the question must be, what was there before it? Laslett's answer, that it was rank and its associated titles that delineated a person's place in society, is a valid one. There was, he maintains, 'a carefully graduated system of social status'⁴⁹ in which titles such as 'esquire' and 'gentleman' had real meaning. Thus the professions detailed in the 1826 manuscript poll-book for Poole⁵⁰ listing the way each Burgess (itself an important descriptive word) voted has John Batt as an 'esquire' but James Bayley, who follows him on the list as a 'gentleman.' The compiler of the poll-book obviously recognised a clear difference between the two men. Gregory King's table, depicting his view of the way English society was structured in the late seventeenth century, reveals that there were 30,000 esquires in 1688,

⁴⁵ P. Laslett, The World We Have Lost - Further Explored, (Cambridge, 1983), p.23.

⁴⁶ D. Smith, Conflict and Compromise, Class Formation in English Society, 1830 - 1914, (1982), p.7.

⁴⁷ E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, (Harmondsworth, 1968)

⁴⁸ Witness Marx and Engels' use of the term.

⁴⁹ P. Laslett, op.cit., p.27.

⁵⁰ Document S.1659, Poole Borough Archives.

ranked next below knights, and 96,000 gentlemen, ranked next below esquires. Yet times were changing for, as the nineteenth century progressed, 'gentleman' began to be used by poll-book compilers in Poole, usually to indicate a retired shopkeeper or craftsman.⁵¹

To Laslett, then, there was a 'graduated ladder from top to bottom of the social scale' which he regards as 'the status system.' Just as the nobility were genuinely ranked by title, the 'nobilitas minor' contained four categories, namely Baronets, Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen.⁵² This last category, which according to King numbered 16,000 individuals if they were 'Eminent Merchants and Traders by Sea' and 48,000 if they were of the 'lesser' variety.⁵³ Poole, for centuries a mercantile community, therefore had 'gentlemen' in the form of its merchants as the highest strata in its status system.

Despite the evident pitfalls in using the terminology of modern sociology in order to investigate and evaluate the social structure of urban areas in the early nineteenth century, there is a common feature to the approach taken by Laslett and those using the term 'class' and 'strata' and this is their reliance on how people earned their living as an indicator of where they were placed in the structure. In both pre-industrial societies and industrial societies it was how people occupied their time, whether to earn money or to justify their income that all analysts have had to use as a basis for their research. In short, it is occupation in all senses of the word, that is the key to status.

Thus, as Armstrong says, 'an immediate need for a working scheme of social classification to import order into the primary sources....'⁵⁴ is necessary for urban historians. That

⁵¹ Thomas Ballard, a 'brewer' in 1835 and 1850 is list as a 'gentleman' in 1859, and Thomas Barnes, 'out of business' in 1835, a 'retired tailor' in 1850 and a 'gentleman' in 1859, are two examples from the 1859 poll-book.

⁵² P. Laslett, *op. cit.*, p.42.

⁵³ Cited in Laslett, *op. cit.*, p.32.

⁵⁴ Cited in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), The Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, 1972), p.201.

classification must almost certainly be based on the 'occupational order', 'The backbone of the class structure.'⁵⁵ The relationship between social class and the occupational hierarchy was to Marx, and to those who based their work on his theories, obvious. A society based on class means 'a structured, politically endorsed system of economic inequalities.'⁵⁶

In analysing the social structure of a town such as Poole, then, the term 'class' is unsatisfactory, but the seemingly permanent basis of the class system, occupation, is extremely useful. From occupation there invariably comes status and this, as Laslett maintains, is the key to the pre-industrial structure. British society, Freidrich Engels maintained, was divided into 'innumerable gradations, each recognised without question, each with its own pride but also with its inborn respect for its 'bettters' and 'superiors''.⁵⁷ Trollope's wealthy breeches-maker in Ralph the Heir, Mr Neefit, 'came slowly to the conclusion that it was his duty to make his daughter a lady. He must find some gentleman who would marry her, and then give that gentleman all his money, - knowing as he did so that the gentleman would never speak to him again. And to this conclusion he came with no bitterness of feeling...'⁵⁸ Trollope's fiction and Engels' analysis complement each other. The 'gradations' existed everywhere, including of course, Poole, where they were perhaps not 'innumerable' but were certainly present.

Yet during this period, as Trollope implied, far reaching change began to occur. As D. Smith notes, 'new social formations took shape' and there were '... strong tendencies towards residential segregation by class'⁵⁹ whilst The Economist, by 1857, was reporting that 'Society is tending more and more to spread into classes - and not merely classes but localised

⁵⁵ F. Parkin, Class Inequality and Political Order, (St. Albans, 1972), p.18.

⁵⁶ J. Foster in H. J. Dyos (ed.), The Study of Urban History, (Leicester, 1968), p.282.

⁵⁷ Cited in Foster, op. cit., p.283.

⁵⁸ A. Trollope, Ralph the Heir, (1871, reprinted Oxford, 1990), p.59.

⁵⁹ D. Smith, op.cit., p.13.

classes.⁶⁰ Thus it was in the first half of the century that 'the increasingly homogeneous suburb was beginning to displace the heterogeneous semi-urban, semi-rural neighbourhood.'⁶¹

Poole was, before all else, a commercial town. It was largely self governing and had a population of sufficient size to produce a number of recognizable social or status groups. In this it was similar to other ports in northern Europe, and is clearly recognisable in the Lubeck of Thomas Mann's Buddenbrooks. That novel's eponymous family were fictional creations but their urban, mercantile world has the feel of reality about it. Labelling these groups as belonging to the 'upper', 'middle', or 'lower' classes fails to produce a wholly satisfactory representation of reality. Does a commercial town which, by definition, is based upon trade, have an upper class in the sense of the contemporary meaning of the term? Was there a distinct middle class or instead a variety of different groups who could loosely be described as the 'middle classes'? Even the lower orders cannot be located precisely for at that level of society there were still differences between labourers, seamen, and vagrants. In other words it is the 'key status groups' existing within Poole society that need to be identified and investigated. In taking such an approach, there may be some groups whose existence has been overlooked, but the use of the word 'key' at least allows a degree of selection.

Without doubt, those who enjoyed the highest status in post-war Poole were the merchants, those who 'drew their honest gain from the distant Poles', to slightly amend the words of Adam Smith.⁶² Whilst not 'patricians in the classical sense, they did loosely correspond to Pirenne's choice of nomenclature⁶³ with their wealth and influence over all aspects of the town's life. Other people in this high status category include the professional men such as lawyers and

⁶⁰ Cited in D. Smith, *op. cit.*, p.15.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² A. Smith, The Wealth of Nations (1796). The original sentence is in the singular.)

⁶³ Cited in A.D. Hibbert, The Origins of the Medieval Town Patriciate, in P. Abrams and E.A. Wrigley (eds.), Towns in Societies (Cambridge, 1978), p.92.

bankers, and retired naval officers. There was naturally a considerable amount of social interaction between them as membership of the town's various committees reveals.

The word 'merchant' is in itself open to misinterpretation for, as Armstrong warns, 'All those described as dealers or merchants in this, that or the other, are best placed in Class III and not Class II' ⁶⁴ but as noted earlier it is 'Merchants, Eminent or Lesser, and Traders by Sea' ⁶⁵ who were Poole's most important citizens. As we have seen, such 'real' merchants had long been identified as 'gentlemen', not only by Gregory King in the seventeenth century, but even earlier for William Harrison wrote in 1577, observed 'They often change estate with gentlemen as gentlemen do with them, by mutual conversion of one into the other.'⁶⁶

Poole's merchants were not gentry in the sense that characters in a Jane Austen novel were. They were not the possessors of great estates, although there were signs, at the start of the nineteenth century, of some families moving in that direction. The Spurriers, for example, a family who had grown rich from the Newfoundland trade, had built a mansion at Upton, a few miles north-west of Poole, in 1812, while the Garlands, another family of similar wealth and enterprise, had property at Wimborne and at Langton Matravers, near Swanage. It is ironic that this move away from the town that had for so long served as a base for their enterprise should occur at a time when the source of the success of those enterprises was about to decline.

The merchants of Poole were the creation of the trading patterns of earlier centuries, of a time when men of enterprise from the countries located on the western edge of Europe were literally in the best position to capitalise on the discoveries made during the great voyages of exploration. They were not the self-made men of the industrial revolution, to be epitomised in Poole by the eventual Lord of the Manor of Canford, Sir John Josiah Guest. Poole's merchants were still

⁶⁴ W.A. Armstrong, in E. A. Wrigley, *op.cit.*, p.209. The classes referred to are those identified in the Registrar General's 1951 classification.

⁶⁵ See above, p.23.

⁶⁶ Cited in P. Laslett, *op. cit.*, p.47.

closely involved in the running of their businesses and were largely unaffected by the developing ethos that 'too close contact with money contaminated one.'⁶⁷ As one of the key groups in Poole's social hierarchy, the merchants who comply with Adam Smith's definition need to be examined in detail, as do the town's other occupational groups.

⁶⁷ R.D. Altick, Victorian People and Ideas, (1973), p.32.

Chapter 3

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1815 - 1841

Merchants

Today the word 'merchant' seems simply to be a suffix added by some shopkeepers to the commodity they sell or, with greater accuracy, a prefix for certain banks rather than a person trading internationally. This change of meaning seems to have occurred in the mid-nineteenth century for trade directories such as Pigot's in 1823 list a variety of 'real' merchants in Poole, many of them prominent in the Newfoundland and North American trade. Well established houses such as Fryer, Gosse and Pack, the various Slades, Lester-Garlands, and Spurriers are listed as merchants. By 1859, however, admittedly in a different directory, Kelly's, the word is used to describe people such as John Blanchard, a 'cement, lime, and slate merchant' , Richard Cull Hopkins, a 'grocer, tallow chandler, and ale and porter merchant' and William Bound, Senior, a 'corn, seed, and coal merchant'. Such men hardly drew their honest gain from the distant poles. The 1859 poll-book is more succinct - Hopkins is simply a grocer. Therefore, as the nineteenth century progressed, Poole men described as merchants might more properly be described as 'business men' rather than 'merchants' as defined by Adam Smith.

Yet, as mentioned above, there were still a number of true merchant firms in Poole in the years after the wars,¹ but their most prosperous period had occurred in the previous century. The great eighteenth-century partnerships, firms, or houses have long interested historians and their backgrounds are well-researched² and need not be examined in any great detail in this thesis. Rather, those extant in the early nineteenth century can be briefly discussed in order to ascertain their principals' position in Poole's social hierarchy.

¹ Holden's Directory, Class 1, of 1816, lists fifty firms or individuals in Poole under the heading 'merchants.'

² Examples include D. Beamish et al Mansions and Merchants of Poole and Dorset (Poole, 1976), N. Penney, My Ancestors (250 copies printed privately, 1920), and E.F.J. Mathews PhD thesis for the University of London, The Economic History of Poole, 1756 - 1815.

Probably the archetypal merchant family were the Spurriers. Established in Poole during the seventeenth century³ their business flourished in the years that followed the French Wars, especially as the Treaty of Utrecht had caused France to relinquish its claim to (and its colony in) Newfoundland. The House of Spurrier had been able to take advantage of the withdrawal of the French and base themselves in the southern part of the island in what was previously French territory. Some indications of their improved fortunes is revealed in Lloyds Register of Shipping which shows that in 1764 they had four ships of sufficient quality to require registration, but none of them larger than 60 tons. In 1775 they had five ships registered, four of them in excess of 120 tons and by 1784 their fleet included the Britannia of 300 tons. This vessel was something of an exception, for the Spurrier fleet of 1811 (again, only six were registered by Lloyds), were typically around 150-200 tons.⁴

Like many other successful merchant families the Spurriers lived in fashionable Thames Street, in the old town⁵ but a visible sign of their prosperity was the building in 1816 of a new mansion, a few miles away from the town, at Upton. Upton House, which is today the home of the Dorset Chamber of Commerce, was built in the classical style and was meant to be a tangible symbol of the Spurrier wealth. But their connection with the house was to be literally short-lived. In 1828, with their firm in financial difficulties, Christopher Spurrier sold Upton House to the Tichborne family from Hampshire. Two years later, in July 1830, the firm of Spurrier, Jolliffe and Spurrier failed, with debts of more than £26,000.⁶

If the Spurriers represent a somewhat flamboyant aspect of the success of Poole's merchants (and it will be argued at a later point that they do), the Lester family give a different impression, despite the inevitable similarity of their operations. They too were very successful but were more

³ D. Beamish et al, (1976).

⁴ Lloyds Register of Shipping.

⁵ Beamish et al, (1976) op. cit., p.18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.22.

prudent and far-sighted in the management of their enterprise, and prospered well into the nineteenth century.

To refer to the 'Lesters' in the years covered by this thesis is technically incorrect. The male line of Lester was clearly going to die out towards the end of the eighteenth century, but the marriage between Amy, the daughter of the then head of the family Benjamin Lester, and George Garland in 1779 enabled the firm to continue and flourish. With proper dynastic concern, Benjamin, in his will, insisted that the eldest of his Garland grandsons should take the name Lester in return for George Garland inheriting the business. Thus in the nineteenth century the family called themselves 'Lester-Garland.'

The Lesters too had emerged as a successful business family in the late seventeenth century, becoming one of the leading houses involved in the Newfoundland trade in the following century. When the Napoleonic Wars started their fleet numbered about 30 ships and they had seven bases in Newfoundland, with Trinity, on the eastern side of the island, as their main centre of operations.⁷

The Newfoundland trade, like any other seafaring venture, was hazardous but the risks were not confined to the elements or the vagaries of the market. Merchants such as George Garland, whose operations were carried on three thousand miles and several weeks sailing away, were dependent on the hard work and honesty of their employees. Where possible Garland tried to place members of his family in positions of responsibility and trust. Thus in correspondence in 1816 with his nephew John Watts Garland, who was based in Lisbon (presumably because of the triangular nature of the Newfoundland trade), he confides 'at no period in my recollection has there been so great and general a loss sustained in every kind of merchandize on hand as has been since the peace, It will I trust work its own cure...' Garland went on to warn his nephew

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.100.

that 'I have no idea that fish this spring or even next fall will come down to prices likely to leave anything like a fair profit.'⁸

Garland also found the loyalty of his employees suspect when, after a visit home by one of his agents in Newfoundland, David Durell, he increased his salary from £300 to £400 a year on condition that he refrained from trading on his own account. This restriction also applied to Garland's other 'out-agents.' They may have obeyed him but Durell did not for Garland soon began to suspect he was being cheated. Writing to another of his nephews, this time to one living in Trinity, he warned that 'your brother in Lisbon informs me that he has heard Mr Durell's illness is partly feigned, that he has come home with intention to begin business himself.....He expects to ship off three cargoes this year.'⁹ George Garland was reluctant to believe that this could be true, but in March he wrote to his nephew James Painter Garland, with the news that 'I have just discovered that Mr Durell has entered Newfoundland as for his father's vessel Liberty.'¹⁰ George had already requested that James should conduct his business for him, realising that if Durell was indeed untrustworthy, 'I had better be without him.'¹¹

The Lester-Garlands were a prudent and successful firm and remained involved in overseas trade throughout the period covered in the first part of this thesis. This was not the case with all the major firms, as the experience of the Spurriers showed. Another family firm, once in the front rank of Newfoundland traders, left it abruptly within ten years of the war's end. This was the house of G. and J. Kemp, a family involved in the trade for at least a hundred years before a sudden improvement in their fortunes towards the end of the eighteenth century.

⁸ Outletter book of George Garland, 1816 - 1826. Entry dated 20 April 1816. Document D365/F23, Dorset County Record Office.

⁹ Ibid., 1 March 1817.

¹⁰ Ibid., 13 March 1817.

¹¹ Ibid.

This had been achieved by two brothers, George and James Kemp, who in about the year 1790 had taken back the small family firm which for the twenty years since their father's death in 1772 had been run by the executors of his estate. Almost immediately after taking back the business, they were able to achieve a spectacular 'take-over' of another, larger and very successful firm, Pike and Green. For the twenty or so years that the wars lasted, the Kemps ran an extremely prosperous business, with George's personal fortune being estimated at £250,000.¹²

Yet within ten years of the war's end the House of Kemp had withdrawn from the Newfoundland trade. The brothers sold their firm to one of their competitors within the town, Fryer, Gosse and Pack. Just why they should have done so remains uncertain. There were differences within the family but the most likely explanation is that George and James recognised that the profitable days had gone for good and sold out whilst there were still buyers available.

One other great merchant house needs to be considered, that of Slade, particularly as this family firm remained active in the trade well into the nineteenth century. Like so many other firms, their connections with Newfoundland began in the early eighteenth century or possibly at the end of the seventeenth,¹³ and they maintained an extensive network of branches on the island's eastern coast for at least a hundred years, staying on until the 1860s. They also established themselves on the continental mainland of North America, in Labrador, a territory which is today part of the Canadian province of Newfoundland.

The Slades were a large family, much given to using the same Christian names from generation to generation, and they always owned several firms under different titles. Holden's Directory, Class 1 of 1816 lists under 'Merchants', John Slade (coal), John Slade and Co. (Newfoundland

¹² Cited in Beamish et al (1976), *op. cit.*, p.74.

¹³ An article in the St John's Evening Telegraph, 27 May 1958, suggests that the Slades had premises at Battle Harbour in 1698. Cited in N.C. Crewe, The Slade Monograph, (1961), Newfoundland Archives.

and ship owner), and Robert Slade (Newfoundland and shipowner). Seven years later, Pigot and Co's Directory of 1823-24 has Robert and John Slade and Co. (general), Robert Slade and Sons (general) and Slade and Cox (general). The phrase 'Newfoundland Merchant' does not appear in this directory.

Lloyds Register of 1830 also confirms the Slade habit of using several different company names for it lists 33 of their ships, with ownership credited to Slade and Co., John Slade, and Robert Slade. Ten years later the Register has two new variations, Robert and John Slade, and David and John Slade. The names of the Slade firms in Newfoundland included Harrison and Slade, and Slade and Cox. The Harrison in the former title was one of their agents (or managers), and the Cox in the latter was related to the family by marriage.

The complexity of the various Slade alliances is well illustrated by the ownership of the 78 ton brigantine Faith. The Transactions Register of British Ships shows her to have been (in 1839) the property of 'Thomas Slade and Samuel Slade of the Borough of Poole, Merchants and co-partners in trade under the Firm of Wm. Cox, late of Poole, Merchant, deceased.'¹⁴ Thomas and Samuel Slade each held sixteen shares (out of the traditional 64) with Thomas Cox and Hannah Cox also owning sixteen shares apiece. Following the deaths of Samuel Slade in 1849, Thomas Cox in 1862, and Hannah Cox, also in 1862, Thomas Slade owned all 64 shares. In August 1862 he sold them to 'Thomas Cox of Poole, Merchant'.¹⁵ The Newfoundland Royal Gazette of 27 May 1862 Carried a notice that 'the partnership between Thomas Slade and Thomas Cox, in business in Poole and Newfoundland as general Newfoundland merchants and shipbuilders under the style of William Cox and Co. is this day dissolved ; The business will now be carried on by the said Thomas Cox alone.'¹⁶

¹⁴ Registry of British Ships, Transactions Register, from 1825, held by Poole Customs.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Cited in Crewe, op. cit., p.6.

This devolution of the family's enterprises extended into Newfoundland itself where three distinct branches were established. These were the 'Northern Slades' of Fogo, Twillingate and Labrador, the 'Carbonear Slades' near to St John's on the Avalon peninsula, and the 'Trinity Slades' at Trinity where the Lester-Garlands were also based. All three branches were situated on the eastern side of the island, facing Europe.

Despite their widespread presence in Newfoundland, the Slades and the other Poole and West Country merchants were not permanent immigrants. No Slade was born in Newfoundland, although at least two members of the family died there.¹⁷ The island was to them a place where they earned their living and sent their employees to work. The centre of their operations remained in Poole, the Newfoundland settlements where the Slades and others had their stores and counting houses were simply distant branches of the firm. Although families such as the Slades were major contributors to the Newfoundland economy, it was their employees who perhaps stayed on when their contract was finished and joined the island's colonists.

A typical Slade vessel, the Two Brothers, was a brig of 224 tons whose crew list for her passage from Poole to Trinity in May 1819 survives.¹⁸ Her Master was John Lander and the only other officer on board was the Mate who was paid 60/- a month. The remainder of the crew consisted of a boatswain, a carpenter, a cook and (on the outward voyage) eight seamen. The seamen and the cook were paid 45/- a month, while the boatswain and the carpenter received 50/- and 55/- a month respectively. Slade crews and presumably those of all the other merchants were expected to be more than just sailors for as well as working the ship on its crossing of the Atlantic, they were subject to the conditions of the crew agreement which stated that 'all the crew of the said ship on their arrival in any port in Newfoundland shall be employed in any way on shore or at sea for the general interest of the Trade and Fishery as they may be ordered by the said Master (or the Agent or Factor belonging to such Trade or Fishery) or subject

¹⁷ Ibid. There are no known descendants of the Slades living in Newfoundland today.

¹⁸ Document D433A/B3, Dorset County Record Office.

themselves to the penalties or forfeitures aforesaid.¹⁹ The Two Brothers left Poole in early May and was still in Trinity in mid-September, indicating that versatility was clearly necessary for sailors employed by the merchants and shipowners.

Although the Slades had been involved in the trade from at least the early eighteenth century they appear to have expanded their operations greatly at the start of the nineteenth century. The number of ships registered with Lloyds was fairly constant between 1764, when they had only three, and 1802 when only five were listed. In 1811 there were seven, but by 1830 there were 33 registered ships in their fleet. The majority of these were in excess of 100 tons and included one called William Kelson. This ship was presumably named after the man who became the family's agent in Trinity sometime between 1805 and 1810²⁰ and is an example of the Slades' habit of involving their staff or in-laws in their businesses. One title of the Trinity based firms was 'Slade and Kelson', appearing in the records for the first time in 1823, but as Crewe says of Kelson, 'he was never a partner.'²¹

The Slades' involvement with Newfoundland continued for several decades after the Napoleonic wars, the traditional date for the beginning of the decline in the trade, but they finally withdrew in the 1860s. The Northern branch sold out in 1871, the Carbonear one became insolvent in 1839, as did the branch managed from Trinity in 1861. The family's fortunes in Newfoundland were probably not helped by the loss of some of their ships during these years. The Psyche, owned by Thomas and Samuel Slade, the surviving partners of William Cox, was lost in the Bay of Biscay in 1848, the Charles, (again owned by Thomas and Samuel) was lost in Newfoundland in 1869 and the Thomas, owned by Robert and James Slade, suffered the same fate in 1862. Two ships owned by Robert and James were 'lost in the ice at Newfoundland', the Dorothy and

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Cited in Crewe, op. cit., p.7.

²¹ Ibid.

the Robert and James.²² With the closure or sale of their branches, the Slades withdrew from Newfoundland. Ships were sold or broken up or transferred to the Newfoundland Registry. Thomas and David Slade of Labrador sold the Lord Nelson to 'foreigners at Lisbon' in 1860 and the John and Thomas to someone in Guernsey ten years later.²³

At their peak the Slades were the most important of all the merchant firms operating in Newfoundland, 'probably conducting the largest volume and quantity in annual turnover of any Newfoundland outport establishment.'²⁴ They left comprehensive records which are held in the Newfoundland archives in St John's and which support the view that they were 'the millionaire firm.' The Slades, Spurriers, Lester-Garlands, and Kemps were merchants on a grand scale, operating in a similar manner to each other. However, there were differences in their overall attitudes and ambitions towards the town in which they lived and society in general.

The members of the Spurrier family living at the beginning of the nineteenth century were socially ambitious, seeking to move beyond the materially rewarding but ultimately limiting circle of Poole's leading citizens. Like many other merchant or manufacturing families before them (and after) they sought an entree into the gentry proper, with all that that implied in terms of status and power. As the genealogist Burke commented half a century later, but still appositely, '..the aim of the prosperous trader is to fix himself on some estate in his own immediate neighbourhood.'²⁵ Christopher Spurrier did just that when, in 1816, he had Upton House built but his plans were grander than simply living in style outside the town. He also nurtured parliamentary ambitions.

²² Registry of British Ships, Transactions Register, 1825.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Crewe, *op. cit.* p.7.

²⁵ J.B. Burke, The Vicissitude of Families, (15 Ser., 1861), p.4.

Poole had been represented at Westminster since 1431, although it was intermittent until 1455, and many of the Members of Parliament in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were similar to those from other parts of the kingdom. They were gentlemen in the legal sense of the word in that they did not work.²⁶ Some of them did, however, once have an occupation in that they had worked to earn their fortune and the most prominent of these was elected to Parliament as member for Poole for the first time in 1790. This was Benjamin Lester, 'merchant of this town' as Hutchins described him in his History of Dorset.²⁷ Thus a member of one of the most prominent of merchant families had achieved a position which if used wisely could do him nothing but good. Then, as now, a near-permanent seat in the Commons and loyal support for the government could well lead to that ultimate goal of the socially ambitious, a peerage. It was literally a time-honoured process and one which many successful merchants and businessmen sought to follow.

The Lesters never did achieve such an elevation but they produced three generations of Poole M.P.s. Benjamin Lester sat from 1790 until 1796, his son-in-law George Garland from 1801 until 1807, and his grandson Benjamin Lester-Lester from 1809 until 1835, surviving the Reform Act and a slightly more representative electorate. The Lester-Garlands failed to reach the House of Lords but they did move successfully into county society, Benjamin being appointed Deputy Lieutenant of Dorset in 1796 and his great-grandson, John Bingley Garland became High Sheriff of the county in 1827.

The Spurriers' political ambitions were tied into those of the Lester-Garlands for in seeking to become one of the members for Poole, the young head of the family Christopher Spurrier (1783 - 1876) had married George Garland's daughter Amy in 1814, an alliance whose terms included a promise to help him win a seat in Parliament. That this was a marriage to further political

²⁶ 'A man who has no occupation' according to F.M.L. Thompson in English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century, (1971), p.17.

²⁷ John Hutchins, The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset, 3rd edition, (1861 - 1874), vol.1, p.30.

ambition is revealed by George Garland's correspondence with his son George Bingley Garland²⁸ (then living in London) in September 1817, a time when Spurrier was publicly criticising George Garland for failing to support him. Acknowledging that in 1812 one of the two successful candidates in the election, Michael Angelo Taylor, was 'elected to hold the seat till some further opportunity for Mr Spurrier', he added that 'It is not perhaps quite so well known that the election cost me £3000, every shilling of which Spurrier left me to pay in addition to many hundreds I had expended for his interests before and avowdly for his future if not immediate support, and at a time when I had no more idea of his marriage to my daughter than I had of any other man becoming my son-in-law.'²⁹ In 1812 George Garland's son Benjamin Lester-Lester was Poole's other M.P. and Garland added that 'Spurrier has long looked for a seat for Poole and considered Lester as standing in his way.'³⁰

Christopher Spurrier had attempted to become an M.P. in 1807 but was thwarted by his elderly father's efforts on his behalf. William Spurrier had naively thought he could improve his son's chances by concealing the writ for the election whilst Christopher consolidated his candidacy. Spurrier Senior was found out after two weeks and ultimately had to apologise to the House of Commons.³¹ Thus in making the arrangements for his marriage to Amy Garland, Christopher had openly included a Parliamentary seat, preferably Poole, as part of the dowry. When George Garland pointed out that the town might not take too kindly to having two M.P.s from the same family,³² Spurrier had second thoughts about the marriage. In the presence of his mother and

²⁸ John Bingley Garland was at this time in partnership with another locally born merchant, George Richard Robinson, who eventually became Chairman of Lloyds of London (1834 - 1850) and M.P. for Worcester (1826 - 1837) and Poole in 1847 until his death in 1850.

²⁹ Outletter book of George Garland, 1816 - 1826, Document D365/F23, Dorset County Record Office.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Cited in Beamish et al (1976), p.18.

³² Garland's sensitivity on this subject reflects the suspicion with which Newfoundland merchants were regarded by other prominent citizens. In 1760, for example, they were described

George Garland, Spurrier, on hearing Garland's refusal to ask his son to give up his seat at the next election said 'I will break the marriage.'³³

At a subsequent meeting between George Garland and his daughter Amy, and Spurrier, the latter softened his attitude slightly, for Garland reported him as saying 'that if I could not bring him in for Poole, I ought to buy him a seat in Parliament for some other place.' Garland refused but offered him an extra £2,000 in compensation.³⁴ On Amy he settled £4,000.

Christopher Spurrier did eventually achieve his ambition to become an M.P., but not as representative for Poole. In 1820 he was returned for another Dorset seat, Bridport, but at a cost of a £12,000 mortgage on Upton House and the sale of his estate at Compton Abbas for £16,513.³⁵ Bridport was not, for Spurrier, an ideal constituency to fight, being 'one of the very few boroughs in Great Britain which can lay a positive claim to independence.'³⁶

The collapse of the firm of Spurrier in 1830 ended Christopher's career in public life, although he had the satisfaction of seeing his daughter Amey Ann³⁷ gain a title by marrying a member of the German aristocracy, Ernst Ludwig Franz Heinrich, Baron de Linden of Kirkheim in Wurtemburg in September 1834. Christopher Spurrier lived for another 42 years after his daughter's wedding, dying in 1876 at the age of 93.

as being 'infamously intent on Trade, proud of their quick raised fortune, unsociable amongst themselves, and envious of any success that strangers who settle among them may meet with.' Cited in Lectures on the History of Newfoundland 1500 - 1830, by Keith Matthews. Memorial University of Newfoundland, Maritime History Group, 1973.

³³ Garland Outletter Book, 1816 - 1826.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Cited in Beamish et al (1976), op. cit., p.19.

³⁶ T. Oldfield, History of the Original Constitution of Parliaments, (1797), p.124.

³⁷ Spelling as recorded in the parish register of St. James', Poole.

The other two merchant families discussed in some detail, the Kemps and the Slades, were less ambitious, playing an active role in the administration of Poole, but never venturing into national politics. The two Kemp brothers were involved in the Corporation's intercenine battles during the 1830s³⁸ but curiously, given the tendency of members of the same family to share political allegiances,³⁹ George Kemp was a Whig or 'Reformer' in Poole politics but James was a Tory.

The Slades were also Tories and on several occasions members of the family occupied the position of Mayor. Despite their great wealth they seemed content to remain in and around the town⁴⁰ with no apparent ambitions to climb the social ladder. The parish registers reveal that two members of the family married girls who could not sign their names.⁴¹ Whilst as evidence of the low social status of the two young women, this is only circumstantial, a high proportion of the entries in the registers could sign their names. Other members of the family, of course, did marry well. A Mary Slade married the solicitor and eventual Town Clerk Thomas Arnold in 1826, with all five witnesses being Slades. One of them, Mary Bishop Slade, made her mark rather than a signature.⁴²

Thus we have four families, each with a different emphasis to their values but who can fairly be seen as representative of the merchant class who were an important part of the town's upper strata and certainly a key status group. The Newfoundland merchant has been defined as 'a man

³⁸ Recounted in full in Beamish et al (1974), op. cit.

³⁹ See the writer's, The Electoral History of Poole, 1832 - 1885, unpublished M.Litt thesis for the University of Bristol, 1981.

⁴⁰ They were the last of the great merchant families to live in the 'Old Town.' See Chapter 8 below.

⁴¹ Parish Register of St James', Poole, ref PE/PL, RE13. Dorset County Record Office. Edward Brice Slade married Elizabeth Burt, 14 November 1814, and Edward Slade married Martha Gould, 23 July 1815. In this latter instance one of the witnesses, Francis Slade, was also unable to sign his name.

⁴² Ibid., 11 October 1826.

who owned his own seagoing vessels and possessed the capacity to import goods into his own stores in Newfoundland and to export fish directly to the market abroad.' The same source adds that 'They were genuine free traders, competitive, independent - not to say paranoidly suspicious of the activities of their fellow merchants.'⁴³

Many of the merchants living in Poole accurately fit that description, yet they did much for the administration of the town. They produced M.P.s, mayors, councillors and aldermen, served upon a variety of committees established to improve life within the town, and were the leaders of the factions within the Corporation. Yet in a sense their pre-eminence within the community was ending because the trading philosophy which had enabled them to flourish was itself under attack from the advocates of a laissez-faire economy.

The theory or doctrine of 'mercantilism' had prevailed in England since its evolution between the mid sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries. Its central beliefs, formulated by English theorists such as Gerald Maynes and Edward Misselden, that a country needed to measure its wealth in the quantity of precious metals it could amass and the necessity of maintaining a favourable balance of trade, were challenged a century later by the originator of the term, Adam Smith, in The Wealth of Nations in 1776. Poole's merchants were a product of the mercantile system and also its beneficiaries, for they carried manufactured goods to a colony which produced none of its own, and they had a monopoly over the carriage of its natural resources.

The validity of one of Smith's criticisms is clearly shown by a letter from George Garland to his nephew James P. Garland in 1818, when he complained about his establishments in Newfoundland. Smith classified labour as either productive or unproductive, the former being that of the 'manufacturer' and the latter that of the 'menial servant.' His argument was that 'the labour of a manufacturer adds, generally, to the value of the materials he works upon, that of

⁴³ K. Matthews, *ibid.*, pp. 260-61.

his own maintenance, and of his master's profit.⁴⁴ Thus for the employer who made a profit, the more people he employed the greater the quality of goods and the greater the profit. For the merchant, each employee, however necessary, subtracted from the possible maximum profit. As Smith put it, 'A man grows rich by employing a multitude of manufacturers : He grows poor by maintaining a multitude of menial servants.'⁴⁵

George Garland was not poor and did not employ mere 'menial servants' and it must be admitted that Adam Smith regarded the activities of merchants as 'productive.' But Garland did employ large numbers of people who, in the immediate post-war years he regarded as being unnecessarily expensive: 'I have eight or nine establishments' he wrote, 'with 200-250 men employed to collect annually 40,000 quintals fish, 300 tons oil, whereas there are many traders which collect considerably more fish with one or two establishments.'⁴⁶ He went on to specifically mention the Slades and Gosse and Co., the latter firm collecting 'from 50 - 60,000 quintals fish and 4,000 tons oil with only two establishments, no cruising, no boats or servants.'⁴⁷

Garland's complaint notwithstanding, Poole merchants, like their counterparts in the rest of the country, had done well by the mercantile system. As Adam Smith concluded, 'It cannot be very difficult to determine who have been the contrivers of this whole mercantile system; not the consumers....; but the producers whose interest has so carefully been attended to; and among this latter class our merchants and manufacturers have been by far the principal architects.'⁴⁸ Smith's monumental and influential work was written before the decline of the merchant class had become apparent. The last decades of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth

⁴⁴ Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations, Campbell and Skinner (eds.), (Oxford, 1976), Book II, iii, p.330.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Outletter book of George Garland, D376/F23, Dorset County Record Office.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ A. Smith, *op. cit.*, (1887 edition), Vol.II, p.178.

were, after all, the most prosperous times for the merchants of Poole. But Wealth of Nations was a book of enormous importance, focussing on issues which eventually led to the campaign for free trade, a system which was the antithesis to that which had enabled Poole's merchants to prosper for so long.

As the new century progressed the ideas of men such as David Ricardo were signalling the end of the merchants' dominant role as contributors to the nation's wealth. Ricardo's 'law of comparative costs', the realisation that it would pay each nation to concentrate on the production of goods which it could produce more cheaply than any other and import its other needs as cheaply as possible, became a fundamental belief in the successful drive towards free trade. Merchants, who were in effect 'middle men', were no longer vital in the free-trade era of the nineteenth century as those who produced manufactured goods began to arrange their own exports. The efficiency of this gradual change in the nature of trade is revealed by the fact that in the thirty years from 1830 to 1860, exports from the United Kingdom grew at an annual rate of 5.6%, faster than established competitor countries such as France and embryonic ones such as the United States.⁴⁹ The role of the traditional merchant had been taken over by that of the manufacturer and the port and town of Poole would need to adopt new ways in order to remain prosperous.

In addition to the four merchant families discussed in this chapter, and it is maintained that they were representative of the town's upper strata, there were several other merchants, some of them engaged in trans-atlantic trade, and others whose vessels travelled less far. There were also the professional men, the bankers and lawyers and those employed in an official capacity such as the customs officers. All of these citizens were part of the key status groups discussed above.

The most tangible evidence of the social make-up of the whole upper strata is the composition of the town's governing body, the Corporation of the Town and County of the Town of Poole,

⁴⁹ Cited in S. Grassman and E. Lundberg (eds.), The World Economic Order, Past and Present, (1981), p.19.

to give it its correct title. Oldfield's description of the Corporation as it existed prior to the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 is, as always, succinct : 'Corporation consists of a mayor, recorder, sheriff, coroner, town clerk, an indefinite number of aldermen and an indefinite number of burgesses.'⁵⁰ It is the word 'indefinite' that is significant for it allowed the Corporation to expand or contract depending upon the number of men deemed eligible for membership. In 1797, when Oldfield made his comments about Poole, there were 94 members of the Corporation but many of these were 'out-burgesses.' These were gentlemen who did not live in the town but were entitled to many of the privileges granted to those burgesses who did live there, including the right to vote in Parliamentary elections.

When domestic elections were held to choose who should fill positions such as mayor, sheriff or coroner, voting was restricted to resident burgesses. There were ten positions for which elections were necessary and for all but two⁵¹ candidates had to be members of the Corporation, thus perpetuating the exclusive nature of the pre-reform government of English boroughs. Analysis of the occupation or status of those participating in elections, whether as candidates or as voters, indicates the membership of the town's upper strata. The Parliamentary election of 1826, for which the manuscript poll-book survives, was one of the last to be held before the Reform Act greatly increased the Poole electorate⁵² and it serves to illustrate the political importance of the merchants and their families within the town.

The electorate numbered 126, although two of the names in the poll-book were the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Gloucester who could therefore not vote for members of the House of Commons. Of the 124 remaining, 58 lived in Poole and another seven in its immediate hinterland. Thus 61 burgesses lived away from the town, some of them overseas in places as diverse as Switzerland, the West Indies, Spain, Russia and (of course) Newfoundland. Others

⁵⁰ Oldfield, *op. cit.*, p.375.

⁵¹ The exceptions were the Recorder and the Town Clerk.

⁵² 'Greatly increased' is a relative term for the new electorate totalled only 412 out of a population (in 1831) of 6,959.

lived in England, often in London, but several lived quite close to Poole, in the neighbouring towns of Wareham and Christchurch. It is clear from their names and occupations that many of these burgesses were members of Poole families but for the purpose of this analysis, only those residing in the town or those areas that were, even then, clearly its suburbs are investigated.⁵³

If the description of the burgesses' occupations are taken at face value the largest single group among them were 'gentlemen' with fifteen people labelled in this way. When eight 'esquires' are added, as logically they should be, there were 23 people out of 65 who apparently did not have to work for a living. However, these labels can be deceptive, depending as they do on an arbitrary decision by the compiler of the poll-book. Both 'gentleman' and 'esquire' appear to be words used as descriptions for retired merchants and businessmen, or their relatives who played little or no active part in the family enterprise. Thus there were seven⁵⁴ Garlands listed in the poll-book as living in Poole - two 'gentlemen', two 'esquires', two merchants and a Royal Navy captain. The two Spurriers relevant to this analysis are both 'esquires' even though one of them, Christopher, was as discussed above, a merchant in the grand manner.

To these 23 burgesses can be added another fourteen who were described as merchants or shipowners, and two shipbuilders. The merchants included two trading in timber and one in coal. Of similar status were eleven men employed in the professions⁵⁵, a surgeon, two attorneys, a banker, two Royal Navy officers, four customs house officers and the Rector of Poole. This last gentleman was a member of the Jolliffe family, Newfoundland merchants for two hundred years.

⁵³ It is difficult to know where to draw the line (literally) - Lymington and Longham, for example, are only a few miles from the town but are not technically part of it. As the point being made here is a general one, the criteria described in the text appears valid, although, for obvious reasons, Christopher Spurrier (of Upton House) is included.

⁵⁴ There were actually ten Garlands, but one was a merchant of 'Leghorn, Spain' (sic) and the other two were 'yeomen' living in Wareham.

⁵⁵ An arbitrary decision - the term is being used in its modern sense, rather than in the strict usage of the nineteenth century. See H.J. Dyos (ed.) The Study of Urban History (1976), p.328.

Of the remaining occupations listed, there were two brewers and a corn-factor. The brewers were Thomas and William Adey who Pigot's Directory of 1823-4 shows to be wine and spirit merchants. The Adeys were a large family, their name occurring frequently in the marriage registers for the parish of St James. The Universal British Directory of 1798, vol. IV, included three members of the family, two as victuallers and one as mariner. By 1816 they appear as coal merchants⁵⁶ and by 1830 a John Adey was recorded as the owner and captain of the 150 ton brig Ceres by Lloyds Register. When John Adey died in 1865, his obituary in the Poole and South Western Herald noted that in early life he was connected with the shipping trade 'and owned and commanded a fine vessel...but abandoning the seas he established himself as a wine and spirit merchant in Market Street.'⁵⁷ As the century progressed the Adeys continued to be described as merchants with one of them, Captain Stephen Adey (whom Pigot's of 1834 lists under 'nobility, clergy and gentry'), appearing in advertisements as master of the Delia and making regular passages to Quebec. Another Adey, Charles Augustus, was a surgeon.⁵⁸

The corn factor mentioned above was James Aldridge and he too can be classified as a member of this 'ruling' group, for Holden's Directory of 1816 had both James Aldridge and Co., Newfoundland (Merchant) and shipowner, and John Aldridge, shipowner. James' business premises were on the Quay, a clear indicator of the mercantile nature of his enterprise.

Five burgesses were described as 'master-mariners', a term reserved for captains of vessels rather than ordinary seamen.⁵⁹ It was quite common for ship-owning families in Poole to have

⁵⁶ Holden's Directory, Class 1, 1816.

⁵⁷ Poole and South Western Herald, 12 October 1865.

⁵⁸ He appears as part-owner of a vessel called Freedom in the Registry of British Ships, Transactions Register, in 1845.

⁵⁹ The term remains in use today despite being officially replaced by the less romantic and decidedly more bureaucratic 'Department of Transport Class 1 Certificate of Competency.' The certification of officers in what is now the 'Merchant Navy' was introduced in 1854 but the term 'master-mariner' was in common use for ships' masters long before that date.

some of their members actually commanding their vessels and all five mariners' names in the 1826 poll-book occur ten years early in Holden's Directory as merchants or shipowners.⁶⁰

Thus, of the 65 resident burgesses, 58 of them can clearly be shown as belonging to the merchant or near-merchant class. Even the remaining seven individuals whose occupations suggest a more homely life-style include a grocer named James Hayward, who was father to one of the master-mariners discussed above, and father, uncle or brother to another one. Similarly, George Hancock, described as a store-keeper, was a partner in the firm of Holland and Hancock, coal merchants, trading with Newcastle and South Wales. Their fleet included the brigs Reaper, Oak, John, and Mary. The Reaper was of 158 tons burden, built in Sunderland in 1826 and bought by George Hancock, shopowner (sic) and George Holland, merchant, in the same year for £1,575.⁶¹ Typical Reaper voyages were to Llanelli where she would take on board a cargo of 'hand picked anthracite' from Neville Sims, Druce and Co. In quantity this would be just over 200 tons at almost £1 a ton. On 8 June 1836, for example, 205 tons were bought at 19/3.1/4d a ton and on 2 November of that year the onset of winter is reflected in a cargo of 220 tons 10 cwt at 19.11.1/2d. Holland and Hancock's accounts for 1836 show the coal being sold at prices between 21/9d and 25/10d a ton.⁶²

The Oak was another Holland and Hancock vessel, also of around 160 tons and an overall length of 75 feet, which they bought from the Newfoundland merchant firm of Fryer, Gosse and Pack in 1833.⁶³ The decline of the great merchant houses brought some benefits for the lesser ones - Holland and Hancock paid only £675 for the 25 year old Oak. They received £500 as compensation from their insurers when she was lost in 1838.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Two Haywards, a Keates, a Wills and a Lander.

⁶¹ Document D433A/B5, Dorset County Record Office.

⁶² Document D433A/F21, Dorset County Record Office.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid. In addition to losing the Oak, they lost the Reaper in 1841.

The poll-book is again confusing in the case of the only block-maker listed, Henry Knight Furnell. He appears in later poll-books as a timber merchant, an iron merchant, and a commission merchant⁶⁵. The town's burial register records him as an iron-founder. In 1826, though, this member of the Furnell family was seemingly involved in the firm of Knight and Co., block and pump makers of Quay Road. Henry Furnell's middle name, was as indicated above, 'Knight'. Another member of the Furnell family, William, was Chief Clerk to George Garland⁶⁶, but is later described as a timber merchant⁶⁷. It would therefore seem that the poll-book's description of Henry as a blockmaker obscures his mercantile connections.

The four remaining Burgesses were a draper, a cooper, and two fishermen. Although there is no manifest evidence of a relationship to the leading merchant families in these last three instances (the two fishermen having the same surname), it seems probable that they were sufficiently wealthy or well-connected to warrant their place among Poole's key status-groups. Table 3.1 overleaf lists the membership by occupational group of the Corporation as it existed in 1826.

⁶⁵ Poll-books for 1835, 1850, and 1859 respectively.

⁶⁶ Cited in Beamish et al., (1976), p.115.

⁶⁷ 1835 Poll-book.

Gentlemen and Esquires	23
Merchants, Shipowners and Shipbuilders	16
Professional Men, including Customs House Officers	11
Brewers/Cornfactor	3
Shopkeepers	3
Master Mariners	5
Fishermen	2
Blockmaker and Cooper	2
Total	65

Table 3.1 : Local Membership of the Corporation in 1826 by Occupational Groups.

This upper strata was described earlier in this chapter as consisting of the key status groups within the town, and the members of the Corporation match this description reasonably well. Great merchants enjoyed their particular status, lesser merchants had their own. Shipowners and shipbuilders, bankers and lawyers, customs house officers and other professional men all had their own status groups, but none were exclusive. There would obviously have been social interaction between bankers and merchants, shipowners and lawyers. Below these were those citizens who can be categorised as belonging to groups enjoying lesser status. Many in this second category were in frequent contact with those of the one above, although it would be mainly on a business or political basis. This class of citizen can loosely be called the 'small business man', i.e. the shopkeeper, tradesman, and craftsman, and they too must be examined in more detail.

SHOPKEEPERS AND TRADESMEN

When the various criteria for defining a town were discussed in chapter 1, mention was made of Pirenne's belief that they exist to serve the needs of commerce - to facilitate the selling and buying of goods and services in order to produce profit and satisfaction. Pirenne was clearly thinking in terms of commerce on a grand scale, of the major European cities such as Antwerp, London, Venice and Genoa, or the Asian cities of the thirteenth century described by the definitive merchant-explorer Marco Polo ; '.....Tabriz is the most splendid city in the province....The city is so favourably situated that it is a market for merchandise

from India and Baghdad, from Mosul and Hormuz, and from many other places ; and many Latin merchants come here to buy the merchandise imported from foreign lands.⁶⁸ There are thus two key words in this passage, 'markets' and 'merchants', words which are applicable to any town, whatever its size and wherever it is situated.

An inevitable by-product of the large scale economic activity described above was commerce on a lesser scale, for one of the things lost in the adoption of an urban life-style is self-sufficiency although as Winstanley⁶⁹ points out, there was a social dimension to this. The tradition for the urban working class of 'making do', of keeping some livestock to supplement meat supplies, taking what was freely available from the surrounding countryside in the way of food and fuel, and of course making clothes from whatever was available, persevered well into the nineteenth century. But generally, town-dwellers, earning a living from the activities, both central and peripheral, which take place in the commercial centres, are usually dependent on the specialist supplier of essential goods and services. Thus the town as a centre for 'shopping' for all those who live in it rather than a commercial centre for relatively few merchants can be said another of its distinguishing features.

To use the term 'shopping' in the period under discussion here is incorrect, given its modern meaning and the preponderence of retail outlets in and around all of today's towns. For the majority of citizens, and especially those who would now be called the working classes, in an early nineteenth century town it was the market square and its resident stall holders who provided most of the facilities for 'shopping' , not shops as they exist today. At the markets were sold all the necessities of life, especially the perishable foods such as eggs, poultry, dairy produce and meat, things that people no longer automatically provided from their own backyard or plot of land, Winstanley's reservations notwithstanding.

Like all towns, Poole had long had its market days, being granted that right in the reign of Henry III. The main one was held each Thursday with a smaller affair on Mondays. They

⁶⁸ The Travels of Marco Polo, translated by Ronald Latham, Folio Society edition, (1968), p.43.

⁶⁹ Michael J. Winstanley, The Shopkeeper's World, 1830-1914, (Manchester, 1983), p.4.

were held in an area around the Guildhall, in the aptly named Market Street. The Guildhall, built in 1761 at a cost of £1,500 and paid for by the town's two Members of Parliament, had open arcades at ground level and these were occupied by butchers and meat sellers. The open land adjoining the Guildhall was used by other stall-holders and, from 1827, a fruit, vegetable and butter market was established in Hill Street 'on the north side of the Unitarian meeting house.'⁷⁰ Mui and Mui maintain that by the end of the eighteenth century 'the wholesale functions once performed by the fair had long since fallen into desuetude. All that remained of the great fairs was the trade in livestock and some foodstuffs. Gone too was the packman merchant.' Mui and Mui go on to say that 'Shops, which had begun to encroach upon the trade at the fairs even in the seventeenth century, were firmly established by the end of the eighteenth century. The weekly market remained the most important source for butchers' meat, poultry, vegetables and fruit throughout the eighteenth century; shops were, however, beginning to retail some of these items.'⁷¹ Poole's market fitted this pattern.

Buying goods at a market was not, despite the similar end result, the same as shopping. There was, and is, 'a very real distinction' between the two, as one of the few books on the subject notes.⁷² 'Shopping' implies a leisurely, probably pleasant way of passing time, mainly reserved for those who could spare both the time and money⁷³, a point made by Jane Austen when she has one of her characters, Mr Robert Ferrars, spending a quarter of an hour perusing the entire stock of toothpick-cases at Gray's in Sackville Street, Bath, in Sense and Sensibility. A similar point is made in another of Austen's novels, Emma, when 'Ford's' is referred to as 'the very shop that every body attends every day of their lives.'⁷⁴

⁷⁰ J. Sydenham, The History of the Town and County of Poole, (Poole, 1839), reprinted in facsimile 1986, p.434.

⁷¹ H-C. and L.H. Mui, Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England, (1989), p.27.

⁷² A. Davies, A History of Shopping (1966), p.253.

⁷³ Not that money was needed at the time of purchase. Credit was freely available to those deemed credit worthy. Davies, op. cit., p.253 and Winstanley, op. cit., pp. 55-57.

⁷⁴ Jane Austen, Emma, (Harmondsworth, 1973 ed.), p.211. The same passage includes 'the sleek, well-tied parcels of 'Men's Beavers' and 'York Tan', thus underlining George Eliot's jibe in Middlemarch, 'the parcel-tying class.'

For 'everybody' read 'Society.' Markets catered for the majority, for those who lived hand to mouth, buying only what they must in order to feed themselves and their families. The contrast between the shops in the Austen novels and the markets vividly described by Mayhew⁷⁵ could not be more dramatic, and although those in London were naturally livelier and larger than those in Poole, similarities were sure to exist. As Winstanley notes, 'Perishables formed the bulk of the trade, with butchers occupying the majority of market stalls in Liverpool and Manchester in the 1830s and 1840s. Greengrocers were also increasingly common in these decades and there were also fishmongers, poulterers and butter and cheese dealers and a sprinkling of dealers in household goods for which there was no established demand. All these dealers only gradually expanded into fixed shop premises when the volume of business warranted such a move, usually from the third quarter of the century.'⁷⁶

Shops in Poole, like everywhere else, were mainly for the well-to-do, but were not at this stage, the same as those of the the second half of the century. In the early nineteenth century they were small, their goods were not displayed neatly on counters and shelves, and prices were often a matter for negotiation between the shopowner and the customer.⁷⁷

Nossiter's guiding principle, that 'the customer is as immediate reference point as the material and.....a shop in the modern sense is involved'⁷⁸ is useful for categorising those who can be called 'shopkeepers' rather than 'tradesmen' or 'craftsmen', although he introduces a tautology in the idea of 'a shop in the modern sense.' Shops in the period under discussion were different, not least because the shopkeeper was usually the producer of the goods he (or she) was selling. Davies maintains that the terms 'shopkeeper' and "tradesman" were often interchangeable, although Winstanley points out that the latter description was

⁷⁵ H. Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor, (Harmondsworth, 1985 ed.) pp. 12-17.

⁷⁶ Winstanley, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

⁷⁷ A. Davies, op. cit., discusses these matters at some length.

⁷⁸ T. J. Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England, (Hassocks, 1975), p.212.

originally used for operators on a large scale, and that they objected to the former term. In early nineteenth century directories, 'shopkeeper' was often applied to 'small, general retailers who lacked capital or standing'.⁷⁹ Alexander, however, notes that most tradesmen's businesses were started with at least £100 in capital⁸⁰ but, 'As Bechofer and Elliott point out, the businesses run by this class' (the Petty Bourgeoisie) 'were (and are) characterised by the combination, often within family concerns, of small accounts of capital, low levels of technology and a simple, unbureaucratized division of labour.'⁸¹

Davies' point remains valid, though, when she states that having a trade meant that they were skilled in a particular craft, as bakers, butchers or saddlers. Even those trades which at first sight would seem to lack the long apprenticeship and mastery of a difficult skill that is implied by the term 'tradesman' (or 'craftsman') were in fact just as specialised. Davies comments that in a trade such as drapery 'Goods were not of even quality, not even textiles. Every consignment had to be expertly valued and priced, both for buying and selling again in the shop.....Every trade needed its own knowledge and skill.'⁸²

Adburgham notes that, as the new London streets devoted to shops were being developed after 1815, 'In all these streets, in most of the shops, the proprietor-shopkeeper lived with his family above or behind his business premises and was more than a man who handled merchandise : he was a specialist in the goods he sold. Very often he was the craftsman who made them : shoemaker, tailor, stay maker, hatter, fan maker, umbrella and parasol maker.'⁸³ This point is reinforced by Crossick when he comments upon 'the traditional skills of the shopkeeper and the premium placed upon them. These skills had required a

⁷⁹ Winstanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12.

⁸⁰ D. Alexander, Retailing in England in the Industrial Revolution (1970), pp. 208-212.

⁸¹ F. Bechofer and B. Elliott, Persistance and Change : The Petite Bourgeoisie in Industrial Society, European Journal of Sociology, (1976), Vol. 17, pp. 74 - 79. Cited in D. Smith, *Op. Cit.*, p.14.

⁸² A. Davies, *op. cit.*, p.256.

⁸³ A. Adburgham, Shops and Shopping, 1800 - 1914, (1989), p.5.

knowledge of a wide range of goods, the ability to judge, to divide, to process and prepare them.⁸⁴

Adam Smith, though, was more dismissive. To him retailers were 'productive labourers' who performed essential services by 'breaking and dividing.....made and manufactured produce into such small parcels as suited the occasional demands of those who want them.'⁸⁵ It is of course unlikely that shopkeepers themselves would have agreed with this description - the eighteenth century retailer, Thomas Turner of East Hoathly, Sussex certainly saw himself in a different light.⁸⁶

Shopkeepers have been described as 'a largely ignored race' by Winstanley⁸⁷, as being 'curiously ignored by historians' by Nossiter⁸⁸ and their premises as 'unexplored territory' by Faure.⁸⁹ Although their role in the struggle for political reform is well documented⁹⁰, it is true that there is little on their place in the social hierarchy. They were certainly of lesser status than merchants but, it will be argued at a later point, were superior to craftsmen. They were, however, often unpopular with many social and economic groups. Indeed, a 'shopman' was not a description that a gentleman, or someone with aspirations towards gentility, would welcome. As a contemporary writer said, it was an 'offensive

⁸⁴ G. Crossick, The Petit Bourgeoisie in Nineteenth Century Britain : the Urban and Liberal Case, in Crossick and Haupt (eds.), Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth Century Europe, (1984), pp.65-65.

⁸⁵ Cited in Mui and Mui, op. cit., p.6.

⁸⁶ Thomas Turner, The Diary of a Georgian Shopkeeper, selected by R.W. Blencowe and M.A. Lower, (Oxford, 1979).

⁸⁷ Winstanley, op. cit., p.viii.

⁸⁸ T. J. Nossiter, op. cit., p.145.

⁸⁹ A. Faure, The Grocery Trade in Nineteenth Century Paris : a Fragmented Occupation, cited in Crossick and Haupt, op. cit., p.155.

⁹⁰ See Nossiter, op. cit., for example.

appellation' if applied to 'a well-dressed man in the street.'⁹¹ The fictional Margaret Hale, in North and South, disliked the Gormans 'who made their fortunes in trade at Southampton' - she didn't like 'shoppy people.'⁹² Some shopkeepers, as their businesses prospered, attempted to move out of retailing and into wholesaling, 'to lose the shopkeeper in the merchant.'⁹³ Comparison with the comments of Burke cited on p.36 above, of the tendency for merchants and manufacturers to distance themselves from the industry in which they had made their fortunes is irresistible.

It was not only the well-off who disliked the tradesman cum shopkeeper. There is evidence that those who had no choice but to purchase his wares had little time for him and the quality of those wares. As an anonymous song writer of the period bluntly put it :

'Here tradesmen, 'tis plain, at no roguery stop,
They adulterate everything they've in their shop.'⁹⁴

This song goes on to castigate a whole range of shopkeepers including tobacconists, wine merchants and milkmen, all of them accused of adding unnatural substances to their produce in order to increase their profits. It was, apparently, one of the skills of that most superior of servants, the butler, to 'detect the adulterations committed by unscrupulous tradesmen' , particularly in wines, both still and fortified.⁹⁵

⁹¹ A. Davies, op. cit., p.252.

⁹² E. Gaskell, North and South, cited in J. Kestner, Protest and Reform, The British Social Narrative by Women, 1827 -1867, (1985), p.165.

⁹³ Op. Cit., p.258.

⁹⁴ The opening lines of London Adulterations or, Rogues in Grain, Tea, Coffee, Milk, Beer, Bread, Snuff, Mutton, Pork, Gin, Butter etc. cited in R. Palmer, A Touch on the Times, Songs of Social Change 1770 - 1914, (Harmondsworth, 1974), p.175.

⁹⁵ P. Horn, The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant, (Dublin, 1975), p.79.

Food adulteration was 'essentially a phenomenon of urban life' and had existed since the days of classical Greece.⁹⁶ It did not, however, become endemic in England until the nineteenth century and first received widespread public attention when Frederick Accum's Treatise on Adulterations of Food and Culinary Poisons was published in 1820.⁹⁷ The practices described in that work would hardly have endeared the shopkeeper to the general public.

Nineteenth century literary sources also indicate the relatively low social status of shopkeepers when compared with merchants and the gentry. George Eliot's Middlemarch, for example, although set in the years immediately before the 1832 Reform Act, has the grocer Mr Mawmsey as having 'retail deference' and another minor character, a draper named Hopkins labelled as 'meek-mannered'.⁹⁸ The tradesmen to whom Lydgate, a well-connected doctor and one of the novel's main characters, owes money are (in his wife's opinion) 'odious people.'⁹⁹ Eliot was writing in the 1870s but would appear to be revealing her own instincts as matching those living in the era she recreates - her reference to the 'parcel-tying class' has already been noted.¹⁰⁰

Yet a new term had come into being which reveals the rising social status of the shopkeeper - 'shopocracy.' Its earliest use appears to date from 1835 when it was included in Noctes Ambrosiane, no.39, in February of that year.¹⁰¹ The role of the shopkeeper in the fight for reform is discussed in Nossiter (1975) and the point is made that "It was the shopocracy rather than the working-class - depressed or prosperous - which had the opportunity to sustain a radical movement in successive elections. Their social situation gave them more independence ; the successful could leave the shop in the hands of the apprentice ; they rarely suffered from unemployment ; and their capital was quite considerable - according to

⁹⁶ J. Burnett, Plenty and Want, (1966), p.72.

⁹⁷ Cited in Burnett, op. cit., p.74.

⁹⁸ G. Eliot, Middlemarch, (Harmondsworth, 1965), pp. 484 and 769.

⁹⁹ Eliot, op. cit., p.642.

¹⁰⁰ See footnote 74.

¹⁰¹ Cited in Nossiter, op. cit., p.144.

Vincent, at death three times that of the craftsman and three-quarters of a professional's estate.¹⁰² On the other hand, at that most infamous of suppressions of working class demands for reform, 'Peterloo', 'It was the Yeomanry - the Manchester manufacturers, merchants, publicans, and shopkeepers on horseback - which did more damage than the regulars (Hussars).'¹⁰³ As a status group, shopkeepers were clearly in an evolutionary state.

What was the status of Poole's shopkeepers in the 1820s and 1830s? Were they an homogenous group or was there an embryonic 'shopocracy' emerging from among them? The very term 'shopkeeper' 'covers a wide area from the barons of the shopocracy, the Gordon Selfridges and John Lewises, down to the itinerant dealer in paraffin and iron ware who operates from a shed in his back yard.'¹⁰⁴ Vigne and Howkins, the authors of the essay from which the above sentence comes, were referring to shopkeepers in the years after 1870 but the point they make is a valid one, for, as they go on to say, shopkeepers have 'to be seen in the very specific context of the area in which they work and particularly the spread of their trade.'¹⁰⁵ Thus in a compact town such as Poole, whose predominant industry had produced a distinct upper strata, shopkeepers could, with the right product or service, seek social advancement. As Vigne and Hopkins state : 'in a small pond a relatively small shopkeeper could hold an important place in the community.'¹⁰⁶

Status can be an transitory, witness the example of the Kidderminster churchwarden who, on retirement from the post, found that 'the old men and women, who used to touch hats and curtsey to me in the streets, suddenly lost their eye sight, so far as I was concerned; the

¹⁰² Op. Cit., p.147, referring to J. Vincent, Poll-books - How Victorians Voted, (Cambridge, 1967).

¹⁰³ E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, (Harmondsworth, 1968), p.752.

¹⁰⁴ T. Vigne and A. Howkins in G. Crossick (ed.) The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870 - 1914, (1977), p.184.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

blessings of which they transferred to my successor.¹⁰⁷ It is therefore difficult to measure with precision but there are occasions when an indication of an individual's status within a community is captured in a permanent form. An example of this is the document published in Poole in 1830 listing the membership of the town's Corporation and those about to be admitted to this important body.¹⁰⁸ On this occasion the Corporation decided, apparently for financial reasons, to allow the existing burgesses to each nominate two new ones, on payment of £25 per new member for the privilege. The abolition of the Corporation five years later when the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 became law meant that the new members (some of whom were minors) had few opportunities to exercise the privileges they or their sponsors had bought. Lacking prescience, 48 Burgesses took advantage of the decision to enlarge the Corporation and in many instances the new members were relatives or business acquaintances of their sponsors.

Although this document does not state the occupations of the original members and their nominees, these can be established with reasonable certainty by using the poll-books of 1826 and 1835 and Pigot's Directory of 1834. Thus of the 48 original members who chose to exercise the right of nomination, all but two were merchants, ship-owners, naval officers, customers officers, bankers, surgeons and gentlemen. The usual reservations on the use of this last designation apply, particularly as in this instance it was used to describe both a Member of Parliament, Benjamin Lester-Lester, and the landlord of the London Tavern, Richard Roope Linthorne. Even so, only two individuals have a question mark over just how 'gentlemanly' they were, leaving the remaining 46 Burgesses firmly as part of the merchants and associates as a key status group. However, thirteen of the 96 new Burgesses were either shopkeepers, tradesmen or craftsmen. These, and their sponsors, are shown below as table 3.2

¹⁰⁷ Cited in D. Smith, *op. cit.*, p.18.

¹⁰⁸ Document S.407, Poole Borough Archives.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Sponsor</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Thomas Barter	Watch maker	Joseph Barter	Shipbroker
William Bayly	Draper	James Bayly	Gent./Draper
John Tulloch	Builder	James Bayly	Gent./Draper
Isaac Notley	Grocer/Tea Dealer	John Bird	Customs Off.
Robert Durell	Linen Draper	David Durell	Gent./Merch.
Jeremiah Hayward	Grocer/Tea Dealer	James Hayward	Grocer
John Williamson	Draper	Thomas Keates	M/Mariner
James Turtle	Shoemaker	John Lander	M/M + Harb.Mast.
John Turpin	Ironmonger	George Ledgard	Banker
Tito Hodges	Currier	Benjamin L/Lester	Gent./M.P.
Richard Hopkins	Grocer	Thomas Thomson	Gentleman
Thomas Ellis	Draper	Young West	Surgeon
Robert Turtle	Shoemaker	William Whitewood	Gentleman

Table 3.2 : Names and Occupations of New Burgesses in 1830 and their Sponsors.

The above table raises some intriguing questions about social relationships, for there is no doubt that (for example) Benjamin Lester-Lester and George Ledgard were among Poole's elite, yet they sponsored a currier and an ironmonger respectively. Neither occupation would appear to be 'genteel' enough for a Member of Parliament or a banker to be associated socially with. Similarly, what made a Durell and a Lander, members of two of Poole's oldest and most distinguished families, sponsor a linen draper and a shoemaker?

In the case of the merchant David Durell the answer appears to be rather obvious for the linen draper's name was also Durell, thus indicating that the gap between the merchants in the entrepreneurial sense of the word and retailers was not always as wide as it might at first seem. It is also revealing that the currier sponsored by Benjamin Lester-Lester had the middle name of 'Durell' and was therefore almost certainly a relative or descendant on the female side.

The shoemaker sponsored by the sea captain and eventual Harbour Master, John Lander, was named Robert Turtle. Although his trade had rather a drab image, he could, in 1830, afford

to pay £700 for the High Street property of the newly bankrupt Christopher Spurrier.¹⁰⁹ By 1861, when he was 79 years old, he was living in Parkstone and described in the census of that year as a 'landed proprietor.'

Evidence of the influence of kinship is also shown by the two nominees of Thomas Thomson, gentleman.¹¹⁰ One was Samuel Vallis Thompson, one of the few new burgesses whose occupation has not been established but whose surname indicates an obvious relationship, whilst the other was a 26 year old grocer named Richard Cull Hopkins. Although Samuel Vallis Thompson's connection to the merchant class is most clearly shown by his surname, it is the 'Vallis' part which is significant. This was the surname of an old merchant family whose last male representative had died in 1808.¹¹¹ In 1829 the grocer Richard Cull Hopkins married a young lady named Vallis Thompson, presumably the daughter or niece of Thomas Thompson. Both nominees, therefore, appear to be related to Thomas Thompson, and, given the importance of the Thompson family at an earlier stage in Poole's mercantile and municipal history¹¹² it would seem that later generations had few, if any, objections to the less prestigious but presumably profitable form of trading called retailing.

The shopkeepers and craftsmen admitted to the Corporation in 1830 whose ages can be established with certainty were relatively young. They were not elderly men who were being rewarded for decades of respectability within the town. As mentioned above, Richard Cull Hopkins was only 26, whilst the linen-draper John Williamson was in his early thirties.

¹⁰⁹ D. Beamish et al., (1976), op. cit., p.23.

¹¹⁰ The spelling appears to be wrong in the document. He occurs elsewhere as 'Thompson' and the family name is always spelt with the 'p' included.

¹¹¹ Beamish et al., (1976), op. cit., p.136.

¹¹² In the eighteenth century, for instance, Sir Peter Thompson was Member of Parliament for St. Albans and High Sheriff of Surrey before returning to his native Poole and building the 'Poole Mansion.'

Another linen-draper, Thomas Ellis was in his late thirties and the watchmaker Thomas Barter was in his mid twenties.¹¹³

For the other shopkeepers and craftsmen the evidence is more circumstantial, but does tend to point towards mercantile connections. The builder John Tulloch for example, could well be a descendant of the Captain Tulloch who sailed as a master for the Kemps in the 1770s. John Tulloch was also one of the 142 people, the majority of them manifestly of high social status within the town,¹¹⁴ who subscribed (at fifteen shillings a volume) to John Sydenham's history of Poole in 1839.¹¹⁵ Among these subscribers was the watchmaker Thomas Barter, one of three people of that surname listed in the 1838 Register of Electors. His proposer for Corporation membership was a ship-broker, Joseph Barter, so again the importance of kinship appears to be evident. Joseph Barter had been Sheriff of Poole in 1818, as had been his father in 1783, and the Barter family's ancestors included a Mayor and a Member of Parliament who sat for the town for 23 years.¹¹⁶ Thomas Barter the watchmaker was therefore most likely a member of this distinguished family.

Sydenham's History of the Town and County of Poole is not the only literary source in which Thomas Barter's name appears. He was also a 'subscriber to the Reading society' when that body donated fifteen tomes entitled Histoire Naturelle ('par M. Buffon') to the new

¹¹³ The lack of precision in most of these examples is due to the 1841 census having most adult ages in multiples of five years (District 1 in 1841 was an exception). Williamson is shown as being 45, Ellis as 50, and Barter 35 in that year.

¹¹⁴ In addition to the 'great' families of Poole such as the Slades, Kemps, Ledgards, Parrs and Lesters, there were also members of the local gentry including J.H. Calcraft, M.P., of Rempstone Hall near Wareham, the Doughtys of Upton House, the Bankes' of Kingston Lacey near Wimborne and G.R. Robinson, Chairman of Lloyds of London and later M.P. for Poole.

¹¹⁵ The 1835 (Conservative) Poll Book includes a Gilbert Tulloch and James Tulloch, wine merchants, whilst the 1834 Directory has Gilbert as a Gentleman, living in Skinner Street.

¹¹⁶ Joseph Barter's maternal grandfather was J. White Orchard, mayor 1818 and 1823, and his great-uncle, John Jeffries, was mayor in 1798 and M.P. from 1787 to 1810. (From the obituary of Joseph Orchard Barter, died 1921 aged 96 and printed in the Co-Partner, the magazine of the Bournemouth Gas Company, June 1921.

Poole Library in 1832.¹¹⁷ Other subscribers to the Reading Society included a Ledgard, a Garland and a Holland, all members of the merchant class¹¹⁸. It would therefore appear that despite their seemingly mundane occupations, the shopkeepers and craftsmen in the Corporation's 1830 intake were not insignificant people. Rather, they were part of a complex network of relationships brought about by birth and marriage in a comparatively small community.

The shopkeepers, tradesmen and the craftsmen discussed above represent but a small percentage of those living and working in the town and were, given their social connections, presumably able to enjoy a status denied to their fellows. The others followed a variety of occupations, the majority of them listed in directories such as Pigot's of 1834 which included eighteen bakers and flour dealers, twelve grocers and tea dealers and ten 'shopkeepers and dealers in sundries.' These were the only categories to reach double figures but all the other occupations that would be expected to appear in early nineteenth century directories are listed, from auctioneers to wheelwrights. The question that now needs to be asked is what was the place in the town's socio-economic hierarchy of the less well-connected shopkeeper and craftsman?

The possibility of status being transitory has already been referred to, but whilst it persists, one method of measuring it is to use wealth, particularly 'visible wealth' in the form of property on the assumption that wealth contributes towards status. Thus the houses in which shopkeepers and craftsmen lived could indicate, albeit approximately, their financial status by assessing its value and even the occupiers social status from its location. Both value and location can be established by using contemporary source material

One method used to establish the value of property is the simple one of looking at those citizens who had the right to vote in Parliamentary elections, a right limited to those occupying houses rated at more than ten pounds. This is a rough and ready method but it

¹¹⁷ A Catalogue of Books in the Town and County of Poole Library, (Poole, 1832), p.19.

¹¹⁸ Ledgard was a banker, but the family had originally been merchants, and the two occupations are obviously inter-related.

does produce an arbitrary line with those above it belonging to that section of society that Parliament, in 1832, had felt obliged to enfranchise. This newly privileged sector of fewer than a quarter of a million people¹¹⁹ at a time when the population of England had reached almost fourteen million.¹²⁰ Those now able to vote, because of the value of their property, would therefore be among the 'better off' in urban society. The identity of these people is revealed by their presence in that most useful by-product of the open voting system, the poll-book.

The idiosyncracies of poll-books are well known, being dependent upon the whim or motivation of the compiler for the form they take. When they include the occupation of the voters, and this is the case in four of those published in Poole between 1832 and 1868¹²¹ their significance as social documents increases. It is therefore possible to compare the 1837 electorate as revealed by the poll-book for that year¹²² with Pigot's Directory of 1834 and to identify those shopkeepers and craftsmen listed in the latter publication living in property rated at £10 or above. Mui and Mui praise this particular publisher saying that 'In 1822-3 James Pigot compiled the first classified trades directory in the country. Pigot's Directories have been universally acclaimed, rightly so, for their accuracy and reliability.'¹²³

The directory is laid out in a straightforward manner, with the 75 persons listed as being 'Nobility, Gentry and Clergy' at the beginning and the various occupations of the town's self-employed following in (occupational) alphabetical order. The shopkeepers and craftsmen

¹¹⁹ 226,000 according to J. Cannon in Parliamentary Reform 1640 - 1832, (Cambridge, 1973) p.265.

¹²⁰ England, 13,897,000 and Scotland, 2,364,000. (1831 Census.)

¹²¹ Poole is fortunate in having an almost perfect run of poll-books for the period between the first Reform Act and the Ballot Act. Only the first (1832) and last (1868) have yet to turn up.

¹²² This poll-book was discovered by the writer after the completion of his M.Litt. thesis for the University of Bristol on The Electoral History of Poole and does not, therefore, form part of that work.

¹²³ Mui and Mui, op. cit., p.61.

among them are listed below as Table 3.3, showing how many there were, and how many of them appeared in the 1837 poll-book.

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>NUMBER IN DIRECTORY</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>IN 1837 PB</u>
Bakers and Flour Dealers	18	1	12
Blacksmith	3	0	3
Block & Pumpmakers	2	0	1
Boatbuilders	2	0	0
Booksellers, Stationers Printers, Binders	2	0	1
Boot & Shoemakers	15	1	11
Brushmakers	2	0	1
Builders	4	0	4
Butchers	8	1	3
Cabinet Makers	7	0	4
Carpenters & Joiners	11	0	9
China, glass etc Dealers	2	0	1
Chymists (sic) & Druggists	3	0	2
Confectioners	3	0	2
Coopers	4	0	2
Curriers & Leather Cutters	2	0	2
Furniture Brokers	3	0	2
Grocers & Tea Dealers	12	1	9
Hatters	3	0	2
Ironmongers	3	0	2

Line, twine, fishing net and seine makers	1	0	1
Linen Drapers	9	1	4
Marine Stores, dealers in	3	0	2
Painters, Plumbers, Glaziers**	5	0	4 & 1**
Pawnbrokers	2	1	0
Perfumers & Hairdressers	5	0	5
Pork & Bacon Dealers	8	3	2
Saddlers & Harness Makers	2	0	2
Sailcloth Manufacturers*	2	0	2
Sailmakers	3	0	1
Ship & Anchor Smiths	3	0	1
Shopkeepers & Dealers in Sundries	10	2	4
Stone Masons	3	0	2
Straw Hat Manufacturers	7	7	0
Tailors	10	0	8
Tallow Chandlers	2	0	1
Tin Plate Workers	2	0	1
Toy Dealers	2	1	0
Watch & Clockmakers inc.	4	0	3
Jewellers & Silversmiths			
Wheelwrights	3	0	2

*The use of the word 'manufacturer' implies production on a large scale,

with high numbers of people being employed, thus putting the employer into a different social category than 'craftsmen.' However, the existence of seven straw hat 'manufacturers' makes the use of such a word by the poll-book compiler suspect.

**This category includes a partnership where both appear in the poll-book.

Table 3.3 : Poole Shopkeepers and Craftsmen of Status, c. 1834

In producing such a list, there is an element of subjectivity brought about by the writer's own interpretation of the terms used by compilers of poll-books and directories, and by the compilers' own decisions on what words to use. The problems brought about by the words 'maker' and 'manufacturer' are mentioned above, but similar, subtle, differences are suggested by the use of terms such as 'boat builder' and 'ship builder.' It is assumed that the former is a craftsman, directly involved in the work, and the latter a capitalist, i.e. someone who uses his capital to employ others to produce the product.

As table 3.3 shows, 99 out of 166 (60%) of the male shopkeepers and craftsmen in the 1834 Directory were eligible to vote three years later. Within the individual categories the majority have over half their membership in both the directory and the poll-book, although the numbers are rather small. However, in seventeen of the categories the proportion is less than half, but as one of them was the all-female occupation of straw-hat manufacture, the number is reduced to sixteen. Four of these were involved with the craft side of shipping, as boat-builders or anchor-smiths. Three others were clearly craftsmen - coopers, tin-plate workers and brush-makers. Add to these those occupations with clear working class connotations such as pawnbrokers, dealers in sundries and possibly tallow chandlers, it would seem that there is a correlation between quality of customer and the wealth and status of the shopkeeper. However, there are anomalies in the list, especially the china and glass dealers, toy dealers, book-sellers and linen-drapers. They, surely, must have had many well-to-do customers yet many of them did not live in property of sufficient value to give them the vote. Finally, the butchers and pork and bacon dealers appear to offer a product sought by all classes, although in such cases, the term 'high class' prefixing the occupation probably meant just that.

CRAFTSMEN

There is a tendency for historians to discuss shopkeepers and craftsmen as if they are simply two sides of the same coin ¹²⁴, and there are valid reasons for this. Both were (and are) almost certainly self-employed, with only a small work-force often consisting of members of their own family ('a critical force in the world of small enterprise').¹²⁵ That the shopkeeper and the craftsman had a common origin seems likely for, as A.L. Lloyd states, 'A new class of townsfolk was emerging then, of complicated structure, with merchants on the one hand and artisans. especially stonemasons and weavers, on the other, although in the early stages trader and craftsmen were one and the same.'¹²⁶ Lloyd was describing the changes occurring in medieval towns but support for his view comes from Davies who stressed the craft element in shopkeeping, although Nossiter is more cautious. In a more recent work, Mui and Mui state that '...no rigid line separates working and shopkeeping artisans'¹²⁷ but, as their title tells us, they were mainly concerned with the eighteenth century.

The word 'craftsman' has ancient origins, hence the folklorist Lloyd's interest, and dates from a time when 'a craft was still a mystery'¹²⁸, its secrets known only to initiates. A modern, sociological definition of craft characteristics is that in each 'the worker was presumed to be the master of a body of knowledge, and methods and procedures were left to his or her discretion. In each such worker reposed the accumulated knowledge of materials and processes by which production was accomplished in the craft.....The worker combined

¹²⁴ This occurs in D. Blackbourn in Crossick and Haupt (eds.) (1984), op. cit. and Winstanley, op. cit.

¹²⁵ Crossick in Cossick and Haupt (Eds), op. cit. p,20

¹²⁶ A.L. Lloyd, Folk Song in England, (1967), p.113.

¹²⁷ H-C and L.H. Mui, op. cit., p.36.

¹²⁸ Lloyd, op. cit., p.113.

in mind and body, the concepts and physical dexterities of the speciality.'¹²⁹ The word 'crafty', with its modern meaning of a mixture of cunning and implied mischief, is semantic evidence of these secretive and mysterious elements. It is possible that the exclusivity of a craft and the survival of ancient rituals, many of them connected with the long apprenticeships undertaken by entrants to the craft¹³⁰ was the cause of the divergence that undoubtably occurred between the craftsmen and the shopkeepers as urbanisation in England increased. Whereas the latter sought to emulate, even ape, their better-off customers, the craftsmen continued in their specialisms, often providing a product or service one or more steps removed from the public. Vincent's description of craftsmen as 'urban peasants'¹³¹ has a ring of truth about it, but it is difficult to imagine such a term being applied to shopkeepers, especially those described by Anthony Trollope in Ralph the Heir as 'fashionable tradespeople.'¹³² That this break became apparent in the nineteenth century is supported by Mui and Mui, who, citing Adam Smith, point out that retailers were originally regarded as 'productive labourers', who performed essential services by 'breaking and dividing.....rude and manufactured produce into such small parcels as suited the occasional demands of those who want them.'¹³³ Evidence for the break is offered by Winstanley, who when writing about a family of saddlers whose business began in 1816 and continued for over 150 years, described them as 'craftsmen first and retailers second. Their premises, despite their impressive window display were primarily a workshop where they and their men made, sold and repaired their own products.'¹³⁴

¹²⁹ H. Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, (New York), 1974, cited in Bilton et al, Introductory Sociology, (Second edition) 1987, p.358.

¹³⁰ Lloyd, op. cit., reported that 'the young coopers of the Bass-Worthington yard at Burton-on-Trent at the end of their apprenticeship, are rolled around the workshop in a barrel, having been drenched from head to toe in a mixture of beer, soot and sawdust before they are 'reborn' as full-fledged participants in the mystery of coopering.' (The writer's italics).

¹³¹ J.R. Vincent, Pollbooks : How Victorians Voted, (Cambridge, 1967). p.62. The complete sentence is 'urban peasants, self employed men and small capitalists in overalls.'

¹³² A. Trollope, Ralph the Heir, (1871, reprinted Oxford, 1990), p.51.

¹³³ Cited in Mui and Mui, op. cit., p.6.

¹³⁴ M.J. Winstanley, op. cit., p.172.

This division between the two categories is discussed in Crossick and Haupt (1984) and several instances of it are cited, including one which supports the view that some occupations, because of direct dealings with their social betters, had to behave differently from the craftsmen whose relationships with their middle and upper class customers was more anonymous. One instance involved 'a school proprietor in Birmingham', an occupation which is obviously different from shopkeeping, but in the days before education became widespread usually provided a service to the better-off, although not exclusively for there were many schools whose pupils were from less privileged backgrounds.¹³⁵ The proprietor in question 'supported the Hampden Clubs during 1816 (but) could not join for fear of offending those gentlemen on whose custom he depended' But he noted in his journal that 'my brother Edwin who is a sawmaker and, of course, unfettered, is a member of the Hampden Club.'¹³⁶ More succinctly, Winstanley's saddler, cited above, noted that when he attended exhibitions and trade conferences they were 'dominated by firm's representatives and high-class retailers.' He was, he said, the only one with 'dirty hands.'¹³⁷

Crossick, when discussing craftsmen whose businesses were based in large towns and who were manufacturers of products for the new industries rather than for domestic consumption, suggests that they became integrated into the newly developing system of wholesalers and factors and that this 'forced a divide between a viable small master class that sought to behave in a 'business-like' fashion.....and accepted merchant domination, detaching itself from the culture and custom of the craft community, and on the other a depressed body of marginal small masters whose independence became no more than notional, even where they survived.'¹³⁸ There was little 'industry' in the accepted sense of that word in Poole in the period before 1840. Indeed, it has been suggested that the Industrial Revolution had 'passed

¹³⁵ This point does not ignore the existence of the many National and British Schools. Poole had had a National School since 1835, when it replaced the original Free School. In 1839 it had 137 boys and 96 girls on its roll. (Sydenham, op. cit., p.454.)

¹³⁶ G. Crossick in Crossick and Haupt (eds), (1984), op. cit., p.73.

¹³⁷ Winstanley, op. cit., p.172.

¹³⁸ G. Crossick in Crossick and Haupt, op. cit., p.68.

with scarcely any noticeable effect in the town of Poole or its industry,¹³⁹ but there is some validity to Crossick's classification. He also suggests that small towns 'might be seen as the most satisfactory home for the petit bourgeoisie where, least threatened socially or economically, they could occupy a significant place in local society.'¹⁴⁰ One sector of Poole's petit bourgeoisie did eventually come to occupy that 'significant place.'

Winstanley's choice of a family of saddlers as archetypal craftsmen serves as a useful comparison with Poole when testing Crossick's hypothesis. The Munden family first appear in Underhill's Directory of 1818 and continue to be included throughout the period under investigation. Always described as 'saddlers and harness makers' they operated from 86 High Street, living and working among more 'genteel' occupations such as chemists, linen drapers and attorneys. In 1861, over 40 years after the business had been established, George Munden is listed in the Census as employing three men and one boy. No Munden ever became a Councillor or held any other public office, and they fail to appear as subscribers to, trustees of, or general supporters of worthy causes. Thus they appear to fit Crossick's classification of those who although surviving the changes taking place between craftsmen and shopkeepers became marginal to mainstream business and commerce. A similar anonymity befell another leather based craftsman, the currier James Cadie who employed three men in his Fish Street workshop. He appears in poll-books and directories for over 30 years but like the Mundens, never played an active role in civic or social affairs.

However, tanning is also a leather-based craft and the experience of the town's leading exponents of it, the Rogers family, was rather different to that of those cited above. The Rogers brothers, George and Francis Timewell, were both described as tanners in one of the two poll-books published after the general election of 1835¹⁴¹, but fifteen years later a

¹³⁹ M. Bright. A brief study of the effects of the introduction of the railway upon the volume of trade passing through the Port of Poole and upon the pattern of occupation within the town between 1841 and 1861. (Poole, 1978), p.18A. (A dissertation held in Poole Reference Library.)

¹⁴⁰ Crossick, in Crossick and Haupt, op. cit., p.62.

¹⁴¹ The poll-books were produced by rival publishers and each reflects their political persuasion.

similar source has them as 'gentlemen.' This, as stated above, usually means nothing more than retirement but in 1861 the census has Francis as a landed proprietor whilst George, who died that year, is described in the burial register as a retired farmer. During the 1860s, Francis Timewell Rogers 'the younger' was a councillor, alderman and, in 1869, Mayor. This particular family would therefore seem to fit Crossick's other category, those who moved in fresh directions, towards the merchant culture that had always been pre-eminent in the town.

The Rogers were exceptional, for few other local craftsmen achieved such civic recognition. However, there are instances of people from other parts of the country arriving in the town and realising the ambitions that immigrants often bring with them. William Pearce, for example, arrived in 1839, from Hereford. Once settled in Poole, he progressed from 'ironmonger' to 'iron merchant and founder, engineer machinist and agricultural implement manufacturer.' He owned Poole Foundry, sponsored Poole Literary Institute and was chief proprietor of Poole Waterworks. Mayor on three occasions during the next three decades and a J.P., William Pearce had clearly joined the town's ruling elite despite his non-mercantile, craft origins.¹⁴² He too, fits Crossick's first category, those who had come to behave in a 'business like fashion.' This example, however, poses a problem. Was an 'ironmonger' truly a craftsman or was he just another shopkeeper, albeit with the specialised knowledge that both Davies and Alexander maintain was the characteristic of such occupations?

It is often difficult to be precise about the nature of nineteenth century occupations and the distinction between shopkeepers and craftsmen has already been shown to be a fine one. Even the trade directories of the period are often ambiguous, being, as Alexander points out 'The least unsatisfactory approach to the problem.'¹⁴³ His phrase 'shop tradesmen' is significant, for it allows for the existence of an in-between category, a group who had not undergone the long apprenticeship or been taught the ancient mysteries of a true craft, but were more skilled and knowledgable than those who simply sold a manufactured or already prepared product over the counter. Ironmongers could well be placed in this category.

¹⁴² D. Beamish et al, (1974), and various poll-books and directories.

¹⁴³ D. Alexander, *op. cit.*, p.89.

The true craftsmen, then, appear to lie at the lower end of a social and economic continuum, It begins with the one man, single craft workshop and ends with the large scale manufacturer, the success of whose operations, and the wealth generated by them, although still craft based, have brought him social acceptance. In Poole, such a continuum would have at its lower end a cooper such as Clement Green. Sixty years old in 1841, he lived in the High Street with his wife and five children although his two sons had not followed their father's craft. Twenty year old George appears in the census as a carpenter and fifteen year old Thomas as a shoemaker. Clement Green was not considered worthy of inclusion in Pigot's Directory of 1823-4, although five other coopers do appear, including one Robert Wadham whose eventual entry in the Burial Register records his occupation as 'Town Serjeant.' This rather underlines the point that craftsmen, especially those at the lower end of the continuum, rarely achieved public office unless it was in a purely functional capacity.

Coopers, and the previously mentioned saddlers, can be regarded as true craftsmen. They were involved in occupations which were manifestly difficult to master, demonstrating skills which few laymen would seek to emulate and their dealings would have been mainly with other craftsmen and tradesmen, not the more genteel citizens of the town. These would have used their products but would rarely have purchased them directly, or if they did, only infrequently. The lower end of the continuum therefore consists of the specialist craftsman, whose activities were largely self-contained.

At the other end, there were the craftsmen who had become manufacturers or industrialists, the most obvious example being the town's shipbuilders such as Thomas Wanhill and the Meadus brothers, Thomas and William. Both firms were located in Hamworthy, where by 1861 Wanhill is recorded as employing 128 men and sixteen boys. He was involved in the full range of civic duties and activities - councillor, mayor, alderman, magistrate and trustee of the town's Savings Bank.

The Meadus's could not match Thomas Wanhill's enterprise for sheer size, employing only eighteen men and fifteen boys, but were an old established firm, building ships for the Newfoundland trade in the late eighteenth century. One potential customer, Benjamin Lester-Lester, did not think too highly of the firm of Meadus and Burt for during the Napoleonic

Wars he refused to accept a quotation for £5050 for a 278 ton ship.¹⁴⁴ After the wars were over, John Dean Meadus is recorded¹⁴⁵ as leasing a shipwright's yard at Hamworthy for seven years at £34 a year, the shortness of the term perhaps revealing a lack of confidence in the long-term future of the town's maritime trade. Shipbuilding was, along with brewing and the production of pottery, one of the craft occupations which were moving away from the old system and towards the new, more industrialised one.

Between the two extremes of the craft continuum lay all the other occupations which would normally be found in an early nineteenth century town such as basket makers and blacksmiths, confectioners and carpenters. Their status could fluctuate but there is evidence to show that it was those who dealt directly with the public, and most probably with its better-off sections, who prospered economically and socially. The baker and confectioner George Green, for example, worked with his father, William, in their High Street shop until the latter retired at some point in the late 1840s.¹⁴⁶ Whereas the father never entered public life, the son became both councillor and alderman in his later years. As a young man, he and his wife seem to have been reasonably affluent for the 1841 census records them as employing three young male servants and one female. However, the enumerator's use of the word 'servant' for the three young men is almost certainly a misnomer, for they were probably apprentices or assistants.

It is of course impossible to be precise about the status of craftsmen in Poole in the years between 1815 and 1840, depending as it does on individual or collective perception, but from the examples cited above, for both shopkeepers and craftsmen, there is support for the suggestion that the two categories were diverging. The former were displaying more pragmatic tendencies and moving towards middle-class acceptance and life-style, but the latter, largely, were more dogmatic, seemingly content to remain as they were, loyal to the traditions and roles associated with their craft.

¹⁴⁴ Cited in Beamish et al, (1976), op. cit., p.100.

¹⁴⁵ Corporation Rental, 1816. Document S.390, Poole Borough Archives.

¹⁴⁶ Both father and son appear in the 1847 poll book, living at the same address. In 1850, however, William is described as 'retired.'

Women in Business

Among the many citizens of nineteenth century Poole who earned their living from shop-retailing or by practising a craft, one group remains comparatively anonymous. They do not appear in poll-books or registers of electors and could not hold public office. They are, however, in the trade directories, sometimes as private citizens, but also as the proprietors of small businesses and were, of course, women. There were, it appears, a number of business-women in Poole at this time, in occupations as diverse as straw-hat manufacturing, pawnbroking and coopering. Along the coast at Portsmouth, 50 miles to the east, 'a minority of businesses, mostly small scale, were conducted by women.'¹⁴⁷

The idea of the working woman is not new. As Pinchbeck points out, 'In every industrial system in the past women have been engaged in productive work.....when new developments brought about the separation of home and workshop ...a far greater number of women than ever before were compelled to follow their work and become wage earners in the outside world.'¹⁴⁸ In towns, many small shopkeepers 'continued to survive by relying on unpaid family help, his wife running the business for much of the day.....'¹⁴⁹ A similar situation existed in other parts of Europe, including France, where it appeared to be common practice for as Haupt notes '....tiny shops were set up to provide working class families with extra income - the husband went out to work and the wife looked after the shop.'¹⁵⁰ The eventual outcome of this practice

¹⁴⁷ J. Field, in R.J. Morris (ed.) *op. cit.*, p.75.

¹⁴⁸ I. Pinchbeck, Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution 1750 - 1850, (1926), p.1.

¹⁴⁹ Winstanley, *op. cit.*, p.67.

¹⁵⁰ H-G. Haupt, The petit-bourgeoisie in France, 1850-1914: in search of the juste-milieu, cited in Crossick and Haupt, (eds.) *op. cit.*, p.100.

was that, apart from Paris, 'elsewhere in France very nearly half of the grocery shops were run by women.'¹⁵¹

In another Continental country, Austria, an alternative and significant explanation for the female shopkeeper is proposed. As Ehmer notes, writing about Viennese bakers, 'In nine cases the bakery was carried on by the widow but only one of these remained alone. Four widows married again, and another four ran the bakery for some years until a son grew up and became a master, at which point he took over the trade.'¹⁵² This situation was not new, for in the seventeenth century Defoe noted that 'although fewer tradesmen's widows than in former times continued in business, there were still many who procured honest journeymen to assist them, and themselves kept the books, did the business abroad and conducted affairs generally until the eldest son, having completed his apprenticeship to his mother, was ready to be taken into partnership.'¹⁵³ Wives of craftsmen were very familiar with the nature and rules of the business that they have been described as 'mistress of the managing part of it' and was thus able to keep the business going in the event of his death, 'although she herself might lack technical skill.'¹⁵⁴ This might well account for the women appearing in trade directories for Poole as carpenters, coopers and even as a blacksmith especially as Pinchbeck states that 'It is only when we come to the skilled artisan and trading classes, however, that we find women still taking a share in their husband's concerns as a matter of course.'¹⁵⁵ Pinchbeck was referring to the situation in the eighteenth century but interestingly, these three normally male occupations only

¹⁵¹ A. Faure, The Grocery Trade in Nineteenth Century Paris, cited in Crossick and Haupt, (eds.) op. cit., p.169.

¹⁵² J. Ehmer, The Artisan Family in Nineteenth Century Austria, cited in Crossick and Haupt (eds.), op. cit., p.204.

¹⁵³ D. Defoe, Compleat English Tradesman (ed. 1738), vol.1, pp 279-280. cited in Pinchbeck, p.283.

¹⁵⁴ Pinchbeck, op. cit. p.282.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, p.284.

occur as businesses being run by women in the 1842 directory, and not those of 1823 and 1834. A comparison between the three directories reveals the changes which took place over two decades as far as the women running businesses in Poole are concerned.

	<u>1823</u>	<u>1834</u>	<u>1842</u>
Academies and Schools	2	4	3
Baker (and Flour Dealer)	1	1	1
Blacksmith*	-	-	1
Boot and Shoe Maker	-	1	-
Butcher	1	1	1
Carpenter	-	-	1
Cooper	-	-	1
Furniture Broker	-	-	1
Grocer and Tea Dealer (Plus Shopkeeper and Dealer in Sundries.)	1	3	3
Hotels and Inns	1	-	-
Linen Draper	-	1	1
Milliner (and Dressmaker)	6**	7**	10
Pawnbroker	1	1	-
Perfumer	1	-	-
Pork and Bacon Dealer	-	3	1
Stamp Office	1	-	-
Staymaker	-	1	-
Straw Hat Manufacturer	5	7	5
Taverns and Public Houses	5	4	3
Retailers of Beer	-	-	2
Toy Dealer	1	1	1
Cloathes (sic) Salesman (sic)	1	-	1

*also listed under Ship and Anchor Smith

**Ignores 'E.J.Hayward' and 'Martin and Butler.'

Table 3.4 : The Nature of Female Run Businesses, 1823, 1834, 1842.

Who were these women? Were they indeed widows, as suggested by Ehmer, keeping the family business going pending the coming of age of a son? Were they the 'smart ones' who 'ran businesses', there being 'nothing new in that.'¹⁵⁶ Or were they the single ones, who were inevitable in a country with a surplus of women?¹⁵⁷ In fact, all three categories seem to be represented among the women running businesses in Poole.

Those in the first category, the widows, were particularly prevalent in the building trades, occupations which were traditionally the preserve of men. In 1842, Martha Gollop appears in Pigot's Directory as a carpenter, the only woman among the twelve listed. The 1841 Census reveals her as living in the High Street with her three sons, George (age 16), William (age 12) and Robert (age 8). She was around 50 years old and no husband is listed. Her occupation is given as 'builder' and the sixteen year old George is a 'builder's apprentice.' The marriage registers of the Congregational Church show that in 1821 a George Gollop married Martha Hambleton, and a lifetime later, Poole Municipal Cemetery records have a George Gollop dying in February 1906, aged 81. This George Gollop would be the sixteen year old of 1841. It would therefore appear that Martha's husband, George, died during the 1830s and she carried on the business with the intention of handing it over to her sons.¹⁵⁸ In this she was successful for the younger George Gollop is listed as a 'builder' in the 1859 poll-book, a 'carpenter and builder' in Kelly's Post Office Directory of that year, although the burial register has him as a 'Retired Timber Merchant's Manager.'

The woman listed as running a blacksmith's (and ship and anchorsmith's) business in 1842, Martha Morgan of Hill Street, was in a similar position. The directories of 1823 and 1834 have

¹⁵⁶ G. Best, Mid Victorian Britain, 1851 - 75, (1971), p.121.

¹⁵⁷ Best (op. cit. p.120), writing mainly about the second half of the century, notes that 'between 26 and 28 per cent of them, unlucky or outclassed in the competition for husbands had to strive to be independent.'

¹⁵⁸ Martha may well have been helped in the running of the business by her cousin or brother-in-law, William Gollop, also a builder. He appears in the poll books and directories.

Joseph Morgan of Hill Street as a blacksmith although by 1841 Martha was living with her four children, but no husband. The two oldest children, Arthur and Joseph, both fifteen, are described as a 'smith' and 'cabinet maker' respectively. Unlike the Gollops discussed above, the Morgan's business seems not to have prospered once the fifteen year old Arthur grew up for no Morgan appears as a blacksmith in later directories or poll-books.

One other woman appears in 1842 as the proprietor of a craft business, the cooper Jane Wadham. She also fails to appear in the earlier directories, and is missing from the 1841 Census for the parish of St James.¹⁵⁹ As the Wadham's were long-established as coopers in Poole, and Benjamin Wadham is listed in 1823 and 1834 in the High Street, with the directory for the latter year giving a precise address, 169, the same as Jane in 1842, it appears that a similar situation to that of the Gollops and Morgans existed.

Furniture broking, whilst not on a par with blacksmithing, building, or coopering as a craft, is not a trade normally associated with women. In 1842 Mary Ann Knight appeared under this heading, and in 1841 was 40 years old and living alone, except for her ten year old daughter, in the High Street. She was described simply as a 'broker' by the census enumerator. Although there is no Mary Ann Knight in the directories of 1823 and 1834, there is an Ann Knight, pawnbroker, in both. The former has her living in the High Street, whilst the latter has her in Old Orchard. Thus there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that she came to specialise in furniture broking as she grew older.

From the 1841 census comes evidence of how such a source has to be used with caution, for it includes, living at Hunger Hill with seven children, 45 year old Sarah Lance, coach maker. Among the children was fifteen year old William, also described as a coachmaker. At first sight, Mrs Lance was another of the women carrying on the family business after the death of her husband. But, there is an Edwin Lance, coachmaker in the 1842 and the 1859 Directories, living at Hunger Hill on each occasion, so his non-appearance in the Census was probably due to

¹⁵⁹ Another coopering Wadham, Robert, was living in Thames Street.

absence on that day. As in many other instances, the limitations of the demands on the census enumerator have to be taken into account, for he may well have described her as a coachmaker simply to put an occupation to the household, despite the temporary absence of her husband.

The many other women running businesses were either shop or innkeepers, trades in which they presumably existed alongside their male counterparts without rancour, or they were in those occupations which were overwhelmingly female, such as dressmaking, millinery, and straw-hat (or bonnet) making.

Typical examples of the female shopkeeper include the 35 year old (in 1841) Susannah Hames, living alone in Market Street and classified as a pork and bacon dealer in the 1842 Directory, although in 1834 her shop was at 143 High Street, or the toy dealer, Deborah Selby. She was 60 years old in 1841 and as no husband is recorded, was presumably the widow of the toy dealer listed in 1834, William Silby (sic). The shop is given as being at 87 High Street in both directories. The baker and flour dealer, Mrs Kendall¹⁶⁰, and the linen draper Elizabeth Potts, both of whom appear in the 1834 directory were presumably the widows of George Kendall and George Potts respectively, men in those occupations in 1823. Again, widowhood was clearly a major reason for women to take on the running of a shop or business.

The female occupations which appear most frequently in the directories are those which involve the making of clothes, confirming Pinchbeck's observation that 'Of the skilled trades left almost entirely in the hands of women, the chief were the clothing trades in which thousands of women were engaged as milliners, mantua makers, staymakers, embroiderers and seamstresses.'¹⁶¹ The census reveals scores of women employed in this trade. As Mui and Mui state, 'Millinery was one shop trade within the domain of women. The association once formed was strengthened not only by the inhibition of men to enter a trade so closely associated with women, but also by

¹⁶⁰ By 1842 she is Emma Kendall, living in Salisbury Street, and is entered under 'shopkeepers and dealers in sundries' as well as 'Baker and flour dealer.'

¹⁶¹ Pinchbeck, op. cit. p.287.

the practices of apprenticeship. From the meagre evidence available, the trade appears to have been a haven for widows and orphaned daughters of shopkeepers in other trades. a rather genteel occupation for those with little capital but some knowledge of shopkeeping.¹⁶² Widowhood was not, however, an absolute pre-requisite for the trade. The 50 year old joiner and cabinet maker, William Reeve of Market Street, for example, was a craftsman of sufficient income to live in a house whose rateable value enabled him to vote in Parliamentary elections. He was living there, in 1841, with his wife and three daughters, and all three of them were employed in the clothing trade. Twenty year old Sarah as a 'sempstress', fifteen year old Lydia as a dressmaker, and Ellen, also fifteen, as a straw bonnet maker.

One woman who is included in all three directories was Sarah Rowe. She appears as a milliner in 1823, and as a milliner and dressmaker in 1834 and 1842, whilst the Census has her simply as a dressmaker. In each directory she has a different address, Market Street, Church Street, and the High Street, suggesting movement towards a more central and important part of the town.¹⁶³ In 1841 she was (around) 45 years of age and on census day, at least, headed an all-female household which included two fifteen year old sisters described as 'female assistants.' Living at the same address were two other women, also sisters, Sarah and Elizabeth Oliver aged 30 and 25 respectively and both described as milliners. They too had two female apprentices (aged 20 and 15) so it would seem that the proprietors of two different businesses were living in the same house. The 1842 Directory's list of milliners and dressmakers includes 'Sarah and Elizabeth Rowe, High Street.' The Rowe sisters do not appear in earlier or later directories so presumably they either married or moved away from the town.

A related industry, but one which is given its own heading in the three extant directories for the period, is that of straw hat (or bonnet) making. This had grown up during the eighteenth

¹⁶² Mui & Mui, op. cit., p.58.

¹⁶³ Church Street was a south westerly extension to Market Street and, as its name suggests, was close to the new St James church.

century,¹⁶⁴ mainly in counties which produced the 'right' sort of straw. Dorset was one such county, and 'hatmakers were to be found in most villages in the straw-plaiting counties while early nineteenth century directories show that a number of women were thus in business for themselves in the larger towns.'¹⁶⁵ As an industry, it expanded rapidly in the last few years of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth, 'out of all proportion to its former extent.'¹⁶⁶ There were five women under the heading of 'straw hat manufacturers' in 1823 and 1842, but seven in 1834. No one appears in all three directories, but two women were in business long enough to be included twice - Elizabeth Williams of New Orchard (1834 and 1842) and Elizabeth Randall (1823 and 1834). The former was 40 in 1841, living with her 75 year old mother or mother-in-law. She was still in business in 1859 but in the directory of that year is both 'Mrs' and a 'milliner' and living in the High Street instead of New Orchard.

Straw hat or bonnet making tends to give an impression of being a 'cottage industry' or perhaps just a 'sideline' to a family's main business. Susannah Cobb, for example, appears in the 1842 directory (albeit as 'Susan') as operating her business in Market Street. The census reveals her to be the wife of William Cobb, landlord of the Blue Anchor public house. Both husband and wife were 45 or thereabouts and had one daughter, a 21 year old dressmaker called Harriet living with them. Another example was Emily Simper of the High Street. The 1837 poll-book includes John Simper, a confectioner in the High Street, so straw hat manufacturing appears to exist alongside (or within) an existing business, supporting Pinchbeck's description of the way the industry was structured in Hertfordshire.¹⁶⁷ There, many women bought their straw, not from the farmers, but from middle-men and were simply out-workers, receiving wages or their labour instead of independent 'business-women.'

¹⁶⁴ Mui and Mui, *op. cit.*, p.66 note that 'a new type of milliner specialising in straw hats appeared' after comparing directories of 1822-3 with one of 1783.

¹⁶⁵ Pinchbeck, *op. cit.* p.222.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p.216.

¹⁶⁷ Pinchbeck, *op. cit.* pp. 218-9.

It is the milliners, dressmakers, and to a certain extent the straw-hat manufacturers who best seem to fit the second of the three categories of women in business, the 'smart ones.' Women such as the above mentioned Sarah Rowe and also Elizabeth Christian were in business for at least twenty years, the latter lady being originally listed as a partner in Christian and Seymour, but appearing under her own name in 1834 and 1842.

There is one other 'respectable' occupation traditionally open to women at this time, that of the school-mistress. Two women are listed as running schools in 1823 (both of them 'Ladies' Boarding') out of a total of eight in the Directory, whilst in 1834 the proportion had risen to four out of ten. The figures continued to fluctuate for, in 1842, it was three out of nine. Both of the women listed as running schools in 1823 fail to appear in the 1834 directory, although four of the men from the earlier date were still operating eleven years later. Of the four school mistresses appearing in 1834, two were still in business in 1842, including Lucy Moor's boarding school in Parkstone. This lady does not appear in the 1841 census for the parish of St James but there is an Esther Moore, aged 30, of Church Street, who is described as a school mistress with four children aged five, four, two and one. No husband is mentioned but the 1850 poll-book includes a Peter Moore, Master Mariner of Church Street.¹⁶⁸ In a seaport the non-appearance of husbands in the census need not always mean widowhood or desertion. Esther Moore would seem to be the sister of Lucy Moore and may well have shared in the running of the Parkstone school.

Elizabeth Green (age 30) and Jane Seager (age 25)¹⁶⁹ of Hill Street appear in the Census, (but not in the 1842 Directory) as running a school and their entry serves to illustrate the nature of these small establishments. On census day there were eight pupils present, all female, whose ages were given as 20, 15, 15, 14, 12, 12, 11, and 5. This last little girl was named as Ellen

¹⁶⁸ He also merited an entry in his own name in the 1859 Directory, as a Master Mariner, by then living in Towngate Street.

¹⁶⁹ The name 'Seager' occurs in other occupations, notably in the firm of Major, Seager & Co, Marine Stores Dealers on the Quay in 1834, whilst James Seager is listed as a 'gentleman' living in West Street.

Seager, presumably the daughter of Jane. This all-female household also included a twenty year old Irish servant.

The number of women in business was relatively small compared with men. In the three directories used for this survey, there were 28 in 1823, 35 in 1834 and 36 in 1842. As the case of the school mistresses Elizabeth Green and Jane Seager shows, inclusion in the directories was rather arbitrary, so the figures are a little suspect, but if the 332¹⁷⁰ tradesmen, craftsmen and retailers listed in 1834 are typical of those considered worthy of inclusion, then 35 of them being women gives a percentage of 11.6. Whilst not large, the figure tends to refute Winstanley's assertion that while 'the number of female 'dealers' increased dramatically between 1881 and the 1900s.....only a small number were....employers or in business on their own account in 1901 and 1911.'¹⁷¹ Obviously Winstanley is looking at a later period, when shops were more numerous and had taken on a more familiar form, but the evidence from Poole in the first half of the nineteenth century is probably not untypical and would suggest that women's involvement in business was not unusual.

The women discussed in this section were not, generally, involved in the other, limited, aspects of public life open to their sex. Women's names do occur in various other printed sources such as the list of subscribers to the new Gas and Coke Company of 1835, and in a document revealing the donors and subscribers to the Poole Bethel Society on the occasion of its fifth anniversary in 1833¹⁷² but none of them were among the 'business women' of the directories, with one possible exception. This was the staymaker, Elizabeth Clench, aged 40, of Market Street who was probably the Eliza Clench who invested £20 in two shares in the Gas and Coke

¹⁷⁰ This figure omits those described as 'bankers', 'surgeons' , and 'merchants' as they would normally be seen as belonging to a somewhat 'better' class of occupation.

¹⁷¹ Winstanley, op. cit., p.68

¹⁷² 'formed for the purpose of furnishing Seamen with Libraries on board their Ships, and of establishing a Chapel and a Reading Room for Sailors and Fishermen, and a Sunday School for their Children.'

Company. The few women whose names appear as shareholders or donors were either 'independent' as the Census describes them, or the wives of the most eminent citizens of the town. Of the 127 named purchasers of shares in the Gas Company, for instance, only ten were women, with three of them buying five shares each at £10 a share. Similarly, there were again only ten women donating money to the Bethel Society compared with 125 men. There were, however, two women among the Trustees to the new Library. These were Mrs Festing, wife of Captain Henry Festing R.N., of Ponsonby Place, Parkstone¹⁷³ and Mrs Anne White with this latter lady almost certainly being one of the last members of the Quaker family of Newfoundland merchants of that name.

Women were not a major force in the commercial life of the town but they were important. The emergence of a distinct middle class delineated the role and status of its' women and limited their active involvement in business matters, but for those of lower status, the need to earn a living found them competing in areas usually the preserve of men.

¹⁷³ Pigot's Directory, 1834.

Chapter 4

NEW BUILDINGS AND CIVIC ACTIVITY, 1815 -1841.

For all Sydenham's pessimism about the town's prospects as the Newfoundland trade continued to contract, the period 1815 - 1840 was one in which there was a change in its physical appearance. Many new buildings were erected and new institutions established, developments which indicate the existence of civic pride in Poole and the nature of its social cohesion.

'Buildings', as Anthony King points out, 'result from social needs....Their size, appearance, location and form are governed not simply by physical factors (climate, material, topography) but by a society's ideas, its forms of economic and social organisation, its distribution of resources and authority, its activities, and the beliefs and values which prevail at any one period of time.'¹ In Poole, politics was an important aspect of these 'beliefs and values' and some of the most prominent new buildings, the Anglican churches, were a product of the inter-faction rivalry within the town. Between 1821 and 1833 five new Anglican churches were built in both the old town and the newly acquired outer areas.

The first of these, St James', was a replacement for an older building of the same name, parts of which had served the town since the time of Edward IV. Built on the same site, near the Quay, it cost a total of £11,740, but despite this expenditure, did not impress Sydenham. He admitted it was 'large and commodious' but believed it to have 'little or no architectural beauty.'² St James' was the Corporation's church in the sense that they had long possessed the right to nominate its Rector, a right upheld by the Court of Chancery in 1795.³ Sydenham notes that £1,000 towards the cost of building the new church was provided by the Corporation.

¹ A.D. King (ed.) Buildings and Society, (1980), p.1.

² Sydenham, op. cit., pp. 310-316.

³ In 1791 they chose as Rector, 25 year old Peter Jolliffe, a member of one of Poole's most distinguished merchant families. He remained in that post for 70 years.

Although Sydenham accepted that the church was 'large and commodious', a visitor to the town in 1830 was 'shocked...to see the church so overcrowded' and 'being an important member of the Prayer Book and Homily Society...told some of the local townsfolk that he knew of a certain lady...who wanted to assist in the execution of an evangelical church at a seaport in the West of England.'⁴ The outcome of this visit was the construction of a second Anglican church in the old town which was consecrated in 1833 as St Paul's. Standing in the High Street, just north of the junction with Hill Street, the new church cost 'upwards of £4,000. a sum which was 'defrayed entirely by voluntary contributions.'⁵ St Paul's, although smaller than St. James', could seat 700 worshippers and was a 'small and neat structure' according to Sydenham.⁶ The mysterious lady who was prepared to finance its building actually donated £1,000 towards the project on condition that she nominated the Minister. Whether the first incumbent, the Rev. Robert Otway Wilson, was in fact that lady's nominee is not recorded. The other major contributor towards the cost of building St Paul's was the banker George Welch Ledgard, a man who had been the chief spokesman for those wanting a second church. The chief opponent was the Rev. Peter Jolliffe, Rector of St James'. As was so often the case in Poole, politics was probably a factor here, for Ledgard was a prominent Tory whilst the Jolliffes were traditionally Liberal.

That politics was behind the building of two of the other three churches is beyond doubt. One was in Longfleet and the other in Parkstone and the race to be consecrated first became fiercely competitive. The original intention had been to build one church on the boundary of the two parishes and the owner of Canford, the Hon. W.F.S. Ponsonby offered £1,600 towards the cost. Ponsonby, though, was a Whiggish Liberal M.P., originally for Poole (1826-31) and then for the County (1832-37) and it was thought by the town's Tories that he sought to control both of the

⁴ This information comes from an article by Bernard Short in the Poole and Dorset Herald of 5 December 1962.

⁵ Sydenham, op. cit., p.337.

⁶ Ibid.

borough's parliamentary seats.⁷ Because of this suspicion and the belief that by helping build a new church he would make the town beholden to him, demand grew among Tory supporters, led on this occasion by the Parr family, for a separate church in Parkstone. The Parrs were staunch Tories and the family included Robert Henning Parr, the last Town Clerk to the unreformed Corporation and a man who was to prove a particular thorn in the flesh of the Ponsonbys. In 1837, in the Court of Chancery, he successfully defended himself against a writ from Ponsonby (now styled Lord de Mauley) over compensation for his loss of the Town Clerk's post.⁸ The Parrs funded the building of St Peter's in Parkstone themselves, being unable to raise the money by public subscription, and, given the presence within the family of an ordained priest, its first minister was Robert's younger brother, James Culshaw Parr.⁹ The 'race' was won by the Longfleet church, St Mary's, for although the two were completed simultaneously, it was consecrated one day ahead of St Peter's, thus giving the Liberals a victory over the Tories. Both consecration services were carried out by the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

There was one further indication of the political dimension to the building of the two churches for in the general election of 1835, the vicar of St Peters voted for the two Tory candidates whilst his counterpart at St Mary's, the Rev. W.B. Clarke, voted Liberal. Both gentlemen stayed loyal to their parties in the by-election held in that same year and in the general election of 1837.¹⁰

The fifth Anglican church, St Michael's in Hamworthy, was actually the second to be built. Like St Mary's in Longfleet, its building involved W.F.S. Ponsonby and it was he who laid the

⁷ Usually the town and the manor compromised by each having one member.

⁸ Hillier, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-138.

⁹ The Parr proprietorship of St Peter's continued when James retired, for John Parr replaced him in 1858.

¹⁰ Parr also voted Tory in 1841 but Clarke fails to appear in the poll-book for that election.

foundation stone in September 1825. It was consecrated by the Bishop of Bristol, and all Sydenham could find to say about it was that it was 'a neat structure.'¹¹

This flurry of Anglican church building reflects the belief among the Bishops that 'the lack of churches was the greatest problem and wanted legislation' in facing the challenge of a rapidly urbanising Britain,¹² although their concerns were mainly directed towards the new industrial towns. Certainly in Poole, the outward growth of the town meant that new churches were needed as in Longfleet, for example, two disused cottages were being used as a place of worship before St Mary's was built, and it has already been noted that St Paul's came into existence because of the overcrowding at St James'.

Churchgoing, as well as being a religious activity, was (and is) also a social one. As Seed says. 'The very act of attendance at public worship was a ritual enactment of the existing social and patriarchal hierarchy.'¹³ The public nature of church or chapel attendance is well illustrated by the way in which the names in the 1835 poll-book were categorised as being 'for Church and King' or 'Dissent.' The complier, the ubiquitous John Sydenham, seems to have known the religious persuasion of every prominent citizen.

Although the only religious census in England took place ten years after the period under investigation and, based as it was on the evidence of the clergy, is regarded as being a little suspect. It does, however, suggest that a high percentage of Poole's population were church or chapel goers. Table 4.1 below reveals the religious affiliations within the town in 1851.

¹¹ Sydenham, *op. cit.*, p.458.

¹² A. Llewellyn, The Decade of Reform, the 1830s, (Newton Abbot, 1972), p.458.

¹³ J. Seed, Theology of Power, in R.J. Morris (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.138.

	<u>Morning</u>	<u>Afternoon</u>	<u>Evening</u>
Church of England	2202	2122	1000
Congregationalist	1043	737	1060
Baptists	200	-	150
Quakers	12	8	-
Unitarians	40	-	50
Wesleyan Methodists	463	240	682
Primitive Methodists	178	58	193
Undefined	120	-	166
Roman Catholics	122	-	84
Latter Day Saints	-	12	60
	4380	3177	3445

Table 4.1 : Attendance at Poole's Churches and Chapels, 30 March 1851.

The above table also reveals the existence and strength of the many dissenting sects in Poole, particularly the Congregationalists and the Wesleyan Methodists. The former had no need to build a new church in the post war years, having had a substantial one built in Skinner Street half a century earlier, in 1777.¹⁴ It was, however, enlarged on several occasions, including 1823 when it became possible to seat 1,500 people and in 1822 when an infant school was added. Sydenham notes that this latter extension was occasionally used for weekday worship and was capable of seating 300 people. 'The whole of the expenses attendant upon these

¹⁴ This happened because of a split between the Unitarians and the Trinitarians, with the latter being forced out of the original chapel in Hill Street. See H.V.F. Johnstone, A Short History of Skinner Street United Reform Church, 1777-1977, (Poole, 1977).

improvements, from 1823, have been about four thousand pounds, - borne by the congregation itself.¹⁵

The Congregationalists were not alone in extending their premises in order to accommodate increased membership. The Baptists, for example, now occupied a chapel in Hill Street, built in 1815 which was 'a neat structure' affording 'accommodation for about 500 worshippers.'¹⁶ The Roman Catholics, too, had a new church in West Quay Road opened in June 1839 by the 'Popish sham-bishop of the Western District', as the Dorset County Chronicle acidly put it.¹⁷ The Chronicle was particularly incensed by the presence at the ceremony of the Rev. Peter Jolliffe and the fact that some of Poole's Protestant dissenters had subscribed towards the cost of the building.

The churches were not, of course, the only new buildings erected during this period. A new Harbour Office was built in 1822 and earlier, in 1813-14, a new Customs House was built on the Quay. This latter building, a replacement for one destroyed by fire in April 1813, was modelled on the town's distinctive Guildhall and was given a frontage that was remarkably similar. Another Quay-side buiding was the Fish-shambles of 1830, a simple market place where fishermen could dispose of their catch.

The same year also saw the creation of the town's Library, at the Quay end of the High Street. The land had been donated by Benjamin Lester-Lester, one of the town's M.P.s and the costs met by the other, W.F.S. Ponsonby, according to Sydenham. However, the minutes of the Proprietors and Trustees (for the new Library) of 25 August 1830 refer to 'the property at the bottom of the High Street' and that Mr Lester 'says that it gives him very great pleasure to have it in his power to promote so laudable an undertaking by giving the property in question to be

¹⁵ Sydenham, op. cit., pp.344-345.

¹⁶ Ibid, p.346.

¹⁷ Cited in the Poole and Dorset Herald, 21 June 1939, on an article commemorating the centenary of the church.

converted into a Library.¹⁸ Sydenham described the 'room containing the library' as being 'lofty, sufficiently large, and well adapted to the purpose.'¹⁹

The Library serves as an illustration of the role of public men²⁰ and the concept of civic duty in nineteenth century towns, for not only was the building (or the land) provided by the town's Members of Parliament, but the institution was run by 28 Trustees whose role and duties were laid down at a meeting of subscribers on 26 June 1830. Whilst the duties were not particularly onerous, the running of the library being delegated to a committee which met quarterly and a librarian whose working day, Monday to Saturday, apparently ran from 10 AM to 9 PM, they were nevertheless, responsible for the safety (in 1839) of almost 1,700 books²¹ and the money paid in by subscribers.

The Trustees are named in the Library's first catalogue and they are revealed as being representative of the town's mercantile elite. The two M.P.s head the list followed by four Garlands and members of families such as the Jolliffes, Kemps, Penneys and Ledgards. As the initiative for founding the library came from members of the existing Book (or Reading) Society, and their 'upwards of six hundred volumes'²² formed the basis of the new collection, the urge to share the pleasure they derived from books is another manifestation of the concept of civic duty. As the resolution passed at the meeting called in March 1830 to establish the library rather grandly states '(it would prove a source of rational enjoyment and relaxation to the supporters

¹⁸ Preface to A Catalogue of Books in the Town and County of Poole Library, (Poole, 1832), p.XV.

¹⁹ Sydenham, p. cit., p.431.

²⁰ As two of the Library's Trustees were women, the term 'public men' is something of a misnomer.

²¹ Sydenham's figures.

²² A Catalogue of Books in the Town and County of Poole Library, pp. V-VI.

of it generally, afford the means of instruction and improvement to the rising generation, and be productive of important advantages to posterity.²³

The Library was one of several institutions established in Poole around the year 1830. The Poole Scientific and Mechanics' Institute came into being in early 1832, with the aim of 'beneficially employing those leisure hours, which are too often spent by young people in idleness if not, in scenes of immorality.'²⁴ A similar moral tone had been expressed by the founders of the Library, their hostility being particularly directed towards novels 'the majority of which set common sense, common decency, and fine writing at defiance, and alike outrage the head and the heart.'²⁵ The Trustees relented slightly in their attitude as the preface continued and stated that they would admit certain, established novels such as those by Smollett and Fielding, which they recognised as being worthy of a place 'in the ranks of standard English literature.'²⁶ '...our Book Clubs.' said Wilkie Collins, 'How paramount are the dull people there! How they hug to their rigid bosoms Voyages and Travels! How they turn their intolerant backs on novels! How resolutely they get together, in packed body, on the committee, and impose their joyless laws on the yielding victims of the club who secretly want to be amused!'²⁷

A variation on the Library, which with its initial fee of £10 and its annual subscription of a guinea made it very much an institution for the better-off, was the Bethel Society, founded in 1828. It had 'the purpose of furnishing Seamen with Libraries on board their ships, and of establishing a Chapel and a Reading-room for Sailors and Fishermen, and a Sunday School for

²³ Ibid, p.II.

²⁴ Document S.1143, Poole Borough Archives.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Wilkie Collins, My Miscellanies (1863), cited in B. Dennis and D. Skilton (eds.), Reform and Intellectual Debate in Victorian England, (Beckenham, 1987), pp.203-4.

their Children.²⁸ In 1833 the Committee published a report outlining the Society's progress and listing the subscribers with the amounts they had given. These included Benjamin Lester-Lester who was the most generous at one guinea - the norm was half-a-crown.

The Society's annual meeting was chaired by the merchant John Gosse and the document prepared by the Secretary, the master-mariner Gilbert Tulloch. His short report contains a sentence which reveals the prevailing attitude of the better-off in Poole towards their poorer neighbour when lamenting the low attendances at the Sunday School. 'Your committee', wrote Tulloch, 'are, nevertheless, encouraged to persevere, in the hope that, altho' many of them may not live to see the reward of their exertions, the labours of those who have devoted their time to this sadly benighted class of persons, will, in the end be blessed.'²⁹

The 1830s saw the first hesitant steps towards state funding of education, an area which had long been 'the preserve of private enterprise and voluntary organisations'.³⁰ Thus when involving itself in this contentious area, contentious because of differing opinions between Tory Anglicans and Liberal Dissenters on just what was the purpose of education, the state had little option but to use the churches (in the broadest sense of the word) or their agencies. The most important of these were the largely, but not exclusively, nonconformist British and Foreign Bible Society and the Anglican National Society for the Education of the Children of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church.

The first of these steps occurred in 1833 with Brougham's grant of £20,000 from public funds to be divided between the two societies in order to build school-houses and to promote elementary education. The grant, which became an annual sum, was not divided equally for, as Llewellyn points out, 'By 1838 the National Society had received £70,000 and the British &

²⁸ Fifth Anniversary of the Poole Bethel Society, Document S.1147, Poole Borough Archives.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ R.K. Webb, *op. cit.*, p.265.

Foreign Society £30,000.³¹ Not unnaturally, far more 'National' schools came into existence than 'British' ones³² and it was the former type that was first established in Poole.

The new school was opened in 1835, replacing the Free School which dated from the seventeenth century.³³ Sydenham mentions that 'In February 1835, the old school house was exchanged for other ground belonging to the corporation on which a new school house has been erected.' The new school was to be used as 'a place of religious instruction for children of both sexes, of the poorer classes in and near the town of Poole, in the principles of the established church...' ³⁴ He later explained that the corporation had contributed £100 and the National Society £150 towards the cost of erecting the new building, with the remainder of the money coming from private contributions and a long-established charity within the town. By 1839, the year Sydenham published his History, the school roll consisted of 137 boys and 96 girls.³⁵

The directories reveal the existence of several private establishments, Pigot's of 1834, for example, lists nine (compared with only three in 1823), plus the Free School mentioned above, all but one in the old town. Miss Moore's boarding school at Parkstone was the exception. The number of schools and academies remained more or less constant over the next ten years, Pigot's of 1842 having eight private establishments, and it was only in the 1850s that more state-aided schools were listed. Kelly's Post Office Directory records the existence of a British School, plus a Roman Catholic one in West Street.

³¹ Llewellyn, op. cit., p.204.

³² By 1851 there were 17,000 National Schools compared with 1,500 British Schools. J. Richardson, The Local Historians Encyclopedia, (New Barnet, 1974), pp.148-149.

³³ Poole, unlike Wimborne, did not have an endowed Grammar School, despite its long mercantile tradition.

³⁴ Sydenham, op. cit., pp. 408-9.

³⁵ Ibid, p.454.

Education provision in Poole was of a limited nature. Lacking a traditional grammar school, the merchants and their like sent their sons away to be educated, as the Kemps had done in 1796, albeit only as far as Weymouth.³⁶ Perversely, only the children who found themselves in the new Union Workhouse could expect an education as of right.

The problems, whether social or political, that were becoming apparent in England in the first half of the century needed solutions and needed them quickly. Political reform was comparatively straightforward in the sense that all that was needed was a will to amend the system and this was eventually begun in the 1830s. Social reform was more difficult to bring about because, by definition, it meant changing society rather than an administrative system. As the nineteenth century progressed, those in positions of power and influence, at whatever level, and in whatever community, sought a means of ameliorating the lot of those below them.

In a society where '....property was everywhere the dominant institution of the realm'³⁷ it was perhaps inevitable that those who owned it should become aware that a solution lay in 'the social duties of wealth.'³⁸ Thus it can be seen that in Poole, as in probably every town and community in the kingdom, a belief in paternalism (although it was yet to be so named) was developing, even where the problems were minor compared to those in the great industrial cities.

David Roberts certainly saw this period as one when a new moral attitude was emerging, pointing out that between 1827 and 1847 'some eighteen...English writers published more than thirty books that espoused paternalistic social ideas.' Presumably he meant books devoted solely to the topic, for he adds that these same decades 'saw an endless outpourings of novels,

³⁶ Beamish et al., (1976) op. cit., p.71.

³⁷ D. Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1979), p.32.

³⁸ Ibid, p.26

pamphlets, and articles that championed the same principles.³⁹ Thomas Chalmers (a 'stern Calvinist' and 'Scotland's most famous minister'⁴⁰) in his 1826 work The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns maintained that it was not for the state to provide for the less fortunate, but 'church and property'.⁴¹ Chalmers' most important work was not part of the initial collection for establishing Poole's new library, but an even more influential one, Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy was, along with four other books by that eighteenth century writer.

The Public Library, the Bethel Society, the Mechanics' Institute and earlier creations such as Garland's Almshouses (of 1812) and even the new churches all indicate an increasingly formal and even rigid social framework being established. This feeling that property had 'its duties as well as its rights'⁴² is revealed in the publications associated with the new institutions. The preface to the Library Catalogue of 1832, for example, remarks that only 'a permanent library well stocked with Standard Works of reference,' can offer 'those in the ordinary walks of life....a gratifying relief from the laborious duties of active employment and a source of the purest pleasure to the well-regulated mind.'⁴³

The leaflet advertising the new Scientific and Mechanics' Institute, in addition to its warnings to the young about the way they spent their leisure hours, felt obliged to point out that classes 'are instructed gratuitously by gentlemen who have consented to devote an hour in each week for the benefit of those who attend them.'⁴⁴ Paternalism cannot be equated with policy in the sense that modern governments have (or maintain they have) policies. Instead it was a reaction

³⁹ Ibid, p.25.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p.26.

⁴¹ Ibid, p.25.

⁴² Ibid, p.32.

⁴³ A Catalogue..., p.1.

⁴⁴ Document S.1143, Poole Borough Archives. The italics are the writer's.

by those with wealth (and therefore power) to social circumstances that they feared might overwhelm them. It was not particularly new, for wealthy men had long endowed their communities with schools, almshouses and even workhouses. What was new was the scale and consistency of paternalism as it developed in the early nineteenth century and Poole was not immune from it. One central aspect of this development was 'the problem of the poor'⁴⁵ and the nation's and Poole's attempt at dealing with it will now be examined in more detail.

THE POOLE UNION WORKHOUSE

The new building intended for the poorest section of Poole's population was located in Longfleet, housing those who were undoubtably at the very bottom of the town's social structure and whose poverty had forced them to become the responsibility of the recently established Poole Union and inmates of its newly built workhouse. The building at Longfleet had been erected in response to the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act and had replaced the workhouse in West Street that had existed since 1739 and had always been 'amply sufficient for the purposes of the parish.'⁴⁶ Two years before the 1834 Act, the Poole Workhouse had received a visit from a Mr Okeden, an Assistant Commissioner of Enquiry for Dorset. His report gave the total number of inmates in December 1832 as 129, made up of the following:

Old and infirm men, some above 90	37
Ditto women, three above 92	42
Under 13 years old, boys	21
Ditto girls	29
	129

Each individual cost the parish 3/10d a week and this economic prudence obviously impressed Mr Okeden for, as he reported, 'I have selected the town of Poole as an instance of the best

⁴⁵ Llewellyn, op. cit., p.95.

⁴⁶ Sydenham, op. cit., p.435.

management of the poor I have met with.' He went on to say that '...all that relates to the government of the poor, seems to me to be of unrivalled excellence.'⁴⁷

Once the Act became law, Poole was required to establish a new parochial union incorporating St James' and several of the neighbouring parishes and tythings.⁴⁸ This was done on 2 November 1835 and, as Sydenham noted, 'the expenditure for the poor in each parish has been considerably reduced.' Sydenham cites figures which show that in the seventeen months from the creation of the Union, in the parish of St James', the annual reduction of the charge upon the parish was £903.3.0d.⁴⁹ This was in keeping with the hopes of the Act's supporters and the national trend. Crowther states that 'the total cost of poor relief also fell, from nearly £7 million in 1833 to £4 million in 1837.'⁵⁰

The new act brought a fundamental change to the way that the less fortunate members of the community were treated for whereas before '...few had doubted that the gentry, clergy and famers should control, superintend and care for those beneath them'⁵¹, now a new, literally less parochial system was introduced. As Himmelfarb notes, a central feature of the Report by the Royal Commission charged with inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws was 'the proposal that relief for the able-bodied and their families be given only within the confines of the workhouse.' The universal establishment of such institutions 'required a greater degree of government involvement...than was entailed in outdoor relief' and the creation of a central board with 'commissioners and assistant commissioners empowered to

⁴⁷ Ibid, pp. 349-440.

⁴⁸ The various parishes and tythings were represented by 11 elected Guardians: St James' 4, Canford Magna, 1, Lytchett Minster, 1, Lytchett Matravers, 1, Hamworthy, 1, Tything of Kinson, 1, Tything of Parkstone, 1, and Tything of Longfleet, 1.

⁴⁹ Sydenham, op. cit., pp. 441-2.

⁵⁰ M.A. Crowther, The Workhouse System, 1834 - 1929, (Athens, Georgia, 1982), p.35.

⁵¹ D. Roberts, op. cit., p.61.

frame and enforce regulations for the management of the workhouses, the kind and amount of relief to be given in them, and the labor to be exacted from the inmates.⁵² Thus Poole's existing workhouse of 1739, a 'publick edifice erected to the reception of the poor....the necessary charges for building it, amounting to £500, were voluntarily defrayed by the sole generosity of Thomas Missing Esq.,' as the inscription on the front of the building stated,⁵³ was replaced a hundred years later by the new, statutorily ordained one in Longfleet. Yet the paternalism taken for granted in dealing with the poor before the new act, was still there, albeit in a more regulated form.

Poole's Poor Law Guardians were a mixture of elected and co-opted members and their role was, as Crowther says, 'most time-consuming.'⁵⁴ They met for the first time on 7 October 1835, under the guidance of Edward Carleton Tufnel, an Assistant Commissioner for the Poor Law and an influential figure in the evolution of social reform, especially in the field of education. He was, for instance, a member of the 'Central Society of Education', a lobbying body whose main function was 'to publish papers on current ideas in teaching methods and child psychology and in foreign education systems.'⁵⁵ He was also conscious of the cost of such reforms and was 'particularly devoted to the idea of the lowest acceptable wages and tried to stop unions paying better than their neighbours.' He thought '£80 a year with board ample for any master.'⁵⁶ His opinions seem to have prevailed in Poole, for among the salaries decided

⁵² G. Himmelfarb, The Idea of Poverty, England in the Early Industrial Age, (New York, 1980), pp. 164-5.

⁵³ Sydenham, op. cit., p.435.

⁵⁴ Crowther, op. cit., p.75.

⁵⁵ D.G. Vaz, The Politics of Working Class Education in Britain, 1830 - 1850, (Manchester, 1980), p. 70.

⁵⁶ Crowther, op cit., pp. 123-4.

upon by the Guardians was £40 per annum plus board and lodging for the Master and Mistress.⁵⁷

The elected Guardians from St James' were Thomas Ellis, John Sydenham, Benjamin Lawrence and John Adey, the last named being chosen as Chairman. The Board also included representatives from the outer parishes including Francis Rogers for Longfleet and Robert Slade for Parkstone. The tenure of office for the St James' Guardians was to be short-lived for in March 1836 all four were defeated in that year's election by Robert Wills, Tito Durell Hodges, Thomas Whicher and Joseph Barling.⁵⁸ There is clear evidence that this change was due to the bitter party politics currently dividing the town⁵⁹ for in 1837 the four new Guardians voted for the two Liberal candidates at the general election, whilst three of the four displaced ones voted for the two Tories.⁶⁰

The Guardians' first task was to appoint the various officers that the Union was statutorily empowered to employ, and to find suppliers for food and other necessities of life. Thus, at their second meeting, on 12 October, Thomas Barter was appointed Medical Officer for the St James' District at a salary of £170 per annum, and John Wickens West for the 'farther out districts' at £80 per annum. Both men voted Tory in 1837. West was replaced in 1836 by another local surgeon, William Miller, who plumped for the two Liberals at the subsequent general election. Another Tory-voting Barter, Joseph, was appointed (in 1835) as Clerk to the Guardians at a salary of £40 per annum.

⁵⁷ Minutes of the Poor Law Guardians for Poole, Ref. BG/PL. A1/1, Dorset County Record Office, Dorchester.

⁵⁸ Document S.1149, Poole Borough Archives.

⁵⁹ D. Beamish et al, and J. Hillier have produced two books devoted to this topic - The Pride of Poole (1974) and Ebb Tide at Poole (1985). See also, D. Beamish's M.Phil thesis for the University of Southampton.

⁶⁰ Benjamin Lawrence does not appear in the poll-book, but as previously mentioned, it does not include abstainers.

Other appointments included John Hooper as Relieving Officer for Poole, Parkstone, Kingston and Canford (at £100 p.a.) and Henry Barter (at £70 p.a.) for the outer districts of Lymington, Lymington Mattravers and Hamworthy. The posts of Master and Mistress went to William Bell and his wife. The Rev. Peter Jolliffe was appointed Chaplain at £20 per annum but on condition that 'a full service should be performed once every week on a day to be fixed by the Chaplin (sic) instead of on a Sunday, the Church being sufficiently near for all the paupers to attend who are able.'⁶¹

In order to feed the inmates, an advertisement was placed in the Dorset County Chronicle of 19 October 1835 seeking suppliers for :

Second Flour, at per sack
Potatoes of good size and quality, at per cwt
Good beef, per quarter, per cwt
the best Boiling Peas, per bushel
Good Bacon, by the side, per cwt
the best coal, per ton or chaldron
Soap, per cwt; and Candles per dozen lbs.

The men who won the contracts to supply the above goods to the Union were obviously successful on the grounds of price and not politics, for only the coal came from Tory supporters (the firm of Gaden and Adey). The other goods came from Liberal voting grocers such as William Whicher, George Foot and Henry Knight. This last named person supplied the Union with its peas, yellow soap and candles.⁶² Burnett maintains that this system of competitive tendering was the 'ugliest aspect' of providing food and groceries for the inmates, and that Guardians 'not uncommonly accepted contracts under market price, caring little about the quality

⁶¹ Minutes, 23 November 1835.

⁶² Minutes, 3 November 1835.

of the foods supplied.⁶³ It is difficult to ascertain whether this was the case in Poole, but the use of words such as 'best' and 'good' suggest that in the beginning, at least, the Guardians were attempting to provide a diet of reasonable quality.

Tufnell's influence may have prevailed here for, as he wrote in 1836, 'The establishment of a proper dietary seems to me a point of pre-eminent importance, as it alone will prevent paupers entering a workhouse, & (sic) thus effectually dispauperise a Union.'⁶⁴ At Calne, in Wiltshire, it was estimated that the average cost of feeding the inmates of that town's Union Workhouse was 1/6d a week, an extremely low figure when a labourer, his wife and two children could hardly exist on 8/- a week and even someone on 15/- a week had a diet that was 'scarcely lavish.'⁶⁵

In 1838 the decision was taken to build a new workhouse in Longfleet and tenders were sought from the town's builders. The responses ranged from Henry Harris's £5,100 to John Wheeler of Wimborne's £3,403. As with the contracts awarded for the supply of provisions, politics was not a factor. Price was all and Wheeler was chosen but within 48 hours an extraordinary meeting was called because his Sureties 'would not come forward.'⁶⁶ The second lowest tender came from John Dine and he was offered the contract, but he too failed to meet the requirement of providing two sureties and it fell to John Blanchard of Waterloo Road (whose price was £3,850) to build the workhouse on the two acre site bought at a cost of £160.⁶⁷ At a meeting of the Guardians' Building Committee, 7 June 1838, it was reported that Mr Blanchard 'had commenced the foundation of the Buildings.'

⁶³ Burnett, *op. cit.*, p.114.

⁶⁴ PRO RH 32/69, 24 February 1836. Cited in Crowther, *op. cit.*, p.214.

⁶⁵ J. Burnett, *op. cit.*, p.43.

⁶⁶ Notice of meeting attached to the inside cover of Guardians' Minute Book, BG/PL, A1/1, Dorset County Record Office.

⁶⁷ Minutes, 14 December 1837.

There were 127 people resident in the workhouse on census night, two less than the figure recorded by Mr Okeden in 1832. Five of these were staff - the master and matron, a porter and two schoolteachers, one male and one female. Crowther discusses workhouse staff, maintaining that 'The Master dominated all other officers, and any complaint from him could cost them their jobs.'⁶⁸ His role, reminiscent of Bentham's ideal of governors who would maintain 'constant supervision and 'absolute' authority'⁶⁹, was a thankless one, almost certainly lacking promotion or pension. The Master of Poole Union at this time bore the near Dickensian name of John Flint Godden and his wife Rebecca was the Matron. They were 50 and 40 years old respectively, and were seemingly childless.⁷⁰ Their social status was not high, the lack of prospects and their close contact with paupers undermined any possibility of true middle class acceptance, and as Twining, writing at a time when workhouses were extant, commented 'a master's post was at best comparable to a modest tradesman's in social status and, at worst, inferior to a skilled artisan's.'⁷¹ Despite this, when the original Master, Mr Bell, resigned in January 1838⁷² and a new one sought, there were twelve applicants, two of whom were Poole voters - the master-mariner James Furber and the accountant, or coal merchant's manager, John Ozzard. The successful candidates, Mr and Mrs Godden, were not Dorset born, although at the time of their appointment they were living in Wimborne.

⁶⁸ Crowther, *op. cit.*, p.130.

⁶⁹ Himmelfarb, *op. cit.*, p.79, citing Jeremy Bentham's Pauper Management Improved of 1798.

⁷⁰ Crowther, *op. cit.*, p.116, states that 'The Commissioners did not rule that the Matron must be the Master's wife, but propriety and economy alike dictated that a married couple would be most suited to these duties.' He adds (p.117) that they 'were usually required to be without dependent children.'

⁷¹ L. Twining, Workhouse and Pauperism, (1898), cited in Crowther, *op. cit.*, p.125.

⁷² Mr and Mrs Bell were awarded £30 by the Guardians for their 'attention and care' towards the paupers. The Goddens were appointed in February 1838 at the same salary as the Bells, £40 p.a. (Minutes, 8 February 1838)

The other members of staff were the porter, William Loader and the two teachers, 70 year old James Tullock and the 25 year old Henrietta Barter. This young lady, the fourth person of that surname to be employed by the Union, was one of only two candidates for the post and was employed in February 1839, as was the porter. There were, however, eight candidates for this position which was 'the humblest of the officially recognized posts, although his duties were onerous.'⁷³ These included manning the gate, in order to admit applicants and refuse the unauthorised, and to ensure that the inmates had no access to forbidden substances such as alcohol and tobacco.

The teachers' presence reflected the large numbers of children in the Union and their duties at first were more domestic and custodial than educational⁷⁴ and 'any literate person could apply for the post.' There is no evidence that the two teachers in Poole Union were unsuitable for their posts, despite Crowther's suggestion that such people were 'often unqualified.'⁷⁵ Both Tullock and Barter were Dorset born and the surnames suggest a long association with Poole. The 1835 by-election poll-book, for example, included four Tullochs⁷⁶ and there were three Barters in the one for 1837, and both families had a mercantile background.

A comparison between the inmates in the old workhouse and the new one reveals markedly similar numbers, even to the age structure. In 1832 there were 50 children out of the 129 inmates, children meaning in this instance those less than thirteen years of age. In 1841 the enumerator's dividing line was twenty years, there being 56 people above that age out of the total of 122.⁷⁷ However, when the under thirteens are counted, there were 55 of them, just five more than in 1832. There were only eleven 'teenagers', six boys and five girls, suggesting that

⁷³ Crowther, *op. cit.*, p.132.

⁷⁴ After 1848, Direct Grants towards teachers' pay became available.

⁷⁵ Crowther, *op. cit.*, p.131.

⁷⁶ The spelling is slightly different ('h' instead of 'k') but this is common in source material.

⁷⁷ The total population of the workhouse is given as 127 but this includes the five staff.

there was little shortage of work outside the workhouse for able-bodied youngsters. Boys could be put to sea and girls into service.

As would be expected, the majority of adult inmates were middle-aged or elderly. Table 9.1 below reveals the age structure of the male and female inmates.

20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s				
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0	7	3	2	3	5	2	6	4	5	7	7
7	5	8	8	9		14		4		2	1

Table 4.3 : Age of male and female inmates, Poole Union Workhouse, 1841.

In all but one instance, the young women (i.e. those in their 20s and 30s) had children with them, one of them, Maria Stanley's being only three weeks old. The three men in these age groups were designated as a ropemaker, cooper and a soldier. Most inmates, though, were simply designated as paupers. Only 21 were cited as having an occupation, and among the females 'servant' with five examples was the most common. The most frequently cited male occupation was 'mariner' with four examples. Only 21 of the inmates were born outside of Dorset, and only the 80 year old Irishman, Patrick McDonald, was not English. As Crowther notes, 'The Irish poor avoided applying for relief because they knew it would mean removal back to Ireland.'⁷⁸

The workhouse is probably the most reviled of all the nineteenth century institutions and its excesses are so well documented that they need no discussion in this thesis. The impression given in the minutes of the Guardians in the early days of Poole Union is not one of harshness towards the inmates. The moral tone is there, perhaps inadvertently revealed by the Guardians' voting in 1838 to give every adult pauper 9d and every child 6d to commemorate Victoria's

⁷⁸ Crowther, op. cit., p.225.

coronation.⁷⁹ They were also vigilant when it came to the honesty of their suppliers, resolving in 1839 'that the Clerk do write to Mr Burdèn that his Bread is short of weight from 2 to 5 oz per loaf and that if it occurs again a deduction will be made.'⁸⁰ On the other hand, in 1837, they resolved that 'the pay of Mary Ellis, a pauper of Hamworthy, do cease, it having been represented that she has money in the Poole Savings Bank.'⁸¹

The minutes are the official record of how the Guardians perceived their duties and carried them out, and may well give the impression of a more humane regime than actually existed. What they do reveal, however, apart from the ubiquitous influence of local politics⁸², those entrusted with the management of the new Union, as was so often the case in the whole of Poole's 'public sector', carried out their duties thoroughly and seemingly conscientiously. Thus the concept of paternalism appears to have established itself firmly as part of the social ethos by which Poole's more affluent citizens conducted their lives. Whether it was as participants or sponsors, involvement in the well-being and administration of their community was the norm for a growing number of Poole men.

⁷⁹ Minutes, 7 June 1838.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 26 October 1837.

⁸¹ Ibid, 26 October 1837. 'Pay' presumably meant outdoor relief.

⁸² Revealed in an incident in 1838 when the Guardians who supported the Liberals in the town passed a resolution charging the clerk, the Tory Mr Parr, with 'misdemeanour in the management of their business.' This was done when all but six Guardians had departed.

Chapter 5

ANALYSIS OF FOUR CENSUS DISTRICTS, 1841

So far this thesis has concentrated on named individuals from within each status group in order to insert a human dimension and to avoid the anonymity of numbers that is a characteristic of the study of urban history. Towns and cities are, after all, dependent on people rather than buildings for their existence. The danger inherent in this approach is that only a select few can be discussed, based on the assumption (which could be false) that their experiences are typical of others of similar status or occupational category. The use of such terms implies that there is a social structure existing in its own right, as a clearly identifiable, permanently established edifice. But, as Morris notes, 'a social structure consists of perceived regularities in social actions and relationships.'¹ Thus the approach taken in previous chapters is a valid one, in that each occupational category has its own distinct social characteristics.

In reality, of course, it is the successful² whose names and deeds survive into later centuries, in directories and poll-books, in newspapers, posters and pamphlets, or as donors to (or administrators of) the various causes that were being promoted or developed during the period. It is to ephemera such as these that they owe their immortality. As a percentage of the total population of a town such as Poole, they were a relatively small group and it is on the majority of the people, those who were not necessarily the proprietors of businesses, or of sufficient 'quality' that this chapter concentrates. For the majority of people, who came from all the social gradations existing within the town, it was, until 1841, only their births, marriages and deaths and any misdemeanours they may have committed that are recorded and allow later generations to know of their existence.

¹ R. J. Morris (ed.) *op. cit.*, p.3.

² This includes the 'would-be' successful in the sense of failed businessmen, and those brought before the courts for criminal activities.

Economic geographers maintain that towns such as Poole in the period under investigation can be categorised as 'pre-industrial' in that their main activity was based on trade rather than manufacture. According to Sjoberg³, the social structure of pre-industrial towns was still loosely based upon the feudal system, a term which implies the continuing existence of a medieval society. This was clearly not an accurate description but the basic concept is correct. Anthony Trollope, a most perceptive observer of English 'Society' 'was convinced that for all its industry and commerce, England was still the most feudal country in the world.'⁴ But Sjoberg's model fails to allow for those British (and continental) towns which had clearly moved on from feudalism and had achieved a relatively democratic and flexible socio-economic structure despite their lack of large-scale industry. The implementation of the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act was a clear indicator of this process occurring. In Sjoberg's model there is a clear, discrete lower category based upon 'manual labour, or indeed any that requires one to mingle with the humbler folk' which 'is depreciated and eschewed by the elite. Except for a few large-scale merchants, who may succeed in buying their way into the elite, persons engaged in economic activity are either of the lower class (artisans, labourers and some shopkeepers) or outcastes (some businessmen, and those who carry out the especially degrading and arduous tasks in the city.)'⁵

The problem with the smaller, non-industrial towns such as Poole was that there was no aristocratic elite - the merchants were themselves the elite, thus giving the social structure fewer tiers than suggested in Sjoberg's model and producing a more narrow gap between top and bottom. It is maintained in this thesis that Poole's lower orders were not the equivalent of peasants in a feudal society, but the emerging working and lower middle classes that were to become the norm in all urban, industrial societies and who were to prove to be among their most durable and energetic members.

³ G. Sjoberg, The Pre-industrial City : Past and Present, (Chicago, 1960). Cited in P. Clark (ed.), The Early Modern Town, (1976), pp. 44-47.

⁴ A.O.J Cockshut, Anthony Trollope, A Critical Study, (1955), p.38.

⁵ Clark (ed.), op.cit., pp.44-47.

This approach is similar to that put forward in the 1820s by the Scottish divine, Thomas Chalmers, who categorised towns as being either 'consumers' or 'producers', a division which he maintained resulted in very different relations between the classes. In the former, the lower orders were 'chiefly engaged in the immediate service of ministering to the wants and luxuries of the higher classes in the city. This brings the two extreme orders of society into the sort of relationship which is highly favourable to the general blandness and tranquillity of the whole population.' Chalmers' alternative model, the 'producers', exists in the manufacturing towns where 'the poor and the wealthy stand more disjointed from each other. It is true they often meet, but they meet more on an arena of contest, than on a field where patronage and custom of the one party are met by the gratitude and good will of the other.'⁶ As Morris succinctly puts it, 'Chalmers believed that personal contact reduced class conflict.'⁷ In Poole, during the period that Chalmers was writing, it is argued that his 'consumer' model was an accurate representation of the town's social structure. It is the purpose of this chapter and the three following, therefore, to examine the different groups living in the town and to establish the variety and nature of such groups.

Just how many people in the period under discussion can be classified as 'ordinary in the sense that their everyday lives were not deemed worthy of record? Certainly the people included in the directories were generally a minority of those practising a particular craft, trade or occupation, for the 1841 census records many more shopkeepers, carpenters etc than the relatively small number included in Pigot's Directory.⁸ Thus an entry in such a publication can be taken as a clear sign of status within the occupational group and the community in general and serves to reveal just how few members the various 'elites' actually had.

⁶ Thomas Chalmers, The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns, 3 vols. (1821-6), I, 27-29. Cited in R.J. Morris (ed.) op. cit., p.4.

⁷ R. J. Morris (ed.), op. cit., p.5.

⁸ There are 423 entries in the directory, out of a population of 8,751, but some individuals appear twice, and some entries are for partnerships.

The town's population in 1841 was 8,751, the majority living in the Parish of St James. The outer areas which had been added to the town six years earlier were still relatively under populated and could not yet be regarded as true suburbs. As Armstrong notes, when writing about York in 1851, 'suburbanisation was not yet more than embryonic, and Thernstrom's description of a small New England town in the early nineteenth century would apply.'⁹ He goes on to quote Thernstrom : 'The distinct class-segregated neighbourhoods of the modern city did not exist. There were no working-class ghettos, nor had the merchant and professional classes abandoned the central business district of the city as a place of residence.'¹⁰

The change in the way the inhabitants perceived their town's outer areas took place in the years after Waterloo although '...there were suburbs long before the nineteenth century', wrote F.M.L. Thompson, maintaining that '...the outskirts of towns hanging on to the central area physically and economically, for the most part composed of the ramshackle and squalid abodes of the poorest and most wretched of the town's hangers-on and its most noxious trades.'¹¹ Hamworthy, Longfleet and Parkstone were certainly not the 'shanty-towns' implied by Thompson, being, as already described, mainly agricultural settlements, but he notes an important change in perception when he says that 'the idea of the residential suburb as an alternative emblem of material and social success and not as evidence of failure and rejection was in circulation before 1815.'¹² Thompson was referring to London in this instance, generally the leader in social change, but it serves as a pointer to the way English towns were to develop as the century progressed.

⁹ W.A. Armstrong, Stability and Change in an English County Town....(Cambridge, 1974) p.76.

¹⁰ S. Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress, (Harvard, 1964), cited in Armstrong, op. cit., p.76.

¹¹ F.M.L. Thompson (ed.) The Rise of Suburbia, Leicester (1982), p.2.

¹² *Ibid.*

The Census of 1841 provides the most reliable information for assessing the physical and spatial context in which people lived. Based upon the recently created Poor Law Union, it divided Poole into twelve districts, eight of them in the Parish of St James, two each in Longfleet and Parkstone.¹³ Four of these districts serve as samples for analysis - Districts 1, 9, 10, and 11 of 1841,¹⁴ i.e. one from the old town, one from Parkstone and both of those making up Longfleet.

The eight St James' districts were similar in size and the basic statistics are shown below as table 5.1.

District	Males	Females	Total	Houses	Inhab.	Uninhab.
					Houses	Houses
1	388*	472	860	168**	41	
2	420	539	959	217	21	
3	392	562	954	201	40	
4	284***	320	604	120	28	
5	420****	552	972	202	57	
6	268	310	578	123	27	
7	323	425	749	177	30	
8	190	216	406	94	33	

* plus 23 foreign sailors on board ships at the Quay.

** The enumerator's book totals 183, but see p.113 below

*** plus 35 sailors on ships not from Poole and nine others on Poole ships.

**** plus 60 sailors on ships not from Poole, and two others on Poole ships.

Table 5.1 : Population of the Parish of St James', 1841.

¹³ Poole's other outer area, Hamworthy, was treated by the Census officials as a district in its own right, although it was part of the parliamentary and municipal borough.

¹⁴ These numbers will be used in this chapter and in the following ones, despite the districts in Longfleet and Parkstone being re-numbered in 1861 and 1881.



St James' District 1.

St James' District 1 can be regarded as archetypal old Poole, comprising the western corner of the peninsula on which the town was built. From the Quay, east of the bridge, the High Street as far as New Street was its eastern boundary, New Street and Levets Lane (via Market Street) its northern one, with the harbour providing the southern and western ones. This compact waterfront area included the church which gave the parish its name and the town's almshouses. The district's 860 inhabitants, or around 10% of the population, was a table 5.1 shows, made up of 472 females and 388 males. They occupied in total, according to the enumerator, 168 buildings but the district also contained another 41 uninhabited ones, or 19.6% of the total. Again, as table 5.1 reveals, this was not unusual as across the eight districts the percentage ranged from 11.3 in district 2 to 26 in district 8. There was clearly an ample supply of buildings available for anyone able to set up their own household.

District 1, whilst not the most populous area, can be taken as reasonably representative of the old town as far as numbers of people, the ratio of males to females, and the percentage of occupied houses is concerned. It can therefore serve as a sample for analysing the occupancy of those houses, especially the nature and structure of family groupings and households.

Laslett, writing about early seventeenth century London, describes a typical baker's business, a commercial undertaking involving thirteen or fourteen people. Such a grouping, said Laslett, was usually referred to as a 'family' although 'household' was also used.¹⁵ 'The man at the head of the group, the entrepreneur, the employer or the manager, was then known as the master or head of the family. He was father to some of its members and in place of a father to the rest. There was no sharp distinction between his domestic and economic functions. His wife was both his partner and his subordinate, a partner because she ran the family, took charge of the food and managed the woman-servants, a subordinate because she was woman and wife, mother and in place of mother to the rest.'¹⁶ An analysis

¹⁵ Laslett is ambiguous on whether the business and the household were actually the same thing. He acknowledges that the four journeymen slept elsewhere but as they took their meals under their employer's roof, can be regarded as part of the baker's 'family.'

¹⁶ P. Laslett, *op.cit.*, pp.1-2.

of Poole's District 1 reveals households such as that described by Laslett as apparently extant two centuries later.

The most important concept for this analysis is that of the 'household' or 'co-residing groups' as Tillott puts it¹⁷. But care must be taken in examining households as they appear in the census enumerators' books. As Laslett cautions '...the familial group is a process, rather than a state, changing and developing from the time of its formation to the time of its dissolution in a cyclical manner. Its membership at one point in the family cycle cannot be taken as necessarily representing its membership at other points.'¹⁸ With censuses only occurring at ten year intervals, and there being virtually no other primary source containing so much detail as to the composition of households, it is only from this source that a comparative study can be made. Thus the social structure of District 1 (and of Longfleet and Parkstone) in 1841 and at twenty year intervals, forms an important part of this thesis.

The enumerator for District 1, James Rickman Justican,¹⁹ gave the total of occupied buildings as 168 but this figure is clearly wrong. The figures for the number of buildings identified on each page of the enumerator's book are reproduced in the form of a table at the end of the book in order to give the total. The sums add up correctly for the first column, but are hopelessly wrong in the second. Thus the true total, using Justican's own figures (corroborated by a head count of all first named individuals in each house) comes to 183, an excess of fifteen over his original total.²⁰ Tillott, writing in Wrigley (1972), on the sources

¹⁷ P.M. Tillott, Sources of Inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 Censuses, in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data (Cambridge, 1972), p.132.

¹⁸ Laslett, *op. cit.*, pp.93-94.

¹⁹ Justican was 32 years of age in 1841 and was in the third year of running his own stationery and printing business in the High Street. From around 1830 until 1839 he had been the Chief Clerk to the solicitor Robert Henning Parr, the unreformed Corporation's Town Clerk.

²⁰ The error may have been caused by Justican ignoring the Almshouses and the two buildings occupied by Tidewaiters 'on duty for the night.' He drew a double line between each occupant (or occasionally occupants) of the almshouses, indicating a separate dwelling, but if the thirteen units that made up the almshouses and the two tidewaiters' houses are

of inaccuracy in the census returns says that "continued examination of the returns suggests very strongly that they are reliable and that for almost all purposes the extent of error.....is slight."²¹ This is certainly true for the individual names, ages and occupations in the enumerators' books, but as the example of Poole's District 1 shows, the arithmetic is not always reliable.

Both Anderson and Tillott in Wrigley (1972) point out the limitations of the 1841 Census, concentrating on the lack of precise information on family relationships, or, as Anderson puts it '....they omit the all-important 'relation to Head of Family' column.' ²² An additional drawback to its use in re-constituting households in that year is that it also fails to reveal the social as well as the blood relationships within the dwelling place. Did those assumed by modern investigator to be lodgers 'live-in' with the family, or did they have the equivalent of today's 'bed-sit.?'

Despite Justican's apparent arithmetical failings, he appears to have earned his guinea well, for much of the information about individuals contained in his book is confirmed by other sources, such as poll-books and directories. One of the former is particularly useful in that the census was held in early June (officially on the seventh although Justican's returns are dated the twelfth), and a general election was held three weeks later, on the thirtieth. Justican was also one of the enumerators who failed to round down to the nearest quinquennia the ages given by people (trusted to provide such information themselves for the first time) in the original schedules. Thus many individuals ages are given as (say) 36 or 27 instead of the expected 35 or 25.

His enumeration book is not so clear as to the composition of households for although he used the standard format of a small double line to indicate where the occupation of one

removed from the total of 183, a figure of 168 is arrived at. It may be that as 'official' or 'municipal' premises, they may not need to have been included. For the purposes of analysing household structure, they have been omitted, thus making the original figure of 168 the one on which most results are based.

²¹ Tillott, in Wrigley (1972), op. cit., p.83.

²² Anderson in Wrigley (1972) op. cit., p.55.

dwelling ended and a new one began, his use of single lines to indicate divisions between the occupants is more ambiguous. Instances occur where the single line appears between people of the same surname but not between people of different names and sex. However, as this analysis is concerned with households, in the sense of a number of people living together under one roof and sharing facilities such as a front door, the vagaries of the enumerator's pencil can be overlooked.

The typical household in District 1 consisted of five people, a figure which is arrived at whether the mode or the arithmetic mean is used.²³ There were 31 instances of households of five people, but as table 5.2 reveals, the range was from one to eleven. However, households consisting of more than six people formed 22% of the total.

Size of Household	Total	Rank	Percentage
1	7	8=	4.16
2	24	3	14.28
3	26	2	15.47
4	21	5	12.5
5	31	1	18.45
6	22	4	13.09
7	13	6	7.73
8	8	7	4.76
9	7	8=	4.16
10	6	10	3.57
11	3	11	1.78
	168		

Table 5.2 : Household Size, St James' District 1, 1841.

²³ The mean actually produces a figure of 5.1.

The seven people living alone (excluding those in the Alms Houses) were virtually all elderly although Elizabeth Jeans at 52 and Mary Deverell at 35 were exceptions.²⁴ The remaining five (three women, two men) had a mean age of 72. The other extreme, the (by today's standards) very large households of eight, nine, ten and eleven people reveal some interesting situations. The most intriguing is certainly that in Market Street, headed by the 40 year old Hannah Adey, a member of the brewing and wine and spirit merchant family discussed above. All eleven people were female, ten of them Adeys. The exception was the 21 year old servant Elizabeth who, whether by coincidence or design, bore the name of one of the great merchant families of Poole, Slade. Hannah Adey was designated in the occupations column as 'independent', but of the other Adey women, 25 year old Louisa and 20 year old Sarah were dressmakers. All of the others, from the 20 year olds Hannah and Ann, to the five year old Rosalind had no occupation listed.

Another large household with mercantile connections was that headed by Samuel Martin, a 36 year old salt merchant. No wife is mentioned but there were two men, a 20 year old apprentice and a 35 year old clerk. The latter was also named Martin and was presumably a brother. There were five children and two adult females, one a servant and the other a lodger who may well have been entrusted with looking after them. It is in instances such as this that the census's lack of precise information on relationships is frustrating. Laslett's seventeenth century example of a large household with its live-in employees is not, it appears, appropriate for nineteenth century towns. Large household were mainly caused by large numbers of children, including grown up ones still living at home. Indeed four of the large households in Poole were made up of nuclear families - those headed by Richard Musselwright, Samuel Phillips, William Fry and James Richards. This family form was certainly not the norm in District 1, there being only 31 instances out of 168 or 18.5%.²⁵

²⁴ As a mariner's wife, it is doubtful as to whether Mary Deverell was really 'living alone.'

²⁵ This figure does not include households headed by mariners' wives, where the implication is that the husband is away at sea. The percentage could therefore be slightly higher.

The concept of the nuclear family is central to the sociology of human social groups, for as Lowie wrote in 1920, 'it does not matter whether marital relations are permanent or temporary, whether there is polygyny or polyandry or sexual licence: whether conditions are complicated by additions not included in our family circle: the one fact stands out beyond all others that everywhere the husband, wife and immature children constitute a unit apart from the remainder of the community.'²⁶

Two problems arise from this statement - the mention of 'additions not included in our family circle' and the use of the phrase 'immature children.' The former implies a belief that lodgers, relatives and servants do not invalidate the basic concept and that the family ceases to be 'nuclear' when the children become adult, despite remaining at home. For the purposes of this analysis, however, both are deemed to be irrelevant. Only household consisting solely of parents and children not yet married are considered.²⁷

Typically the households made up of nuclear families in Poole's District 1 were relatively small, the four examples cited above being exceptions to the general rule. Although the average household, whatever the form, consisted of five people, nuclear families of this size were matched by those with three or four members. There were, in fact, six with three and six with four.

The identification of the 31 nuclear families is based on the criteria set out by Armstrong for York in 1851, i.e. that 'The first listed female within fifteen years of the head's age was assumed to be his wife; other females, and all males having the same surname were regarded as children, provided that (from a consideration of their ages) they were born when the head (and wife where applicable) were aged not below 15 and not over 50.'²⁸ Thus the household

²⁶ R.H. Lowie, cited in T.B. Bottomore, Sociology, a Guide to Problems and Literature, (1972), p.168.

²⁷ As is so often the case in this form of analysis, the decision is somewhat arbitrary. A 'child' of (say) 22 could reasonably be expected to marry in the near future and therefore leave home, but not so one of (say) 35.

²⁸ W.A. Armstrong, op. cit, p.246.

of Thomas Miles, a 27 year old cordwainer, which at first appears to be a typical nuclear family of five, was omitted from this category because of the presence of a fifteen year old cordwainer also named Miles. Thomas, and his 26 year old wife Mary were unlikely to be his parents, but were clearly father and mother to the three and one year olds also listed.²⁹

Within the nuclear families, the mean difference between the mother's age and that of the oldest child was 24.9, although this figure is obviously an approximation because of the presumed mix if accurate and rounded down ages that characterise the enumerator's book. Rarely were wives older than their husbands, there being only one instance among the 31 nuclear families, and a further ten certain ones out of the total of 183 households.³⁰

It is the nuclear families that provide the first indication of the occupational structure of the district. With only a few exceptions, such families were headed by craftsmen or people in lesser occupations such as labouring or portering. Admittedly, much of the district was craftsman territory, although the largest single occupational group were the mariners. There were 27 of them, with the cordwainers/shoemakers at 22, and the various permutations of ship's carpenters, joiners etc third at seventeen. Other maritime groups were the twelve shipwrights or boatbuilders and eight tidewaiters or customs officers, and three sailmakers. The area was also inhabited by men working in most of the expected crafts (coopers, cabinet makers, watchmakers and various smiths) plus labourers (eleven of them) and a variety of publicans, nine in all.

Despite this preponderence of craft-based workers, District 1 was also the home of a number of people in the higher status occupations. Six individuals were described as merchants, including three members of the Slade family, but this under-estimates the mercantile presence in the district. One of the many Robert Slades is recorded as living in Barbers Piles with his

²⁹ Other omissions include the 60 year old brushmaker Thomas Cobell, 35 year year old Susanne and an eight year old boy even though they could be a nuclear family, and George Hunt aged 70, his 51 year old wife and a thirteen year old girl.

³⁰ The Almshouses included one married couple, hence the use of the correct figure of 183. There were many example of couples apparently the same age, but these were often round numbers.

20 year old daughter and two female servants. His age is given as 45 so he was almost certainly the Robert Slade (1795-1864) described by Hillier as 'the head of the 'Northern' Slades'³¹ and a former mayor of Poole. In West Street lived 30 year old Thomas and his brother, the 25 year old James. No wives or children appear in the enumerator's book, the only other occupants of the house being two female servants aged 35 and 25. Thomas and James were two of the three sons of another Robert Slade who had died in 1833 and whose firm traded under several names including 'the Executors of Robert Slade.'³²

Others described as merchants include the previously mentioned Samuel Martin, a 36 year oil and salt merchant, and Joseph Crabb, aged 30. Martin's case again illustrates the caution needed when categorising people by occupational description, for the 1835 poll book has him as a fishmonger, that of 1850 as a salt merchant and the one for 1859 as a fish merchant. The 1837 poll book, the closest to the census year (and which included occupations) has him simply as 'merchant.' He belonged, however, to the local Freemasons' Lodge which usually drew its membership from the 'merchant and respectable' classes and over the years met the tacit requirements of the Lodge in being both an Anglican and a consistent Conservative voter.³³ His elder brother (or cousin) by ten years, John Wills Martin was, in 1850, also an oil and salt merchant and a shipowner involved in the Newfoundland trade. Samuel Martin can, therefore, with reasonable confidence, be regarded as a member of the merchant class.

The case of Joseph Crabb also illustrates the breadth of the term 'merchant' for he is described as a cornfactor (a mercantile occupation) in the 1835 poll book and as a merchant in that of 1837. By 1850 he is a Relieving Officer (attaining that post by election) and by 1859 had become the town's Harbour Master. He was also a councillor and held the office of Sheriff in 1843. Crabb, then, was clearly part of the town's ruling mercantile elite, being nominated to the old, exclusive Corporation in 1830 by members of the Aldridge family. The Aldridges were originally merchants but by that year were solicitors.

³¹ J. Hillier, Ebb-Tide at Poole, (Poole, 1985), p.206.

³² *Ibid*, p.209.

³³ McDonald, *op.cit.*, p.209.

In addition to the merchants living in District 1, there were others of similar status, including the chemist John Tulk Allen and the shipbuilders Richard Stanworth, Robert Wills and Richard Pinney, and the broker, Joseph Barter. Two households were headed by women who were also members of the town's more eminent families, Hannah Adey and Benjamina Penney.

The shipbuilders provide circumstantial evidence of the inter-relationships existing within this upper strata. Richard Stanworth, for example, a Councillor (and Freemason) headed a household that included 27 year old Elizabeth Pinney and a six year old boy, Stanworth Adey. Elizabeth was presumably a daughter of Richard Pinney and the status of the Adey has already been discussed.³⁴ The third shipbuilder, Robert Wills (or Willis) was Richard Stanworth's partner, and both were politically active as members of the town's Liberal faction. Like the shipbuilders the broker Joseph Barter had been a member of the old Corporation and had held the office of Sheriff in 1818. Other sources elaborate on his occupation, the 1859 poll book describing him as a shipbroker, and the burial register has him as a retired merchant.

Benjamina Penney, 47 and 'independent' was the daughter of John Kemp and Benjamina Rickman and widow of Richard Penney.³⁵ Her household consisted of herself and three young girls - two Kemps aged eight and six and eleven year old Ellen Rickman. All three names, Kemp, Rickman and Penney were those of prominent mercantile families.

There can be little doubt about the status of the above named individuals, but what of their wealth? One indicator is, of course, whether or not they employed servants, whilst another is the possession of the right to vote in parliamentary elections. Neither is an indicator of substantial wealth, but both imply an above average income, especially when compared with others living in the same area whose occupations were less well rewarded. 'Servant keeping

³⁴ See above, p.45.

³⁵ N. Penney, My Ancestors (Printed Privately, 1920), p.102.

and other luxury spending patterns' said Field, 'thus indicate certain shared bourgeois forms of behaviour.'³⁶

Only 26 of the 183 households included a servant, and in all but six instances, only one. Of the six households who employed more than one, two were those of an innkeeper and a victualler, suggesting that they were servants of the business rather than the family. Of the other four, the family names are familiar - Thomas and James Slade, Joseph Crabb, Robert Slade and Richard Pinney. The 20 other households in which servants were employed tended to cluster together. Of the first eleven entries in the enumerator's book, houses sited at the southern end of the High Street, eight included servants, and again, in Barbers Piles, there were five. There were a few houses in the Church Street and Church Yard area and in Cinnamon Lane with servants in them. None were employed in houses in Thames Street, The Quay, West Shore, West Quay Road, and Bay Hog Lane.

The occupations of the employers of these servants revealing. In addition to the merchants and shipbuilders already mentioned, and those running the various forms of public house, it was either a few craftsmen (the painter William Watts or the brushmaker William Tucker for example) or in the households headed by women that servants were employed. The latter instances included the builder Martha Gollop³⁷, mariners' wives, schoolmistresses and those described as 'independent.' Almost all the servants were female, there being only three males mentioned, and usually young. Typically they appear as being 15 or 20, although those employed by the Slades and Richard Pinney were older at between 25 and 35. Possibly the ability of those gentlemen to pay higher wages was a factor here.

Thirty four of the districts male householders³⁸ had the right to vote in parliamentary elections, and it is a fortunate coincidence that one was held on 30 June, just over two weeks

³⁶ J. Field, in R. Morris (ed.) *op. cit.*, p.95.

³⁷ See above, p.75.

³⁸ Both Thomas and James Slade voted in 1841 (thus making the total 35) despite living under the same roof. Thomas's vote was due to his status as a Burgess in the pre-reform Corporation and James' voted as the householder.

after the census was taken. The poll book published after the election thus serves as a contemporary confirmation of the approximate wealth and status of some of the citizens of the district in that it also reveals those whose houses had a rateable value in excess of £10. Of the 34 enfranchised householders, fourteen, or 41%, employed servants. However, if the analysis is reversed and the number of male householders employing servants is compared with the number who could vote, a more positive correlation appears. Of the eighteen households headed by men and employing servants, fourteen had the right to vote. This raises the percentage to 78%.

Alongside this relatively wealthy and privileged segment of Poole society lived the rest of District 1. As already mentioned, they were generally craftsmen and mariners and one feature of their households was that frequently there were additions to the basic family unit. In some instances these additions were probably relatives, especially in-laws, but there were also a substantial number of households containing lodgers. In all, almost one third of households included a person or persons who were not members of the basic nuclear unit - i.e. 53 out of 168 or 31.5%.

These 'extra' people fall into three broad categories, relatives and in-laws, apprentices and people who presumably were unable (or did not want to) rent or buy a home of their own.³⁹ There is circumstantial evidence for the existence of the first category, mainly in the form of an older woman living with a young family. The 25 year old cordwainer, James Notting's household can serve as an example of this for in addition to his 26 year old wife and their two children, there was also a 60 year old 'independent' female. The tailor, John Denyer (20) of Thames Street seems also to have had his mother-in-law living with him for a 50 year old independent woman was included in the household, along with his young wife (also 20) and their one year old child.

This variant of the 'extra person(s)' household is, of course, a common one, although as Laslett points out 'the widowed elderly were a small proportion of the population.' He also notes that 'Orphans were found familial niches', and adds that 'though those were not always

³⁹ The cordwainer, James Sydenham's household contained all three.

with their kinfolk.⁴⁰ There are possible instances of this in District 1 such as the mariner John Froud whose house included eight year old Selina Billows. There was no one else of that name in the house, nor living in the immediate neighbourhood⁴¹, so the child could well have been an orphan, but she could equally have been Ann Froud's younger sister. Again, the limitations of the 1841 census are revealed.

The second category, apprentices, were (almost by definition) young, often in their teens. The census for District 1 had seventeen people described as such. On occasion they were the sons of the craftsmen with whom they still lived, but often they were genuine outsiders, living in with their master's family. The salt merchant Samuel Martin's household included a 20 year old apprentice and, two doors away, the cabinet maker James Sharp had two living in his house - 20 year old Robert Moore and 19 year old Henry Holloway, although the latter was described as a joiner's apprentice.

The third category, the 'genuine' lodgers or those without homes of their own, were the most numerous. They could be individuals or whole families, including those where the husband was absent. As stated above, there were 53 households which included at least one lodger (in the broadest sense of that term), a figure that includes one of the two households where the head is designated as 'lodging-house keeper'⁴², but not the other. In this latter instance, the household contained only the lady herself and her daughter.⁴³ The figure does include Ann Phippard, a 36 year old of 'independent' means, the composition of whose household suggests that she was, in fact, a lodging house keeper. There were six extra people living with her - a seaman's wife and two small children, and three young men described as a mail cart driver, a shipwright and a cabinet maker respectively. All were born in the county of Dorset.

⁴⁰ Laslett, *op. cit.*, p.93.

⁴¹ There are instances where children appear to be living, or spending the night, a few doors away from people with the same surnames as their own.

⁴² Harriet Larcombe, aged 60, of Bay Hog Lane, whose household consisted of herself and four men in their twenties - three sawyers and a joiner.

⁴³ Maria Barfoot, aged 40, of Barbers Piles.

As in the case of the servant employing households, there was a tendency to cluster. The first six houses in the enumertor's book, those where the High Street joined the Quay, all contained lodgers. Six of the thirteen houses in the more working class area⁴⁴ of Stansmore Yard, Hancocks Alley and Salisbury Street contained lodgers, but only the publican, George Fry employed a servant. The most common occupation for this third category of lodgers, whether individuals or families, was that of mariner or seaman, (both words, plus 'sailor' and 'navy' were used), matching the general occupational pattern of the district. In six instances the husband is absent, presumably at sea. There were another four instances where the husband was at home.

The proportion of households with lodgers was, at 31.5%, surprisingly high when compared with that produced by studies of other towns and cities. Armstrong estimates that in York, in 1851, only 21.3% of households contained a lodger, adding that in Nottingham and Radford the proportions were 21.8% and 13.7% respectively.⁴⁵ The methodology used in this study is not strictly comparable with that of Armstrong et al for he (Armstrong) took every tenth household in his study of York, producing a much higher figure - 781 compared with the 168 (omitting the almshouses) generally used for this analysis. It may well be that the social character of Poole's District 1 is unusual and that there was a greater financial need to take in lodgers than in other areas or in other towns, although this is doubtful as far as the rest of the old town is concerned. A survey of the other census districts within the parish of St James shows similar occupational patterns but it must be remembered that the total area of the parish was only 170 acres, thus limiting the formation of class-based districts. This compactness obviously meant that, prior to the outward expansion into Longfleet and Parkstone that was beginning to take place. Poole's social mix resembled that of Chalmer's 'consumer' model and supported Thernstrom's comments on the professional classes and the 'central business district.' In effect, much of the old town was the central business district.

⁴⁴ The occupations in this area included seamen, victuallers, publicans and a carrier.

⁴⁵ Armstrong, op. cit., pp. 181 and 247.

District 1, although predominantly the home of craftsmen and mariners, contained within its small area a variety of occupations and therefore a reasonable social mix. The presence of merchants and shipbuilders had already been noted but the district was also the home of people such as William Jolliffe, Mayor in 1828, and a member of one of the town's most distinguished families. His Eton and Cambridge educated brother Peter Jolliffe was Rector of Poole and an important figure in the town until his death in 1861, at the age of 90.

Towards the other end of the social scale were the labourers, with eleven men in the district designated as such. In between were most of the occupations necessary for a town, particularly a seaport, to function successfully. General craftsmen such as the cordwainers and coopers, stonemasons and saddlers lived there, alongside those involved in maritime activities such as ropemakers, sailmakers, blockmakers and shipwrights. There were also those employed in the emerging 'public sector' - customs officers and tidewaiters, policemen, a postman and even a town-crier.

The district also contained one of the town's two gaols,⁴⁶ just off the Quay which, according to Sydenham, was 'A small prison for temporary confinement.' On census night this building held nine prisoners, six men and three women, plus a husband and wife keeper and matron. The male inmates were four labourers, a beer house keeper and a yeoman, and the women were two prostitutes and a washerwoman.

It is difficult to assess the income and standard of living of ordinary citizens during this period. The wealth of the Poole merchants is well documented but, as Burnett says 'The worker or his wife rarely kept household accounts.'⁴⁷ Circumstantial evidence, though, is interesting. Mention has already been made of the subscription list for Sydenham's History of the Town and County of the Borough of Poole and among those from District 1 who bought the book were, in addition to Robert Slade, William Jolliffe and Samuel Martin, the

⁴⁶ The other was in King Street and although small (six sleeping rooms), included a single room 'house of correction' and a treadmill. Sydenham complained that this building, which had been adequate for the original old town, was now (in 1839) too small because of the addition of the new districts. Sydenham, op. cit., p.428.

⁴⁷ J. Burnett, op. cit., p.61.

victualler Edward Dugdale. Similarly, among the shareholders of the new Gas and Coke Company in 1833 was the brush maker Uriah Butson who invested £10 for a share in the new venture, as did the innkeeper George Knight and the painter William Watts. The final name on the list of shareholders/subscribers was one Mary Williams (again a £10 share) and there was a woman of that name living in Church Street. She was 48 and independent and could well be the same person.⁴⁸

District 1 had many characteristics which suggest it can be regarded as almost a microcosm of the whole old town area, but more importantly it was clearly representative of the town in its traditional form with its wide social mix. It is the new areas, Longfleet and Parkstone, that now need to be investigated in order to compare their social and economic structures with those of St James.

LONGFLEET DISTRICT 9

In 1837 the Commissioners instructed to review the Boundaries and Wards of Boroughs in England and Wales produced a report on Poole. Of Longfleet they said 'an important North-eastern suburb has sprung up....containing at the moment good Houses, and their number is rapidly increasing along the Ringwood and Wimbourn (sic) Roads.'⁴⁹ However, Longfleet covered an area ten times that of St James', 1,790 acres as against 170, and for the purposes of the census was divided into two districts, numbers 9 and 10. These two divisions were very different in their occupational and social structures, with only District 10 matching the Commissioners' description. District 9 was overwhelmingly agricultural, hardly warranting the appellation 'suburb' and was, in many ways, similar to the villages that were still the norm in a predominately rural county. Both districts need to be compared and contrasted and are therefore analysed below.

⁴⁸ The caution is based upon the name Williams being a very common one. Interestingly, given the life expectancy of the period, Mary Williams' household included a centenarian, Mary Alexander.

⁴⁹ Document ref. 1935.25.5 in Dorset County Museum, Dorchester.

District 9 was described at the beginning of the enumerator's book as covering 'All parts of the Tything of Longfleet above viz : to the north of a lane running from the north east side of Ringwood Road, next above the New School which lane leads into the Wimborne Road, thence in front of Messrs Rogers' house at Tatnam to the east end of the road continued from Hert Lane and latterly made.' Today this area would popularly be described as 'Tatnam' rather than Longfleet proper, although it is technically part of it.

There are two basic differences between the enumerators' books for Districts 1 and 9. Unlike Justican in the former, John Graves⁵⁰ the enumerator for this area obeyed the rule that adult ages should be in quinquennia, rounded down. Secondly, no addresses are given, presumably because of the rural nature of the area. Every house is simply in 'Longfleet.'

The occupations of the inhabitants were, as would be expected in an area already described as 'overwhelming agricultural', mainly concerned with the land. Of the 117 men and boys of working age in the district, 62 were designated as agricultural labourers and 15 as farmers, making 77 in total, giving a percentage of 65.8.⁵¹ Two women were also designated in this way - Edith Cox as a farmer and Kezia Vine as an agricultural labourer.⁵² No other occupation approached double figures, the next most frequently cited being 'joiner'. There were six of these in total, three of them apprentices or journeymen.⁵³

⁵⁰ Graves was 32 years old and 'Clerk to Longfleet Church' according to the 1835 poll-book. Later poll books, those of 1837 and 1850 have him as a 'gentleman.' He was also a Freemason, and died in 1884. He appears in the district 10 enumerator's book as being 30 years old and living with his wife Elizabeth.

⁵¹ One man is described as a 'Holder', an occupation which does not appear in Armstrong's list (Wrigley, 1972). It may be an abbreviation of 'small-holder' but he is omitted from the total because of the uncertainty.

⁵² Two other women household heads (on Census day) could be included by default - Martha Cox (farmer's wife) and Jane Wareham (agricultural labourer's wife.) J. Howkins, in Reshaping Rural England - A Social History, 1850 - 1925, (1991) pp. 9-10, says that in 1851, women made up about eight percent of full-time outdoor farm workers.

⁵³ In this enumerator's book, the initial 'j' frequently preceded craft occupations.

There was only one man in the district whose occupation clearly placed him socially above the agricultural or craft-based workers, the clergyman Edmund Roberts, aged 30, who lived with his wife Elizabeth, their two young children and two female servants. His presence reinforces the rural, pre-industrial character of this part of Longfleet, as does the existence of the only other employer of two servants, Francis Rogers. This latter gentleman⁵⁴ was a tanner and was an important actor in the politics of the town. Documents extant from the period such as the Register of Electors describe his property as 'house and tan yard' and it is his house mentioned in the enumerator's description of the district. Rogers was described in later documents by names such as 'gentleman', 'landed proprietor' and 'retired farmer'⁵⁵ with the property being called 'Tattenham Farm, near Ringwood Road.' It is tempting to see Rogers as the 'squire' of this small community but in all probability he was simply the only inhabitant wealthy and leisured enough to be deeply involved in the town's political life.

Apart from Rogers and Roberts, only four other households included servants and in each instance the head was described as a farmer. One of the four was the previously mentioned Edith Cox and she, like the other three, employed just the one servant.

The other indicator of status and income used in the analysis of District 1, the right to vote, can also be applied for this district. There were 21 men who appear in both the census and the 1841 poll book, and despite the rural character of the area, they voted under the borough franchise, not the county one. Of the 21, ten were farmers⁵⁶ and another two were agricultural labourers. Apart from the clergyman, (who abstained on polling day) and two

⁵⁴ He was usually referred to elsewhere by his full name of Francis Timewell Rogers (no one in the census is credited with more than one Christian name) and he and his brother are discussed in Chapter 6.

⁵⁵ Sources : Municipal Burial Register and the 1850 and 1859 Poll Books.

⁵⁶ The writer's previous research into the electoral history of the borough revealed that one of the most positive correlations was that being a farmer in the outer districts meant (almost certainly) being a Liberal voter. This was because most of the land belonged to the Manor of Canford and the owners (Ponsonbys and Guests) were prominent Liberals. Given this, it is rather surprising to find three farmers plumping for the Conservative candidate. They were presumably not tenants or they were men of great independence.

innkeepers, the rest were craftsmen - a shipwright, a sawyer or shoemaker⁵⁷, a bricklayer and a builder. From within this small group come two examples of the social change occurring at the time, the builder and a shipwright.

The builder, Thomas Blanchard, for example, appears to be just what the title implies - a builder of domestic houses, although he did build the new Poole Union⁵⁸. But later sources have a John Blanchard, 24 years younger than Thomas and therefore very likely to be his son, as a 'slate merchant', or more precisely as a 'cement, lime and slate merchant.' He, like others bearing the suffix 'merchant' to their occupation, became a freemason.

The shipwright was John Balston and his surname became better known as the century progressed as a manufacturer of sailcloth and twine. In 1834, Pigot's Directory has Salter, Balston & Co. as 'Line, Twine, Fish Net and Seine Makers' and, under 'nobility, gentry and clergy' was Samuel Salter Esq. with two addresses - one where Longfleet met with St James, and the other at Castle View Cottage, Parkstone⁵⁹. Balston's partner was obviously a man of means. The Longfleet shipwright, John Balston, was 50 (or thereabouts) in 1841 and the later owner of Balston's was about 30 years younger⁶⁰ and therefore can be assumed to be son or nephew to John. The significance of these early Blanchards and Balstons is that they appear to have been the precursors of the later, more domestic, elite that was to emerge in Poole.

The size of the typical household in District 9 was smaller than that in District 1, the mode producing a figure of 3 and the arithmetic mean, 4.5. In District 1, both methods produced a figure of 5. Perversely, the district included one household that was larger than any in

⁵⁷ There were two Samuel Saunders in the census, a sawyer and a shoemaker, but only one person of that name in the poll book. The poll book for 1841 does not include occupations.

⁵⁸ See chapter 4.

⁵⁹ The castle would be Corfe Castle, between Wareham and Swanage, and clearly visible today from many parts of the borough.

⁶⁰ He was 71 when he died in 1895. (Obituary, Poole and Bournemouth Herald, 28 March 1895.)

District 1, with thirteen people living together under one roof, seemingly as a nuclear family. This household was headed by Napthalin (sic) Vine, a 35 year old agricultural labourer and his wife, Mary, also 35. There were eleven other Vines in the house - 20 year old William⁶¹, an apprentice founder and ten children, their ages ranging from fifteen to one.

The particular household was exceptional. The next largest was one of ten, followed by five of nine and four of eight, but the majority were much smaller, as table 5.3 shows:

<u>Size of Household</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	9	5=	9.3
2	15	2	15.6
3	19	1	19.8
4	14	3=	14.6
5	14	3=	14.6
6	7	7	7.3
7	9	5=	9.3
8	4	8	4.1
9	5	7	7.3
10	1	9=	1.0
13	1	9=	1.0
96			

Table 5.3 : Household Size, Longfleet District 9, 1841.

The marked preponderance of small households suggests an equal proportion of nuclear families, and indeed there were 27 of these out of the 96 households, or 28%. In District 1 the figure was lower at 18.5%. There is an important difference, though, between the

⁶¹ It is presumed that he was the eldest son for although Napthalin's age is given as 35, he was probably (given the practice of rounding down) a few years older, thus suggesting that he and Mary married in their late teens. However, there were several other Vines in the District, so he may have been a nephew or even a brother.

districts, for in Longfleet 9, just over half the nuclear families contained six or more members (i.e. 14 out of 27). In District 1, as stated above, only twelve families out of the 31 identified as nuclear had more than six members. In Longfleet 9, in addition to the thirteen member Vine family, there were four instances of nine member families, three of eight and four of seven.

Of the remaining 69 households, 24 of them consisted of one or two people, leaving 45 with one or more 'extra persons' - elderly parents or in-laws, lodgers, servants or children, whether orphaned or simply staying or living there. The 45 households represent 47% of the total, high even by the standards set in District 1. It does, however, include domestic arrangements where the extra person is possibly a married daughter, often with a child or children, whose husband is away from home, a not unlikely occurrence in a seaport. It is possible that these may have been examples of illegitimacy, nationally around 4 or 5% during the period under discussion⁶², but in all cases the woman's surname was different to that of the presumed parents.

There were also several households where the young children within them bore different surnames to that of the head and his wife. The shoemaker, Samuel Saunders and his wife Elizabeth, for example, had a child living with them whose surname was Barter, whilst the agricultural labourer, Henry Chisman and his wife Cassandra had three children, two names Chisman and a third named Dover. A further example is that of another agricultural labourer, 75 year old Richard Grace whose household consisted of, apart from himself, his 40 year old son William and daughter-in-law Elizabeth, and Mary and George Roles, twelve and ten years old respectively.

In the households where there appear to be 'genuine' lodgers, these, these fall into three categories - the elderly, presumably in-laws, young women, usually with children, and young, male workers. The members of this last group were the most numerous, there being 16 examples in the 23 households⁶³ where an extra adult or near-adult with a different

⁶² Laslett, *op. cit.*, p.159.

⁶³ There were 23 households, but 26 lodgers.

surname was living. They were nearly always agricultural labourers, although there were two seamen, a butcher and a basket maker. There were five instances of young women with children and three examples of the elderly who can be classed as lodgers.

In two other instances, the lodger's relationship with the householder is less clear-cut. One of these was that of the 45 year old shoemaker George Smith who shared his house with Elizabeth Mootrey, also 45, and her eleven year old daughter Eleanor. The Marriage Register for St James' Church has a George Mootrey marrying Elizabeth Rood in 1814 and, assuming that they were both around twenty at the time, Elizabeth was presumably widowed and lodging with Smith.

The other instance where the relationship is speculative is where two sixty year old women, Elizabeth Greensit⁶⁴ and Jane Parsons, were living together and were described as laundresses. They may well have been sisters, with one or both of them widowed, or simply friends and business partners.

These women were two of several who were credited with an occupation of their own by the enumerator. Four were simply appendages to their husbands, as a 'farmer's wife' for example. Apart from the schoolmistress, Mary Hawks, the others were mainly involved in agriculture, as dairy women (two of them), a milk dealer, and the previously mentioned farmer. Outside of agriculture, there was also a knitter, two washerwomen and three laundresses.

One indication of the earlier, more stable nature of the social structure of this part of Longfleet is its level of propinquity as revealed by the surnames of the inhabitants. There were 67 surnames to the 96 households, compared with 155 out of 183 in District 1, ratios of 1:1.43 and 1:1.18 respectively. The name Cobb, for example, occurs seven times as head of household, all the males as farmers or agricultural labourers, and the sole female as a laundress. Three Cobb families, those of James, Joseph and Andrew appear consecutively in the enumerator's book, suggesting that they lived next door, or in very close proximity

⁶⁴ This appears to be the correct surname, rather than the more obvious Greensmith.

to each other. This propinquity occurred several times - two Vine families⁶⁵ lived next door to each other, the heads, Daniel and John being designated as 40 year old agricultural labourers, whilst three doors away lived Napthalin Vine and his large family. Further away, as the penultimate entry in the book, lived Kezia Vine, a (female) agricultural labourer. A similar situation existed with the three Chaffey households and with others such as the Whites, Grants, Frys and Cox's. In district 1, no surname occurred more than three times.

The Cobb households were not the most numerous for they were outnumbered by those headed by a Saunders, there being eight of these to the Cobb's seven. They too were mainly agricultural labourers although there were two farmers, a sawyer and a shoemaker. In one part of district 9, assuming the enumerator to have followed a logical sequence when collecting data, clustered together were the following households - Cobb, Cobb, Cobb, Saunders, Vine, Vine, Robbins, Saunders, Vine, Saunders, Thomas, Cobb, Saunders, and Cobb!

This part of Longfleet was clearly not a suburb in the accepted sense of the term. Instead it was, in 1841, a remnant of rural Dorset which was only just beginning to be drawn into the nearby urban area. The other part, however, District 10, was in a far more advanced stage in its development and its social structure is examined below.

⁶⁵ There was also a Dine household, and households with Dines living within them, presumably one name was a corruption of the other.

LONGFLEET DISTRICT 10

The Census enumerator, John Snelgar⁶⁵, delineated the second Longfleet district as 'All parts of the tything of Longfleet below viz: to the South and South West of a lane running from the North West side of the Ringwood Road just above the new school and thence continued into the Wimborne Road , thence in front of Messrs Rogers' House at Tatnam to the East end of the road continued from Sterte Lane and lately made.' It was therefore nearer to Poole proper than District 9, and its proximity helps explain its more distinctive social character.

The need to examine both parts of Longfleet arises because of some notable differences between them. Whereas District 9 has been shown to be still relatively rural and therefore almost wholly agricultural , District 10 was far more urban and therefore commercial. Only one man, George Tilley, was designated 'as a farmer, and five others as agricultural labourers'⁶⁶, out of a total male population of 291. Among the women there were no dairywomen or milk sellers, occupations that appeared in the District 9 book. Instead the second district contained a mixture of craftsmen and artisans, people in the professions, merchants and clerks, plus a large number described as 'independent.'

It also had the larger population of the two, with 722 people compared with the 432 of District 9. Whereas in the latter district the sexes were evenly balanced, 220 males to 212 females, in District 10 there was a marked imbalance - 291 males to 431 females. Several reasons can be put forward as an explanation for this surplus of women - widowhood, whether permanent (by death) or temporary in the sense of 'grass-widows' whose husbands

⁶⁵ Snelgar appears in the 1837 Poll book as an accountant, living in Longfleet.

⁶⁶ It is always assumed that the enumerator meant what he wrote and that in using the term 'labourer' without the 'agricultural' prefix implies general manual work, not specifically to do with farming although Howkins complains that 'there are similar problems with the description of a man or woman as an 'agricultural labourer'. Even the census takers, who tended to reduce what were real and complex differences in occupation within a community to the lowest common denominator, that is labourer, had problems.' A. Howkins, Reshaping Rural England, A Social History, 1850 - 1925, (1991), p,10.

were at sea, the existence of a large number of servants, or simply that many were unmarried. Certainly the existence of 51 households headed by a female out of 165, or 31%, underlines their numerical strength and the likelihood of the first and third of the above explanations. The second explanation, the existence of female servants, is also valid, as discussed below.

This second Longfleet district's proximity to the old town has already been mentioned and some parts of it would today be regarded as being in 'Poole' rather than 'Longfleet.' As Thompson points out when discussing the growth of suburbs in the nineteenth century and the importance of the means of travel between them and the original town, 'the horse may rightly be credited with much influence over the form which the suburban environment took....'⁶⁷ Horse drawn transport was obviously a factor in the development of suburbs as distant as Parkstone, and of course in the emergence of Bournemouth as a town in its own right⁶⁸, but the importance of travelling by foot must also be considered. Thus the settlement of Longfleet as a suburb occurred first in those areas within easy walking distance of the old town, whether this latter area was a place of employment or a provider of amenities.

The absorption of those parts of Longfleet nearest to the town and their transformation into de facto suburbs is confirmed by another difference between the census enumerators' books. That for District 9 describes everywhere as simply 'Longfleet' but the one for District 10 it is more specific, with street names and landmarks being used. The existence of 'Kingland Place', 'Ringwood Road' and 'Wimborne Road' as well as the more general 'Seldown' and 'Newtown' reveal an emerging pattern similar to that identified by Dyos in his study of Camberwell. Thompson's comments on Dyos's work are apposite: 'he demonstrated that the apparently random jumble of streets, house patterns and neighbourhoods which made up the completed inner suburb of 1900 was in fact an intricate mosaic of building estates and

⁶⁷ F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.11.

⁶⁸ Bournemouth, from its inception, courted the carriage clientele, and its Improvement Commissioners opposed to the coming of the railway because of the class of person they thought might begin visiting the town. Roberts, in Morris (ed.) *op. cit.* stresses the unique nature of the development of Bournemouth as a resort for the better classes.

developments, each piece with an identifiable and intelligible form created in an explicable and hence an orderly and rational, although not necessarily lovely or admirable way.⁶⁹ The building in Longfleet of new houses, a Church, the new Union workhouse even, were landmarks around which small settlements could grow.

Again, Thompson poses a question that fits this situation - 'which sections of the net increase in the total population moved to the suburbs and why, and which parts of the surrounding space were turned into residential areas, when, by what stages, by whom, and why in some particular stage than any other?'⁷⁰ The second part of this question has already been answered with the suggestion that it was District 10 that first took on a distinctly suburban character because of its proximity to the town, but answers to the other parts are less clear. The new households thus need to be examined.

The typical household in this part of Longfleet was smaller than those in St James' District 1, but the same as District 9 with a mean of 4.5 people in each. However this figure is distorted by the existence of households containing six or seven people - when the mode is used, it falls to two, as table 5.4 below reveals.

⁶⁹ Thompson (ed), *op. cit.*, p.3.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p.5.

<u>Size of Household</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	5	7=	3.0
2	34	1	20.7
3	31	2	18.9
4	26	3	15.8
5	18	5	10.9
6	22	4	13.4
7	17	6	10.3
8	5	7=	3.0
9	3	9	1.8
10	2	10	1.2
15	1	11	0.6
	164 ⁷¹		

Table 5.4 : Household Size, Longfleet District 10, 1841.

The existence of a fifteen person household is misleading as it was actually a commercial undertaking, the Portmahon Inn, which on census day had several temporary residents such as a 25 year old 'traveller' and a 30 year old clockmaker. District 10, therefore had few of the really large family based households that existed in the other districts. Even the two ten person households were boosted by the presence of servants, the butcher George Foot of Heckford Farm and his wife Sarah, had six children and employed two male servants, whilst the Rector of St James, the Rev. Peter Jolliffe, apparently headed a household consisting of himself, his wife, his son and daughter-in-law and their three children, plus three female servants. However, three other sources⁷² have the 35 year old William Jolliffe as a

⁷¹ Although Snelgar claims 165 houses, and his figures at the bottom of each page do add up, only 164 households seem to exist. The census book is ambiguous as regards the Portmahon Inn, the fifteen person household. It might be that some of the people staying there on census day were accommodated in an annexe and thus treated separately by the enumerator.

⁷² The poll books of 1837 and 1841, and the 1841 Register of Electors.

merchant or gentleman, living in Bay Hog Lane. His presence, with his own family, at his father's house on census day would appear to be as a result of a visit or overnight stay.

It was postulated for District 9 that small households implied nuclear families and, given the preponderance of such households in District 10, the same suggestion can again be made. However, there were only 25 instances of the nuclear family in its pure form, or 15.2%. This proportion is similar to that in District 1 where there were 31 instances out of 168, or 18.5%, but smaller than District 9 where it was 28%. Many of the nuclear families were large, there being two with nine members, seven with seven and three with six. These families were usually headed by craftsmen or artisans, although there were four instances where the head was employed in the Customs Service. There were also two independents and a clerk. The rest, the joiners, labourers, shoemakers, and even the farmer George Tilley, were, it would appear, not in the servant employing class.

Servants, particularly female ones, were a major occupational group in the district, totalling 71, 64 of them female.⁷³ Fifty five households employed servants, or one in three of all those in the district. Several employed more than one and, as in District 1, it was the familiar names and occupations that could afford to do this, merchants such as Thomas Gaden, manufacturers such as the rope-maker Robert Major, shipowners such as Stephen Adey and the (mainly) female independents.⁷⁴

Servant employing households occurred throughout the district, the largest interval between them being ten⁷⁵, around Kingland Place and Seldown. There were instances where the interval was seven or eight, but there was also a large amount of clustering. From George

⁷³ There was also one young woman described as a 'governess' who is not included in these figures. The ambiguous position of the occupation is well known, for they would not usually eat with the family, yet would certainly not mix with the servants.

⁷⁴ The three named individuals are described as such in the census book, but the 1823 Directory has Gaden and Adey, Coal Merchants and Shipowners, whilst the 1837 poll book has Robert Major as a merchant. The female independents' surnames were not generally those found among Poole's mercantile elite and represent a newer element within the town.

⁷⁵ This assumes that the list of households follows a logical sequence based on local geography.

Farm and along the Ringwood Road, for example, ten houses out of twelve employed servants. District 10 was undoubtably populated by a generally wealthy section of the town's population.

That other approximate indicator of wealth and status that has been used in this analysis, the possession of the vote, was also commonplace in this part of Longfleet. Of the 114 male householders, 48, or 42%, also appear in the 1841 poll book. This is a far higher percentage than that of the other two districts already investigated and slightly higher than Parkstone.⁷⁶ The existence of two poll books so close to the census day reveals some examples of physical movement into Longfleet from either the old town or elsewhere. There are, for example, people who appear in Longfleet in 1841 and in St James in 1837, and some who appear only in the 1841 poll book.⁷⁷ Walter Sturmey, for example, an Independent of Ringwood Road, retired to Longfleet between the two elections. In 1837 he was recorded as an innkeeper in Thames Street, a place where he had lived for at least a dozen years as the 1823-24 Directory has him as the landlord of the New Inn in that street. In the 1842 Directory, the New Inn has a new landlord.

Sturmey retired to Longfleet, but James Buckley's move shows distinct signs of social as well as physical mobility. He was born in Hanley, Staffordshire around 1806, arriving in Poole in 1830. Although recorded in the census as a clerk, his Potteries upbringing had clearly influenced him for he became Poole's main retailer of china, glass and earthenware with a shop in the High Street. In 1837 he was a 'pottery agent' in South Street, but later sources

⁷⁶ District 1 = 34 out of 119 male headed households = 28.6%
District 9 = 21 out of 85 male headed households = 24.7%
District 11 = 28 out of 78 male headed households = 35.9%

⁷⁷ In the case of people who appear only in 1841, caution has to be exercised because the 1837 poll-book ignores abstainers. However, the printed Register of Electors created for the period 1 November 1838 to 1 November 1839 was updated by hand to cover the same period for 1840-41, so if a person only appears in the 1841 poll book, he is clearly a recent arrival.

use a variety of phrases to describe his retailing activities. He became a Councillor in 1867 and an Alderman in 1876, continuing to live in Longfleet until his death in 1888.⁷⁸

The enumerator's description of Buckley as a 'clerk' seems erroneous, but with another geographically mobile person, Thomas Page, he was more precise and presumably more accurate. He has him as an Attorney's Clerk, aged 40, and more or less verifying the 1837 poll book's description which has 'accountant.' However, in 1837 he was living in Green Lane in the old town, but four years later he was in an area called 'Newtown', on the fringes of Longfleet, with his wife, eleven year old daughter and a female servant.

The same, slight, alteration in occupational designation can be applied to George Blandford. Like Page, he was 40 and appears as an accountant in 1837, living in King Street, but as a clerk in Longfleet Road in the census book, with his wife and seven children. Blandford's residence in Longfleet was temporary for later sources⁷⁹ have him back in the old town. Four men hardly constitute mass migration but do serve to illustrate a change that was occurring at this time.

As was the case in the two districts already examined, a large number of households included lodgers in all the senses of the word. There were 57 households⁸⁰ containing people with a different surname to the head, or 34.5% of the total. This is similar to District 1's 31.5% but noticeably lower than District 9's 47%. In Parkstone the figure was 35%.

⁷⁸ Beamish et al, An Album of Old Poole, (Poole, 1976) has a photograph (pp.130-131) which shows his High Street shop to have been a substantial one.

⁷⁹ The 1846 Register has him with two houses - 'and house in immediate succession.' The 1847 and 1850 poll books have him in Towlgate Street, the 1857 and 1859 poll books and the 1871 Directory in North Street, and this last source has him listed under Clergy and Gentry.

⁸⁰ Ignoring George Purton's Portmahon Inn and the Rev. Peter Jolliffe's household for reasons described above.

The extra person (or persons) was, in the majority of cases, female, on several occasions with a child or children. Twenty eight of the 56⁸¹ households had a female lodger who does not appear to be a relative. Generally these women were in their 30s or 40s and described as 'independent' and were local in the sense of having been born in Dorset. Only seven were born outside the county. There were some instances of female lodgers being designated with an occupation such as milliner, dressmaker or laundress but these totalled only eight compared with the 21 independents or those against whom no occupation was given. In another nine households the extra person seems very likely to have been an in-law, usually a mother-in-law.

In another ten houses there were young children with a different surname to the head. Often, though, the child's surname was same as that of another nearby householder. The 35 year old grocer, George Bull of Ringwood Road, for example, had in his household five year old Mary Forrester. She was seemingly the daughter of his next-door neighbour, the weaver James Forrester whose household on census day consisted of his wife and four month old daughter. The shipowner Stephen Adey's household included not only his own eight year old son, but twelve year old Thomas Cox. The Cox family were, like the Adeys, prominent merchants and, given the many links between this section of Poole society, seems to have been either on a visit or temporarily living with one of his father's business friends.

There was less propinquity in District 10 compared with District 9 (and District 1) for, out of 162 households, there were 130 surnames, a ratio of 1:1.24. This figure is similar to that of District 1, but lower than District 9. Of the surnames occurring more than once, there were four Hilliers, Kings and Adeys, and three Cowards. All of the rest were duplications, often, as in the case of the two George Conways, father and son, or brothers or cousins as in the case of Thomas and James Silby. All three Cowards lived in consecutive houses, as did the Hilliers but in this instance it was in two pairs, not four in a row.

⁸¹ There were, of course, households with both male and female lodgers.

Ninety-eight⁸² of its inhabitants were born outside the county, several of them employed in the Customs service. This particular occupation was noticeable for the presence of people of Irish origin within it. Examples include David Blair, a 50 year old Customs House Officer⁸³ who lived at Kingland Place with his wife Ann (45) and their two daughters, aged 20 and 15. All the family were born in Ireland. However, another Irish member of the service, 35 year old 'Officer of Customs' Stewart White and his wife Ann lived in Wimborne Road with their five children. John, the eldest at eleven, was also born in Ireland, but the four younger children, aged from seven to one, were all shown as being born in Dorset.

Of the nine men in the district employed in what was the embryonic 'public sector', all but one, the 65 year old tidewaiter Charles Sandy, were born outside of Dorset. His job, as his age suggests, was less responsible than those of the other members of the Customs Service. Tidewaiters were the customs men who were stationed on board an incoming vessel whilst it waited for a favourable tide or took its place in the queue for the quay, to prevent illicit unloading of its cargo.

There may be some significance in the numbers of outsiders taking up residence in the district, but at this stage in the development of Longfleet (and Poole), there is only tentative evidence that the area was being perceived as an attractive place to live by people from other parts of the country. Even Bournemouth, in 1841, had yet to begin its spectacular growth.

PARKSTONE DISTRICT 11

The tything of Parkstone was, like Longfleet, divided for census purposes into two. There the similarity ends for the two Parkstone districts lacked the sharp differentiation in occupational structure so apparent between the two parts of Longfleet. Therefore, only one Parkstone district, number 11, needs to be analysed and compared with those already examined.

⁸² Omitting, again, those listed as living in the Portmahon Inn on Census day.

⁸³ Pigot's Directory of 1842 has him as 'Tide Surveyor.'

Parkstone was 'on the South-east side of Longfleet, which separates it altogether from the Town. It extends to a considerable distance, and includes an area of 2,810 statute acres.'⁸⁵ Like Longfleet, the population of both Parkstone districts contained a majority of females, in total 485 compared to the 377 males, 'The greater part of these...in the Village of Parkstone, which is about a mile and a quarter from Poole.'⁸⁴ Some of 'Parkstone Village' was included in District 11 and its population resembled that of the whole area in that it was made up of 271 females and 200 males. As was the case with District 10, the enumerator, Richard Barnes, was able to cite named roads or distinctive houses within his return, although District 12 was even more specific.

Physically Parkstone was attractive, resembling in terrain and flora the embryonic Bournemouth. Sydenham revealed an awareness of this aspect of the area when he wrote in 1839 'The village of Parkstone is delightfully situated, and from its scenic beauties, convenient distance from the town and its proximity to the sea, it has, within the last few years, been much frequented, so that its population is rapidly increasing.'⁸⁵

In 1841 the occupational structure of District 11 was still primarily craft orientated, and although Sydenham maintained that 'large tracts of heath landhave been brought into cultivation'⁸⁶ very few people were employed in agriculture. The census has only one yeoman and three agricultural labourers listed, plus a nurseryman. The 1837 poll-book, which covers the whole area, not just district 11, does reveal several more men earning their living from the land but the number is not substantial, there being seven 'yeomen' and two 'farmers.' Three of the yeomen had the same surname. The Register of Electors for 1838 - 1839, updated for 1840 - 1841, confirms this with the 'nature of qualification' being given as 'house and farm' in only six instances. The phrase 'house and land'⁸⁷ occurs thirteen

⁸⁵ A Report of the Commissioners...on Boundaries and Wards of Boroughs....in England and Wales, 1837. Document 1953.25.5. Dorset County Museum.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Sydenham, op. cit., p.460.

⁸⁶ Ibid, p.461.

⁸⁷ In the case of Thomas Whitty of Parkstone Village, it is given as 'lands.'

times, clearly suggesting a more substantial amount of territory than 'house and garden', the most frequent description, but this does not necessarily mean that the land was cultivated. By 1846, in the Register of Electors for the period 30 November 1846 to 1 December 1847, the phrase 'farm, buildings and land' occurs twice and 'farm and buildings' or 'buildings and farm' three times. Parkstone was, by this time, already more of a suburb than a rural community.

Suburbs imply respectability or even gentility, or as Thompson puts it, they were 'an attractive emblem of material and social success'⁸⁸ and there were some inhabitants of District 11 who had clearly achieved both. There were, for example, two members of the Slade family, Robert and James. Robert, then aged 35, lived with his wife Caroline and their nine year old son William at Heatherland Cottage, Christchurch Road, whilst James, also 35, lived alone, except for a 20 year old female servant, in 'The Crescent.' The three other Parkstone residents with that address were all described as 'independent' and each of them also employed a servant.

James Slade's neighbours in The Crescent were Charles Hiley, Bernard Pinney and Henry Reveley. The first of these, Charles Hiley, bore the name of a prominent farming family but as early as 1835 his occupation was given as 'gentleman' in one of the poll-books for that year. Pigot's Directory, published a year earlier has him as a surgeon living in Hill Street. He would have been in his late fifties in that year nearing retirement and the surgeon can therefore be reasonably assumed to be the person recorded as living in Parkstone in 1841. Three Hileys appear in the 1859 poll-book, two yeomen and a gentleman⁸⁹, so it would seem that Charles was someone who chose a different occupation to others of his name. The second of James Slade's neighbours. 50 year old Henry Reveley, was, according to the 1850 and 1859 poll-books a civil engineer, while the third, Bernard Pinney only appears in one other contemporary source, the 1841 poll book where he is 'Barnard' Pinney. The name

⁸⁸ F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.2.

⁸⁹ Peter Hiley of Hiley's Farm. Parkstone, yeoman, Haviland Hiley, also of Hiley's Farm, Parkstone (but of Parkstone Farm House in the 1857 Dorset County poll-book for 1857), yeoman, and William Hiley of Longfleet, gentleman.

Pinney was normally to be found in the Hamworthy area where the coal merchant and Liberal councillor Richard Pinney lived.

The residents of The Crescent were not the only servant employing, independent, or professional citizens of Parkstone. There was, for example, 65 year old Phillip Brown of Christchurch Road. The census gave his occupation as 'Navy H.P.' but he or the enumerator rather understated his rank for poll-books have him as 'Admiral in the Royal Navy.'⁹⁰ He lived with 30 year old Elizabeth Brown who was presumably his daughter, rather than his wife, and a ten year old girl with a different surname. The Admiral employed two female servants.

This part of Parkstone had also become the home of two members of the Parr family, children of Thomas Parr, Poole's leading solicitor in the first quarter of the century.⁹¹ Adjacent to Admiral Brown lived Sarah Parr, 35, and her three children. Although described as 'independent', she was the wife of Richard Weston Parr and sister-in-law to the Rev. James Culshaw Parr, Vicar of St Peter's Church.⁹² Mrs Parr's household, consisting of eight people, was a fairly large one for in addition to the three children and two servants, there were two attorney's clerks aged 20 and 15. These were presumably her husband's employees. The Rev. James Culshaw Parr's household was, at eleven, even larger than Sarah's and consisted of his wife Mary, four children of their own and three other boys, William Devenish and David Slade (both 15 and described as 'pupils') and eight year old Daniel Davy. There were two servants.

⁹⁰ He was commissioned as Lieutenant on 22 December 1793, Commander on 25 September 1806 and Captain 19 June 1814. (Navy List).

⁹¹ J. Hillier, *op. cit.*, p.203. One of his sons, Robert Henning Parr, played a major role in the political 'dramas' of the 1830s. See Hillier and also Beamish et al, *The Pride of Poole* (Poole, 1974).

⁹² The building of this church was part of the Parr family's contribution to the town's political squabble with the nearby Manor of Canford, and this is discussed at greater length on pp. 84-85 above.)

The servant employing, professional or independent class in Parkstone was not large, there being 28 households out of 103 headed by someone with an occupation which can reasonably be described as 'respectable.'⁹³ There was, as implied above, a tendency for them to cluster together but this did not create clear lines of demarcation. If the presence of servants in a household is taken to be a reliable indicator of relative affluence, then the servant-employers were mainly to be found in an area around The Crescent. There, out of eighteen people (from the 49th to the 66th person in the enumerator's book ⁹⁴) thirteen employed servants. In total, 26 households of the 103 in the district included servants, or 25.2%. This is lower than Longfleet but higher than St. James, thus reinforcing the 'better class' perception of the two suburbs.

Household size in this part of Parkstone was slightly smaller than in St James District 1, but comparison with the two Longfleet districts reveals one notable difference. Although at 4.5, the mean figure was the same as Longfleet 10, the mode produces a figure of four compared with that district's two. The figures are shown in table 5.5 below :

⁹³ This includes two 'Army H.P.' and two school mistresses.

⁹⁴ There was a distinct gap, between numbers 58 - 61 inclusive, where there were no servants employed.

<u>Size of Household</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	5	7	4.8
2	15	4	14.5
3	16	3	15.5
4	19	1	18.4
5	17	2	16.5
6	13	5	12.6
7	9	6	8.7
8	4	8	3.8
9	3	9	2.9
10	1	10=	0.9
11	1	10=	0.9
	103		

Table 5.5 : Household Size, Parkstone District 11, 1841

Typically, then, households in Parkstone 11 were not particularly large, threequarters of them consisting of between two and six people. Twenty six households contained nuclear families, the mean size being 5.57 and the mode 6.0. There were virtually no large nuclear families, the two examples where there were eight members (the shoemaker John Hurdle and the accountant Henry Barter) and the three with seven were exceptional when compared the nine six person and seven five person nuclear families. As would be expected for households without servants, the heads of nuclear families were usually craftsmen. Only the above

mentioned accountant, Henry Barter and the Independent James Rowsell⁹⁵ and the postmaster Charles Satchell were not craftsmen or labourers.

Forty households, or 35%, included lodgers in all the senses of the word. As in the other districts, it is presumed that where an older woman is listed, she was probably the mother-in-law. Again, there were instances of young children with different surnames to that of the head of household and his wife. The 50 year old shipwright, James Lacey of Christchurch Road lived with his wife Sarah (45), a 45 year old female lodger named Frome and an eight year old girl named Snelling. A second example is that of the 30 year old chemist, Samuel Hewlett, also of Christchurch Road. His household included two girls aged 14 and 4 with surname of Freak. This name also occurs in District 1 and seemingly always as lodgers or servants, and always female, Thus the victualler John Williams of Clement's Alley had a 30 year old female servant, Mary Freak in his household, whilst eleven year old Ann Freak lived with the tailor William Williams of Church Street, and Jane Freak, 16, was servant to the builder Martha Gollop.

The frequent occurrence of particular surnames was not a feature of District 11. There were only twelve examples of a duplicated surname⁹⁶ (and no instances where there were more than two) out of the 103 householders. Thus 91 surnames to 103 households produces a ratio of 1:1.13. Propinquity was therefore less common in this district, although there are clear examples of kinship. The two Slades and the two Parrs have already been mentioned, and the two Downs are another instance.

⁹⁵ Rowsell was 60, living with his 50 year old wife Hannah and their four children. As two of these, George and Thomas (both 15) were in craft occupations as a journeyman shoemaker and blockmaker's apprentice respectively, the inference is that James himself was a retired craftsman. He appears in the 1837 poll-book but curiously no occupation is given. In the 1835 general election poll-book he is included with those described as 'out of business.' He appears in the 1841 and 1847 poll books but not that of 1850. He fails to appear in the directories of 1823-4 and 1834, so there is no contemporary confirmation of his pre-retirement occupation.

⁹⁶ 'Jeffrey' and 'Jeffreys' are treated as being different surnames.

There were 78 households headed by a male on census day and 28 of these men appear in the 1841 poll book⁹⁷. They were mostly craftsmen, excepting the merchant Slades, the clergyman Parr, the shipowner John Brown, two independents⁹⁸ and a gentleman.⁹⁹ The voters of Parkstone 11 were overwhelmingly Conservative, plumping for that party's candidate in twenty instances and splitting in two others. Only six people supported both Liberal candidates, despite one of them being the son of the local landowner whose estate included much of Parkstone.¹⁰⁰ The district's support for the Tory candidate, George Pitt Rose, a gentleman with strong connections with the neighbouring borough of Christchurch, was against the pattern for the rest of Poole.

The occupational structure of the district has already been described as largely craft-based but generally those crafts were of an urban industrial, rather than an agricultural rural, nature. There were two blacksmiths, a yeoman and three agricultural labourers but these were the exceptions. Ordinary labourers numbered thirteen and there were five carpenters or joiners¹⁰¹ and nine shoemakers. There were also shopkeeper-craftsmen such as bakers (three of them) and a tailor, plus a grocer, ironmonger and a chemist. Female occupations included three sempstresses and four laundresses.

Thus it would appear that the infrastructure of a viable suburb was beginning to take shape during this period, despite its relative distance from the town centre. It had not, however, at this stage of its development a particularly exclusive area, being in many ways similar to Longfleet in that much of its new population seem to have simply moved out from the old town. Twenty three of the 103 heads of household had been born outside of the county, a

⁹⁷ This comparatively high proportion of eligible householders is of course due to the high rateable value of many Parkstone properties. This aspect of the various districts is discussed below.

⁹⁸ One of whom was James Rowsell - see footnote 13.

⁹⁹ This was John Collins. His occupation in the 1837 poll-book 'gentleman' but in the census he is described as being 'in the service of the Hon East India Company.'

¹⁰⁰ The Hon. W.F.S. Ponsonby of Canford.

¹⁰¹ There were also two sawyers.

figure of some significance but like Longfleet 10, not high enough to imply large-scale immigration.

COMPARISON BETWEEN DISTRICTS 1, 9, 10, 11 in 1841

The four districts selected for analysis in this thesis reveal not only the social and economic differences existing within the borough but also the similarities. Some of the differences were slight, others more deep rooted, and the relative homogeneity implied by the similarities was to a certain extent brought about by the old town's physical boundaries.

St James' 1 can be regarded as 'classic' old Poole in the sense that, like the rest of the old town, it was a totally urban area, largely inhabited by craftsmen and mariners, but with merchants and professional people within its boundaries. The census returns show the other old town districts to have the same social mix, hence the homogeneity referred to above. Of the three outer districts analysed, Longfleet 10 and Parkstone 11 (and also Parkstone 12) were similar to each other but different to the old town in that they were embryonic suburbs. They were also, as has been shown, the home of large numbers of craftsmen and other manual workers although in each district, distinct pockets existed wherein lived the professional, independent and servant employing classes.

Longfleet 9 provides an example of an older, more rural tradition and an economic and social structure that was largely based on agriculture. This was, however, under threat as the town expanded outwards and the extent to which this occurred is discussed in chapter 7. Together the four districts analysed in this chapter serve to illustrate the social and economic situation within the borough as it existed at the end of the 1830s and the most important features are summarised in table 5.6 below.

District:	1	9	10	11
Household Size (mean)	5.1	4.5	4.5	4.5
" (mode)	5.0	3.0	2.0	4.0
'Extra' people (%)	31.5	47.0	34.5	35.0
Nuclear families (%)	17.8	28.0	15.2	25.2
Servant employing (%)	14.2	6.3	33.5	25.2
Propinquity (ratio)	1:1.18	1:1.43	1:1.24	1:1.13
Right to vote (%)	28.6	24.7	42.0	35.8
Men in agriculture (%)	0.0	65.8	3.6	4.8
Born outside Dorset (%)	15.7	8.6	19.4	14.9

Table 5.6 : Characteristics of the four districts in 1841

The above table reveals much significant information about Poole during the period under investigation. The mean size of households in the four districts can, for example, be interpreted as one of the indicators of the extent of poverty within the town. Beier maintains that in pre-industrial societies (and it has been argued that in many ways Poole was still such a society) 'The poor household was significantly smaller than households in the community at large.' The reasons for this, he says, were simple, 'they contained fewer servants and children than the rest of the population.' Coincidentally, Beier, in his only reference to the town in his essay adds that 'At Poole in 1574 the mean size for the town was 5.3...' ¹⁰² A gap of over 250 years is obviously an enormous one when comparing statistical information, but it is a valid comment. The least urbanised and seemingly more backward of the four districts, Longfleet 9. had the lowest number of servant-employing households, the lowest number of properties of sufficient rateable value to entitle the householder to vote, and the highest number of nuclear families and lodgers. These last two factors are cited by Beier as indicators of poverty - 'not only could they not afford to keep servants and children, they had to take in lodgers to make ends meet.' ¹⁰³

¹⁰² A. Beier in P. Clark (ed.) Country Towns in Pre-Industrial England, (Leicester, 1981), p.60.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, p.61.

In all four districts the mean household size was lower than that given for 1574, suggesting that there had been a slight fall in living standards if Beier's thesis is taken literally, but, as already indicated, the social and economic changes which occurred between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries make such a conclusion suspect, if not completely invalid. However his general point remains useful.

An innovation in 1841 was that the census enumerators asked those they counted whether or not they were born in the county in which they were now living. The results of this enquiry are frustrating for, except for those born outside of England, their books only record a simple 'yes' or 'no' answer to the question. However, it does allow a crude assessment of the migratory patterns of the four districts and as table 14.1 shows, Longfleet 9 was again the most stable community with only 8.6% of its population being born outside Dorset. The other three districts were broadly similar, ranging from the 14.9% of Parkstone 11 to the 19.4% of Longfleet 10.

People born outside Dorset but living in Longfleet 10 (the district with the highest proportion of 'immigrants') in 1841 provide an indication of the nature of the migration into the area. They can be categorised in three ways, those whose profession or calling meant moving around the country, probably on more than one occasion, craftsmen and tradesmen presumably looking for more fertile territory in which to settle and practise, and those of independent means looking for somewhere pleasant to live.

The 'professionals' include those working in such public services as the Customs and Excise and the prevalence of Irishmen in this sector had already been noted,¹⁰⁴ but also covers ministers of religion. Longfleet was the home to the 60 year old Baptist minister Samuel Bulgin and his wife Elizabeth, and also to William Henley, a 30 year old Wesleyan Methodist minister, his wife Mary, their nine month old baby and a female servant. In this latter household only the baby was born in Dorset.

¹⁰⁴ See p.142 above.

The craftsmen and tradesmen were mainly in their forties, and as frequently their children were Dorset born but their wives were not, would appear to have moved to the Poole area in early adulthood. The draper Edward Allen, 40, for instance and his 30 year old wife Lucy had five children whose ages ranged from twelve to two weeks. All five children, but not their parents, were born in Dorset, although another member of the Allen household, a 20 year old governess named Maria Moody, was also an 'outsider.' She may well belong to the first category, those whose profession involved mobility.

The 'independents' were usually older, being typically above 50 although there were several exceptions. A house in Ringwood Road, for example, contained three men named King, whose ages were given as 35, 30 and 40 and two named Cotthurst, both aged 20. All five were described as 'independent' and were born outside Dorset, although the house's only other occupant, a 20 year old female servant, was local. Another example of whole families settling in the area, rather than just elderly individuals or couples, is the household headed by Joseph Dummit. He was 55 and lived with his 45 year old wife Ann and their four daughters aged between 20 and 12. None were Dorset born and even the 20 year old female servant was from outside the county. Parkstone's 'immigrants', although a slightly smaller proportion of that suburb's population than Longfleet 10's, was broadly similar except that it lacked so many professional people. Both suburbs were clearly attracting people from other parts of the country, but at this time it was only on a small scale. Even the new Bournemouth had a population of less than a thousand.

One indication of the social status of each district can be found in the rateable value of their properties, assuming the higher the value, the more prosperous the householder. In 1847 Sheriffs or Returning Officers throughout the country were requested to provide statistics on the 'Numbers of Electors on the Registers of each City, Town and Borough in England and Wales returning Members of Parliament....'¹⁰⁵ The figures for Poole, shown below as table 5.7, reveal how much wealth was still concentrated in the old town compared to the new outer districts.

¹⁰⁵ Document S.439, Poole Borough Archives.

<u>Rateable Value</u>	<u>St James</u>	<u>Longfleet</u>	<u>Parkstone</u>	<u>Hamworthy</u>
£10 > 15	65	49*	24	13
£15 > 20	59	20	10	5
£20 > 25	35	6	1	3
£25 > 30	28	5	10	0
£30 > 40	43	2	12	2
£40 > 50	17	2	5	0
£50 > 70	24	3	3	2
£70 > 100	7	5	1	1
£100+	1	1	2	1

*Includes two under £10, presumably Burgesses voting under the pre-1832 franchise.

Table 5.7 : Rateable Value of Properties in Poole and its Suburbs, 1847.

Table 5.7 clearly shows that in all the value-bands, St James' had the highest number highly-rated properties. Obviously its greater population has to be taken into account but the comparatively low numbers of properties rated above £20 in Longfleet indicates that district's under-development. Conversely, Parkstone, with a smaller population than Longfleet (862 in 1841 as against the latter's 1,154), had many more 'middle-range' properties. Longfleet, though, had six highly rated (i.e. in excess of £70) compared with Parkstone's three. The figures for Hamworthy reveal its small population and the low value of its properties.

What conclusions can be reached regarding Poole as the 1830s came to an end? Paradoxically the town was both unique yet typical to others of a similar size and with a comparable economic base. Unique in that all towns have their own special characteristics whose influence waxes and wanes with time. In Poole one such influence was the Newfoundland trade and its time was clearing running out. Comparable in that a common pattern can always be discerned when human settlements, whatever their economic infra-structure, are investigated. Thus Poole had its rank and class structure, its social institutions, its politics, just like any other English borough.

Trinder's comments on the Oxfordshire market town of Banbury are pertinent; 'What happened...between 1830 and 1880 has a significance which is more than just local. Just as towns like Ludlow, the model of the medieval planted town, or Bath, the archetypal resort, powerfully illuminate the history of most towns, so 19th century Banbury, because it was a pure and unadulterated market town, exemplifies its type, and expands our understanding of market towns in general, the Nottinghams and the Northamptons as well as the Bridgnorths and Brackleys.'¹⁰⁶ Poole was still primarily a seaport and England had long recognised the role and importance of such communities to the national economy to the extent that before the 1832 Reform Act, one third of English Parliamentary boroughs were ports. The changes taking place in Poole, whether social, economic or political, were also occurring in other ports and in other towns and, of course, those of its institutions which remained more or less intact during this period remained intact elsewhere. Garrard's description of party rivalries in nineteenth century Bolton and the 'relative absence of religious bitterness' among its elite¹⁰⁷ is similar to the situation in Poole, whilst Field's use of the term 'rentier suburb' when describing the Southsea area of Portsmouth¹⁰⁸ could (quite soon) apply to parts of Poole and certainly to neighbouring Bournemouth.

That the town was changing is a truism - change is endemic in society - but there are periods when fundamental change occurs and the decades under discussion in this section was one such occasion. Towns throughout the kingdom were undergoing organic social change as the class system gradually developed, or change of a more mechanistic nature such as that brought about by the introduction in 1840 of a national postal system. This innovation which replaced 'a

¹⁰⁶ B. Trinder, Victorian Banbury, (Chichester, 1986), p.3.

¹⁰⁷ J. Garrard, Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns, 1830 - 80, (Manchester, 1983), p.160.

¹⁰⁸ J. Field, in R. Morris (ed.) op. cit., p.98.

patchwork of private communities by a network of communicating individuals.¹⁰⁹ There was economic change brought about as the factory system became the normal method of production and the railways developed, and there was political change as the Reform and Municipal Corporations Acts were implemented. Some of these changes were already affecting Poole, others (the railways for example), would make their impact in later years. The second half of this thesis will therefore investigate the changes that occurred between 1841 and 1881.

¹⁰⁹ D. Vincent, Communication, Community and the State, in Emsley and Walvin (eds.) Artisans, Peasants and Proletarians, (1985), p.167.

Chapter 6

POOLE BETWEEN 1841 AND 1861

The second half of this thesis begins by investigating and analysing those years which, as Best says, 'were years of unchallenged British ascendancy over the family of nations in commerce and manufactures':¹ An earlier historian, in a celebrated phrase, maintained that 'Of all the decades in our history, a wise man would choose the eighteen-fifties to be young in.'² A French historian acknowledges that this period was exceptional - '...the growth of the economy seemed miraculous. The national income was multiplied by eight in the course of the century, while the population only went up by four. A doubling of the income per head occurred in the second half of the century. The great 'Victorian prosperity' began in 1851 under the influence of the world rise in prices, and it went on until 1873.'³ Another 'outsider', the American historian R.K. Webb, describes the 1850s as 'a decade of consolidation', maintaining that 'People had grown more accustomed to change and were getting used to the discipline of industrial life and the remnants of older, declining forms of industry were gradually disappearing.'⁴ It is therefore the purpose of this second half to relate this undoubted national prosperity and acceptance of social and economic change to Poole. The forty year period will be sub-divided to cover the years between 1841 and 1861 and those between 1861 and 1881, and taking advantage of the more detailed, and therefore satisfactory, information contained in the census enumerators' books particularly those of 1861 and 1881. Comparisons will of course be made with the information from 1841 which was analysed in the first half. However, as events (the coming of the railway to Poole, for example) do not always fit neatly into arbitrary division such as the years between censuses, on occasion the analysis will cover both periods.

¹ G. Best, *op. cit.*, (1979), p.19.

² G.M. Young, Portrait of an Age, Victorian England, (Oxford, 1953 edition), p.77.

³ F. Bedarida, A Social History of England, 1851 - 1990, (1990), p.8.

⁴ R.K. Webb, Modern England, from the eighteenth Century to the Present, (1980), p.286.

Queen Victoria is synonymous, even eponymous, with the nineteenth century, reigning over the British people (and her Imperial subjects) for two thirds of it. The era we call 'Victorian' technically began in 1837 when the new queen was just eighteen but can perhaps be seen as having (literally) come of age with her marriage in 1840 to the man who is often associated with the spirit of the era, Albert of Saxe-Cobourg. Albert can be seen as a metaphor for the first half of the period under investigation. Just as the 1840s was a decade of economic, social and political uncertainty before the prosperity and stability discussed above, there were also initial doubts about Albert's fitness for the role and also his motives. In 1906 William Bartlett, an 82 year old inmate of Wimborne Union, sang to the Hammond brothers⁵ a song from his youth whose chorus neatly reveals the prevailing sentiment and perhaps indicates a latent resistance to the imposition of change from outside:

Oh I'm the lad so gay and tight
And I have done the trick so right
Collared the shining gold so bright
And married the Queen of England.⁶

This anti-Albert song was not unique, witness the content of a broadsheet entitled Prince Albert in England whose chorus was :

Here I am in rags and jags
Come here from the land of all dirt
I married England's Queen
My name it is young Albert.⁷

⁵ Henry and Robert Hammond, of Clevedon, Somerset, were folk-song collectors following in the footsteps of Cecil Sharp. In 22 months, between 1905 and 1907, they took down the words and music to 648 songs (and the words only to a further 270) in Dorset. See T.A. McDonald, 'The Dorset Song Collectors', The Dorset County Magazine, issue 108.

⁶ To Marry the Queen of England, from the Hammond and Gardiner collection in the Dorset County Museum, Dorchester. As far as I know the song has never been published in a modern collection and permission to copy it (and others) was given the writer by Ursula Vaughan-Williams c.1970.

⁷ Cited in L. James, English Popular Literature, 1819 - 1851, (Columbia, 1976), p.343.

But Albert, as Young puts it, made his way 'into the hearts of the middle classes' and 'seized the key positions - morality and industry - behind which the monarchy was safe.'⁸ Albert died in 1861, again rather neatly serving as a metaphor for the first half of the period under investigation.

That there was astonishing economic progress is beyond doubt, but what of social change? Obviously the former promoted the latter particularly by increasing disposable wealth which in turn lead to a demand for a better quality of life. As Bailey says, 'Constant attention to business was no longer necessary for the successful...' ⁹ Significantly, for Poole and certainly for its surrounding areas, Britain was, it as alleged, 'above all, an emulative society.'¹⁰ A fashion that began at the highest levels and percolated downwards was sea-bathing, and as it grew in popularity, a new type of town gradually came into existence, the seaside resort. This new form of human settlement was in many ways a logical development of the spas and the scenic areas that had become popular in the previous century, for it can be seen as a combining the attractions of both. The appeal of Britain's continually varying coastline and the perceived medical advantages of sea air resulted in the rapid growth of towns such as Blackpool, Brighton, and Eastbourne, resorts whose development is well documented.¹¹ Poole, initially, only benefitted vicariously from this trend, as the infant Bournemouth (its population in 1851 was only 695) grew apace.¹² The older town was slow to capitalise on its natural environmental advantages and its economy and social structure after 1841 remained seemingly fixed in an earlier period.

First and foremost, Poole was still a port and, despite the marked decline in the Newfoundland trade, its general foreign trade continued. This included, largely because of its long established North American links, timber imported from Quebec and from

⁸ G.M. Young, *op. cit.*, p.79.

⁹ P. Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England, (1987), pp 69-70.

¹⁰ J.K. Walton, *op. cit.*, p.216.

¹¹ See, for example, Walton (1978) on Blackpool, and Cannadine (1980) on Eastbourne.

¹² By 1881 Bournemouth's population was 16,859 whilst Poole's was only 12,303.

Scandinavia, and also grain. Poole's involvement in trading in this commodity was not new for forty years earlier, Cruttwell's Universal Directory of 1798 had commented on the town's 'spacious and airy granaries.'¹³ Another reference work, Fullerton's Parliamentary Gazetteer of 1844, mentions that 'the coasting trade is extensive and prosperous; and consists partly in the transfer of corn to London and other markets, but principally in the supply of about 120,000 tons a year of Purbeck clay to the potteries of the northern counties.'¹⁴ The clay was brought across the harbour by barge from the pits and mines around Wareham to Poole where it was shipped to Liverpool, eventually reaching Stoke-on-Trent by canal. It was only in the years after 1840 that indigenous potteries were developed¹⁵, one of the few industries in Poole that was not maritime based.¹⁶

The opening years of Victoria's reign did see one important social change, the steady growth of provincial newspapers. This gave those towns where newspapers were published not only a means of disseminating news and opinions, but perhaps inadvertently a tool for aiding a sense of identity. That there was a latent need for this as the economic and political changes referred to above began to have an effect is shown by many newspapers being established before the repeal of Stamp Duties in 1855. As Trinder notes when writing on the usefulness of The Banbury Guardian and subsequent rivals to historians of that town, 'The press was an integral part of Banbury society. Accounts of most events were written by those who attended as participants not just as reporters.'¹⁷

Poole's diet of local news had traditionally been provided by the Dorset County Chronicle, published weekly in Dorchester, but in 1846 the town saw the birth of its own newspaper,

¹³ Cited in Beamish et al, (1974), op. cit., p.68.

¹⁴ A. Fullerton & Co. (pub.), Parliamentary Gazetteer of England and Wales (1844), vol.III, p.641.

¹⁵ See below, pp.180-188.

¹⁶ The town's Gas and Coke Company established in 1833 was probably the first such industry.

¹⁷ B. Trinder, op. cit., p.5.

The Poole and Dorsetshire Herald¹⁸, at 5d a copy. Its creation was due to the efforts of the man whose name is synonymous with the history of Poole, John Sydenham, but it took twenty years before the plans for such a newspaper to be realised.

John Sydenham was a Poole man whose father, also John, had come to the town in 1795 when he was thirteen,¹⁹ was a bookseller and printer in partnership with his uncle, Joseph Moore. It was their intention, in 1826, to publish a local weekly newspaper with the title he was able to eventually use, the Poole and Dorsetshire Herald. According to Hillier's preface to the facsimile edition of Sydenham's History the promised newspaper failed to appear because it threatened the existing Dorset County Chronicle. A deal was struck which gave Moore and Sydenham part ownership of the Chronicle and John the younger joined it as an employee. At the age of 22 he became editor, remaining in that position for thirteen years. He left in 1842, moved to Greenwich and became editor of the West Kent Guardian, but returned to Poole three years later and the first edition of the Herald was published on 9 April 1846. Ironically, John Sydenham died at the age of 39 in December of that year.²⁰

Sydenham was also an antiquary and historian and he wrote his History with a 'detachment from the passions of the day'²¹ but his newspaper was not so objective. Under the editorship of one of his younger brothers, David, and, after 1853, the ownership of James Tribbett and William Mate, it was the voice of the town's Liberals. The Dorset County Chronicle, on the other hand, had a Conservative bias, markedly so after Sydenham ceased to be its editor. In July 1857, when a Liberal stood for one of the county's three Parliamentary seats, it

¹⁸ It later (30 May 1850) became the Poole and South Western Herald, and then in 1877, the Poole and Bournemouth Herald. The title Poole and Dorset Herald was the next variant and was kept until it was absorbed in the 1980s into the free newspaper, the Poole Advertiser.

¹⁹ Obituary, P. & S.W.H., 15 March 1866.

²⁰ Information from J.G. Hillier's John Sydenham The Author, preface to Poole Historical Trust's 1986 facsimile edition of Sydenham's History of the Town and County of Poole. The pages of this section are not numbered.

²¹ Ibid.

maintained that Dorset was 'the most truly Conservative county in England.'²² Thus the two provincial newspapers readily available in Poole spoke with different voices, and as Beamish et al have shown, in politics men of influence and power in the town would listen to one but not both.²³

Nevertheless, the existence of a local newspaper provides us with a valuable means of understanding Poole society during this period for as a historian writing towards the end of the nineteenth century wrote, 'The cheap press, with its ubiquitous correspondents and historians of all contemporary ranks and occurrences in the body politic, has transformed the severely domesticated Briton of both sexes, of all ages, who belonged to a bygone generation, into an eager, actively enquiring, socially omniscient citizen of the world, ever on the outlook for new excitements, habitually demanding social pleasure in fresh forms.'²⁴

The new Herald assured its readers that it would '....endeavour to...keep pace with the character of the age, and the present progress in Art, Science and Literature.'²⁵ This it achieved, its pages being largely devoted to national, rather than local matters and its editorials frequently debated the significant issues of the day including the revolutions of 1848, Chartist and Free Trade. However, its advertisement-covered front page, its letters column and, occasionally, its editorials indicate the existence of a continual debate on the future of the town. The first edition clearly reveals its perception of the town when it stated that 'Poole is a populous, wealthy and thriving port, the seat of considerable commerce.'²⁶ That Southampton, for example, was all of these things and more did not appear to occur to John Sydenham. Field's comparative comments on the two largest ports on the south coast indicate their advantages over Poole, for although 'Southampton was considerably smaller

²² Dorset County Chronicle 15 July 1857.

²³ See D. Beamish et al (1974) and J.G. Hillier, (1985).

²⁴ T.H.S. Escott, Social Transformations of the Victorian Age, (1897), p.14., Cited in Bailey, op. cit., p.71.

²⁵ Poole and Dorsetshire Herald, (henceforth P. & D.H.) 9 April 1846.

²⁶ Ibid.

in population than Portsmouth, and its economy was geared more strongly towards merchant shipping than the armed forces; culturally and economically, Southampton was closely connected with London, enjoying a mainline railway link before Portsmouth and indeed generating greater road traffic with the capital than Portsmouth, but like Portsmouth, Southampton was a seaport with a significant manufacturing sector, whose population also grew rapidly during the nineteenth century.²⁷ Poole's population was much smaller, there was only a tenuous railway connection and its manufacturing industry was, apart from ship-building, virtually non-existent.

The first edition of the Herald carried an advertisement for a venture which serves to illustrate the changing fortunes of the port of Poole. This was for an Easter Monday excursion by the steam packet Water Witch to Swanage, accomodation in the Saloon costing 3/6d and the Forecastle, 1/6d. She was a 150 ton, 70 (2 x 35) horse-power ship owned and operated by The Poole, Isle of Purbeck, Isle of Wight, and Portsmouth Steam Packet Company whose directors included such eminent local men as Robert Slade, Robert Slade Jnr. and Martin Kemp Welch. Later that summer advertisements appeared for other Water Witch excursions, as well as for a regular twice-weekly service to Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight. The most ambitious of these was scheduled for Friday 31 July when, 'wind and weather permitting', and at a cost of 20/- the Water Witch would leave Poole at 8.00 PM en route for Cherbourg. The crossing was to take eight hours and passengers would have three days in France, allowing them to sample the delights of St Lo, Bayeux or the cathedral at Coutances. More parochially, the Water Witch offered 'a cheap and convenient conveyance to Goodwood Races commencing on the 28th inst.'²⁸ presumably passengers were taken as far as Portsmouth or perhaps Bosham, near Chichester.

In September 1847 the Water Witch's owners had found a new use for her, as a means of providing a regular service to the Channel Islands. She sailed every Wednesday evening at seven o'clock and left Guernsey for Poole the following Monday evening. Return fares were 20/- saloon class and 12/- cabin class. Three months later, at the half-yearly meeting of the

²⁷ J. Field in R.J. Morris, op. cit., p.75.

²⁸ P. & D.H., 16 July 1846.

Company's shareholders it was resolved 'That it is expedient, either to enlarge the Capital of the present company and to place a more powerful Boat to the Channel Islands or that the Company should be dissolved. That before coming to a determination on this point, a discussion be opened with the South Western Company for the purpose of ascertaining whether they will put an efficient boat between Poole and the Channel Islands, taking off the Water Witch.'²⁹

In the Herald of 3 February 1848 it was announced that the South Western Railway Company was to set up the 'Poole, Dorset and Channel Islands Steam Packet Company' and four weeks later the Water Witch was offered for sale.³⁰ The dissolution of the original company was announced at the end of October and in December the £700 left over after all claims had been met were 'divided between the proprietors, according to their share.'³¹

It was of course natural that Poole's entrepreneurial class should look first to the harbour and the open seas as a way of creating wealth for that was the way it had always been done. The shipping lists published each week in the Herald do reveal a comparatively busy port with, for example, 31 arrivals and 16 departures during the week in which the first edition of that newspaper appeared. Almost all of these were involved in the coastal trade although one ship sailed that week with general cargo for Newfoundland. In the edition published 14 May 1846, three ships sailed for the same destination, two of them carrying cargoes of salt.

The Atlantic still exerted a considerable hold on the town with one member of the Adey family regularly advertising passages to Quebec on his 'fast sailing ship' the Delia of 573 tons. She sailed on or about the 25 March 1847 and was back ready to repeat the voyage at

²⁹ P. & D.H., 6 January 1848. The 'South Western Company' was the London and South Western Railway Company .

³⁰ Almost two years later, 30 November 1849, a brief item in the Herald noted that the Water Witch was now in Bideford undergoing a thorough repair before beginning a service between that port and Bristol. The name, albeit as Waterwitch, was used again in Poole for a new sailing vessel was built there 'of sturdy oak and pitch pine' in 1871.(From an article in Sea Breezes, September 1984).

³¹ P. & D.H., 21 December, 1848,

the end of July, after unloading her cargo of timber at Poole or, on occasion, Portsmouth³². The shipping intelligence frequently carried news of Poole ships sailing for Newfoundland arriving safely or still en route, welcome reassurance for those waiting at home in the days before telegraphic communication.³³

The long Newfoundland connection also loomed large in the town's conscience and in July 1846 reports were received of a fire that had devasted St John's. That city 'was ravaged from end to end, more than half its buildings laid in ashes, and 12,000 of its people made homeless.'³⁴ John Sydenham's editorial reveals an empathy with the unfortunate inhabitants of Canada's oldest city suggesting that 'The inhabitants of Newfoundland have peculiar claims upon the kind feelings and the sympathy of the people of this country.' He went on to say that '....to the many powerful, general, and national considerations that plead on behalf of the sufferers by the late awful conflagration at St John's, there are local circumstances that particularly press upon the benevolent dispositions of the inhabitants of Poole. An intimate connection with the colony for nearly three hundred years; the enjoyment of a commercial intercourse which until within the last quarter of a century was carried on to the great advantage of this port, pouring into it stores of wealth which has given the standing it occupies in the commercial world.' Even though Poole's trade with the island did not go through St John's 'the affliction [that] has spared the outposts with which Poole is connected and will now naturally draw to themselves some portion of the trade hitherto carried on in St John's, should rather induce additional and grateful tribute....'³⁵

Yet Poole's links with North America and other distant regions were slowly being severed. The 'prodigious phenomenon' of emigration had, until 1840, largely affected Scotland and

³² The timber was for use in the Royal Navy Dockyard. P.&D.H., 11 November 1847.

³³ The Herald 6 August 1846, noted, for instance, that 'The John, Chisman, of this port for Newfoundland was spoken with on Sunday inst., 12 miles outward of the Start, by the Sisters, arrived here from Labrador.'

³⁴ H. Horwood, Newfoundland, (Toronto, 1969), p.98.

³⁵ P.& D.H., 23 July 1846.

Ireland but 'it was now England's turn'³⁶ and advertisements appeared in newspapers such as the Herald offering cheap or free passage to Australia, Canada and the Cape of Good Hope. But departures were from Plymouth or Southampton, not Poole.

Mention was made above of the existence of the South Western Railway Company when a new venture to replace the existing steam packet, the Water Witch, was suggested. The railway was without doubt the most significant technical development of the nineteenth century and its promised arrival in Poole was eagerly anticipated by the Herald. '...as a few months will, without doubt, open a continuous line of communication between Poole and the metropolis, it is necessary that in proportion to the zeal and activity shown by the Southampton and Dorchester Railway company in finishing their line that the inhabitants of this town should also put their shoulders to the wheel, and do something that shall not only aid the undertaking, but also themselves.'³⁷

The Herald's belief in the need for a railway line into Poole was based upon a simple matter of geography. The town was built upon a peninsula and as the new railway lines were built, it was in danger of being by-passed. Cargoes entering or leaving the port area were no longer economical if they had to be transported by road. The railway came in 1847 when the Southampton and Dorchester Company built a branch line whose terminus was not in Poole proper, but in Hamworthy on the southern side of the Quay, thus necessitating traffic to cross the toll-bridge in order to reach it. It was to be another 25 years before a station and a new line were built within the old town.

The Railway Company did involve itself in the town's commercial affairs when, following the directors of The Poole, Isle of Purbeck, Isle of Wight and Portsmouth Steam Packet Company's approach, a new service to the Channel Islands was announced. The Town Council agreed to help by promising a new mooring near the Customs House and also a crane³⁸ for the New South Western Steam Navigation Company's venture³⁹, and the first

³⁶ Bedarida, op. cit., p.15.

³⁷ P. & D.H. 4 March 1847.

³⁸ P. & D.H., 6 April 1848.

official announcement of the service appeared in the Herald at the end of April. 'London to the Channel Islands via Poole in eleven hours' it trumpeted, sailing from Poole every Tuesday and Friday morning. The crossing, it promised, 'would not exceed five hours and a half.'⁴⁰ Three weeks later the advertisement had revised the total journey time to twelve hours.

The use of Poole as the port of departure made geographic sense for the maritime section of the journey, Cherbourg and Jersey being only 67 and 104 miles distant respectively, but the land connections were a different matter. There was, as mentioned above, the rail link from the Southampton to Dorchester line into Hamworthy but this clearly did not offer passengers much in the way of comfort and convenience. As one irate passenger wrote to the Herald in 1850, 'I have travelled over most lines but I cannot recall to my recollection so utterly wretched a station.'⁴¹ That newspaper was even stronger in its condemnation of the line and its facilities, describing it two months later as 'The wretched abortion which connects Poole with the direct London rail...'⁴²

Herein lay the problem. As Nock says '...the situation in Poole was an almost exact counterpart to that of Portsmouth in that this ancient sea port standing on a fine harbour, was served no more than indirectly by a branch line from Hamworthy, on the wrong side of Poole Harbour. Poole itself had to be reached by ferry, and to reach Bournemouth one had to charter some road conveyance from Poole.'⁴³ The inconvenience was too much for the New South Western Steam Navigation Company. Its weekly advertisement in the Herald failed to appear in the 2 November 1848 edition and letters condemning the company and its threatened removal of the service to Southampton were published in the following weeks.

³⁹ Not the name originally announced. See above.

⁴⁰ P. & D.H., 27 April 1848. A first class return (rail and sea) cost 35/-, with third class passengers paying 20/6d. The Company also offered onward travel in its own vessels from Jersey to Granville and St Malo.

⁴¹ Poole and South Western Herald, henceforth P. & S.W.H., 20 June 1850.

⁴² P. & S.W.H., 29 August 1850.

⁴³ O.S. Nock, The London and South Western Railway (1965), p.53.

Over the next few years Poole fought hard to re-establish itself as a steam-packet port and to improve its rail connections. Some of its attempts smack of desperation, particularly one which proposed that it should act as a lynch-pin in a London-Cornwall steam service. The plan was for passengers to travel from London by train, and travelling on by sea from Poole to Penzance. The West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser in July 1850 was in favour of the scheme tartly noting that whilst being 'very glad if Poole can be made the medium of communication with the metropolis and, after having thrown away on foolish litigation enough to have completed many miles of railway it will be some consolation to have taken advantage of what remains at our disposal - a direct steam communication between the S.W. part of Cornwall and the Capital.'⁴⁴ The proposal came to nothing although in March the following year the Herald attempted prove how much cheaper the combined service would be for potential travellers compared with the alternative of rail and coach.⁴⁵

An alternative scheme was a revival of one which was first suggested half a century earlier, that of linking the Bristol and English Channels. The original scheme was for a canal, but in the 1850s the South Midland Union Railway sought finance for its plans to carry coal and steel from South Wales to Poole Harbour and thence on to Cherbourg. The Herald was enthusiastic ('we felt assured that it had taken hold of the public mind'⁴⁶) and a committee was established to encourage Poole's citizens to contribute financially but it was unsuccessful. As Williams says, 'The £1,000,000 scheme was too large for those difficult times and with few subscriptions forthcoming, the 1853 Bill was abandoned.'⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Cited in the P. & S.W.H. 4 July 1850. The 'foolish litigation' referred to was the long running dispute between the town's two political factions (including the Lord of the Manor of Canford) which forms the substance of Beamish et al's The Pride of Poole and Hillier's Ebb Tide at Poole.

⁴⁵ The coach would take travellers into and out of Cornwall via Bristol, Exeter and Plymouth.

⁴⁶ P & S.W.H. 5 January 1854

⁴⁷ R.A. Williams, The London and South Western Railway, (Newton Abbot, 1968), p.193.

There were those who offered explanations for the town's failure to attract the new forms of steam transport. The Herald itself, perhaps inadvertently, used a significant phrase when it commented on the coming of the railway in 1847 'That considerable alterations for the better are necessary in the good old-fashioned town of Poole, no man gifted with common observation can deny.'⁴⁸ The same editorial expanded upon the situation and offered what was perhaps a most perceptive description of how the town appeared to an outsider; 'The town, if examined, presents, even to the eye of the stranger, a curious anomaly, It is divided into three distinct portions. Enter from the east and lines of goodly dwellings, several even significant, welcome the traveller. Approach from the west and the finest mercantile quay in the kingdom is seen. But two persons journeying from these points of the compass would meet where? In a street which, though tenanted by respectable and wealthy shopkeepers, gives no idea of its large trading character and in which houses may be seen almost nodding to a sudden fall. Turn as right or left, in order to reach the north or south parts of the town, the eye is offended and the olfactory nerves disgusted, by accumulation of dirt which the proper authorities should be compelled to remove as more than a common nuisance...'⁴⁹ No notice appears to have been taken by the 'proper authorities' for a year later it was reporting that 'many of the streets of this town are filthy in the extreme.'⁵⁰

There is one more piece of evidence on the failure of, and the reasons for, the town's harbour to continue as the source of its fortune. It takes the form of a letter to the Herald in November 1849, and if the onlooker really does see more of the game, then a gentleman from Jersey signing himself 'Pro Bono Publico' was particularly perceptive. 'I could not fail to observe', he wrote, 'in a short sojourn in your Town; perhaps it is your almost peculiar position, cutting you off from the surrounding country that has made you appear a somewhat exclusive race. Your place altogether struck me as behind the times. On enquiry I found you had wealthy men amongst you but they were sadly lacking in enterprise. I also learnt that your neighbourhood was rich in clay, which supply your northern Potteries....the ineptitude of your town to turn the gifts of nature to your account....' He went on to ask why clay is

⁴⁸ P. & D.H., 4 March 1847. The italics are those of the writer.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 6 April 1848.

exported to London where labour costs are double those in Poole, and then complained about the lack of facilities for travellers, especially the inns which were not open for early morning arrivals. Finally, he warned the town that 'if you wish to progress you must put your shoulder to the wheel and help yourselves.'⁵¹

The town was in several ways trying to help itself, although with the benefit of hindsight it can be argued that it was attempting to solve the wrong problem. The harbour, Poole's raison d'être from the middle ages until the early nineteenth century, was ceasing to be a commercial asset to the nation as ship technology progressed and, even more significantly, railways continued their transformation of the British economy. Poole merchants and business men seemed not to realise this. Most of their efforts were devoted to the re-establishment of maritime ventures and the lobbying for a better rail link re-iterated the belief that its primary purpose was to facilitate trade to and from the port.

The problems facing the port were not all economic ones, for nature was also intervening in such a way that the harbour was in danger of becoming unusable by commercial shipping. The Herald saw the silting up of the harbour as the major issue of the 1860s for, in its first edition of the new decade it devoted a whole page to 'The Poole Harbour Question.' Supporting the view that the harbour was essential, not only to Poole's prosperity, but also to all the neighbouring towns such as Wimborne and Blandford, it analysed in detail the findings of various surveys done over the past few years as to the state of channel into and through the harbour. Between 1849 and 1858 the entrance to the channel had contracted from 160 fathoms to 120 fathoms and, when tides were at their lowest, there was only 10 feet of water at the bar.⁵² According to the Herald, 'We are now come to the Rubicon. Poole must now be regenerate or it never will be.'⁵³

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 16 November 1848.

⁵² P. & S.W.H., 5 January 1860. Poole bar is an area of shallow water either side of the entrance channel to the harbour.

⁵³ *Ibid*.

Despite these worries, there was another serious attempt at making Poole a steam-packet port. This occurred in 1865 when a regular service to Cherbourg began under the auspices of the recently created Somerset and Dorset Joint Railway. The old dream of linking Poole Harbour with the Bristol Channel finally came about when the Somerset Central Railway whose line ran from Burnham-on-Sea to Cole, near Bruton, amalgamated in 1862 with the Dorset Central Railway. Their line ran from Cole to Wimborne. At Wimborne the Somerset and Dorset trains used the London and South Western station and by reversing, used the branch line to Hamworthy. The people behind this development did not come from Poole's mercantile 'old guard', which perhaps explains its initial success.

The Dorset Central part of project (and Atthill maintains that the two companies 'were clearly hand in glove from the outset'⁵⁴) had as its directors men such as Sir Ivor Bertie Guest, owner of Canford⁵⁵, and Henry Danby Seymour, one of Poole's two Members of Parliament.⁵⁶ As with the Poole and Bournemouth Railway discussed below, the involvement of men with Poole connections but without the traditional mercantile background was significant.

As implied above, the actual railway-steamship service was short-lived but Poole's elected leaders cannot be accused of apathy towards it. Led by the brewer Frederick Styring, who was enjoying the first of his four periods of office as Mayor, eleven councillors and the proprietor of the Herald William Mate, along with the representatives of the Somerset and Dorset Railway made the inaugural trip to Cherbourg on 12 June 1865, on board the steamship Albion. There they enjoyed a 'Grand International Banquet' and among the many speeches, that of the M.P. Henry Danby Seymour, illustrates the optimism of all parties. 'We

⁵⁴ R. Atthill, The Somerset and Dorset Railway, (Newton Abbott, 1967), p.27. The two companies shared a secretary, engineer, solicitors, London offices and published half-yearly reports that were identical in format.

⁵⁵ Son of Sir John Josiah Guest, the Welsh iron-master who had purchased Canford Manor in 1846.

⁵⁶ Seymour was born in 1820, lived at Knoyle near Shaftesbury, and was related to the Duke of Somerset. He was M.P. for Poole between 1850 and 1868. He held government office as Joint Secretary to the Board of Control from March 1855 until March 1858.

hope' he said, 'that our steamship line will serve two ends; firstly that it will supply the local needs of the prosperous counties and departments on either side of the Channel, and secondly, that it will provide a new line of communication between the great industrial centres of both countries...'⁵⁷

In September of that year, a return visit was made by 32 members of the Municipality of Cherbourg to Poole and at the banquet in their honour, it was Richard Sydenham, youngest brother of the late John Sydenham, who made a speech 'in a masterly fashion' which reveals the sense of irritation felt by Poole at its declining importance as a port. Extolling the virtues of the new service, he maintained that 'It gave to invalids an opportunity of reaching by easy journeys the different convalescent resorts on both sides of the Channel, protected from the rapid currents, annoyances of change of vessel, irregularities, delays and discomforts of the passage by the Channel Island's to St. Malo.' Then, in a pointed reference to Poole's eastern rival, he noted that 'The distance was little more than half, and in every way pleasanter, than the fashionable Southampton - Le Havre route.'⁵⁸

The service lasted just over a year, seemingly successful at first, and offering a 'New and Cheap route to Paris, Bordeaux and the South of France' twice a week with the sea passage taking six hours ('wind and weather permitting'). A one month return ticket from Poole, to Paris, second class and with an aft cabin cost 49/10d.⁵⁹ By August 1866 the directors were having to consider whether Albion should be laid up during the winter months (or chartered elsewhere) and in February 1867 the company announced that the service was 'for the present suspended, the operation having hitherto resulted in a loss.'⁶⁰

Atthill suggests that the problems were 'primarily geographical - and hence to some extent financial: a combination of factors which had dished the South Midlands Union scheme in

⁵⁷ Cited in E.F.J. Mathews, Gallant Neighbours, (Poole, 1934), p.148.

⁵⁸ Ibid, pp. 154-155.

⁵⁹ From the company's regular advertisement in the Herald and cited in Mathews, op. cit., p.171.

⁶⁰ Atthill, op. cit., p.45.

1852.' The simple fact was that the Somerset and Dorset Railway was not connected, because the Mendip Hills were a natural barrier, to lines to Bristol and the North, a principal selling point for the service.⁶¹ Mathews, though, puts part of the blame on a 'lack of foresight on the part of the Poole Quay Commissioners.....and disputes concerning the payment of harbour dues etc.'⁶² Whatever the reason, this was not the last attempt at offering a regular service to France for another was made the following year and this is discussed in chapter 8.

The year 1865 also saw another attempt at improving Poole's railway links when an Act of Parliament authorising the setting up of the Poole and Bournemouth Railway Company was passed. This was an initiative led by a gentleman named Charles Waring⁶³, a partner in the firm contracted to build the Dorset Central Railway, Waring Brothers of Westminster, and Henry Danby Seymour. Waring was chairman of the new company and four Poole business men were its directors.

The directors were Frederick Styring, George Belben Jnr, Charles Augustus Lewin and William Pearce and their involvement is significant because three of them were relative newcomers to the town, whilst the fourth, Belben, although born locally (in Wimborne) was a miller and seems to have no mercantile connections. No Belben, for instance, appears among the Burgesses, existing and newly-admitted, who were members of the Enlarged Corporation of 1830. That body was originally dominated by those of a mercantile background and many of the new members were connected by birth and marriage, When he became a director of the Poole and Bournemouth George Belben was around 30 years old and in partnership with his younger brother Thomas, operating on the Quay. In 1861 they employed 21 men and seven boys.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Mathews, op. cit., p.156.

⁶³ Waring became M.P. for Poole in 1865, was defeated in 1868 when the town became a one member constituency, but won again in 1874. In 1880 he lost the seat by six votes.

The other three men had several things in common including having moved south and bought a business. William Pearce had been born in Hereford in 1810 and came to Poole in 1839 to take over an ironmonger's business in the High Street. He prospered and bought an iron foundry in West Quay Road and by 1850 was described in the Herald as 'the enterprising iron founder and agricultural implement maker of this town [who] made an extensive display at the Exhibition of the Royal Agricultural Society at Exeter last week.'⁶⁴ Pearce sold his foundry to Stephen Lewin, the brother of one of his fellow railway directors and later became chief proprietor of the Poole Waterworks.⁶⁵

Frederick Styring was a Lincolnshire man who came to farm at Lymington in 1845 when he was about 25 years old. He married Elizabeth Slade, sister of Robert, and became involved in King's Brewery in Poole as a partner to the solicitor Martin Kemp Welch, and moved into a house in Thames Street. In 1858 he became the sole proprietor and in 1867 had established a depot in Bournemouth.⁶⁶ A display advertisement for Styring's 'Poole Brewery' was a permanent feature of the Herald's front page in the 1850s.

The last of the four, Charles Augustus Lewin was also a Lincolnshire man who arrived in Poole in 1858 'having acquired the premises and stock (but not the goodwill) of a timber business there.'⁶⁷ The yard was actually that of John Silby and Lewin's first advertisement for his timber, deal and slate business in West Butts appeared in the Herald in July 1859, although he fails to appear in the poll-book for the general election held three months earlier. By 1861 he was well-established in the town, employing 22 men and four boys and appears in the 1865 poll-book. He was the youngest of the four, being born in 1833, the fifth son of an engineer and appeared to appreciate his adopted home for one of his brothers, Stephen

⁶⁴ P. & S.W.H., 25 July 1850.

⁶⁵ Biographical information on Pearce and Styring from Hillier, op. cit., and other sources including the writer's card index system of the Poole electorate as it existed in 1859.

⁶⁶ L. Richmond and A. Turton (eds.), The Brewing Industry, a guide to historical records, (Manchester, 1990), p.319.

⁶⁷ R. Wear and E. Lees, Stephen Lewin and the Poole Foundry, (1978), p.11.

(who was actually his partner in the timber yard) was enticed south and purchased Pearce's iron foundry. Stephen Lewin eventually expanded the range of its products to include railway engines and steam launches.⁶⁸

As well as being relatively young men with little or no memory of Poole's 'golden age' , Belben, Pearce, Styring and Lewin had another thing in common. All four entered local politics as town councillors, three of them (Lewin was the exception) holding the office of Mayor. However, their non-Poole or non-mercantile backgrounds seem to have made them immune to the factional nature of Poole politics for Belben and Styring were Liberals, Lewin was a Tory, whilst in Parliamentary elections, Pearce supported candidates from both parties. A promising business venture such as the Bournemouth and Poole Railway seemingly came before party politics.

The new company had an authorised capital of £90,000 and was intended to link the Southampton to Dorchester line with Poole by means of a branch from Broadstone and then on to a terminus on the western edge of Bournemouth. As was so often the case with railway companies, the planned outcome failed to materialise but on this occasion an alternative route was developed by the London and South Western Company under a new Act of 1866. The Broadstone to Poole line finally opened in December 1872 but the remaining section to Bournemouth West, built by Waring's Bournemouth and Poole Company, had to wait until June 1874.⁶⁹ The new railway was to benefit Poole in two ways - it was at last joined to a main line and communication with Bournemouth was made easier.

There was one other occurrence in the early 1860s that aptly symbolises that this decade was witnessing the end of Poole's mercantile era. This was the collapse of Ledgard's bank in February 1861. The bank had been established by George Welch Ledgard and Martin Kemp Welch in 1821 as 'Poole Town and County Bank' in the High Street, and at the time of the collapse they also had a branch in Ringwood. As their middle names imply, both founders

⁶⁸ Ibid, p.13. Stephen Lewin was an unsuccessful Conservative candidate in the general election of 1865.

⁶⁹ Atthill, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

has strong mercantile connections. George Welch Ledgard died in 1838, a year after his original partner, but the bank continued under the ownership of the two Ledgard sons, George and Richard. The latter died in 1860 but George, whose business interests had been increasingly Bournemouth based, lived until 1883.⁷⁰

The impact of the collapse was so momentous that for the first time the Herald brought out a special single page edition (at 'three halfpence') on Monday 18 February. It reported in full on the meeting of creditors, an event which attracted so many people (more than 200) that it had to be moved from its original venue at the London Hotel to the Guildhall. There it was revealed that the bank had liabilities of £92,687.14.lld but assets of only £61,067.10.7d. It was reckoned that another £10,000 could be found from the sale of the family's two private estates, creating total assets of £71,000. The Herald then added that 'This amount is independent of a sum of nearly £20,000 due to the bank by Messrs Robert and James Slade trading as the executors of Slade, which firm has suspended payment.' Thus not only had the Poole merchants' bank collapsed, it was the archetypal Newfoundland merchant family⁷¹ that had caused it.⁷²

The Herald also added that they had 'received a telegram announcing a meeting of the creditors of Messrs Robert and James Slade trading as the executors of Slade was held in London (this) Wednesday afternoon. The wish of the meeting was if possible to avoid bankruptcy and wind up the estate under inspection so as to obtain the largest possible dividend.' One of the inspectors was to be John Wills Martin, oil and salt merchant of Poole⁷³ and Mayor in 1858 and 1859, because of his great experience of the Newfoundland

⁷⁰ Hiller, op. cit. and other sources.

⁷¹ This was the branch operating out of Trinity.

⁷² The collapse of Ledgard's turned out to be less severe than originally feared and eventually the creditors received 17/6d in the pound.

⁷³ See p.114 above.

trade and 'his well known business habits.'⁷⁴ Martin was almost certainly the right man for the job but his appointment symbolises the lingering inward-looking tendency of much of Poole's business community. As Garrard says, '...the nineteenth-century town was far smaller, and geographically more distinguishable, than its twentieth-century successor. National events and politics undoubtably impinged to an important extent. But for most citizens for most of the time the town and its constituent neighbourhoods probably represented the circumference of their economic and social vision, the places where they lived their lives, drew their livelihoods, and observed others doing the same.'⁷⁵ Poole was a little odd in that one of its 'neighbourhoods' was an unwelcoming island almost three thousand miles away, but in all other respects Garrard's comment describes the town as it was in mid century.

Further evidence of the nature of the town's elite at this period is provided by the list of those attending the Annual Ball at the Guildhall in January 1859. This event, the second in the new series replacing the 'annual re-unions...which were unfortunately suffered to fall into decay...' had been '..revived under the auspices of a committee, with great success.'⁷⁶ Tickets cost ten shillings and after refreshments, dancing (to 'Eyers well-known quadrille band') began at around ten and went on until an early hour of the morning.

The Herald's list of those present reveals a gathering of people who typified mercantile-professional society. Of the 43 men⁷⁷ present, the occupation or status of fifteen is not revealed by extant directories, poll-books or electoral registers. The remaining 28 were made up of various merchants and ship-owners, solicitors and surgeons, the owners of craft-based businesses. Thus there was a Kemp, a Rickman, a Parr, and a Wanhill, as well as people

⁷⁴ P. & S.W.H. 18 February 1861.

⁷⁵ J. Garrard, *op. cit.*, p.26.

⁷⁶ P. & S.W.H., 27 January 1859.

⁷⁷ There were, of course, many ladies present, particularly young ones (e.g 'Mr Yearsley and the Misses Yearsley [3]'), and also those with well-known surnames such as 'Mrs Adey (Parkstone)' but it is the men who usually had an occupation or profession and who can therefore be traced.

such as William Pearce and Richard Sydenham, the majority of them members of old Poole families. There were also such dignitaries as Montague Guest of Canford, Henry Danby Seymour, M.P. for Poole and Charles Packe, M.P. for South Leicestershire. This last named gentleman was proprietor of the Branksome Park Estate although, as Roberts notes, 'his parliamentary career had no connection with his position as a Bournemouth landowner.'⁷⁸ He also says that the owners of proprietor estates (and this includes Packe) 'were so retiring that their names hardly ever appear in contemporary newspapers or other records and their local presence is shadowy.'⁷⁹

Of all those present, Packe can be seen as best representing the way the land around Poole was developing as a select, even exclusive, residential area but many of those with influence in the town seemed not to notice or to stand aloof from it. To such people mercantilism was all and there was real anger and even bewilderment in the Herald's cry a decade earlier as the move towards a laissez-faire system of free trade continued. 'The plain fact is', it said, 'the country is in the hands of the manufacturing interest, and until it gets out of their hands, nothing good will be done.'⁸⁰ A few weeks later, when commenting on a Protectionist amendment to the Queen's Speech which 'attributed the existing agricultural distress to the policy of Free Trade'⁸¹, it gave vent to its frustration crying 'Heaven help old England if these manufacturing money-mongers have the amendment.'⁸²

Fundamental change can rarely be pinned to a specific event, instead it is usually a matter of steady erosion of old forces by new ones. This, it is argued, was the case in Poole. It had

⁷⁸ R. Roberts, 'Leasehold Estates and Municipal Enterprise' in D. Cannadine (ed.), Patricians, Power and Politics in Nineteenth Century Towns, (Leicester, 1982), p.195. Branksome Park was a 'grey area' on the Poole-Bournemouth border, technically in Poole but for marketing reasons usually claiming to be in Bournemouth.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ P. & S.W.H., 22 November 1849.

⁸¹ J.B. Conacher, The Peelites and the Party System, 1846-52, (Newton Abbot, 1972), p.57.

⁸² P. & S.W.H., 10 January 1850.

flourished as a port for the North Atlantic trade for two hundred years, revelling in its relative isolation and its independence. The early stages of industrialisation made little difference to its economy or its social hierarchy and it failed to come to terms with the changes being forced upon it by geography and public attitudes and tastes. However, by the 1860s, a new reality was beginning to affect most aspects of Poole's economic and social life.

NEW DIRECTIONS

The number of Poole citizens employed in specific occupations in 1841 was 2,668 but twenty years later this had risen to 3,777. This increase was of course partly due to the continuing rise in population throughout Great Britain, although the term 'rise' is something of an understatement when referring to a country that had experienced a doubling of its population between 1801 and 1851. Poole's population in 1841 was 8,751 but in 1861 it was 9,759, so the percentage increase in the number of working people was actually much greater than that of the overall population. This latter figure was only 11.5%, whereas the former, the number of people in specific occupations was 42% higher. This implies an increase in the number of adults living and working in the town, rather than the 'natural' expansion occurring everywhere in the kingdom. Thus, despite the continuing decline in Poole's traditional maritime-related activities, jobs were still to be found.⁸³

An analysis of the occupational changes between 1841 and 1861 reveals some significant trends in Poole and these are shown overleaf as Table 6.1.

⁸³ The information in this opening paragraph is of course taken from the decennial census. A person's stated occupation, as recorded from 1841 onwards, does not necessarily mean that he or she was in work at the time, but it is assumed that someone describing themselves as (say) as shoemaker did actually work at the craft on a fairly regular basis.

	<u>1841</u>	<u>1861</u>
<u>Manufacturing</u>		
Brewing	71	89
Boatbuilding	84	149
Clothing and Footwear	279	486
Coach-building	16	21
Furniture	35	40
Iron Foundry	18	45
Pottery	61	128
Timberyard	25	36
Twine Works	<u>21</u>	<u>59</u>
	610	1053
<u>Agriculture</u>	162	198
<u>Building</u>	178	306
<u>Fishing</u>	22	56
<u>Retail and Distributive Trades</u>		
Clothing	107	199
Food and Drink	212	330
Other	<u>44</u>	<u>96</u>
	363	625
<u>Services</u>		
Accomodation (Hotels etc.)	77	106
Domestic Service	581	780
Education	33	63
Medical Services	15	17
Merchant Houses	17	16
Professions (Law, Banking)	52	48
Public Officials	<u>47</u>	<u>77</u>
	822	1107
<u>Port Facilities</u>		
Coal Handlers	16	36
Dock Labour	269	149
Mariners	108	111
Sailors and Seamen	86	105
Officials	<u>32</u>	<u>31</u>
	511	432
	2668	3777

Table 6.1 : Changes in employment patterns, 1841 - 1861.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ These figures are from Mervyn Bright, op. cit., Poole Reference Library's local collection.

The above figures confirm many, if not all, of the accepted national trends of the period, including the small but growing public sector, and the increasing middle class prosperity as evidenced by the number of domestic servants, school teachers, and shopkeepers, particularly those selling clothes. Locally, they reveal the decline of the port as the engine for the town's prosperity but they also indicate the small but significant manufacturing sector and the increased house-building that was taking place. It is the manufacturing sector that must first be considered.

Mention had already been made of the existence of an iron foundry within the town, when William Pearce, one of the four local directors of the Poole and Bournemouth Railway Company who were discussed earlier. As table 6.1 shows, iron founding was an industry which grew in importance after 1841, the year in which the recently arrived ironmonger Pearce bought a piece of land at Baiter Green in order to begin building his foundry. It was extended in 1849 and again in 1860. By 1854 he employed 42 people there, but sold the business in 1863 to the partnership of Stephen Lewin and William Wilkinson, both from Boston, Lincolnshire, for £4661.12.0d. Lewin's involvement with the foundry belongs more properly to the chapter dealing with the years between 1861 and 1881 when, as noted above, he moved on from the agricultural implements that Pearce made and eventually produced steam locomotives and other heavy machinery there.⁸⁵ After selling the firm, Pearce did not retire but went on to become the chief proprietor of Poole Waterworks, a business established by the Poole Waterworks Act of 1859 and whose directors were Pearce, John Barnes Durell, Richard Ledgard and Sir Ivor Guest.

Pearce's foundry was not the only one to be established or receive a new lease of life during this period, for advertisements began appearing in the Herald at the end of 1853 for the 'Waterloo Iron Foundry', a business whose proprietors were brothers, Thomas and Edward Howell. There were actually three Howell brothers, but the oldest John (aged 47 in 1861)

⁸⁵ R. Wear and E. Lees, *op. cit.*, p.13.

was no longer actively involved in the business being, according to the census, a 'retired iron founder and fundholder.' Despite the Welsh surname, the younger brothers were born in Abbots Ann, near Andover in Hampshire although John was born in Worcestershire. Like the other newcomers, they were comparatively young, with Edward being about 27.⁸⁶ They appear in the poll-book of 1857, where both are said to be living in Longfleet. The 1865 Register of Electors is more accurate, with them living at 'Hatch pond', an area about two miles north west of the town which is today just off the 'Waterloo Road.' Both John and Edward's wives were born in Poole, but Thomas's wife was from Portsmouth, suggesting that the brothers moved to Dorset together. Like Pearce's firm, the Howells mainly produced agricultural implements and also ran a branch shop at Tollard Royal, near Shaftesbury.

These two iron foundries were never to be major employers within the town but they do serve to illustrate the changes within the economy occurring in mid-century. Despite its relative isolation and its declining maritime fortunes, Poole and its surrounding areas were beginning to attract not only the leisured classes in society, but also enterprising young business men.

The gentleman from Jersey who signed himself 'Pro Bono Publico' when he wrote to the Herald in November 1849, showed great prescience in his comments about the clay found in the Poole neighbourhood. His caustic comment about the 'ineptitude of your town to turn the gifts of nature to your account'⁸⁷ obviously hit home for the 1850s (and 1860s) saw the establishment of several indigenous pottery industries. The first of these, though, was to prove disastrous for the gentleman whose venture it was and it also serves to reveal how mundane much of the embryonic Poole pottery industry would be.

Poole Harbour contains five genuine islands, the largest of them at 560 acres and closest to the entrance is Brownsea. It had a succession of aristocratic owners but from the early eighteenth century it became a piece of real estate like any other to be bought by any

⁸⁶ He died in January 1894, aged 68. Source: Poole Municipal Burial Records. The 1861 census has Thomas as 36 and Edward as 34.

⁸⁷ See above, p.167.

gentleman who could afford it. In 1852 the island became the property of Colonel William Waugh, formerly of the 20th Regiment of Foot and a director of the London and Eastern Bank.

Colonel Waugh apparently had little or no serious intention of buying the island until (popular legend has it) his wife recognised the white mud that had stuck to the ferrule of the umbrella as an indicator of china clay below the surface. He sought the opinion of a professional geologist who, after visiting the island, confirmed the existence of the china clay and valued it at about a million pounds. Waugh immediately bought the island for £13,000 and with finance from the London and Eastern Bank (on the strength of the geologist's report) set about building a pottery there and also making his new domain a splendid place for a potential millionaire to live. By January 1856 the Herald was able to report that the 'Annual Ball at Branksea Castle' had been held and that among those present were several from Canford including the recently married Charles Schreiber and Lady Charlotte Schreiber⁸⁸, Mr Montague Guest and younger members of the family. Several Poole tradesmen were also present but the Herald did not consider it necessary to record their names. In a report echoing a scene from Mansfield Park, the party entertained themselves by staging amateur dramatics with the Guests and other titled visitors playing the leading roles.⁸⁹

At the western end of the island, as far away from his castle as it is possible to get, he had a 200' x 60' three storey building constructed, as well as a drying shed, kilns, and a tramway to another, smaller pottery (albeit one that was 150' long) and two piers. He also built a village to accommodate his workers, which quickly totalled over 200 men. This was clearly entrepreneurship on a grand scale. Production began and as a recent writer on the history of

⁸⁸ Lady Charlotte was the widow of Sir John Josiah Guest and Charles Schreiber had been tutor to their children. They married in 1855 and Mr Schreiber embarked upon a rather spasmodic parliamentary career. He attempted to become member for Cheltenham in 1859, failing on that occasion but succeeded in 1865 and represented that constituency until 1868. There was then a hiatus until 1880, when he became member for Poole. He died in 1884.

⁸⁹ P. & S.W.H., 17 January 1856 and 24 January 1856.

Brownsea Island says, 'No one doubted that a new and thriving industry had come to stay.'⁹⁰ Certainly the editor of the Herald thought so, praising the Colonel's achievements in a leading article in January 1857, but expressing a concern for the intellectual well-being of the workers and their children. It maintained that a school-room, a library and a reading-room were needed, and had little doubt that 'the noble character of Colonel Waugh and his amiable lady' would recognise this and therefore provide them.⁹¹

There was a problem, however, in that the china clay failed to produce the fine porcelain upon which all the estimates of profitablilty were based and it was realised that drain pipes and other domestic sanitary ware were the only product that could be successfully made from Brownsea clay. Waugh had been lent over £250,000 by the bank, a sum of money impossible for it to write off, and it collapsed. The Colonel himself fled to Spain, leaving behind a ruined enterprise, and several Poole shopkeepers and tradesmen to whom he owed money. The two hundred employees moved back to Poole leaving a ghost village behind them. Thus this first attempt at a introducing large scale manufacturing industry to the Poole area proved to be a spectacular failure but Waugh himself cannot fairly be compared with other businessmen establishing themselves in the town. They certainly did not have the near unlimited credit that Waugh was able to tap, and they were more limited in their ambitions and did not entertain aristocratic company.⁹² Waugh's schemes for Brownsea (after what was almost certainly an impulse buy) were always on a grand scale, including the reclamation of 100 acres of land from the harbour by the construction of a sea wall⁹³ and the creation of a model farm. He was not a real-life Mr Melmotte in that his intentions, although grandiose, were honest, but the end result of his exertions was rather similar to that brought about by Trollope's villain.

Waugh's venture was not the only attempt at establishing a pottery on Brownsea for in 1874 the new owner, the Rt. Hon. George Cavendish-Bentinck, M.P., set up 'The Branksea Island

⁹⁰ J. Battrick, ('as told to G. Lawson') Brownsea Islander, (Poole, 1978), p.23. Much of the information regarding Waugh's venture is from this source, pp.19-25.

⁹¹ P. & S.W.H., 22 January 1857.

⁹² This was actually built, creating fertile meadowland, but it is now just a lagoon.

Co. Ltd' in order to produce, more realistically, 'Salt-glazed stoneware, drain pipes, siphons, gullies, traps, inverts, terra cotta chimney pots and chimney cores, fire bricks, garden edgings etc., etc.'⁹³ This company struggled on for thirteen years, providing work for over 200 people and boasting the 'First and only Prize awarded by Sanitary Institute of Great Britain'⁹⁴, but geography was against it and it closed down in 1887.

Several major potteries were established on the mainland in the 1850s, wisely specialising in the production of terra-cotta and other similar ware for use as decoration in house building or for general sanitary and drainage use. As Smith says, 'among the comfortable classes the 1850s and 1860s were the decades of the fastidious revolution' when 'the notion of cleanliness began to encompass the moral and social order.'⁹⁵ The growth of Poole's outer suburbs and of course Bournemouth was certainly led by the 'comfortable classes' and the new, more mundane potteries reflected this change in standards of hygiene.⁹⁶

One of many successful new enterprises was the Bourne Valley Pottery between Poole and Bournemouth, another was the 'Patent Architectural Pottery Company' in Hamworthy, whilst a third was George Jennings' South Western Pottery in Parkstone. All three will be discussed and their importance to Poole's economy assessed, beginning with the last named.

George Jennings is described in one local history as 'a London businessman'⁹⁷ and there is much truth in this in that, unlike the other owners of new businesses in the area, he never really settled in Poole, although he did own Castle Eve Villa⁹⁸ in Parkstone for many years.

⁹³ From an advertisement for the company included in T. Bennett, A Sketch of Brownsea Island, facsimile of the 1881 edition published in 1971.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ F.B. Smith, The People's Health 1830-1910 (1979), p.218.

⁹⁶ Three of these new potteries were to last well into the twentieth century, one of them flourishing today as 'Poole Pottery.'

⁹⁷ C.N. Cullingford, A History of Poole and Neighbourhood, (Chichester, 1988), p.182.

⁹⁸ This house appears in the 1846 Register of Electors as the home of Robert Henning Parr, the Town Clerk at the centre of the bitter rows of the 1830s. Jennings is listed as the

He was born in 1810 'in a Hampshire village on the borders of the New Forest' but after working in his grandfather's lead and glass business, went to London where he became a plumber. In 1834 he received a small inheritance which enabled him to start his own plumbing business, a venture which proved so successful that in 1847 his 'India rubber tube taps' won a medal from the Society of Arts. The medal was presented to Jennings by Prince Albert.

As his business prospered, he 'conceived and patented an improvement in the construction of stoneware drain pipes, and experiencing some difficulty in securing its introduction by London potters to whom it was shown, his attention was drawn to the extensive clay beds at Parkstone in Dorsetshire.' Jennings took a lease on the land and established his pottery with 31 year old John Sidney Hudson, of the Bourne Valley Pottery, as his manager.⁹⁹ By 1861 the South Western Pottery was a successful and relatively large scale enterprise, providing employment for 97 men and 18 boys. Among its more imaginative innovations were the construction of a pier and tramway (nearly half a mile long) across the mudflats of Poole Harbour to facilitate the loading of vessels in deep water. Jennings had bought his own ships for the carrying away of his products as Poole still lacked a viable railway link.¹⁰⁰

Jennings moved back to London in 1857, although he continued to own property (including a small estate) in the area, entrusting the running of the pottery to Hudson. He died in London, at the age of 72, in 1882, after a carriage accident. Three years later, in 1885, the Poole and Bournemouth Herald was still carrying advertisements for The South Western Pottery with Jennings named in bold letters as the proprietor. It also reveals the world-wide nature of the company's business when it lists medals won 'for the SUPERIORITY of DRAIN PIPES and SANITARY GOODS' in Europe, America and Australia.¹⁰¹ John

occupant in the 1865 Register.

⁹⁹ Details on George Jennings from his obituary in The Builder, reprinted in the Poole and Bournemouth Herald 4 May 1882.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ P. & B.H., 21 May 1885.

Hudson, still the manager, presumably saw the commercial value in preserving an established and respected name.

John Hudson was originally involved with the Bourne Valley Pottery, the first of the new enterprises. The first reference to its success appeared in the Herald in August 1853. 'We confess', said that newspaper when noting that on average eighteen to twenty vessels a week were sailing from Poole laden with clay, 'that we were agreeably surprised at the almost sudden springing up of The Bourne Valley Pottery.'¹⁰² This surprise was despite a long leading article earlier in the year in which Dorset's clay deposits were likened to the gold fields of California and Australia.¹⁰³

Hudson was born in Margate, Kent, in 1822. The 1861 census records him as having two sons, a ten year old born in Islington and an eight year old born in Bournemouth,¹⁰⁴ indicating that he moved to the Poole area around 1852. He came as the agent or representative for what was to become the Durrant Estate¹⁰⁵ laying out roads and establishing the Bourne Valley Pottery. This may well have been the new name for the Parkstone Pottery of J. & R. Treadwell whose advertisements appeared in the Herald for a few weeks in the summer of that year but there is no evidence to prove this. Hudson's Bourne Valley advertisements appeared from September 1854 until August 1856 when a new manager's name replaced his. Bourne Valley continued to prosper and eventually became Sharp, Jones Ltd and survived until the 1960s.

¹⁰² P. & S.W.H., 11 August 1853.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 3 February 1853.

¹⁰⁴ All the advertisements for the Bourne Valley Pottery give Hudson's address as 'Branksome Lodge, Bournemouth.'

¹⁰⁵ George Durrant was a Norwich businessman who was involved with William Gordon, owner of the Branksome Estate. In the 1840s and 1850s Gordon attempted to model the development of his estate on that of another local landowner, Sir George Tapps Gervis (the Meyrick Estate), but there were financial difficulties. Durrant acquired control of the estate in 1861 and was able to develop it in an orderly manner. [Roberts in Cannadine (ed), op.cit., p.186.]

According to Hudson's obituary, 'Before the Estate became the sole property of Mr Durrant.....he had to contend with difficulties of a not very pleasant character , and this led Mr Hudson to sever his connection with the property, and look around for some more congenial occupation. Eventually he associated himself with the late Mr George Jennings the well known sanitary engineer of London, and the result was the establishment of the South Western Pottery at Parkstone. ¹⁰⁶ The first advertisement for the new pottery appeared in October 1856 stating that 'The above works are now nearly completed and will be in operation shortly' and naming Hudson ('late of the Bourne Valley Pottery') as manager. ¹⁰⁷ Unlike Jennings, Hudson settled permanently in the area, moving from Branksome Lodge to The Crescent in Parkstone and, like many of the other new businessmen, eventually entered local politics and civic life. He was a councillor and an alderman, and was Mayor of Poole in 1873.

The third of these new businesses started in 1854 in Hamworthy and bore the rather splendid title of 'The Patent Architectural Pottery Company.' Its founders were four men from Hanley, in the Potteries region of Staffordshire¹⁰⁸, Thomas Sanders Ball¹⁰⁹, Thomas Richard Sanders, Frederick George Sanders and John Ridgway.¹¹⁰ Ball and Ridgway fail to appear in the contemporary sources but the Sanders family settled in Hamworthy. In 1861 their household consisted of 68 year old Thomas, his wife Emma (65), two sons Thomas (41) and Frederick (40), two daughters aged 34 and 32, and a 35 year old female servant. All four children were unmarried. Thomas senior is described in the census as a 'manufacturer

¹⁰⁶ P. & B.H., 23 July 1891.

¹⁰⁷ P. & S.W.H., 20 October 1856 until 8 January 1857.

¹⁰⁸ From information supplied by Mr H.V.F. Johnstone, former Reference Librarian to the Borough of Poole, and local historian. The Sanders family were, according to the 1861 Census, all born in Bristol, but this does not necessarily invalidate Mr Johnstone's information especially as Hillier, in Victorian Poole, p.33, states that 'Thomas Richard Saunders (sic) came from Stoke with his brother to establish the impressive Patent Architectural Pottery at Hamworthy.' Hillier fails to cite his source for this statement.

¹⁰⁹ This gentleman may well have been the 'Mr Bale' whose 'patent bricks' were one of the pottery's specialities according to an article in the Herald of 2 May 1861.

¹¹⁰ L. Myers, Poole Pottery, the first 100 years, (Poole, 1973), p.3.

of architectural pottery employing fourteen men, six boys and eight women' whilst Thomas junior is a 'proprietor of houses.' The 1865 Register of Electors includes all three men (Thomas junior twice), and Thomas junior went on to become Sheriff of Poole. Advertisements for the Architectural Pottery included the information that their products could be inspected at their agent James Buckley's shop in the High Street. Buckley was also a Hanley man but had arrived in Poole in 1830, some twenty years before the Sanders'.

The Herald, in 1861, printed a long article about the Architectural Pottery, noting that 'its manufactures are peculiar to itself', especially its tiles. These included those intended for 'Mosaic and tessellated pavements' with many of the designs being by the 'most eminent artists' but some of them were 'the product of the skills of Mr F.G. Sanders, a member of the firm....'¹¹¹

This venture, 'a manufacture which is entirely new to our locality and one which bids fair to expand'¹¹², found itself with a rival in that year for one of its employees, a chief technician named James Walker, left and started his own decorative tile business on the East Quay. This firm ran into financial difficulties in 1866 but struggled on until it was bought in 1873 by a builders' merchant from Weybridge in Surrey named Jesse Carter. He also bought the Architectural Pottery and 'Carter's Tiles' became the dominant firm in that sector, continuing into the 1990s, as Pilkington Tiles.

The three potteries discussed above were not the only ones to be established during the 1850s and 1860s for other people took advantage of the rich clay fields in the area. The Herald, around the time of the collapse of Waugh's venture, reassured its readers that geologists' reports showed that there were 20,000,000 tons of clay waiting to be exploited.¹¹³ Several other potteries opened, and there were frequently five display advertisements in the Herald

¹¹¹ P. & S.W.H., 2 May 1861.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ P. & S.W.H., 25 June 1857.

promoting the larger enterprises.¹¹⁴ Some, Kinson for example, were close to Poole whilst others such as Sandford and Yarrell's were farther out, the former being just outside Wareham.

Some were seemingly short-lived such as Francis Padgett's Longfleet Pottery which produced vitrified stone ware, spirit bottles and flower pots and advertised these for the first and only time in the Herald of October 1857. Francis Padgett does not appear on the electoral register or poll books of the period, although William Padgett, potter of Longfleet, was in the one published in 1859. However, he was no longer an elector in 1865 and the Padgetts and their pottery disappear from the various printed sources of the period.

Yarrell's Pottery, to the west of Hamworthy, appears to have been more permanent and inadvertently provides an intriguing indication of the moral and intellectual climate of the period. As the Herald reported, 'Mr Massey, manager of the...firm gave another lecture to the men employed there on 'geology', his object being to show the wisdom, power and goodness of God as manifested in His works, and also to bear testimony to the truth of the early part of the Scripture as evidenced by the science of Geology.' The men were apparently 'enabled to understand how God had at last prepared the earth for man....'¹¹⁵ It is not possible to say whether Massey was 'ill-educated or anxious' in seeking 'order and certainty through reaffirming the simplicities of the Bible...' ¹¹⁶ but there can be little doubt that the ripples from the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species had reached rural Dorset.

It has been emphasised that the new businessmen establishing themselves in Poole and its surrounding areas were all from other parts of England and were generally of similar age. They also shared two more characteristics, their religious denomination and their politics. With a few exceptions, the individuals discussed above (and others referred to earlier) were likely to be both non-conformists and Liberal voters at Parliamentary elections, as table 6.2 shows:

¹¹⁴ The Architectural, Bourne Valley, Branksea, Kinson and the South Western.

¹¹⁵ P.&S.W.H 27 June 1861.

¹¹⁶ R.K. Webb, op.cit., p.409.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Religion</u> ¹¹⁷	<u>Voting</u>
James Buckley	Hanley	Congregationalist	Lib
Christopher Hill	Knighton, Dorset	?	Con
John Hudson	Margate	Congregationalist	Lib
Edward Howell	Nr Andover	Wesleyan Methodist	Lib
Thomas Howell	"	" "	Lib*
Charles Lewin	London	Anglican	Con
Stephen Lewin	"	"	Con**
William Mate	Bere Regis	Baptist	Lib
William Pearce	Hereford	Anglican	Lib, then Con
Francis Rogers	Somerset	Anglican	Lib
George Rogers	Somerset	Anglican	Lib
Tom Rickman	?	Anglican	Lib***
Thomas Sanders	Bristol	not known	Lib
Frederick Styring	Lincolnshire	Wesleyan Methodist	Lib
James Tribbett	Exeter	Wesleyan Methodist	Lib

* Voted for both Liberals in 1857, but split Con/Lib in 1859.

** Never voted in a Poole election but stood as Conservative candidate in 1865.

*** Voted Liberal at every election between 1835 and 1865 except for 1850 when (he was a cornfactor) he voted for the Protectionist candidate.

Table 6.2 : Birth place, religion and voting preference of Poole's manufacturers c.1850

Although the above table includes the shopkeeper James Buckley whose china and glass business was a substantial one, (and who was certainly not the only 'immigrant' in this occupation), it does list all of the people who are known to have established new, large scale, businesses in the town in the period after 1841. Thus the printers and publishers of the

¹¹⁷ The methodology for establishing the religious denomination of individuals is based on the Municipal Burial Registers which date from 1854 and record all persons interred in the new Municipal Cemetery. Each entry states whether the person was buried in consecrated or unconsecrated ground, thus differentiating Anglicans from Dissenters. The name of the minister performing the funeral service allows the latter category's denomination to be established.

Herald after March 1853, Tribbett and Mate, are included as are the cornfactors Rickman and Hill and the tanners George and Francis Rogers. It omits the wealthy and the comfortably off who came to the area simply to settle in a pleasant and healthy environment. Such people are dealt with in the analysis of the social structures of Longfleet and Parkstone (as well as part of St. James') in chapter 7.

It is when the 'new men' are compared with the established merchant families that the significance of these characteristics becomes apparent. The Adeys, Slades, Gosses, Hancocks, Lesters and Garlands, Durells, Spurriers, and their bankers, the Ledgards, virtually the complete litany of ship-owning and sea-trading men, were Anglicans and Tories, although it must be stressed that the two were not necessarily pre-requisites for each other, as the race to complete the two new churches in Parkstone and Longfleet demonstrated.

There were exceptions. George Kemp, partner in the firm of G. & J. Kemp for example, was a Deacon at the Congregational Church, whilst William Jolliffe, coal merchant and father-in-law to one of the Robert Slades, was so true to his Non-Conformism that he refused to take the Oaths of Office when elected Sheriff in 1820¹¹⁸. That there were only a small number of non-conformist merchants and ship owners is confirmed by the poll book for the 1835 general election which divides the electorate into 'Churchmen' and 'Dissenters.' Under the latter heading only Richard Penney is described as a merchant whilst William Green, John Frampton and John Brown are ship owners.¹¹⁹

It is tempting to try and explain the success of the new people in causal terms, that their non-conformism gave them some form of in-built advantage over the older, established firms and families within the town. But, as Warner cautions, 'Any enquiry into social psychology is....an elusive project'¹²⁰ and to suggest that the experience of around two dozen

¹¹⁸ Hillier (1985), p.198.

¹¹⁹ There were two poll-books produced after the 1835 general election (and one for a by-election in the same year), one with a Liberal bias and the one referred to above, which can be seen as the Conservative version with its religious comparisons.

¹²⁰ W.J. Warner, The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution (1930), cited in D. Hemptton, Methodism and Politics in British Society 1750-1850, (1987), p.231.

individuals, and whether they were Anglicans or Dissenters, in one relatively small seaport in the mid nineteenth century validates the Protestant Ethic is clearly dangerous. Yet as Hempton states when discussing one of the most prominent strands of non-conformism, 'As far as Methodism is concerned, the most that can be said is that its theology, chapel culture, and opportunities for lay initiative were particularly suited to those smaller industrial towns that made up the infrastructure of England's industrial society.'¹²¹ Poole may not have been a true industrial town but industry was arriving in the form of the foundries and potteries.

The use of the phrase 'mid nineteenth century' in the above paragraph is a reminder that by 1850 the processes of the industrial revolution had mostly run their course and it was the eighteenth and even seventeenth century dissenters who were regarded by Weber and Tawney as being the driving force of commercial capitalism. Poole had not been immune to this and had undoubtedly benefitted from the appetite for hard work and moral discipline that is alleged are characteristics of the dissenting sects, for as the Dorset historian John Hutchins said of the town's Quakers, they included 'many of the most respectable and wealthy inhabitants...' ¹²² Whilst it is true that eighteenth century merchant families such as the Whites and the Rolles were Quakers¹²³, it is also true that many, almost certainly the majority, of the most successful merchant firms trading in the same period were Anglicans.

Yet the evidence of the new, non-maritime industries in Poole does point towards there being a correlation between denomination and enterprise. The individualism that lay at the heart of nineteenth century liberalism can be identified by the way in which their businesses remained under their founders' direction, especially when compared with the many partnerships and alliances that typified the merchant houses. Another feature of liberalism, its emphasis on the local community, was also present in the actions of the new men in that many of them quickly involved themselves in the town's civic activities, frequently holding the highest offices.

¹²¹ Hempton, *op. cit.*, p.234.

¹²² J. Hutchins, The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset, 3rd edition, (1861-1874), vol.1, p.60.

¹²³ See Beamish et.al. (1976) pp.131-139 on this subject.

This is not to say that the established merchants lacked initiative and enterprise, whether for their own good or for that of the town. They had long been the mainstay of the Corporation and, with the professional men and the better-off shopkeepers, active members of the many committees created by that body and of various societies in the town and generous contributors to its charities. However, as noted above, most were connected with the deep sea trades, were generally Anglicans and Tories, and therefore, like their church and party, conservative by nature. Llewellyn makes a valid comparative point when he says that 'The unreformed, established church had in 1830 many of the features of the unreformed House of Commons.'¹²⁴ Both institutions in their original form were vigorously defended by Tories and the changes brought about by external forces were either denied or simply not recognised. This attitude can be likened to that of Poole's merchant families (and others) as the Newfoundland and other deep sea trades continued to decline. Change, if impossible to resist, was certainly unwelcome and would undermine the traditional fabric of the town.

As table 6.1 above shows, the pottery industry was not the only one which prospered after 1841. Some of the more traditional maritime-related enterprises also recorded an increase in the number of men employed in them, particularly ship building and rope and twine manufacture. The firms of Thomas Wanhill and Alfred Balston were pre-eminent in these areas and therefore these men need to be looked at in more detail in order to compare them with the new men discussed above.

Thomas Wanhill was born in Poole in 1816, although the family name fails to appear in most of the primary sources from the first decades of the century. A Thomas Wanhill was a member of the Freemasons' Lodge of Amity in 1815¹²⁵ and according to Hillier, was 'one of fourteen Poole men who.....formed the first masonic lodge in Newfoundland in 1817.'¹²⁶ Two years earlier, a Thomas Perriam Wanhill had married Margaret Manlaws. The Thomas Wanhill under investigation was therefore the first child of that marriage, and there was at least one other child for in 1857 the Herald noted the death of 39 year old James

¹²⁴ A. Llewellyn, *op. cit.*, p.189.

¹²⁵ Cited in H.P. Smith, History of the Lodge of Amity, 1765 - 1936, (Poole, 1937.)

¹²⁶ Hillier (1985), pp.208 - 209. One of the others was Robert Slade.

Manlaws Wanhill of the firm of Thomas and James Wanhill.¹²⁷ The inference, therefore, is that Thomas Senior, although probably a relative newcomer to the town, had influential contacts.

The name James Manlaws occurs in Pigots Directory for 1823-4 as the proprietor of several ships trading between Poole and London, Portsmouth and Southampton. In 1825 James Manlaws leased a 'Shipwrights Yard and Calumber (sic) at Ham' from the Corporation for fourteen years at an annual rental of £15¹²⁸ and his name is listed under 'shipbuilders' in Pigot's Directory for 1834. It would appear that Thomas Junior and James took over their father-in-law's yard and other interests towards the end of the 1830s, and allied them to those of their own. The 1850 poll book has Thomas as a merchant whilst Kelly's Directory of 1859 has 'Thomas and James M. Wanhill, ship owners and yacht builders, London and Portsmouth Packet Office, Quay.' The 1861 Census is even more detailed, describing Thomas as 'Magistrate, Alderman, Ship Owner, Ship Builder, Clay Merchant employing 128 men and 15 boys.'

Wanhill's significance as a ship builder lay more in the type of craft he built rather than his role as a provider of employment. As Kelly's says, he built yachts, a designation that implies craft for leisure rather than industrial or commercial use, and the mid-century was the period when 'serious' sporting activity was developing and expanding¹²⁹. In the second year of its existence the Herald noted that 'The Yachting Season of 1847 is fast drawing upon us in which we doubt not that the Poole vessels will stoutly maintain their character against all opponents'¹³⁰ and in 1849 that newspaper was able to report that in various regattas Poole

¹²⁷ P. & S.W.H., 14 May 1857. The 1861 census includes 38 year old Mary E. Wanhill, a shipowner and head of household who was presumably James' widow.

¹²⁸ Document S.391, Poole Borough Archives.

¹²⁹ A. Heckstall-Smith in Sacred Cowes, (1965) notes that 'Cowes, by the middle of the nineteenth century, attracted all the greatest sportsmen of that day....' (p.24). His earliest reference to yacht racing, as opposed to 'going for short 'cruises' in the Solent' (p.21) is to a short series that took place between three vessels visiting Cowes in the summer of 1829.

¹³⁰ P. & D.H., 8 April 1847.

built yachts had been extremely successful 'carrying off cups and stakes from all parts of the coast.' It cited seven examples, including that of the 45 ton Vision which had won £100 and the Queen's Cup in Dublin Bay on August 2nd and other ones on subsequent days. 'All of these 'skimmers of the seas' were built by Messrs Wanhill and we think we may safely challenge the kingdom to produce an equal number of yachts from any one yard that shall have won so many prizes in so short a period.'¹³¹

In 1849 Poole held its own regatta and its success prompted the organisers to make it an annual event. That of 1850 attracted 'upward of twenty of these skimmers of the seas' (clearly a favourite phrase of the Herald) to the harbour and such was the local excitement that 'nearly all the shops were closed by 11 o'clock' on regatta day.¹³² The first prize for the largest yachts was 'a purse of 50 sovereigns or a plate of equal value'¹³³ but only four vessels took part in this category over a course that took them out of the harbour and to Swanage and Bournemouth. There were also races for fishing boats, clay and market boats as well as ones for gigs and punts. The day ended, as was so often the case, with a firework display.

Among the spectator boats was 'the schooner Charlotte Maude, (built by Messrs Wanhill for Sir J. Josiah Guest Bart. and launched only on Saturday) with a large party on board from Canford Manor House, also dressed with a profusion of flags...'¹³⁴ The attractions of the harbour and the bay were beginning to be appreciated by the leisured classes who had hitherto perhaps only enjoyed the beauty of the area's physical terrain.

There is a certain irony in that Poole's contribution to what the Herald termed 'the Industrial Exhibition of 1851' consisted mainly of models of Wanhill's craft and examples of agricultural implements from Pearce's foundry. The irony was that a town that had always

¹³¹ Ibid, 27 September 1849.

¹³² P. & S.W.H. 15 August 1850.

¹³³ Ibid, 1 August 1850.

¹³⁴ Ibid, 15 August 1850.

looked outwards across the Atlantic and still regarded itself as a major south coast port should now present such a domestic image to the rest of the country and to the world. Wanhill's presence on the committee formed to promote interest in the exhibition was obviously a factor in the choice of his products, but there were several men of a mercantile background -the banker George Ledgard, the timber merchant Henry Harris and the ship owner John Bloomfield - who it would seem acknowledged the changes taking place in the town's economy.

Thomas Wanhill, like so many of Poole's leading citizens managed to combine his business interests with an active involvement in civic life. He became a Councillor in 1841, an Alderman in 1844 and was Mayor three times in the 1840s. He was a Trustee of the Savings Bank and, as indicated above, served on several ad hoc committees. He died in 1868 at the age of 53, receiving an Anglican burial service from the vicar of St Paul's church. He stands out as one of the first Poole born men to re-direct a traditional industry towards a new and growing market, even though he was eventually to be affected by the economic difficulties that beset the town after 1863.¹³⁵

The twine manufacturer Alfred Balston was also a Dorset man, born in Poole in 1819. His parents, however, were from Bridport, a town whose main industry was the manufacture of rope and twine for fishing nets and also sailcloth, and Alfred clearly joined a family business. The 1835 poll book includes William Balston¹³⁶, a twine manufacturer, whilst that of 1837 has William and George Balston, manufacturers, both living in West Street. A map of Poole drawn in 1841 shows the (large) premises of 'Wm. Balston and Son, Sailcloth etc Manufacturer.' Alfred Balston's firm was an important contributor to the town's economy, and in 1861 employed 74 men. Like most successful businessmen he entered public life, but at a relatively late stage in his career. He became a councillor in 1870 and was Mayor in 1876 and 1877 but it was his involvement with the Unitarian Church that most concerned the

¹³⁵ This is not to say that the production of commercial ships had ceased. Cox and Slade's yard, for example, launched the 416 ton barque Fortuna in October 1851.

¹³⁶ The 1835 poll book referred to is the 'Tory' one which divides the electorate by denomination. William Balston is in the 'Church and King' section, suggesting he was an Anglican, but Alfred was to become a prominent Unitarian.

writer of his obituary in 1895. 'Up to the time of his leaving Poole he was the most prominent member and active worker at the Unitarian Church in Hill Street. For ten years he was practically the Minister for the congregation.'¹³⁷ Thus another of the 'post-Newfoundland trade' industrialists was a non-conformist, although this time a local one, and (unusually) one who was normally a Conservative voter.¹³⁸ The town's political divisions, bitter as they frequently were, seldom had a religious dimension and when news of Balston's death arrived in Poole, the Dead March was played at St James' Church as a token of respect.¹³⁹

Balston can be seen as part of a continuing tradition within Poole of creating work and wealth from the shipping industry, unlike the new men, and to a certain extent, Thomas Wanhill. They, including Wanhill, were adjusting or reacting to social and economic change within the country and within the Poole area. That both Wanhill and Balston were local men who succeeded in manufacturing industries does not invalidate the hypothesis that there was a correlation between industrial innovation and not being part of the Poole 'establishment.' Admittedly Wanhill took his firm in a new direction by concentrating on yachts rather than ships, suggesting that he too should be regarded as one of the new men, and this may in fact be so. He can perhaps be regarded as a 'bridge' between the old attitudes and the new but both he and Balston were working within the established local economy, making use of traditional craft skills and therefore not introducing new ones. A port, whether its trade was coastal or deep sea, would always have a residual need for such skills, particularly (in the case of Balston) at a time when sail was still an important method of ship propulsion. Thus, it is argued, local men (including Wanhill), no matter how successful they were in maritime related industries, failed to recognise and respond to the new developments occurring within and around the town.

¹³⁷ P. & B.H., 28 March 1895. The obituary says that he left Poole 'a few years ago' and he died at Altrincham, Cheshire.

¹³⁸ He gave one of his two votes to the Liberal Seymour in 1865. His father and uncle (?) in 1837 both voted Tory, although in 1835 William Balston gave one vote to each party.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

CIVIC LEADERSHIP AFTER 1841

That the Newfoundland trade went into steady and permanent decline after 1815 is beyond doubt, but the impact of this on the economy of Poole has been exaggerated. The effect of the decline on the merchant houses particularly in regard to 'the transactions of the merchant residing in Great Britain'¹³⁹ was of course extremely serious and they gradually withdrew completely or sought new opportunities elsewhere. It is the demise of these relatively few family based concerns that has coloured the view of historians of the trade and led them to see these firms as the only worthwhile representatives of the town's economy.

Their chief point of reference was Sydenham who, in 1839, had spelt out the extent of the decline when he stated that 'The amount of business carried on is not, probably, to more than one-fifth the extent of the transactions of the most flourishing time of the trade, about the year 1813.'¹⁴⁰ Again, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of his figures, only their impact on the town as a whole. Thus local historians such as Beamish and Hillier, by concentrating on the political controversies involving men long connected with the merchant houses who were also dominant members of the old Corporation and the new Town Council, have overlooked the social dimension, especially the steady increase in status and power of the manufacturers and, to a lesser extent, the shopkeepers and craftsmen.

Table 6.1 above reveals a near doubling of the number of people employed in these occupations between 1841 and 1861, particularly in the manufacturing and retailing of clothing and footwear. The building trades also saw their numbers almost double whilst a smaller but still substantial 40% rise in the number in domestic service points towards an increase in the number of households wealthy enough to employ them¹⁴¹. The role and duties of the Newfoundland and other deep sea merchants were, it is argued, being taken on

¹³⁹ J. Sydenham, *op. cit.*, p.400.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ 'Wealth' did not have to be excessive for, as Rubinstein says domestic servants were easily available 'down to the lowest ranks of the middle classes.' D. Rubinstein, Victorian Homes, (Newton Abbot, 1974), p.14.

by people of lesser wealth and flamboyance and whose world was literally smaller, but who were nevertheless essential to the economic and social development of the town.

Modern historians seem frequently to disparage the social status of the shopkeeper. Crossick, for example, maintains that 'shopkeeping was the home of the small man and woman throughout the century' despite such significant developments as the department store and the multiple retail chains. These, he says, 'created a new degree of scale in a previously Lilliputian world.'¹⁴² Rawcliffe, describing the transformation of Bromley from a market town to a London suburb, notes that new semi-detached houses being built in certain roads in 1858 'were not to be of value lower than £600 per pair and the remainder were not to be less than £450 per pair. They were thus intended for the middle classes and prosperous tradesmen and shopkeepers.'¹⁴³ The first 'and' is significant for it reveals a perceived difference between the two categories.

Whilst it is true that the vast majority of shopkeepers remained parochial in their ambitions and operations (the David Lewis's and the Thomas Liptons being relatively rare examples of the species) were they really 'small' men and women? The answer is that in the national context they were. Their place in the evolving class system was still uncertain, for their occupation was regarded as being 'above factory work' but falling 'far short of entrepreneurial success.'¹⁴⁴ However, as Perkin says (albeit when discussing the Edwardian era) no matter how close their income was to the threshold at which income tax became payable 'most shopkeepers, school teachers, clerks and white-collar workers..... still stoutly claimed middle-class status.'¹⁴⁵ The word 'still' is important for it indicates that this was not a new claim and that like many other occupational groups, shopkeepers had long been concerned with their status. This status was of course most relevant to the society in which they lived and worked so that locally some, perhaps many, shopkeepers were, by mid-

¹⁴² G. Crossick in Crossick and Haupt (eds.), *op. cit.*, p.65.

¹⁴³ J.M. Rawcliffe, Bromley: Kentish market town to London suburb, 1841-81, in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), (1982), *op. cit.*, p.58.

¹⁴⁴ Hepton, *op. cit.*, p.200.

¹⁴⁵ H. Perkin, The Rise of Professional Society. (1989), p.78.

century, taking on the characteristics of that class and beginning to play an active role in the functioning of the community.

Their economic importance was growing for, after all, multiple stores and co-operatives notwithstanding, 'Most consumers...both in town and country, continued to rely on the local shopkeeper for their groceries and other provisions.'¹⁴⁶ As society became more affluent, so did the shopkeepers and as Rawcliffe's comment above reveals, they were able to afford (and had aspirations towards) properties similar to those being bought or rented by the 'true' middle class.

Naturally, Anthony Trollope, always among the most perceptive of Victorian novelists when it came to matters social, had a comment to make about this trend. The Conduit Street breeches-maker Mr Neefit in Ralph the Heir had, 'up to a very late date....lived in the rooms over his shop.' Trollope informed his readers that 'This is certainly not the thing for a prosperous tradesman to do. Indeed, if a tradesman be known not to have a private residence, he will hardly become prosperous.' Mr Neefit gave in to the inevitable, persuaded by Mrs Neefit, and became 'the proud possessor of a villa residence at Hendon, two miles out in the country beyond the Swiss Cottage.'¹⁴⁷ Longfleet and Parkstone can be regarded as the Hendons of Poole as the analysis of the population of these suburbs in Chapter 7 reveals.

Another indicator of the increasing importance and changing role of the manufacturers, shopkeepers and craftsmen is the composition of the town council and the membership of the many ad hoc committees in Poole. In Rochdale, as Garrard has shown, they provided around 20% of councillors in the mid 1850s.¹⁴⁸ Were they such an important force in Poole?

One result of the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act on Poole was a marked reduction in the size of the town's governing body, from (theoretically) no limit other than that imposed by

¹⁴⁶ J. Burnett, *op. cit.*, p.146.

¹⁴⁷ A. Trollope, Ralph the Heir, (1990 edition of the 1871 original), p.51.

¹⁴⁸ J. Garrard, *op. cit.*, p.20.

wealth and connection¹⁴⁹ to just 24, eighteen councillors and six aldermen. The 1835 Act divided the borough into two wards, each with nine councillors and three aldermen, serving for three and six years respectively. Membership of the new council became competitive rather than assimilative.¹⁵⁰

The first council to be elected confirms the domination of the merchants in civic and political life with four of the North-West Ward's nine councillors being Slades and two of them Adeys. Both wards elected a Ledgard. Of the eighteen councillors who took office in November 1835, only the baker and confectioner William Green and the tanner Francis Timewell Rogers were not merchants in the sense that the term was used in Poole.¹⁵¹

There was only a slight change in the nature of the council during the twenty year period under analysis, but that change was significant in that the 'deep sea' mercantile dominance was being diluted by men from a more domestic trading system, as well as from the professions and manufacturing industry. That elected in November 1846¹⁵² still included Slades and Adeys and also a Gosse, but there were now manufacturers such as William Pearce and Thomas Wanhill. There were also two craft based business men, the cabinet

¹⁴⁹ When it was enlarged (probably for financial reasons) in 1830 it consisted of 91 resident and 71 non-resident Burgesses.

¹⁵⁰ The six aldermen were elected by the councillors, thus allowing unsuccessful candidates entry to the council and, if necessary, a party with a small majority to increase it. This was the case in the election for the first Council in 1835. Source: Hillier (1985), op. cit., pp. 111-113.

¹⁵¹ The currier, Tito Durell Hodges, was also elected but his middle name clearly reveals his mercantile connections. There was also the 'gentleman' George Lockyer Parrott, a key figure in the struggle between the Tories and the Reformers for control of the council. He had a seafaring background as mate and master on ships engaged in the Newfoundland Trade, including those of the Adeys. Hillier (1985) suggests that he was related to William Green.

¹⁵² The information for establishing the composition of the Council was taken from the Poole Herald which published its first edition in that year. This source lists the councillors and aldermen present at the first meeting of the new municipal year, but means that any man absent on that occasion is omitted from the subsequent analysis.

maker William Waterman¹⁵³, and the publisher and printer John Lankester. There were professional men such as the lawyer John Durant, the surgeon Thomas Salter and the druggist Edward Mullett¹⁵⁴ and the retired naval officer Nathaniel Brice¹⁵⁵. William Furmage, landlord of the one of the town's two residential inns, The London Tavern and Commercial Hotel, and who ran a thrice-daily omnibus service between Poole railway station and Parkstone and Bournemouth¹⁵⁶, was also a councillor. So too was the farmer (or 'Yeoman' as the compiler of the 1859 poll book describes him) Wells Brockway Coward.

The struggle between the Tories and the Reformers for control of the Council during the 1830s and 1840s had meant contested elections, including that of 1846 discussed above, but by 1850 a truce had been established. As late as 1859, though, one citizen wrote to the Herald complaining about the influence of politics in local elections, noting rather tartly that 'Bournemouth and Swanage are even now going ahead of us without Town Councils. Is their deficiency in this respect the real cause of their success?'¹⁵⁷

Poole, of course, did have a council and the results of the municipal elections discussed in this section, those of 1850, 1855 and 1860, were all determined in advance, with the Tory candidates being returned unopposed for the North West ward, and the Liberals, also

¹⁵³ Waterman's son was involved in the Newfoundland trade, even at this late stage, working for the Slades. See p.260 below.

¹⁵⁴ Mullett has to be treated with caution, as he appears as a druggist in the 1835, 1837 and 1850 poll books, but as a corn merchant in the 1859 poll book and also the Post Office Directory for that year. The obvious conclusion is that this is a case of father and son with the same name, but there is no evidence for this in the sources cited above - no duplication of name, no 'snr' or 'jnr' and the voting pattern was consistently Liberal at every election between 1835 and 1865.

¹⁵⁵ Brice, who lived at 'Brice's Lane, Parkstone', was commissioned as a Lieutenant in 1806. The 1859 poll book has him as 'Captain, Royal Navy.'

¹⁵⁶ His advertisement in the Herald of 18 April 1850 states that he is 'Agent to the South Western Railway.' It also gives an indication of how long the journey to Bournemouth took, for his horse-drawn omnibus left Poole at 7.40 in the morning and returned from Bournemouth at 9.30. It seems to have taken about an hour and a half, presuming a short break in Bournemouth.

¹⁵⁷ P. & S.W.H., 27 October 1859.

unopposed, taking the South East ward. The same arrangement applied to the choice of the Aldermen with one from each party being elected.

Four years later, the occupational structure of the council had changed little, although Waterman had retired and had been replaced by the timber and slate merchant, Henry Harris Jnr. He and John Wills Martin, elected the previous year, reinforced the mercantile representation, but a second Wanhill, Thomas's brother James had been elected in 1847 thus helping maintain the loose coalition of merchants, manufacturers and professionals. This 'loose coalition' can be seen as lasting throughout the period under investigation and even into the next decade. A comparison of the council of 1835 and that of 1865 confirms this.

But in 1855 the council still had a majority of merchants, albeit many of them dealers in more domestic commodities such as corn and coal reinforcing the trend identified in 1846. It also included men such as Charles John Stone, a 'shipowner' in the 1850 poll-book, a 'merchant' in that of 1859 and both in the directory of that year. Only Pearce and Thomas Wanhill can be categorised as a manufacturers although there were four professionals (a lawyer, a surgeon and two chemists) and two whose occupation is not known for certain.¹⁵⁸

Of the 21 members present at the inaugural meeting of the council for 1860 - 1861, twelve can be classified as merchants¹⁵⁹. There were four manufacturers and two professionals and three others. One of these was a draper, James Davis. However, if the merchants are subdivided into the traditional 'deep-sea', 'near continental' and 'coastal' categories¹⁶⁰, then a slightly different picture appears. Only three of them, Martin, John Adey, and Gosse had

¹⁵⁸ G.A. Adams, 'gentleman' and Thomas Naish, another 'gentleman' whom the 1835 poll-book has as being 'out of business' and the 1861 census has as a 'fundholder.'

¹⁵⁹ If Isaac Steel and James Kemp were included it would be fourteen. Both are described gentlemen or esquires, but Steele was connected to several prominent merchant families including the Rolles and the Whites (and had been a councillor from 1835 -1839), and the Kemps mercantile background was discussed in chapter 3.

¹⁶⁰ These categories are used by the Department of Transport (the current arbiter in maritime matters) to delineate where a Master of a vessel is allowed to venture, according to the level of his professional qualification. 'Near-Continental' covers an area 'From Brest to the Elbe.'

been engaged in the deep-sea trades whilst seven were either coal or corn merchants, one was a timber and slate merchant and the exact nature of C.J. Stone's business is uncertain.¹⁶¹ The coal merchants were almost certainly coastal traders whilst those dealing in timber were probably 'near continental' although some was imported from Quebec. Corn merchants may not even have been ship-owners.

The change in the nature of the council is best illustrated by a direct comparision between the original one of 1835 and that of thirty years later, in 1865. The full membership of both is known and although the 1835 council seems to have only 22 members as two of the men elected were made aldermen and no by-election was called.¹⁶² The two councils are listed below.

1835

Robert Slade, Merchant
George Welch Ledgard, Banker
Robert Slade, Merchant
Robert Slade, Merchant
George Holland, Coal Merchant
John Adey, Wine Merchant
William Adey, Brewer
Samuel Clark, Wine Merchant
Thomas Slade, Merchant
William Green, Gentleman (ex-Baker and Confectioner)
Richard Pinney, Coal Merchant
Robert Major, Merchant and rope-maker
Richard Stanworth, Ship Owner
George Lockyer Parrott, Gentleman (ex-master mariner)

¹⁶¹ A gentleman of that name appears among Bournemouth's first Improvement Commissioners.

¹⁶² Hillier (1985) states, when commenting on the fierce political struggle for control of the new council and the appointment of the Aldermen, that '...the election result of 11 Tories to 7 Reformers had been changed to 15 - 7.' (p.113)

Thomas Rickman, Corn Factor

George Ledgard, Banker

Francis Timewell Rogers, Tanner

Tito Durell Hodges, Currier

Plus six Aldermen:

Robert Slade, Merchant (One of the above)

David Osmond Lander, Collector of Customs

George Ledgard, Banker (See above)

George Hancock, Coal Merchant

Thomas Gaden, Coal Merchant

Joseph Barter Bloomfield, Merchant.

(Two of the Aldermen, Robert Slade and George Ledgard, had already been elected as councillors hence the duplication of their names.)

1865

Councillors:

Charles Augustus Lewin, Timber, Deal and Slate Merchant

George Hancock Gutch, Coal Merchant

Christopher Hill, Corn Merchant

James Davis, Draper

William Lewis Cockram Adey, Coal Merchant

George Frampton, Coal Merchant

John Sideny Hudson, Pottery Manager

George Robert Penney, Line, Twine, Sailcloth Manufacturer

Joseph Harker, Solicitor

George Anthony Adams, not known

Frederick Styring, Brewer

Francis Timewell Rogers, Gentleman, Landed Proprietor (ex-tanner)

George Belben, Miller

Thomas Rickman, Jnr, Brewer and Maltster

Henry Harris, Timber and Slate Merchant

Edward Mullett, Corn Merchant

James Wood, Coal Merchant

William Rickman, Corn Merchant

Plus six Aldermen:

James Kemp, Esquire (ex-merchant)

John Gosse, Merchant

John Adey, Wine and Brandy Merchant

Isaac Steele, Esquire (Merchant family)

Thomas Wanhill, Ship Builder

William Pearce, Ironfounder

The difference between the two councils is a rather subtle one, depending mainly upon the meaning of the word 'merchant.' Again, using the maritime categories of 'deep sea' and a combined 'near continental' and 'coastal' it is possible to detect a marked change in the occupational structure over the thirty years. In 1835 eleven members of the council were merchants or had mercantile connections that can be categorised as 'deep-sea' whilst five were 'coastal or near continental.' There were four 'manufacturers' and two 'others.' In 1865, using the same broad descriptions, only one man, John Gosse, came into the 'deep-sea' category but 'coastal and near-continental' had risen to ten. There were four 'manufacturers' and six 'others,' a group which included the two 'esquires' and the elusive George Anthony Adams.

The clearest indicator of the decline of the deep sea trade is the number and type of vessels in port on census night, 1861. Four were foreign, from Italy, Hannover, Norway and Sweden, but the other 27 were British. Only one of these, the 550 ton Gartcraig of Poole, with a crew of fifteen, and sailing to Quebec was an ocean going vessel. Probably it, and those from Scandinavia, was engaged in the timber trade. The other British ships were much smaller, ranging from seventeen tons to 181 tons. The mean tonnage was 69 but eleven were less than 50 tons. Even more revealing is where these vessels had come from. Sixteen were from the south coast of England, including six from Portsmouth and three from Southampton, whilst of the others, the most distant ports were Goole and Armwlch in Anglesea. There was

one from Jersey. Thus the great majority of Poole's sea-borne trade was not 'deep sea' but mainly 'coastal' with some 'near continental.'¹⁶³

It must be stressed that much of this analysis is speculative in the sense that the allocation of people to the maritime and occupational categories is based mainly on the idiosyncracies of poll-book and directory compilers. These vary in minor but possibly significant ways and George Robert Penney is a good example of the difficulties that can arise.

His many mercantile ancestors included his grandfather, George Penney III, 'an old Newfoundland trader' who was also 'agent for Benjamin Fayle and Co., clay merchants' and a coal merchant in his own right.¹⁶⁴ The separation into 'deep sea' and 'coastal' is thus revealed as a useful but imprecise technique. George Robert, despite his mercantile background (and these included many of the established families such as the Kemps and the Harrisons), is classified as a 'Line, twine and sailcloth manufacturer' by the compiler of the Post Office Directory for 1859 and is simply a 'manufacturer' in the poll-book of that year. But he also had shipping interests (in partnership with his brother), and could therefore be regarded as being in the same general mercantile category as other shipowners of the period, rather than in manufacturing. His marriage to Emily Wanhill indicates the close links that existed between the leading families in Poole, whatever their occupational background.

Despite these reservations, it is clear that the occupational structure of the town's leading citizens was changing, but at the end of the period under review, it was the lesser merchants and the manufacturers who were taking on that leadership. The shopkeepers and craftsmen of Poole, the primary concern of this particular chapter were not, yet, on a par with the older, more established businessmen. This contrasts sharply with the situation in the great urban areas. As Winstanley says, 'Retailers and their allies, small businessmen and independent artisans, some of them undoubtably shopkeepers themselves, comprised a

¹⁶³ Census day, 1861, was not an exceptional one for the port of Poole. The Herald of 6 January 1859 reported 38 ships into Poole the previous week, each of them arriving from other British ports. Of the 26 departures, only the one to Italy was for a foreign destination.

¹⁶⁴ Cited in N. Penney, My Ancestors (250 copies published privately, 1920.) pp. 107 - 108.

significant proportion of all these potentially powerful elected bodies. They were members of all the major municipal corporations. Eighteen of the first sixty councillors elected in Manchester in 1838 were shopkeepers, all the Chartists on Leeds city council were small tradesmen and shopkeepers, while in Birmingham they formed the backbone of the 'Economy Party' in the 1850s and 1860s....¹⁶⁵

The only shopkeeper elected to Poole council in 1865 was James Davis, a 'silk mercer, linen and woollen draper' according to the Post Office Directory of 1859 but simply a "draper" to the poll-book compiler. He lived with his wife and their two servants, was a loyal Tory voter for thirty years and had become a Freemason in 1840 and eventually a councillor. But he was an exception, perhaps an overtly ambitious exception. His fellow shopkeepers were consolidating their position in a more modest and non-political way, in their choice of houses and quietly improving their standard of living. They were not seeking political power, in marked contrast with other parts of the country, particularly the northern examples cited by Garrard and Winstanley.

Shopkeepers were not well-represented on the many committees established in Poole as a reaction to particular events or demands. That formed to promote the town's participation in the 'Industrial Exhibition' of 1851 in Hyde Park consisted of eight men, headed by the Mayor, the banker Richard Ledgard and including Thomas Wanhill and the timber merchant Henry Harris. One interesting addition was Henry Reveley whom the 1859 poll-book has as a civil engineer. The Regatta Committee of 1850 consisted of fourteen men but not one of them was a shopkeeper.¹⁶⁶ Even 'the recently formed Poole Cricket Club' included a Durrell, a Gutch and a Welch, mercantile names all, in its team for a match against Christchurch.¹⁶⁷ In 1854, the Trustees of the Poole New Savings Bank, formed after the

¹⁶⁵ Winstanley, *op. cit.*, p.27.

¹⁶⁶ P. & S.W.H., 1 August 1850. The actual list of names contains several councillors, plus men with a nautical background such as Admiral Philip Browne and Captain Rogers, R.N.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

original had run into trouble in 1850,¹⁶⁸ were headed by four clergymen and consisting of twelve businessmen, eleven of them present or future councillors. The exception was the brushmaker, James Vernon.

One explanation for the lack of political or civic activity by shopkeepers is the long hours that they worked, 'their self-enforced slavery' as Winstanley puts it.¹⁶⁹ Despite employing assistants, shopkeepers needed to be present at their premises most, if not all, of the time and that time could be considerable. This was particularly true of those shops that relied on working class custom which by necessity shopped in the evening or on Sunday morning.

The movement to introduce shorter hours began in 1825 and was an issue in Poole in the 1850s. A poignant letter to the Herald reveals something of the empathy between employer and employee on this topic when responding to a barbed attack on shop assistants by a gentleman calling himself 'Crassus.' 'It is well known' wrote 'Crassus', 'that the young men...exhibit for the most, little aptitude for, or desire of improvement, and the sheer idling which consumes their present leisure, whatever turn it may take, is a patent notoriety.'¹⁷⁰

A shop assistant using the alias 'A Young Man' replied that 'Crassus' could not be a tradesman or 'he would have a little more pity for those who stand behind the counter. I can tell him that we have the same feelings as our wealthier fellow creatures, and can as fully appreciate the blessings of fresh air and healthy exercise after the labours of the day...' He added that 'we work longer than the mechanic and never get paid for overtime.'¹⁷¹

The original debate concerned a proposal that during the summer shops should stay open until eight o'clock rather than seven, but eventually it was decided that drapers' shops would close at seven, and earlier in winter. James Davis was a draper and his was a trade that was

¹⁶⁸ The Savings Bank's failure, brought about it seems by mismanagement, eventually paid out fifteen shillings in the pound. P. & S.W.H., 17 October, 1850.

¹⁶⁹ Winstanley, op. cit., p.95.

¹⁷⁰ P. & S.W.H., 14 April 1853.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 21 April 1853.

usually in the forefront when it came to social and economic change. Alexander notes that as early as 1833 the drapery trade was showing 'unmistaken characteristics of modern retailing'¹⁷² and Davis might well have been one of those who had organised his business in such a way that he could spare the time to involve himself in civic affairs.

There can be little doubt that by the end of the 1850s the social ethos in Poole's leading circles was changing. The economy was still largely mercantile but less international than it had been during the previous century. These changes at the top had involved several new people but it takes more than a few new entrepreneurs to alter the character of a community. The shopkeepers and craftsmen had failed to match the political advances achieved in the largest urban areas, but they too were making social progress. It is therefore necessary to re-investigate the four census districts discussed in Chapter 5 in order to establish the nature of this progress and also that of the many other occupational and status groups in the town and its suburbs.

¹⁷² D. Alexander, *op. cit.*, p.136.

Chapter 7

ANALYSIS OF THE FOUR CENSUS DISTRICTS, 1861

ST JAMES' DISTRICT 1, 1861

When the population of District 1 was analysed as it existed on Census Day 1841, it was maintained that it represented the town as it existed in its traditional form, being 'a totally urban area, largely inhabited by craftsmen and mariners, but with merchants and professional people within its boundaries.'¹ A comparative study of the same district twenty years later, on Census Day 1861, reveals evidence of the social change caused by the decline in the town's deep-sea trade based economy.

At this census, the boundaries of District 1 were exactly the same as those of 1841, but although the population of Poole had increased by 11.5%, from 8,751 to 9,759, District 1 of the Old Town experienced virtually no growth. In 1841 it had 860 inhabitants, 388 male and 472 female, and in 1861 it had 880, just twenty more, ten men and ten women.

Although the total population was almost the same, there had been a considerable amount of geographic mobility during the twenty year period for relatively few of the people living in the district in 1841 were there in 1861. Only 42 individuals or couples² can be positively identified as still living in either the same house or within the narrow confines of District 1. As there were 183 households³ listed in the 1841 census, these reveal, at only 22.9% still there, a high turnover in occupancy.

Those who were still living in the same house were of course elderly although a few were only in early middle age. William Williams, a 23 year tailor in 1841 and whose Church Street household then consisted of himself and three children who, by their ages were

¹ See above, p.123.

² In the several instances where a husband and wife, or parent(s) and child(ren) are still living together, they have been treated as one for statistical purposes.

³ The question of the actual number of households in the district in 1841 was discussed in chapter 5. The figure of 183 has been used in this occasion as the Almshouses are included in this analysis.

probably his siblings, was now living with his 37 year old Wareham born wife Maria and their four children. Another example was the boat-builder Thomas Bromby who was 21 in 1841 and lived with his parents and four brothers and sisters in West Quay Road. In 1861 he lived in Barbers Piles, off West Quay Road, with his wife Sarah and their six year old son. His father and mother, William and Ann Bromby, were still living in the same house but now had it to themselves.

Williams and Bromby were exceptions for as already stated, it was those who were middle-aged in 1841, particularly women, who were still there twenty years later. Usually they were widows although the New Street rag and bottle dealer, Sarah Davies, had never married. In 1841, at 43 she lived with her mother, also a rag dealer. In 1861 she was still earning her living in this way.

As would be expected, given the nature of the district, it was generally those in craft and maritime occupations who remained. The painter William Watts, now 77 but still in business and employing three men, and the 66 year old cooper Robert Wadham are typical examples of the district's self-employed craftsmen. It is impossible to be certain as to how active the various elderly craftsmen (and others) still were for the enumerator rarely used the term 'retired', thus implying that most people were still in regular work. There were those like Robert Cribb, a tidewaiter in 1841 and described now as a 'superannuated looker' who were clearly no longer working, but it does seem that (say) 70 year old journeyman shipwright William Barrett was still carrying on his trade.

One feature of the district as it was recorded in 1841 was the number of people from the mercantile and professional classes living there and, despite the attractions and growth of the outer areas, some of them remained. Robert Slade was still there, albeit apparently⁴ now living in Thames Street rather than Barbers' Piles. He was 65, a widower, and his household

⁴ 'Apparently' because the enumerator appears to have been a little idiosyncratic in his designation of particular streets. As map 4 shows, Barbers Piles and Thames Street were the names of two streets at the southern end of West Street and which could be regarded as one continuous thoroughfare. The matter is made more confusing by the fact that the Slades owned properties in both streets, according to Hillier (1985), p.206.

continued to be a small one consisting of himself, his 35 year old son David⁵, and two female servants. It is speculative, but tempting, to see men like Robert Slade who remained physically close to their businesses, as resembling Thomas Mann's fictional merchant, Thomas Buddenbrook. 'He knew', wrote Mann, 'how to handle the personnel, the ship-captains, the heads in the warehouse offices, the drivers and the yard hands. He could speak their language with ease and yet keep a distance between himself and them.'⁶ Robert Slade lived close to the Quay, his neighbours in 1861 being the 60 year old master mariner, Henry Wills and his wife, on one side, and a seaman's wife and her five young children on the other. Another young seaman, William Sherwood, and his family, lived next door but one. In 1841 many of those living around Robert Slade were also in maritime occupations.

Another Slade, 54 year old Thomas, also remained in District 1, living, as he did in 1841, in West Street with two female servants. In District 2 lived 49 year old James Slade with his wife, eight children and three servants. The census occurred just two months after the largest of the Slade firms in Newfoundland had collapsed, and the continuing presence of three members of the family in the Old Town at this stage in the history of the Newfoundland trade underlines the way in which they held on to their traditional approach to business.

In 1841 there were two households headed by women bearing mercantile names. Hannah Adey lived in Market Street with nine female members of her family (and a female servant) and Benjamina Penney lived in Church Street with three young girls whose surnames indicated that they were relatives. Both ladies were still living in the same houses but whereas Hannah Adey now had only one daughter, 31 year old Emily, at home with her, Benjamina Penney's household consisted (on census night) of two of her daughters, Benjamina Rickman Penney (age 35) and Elizabeth Kemp Penney (age 30), plus her granddaughter thirteen year old Sarah Harrison. The names are given in full as they once again reveal the extent of inter-marriage between Poole's mercantile families. Both daughters are described

⁵ David Slade, with his brother Thomas, took over the family's Labrador business just before his father's death in 1864. They sold it in 1872, thus ending the Slade involvement with Newfoundland and Labrador. (Hillier, op. cit., p.207.)

⁶ Thomas Mann, Buddenbrooks, (Harmondsworth, 1957 edition), p.206.

as 'schoolteachers' by the census enumerator, a indicator, perhaps, of the declining fortune and status of the family⁷

The only other person involved in mercantile activities as an principal participant was the 71 year old ship broker Joseph Barter. He continued to live in his Thames Street house with his three unmarried children. One of these was his son Joseph Orchard Barter who had only recently returned to Poole after working for 22 years in Newfoundland as an employee of Robert Slade and Sons.⁸

There was another person with a mercantile name still resident in the District, the clerk John Martin. In 1841 he was 38 and living with his salt merchant brother Samuel, but twenty years later he appears as a lodger in the household of the 76 year old journeyman blacksmith Richard Hobbs and his wife Harriett in Churchyard. Martin, a widower, is described as 'mercantile clerk, unemployed.' Samuel had fared better, living at Valentine Cottage, Parkstone, with his wife and seven children and a temporary governess. His eldest daughter has the description 'domestic' applied to her 'rank, profession of occupation' whilst his seventeen year old daughter was a milliner. It seems that some daughters of comfortable families such as the Martins and Penneys wanted or needed an occupation.

Although District 1 had lost merchants and professional people⁹, during the twenty year period, it had gained Francis Millns, a retired merchant from Hale Parva in Lincolnshire, who had introduced the Lewins to the town.¹⁰ Two other newcomers were the proprietors

⁷ There is no mention of the sisters working in Norman Penney's My Ancestors, although he does state (p.131) that in 1849 the 'financial condition of the Poole family was somewhat low.'

⁸ From his obituary in the Co-partner, journal of the Bournemouth Gas Company, June 1921. Barter was 96 when he died.

⁹ Examples include the chemist John Tulk Allen (seemingly out of the area), the shipbuilders Richard Stanworth (to Longfleet) and Richard Pinney (to Hamworthy), whilst William Jollife was dead by 1861. He was the last of his name to live in District 1.

¹⁰ See p.172 above.

of the Poole and South Western Herald, James Tribbett and William Mate who lived with their families next door to each other in the High Street. Mate is described as employing seven men, ten apprentices, three boys and two female apprentices.

There is another feature of District 1 which the 1861 census reveals and that is the pattern in the geographical origins of its population. Unlike the census of 1841, which gave only information on whether or not individuals were born in Dorset¹¹, that of 1861 stated the town and county of birth and the findings show that immigration into Poole was relatively short distance.

As would be expected, the majority of the district's inhabitants were born in Poole, taking that term to include Hamworthy, Longfleet and Parkstone plus Canford and Lytchett, villages which were already being assimilated into the town. However a large proportion were born elsewhere and the detailed analysis of their counties or countries of origin are shown below as table 7.1. The categorisation used was of necessity somewhat arbitrary because of England's lack of clearly defined regions¹² and simply divided the population into six groups - those born in Poole, the rest of Dorset, contiguous counties, 'near counties', distant (English) counties and those born outside England¹³. The counties defined as 'near' are those in southern England, other than the contiguous ones, including London, Essex and Gloucestershire, whilst those defined as 'distant' were those in the Midlands and northwards.

¹¹ Plus if they were born in Scotland, Ireland and Wales.

¹² Terms such as 'The West Country' and even 'East Anglia' lack the precision that (say) 'Brittany' and 'Normandy' have in France and 'Galicia' has in Spain. Witness the different territories allocated in modern Britain to the corporations providing utilites such as gas, electricity and water.

¹³ This includes two born 'at sea.' The birth place of ten other people is not known, because they themselves did not know so the enumerator's entry reads 'N.K.'

<u>Place of birth</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Poole	543	61.7
Dorset	174	19.8
Contiguous Counties	70	8.0
Near Counties	44	5.0
Distant Counties	29	3.3
Outside England	10	1.1
Not Known	10	1.1
	880	100.0

Table 7.1 : District 1 : Birthplace of population in 1861

The above table reveals that Poole was clearly drawing in people from other parts of Dorset including its more distant towns and villages such as Beaminster and Marnhull. There were of course many people born in places such as Wareham and Wimborne, towns only a few miles away from Poole and also in Christchurch. This last example was in Hampshire, as were Ringwood and Lymington so people born in those towns (and several were) are placed in the 'contiguous counties' category which provided 8% of the 'immigrants.'

When the percentages for Poole and Dorset are added together, a comparison with 1841 becomes possible and reveals that the rate of immigration had increased by a relatively small percentage. The figure for 1861 of 18.5% is only slightly larger than the 15.7% recorded twenty years earlier, thus suggesting that immigration into the Old Town was a not new but may well have been a permanent feature in the evolution of Poole's population. This is supported by Trinder's study of Banbury in 1851 where 'some 15% of the population' were not born 'in the parishes which comprised the Union.'¹⁴

Internal migration has attracted the attention of several historians, including Armstrong who, in his study of York , identifies a correlation between social class position and distance of

¹⁴ B. Trinder, op. cit., p.17.

origin. As part explanation of this he says that 'doubtless in general, the sort of man who would travel furthest had more education, skill and capital at his disposal'¹⁵ and this appears to be true of Poole. Those from the 'distant counties' included the Hanley born china dealer James Buckley, his fellow townsman Thomas Walker whose occupation was given as 'Manager of Quarry Works' and the retired Customs man Robert Cribb from Pontefract. The merchant Francis Millns from Lincolnshire is another example.

There were of course many people from the 'contiguous' and 'near counties' who also possessed skills, usually of a craft nature, such as the Sidmouth born brushmaker John Hayman who employed eight men and a boy. Those with education included a schoolmaster, Walter M. Thistleton from London whilst the bookseller and printer James Tribbett presumably possessed both qualities, and also the third of Armstrong's criteria, capital. He came from Devon and he and his Bere Regis born partner William Mate replaced John Sydenham as Poole's newspaper proprietors.

Valuable though the census information is in precisely stating a person's birth place, it also serves to indicate the peripetetic nature of some individual careers or lives. Robert Bromby, age 33, who unlike most men of that surname was not a boat-builder but an outdoor officer in the Customs Service, was born in Poole but his wife Jemima was from Titchfield in Hampshire. They had seven children, ranging in age from fourteen to one month, and whilst the eldest was born in Parkstone, the next two are recorded as having Emsworth, Hampshire, as their place of birth. The four youngest were all born in Poole. It would appear, therefore, that Robert Bromby spent a few years near his wife's home town for either career or personal reasons.

The population of District 1 was clearly a restless one, although whether this was by inclination or necessity is impossible to prove. Over a twenty year period more than three quarters of the population had moved out of the District, whilst many of those residing there in 1861 had a record of previous geographical mobility. People would travel in search of work and better conditions as the mid-Victorian boom continued, particularly from the

¹⁵ W.A. Armstrong in H.J. Dyos (ed.) *op. cit.*, p. 74.

agricultural areas surrounding the towns. The steady decline in the percentage of the nation's population employed in agriculture became manifest as the 1851 census recorded some counties experiencing a net loss for the first time. Poole, with almost 20% of District 1 born outside of the town but within the county, can be seen as a small beneficiary of this trend.

Several features of the households within the district as it existed in 1841 were analysed in chapter 5, and it is now time to repeat the exercise for those of 1861, beginning with their size. Twenty years earlier the average household contained five people, a figure which remained the same for both the mean and mode, but in 1861, whilst the mode was still five, the mean had fallen to 4.65. Correspondingly, the percentage of large households, those with more than six people, fell from 22% to 17.5%. However, whereas in 1841 the largest household contained eleven people, in 1861 there was one with twelve and one with thirteen. Both were in Salisbury Street and most of the inhabitants were recorded as 'lodgers' or 'visitors.' Elizabeth Dominey, for instance, a 55 year old beer-house keeper, had nine lodgers living in her house, all of them workmen or craftsmen from other parts of Dorset.

<u>Size of Household</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	7	8	3.7
2	30	4	15.8
3	34	2	17.9
4	32	3	16.9
5	39	1	20.6
6	14	6	7.4
7	15	5	7.9
8	10	7	5.2
9	6	9	3.2
10	-	-	-
11	-	-	-
12	1	10=	0.5
13	1	10=	0.5

Table 7.2 : Household Size, St James' District 1, 1861.

One explanation for this decrease in the size of households is that there were, in 1861, many more nuclear families than twenty years earlier. There were 56 of them, out of a total of 189 households, or 29.6%, a percentage almost double that of 1841 when it was 17.8. The definition of the a nuclear family used for 1841, 'households consisting solely of parents and children not yet married'¹⁶, was of course retained, thus allowing the inclusion of a family such as the Shepherds of Church Street. This household consisted of 72 year William Shepherd, a hemp-dresser, his 68 year old wife Harriett and their two unmarried sons George, a 41 year old cordwainer , and Thomas, a 28 year old grocer. The family was still living in the same house as in 1841, although in that year there were three children.

A second reason for the decline in household size is that there were only seventeen where servants were employed as against 26 in 1841. Thus the percentage fell from 14.20 to 8.99. The servant employing households fall into three main categories, mercantile, victuallers and the successful craftsmen and retailers. The mercantile households were (apart from that of the victualler John Shepherd) the only ones employing two servants. All three Slades living in the district had two servants¹⁷ as did the newcomer from Lincolnshire, Francis Millns. As in 1841, the servants in the Slade households were older than those in the homes of craftsmen. The two 'mercantile ladies', Hannah Adey and Benamina Penney, each employed one servant.

There were three instances where the servants were employed by victuallers and although these were clearly described as 'female servant' by the enumerator, the reservations from the analysis of 1841 remain, namely that it was the business rather than the household that was their true employer. The most pertinent example of this situation is that of yet another Shepherd, 54 year old John who ran one of the town's major inns, The Antelope in the High Street, and employed one male and two female servants in his establishment.

¹⁶ It does not include households headed by women described as 'seaman's wife' even though the inference is clear that when the husband was at home, a nuclear family would exist. It does, however, include those instances where children are described as 'son-in-law' or 'daughter-in-law' for this meant a step-child, usually from the mother's previous marriage.

¹⁷ Another Slade, James, in District 2 employed four servants.

The servant employing craftsmen and retailers were usually those whom the census enumerator recorded not only their occupation but also the number of their employees. Thus the ironmonger William Blanchard who employed four men and three boys and the brushmaker John Hayman (eight men and one boy) were among the craftsmen whose households included a young female servant. In total, though, only six households in this (craftsmen) category included servants, and to these can be added just two 'respectables', the schoolmaster William Thistleton and the gas works clerk John Budden.

The decline in the number of servant employing households can be seen as part of the worsening of the district's social mix. As Kiernan says when writing about Victorian London, 'In the earlier European mode of urban life, rich and poor lived close together', but as early as the eighteenth century, there had been '....a general separating out of the classes, a kind of social electrolysis.'¹⁸ Kiernan comments on how Edinburgh and Dublin had experienced a similar 'secession of the better-off classes from the old town' and although this trend did not get underway in Poole until the mid nineteenth century, the result was the same, with the narrow crowded streets close to the Quay, as 'grimily picturesque'¹⁹ as those of the large cities, being left to the working classes.

A third explanation for the slightly smaller average household size is that the number of 'extra persons' or lodgers could have fallen over the twenty year period, but this was not the case. The figure for 1841 was 31.5% of households having an extra person and in 1861 this had risen to 34.9%. As in the previous analysis, the 'extra people' were categorised as 'relatives and in-laws', 'apprentices' and 'genuine' lodgers, but the small percentage increase masks an important change in their relative distribution.

In 1841 seventeen people living in the district were described as 'apprentices' but twenty years later there were only two instances of someone with a different surname to the householder, but living with him or her and being described as an apprentice or assistant in

¹⁸ V. Kiernan, Victorian London : Unending Purgatory, in New Left Review, no. 76, November-December 1972, pp. 84-85.

¹⁹ Ibid.

the same trade. Thus the increase came from the other two categories which were almost equal in number. There were 29 households which included relatives and in-laws and 31 with genuine lodgers.²⁰

One factor that was constant during the twenty year period was the number of the district's citizens who had the right to vote. This was because the franchise was still based upon the rateable value of the property with £10 the threshold figure. In 1841 34 men had the right to vote and in 1861 it was 33. As the 1841 figure included James Slade who was then living with his brother Thomas, the former voting under the Burgess rather than the household franchise, the actual figure is identical. In 1859 the district maintained its Conservative allegiance with fourteen out of the 33 electors plumping for that party's sole candidate. He also received seven votes from those who split. The district had little taste for the radicalism of the 'independent Liberal'²¹ candidate, William Taylor Haly for he received only six votes, three from plumpers and three shared with the Conservative George Woodroffe Franklyn. No one voted for both Liberal candidates. The result for the district is shown below as table 7.3.

	<u>With Servants</u>	<u>Without Servants</u>
Conservative	4	10
Radical Liberal	2	1
Canford Liberal	1	5
Radical Lib/Canford Lib	0	0
Radical Lib/Conservative	0	3
Canford Lib/Conservative	3	2
Abstained	1	1
	11	22

Table 7.3 : The relationship between voting behaviour and servant employing, 1861.

²⁰ Four homes on census day included people described as 'visitors.'

²¹ The 'official' Liberal was the sitting M.P. Henry Danby Seymour, widely regarded as the 'Canford' candidate. His connection with the Guest family is difficult to ascertain with precision, but in 1852 it was close enough for the Dorset County Chronicle of 17 June to report that 'A matrimonial alliance is said to be on the tapis between H.D. Seymour Esq., M.P. and a daughter of Sir John Guest.' Despite this rumour, Seymour was still a bachelor when he died in 1877.

In 1841 the Tory support was boosted by those employing servants but this was not so apparent in 1861, As table 7.3 shows, the Conservative candidate had ten plumpers from among this group, plus three who stayed loyal to the 'Whig-Tory Compact' as the agreement that there should be a Tory for the town and a Liberal for Canford was called by Richard Sydenham in his short-lived Radical-Tory monthly The Poole Pilot ²². Two servant-employers from the craftsman category, the brush-maker John Hayman and the gas-fitter James Drake, plumped for the radical Haly. Both men were relatively young at 35 and 34 respectively, as against the mean age of 49.1 for the servant employers within the district. Although it is tempting to associate relative youth with radicalism, three other men in their thirties, the ironmonger William Blanchard, the outfitter George Squibb and the merchant Robert Slade all voted for the Tory George Franklyn, the last two plumping for him. Blanchard's other vote went to the Canford Liberal, Seymour. The politics of District 1, then, remained Conservative, even more so than the rest of St James. The Old Town was always Conservative but in 1859 the two Liberals made a respectable showing.²³

The occupational structure of the district was also changing with the mariners, the largest single group in 1841 at 27, increasing on this occasion to 34, five of them Master Mariners. There were a further twelve households headed by a seaman's wife, implying that their husband was away at sea on census day. The only other specific occupational categories of any size were the cordwainers and boot and shoe makers who now numbered only fourteen compared with 22 in 1841 and the victuallers with twelve. The district was still largely craft based with specialised terms being used by the enumerator or those questioned, to describe their occupations such as 'lath cleaver' or 'matron of refuge.'²⁴

²² Richard Sydenham was the younger brother of John and edited and published The Poole Pilot as a vehicle for promoting his Radical-Tory and pro-Poole opinions between June 1867 and September 1869.

²³ Franklyn had 83 plumpers, Seymour 60 and Haly 51. Sixty-nine other people split their vote.

²⁴ This was 45 year old Clementine Polden whose dwelling in Church Yard contained two 'late factory girls' and a 'late house servant.' All three girls were about 20 and came from other parts of Dorset.

Propinquity was used in the analysis of 1841 as an indicator of stability, with the ratio for District 1 being 1:1.18²⁵. In 1861 the ratio had fallen to 1:1.12 or 168 surnames for 189 household, a figure similar to that of Parkstone District 11 twenty years earlier. This lower ratio supports the suggestion that the district was becoming less insular and becoming the residence of a more transient population. Many of the old and established Poole names were still there, notably the Slades (four of them), Brombys, Musselwhites and Holloways, but, as noted above, there had been a small increase in the number of people living there who had been born outside of the town.

Twenty years is not a particularly long period of time in the life of a town and District 1 had experienced little, if any, physical change in the two decades under investigation. It had, however, begun to experience social change albeit only of a patchy nature. There had been a reduction in the presence of the better off and a consolidation of craft and other manual occupations. District 1 was, it is argued, transforming itself into a working class area.

LONGFLEET DISTRICT 9

Although the census districts for the outer areas remained the same as those for 1841, they were, for some reason, re-numbered. Thus the Districts 9 and 10 of 1841, the two Longfleets, became Districts 11 and 12 in 1861, whilst the two Parkstones, the original Districts 11 and 12 took on the designations 9 and 10. However, for the sake of clarity and continuity, the 1841 designations will be kept and the first of the two Longfleet districts will now be analysed as 'District 9.'

The social changes noted in District 1 were less apparent in District 9, as perhaps befits a more rural community. As Best says, 'the countryside that still surrounded at no great distance the urban-dwelling population...' had changed little and 'such changes as did occur were usually slow and piecemeal'²⁶ whilst Howkins maintains that 'England remained more rural in the third quarter of the nineteenth century than we often think.'²⁷ As was the

²⁵ 155 surnames for 183 households. See Chapter 5.

²⁶ Best, op. cit., p.84.

²⁷ Howkins, op. cit., p.14.

case in District 1, the number of people living in this part of Longfleet had remained static during the twenty year period. In 1861 there were 440 people recorded by the enumerator compared with 432 in 1841, and the balance of the sexes was even.²⁸

The number of inhabited houses was given as 95 by the enumerator, Jonathan Nippard, but like Justican in District 1 in 1841, he has clearly made at least one mistake. Each building was numbered 1 - 95 but against number 3 he has 'all absent' without saying who lived there, and against number six (Henry Grant, a brush maker) he fails to put a mark in the Houses (inhabited) column²⁹. Thus the total number of houses (six) at the foot of Nippard's first page is one short. A literal head count produces 93 households, or two short of Nippard's own total.

In 1841 the district was overwhelmingly agricultural but although farming was still an important source of employment, the 1861 census returns provide information that slight change was underway. This census was more precise on this occasion, providing information on the size of farms and the number of employees. There were seventeen 'farmers', three of them women³⁰, plus one 'late farmer'³¹, and three people (one man, two women) described as occupying so many acres of land as well as 26 agricultural or farm labourers. This total of 47 people is substantially lower than that of 1841, when 77 people were in these categories. If the number of men of working age, i.e. thirteen and over, is used as the basis, and only the males involved in agriculture included, the percentage is 29.3. The real decline was among the labourers, for the number of men designated as 'farmers' actually rose, from fifteen to eighteen.

²⁸ 220 males, 212 females in 1841, 223 males, 217 females in 1861.

²⁹ He did the same thing for numbers 41 and 59.

³⁰ There was one woman described as a farmer in 1841, plus another who was an agricultural labourer.

³¹ This was 75 year old Humphrey Saunders who lived with his son Samuel, described as 'occupier of 47 acres land, employing 1 man, his family.' As Saunders' wife Catherine is a 'milk woman' it is assumed that the 47 acres were being farmed by the Saunders family.

The economic plight of the agricultural labourers in mid century is well documented. Those in Dorset were particularly poorly paid, so it is not surprising that in a time of growing prosperity for the economy in general that men should leave the land and seek work elsewhere. The agricultural labourer of Longfleet seems to have been ahead of the national trend for the census figures reveal that the total of 'agricultural workers of all classes on farms' rose slightly, from 965,514 in 1851 to 983,824 in 1861 before going into steady decline. In 1911 the figure had fallen to 643,117, 'a rural exodus of considerable proportion.'³²

Agricultural wages in Dorset had long been among the lowest in the country, a situation discovered almost accidentally in the 1840s when a speaker in the House of Commons said that 'the condition of the peasantry in Dorset was little better than that of their fellows in Ireland - except that they did not lack potatoes.' This allegation was investigated by a somewhat sanguine Times newspaper in June 1846 but, to the general astonishment of its readers, it confirmed the poverty extant in rural parts of the county.³³ Burnett cites the campaigner for social reform, the Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne as remarking that 'The constant wonders is that the labourer can live at all.'³⁴

Osborne, the third son of a baron and 'a shrewd observer of rural society'³⁵ who as 'S.G.O.' vigorously used The Times letters column to advance his arguments for social reform, had held the living of Durweston, near Blandford, since 1841, but occupied a cottage in Parkstone. His general comments therefore drew some of their strength from his knowledge of the labourers living around him. The average weekly wage for farm labourers

³² Burnett, op. cit., pp. 152-3.

³³ Sir Frederick Treves, Dorset in Victorian Starvation, reprinted in the Dorset County Magazine, no.42, March/April 1975, p.20.

³⁴ Burnett, op. cit., p.151.

³⁵ P. Bailey, op. cit., p.117.

in Dorset in 1851 was 7/6d, against the 9/10d of all south-eastern counties and a national average of 9/6d.³⁶

The term 'labourer' continued to occur in the census enumerator for Longfleet's book but frequently with a specific phrase attached. Five men were designated as 'clay cutters', four as 'faggot makers', four as 'iron moulders', five as 'pottery labourers' and eight as 'tan yard labourers.' Thus the new industries discussed in chapter 6 were providing an alternative employment to agriculture for the men of the district and suggesting that change was beginning to occur.

For the farmers this was a period of prosperity,³⁷ Their place in the social hierarchy had long been, in Best's words, as 'an intermediate fringe order of farmers, hardly before the late sixties dreaming of pursuing any political, or social goals distasteful to their landlords.'³⁸ The Longfleet farmers were usually the tenants of Canford and their political loyalty to the Estate is revealed by their voting behaviour as described below, but they do appear to have been, at the very least, comfortably off. Seven of them employed servants and seventeen lived in property of sufficient value to entitle them to vote. This was a time when 'a gradual separation of master and man and missus and maid' was occurring, when some farmers were beginning to 'move out of their purely local world into a county and class based society.'³⁹ The Longfleet farmers probably failed to rise so quickly for they were still small men, for their land was, on average, 28.4 acres in extent, although John Jeffrey had 100 acres and Henry Scott 73. At the other end of the scale, there were farms of eight and nine acres, the former supporting John Saunders, his wife and seven children.

In addition to its agricultural economy, there were several features of District 9 which continued to make it different to the others within the town and these must again be examined

³⁶ Cited in Burnett, *op. cit.*, p.155.

³⁷ See, for example, Lord Ernle's English Farming Past and Present, Sixth edition, 1961.

³⁸ Best, *op. cit.*, p.84.

³⁹ A. Howkins, *op. cit.*, pp.43-44.

to establish how much change had occurred in twenty years. The first of these is the most basic one of household size which in 1841 saw the mean for the district as 4.5 whilst the mode was three. By 1861 the former had increased to 4.7 and the latter to four. Table 7.4 below reveals the range of household size.

<u>Size of Household</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	6	6=	6.4
2	15	2=	16.1
3	15	2=	16.1
4	19	1	20.4
5	6	6=	6.4
6	6	6=	6.4
7	9	4	9.6
8	7	5	7.5
9	6	6=	6.4
10	2	10=	2.1
11	2	10=	2.1
	93		

TABLE 7.4 : Household Size, Longfleet District 9, 1861.

In District 1 a fall in the mean household size was matched by an increase in the number of nuclear families but in Longfleet 9 there was a change which seems to invalidate this correlation. Although the mean household size had increased slightly, there was also a marked increase in the number of nuclear families. Of the 93 households, 47 were nuclear in the way the term has been used in this thesis - parents and unmarried children living together. The 47 families comprised 50.5% of the total, compared with 28% in 1841. Such an increase calls for an explanation and it would appear that it was partially caused by a fall in the number of lodgers or other 'extra' people. In 1841 this part of Longfleet had the highest proportion of lodgers in the four districts under examination at 47%. In 1861 the figure was 31 out of 93 or 33%.

According to the enumerator, there were very few 'genuine' lodgers among the 31 households for only seven individuals were described in that way. There were, however, four 'inmates' and two 'boarders' recorded, although the precise difference between the latter and 'lodgers' is hard to discern. Thirteen year old William Whitfield, a telegraph messenger living with 70 year old needle-woman Fanny Meadus was a lodger whilst sixteen year old Albert Guppy, a pottery labourer living with William Riggs and his daughter, was a boarder. The term 'inmate' is even more confusing for it suggests residency of the workhouse or some other place where individual liberty was restricted.⁴⁰ An example of its usage in this district is that of the household headed by 84 year old Henry Saunders. The other occupants were his 84 year old wife, 46 year old unmarried daughter and one year old 'inmate' Theodora Hooper. Another household, that of 61 year farmer James Burge, also included an "inmate", sixteen year old Elizabeth Scadding. The most obvious explanation is that these inmates were indeed from the workhouse but staying on census night in a private house.

Nineteen households contained individuals who were related to the head in some form and there were eleven different descriptions used ranging from 'father' or 'mother' to 'brother-in-law.' The most frequent was 'grandson' and 'niece' with four of each. But the overall pattern which emerges for the district in 1861 is that households had become more self-contained. The 31 homes with extra people and the fifteen with servants represented 49% of the total but as noted above, when those with servants are omitted, the resulting figure of 33% of households with an extra person was lower than the 47% of twenty years earlier.

In 1841 the district was notable for its high level of propinquity and this was still one of its features. Indeed, with 93 households and only 59 surnames, it had increased and produced a new ratio figure of 1:1.57, compared 1:1.43. The most common surnames of 1841 were still in evidence, especially that of 'Saunders.' In 1841 there were eight households headed by someone of that name but in 1861 there were eleven. The Cobbs and the Vines were still

⁴⁰ It was used in District 1 to describe the three young women living with 45 year old Clementine Polden whose occupation was given as 'Matron of Refuge.' The three girls (two aged 20, one nineteen) were all from other parts of Dorset and in addition to being described as 'inmates' were 'late factory girls' and a 'late house servant.' Perhaps they were pregnant.

there, seven of the former, the same as in 1841, and five of the latter, one more than in 1841.

The Saunders were, with the possible exception of the 37 year old carrier John, all directly involved with agriculture. Four were described as labourers, two as gardeners and four as farmers. This last category included 47 year old Mary who farmed ten acres. The largest Saunders holding was that of 48 year old Samuel who occupied 47 acres. Eight of the eleven Saunders also appeared in the 1841 Census, either as heads of households or as children within them.

This loyalty to the area in which they had been born⁴¹ was characteristic of this part of Poole. Forty households were headed by an individual, or were occupied by a couple or family who were living in the district twenty years earlier. There were also a further four individuals⁴² who were living within someone else's household but who appeared in the 1841 census. If the total of 44⁴³ is used as the basis for analysis, i.e. they were still living in the district and probably in the same house, then a figure of 47% is produced, revealing a more static community than that of District 1 where only 22.9% of the household heads were still there in 1861.

In a stable community such as this, the proportion of the population born outside of the county would be expected to be low and this had been the case in 1841 with a figure of 8.6%, the lowest of the four districts. In 1861 there were 41 individuals born in counties

⁴¹ All eleven were born in Longfleet, as were two extra Saunders who occurred within other peoples households - 76 year old John, servant to Elizabeth Pope and 13 year old Emily, house servant (and niece) to Ann Chaffey. Both women were farmers.

⁴² These were 75 year old Humphrey Saunders, living now with his son Samuel, 76 year old John Saunders, servant to Elizabeth Pope, 82 year old Lydia White, wife to the blacksmith Thomas White in 1841 but now an 'inmate' and living with Martha Cox and her 41 year old son (all three described as 'paupers') and 49 year old William Bastable, a lodger in the house of Isaac Sweetapple.

⁴³ All of the couples and families are again treated as one for statistical purposes. In fact, 69 individuals can be positively identified as appearing in both the 1841 and 1861 census books.

other than Dorset, or 9.3%, a figure which reveals virtually no change over the twenty year period. The greater precision of the 1861 census reveals that most of the migration into Longfleet from outside of Dorset was from the neighbouring or contiguous counties. Fifteen people were born in Hampshire and seven in Somerset, whilst there were five from Devon, two from Wiltshire and four from another southern county, Surrey. Only seven people came from further afield including two, Louisa Williams, wife of the Perpetual Curate of St Mary's Church, and her nineteen year old cook, from Rutland. Three of the seven were from outside of England, one each from Ireland, Scotland and Wales, the last being the Curate himself. Table 7.5 shows the precise figures:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Dorset	399	90.7
Contiguous Counties	29	6.6
Near Counties	5	1.1
Distant Counties	4	0.9
Outside England	3	0.6
	440	99.9

Table 7.5 : District 9, Birthplace of the Population, 1861.

Two indicators of relative wealth have been used in analysing the districts, the employment of servants and the right to vote. In 1841 these indicators revealed District 9 to be the least affluent of the four under consideration. In 1861 the number of households employing servants was eleven but the term was used by the census enumerator in a misleading way. In four instances the 'servant' was clearly employed to work in the householder's business, usually the farm, instead of in the house⁴⁴. Thus John Jeffrey, farming 100 acres, had two people within his household described as 'servant' in the 'Relation to Head of Household' column, but under 'Rank, Profession or Occupation' they are described as a dairy maid and a carter. The other three instances reveal similar situations.

⁴⁴ This was a similar situation to that existing in public houses.

Only seven households included servants in the 'domestic' sense of term and in all cases the exact nature of the work was indicated. 'House Servant', 'House Maid' and 'Cook' were the terms used. The seven households represent 7.5% of the total, an increase over 1841 of just 1.2% or just one more family. Again, little had changed in twenty years. As in 1841 it was the Curate who most clearly represented the servant-employing middle classes with three, a cook, a housemaid and a house servant. Again, the local 'industrialist' the tanner John Francis employed two, as had his predecessor Francis Timewell Rogers twenty years before. In both instances the incumbent had changed but not the life style.

Nineteen men had the right to vote on this occasion, two fewer than in 1841, and all but three of them were involved in agriculture. Given that the land they farmed was part of the Manor of Canford it is not surprising that virtually all of them plumped for the Liberal Henry Danby Seymour in 1859 for, as noted in chapter 6, he was popularly believed to be the nominee of their landlord, Sir John Josiah Guest. Sir John remained the Liberal M.P. for Merthyr Tydfil despite his move to Dorset. The only voters in Longfleet who did not support the "Canford Liberal" in 1859 were Samuel Saunders, farmer of 47 acres who plumped for the Radical Liberal Haly, and the beer house keeper and jobbing labourer Samuel Hunt who also voted for Haly but used his second on the Tory candidate, Franklyn.⁴⁵ One farmer, Granby T. Rennison used both votes, one for Seymour and one for Haly whilst the farm labourer James Brice (a farmer's son) and the tanner John Francis abstained.

This part of Longfleet was clearly changing only slowly, indeed it seems to be almost an area where change was non-existent, although the decline in the numbers of agricultural labourers is a small indicator of future developments. Despite its proximity to Poole, it still resembled rural Dorset rather than part of a developing urban area. An explanation for this apparent lethargy is that it was quite simply on the 'wrong' side of the town, being more towards the north and was both low-lying and relatively distant from the sea. In short, it was not near enough to Bournemouth.

⁴⁵ Hunt had plumped for Seymour two years earlier.

The seductive appeal of that town was caught by Hardy in Tess of the D'Urbervilles when he called it 'a Mediterranean lounging place on the English Channel' and ascribed to his flawed hero Angel Clare an impression of 'Sandbourne' that reinforces this aesthetic point - 'The sea was near at hand, but not intrusive; it murmured and he thought it was the pines; the pines murmured in precisely the same tones, and he thought they were the sea.'⁴⁶ District 9 was low and flat, without the pine trees and undulating terrain that were distinctive features of both Parkstone and Bournemouth.⁴⁷ As Springett says when discussing the growth of a very different town, Huddersfield, '...prominent members of the community sought to capitalize on the fruits of the early century and turned their minds to personal conspicuous consumption in the form of increased living space. Contemporary advertisements give some indication of what they sought. These refer to elevated sites with rolling vistas in harmony with nature.' The part of Longfleet under discussion did not offer these features and was therefore not the natural terrain for the establishment of suburban villas or for middle-class settlement when there were more attractive areas so close at hand.

LONGFLEET 10, 1861.

Although the second Longfleet district's number was changed from 10 to 12 in 1861, but like District 9, it will continue to be referred to by its original number for the purposes of this analysis. Thus it is described as '10', not '12' as given in the enumerator's book.

Among the statistical characteristics of Longfleet's second district which made it different from District 9 in 1841, were its larger population (722 compared with 432) and an imbalance of the sexes, with six women for every four men. In 1861 these differences were still maintained although a change in practice by the enumerator distorted the first of them, for on this occasion he included the staff and inmates of the Union Workhouse in his total population, whereas in 1841 that institution was a separate entry between the two districts. Thus although the population had risen from 722 in 1841 to 977, an increase of 35%, it

⁴⁶ Thomas Hardy, Tess of the D'Urbervilles (Harmondsworth, 1978), p.463.

⁴⁷ J. Springett, Land Development and House-building in Huddersfield, 1770 - 1911 in M. Doughty (ed.), Building the Industrial City (Leicester, 1986), p.41

included the 102 people⁴⁹ living in the workhouse. If they are removed from the statistics, the comparable population falls to 875, an increase of 21.1%. The second difference, the imbalance of the sexes, showed only a slight variation, even when the inhabitants of the workhouse are omitted. In 1861 56.9% of the population was female, compared with 59.7% twenty years earlier.

Sixty individuals listed in the 1861 census can be positively identified as living in the district⁵⁰ in 1841, but when the criteria for the other three districts is used and reference is made instead to household heads, this figure falls to 33. Thus 16.5% of households were headed by someone who had lived in the district for at least twenty years. This compares with 47% for district 9, 22.9% for district 1 and 17.6% for Parkstone 11. Again, the less cohesive nature of this district is revealed and confirms its more suburban character.

The number of inhabited houses rose by 31, from 161 to 199⁵¹, an increase of 17.1%, reasonably similar to the population increase and suggesting that household size would also remain the same. This was indeed true with the mean household size being 4.46 although when the mode and median are used, it falls to four. There were some large households including one of fourteen and one of twelve, both headed by gentlemen with prominent mercantile names. The former fits the stereotypical view of the successful Victorian family for it was headed by 43 year old coal merchant and ship-owner (and employer of 60 men), William Lewis Cockram Adey. He was a J.P. and became mayor in November 1861. His household in Longfleet Road consisted of himself, his 39 year old wife Emma and their eight children, and four servants. W.L.C. Adey was not one of those who had recently moved out of the old town to more pleasant surroundings, for he is recorded as in 1841 as living in Longfleet with his 30 year old sister Sarah, two brothers and another sister, as well as an 'independent' lady named Elizabeth Cockran (sic).

⁴⁹ Six staff, 96 inmates.

⁵⁰ A further seven people can be positively identified as living in District 1 in 1841.

⁵¹ Excluding the workhouse, but including the enumerator's entries 68A, 105A and 135A where a 'head' was recorded as being present.

The other large household was different despite it also being headed by members of another mercantile family. They were Fanny and Anna Slade, 36 and 33 years old respectively and unmarried, who were running a boarding school for girls. They were assisted by a French Governess and a 54 year old female servant. On census day the school had eight pupils aged between fourteen and eight, one of them the daughter of the French Governess, Mme Melanie Branquart⁵². None of the others were local, for five of them were recorded as being born in London and the other two in Wiltshire and Anguilla.

There were fifteen other 'large' households if (arbitrarily) eight is taken as the dividing line, five more than in 1841.⁵³ They had little in common that is significant, other than the majority of their members being young children, but only three households were solely nuclear, and five included in-laws. Nine of the households included servants. One eight person household that was very different to the other large ones was that of the 70 year old baker James Burden of Longfleet Road. In addition to himself, his wife and unmarried daughter, aged 36 and described as a shop assistant, the rest of the household was made up of people described as 'servants' in the 'Relation to Head of Family' column. One of these was a sixteen year old female house servant, but the other four were young men aged between twenty and fourteen and described as either 'bakers' (three of them) or 'shop boy.' Laslett's seventeenth century London baker's household, referred to in chapter 5 above, clearly had its nineteenth century descendants.

The percentage of households containing nuclear families in 1841 was 15.2 by 1861, with 46 examples, it had risen to 23.4. The occupational nature of these households had changed little over the twenty year period, being largely craft and artisan based, although in three instances the heads were small scale employers. George Purton, for example, was an

⁵² Mme Branquart had taken over the running and presumably the ownership of the school by 1869. (Advertisement in The Poole and South Western Herald, 21 January 1869.)

⁵³ In 1841 there were ten households of between eight and ten people (and one of fifteen) whilst for 1861 the two households of twelve and fourteen have been omitted because they were discussed in the opening section of this chapter.

innkeeper and saw mill proprietor employing four men⁵⁴ , John Talbot of Wimborne Road was a master carpenter employing two men and one boy, and George Knight of Regina Cottage was a master bricklayer employing three men and four boys. The only non-craft households were those of three inland revenue supervisors (two of them superannuated) and the National Schoolmaster, William Kennedy. The servant employing nuclear families were involved in the more genteel occupations, including a merchant and shipowner and several men in clerical posts, although there was one bricklayer who employed a servant but his business was sufficiently successful to justify a staff of six men and four boys.

The number of servant employing households in 1861 was 55, the same number as in 1841 but in percentage terms this meant a fall of 5.5 points to 28 from 33.5. As in 1841 there was a certain amount of clustering in the Wimborne Road and part of Longfleet Road (including Conway Terrace) where thirteen consecutive entries in the enumerator's book recorded the presence of servants. Four households employed two servants⁵⁵, the rest just the one.

The remaining households were those that included 'extra' people and these were again either lodgers and boarders, visitors or relatives. There were 76⁵⁶ of these or 38.7% of the total. The most usual reason for there being one or more extra people within a household (other than servants) was kinship. Thirty-five households included relatives and another four had both relatives and lodgers, boarders or visitors. 'Genuine' lodgers were present in nineteen households, three of these households also had relatives living in them. Boarders occurred in nine households although this term remains confusing for it encompassed both children and

⁵⁴ The Portmahon Castle Inn, which in 1841 was recorded as containing fifteen people on census day. Purton became bankrupt in 1869, with debts (according to the Herald of 13 May 1869) of £2412.16.3d. See below p.

⁵⁵ In one instance, the household consisted of two little girls (aged one and seven months) and two servants, an eighteen year old nurse maid and a nineteen year old house servant. The children were the daughters of the Rev. Eustace Conder, the town's Congregational Minister who was about to take up a new appointment in the north of England. The Herald of 24 January 1861 mentioned that after sixteen years in Poole, he had been offered a Pastorate in Leeds. He and Mrs Conder were presumably away arranging their affairs on census day.

⁵⁶ A 77th was the school run by the Slade sisters, but this has not been included as it cannot truly be regarded as a 'household.' A similar decision was taken regarding Mr Gill's school in Parkstone.

adults and could well have been simply the householder's preferred description for his or her extra occupants.

There were seven instances where visitors were present, plus five where the extra people are difficult to categorise. Mary Parmeter Coward, a 70 year old 'house owner' lived with 60 year old straw-bonnet maker Sarah Stone, but the latter's relationship is stated to be that of 'companion.' There were also two instances where the household included the servant's husband or children, whilst the baker James Burden's four living-in staff have already been discussed.⁵⁷ At 38.7%, the proportion of extra people had risen slightly since 1841, when it was 34.5%, but it confirms the somewhat ambiguous nature of the district. Its proximity to Poole gave it a distinctly suburban character compared with district 9 but it had some parts which were more exclusive than the crowded St James' districts.

There were two other indicators of the suburban nature of this district, the first being that only ten men were recorded as being involved in agriculture, eight of them as labourers and two as farmers. This was a decline from 3.6% in 1841 to 2.64%, small figures by any standards, but they serve to demonstrate the marked contrast with the other part of Longfleet. The second indicator was the propinquity ratio and again the trend was towards diversity. The ratio on this occasion was 1:1.19 (167 surnames for 199 heads of household) compared with 1:1.24 in 1841. Apart from the presence of five Barnes' and three Cowards and Curtis's, no other surname occurred more than twice. Four of the Barnes' were locally born, three in Poole and one in Hamworthy, were in non-professional occupations⁵⁸ and were probably related however distantly. The fifth, 32 year old Henry Barnes was from Ellingham in Hampshire and his occupation was given as Land Surveyor and Superintendent of Works. His wife and one of his children (and a female visitor) were all born in Newfoundland and a second child was born in New Brunswick. A third child, however, was born in Lymington. Henry Barnes would appear not to be related to the other four people with the same name.

⁵⁷ See p.233 above.

⁵⁸ Lodging House Keeper, Sergeant in the Police, Grocer and Tea Dealer plus a 'House Owner.'

The North American members of Henry Barnes' family were not untypical of the inhabitants of the district for they were among the 273 people, or 27.9%⁵⁹, born outside the county of Dorset. This compares with 19.4% twenty years earlier and confirms the changing nature of the district. As in the other districts studied in this thesis the 'contiguous counties' and the 'near counties' of southern England including Gloucestershire and Essex, were the main source of immigrants, with the 'distant counties' again being those in the Midlands and the North. There were also several people born outside of England, including fourteen Scots, ten Irish and three from Jersey. Given Poole's traditional trans-Atlantic maritime connections, it is not surprising that apart from four French people (two of whom were Mme Branquet and her daughter referred to above) the remainder came from North America⁶⁰ or the West Indies. The actual figures are show in table 7.6 below:

<u>Where born</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Dorset	704	72.0
Contiguous Counties	144	14.7
Near Counties	59	6.0
Distant Counties	23	2.3
Outside England	46	4.7
At Sea	1	0.1
	977	99.9

Table 7.6 : Longfleet District 10, Birth Place of Inhabitants, 1861.

The right to vote has been used in the analysis of the districts and an indicator of wealth and status and in 1841 42% of Longfleet 10/12's male householders were enfranchised. In 1861 the figure was, at 42.5%, virtually identical with 51⁶¹ men out of 120 appearing in both the 1859 poll-book and the 1861 census enumerator's book.

⁵⁹ On this occasion the staff and inmates of the workhouse are included.

⁶⁰ Nine people were born in Newfoundland.

⁶¹ Actually 50 in the enumerator's book but the Rev. Eustace Conder, who was absent on census day, was an elector.

Just as the proportion of the district's enfranchised men had not changed over the twenty year period, nor had its political colour. The three elections of 1857, 1859 and 1865 saw 34 men vote in all of them. Fourteen voted only Liberal⁶² whilst only three did the same for the Tories. The rest either split or abstained. Compared with 1841, there was clearly a move away from the Conservatives, and in the election of 1865 21 men voted Liberal (sometimes just for Seymour but usually for Waring as well), but only six plumped for the Tory Stephen Lewin.

In 1841 the Poole Union workhouse was a new building and the institution itself had only been established seven years earlier. Then it housed 127 people, five of them staff, but in 1861 the total had fallen to 102. The staff now numbered six, the master and his wife, a school mistress, a porter and two nurses, one each for the men's and women's wards.

Himmelfarb maintains that while Victorian England '...did not presume to 'solve' the problem of poverty, it did take pride in having ameliorated it.'⁶³ Whether or not it was truly ameliorated is open to debate⁶⁴ but certainly the composition of the workhouse on census day 1861 suggests that a change had taken place as the new Poor Law became firmly established as part of the nation's social system. In 1864 the Parliamentary Select Committee established in 1861 to Review the Administration of Poor Relief reported that 'the New Poor Law was functioning satisfactorily'⁶⁵ In Poole this seems to be true for despite the increase in the town's population there were fewer inmates than in 1841. However, they had different social characteristics than their predecessors.

⁶² Meaning that they voted for any permutation of the three Liberal candidates who took part in these elections.

⁶³ Himmelfarb, *op. cit.*, p.370.

⁶⁴ As Crowther states when discussing the conditions within workhouses, they 'could be as forbidding as the guardians and their officers made them.' (Crowther, *op. cit.*, p.225.) He also notes that in some parts of the country, notably the North-East, 'poor relief does not seem to have been regarded as a stigma.' (p.224.) Just how harsh the regime in Poole was is difficult to establish, but the impression given by the Guardians' minutes in the 1830s is of a tolerably strict system. (See p.104 above.)

⁶⁵ P. Wood, *Poverty and the Workhouse in Victorian Britain*, (Stroud, 1991), p.120.

There was still a substantial number of children in the workhouse, 35 if the dividing line is twenty years and 32 if thirteen and younger is used. However, in 1861, there were fewer young adult inmates than in 1841. Table 7.7 shows the age profile:

	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1841)	1	5	0	2	2	2	4	4
	6		2		4		8	
					7	2	9	13
						22	2	4
							6	1
								1
	(7)		(5)		(8)		(14)	
					(9)		(4)	
								(1)

Table 7.7 : Age Profile of Adult Inmates, 1861.

If the enumerator is to be trusted, inmates were generally people on their own, either people whose partners had died or they had simply never married. There were fourteen widows, thirteen widowers and 29 'unmarrieds.'⁶⁶ Only five people were described as married in the 'condition' column and there were no married couples among the inmates at all. There were six instances of unmarried mothers in the workhouse, with eleven children in total. Two of the young women's fathers were also inmates.

On this occasion the enumerator allocated an occupation to all but the youngest children (older ones being 'scholars') and this allows an insight into the background of the inmates. The name Bromby, for example, was generally associated with boat building and several members of that family carried on that craft within the town. Richard Bromby, a 69 year old boat builder who was an inmate of the workhouse in 1861, appeared in the trades directories of 1823-4, 1834 and 1841 (but not 1859), as a presumably successful small business man. He did not, however, live in a house of sufficient rateable value to make him part of Poole's electorate. A rather similar decline in an individuals fortunes must have affected 73 year old Alice Mead, a 'butcher's widow.' Her husband, Joseph, also appears in two directories, with a shop in Market Place in 1823-4 and in New Street in 1834. Like Richard Bromby, his

⁶⁶ Five of these were 21 or younger (but not children), so being single was not unexpected.

property was of too low a value to entitle him to vote and after his death there was clearly no money to allow his wife a comfortable widowhood.

It is obviously both speculative and dangerous to use the membership of the workhouse on just one day in just one year as a basis for drawing conclusions about the nature of Poole's poorest citizens and relating the conclusions to the general social condition of the town but it does appear that pauperism was no longer restricted to the lowest classes. The presence of people with occupations which normally would have given them relative respectability, such as 'druggist', 'tailor' or 'boatbuilder' suggests that the town's economy had still not returned to true prosperity.

PARKSTONE DISTRICT 11

The first of the two Parkstone districts was designated as number 11 in 1841, but number 9 in 1861 and, like the other two outer districts, it will continue to be referred to by the original number. The enumerator was Joseph James, landlord of the Sloop Inn, and the man who was successfully to sue the inhabitants of Parkstone, via the Improvement Commissioners, because of the state of the roads in the area.⁶⁷ In the earlier census Parkstone revealed itself to be an embryonic suburb, with a population which although largely urban craft based, also had a few enclaves where professional or independent people were settling. By 1861, the signs of change discernible in the earlier analysis were becoming more distinct with both Parkstone districts attracting new and more middle class residents.

District 11's population had risen during the period from 471 to 629⁶⁸, an extra 158 people and a 29.8% increase. There were still more women than men but the gap was narrowing and there were 338 women to 291 men, compared with 271 and 200 respectively in 1841. This suggests whole families moving into the district rather than single or widowed ladies.⁶⁹ William Pretty, 'proprietor of houses', was a native of Poole but his wife and five of his six children were born in Middlesex. Only Pretty and his youngest child, a year old son, were

⁶⁷ See p.266 below.

⁶⁸ This was still lower than Longfleet 10.

⁶⁹ In fact, 33 households were head by a male 'immigrant' and ten by a female.

born in Poole, suggesting that he had moved away and then returned. There were several other families where all members were born outside Dorset. In 1841 14.9% of the district's population was not born in the county, about the same as District 1, but fewer than the 19.4% of the other developing suburban area, Longfleet 10. In 1861 the figure had risen to 28.45%, a marked increase on 1841 and fractionally higher than that of Longfleet 10 where it was 27.9%.

Once again, the contiguous counties provided the largest number of immigrants, especially Hampshire. In total, that county and Devon, Somerset and Wiltshire were the birth places of 71 or 11.28% of Parkstone's inhabitants. When the other 'near' counties of southern England are added, the percentage rises to 21.14.⁷⁰ The 'distant' counties were the birth place of 30 people or 4.76% and fifteen were born outside of England. These included five Irish, two Scots, one Welsh and one Manx, as well as three in France and one in Italy. There were only two born outside of Europe, one in the Cape of Good Hope and one in Newfoundland.

<u>Where born</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Dorset	450	71.54
Contiguous counties	71	11.28
Near counties	62	9.85
Distant counties	30	4.76
Outside England	15	2.38
Not known	1	0.15
	629	99.96

Table 7.8 : District 11, Birth Place of Inhabitants, 1861.

⁷⁰ Surrey provided the district with 25 people, second only to Hampshire. Middlesex matched Wiltshire with 14 each, and were the joint third provider of immigrants.

The alternative to migration is of course to stay in the same place and in Parkstone 11 there were 45 positively identified individuals who were living there in 1841. Twenty two of these, of 17.6%, were now heads of households. In Longfleet 10 the figure was 16.5%, so again the two districts present a similar social profile, but one which is marked different from district 1 (in the old town) and Longfleet 9.⁷¹

The other indicator used to analyse the social cohesiveness of the various districts is propinquity, with the lower the ratio, the more fluid the society. In 1841 this part of Parkstone produced the lowest figure for the four districts with a ratio of 1:1.13 and little had changed by 1861. The ratio was 1:1.14, or 109 surnames distributed among the heads of 125 households. Only two surnames occurred three times, Hordle and Barnes. The Hordles were all living within a few doors of each other, in Church Street, and were entries 106, 110 and 113 in the enumerator's book. John Hordle (113) was a 57 year old shoemaker and was almost certainly the father of 25 year old pottery worker Albert (106), as both were born in Wareham. The third Hordle, 25 year old John (110) was a potter but was born in Poole and there is no obvious connection between him and the other two.

As there were five Barnes in Longfleet 10 (see p.235 above) a connection between them and the three in Parkstone is a possibility, especially as two of the latter were grocers, as was one in Longfleet. However, there appears to be no proven relationship. Even the three Parkstone Barnes had birth places which, although all in Dorset, did not readily suggest that they were related. Bernard Barnes, a 29 year old grocer was possibly the son of 68 year old Ann, a widop and a greengrocer in Longfleet, but there is no firm evidence to support this.⁷² Thus Parkstone households were far more likely to be newly established and lacking consanguine connections with their neighbours.

The mean household size in 1841 was 4.5, the same as both parts of Longfleet but smaller than district 1 where it was 5.1. In 1861 the mean figure had risen to 5.0 but the mode was

⁷¹ In district 1 it was 22.9% and in district 9 it was 47%.

⁷² Bernard was born in Tyneham, a village in the Purbecks, but Ann was born in Parkstone.

three compared with four in 1841. The presence of the workhouse in Longfleet meant omitting that institution from the analyses of the households and in Parkstone there was a boarding school which although a much smaller institution, could distort the figures for household size. This was at Heathfield House and was run by the Rev. Walter Gill, a 43 year old Independent Minister. He and his wife were both Blandford born, but their two eldest children, aged nine and eight, were born in Welford, Northants whereas the youngest two, aged five and three, were born in Parkstone. Mr Gill, therefore, had returned to Dorset some six or seven years earlier and established the school. The total household consisted of twenty people, ten of them boarding pupils. All were boys aged between fifteen and ten and all but three were from other parts of southern England. The three local boys were from Weymouth, Wareham and Blandford.

The question that arises from the existence of such a school is whether or not it can be truly regarded as a household for, at twenty individuals, it was easily the largest one in the neighbourhood. However, given that the school was clearly a very different establishment to the workhouse, it is included as one of the 125 households as it had very little effect on the mean size. With the whole school omitted the mean becomes 4.91 and with only Mr Gill's family and servants it is 4.95. Thus including a household of twenty makes very little difference to the figures.

<u>Size of Household</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	3	9	2.4
2	18	3	14.4
3	23	1	18.4
4	15	4	12.0
5	21	2	16.8
6	14	5	11.2
7	7	8	5.6
8	9	7	7.2
9	10	6	8.0
10	2	10	1.6
11	0	-	-
12	1	11=	0.8
13	0	-	-
14	1	11=	0.8
20	1	11=	0.8
	125		100.0

Table 7.9: Household Size, Parkstone 11, 1861.

The number of households made up of nuclear families was 33 or 26.4%, again very similar to 1841 when it was 25.2%. In 1841 the 26 nuclear households had a mean size of 5.57 and it was almost the same twenty years later, at 5.54. This similarity was maintained by all but six of the heads of the nuclear households being employed in manual craft occupations⁷³, twelve of them involving the word 'labourer'. Of the six non-craft occupations, two were police constables, one was a sub-postmaster and another a coastguard pensioner. The other

⁷³ The craftsmen included Robert Allner, a bricklayer employing two men and a boy.

two were a grocer and a 'proprietor of houses.' This last person was the 54 year old William Pretty discussed above, whose oldest son was a pottery clerk and a seventeen year old daughter, unusually, had no occupation against her name. The Pretty household would seem to have aspirations towards gentility.

Twenty nine households included servants, a figure which at 23.2% was slightly lower than in 1841 when it was 25.2%. Two characteristics of the servant employing households are immediately apparent, the occupation of the head and a marked clustering in particular areas. Only the grocer Henry Palmer, the butcher Richard Taylor⁷⁴ and another grocer (and baker) Haviland Habgood were not employed in occupations that were either mercantile or professional or described as 'fund holder' and 'landed proprietor.' There were also three men involved with the land, two farmers⁷⁵ and a nurseryman. James Piper whose business employed three labourers.

The main area for clustering was around Church Crescent and Parkstone Hill⁷⁶, the latter being an area where many of the properties had individual names. Thus William Pearce lived in 'Springfield', William Kendall in 'Oak Cottage' and Robert Slade in 'Heathfield.' The 49 year old landed proprietor, D.F. Grant Dalton, was obviously a man of means for his household consisted of his 30 year old French born wife, their five children and five servants. These were a nurse, a under-nurse, a cook, a parlour maid and a housemaid. One other household employed four servants whilst six⁷⁷ others employed three.

The number of households including extra people, other than servants, had increased from 40 in 1841 to 57 in 1861. This also rose in percentage terms from 35.0% to 45.9%.⁷⁸ The

⁷⁴ He is credited with three servants but two of them are described as 'butcher's assistant', implying that they were the business's staff, not the household's.

⁷⁵ One of them retired.

⁷⁶ Twenty one households between the enumerator's numbers 32 -70 inclusive, were servant employing.

⁷⁷ Excluding the butcher Richard Taylor for the reasons described in footnote 8.

⁷⁸ On this occasion the Rev. Walter Gill's school is omitted.

majority of extra people were described as lodgers, 26 of them, but there were also 16 visitors and nine boarders (excluding the school boys). A further 22 extra people were relatives of the heads.

Again there seems to be little pattern in the use by the enumerator of the terms 'lodger', 'visitor' and 'boarder'. The majority of lodgers were in unskilled manual occupations, often being described as jobbing labourers, but there was also a retired surgeon and a private tutor among them. Similarly the visitors, although in two instances described as fund holders, were more likely to be dressmakers or the widows of manual workers. There may be significance in that twelve of the sixteen visitors were female, and two of the males were the young sons of a female visitor, but there were also two adult men, a carpenter and jobbing labourer. The boarders were again usually labourers, although one was a merchant's clerk and living with a 'fundholder.'

The final factor that has been used in analysing the status of households in the four districts, the right to vote, has because of rateable values remaining static, tended to be about the same over the twenty year period. Parkstone 11 was a little different because the number of male headed households had increased from 78 in 1841 to 100 in 1861. This was almost matched by the number of the district's men appearing in the 1859 poll book. It had only risen by six, from 28 to 34, when compared with the situation in 1841, but this produced a figure of 34% as against the 35.8% of twenty years earlier.

This part of Parkstone, relatively close to Poole, was attracting wealthier inhabitants, but only slowly. Villas were being built and occupied by both professional and businessmen from Poole such as Henry Dickinson, William Pearce and George Penney, and newcomers such as Mr Grant Dalton with his five servant household and the 75 year old Mary Devon and her four servants.⁷⁹ It was still similar to Longfleet in its social mix but there were distinct signs of it distancing itself from that suburb and from the old town.

⁷⁹ Mrs Devon was from Staffordshire and lived at Parkstone Lodge with her 41 year old unmarried daughter, and a housekeeper, a lady's maid, a parlour maid and a kitchen maid.

It has been suggested that in 1841 the infrastructure of a viable suburb was beginning to take shape, and by 1861 this had been consolidated. The comfortably off were moving in and, as the clustering of servant employing households suggests, they were creating their own enclaves. Just as Bournemouth was beginning to experience a population increase, from 695 to 1,707 in the ten years after 1851, and then to rise dramatically in the next twenty years⁸⁰, Parkstone, too, was preparing itself for more modest but significant, growth. This growth was, like that of Bournemouth, to be based on its aesthetic appeal.⁸¹

COMPARISON OF THE FOUR DISTRICTS IN 1861.

In 1841 the four districts showed themselves to represent four different aspects of the social structure existing within the boundaries of Poole. Admittedly Longfleet 10 and Parkstone 11 had many features in common but the latter's distance from Poole, and its more attractive terrain gave it an advantage upon which it was beginning to capitalise. Twenty years later there were changes which generally were not too far reaching but do indicate that the districts were continuing to evolve in ways that would make them, eventually, discrete urban areas, in effect real suburbs of the town. The analysis of these characteristics as they existed in 1861 can be dealt with fairly briefly, for the twenty year period had failed to produce major changes. Instead there were indications of gradual change which contrast strongly with the rapid change that was underway in neighbouring Bournemouth.

District 1 was losing its better-off citizens and appeared to be in decline. As table 7.10 shows, its households employed fewer servants than before and it appears to have become a working class, almost 'inner city' area. District 9 was still largely an agricultural area

⁸⁰ 6,507 in 1871 and 16,859 in 1881.

⁸¹ See the print, appendix 1.

with by far the lowest number of 'immigrants', the highest proportion of nuclear families and the lowest proportion of servant employing households.

The other two districts examined, Longfleet 10 and Parkstone 11 were becoming more suburban, more middle class, particularly in the number of servant employing families living in those areas. In each, around a quarter of households were servant employing.⁸² The two districts also had similar figures for the percentage of 'immigrants' among their populations and these were higher than those of the other two districts. Table 7.10 below shows the most important statistics and includes a comparison with 1841.

	<u>Dist. 1</u>	<u>Dist. 9</u>	<u>Dist. 10</u>	<u>Dist. 11</u>
Household size (mean) (mode)	4.65 (5.1) 5.0 (5.0)	4.7 (4.5) 4.0 (3.0)	4.46 (4.5) 4.0 (2.0)	5.0 (4.5) 3.0 (4.0)
Extra People (%)	34.9 (31.5)	33.0 (47.0)	38.7 (34.5)	45.9 (35.0)
Nuclear Families (%)	29.6 (17.8)	50.5 (28.0)	23.3 (15.2)	26.4 (25.2)
Servant Employing (%)	29.6 (14.2)	7.5 (6.3)	28.0 (33.5)	23.2 (25.2)
Propinquity (ratio)	1:1.12 (.18)	1:1.57 (.43)	1:1.19 (.24)	1:1.14 (.13)
Right to Vote (%)	25.3 (28.6)	23.75 (24.7)	42.5 (42.0)	34.0 (35.8)
Men in Agriculture	0.0* (0.0)	29.3 (65.8)	2.64 (3.6)	5.49 (4.8)
Born outside Dorset	18.4 (15.7)	9.3 (8.6)	27.9 (19.4)	28.5 (14.9)

*There was actually one man described as an agricultural labourer, but he was 84 years old.

Table 7.10 : Comparative Survey of Economic and Social Factors in the Four Districts, 1861.

The above table confirms the growing differences between the two outer districts and the old town, but it also reveals the difficulties in drawing conclusions from the occupancy of individual households on a particular day at intervals of ten years. The most obvious

⁸² 28% and 23.8% respectively.

indicator of this is the question of just how the 'extra people' should be classified.⁸³ The confusion caused by the terms 'lodger', 'boarder', and 'visitor' has already been referred to and it is tempting to regard the choice of words as being based on the whim of the enumerator or his informant. Certainly the rise in extra people in the households of Longfleet 10 and Parkstone 11, and the fall in Longfleet 9 could be interpreted as the first two districts, which were undeniably the better-off districts, experiencing a decline in prosperity and their inhabitants being forced to take in 'paying guests.' In Parkstone, for example, this is supported by the fact that 'lodger' was the most frequently used description, but the true reason for the contradiction appears to be that the new districts were not exclusively the preserve of the better-off. As Jahn reveals in his study of outer West London, the tendency was for developers to build large houses on small estates, typically with frontages of fifty feet.⁸⁴ This helps explain the clustering of servant employing households in Longfleet 10 and Parkstone, and underlines the continuous social mix of the two districts at this stage in their development.

Household size is also rather ambiguous for whilst in District 1 the mode remained constant and the mean fell slightly, thus supporting the trend towards an all working class neighbourhood without houses inflated by the presence of servants. The conclusions drawn from the figures for the other three districts are less clear. In District 9, the mean increased slightly, from 4.5 to 4.7, but the mode fell from four to three. However, 29 households were headed by people over the age of 50, and a further fifteen by people under thirty⁸⁵, ages where it would be expected that the number of children would be low, because they had begun leaving home in the former instance and not many had been born in the latter. The reduction in the mode, therefore, could be due to the relatively large proportion of households headed by the over fifties. This is supported by the near doubling of nuclear families (from 28.0% to 50.5%) in the district.

⁸³ What cannot be known is whether the extra person lived there, was there temporarily, i.e. for a few days or weeks, or was just staying overnight, en route for somewhere else.

⁸⁴ M. Jahn, Suburban Development in Outer West London, 1850 - 1900, in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.) (1982), op. cit., p.102.

⁸⁵ Out of 93 households.

Despite these reservations, the four districts generally confirm the findings of 1841. Not only was there steady growth in the outer areas, there was also an element of social change, and even some polarisation. The old town was clearly losing favour as a place for the respectable to live, Longfleet 9 was not developing at all, but Longfleet 10 and Parkstone 11 were experiencing growth from two sources, an influx of the comfortably off from other parts of the country, and an expanding craft-based class.

Chapter 8

POOLE, 1861 - 1881

The third and final part of this thesis deals with those decades which, as conventional wisdom has it, began in prosperity and ended in depression. Whilst there is no doubt that the fifties and sixties were '....twenty years' when 'something like free trade nearly prevailed'¹, there is debate about the years that followed. Beales, in 1969, maintained '...that the economic climate changed in the seventies cannot be doubted.'² Best went as far as to precisely date the depression's beginning to the year 1873 and the arrival of competition in manufactured goods from other industrialising countries such as the United States, Belgium, France and Germany.³

This view has, of course, been challenged, even as early as 1886 when the economist Alfred Marshall gave evidence to the Royal Commission on the Depression⁴ and later, by historians. As Bedarida says 'A whole series of researches undertaken by economic historians in England and the United States have seriously shaken the idea of a decline in the British economy.'⁵ Best half acknowledged the scepticism when he referred to 'the relative (it was never more than relative) gloom of the so-called Great Depression.'⁶ Saul went further, entitling his 1969 work on the subject 'The Myth of the Great Depression.'⁷

Probably the only factor on which economic historians agree is that from the 1870s Britain's growth slowed down and was, in fact, slower than that of most other major economies. Where they disagree is how important the various causal factors were. As Aldcroft says

¹ Best, op. cit., p.19.

² Beales, op. cit., p.221.

³ Best, op. cit., pp 19-20.

⁴ Cited in H. Perkin, The Rise of Professional Society (1989), p.37.

⁵ Bedarida, op. cit., p. 101.

⁶ Best, op. cit., p.19.

⁷ S.B. Saul, The Myth of the Great Depression, 1873 - 96, (1969).

'After over forty years of debate, we are no futher forward....'⁸ The debate has naturally been concerned with the nation's economy but there may well have been towns, and areas even, where the economy was atypical. Thus Poole's experience during the 1860s and 1870s must be examined in the context of the changes, both social and economic, occurring in English society at the time.

Poole's population had continued to grow, reaching 12,310 in 1881, but the increase was largely in the outer areas. St James grew by only 364 people between 1861 and 1881 but in Longfleet and Parkstone there were an extra 790 and 1,122 people respectively. Hamworthy, too, saw growth, its population rising from 393 in 1861 to 668 twenty years later. More significantly, Bournemouth in 1881 had a population of 16,859. Spectacular growth indeed for a town which, thirty years earlier, had only 695 inhabitants, and perhaps even more importantly, in 1871, at 6,507, its population was smaller than that of Poole.⁹

The period in Poole had begun with two events which serve to symbolise the changing nature of the town's economy and the fortunes of its leaders, the collapse of Ledgard's Bank in February 1861 and, simultaneously, the collapse of the great merchant house of Slade. This symbolism can be maintained into the new decade at an individual, rather than an institutional level, for the Herald of 28 February 1861 informed its readers that the man who three weeks earlier it had said was 'believed to be the oldest clergyman in England'¹⁰ had died, having just completed his 94th year. Peter Jolliffe, the Rector of St James, was a native of Poole 'and a son of William Jolliffe, merchant and alderman....' and his death was marked in the town by 'the partial closure of the shops in the High Street and the flags of the shipping in the harbour being hoisted half mast.'¹¹ The funeral was attended by '200 merchant, tradesmen and inhabitants of all denominations.'¹²

⁸ D. Aldcroft, in The Economic Review, vol. 3.1, September 1985, pp 40 - 41.

⁹ In 1871 Poole's population was 10,097.

¹⁰ P. & S.W.H., 7 February 1861.

¹¹ P. & S.W.H., 28 February 1861.

¹² P. & S.W.H., 7 March 1861.

Jolliffe's death ended a link with the great days of the Newfoundland trade and, three years later, there was another death of similar significance. Robert Slade was 64 when he died and can be regarded as one of those who vigorously tried to keep the trade flourishing. He possessed, said the Herald, '...extensive estates in Twillingate and Fogo in Newfoundland' and had made several visits there, the last being in 1862. 'As a merchant he was well known in the Spanish, Portuguese and Italian fish markets'¹³ His funeral, like that of Jolliffe, was an impressive affair and the Herald's account further reveals the nature of the links within the town's business class for the chief mourners included his brothers-in-law John Barnes Durrell¹⁴ and Frederick Styring. The pall-bearers were W.L.C. Adey, John Wills Martin, John Adey, Jospeh Joyce and George Frampton, merchants all.

Although the deaths of Jolliffe and Slade can be seen as indicative of the passing of an era, the harbour and the quayside continued to perform an important role in the town's economy. There were still the links with North America¹⁵ but the coal trade had become increasingly significant. As the Herald reported in February 1861, 'From the 6th to the 12th last, both days inclusive, 21 vessels have arrived here with coal laden, ten of the number arriving Tuesday, bringing in all 3,500 tons of coal. At the present moment there are no less than eleven vessels laden with coals, lying at the railway wharf, many of which have to wait some time for discharge owing to the want of increased railway accomodation, there being only length for two tiers at the wharf.'¹⁶

¹³ P. & S.W.H. 7 January 1864.

¹⁴ The Durrells were mainly seafarers and merchant-traders. As noted above, p.33, David Durrell had once attempted to take advantage of the Garlands and John Barnes Durrell was once chief mate on the brig Mars (David Durrell, master) in 1834. His journal for one of his voyages survives.

¹⁵ The Delia and the Stadacona, for example, both of Poole, sailed for Quebec in May 1861. Both were Adey ships, the Delia, being originally owned by W.L.C. Adey and Stephen Adey 'the younger' but eventually ownership passed to the Gutch family in a series of complex transactions. She was shipwrecked at Colonsay in December 1865. The Stadacona was originally owned by W.L.C. Adey, C.A. Adey (a surgeon) and J.C. Adey but the last names sold his share to W.L.C. Adey in April 1862. She was lost in 1864 off St John, New Brunswick. (Information from the Registry of British Ships, Transactions Register.)

¹⁶ P. & S.W.H. 14 February 1861.

The ship building yards, too, appeared to flourish. In January 1861 the brig Why Not of Bridport arrived in Poole to be lengthened by fourteen feet at Meadus's yard, and in April the Herald was able to report that 'on Tuesday last a handsome cutter of 50 tons was launched from the building yard of Mr T. Wanhill....There are three other cutter yachts and a schooner in a forward state in Mr Wanhill's yard....'¹⁷

Away from the harbour the potteries were expanding, with the Hamworthy Architectural Pottery having a successful trial with a new machine at the Poole Iron Foundry which would 'revolutionise the price of encaustic tiles.' The machine was 'capable of turning out in the best possible style from fifty to sixty yards per day of these beautiful tiles of any design or pattern, whilst by the present method six or seven yards only at the utmost can be made in the same period of time.'¹⁸ One obvious destination for the tiles (and some of the coal) was Bournemouth.

In 1863 the High Street was enhanced by the erection of 'Two handsome shops' by the jeweller Henry Selfe. Adjoining the Wilts and Dorset Bank they were 'erected in a neat, unpretending style of architectural art.'¹⁹ Selfe was 31 years old and as was so often the case where innovation or entrepreneurship was concerned, was an 'immigrant', coming originally from Frome, Somerset and like the other newcomers discussed in chapter 6 he was a Liberal voter.

The year 1863 can perhaps be seen as the high point in Poole's post Newfoundland trade regeneration and the town, always ready for a civic celebration, used the wedding in March of that year of the Prince of Wales to Princess Alexandra of Denmark to do so in great style. 'In Poole' said the Herald 'everything went as merry as a marriage bell.'²⁰ Despite the rain there were processions with bands and banners, including one organised by the local Sunday

¹⁷ Ibid, 4 April 1861,

¹⁸ Ibid, 14 February 1861,

¹⁹ Ibid, 8 October 1863

²⁰ Ibid, 12 March 1863.

Schools who mustered, apparently, 2,300 children of all denominations. There was a dinner at the Antelope hosted by the mayor, the 37 year old miller George Belben Jnr, a man who the Herald described as 'the right man in the right place' and praised him for not grudging 'money, time or trouble in carrying out the celebration of this auspicious event in a manner worthy of the ancient Town and County of Poole.'²¹ There were balls and 'Tea and Amusements' at the Temperance Hall where 250 people had been expected but 320 needed to be (and were) seated. The bridge from the Quay to Hamworthy was illuminated but perhaps the most enterprising person was the landlord of the King's Arms who hoisted a banner 30 feet long proclaiming his loyalty to the Prince and Princess but also added the fact that he sold 'Cheap Potatoes for the Poor.'²²

Poole's perennial problem had been its poor links with other parts of the country and, in particular, its need for better rail connections. Trinder maintains that the people of Banbury thought 'like the citizens of similar towns throughout Europe,...that economic progress came on iron rails.'²³ Poole still lacked a direct railway line to London and, more immediately, to Bournemouth. Indeed, the joining of the two towns was being seen by the Herald and the town's business community as imperative because of the possibility of a line between Bournemouth and Southampton and on to the more populous parts of the country.

The Herald stated that it was '...an undoubted fact, that half of the visitors to Bournemouth come from the north and the Midland Counties and would therefore avail of the new railway accomodation.' It continued with a powerful economic argument for a Poole to Bournemouth line - 'Poole supplies Bournemouth at present with every article which is sea borne, and will retain this traffic with a rail, but give Bournemouth a line through Christchurch, and Southampton can compete with Poole, although the latter be only five miles distant.'²⁴

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Trinder, op. cit., p.77.

²⁴ P. & S.W.H., 8 January 1864. The fears were real, for a branch line from Ringwood to Christchurch, within a few miles of Bournemouth, was opened on 13 November 1862. (Atthill, op. cit., p.53)

A year earlier, in September 1863, one line had finally been completed when the Somerset and Dorset Railway was opened for traffic from Poole to Burnham, making possible the short-lived South Wales - Northern France link.²⁵ Poole's line to the Bristol Channel and on to the Midlands and the North, whilst not what the town really wanted or needed, was at least welcome as a step towards connecting it to the national system. The problem lay in the shifting perception of the town's geographical position. Poole was beginning to realise, because of the effect of the railways on Britain, that it was no longer a West Country town. It was nearer to London than it was to Plymouth whilst the capital was not much further away in an easterly direction than Bristol was in a westerly, and of course, the most rapid urban growth in the areas around Poole was occurring on its eastern borders. Hence the creation of the Bournemouth and Poole Railway Company, discussed in chapter 6 above by the two men who, on and off, represented the town in Parliament during the period, Henry Danby Seymour and Charles Waring, and the Poole businessmen Styring, Pearce, Belben and Lewin.

The Herald took on a more vociferous and urgent tone whenever it raised the topic of the railway. In 1864, clearly aware of what was happening to the east, it reminded its readers that 'Bournemouth is looked upon by every one as a place that is rapidly and unmistakably rising in favor (sic)', and almost anticipating Hardy's phrasing by twenty five years²⁶, it added 'It has sprung into existence almost with magical quickness.'²⁷ Again it used the economic argument that 'every one knows anything of the traffic into the place was from Poole; such being the case it is imperative that a direct line should be constructed between the two places.'²⁸

It returned to the attack the following March, emphasising Poole's role in the building of Bournemouth and the opportunities that its expansion would bring. 'We have reason for

²⁵ See above, p.169.

²⁶ See p.231 above.

²⁷ P. & S.W.H. 20 October 1864.

²⁸ Ibid.

knowing' it said, 'that during the next year there will be erected at Bournemouth over seventy villas and shops, the material for which will, with slight exception, all be drawn from Poole.'²⁹ It then spelt out the extent of this business, maintaining that 'The annual consumption of timber has already reached about 3,000 tons. Then there is slate, lime and bricks in proportionately large and increasing quantities. With cheaper carriage, bricks, especially white bricks, would be drawn from all around Poole. At the present time there are from 8,000 to 9,000 tons of household and brickburning coal annually used at Bournemouth, and every ton of this passes from the Poole Quays. Add to these things consumable stores, coming by water, and the cheaper rail carriage to Poole, instead of through Christchurch, and we need not be astonished at the vast amount of traffic which hourly passes on the road between Poole and Bournemouth.'³⁰

It is argued that the growth of Bournemouth could have served as a model for Poole, there being little difference between the two towns in physical attractiveness. Indeed, with its harbour and the Purbeck Hills as its backdrop, Poole could claim to have the advantage over its infant neighbour. Admittedly Bournemouth was, in its early stages, planned in such a way as to create an exclusive watering place. It was, says Roberts, 'the deliberate creation of local landowners who initiated development where otherwise there might have been none.'³¹ In fact it was a partnership between the landowners and local government (albeit originally in the form of the 'Improvement Commissioners'³²) with the intention of keeping out those they decreed to be suitable inhabitants. Thus 'Business premises were restricted to the Commercial Road to the north of the villa estates ; working class accomodation was entirely absent.'³³

²⁹ P. & S.W.H. 16 March 1865.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ R. Roberts, in Cannadine (1982), op. cit., p.176.

³² The Improvement Commission was created in 1856. (Roberts, Ibid.)

³³ Ibid., p.179.

Obviously Poole, with six hundred years of existence behind it and a commercial and seafaring ethos could not suddenly transform itself into another Bournemouth, but it failed to recognise the opportunities afforded by its western hinterland. It too had the pine trees that had been planted on the heathlands under Acts of Parliament in the early part of the century in order to improve waste lands. The trees, said the monthly journal The Poole Pilot, were 'not only one of the greatest charms and attractions [of the area], but...absolutely the greatest health-giving contribution to the locality.' The Pilot went on to boast that 'No other place in England or on the Continent of Europe possesses this singular advantage.'³⁴ In the aftermath of the second Reform Act, the Boundary Commissioners redrew the constituencies. The Herald was again accutely aware of the need for change, writing that '...it behoves those who are in charge of the interests of this locality to take care to lay before the Commissioners...the importance of extending the boundaries of the Borough of Poole, so as to include the whole of the building land lying just without the present boundaries.'³⁵ At a meeting of the Town Council it was decided, on grounds of expense, to keep the present boundaries despite, as Councillor Lacy reminded his colleagues, of the de facto existence of a new suburb in 'the village of Newtown where there were at least fifty houses on Mrs Solly's and others'land.'³⁶ This reluctance to acquire extra territory was not new, for as early as 1822 the old Corporation had taken little of the land available when much of the heathlands around Poole were enclosed. Under 'The Great Canford Inclosure Act' 6,063 acres of land were made available but the Corporation took only 300 acres in total, some of it the mudlands along the shore. Many leading citizens such as Christopher Spurrier, William Jolliffe and Joseph Garland became the lessees of several parcels of land, some of them extensive ones.³⁷

³⁴ The Poole Pilot, 1 June 1867.

³⁵ P. & S.W.H., 19 September 1867.

³⁶ P. & S.W.H., 26 September 1867. Mrs Solly was presumably the widow of Edward Solly, of 'Sandicote', Parkstone, who appears in the 1850 and 1859 poll books as 'gentleman' and 'esquire.' He was also in the 1865 poll book.

³⁷ The Great Canford Inclosure Act, document in Poole Borough Archives.

The Herald's enthusiasm for matters concerning Bournemouth went beyond advocating better physical links between that town and Poole. Its proprietors, James Tribbett and William Mate had already opened a branch of their printing business in the new town and their advertisement on the front page of the Herald included the announcement that they were also the publishers from 1868 of the Bournemouth Visitors' Directory. A list of the comings and goings of Bournemouth's upper class visitors had long been a feature in the Herald each week, but this new venture was more ambitious, for as well as providing a more of the same, it also contained items of news.

In February 1869 the Herald was pleased to announce in (capital letters) that 'A step in the right direction' had been taken by Poole Council when it decided to let or lease land adjoining the road from Poole towards Ringwood for building purposes. 'We are of the opinion' it said, 'that the Corporation has been far too short sighted in dealing with the heath lands. Several years ago Mr Stone called the attention of the council of the whole of the uncultivated lands at Parkstone and in the parish of Kinson being mapped out and portions of the property being offered on building leases.' It went on to note that 'We know that it is the opinion of some members of the Corporation that better terms will be obtained by waiting a few years. They suppose that Bournemouth will so extend as to render the Corporation property more valuable than at the present time.'³⁸

Someone else who anticipated the way Bournemouth and Poole were developing was a Wimborne solicitor, Charles Castleman. His name became synonymous with the tortuous route taken by the Southampton and Dorchester Railway (he was a director) or 'Castleman's Corkscrew'.³⁹ According to a letter in the Herald from 'A Parkstonian', Castleman had expressed an opinion 'that the greater portion of the land between Poole and Bournemouth would in a few years be covered with buildings'.⁴⁰ The fulfilment of Castleman's prediction

³⁸ P. & S.W.H. 4 February 1869. The Mr Stone referred to was Charles John Stone, shipowner and merchant, and ropemaker (he has two entries in the 1871 Directory) who seems also to have been a Bournemouth Improvement Commissioner.

³⁹ Atthill, op. cit., p.44.

⁴⁰ P. & S.W.H., 4 March 1869.

was to take more than a few years but developments to the west of Bournemouth and to the east of Poole were indicating how prescient he was.

In the autumn of 1866 the Herald confessed to having come across a development of which its editor was previously unaware, He had followed a new road 'opened under the western boundary of the Branksome Tower Estate belonging to C.W. Packe Esq., M.P.' and had discovered a 'magnificent building site' where detached residences were being erected. 'We thought we knew the whole district, but undoubtably the road just opened (from the turnpike and near the Bourne Valley Pottery) gives us new ideas of the neighbourhood.'⁴¹

The Branksome Park estate had been purchased in 1852 by Charles Packe and, as mentioned above, was in Dorset, whereas Bournemouth was in Hampshire. Poole was therefore the estate's 'natural home.' There were other examples. The Branksome Estate of George Durrant was in both counties, as were the fringes of the Talbot estate. Before the creation of the county councils by the Local Government Act of 1888 and the urban and rural district councils six years later, this area between the most extensive of Poole's boundaries, the parliamentary ones⁴² and the territory administered by Bournemouth's Improvement Commissioners was governed by the vestries or meetings of parishioners. In failing to make a claim for these areas, Poole Corporation showed itself still faithful to its commercial, maritime past. In 1822 this was understandable, in 1867 it was foolish.

Seaborne commerce remained important to Poole and there was still a certain amount of trade with Newfoundland. The hazards of that trade were illustrated in January 1864 when it was reported that the brig Superb laden with fish for the Mediterranean had put into Poole with 'her bows chafed with the ice.' The Superb⁴³ had at least achieved the main objective of her

⁴¹ Ibid, 4 October 1866.

⁴² See Map 2.

⁴³ The Superb was a lucky vessel and serves as an example of the longevity and strength of such ships. Built in 1825, she was owned by William Cox and two Thomas Slades. On the death of Cox and the elder Thomas Slade, she therefore passed to the younger Thomas Slade and was sold to Thomas Cox in August 1862. In January 1866 the Herald noted that William Waterman Jnr. had arrived in Poole on the brig Superb from Newfoundland where

voyage, unlike Cox and Co's Isabella which returned to Poole on 22 January having sailed for Newfoundland on 17 October. The Master had 'used every endeavour to get to Newfoundland, but the vessel was twice nearly frozen in the ice.' The crew had suffered 'great privations, having lived on bread and water for three weeks; and having also suffered from the cold of the Banks of Newfoundland.'⁴⁴

The Superb and the Isabella both survived but the pages of the Herald frequently recorded the loss of Poole vessels. The schooner Juno, another Cox ship, for instance, en route for Lisbon collided with an iron ship in the Channel and was sunk. The Juno and its cargo were believed by the Herald to be uninsured.⁴⁵ In October of the same year the Alarm, owned by Thomas and James Wanhill, was lost on a passage from Labrador to Oporto⁴⁶ whilst the Dove owned by another Wanhill, the clay merchant George, and returning from London to Poole, sank in the Channel in February 1869. 'Several of the tradesmen of Poole who had goods consigned to them have suffered considerably' said the Herald.⁴⁷ Another total loss occurred when the brig David, 138 tons, was run down by a steam ship 45 miles west of the Scilly Isles on 6 July 1867. Owned by Thomas and David Slade, she was on her way to Newfoundland with William Waterman on board as a passenger. He and the crew survived and on this occasion, the Herald was able to say that it believed the ship to be insured.

he had spent nine months inspecting the establishments of Messrs Cox and Co. In January 1871 the Herald reported that the 107 ton Superb, owned now by William Waterman Jnr. had sailed from Twillingate, Newfoundland laden with salt codfish, oil and salmon. She was battered by gales. took in water and the crew had to throw five tons of fish overboard, then a further two tons. On 21 December she was taken in tow by a Plymouth pilot cutter into that port where she stayed until 5 January 1871. She was towed by the schooner Sovereign of Southampton back to Poole. (Information from the Registry of British Ship Transactions, and the Herald.)

⁴⁴ P. & S.W.H. 28 January 1864.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 2 March 1865.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 23 October 1865.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 18 February 1869.

Debilitating though such losses⁴⁸ must have been to the shipping community, there was a more pressing problem facing them. This was the decreasing depth of the water over the bar at the harbour entrance. In 1866 the Quay Trustees sought to borrow £10,000 from the Board of Trade to remedy the situation, but four years later the shipowner and ropemaker C.J. Stone⁴⁹ claimed that 'the Bar is now completely closed up, and there is now only about five feet of water on it where thirty years ago there was thirteen feet.'⁵⁰ A letter in the Herald in May 1870 from 'An Importer', asking if it was a fact that at high water twelve feet was the maximum depth, added 'was there ever in the history of the place so small a depth?'.⁵¹ The problem was still exercising the minds of the Herald and its readers in September 1880 and a rather plaintive call in that newspaper to get it back to how it was 90 years before suggests a yearning for the great days of the late eighteenth century.⁵²

It has been argued that the 1840s and 1850s saw the development of new, non-maritime industries within and around the town and that these were indicators of a more prosperous future. Certainly the potteries and foundries, the shipyards and rope-works, and the retailers and craftsmen flourished in these years. Mention was made on p.193 above of work in hand in Wanhill's and Meadus's yards and of new developments in the Architectural Pottery, and the Herald occasionally reported other successes. Wilkinson's Iron Foundry, the new name for William Pearce's for instance, was visited in 1865 by a representative from the Herald, presumably the editor, who wrote that 'we were very agreeably surprised to find the amount of engineering work in progress there; orders from Egypt and various other countries being at that time in hand'.⁵³

⁴⁸ The Transactions Register lists eleven Poole ships lost during the 1860s.

⁴⁹ The 1871 Directory had C.J. Stone, shipowner and merchant, and Charles J. Stone, ropemaker, so there may have been two people but the evidence from the poll books suggests that it is the same man. As mentioned in footnote 38, he appears to have also been a Bournemouth Improvement Commissioner.

⁵⁰ P. & S.W.H. 17 February 1870.

⁵¹ Ibid, 26 May 1870.

⁵² P. & B.H., 23 September 1880.

⁵³ P. & S.W.H., 11 May 1865.

A different indicator of the prosperous nature of local industry was reported in the summer of 1864 when the workmen of the South Western Pottery and their families were entertained to tea at George Jennings' Parkstone home, Castle Eve Villa. About 300 people were there, including the manager John Hudson and Mrs Jennings.⁵⁴

It has been postulated, the two firms mentioned above notwithstanding, that 1863 was the year in which Poole's non-maritime economic revival began to falter, a full decade before the traditional start of the Great Depression. With hindsight, what can be regarded as signals were present in the first half of the 1860s. For example, the front page of the Herald in February 1864 carried advertisements for 'W. Wilkinson & Co. (Late William Pearce)' and 'Standing & Marten (Late Bourne Valley Pottery Co.).' The more astute local businessmen may well have anticipated the more difficult economic climate ahead, and whilst this is obviously speculation, 1864 was the year that saw the first of a new series of bankruptcies in the town, following on from the inter-linked mercantile ones of Ledgard and Slade.

In January the corn and seed merchants Rickman and Hill were issued with a distress warrant by the Inland Revenue for £1,182.5.3d duty owing, and in February it was reported that the firm had failed with debts of £15,987.4.4d. The total deficiency was £5,681.4.7d and creditors would be paid only 10/- in the pound, and that would be in four half-crown stages.⁵⁵ The same edition of the Herald reported the bankruptcy of the shipowner and merchant John Miller Bloomfield. His debts were smaller than those of Rickman and Hill but included £114 to Meadus and Son and £400 to Samuel Rogers. This latter gentleman was a banker's clerk, according to the 1859 poll-book but the directory for that year has him in the private residents' section among the town's leading citizens. In March Bloomfield's deficiency was recorded as £1,854.12.10d.⁵⁶

In August 1867 it was one of the most successful of the post-Newfoundland trade enterprises that was in trouble for the ship-owner and yacht-builder Thomas Wanhill became bankrupt

⁵⁴ Ibid, 27 January 1864.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 18 February 1864,

⁵⁶ Ibid, 24 March 1864.

with total debts in excess of £5,000. In court Mr Wanhill stated that the cause of his bankruptcy was 'losses in shipping and railway competition and insufficiency of profit to meet current expenses.'⁵⁷

Individuals, as well as firms, also became bankrupt in 1864, notably the surgeon Alfred Crabb. His deficiency was £3624.17.9d and his appearance in court reveals something of the lifestyle of Poole's leading professional men. Between 1 January 1863 and 18 May 1864 Crabb earned £2,495.1.3d and his personal expenditure (for the maintenance of his wife, five children, four servants and an assistant, plus their clothes, the childrens' education and the servants' wages) for the same period came to only £1,340.6.8d. His financial problems were caused by the purchase of Bronte House in Parkstone⁵⁸ for £3,000 although it was estimated in court that this property would only realize around £2,500.⁵⁹ Crabb was, however, listed in the 1871 Directory as still carrying on his practice in the High Street.

Another bankruptcy involving someone with a prominent surname was that of James Sydenham, boot and shoemaker of Parkstone and Bournemouth, in January 1868. His deficiency was £628.2.11d. A year later George Purton, sawmill owner and former landlord of the Portmahon Inn became bankrupt. His debts totalled £2,412.16.3d and were caused, he told the court, by 'The depreciation of property at Bournemouth, Depression in Trade, and the determination of some of my creditors to give me no time to enable me to make the most of my estate.'⁶⁰

Part of that 'estate' came up for sale by auction in June 1869. There were two properties, numbers 9 and 10 Branksome Terraces, Bournemouth, which were described as 'well-built Marine Villa residences' with 97 years of their lease still to go at a ground rent of £5.10.0d a year. The details of the properties reveal both of them to have been spacious and well-

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 29 August 1867.

⁵⁸ This property appears in earlier documents such as electoral registers as being owned by one Richard Morgan Humfrey, Gentleman.

⁵⁹ P. & S.W.H. 13 October 1864.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 15 May 1869.

equipped with a morning room, dining room, drawing room, four main bedrooms, two dressing rooms and servants' quarters.⁶¹

In August 1869 it was the turn of the ironfounder William Wilkinson with debts of £1,919, although his explanation was that they were caused by his liabilities to his late partner Stephen Lewin. The same edition of the Herald reported the bankruptcy of the butcher John Topp of Market Street with debts of £354.17.0d⁶². Ironically, the Herald was able to report that financial difficulties were not confined to the bourgeoisie and that they could also affect those at the top of the social scale, when the former Lord of Canford Manor and M.P. for Poole, C.F.A. Ponsonby, now Lord de Mauley and living in Lechlade, Gloucestershire, became bankrupt in November 1870 with claims against him of £22,801. A further £1,521.0.9d was claimed in December.⁶³

The 1860s were clearly difficult years for the economy of Poole, whether it was in the old, maritime sector or the new industrial one. In February 1868 The Poole Pilot looked at all sectors of the town's economy and was not optimisitic about their prospects. The Newfoundland trade had gone, so had the oyster beds and 'as a shipbuilding place Poole....has fallen to zero. One new merchant vessel now stands on the stocks in place of a dozen.' The Quebec trade seemed to have gone and even the timber trades were 'not of the magnitude of twenty years ago.' Although the building trades seemed to be holding their own, The Pilot was well aware of the reasons for this, especially as 'Within the borough...they derive little support.' They had, it said, 'been for twenty years reliant on Bournemouth.'⁶⁴ Apart from this, only the potteries were successful, being 'seemingly firmly established' and giving 'employment to many labouring people.'⁶⁵

⁶¹ Ibid, 10 June 1869.

⁶² Ibid, 12 August 1869.

⁶³ Ibid, 19 January 1871.

⁶⁴ The Poole Pilot, 1 February 1868.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

The bankruptcies described above ranged from the large, almost institutionalised firms such as the Ledgards and the Slades to the small, probably first generation, shopkeepers and suggest that the depression was underway in Poole a full decade before the whole nation began to experience it. Trinder's examination of Banbury in the 'Great Victorian Boom', for example, indicates a town of similar size to Poole whose prosperity was growing during the 1860s. As an inland market town, its economy obviously had different foundations, but there were certain industries common to both towns, such as the breweries and the iron foundries and engineering works producing agricultural equipment including steam driven reaping and threshing machines. The editor of the Herald, writing about his visit to Wilkinson's foundry in 1865, mentioned that he had seen that company's steam threshing machine at Wimborne fair.⁶⁶

Although, as Trinder says, 'slowly the shadow of depression crept over the town of Banbury'⁶⁷, this did not happen until the 1870s thus fitting in with the national experience. The reason for Poole seemingly experiencing the first stages of the depression early than towns like Banbury can be attributed to two factors, its still tenuous connection to the rapidly developing national communications and transport systems, and the attractions to investors of the expanding Bournemouth only a few miles to the east.

That Poole was in a state of economic depression is beyond doubt but the Herald, in December 1867, used Customs' statistics in an attempt to prove that the town's maritime trade was still flourishing. It maintained that between 1856 and 1864 there was 'a continued increase in the number of vessels and the aggregate tonnage' and that in 'the returns for 1864, 5, 6....a continued increase was exhibited.'⁶⁸ The Poole Pilot was not convinced. 'Figures' it said, 'may be made to prove anything' even that 'Poole, as a port, has not declined; that its property in shipping stands as high as it ever did... Well, pink eyes may be a blessing - that is they conduce to contentment. Normal optics, however, discern a very

⁶⁶ P. & S.W.H. 11 May 1865.

⁶⁷ Trinder, op. cit., p.147.

⁶⁸ P. & S.W.H., 5 December 1867.

leaden and dull tint in the aspect of Poole trade now and in the future.⁶⁹ The shipping intelligence columns of the Herald each week tend to support the Pilot's pessimism.

There was one topic on which the Herald and the Pilot were agreed and that was that a railway was desperately needed especially as the roads between Poole and Bournemouth were in a poor condition. In 1861 a meeting of the town council was told that the roads in Parkstone were 'in a most disgraceful condition'⁷⁰ and although in 1864 the new road to Parkstone was described as being 'a considerable improvement'⁷¹, it was only nine months later that the landlord of the Sloop Inn, Joseph James, brought a case against the Surveyors of Parkstone (representing the inhabitants) on the state of the road from the Longfleet-Parkstone boundary to Castle Hill. James won his case and the inhabitants were ordered to pay £40 to repair the road.⁷² The need for a good road was essential for, as 'A Poole Man' wrote in 1866 when asking why a railway line of almost 40 miles between Southampton and Bournemouth could be built, but not a five mile one between the latter town and Poole, 'the traffic on the road is enormous.'⁷³

An extra dimension to Poole's railway connections was its continuing belief that it was the natural place for the rail-steamship service to France. The service run by the Somerset and Dorset Joint Railway had been suspended in February 1867 but in May of that year there were attempts to start a new one. The sum of £4,000 needed to be raised by issuing 800 shares at £25 each and by the end of the month the Herald was proclaiming that 'only about 100 shares were unallotted.'⁷⁴ A week later it was proudly announcing that the steam ship Spicy had been purchased and that Captain Stephen Adey was to be her master. Adey and his chosen crew travelled to Liverpool and brought her back to Poole. The ship, which was

⁶⁹ The Poole Pilot, 1 February 1868.

⁷⁰ P. & S.W.H. 17 February 1861.

⁷¹ Ibid, 16 June 1864.

⁷² Ibid, 16 March 1865.

⁷³ Ibid, 4 October 1866.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 30 May 1867.

164 feet long and capable of speeds in excess of eleven knots, arrived on Sunday 16 June and was 'a very handsome paddle-boat.'⁷⁵ It appeared to have been a good investment, for The Poole Pilot approved, saying that 'The shareholders of the new company may also be congratulated....on the possession of such a suitable vessel as the Spicy on such economical terms....'⁷⁶

She sailed for Cherbourg the next day and arrived back in Poole 'heavily laden with potatoes, butter, eggs, poultry, fruit etc.' Most of the cargo was sent to London although some went to Poole traders.⁷⁷ She was still sailing in December but by August of the following year she was being used for excursions from Bournemouth to Swanage⁷⁸, a sure sign of impending trouble. A month later the Pilot was reporting that 'Trade between France and Poole is now remitted to the gloom of an indefinite, vast and improbable future.'⁷⁹ In May 1868 it had to announce that Cherbourg was 'lost to Poole' as the South Western Railway Company had begun a steam ship service to that port from Southampton. 'Poole', it said 'was handicapped by its vicious railway system.'⁸⁰

This section has drawn heavily upon the pages of the Herald and the thoughts and opinions of its editor and to a lesser extent, The Poole Pilot and its editor. Using such sources, though, does allow a sense of continuity, of events unfolding on a weekly or monthly basis and through its correspondence columns the opinions of ordinary citizens, including visitors, were made public. Thus a Londoner calling himself 'A.Z.' wrote to the Herald in September 1869 and, like an earlier correspondent 'Pro Bono Publico', in 1848,⁸¹ made some pointed

⁷⁵ Ibid, 20 June 1867.

⁷⁶ The Poole Pilot, 1 August 1868.

⁷⁷ P. & S.W.H., 27 June 1867.

⁷⁸ The Poole Pilot, 1 August 1868.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 1 September 1868.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 1 May 1869.

⁸¹ See p.167 above.

comments about Poole. 'I was forcibly struck' he wrote, 'with its similitude to a decayed, elderly gentleman, one who had evidently 'seen better days' and whose pockets had been 'well lined' but alas! like many more, now felt the painful reverse and who by his naples (sic) and unbrushed hat and coat, but too clearly indicated that with his gold he had lost much of his spirits and self respect.'⁸²

A.Z.'s comments were clearly valid and his extended metaphor has the ring of truth about it. With the loss of wealth had come a certain lethargy. Candidates for the council were unopposed at election time. In 1871, at a meeting of the Liberal Burgesses, a resolution was passed that 'it was undesirable there should be a contest this year.' The Tories, too, supported this 'pacific policy' and the town was thus 'spared all the excitement of a party struggle.'⁸³ The word 'spared' is significant for it implies that an election was a nuisance and that a quiet, consensual life was more appealing, at least to the town's political leaders.

The council itself had been slowly changing. As late as 1871 there were still a few old, mercantile names among its members, notably John Gosse, W.L.C. Adey, Henry Harris⁸⁴, George Frampton and two members of the Penney family. It also included professional men such as the solicitor Joseph Harker and the surgeons Horatio Hamilton and H.D. Ellis but there were manufacturers and shopkeepers among its members. In 1879 the mercantile names were gone, replaced by more solicitors, shopkeepers, craftsmen and manufacturers such as Henry Thomas Trevanion⁸⁵, the grocer and baker John Gifford, the builder Ebenezer Blanchard and the brushmaker John Hayman. Worthy men all, but ones who lacked the global vision and boundless confidence of their predecessors.

⁸² P. & S.W.H. 2 September 1869.

⁸³ Ibid, 26 October 1871.

⁸⁴ Henry Harris, timber merchant, died (unmarried) 30 May 1871 at the age of 74. The Herald said he was 'possessed of considerable property and probably was one of the most wealthy men in the town, and his great wealth...will pass to his sister's family.' (Obituary, P. & S.W.H. 4 June 1871.)

⁸⁵ A solicitor who was originally from Lincolnshire.

THE FOUR CENSUS DISTRICTS IN 1881

The changes, both social and demographic, identified as having occurred between 1841 and 1861 indicated that each of the four districts was taking on its own distinctive character. The purpose of this section is to investigate whether these trends were continuing in 1881 and to compare the four districts with each other over the forty year period, beginning with a brief survey of each of them.

	<u>1841</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1881</u>
Population	860	880	856
Born outside Dorset (%)	15.7	18.5	22.2
Household size (mean) (mode)	5.1 5	4.65 5	4.75 2
Nuclear Families (%)	17.8	29.6	35.5
Servant Employing (%)	14.2	8.99	8.3
Extra People (%)	31.5	34.9	26.5
Right to Vote (Number)	34	33	-
Propinquity (ratio)	1:1.18	1:1.12	1:1.18

Table 8.1 : Characteristics of St James' District 1, 1841 - 1881

St James' 1, which it is maintained was representative of most, if not all, of the old town was notable for the fact that its population remained static throughout the period. In 1841 it was 860, rose to 880 in 1861 but had fallen back to 856 twenty years later. It was, of course, in an area where geography allowed little expansion but even so, it does imply that this part of Poole was out of favour as a place in which to settle. However, over the forty year period it did see a slight increase in the proportion of its population born outside of the county, the new people coming mainly from the contiguous counties, especially Hampshire.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ 5.6% of the district's population were born in Hampshire, and 2.8% in Somerset, the next most frequently named county of birth.

The mean household size was smaller in 1881 than it was in 1841 but it is difficult to attach social significance to this. One notable change, though, was the marked rise in the percentage of households consisting of nuclear families, from 17.8% in 1841 to 35.5% forty years later. There was a corresponding fall in the percentage of houses with extra people, whilst propinquity, after falling in 1861, was back at its 1841 level of 1:1.18.

One clear trend to emerge was the increasingly working class nature of the district, as revealed by the continuing decline in the percentage of servant employing households, from 14.1% in 1841 to 8.3% in 1881. Those employing servants were usually either the successful manufacturer⁸⁵ or businessmen still residing in the area such as the brushmaker John Hayman and the printer William Mate, or the residual merchants including David and Thomas Slade, and the cornfactor Edmund Oakley. As table 8.2 below shows, the district had the lowest percentage of servant employing households of the four, lower even than Longfleet district 9 where it had actually risen slightly over the forty year period.

Longfleet 9 had also experienced a fall in its population between 1841 and 1881, from 432 to 400, although the census enumerator's occasional inclusion of the workhouse in his figures does distort the figures. Table 8.2 has the relevant information:

	<u>1841</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1881</u>
Population	432	440	400
Born outside Dorset (%)	8.6	9.3	16.75
Household Size (mean) (mode)	4.5 3	4.7 4	4.87 3
Nuclear Families (%)	28.0	50.5	48.1
Servant Employing (%)	6.3	7.5	8.6
Extra People	47.0	33.0	33.3
Right to Vote (number)	21	19	-
Propinquity (ratio)	1:1.43	1:1.57	1:1.31
Men in Agriculture (%)	65.8	29.3	38.7

Table 8.2 : Characteristics of Longfleet District 9, 1841 - 1881.

⁸⁵ Thomas Tilsed, house builder employing seven men and 4 boys, was another example. His household included a thirteen year old 'nursemaid.'

The district had, like St James' 1, experienced an increase immigration with 16.75% of its non-workhouse population in 1881 being born outside of Dorset. Again Hampshire was the birthplace of the great majority of newcomers, 40% of them being born in that county⁸⁶, with even the other contiguous counties providing few people. Only thirteen people were born in Wiltshire, Devon and Somerset, or 19% of the total immigrants. Propinquity, however, had fallen although Longfleet 9 was still the district with the lowest number of surnames in relation to the number of households.

Household size in the district had increased over the period and, as was the case in District 1, the percentage of houses occupied by nuclear families had also grown. However, the main increase had occurred between 1841 and 1861, and the figure had been maintained (just) in 1881. Servant employing, never a major feature of this district, had increased slightly over the forty year period. The most distinctive characteristic of Longfleet 9 was its agriculture-based economy and again the changes that occurred between 1841 and 1861 were more marked than those of the second period. The fall in the number of men employed in agriculture, from 77 to 42 between 1841 and 1861, had not continued and, indeed, there had been a small rise, despite the fall in the total population.

It is when the other two districts are studied that the real changes occurring around Poole are identified. Both Longfleet 10 and Parkstone 11 had experienced substantial growth, the former by 58.5% since 1861 and the latter by 60%.⁸⁷ Table 8.3 below shows the changes in Longfleet 10.

⁸⁶ As a percentage of the Total population, they were only 5%.

⁸⁷ By 1881 Parkstone was actually the larger of the two parishes, but this is not readily apparent in this analysis because Parkstone 12 grew even faster than district 11.

	<u>1841</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1881</u>
Population	722	977	1,669
Born outside Dorset (%)	19.4	27.9	25.9
Household Size (mean) (mode)	4.5 2	4.46 4	4.56 3
Nuclear Families (%)	15.2	23.4	33.9
Servant Employing (%)	33.5	28.0	21.03
Extra People (%)	34.5	38.7	30.6
Right to Vote (number)	48	51	-
Propinquity (ratio)	1:1.24	1:1.19	1:1.29
Men in Agriculture (%)	3.6	2.6	1 farmer, 2 labourers, 1 nurseryman, 4 rtd farmers.

Table 8.3 : Characteristics of Longfleet 10, 1841 - 1881.

Like the other part of Longfleet, it appears that the basic change had occurred between 1841 and 1861 and that the next twenty years saw consolidation rather than continuing change. The percentage of people born outside Dorset had fallen slightly, from 27.9% in 1861 to 25.8% in 1881 yet the population had increased considerably. This suggests that there had been substantial internal migration, that people had moved from the old town to Longfleet and this is supported when the number of its inhabitants in 1881 born in Poole is compared with the figure for twenty years earlier. The resulting figures support the suggestion that Longfleet was growing through migration from the old town for 34.5% of its population were recorded as being born in Poole, compared with 27.4% in 1861.

Households were, like those of 1861, a little larger in 1881 and also saw a marked increase in the percentage of nuclear families. Because of this, there were fewer households containing 'extra' people and there was also a noticeable decline in the percentage of servant employing households, thus supporting the view of the Herald of October 1869⁸⁸ that it was becoming a less exclusive area than it had been in the earlier stage of its development. The

⁸⁸ 'We have heard regrets that a better class of houses has not prevailed in Longfleet..'
See p.279 below.

rise in the propinquity ratio to 1:1.19, higher than in 1841, also lends support to this hypothesis.

Parkstone, though, was continuing to develop in a manner which suggests that it was on the way to becoming a genuine, middle class suburb as Table 8.4 reveals:

	<u>1841</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1881</u>
Population	471	629	1,042
Born Outside Dorset (%)	14.9	28.45	32.8
Household Size (mean) (mode)	4.5 4	5.0 3	5.1 5
Nuclear Families (%)	25.2	26.4	23.5
Servant Employing (%)	25.2	23.2	26.9
Extra People (%)	35.0	45.9	41.6
Propinquity (ratio)	1:1.13	1:1.14	1:1.18
Right to Vote (number)	28	34	-
Men in Agriculture (%)	4.8	5.49	3 farmers (1 rtd), 4 labourers, 1 nurseryman.

Table 8.4 : Characteristics of Parkstone District 11, 1841 - 1881

The percentage born outside of Dorset had continued to rise, reaching 32.8% in 1881 compared with only 14.9% in 1841. Servant employing households had also increased, albeit to a level only 1.7% above the 1841 level. The 1881 figure was, however, higher than that of Longfleet 10 for the first time.

Households were larger, indeed at a mean of 5.1 they were now the largest of the four districts, reflecting the number with servants and also the high proportion of 'extra' people. The majority of these were relatives of the household head rather than lodgers⁸⁹ The first

⁸⁹ Forty-three households included one or more relatives as against only seventeen with 'lodgers.' Five had 'boarders', six had 'visitors' and fourteen had more than one of these categories.

entry in the enumerator's book indicates the quality of many Parkstone households, for it consisted of a 74 year old unmarried clergyman, George Blisset, and his two spinster sisters, both in their seventies, and four servants - a butler, a lady's maid, a cook and a housemaid. The Blissets were from Bristol and the servants from Somerset, Sussex, Wiltshire and Surrey respectively. In keeping with the high proportion of servant-employing and extra people households, the percentage of nuclear families had fallen although propinquity had risen. At 1:1.18, the same as in 1841, however it was still relatively low, although District 1 was at the same ratio.

There is one institution that has been included in the analysis of the four districts, namely the workhouse, and in 1881 it appeared in the enumerator's book for Longfleet 9. Its population in 1881 was 138, a figure which included nine members of staff. The 129 inmates, 77 men and 52 women, was an increase of 27 over 1861 but still at only the same level as in 1841⁹⁰ but, as in 1861, there were different types of inmate. There were now more men than women, but twelve of the latter were in their twenties, with a further ten more in their thirties and forties. This suggests unmarried or widowed mothers and this was indeed the case. Twenty five year old Ann Cobb, for instance, appears in the list as does a five year old with the same name. There was also 31 year old Mary Stickley and her 15 month old daughter plus eleven year old Rosina. Both women were without husbands, Mary Stickley being a widow and Mary Ann Cobb was unmarried. The male inmates were generally older, as table 8.5 shows:

20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	70s	80s	90s
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
3	12	5	7	5	6	9	4
10	7	11	3	5	4	0	0

Table 8.5 : Age Profile of the Union Workhouse, 1881.

The figures imply that it was easier for women to support themselves, possibly in service, but that the recession was making it more difficult for men to find work. This point is

⁹⁰ In 1832, before the new Poor Law it was 129 and in 1841 it was 127.

underlined by the presence in the workhouse of men who had once prospered⁹¹ such as 73 year old Joseph Applin, for example, who appeared in the poll-books of 1857, 1859 and 1865 (but not the directories) as a poulterer in the High Street and as a loyal Tory at each election.⁹² Another victim of the recession would appear to be Samuel Fricker, landlord of the Poole Arms, a public house on the Quay and a voter in the 1840s and 1850s. The Census of 1881 has him as an inmate of the workhouse, and describes him as a 'shipping agent.' He fails to appear in later poll-books or directories, again suggesting that he was not successful in that business. Generally, though, the male inmates were designated as farm labourers, seamen or as being in a craft occupation. The recession may have begun earlier in Poole than elsewhere and produced its casualties, but real destitution was, as always, the lot of society's lowest occupational groups.

⁹¹ This was also apparent in 1861, but on that occasion these failed 'business men' did not possess the right to vote.

⁹² In 1861 his household consisted of himself, his daughter Caroline and his son-in-law Thomas French, a corn-meter. The 1871 Post Office Directory has a Thomas French as landlord of the Old Inn in West Street.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSION

'A sense of neighbourhood and locality' maintained Field, 'structured cultural patterns in important ways, and set important constraints upon the town's development.'¹ Field was referring to nineteenth century Portsmouth but his comments are equally valid when applied to Poole. Like Portsmouth, Poole had for centuries been confined by its geography and its growth too was 'inevitably piecemeal and patchy'.² But the original statement can be reversed in the case of Poole for certainly its cultural patterns provided a sense of neighbourhood and locality in the way that its merchant class created and presided over a hierarchical society which, without stretching the imagination too far, could be likened to a ship's company. For the Master and officers read the merchants, the non-commissioned officers the artisans and trademen, and the ordinary seamen the labouring classes. All lived and worked together within a confined community and all had a vested interest in the success of the enterprise. When the mercantile era went into decline, the town began to lose its sense of direction,

Portsmouth, of course, had the advantage of a permanent source of wealth and employment in the Royal Navy but Poole had no such patron. Its development, and that of the area around it, was therefore dependent on the talents of its people and their exploitation of its natural resources.

Another Dorset port, Weymouth, had undergone a change in its economy in the previous century; '...its mercantile prosperity began to wane as sea-bathers and sea-water drinkers appeared in the 1750s, and its renewed growth after 1770 was due entirely to the visiting season. The port remained important to the local economy, but already in 1774 merchants' houses were being converted into inns, and in 1800 a directory listed 107 lodging houses, although most of

¹ J. Field, in R. Morris (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.100.

² *Ibid.*

the proprietors had alternative sources of income.³ Weymouth was further away from London than Poole and the approaches to the town probably made it less accessible yet it flourished as a watering place and was still larger than Poole as late as 1881.⁴ It was also one of the few resorts where the municipal corporation was a major landowner and, as Walton says, involved itself 'in the organisation and planning of new building.'⁵

The men who made up Poole's Corporation (and later its Council) had not thought it necessary, or more charitably, had simply not realised the possibilites of exploiting the area's aesthetic appeal and its generally mild climate. They were largely unaware, it would appear, of the increase in 'bourgeoise enleisurement' which, according to Bailey, was 'plain to all' by the 1860s.⁶ That decade was clearly a period when 'the habit of enjoyment'⁷ became widespread, a time when 'walking by the sea, observing the natural scenery began to figure more in daily activities.'⁸

The national prosperity that had resulted from the industrialisation process had manifested itself in a variety of ways and Soane maintains that 'the most significant...was probably the enormous increase in bourgeois habits and attitudes of mind which began to set the pattern in more and more aspects of social behaviour from the 1860s onwards.....This meant a great increase of

³ J. Walton, *op. cit.*, p.50.

⁴ Weymouth's population in 1881 was 13,715 whilst Poole's was 12,310.

⁵ Walton, *op. cit.*, p.113.

⁶ P. Bailey, *op. cit.*, p.70.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ J.V.N. Soane, The General Significance of the Development of the Urban and Social Structure of Bournemouth, 1840 - 1940., Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis for the University of Surrey, 1975.

bourgeoisie consumption and the conscious imitation of such patterns by less privileged economic groups.⁹

The idea that each class attempts to imitate the one above it has already been referred to when Walton's phrase 'an emulative society' was used in explaining the growth of seaside resorts in general and Bournemouth in particular.¹⁰ Walton was merely echoing an eighteenth century commentator, one William Hutton, who put it more bluntly when he said 'Wherever the people in high life take the lead, the next class eagerly follow.'¹¹ There was, by the mid nineteenth century, a middle class of sufficient size and wealth to fuel a sustained bout of house building, particularly on the periphery of established towns. 'Money is scarce' wrote the Morning Herald in 1848, 'The whole nation is in difficulties. But houses spring up everywhere, as though capital were abundant, as though one half of the world were on the look out for investments and the other half continually in search of eligible family residences, desirable villas, and aristocratic cottages, which have nothing in the world of the cottage about them except the name.'¹² Field points out 'how potent a symbol the house was' for Victorians,¹³ whilst Bailey comments that 'Middle Class homes grew more palatial' and that 'Gardens were also part of the improved amenities of domestic life.'¹⁴

That the creators of Bournemouth responded to the twin demands for an attractive environment and an impressive dwelling in which to live is a truism, it was the new town's *raison d'être*. It was 'constructed rather as an efficient machine for the reception of anyone who wished to enjoy

⁹ Ibid, pp.138-139.

¹⁰ See p.157 above.

¹¹ W. Hutton, A Description of Blackpool in 1788, cited in Walton, op. cit., p.216.

¹² Leading article from the Morning Herald, 20 September 1848, cited in D. Rubenstein, (ed.), op. cit., p.21.

¹³ Field, in Morris (ed.), op. cit., p.95.

¹⁴ Bailey, op. cit., pp. 75 and 15.

and profit from the unique amenities it had to offer' said Soane. 'It took as its standards those of the Victorian bourgeoisie but attempted to make available for all who had either the means of the determination to aspire to them.'¹⁵

Poole could obviously not be re-created as a bourgeoisie Victorian town but it could have capitalised on its advantages, especially those in the areas outside of the old town, rather than ignore them. 'We understand' said the Herald, 'that with two exceptions in the Crescent, the whole of the residencies in Parkstone are now filled, and that were there other houses on the high levels other tenants would be found. The climate as well as the scenery of this beautiful village are not at length appreciated, and we trust in future buildings care will be taken to avoid the crowding, so injurious to some parts of Bournemouth.¹⁶ We have heard regrets that a better class of houses has not prevailed in Longfleet; the crowding of small houses in rows and terraces is fast preventing a class which would command residents with independent means.'¹⁷ The editor of the Herald was more prescient than the councillors of Poole and more in tune with the developing tastes of the literate middle classes, both from within the town and from among the temporary visitors.

It published three letters in June 1870 which underline this growing perception of the attractiveness of the town's natural amenities. 'Air Breather' of Poole described '...the entrance to our town' as one of 'the prettiest in the south of England' whilst 'A Pedestrian' commenting on the siting of a new road to Bournemouth suggested that a footpath be built on the north side, through Parkstone, it 'being the highest side of the road it would afford a view over your beautiful harbour lake.' The third letter was from 'Non-resident' and he neatly paraphrased the

¹⁵ Soane, op. cit., p.31.

¹⁶ Bournemouth had inevitably been gaining its working class areas, notably in the Holdenhurst Road area, to the north east of the town. A correspondent to the Herald of 18 July 1867 complained that visitors straying into that area 'would be repeatedly disgusted by the enormous number of piggeries' there.

¹⁷ P. & S.W.H., 7 October 1869.

other two when writing that on walking from Parkstone to Poole via Longfleet, '...I have....often thought what a pretty entrance you have to your town - the gradual descent into the town nearly surrounded as it is with still lake-like waters and that again encircled by hills has a charming effect on the visitor for the first time and its beauty, I find, grows on acquaintance.'¹⁸ Even the usually sanguine Poole Pilot was not immune from praising the beauties of the town's western hinterland, for when referring to a visit to the area by the Prince of Teck and Princess Mary of Cambridge, it said 'Those who have enjoyed the drive from Bournemouth to Poole,, across the heathy cliffs and down into the hollow in which nestles the lovely and romantic village of Parkstone, will apprehend and appreciate the delight it afforded to the royal party.'¹⁹

With such an attraction so close and the rapid growth of Bournemouth as witness to this, the town of Poole in the form of its Council and its leading citizens could have found a new means of revitalizing itself. Instead it continued its drift towards becoming a working class community, whilst its suburbs grew steadily, largely of their own volition. This independent development was probably inevitable because, as Olsen said when writing about Victorian London, 'given sufficient size and a favourable location, a Victorian suburban estate planned and managed itself.'²⁰ Thus to Longfleet and Parkstone, Poole was largely unnecessary except as a source of cheap labour and basic services.

This situation was a consequence of the steady deline of the merchant class and their exodus from the old town. Towards the end of the 1860s, the Poole Pilot was remarking that the town's population was around 10,000 and not rising or falling, but more significantly, that 'so large a proportion are labourers.'²¹ It had, a month earlier, commented that 'The poverty in Poole is

¹⁸ P. & S.W.H., 30 June 1870.

¹⁹ The Poole Pilot, 1 September 1869.

²⁰ D.J. Olsen, The Growth of Victorian London, cited in D. Cannadine, op. cit., p.400.

²¹ The Poole Pilot, 1 February 1868.

enormous in proportion to the size of the place.²² The two go together, for almost by definition, labouring means being dependent on others for work. In a town whose major industry was in terminal decline and whose new ones were generally small in scale work for such people was obviously going to be difficult to find. Even one of the successes of the period²³, Balston's Twine Manufactory in West Quay Road, had fewer than 200 employees in 1874. More typically, the Devon born brush maker, John Hayman, who in 1861 was 35 years old and employing eight men and a boy, had not expanded greatly in twenty years for in 1881 his workforce was nine men, five boys and four girls.

The Pilot placed the blame for the town's decline firmly where it believed it to lie, with its long-established ruling group. 'Small communities are, too often, governed by Cliques' wrote Richard Sydenham in July 1868, 'a small body that undertakes to control and cajole, the larger part of the community, aggregating to itself all the influence, patronage and profit thence arising.' Sydenham went on to allege that 'We have long been subjected to Cliques in Poole', complaining that they had done little for the town in recent years, and that what was needed were 'more outlets...especially in the direction of Bournemouth.'²⁴

Richard Sydenham was not of merchant stock but he was a Poole man, albeit a first generation one, and he clearly felt strongly about the future of the town. He and his fellow newspaper proprietors, James Tribbett and William Mate, could see and sense the change occurring around them and were astonished by the rise of Bournemouth. The social contrast between the two towns was, by 1870, extraordinary, given that they were physically so close to each other. The list of visitors to the new town in March 1873 included the Archbishops of Canterbury and

²² Ibid, 1 January 1868. As noted above, the relatively small number of inmates in the workhouse in 1861 and 1881 tends to suggest that Richard Sydenham's definition of poverty was not the same as that of the Poor Law Guardians.

²³ The Herald reported on 1 January 1874 that the firm's new buildings included a large mill, 104' x 47', which was 'filled with machinery fitted with all the latest improvements for the manufacture of fishing lines, nets and twine of every description.

²⁴ The Poole Pilot, 1 July 1868.

York, the Bishop of Sodor and Man and more than a score of titled people. The Herald rumoured that Queen Victoria was to visit the town.²⁵ Benjamin Disraeli was another visitor, staying at the Royal Bath Hotel in the autumn of 1874, but his experience of Bournemouth was not one he remembered with pleasure. As Blake notes, 'The weather was bitter. The hotel...turned out to be atrocious...' Despite this, Bournemouth did live up to its reputation for 'in spite of these vicissitudes, his health did improve.'²⁶ Poole had few, if any, distinguished visitors - certainly none are recorded in the pages of the Herald as entering the confines of the old town.

Reference has been made to Poole's neighbouring south coast towns and their apparently assured future as a naval town in the case of Portsmouth and as a seaside resort in the case of Weymouth. Southampton, nearer to Poole than the other two, had seemed in the early nineteenth century set to continue its development as a spa town. But when the Napoleonic Wars ended, as Cleasby says, 'The era of spa elegance was waning and the town's social activities and popularity went into decline.'²⁷ The coming of the railway, however, gave Southampton a new lease of life. Its natural advantages of relative nearness to London and its deep water harbour (made even more useful by the double high tides) ensured that in the 1840s, with the completion of the first of its new docks, it became the country's premier mail port. Thus Southampton changed from minor spa town to major commercial port and it is argued that for Poole to have prospered it should have done the opposite. It lacked the features that had helped Southampton's maritime resurgence - deep water and an easy and obvious route for the railway,. It did have, with its harbour and its hinterland, all the features that were to make Bournemouth such a phenomenon of the mid-century. The Herald, in 1873, can be given the final word on the subject, for it judged the situation accurately when it said 'It is not altogether an uninteresting matter to those residents of this part of the country who know (sic) Bournemouth twenty, or say

²⁵ She never did visit Bournemouth.

²⁶ R. Blake, Disraeli, (1966), p.552.

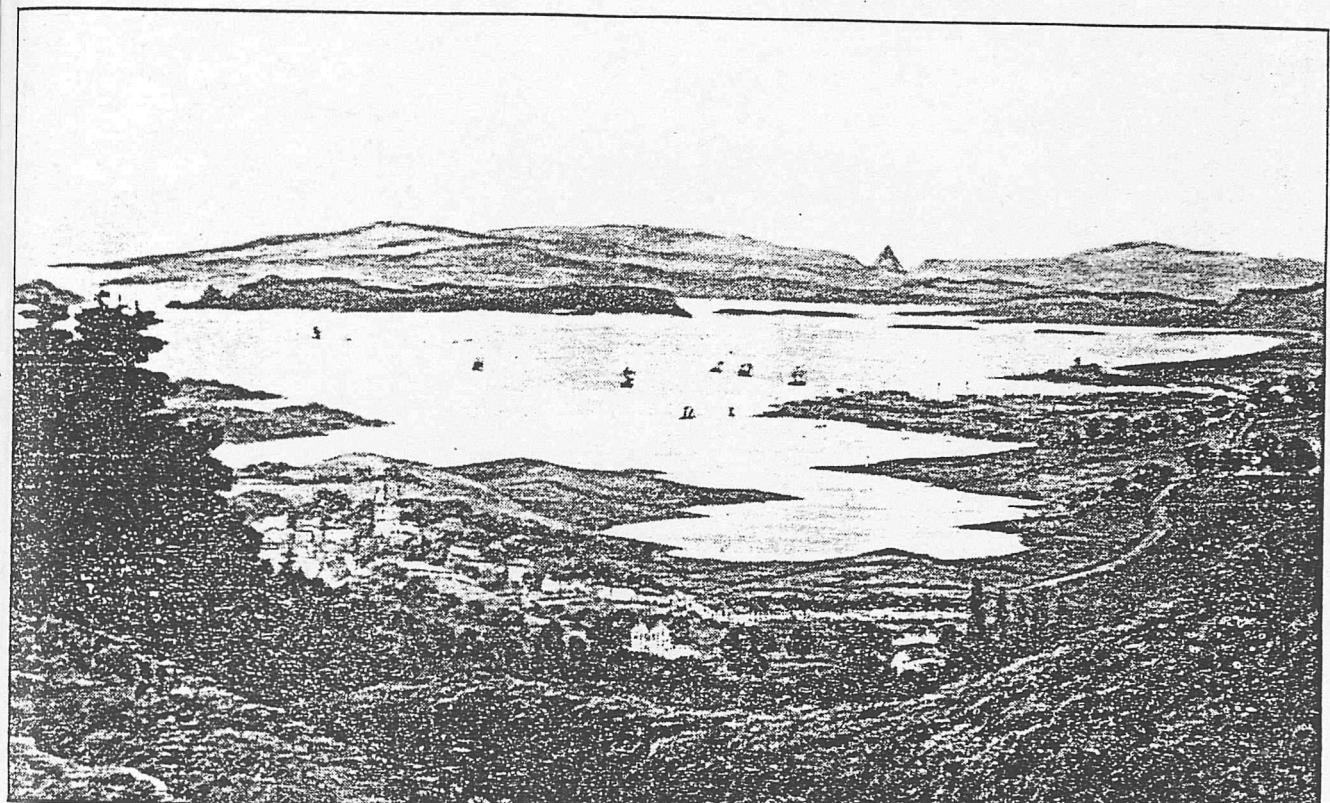
²⁷ B.R. Cleasby, Population and Social Change in Southampton in the Railway Age, unpublished M.Sc. dissertation for the London School of Economics, 1984, p.8.

thirty years ago, to call to remembrance what it has now become. At the date to which we refer, it was known only to the very limited number of visitors who came thither, and the most sanguine of its early promoters never contemplated for it the splendid future which has come upon the place.²⁸

Poole's future was not to be 'splendid.' Instead it was to lapse into a subsidiary role as a satellite to Bournemouth, growing steadily but lacking a clear focus and a clear identity. In 1905 the Branksome Urban District Council area was taken into Poole, thus extending its borders to the county boundary and touching Bournemouth. In 1933 Poole absorbed Canford almost doubling its area and bringing to it new suburbs such as Broadstone and Merley. In the 1950s a suggestion was made, but fiercely resisted, that Bournemouth (by then a County Borough) and Poole should be joined together as one town.

Modern Poole is a product of post Second World War prosperity, being able to attract both light industry and financial service companies to establish themselves within its borders. It finally began to re-assert its separate identity in the 1960s, using new laws such as the Trades Descriptions Act to force hotels in the Sandbanks area to acknowledge that they were not, despite their advertising claims, in Bournemouth, but in another, older town with its own traditions and its own attractions. This thesis has argued that it was the actions of its old, ruling, mercantile class who, at an important point in the town's history, failed to recognise the changes occurring in nineteenth century society and in the nation's economy and, through innocence rather than ignorance, allowed their town to enter into a period of prolonged lethargy.

²⁸ P. & S.W.H., 20 March 1873.



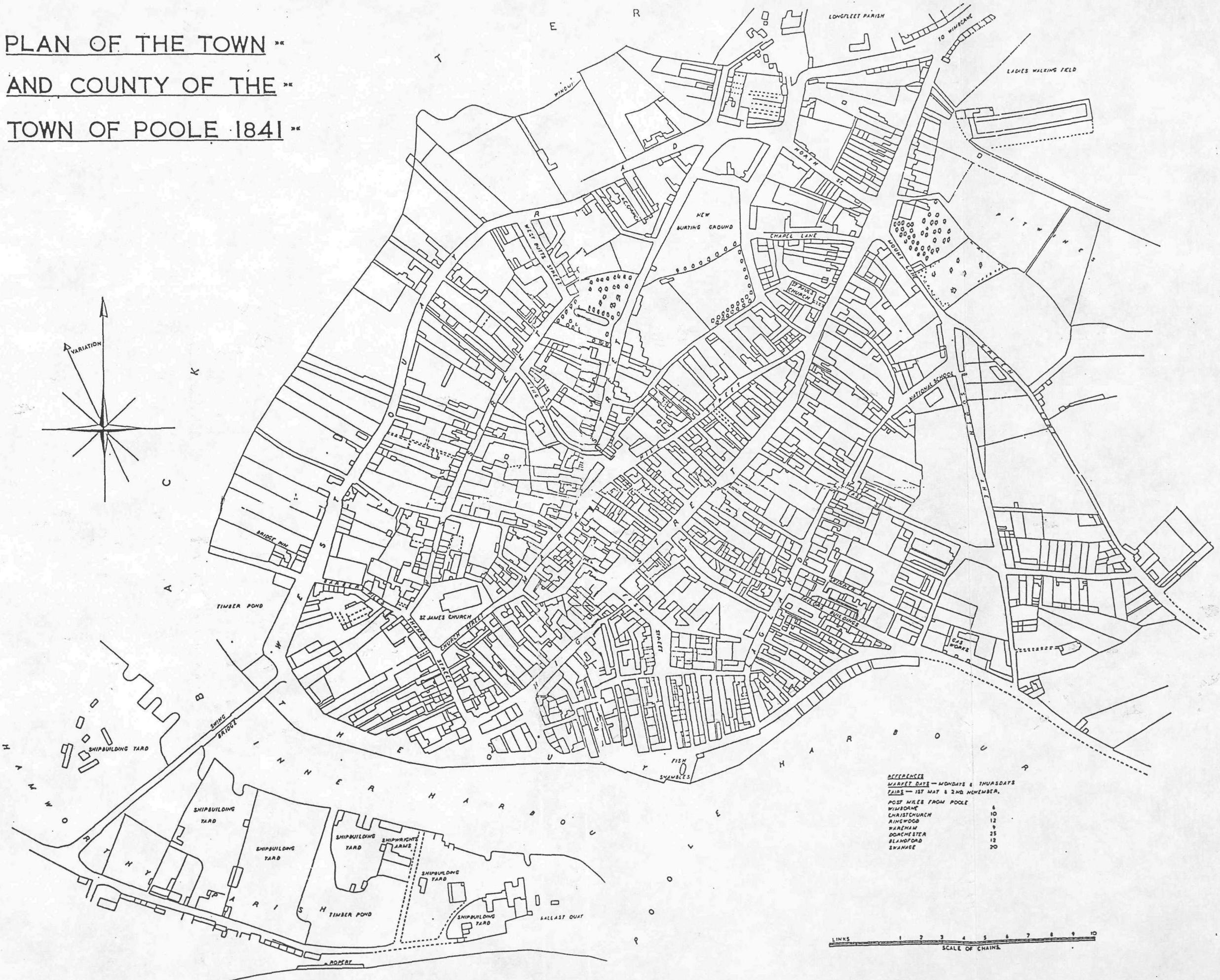
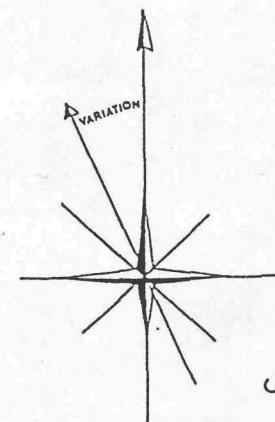
THE TOWN AND HARBOUR OF POOLE (Parkstone Village in the foreground).

[From an old Print]



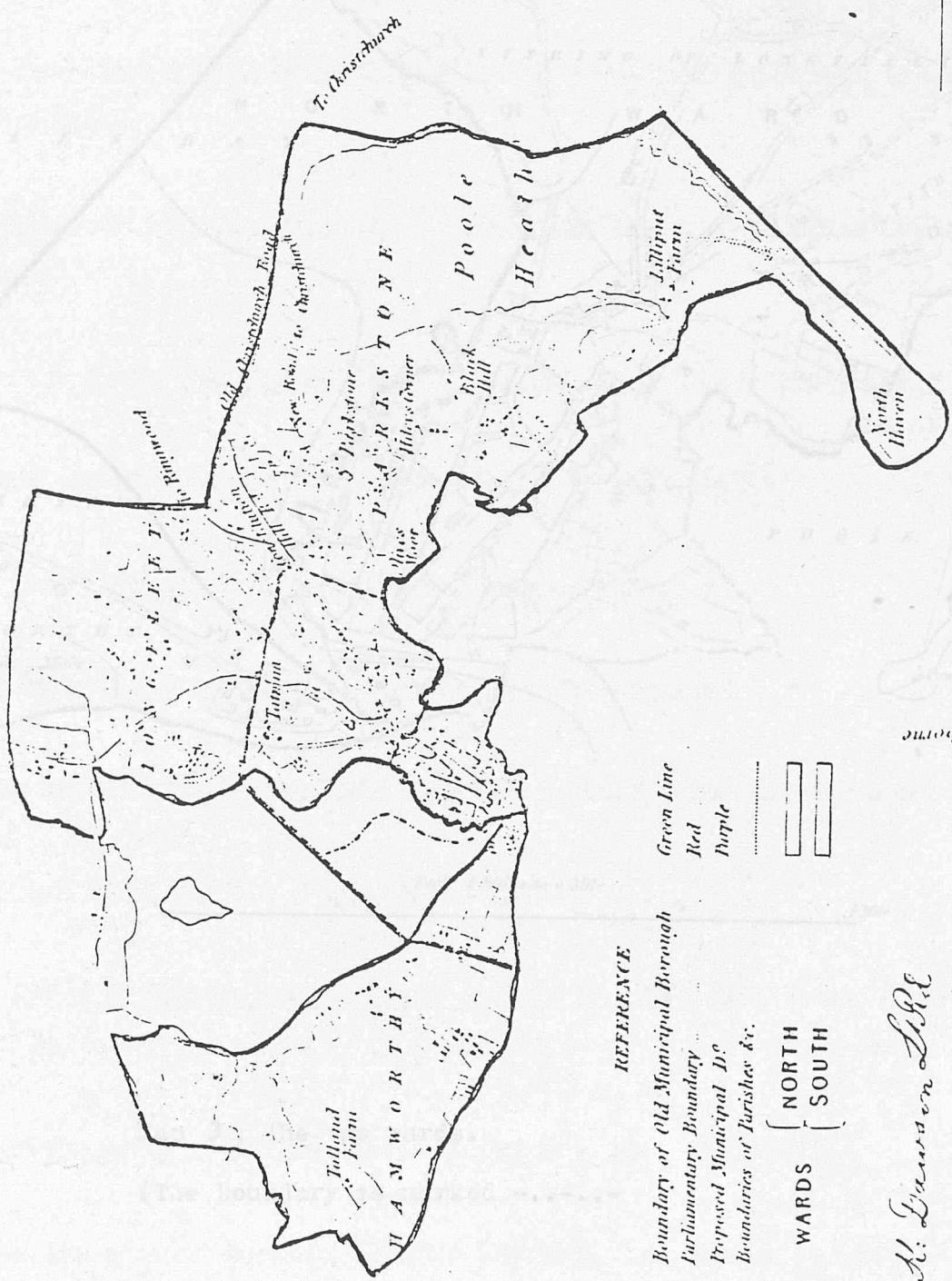
MAP 1, Poole Bay
and Poole Harbour

« PLAN OF THE TOWN
AND COUNTY OF THE
TOWN OF POOLE 1841 »

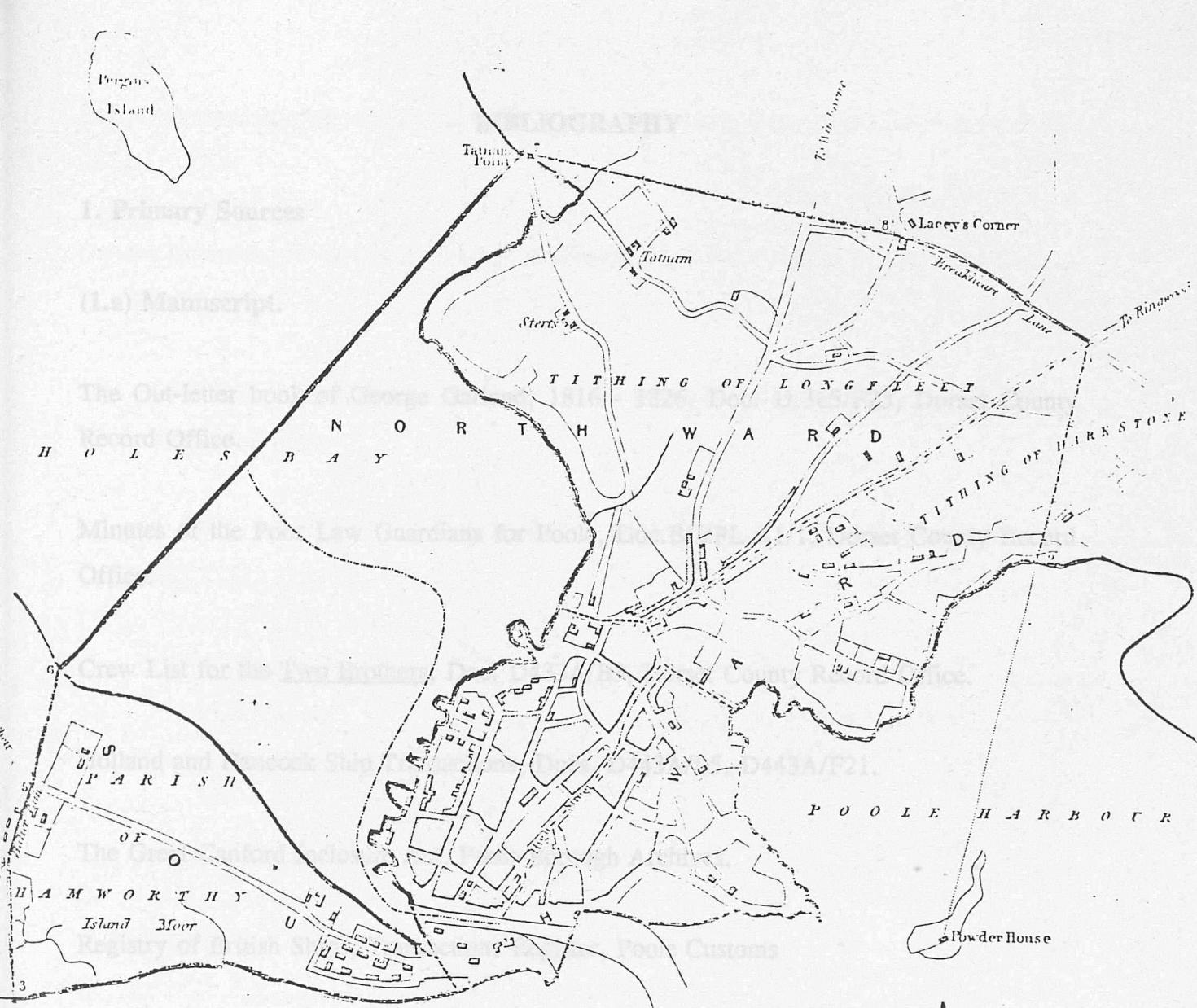


DIFFERENCES
MARKET DAYS - MONDAYS & THURSDAYS
FAIRS - 1ST MAY & 2ND NOVEMBER.
POST MILES FROM POOLE
WILBORNE 6
CHRISTCHURCH 10
RINGWOOD 12
BARNHAM 9
DORCHESTER 25
BLANDFORD 12
SWANAGE 20

LINKS 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
SCALE OF CHAINS



Map 2 : The Four Parishes.



Map 3 ; The two wards.

(The boundary is marked - - - - -

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