

GUERNSEY, 1814-1914:
MIGRATION IN A MODERNISING SOCIETY

Thesis submitted for the degree of
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by

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ABSTRACT

Guernsey is a densely populated island lying 27 miles off the Normandy coast. In 1814 it remained largely French-speaking, though it had been politically British for 600 years. The island's only town, St Peter Port (which in 1814 accommodated over half the population) had during the previous century developed a thriving commercial sector with strong links to England, whose cultural influence it began to absorb. The rural hinterland was, by contrast, characterised by a traditional autarkic regime more redolent of pre-industrial France.

By 1914, the population had doubled, but St Peter Port's share had fallen to 43 percent. The countryside had undergone an economic transformation, and subsistence farming was replaced by quarrying and commercial horticulture for export to Britain. The country parishes had become more open to the outside world, but their linguistic and cultural distinctiveness was eroded, and, in terms of anglicisation, they began to converge with the town.

Non-Islanders never comprised less than 20 percent of the population 1841-1901. Most migrants came from England, with a late nineteenth-century influx from France. There was substantial *rentier* migration, but the majority of immigrants were artisans or labourers. English migrants formed the basis of an Anglo-Guernsey proletarian class which facilitated insular economic growth by fulfilling a demand for manpower which natives, more interested in landholding, were unable to satisfy. This class came to predominate within St Peter Port, and, to a lesser extent, the northern quarrying parishes. Prior to World War I, however, it remained virtually absent from the four purely rural south-western parishes. Anglicisation nevertheless took hold in these parishes, as it did elsewhere. Migrants should not therefore be seen as the primary cause of Guernsey's cultural and linguistic transformation, but as an aspect themselves of the wider process of economic modernisation and cultural homogenisation affecting Europe as a whole. Pre-existing political links with Britain virtually guaranteed that such a process would result in Guernsey's cultural, as well as economic, integration with Britain.

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ABBREVIATIONS

I.A.	Island Archives
G.C.C.	Guernsey Chamber of Commerce
S.P.P. C.O.	St Peter Port Constables Office
<i>T.S.G.</i>	<i>Transactions of the Société Guernesiaise</i>
P.P.	Parliamentary Papers

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INTRODUCTION

Guernsey is the westernmost and second largest of the Channel Islands. It is situated on the outer edge of the Gulf of St Malo. The closest French landfall is the Cap de Flamanville, some 27 miles away, and the closest English landfall is Start Point (near Salcombe), about 78 miles distant (see figures 1 and 2).

Guernsey measures little more than 24 square miles in area, but, along with its sister Channel Isles, its exceptionally high population density sets it apart from most islands off the west European coast.¹ Guernsey's ability to support a relatively large population has partly been due to natural endowments in the form of soil fertility, temperate climate and plentiful fish stocks. However, from at least Roman times, the island has also derived trading benefits from its position on the sea route between Britain and western Europe, and from its possession of a safe anchorage and good natural harbour at St Peter Port.

Within the last millennium, Guernsey (and its sister isles) have reaped considerable advantage from their role as strategic British outposts off a frequently hostile European coast. Favourable treatment from the metropolis in return for continued loyalty has enabled the Islands to retain their own separate identity and polity through 800 years of allegiance to the English Crown. Substantial political and fiscal autonomy have also enabled Jersey and Guernsey to maximise their trading advantages, preventing the diversion of monetary returns and facilitating local economic consolidation. Over the last three centuries, this has led to a level of development far in excess of that of offshore islands of comparable size.

¹ An estimate of 1814 put the insular population at some 25,000 (W. Berry, *The History of the Island of Guernsey* (London, 1815), pp. 23–24).

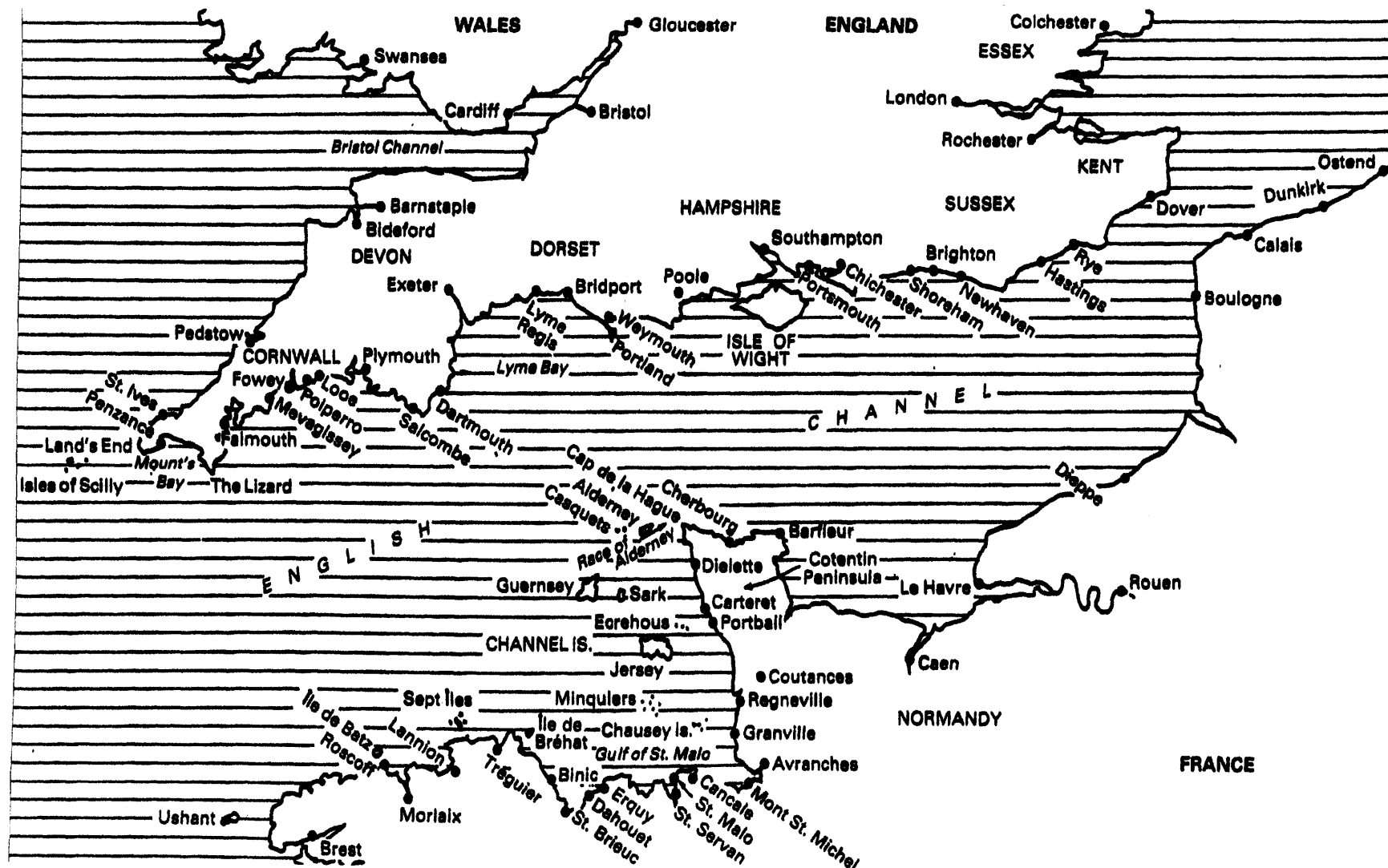
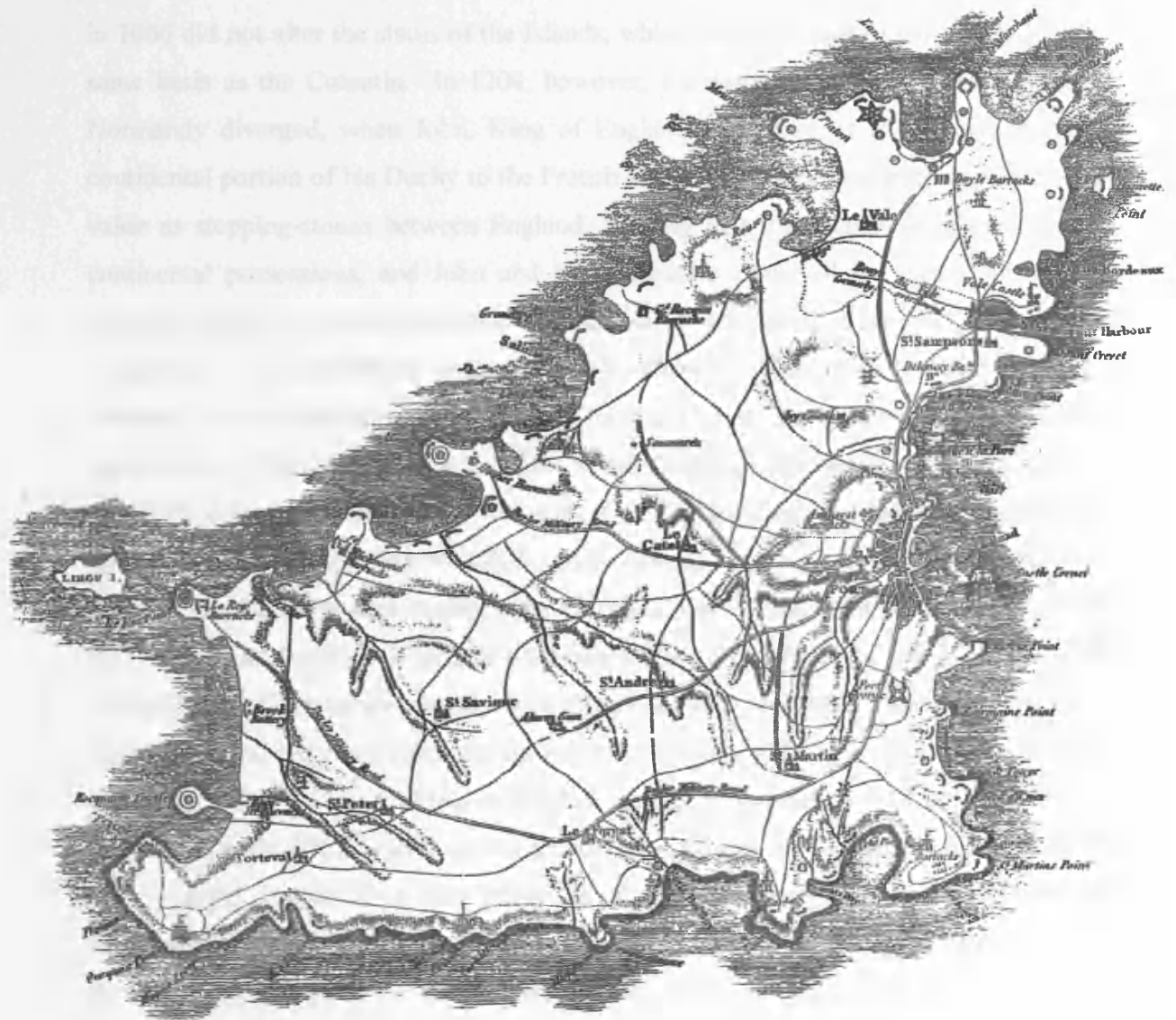


Figure 1 Channel Islands and adjacent French and English coasts

Source: A.J. Jamieson (ed), *A People of the Sea: The Maritime History of the Channel Islands* (London, 1986)

Figure 2 Island of Guernsey, 1814

Source: W. Berry, *The History of the Island of Guernsey* (London, 1815)



¹ A. M. Owen, *The British Isles*, 1870, 2nd ed. (1871), p. 159.

² J. C. G. Jones, *The History of Guernsey* (London, 1804), p. 11.

³ *Journal de la Société*, 1804, p. 105, 107, 108.

⁴ This study will, however, focus not on the historical but on the 'real' of Guernsey.

Constitution and Government

By the early nineteenth century, the Channel Islands had owed political allegiance to the English Crown for 600 years. Anterior to this, the Islands had shared a history with north-west France. Untouched by the Saxon invasions to which England was subject from the fifth century, the Islands were inhabited during the latter half of the first millennium by a predominantly Gallo-Roman population living in subordination to the Frankish monarchy.² In 933, together with the adjacent Cotentin peninsula, the Islands became part of the territory of the Dukes of Normandy. The Dukes' conquest of England in 1066 did not alter the status of the Islands, which remained part of Normandy on the same basis as the Cotentin. In 1204, however, the destinies of insular and mainland Normandy diverged, when John, King of England and Duke of Normandy, lost the continental portion of his Duchy to the French king. The Islands assumed new strategic value as stepping-stones between England, Brittany and the English king's remaining continental possessions, and John and his successors contrived by various means to prevent Islanders following mainland kin into the French camp.³ One way in which the sympathy of the inhabitants was won lay in undertaking to respect their customary Norman law and institutions, and granting them a form of self-government under royal supervision.⁴ The Islands were therefore not absorbed into the legal and administrative structures obtaining in England. The respect of English kings for pre-existing Norman law and institutions, together with their policy of arms-length supervision were crucial in determining the subsequent development of insular identity and governance.

Constitutionally, the Islands remained possessions of the Crown *qua* successors of the Dukes of Normandy. In return for their allegiance, successive sovereigns issued a series of Royal Charters guaranteeing Islanders various privileges which ranged from immunity from the jurisdiction of English courts and autonomy in tax matters, to freedom of trade with England and exemption from military service outside the island.

In the century or so after 1204, the Islands became separate Bailiwicks, Jersey forming one, Guernsey and the smaller islands the other.⁵ The Bailiwicks were divided by only 20 miles of sea, but they remained politically isolated from one another, so that by the beginning of our period, their legal and administrative structures had assumed unique and divergent forms.

² A.H. Ewen, 'The Breton Myth', *T.S.G.*, 21 (1981-85), p. 199.

³ J.A. Everard & J.C. Holt, *Jersey 1204* (London, 2004), p. 115.

⁴ Everard & Holt, *1204*, pp. 155-165, 187-188.

⁵ This study will, however, focus not on the Bailiwick but on the island of Guernsey.

Even though the Islands had considerable legislative and judicial freedom, English sovereigns had the right – based on powers held by the Dukes of Normandy – to legislate directly for the Islands by Order in Council through exercise of the Prerogative. This was commonly used in medieval and early modern times, but less frequently in later periods. As the king's personal power waned, much Channel Island business was settled by committees of the Privy Council or individual government ministers, though the Islands were not represented at Westminster, and were not possessions of the United Kingdom government. In the course of time, this raised the issue of the wider powers of Parliament to legislate for the Islands. The fact that these powers had never been defined gave rise to a measure of friction. In the eyes of English jurists, all that was in theory required for Acts of Parliament to have force in the Channel Islands was that the Islands should be expressly mentioned and included within the Acts. Insular authorities, however, never fully accepted this view, contending that Acts did not and could not apply until transmitted by Order in Council and formally registered by the Islands' Royal Courts.⁶ Historically, the number of occasions when Acts were imposed on the Islands against their will was minimal.⁷ The position was never explicitly resolved, but Westminster gradually came to the view that – given the Islands' lack of parliamentary representation – intervention should not be undertaken without serious reason. Hence the constitutional convention evolved over the nineteenth century that legislation should not be extended to the Islands without their prior consultation and consent.⁸

In practice – aside from defence and foreign relations, on which the Islands could not legislate because they were not sovereign states – the Islands had far-ranging autonomy. In the early nineteenth century, Guernsey's government fell into three tiers. Much basic administration was done at parish level. The island's ten parishes each possessed an assembly elected by the *Chefs de Famille* (adult male ratepayers) known as the *Douzaine*. This body was responsible for poor relief, and the maintenance of parochial assets, such as the parish church, sea walls and watch houses. At the apex of parish administration were the two *Connétables* (Constables), a senior and a junior, elected by ratepayers for overlapping terms of one to three years. Though their duties also included peace-keeping, these were of higher status than their nominal counterparts in England. Senior Constables, who were parish treasurers and, until 1844, had an automatic seat in the States, bore a status roughly parallel to that of an English mayor.

⁶ R.P. Hocart, *An Island Assembly: The Development of the States of Guernsey, 1700-1949* (Guernsey, 1988), p. 1. In general terms, this section draws heavily on Hocart's first chapter, pp. 1–14.

⁷ Notable instances of this were the Anti-Smuggling Acts of 1805 and 1807 (see below, pp. 12–13).

⁸ G. Dawes, *Laws of Guernsey* (Oxford, 2003), p. 20.

At island-wide level, most of the day-to-day work of law and administration was performed by the Royal Court. The Court was composed of the Bailiff, who was appointed by the Crown, and twelve elected Jurats, or magistrates. It was the insular equivalent of the English High Court, and had a jurisdiction corresponding to Crown and County Courts.⁹ Its members, the majority of whom were not legally trained, were judges of law as well as fact. In addition to its judicial functions, the Royal Court also had the power of making ordinances. The Court's legislative power was limited, in that it did not extend to changing the customary law or imposing taxes, but it could make ordinances to enforce existing law, to declare what the law of the island was on any particular point, and to implement decisions of the States.¹⁰

The States represented the highest tier of local government. In its legislative capacity (the States of Deliberation), it consisted of the twelve Jurats, ten senior parish Constables, eight parish rectors, the Procureur, and the Bailiff, who presided over the assembly.¹¹ The States also had an elective role. In this capacity (the States of Election), it comprised all of the above members, plus the junior Constables and entire Douzaines of each parish. The only function of the States of Election was to elect the Jurats and the Sheriff (an official responsible for executing Court judgements).

In the early nineteenth century, the States met only a few times yearly, dealing primarily with matters which were beyond the province of the Royal Court.¹² It was the only body which represented the whole community and thus possessed the power to institute new taxes.¹³ States' decisions were usually given force by ordinance of the Royal Court, but legislation embodying new taxes, or any other proposed law outside the limits to which ordinances were subject had to be submitted for approval by the King in Council (a form of oversight to which ordinances were not subject). When royal sanction was given, the proposed law, or *projet de loi*, acquired the status of an Order in Council. This mode of legislating, though little used in the early nineteenth century, became increasingly common as changing economic and social conditions later forced the States to become more active as a legislature.

⁹ Dawes, *Laws of Guernsey*, p. 25.

¹⁰ Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. 2. The Royal Court retained the power to make ordinances until 1948.

¹¹ The composition of the States was slightly altered as a result of reforms in 1844, for more on which see below, p. 222, footnote 71. There were only eight rectors because, until 1859 and 1867 respectively, the parishes of St Sampsons and the Vale, and the Forest and Torteval each formed one living. Though there were ten incumbents after this time, no more than eight rectors were ever permitted to sit in the States, which they did on a rota-basis. The Procureur, a Crown appointee, was a Law Officer corresponding to the English Attorney-General.

¹² The term 'States' will hereinafter be used to denote the States of Deliberation only.

¹³ Hocart, *Island Assembly*, pp. 5 & 13.

Aside from contributions made by Westminster for Guernsey's defence,¹⁴ the island was financially self-sufficient. Parish expenditure was funded through the rates. Insular expenditure (comparatively slight in the early nineteenth century but on an upward trend) was funded both directly – through a property-based general tax – and indirectly, through harbour dues and import duties.¹⁵ Island-wide general taxation was rare, and usually levied on a one-off basis as a contribution to large capital projects, such as road-making and harbour construction.¹⁶ Revenue from duties was relied on for most everyday expenditure. As routine spending mounted, the States became increasingly dependent on income from the *impôt* on spirits (first instituted in 1814).¹⁷ Such *impôts* had to be authorised by Order in Council and were time-limited. The 1814 *impôt* ran for five years, some later *impôts* ran for 15 years. By compelling the States at intervals to re-negotiate the scope and duration of the *impôt*, successive British governments were able to exercise a degree of indirect surveillance over insular expenditure.

The Crown was represented in the island by the Governor (or, from 1835, the Lieutenant-Governor). The Governor's responsibilities were essentially military, since he was in overall command of both the garrison and militia. In Guernsey, the Governor had a right to address the States (whose meetings required his consent), but he had no vote in the assembly. The wide-ranging financial and legislative independence of the Channel Islands in the period covered by this thesis stands in sharp contrast to the Isle of Man, which, after its acquisition for the British Crown by Parliament's Isle of Man Purchase Act of 1765, was governed, to all practical purposes, by a Whitehall-appointed Governor with sole executive power and control over insular finances.¹⁸

Lines of Enquiry

The present thesis addresses the nature and causes of Guernsey's gradual economic, political and social transformation between Waterloo and World War I. This period embodies a turning-point in insular history, in that it saw the break-down of the isolation and particularism of centuries past, and the integration of the island with a wider world.

¹⁴ The British Government, which was constitutionally responsible for the island's defence, paid all the expenses of the British garrison as well as the construction and maintenance costs of some (though not all) of Guernsey's fortifications. It also partially funded the insular militia.

¹⁵ For a summary of dues and duties as they existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, see Hocart, *Island Assembly*, pp. 7–9.

¹⁶ Between 1660 and 1750, a general tax was levied on about 20 occasions (Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. 9). Between 1844 and 1861, there were no general taxes at all (*Comet*, 12.8.1861).

¹⁷ Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. 25. Later *impôts* also covered imported wines, beers and tobacco. Until the introduction of income tax in 1920, the *impôt* was the States' single most important source of revenue.

¹⁸ M. Solly, *Government and Law in the Isle of Man* (Castletown, 1994), pp. 67 & 93.

In analysing the process of modernisation, special attention will be given to migration as both a cause and a symptom of change. How, for instance, did economic developments influence the extent and timing of population inflows and outflows? To what degree did migrants contribute to, or even determine, the course of economic and demographic change? How did insular administrative structures respond to the influx of outsiders? Were immigrants welcomed or resented by the indigenous population? Were they assimilated into existing social structures, or did they form a community apart? Finally, to what extent did immigrants contribute to the important cultural and linguistic shifts taking place during the nineteenth century? In addressing all these questions, it is hoped that an answer can be found to the fundamental problem of Guernsey's progressive and seemingly inexorable anglicisation over the nineteenth century. Can responsibility for this be set squarely at the immigrants' door, or were there deeper forces at work?

Historiography

Until lately, students of Guernsey had been curiously blind as to the magnitude and impact of migration: 'emigration took place on a small scale during the last century', declared a 1930s geographer; 'there has been no great influx of immigrants, either from England or from the neighbouring mainland'.¹⁹ This view has had to be revised as better sources (such as the decennial censuses) have become available and modern quantitative techniques have been brought to bear in studies of both Bailiwicks.

In Guernsey's case, Gregory Stevens Cox has contributed much to an understanding of immigration in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In a study with a dual economic and social focus, he has analysed the development of St Peter Port during the 'long eighteenth century'.²⁰ Working, in his case, with a comparatively limited range of sources (no proper censuses were taken in Guernsey before 1821, and there are no archives like the English ecclesiastical court deposition papers), Dr Stevens Cox has assessed the strength of such groups as the Huguenots, late eighteenth-century French *émigrés*, and migrants from the south-west of England, increasingly attracted after 1760 by the availability of work in the port. Stevens Cox has also examined the demographic impact of migration in the early nineteenth century, and has described the beginnings of anglicisation in St Peter Port. His work is a valuable introduction to the subject of immigration to Guernsey and provides the foundations on which this thesis will build.

¹⁹ E.C. Barrington, 'The human geography of Guernsey', *T.S.G.*, 12 (1935), p. 414.

²⁰ G. Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port 1680-1830: The History of an International Entrepôt* (Woodbridge, 1999).

A broader range of quantitative sources were available to John Kelleher in his study of nineteenth-century Jersey.²¹ Dr Kelleher assesses the impact of both English and French immigration on Jersey's traditional institutions, as well as on the island's native language. He argues that Jersey's powerful rural bloc succeeded – at least temporarily – in resisting the political and social (if not linguistic) challenges presented by external forces. Here, experiences in Guernsey and Jersey are not straightforwardly analogous. Strategies were adopted in Guernsey which were not adopted in Jersey, and *vice versa* (notably in respect of education). This thesis will examine differences between Dr Kelleher's findings for Jersey and developments in the smaller island. A comparison of final outcomes provides valuable insights into the nature and meaning of the transition both islands underwent.

Caroline Williams has examined immigration to both Bailiwicks as part of a study whose main focus is nineteenth-century maritime history.²² In an analysis of the economic importance of shipbuilding and the worldwide carrying trade, Dr Williams discusses the effect of expansion and subsequent decline on employment patterns and population growth. In so doing, Dr Williams highlights the fact that Guernsey's population continued to grow after the first intimations of decline in the 1850s, whereas Jersey's population fell. Dr Williams speculates as to the role of immigration in this, but the constraints of her sources prevent her reaching a definitive conclusion (she relies mainly on published census analysis as opposed to enumerators' books).²³

In the last two decades, considerable academic attention has also been given to language shift as a by-product of migration. Several studies have been made of Channel Island Norman-French vernaculars and insular varieties of English, all of which to some extent address the process of anglicisation. However, because the authors have been linguists rather than historians, they have relied essentially on secondary sources, and have left available primary sources untapped. From a historical point of view, therefore, the results have not been fully satisfactory.²⁴

²¹ J.D. Kelleher, *The Triumph of the Country: The Rural Community in Nineteenth-Century Jersey* (Jersey, 1994).

²² C. Williams, *From Sail to Steam: Studies in the Nineteenth-Century History of the Channel Islands* (Chichester, 2000).

²³ Williams, *Sail to Steam*, pp. 68–71.

²⁴ See, for example, H. Ramisch, *The Variation of English in Guernsey/Channel Islands* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1989); P. Barbé, 'Exploring variation in Guernsey English syntax' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1993); M. Paździora, 'Not quite English: the Channel Islands and their language throughout history' (unpub. Masters dissertation, University of Roskild, 1999); M.C. Jones, 'Mette a haout dauve la grippe des Anglaï's', in M.C Jones & E. Esch, (eds), *Language Change: the Interplay of Internal, External and Extra-Linguistic Factors* (Berlin, 2002).

Sources

In many ways, islands provide an ideal context for the study of migration. Unlike cities, they cannot spread out to accommodate more people, and the effects of immigration are consequently concentrated (perhaps even magnified). Moreover, in a small island the size of Guernsey, quantitative sources are of such dimensions that they can be analysed in their entirety, without the need for sampling. Such sources are plentiful for nineteenth-century Guernsey. Civil registration, together with parochial registration and the decennial censuses, enable us to quantify with some precision the timing and extent of migration. Enumerators' books provide ten-yearly snapshots of residential patterns and the progress of social integration. Sources specific to the island, such as the late nineteenth-century Stranger Register and mid-century Register of Persons sent out of the Island,²⁵ afford opportunities for a particularly detailed analysis of the age structure, geographical origins, social and marital status of immigrants, and – in the case of the latter document – for a break-down of migrants the island rejected, together with an indication of the criteria for rejection.

Other sources will be used alongside quantitative data to build up a picture of subtler transformations in insular society: poor law records, education records, newspapers, administrative correspondence, contemporary travel writings, *Billets d'Etat*.²⁶ In the first half of the thesis, the balance of evidence will be quantitative, as first economic and then demographic changes are assessed. Thereafter, the analysis will broaden out, using other types of evidence to focus on less quantifiable matters such as inter-group relationships and the evolution of insular identity. Reference will be made throughout to wider British and French sources to elicit parallels in patterns of migration and cultural homogenisation in Guernsey's two *mères-patries*.²⁷

²⁵ For more on which, see below, pp. 109–111; 149–152.

²⁶ *Billets d'Etat*, which were sometimes known by contemporaries as 'Blue Books', contain the agendas for States meetings, supported by a large array of background documentation. A complete series survives from 1812, and later ones can run into hundreds of pages.

²⁷ From constraints of space, quotations from French sources have throughout been left in the original.

CHAPTER 1

THE CHANGING ECONOMY

Conditions before 1814

The eighteenth century was a time of unprecedented economic expansion for Guernsey. This expansion was based on St Peter Port and its maritime activities, and it gave the insular economy an opportunity to grow 'unrestrained by territorial limits'.¹ Gregory Stevens Cox's study documents the transformation of St Peter Port, 'a relatively poor town of some 3,000 inhabitants' in the seventeenth century, into 'one of the principal commercial entrepôts in the Atlantic economy'.² An important contemporary account of eighteenth-century trade is provided by Daniel De Lisle Brock (first president of the Guernsey Chamber of Commerce, Bailiff 1821-42, and leading eighteenth-century merchant) in his chapter on 'The Commerce of the Island' in William Berry's 1815 *History of the Island of Guernsey*.³ Brock dates the increase in Guernsey's prosperity from its involvement in privateering during William III's French wars. Guernsey privateers disposed of prize goods such as spirits and tobacco to smugglers sailing over from the neighbouring coast of England, where duties on these commodities were high. In time a market was created, to satisfy which 'on the return of peace, the inhabitants were induced to import and keep in store the goods which they knew to be in such demand, and which accordingly continued to attract the English smugglers'.⁴ Brock, unlike later commentators, is not afraid to put the supply of smugglers at the top of his list of Guernsey's eighteenth-century mercantile activities. He acknowledges that island-registered ships, as well as English ones, were used in the trade and is unapologetic, arguing that it was preferable for smugglers to resort to Guernsey for supplies than 'to a

¹ R. Ommer, 'The cod trade in the New World', in A.G. Jamieson (ed.), *A People of the Sea: The Maritime History of the Channel Islands* (London, 1986), p. 246.

² G. Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port 1680-1830: The History of an International Entrepôt* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 23 & 142.

³ W. Berry, *The History of the Island of Guernsey* (London, 1815), pp. 268-284. Berry does not acknowledge Brock's authorship, but we are informed of it by Brock's nephew, Ferdinand Brock Tupper, in an article on trade written 20 years later for a local journal: F.B. Tupper, 'Commerce of Guernsey – No. 1', *Guernsey & Jersey Magazine*, 4 (1837), p. 306.

⁴ Berry, *Island of Guernsey*, p. 275.

foreign country'.⁵ The heyday of Guernsey's involvement with smuggling came in the last three decades of the eighteenth century.⁶ Guernsey and its sister island, Alderney, were the 'chief supply bases' for contraband bound for Britain and Ireland in the period following the Isle of Man's eclipse as a smuggling base on its sale to the British government in 1765 and prior to the rise of such continental centres as Flushing, Ostend and Dunkirk.⁷ In a highly critical report to the Treasury in 1800, HM Customs Commissioner William Stiles estimated that smuggling from these islands injured the Revenue 'to the enormous amount of one million pounds per annum'.⁸

St Peter Port's activities as a smugglers' supply base had a respectable counterpart. The town's warehouse facilities also allowed it to develop a role as a depository and bulk-breaker for cargoes of wines, spirits and tobacco destined for legal entry into Britain before the introduction of the bonding system in first decade of the nineteenth century.⁹ Most Guernsey merchants engaged in a combination of the two branches of trade. These activities, combined with the economic input of thousands of naval and military personnel stationed in Guernsey during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars,¹⁰ made the late eighteenth century what one commentator described as 'a heart-stirring period' in which 'the tide of wealth was always on the flow'.¹¹ All ranks appear to have benefitted: the merchant class became 'opulent';¹² the entrepôt afforded a comfortable living to a large workforce of artisans and labourers;¹³ retailing and the service trades expanded.¹⁴

The suppression of smuggling through the extension of British anti-smuggling Acts to the islands in 1805 and 1807,¹⁵ together with the end of privateering and the loss in 1815 of much of the garrison, led to what nineteenth-century historian Jonathan

⁵ Berry, *Island of Guernsey*, pp. 275 & 280.

⁶ For modern accounts of Guernsey's involvement in smuggling, see A.G. Jamieson, 'The Channel Islands and smuggling 1680-1850', in Jamieson (ed.), *People of the Sea*, pp. 195-219; M. White, 'The Carteret Priaulx papers,' *T.S.G.*, 17 (1963), pp. 451-469; P. Raban, 'Clandestine trade in the mid-eighteenth century,' *T.S.G.*, 22 (1987), pp. 303-326.

⁷ Jamieson, 'Channel Islands and smuggling,' p. 195.

⁸ P.R.O., T 64/153, p. 50.

⁹ Berry, *Island of Guernsey*, p. 276. The 1840s saw a brief resurgence in these activities despite the bonding system being in place.

¹⁰ A French *émigré*, Monsieur de Magnac, assessed the garrison strength at 5,903 in 1798 (cited in Lt. Col. T. W. M. De Guerin, 'The English garrison of Guernsey from early times', *Transactions of the Guernsey Society of Natural Science and Local Research*, 5 (1905), pp. 80-81).

¹¹ F. B. Tupper, 'Commerce of Guernsey - No. 2', *Guernsey and Jersey Magazine*, 4 (1837), p. 359.

¹² William Stiles' 1800 Report to Treasury, p. 51 (P.R.O., T 64/153).

¹³ No less than 1,800 were employed in cooperage and tobacco-processing work in St Peter Port by 1800 (Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 62).

¹⁴ Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, pp. 59-61.

¹⁵ For events leading up to the Acts, see Jamieson, 'Channel Islands and smuggling,' pp. 209-210.

Duncan called 'a partial depression'.¹⁶ The depression was partial in that it affected mainly the lower social strata. With the days of easy profits gone, a sizeable portion of the mercantile elite retired from business and realised their 'floating capital', safely – and respectably – investing their 'vast fortunes' in public securities.¹⁷ The island's commercial sector was thus abruptly decapitalised.

Wealth of such comparative magnitude was never again to be produced, or controlled, by such a select band of local principals. 'Living at ease on incomes derived from their fathers,'¹⁸ the descendants of eighteenth-century merchants remained a significant force, politically and socially, until the early twentieth century. From the mid-1820s, the indigenous *rentier* sector was expanded by upper- and middle-class British expatriates (half-pay officers, ex-colonials, retired professionals) arriving to make their home in St Peter Port, where, at least in the first half of the century, the cost of living was on average lower than in Britain.¹⁹ The demand for housing, goods and services generated by *rentiers* (and later tourists) contributed significantly to the economy and helped buoy it up in fallow times. However, it is unclear how far this went towards compensating for the loss of the capital which could have been directly invested in local wealth-creating enterprises. For the remainder of the century, local commerce and industry was to depend on modest capital inputs from less well-endowed individuals, and (particularly in the extractive industries) on capital from off-island sources.

Manufacturing Industries

The economy of nineteenth-century Guernsey was by no means solely or even primarily dependent on *rentiers*. It now remains to assess the importance of other sectors. Although manufacturing for export (chiefly in the form of tobacco-processing) had played a part in Guernsey's economy in the later eighteenth century, it was never a major factor after 1814. The tobacco manufactories closed after the anti-smuggling Acts prohibited the re-export of tobacco in small packages.²⁰ In the 1820s and '30s, bricks were manufactured for local use, with a modest surplus exported to Plymouth, Portsmouth and Newfoundland.²¹ There was a more significant trade in the processing of

¹⁶ J. Duncan, *The History of Guernsey* (London, 1841), p. 262. On this depression, see below, p. 31–32.

¹⁷ Duncan, *Guernsey*, p. 262.

¹⁸ AGM, 14.2.1843, G.C.C. Minute Book 1839–49 (I.A., AQ 40/03).

¹⁹ F.B. Tupper, *The History of Guernsey and its Bailiwick* (Guernsey, 1854), pp. 432–445. This period also saw British *rentier* families settling for similar reasons in Jersey, the Isle of Man and northern France.

²⁰ It resumed on a small scale when these restrictions were lifted in 1838, but never to its pre-1807 extent.

²¹ J. Jacob, *Annals of some of the British Norman Isles constituting the Bailiwick of Guernsey* (Paris, 1830), p. 466.

raw grain imported from the Baltics (the Channel Islands were not subject to the Corn Laws) to produce flour and biscuit for Britain's overseas colonies.²² This, however, died away with the introduction of free trade in the United Kingdom.²³ Various other ventures were tried in the first half of the nineteenth century. John Jacob in 1830 mentions the manufacture of paper, spirits distilled from potatoes, vinegar and Epsom salts.²⁴ None of these seem to have been particularly successful as export earners. A Royal Court report quoted in a Chamber of Commerce minute of 13 February 1851 sums up the situation:

'il résulterait un grand avantage à l'île en général s'il existait des fabriques de divers genres en pleine activité, cependant il est à remarquer que toutes celles qui ont été établies à diverses époques n'existent plus, qu'elles n'ont point réalisé les résultats qu'on en attendait, et qu'on a été obligé de les abandonner'.²⁵

The only successful manufacturing enterprise of any duration was Keillers' marmalade and confectionery factory. The Dundee firm based its export operation in Guernsey in order to circumvent United Kingdom sugar duties. There had been an abortive venture of a similar nature in the early 1840s,²⁶ but the Keiller operation flourished for over 20 years between 1857 and 1879, and at its height employed more than 100 hands.²⁷

The sectors which ultimately became the mainstays of the nineteenth-century economy had all existed, albeit some of them only in a small way, prior to 1814: shipping and its ancillary shipbuilding; quarrying, and agriculture (later shading into horticulture). To an extent these sectors were geographically delimited. St Peter Port, and St Sampsons were centres for shipping and shipbuilding. Quarrying took place largely in St Sampsons and the Vale, and agriculture played a significant role in all nine country parishes. These three branches of activity varied in importance as the century progressed, but between 1814 and 1914, there was a distinct spatial shift in economic focus. Whereas economic growth had centred on St Peter Port in the eighteenth century, by World War I the growth sector had shifted decisively to the country (for parish distribution, see figure 1.1).

²² Tupper, 'Commerce No. 2', p. 365.

²³ Tupper, *Guernsey and its Bailiwick*, p. 448.

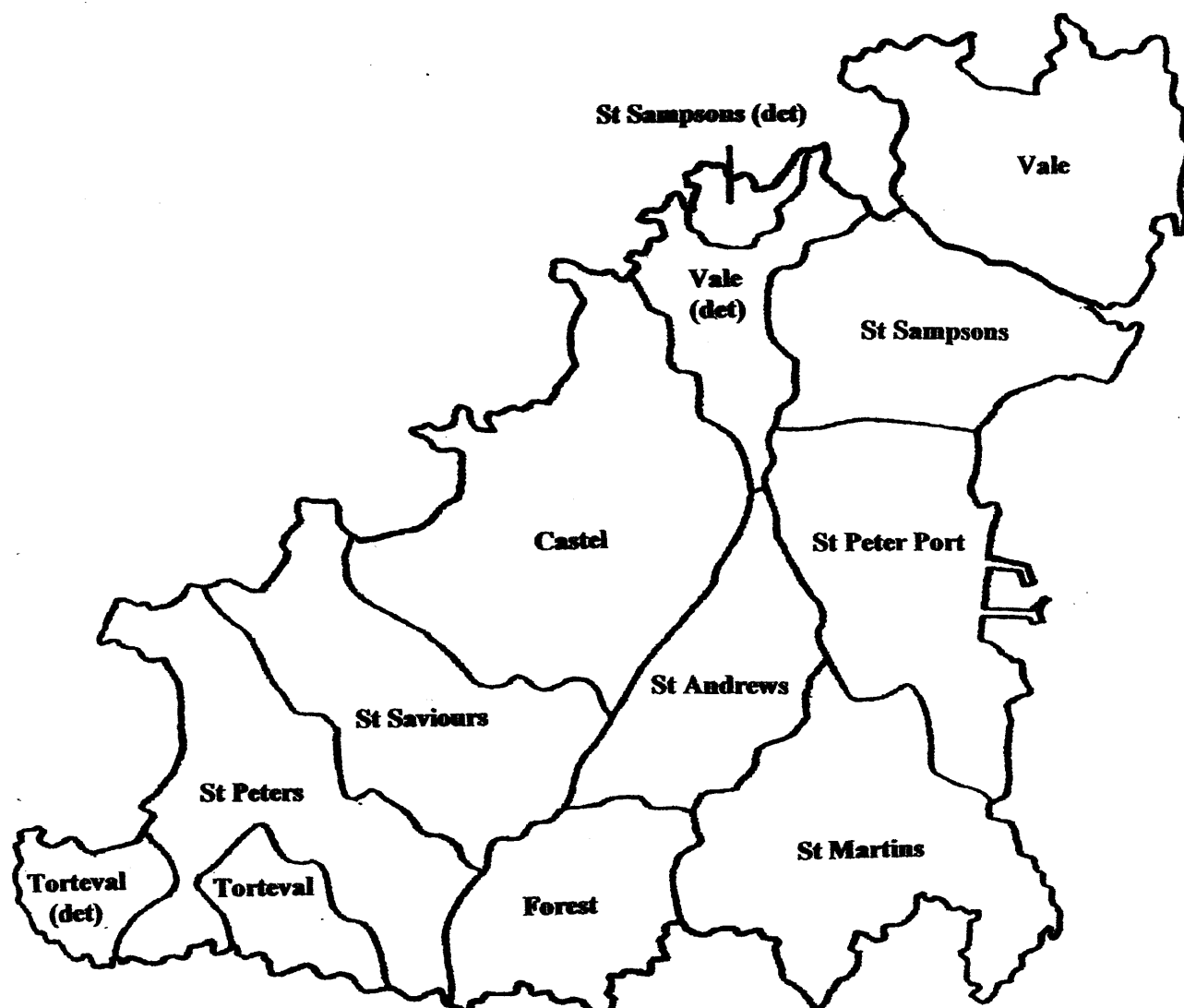
²⁴ Jacob, *Annals*, pp. 465–467.

²⁵ G.C.C. Minute Book 1849–89 (I.A., AQ 40/04).

²⁶ See M.H. Ouseley, 'Guernsey and sugar in the mid-nineteenth century. A trade war', *T.S.G.*, 19 (1971), pp. 106–114.

²⁷ On the Keillers, see W.M. Mathew, *The Secret History of Guernsey Marmalade* (Guernsey, 1998).

Figure 1.1 Guernsey parishes



Note: the parishes also have French names, but English names have been used since they were already current in the nineteenth century; the parish of St Peters is also known as St Peter-in-the-Wood, and parish names sometimes appear without the terminal 's'.

Shipping

The suppression of smuggling after 1807, severe blow though it was, did not spell the end of Guernsey's maritime endeavours. Privateering continued until the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The island also benefitted from the 'licence trade' whereby the export of essential commodities to France was permitted in the last few years of the Wars, and for which Guernsey became the principal mart. In addition, the involvement of Spain and Portugal in the Peninsular War after 1809 opened their South American colonies to trade. This was a profitable market into which some of the Guernsey merchants entered 'with spirit', taking wines and brandies from Europe to Rio de Janeiro and Rio de la Plata, and returning with coffee, sugar and hides.²⁸ Although most of the larger merchants retired in 1815, others (notably the Tuppers) persevered and were joined by new blood,²⁹ to the extent that growth in the shipping sector re-started. The South American trade remained the backbone of Guernsey's overseas commerce for the next 30 years.³⁰ In 1858, a local newspaper published a letter from Jurat Henry Tupper, nephew of Daniel De Lisle Brock and a member of one of Guernsey's foremost mercantile families. Tupper's letter records the rise in numbers of Guernsey vessels from 114 (10,450 tons old measure) in 1807 to 134 (17,511 tons old measure) in 1841.³¹ In that year Guernsey occupied 30th position in a ranking of British ports according to tonnage registered.³²

Later in the 1840s, Guernsey began to lose her South American trade to vessels of other nations. However, the size of the insular fleet was maintained through the acquisition of niche markets, notably the Azores fruit trade,³³ and the Costa Rica coffee trade, of which the Le Lacheur family had a virtual monopoly from 1842 to the late 1880s.³⁴ During this period, Guernsey-registered vessels also took an increasing share of the local stone and coal trade, which spared island shipowners the worst effects of depressions in the worldwide trade caused by the Crimean and American Civil Wars. 'Considering the financial crisis that has affected the commercial world,' reflected Henry Tupper in 1865 (he was now president of the Chamber of Commerce), 'we may congratulate ourselves that the island has not been very seriously or prejudicially

²⁸ On the licence trade and South American trade, see Duncan, *Guernsey*, p. 261.

²⁹ The Dobrées, Brocks and Careys of the eighteenth century were replaced in the next 50 years by such names as Thom, Price, Jones, Valrent and Carrington (see A.G. Jamieson, 'Island shipowners and seamen', in Jamieson (ed.), *People of the Sea*, pp. 325, 327 & 331).

³⁰ A.G. Jamieson, 'Voyage patterns and trades of Channel Island vessels, 1700-1900', in Jamieson (ed.), *People of the Sea*, p. 381.

³¹ *Comet*, 22.7.1858.

³² P.P. 1843, LII cited in Jamieson, 'Island shipowners and seamen', p. 327. Jersey, more active in shipping than Guernsey, ranked 24th.

³³ Tupper, *Guernsey and its Bailiwick*, p. 444.

³⁴ Jamieson, 'Voyage patterns', pp. 399-400.

affected'.³⁵ When iron-hulled steamships finally edged Guernsey's aging wooden sailing vessels out of the international market in the 1870s, they managed to ply their trade a while longer by concentrating entirely on local stone and coal. A decade later, however, the shipping sector, so vital to the island for so long, had shrunk to the point that it no longer played a significant economic role. By 1894 only 78 ships were registered locally, more than half of them owned elsewhere.³⁶

Table 1.1, compiled from Henry Tupper's 1858 letter, Chamber of Commerce statistics and local newspapers, shows changes in the size of the fleet and its workforce between 1807 and 1894. At its height in the 1860s, shipping employed some 1,115 men and boys. The census of 1861 enumerated 8,811 males aged 15-64 in 'Guernsey and adjacent islands'.³⁷ While this provides only the crudest guide to the proportion of the population occupied as seafarers,³⁸ the extent of crew numbers in relation to what was essentially a small population leaves no doubt as to the importance of shipping as an employer, at least in the first two-thirds of the century.

Seafaring was always a useful option for those who lacked jobs within Guernsey's 24 square miles, and seamen's pay undoubtedly boosted cash circulation, but the wider economic contribution of shipping fluctuated. In earlier times, when ships were engaged principally in international trade, direct benefits were not great; 'our vessels are away nine, twelve, fifteen, eighteen months, and perhaps two years, and when they return, their stay may be confined to three or four weeks', a newspaper observed in 1836; 'the advantages ... are chiefly confined to the shipowners'.³⁹ The situation altered as vessels began to make shorter voyages, transporting stone and coal for the local market. An estimate for 1878 calculated that 93 local ships entering and leaving St Peter Port and St Sampsons (the main port for stone) over the course of a year left behind them £40 'for provisions, labour and harbour dues' each time they called. Calls numbered approximately 610, making a total of £24,400, with an additional £25,552 paid out in crews' wages and £10,000 for repairs while in port. This made an annual inflow to the island of nearly £60,000 (excluding owners' and shareholders' profits) – a sum which was far from negligible.⁴⁰

³⁵ AGM 26.1.1865, G.C.C. Minute Book 1849-1889 (I.A., AQ 40/04).

³⁶ AGM 9.7.1895, G.C.C. Minute Book 1889-1902 (I.A., AQ 44/05).

³⁷ P.P. 1861, L ('adjacent islands' are Alderney, Sark, Herm, Jethou and Brecqhou).

³⁸ The 1,115 seamen are not a straight subset of the 8,811 males enumerated: many seamen will have been at sea at census-time and hence should be added to local males; some may not have been Guernsey-based.

³⁹ *Comet*, 14.3.1836. Alan Jamieson calculates that, between 1817 and 1890, 1,238 individuals, mostly Guernsey residents, held shares in local ships (Jamieson, 'Channel Island shipowners and seamen', p. 333).

⁴⁰ Letter from 'W.W.B.', *Comet*, 8.3.1879. The letter is obviously supportive of the stone industry and may exaggerate its benefits, but it remains a useful guide in the absence of other statistics.

Table 1.1 Guernsey sailing fleet, 1807-1894

Year	No. of ships	Tonnage*	Men/boys employed
1807	114	10,450	N/A
1817	64	6,825	N/A
1827	75	7,879	N/A
1836	86	9,786	N/A
1840	119	15,034	944
1841	134	17,511	1,108
1842	131	17,249	1,094
1843	125	14,572	1,051
1844	120	13,277	974
1845	120	12,904	939
1846	120	13,263	914
1847	129	14,084	952
1848	142	15,474	1,032
1849	141	16,013	1,031
1850	143	16,743	1,049
1851	141	16,680	1,044
1852	140	17,239	1,061
1853	135	16,207	1,048
1854	138	16,980	1,076
1855	130	16,759	1,018
1856	132	17,079	1,035
1857 ^a	141	18,331	1,110
1861	123	19,261	1,115
1862	128	19,679	1,053
1863	127	19,831	1,048
1864 ^b	129	21,817	1,115
1865 ^c	140	25,571	N/A
1866 ^d	140	25,131	N/A
1878 ^e	93	N/A	744
1894	78	9,880	N/A

Notes

* 1807-42 tonnages given in old measure, 1843-94 in new

^a 1807-57: letter from Henry Tupper, *Comet*, 22.7.1858

^b 1861-64: G.C.C. AGM 26.1.1865, Minute Book 1849-89 (I.A., AQ 40/04)

^c 1865, 1894: G.C.C. AGM 9.7.1895, Minute Book 1889-1902 (I.A., AQ 44/05)

^d 1866: G.C.C. AGM 23.7.1867, Minute Book 1849-89 (I.A., AQ 40/04)

^e 1878: letter from 'W.W.B.', *Comet*, 8.3.1879

Shipbuilding

Although shipping was central to Guernsey's eighteenth-century economy, only a small number of vessels were then built in the island. Gregory Stevens Cox gives the number of shipwrights active at the turn of the nineteenth century as 103.⁴¹ It seems probable that these shipwrights were engaged chiefly in repairs, since Ferdinand Brock Tupper, a contemporary, sets the date for the beginning of shipbuilding proper at 1815.⁴² Stevens Cox suggests that local entrepreneurs may have been encouraged to develop shipbuilding in the post-smuggling era by the availability of coopers whose wood-working skills were no longer required for making casks.⁴³ The craft was, however, so specialised that a certain amount of outside expertise would almost certainly have had to be imported, at least in the early days.

Shipbuilding grew up essentially to supply the needs of local shipowners, and it rose and fell in parallel with its sister-industry. Just as a majority of local shipowners did not diversify into iron-hulled vessels, so local shipbuilders did not progress to building them. However, the construction of patent slips at St Peter Port and St Sampsons in the late 1860s and '70s did facilitate the continuance of repair work for some time after major building had ceased. Jersey, by contrast, built more vessels for off-island clients, and its shipbuilding sector was correspondingly larger. Its demise following the emergence of iron as a preferred construction material was, however, more abrupt, Jersey having missed out on repair work through a failure to provide patent slips.⁴⁴

Over a period of about 65 years (1815-80), Guernsey supported a total of 14 major shipbuilding firms, which, with a handful of smaller builders, produced 282 ships with a combined tonnage of 40,276. Three major periods of activity have been identified: 1822-25; 1836-42, and 1864-67.⁴⁵ Figure 1.2 gives an indication of the scale of some of the vessels built. It depicts the cutter 'Courier', built by P. Ogier of St Sampsons in 1876, a period when the industry was already in decline.

⁴¹ Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 58.

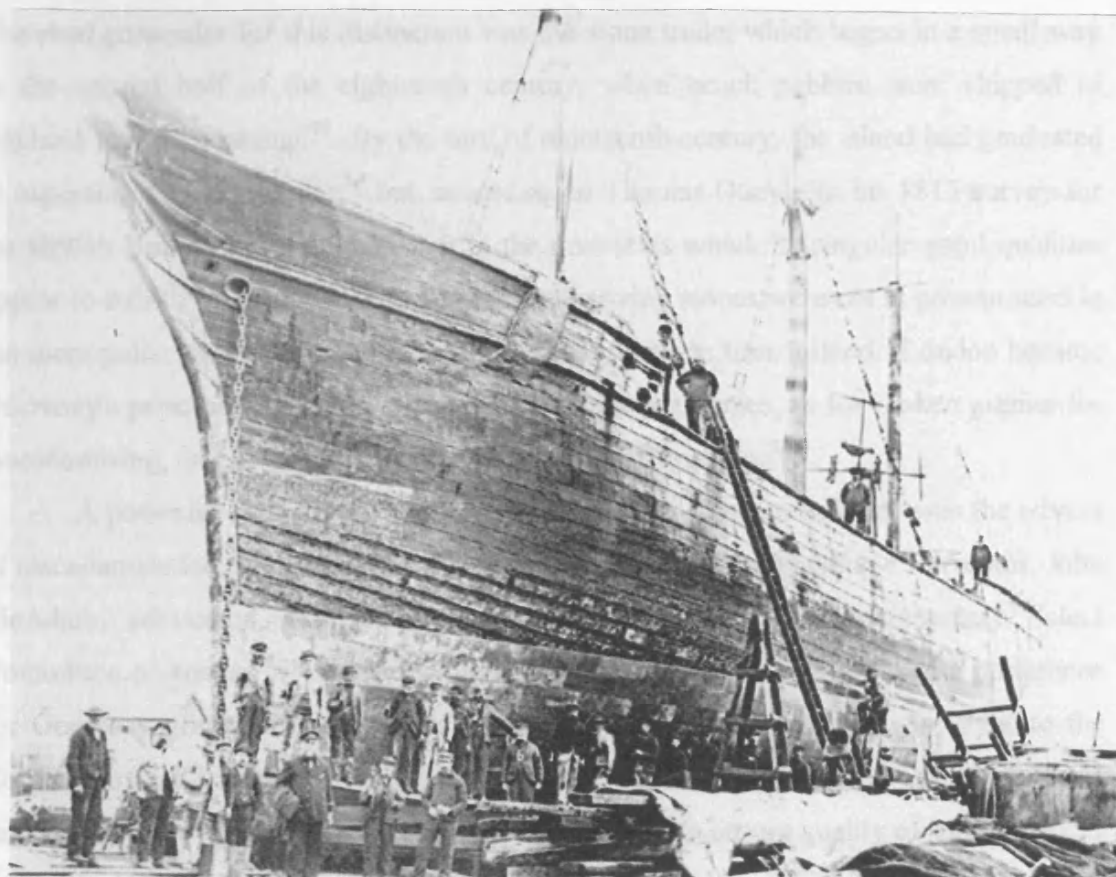
⁴² Tupper, 'Commerce No.2', p. 364.

⁴³ Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 59.

⁴⁴ C. Williams, *From Sail to Steam: Studies in the Nineteenth-Century History of the Channel Islands* (Chichester, 2000), pp. 21, 69-70.

⁴⁵ E.W. Sharp 'The shipbuilders of Guernsey', *T.S.G.*, 27 (1970), p. 492.

Figure 1.2 Building of cutter 'Courier', St Sampsons, 1876⁴⁶



As well as shipwrights proper, the industry also gave work to ropemakers, chandlers, sailmakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, caulkers, timber merchants and provision merchants.⁴⁷ A count of shipwrights, boatbuilders, blockmakers, ropemakers and sailmakers in the four censuses 1831-1861 yields totals of 68 in 1831; 308 in 1841; 222 in 1851, and 238 in 1861.⁴⁸ The true total of those employed by the industry is bound to be higher, if for no other reason than that many of those who gave their occupations simply as 'carpenter' or 'blacksmith' would also have worked in shipbuilding. However, even if we were to double the 238 shipwrights, block-, sail- and ropemakers in the 1861 census to take account of non-specific smiths and carpenters, this would give an estimated total employed in shipbuilding at its prime of less than 500. This represents between one-third and one-half the number of seafarers employed on Guernsey ships in that year. Shipbuilding was therefore no match as an employer for the carrying trade at its height. Nevertheless, in earlier shipbuilding booms (1822-25, 1836-42), the sector may well have been Guernsey's single largest land-based employer outside farming.

⁴⁶ Courtesy of Guernsey Museums and Art Galleries.

⁴⁷ V. Coysh, 'The Guernsey shipbuilding industry', *T.S.G.*, 15 (1952), p. 209. Shipbuilding also generated considerable business for local cabinetmakers in fitting out cabins.

⁴⁸ 1831 census occupational data published in *Comet*, 4.7.1831; 1841/51/61 data (for 'Guernsey and adjacent islands') in P.P. 1844, XXVII; 1852-53, LXXXVIII; 1863, LIII.

The Stone Trade

The rival contender for this distinction was the stone trade, which began in a small way in the second half of the eighteenth century, when beach pebbles were shipped to England for street paving.⁴⁹ By the turn of nineteenth century, the island had graduated to exporting dressed granite,⁵⁰ but, according to Thomas Quayle in his 1815 survey for the British Board of Agriculture, 'not in the quantities which its singular good qualities appear to merit'.⁵¹ Quayle added that Guernsey paving stones were not at present used in the metropolis. Over the next five years the situation was transformed. London became Guernsey's principal customer, not so much for paving stones, as for broken granite for macadamising, and for setts and kerbs for general roadmaking.⁵²

A powerful spur for the growth of the Guernsey granite industry was the advent of macadamisation, which rapidly gained favour in the metropolis after its inventor, John McAdam, advocated its adoption in evidence to the 1819 Parliamentary Select Committee on roads.⁵³ Alongside Aberdeen granite, McAdam entertained a preference for Guernsey granite. In 1826, McAdam's son James was appointed Surveyor to the Commission of Metropolis Roads and actively promoted the use of Guernsey stone. James McAdam visited Guernsey on several occasions to ensure quality of supplies.⁵⁴

In 1830, John Jacob identified the Isemonger family of St Sampsons (eighteenth-century migrants from Arundel in Sussex) as the main local stone suppliers.⁵⁵ This is confirmed by London vestry records, but early in this decade the firm of John Mowlem & Co. (which had been paving London's streets since 1823)⁵⁶ was also supplying large amounts.⁵⁷ Mowlem acquired his first Guernsey quarry in 1830.⁵⁸ This intrusion was not appreciated by the Isemongers.⁵⁹ However, it set a trend by which English contractors took an ever-increasing share of the business.⁶⁰

⁴⁹ Tupper, 'Commerce No. 2', p. 365.

⁵⁰ True granite does occur in Guernsey, but the stone which found favour in export markets was a form of diorite, or granitel. It was, however, generally known as granite and will be referred to as such here.

⁵¹ T. Quayle, *General View of the Agriculture and Present State of the Islands on the Coast of Normandy* (London, 1815), p. 287.

⁵² Even today the dark grey St Sampsons diorite remains much in evidence in kerbstones and cobbled alleyways all over central London.

⁵³ W.J. Reader, *Macadam* (London, 1980), p. 58; L. Clarke, *Building Capitalism: Historical Change and the Labour Process in the Production of the Built Environment* (London, 1992), pp. 243–244.

⁵⁴ Reader, *Macadam*, p. 77, 181–182, 185–186.

⁵⁵ Jacob, *Annals*, p.450.

⁵⁶ D. Lewer (ed.), *John Mowlem's Swanage Diary, 1845–1851* (Wincanton, 1990), pp. 18–19.

⁵⁷ F. Baines, *The History of John Mowlem*, undated typescript, pp. 95–102, 107–112 (Dorset Record Office, D432/1).

⁵⁸ P.J. Girard, 'Adolphus Bichard's reminiscences of the stone industry', *T.S.G.*, 21 (1982), p. 206.

⁵⁹ Baines, *Mowlem*, pp. 135 & 138.

⁶⁰ Reliance on outside capital to develop the stone industry was perhaps another by-product of the reluctance of the St Peter Port elite to invest in local ventures.

The industry grew rapidly, particularly after 1847, when contractors secured the right to have stone for macadamising, which had formerly to be broken 'within 20 miles of London,' cracked in the island, thereby providing work 'to many additional hands'.⁶¹ Whereas the 1831 census distinguished 112 stone-cutters and quarrymen in the Vale and St Sampsons,⁶² a statistical return to the Home Office in 1847 identified 434 men at work in the 84 quarries situated in these two parishes.⁶³ Fears of Belgian competition in the 1870s and '80s notwithstanding,⁶⁴ the industry continued to expand throughout the century and beyond, peaking just before the First World War. The steadily improving performance of Guernsey's stone trade is illustrated by figures in the following table.

Table 1.2 Granite exports, 1810-1913

Year	Tons exported
1810 ^a	2,666
1827	10,715
1835	53,458
1854	119,844
1864 ^b	150,076
1875	187,231
1885	214,827
1895	238,826
1904	337,400
1913 ^c	453,120

Notes

^a figures for 1810-54 & 1904 from P.J. Girard, 'Adolphus Bichard's reminiscences of the stone industry', p. 208

^b figures for 1864-95 from Guernsey Chamber of Commerce Minute Books:
 1864 – AGM 26.1.1865, Minute Book 1849-89 (I.A., AQ 40/04)
 1875 – AGM 15.2.1876, Minute Book 1849-89
 1885 – AGM 4.3.1886, Minute Book 1849-89
 1895 – AGM 28.8.1896, Minute Book 1889-1902 (I.A., AQ 44/05)

^c figures for 1913 from *Star*, 9.2.1914

⁶¹ *Comet*, 4.2.1847.

⁶² *Billet d'Etat*, 6.10.1831.

⁶³ P.R.O., HO 98/88. The return shows that, in 1847, island as a whole possessed 97 quarries.

⁶⁴ See, for instance, *Comet*, 12.2.1879.

In 1879, a letter from a certain 'W.W.B.' appeared in the local press giving figures 'obtained through the courtesy of our Stone Merchants' and purporting to present 'a fair view' of returns from the stone trade in 1878.⁶⁵ The letter claimed that granite exports had brought a return of £20,000 to 'quarry and cart proprietors' and £95,000 to workmen ('quarrymen, stone-dressers, stone-breakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, carters, etc.'). The letter was written in support of the stone industry and may have exaggerated its importance, but the figures nevertheless provide a creditable comparison with the maritime sector, from which W.W.B. claimed an inflow of £60,000.

The late nineteenth-century primacy of the stone trade also extended to numbers employed: W.W.B.'s letter tells us that there were 1,970 stone workers in 1878 as contrasted with only 974 Guernsey seamen and shipwrights. By that time, however, shipping was in decline. We do not have precisely comparable figures for early or mid-century, but Henry Tupper informs us that, in 1847, 952 men and boys were employed on Guernsey ships.⁶⁶ To this we can add an estimated 500 shipyard workers, giving an 1840s workforce of about 1,452 in the combined maritime sector. For the stone industry, however, the 1847 statistical return gives a figure of just 434 quarrymen.⁶⁷ Even doubling that number to take account of blacksmiths, carters, etc., the gap with the maritime sector in 1847 remains substantial. This seems proof enough that – though the balance had certainly shifted by the '70s – in mid-century at least, shipping/shipbuilding employed more labour than quarrying.

The two sectors were on opposing trajectories. Quarrying kept growing as maritime trades died out. Evidence seems to suggest that approximate parity came somewhere in the 1860s, from which point quarrying swiftly exceeded the maritime sector in importance, and decline in the latter continued inexorably. Figure 1.3 illustrates the substantial size of workforce employed in the larger quarries at the turn of the twentieth century. It depicts some 45 quarrymen employed at A. & F. Manuelle's Longue Hougue quarry in St Sampsons c.1900.

⁶⁵ *Comet*, 8.3.1879 (already quoted in relation to shipping/shipbuilding).

⁶⁶ Letter from Henry Tupper, *Comet*, 22.7.1858.

⁶⁷ P.R.O., HO 98/88.

Figure 1.3 Workforce at Longue Hougue Quarry, St Sampsons, c. 1900⁶⁸



The amounts given by W.W.B. as 'returns' from the maritime sector and stone industry in 1878 essentially represent cash flowing into the economy as a result of the everyday operations of the two sectors. They do not represent primary profits. One factor which must have exerted some influence on total relative economic input was that the means of production in the maritime sector were in local hands. Profits in this sector were therefore brought home intact, which in the case of quarrying they were not. Who then were the 'quarry and cart proprietors' claimed by W.W.B. to have made £20,000? Eleven years later, the *Star* reproduced figures from an accountant's report made public when stone merchant William Griffiths turned his business into a limited liability company. Griffiths ranked third among the six main Guernsey players at that time, and his 'net profits, after providing for depreciation and doubtful debts' were, for 1899/1900,

⁶⁸ Carel Toms collection, Priaulx Library, Guernsey.

£24,228 1s 5d.⁶⁹ The £20,000 mentioned by W.W.B. therefore surely refers only to income from those comparatively few quarries which were owned and worked by locals or, more frequently, owned by locals and leased to major operators.

Most quarries were worked, and often also owned, by English firms; by 1910, John Mowlem & Co. alone owned as much as 200 acres in Guernsey.⁷⁰ As a newspaper pointed out in 1889, 'native proprietors' had not been behindhand in selling their agriculturally worthless furze-bearing *hougues* 'to the present proprietors'.⁷¹ An article in the *Comet* in 1890 names John Mowlem & Co.; A. & F. Manuelle; Wm. Griffiths; Nowell & Robson; E. & H. Beevers, and R.L. & J. Fennings as the largest operators – all of them English concerns.⁷² Some 14 years later, when the industry was at its all-time peak, the *Star* gave a break-down by merchant of exports for 1913. The last three top-league players listed in 1890 had dropped out and been replaced by Fry Bros. Ltd., Brooks Granite Co. Ltd. and a local operator, Mr P. Falla. What is striking is that, of a total of 453,120 tons shipped, 452,075 tons, or 99.8 percent, were handled by English firms. Mr Falla exported just 1,045 tons, or 0.2 percent.⁷³ There can therefore be no doubt that the biggest profits went off-island.

Reflecting on the merchants' *de facto* cartel, the *Comet* observed in 1889: 'as the number of English capitalists is comparatively few ..., they are almost in a position to state their own terms respecting the cost of labour ... so as to extract the largest percentage of profit subject to the contract terms of those whom they purvey'.⁷⁴ Exactly what profit merchants made per ton of stone is unknown and no doubt varied greatly, depending on such factors as demand levels and freight rates. In 1837, however, a leading London merchant, John Freeman, was charging vestries 14s per ton for spalls (roughly hewn stone as it came from the quarry) and 17s for cracked stone.⁷⁵ Fourteen years later we learn that Guernsey stoneworkers were receiving 1s 10d per ton for spalls and 4s for cracked stone.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ *Star*, 15.11.1900.

⁷⁰ *Local Government Officer & Contractor*, 3.12.1910, p. 311.

⁷¹ *Comet*, 1.5.1889. *Hougue* is Guernsey-French for a hillock or rocky outcrop.

⁷² *Comet*, 27.8.1890. The larger Guernsey-based (if not native-born) merchants were, at various times after the Isemongers' demise, Messrs Hamley, Dyson, Monfries, Stranger and Falla.

⁷³ *Star*, 9.2.1914.

⁷⁴ *Comet*, 1.5.1889.

⁷⁵ Baines, *Mowlem*, p. 112.

⁷⁶ *Star*, 25.2.1851.

Agriculture/Horticulture

While both quarrying and the maritime sector employed substantial workforces at various points between 1814 and 1914, neither ever came close to employing a majority of insular males. Examination of occupational returns in the nine censuses between 1821 and 1901 reveals that the agricultural sector consistently claimed this distinction, and that – far from diminishing – its lead over other sectors grew as time went on.⁷⁷

The 1821 census already showed a clear urban-rural split in terms of occupation. Of the 2,363 families in St Peter Port, 1,956 (83 percent) earned their living by 'trade, manufacture or handicraft'.⁷⁸ Though the parish contained a rural fringe, only 70 families (3 percent) were engaged in agriculture. This contrasted sharply with the other parishes, which were predominantly agricultural. Between them the nine country parishes accommodated 1,830 families. As many as 1,502 of these (82 percent) were engaged in agriculture. The country parishes were not, however, an undifferentiated bloc. Participation in agriculture varied from 97 percent in the western parish of St Saviours to as little as 58 percent in St Martins, which lay contiguous to St Peter Port and shared some of its characteristics.

The 1831 census confirms the predominance of agriculture outside St Peter Port, and further divides males over 20 and working in farming into land occupiers and agricultural labourers. In no parish save St Peter Port did the proportion of occupiers fall below 20 percent of men over 20, and in one parish, St Peters, land occupiers accounted for over half this category.⁷⁹ Thomas Quayle reported in 1815 that labourers were 'rare'.⁸⁰ The usual mode of land tenure was ownership rather than leasing: 'every man who cultivates land is absolute owner, and not a tenant on a lease', observed the *Guernsey & Jersey Magazine* in 1836.⁸¹ The structure of Guernsey agriculture was thus more akin to the peasant farming of continental Europe than to anything practised in nineteenth-century England.⁸²

With a land area of just over 24 square miles, the island offered no scope for great estates, nor great landowners. 'The proprietor who occupies ... 18 to 25 acres is here deemed a capital farmer,' Quayle remarked.⁸³ According to H.D. Inglis, repeated subdivision brought about by inheritance laws which prescribed the partition of land

⁷⁷ For occupational distribution in censuses 1841-1901, see below, p. 65.

⁷⁸ Figures in *Billet d'Etat*, 15.9.1821.

⁷⁹ Figures in *Billet d'Etat*, 6.10.1831.

⁸⁰ Quayle, *General View*, p. 283.

⁸¹ *Guernsey & Jersey Magazine*, 2 (1836), p. 126.

⁸² For a summary of differences between English and continental farming, see A. Armstrong, *Farmworkers, A Social and Economic History 1770-1980* (London, 1988), pp. 28-29.

⁸³ Quayle, *General View*, p. 249.

among siblings according to a pre-set formula had, by 1834, reduced the size of the average Guernsey farm to between five and twelve English acres.⁸⁴ Many in the countryside had to supplement work on their smallholdings with occasional paid employment. A note appended to the 1821 census returns clarifies the situation:

'the families set down as chiefly employed in agriculture, most of them are also partly employed in a variety of other occupations, supplying the islands with fishermen, masons, carpenters, masters, mates and seamen, stone-cutters, etc.'⁸⁵

'A mediocrity, rather bordering upon poverty, seems to prevail throughout the country,' William Berry commented in 1815. He described 'an Island ... shut out from agricultural communication with the rest of the world [where] the same kind of plough, harrow, and every implement of husbandry, used some centuries back, still exist'.⁸⁶ A modified species of subsistence polyculture was necessarily the main form of farming in early nineteenth-century Guernsey, but, for all that, country farmers did have surpluses and found it profitable to send them to St Peter Port. The rural population lived frugally, saving their best produce for market in the manner characteristic of all European peasants.⁸⁷ This perhaps created an impression of greater poverty than existed, and indeed contemporary observers were at pains to stress that pauperism among the indigenous population was rare.⁸⁸ Export figures for 1828 also show that a limited amount of produce went overseas: a few hundred baskets of potatoes, apples and pears; sundry pipes and hogsheads of potato spirit and cider; some 1,112 pigs and 366 cattle.⁸⁹

The fortunes of Guernsey agriculture followed a somewhat uneven course to 1860 and then embarked on an improving trajectory which was sustained to the end of the period. As observed, the export of potatoes was already under way in 1828: 42,632 bushels in that year.⁹⁰ The cash-earning capacities of the Guernsey farmer were boosted when the volume of this trade increased around the mid-1830s. An article in the *Star* in

⁸⁴ H.D. Inglis, *The Channel Islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Serk, Herm and Jethou* (1834; London, 1835 edn), p. 220. According to the 1851 census, the average size of farms in England & Wales was 111 acres (W.A. Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation', in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 225).

⁸⁵ 1821 census returns published in *Star*, 7.8.1821.

⁸⁶ Berry, *Island of Guernsey*, pp. 284 & 299. Berry was not on good terms with the insular 'establishment' (see below, p. 184) and may deliberately have emphasised negative features to wound insular pride. There is, however, no reason to disbelieve the general tenor of his comments, which are corroborated elsewhere.

⁸⁷ Inglis, *Channel Islands*, pp. 205–206.

⁸⁸ E.L. Blanchard, *Adams's Pocket Descriptive Guide to the Channel Islands* (London, 1851), p. 80.

⁸⁹ *Star*, 29.12.1828.

⁹⁰ *Star*, 29.12.1828.

1840 shows that, by 1833-34, some 92,296 bushels of potatoes were being exported, rising to 376,166 in 1839-40. At a selling price of 14d per bushel in the latter year, the newspaper calculates returns of £21,942, of which £7,314 were profit to the farmers 'after all expense of culture paid'.⁹¹ Unfortunately, this trade was not to last. F.F. Dally wrote in 1860 that it 'entirely ceased' with the blight of 1846, potato imports still exceeding exports 15 years on.⁹²

After this brief taste of the possibilities of farming for export, agriculture faltered. Chamber of Commerce minutes for February 1851 mention 'l'état languissant de nos intérêts agricoles'.⁹³ Various substitutes for the cash-earning potential of potatoes were tried: flax,⁹⁴ sugar beet,⁹⁵ even silk worms.⁹⁶ Perhaps the most successful of these novelties was chicory, albeit only for a short period from the mid-1840s to the early '50s. At its height c.1850, no less than 100 acres of the crop were in cultivation, which, with a return of £20 per acre, gave an estimated annual revenue of £12,000.⁹⁷ All this stopped when the British government reduced its duty on coffee in 1851, and in 1852 rescinded the Treasury minute permitting the admixture of chicory with coffee.⁹⁸

In 1853, with agriculture still languishing, the States embarked on an ambitious and much delayed project to enlarge St Peter Port harbour.⁹⁹ One cause of delay was that rural representatives in the States were vehemently opposed to the project in the belief that it would benefit only St Peter Port merchants.¹⁰⁰ It was, however, ultimately to revolutionise farmers' fortunes. Hot-house grapes had been grown in Guernsey since the eighteenth century and small quantities sent to England for almost as long.¹⁰¹ New berthing facilities for steamers and the possibility of rapid transit to the wholesale market in Covent Garden stimulated an increase in exports.¹⁰² Grapes were joined by other crops whose early production was facilitated by Guernsey's mild climate, in particular cauliflower¹⁰³ and new potatoes. At the same time, the Guernsey cattle breed was being improved and the trade in live exports built up. As early as 1853, a newspaper

⁹¹ *Star*, 10.12.1840.

⁹² F.F. Dally, *A Guide to Guernsey* (London, 1860), p. 13.

⁹³ G.C.C. Minute Book 1849-89 (I.A., AQ 40/04).

⁹⁴ AGM 8.2.1853, G.C.C. Minute Book 1849-89 (I.A., AQ 40/04).

⁹⁵ AGM 13.3.1855, G.C.C. Minute Book 1849-89 (I.A., AQ 40/04).

⁹⁶ An article in the *Star*, 8.7.1851 reports the formation of the 'Guernsey Silk Growing Company'.

⁹⁷ *Star*, 8.12.1853.

⁹⁸ G.C.C. committee meeting 26.6.1852, Minute Book 1849-89, (I.A., AQ 40/04).

⁹⁹ E.W. Sharp, 'The evolution of St Peter Port harbour,' *T.S.G.*, 18 (1967), p. 232.

¹⁰⁰ See comments at G.C.C. AGM, 26.3.1868, Minute Book 1849-89 (I.A., AQ 40/04).

¹⁰¹ P.J. Girard, 'The Guernsey grape industry,' *T.S.G.*, 15 (1951), pp. 126-144; J. Jeremie, *A Historical Account of the Island of Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1821), p. 134.

¹⁰² Prior to the harbour improvements, steamers had been unable to berth at St Peter Port and loaded passengers and goods from tenders while at anchor in the roads.

¹⁰³ 'Brocoli' in local parlance.

mentioned cattle as 'the only remunerative article of export'.¹⁰⁴ By the 1870s, breeding stock were being sought out by buyers from the USA.¹⁰⁵

The improvement in local harbour facilities coincided with a broadening of the British market in the 1870s as mass imports from the New World and Australasia reduced the cost of basics such as bread and meat. This increased residual income for spending on items such as fruit and dairy products which had formerly been eaten only in small amounts.¹⁰⁶ The concomitant of these price reductions, the agricultural depression of 1873-96, was paradoxically – for Guernsey – a period of rapid growth and increasing prosperity. 'The Guernsey farmer is just bursting with good fortune', the *Star* observed in 1886; 'abundance of work everywhere, bursting coffers, overflowing tills ... Cheques flow in from Covent Garden galore ..., and every year the farmer grows richer and richer'.¹⁰⁷

In 1875 the *Comet* described 'expanses of glass ... where but a short time ago not an inch of that product was seen'.¹⁰⁸ Glasshouse-grown tomatoes soon vied with grapes as the main export earner.¹⁰⁹ Over 1,000 tons of tomatoes were sent to London in 1887, which, at an average of 6s 8d per 25lb basket, gave a return to growers of £30,600. The Chamber of Commerce assessed total returns on horticultural exports in 1887 at £100,550 – five times the £21,942 realised on potatoes in 1840.¹¹⁰ In 1888, the agricultural writer W.E. Bear described Guernsey as the 'chief supplier' of tomatoes and hot-house grapes to the London market.¹¹¹ This was no mean achievement for an island of 24 square miles which 60 years earlier hardly sent more than a few head of swine and some apples and pears. In 1891, the St Peter Port-orientated Chamber of Commerce, which had begun including horticultural statistics beside those for shipping and stone in its annual reports in 1877, had finally to concede that growing had outstripped its two rivals and become Guernsey's 'staple industry'.¹¹²

In many ways the island had come full circle. Shipping, shipbuilding and quarrying had all helped sustain, and even grow, the economy for sixty years after the post-Napoleonic depression, but there had always been a degree of instability and

¹⁰⁴ *Star*, 5.7.1853.

¹⁰⁵ B.C. De Guerin, *History of Agriculture on the Island of Guernsey and of the Royal Guernsey Agricultural and Horticultural Society* (Guernsey, 1947), p. 74.

¹⁰⁶ J. Burnett, *Plenty and Want, a Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the Present Day* (1966; London, 1989 edn), p. 118.

¹⁰⁷ *Star*, 31.7.1886.

¹⁰⁸ *Comet*, 17.3.1875.

¹⁰⁹ E.A. Wheadon, 'The history of the tomato in Guernsey,' *T.S.G.*, 12 (1935), p. 339.

¹¹⁰ AGM, 13.3.1888, G.C.C. Minute Book 1849-89 (I.A., AQ 40/04).

¹¹¹ W.E. Bear, 'Garden farming', *Quarterly Review*, 166 (1888), p. 427.

¹¹² AGM, 19.3.1891, G.C.C. Minute Book 1889-1902 (I.A., AQ 44/05).

intermittent bouts of sluggishness: domestic commercial stagnation in the early 1830s;¹¹³ the agricultural downturn of the 1840s and '50s; cyclical slumps in the shipping and stone industries. The 'heart-stirring' days of eighteenth-century prosperity had seemed destined never to return. From the 1870s onwards, however, commercial agriculture and horticulture restored a level of stability and optimism reminiscent of past times.

One of the reasons for stability was that, like the prosperity a century before (but unlike revenues generated by quarrying), this renewed wealth was to a large extent created and controlled by islanders.¹¹⁴ There were, however, crucial differences. The locus of eighteenth-century wealth-production had been St Peter Port. Wealth had been generated, and the bulk of it retained, by an urban elite of merchant venturers at the apex of the social pyramid. The nine country parishes, by contrast, had remained locked into the economic structures of a previous age. Late nineteenth-century expansion in commercial growing saw the commercial revolution begun in St Peter Port the previous century finally encompass the whole island and supplant any vestiges of the peasant economy. In a reversal of traditional relationships, the country parishes took the economic lead, and St Peter Port, as servicer of their business and consumer needs, played a subordinate role. The traditional broad-based landholding structure of the countryside, however, remained. Late nineteenth-century wealth-production, which was directly rooted in this structure, was thus more widely diffused, spatially and socially, than its eighteenth-century predecessor, and consequently on a sounder footing.

With horticultural exports now so vital to its economy, Guernsey, however, became more completely integrated with the outside world than it ever had been before. More specifically, the economy with which it became integrated was that of the United Kingdom, the island's only external market.¹¹⁵ 'The prosperity of Guernsey depends wholly and solely on the prosperity of Great Britain', observed the *Star* in 1903. 'If the British Empire falls, we fall with it'.¹¹⁶ The paradox is that agriculture, which led the way in weaving this web of ties with Britain, had once stood out as the sector having least in common with that country.

¹¹³ See G.C.C. Minute Book, 1808-39 (I.A., AQ 40-01) for account of special meeting on 20 December 1831 'to take into consideration the present distressed state of commerce in this island'.

¹¹⁴ Though a proportion of larger-scale horticultural enterprises were English-owned (see below, pp. 187-188).

¹¹⁵ A proportion of Guernsey's nineteenth-century imports were from France (for more on which, see below p. 107). Exports, however, had since the eighteenth century always focussed strongly on Britain. The direction followed by Guernsey's horticultural produce therefore only served to seal a trend which had begun with smuggling and quarrying.

¹¹⁶ *Star*, 5.12.1903.

CHAPTER 2

POPULATION TRENDS

Introduction

Few population statistics exist for Guernsey before the nineteenth century. Various estimates have been hazarded, but the earliest actual figures date from 1727, when a count of inhabitants was made in order to assess the amount of grain needed during a food shortage.¹ At that date, the island's inhabitants numbered 10,246, of whom 4,350 (43 percent) lived in St Peter Port. The town's eighteenth-century success as an entrepôt stimulated population growth. In 1800, an enumeration carried out at the request of H.M. Customs Commissioner William Stiles showed that Guernsey's population had increased by 58 percent since 1727. Inhabitants numbered 16,155, 'exclusive of sailors in his majesty's service, privateers, and merchant vessels; also of strangers not permanently settled, who may amount to 2,000 or 3,000'. St Peter Port's population was recorded as 8,450.² The British military garrison, swollen in numbers during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and based chiefly in town, was not included in the count.

The Channel Islands did not take part in the 1801 census of Great Britain, so the next available figures are William Berry's estimates for 1814, in which Guernsey's population, inclusive of sailors and strangers but again not the garrison, is given as 21,293, confirming a steeply rising trend through the Napoleonic period.³

The first British census in which Guernsey participated was that of 1821. This census, which included strangers but not garrison, put the island's population at 20,302: a fall of more than a thousand in seven years.⁴ In contrast to the last fifty years' growth, the immediate post-war period was one of 'misery and depopulation' for Guernsey.⁵ As we saw in the previous chapter, the suppression of smuggling and the end of privateering

¹ G. Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port 1680-1830: The History of an International Entrepôt* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 64–65.

² Royal Court to William Stiles, 15.12.1800 (Greffé, Royal Court Letter Book 1). For the nineteenth-century extent of the purely urban portion of St Peter Port parish, see below, p. 190.

³ W. Berry, *History of the Island of Guernsey* (London, 1815), pp. 23–24. Berry adds that the number of regular troops in the island at that period fluctuated between 2,000 and 5,000, making a total wartime population somewhere around 25,000.

⁴ Census results published in *Billet d'Etat*, 15.9.1821.

⁵ Daniel De Lisle Brock to G.C.C., 23.11.1838, G.C.C. Minute Book 1808-39 (I.A., AQ 40/01).

led to the withdrawal from trade of Guernsey's major capital-holders. As Daniel De Lisle Brock observed, this deprived many entrepôt workers of a livelihood:

'Since the war, the system of funding has become general, and open'd a source of fictitious trading, with so much attractive speculation from one fund to another, that the property before employed in commerce and navigation has in great measure been withdrawn, and invested mostly in the foreign funds, leaving a great proportion of the working classes without significant employment'.⁶

According to Brock, this state of affairs, aggravated by the loss of much of the garrison and the trading opportunities it offered, precipitated the departure to North America of 'more than 1,200 native and other British subjects from the peace to the year 1819 inclusive'.⁷ Some sixty years later, a local newspaper gave a break-down by name, date and passenger numbers of emigrant ships leaving Guernsey between 1817 and 1819. According to the newspaper, 1,310 people left in these three years alone: 792 for Baltimore, 360 for Philadelphia and the remainder for Gaspé and Quebec.⁸

Nevertheless, for an island of its size, Guernsey remained, in 1821, very densely populated and far beyond the level of the 40 to 44 inhabitants per km² identified by Gregory Stevens Cox as 'corresponding to demographic tension'.⁹

Table 2.1 Comparative offshore island population densities, 1821¹⁰

Island	Population	Area km ²	Inhabitants per km ²
Guernsey	20,302	63.5	320
Jersey	28,600	116.2	246
Ouessant	1,851	15.5	119
Belle-Ile	7,264	85.6	85
Isle of Wight	31,616	381	83
Isle of Man	40,081	572.4	70

⁶ Daniel De Lisle Brock to Privy Council, 9.11.1833 (Greffé, Royal Court Letter Book 4).

⁷ Daniel De Lisle Brock to G.C.C., 23.11.1838, G.C.C. Minute Book 1808-39 (I.A., AQ 40/01).

⁸ *Comet*, 21.9.1889.

⁹ Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 75 (citing A.P. Usher). Stevens Cox surmises that Guernsey had been importing grain for its large population from at least the end of the seventeenth century (p. 76).

¹⁰ Jersey, Isle of Wight and Isle of Man population figures from 1821 Census of Great Britain. (P.P. 1822, XV); French population figures from Bureau de la Statistique Générale, *Statistique de la France* (Paris, 1837); Jersey land area from 1851 Godfray map; Ouessant, Belle-Ile, Isle of Wight and Isle of Man areas from statistics compiled, respectively, by Archives Départementales du Finistère, Archives Départementales du Morbihan, Isle of Wight Record Office and Civil Registry of the Isle of Man.

In 1821, the only island remotely approaching Guernsey in population density was its sister-island, Jersey. In terms of the population they supported relative to their small size, both islands were truly exceptional. It is noteworthy that Guernsey's population density remained higher than that of Jersey in seven out of the ten censuses between 1821 and 1911, exceeded by the larger island only between 1851 and 1871.

Guernsey's inhabitants were not, however, evenly distributed. Overall density was considerably inflated by St Peter Port's large population, and, even as late as 1847, country-dwellers were described as 'thinly scattered'.¹¹ An imbalance between St Peter Port and Guernsey's nine other parishes had already been apparent in 1727 and was more marked still in 1821, when more than 55 percent of Guernsey's inhabitants were living in town. The population was distributed as follows.

Table 2.2 Parishes ranked in order of population density, 1821¹²

Parish	Population	Area km ²	Pop density per km ²
St Peter Port	11,173	6.4	1,754
St Martins	1,429	7.3	195
St Andrews	799	4.5	177
Castel	1,747	10.2	171
St Peters	1,093	6.4	171
St Saviours	1,022	6.4	160
Forest	611	4.1	149
St Sampsons	838	6.1	138
Vale	1,215	9	136
Torteval	375	3.2	119

Just as Guernsey stands out in relation to comparable islands, so St Peter Port stands out in relation to comparable western Channel ports. Notwithstanding post-Napoleonic losses, the town retained, in population terms at least, some of the regional importance it had acquired in the previous century. Table 2.3 compares population sizes in the minor ports on both sides of the Channel in 1821.

¹¹ Anonymous, *Economy; or a Peep at our Neighbours* (London, 1847), p. 121.

¹² Areas based on Ordnance Re-Survey of 1899; population figures from *Billet d'Etat*, 15.9.1821.

Table 2.3 Population of minor western Channel ports, 1821¹³

Town	Population
St Peter Port	11,173
St Helier	10,118
Saint-Brieuc	9,956
Granville	7,030
Weymouth	6,622
Poole	6,390
Falmouth	5,766
Dartmouth	5,517

By the mid-1820s, St Peter Port was pulling out of its post-Napoleonic depression. A new set of island shipowners were trading enthusiastically with South America, and shipbuilding had been introduced. A large amount of new building had also taken place. Daniel De Lisle Brock, in a letter to the Chamber of Commerce, mentions several roads, two markets, three Anglican churches, 20 chapels and 700 houses. Whereas much of the house-building was financed by the wealth of the retired merchants, the construction of the roads and markets was publicly funded and carried out at the States' instigation, spurred on, often in the face of hostility, by Brock himself (Bailiff from 1821). Brock, who was convinced that 'les dépenses publiques encouragent les riches à en faire de plus grandes', considered a certain amount of pump-priming necessary to dispel the post-Napoleonic gloom.¹⁴ In F.B. Tupper's opinion, with a population of more than 24,349 in 1836, the island was overpeopled. 'Fortunately', he added, 'from [our] insular position the facility to emigration is so great, that an alarming excess of inhabitants will probably never be of long continuance'.¹⁵

Population trends to 1911

The Channel Islands participated in every British census after 1821, and Guernsey's population never fell below the figure Tupper equated with overpopulation. As table 2.4 demonstrates, it showed decennial increases throughout the century and beyond. Though there was a plateau after 1851, with only 9.6 percent growth in the 30 years to 1881, the basic trend was upward. This was broken only by World War I, when, between 1911 and 1921, Guernsey's population fell – for the first time in a century – by 8.5 percent.

¹³ British figures from 1821 census (P.P. 1822, XV). French figures from R. Le Mée, 'Les villes de France et leur population de 1806 à 1851', *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1989), pp. 321–393.

¹⁴ Daniel De Lisle Brock to G.C.C., 23.11.1838, G.C.C. Minute Book 1808-39 (I.A., AQ 40/01).

¹⁵ F. B. Tupper, 'Commerce of Guernsey – No. 2', *Guernsey & Jersey Magazine*, 4 (1837), p. 368.

Table 2.4 Guernsey population increase 1821-1911¹⁶

Census year	Total population	Percentage increase
1821	20,302	
1831	24,349	19.9
1841	26,649	9.5
1851	29,757	11.7
1861	29,804	0.2
1871	30,593	2.7
1881	32,607	6.6
1891	35,243	8.1
1901	40,446	14.8
1911	41,826	3.4

In the 90 years between 1821 and 1911 there was a total increase in population of 106 percent. Although less than the figure for England and Wales (201 percent),¹⁷ this was considerably higher than the French figure of 31 percent.¹⁸ It was also higher than the figure for Jersey, whose population fell after 1851, albeit after having nearly doubled in the previous 30 years.¹⁹ Furthermore, as table 2.5 shows, it was an increase greater than that of any neighbouring county or *département* on either side of the Channel.

Table 2.5 Comparative population increase 1821-1911²⁰

Place	Population 1821	Population 1911	Percentage increase
Guernsey	20,302	41,823	106
Jersey	28,600	51,898	81.5
Devon	438,417	701,944	60.1
Dorset	144,499	223,274	54.6
Cornwall	261,045	328,089	25.7
Cotes-du-Nord	552,424	605,523	9.6
Manche	594,196	476,119	-19.9

¹⁶ Population totals are for the island of Guernsey alone and are inclusive of the British garrison. Totals for 1821 and 1831 are from local *Billets d'Etat* (15.9.1821 & 6.10.1831), and for later years from P.P. (1844, XXVII; 1851, XLIII; 1861, L; 1871, LIX; 1881, XCVI; 1890-1, XCVI; 1903, LXXXIV; 1913, LXXX).

¹⁷ B.R Mitchell & P. Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 6.

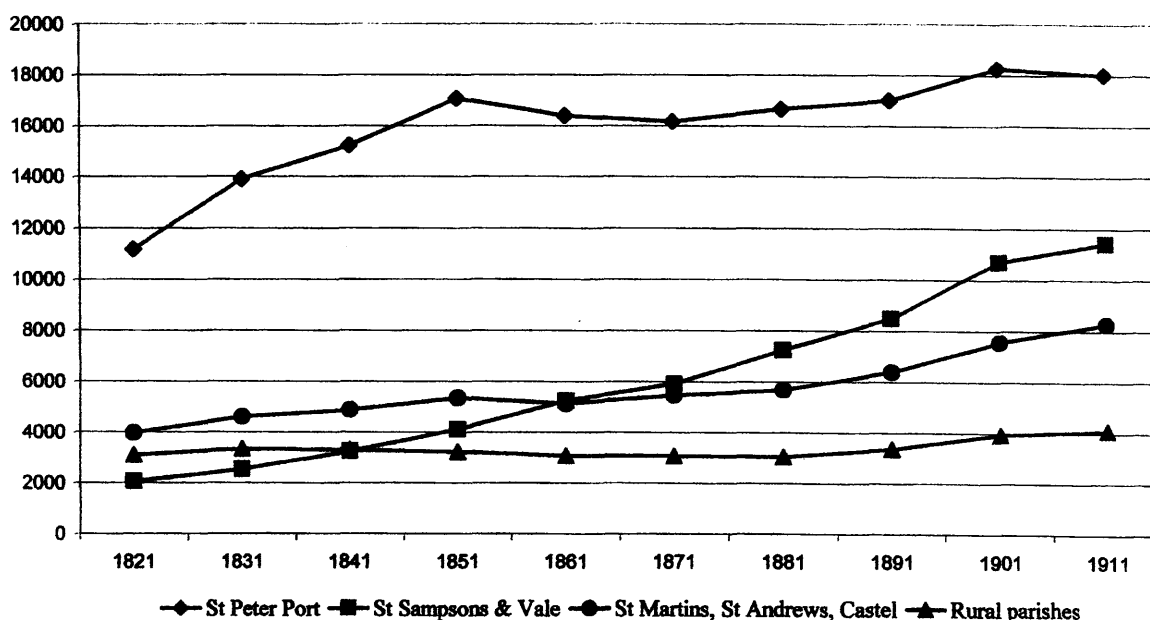
¹⁸ J. Dupâquier (ed.), *Histoire de la Population Française*, 4 vols (Paris, 1988), 3, p. 123.

¹⁹ C. Williams, *From Sail to Steam: Studies in the Nineteenth-Century History of the Channel Islands* (Chichester, 2000), p. 66.

²⁰ British population totals from 1821 and 1911 Censuses of Great Britain; French population totals from *L'Annuaire Statistique Rétrospectif de l'Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques* (Paris, 1966).

Figure 2.1 demonstrates that population growth was not spread equally over all ten parishes. The graph shows population totals at each census in four sets of parishes with similar characteristics. St Peter Port appears on its own. The northern stone-quarrying parishes of St Sampsons and the Vale are combined, as are the purely agricultural parishes of St Saviours, St Peters, the Forest and Torteval. The remaining parishes of St Andrews, St Martins and Castel form a separate group. These all bordered on St Peter Port, and were less exclusively rural than the latter four.

Figure 2.1 Population growth in four groups of parishes, 1821-1911



Maintaining the upward trend from which it had not essentially deviated since the eighteenth century, St Peter Port experienced a rapid population increase between 1821 and 1851. By mid-century, however, the heyday of urban growth was over. The town's population fell by 5 percent between 1851 and 1871, rose again slowly between 1871 and 1901, then slipped back in the first decade of the new century. In total, the population of St Peter Port grew by 61 percent between 1821 and 1911, most of this growth – 53 percent – occurring in the 30 years before 1851.

Of the semi-rural parishes, St Martins and St Andrews experienced growth above the insular average: 141 percent and 119 percent between 1821 and 1911 (though the population of St Andrews fell by 13 percent between 1851 and 1861). This particular decade, marked by the agricultural slump attendant on the potato blight, saw losses in six of the ten parishes. Only St Sampsons, the Vale, St Martins and Torteval were unaffected. Collectively, the four purely rural parishes lost 5 percent of their population between 1851 and 1861. They continued to stagnate until growth re-started at a modest level with reviving horticultural prospects in 1881. St Saviours, a fairly populous parish in 1821 with the sixth highest population density, lost 9 percent of its inhabitants in the 1850s, and grew by just 5 percent between 1821 and 1911.

Of all the insular parishes, the two which grew most spectacularly in this period were the northern quarrying parishes of St Sampsons and the Vale. They had begun unpromisingly in 1821, ranking a modest eighth and ninth out of Guernsey's ten parishes in terms of population density. Over the following 90 years, however, their populations grew steadily and unchecked, achieving by the end of the period total increases of 352 percent and 610 percent respectively. It was growth in the northern parishes alone that was responsible for altering the balance in distribution between St Peter Port and the nine country parishes between 1821 and 1911, when the share of the latter increased from 45 to 57 percent of the total. The proportion of islanders living in the Vale and St Sampsons rose by 17 percent over the period, but the proportion accommodated by all other parishes dropped. The proportion living in St Peter Port fell by 12 percent between 1821 and 1911, and that living in the seven remaining rural parishes fell by 5 percent.

Birth and Death Rates

Bare statistics for gains and losses raise questions as to the mechanisms underlying population change. In a closed society, the rate at which a population grows or declines is determined by the balance between births and deaths. This is known as the 'natural increase'.²¹ In his study of St Peter Port, Gregory Stevens Cox based his assessment of the contribution of natural increase to population growth between 1680 and 1830 on baptism and burial figures from St Peter Port's Anglican parish church.²² Registration later in the nineteenth century was, however, considerably more problematic, and before satisfactory figures can be arrived at, these problems must be overcome.

²¹ E.A. Wrigley & R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London, 1981), p. 157.

²² Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, pp. 64-70.

Thomas Dicey might have been able to say of Guernsey in 1751 'dissenters they have none', but, as John Jacob commented 80 years later, 'since that period they have wondrously increased'.²³ The compilers of the 1831 census, recording annual totals of parochial baptisms and burials for the ten years to 1830, added details of 634 'unregistered' Nonconformist and Roman Catholic baptisms, and 24 'unregistered' Nonconformist burials.²⁴ In theory, civil registration, which was introduced in Guernsey at the end of 1840, should have covered all the non-Anglican births and deaths which failed to appear in the parish registers. Article seven of the new law made the parents of a newborn child responsible for registering a birth within 30 days under a penalty 'not exceeding 20 shillings'. Article eight made the deceased's next-of-kin responsible for registering a death, subject to a similar fine.²⁵ The Guernsey system was, on the face of it, an improvement on the English Act of 1836, which provided for no such penalties. Initially, however, the system appears not to have functioned well. The main reason for this failure was that, from the beginning, there was great laxity in enforcing penalties. 'The objects contemplated by the Registration Act have been hitherto greatly disregarded', a *Comet* editorial complained in 1852; 'the penalty has never yet been enforced'. The editorial identifies St Peter Port, with its dense and often transient population, as the parish with the greatest registration deficit:

'in the rural districts, the returns are more regular ...; the population is not so dense, and there is a deputy-registrar in each parish, and as a birth or death is an event that can hardly fail to be known throughout his district, he has the facilities of compelling the parties to supply him with the required information'.²⁶

Non-compliance with registration requirements may also have had a religious dimension. A note appended to the published returns of Guernsey's 1861 census informs us: 'there are certain denominations who never register either their births or deaths at the Registrar's Office'.²⁷ The writer did not specify which.

In order to test the accuracy of civil registration, it was necessary to collect figures from all known surviving church registers for the 40 years 1840-1880 and

²³ T. Dicey, *An Historical Account of Guernsey* (London, 1751), p. 106; J. Jacob, *Annals of some of the British Norman Isles constituting the Bailiwick of Guernsey* (Paris, 1830), p. 468.

²⁴ Royal Court Letter Book No. 4, pp. 158-164 (Greffé).

²⁵ Order in Council of 3 October 1840.

²⁶ *Comet*, 8.11.1852.

²⁷ Note appended to 1861 census of Guernsey by Captain W. Bell, Government Secretary (P.P. 1861, L).

compare them with the civil register. Not all church registers have survived, but those of the larger churches are extant and account for a majority of baptisms and burials.²⁸

Under-registration of deaths is not thought to have been a great problem under the post-1836 English system. It was estimated at 2 percent in the first few years of civil registration, and is believed to have been rapidly eliminated with the progress of certification, which, though not strictly compulsory until 1874, already covered some 92 percent of deaths by 1870.²⁹ Births were more of a cause for concern. D.V. Glass detected some measure of under-registration throughout the period 1837-1874. However, the extent of the deficit never appears to have been more than 5 percent, and when the 1874 Amendment Act made parents responsible for registering children's births under penalty of a fine, complete registration, for all practical purposes, is thought to have been achieved.³⁰ In Guernsey, registration was erratic in the first two decades after 1840, and there were shortfalls in both births and deaths (for which St Peter Port was mainly responsible) of a rather more serious order than those seen in England and Wales.

Table 2.6 Under-registration of births and deaths in Guernsey, 1841-1880

Decade	baptisms	civil births	% shortfall	burials	civil deaths	% shortfall
1841-50	7,714	4,825	37.5	5,401	3,258	39.7
1851-60	7,906	5,514	30.3	5,760	2,871	50.2
1861-70	7,270	7,140	1.8	5,631	4,305	23.6
1871-80	7,882	8,370	+1	6,150	5,595	6.2

Glaring deficits in the first two decades gave way to noticeable improvements after 1860. Progress in the registration of births was most rapid, and satisfactory registration of the latter appears to have been by and large attained by the following decade.³¹ In contrast to

²⁸ Civil registers are held at the Greffe; registers for the Wesleyan Methodists, Primitive Methodists, Bible Christians and New Connexion at the Island Archives; registers of the 10 Anglican parish churches and district churches of St John, Holy Trinity and St Matthew, RC churches of Notre Dame and St Josephs, St Saviours Independent Chapel and St Peter Port French Independent Chapel are on microfilm at the Priaux Library. Churches of all denominations had the right to baptise their own, but, until the opening of the non-denominational Foulon cemetery in 1856, the established church had a monopoly of burials, save Quaker, Plymouth Brethren and Roman Catholic. From an early date Quakers had a cemetery of their own (see *Star*, 13.11.1906 for details of location). The Brethren cemetery was opened in the late 1850s. Neither sect had more than a few adherents. Roman Catholics were more numerous and, though they had no cemetery, they had been burying and registering their own dead, by tacit convention, since Napoleonic times (see *Comet* editorial, 1.11.1852 and F.B. Tupper's letter in *Star*, 17.7.1851).

²⁹ A. Hardy, 'Death is the cure of all diseases: using the General Register Office cause of death statistics for 1837-1920', *Social History of Medicine*, 7 (1994), p. 475.

³⁰ D.V. Glass, 'A note on the under-registration of births in Britain in the nineteenth century', *Population Studies*, 5 (1951-52), pp. 70-88.

³¹ The table shows a small surplus of civil birth registrations over church baptisms in the 1870s, indicating either that the church registers used were not fully representative of all churches operating at the time, or that a proportion of parents were not having their children baptised.

English experience, under-registration of deaths in Guernsey seems to have been more intractable. Over the 1870s as a whole, there remained a 6 percent shortfall in civil death registrations as against church burials. There was an awareness that the regime needed tightening, and in 1875 members of the island's medical profession addressed a memorial to the Bailiff and Royal Court recommending certification.³² Although this was not formally introduced until 30 years later, registration nevertheless began to improve markedly in the second half of the 1870s. By the final year examined, 1880, so swift had progress been that civil death registrations showed a slight surplus over church burials: 527 civil deaths to 505 church burials.³³ The turn-around appears to have been partly due to habituation to the registration regime, and partly to stricter enforcement. Early 1880s newspapers show a hardening in official attitudes: 'les autorités sont déterminées à sévir rigoureusement,' stated *Le Baillage* in 1883.³⁴ This was backed up by prosecutions.³⁵

Given deficiencies in registration, it has been necessary to use a combination of church and civil registers to ascertain totals of births and deaths. Church registers have been used exclusively for the period prior to 1840, and civil registers exclusively for 1881-1910. For the intervening decades, 1841-1880, a mixture of church and civil registers has been used, and figures taken from whichever provide the highest annual totals. Although precise numbers are irrecoverable, figures derived by the above method are sufficiently accurate to be used in conjunction with census population totals in order to calculate orders of magnitude for natural increase, as well as birth and death rates.

Table 2.7 focuses on numbers of births and deaths in each census year between 1841 and 1911, and expresses them as a rate per thousand of population. Table 2.8 compares Guernsey birth rates with those of England and Wales, and of France.³⁶ The rates shown are based on actual numbers of births and deaths in the years concerned, rather than on decennial averages, and they are thus susceptible to variations in response to short-run conditions. Deaths were particularly subject to this sort of variability, and this is evident in the year 1851, when excess mortality resulted from an epidemic of scarlet fever.³⁷ The annual rates are, however, sufficient to demonstrate long-term trends.

³² *Guernsey Advertiser*, 20.11.1875.

³³ This was probably owing to the time lag between death and registration, which meant that some deaths at the end of 1880 were not registered until 1881, though burial had already taken place.

³⁴ *Baillage*, 18.8.1883.

³⁵ For examples of prosecutions, see *Comet*, 20.10.1883 and 29.12.1883.

³⁶ Figures for England & Wales taken from Mitchell & Deane, *Historical Statistics*; figures for France from *Annuaire Statistique Rétrospectif de l'Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques*.

³⁷ See note to 1861 census by Captain W. Bell (P.P. 1861, L).

Table 2.7 Crude birth and death rates in Guernsey, 1841-1911

Year	Population	No. of births	No. of deaths	Crude birth rate	Crude death rate
1841	26,649	720	457	27	17.1
1851	29,757	823	865	27.7	29.1
1861	29,804	729	497	24.5	16.8
1871	30,593	761	552	24.9	18
1881	32,607	954	566	29.3	17.4
1891	35,243	1,068	686	30.3	19.5
1901	40,446	1,090	706	26.9	17.5
1911	41,823	954	788	22.8	18.8

Table 2.8 Crude birth rates in England & Wales, Guernsey and France, 1841-1911

Year	England & Wales	Guernsey	France
1841	32.2	27	28.5
1851	34.3	27.7	27.1
1861	34.6	24.5	26.9
1871	35	24.9	22.9
1881	33.9	29.3	24.9
1891	31.4	30.3	22.6
1901	28.5	26.9	22
1911	24.3	22.8	18.7

Although table 2.7 shows a clear surplus of insular births over deaths in every year except that of the scarlet fever outbreak, birth rates were, by nineteenth-century British standards, comparatively low. Table 2.8 demonstrates that, between 1841 and 1911, they were consistently lower than those of England and Wales, and rather closer to those of France. Unlike English birth rates, which peaked in the early nineteenth century, French birth rates had already begun to decline in the late eighteenth century. This is believed to have been due to the widespread adoption of birth control practices by peasants seeking to limit their families in order to maintain landholding size. As the demographer W.B. Fish said of *Basse-Normandie*, 'les lois de l'héritage ayant prescrit la division égale de la propriété, le paysan conserve la richesse qu'il a créée en restreignant le nombre de ses héritiers'.³⁸ Guernsey's inheritance laws were based on the Norman *Coutume*, and factors acting on mainland Normans may also have been at work in the island, particularly in the countryside. However, in Guernsey's case, the straightforward adoption of 'malthusian practices' was probably less responsible for depressing birth rates than oblique causes

³⁸ W.B. Fish, *Les Mouvements de Population en Basse-Normandie 1821-1936* (Alençon, 1940), pp. 156–157.

such as high celibacy levels and a relatively high marriage age. Census enumerators' books show that 18 percent of adults aged 35 and over in St Peter Port were unmarried in 1851, with a rate of 17 percent for the same age group in the four rural parishes of St Saviours, St Peters, the Forest and Torteval. Only 8 percent of male household heads were aged between 20 and 29 in these parishes in 1851, and 14 percent in town. In the rural parishes, constraints imposed by the inheritance system almost certainly bore directly on this situation, at least in the earlier part of the century. In St Peter Port, the reasons may have been more diverse. As a haven for *rentiers*, the town attracted a large contingent of spinsters and widows, who were frequently attended by unmarried servants. Seafaring may also have had an impact on birth rates, since the absence of seamen for periods of up to two years would have acted as a brake on marital fertility. Sustained periods of heavy emigration would also have had a depressive effect.³⁹

The only parishes with birth rates consistently above the insular average were the Vale and St Sampsons, which, in five census years out of the eight between 1841 and 1911, also had rates above the English average. Again, economic factors had a bearing, since the wide availability of quarrying work facilitated a comparatively early marriage age and correspondingly larger families. These matters will be pursued in depth below.⁴⁰

As far as Guernsey's death rates are concerned, table 2.9 shows that they were substantially lower than those of both France and England and Wales until 1871 (the scarlet fever year of 1851 must be disregarded since it was exceptional). Thereafter the gap with English rates diminished rapidly, and Guernsey death rates were higher than English ones in 1901 and 1911. French death rates too were on a downward trend after 1871, tending to converge with Guernsey rates in the early twentieth century.

Table 2.9 Crude death rates in England & Wales, Guernsey and France, 1841-1911

Year	England & Wales	Guernsey	France
1841	21.6	17.1	23.2
1851	22	[29.1]	22.3
1861	21.6	16.7	23.2
1871	22.6	13.9	35.1
1881	18.9	17.4	22
1891	20.2	19.5	22.9
1901	16	17.7	20.1
1911	14.6	18.8	19.6

³⁹ On the influence of migration on birth rates, see below, p. 53.

⁴⁰ See pp. 59–60; 173.

Guernsey's strangely low death rate in the first two-thirds of the century and its apparent rise after the 1870s, when English and French rates were falling, call for an explanation. Civil registration records a striking 38 percent fewer deaths than births over the period 1840-1914. A measure of this must have been due to under-registration, but it also seems to suggest a significant level of emigration. Seafaring might have been a further contributory factor. Gregory Stevens Cox, also finding some 'rather low' death rates in his study of eighteenth-century St Peter Port, concluded they were due to 'missing deaths' caused by the loss of sailors at sea.⁴¹ Such a hypothesis is corroborated by the finding that though 4 percent more male than female births were registered between 1840 and 1914,⁴² the balance at death was reversed, with 2 percent fewer male deaths registered than female. This might, of course, also have been due to sex-specific emigration, but the fact that seafaring was at least partly to blame seems to be borne out by the fact that the deficit in male deaths was greater in the period prior to 1880, when seafaring was still a major occupier of insular males. Some 5 percent fewer male than female deaths were registered 1840-79, as compared with a small surplus of male over female deaths between 1880 and 1914. Fewer losses of males at sea after the 1870s may therefore well have contributed to the rise in Guernsey's death rates from the 1880s on.

We can only speculate as to what the insular death rate might have been if it had not been so strongly affected by seafaring and emigration, but, given the upward trend after the 1880s, it seems likely that rates would have been at least on a par with Britain's, if not closer to those of France. France was slower than Britain in reducing mortality through improvements in public sanitation and hygiene.⁴³ Such improvements were also very late in coming to Guernsey. The post-1870s decline in English death rates was in part attributable to the Public Health Act of 1875. Guernsey had no legislation of this kind until 1934.⁴⁴ Reports filed by insular Medical Officers of Health in the early 1900s are persistently critical of 'the unsatisfactory condition of the closets, pigstyes, etc., and of the proximity of wells to such sources of pollution'.⁴⁵ Very high infant death rates were a particular cause for concern. In 1911, infant mortality stood at 208 per 1,000 births – a level which the M.o.H. declared 'in England would only be equalled by a few large towns in manufacturing districts with an unenviable notoriety in this respect'.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 70.

⁴² This is in line with nature's constant of 104 male births to every 100 female (Wrigley & Schofield, *Population History*, pp. 129 & 591).

⁴³ P. Nord, 'The welfare state in France, 1870-1914', *French Historical Studies*, 18 (1994), pp. 833–863.

⁴⁴ D. Jeffs, *One Hundred Years of Health: The Changing Health of Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1999), pp. 11–12.

⁴⁵ *Billet d'Etat*, 20.6.1900.

⁴⁶ *Billet d'Etat*, 14.8.1912. Non-registration of perinatal deaths in earlier periods is a further factor likely to have masked Guernsey's 'true' death rate.

Figures yielded for natural increase by subtracting deaths from births can only be a fully accurate reflection of population growth if the society in question is closed. Table 2.10 shows natural increases in Guernsey of between 2,000 and 4,500 in each decade between 1821 and 1911. If we contrast this with actual increases in population size yielded by comparing consecutive census totals, we find that not in one instance did figures for natural increase ever coincide with actual growth. In seven cases out of ten (highlighted in bold type) actual growth – though always positive – was lower than the figure for natural increase. This confirms the prevalence of emigration. In three cases out of the ten, however, Guernsey's actual population growth was somewhat higher than the natural increase. This shows that immigration was also taking place.

Table 2.10 Natural and actual increase in Guernsey's population, 1821-1911

Period	Births	Deaths	Natural increase	Actual increase
1821-1831	7,261	4,075	3,186	4,047
1831-1841	7,417	5,007	2,410	2,300
1841-1851	7,864	5,403	2,461	3,108
1851-1861	8,033	5,760	2,273	47
1861-1871	7,779	5,691	2,088	789
1871-1881	8,370	6,206	2,164	2,014
1881-1891	9,969	6,517	3,452	2,636
1891-1901	11,330	6,636	4,694	5,203
1901-1911	10,795	6,357	4,438	1,377

As Wrigley and Schofield observed, when the society concerned is an open one, 'spatial movements supplement the flows of births and deaths, and the balance between these movements, or net migration, supplements the natural increase to produce population growth or decline'.⁴⁷ In the next chapter we will attempt to assess the importance of these 'spatial movements' in order to determine the relative roles of in- and out-migration in Guernsey's nineteenth-century population history.

⁴⁷ Wrigley & Schofield, *Population History*, p. 157.

CHAPTER 3

EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION

Movement in and out of Guernsey has undoubtedly continued at some level since the island was first peopled, but there is little to suggest that inflows in medieval and early modern times were anything but slight and sporadic. Surname evidence suggests that what incomers there were mainly comprised occasional individuals or families travelling along pre-existing kin and trade networks between the island and Normandy. This situation changed somewhat in the second half of the sixteenth century, when religious persecution in France drove an initial contingent of Huguenots to seek refuge in Guernsey.¹ A century later, revocation of the Edict of Nantes prompted the flight of several 'waves' of refugees between 1685 and 1727. Gregory Stevens Cox estimates that, by the early eighteenth century, 80 to 100 Huguenot families had settled in St Peter Port.² Between 1727 and 1800, the population of St Peter Port increased by about 150 percent, and that of the country parishes by 30 percent.³ In Stevens Cox's assessment, urban population growth in the first half of the century was chiefly due to natural increase. The scale of immigration, even of Huguenots, was limited. Surname evidence from country parish registers suggests that immigration to the rural hinterland was negligible.

According to Dr Stevens Cox, 1765 marks the point at which what had been a relatively closed society opened its doors to the outside world. Skilled labour for the burgeoning entrepôt was lacking, and non-local craftsmen (from England rather than from France) were 'encouraged' to settle.⁴ Stevens Cox's calculations show that, while in-migration had been responsible for only 14 percent of urban population growth between 1680 and 1727, it accounted for nearly 74 percent between 1765 and 1800.⁵

¹ H. Marett Godfray, 'The early protestant refugees in the Channel Islands', *Bulletin of the Société Jersiaise*, 10 (1923-27), pp. 325-334.

² G. Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port 1680-1830: The History of an International Entrepôt* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 86-88.

³ Based on 1727 estimates and 1800 figures submitted to Customs Commissioner Stiles (see above, p. 31).

⁴ Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 83.

⁵ Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 69-70. Dr Stevens Cox adds on pp. 80-82 that a proportion of urban in-migrants came from St Peter Port's own rural hinterland as well from overseas.

Net Migration

Dr Stevens Cox based his assessment of the contribution of migration to the growth of St Peter Port on the standard demographic equation:

$$NM^{t,t+n} = p^{t+n} - p^t - B^{t,t+n} + D^{t,t+n}$$

which uses known population totals at different periods (p^t and p^{t+n}) and the numbers of births ($B^{t,t+n}$) and deaths ($D^{t,t+n}$) between t and $t+n$ in order to calculate net migration ($NM^{t,t+n}$). Applied to demographic data gathered for the whole of the island in conjunction with census population totals, the equation yields the following figures for net migration between 1800 and 1911 (positive totals are highlighted).

Table 3.1 Net migration by decade, 1800-1911⁶

Period	Pop. 1	Pop.2	Births	Deaths	Net migration
1800-1821	18,653	20,302	14,952	8,600	-4,703
1821-1831	20,302	24,349	7,261	4,075	861
1831-1841	24,349	26,232	7,417	5,007	-527
1841-1851	26,232	29,228	7,864	5,403	535
1851-1861	29,228	29,396	8,033	5,760	-2,105
1861-1871	29,396	30,186	7,779	5,691	-1,298
1871-1881	30,186	31,953	8,370	6,206	-397
1881-1891	31,953	34,740	9,969	6,517	-665
1891-1901	34,740	39,762	11,330	6,636	328
1901-1911	39,762	41,316	10,795	6,357	-2,884

This accords with Stevens Cox's findings on St Peter Port for the three decades to 1831 (and with contemporary observations), that there was substantial emigration between 1814 and 1821, that this was reversed after 1821, and that immigration again contributed to population growth in the mid to late 1820s.⁷ Immigration also contributed to population growth in the two decades 1841-1851 and 1891-1901, but in all other decades there were net losses through migration. The decades of loss conform to a Europe-wide pattern. They broadly coincide with the peaks of emigration from Europe identified by Dudley Baines: 1849-54, 1869-73, 1882-3 and 1903-7.⁸ The Guernsey peaks also

⁶ No separate population figure exists for 1811, so the two decades between 1800 and 1821 have been amalgamated in order to calculate net migration. Population totals are exclusive of garrison members.

⁷ Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, pp. 69-70.

⁸ D.E. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 16.

correspond with peaks calculated by John Kelleher for Jersey (save that Jersey saw net gains through migration between 1831 and 1841 when Guernsey experienced a small loss).⁹ Losses from Jersey in the peak periods were, however, considerably higher than from Guernsey.

The decade 1851-61 saw what is likely to have been Guernsey's largest net loss of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Baines calculated that people left England and Wales at the rate of 4.9 per thousand of the population in the 1854 peak.¹¹ The Guernsey figure for net emigration between 1851 and 1861 equates to 72 per thousand of the 1851 population. Contemporaries were well aware of the haemorrhage. 'The exodus from our shores threatens to be proportionately as great as that from Ireland', the *Comet* reported in 1853:

'almost every mail-steamer bears away some adventurous band; and it has been calculated that the decrease of our population by emigration during the present year will amount to some hundreds. Several young men, agriculturists of the better class, embarked yesterday en route for the United States of America'.¹²

The 1850s exodus has been ascribed to the potato blight,¹³ and population losses from the country parishes in this decade indeed confirm a link. However, St Peter Port, which had little involvement in agriculture, also lost population in this decade.¹⁴ A note appended to the published returns of the 1861 census divides blame for the losses between excess mortality due to scarlet fever in the early part of the decade and 'the subsequent emigration of some of the inhabitants'.¹⁵ The *Star*, for its part, blamed the loss on the departure of 'resident strangers' attracted back to England by falling duties. It also pointed to 'the cessation of the deposit and bottling of wine here for the English consumption, by which much work was given'.¹⁶ In addition to these factors, islanders, like their contemporaries in Britain, were swept up by the 'emigration fever' of the time,

⁹ J.D. Kelleher, *The Triumph of the Country: The Rural Community in Nineteenth-Century Jersey* (Jersey, 1994), p. 196.

¹⁰ 1811-21 would also have seen a large loss, but it is impossible to assess losses for this decade separately.

¹¹ Baines, *Migration*, pp. 58-59.

¹² *Comet*, 10.3.1853.

¹³ G.H. Dury, 'The population of Guernsey: an essay in historical geography', *Geography*, 33 (1948), p. 64.

¹⁴ Guernsey as a whole saw a 0.2 percent gain in population between 1851 and 1861. This, however, was purely technical: the census authorities remarked that the population would have shown a fall 'but for the circumstance of military force having been larger in 1861 than at the previous census' (P.P. 1861, L).

¹⁵ P.P. 1861, L.

¹⁶ *Star*, 7.5.1861.

inspired by the Australian goldrush. This is amply reflected in the 'goldrush' articles filling the columns of the local press in the early 1850s.¹⁷

There was another surge in emigration between 1901 and 1911, a decade which probably saw the largest net loss of population in the entire period under review. The exodus was associated with the economic downswing affecting the British Isles as a whole.¹⁸ 'Trade in general in Guernsey is bad', reported the *Star* in 1907; 'the young men of the island, seeing a practically blank future before them, are emigrating at a phenomenal rate'. The article identified those leaving as 'the best workmen', adding that the principal destination this time was Canada.¹⁹ Again, this echoes the early twentieth-century surge in emigration from England and Wales. Dudley Baines found that nearly a third of all English emigration between 1825 and 1930 occurred in the period from 1900 to 1914, with the peak year in 1912. This may well also have applied to Guernsey, contributing in some degree towards the 8.5 percent drop in population between 1911 and 1921.²⁰

Gross migration

The use of the demographic equation has its limitations. Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull make the point that concentration on net balances seriously underestimates the total impact of migration. They provide the following illustration: 'a settlement may have received an inflow of 1,000 migrants between 1841 and 1851, and experienced an outflow of 900 migrants over the same period. The net demographic impact on the population was thus small, but a total of 1,900 individuals moved, and this volume of migration could have had a significant impact'.²¹ Large outflows can compensate for and mask simultaneously-occurring large inflows, and vice versa. The decennial censuses provide the best means of assessing whether this was the case in Guernsey.

Analysis published in Parliamentary Papers contains summary birthplace tables giving the numbers of island residents born in a range of fairly broad geographical categories. In 1871, for example, the categories were Jersey, England, Wales, Scotland,

¹⁷ For emigrant destinations, see D.W. Kreckeler, *Guernsey Emigrants to Australia 1828-1899* (Guernsey, 1996); M.G. Turk, *The Quiet Adventurers in North America* (Maryland, 1992); A.G. Jamieson, 'The Channel Islands and overseas settlement, 1600-1900' in A.G. Jamieson (ed.), *A People of the Sea: The Maritime History of the Channel Islands*, pp. 269-289.

¹⁸ S. Solomou, 'Economic fluctuations, 1870-1913', in R. Floud & D. McCloskey (eds), *The Economic History of Britain since 1700* (1981; Cambridge, 1994 edn), pp. 247-264.

¹⁹ *Star*, 25.6.1907.

²⁰ Baines, *Migration*, p.59. See *Star*, 10.10.1913 for predictions that emigration would affect the next census.

²¹ C.G. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1998), p. 24.

Ireland, British Colonies, Foreign Parts and At Sea.²² Such tables cannot, however, be used to measure gross decennial flows since they simply give static totals, and provide no means of identifying inter-decennial arrivals and departures. Furthermore, in Guernsey's case, the use of tabulated census data in Parliamentary Papers for any purpose presents special problems, since the unit of analysis is 'Guernsey and adjacent islands'. It is therefore impossible to disaggregate totals for Guernsey proper from those for other islands of the Bailiwick. Caroline Williams, though acknowledging these shortcomings, uses such data in her study of migration in nineteenth-century Jersey and Guernsey.²³ However, while migrants from the smaller Channel Islands are distinguished as non-natives in Jersey birthplace tables, in Guernsey tables they are all simply counted as natives.²⁴ This introduces a degree of distortion, albeit slight, when directly comparing levels of inter-island migration. For both of the above reasons, birthplace data used in this analysis are taken exclusively from the handwritten returns.²⁵

Details of all non-natives present in Guernsey at census time were accordingly extracted from the seven available sets of enumerators' books for the period 1841-1901.²⁶ Through a process of record linkage, longitudinal profiles were then constructed in order to determine the precise point at which individuals arrived or left.²⁷ The method followed was one of semi-automated linkage with a high level of manual interaction.²⁸ The names and accompanying details of all non-natives in the seven individual censuses were collected in one file. After spellings had been standardised, a computer was used to sort the list by surname, forename and year. The sorted list was then reviewed manually and a judgment made as to whether a sequence of matching names over a number of years corresponded to a single individual. Each separate individual identified in this way was allotted a unique number.

Attempts to trace migration from census returns within the United Kingdom have been found problematic. Dudley Baines cites as reasons 'different spellings of surnames,

²² P.P. 1873, LXXI.

²³ C. Williams, *From Sail to Steam: Studies in the Nineteenth-Century History of the Channel Islands* (Chichester, 2000), pp. 66–71.

²⁴ Moreover, in 1851, while birthplace tables give the number of natives of 'Guernsey and adjacent islands' in Jersey, they provide no figure at all for Jersey men in the Bailiwick of Guernsey.

²⁵ Use of enumerators' data has the further advantage of unlocking information on a host of other migrant attributes, such as age, occupation, marital status, etc., none of which can be found in published tables.

²⁶ By 'non-native' are understood all persons not born in the island of Guernsey. Unless otherwise stated, St Peter Port garrison members and non-natives on board ship are omitted. Their presence in Guernsey was not a result of personal choice, so it is inappropriate to include them in a study of migration.

²⁷ For a discussion of concepts involved in record linkage, see E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Identifying People in the Past* (London, 1973).

²⁸ As described by P. Tilley & C. French in 'Record linkage for nineteenth-century census returns: automatic or computer-aided?', *History and Computing*, 9 (1997), pp. 122–133.

mis-statements of age and the chaotic nature of nineteenth century addresses'.²⁹ For Guernsey, the problems are not so formidable as for densely packed urban districts in Britain. Addresses are not, by and large, chaotic; spellings of names do differ, but seldom out of all recognition. The migrant contingent is, moreover, readily distinguishable by surname from the native population and less subject to the problem of homonymy.³⁰ The only real difficulties arose with the frequent garbling of French and Irish names, and to this extent data relating to these groups may be slightly less reliable than that relating to others.

Ascertaining totals of males new to the island in each decade was straightforward and yields the following numbers.

Table 3.2 Numbers of non-native males arriving per decade, 1841-1901

Period	New arrivals
1841-1851	2,769
1851-1861	2,247
1861-1871	1,613
1871-1881	1,994
1881-1891	2,175
1891-1901	2,871

For females, the process was less straightforward. In their longitudinal study of Welsh migration, Pooley and Doherty found women who married and changed their names between censuses almost impossible to identify.³¹ For Guernsey, the following procedure was adopted: names of 'eligible' females (single women aged 40 and under) who might be expected to have married by the following census were extracted from each census 1841-1891. From these were deducted girls aged five and under who had disappeared by the next census and those who became lifelong spinsters. Next, names of married women and widows aged 50 and under were extracted from each census 1851-

²⁹ D.E. Baines, 'Birthplace statistics and the analysis of internal migration' in R. Lawton (ed.), *The Census and Social Structure* (London, 1978), p.148. See also P.M. Tillott, 'Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses' in E.A. Wrigley, *Nineteenth-Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 82-128.

³⁰ For a discussion of problems caused by homonymy, see H. Rhodri Davies, 'Automated record linkage of census enumerators' books and registration data: obstacles, challenges and solutions', *History and Computing*, 4 (1992), pp. 16-26. In the Welsh parish which forms the subject of this article, 'Jones' accounted for a third of all surnames. In nineteenth-century Guernsey, nominal variety (forenames as well as surnames) was similarly restricted among natives. This would make any attempt at record linkage among the indigenous population more difficult than for non-natives.

³¹ C.G. Pooley and J.C. Doherty, 'The longitudinal study of migration: Welsh migration to English towns in the nineteenth century', in C.G. Pooley and I.D. Whyte (eds), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants* (London, 1991), p. 148.

1901, some of whom might be expected to correspond to the single women extracted from preceding censuses. On the assumption that a majority of married women would either, a.) have had children in Guernsey, b.) have died in Guernsey, or c.) have had children who died in Guernsey, the maiden names of the latter were sought from the civil registers, which, in the case of births, supply mother's maiden name, and, in the case of deaths, supply not only both married and maiden names of deceased women, but also names of the parents of deceased of both sexes (including mothers' maiden names). This makes feasible the recovery of maiden names of Victorian migrants on the deaths of their children in the twentieth century. By this means, it proved possible to trace the maiden names of over 60 percent of married women. An attempt was then made to match these names with single women in preceding censuses. Matches were found for 13.3 percent of single women, who were then treated as one person in successive censuses and counted as new arrivals only in the first census in which they appeared.

Table 3.3 Numbers of non-native females arriving per decade, 1841-1901

Period	New arrivals
1841-1851	3,334
1851-1861	2,666
1861-1871	2,209
1871-1881	2,289
1881-1891	2,366
1891-1901	3,092

Since the proportion of single women whose married identities were traced was relatively low, totals of new female migrants cannot be regarded with the same confidence as those of males. The number of individual female immigrants thus arrived at is 15,956, making 16.7 percent more female immigrants than males. This does not seem unreasonable; overall female totals (new arrivals and settled migrants) in every census between 1841 and 1901 were higher than male totals by an average of 19.2 percent. However, totals of new female migrants are here offered only as maxima for each decade, with the caveat that the actual number may be lower.

Having established decennial totals of immigrants, it is possible to return to the table setting out figures for net migration, and, by adding the numbers of known immigrants (i), to calculate totals of actual emigrants (e):

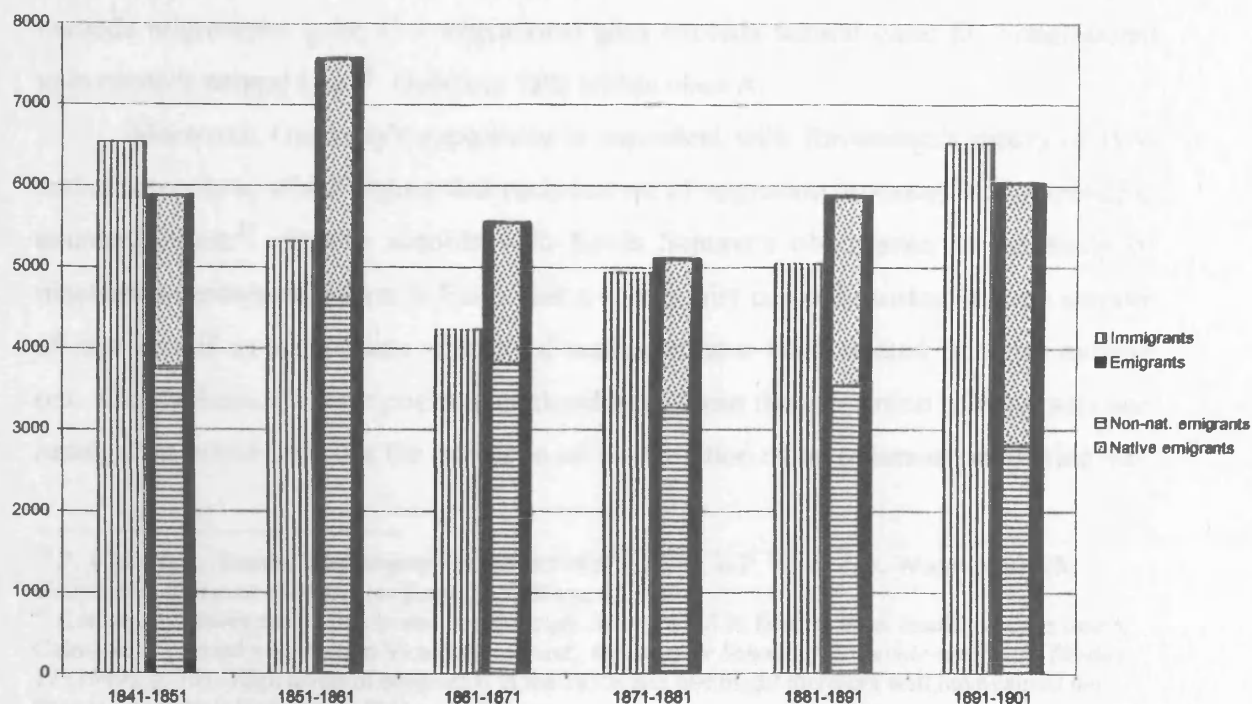
$$e = i - NM$$

It further follows that, if we have figures for the non-native component of each decennial emigrant contingent, we can calculate the native contribution to that contingent. Numbers of non-natives leaving Guernsey in the six intercensal periods were ascertained (excluding those aged 50+, whose absence in an ensuing decade might more likely have been caused by death), and these were subtracted from the total number of emigrants calculated in the previous exercise, giving the following results (see also figure 3.1).

Table 3.4 Gross migration flows by decade, 1841-1901

Period	Net migration	Immigrants	Emigrants	Non-native emigrants	Native emigrants
1841-1851	535	6,103	5,568	3,785	1,783
1851-1861	-2,105	4,913	7,018	4,591	2,427
1861-1871	-1,298	3,822	5,120	3,798	1,322
1871-1881	-397	4,283	4,680	3,261	1,419
1881-1891	-665	4,541	5,206	3,551	1,655
1891-1901	328	5,963	5,635	2,793	2,842

Figure 3.1 Bar chart comparing immigration with emigration, and native with non-native emigrants



Since imprecision in female numbers means that immigrant totals may be slightly inflated, these figures cannot be taken as definitive. They are, however, a fairly accurate indication of population turnover. Large outward flows were matched by large influxes throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. About a fifth of the population left every decade, their place taken by large, though not always equally large, numbers of incomers.

It has been established that immigration was directly responsible for population increase only in three decades: 1821-1831, 1841-1851 and 1891-1901. It must nevertheless have contributed indirectly throughout the century by enhancing the island's potential for natural increase. In their essay on the geographical impact of migration, Paul White and Robert Woods observe that, where immigrants are young married couples, the demographic effect of migration may include an increase in crude birth rates in the area of destination.³² In Guernsey's case, nearly 70 percent of migrants 1841-1901 were aged 35 or less on first enumeration, and, crucially, the migrant cohort did not remain static from one decade to another. Every decade saw a new contingent of fresh migrants, and the constantly self-renewing supply of youthful incomers not only went some of the way to replacing inhabitants who had left, but must have contributed significantly to local births, helping to boost overall population totals.³³

Richard Lawton identified four different mechanisms of population increase in the nineteenth century: A – natural gain exceeds migrational loss; B – natural gain exceeds migrational gain; C – migrational gain exceeds natural gain; D – migrational gain exceeds natural loss.³⁴ Guernsey falls within class A.

Moreover, Guernsey's experience is consistent with Ravenstein's theory of flow and counter-flow, which argues that each current of migration produces a compensating counter-current.³⁵ It also accords with Kevin Schurer's observation in his study of nineteenth-century migration in Essex that a community can only sustain a large number of incomers if an appropriate number of vacancies have been created by those moving out. On this basis, Schurer posits a relationship between the proportion of emigrants and immigrants which suggests the existence of 'some notion of an optimum population size

³² P. White & R. Woods, 'The geographical impact of migration', in P. White & R. Woods (eds), *The Geographical Impact of Migration* (London, 1980), p. 45.

³³ Conversely, heavy emigration in one decade might lead to a fall in fertility in an ensuing decade (see A. Cairncross, 'Internal migration in Victorian England', *Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies*, 17 (1949), p. 76). High levels of emigration in the 1850s and 60s might therefore well have caused the drop in Guernsey's birth rate in 1861 and 1871.

³⁴ R. Lawton, 'Population changes in England & Wales in the later nineteenth century: an analysis of change by registration districts', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 44 (1968), pp. 62-65.

³⁵ E.G. Ravenstein, 'The laws of migration', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 48 (1885), p. 187.

in which the levels of movers and incomers attempt to balance themselves'.³⁶ Economic conditions in nineteenth-century Guernsey were such as to continue attracting hopeful newcomers every decade, but insufficient to hold them when they sensed that better opportunities might be available elsewhere.

It is striking that the outward flow was, in every decade except the last, dominated not by emigrating natives, but by outsiders who had already moved from elsewhere and were simply moving on again. Outsiders thus formed a highly mobile top stratum capping an indigenous population that was considerably less inclined to move. John Kelleher similarly found that outflows from Jersey in the 3 decades between 1851 and 1881 were composed chiefly of 'artisans of non-local origin and their families'.³⁷ Guernsey and Jersey appear to be no exception to the observation that having moved once increases the propensity to move again.³⁸ The Islands were just two destinations among many in a migratory network of both regional and global extent.

Paul White and Robert Woods maintain that a counter-flow of migration must always consist of people with different attributes to those of migrants making up the flow in the opposite direction.³⁹ The next section examines the extent to which this principle can be said to apply to the people who chose to come to live in Guernsey.

Immigrant Profiles

Sources of information

Estimates supplied to H.M. Customs Commissioner Stiles, put the 'stranger' component in Guernsey's population at 2,000-3,000 in 1800.⁴⁰ Many left in the post-war slump, but the pump-priming activities of local government and expanding trade stimulated fresh immigration in the 1820s. Such was the magnitude of the 1820s influx that the Royal Court gave orders for two special enumerations in 1827 and 1830, mainly to ascertain numbers of non-natives.⁴¹ Both enumerations were island-wide, but complete returns survive for neither. For 1827, details are available only for St Peter Port, St Martins, the Vale, St Peters and the Forest. This census, prompted by a spate of thefts whose

³⁶ K. Schurer, 'The role of the family in the process of migration', in Pooley & Whyte (eds), *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants*, p. 112.

³⁷ Kelleher, *Triumph*, pp. 199–200.

³⁸ I.D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain 1550-1830* (London and Basingstoke, 2000) p. 4.

³⁹ P. White & R. Woods, 'The foundations of migration study', in White & Woods (eds), *Geographical Impact of Migration*, p. 13.

⁴⁰ Royal Court to William Stiles, 15.12.1800 (Greffé, Royal Court Letter Book No. 1).

⁴¹ Ordinance of 20 August 1827; Ordinance of 4 December 1830.

perpetrators had proved impossible to identify and were suspected of being 'strangers',⁴² enumerates both natives and migrants. It shows that immigration was mainly confined to St Peter Port, which contained a fairly high proportion of non-natives, and that it remained low-level in other parishes (more especially the purely rural ones).

Table 3.5 Distribution of non-natives in 1827⁴³

Parish	Total population	Non-natives	% Non-natives
St Peter Port	12,132	3,731	30.8
St Martins	1,520	112	6.9
Vale	1,343	49	3.7
St Peters	1,604	31	1.3
Forest	625	3	0.5

Full details of the 1830 enumeration survive for St Peter Port alone. This focused solely on non-native males and is not fully representative of the urban stranger population. The names, ages, occupations, birthplaces, residential addresses and length of stay of 1,039 adult men survive in a register at the St Peter Port Constables Office.⁴⁴ The number of their dependants is also given; these amount to 1,249, making a grand total of 2,288 individuals. In 1827, however, the total of strangers in St Peter Port had been 3,731. This confirms that under-recording in 1830 was substantial. The fact that lone females (servants, for instance) were not recorded must have contributed significantly to the deficit. Incomers from higher social strata were also missing, the enumeration being part of a raft of measures instigated in response to unrest on both sides of the Channel (Swing Riots in England; July Revolution in France) by Lieutenant-Governor John Ross, who wished to identify potentially disruptive elements.⁴⁵

Although the 1827 census gives some idea of the number and distribution of immigrants, it does not supply such details as age and birthplace. The 1830 enumeration provides these details only for St Peter Port and is flawed by its unrepresentativeness. Comprehensive information on the entire stranger cohort is therefore available only in the government-sponsored censuses from 1841 onwards, and it is chiefly on the manuscript returns of these that the following analysis is based.

⁴² *L'Indépendance*, 25.8.1827.

⁴³ For 1827 St Peter Port census returns, see S.P.P. C.O., B44; for those of the Vale and St Peters, see I.A., AQ 403/17 & AQ 450/02; for those of St Martins and the Forest, see *Star*, 21.1.1827. Simple totals for each parish derived from the 1827 census can be found in J. Jacob, *Annals of Some of the British Norman Isles Constituting the Bailiwick of Guernsey* (Paris, 1830), p. 403.

⁴⁴ S.P.P. C.O., B44. For an analysis of the 1830 enumeration, see Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, pp. 89–91.

⁴⁵ *Comet*, 29.11.1830. For references to social unrest, see preamble to Ordinance of 4 December 1830.

Distribution

The total non-native presence in the 1841 census amounted to 6,254: 23.8 percent of Guernsey's population.⁴⁶ The ratio of non-natives to natives peaked at 27.8 percent ten years later, following a decade which saw the biggest influx of new migrants in the period to 1901. The proportion of non-natives thereafter declined slightly and fluctuated at around a fifth to a quarter of the insular population for the rest of the century.

Table 3.6 Non-natives as a percentage of Guernsey's total population, 1841-1901

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Total population	26,232	29,275	29,396	30,186	32,200	34,740	39,762
No. of non-natives	6,254	8,131	7,849	7,220	7,614	8,087	9,776
Non-native percentage	23.8	27.8	26.7	23.9	23.7	23.3	25.6

Partial evidence from 1827 suggests that immigrants were concentrated in St Peter Port. This is confirmed in 1841 when 5,285 (84.5 percent) of all non-natives island-wide were enumerated in town. This preponderance continued throughout the century, but to a steadily diminishing degree.

Table 3.7 Non-natives as a percentage of town population and of non-natives island-wide, 1841-1901

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Total St Peter Port population	14,812	16,541	15,980	15,759	16,004	16,505	17,590
No. of non-natives in St Peter Port	5,285	6,452	6,133	5,402	5,429	5,457	5,823
Non-natives as % of urban pop.	35.7	39	38.4	34.3	33.9	33.1	33.1
Urban non-natives as % of all non-natives	84.5	79.4	78.1	74.8	71.3	67.5	59.6

The migrant presence in St Peter Port was at its height, numerically and as a proportion of the urban population, in 1851, when non-natives accounted for 39 percent of the total (the equivalent figure for London in the same year was 38.3 percent).⁴⁷ Numbers of non-natives in the other nine parishes were always small in comparison with St Peter Port, but rose as the town's share fell. The parishes which vied most with the town for migrant share were the quarrying parishes of St Sampsons and the Vale; however, even at their peak (and St Peter Port's nadir) in 1901, they only accommodated 21 percent of the total non-native cohort to St Peter Port's 60 percent. Tables 3.8 and 3.9 nevertheless show that, in each of the seven censuses 1841-1901, larger numbers of non-

⁴⁶ Population totals and non-native totals in the following analysis are exclusive of St Peter Port garrison.

⁴⁷ Pooley & Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*, p. 3.

natives were enumerated in the northern quarrying parishes, and in St Martins and St Andrews, than in the remaining five country parishes.

Table 3.8 Non-natives in the Vale, St Sampsons, St Martins and St Andrews as a percentage of total parish populations and of non-natives island-wide, 1841-1901

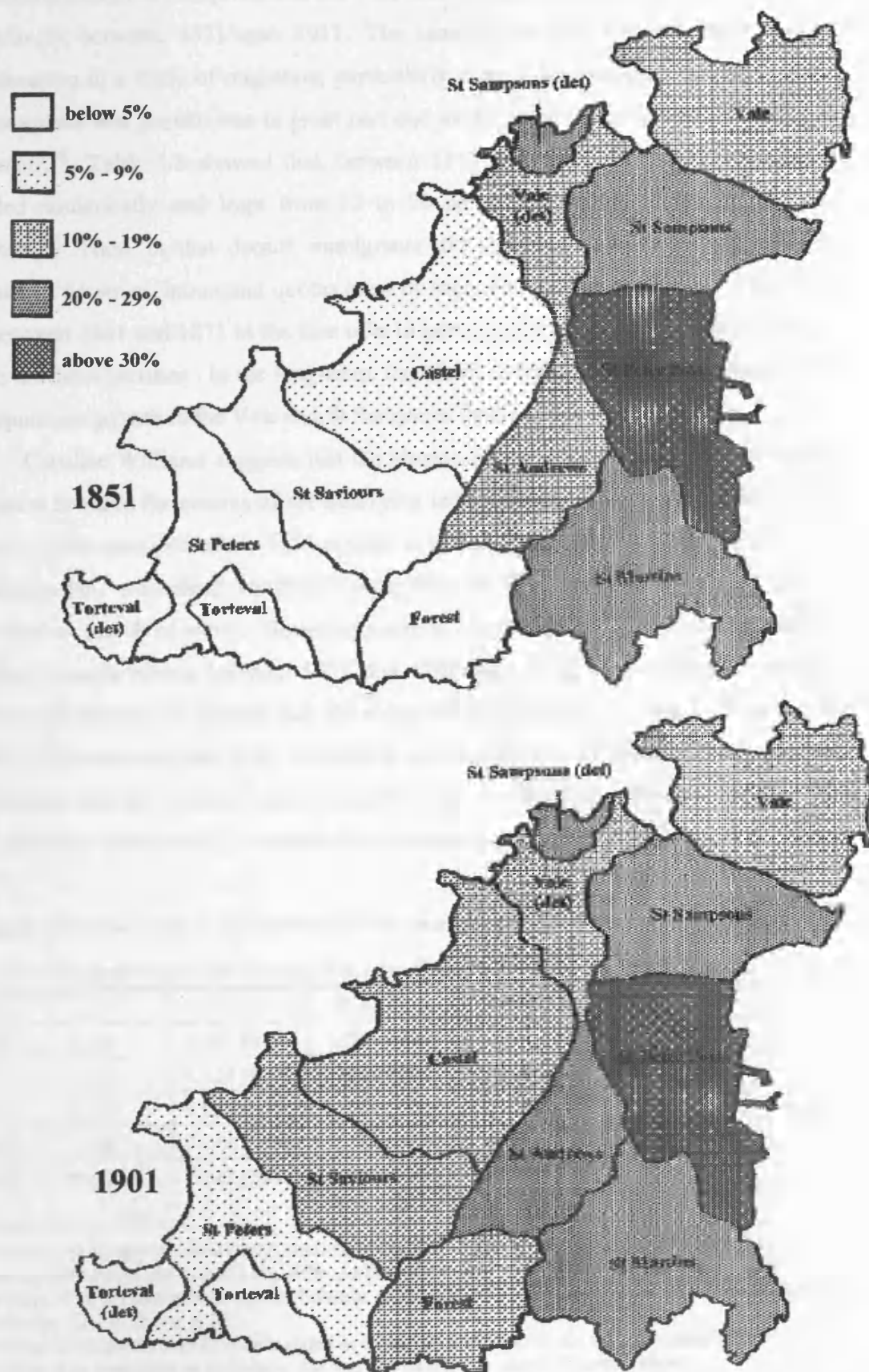
	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Population of Vale & St Sampsons	3,250	4,116	5,236	5,905	7,257	8,496	10,696
Non-natives in Vale & St Sampsons	402	824	1,006	983	1,268	1,385	2,059
Non-natives as % of combined parish pops	12.4	20	19.2	16.7	17.5	16.3	19.3
Non-natives in Vale & St Sampsons as % of non-natives island-wide	6.4	10.1	12.8	13.6	16.7	17.1	21
Population of St Martins & St Andrews	2,846	3,172	3,051	3,285	3,452	3,962	4,754
Non-natives in St Martins & St Andrews	352	563	481	522	567	749	1,080
Non-natives as % of combined parish pops	12.4	17.8	15.8	15.9	16.4	18.9	22.7
Non-natives in St Martins & St Andrews as % of non-natives island-wide	5.6	6.9	6.1	7.2	7.5	9.3	11.1

Table 3.9 Non-natives in Castel, St Saviours, St Peters, Forest and Torteval as a percentage of total parish populations and non-natives island-wide, 1841-1901

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Combined parish populations	5,333	5,399	5,131	5,237	5,240	5,777	6,732
Non-natives	215	292	229	313	350	496	814
Non-natives as % of combined parish pops	4	5.4	4.5	6	6.7	8.6	12.1
Non-natives as % of non-natives island-wide	3.4	3.6	2.9	4.3	4.6	6.1	8.3

St Martins and St Andrews were contiguous to town, and, although they did not take as large a share of migrants as the northern parishes, they did absorb some migrant outflow from St Peter Port. Hence they accounted for more non-natives than the five other parishes, which were more purely rural and further from town. For most of the period, non-natives who chose to settle in these five parishes accounted for only a tiny fraction of migrants. Moreover, in every decade until 1891, Castel, the largest of the five and closest to town, accommodated more non-natives than the other four parishes combined. This changed only at the close of the century, when the number of non-natives in the rural parishes rose appreciably as growth in the agricultural/horticultural sector stimulated demand for labour in the countryside. Figure 3.2 illustrates changes in the distribution of non-natives over Guernsey's ten parishes between 1851 and 1901.

Figure 3.2 Proportions of non-natives in parish populations, 1851 & 1901



Population growth in St Sampsons and the Vale

The populations of St Sampsons and the Vale rose by a phenomenal 610 and 352 percent respectively between 1821 and 1911. The reasons for this increase merit special consideration in a study of migration, particularly since it has become a something of a commonplace that growth was in great part due to the 'large influx of English and Irish workmen'.⁴⁸ Table 3.8 showed that, between 1841 and 1851, the migrant contingent doubled numerically and leapt from 12 to 20 percent of the population of the two parishes.⁴⁹ Thus, in that decade immigrants did contribute significantly to growth. Thereafter, however, immigrant quotas grew by increments rather than leaps. They even fell between 1861 and 1871 in the face of a 13 percent overall increase in the population of the northern parishes. In the long-term, therefore, internal factors had a greater effect on population growth in the Vale and St Sampsons than extra-insular migration.

Caroline Williams suggests that the nineteenth century saw 'considerable internal migration towards the centres of the quarrying industry in St Sampsons and the Vale'.⁵⁰ Certainly, the compilers of the 1861 census, in a note attempting to explain St Andrews' population fall, mentioned 'numbers leaving the parish and proceeding to other parts of the island in search of work'. However, analysis of enumerators' books for the northern parishes in each census between 1851 and 1901 demonstrates that internal migration contributed no more to growth than did extra-insular migration. Table 3.10 shows that natives of the two parishes never comprised less than 65 to 70 percent of their combined population, with non-islanders accounting for a further 16 to 20 percent. Islanders from other parishes were fewest in number, never comprising more than 15 percent.⁵¹

Table 3.10 Composition of combined Vale and St Sampsons population, 1851-1901⁵²

Year	Total population	Parish natives	Non-islanders	Natives of other island parishes
1851	4,116	2,690 (65 %)	824 (20%)	602 (15%)
1861	5,236	3,497 (67%)	1,006 (19%)	733 (14%)
1871	5,905	4,124 (69%)	983 (17%)	798 (14%)
1881	7,257	5,021 (69%)	1,268 (18%)	968 (13%)
1891	8,496	5,916 (70%)	1,385 (16%)	1,195 (14%)
1901	10,696	7,212 (68%)	2,059 (19%)	1,425 (13%)

⁴⁸ H. Fleure, 'Guernsey: a social study', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 26 (1941), p. 76.

⁴⁹ Non-natives always comprised a higher proportion of the St Sampsons population than that of the Vale: an average of 20 percent in St Sampsons between 1841 and 1901, as compared with 14 percent in the Vale.

⁵⁰ Williams, *Sail to Steam*, p. 71.

⁵¹ Parishes of origin are usually clearly stated in Guernsey censuses. In the very few cases where 'Guernsey' only was given as birthplace, this was ascribed to the parish of enumeration.

⁵² Figures for internal migrants (as well as external migrants) are always slightly lower in the Vale than St Sampsons, with the contingent native to the parish proportionately higher in each census.

Over the decades, migrants from St Peter Port accounted for between 41 and 53 percent of the relatively small number of islanders from other parishes living in St Sampsons and the Vale. The 'potato-blight' decade of 1851-1861 saw the largest influx from the country parishes. Counter to expectations, female internal migrants consistently outnumbered men by a factor of 10 to 15 percent (extra-insular migrants were, by contrast, dominated by males). This leads to the conclusion that internal migrants to the Vale and St Sampsons came north not so much to work as to marry. The compilers of the 1861 census observed that 'very young men' had access to 'high wages' in the northern parishes. To this they imputed 'the great number of marriages which have lately taken place at a very early age'.⁵³ It is to this state of affairs that population growth in the quarrying parishes should rightly be ascribed. The high incidence and early age of marriage boosted parish birth rates and led to growth by natural increase. In the half-century between 1851 and 1900, total births in the Vale and St Sampsons numbered 11,223 – just ten percent less than the 12,299 births recorded in the seven remaining country parishes combined.

Immigrant sex ratios

With the notable exception of the Vale and St Sampsons, there was a general dearth of males in Guernsey's parishes. In every census between 1821 and 1911, females outnumbered males in the island as a whole. In earlier years, the disparity was considerable: 83.56 males for every 100 females in 1821 (the English ratio that year was 97.62).⁵⁴ By the end of the period, it was much less: 93.11 males to every 100 females in 1911.⁵⁵ All parishes save the northern ones followed this pattern, though in St Peter Port the discrepancy was always more pronounced: 74.99 males to 100 females in 1821, rising to 85.24 in 1911.

The Vale and St Sampsons stood in stark contrast to all the rest in that, in six censuses out of ten (1841, 1861, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911), the insular sex ratio was reversed, with substantially more males than females. The peak came in 1861 with an overall ratio of 109.02 males to every 100 females in the two parishes combined. In all census years except one, the imbalance was strongest by far among non-natives: 128 non-native males to every 100 non-native females in 1861, for instance. The balance

⁵³ P.P. 1861, L.

⁵⁴ E.A. Wrigley & R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London, 1981), p. 594.

⁵⁵ In the calculation of sex ratios for both the whole population of Guernsey and the non-native component, the St Peter Port garrison has been excluded, since male totals would otherwise be artificially inflated.

between those born within the two parishes was more or less equal (99 males to 100 females in 1861), and there were fewer males than females among islanders from other parishes (80 males to 100 females in 1861). This pattern was repeated in every census year except 1871, when immigration was at an unusually low level. The skew in the northern sex ratio can therefore be said to have been entirely caused by immigration. This was a reflection of the demand of the stone industry for heavy manual labour (a calling for which natives do not appear to have had much of a taste).⁵⁶

Although the northern parishes attracted a larger proportion of male immigrants, approximately 16.7 percent more migrant females than males arrived in Guernsey as a whole between 1841 and 1901. To what extent did this phenomenon contribute to the overall insular imbalance? A note appended to the 1821 census ascribes the disparity that year to 'the absence of seamen abroad ..., young men settled elsewhere; and the many English servant-maids employed in town'.⁵⁷ To which of these factors is the gender skew primarily attributable? In the censuses between 1841 and 1901, it is possible to isolate the native from the non-native population, and to assess island-wide sex ratios separately. The figures show the number of males for every 100 females.

Table 3.11 Comparative sex ratios, 1841-1901⁵⁸

Year	All Guernsey	All natives	All non-natives
1841	81.14	79.88	82.25
1851	82.35	82.17	82.84
1861	82.45	82.79	81.52
1871	79.84	81.55	74.61
1881	87.14	88.65	82.5
1891	89.81	90.34	88.07
1901	92.24	92.63	91.05

Both native and non-native populations show a bias in favour of females, but, in all censuses except 1841 and 1851, the relative dearth of males is noticeably more pronounced among non-natives. However, since there was already an imbalance among the island-born, it is quite clear that the immigrant presence was not the main cause of the skew in the all-island ratio (indeed, in 1841 and 1851, the discrepancy without them

⁵⁶ For a discussion of male sex bias in areas with extractive industries, see J. Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951* (London, 1957), pp. 30-34. For a discussion of reasons why, in Guernsey's case, labouring vacancies were unattractive to internal migrants, see below, p. 204.

⁵⁷ *Star*, 7.8.1821.

⁵⁸ Based on enumerators' books and all-island data in P.P. 1844, XXVII; 1851, XLIII; 1861, L; 1871, LIX; 1881, XCVI; 1890-1, XCVI; 1903, LXXXIV; 1913, LXXX. Garrison members excluded.

would have been greater). This leads to the conclusion that, though the proportionately larger influx of females undoubtedly amplified the existing disparity, the factor which seems to have been primarily responsible for Guernsey's nineteenth-century gender skew was an absence of native males. The reason for their absence was a combination of seafaring and emigration, which varied with time in their relative effects.

Immigrant age structure

For most of the nineteenth century, the population of Guernsey was a young population.⁵⁹ We saw in the previous chapter that immigration boosted birth rates. This section examines the extent to which immigration also influenced overall age profiles. Figure 3.3 compares the age structures of the native and non-native populations of the whole Bailiwick in 1851, and figure 3.4 those of Guernsey-based migrants and Bailiwick natives in 1901.⁶⁰ Both censuses fall at the end of decades of relatively high immigration and thus represent the non-native community at its maximum strength. Slightly differing patterns would be expected in subsequent censuses (1861 and 1911), following decades of high emigration.

Locally-born children under 15, many of them the progeny of non-natives, comprised 38 percent of the native population in 1851 and 36 percent in 1901. In both 1851 and 1901, the next largest cohort among natives are the 15-to-24s, comprising 17 percent of locally-born in 1851 and 20 percent in 1901 (the larger size of this group in 1901 is a reflection of declining childhood mortality). In both censuses, the 25-34 age group ranks third, at 13 percent of natives in both 1851 and 1901. Thereafter, the percentage in each successive decennial group continues to diminish in both census years, until we are left with only two percent of the native population in the over-75 bracket in 1851 and 1901 alike.

⁵⁹ See A.C. Robin, 'Notes on population of Guernsey', *TSG*, 14 (1947), pp. 181–187.

⁶⁰ Based on enumerators' books and P.P. 1851-1853, LXXXXVIII and 1904, CVIII. Parliamentary Papers conflate age data for Guernsey with data for 'adjacent islands'. This matters less in years when the population of these islands formed a small proportion of Bailiwick population (as in 1901, when they accounted for less than six percent), but it does present difficulties in 1851, when, at the height of the construction of the Alderney breakwater, 'adjacent islands' (chiefly Alderney) accounted for more than ten percent of Bailiwick population. Nevertheless, by collecting age data from the Alderney enumerators' books for the immigrant contingent in that island in 1851 and adding them to the data for Guernsey-based immigrants, it is at least possible to compare like with like, even if the comparison of natives with non-natives is made over two islands rather than one (data on immigrants among the 629 inhabitants of Sark, Herm and Jethou are not included, but their numbers are minimal).

Figure 3.3 Native and non-native age structures, 1851

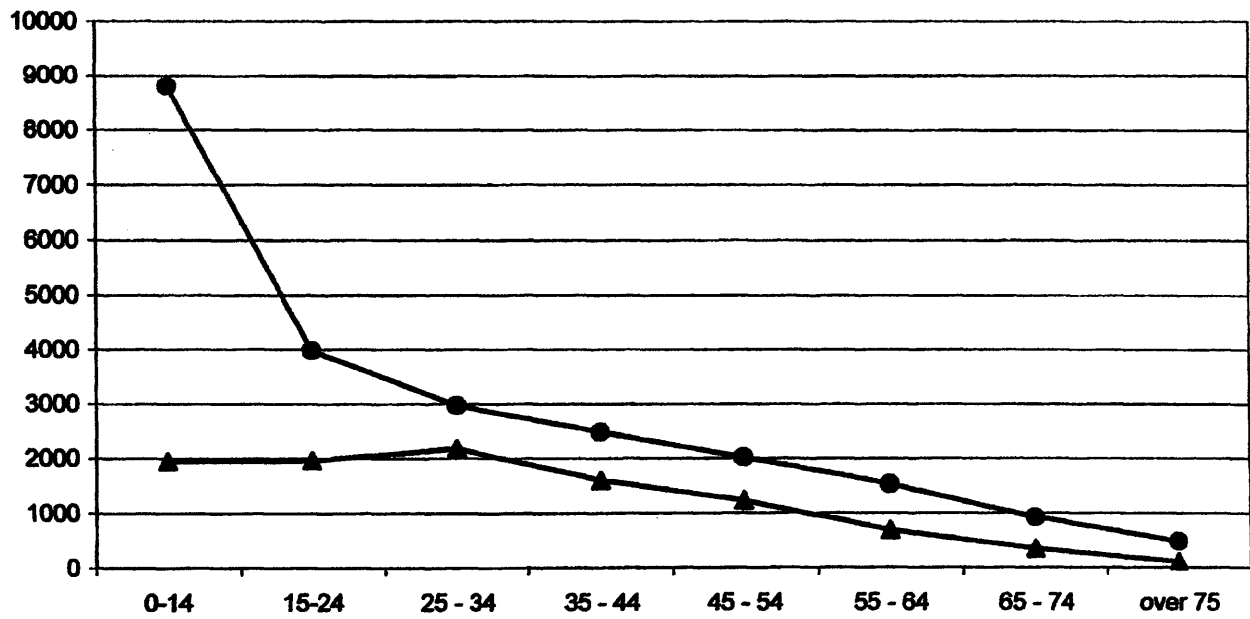
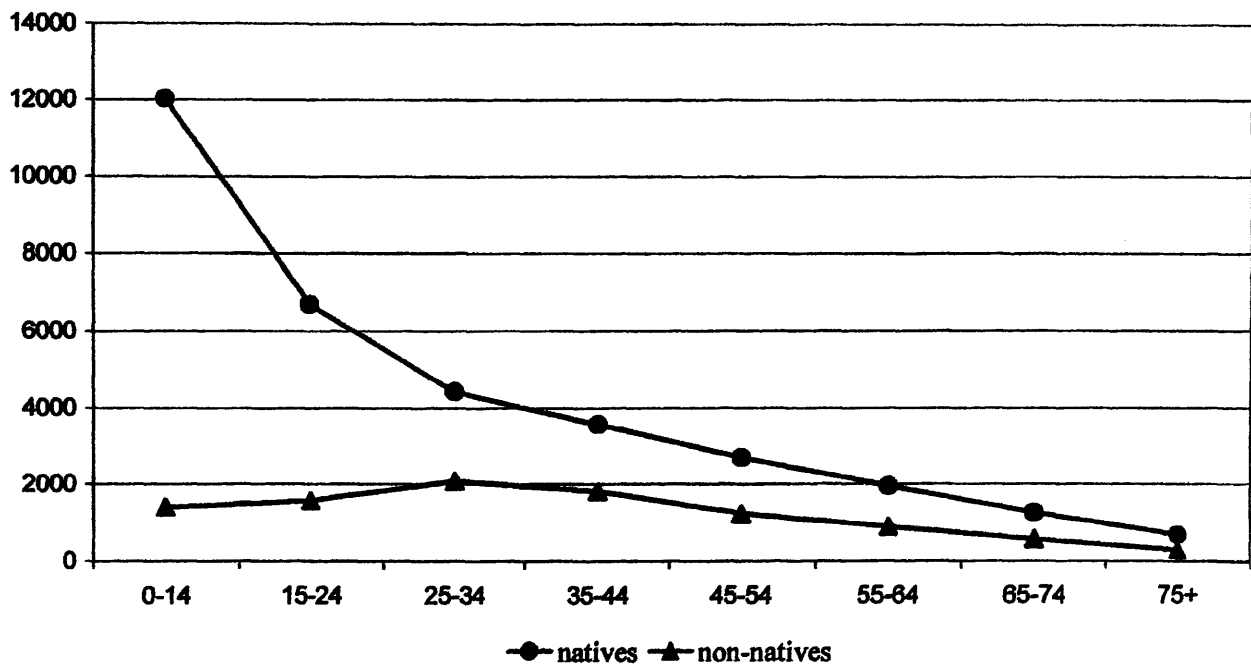


Figure 3.4 Native and non-native age structures, 1901



Both of the above figures show significant differences in the age structure of non-natives as compared with that of natives. Immigrant children under 15 are, as would be expected, numerically inferior to native children, since far fewer children migrated to the island than were born there. This to some extent masks the fact that under-15s nevertheless constitute a significant proportion of non-natives: 19 percent in 1851 and 14 percent in 1901. Such substantial percentages support the view that, notwithstanding the pull of the quarrying parishes on lone males, the movement of whole families played an important role in migration to Guernsey as a whole.⁶¹

The largest proportion of non-natives, however, falls in the 25-34 bracket: 22 percent of all immigrants in 1851 and 21 percent in 1901.⁶² This holds true for males and females. Thus immigrants accounted for a greater proportion of this section of the overall population than they did of others (strikingly so in 1851, when immigrants in the 25-34 age group comprised 42 percent of all 25 to 34 year-olds in the Bailiwick). Fertility in this group is high, explaining the positive effect of migrants on birth rates.

The biggest disparity between native and non-native age curves in 1851 and 1901 occurs before age 25. Migrant numbers peak at this point and thereafter gently decline, roughly in parallel with non-natives. However, in both censuses, and more particularly the latter, there is some convergence in older age groups. Over-65s constituted just a small fraction of total inhabitants, but it is notable that non-native over-65s accounted for between a quarter and a third of the Bailiwick total in this age group: 25 percent in 1851 and 30 percent in 1901. This confirms Guernsey's status as a minor retirement resort.⁶³

Immigrant occupations

Using occupational categories based on the nine sectors set out by Charles Booth and adapted by W.A. Armstrong in his essay on the use of census occupation data,⁶⁴ table 3.12 ranks occupational sectors according to the relative levels of participation in them (expressed as a percentage) among all Bailiwick males, native and non-native, who stated an occupation in the six censuses 1851-1901. Table 3.13, by contrast, considers non-natives only.

⁶¹ Some 27 percent of new arrivals between 1841 and 1901 were children aged 16 and under.

⁶² In 1851 the non-native contingent was composed, in order of magnitude, as follows: 25-34, 21.7 percent; 15-14, 19.5 percent; 0-14, 19.3 percent; 35-44, 15.9 percent; 45-54, 12.2 percent; 55-64, 12.2 percent; 65+, 4.6 percent; in 1901: 25-34, 21.3 percent; 35-44, 18.4 percent; 15-24, 16 percent; 0-14, 14.3 percent; 45-54, 12.5 percent; 55-64, 8.9 percent; 65+, 8.6 percent.

⁶³ For the development of St Peter Port as a minor spa, see Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 117.

⁶⁴ W.A. Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation', in Wrigley (ed.), *Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods*, pp. 191-310.

Table 3.12 Occupations of all Bailiwick males ranked by sector, 1851-1901⁶⁵

Sector	1851	Sector	1861	Sector	1871	Sector	1881	Sector	1891	Sector	1901
A	27.6	A	30	A	25.9	A	28.6	A	31.3	A	34.6
MF	20.3	MF	17	MF	18.2	B	13.3	M	13.5	B	12.9
B	15.5	B	12.6	B	12.5	M	13.3	B	13.3	M	12.4
D	8.9	MF	9.5	IS2	10.7	D	12	MF	10.1	MF	9.9
T	6.8	T	8.6	T	10.3	T	10	D	9.5	T	9.8
IS2	6.6	D	7.2	MF	8.7	MF	9.1	T	8.8	D	8.6
MF	6.4	IS2	6.8	D	6.6	PP	5.4	IS2	5.5	IS2	3.7
PP	6.3	PP	5.8	PP	5.5	IS2	5.3	PP	5.3	PP	3.7
DS	1.3	DS	1.7	DS	1.2	DS	2.2	DS	1.5	DS	2.4
IS1	0.3	IS1	0.7	IS1	0.5	IS1	0.9	IS1	1.3	IS1	2.1

Table 3.13 Occupations of non-native males ranked by sector, 1851-1901⁶⁶

Sector	1851	Sector	1861	Sector	1871	Sector	1881	Sector	1891	Sector	1901
MF	24.2	IS2	21.2	MF	18.4	M	16.6	A	15.7	A	19.2
PP	15.6	MF	19.2	PP	12.9	MF	15.7	MF	13.8	MF	12.9
B	14.9	MF	11.7	A	12.9	PP	13.9	PP	13.1	B	12.5
A	9.5	T	9.6	MF	12.5	A	13.1	MF	12.7	MF	11.4
D	9	B	9.4	IS2	11.2	T	11.1	B	12.3	D	9.4
MF	8.6	D	8.7	D	10.2	D	8.9	T	9.6	PP	8.8
T	8.1	PP	7.6	T	9.2	IS2	8.3	D	9	DS	8.8
DS	5.4	A	7.5	B	7.1	B	7.3	IS2	8	T	8.1
IS2	4.3	DS	4.5	DS	5	DS	4.5	DS	4.3	IS2	6.1
IS1	0.4	IS1	0.8	IS1	0.8	IS1	0.8	IS1	1.7	IS1	2.8

Key: A = agriculture, MF = manufacturing, B = building, D = dealing, T = transport, IS2 = industrial services 2 (general labour), M = mining and quarrying, PP = public service and professional (here including Chelsea pensioners and half-pay military officers, but not serving soldiers in St Peter Port and Alderney garrisons), DS = domestic service, IS1 = industrial services 1 (banking, insurance, accountancy).

⁶⁵ Based on P.P. 1852-53, LXXXVIII; 1863, LIII; 1871, LXXI; 1883, LXXX; 1893-94, CVI; 1904, CVIII.

⁶⁶ Based on enumerators' books. The conflation of data for Guernsey and 'adjacent islands' which applied to ages also applies to occupations. The strategy adopted in respect of ages in 1851 (see above, footnote 60, p. 62) has also been adopted here, and the occupations of non-natives in 1851, 1861 and 1871 include those of Alderney-based non-natives.

Census figures do not give a fully accurate picture of occupational distribution to the extent that the 'transport' sector, which includes seafarers, is diminished in proportion to the number actually at sea at census-time (we know from elsewhere that the numbers crewing the Guernsey fleet in 1851 and '61 respectively were 1,044 and 1,115,⁶⁷ a far cry from the 654 and 770 whom the censuses assign to the 'transport' sector in those years). However, even if we add the number of 'transport' workers to the known number of seafarers in each year, this still fails to match numbers in the Bailiwick overall working in agriculture. Throughout the nineteenth century, agriculture (later shading into horticulture) occupied by far the greatest number of males in the Bailiwick as a whole. However, this sector was not, until the last two decades, the major employer of immigrants. With the caveat that precise numbers of migrants employed in seafaring are unknowable,⁶⁸ manufacturing seems to have been the sector which employed most non-natives in the earlier part of the period, and had not the general labour category topped the rankings in 1861, manufacturing would have remained the principal employer of migrants until 1871.⁶⁹ Indeed, manufacturing was a significant sector overall until 1871. Its displacement by other sectors in the last three decades of the nineteenth century partly reflects the demise of shipbuilding. That said, the manufacture of articles for local domestic use always employed considerably more people (and more non-natives) than the building of ships. Even at the height of shipbuilding in 1851, while 222 males Bailiwick-wide were directly employed as shipwrights, boatbuilders, blockmakers, ropemakers and sailmakers (only 48 of them non-natives), more than treble this figure were employed in making clothing, including 525 shoemakers and 203 tailors (201 and 70 of them non-natives respectively).⁷⁰

The public service and professional sector ranks high among migrants but low overall, reflecting both the substantial presence of half-pay non-native military personnel and the relatively large number of non-native professionals: schoolmasters in private schools; doctors and surgeons; clergymen of a wide variety of denominations.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 18.

⁶⁸ A petition to H.M. Treasury by the Chamber of Commerce dated 19.5.1840 states that the composition of insular crews at this time was one-third 'natives of the United Kingdom', two-thirds Guernseymen (G.C.C. Minute Book, 1839-49, I.A., AQ 40/03).

⁶⁹ If we follow the Armstrong method, numbers in the general labour category depend largely on whether or not labourers identified the sector they worked in, thus in 1851 this sector would have been larger and the building sector smaller had not a significant number of labourers in Alderney identified themselves specifically as 'railway' labourers and thus been allocated to building. As regards 1861, however, the position of general labouring at the top of the rankings would seem to be an accurate reflection of the unusual situation in that particular year, since much unskilled immigrant labour was being employed on the Alderney breakwater and on harbour works at St Peter Port.

⁷⁰ Based on P.P. 1852-53, LXXXXVIII and 1851 enumerators' books.

Quarrying is a particularly difficult sector to quantify. Many who described themselves as plain 'labourers', 'carpenters' or 'blacksmiths', though their work was performed in quarry or stoneyard, will escape identification with the sector. A letter published in the local press in 1878 gave the total of those involved in quarrying as 1,970, including 'quarrymen, stone-dressers, stone-breakers, blacksmiths, carpenters and carters'.⁷¹ The figure for this sector in the 1881 census was only 1,315, rising to 1,445 in 1891, and 1,675 in 1901. Thus census figures do not reflect the true numbers involved. With this qualification, the granite industry never appears to have employed an overall majority of Bailiwick males, and only in 1881 does it appear to have employed a majority of male immigrants.⁷² The lead of the quarrying sector in that year was in any case a slender one, and it was rapidly displaced by the agricultural sector in 1891, as the demand of horticulture for migrant labour increased.

As regards females, domestic service was, to all appearances, the major employer of Bailiwick women throughout the period. Many country women must also have performed unpaid agricultural work on husbands' and fathers' farms and smallholdings, but this rarely appears in the census. A smaller number of women also undertook paid work in other sectors, notably retail, manufacture (mainly needlework trades) and teaching. Although numbers involved in teaching were small (188 women Bailiwick-wide in 1851), non-native women accounted for 42 percent of the total.⁷³ Many of these were widows or spinsters working as governesses, or running small schools of their own. They may well have been impoverished English gentlewomen of the sort described by A. James Hammerton as fearing the 'humiliation and loss of caste' which might accompany a wage-earning career at home, yet able to pursue the same career anonymously elsewhere.⁷⁴

Pamela Horn gives the proportion of the female population in England and Wales in service at the peak of servant-keeping in 1871 as 12.8 percent (including laundresses and charwomen).⁷⁵ In the Bailiwick of Guernsey, the figure was higher: 13.5 percent, or 2,540 general servants, maids, domestic cooks, housekeepers, charwomen and laundresses in a total female population of 18,795.⁷⁶ Most of the demand was generated by St Peter Port, with its relatively large upper- and middle-class contingent. Analysis of

⁷¹ *Comet*, 8.3.1879.

⁷² This is reflected in the fact that the quarrying parishes never attracted more than 21 percent of total migrants (see above, p. 57).

⁷³ P.P. 1852-53, LXXXXVIII, and 1851 manuscript returns.

⁷⁴ A. James Hammerton, *Emigrant Gentlewomen: Genteel Poverty and Female Emigration, 1830-1914* (London, 1979), p. 46.

⁷⁵ P. Horn, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant* (Thrupp, 1990), p. 27.

⁷⁶ P.P. 1871, LXXI.

the 1851 enumerators' books for St Peter Port, the northern parishes, and the four rural parishes of St Peters, St Saviours, Torteval and the Forest reveals that, while 19 percent of urban households kept servants, only 9.6 percent kept them in the northern parishes, and 9.8 percent in the rural parishes.

Of the 2,540 females in service in the Bailiwick in 1871, only 729 (29 percent) were non-natives. Thus non-native women did not fill the places of a local female population averse to service; rather they complemented them in satisfying a particularly high demand. Some 18 percent of female migrants between 1841 and 1901 gave their occupation as servant, charwoman or laundress when first enumerated. St Peter Port was clearly known to offer prospects to young women seeking domestic work, and it is perhaps chiefly of these that the excess of female over male non-natives was composed.

Social profile of immigrants

Gregory Stevens Cox, alluding to the hazards of judging social status by occupation, tentatively categorised urban migrants enumerated in the survey of 1830 as mainly 'lower middle or working class'.⁷⁷ A number of formal schemes do however exist for assigning class on this basis. None, perhaps, is perfect,⁷⁸ but the Registrar-General's 1951 system as adapted for historical data by W.A. Armstrong is broadly regarded as satisfactory.⁷⁹ Using this system, it is possible to divide migrants into five classes:

class I – professional occupations (doctors, lawyers, clergymen, army officers, etc.)

class II - intermediate occupations (teachers, business owners or managers, etc.)

class III - skilled occupations (blacksmiths, tailors, plumbers, stonemasons, etc.)

class IV - semi-skilled occupations (farm labourers, brickmakers, gardeners, etc.)

class V - unskilled occupations (hawkers, messengers, general labourers, etc.).

Applied to the 11,056 individual males aged ten and over enumerated 1841-1901 for whom occupation is known, this yields the following results.

⁷⁷ Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 91.

⁷⁸ For criticism of commonly used schemes and evaluation of alternatives, see D. & J. Mills, 'Occupation and social stratification revisited: the census enumerators' books of Victorian Britain', *Urban History Yearbook* (1989), pp. 63–77.

⁷⁹ Armstrong, 'Use of information about occupation', pp. 198–225.

Table 3.14 Non-native males aged ten and over ranked by social class, 1841-1901

Class	Number	Percentage of total
III	5,107	46.2
IV	2,096	19
II	1,713	16.5
V	1,455	13.2
I	685	6.2

Unskilled and semi-skilled workers account for a third of the total, making it clear that non-natives were to a certain extent supplying a demand for raw labour. However, class III predominates overall, which demonstrates that migrants also had an important role in filling retail niches and in supplementing craft skills in which there was a local deficit. It is also noteworthy that the first two social classes, taken together, account for over a fifth of the total. Incomers in these classes were typically half-pay army officers, retired colonial civil servants, clergymen without charge, and any of a wide variety of fundholders and shareholders. Often they were married with large families, and had come to Guernsey seeking the 'cheapness of living, and cheapness of education' vaunted in mid-century guidebooks.⁸⁰ The contemporary perception was that their numbers waned after 1850,⁸¹ but they do not appear to have fallen very significantly. The 'somewhat superior class of strangers' mentioned by Inglis in 1834 was probably less in evidence,⁸² but Guernsey seems to have been a perennially popular destination for British expatriates wishing to preserve a degree of gentility on a reduced income.⁸³

The spending of investment incomes locally by a numerous *rentier* class of incomers must have contributed quite materially to the insular economy. In 1865, the *Star* described them as 'large consumers of the produce of the soil who give value to house property and prosperity to trade and labour'.⁸⁴ Their contribution would have been particularly valuable earlier in the period, when direct returns from shipping were limited, and the profits of such exports as there were (chiefly stone) were for the most part taken off-island by absentee proprietors and merchants. Middle-class accommodation requirements also gave a fillip to the building sector. In the 30 years

⁸⁰ Anonymous, *Economy; or, A Peep at our Neighbours* (London, 1847), p. 19. Elizabeth College in St Peter Port, originally founded by Elizabeth I, was re-modelled in the 1820s along the lines of an English public school. This proved an invaluable asset in attracting middle-class expatriates.

⁸¹ F.B. Tupper, *The History of Guernsey and its Bailiwick* (Guernsey, 1854), p. 432.

⁸² H.D. Inglis, *The Channel Islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Serk, Herm and Jethou*, (1834; London, 1835 edn), p. 214.

⁸³ Such as the Indian pensioners exhorted to 'try Guernsey' by the writer of an article in the *Madras Mail* reprinted in *Star*, 9.5.1899.

⁸⁴ *Star*, 16.11.1865.

between 1821 and 1851, some 1,174 houses were built in St Peter Port alone.⁸⁵ Many of these houses were of the 'economical sort' which one 1847 guidebook observed were 'a great advantage to strangers'.⁸⁶ Demand for goods and services generated business for the tailors, upholsterers, butchers and bakers of St Peter Port, perhaps encouraging further immigration. In one particular respect, the influx of the middle classes bore a direct relationship to the influx of another class: 'it is proper to warn families about to emigrate from England, and settle here, of the difficulty there is in obtaining good servants', cautioned Frank Fether Dally in 1860; 'it is therefore advisable to bring both male and female'.⁸⁷

Turnover and regional circulation

The 1830 list of migrants in St Peter Port, for all its unrepresentativeness, is unique among censuses in recording migrants' length of stay. In this census, more than 75 percent of those enumerated had been in Guernsey less than ten years, and 20 percent as little as one year or less. Only 30 percent appeared again in 1841.

Subsequent government-sponsored censuses tell us no more about an individual's stay than that they were there on census night. Using successive censuses it is, however, possible to measure migrants' stays through record linkage. Excluding the 5,964 new arrivals in 1901, whose presence in Guernsey the following decade cannot be verified, but including the 1,039 men in the 1830 census, 30,675 separate individuals can be identified as migrants to Guernsey between 1830 and 1891. A majority of these – 66 percent – appear in just one census (though this might denote a stay of one night or nineteen years). Turnover was particularly marked among the young: of the 5,741 males aged 19 and under who entered Guernsey during the period, 80 percent had left again before the age of 30.

Persistence was also influenced by social class. The higher a migrant's class, the less likely he was to put down roots: 78 percent of incomers in class I stayed for one census only, reducing to 59 percent in class IV. After much hesitation, the States decided in 1868 that strangers would be liable to pay parish rates after three years' residence, when formerly they had been exempted.⁸⁸ It was subsequently observed that this period of grace determined the length of many *rentiers*' stay: 'families come and live here free

⁸⁵ Based on figures in *Billet d'Etat*, 15.9.1821 & P.P. 1851, XLIII.

⁸⁶ Anonymous, *Economy*, p. 219.

⁸⁷ F. F. Dally., *A Guide to Guernsey* (London, 1860), p. 11.

⁸⁸ Order in Council of 30 July 1868. For more on the taxation of strangers, see below, footnote 7, p. 125; p. 133.

of all taxes for three years', a contributor to the *Comet* wrote in 1890, 'and then, when they become liable, they leave'.⁸⁹

Propensity to stay also varied with parish of residence. Denizens of St Peter Port were more transient than those settling elsewhere: 69 percent of those first enumerated in town appeared in one census only, compared with 54 percent of those who settled in the Vale and St Sampsons.

Of the 10,496 individual migrants who appeared in more than one census, more than half had appearances spanning three or more censuses. A majority of these had no gaps in their census record, but about a fifth of them were absent for one census whilst present in earlier and later censuses, and five percent had two or more gaps. Gaps might have many causes: seafarers might be at sea; others might be absent on business or on visits, or living temporarily elsewhere.⁹⁰ In nearly one hundred cases, the whereabouts of individuals during an absence is indicated by the birthplaces of children they returned with: 52 re-appeared in the island with English-born children; 22 with Jersey-born children; 16 with Alderney-born children, and sundry others with children born in France, Ireland, India, Ceylon, the United States, Mauritius and Argentina.

A further group, distinct from the latter, had children with birthplaces different from their own when first enumerated in Guernsey. In the 60 years between 1841 and 1901, nearly 2,000 families containing children whose birthplaces differed from their parents' arrived in the island. About 400 families, whose heads were mostly English or Irish, had children born in Britain's overseas colonies. This is chiefly a reflection of the strength of the retired military among immigrants, though children born in Australia and Canada might also belong to a small number of returning native migrants. A further 627 families whose heads were either English, Irish or French contained children born in Jersey, and nearly 300 such families had children born in Alderney. There were also a handful of native Guernsey families with children born in England, Jersey or Alderney, and a greater number of English families with English-born children interspersed with siblings born in Guernsey.

Such mixed family groups provide an indication of step-wise and circulatory mobility, demonstrating that, whatever it had been in previous centuries, nineteenth-century Guernsey was now open to the world, and anything but a migratory cul-de-sac. St Peter Port was a minor resting-place on the worldwide circuit of imperial and colonial servants. Islanders, for their part, participated in full measure in the population streams

⁸⁹ Letter from 'Un vrai Guernesiais', *Comet*, 27.8.1890.

⁹⁰ Gaps are occasionally also due to enumerator error: 20 percent of non-natives with an apparent break in their record in 1881 were actually in Guernsey but had been enumerated as natives rather than immigrants.

leaving Europe for the New World. Denizens of nearby parts of England (and later France) incorporated Guernsey into their regional networks, making it a staging-post in the 'complex milling about of people through a range of small settlements' identified by recent scholars as the defining characteristic of much nineteenth-century migration.⁹¹ In pursuit of a better understanding of the impact of these movers on local society, the next chapter seeks to determine where precisely, in England, France or the wider world, the migrants were from, and what factors, at home or in Guernsey, might have prompted their move.

⁹¹ C.G. Pooley & J. Turnbull, 'Migration and urbanization in north-west England: a reassessment of the role of towns in the migration process', in D.J. Siddle (ed.), *Migration, Mobility and Modernization* (Liverpool, 2000) pp. 186–213.

CHAPTER 4

IMMIGRATION: WHO, WHERE FROM AND WHEN?

Broad Trends Discernible in post-1841 Censuses

As a source of detailed information on origin, censuses at first seem unpromising. In 1841, those enumerated were required only to answer 'yes' or 'no' as to whether they were born in Guernsey, and, if not, to state if they were born in 'England', 'Scotland', 'Ireland' or 'Foreign Parts'. Post-1851 censuses gave those born outside Britain scope to specify their precise country of birth rather than subsuming them into 'Foreign Parts', but, by and large, natives of the British Isles continued throughout the nineteenth century to be recorded simply as nationals of their respective countries. Considering all seven censuses 1841-1901 in aggregate, there is no information beyond the name of a country for 76 percent of English and French, and 86 percent of Irish.

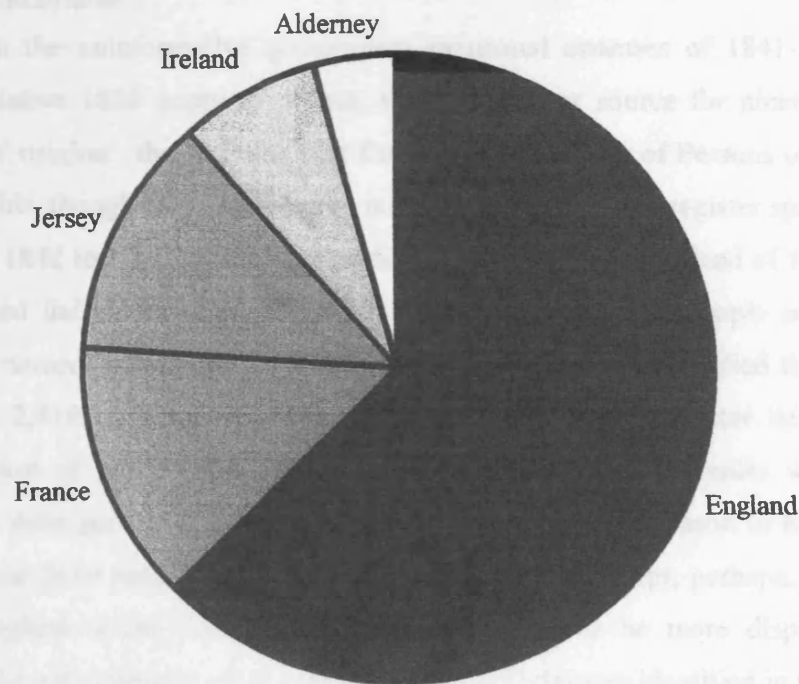
Table 4.1 is based on the 35,916 non-natives identified as separate individuals in manuscript returns 1841-1901, and ranks immigrant groups by cohort size. Figure 4.1 represents this information graphically.

Table 4.1 Non-Guernsey birthplaces, censuses 1841-1901¹

Birthplace	No. of immigrants	Percentage of total immigrants
England	32,869	56.1
Jersey	5,935	11.9
France	5,840	11.3
Ireland	3,600	6.5
Alderney	2,274	3.7
Sark	1,009	1.5

¹ The nationality of some Frenchmen in the 1841 census was known from other sources; for those for whom this was not the case, French nationality in 1841 was inferred from name.

Figure 4.1 Relative sizes of total national cohorts, 1841-1901



Scotland and Wales do not figure in our birthplace table, since migration from these countries was negligible. Aside from other Channel Islands, the only parts of the British Isles from which immigrants were drawn in any number were England and Ireland. A further 2,216 migrants (six percent of the total) came from other parts of the British Empire. Among these were 649 from the Indian subcontinent; 226 from Canada; 159 from Australia and New Zealand, and 121 from the West Indies. These were mainly ex-military families and retired colonial servants. In addition, 70 individuals were born in South America. A majority of these bore local surnames and came from Brazil or Uruguay. This is a reflection of Guernsey's early nineteenth-century maritime trade with this part of the world.

Numbers of Europeans other than French were minimal. Earlier in the period these consisted mostly of itinerant German bandsmen and Italian image-vendors. In the last quarter of the century, a few foreign nationals worked as waiters or maids in the tourist industry, and, in the first decade of the twentieth century, Guernsey played host to a small number of Dutchmen associated with the trade in flower bulbs. Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe was virtually nil.

English Immigration to Guernsey

Geographical origins

Aside from the uninformative government-sponsored censuses of 1841-1901 and the unrepresentative 1830 migrants census, there is another source for nineteenth-century immigrants' origins: the St Peter Port Constables' 'Register of Persons sent out of the Island'.² This, though also problematic, is more promising. The register spans the period September 1842 to April 1880 and records the removal from the island of 10,775 people: 6,324 named individuals and their 4,451 dependants. English people account for 61 percent of named individuals; 3,594 of these English people specified their county of origin and 2,810 their parish. The main problem with the register lies in its over-representation of the poorest class of migrant (42 percent of males who stated an occupation were general labourers). Nevertheless, there is no reason to believe that the poorest came from areas vastly different from the rest – except, perhaps, from those in the two highest social classes whose origins tended to be more dispersed; these, however, did not constitute more than a fifth of total migrants identified in the censuses.

The general trustworthiness of the St Peter Port removals register is reinforced by the fact that the birthplace data it yields are corroborated by data from the 1830 migrants census and enumerators' books 1851-1901, in which information on county of origin is available for about a quarter of English migrants. Table 4.2 sets out data on county of origin given for named individuals in the removals register.

Table 4.2 English deportees by county, St Peter Port removals register, 1842-1880

County	Number	Percentage of those for whom county known
Devon	801	22.3
Cornwall	525	14.6
Dorset	521	14.5
Somerset	510	14.2
Hampshire	326	9.1
London	293	8.2

² S.P.P. C.O., B13 (hereinafter referred to as 'removals register'). The register is exceptionally rich in information: besides the names of those removed and their county and parish of origin, it also contains columns headed 'age', 'profession', 'when sent', 'whither sent', 'by what vessel sent', 'length of residence', 'reasons why sent', and 'whether on States or Parish account.'

All three sources – 1830 migrants census, enumerators' books and removals register – contain people from nearly all counties in England, but the same five counties (plus London) occupy the first ranks in each. Devon, the most populous of the five counties, consistently heads the list.³ The presence of London, as Mark Brayshay and Vivien Pointon observe in relation to Plymouth, is probably as much a reflection of the capital's massive population as any particular attraction which Guernsey may have held for Londoners.⁴

Data on the origin of people married during the eighteenth-century at St Peter Port's parish church (the 'Town Church') show that the movement of people from these areas was not new. It had begun around 1760. In the period 1700-1814, 5,446 marriages were registered at the Town Church. In just over half of these marriages, at least one partner was non-local; 90 percent of mixed or purely non-local marriages took place after 1760. Some 2,366 English spouses gave their county of origin, and most of them also their parish. Though other English counties feature to a greater extent than in the three nineteenth-century sources, the same five counties (plus London) predominate, and Devon again heads the list.

Table 4.3 English spouses by county of origin, Town Church marriages, 1700-1814

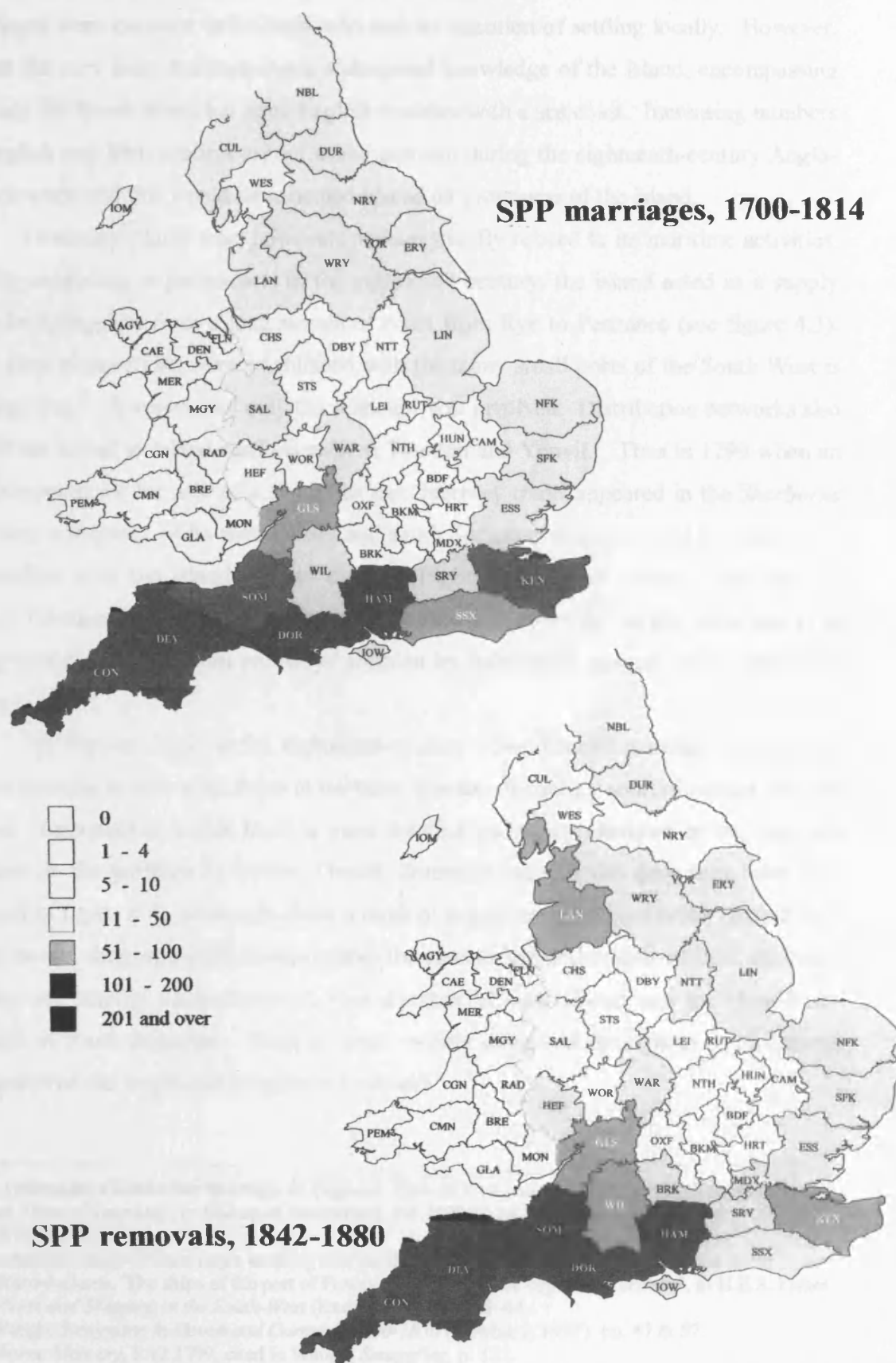
County	Number	Percentage of those for whom county known
Devon	510	21.6
Cornwall	387	16.4
Dorset	283	12
Hampshire	260	11
Somerset	123	5.2
London	123	5.2

Figure 4.2 compares the distribution by counties of origin of individuals in the Town Church marriage register and the St Peter Port removals register.

³ It is therefore not surprising that a nineteenth-century visitor to Guernsey reported hearing Devonian tones wherever she went, not least among locals, who, she claimed, had been so strongly influenced that they now spoke 'French with the Devonshire dialect' (Anonymous, *Economy; or, a Peep at our Neighbours* (London, 1847), pp. 67, 148).

⁴ M. Brayshay and V. Pointon, 'Migration and the social geography of mid-nineteenth century Plymouth', *Devon Historian*, 28 (1984), pp. 4-5.

Figure 4.2 Comparison of birth counties in Town Church marriage register (1700-1814) and St Peter Port Register of Persons sent out of the Island (1842-1880)



Since the Town Church was also used for clandestine marriages following Hardwicke's 1753 Marriage Act,⁵ an unknown proportion of eighteenth-century marriages were between individuals who had no intention of settling locally. However, this at the very least demonstrates a widespread knowledge of the island, encompassing not only the South West, but most English counties with a sea coast. Increasing numbers of English and Irish soldiers served in the garrison during the eighteenth-century Anglo-French wars, and this would have helped spread an awareness of the island.

Guernsey's fame was, however, perhaps chiefly related to its maritime activities, and to smuggling in particular. In the eighteenth century, the island acted as a supply base for smugglers from a long stretch of coast from Rye to Penzance (see figure 4.3). That close connections were established with the many small ports of the South West is unsurprising.⁶ However, not only the seaboard was involved. Distribution networks also linked the island to inland markets such as Taunton and Yeovil.⁷ Thus in 1799 when an advertisement for the sale of a sloop 'for the Guernsey trade' appeared in the *Sherborne Mercury*, a majority of its west Dorset and south Somerset readers would be expected to be familiar with the island and its 'trade'.⁸ Eighteenth-century artisans who came to service Guernsey's entrepôt sector travelled southwards down the supply trails, and in so doing established the 'worn pathways' trodden by subsequent movers in the nineteenth century.⁹

Parishes of origin in the eighteenth-century Town Church marriage register also appear broadly to tally with those in the three nineteenth-century sources (where they are given). Information at this level is most detailed and comprehensive in the removals register, so the parishes of Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Cornish deportees have been mapped in figure 4.4. Although about a tenth of migrants came from urban centres such as Plymouth, the map clearly demonstrates the essentially rural origins of most migrants. Origins are heavily concentrated in such districts as west Dorset and the Ham Stone villages of south Somerset. They are more widely dispersed throughout south Devon, and scattered the length and breadth of Cornwall.

⁵ R.B. Outhwaite, *Clandestine Marriage in England, 1500-1850* (London, 1995), p. 131. See also D.F. Durand, Dean of Guernsey, to Bishop of Winchester, 7.4.1809 (Hampshire Record Office, 21M65/J1/A/4/A).

⁶ For a detailed study of Guernsey's working relationship with the Cornish port of Fowey, for instance, see C.H. Ward-Jackson, 'The ships of the port of Fowey at the turn of the eighteenth century', in H.E.S. Fisher (ed.), *Ports and Shipping in the South-West* (Exeter, 1971), pp. 48-64.

⁷ M. Waugh, *Smuggling in Devon and Cornwall 1700-1850* (Newbury, 1991), pp. 47 & 57.

⁸ *Sherborne Mercury*, 9.12.1799, cited in Waugh, *Smuggling*, p. 121.

⁹ D.J. Siddle, 'Introduction', in D.J. Siddle (ed.), *Migration, Mobility and Modernization* (Liverpool, 2000) pp. 4-5.

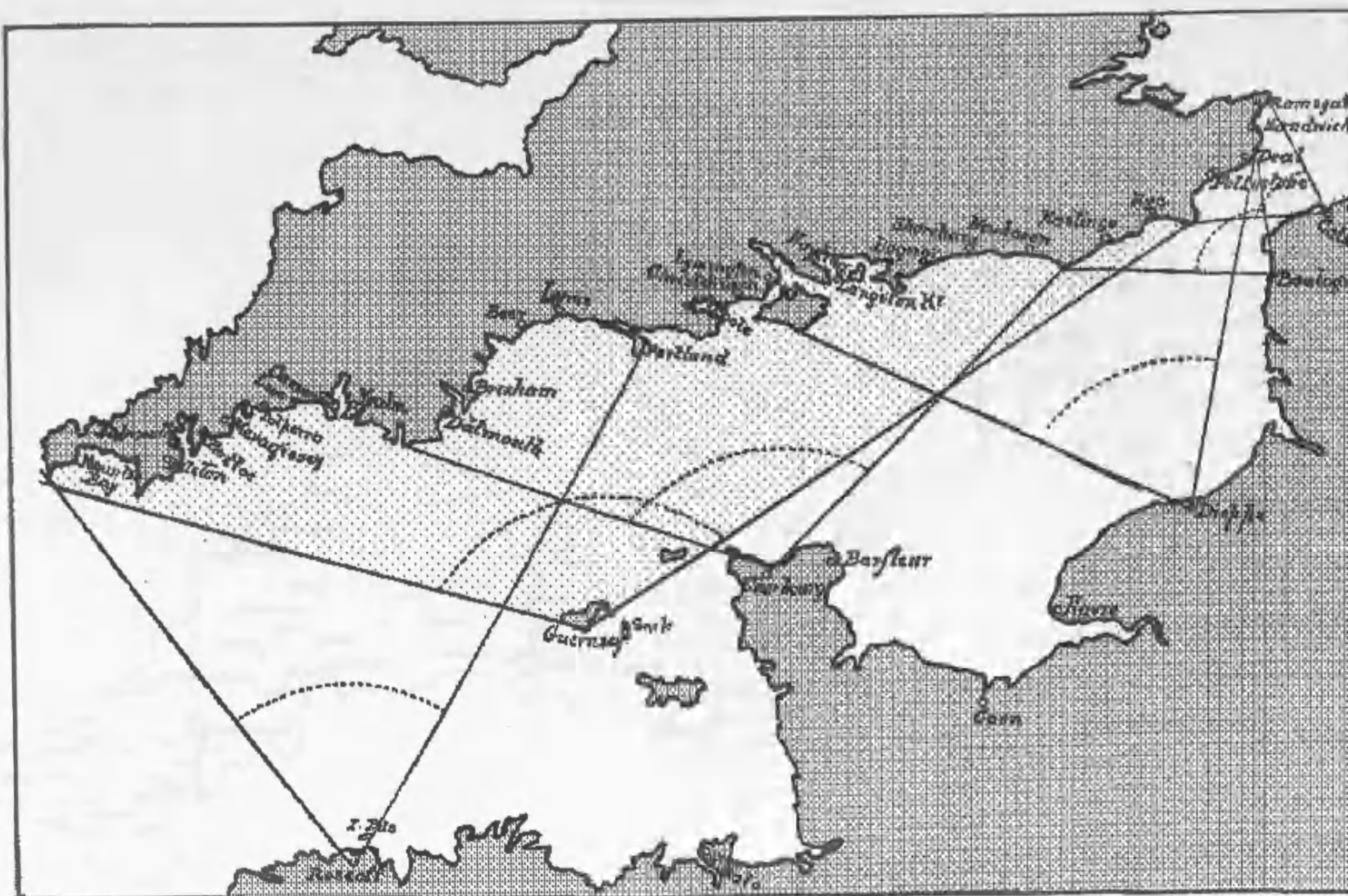


Figure 4.3 Guernsey's eighteenth-century sphere of influence as a smuggler's supply base
 Source: H.N. Shore, *Smuggling Days and Smuggling Ways* (London, 1892)

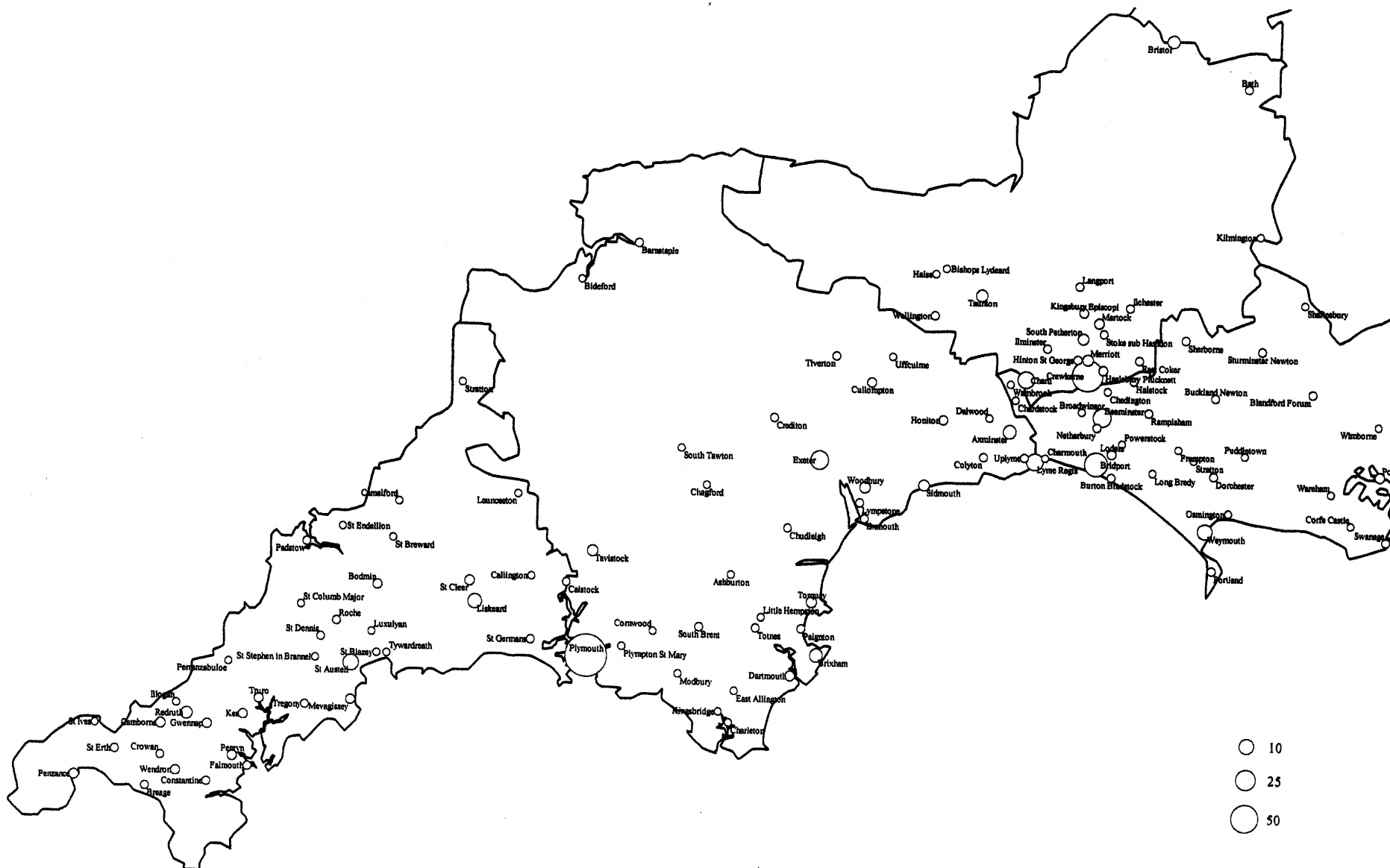


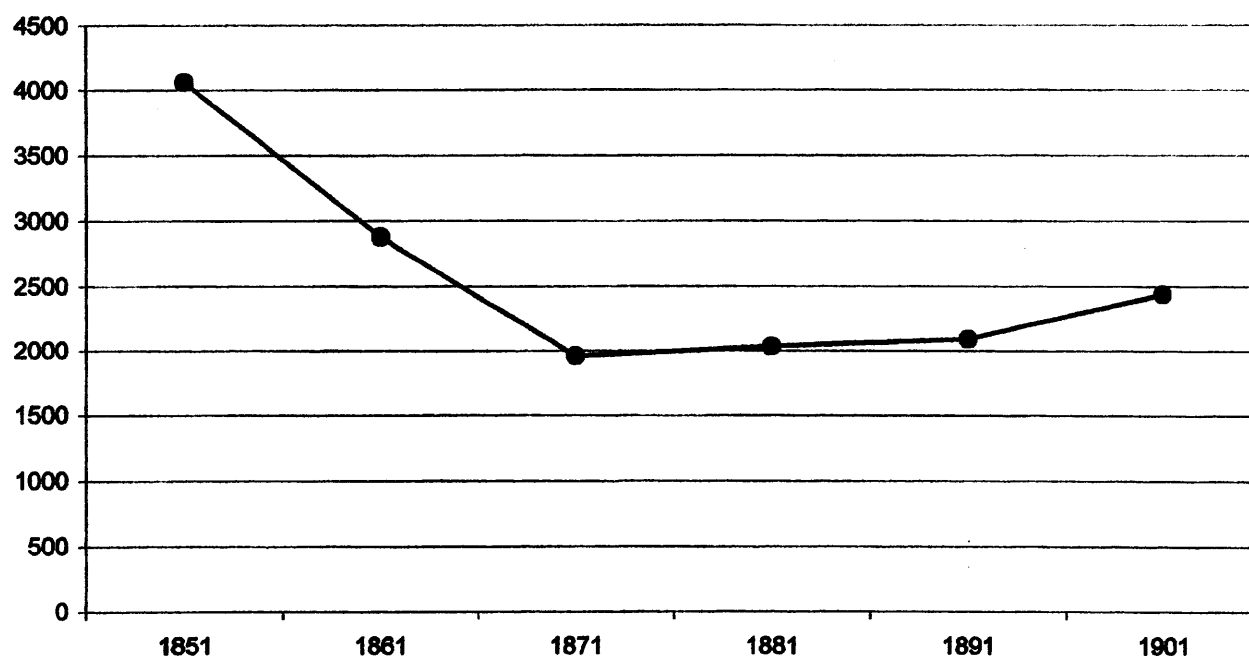
Figure 4.4 Birthplace distribution, St Peter Port Register of Persons sent out of the Island, 1842-80

Richard Lawton calculated a net loss of 1,198,128 individuals through migration in the 12 counties of southern England between 1841 and 1911.¹⁰ Greg Finch calculated a loss of 260,897 from Devon alone.¹¹ With a minimum approximate figure of 20,705 individual English immigrants in the 60 years 1841-1901,¹² it is clear that Guernsey (or even the whole archipelago) did not take anything like a major share of those leaving. Nevertheless there must have been parts of the South West and Hampshire in which Guernsey and Jersey were household names.

Temporal and spatial distribution of English migration

Migrants from England outnumbered all other migrant groups combined in every census 1841-1901. As a proportion of all migrants, they were at their height in 1841, when they comprised nearly three-quarters of non-natives. After 1851, the English share of the immigrant contingent (both settled and newly arrived) began to decline, never to recover the earlier peak. Although they ceased to form a majority of new arrivals in 1871, the English still accounted for a majority of all immigrants until 20 years later. In 1901, however, at only 44 percent of the total immigrant cohort, the English were collectively outnumbered by migrants from other groups. Figure 4.5 shows variations in numbers of newly arrived English migrants at each census between 1851 and 1901.

Figure 4.5 New English arrivals, 1851-1901



¹⁰ R. Lawton, 'Population changes in England & Wales in the later nineteenth century: an analysis of change by registration districts', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 44 (1968), p. 70.

¹¹ G. Finch, 'The experience of peripheral regions in an age of industrialisation: the case of Devon, 1840-1914' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 1984), p. 174.

¹² Identified from enumerators' books. Unrecorded intercensal arrivals and departures mean that the total figure is likely to be rather greater.

Englishmen were drawn primarily to St Peter Port. Table 4.4 shows that the proportion of English settlers resident in town 1841-1901 was never less than two-thirds of total numbers. Given that a majority of English migrants seem to have come from the countryside, English migration to Guernsey might be characterised as an unusual manifestation of the general rural-urban shift taking place during the nineteenth century.

Table 4.4 Distribution of English immigrants by parish, 1841-1901

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Total English	4,610	5,610	5,000	4,213	4,087	4,085	4,333
% St Peter Port	85.4	79.7	79.2	75.7	71.4	70.1	66.7
% St Sampsons & Vale	7.2	10.2	8.9	10.5	15.9	14.7	14.3
% other parishes	7.4	10.1	11.9	13.8	12.7	15.2	19

Social profile of English migration

Table 4.5 provides a break-down by social class of male migrants from England aged 16 and over, newly arrived in the decade preceding each census between 1851 and 1901.

Table 4.5 English adult male new arrivals by social class, 1851-1901

Percentage of migrants in class	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
I & II	23.5	20.9	28.8	21.4	26.3	27.4
III	42.5	43.2	35.4	42.6	42	39.1
IV & V	31	30	27.2	26.5	22.6	24
Unknown	3	5.9	8.6	9.5	9.1	9.5

In all censuses, there is a pronounced majority of Englishmen in class III (skilled tradesmen and retailers), and in three censuses out of six there are more in classes I and II combined than in classes IV and V. This suggests that English immigrants to Guernsey cannot strictly be viewed as part of what some historians of the nineteenth century have characterised as the 'flood of unskilled workers forced out of [England's] disintegrating rural economy'.¹³ However, the influx of skilled tradespeople to Guernsey might well have been a by-product of the mass exodus of unskilled workers to other destinations. John Saville analysed the outflow of craftsmen from rural districts of England in his study of depopulation. Demand for craftsmen's services declined as their customer base

¹³ S. Nicholas & P.R. Shergold, 'Internal migration in England, 1818-1839', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 13 (1987), p. 163.

dwindled in parallel with the exodus from the countryside generally. It shrank still further as the advent of the railways made it cheap and easy to procure low-cost manufactured goods from further afield.¹⁴ As one illustration of contraction in the rural crafts sector, Greg Finch tells us that the ranks of Devonian boot- and shoemakers plummeted from 8,436 to 2,229 in the 50 years 1861-1911.¹⁵ Guernsey, cut off by the sea, was immune from the immediate effects of the railways, and the population of St Peter Port was far larger than that of the average nineteenth-century English country town. C.W. Chalklin gives a figure of between 1,000 and 4,000 for the 'typical market town' around 1841.¹⁶ St Peter Port had a population of 15,220 in that year, and 18,264 by 1901. Constraints on the volume of goods transportable by sea and relatively high freight costs meant that demand for goods produced locally would have remained higher in St Peter Port throughout the nineteenth century than in the average English town. This would have exerted a certain pull on artisans whose skills were no longer in demand on the other side of the Channel.

That said, there were peaks in new arrivals in classes IV and V in the two decades to 1851 and 1861. The peak of 1861 is likely to have been due to migrant labourers attracted by works in progress on St Peter Port harbour. That of 1851 (at the end of a decade which saw the biggest influx from England in the entire period under review) is attributable to two factors. First, many labourers were drawn to the Channel Islands by the British government's breakwater construction projects begun in Jersey and Alderney in 1847.¹⁷ Communications with Alderney being via Guernsey, workers on the latter project would have invariably found themselves in the larger island in transit to Alderney, or when their services were no longer required.¹⁸ News of the projects in English newspapers would moreover have generated a greater general awareness of the Islands on the other side of the Channel.¹⁹

It is difficult to dissociate the attractive power of the construction projects from push-factors operative in the South West, but it is likely that the 1851 peak also reflects harsh conditions faced by people of the South West in the 'hungry forties', particularly in the latter part of the decade when a poor wheat harvest all over Europe led to a shortage

¹⁴ J. Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951* (London, 1957), pp. 184-185; 212-213.

¹⁵ Finch, 'Peripheral regions', p. 134.

¹⁶ C.W. Chalklin, 'Country towns', in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside* (London, 1981), p. 276.

¹⁷ For an overview of both projects, see W. Davies, *The Harbour that Failed* (Alderney, 1983).

¹⁸ The *Comet* of 24.4.1848, for example, records the arrival in Guernsey of 60 discharged labourers from Alderney.

¹⁹ For a list of English newspapers reporting the projects, see below, p. 96, footnote 109.

in United Kingdom domestic food supplies in 1846-47, causing significant price increases and trade deficits which culminated in a monetary crisis.²⁰ Conditions for rural labourers in southern England had been poor since the onset of the agricultural depression caused by the end of the Napoleonic Wars.²¹ Evidence suggests that there had been a slow, cumulative trickle of refugees from English rural poverty throughout the twenties and thirties, and that this was then sharply accentuated by the draw of civil engineering projects in the forties, spurred on by the economic crisis. The importance of the engineering projects is emphasised by the fact that when the English rural exodus reached its absolute peak during the depression years of the 1870s and '80s,²² there was no corresponding rise in migration to Guernsey.

The decade to 1901, however, did see an increase in English migration, but this time a greater proportion of the arrivals were from the opposite end of the social scale. Numbers of migrants in classes I and II rose by 64 percent between 1881 and 1901, as compared with a 16 percent rise in classes IV and V. This minor upturn is traceable to the influx of middle-class Englishmen with spare capital wishing to participate in Guernsey's horticultural boom.²³

Mechanisms of migration

Chain migration seems to have been a distinctive feature of the movement of people from the south west of England to the Channel Islands. A complex mesh of connections spanning decades can be discerned with particular villages and families. To give a specific instance: stonemason Robert Taylor and his wife Elizabeth Marsh arrived from South Petherton in Somerset around 1843 together with Elizabeth's father and several of her brothers.²⁴ After a stay of some 33 years, Robert, a widower in his sixties, blind and unable to support himself, was removed to Yeovil Workhouse in September 1876 with two of his Guernsey-born children, Hannah and George, still minors.²⁵ James, an older son, appears to have accompanied them voluntarily. Robert and his two children left the workhouse and made their way back to South Petherton, where Robert died in November

²⁰ See J.A. Buckley, *The Cornish Mining Industry*, pp. 36-37 for the effect of the 1847 price crash on employment in tin mining, and F.E. Halliday, *A History of Cornwall* (1959; London, 2000 edn), pp. 316-317, for 1847 Cornish food riots.

²¹ A. Armstrong, *Farmworkers: A Social and Economic History, 1770-1980* (London, 1988), pp. 75-78.

²² Saville, *Rural Depopulation*, p. 11.

²³ E.A. Wheadon, 'The history of the tomato in Guernsey', *T.S.G.*, 12 (1935), p. 339.

²⁴ The couple were my great-great grandparents.

²⁵ Act of Court of 28.9.1876 (Greffé); Yeovil Workhouse and Union records (Somerset Record Office, D/G/Y 48/43 & D/G/Y 60/44).

1879, and his sons James and George married two sisters, members of the Inder family and their own first cousins (daughters of Robert's younger sister Achsah). By the time of the 1891 census, both James and George Taylor had returned to Guernsey. Accompanying them was a fresh generation of migrants from Somerset; not merely their own wives and children, but unmarried siblings of their wives. Thus a chain initiated in the 1840s was still productive of migrants half a century later.

In more general terms, English stoneworkers, renowned for being migratory,²⁶ may have found their way to Guernsey along a network of trade, rather than kin connections. We know, for instance, that Guernsey had links with the Haytor granite quarries in Devon.²⁷ It is not improbable that when these quarries closed for a time between 1840 and 1850, some of the displaced masons tried their luck in Guernsey.²⁸ These same trade networks might also have initiated the influx from Somerset's Ham Hill district which originally brought Robert Taylor to Guernsey.

Butchers also followed trade networks. Guernsey's traditional economy, based on subsistence farming, meant that demand for butchered meat had not been high in centuries previous to the nineteenth. 'It is a mere sixty years since you have had your meat cut up into joints', asserted an article in *The Chit Chat* in 1838.²⁹ Most meat came from local sources, supplemented occasionally from France. Rising demand in the second half of the eighteenth century, when warfare interrupted trade with the Continent, saw meat for the garrison and increasingly affluent local elite being sourced for the first time from south west England.³⁰ Meat imports were swiftly followed by butchers from the same area, which continued to supply the island with skilled tradesmen even in the nineteenth century when imports had reverted to France.

Not all immigrants came to Guernsey independently. Some were drafted in by their employers. John Mowlem imported stone-dressers from Swanage and Dartmouth in the 1840s, when sufficient skilled men could not be found locally.³¹ A short-lived confectionery enterprise in the early 1840s was 'carried on exclusively by Englishmen',

²⁶ R. Samuel, 'Mineral workers', in R. Samuel (ed.) *Miners, Quarrymen and Saltworkers* (London, 1977), pp. 62–63, 71–73. For studies of mobility among stoneworkers in the south of England, see M. Edgar & P.R.A. Hinde, 'The stone workers of Purbeck', *Rural History*, 10, 1 (1999), pp. 75–90, and H. Rossler, 'Constantine stonemasons in search of work abroad, 1870–1900', *Cornish Studies*, 2 (1994), pp. 48–82.

²⁷ An advertisement appeared in *L'Indépendance* on 3.7.1824 seeking 50 Guernsey stonemasons for Haytor, where quarrying had begun in 1819.

²⁸ H. Harris, *The Haytor Granite Tramway and Stover Canal* (Newton Abbot, 1994), pp. 28–29; J.V. Somers Cocks, 'The Haytor Granite Quarries', *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, 32 (1971), p. 14.

²⁹ *Chit Chat*, 13.10.1838.

³⁰ S. Foote, 'Guernsey butchers and the nineteenth-century meat trade – Part One,' *Quarterly Review of the Guernsey Society*, 57 (2001), pp. 68 & 70.

³¹ F. Baines, *The History of John Mowlem*, undated typescript, pp. 137–146 (Dorset Record Office, D432/1).

employing only 'English capital and English labour'.³² Keillers, the marmalade manufacturers, also imported key workers – some from as far as Dundee – and many of their hands relocated with them when they left in 1879.³³

While garrison soldiers cannot properly be counted as migrants, the many military pensioners who settled in the island undoubtedly do fall within this category. The Royal Commission of 1846 highlighted problems regarding the poor relief demands of 300 Chelsea out-pensioners subsisting on small pensions of one to three shillings a day.³⁴ The St Peter Port garrison ranged in size from 417 in 1841 to 684 in 1901.³⁵ It is not possible to assess what proportion of pensioners were formerly garrison members, since military census returns were sometimes filed separately, and some enumerators' books contain military headcounts rather than names. Regiments came and went at the rate of about one a year, but the main military base, Fort George, remained the Bailiwick depot for the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers throughout the century. At least four percent of all marriages in Guernsey between 1814 and 1913 involved soldiers,³⁶ and the registers of the Roman Catholic churches alone record 5,786 'army' baptisms between 1802 and 1908.³⁷ Prior to the introduction of short service enlistment in 1870, men often served for terms exceeding 20 years, and their wives and children commonly travelled with them.³⁸ Females made up 35 percent of the garrison in 1841, but only 15 percent in 1901.³⁹ It seems likely, therefore, that a majority of garrison members marrying locally and subsequently settling in the island would have served after 1870. Many of the earlier contingent, like their half-pay officers, would simply have brought their families to Guernsey on the strength of its reputation as a cheap place to live, and would have remained, as evidence to the Royal Commission seems to confirm, 'quite unconnected with any persons in the Island'.⁴⁰

³² *Star*, 17.2.1842. See also M.H. Ouseley, 'Guernsey and sugar in the mid-nineteenth century. A trade war', *T.S.G.*, 19 (1971), pp. 106–114.

³³ *Star*, 18.1.1879.

³⁴ *Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the State of the Criminal Law of the Channel Islands* (London, 1848), p. 153. For background to the Royal Commission, see below, pp. 186–187.

³⁵ P.P. 1844, XXVI & 1903, LXXXIV.

³⁶ The true proportion was probably higher. Occupations are not usually given in nineteenth-century Guernsey marriage registers. Soldiers, because they formed a special group, were exceptions to this rule. However, for a lengthy period mid-century, the registers of the Town Church and St Josephs RC church, where most of the military married, ceased specifying soldiers' occupations.

³⁷ The figure is given in the Supplement to R.C. Baptismal Index 1802-1908 (St Josephs Church, Guernsey).

³⁸ A.R. Skelly, *The Victorian Army at Home: The Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular, 1859-1899* (Montreal, 1977), pp. 103, 204.

³⁹ P.P. 1844, XXVI & 1903, LXXXIV.

⁴⁰ *Second Report of the Commissioners*, p. 153.

Transport: the impact of steam

It has become something of a commonplace that 'it was only after the introduction of steamboats that people from Britain came to visit the Channel Islands ... or even decided to settle there'.⁴¹ This is an assumption which requires examination. Scheduled steamer services from England began with the arrival of the paddle steamer *Ariadne* from Southampton on 8 June 1824.⁴² There is no doubt that regular and predictable steamer connections multiplied Guernsey's contacts with the United Kingdom. 'This increased accommodation for travelling has brought hundreds and thousands of persons to our shores who would never have visited us, if the old routine of sailing vessels had never been departed from', commented a *Comet* editorial in 1839.⁴³ Registers of 'Passengers Landed' preserved at St Peter Port Constables Office record the arrival of 4,147 vessels between May 1828 and December 1835, bringing between them some 55,665 passengers.⁴⁴ However, over two-thirds of these passengers arrived in the summer months of May to September, which suggests, in the words of the *Comet*, that most of them were 'visitors'. Immigration, by contrast, had been going on since well before the steamship era, and, for decades after the arrival of the *Ariadne*, large numbers of sailing vessels, carrying passengers as well as freight, continued to trade with ports of the South West.⁴⁵ Contemporaries perceived steamer fares as high,⁴⁶ and, even among the affluent classes, 'several folks at first remained faithful to the old traders'.⁴⁷ Price wars between rival companies reduced fares to unsustainable levels for brief spells in 1835 and 1839,⁴⁸ but the standard fare for a ten-hour one-way trip from Southampton to Guernsey in the mid-1830s was £1 6s in the main cabin, 16s in the fore cabin and 10s 6d on deck.⁴⁹ Fares on the Weymouth-based post-office mail packets were scarcely cheaper: £1 1s for cabin passengers in 1833 and 10s for 'labourers, working mechanics, or servants out of place'.⁵⁰ When the average weekly wage of an agricultural labourer in the South West in 1837 was

⁴¹ H. Ramisch, *The Variation of English in Guernsey/Channel Islands* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1989), p. 30.

⁴² For accounts of the early days of steam, see R. Mayne, *Mailships of the Channel Islands 1771-1971* (Chippenham, 1971), pp. 13-33; K. Le Scelleur, *Channel Islands' Railway Steamers* (Wellingborough, 1985), pp. 8-13.

⁴³ *Comet*, 6.5.1839.

⁴⁴ S.P.P. C.O., B31 & A35.

⁴⁵ As well as steamers, St Peter Port Registers of Passengers Landed record the arrival of sailing vessels from Poole, Brixham, Topsham, Lyme, Bridport, Swanage, Dartmouth, Falmouth, Fowey, Padstow, Teignmouth, Torquay and Exmouth (S.P.P. C.O., B31 & A35).

⁴⁶ See complaints in *Star*, 27.7.1835 & 5.2.1846.

⁴⁷ Unpub. & undated memoirs of Dr W. Chepmell, Vale Rector 1816-59, (E. Carey transcript, unpaginated, Priaulx Library, IL940).

⁴⁸ For example, the main cabin fare from Southampton to 5s in May 1839, but by July it was back to its normal level (*Comet*, 6.5.1839).

⁴⁹ *Star*, 16.4.1835.

⁵⁰ Anonymous, *The Strangers' Guide to the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey* (Guernsey, 1833), p. 5.

8s 2d,⁵¹ these fares were hardly attractive, and may be contrasted with those on steamer routes between Ireland and England, where in the mid-1840s, migrants were being landed at Liverpool for as little as 6d.⁵² With sailing vessels plying regularly at much lower fares (5s by cutter from Brixham and 7s by cutter from Plymouth in 1841),⁵³ many poorer migrants would surely have settled, as they always had, for the cheaper, if 'inconvenient and dangerous ... passage by uncertain and overladen sailing vessel'.⁵⁴ Steamer transport lessened the psychological distance between the Channel Islands and United Kingdom, and hastened the transmission of cultural values. It also encouraged tourism and *rentier* migration. However, as regards the mass of people in social classes III, IV and V who travelled to Guernsey at the peak of English migration in the 1840s, it is doubtful that steamers played as important a role as is often assumed.

Push- or pull-factors?

These operated differentially on the various migrant groups. For *rentier* migrants, pull-factors predominated. Guernsey enjoyed significant price advantages in the first half of the nineteenth century, notably on such luxuries such wine and tobacco. While falling duties in the United Kingdom in the '50s reduced the value of these, and other aspects of the insular cost of living were not so favourable,⁵⁵ taxation remained an enduring draw. Income tax was not introduced until 1920, and prior to 1868, parish rates had been regarded as discretionary for non-natives and usually not imposed on them at all.⁵⁶ A new law passed in 1868 subsequently established that non-natives would not be liable to rates until resident three years.⁵⁷ Educational facilities at Guernsey's Elizabeth College offered a further enticement to middle-class expatriates with sons: 'the system of education is excellent and the terms very moderate', observed an 1860 guide for prospective settlers.⁵⁸

The presence of *rentier* expatriates itself exerted a pull on artisans and retailers who came to cater for their needs. The lower the social grade, however, the more

⁵¹ A.L. Bowley, 'The statistics of wages in the United Kingdom in the last hundred years, Part one, agricultural wages', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 66 (1898), p. 704.

⁵² J.A. Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (London, 1963), p. 75. See also F. Neal, 'Liverpool, the steamship companies and the famine Irish', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 5 (1986), pp. 28–61.

⁵³ L.L. Clarke, *Redstone's Guernsey Guide* (Guernsey, 1841), pp. 133–134.

⁵⁴ Letter from 'A Resident' complaining about high prices on the Plymouth steamer, *Star*, 9.3.1846.

⁵⁵ 'Rents are hardly lower than in England, and food is scarcely cheaper' (D.T. Ansted & R.G. Latham, *The Channel Islands* (London, 1862), p. 551).

⁵⁶ F.F. Dally, *A Guide to Guernsey* (London, 1860) pp. 11–13. For more on stranger taxation, see below, p. 125, footnote 7; p. 133. For more on Elizabeth College, see below, p. 216.

⁵⁷ Order in Council of 30 July 1868.

⁵⁸ Dally, *Guide*, pp. 34–36.

doubtful the attraction. No price or wage series exist for Guernsey in the nineteenth century, so evidence is fragmentary. We saw above that, in 1837, the average weekly wage of an agricultural labourer in the impoverished South West was 8s 2d.⁵⁹ In the same year, the *Guernsey & Jersey Magazine* gave the local starting rate for 'the most common labourer' as 9s.⁶⁰ A Guernsey shilling was, however, worth less than an English one, so differences were minimal.⁶¹

For skilled manual workers, Guernsey wages rates seem to have been appreciably lower than in England. A local newspaper of 1861 quotes rates for journeymen in the building trades of between 15s and 17s per week.⁶² Greg Finch gives a rate of 20s for similar work in Devon towns in 1860.⁶³ Chamber of Commerce minutes contrast a daily wage of 3s 6d for shipwrights in Guernsey in 1868 with 7s 6d in England.⁶⁴ Some 40 years later, in the early twentieth century, horticultural wages in Guernsey were notoriously low. The average weekly rate for a greenhouse hand in 1910 was between 15s and 17s.⁶⁵ Greg Finch, by contrast, estimates that farm labourers' earnings in Devon had risen to 19s 4d by 1914.⁶⁶

None of this would seem to constitute a great draw to English migrants, but paradoxically, it was their very presence which helped keep wages down: 'sans cette foule d'ouvriers qui accourent de toutes parts pour chercher du travail, la main-d'oeuvre serait infiniment plus chère qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui', a States committee observed in 1846.⁶⁷ Not only were wage rates frequently higher in England, the cost of living 'was considerably cheaper there too'.⁶⁸ E.H. Hunt suggests that the 'ordinary range' of rural house rents in England would have varied between 1s and 1s 6d per week in the 1860s, and were no higher than 2s in 1904.⁶⁹ Standards of rural accommodation in the South

⁵⁹ pp. 87–88.

⁶⁰ *Guernsey & Jersey Magazine*, 4 (1837), p. 361.

⁶¹ Prior to Guernsey's adoption of sterling in 1920, its circulating medium was an idiosyncratic mixture of indigenous, British and French (stemming from the fact that the island's currency had been the 'livre tournois' until it became obsolete in France in 1824). The 'livre tournois' subsequently remained a notional insular currency, in which, for instance, property prices were expressed in legal contracts. For everyday purposes, the island issued its own £1 notes and copper coins up to the value of a penny. For intermediate values, however, French coins continued to be used. The franc piece circulated as a 'shilling.' Ten Guernsey pence were worth one franc and one Guernsey pound was worth 24 francs. At the nineteenth-century rate of exchange this meant that the Guernsey pound was worth about 19s sterling.

⁶² *Comet*, 25.4.1861.

⁶³ Finch, 'Peripheral regions', p. 326.

⁶⁴ G.C.C. General Meeting 22.12.1868, Minute Book 1849–89 (I.A., AQ 40/04).

⁶⁵ *Star*, 24.12.1910.

⁶⁶ Finch, 'Peripheral regions', p. 319.

⁶⁷ *Rapport du Sous-Comité sur les Frais encourus pour les Pauvres Etrangers (Billet d'Etat, 17 June 1847, p. 50).*

⁶⁸ G.C.C. Special Meeting 22.1.1889, Minute Book 1849–89 (I.A., AQ 40/04).

⁶⁹ E.H. Hunt, *Regional Wage Variations in Britain 1850–1914* (Oxford, 1973), p. 80.

West were frequently dire.⁷⁰ However, labourers' (particularly migrant labourers') housing in Guernsey seems to have been scarcely better. Opie's Buildings in St Sampsons, which housed migrant stoneworkers, were described in 1849 as 'filthy in the extreme, ill-ventilated and overcrowded'.⁷¹ Lethbridge's Houses in St Peter Port, whose owner was prosecuted in 1852 for public health offences, were deemed 'rabbit-hutches to which light and air are admitted by the doors alone'.⁷² Yet, as early as 1833 a journeyman could expect to pay 2s a week for lodgings in St Peter Port,⁷³ and, in 1896, for a furnished room of 12-15 square feet, an urban labourer might be charged 4s or 5s.⁷⁴

Staples such as bread and meat also appear to have been dearer, on average, in Guernsey than in England. While local farming folk might be self-sufficient, migrant workers would have had to buy such commodities at the market rate. Most wheat and meat were imported, and the small number of merchants tended to reduce competition and foster a cartel effect. 'The extreme facility, in so small a place, to keep the supply always a little below the demand [has] a constant tendency to raise prices to an artificial level', remarked a traveller in 1846.⁷⁵ A letter to the *Comet* that year deploring the monopoly of grain merchants complained that a 4lb loaf which would have 'sold in England for 6d' cost 9d in Guernsey.⁷⁶

There is little here to inspire migrant workmen with visions of plenty, and this perhaps explains why so many departed the island within a few years of arrival. However, when conditions at home were hard, the mere knowledge that work was, or might be, available would always have prompted some to try their luck. This is particularly so in the case of the breakwater projects in the late 1840s and 1850s. Whilst pull-factors intrinsic to Guernsey probably predominated with Englishmen in classes I and II (and in part with those in class III), push-factors were therefore also very powerful in determining the migration of other groups, particularly in the forties peak.

⁷⁰ See G. Mingay, 'The rural slum', in S. Martin Gaskell, *Slums* (Leicester, 1990), pp. 92–143.

⁷¹ *Comet*, 3.9.1849.

⁷² *Comet*, 14.10.1852.

⁷³ Article on the formation of the 'Provident and District Visiting Society', *Comet*, 14.10.1833.

⁷⁴ Report on 'Le Logement des Pauvres et des Ouvriers', *Baillage*, 16.5.1896.

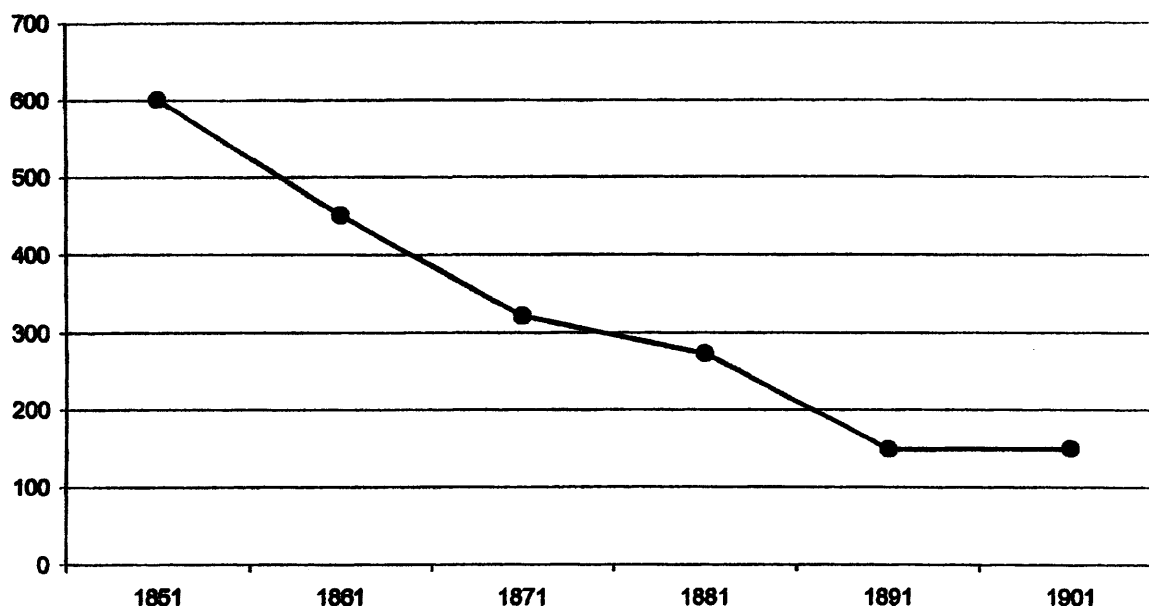
⁷⁵ Anonymous, 'Guernsey – its present state and future prospects', *The Dublin University Magazine*, 28 (1846), p. 627.

⁷⁶ Letter from 'A Friend to the Poor', *Comet*, 31.12.1846.

Irish Immigrants to Guernsey

Church registers bear witness to an Irish presence in Guernsey since at least the eighteenth century. Though Guernsey's trade with Ireland in that century was 'considerable',⁷⁷ most eighteenth-century Irish seem to have come, not on business, but as members of the British army, in whose non-commissioned ranks they were amply represented.⁷⁸ As regards the nineteenth century, only 86 Irishmen were recorded in the 1830 enumeration of migrants in St Peter Port, nearly half of whom described themselves as Chelsea Pensioners. Given the partial nature of the 1830 census, these 86 did not represent the total Irish strength in Guernsey. The number in 1841 was 403.⁷⁹ By 1851, the Irish presence had reached its maximum strength; in this year they numbered 700. In absolute terms, this was a small number, but the Irish nevertheless formed 2.4 percent of Guernsey's population in 1851. This bears comparison with a figure of 2.9 percent for the Irish in England and Wales that same year.⁸⁰ As figure 4.6 shows, the peak was short-lived. Arrivals dropped steeply thereafter, and the Irish dwindled to just 0.78 percent of Guernsey's population in 1901.

Figure 4.6 New Irish arrivals, 1851-1901



⁷⁷ G. Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port 1680-1830: The history of an International Entrepôt* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 38-39.

⁷⁸ It has been calculated that, in 1830, the Irish accounted for as much as 42 percent of non-commissioned ranks in the British army (M.A.G. Ó Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in nineteenth-century Britain: problems of integration', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 31 (1981), p. 155).

⁷⁹ Figures are based on manuscript returns and do not include garrison members.

⁸⁰ Jackson, *Irish in Britain*, p. 11.

The distribution of Irish immigrants among Guernsey's ten parishes is similar to that of the English, in that the majority were always based in town. A handful settled in St Martins and St Andrews, but very few took up their abode in the purely rural parishes. Torteval, for instance, never had a single Irish resident in any census between 1841 and 1901. A more substantial minority settled in the northern quarrying parishes of the Vale and St Sampsons, but at no time did these account for even as much as a quarter of civilian Irish residents, peaking at 23.7 percent of the Irish contingent in 1861.

Irish immigrants did, however, differ significantly from the English in social profile. First, there was a smaller proportion of Irish than English in classes I and II.⁸¹ Second, there was a smaller proportion in class III (even so, numbers were inflated by Chelsea Pensioners: 56 out of 100 new arrivals in class III in 1851). The most noticeable difference in profiles, however, lay in the fact that a significantly greater proportion of Irishmen came from classes IV and V: never less than 40 percent between 1851 and 1871, with a peak of 65 percent in 1861 when the St Peter Port harbour works were in progress. This preponderance of the unskilled and semi-skilled was characteristic of all nineteenth-century Irish migration to Britain.⁸²

In numerical terms, Irish migration to Guernsey was truly significant only in the decade to 1851. This leads us to the conclusion that Irish migration to Guernsey was, at least in some way, associated with the Great Famine, whose effects were felt most strongly in the years between 1845 and 1852.⁸³ It has been estimated that about a million and half people left Ireland 1845-52.⁸⁴ Between 200,000 and 300,000 of these are thought to have settled permanently in Great Britain.⁸⁵ It is clear that the Irish influx to Guernsey was merely a faint ripple from the far-away cataclysm, but it had an impact locally. As early as 1847, newspapers carried anxious reports of the many poor Irish, possibly disease-ridden, 'continually arriving in this island'.⁸⁶

From which parts of Ireland did these refugees come? The 1851 census is not particularly illuminating: only 70 out of the 601 new arrivals gave their county of origin. Again, the St Peter Port removals register preserves the most detailed record.⁸⁷ Of 6,324 named individuals in the register, 896 (14 percent) are Irish. Nearly two-thirds of these arrived between 1847 and 1860; 811 stated their county of origin, and 401 also

⁸¹ The 27 new Irish male migrants in classes I and II in 1851 consisted of 9 ex-military and naval officers, 4 clergymen, 1 schoolmaster, 1 accountant, and sundry 'fundholders' and 'landed proprietors'.

⁸² Ó Tuathaigh, 'Problems of integration', p. 154.

⁸³ For a chronology of the Famine, see C. Ó Gráda, *Black '47 and Beyond* (Princeton, 1999), pp. 37-46.

⁸⁴ G. Davis, *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1914* (Dublin, 1991), p. 10.

⁸⁵ J.S. Donnelly, Jr., *The Great Irish Potato Famine* (Thrupp, 2001), p. 178.

⁸⁶ *Star*, 14.5.1847.

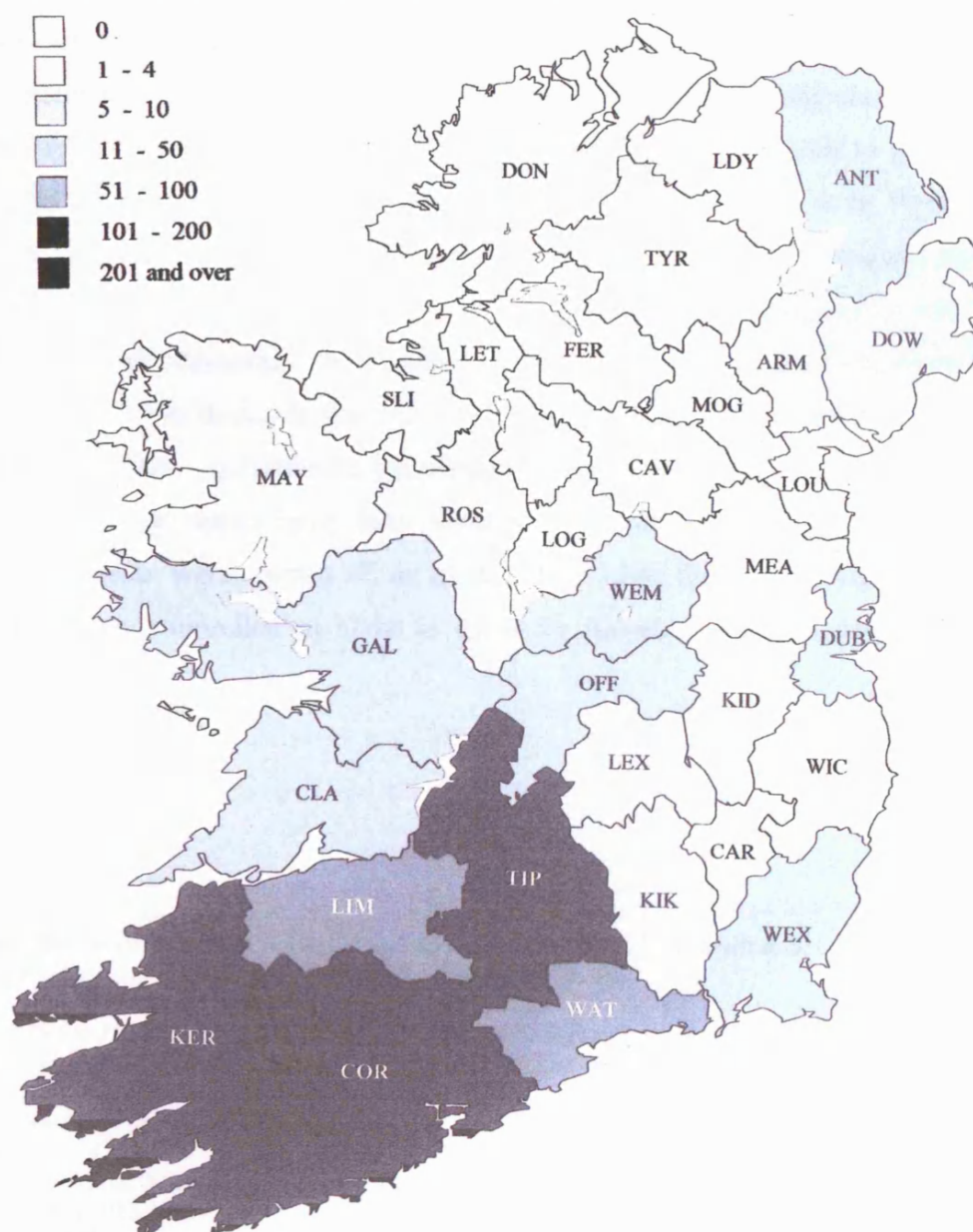
⁸⁷ Register of Persons sent out of the Island (S.P.P. C.O., B13).

gave the name of a town or village. The five most frequently represented counties are set out in table 4.6. Figure 4.7 represents county distribution data graphically.

Table 4.6 Irish deportees by county, St Peter Port removals register, 1842-80

County	Number	Percentage of those for whom county known
Tipperary	158	19.5
Kerry	135	16.7
Cork	124	15.3
Limerick	66	8.1
Waterford	66	8.1

Figure 4.7 Irish birth counties, St Peter Port removals register, 1842-80



The vast majority of Irishmen in Guernsey at mid-century appear to have been from the southern province of Munster. Within this area, certain locations seem to feature disproportionately. Thurles in Tipperary; Lismore in Cork, and Ballylongford and Newtownsandess in Kerry account for more than 30 percent of those who stated a parish. This, again, is strongly suggestive of a chain effect.

This pattern is not typical of famine migration to Britain as a whole, which was dominated by movement from south Ulster, north Connacht and much of the Leinster midlands.⁸⁸ However, it has much in common, in terms of origin, with Irish communities settling in the south west of England.⁸⁹ The province of Munster was the second most seriously affected by the potato blight.⁹⁰ Parts of the province were very poor, with a lower than average ratio of landholders to landless labourers.⁹¹ Long-distance emigrants, such as those to America, tended to be from artisanal or small-farm backgrounds. Most labourers would have lacked the resources to finance an Atlantic crossing.⁹²

Munster lost an estimated 333,000 of its population through migration between 1841 and '51.⁹³ A proportion of these refugees, though lacking the funds to go further afield, would have been able to make the short sea journey from Cork to Plymouth, where work was known to be available (many Irish had already been attracted by the building of the Plymouth breakwater, and work was currently in progress on Millbay Docks).⁹⁴ The Cork Steamship Co. advertised a deck fare of 4s on the Cork-Plymouth route in 1851.⁹⁵ From thence it was but a short step to the Channel Islands to which vessels plied regularly. In Plymouth, knowledge of government construction projects in Jersey and Alderney would have been widespread. Indeed, Guernsey newspapers claimed the projects were known of in Ireland. In 1848 the *Comet* suggested that Irishmen had been 'counselled' at home to leave for Alderney 'with a view to obtain work'.⁹⁶

⁸⁸ Donnelly, *Potato Famine*, p. 182.

⁸⁹ L. Miskell, 'Irish immigrants in Cornwall: the Camborne experience', in R. Swift & S. Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension* (Dublin, 1999), p. 34.

⁹⁰ Connacht was worst affected (Ó Gráda, *Black '47*, p. 110).

⁹¹ Donnelly, *Potato Famine*, pp. 183-184; S.H. Cousens, 'The regional pattern of emigration during the Great Irish Famine, 1846-51', *Transactions and Papers of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28 (1960), pp. 127 & 131.

⁹² Ó Gráda, *Black '47*, pp. 107 & 109.

⁹³ Ó Gráda, *Black '47*, p. 110.

⁹⁴ Brayshay & Pointon, 'Migration and social geography', p. 6.

⁹⁵ *Plymouth Times*, 29.3.1851.

⁹⁶ *Comet*, 24.2.1848.

Allegations of official connivance resurfaced in March 1851 coincident with an upsurge in Irish paupers arriving from Plymouth.⁹⁷ In many parts of Ireland (Thurles in Tipperary being a case in point) distress lasted well into the mid-1850s.⁹⁸ A letter to the *Star* in April 1851 claimed that the Irish authorities had subsidised paupers' passages to the Channel Islands via Plymouth as 'a neat dodge ... to export their vagrant population'.⁹⁹ An article the previous month in *La Chronique de Jersey* had gone as far as alleging direct complicity between Cork and Plymouth to foist paupers on the Channel Islands.¹⁰⁰ Assertions of this type were not unknown elsewhere. As early as 1847, the British government were investigating claims that Irish Relief Committees had used the funds intended for relief to despatch paupers to Britain.¹⁰¹ In this instance, however, the short-term peak in Irish arrivals appears to have been not so much the result of a conspiracy with Cork as the consequence of a policy change on the part of Plymouth Guardians in the early spring of 1851, whereby begging was no longer to be tolerated and Irish paupers reliant on this activity were henceforth to be confined to the workhouse.¹⁰²

Migration from and via other Channel Islands

As in respect of the English, it is difficult to disentangle push-factors forcing people out of Ireland in the late 1840s from pull-factors exerted by the breakwater projects in Jersey and Alderney. Whether so many Irishmen would have come to the Channel Islands had not these projects been in train is unknowable. Both structures (known at the time as 'harbours of refuge', though they remained solitary breakwaters) were built by English civil engineering contractors Jackson and Bean under the auspices of the Admiralty as part of Britain's Channel defences.¹⁰³ Both were begun in 1847; that at Braye, Alderney in January; that at St Catherine's, Jersey in July. Hydrographical problems caused the St Catherine's project to be abandoned in 1855. Work at Braye, however, continued until September 1871, by which time it had cost the British government £1,274,200.¹⁰⁴ At its

⁹⁷ *Chronique de Jersey*, 13.3.1851; *Comet*, 17.3.1851; *Star*, 29.3.1851.

⁹⁸ A. Lanigan, 'The workhouse child in Thurles', in W. Corbett & W. Nolan (eds) *Thurles: the Cathedral Town* (Dublin, 1989), pp. 60 & 63.

⁹⁹ *Star*, 1.4.1851.

¹⁰⁰ *Chronique de Jersey* quoted in *Comet*, 13.3.1851.

¹⁰¹ P. O'Leary, 'A regional perspective on the famine in South Wales', in Swift & Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension*, p. 19.

¹⁰² *Plymouth & Devonport Weekly Journal*, 27.3.1851.

¹⁰³ For the political manoeuvrings that preceded construction, see Davies, *Harbour that Failed*, pp. 19–26, and M.S. Partridge, 'A supplement to the naval defences of Great Britain: harbours of refuge, 1814–1870', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 72 (1986), pp. 17–24.

¹⁰⁴ L.F. Vernon-Harcourt, 'Account of the construction and maintenance of the harbour at Braye Bay, Alderney', *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers*, 27 (1873) pp. 71–73.

height in 1852, the Jersey project employed over 350 men.¹⁰⁵ Alderney, in which island the government also built 13 forts and batteries between 1850 and 1858,¹⁰⁶ employed three or four times that number at the peak of construction in the mid-1850s. In August 1856, the *Comet* reported that, with 700 men engaged on the forts and 1,200 on the breakwater, Alderney's public works employed a total of 1,900.¹⁰⁷

Despite the government's express wish to avoid publicity,¹⁰⁸ news of the commencement of the projects appeared in several South-West newspapers in 1847.¹⁰⁹ Word would have spread fast along navy networks.¹¹⁰ Many workmen (not least labourers made redundant by the collapse of railway building in 1847)¹¹¹ probably travelled to the Islands speculatively. Others were drafted in by the contractors to carry out preparatory work (reports in the *Comet* and *Chronique de Jersey* mention advance parties of 400 and 500 sent to Alderney and Jersey respectively).¹¹²

Alderney

The population of Alderney – just over three square miles in area – more than quadrupled over the breakwater period. It grew from 1,083 in 1841 to a peak of 4,932 in 1861, abating to 2,738 by 1871.¹¹³ The civilian non-native element rose from 182 in 1841 to 2,303 in 1861, dropping back to 718 in 1871. Table 4.7, based on an analysis of the Alderney enumerators' books, ranks civilian non-natives in Alderney in 1851, '61 and '71 by place of origin.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁵ Davies, *Harbour that Failed*, p. 132 (the workforce engaged in construction in Jersey at this time was larger than this would suggest, since a number of other projects, such as the building of St Helier's Albert Pier, were running concurrently).

¹⁰⁶ See T.G. Davenport & C.W. Partridge, *The Victorian Fortification of Alderney* (Liverpool, 1980).

¹⁰⁷ *Comet*, 7.8.1856.

¹⁰⁸ T. Jackson, *Industry Illustrated: a Memoir of Thomas Jackson* (London, 1884), p. 45. See also letter from Consultant Engineer James Walker dated 11.2.1847 attempting to suppress press coverage: 'the works are to be done, not talked of...' (Jersey Archive, D/AP/V/7).

¹⁰⁹ *Poole & Dorsetshire Herald*, 11.2.1847; *Somerset County Herald*, 27.2.1847; *Plymouth & Devonport Weekly Journal*, 7.3.1847; *Dorset County Chronicle*, 23.9.1847.

¹¹⁰ David Brooke tells us that word of mouth was the prevailing mode of navy recruitment, advertising being used only by 'desperate' contractors (D. Brooke, *The Railway Navy* (Newton Abbot, 1983), p. 32).

¹¹¹ Brooke, *Railway Navy*, pp. 7–8, 10.

¹¹² *Comet*, 10.12.1846 & 11.1.1847; *Chronique de Jersey*, 3.7.1847 & 7.7.1847.

¹¹³ P.P. 1844, XXVI; 1861, L; 1873, LXXI. Construction did not officially end until 1871, but the breakwater was completed to its full length of 1,600 yards in 1864. Thereafter work was limited to finishing the superstructure, building up the rubble mound around the base, and repairing breaches caused by winter gales (Vernon-Harcourt, 'Construction and maintenance', p. 67).

¹¹⁴ Alderney also had a substantial garrison – numbering 489 in 1871, for instance (P.P. 1873, LXXI) – but military personnel and their families are excluded from non-native totals for the purposes of this analysis.

Table 4.7 Civilian non-natives in Alderney ranked by place of origin, 1851-71

Origin	1851	Origin	1861	Origin	1871
England	1,083 (50.6%)	England	904 (39.3%)	England	298 (41.5%)
Guernsey	292 (13.6%)	Jersey	359 (15.6%)	Guernsey	112 (15.6%)
Ireland	272 (12.7%)	Guernsey	351 (15.2%)	France	110 (15.3%)
Jersey	193 (9%)	Ireland	298 (12.9%)	Jersey	98 (13.7%)
France	156 (7.3%)	France	280 (12.2%)	Ireland	40 (5.6%)
Scotland	98 (4.6%)	Scotland	71 (3.1%)	Scotland	35 (4.9%)
Sark	14 (0.7%)	Sark	15 (0.7%)	Sark	3 (0.4%)
Total non-natives	2,142		2,303		718

The English formed a consistent majority. Few specified a county, but, of those that did, the Cornish predominated, at least in the early years.¹¹⁵ This coincides with a late-1840s bulge in Cornish removals in the St Peter Port removals register and may be related to unemployment in the tin mining industry post-1847.¹¹⁶ It may also partly have been due to the sourcing of granite for the breakwater in Cornwall. Ships bringing stone from the supply ports of Penzance, Penryn, Falmouth, Par and Looe might have carried a secondary cargo of workmen in search of a job.¹¹⁷

Except in 1861, when Jersey ranked second, the Guernsey contingent was always next most numerous to the English. The breakwater was a useful alternative source of work for Guernsey quarrymen and stoneworkers when conditions at home were unpromising, and the contractors' Guernsey agents, Aubert and Ozanne, seem to have recruited many from the larger island.¹¹⁸ The slight preponderance of Jerseymen in 1861 may reflect the cessation of work on St Catherine's breakwater in the mid-1850s. Of Jersey natives specifying a parish of origin in Alderney's 1861 census, more came from St Martin (where the breakwater was situated) than from Jersey's ten other rural parishes combined.

The Irish, by contrast, never formed much more than 12 percent of the civilian (as distinct from the military) non-native contingent in Alderney censuses, dwindling to a mere 40 in number by 1871. They were exceeded in that year by the French, who had

¹¹⁵ Indirect corroboration for this comes in a report in the *Star*, 29.11.1847, which describes the 40 participants in a drunken brawl at Alderney as 'all Cornishmen'. Correspondence on the incident between the Home Office and Guernsey's Lieutenant-Governor also mentions large numbers of Cornish miners (P.R.O., HO 45/1740).

¹¹⁶ See above, p. 84, footnote 20.

¹¹⁷ These are all ports mentioned in the surviving Contractors' Daybooks: No. 7 (September 1862-June 1865) and No. 9 (July 1868-December 1871) (Alderney Museum, 91/172/226 & 86/140/226).

¹¹⁸ For articles publicising the urgent need for workmen, see *Comet*, 14.1.1847 & 21.1.1847; *Star*, 15.1.1847, 22.1.1847 & 8.2.1847.

always had a presence among the workforce,¹¹⁹ to the extent of arousing official misgivings about the propriety of their involvement in a defence project intended to protect British interests from their government. Guernsey's Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Bell believed, however, that the Frenchmen should stay: 'it is inadvisable to prevent the resort of such aliens to the island', he counselled the Home Secretary in 1849; 'they being contented with lower wages than British subjects'.¹²⁰

Finally, and unusually for the Bailiwick, the Scots also furnished a contingent to the breakwater (98 in 1851). These were in all likelihood part of Jackson and Bean's existing workforce transferred to Alderney at the start of the project, the firm having recently completed a contract for repairs to the Caledonian Canal.¹²¹ The Scots melted away over time (though less rapidly than the Irish), leaving only a rump of 35 in 1871.

Record-linkage reveals that nearly a third of non-natives in the 1861 census had been in Alderney in 1851, and two-thirds of those present in 1871 had been there in 1861. Censuses were taken in spring (late March in 1851; early April in 1861 and '71). It is therefore likely that what we are seeing in these decennial snapshots is the core long-term workforce retained for winter working.¹²² Weather conditions were such, however, that the real push to extend the length of the breakwater was confined to a few weeks between May and September.¹²³ This meant a large summer influx of extra hands, many coming up from Guernsey, which, at the height of construction, easily doubled the workforce. There was, therefore, a constant interchange between the two islands. Figure 4.8 shows arrivals of Alderney natives in Guernsey to have been on a rising trend from 1851, peaking at around 300 twenty years later, and then declining steeply.

¹¹⁹ It is possible that French stonemasons in Alderney travelled on to the island after having been previously engaged on the naval breakwater at nearby Cherbourg, which was finished in 1853 (A. Dupont, *Histoire du Département de la Manche*, 9 vols (Coutances, 1989), 8, p. 135).

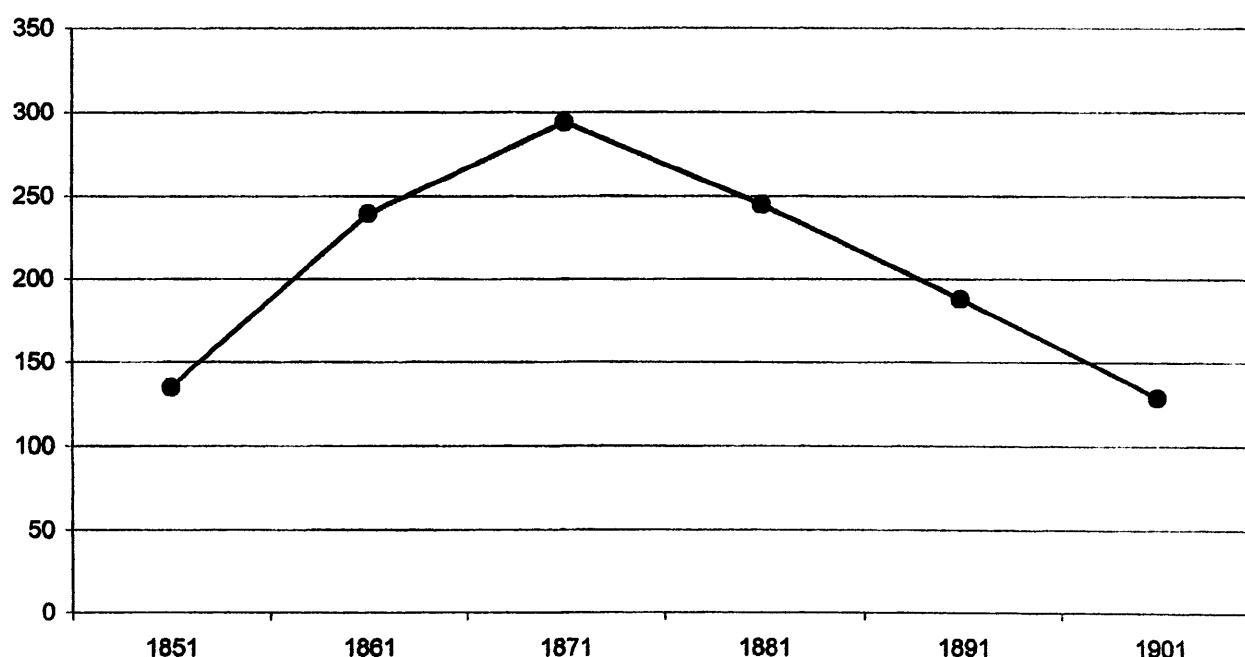
¹²⁰ Sir John Bell to Sir George Grey, 22.1.1849 (P.R.O., HO 452828).

¹²¹ Davies, *Harbour that Failed*, p. 115; Jackson, *Industry Illustrated*, p. 45. See also B.C. De Guerin, 'Scots on Alderney', *Scots Magazine*, 47 (1947), pp. 169–173.

¹²² According to contractors' daybooks, winter activities comprised stone quarrying and dressing; prefabrication of cement blocks; tipping of rubble out to sea for the foundations of the next length to be built, and construction and repair of barges (Daybooks No. 7 & 9, Alderney Museum, 91/172/226 & 86/140/226 (68)).

¹²³ Jackson, *Industry Illustrated*, p. 56.

Figure 4.8 New Alderney-born arrivals, 1851-1901



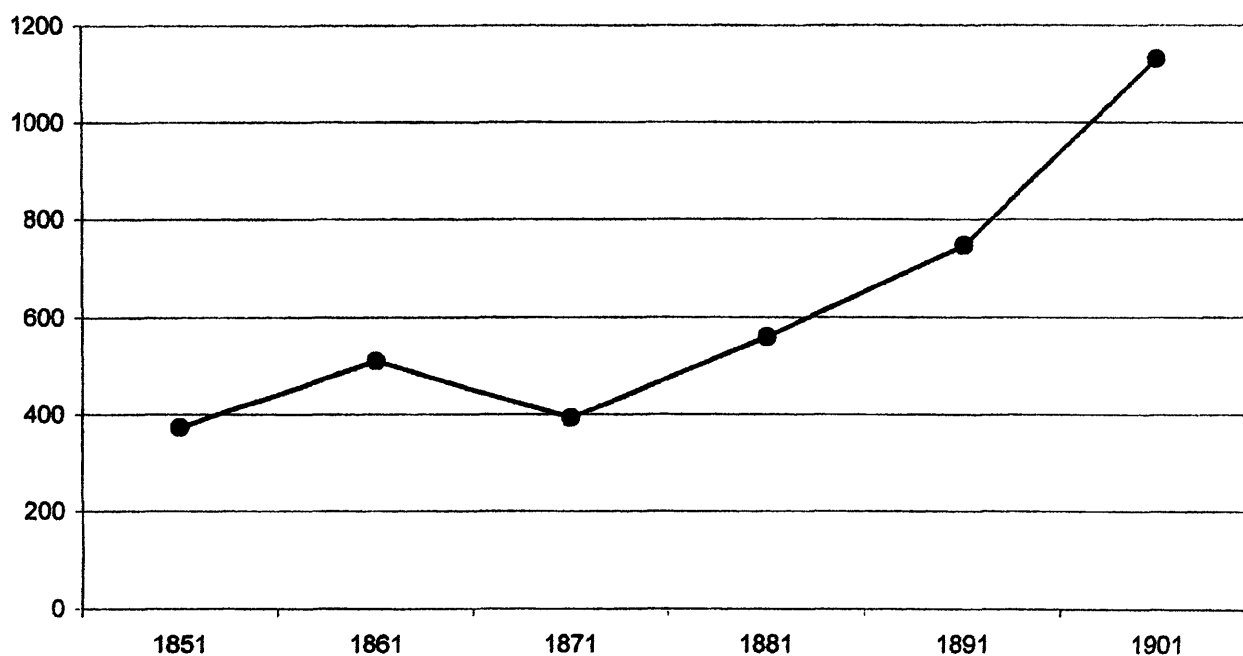
This graph depicts only the arrivals of those actually born in Alderney. Most who came to Guernsey after a spell on the breakwater will have been born in other places and are therefore undetectable, except perhaps by record-linkage. Record-linkage shows that at least 109 of the non-natives in Alderney in 1851 were living in Guernsey ten years later, and 172 of those in Alderney in 1861 were in Guernsey by 1871.¹²⁴ This, however, takes no account of those who came and went in the ten-year intervening gaps, who potentially numbered many more. A hint of far higher numbers of step-migrants to Guernsey initially attracted by Alderney is given by the composition of the Alderney-born cohort in Guernsey: 73 percent of the Alderney-born individuals in the 1861 and 1871 censuses were children aged 17 and under. These children belonged to families forming a cross-section of national groups employed on the breakwater. True numbers of English, Irish and French whose journey to Guernsey was punctuated by a stay in the northern isle will never be known, but the fact that many of the Alderney-born children in the 1861 and '71 censuses were not the offspring of movers recognised through record-linkage suggests that Alderney's role as a stepping-stone should not be underestimated.

¹²⁴ In October 1871, the Alderney authorities petitioned the Home Office for funds to assist ex-breakwater workers to emigrate further afield; the request was declined (P.R.O., MT 10/129).

Jersey

Birthplaces tables in Parliamentary Papers show a declining trend in numbers of natives of 'Guernsey and adjacent islands' resident in Jersey between 1851 and 1901: 1,080 in 1851 compared with 750 a half-century later.¹²⁵ Enumerators' books for Guernsey show a concurrent trend in the opposite direction: 473 Jersey natives in Guernsey in 1851; 1,766 in 1901. The cross-over point came in 1881 when levels were roughly equal. In the next two decades, Bailiwick natives in Jersey continued to dwindle while the total of Jersey-born in Guernsey almost doubled. Figure 4.9 shows that, after a low start in 1851, arrivals peaked briefly in 1861, dipped in 1871 and then climbed steadily to 1901.

Figure 4.9 New Jersey-born arrivals, 1851-1901



Following spectacular growth in the first half of the nineteenth century, Jersey's population declined after 1851. John Kelleher has calculated substantial losses through emigration in every decade between 1851 and 1901.¹²⁶ The loss in 1851-61 alone was 5,442. Some of this must have been due to the cessation of work on St Catherine's breakwater and other Jersey construction projects. Part of the workforce from Jersey's Albert Pier was transferred to Guernsey in 1853 when the contractors, Le Gros and De La Mare, were awarded the contract for the remodelling of St Peter Port harbour.¹²⁷ The

¹²⁵ 1852-53, LXXXVIII; 1903, LXXXIV.

¹²⁶ J.D. Kelleher, *The Triumph of the Country: The Rural Community in Nineteenth-Century Jersey* (Jersey, 1994), p.196.

¹²⁷ See *Star*, 28.5.1853 for an account of the arrival of the Jersey workmen and their families.

number of Jersey-born people in Guernsey at the 1861 peak was only 667, but, if Dr Kelleher is correct in his assessment that much of Jersey's loss was made up of 'artisans of non-local origin and their families',¹²⁸ most of those relocating to Guernsey would not show up in the census as Jerseymen. As in the case of Alderney, a high proportion of new arrivals from Jersey in 1861 were children aged 17 and under (51 percent), many of them accompanied by non-Jersey parents. While the larger proportion of Jersey's post-1851 exodus doubtless went further afield, bare numbers of Jerseymen in the 1861 census should be viewed as merely the tip of the iceberg in terms of inflow from Jersey.

This, of course, casts no light on the steep increase in arrivals from Jersey between 1871 and the end of the century. The States of Guernsey Stranger Register, opened in 1892, contains the details of 523 Jersey-born adults.¹²⁹ These are, however, outnumbered to the extent of about ten percent by Jersey-born minors entering Guernsey as dependants of French adults. This suggests that the upsurge in natives of Jersey in late nineteenth-century Guernsey censuses was less a manifestation of the migration of Jerseyfolk proper as of the step-migration of French people via Jersey. It will therefore be examined in the final section of this chapter, which deals with the French.

Sark

The population of Sark, with an area of only two square miles, hovered at around 550 for most of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The year 1841 alone was aberrant, with a total of 785. A study of Guernsey returns between 1851 and 1901 shows small but growing numbers of Sarkese in Guernsey: 102 in 1851 rising to 215 in 1901. Throughout the nineteenth century, Guernsey-based Sarkese formed a significant proportion of total Sarkese in the Bailiwick. The 215 Sarkese in Guernsey in 1901 equate to 43 percent of the population of Sark itself in that year.

The fact that Sark's population remained stable while so many of its natives relocated to Guernsey was due essentially to its system of landholding and inheritance which was unique in the Bailiwick. When, after a period of abandonment, Helier De Carteret resettled Sark from Jersey under Letters Patent from Elizabeth I in 1565, the land was divided into 40 farms. A second Patent, granted by James I, declared these farms indivisible, descending intact to the eldest son (or daughter, if there were no male heirs). Consequently, as a nineteenth-century commentator observed, 'excepting the eldest son, all the other members of a family are debarred from matrimony, from the

¹²⁸ Kelleher, *Triumph*, p. 199.

¹²⁹ I.A., AQ 25-01. For the background to this register, see below, pp. 109–11.

want of means and the want of houses'.¹³⁰ Therefore, 'instead of remaining vegetating as dependents on their elder brethren, [they seek] trades or situations in the neighbouring islands, leaving their own prosperous and contented'.¹³¹

The aberrant population of 785 in 1841 was caused by a silver mining venture active between 1835 and 1845.¹³² At its height, the enterprise employed 70 or 80 islanders and a much larger number of miners drafted in from England. The 1841 census shows a non-native contingent of 173 (22 percent of total population), based for the most part in Little Sark, where the mines were located. The mining operation seems to have been staffed by experienced workmen brought from Cornwall by the managers of the enterprise who also had interests in Cornish mines.¹³³ The Cost Book of the Guernsey & Sark Mining Co. shows regular disbursements for the transport of men to and from Cornwall.¹³⁴ By 1845, the venture had ended in failure, 'a profitless speculation to all who have embarked their capital therein'.¹³⁵ Record-linkage identifies just 12 of Sark's 1841 non-native population in Guernsey ten years on, with a further 14 in Alderney. Although leakage to Guernsey might have occurred at any time in the venture's decade of activity, it would appear that the majority of Cornish imports, when no longer needed, returned via the channels through which they came. Onward migration to Guernsey resulting from the mining episode seems therefore to have been relatively insignificant.

Herm

This island has an area of just half a square mile, and, although it was inhabited throughout the nineteenth century, it never supported a population of much more than 50. Like Sark, however, it had a short-lived population upsurge: the census of 1831 shows a total of 177 inhabitants.¹³⁶ The reasons for this also echo those in Sark. Col. John Lindsay, an aristocratic but impecunious Scotsman, acquired the lease of Herm in 1815 and decided to re-open granite quarries which had lain abandoned for some time.¹³⁷ Although Lindsay (for the most part an absentee landlord) appears to have promoted his product enthusiastically in London, the business only gained momentum after it was

¹³⁰ G.W. James, *The Sark Guide* (Guernsey, 1845), p. 108.

¹³¹ F.F. Dally, *An Essay on the Agriculture of the Channel Islands* (Guernsey, 1860), p. 23.

¹³² N. d'A. Laffoley, 'A history of mining on Sark and Herm, Channel Islands', *Bulletin of the Peak District Mines Historical Society*, 9 (1985), pp. 201–218; A.E. Mourant & J.P. Warren, 'Minerals and mining in the Channel Islands', *T.S.G.*, 12 (1933), pp. 73–76.

¹³³ The import of labour extended even to bal maidens: mine captain Nicholas Vivian's report to the Guernsey & Sark Mining Company directors, reproduced in the *Comet*, 27.2.1837, announced 'I shall send over women acquainted with dressing, that will engage to learn the Sark women how to dress the ores'.

¹³⁴ I.A., SG 000791 10/88.

¹³⁵ *Comet*, 13.12.1847.

¹³⁶ *Billet d'Etat*, 6.10.1831.

¹³⁷ S.K. Kellett-Smith, 'Quarrying and mining on Herm and Jethou', *T.S.G.*, 17 (1961), pp. 246–247.

joined in 1824 by the 25 year-old London barrister and Lindsay's future son-in-law, Jonathan Duncan. Thereafter it operated successfully for several years, supplying stone to various metropolitan projects: London and Blackfriars Bridges; Commercial Road and Somerstown; the East and West India Dock Roads.¹³⁸

While Lindsay was in charge, Aberdeen was the preferred recruitment ground for quarrymen and stone-dressers, and a number of these were sent down by Lindsay's contacts in Scotland.¹³⁹ Figure 4.10 (overleaf) shows a copy of the elaborate printed contract Lindsay required his Aberdonians to sign. Frenchmen were also recruited in the early 1820s.¹⁴⁰ Lindsay's son and representative in Herm, John Colebrooke Cooper, had previously suggested to his father (apparently in vain) that it might be more cost-effective to recruit skilled workmen from Haytor in Devon rather than Aberdeen.¹⁴¹ When Lindsay died in 1826, Jonathan Duncan seems to have pursued this policy with vigour. On several occasions in the late '20s, the St Peter Port Register of Passengers Landed records the arrival of parties of 'quarriers for Herm' brought from Plymouth 'by order of Mr Duncan'.¹⁴²

In the long term, however, the enterprise failed to thrive, and, by 1837, Duncan was bankrupt. Five years on, Herm's population had shrunk to its usual level, standing at just 38 in the 1841 census. There was a brief resurgence in quarrying in the late 1860s and early '70s during the tenancy of Lt.-Col. M.J. Fielden. This, however, seems to have been staffed from Guernsey to a greater extent than the Lindsay/Duncan venture (only 28 out of the 1871 population of 83 were from England).¹⁴³ Numbers of migrants to Guernsey arriving via Herm in the earlier era must remain unknown, but, given the size of Herm's quarrying venture at its height, they are unlikely to be large. A certain amount of leakage is likely to have taken place between 1824 and 1836, with workmen forsaking Herm before and after the closure of the enterprise for occupations in St Peter Port.¹⁴⁴ Some of the 27 Scots in the 1830 migrants census might therefore well have had a Herm connection.

¹³⁸ For a full list of projects using Herm granite, see Kellett-Smith, 'Quarrying on Herm', p.263.

¹³⁹ See correspondence concerning Scottish recruits between Lindsay and his Aberdeen agent, O'Connor, dated 30.3.1824 & 28.4.1824 (East Kent Archives, EK/U471 C136).

¹⁴⁰ John Cooper to Lindsay, 15.8.1825 (East Kent Archives, EK/U471 C135).

¹⁴¹ Cooper to Lindsay, 20.1.1826 (East Kent Archives, EK U471 C135).

¹⁴² See entries for 23.9.1828, 28.9.1828 & 10.10.1828, Register of Passengers Landed (S.P.P. C.O., B31).

¹⁴³ 1871 enumerator's book.

¹⁴⁴ My great-great-great grandfather, for instance – John Whitehair, a Cornish wheelwright – was brought to Herm by Duncan in 1828, but soon relocated to St Peter Port, where he exercised his trade till the 1860s.

Figure 4.10 Contract for Aberdonian quarrymen recruited for Herm, 1824¹⁴⁵

I
(**years of age, now or lately in the employment of**

at) professing to be a well experienced
workman in the several branches of Quarrying, Stone Converting, and
Mason work, herein under specified, do hereby engage to Contract with
the Hon. Colonel JOHN LINDSAY, proprietor of the Island of Herm, in the
British Channel, to exert myself, to the utmost of my skill and ability, in
the above-mentioned capacities, for the term of to
be computed from the time of my arrival on the said Island, to which place
I do hereby engage to proceed, when called upon to do so in his name,
by such person as is or may be authorised to act for him at Aberdeen.

And I do hereby further consent and engage to deport myself there with invariable sobriety and industry, and likewise with good temper and civility, and that my disturbing the quiet and comfort of those with whom I may associate there, shall subject me to dismissal, on not less than three months notice thereof;—that as the nature of the employment will require the workmen to be sometimes employed upon day work, and sometimes upon task or piece work, I do hereby engage to be conformable in that and all other respects to the orders of the said proprietor, or his successor or successors, or those who from time to time may be appointed to act in his or their name, and with his or their authority;—and, as at certain times heavy falls of rain, or other causes, might occasion considerable loss of time and wages, if not provided against; I do hereby consent and engage to co-operate in the performance of spade husbandry, and such other agricultural employments as may be required of me under such circumstances by my employer or employers, or his or their representatives, as aforesaid.

And I do further engage to abstain, during the period of this Contract from working or employing any part of my time, in any way whatever, for pay or emolument from any person whatever, in or upon any of the neighbouring Islands, under forfeiture of a penalty of £10 for every such offence.

I do also engage to instruct two lads as apprentices, who may be placed under my direction, in any branches of work I may be employed in on the said Island.

And I do further hereby engage to perform the aforesaid services, and to conform to the aforesaid rules, and such other services and rules as are or hereafter may be there established, for the common government of the community, on condition that I shall be paid for such parts of my labour as come under the denomination of task or piece work, at the same rate as such work is paid for in the county of Aberdeen; upholding my own Tools when dressing, by the foot, at Aberdeen prices; but if employed upon Causeway, at Aberdeen prices, 7 ton, the Tools to be upheld at the expense of the proprietor; and that whilst I may be so employed on task or piece work, deductions shall be made from my earnings at the rate of Seven Shillings 7 week, for my bed and board; that my pay for day work shall be at the rate specified in the margin; and that the remainder of what may be due to me from time to time, shall be regularly paid to me every three months.

The following are the branches of Quarrying and Stone Converting in which I profess to be completely experienced, and perfectly qualified to work :

¹⁴⁵ East Kent Archives, EK/U471 C136/60.

French Immigration to Guernsey

The wars following William III's coronation in 1689 to some extent impeded the everyday intercourse with Normandy and Brittany fostered by Guernsey's proximity to the French coast. However, this period also saw a fair amount of French migration to Guernsey: Huguenots 1685-1727, and *émigrés* fleeing the 1789 Revolution. However, although some Huguenots settled, *émigrés* taking up permanent residence were few.¹⁴⁶ In 1815, after more than a century of Anglo-French warfare, Thomas Quayle could say with some justification, 'at this day, all intercourse of the islands with that ill-fated nation is completely cut off: former friendships and connections have passed away'.¹⁴⁷

These connections did not, however, take long to reinstate themselves after the Peace. In 1817, a newspaper complained that, though there was local unemployment, islanders preferred to claim relief than work on the roads for wages as low as those accepted by Frenchmen.¹⁴⁸ The Ordinance of 4 December 1830, which led to the census of migrants, was partly prompted by fears that France's July Revolution would cause an exodus from neighbouring shores. 'It is probable that many of the persons attached to Charles X of France and who may be afraid to remain in that country will resort to these Islands', Lieutenant-Governor John Ross warned Home Secretary Robert Peel in August 1830.¹⁴⁹ Commenting on the Ordinance six years later, the *Guernsey & Jersey Magazine* claimed that it owed its existence to Frenchmen 'flocking over to Guernsey in shoals'.¹⁵⁰ Given that only 104 of 1,039 on the 1830 list of non-native adult males in town were French, this claim seems overblown. A year later, however, the government-sponsored census of 1831 recorded the number of town-based French nationals as 446 (305 males and 141 females), some 3 percent of the urban population.¹⁵¹

Three-quarters of the Frenchmen in the 1830 enumeration came from the Norman *département* of La Manche, many from villages on the northern and western coasts of the Cotentin peninsula, just a few miles across the water (see figure 4.11). They fell into three main occupational groups: a majority were recorded simply as labourers, and there were roughly equal numbers of artisans (notably braziers and grinders) and unspecified merchants and shopkeepers. Very few of these figured again in the 1841 census, and it seems likely that most were just passing through.

¹⁴⁶ Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, pp. 86–89.

¹⁴⁷ T. Quayle, *General View of the Agriculture and Present State of the Islands on the Coast of Normandy* (London, 1815), p. 222.

¹⁴⁸ *Gazette*, 22.3.1817.

¹⁴⁹ Major-General John Ross to Sir Robert Peel, 7.8.1830 (P.R.O., HO 98/51).

¹⁵⁰ *Guernsey & Jersey Magazine*, 2 (1836), pp. 127–128.

¹⁵¹ S.P.P. C.O., B44.

Figure 4.11 Norman birthplaces, 1830 enumeration of migrants in St Peter Port



Much of the labour for the building projects of the 1820s and '30s came from France, and as late as 1846, an article in the *Star* stated that Frenchmen performed in Guernsey 'the work which Irishmen do in England'.¹⁵² Basse-Normandie was experiencing considerable demographic pressure in the 1830s. The region had a population density of 70-85 inhabitants per km², which was substantially higher than the average for France as a whole, and declined only after 1846.¹⁵³ Subsistence agriculture was the norm, and, for many, temporary migration was a vital aid to survival.¹⁵⁴

In the early nineteenth century, Basse Normandie retained a wide range of rural industries: textiles, leather, basketry and metalwork (Villedieu-les-Poêles in the Cotentin was a production centre for cookware used throughout France).¹⁵⁵ The hawking of these products occupied Norman *colporteurs* several months each year, and the Islands were on their routes.¹⁵⁶ Guernsey received artisanal goods of this type from France for much of the nineteenth century. A return of imports for 1847 divides commodities from 'ale' to 'zinc' into two categories: 'from Great Britain' and 'from foreign states'.¹⁵⁷ In all but a few known cases, such as timber and grain, the latter generally signified France. Many goods were sourced from both countries, but sophisticated manufactured products such as pumps, furnaces and agricultural machinery came exclusively from Britain. Conversely, France had a monopoly of homelier articles: wooden spoons and frying pans came from France. It was from France also that Guernsey sourced most of its meat and fresh produce. The 1847 return informs us that 7,366 sheep and 1,447 bullocks came from 'foreign states', contrasted with 231 sheep and 46 bullocks from Britain.¹⁵⁸ Overall, the volume of French imports declined as the century progressed.¹⁵⁹ However, French primacy in perishables continued until the 1880s, when fears of foot-and-mouth disease closed the Islands to French farm produce.¹⁶⁰ As late as the 1890s most baskets used as containers for Guernsey's tomato exports still came from France.¹⁶¹

¹⁵² *Star*, 22.1.1846.

¹⁵³ W.B. Fish, *Les Mouvements de Population en Basse-Normandie, 1821-1936* (Alençon, 1940), pp. 8, 99.

¹⁵⁴ Fish, *Basse-Normandie*, pp. 51-52, 104.

¹⁵⁵ *Poêle* = frying pan.

¹⁵⁶ We are told, for instance, that half the leather goods made in Avranches in the early nineteenth century were destined for the Islands (Dupont, *Département de la Manche*, 9, p. 123).

¹⁵⁷ P.R.O., HO 98/88.

¹⁵⁸ Some cattle were, however, also imported from Spain in mid-century (S. Foote, 'Guernsey butchers and the nineteenth-century meat trade – Part 2', *Quarterly Review of the Guernsey Society*, 57 (2001), p. 70).

¹⁵⁹ Chamber of Commerce minutes compare French imports worth £132,939 for the year ending 30 June 1860 with £239,730 worth of imports from Britain (G.C.C. Special meeting 28 January 1861, Minute Book 1849-89, I.A. AQ 40/04).

¹⁶⁰ M. Monteil, 'Relations et échanges entre la France et les Iles Anglo-Normandes de la fin du XIX^e au milieu du XX^e' (unpub. thèse de Doctorat, Université d'Aix-Marseille 1, 2000), p. 65.

¹⁶¹ See *Guernseyman*, 12.11.1892 and *Comet*, 17.5.1892 for 'enormous numbers' of baskets from France.

Temporal and spatial distribution of French migration

After the English, French migrants ranked equal second with those from Jersey as regards cohort strength, but, in the 60 years 1841-1901, their total numbers amounted to little more than a fifth of English numbers. The French contingent did, however, increase as the English declined. Growth in French numbers was initially minimal but jumped by nearly 30 percent between 1871 and 1881, thereafter continuing to rise fairly steeply to 1901, by which year they accounted for five percent of Guernsey's population. Figure 4.12 shows changes in numbers of French people arriving in the island in each decade 1851-1901.

Figure 4.12 New French arrivals, 1851-1901

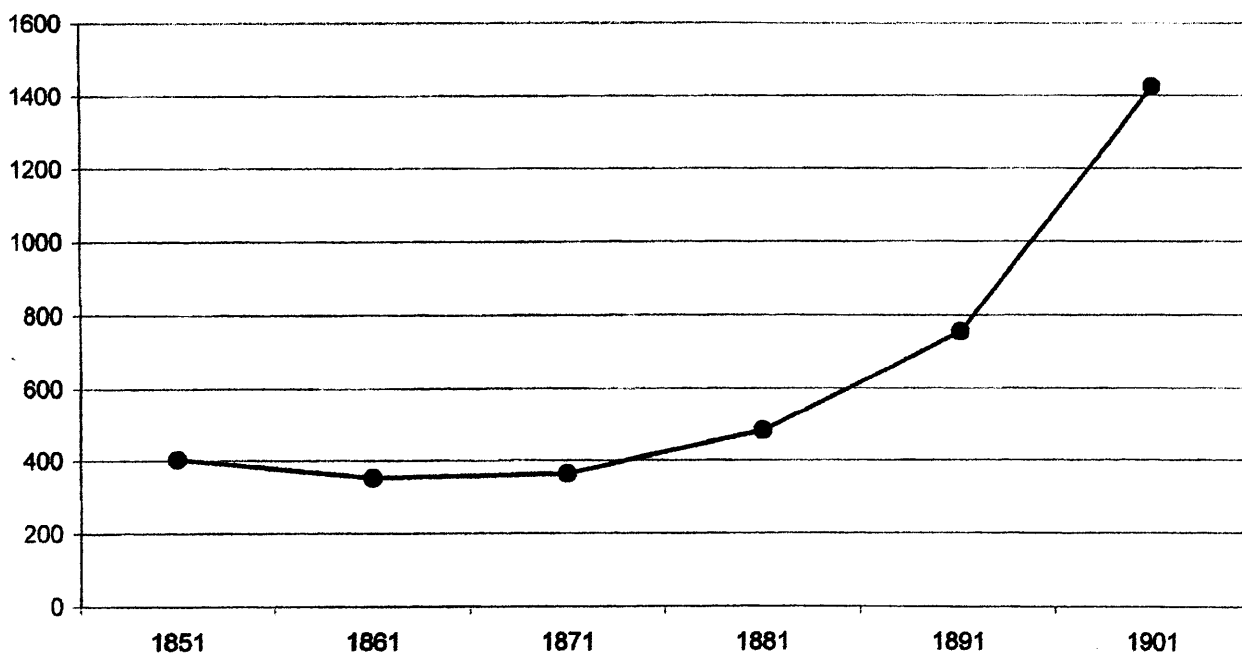


Table 4.8 demonstrates that, though a handful of French worked in the countryside (mainly as farm servants), most were town-based until 1871. Thereafter, the proportion in St Peter Port diminished as that in the other nine parishes rose. By 1901, a majority of French lived in parishes other than St Peter Port. This was not the case for the English and Irish. The percentage of French in the purely rural parishes rose from 11.4 percent in 1841 to 22.5 percent in 1901, but the proportion in St Sampsons and the Vale rose faster and higher, so that, by 1901, the French formed the single largest migrant group in the northern parishes.

Table 4.8 Distribution of French immigrants by parish, 1841-1901

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Total French	473	529	534	567	737	1,050	1,846
% St Peter Port	85.4	83.7	77.5	69.8	66.6	57.3	42.6
% St Sampsons & Vale	3.2	4	13.5	19.3	20.6	25.2	34.9
% country parishes	11.4	12.3	9	10.9	12.8	17.5	22.5

Social profile of French migration

By 1841, retailing and wholesaling activities of various kinds vied with labouring as the main occupier of the French. Dealing accounted for about a quarter of the small number of French in town in 1841, and not one adult French male was employed in quarrying. By 1871, however, dealing had diminished in importance, and the stone trade became the foremost employer of French males, alternating with agriculture in first or second position in all three censuses between 1881 and 1901. As regards these later French migrants, the censuses are poor sources of social and occupational data compared with the infinitely more detailed Stranger Register. The remainder of this section will therefore concentrate on information from this source.

States of Guernsey Stranger Register

The States Stranger Register was set up by Ordinance of 25 April 1892 to record details of non-natives 'not in possession of real property and occupying apartments with a weekly rental of less than 3s 6d or houses with an annual rental of less than £7'.¹⁶² The penalty for non-registration was not less than £2 to the individual concerned and an equal sum to any employer found hiring him. The establishment of the register coincided with the States' assumption of financial responsibility for stranger poor relief and removal. In a report to the Home Office, States Supervisor Nicholas Domaille stated that compulsory registration had been introduced in order to protect the States 'against imposition and fraud'.¹⁶³

The register is rich in information. As figure 4.13 shows, persons registering were obliged to provide information on their occupation, birthplace (and, from March 1893, birthdate), their place of last residence and date of arrival in Guernsey, as well as

¹⁶² I.A., AQ 25-01. An Ordinance of 22 April 1895, which replaced that of 1892, removed references to rental value and imposed the obligation to register on 'tout laboureur, ouvrier, or domestique étranger présentement dans l'île ... ou arrivant dans l'île pour y gagner sa vie'.

¹⁶³ States Supervisor to Home Office, 23.9.1895 (P.R.O., HO 45/9900/B19091).

the full names and birthplaces of any dependants (including wife's maiden name). On completion of registration, strangers were issued with certificates to prove that they had accomplished this formality. Between April 1892 and July 1914, 5,049 such certificates were issued. The register ends just before World War I.

Some certificates appear to have been issued to single individuals registering on different occasions.¹⁶⁴ Others were issued to Guernsey-born people of non-native parentage who had not acquired a settlement. After removing the Guernsey-born and reappearances, we are left with the names of 4,840 persons whose years of arrival span 1833-1914 (registrations could be retrospective). Of these, 3,194 were French.¹⁶⁵ We shall focus exclusively on the French people who arrived between 1892 and 1914.

A total of 2,769 French people were issued with certificates 1892-1914, of which 84 percent were men and 16 percent women. More than 40 percent of males were accompanied by dependants, though only 4 percent of females. Between them, the 2,769 French certificate-holders had 5,324 named dependants, including 4,397 children. Information is thus available on 8,093 French migrants between 1892 and 1914.

The average annual number of French registrations in that period was 123, with a high of 289 in the first year and a low of 24 in 1910. The register was intended only to record details of people in the lowest social strata, but even so, it is hard to believe that only 24 French workmen came to the island in 1910. Moreover, the fact that 60 percent of all registrations occurred within eight years of the register's opening would suggest a growing disinclination to register. There were few prosecutions under the law, and opinion in official quarters was that it was 'more honoured in the breach than in the observance'.¹⁶⁶ Whatever the case, information is available on sufficient numbers to elucidate certain trends, and evidence from the censuses suggests that the register's concentration on lower social strata does not render it unrepresentative of the bulk of late nineteenth-century French migration. Of new French arrivals traced through record-linkage in the census of 1901, 93 percent were in social classes III or lower, with 57 percent in classes IV and V alone.

¹⁶⁴ This is indicative of the temporary nature of much French migration and corroborated by the censuses: some two-thirds of new French arrivals in 1881 and 1891 had left the island by the following census.

¹⁶⁵ A further 820 were English, Welsh or Scots; 523 were from Jersey; 74 from Ireland, and the rest mainly from Alderney and Sark.

¹⁶⁶ Medical Officer of Health's Report for 1907 (*Billet d'Etat*, 8.7.1908).

Number of Children	NAME IN FULL	OCCUPATION	BIRTHPLACE	Last Residence	Date of Arrival	Name in full of Wife and Children	Birthplace of Wife and Children
228	Sullivan John	Householder	Jersey	Jersey	5 th June 1890	Wife Elizabeth Dwyer Child John William	Jersey Briarley
229	Le Gallie Pierre Marie	Miner	Les Landes cant. de Bourgueil arr. de Bourgueil dep. Gironde	France	31 st July 1891		
230	Gilard François	Laborer	Bourgueil cant. de la Roche-Maurice arr. de Bourgueil dep. Gironde	Jersey	September 1891	Wife Anne Marie Leguillot	Bourgueil cant. de la Roche-Maurice arr. de Bourgueil dep. Gironde
231	Moran François	Laborer	Port-Melroy cant. de Bourgueil arr. de Bourgueil dep. Gironde	Port-Melroy	8 th June 1892	Wife Marie Françoise Le Goff Child Marie	Port-Melroy Port-Melroy
232	Le Goff Guillaume	Laborer	Port-Melroy cant. de Bourgueil arr. de Bourgueil dep. Gironde	Port-Melroy	8 th June 1892	Children Françoise Marie Anne Marie	Port-Melroy
233	Bénigne François	Laborer	Port-Melroy cant. de Bourgueil arr. de Bourgueil dep. Gironde	Port-Melroy	8 th June 1892		
234	Jégo Pierre	Laborer	Port-Melroy cant. de Bourgueil arr. de Bourgueil dep. Gironde	Port-Melroy	8 th June 1892	Wife Marie Anne Children Katherine Jean François	Port-Melroy Port-Melroy

Figure 4.13 Facsimile page, States Stranger Register, 1892-1914

Age at time of arrival is available for 2,109 of post-1892 French certificate-holders. Migrants were typically young adults: 47 percent fall into the 20-29 bracket. Nearly 40 percent of the 2,437 individuals for whom an occupation is recorded appear merely as 'labourers'. A further 11 percent are assigned to agricultural occupations of various sorts. After 1895, French people were required to present their *livret de famille* when registering.¹⁶⁷ Occupational details appear to have been copied directly from these. *Laboureur* in French does not equate straightforwardly to 'labourer'. The word denotes a 'ploughman' or 'tiller', and could also be applied to farmers (in the eighteenth century, the term had been used to designate better-off peasants who possessed their own ploughs). There are grounds for believing that many incidences of 'labourer' in the register are clerical mistranslations of the term *laboureur* appearing in migrants' *livrets*, and that small farmers accounted for at least a proportion of the so-called 'labourers', reflecting the wide spectrum of Breton peasantry forced off the land at this time.

The register provides one very valuable piece of information rarely available to students of migration, namely migrants' prior whereabouts. It was noted in the section on migration via other Channel Islands that the Stranger Register contained a greater number of Jersey-born children belonging to French migrants than it did of adult migrants born in Jersey.¹⁶⁸ Closer to France and with a land area almost twice that of Guernsey,¹⁶⁹ Jersey attracted more French migrants than Guernsey for most of the nineteenth century. In 1901, the total for Jersey was 6,011, compared with Guernsey's 1,846.¹⁷⁰ A large proportion of these Frenchmen were temporary migrants, attracted by (and indispensable to) the harvest of the early potatoes which were the staple of Jersey's economy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁷¹ Arrival dates recorded in the Stranger Register reveal seasonal trends. Registrations were at a low ebb in December, January and February. They rose markedly in March, and reached their peak in July, the height of the tomato-picking season. In May, when potato-digging was in full swing in Jersey, Guernsey registrations showed a fall. The fact that there was a drop in French arrivals when Jersey potato-digging was at its height, and a rise in June and July when digging was over, might suggest that a proportion of potato-diggers were simply travelling on to Guernsey to pick tomatoes once the potato harvest was at an end.

¹⁶⁷ Ordinance of 22 April 1895.

¹⁶⁸ See above, p. 101.

¹⁶⁹ Jersey measures 116.2 km², Guernsey 63.6 km².

¹⁷⁰ Jersey figure from P.P. 1903, LXXXIV; Guernsey figure based on manuscript returns.

¹⁷¹ P. Galichet, *Le Fermier de l'île de Jersey* (Paris, 1912), pp. 44-47; Monteil, 'Relations et échanges', pp. 136-144.

Was the French presence in Guernsey just a spin-off from French migration to Jersey, or did Guernsey attract French migrants as a primary destination in its own right?

In providing details of certificate-holders' last residence, the Stranger Register enables us to come to a view. That many of the 2,769 primary migrants who arrived after 1892 had connections with Jersey is beyond doubt. Jersey had been the last residence of 1,072 of them, and a further 26 who had not come directly from the larger island were accompanied by children born there. These two categories together account for 39.7 percent of French migrants. For all that, however, and perhaps surprisingly, an even greater proportion had come direct from France and had no apparent links with Jersey whatsoever, amounting in this case to 1,619, or 58.5 percent.

From precisely where in France did these migrants come? Again, the Stranger Register supplies data unavailable in the censuses. Birthplaces, often obtained from applicants' *livrets*, are usually very precise and include details of *canton*, *commune*, *arrondissement* and *département*. The register provides such data for a total of 4,741 post-1892 French migrants (2,769 certificate-holders and 1,972 dependants). A total of 79 *départements* are represented, encompassing virtually the whole of France, as well as such overseas possessions as Algeria and Martinique. The majority (89 percent), however, come either from Normandy (19 percent) or Brittany (70 percent). Within these two regions, the *départements* which figure most frequently are La Manche (16 percent) and Les Côtes-du-Nord, which latter alone accounts for 54 percent of all post-1892 French migrants for whom data are available.¹⁷²

Figure 4.14 shows that the greatest number of migrants came from the district of Trégor in the north-west of the Les Côtes-du-Nord. This area lay to the west of the linguistic frontier identified in 1886 by the ethnologist Paul Sébillot.¹⁷³ This leads to the conclusion that a significant minority of French migrants (though perhaps not a majority) would have been Breton-speaking.¹⁷⁴ There were other important concentrations, notably around the quarrying centres of Erquy and Pléherel on the north-east coast, and at certain specific places well inland, such as Ploeuc and Pont-Melvez, which each accounted for over 100 migrants in the years 1892-1914. This, as with English and Irish migration, is suggestive of a highly localised chain effect.

¹⁷² Les Côtes-du-Nord are today known as Les Côtes-d'Armor.

¹⁷³ F. Broudic, *A la Recherche de la Frontière: la Limite Linguistique entre Haute et Basse-Bretagne aux XIX^e et XX^e Siècles* (Brest, 1995), pp. 46-48, 135-136.

¹⁷⁴ 'Many are conversant solely with the Breton dialect', observed the *Comet*, 21.10.1891.

Push- or pull-factors?

Guernsey saw an upturn in its economic fortunes after the 1870s as horticulture took on new commercial vitality. Emigration nevertheless continued apace, an average of over 5,000 per decade leaving in each of the three decades 1871-1901. In a departure from the nineteenth-century norm, 1891-1901 saw more natives leaving than non-natives.¹⁷⁵ Yet immigration from France was on a rising trend. In 1913 the *Star* contrasted 'the stream of emigration carrying away the best of our young people' with the 'steady influx of aliens of the worst class'.¹⁷⁶ The jobs the French stepped in to do were often those least attractive to natives. 'Les Français sont les parias de Guernesey', a Frenchman observed in 1911; 'à eux incombent les ouvrages que, dans le Nouveau-Monde, on donnait aux nègres'.¹⁷⁷ Many French were employed in the granite industry, but a large proportion worked casually as stone-crackers rather than at skilled trades; 57 of 103 adult French males in the stone sector described themselves as 'crackers' in 1891. This was unglamorous work, despised by those who could aspire to better and left to a marginalised minority. As figure 4.15 illustrates, French women also cracked stone.¹⁷⁸

Figure 4.15 French female stonecrackers, c. 1900¹⁷⁹



¹⁷⁵ See above, p. 54.

¹⁷⁶ *Star*, 15.2.1913.

¹⁷⁷ J. Clavelier, *Un Français et les Français à Guernesey* (Paris, 1911), p. 39.

¹⁷⁸ For remarks on the prevalence of female stone-crackers, see *Comet*, 25.4.1891; *Baillage*, 2.10.1897.

¹⁷⁹ I.A., AQ 164/7.

Most Bretons who came to Guernsey were from rural areas. As Guernsey's horticultural sector developed, they came increasingly to work in greenhouses. Writing in 1913, the geographer Camille Vallaux regarded the French as 'nécessaires à l'île, surtout aux grandes périodes de production des serres'. He added that a local vinery owner had told him 's'ils ne venaient pas, nous irions les chercher'.¹⁸⁰ Jersey potato-growers are known to have obtained their labour via long-standing contacts in France.¹⁸¹ Larger Guernsey growers may also have maintained such contacts. Evidence of localised chain migration is consistent with this. 'In a few hours', a letter-writer commented to the *Star* in 1898, 'shiploads of French agricultural labourers can be brought over'.¹⁸²

Vineries were said to favour French labour because it was cheap, and there certainly seems to have been a pay differential between the French and others. The *Star* carried out a 'survey' of horticultural wages in 1911, and reported that a specific vinery paid 'Britishers' an average of £1 3s 10d per week, and 'aliens' £1 1s 1d.¹⁸³ The vinery canvassed by the *Star* was one of the larger commercial enterprises. Large-scale horticulture (often English-financed) was concentrated in the north of the island. In the rest, most growing was done by local farmers 'having a few glass-houses in which forced potatoes and cold-house tomatoes are grown'.¹⁸⁴ These enterprises were run mainly on family labour, but a few hired outside help. The labourers recruited for these small farms, 'really farmhands having some knowledge of glass-house work', were, at 2s 6d per day, particularly low-paid and often French.¹⁸⁵ At the rate of ten Guernsey pence to one franc, 2s 6d equates to 3 francs – a sum substantially more than the very low rates labourers were paid in Brittany at that time. Abbé Gautier reports pre-World War I rates of 1 fr 50 in winter and 2 fr 50 in summer (with meals) for agricultural labourers in Les Côtes-du-Nord.¹⁸⁶ The journey to Guernsey was thus advantageous.

Sheer availability of work, low-paid though it might be, was a pull-factor of a sort, but the very fact that Bretons were willing to cross the sea to accept it is symptomatic of powerful push-factors at home. As regards Normandy, demographic pressure, at its highest in the first half of the nineteenth century, had been relieved somewhat by the 1880s. A fall in the birth rate which had set in as far back as the late eighteenth century had led to a thinning of the Norman population through an excess of

¹⁸⁰ C. Vallaux, *L'Archipel de la Manche* (Paris, 1913), p. 161.

¹⁸¹ Galichet, *Fermier de Jersey*, pp. 44–45.

¹⁸² *Star*, 16.4.1898.

¹⁸³ *Star*, 10.1.1911.

¹⁸⁴ *Star*, 24.12.1910.

¹⁸⁵ *Star*, 24.12.1910.

¹⁸⁶ E. Gautier, *Un Siècle d'Indigence* (Paris, 1950), p. 108.

deaths over births over much of the next century.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, Norman subsistence polyculture was well on the way to being replaced by commercial dairying. The change-over had temporarily accelerated the rural exodus (mostly to Paris) some years earlier, but by the end of the century, Norman emigration was showing 'des signes de ralentissement'.¹⁸⁸ Brittany, by contrast, had retained a high birth rate throughout the century. Côtes-du-Nord, for example, had a rate of 26.7 per 1,000 between 1886 and 1910 as compared to 21.7 for France as a whole, giving it an excess of 62,900 births over deaths in that period. With a density of 77 inhabitants per km² in 1911, Côtes-du-Nord was 8 percent above the French national average in terms of population density.¹⁸⁹ Unlike Normandy, Brittany's principal form of agriculture remained 'une polyculture de subsistance qui nourrit mal'.¹⁹⁰ Not only this, but landholdings were extremely small. Abbé Gautier gives the average farm size in Les Côtes-du-Nord in 1882 as only 6.86 hectares, with two-thirds of farms less than 5 hectares.¹⁹¹ Owner-occupancy rates were also much lower than for France as a whole. Less than a third of Côtes-du-Nord farmers owned their land in 1882. The remaining two-thirds were tenants or sharecroppers. Moreover, Les Côtes-du-Nord had a high proportion of landless labourers relative to farmers of any sort; just one medium-sized *département* out of 88, Côtes-du-Nord possessed a disproportionate one-thirty-fifth of all landless French agricultural labourers in 1882.¹⁹²

Such overpopulation and underdevelopment (reminiscent of pre-Famine Ireland) meant a precarious existence for Brittany's overwhelmingly rural population at the best of times. Earlier in the century, Bretons had been able to supplement farming with domestic industries such as textiles, or by participation in 'la grande pêche' off Iceland or Newfoundland. However, textiles had been declining since the 1830s, unable to compete with factories in France's north-eastern industrial region.¹⁹³ By the 1890s 'la grande pêche' was 'en pleine décadence'.¹⁹⁴ The demise of these two sectors, coupled with the agricultural depression of the last quarter of the century, reduced what little extra cash Breton farmers had been able to make so that many could no longer afford to hire help,

¹⁸⁷ J. Dupâquier (ed.), *Histoire de la Population Française*, 4 vols (Paris, 1988), 3, pp. 140–143.

¹⁸⁸ Fish, *Mouvements*, pp. 109.

¹⁸⁹ G. Callon, 'Le mouvement de la population dans les Côtes-du-Nord de 1831 à 1920', *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation des Côtes-du-Nord*, 63 (1931), pp. 99–100, 107, 115.

¹⁹⁰ F. Braudel & E. Labrousse (eds), *Histoire Economique et Sociale de la France*, 4 vols (Paris, 1979–82), 4, p. 340.

¹⁹¹ Gautier, *Indigence*, pp. 98; 6.86 hectares = 17 acres; 5 hectares = 12.4 acres.

¹⁹² Gautier, *Indigence*, pp. 113–114.

¹⁹³ G. Minois (ed.), *Les Côtes-du-Nord de la Préhistoire à nos Jours* (Saint-Jean-d'Angély, 1987), p. 355.

¹⁹⁴ Braudel & Labrousse, *Histoire Economique*, p. 340.

nor indeed to pay their rents.¹⁹⁵ This pushed Bretons (who of all French had been traditionally most resistant to migration)¹⁹⁶ to leave their region in droves. Between 1872 and 1911, the population of Les Côtes-du-Nord declined by 165,000, despite its continuing high birth rate.¹⁹⁷ While, like their Norman cousins, the vast majority of migrating Bretons were drawn to Paris, they also spilled out over neighbouring regions.¹⁹⁸ Paul White points out that 'northern Brittany was linked to Normandy in a loose-knit migration field with no dominant focus'.¹⁹⁹ In many respects, the Channel Islands were just as much a neighbouring region as was Normandy, and, in this case, immigration was quite clearly 'only a rural out-migration that crossed a border'.²⁰⁰

Demographic pressure in Brittany was to a degree relieved – tragically – by the First World War. The region as a whole lost some 250,000 men.²⁰¹ Les Côtes-du-Nord alone lost 23,000.²⁰² The losses stimulated demand for manpower, raised wage rates and increased agricultural prices. 'L'exode rurale est moins important depuis la guerre qu'auparavant', reported an official inquiry in 1929; 'les exploitants ont fait de bonnes affaires depuis une dizaine d'années, ils ont moins tendance à quitter la terre'.²⁰³ Although Jersey's need for supplementary potato harvesters continued until the 1960s, and seasonal migrants from Brittany continued to fulfil it,²⁰⁴ the acute distress which had underlain the brief upsurge in Breton migration to Guernsey had in some measure been alleviated, and the dubious pull-factors the island exerted no longer sufficed to attract them. In the 20 years between 1911 and 1931, the French population of 'Guernsey & adjacent islands' declined from 2,045 to 992.²⁰⁵ Large-scale French migration to Guernsey can therefore be said to have ceased in 1914, though the settled French community remained a distinct sub-group in the population for many years to come.

¹⁹⁵ Minois, *Côtes-du-Nord*, p. 328.

¹⁹⁶ A. Chatelain, *Les Migrants Temporaires en France de 1800 à 1914*, 2 vols (Lille, 1976), 1, pp. 58, 62, 83.

¹⁹⁷ Dupâquier, *Population Française*, p. 181.

¹⁹⁸ For Breton migration to Normandy, see Fish, *Mouvements*, pp. 54–65.

¹⁹⁹ P.E. White, 'Internal migration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', in P.E. Ogden & P.E. White, *Migrants in Modern France* (London, 1989), p. 23.

²⁰⁰ A. Prost cited in P.E. Ogden, 'Internal migration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', in Ogden & White, *Migrants in Modern France*, p. 42.

²⁰¹ Monteil, 'Relations et échanges', p. 121.

²⁰² Callon, 'Mouvement de la population', p. 112.

²⁰³ Monographie Agricole du Département des Côtes-du-Nord, 1929 (Archives Départementales des Côtes-d'Armor, 7 M 4).

²⁰⁴ Monteil, 'Relations et échanges', p. 144. Notwithstanding Camille Vallaux, Guernsey's requirement for tomato-pickers was in no way equivalent to Jersey's need for potato-harvesters. The tomato season was longer drawn out so there was no need for a massive influx of extra hands over a short but extremely intense harvest period, and local resources were usually sufficient to cope.

²⁰⁵ P.P. 1913, LXXX; *Census 1931: Jersey, Guernsey and Adjacent Islands* (London, 1933), p. 36.

Footnotes to French Migration

French prostitution

Of the 497 Frenchwomen recorded in their own right in the Stranger Register, an occupation is given for just 345. Of these, nearly 80 percent were described as being in domestic service. Only nine women were recorded as prostitutes, but silence on the occupation of more than 150 arouses suspicions that this disguises higher numbers in the calling. States representatives were more outspoken in correspondence with the Home Office: 'the close proximity of this Island to France and to three great naval and military ports, Cherbourg, Granville and St Malo, is a special source of danger', warned a letter of 1896; 'prostitutes of the most degraded type, who in France would be under the supervision of the authorities, come to the Island in large numbers'.²⁰⁶ The main attraction for these prostitutes, aside from the fact that St Peter Port was a sizeable town and bustling seaport, was a matter of peculiar concern to the British government: the St Peter Port garrison. Between 1880 and 1914, garrison strength averaged 500. The introduction of short service enlistment in 1870 meant that soldiers were on average younger than their earlier counterparts, and less likely to be married. In the early 1890s, military authorities were alarmed by the rate at which members of the Guernsey garrison were being infected with sexually-transmitted diseases 'of a severe type'.²⁰⁷

It is not known how long the French had played a major role in St Peter Port prostitution, but prosecutions of Frenchwomen for keeping 'maisons de débauche' are reported from the early 1870s.²⁰⁸ Poor districts in the south of St Peter Port (close to garrison headquarters at Fort George) became notorious for their brothels.²⁰⁹ So conspicuous an aspect of town life did French prostitutes become that, in 1888, the Methodist-leaning *Comet* printed a crusading editorial entitled 'The Social Evil' which expatiated at length on the problem. The article assigned blame for 'the importation of these questionable characters' to 'the agency of a woman notorious in the town for harbouring the like'. The writer advocated summary expulsion of the prostitutes, but also expressed some sympathy for them: 'these unhappy creatures ... live from hand to mouth ...; strong ground exists for believing them to have been more sinned against than

²⁰⁶ De Vic Francis Carey to Home Office, 9.11.1896 (P.R.O., HO 45/10142/B17748).

²⁰⁷ Annual Sanitary Report and Medical Transactions, 1891, Guernsey, Channel Islands (P.R.O., WO 334/120).

²⁰⁸ See *Le Guernesiais*, 11.11.1871 & *Comet*, 26.8.1876.

²⁰⁹ Notably Cornet Street, whose ill-famed 'Green Shutters' establishment was described by G.B. Edwards in *The Book of Ebenezer Le Page* (London, 1981), pp. 42–43. (For more on 'Green Shutters', see *Baillage*, 18.7.1891 & 25.7.1891).

sinning'.²¹⁰ A study of late nineteenth-century Caen found most registered prostitutes to have been of rural origin, arguing that a rise in prostitute numbers after the 1870s was a by-product of agricultural depression. Young rural women, accustomed to earning their own living from an early age and finding traditional outlets for their labour closed, were driven into prostitution, at least as a temporary expedient.²¹¹ One of the attractions of Guernsey would have been the ease with which any French girl resorting to this expedient would have been able to cast off her identity on return home.

Ultimately, military pressure on the Guernsey authorities led to the passage of legislation unknown in Britain since the removal from the Statute Books of the Contagious Diseases Acts in 1886.²¹² As an initial measure, an ordinance was passed on 21 January 1895 banning any prostitute from the town's streets after pub closing-time. Amid much outcry, a *projet de loi* was then prepared arrogating much stronger powers to the insular authorities.²¹³ These powers were embodied in an Order in Council of 15 January 1897 authorising the Royal Court to pass such laws as it thought fit to 'réprimer les maux résultant de l'introduction dans cette Ile de Maladies Secrètes'. The Order specifically stated that such legislation might include the compulsory medical examination of suspected prostitutes, their enforced detention in hospital, and the expulsion of foreign women deemed 'dangereuses pour la santé publique'.²¹⁴ A few years were to pass before such powers were embodied in any legislation, but on 6 January 1912 (again as a result of military promptings)²¹⁵ the *Ordonnance Provisoire ayant rapport aux Maladies Secrètes* introduced all the above measures. As the Reverend H.W. Brock, rector of St Peters, had reflected in February 1895, the effect of the legislation was 'to establish the French system'.²¹⁶ Given the essentially French nature of the problem, this strategy was perhaps not entirely misplaced.

²¹⁰ *Comet*, 24.10.1888.

²¹¹ G. Désert, 'Prostitution et prostituées à Caen pendant la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle 1863-1914', *Les Archives Hospitalières. Cahier des Annales de Normandie*, 10 (1977), p. 204.

²¹² For military pressure, see *Comet*, 16.2.1895, 20.2.1895 & 21.2.1895.

²¹³ See *Comet*, 20.2.1895 for an account of the 22 foot-long anti-regulation petition presented at a meeting addressed by English Social Purity luminaries Laura Ormiston Chant and the Rev. Hunt Lynn.

²¹⁴ The Ordinance of 25 April 1892, by which the States Stranger Register was established, had already given parish Constables the power to deport within a year and a day of arrival any stranger to the island who kept a house of ill-fame or worked as a prostitute.

²¹⁵ See correspondence on this subject in early October 1911 between the Bailiff and Lieutenant-Governor and Lt. Col. C.G.D. Mosse, Medical Officer at Fort George (Greffé, Letter Book XX).

²¹⁶ *Star*, 21.2.1895.

Refugee religious orders

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Guernsey had given asylum to French refugees from both sides of the religious divide: to Huguenots firstly, and then to Roman Catholic royalist *émigrés* and clergy fleeing the Revolution. Continuing tensions in the nineteenth century revived French interest in Guernsey as a potential haven. A government decree of June 1828 closing Jesuit schools prompted an application by French Jesuits in August that year to open an educational establishment in Guernsey. A mere 13 years after the Peace, gallophobic islanders declared themselves unwilling to countenance the admission of 'strangers ready, on the very first emergency, and qualified to act as spies, perhaps as leaders, in any future attack upon these Islands'.²¹⁷ The application was summarily dismissed.²¹⁸ The French government's interest in Jesuits was nothing new, and in general terms, anti-clericalism had been a potent factor in French politics since the Enlightenment. In the later nineteenth century, after the founding of the Third Republic, it was re-ignited in a particularly virulent form by the support of some Catholic clergy and lay leaders for monarchist aspirations.²¹⁹ In June 1899, a left-wing government came to power under Premier René Waldeck-Rousseau, who was intent on avenging attacks by 'nationalist and clerical agitators' over the Dreyfus affair.²²⁰ First in a series of measures initiated by Waldeck which culminated in the separation of Church and State in 1905 was the *Loi sur les Associations* of 1 July 1901, which stipulated that no religious congregation would henceforth be allowed to exist without authorisation by legislative act of Parliament, to be obtained by means of a Bill submitted to the Chamber of Deputies.²²¹ Congregations had previously been required to apply for authorisation in a less formal manner, but the requirement had not always been observed. By 1900, 774 congregations had come into being without any authorisation at all.²²² Following the new law, 749 of these applied to be formally authorised, but all save five were rejected the following year by Waldeck-Rousseau's successor as Prime Minister, the Radical Emile Combes.²²³ Combes was more militantly anti-clerical than Waldeck, and particularly opposed to the involvement of religious orders in teaching. One of his first acts as Premier was to close 3,000 religious schools by ministerial circular of 27 June

²¹⁷ *Comet*, 28.9.1828.

²¹⁸ See Ordinance of 2 September 1828.

²¹⁹ M.O. Partin, *Waldeck-Rousseau, Combes, and the Church: The Politics of Anti-Clericalism, 1899-1905* (Durham, 1969), p. 21.

²²⁰ Partin, *Waldeck-Rousseau*, p. vii. See also Y. Le Carrères, *Les Salésiens de Don Bosco à Dinan 1891-1903* (Rome, 1990), p. 112.

²²¹ On political manoeuvrings leading up to the law, see Partin, *Waldeck-Rousseau*, pp. 24-44.

²²² Partin, *Waldeck-Rousseau*, pp. 24-25.

²²³ Partin, *Waldeck-Rousseau*, pp. 78-79, 162-163; Le Carrères, *Salésiens de Don Bosco*, p. 123.

1902.²²⁴ This, combined with the 1901 law, caused an influx of religious orders to Jersey and ultimately led to the passage in 1902 of legislation forbidding the establishment of foreign congregations of more than six persons on Jersey soil.²²⁵ A further French law passed under Combes on 7 July 1904 peremptorily banned any religious order whatever from engaging in teaching (including those duly authorised), and some 10,000 Catholic schools were forced to close.²²⁶

As a result of such legislation and Jersey's restrictions, eight French religious congregations turned to Guernsey for sanctuary between 1902 and 1904, including two major teaching orders.²²⁷ A number of substantial properties, some of them belonging to descendants of Guernsey's eighteenth-century elite, were at that time being offered for sale, and were acquired by the French orders. *Le Baillage* wondered whether the establishment of 'des congrégations catholiques étrangères, riches et puissantes, ouvrant des écoles où seront ... enseignés les principes de leur croyance, n'offrirait pas un danger politique, économique et social'?²²⁸ Local misgivings of this nature eventually led to a law establishing a register of 'foreign associations' and forbidding the lease or sale of real property to nationals of any country save the United Kingdom without permission of the Court.²²⁹ Bailiff Henry Giffard made it clear that the law was targeted at foreigners generally:

'the Court, in framing the "projet", have carefully avoided all references to ... "Religious Societies"; the scheme is much more sweeping, and aims at prohibiting for the future the acquisition of any interests in land by any foreigners who are not subjects of Her Majesty without going through certain formalities'.²³⁰

A subsequent States survey of non-British holdings raises questions as to the justification for such a move in terms of the potential size of any foreign landholding cohort. As of November 1913 – after centuries of freely being able to buy property – only 107 non-British 'persons or bodies' owned land within Guernsey.²³¹ As Col.

²²⁴ Partin, *Waldeck-Rousseau*, p. 143.

²²⁵ Monteil, 'Relations et échanges', pp. 55, 185–187, 455.

²²⁶ Partin, *Waldeck-Rousseau*, pp. 208–209; Dupont, *Département de la Manche*, 9, 53–54.

²²⁷ These orders were: Les Soeurs des Sacrés Coeurs de Jésus et de Marie; Les Salésiens de Don Bosco; Les Chanoinesses de Saint Augustin; Les Soeurs de la Présentation de la Sainte Vierge; Les Bénédictines de Valognes; Les Frères de Saint Jean-Baptiste de la Salle; Les Soeurs de la Nativité de Notre Seigneur, and Les Soeurs de Notre Dame de la Charité (Greffé, *Registre des Sociétés Etrangères*).

²²⁸ *Baillage*, 19.10.1901.

²²⁹ Order in Council of 10 May 1905. The law was not repealed until 1972.

²³⁰ Bailiff to Lieutenant-Governor, 28.12.1904 (Greffé, *Letter Book XVII*).

²³¹ States Supervisor to parish Constables, 17.5.1912; States Supervisor to Bailiff, 17.11.1913 (Greffé, *Royal Court Letter Book I*, 1906–23).

Rowland Hazard (a local resident) complained to the Home Office, the law was irrelevant to most of Guernsey's French immigrants:

'the whole business was a mistake; nothing was done until all the Societies who wished to come were comfortably settled. There are probably four thousand French labourers and household servants here which the law does not affect, and only half-a-dozen "aliens" of the class that buy or lease estates – a most desirable class'.²³²

Aside from the religious orders which registered themselves when the 'Registre des Sociétés Etrangères' was opened in 1905, the only other 'foreign association' to sign up was a solitary French travel agency.

It is not known how many lay migrants accompanied the religious orders to Guernsey. The 1911 census shows the presence of 21 Roman Catholic priests and 90 nuns in 'Guernsey and adjacent islands'.²³³ Initially, the De La Salle and Salesian orders brought with them a proportion of their students from France. It is perhaps this that prompted Guernsey's Medical Officer of Health, Henry Draper Bishop (perennially exercised by the 'alien problem') to assert that 'the coming of numbers of French religious orders has greatly added to the alien population'.²³⁴ This influx, if such it was, was essentially temporary, abating after the departure of French army reservists and potential young combatants in 1914.

The apparent over-reaction of insular authorities to the arrival of the French congregations directs our attention to another important theme. Having now established the timing and provenance of immigration to Guernsey, the next two chapters will examine more closely the interaction of migrants with native Guernseymen. Chapter five will consider relations at the public and administrative level, and chapter six will analyse inter-communal and inter-personal exchanges.

²³² Col. R. Hazard of Belmont, Guernsey to Under-Secretary Henry Cunyghame, 12.1.1905 (P.R.O., HO 45/10313/124758).

²³³ P.P. 1913, LXXX.

²³⁴ Medical Officer of Health's Report for 1907, *Billet d'Etat*, 8.7.1908. For more on Dr. Bishop, see below, p. 180.

CHAPTER 5

RELATIONS WITH THE HOST COMMUNITY

1.) Public and Administrative

Legislation – General

Despite Guernsey's small size, it is – and was in the nineteenth century – very much a polity in its own right. It was judicially and administratively separate from the United Kingdom, and made its own laws in response to local needs. These laws differed materially from those in force across the Channel, as, in countless respects, they did from those of its sister-island, Jersey. Centuries of comparative isolation had made Guernsey a self-contained, inward-looking society, where strangers were conspicuous. Between the Reformation and the eighteenth century, contacts with outsiders, such as they were, had resulted in a substantial corpus of stranger legislation in the form of ordinances of the Royal Court. Such ordinances survive from the early sixteenth century. A minority relate explicitly to *étrangers forains* or *non sujets de Sa Majesté*. Some refer unambiguously to *tous étrangers natifs hors de cette île*. In most stranger legislation, however, the term *étranger* is undefined. Unless the context demonstrates otherwise, one must therefore assume that such ordinances applied by default to all outsiders.

Three categories of stranger legislation may be distinguished. The first and most numerous group consists of emergency measures (most of them short-lived), made 'upon some crisis of war, or scarcity, or other exigency of the moment'.¹ The basic function of such measures was to restrict the entry of strangers, and supervise their activities once in the island. A plethora of such ordinances between 1793 and 1807 sprang from the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Most of these involve the collection and listing of strangers' names, and are not dissimilar from laws passed in England at this time, nor indeed from laws passed in France.² Such ordinances continued to be issued throughout

¹ This description of emergency stranger legislation comes from an 1844 Royal Court petition to the Privy Council, the text of which is to be found in an Order in Council of 13 January 1845.

² For British 'aliens' legislation of a similar period, see K. Lunn (ed.), *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities* (Folkestone, 1980), p. 6. For French, see G. Noiriel, *Le Creuset Français: Histoire de l'Immigration XIX^e–XX^e Siècles* (Paris, 1988), p. 86.

the first half of the nineteenth century in response to crises abroad.³ The final nineteenth-century ordinance of this type was that of 1 May 1848, the last of a series in that year framed to deal with the anticipated influx from the revolution in France.⁴

The second, more broadly based, category consists of laws governing a multiplicity of everyday business in which non-natives were routinely distinguished from natives, and subjected to certain disabilities. Although such laws were more characteristic of the eighteenth and previous centuries than the nineteenth, many of them remained in force at the beginning of our period.⁵ There were, for instance, laws which discriminated against strangers in matters as varied as debt,⁶ taxation,⁷ hawking,⁸ harbour dues,⁹ and even shooting for sport.¹⁰

At the beginning of our period, legal and administrative boundaries between natives and strangers of all hues were still strongly marked. There were, however, ways of transcending these boundaries. These ways were enshrined in the third category of stranger legislation: ordinances, many of which might have originated in response to short-lived contingencies, which came to assume a seminal role in Guernsey's evolving body of naturalization and settlement law. Because of its importance, such legislation will be dealt with separately.

Naturalization and settlement

The contribution of Guernsey's Bailiff, Sir Thomas Godfrey Carey, to the 1901 Home Office Report on Naturalization outlines the time-honoured process whereby strangers were admitted to a form of local citizenship: being *reçu habitant*.¹¹ This was akin to *admission à domicile* in France, in that (in the modern period at least) it conferred

³ Such as the Ordinance of 4 December 1830, see above, pp. 54–55.

⁴ The start of World War I saw a return to this sort of legislation with the hurried passage on 8 August 1914 of *l'Ordonnance Provisoire relative à l'Enregistrement des Etrangers*, based on the British 1914 Aliens Restriction Act.

⁵ Some Victorian travel guides contain whole chapters on these laws. See, for example, F.F. Dally, *A Guide to Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, Herm, Jethou, Alderney, Etc.* (London, 1858), pp. 254–264.

⁶ For more on disabilities suffered by non-natives in relation to debt, see below, p. 184.

⁷ In the case of taxation, the discrimination was positive: confusion over an article in an 1821 ordinance governing taxation, and conflict over the wisdom of taxing strangers meant that, until an Order in Council of 30 July 1868 stipulated that strangers should be taxed on the same basis as natives after three years' residence, strangers were in practice not taxed at all.

⁸ See below, p. 178.

⁹ Various eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century ordinances subjected non-native shipowners bringing vessels to the island to anchorage and chainage dues from which natives were exempt. For a table of such dues, see Anonymous, *The Stranger's Guide to Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1833), p. 127.

¹⁰ No strangers (save garrison officers) could go sporting with a gun unless accompanied by a native ratepayer. For a digest of ordinances relating to shooting, see Dally, *Guide*, pp. 261–263.

¹¹ *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to consider the Acts relating to Naturalization*, Cd. 723 (London, 1901), p. 69.

citizenship rights without conferring nationality.¹² An Ordinance of 18 April 1726 laid down the procedure for being *reçu habitant*, the purpose of which was to obviate any disabilities the applicant might suffer as a stranger by putting him on the same legal footing as natives. The aspiring *habitant* was to submit a formal *requête* (petition) to the Royal Court, which, before it could be granted, had to have the sanction of the applicant's chosen parish of residence and that of the Governor (or, after the abolition of this post in 1835, the Lieutenant-Governor).¹³ The earliest instance of this in the post-Napoleonic period relates to Englishman Robert Moore, who was *reçu habitant* in October 1837.¹⁴ All subsequent petitions bar one relate to non British subjects.

As the nineteenth century progressed, notions as to what constituted a 'stranger' underwent subtle change, and the original purpose of being *reçu habitant* was obscured. Later petitions demonstrate that applicants (and perhaps also their legal advisors) were under the misapprehension that being *reçu habitant* conferred British nationality. That of schoolmaster Victor Végeais in 1898 contained the following typical phrase: 'votre remontrant voulant être reçu sujet de Sa Majesté la Reine d'Angleterre, pour lequel pays il a toujours senti la plus parfaite sympathie, désire être reçu habitant de Guernesey'.¹⁵

The propriety of admitting aliens to local citizenship had been questioned as early as 1848 in a letter to the Home Secretary by Jersey political lobbyist Abraham Le Cras.¹⁶ A triangular correspondence had ensued between Home Office, Lieutenant Governor and Guernsey authorities, in which Guernsey's Law Officers fully recognised that receiving a foreigner as an *habitant* of Guernsey did not confer British nationality.¹⁷ The Lieutenant Governor suggested that confusion would be eliminated if he were vested with powers to naturalize Guernsey-based aliens analogous to those of the Home Secretary under the 1844 British Naturalization Act. It was, however, decided to leave matters as they stood,¹⁸ and not until after World War I did true British naturalization become available in Guernsey, under powers conferred on the Lieutenant Governor by the 1914 and 1918 British Nationality and Status of Aliens Acts.¹⁹

¹² For details on *admission à domicile* (only abolished in France in 1927), see Noiriel, *Creuset*, p. 77.

¹³ Petitions of this kind are recorded in the registers of *Requêtes* at the Greffe.

¹⁴ For more on Robert Moore, see *Comet*, 16.10.1837.

¹⁵ Petition of 5 November 1898 (Greffe, *Requêtes*).

¹⁶ Abraham Le Cras to Sir George Grey, 15 November 1848 (P.R.O., HO 45/2828).

¹⁷ Charles De Jersey & John Utermarck to Lt. Gov. John Bell, 9 January 1849 (P.R.O., HO 45/2828).

¹⁸ H. Waddington to Bailiff Sir Peter Stafford Carey, 10.12.1851 (Greffe, Royal Court Letter Book 6).

¹⁹ Agitation by Le Cras regarding Jersey's 'naturalization' practices had resulted in all local 'naturalizations' being subject to ratification by the Privy Council as of 1840. Nevertheless, the submission of Jersey's Bailiff to the 1901 Home Office report expressed the conviction that such 'naturalizations' were 'not effectual beyond the Island itself', (*Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee*, pp. 82 & 93). Thus, in Jersey too, true British naturalization was unavailable until after World War I.

Being *reçu habitant* was not a procedure resorted to by many in the nineteenth century: there are fewer than twenty such applications in the three registers of Requête 1818-1917. Applicants' professions (two clergymen, a doctor, several merchants) show that, in practice, the procedure was used only by those with a certain standing or commercial interest in the community. Nineteenth-century Guernsey attracted a fair contingent of well-to-do expatriates, but it must not be forgotten that these were a minority. The bulk of migrants were not well-off. Of the 8,376 household heads identified as new arrivals in the seven censuses 1841-1901, 71 percent fell into social classes III or lower. Such people would not have been interested in the rights conferred by local citizenship (nor indeed would they have stood any chance of being *reçus habitants*). Their lives were more likely to be affected by rights of another kind: those they may or may not have had under the island's poor laws.

At a time when most labouring families lived from day to day, earning only enough for food and shelter, a spell out of work or unexpected illness could cause major difficulties. In common with other northern European Protestant communities, Guernsey had by the nineteenth century evolved a comparatively elaborate system of poor relief. Lynn Hollen Lees has estimated that 10 to 13 percent of the population of England and Wales received poor law aid annually between 1850 and 1870.²⁰ The figure for Guernsey is unknown, but a comparable proportion may have been similarly exposed.

Bailiff Sir Edgar MacCulloch, in his contribution to C.J. Ribton-Turner's 1887 *History of Vagrants and Vagrancy*, observed that insular pauperism had greatly increased since the beginning of the century. This he attributed to the influx of strangers. 'Guernseymen', he remarked,

'are thrifty, and in many instances will bear with great privations rather than apply for parish relief, but it is not so with strangers. They soon get demoralised by the temptation afforded by the cheapness of spirits, and, neglecting their children, these grow up in habits of idleness, and often end in becoming paupers and chargeable'.²¹

MacCulloch's views on strangers' predilection for drink were commonly shared, and there is no way of assessing how far they were grounded on prejudice and how far on reality. It is, however, true that non-natives were intrinsically more exposed to poverty

²⁰ L. Hollen Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor laws and the People, 1700-1948* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 181.

²¹ C.J. Ribton-Turner, *A History of Vagrants and Vagrancy and Beggars and Begging* (London, 1887), p. 464. On p. 465, Ribton-Turner acknowledges that 'the whole of the account of Guernsey is due to the kindness of Sir Edgar MacCulloch'.

than natives.²² In the country parishes, with their small-scale farming and comparatively widespread land-ownership, assets were more equally shared. Moreover, the 'surplus' population whom resources were insufficient to support tended to leave.²³ There would of course have been a core of 'structurally poor' people in the countryside, as Stuart Woolf put it: widows, the elderly and other marginalised groups.²⁴ Figure 5.1 shows children from the Rocquaine area of the west coast in the 1870s. H.J. Fleure remarked that Guernsey's coastal communities, scratching a living from tiny landholdings supplemented by hawking fish, had 'long maintained a degree of social separation'.²⁵ Nevertheless, poor as they were, they formed a cohesive group rooted in the island for generations, would have had kin and neighbour networks to fall back on.

Figure 5.1 West coast children, 1870s²⁶



²² An 1853 newspaper article on St Peter Port's winter soup kitchen reports that only 95 Guernsey families were regular beneficiaries, compared with 132 English families, 16 Irish families and 10 French families (*Star*, 24.2.1853).

²³ For more on emigration from rural parishes, see below, p. 204.

²⁴ S. Woolf, *The Poor in Western Europe in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London, 1986), p. 6.

²⁵ H. Fleure, 'Guernsey: a social study', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 26 (1941), p. 72.

²⁶ Carel Toms collection, Priaulx Library.

Non-natives, by contrast, formed the basis of the proletarian class growing up in the quarrying parishes of the Vale and St Sampsons, and in the town of St Peter Port (see figure 5.2).²⁷ This landless class was intrinsically vulnerable to the insecurities of the capitalist way of life, and would moreover have lacked the safety-net of established kin connections. Not only that, but, as Keith Snell has remarked, in a parish-based labour market and administrative system, priority for work went to those who were settled. In times of unemployment, it was therefore the non-settled who bore the brunt of adverse conditions.²⁸ Periodic slumps in Guernsey's granite trade resulted in the laying-off of many migrant workers. Articles in the *Star* in the winter of 1867/68 report the destitution of 'a large portion' of non-native stoneworkers.²⁹ In June 1881, the *Comet* describes a similar slump and 'weeding out of the surplus who have not acquired a settlement'.³⁰

Figure 5.2 Clifton Steps, St Peter Port, 1890s³¹



²⁷ For a more detailed analysis, see below, pp. 169; 190–197.

²⁸ K.D.M. Snell, 'Settlement, poor law and the rural historian: new approaches and opportunities', *Rural History*, 3 (1992), p. 151.

²⁹ *Star*, 30.1.1868 & 4.2.1868.

³⁰ *Comet*, 29.6.1881.

³¹ Priaulx Library.

Lynn Hollen Lees describes the English poor laws as having established a condition of 'social citizenship' which defined the limits of 'communal membership in a hierarchical society', and created 'the effective boundaries of their communities'.³² Because these laws set tangible bounds to the island's acceptance of migrants, a detailed analysis of Guernsey's poor relief and settlement laws will occupy the remainder of this chapter.

Historical development of laws relating to poor relief and settlement

Until the Reformation, Guernsey's poor were assisted by a variety of agencies as part of the Catholic 'mutual economy of salvation'.³³ As elsewhere in medieval Europe, care of the poor was a religious duty and the common responsibility of 'kindred, church, lord, guild, and other corporate entities, perhaps in that order of importance'.³⁴ Thereafter, despite the fact that insular law was based on the Norman *Coutume*, Guernsey's poor laws had more in common with those of its English neighbours than its continental cousins. There were fundamental reasons why Guernsey could no longer look south for its models. France, in contrast to the islands, retained the traditional Catholic approach to relief. Until the twentieth century, the French state never acknowledged a legal right to support on the part of the poor, and instead, welfare remained to a large extent the sphere of private charity.³⁵ According to Henri Hatzfeld, 'dans le plus grand nombre de villes de la France, la solution au XIX^e siècle' lay in 'la collaboration des instances municipales et des oeuvres privées, le plus souvent catholiques'.³⁶ In England and Wales (as in other Protestant countries such as Holland and Denmark),³⁷ welfare was increasingly the province of the state, which filled 'the gap left by the Reformation and the vanished legal authority of Rome'.³⁸

As regards Guernsey, the miniature Calvinist theocracy in power after the Reformation gave indigent parishioners a legally enforceable right to assistance as early

³² Hollen Lees, *Solidarities*, pp. 11, 22, 46.

³³ For more on pre-Reformation poor relief, see chapters 1 & 2 of D. Ogier, *Reformation and Society in Guernsey* (Woodbridge, 1996).

³⁴ J.S. Taylor, *Poverty, Migration and Settlement in the Industrial Revolution* (Palo Alto, 1989), p. 19 (except that Guernsey had no guilds).

³⁵ G.V. Rimlinger, *Welfare Policy and Industrialization in Europe, America and Russia* (Chichester, 1971), p. 24; T.B. Smith, 'The ideology of charity, the image of the English poor law, and debates over the right to assistance in France, 1830-1905', *The Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), p. 999.

³⁶ H. Hatzfeld, *Du Paupérisme à la Sécurité Sociale, 1850-1940* (Nancy, 1989), p. viii.

³⁷ Woolf, *Poor in Western Europe*, pp. 26 & 33.

³⁸ L.R. Charlesworth, 'Salutary and humane law, a legal history of the law of settlement and removals, c. 1795-1865' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1998), p. 19.

as 1611.³⁹ Article 3 of the section headed 'Pauvres et Mandiants' of the Ordinance of 15 April 1611 provided that anyone in genuine need who could not be supported by kin and had been denied assistance by their parish 'se pourra adresser à la Justice, laquelle y donnera ordre'. Fifty years later, an English statute of 1662 gave Englishmen a similar right.⁴⁰ However, as Lynn Hollen Lees comments (and the same is surely true of Guernsey), that right was probably rarely enforced.⁴¹

The poor relief system established in Guernsey after the Reformation followed Genevan precepts and was administered by the Calvinist church. The civil authority, in the form of the Royal Court, fulfilled a co-ordinating and enforcing role.⁴² The essential feature of the system was that it was based upon the *parish* church. The 1611 Ordinance made it clear that parochial authorities – Elders and Deacons in the first instance, but also Constables and Douzeniers – were responsible only for the poor of their own parishes. Though islanders were not confined to their native parishes nor strangers excluded, entry to a new parish was regulated in practical terms by two ordinances dated 20 January 1589 and 20 January 1597 whereby *cautions* (securities) against future relief costs could be exacted from strangers and islanders from other parishes, as a form of protection to parish authorities against welfare expenses incurred by non-parishioners.⁴³

As the poor law evolved in England and Wales, what was called 'settlement' came to be regarded as the criterion for determining entitlement to poor relief. By the end of the seventeenth century, the acquisition of 'settlement' was governed by a number of formal conditions. A man's settlement was inherited from his father. Women took their husbands' settlement on marriage. Children under 16 followed the settlement of their parents. On reaching 16, a person retained the settlement derived from his or her father until he or she acquired settlement in some other parish (and therefore the right to be relieved there) by fulfilling one or another of a number of set conditions: completion of an indentured apprenticeship, or completion of a year of service to one master (if one were unmarried at the time the contract was undertaken); purchasing an estate, or renting a tenement of the annual value of £10; paying parish rates, or serving a year in a public

³⁹ On the role of Calvinism in post-Reformation Guernsey, see below, p. 174.

⁴⁰ 13 & 14 Car. II, c.12, known as the 'Act of Settlement'. The right to enforce maintenance through appeal to a JP was eventually abolished by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834.

⁴¹ Hollen Lees, *Solidarities*, p. 31.

⁴² Ogier, *Reformation and Society*, p. 166.

⁴³ In England, though the practice of taking securities against future relief costs only received statutory authority in the 1662 Act of Settlement, it had been widely current since, at least, the reign of James I (P. Styles, 'The evolution of the law of settlement', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 9 (1964), p. 40).

parish office.⁴⁴ Guernsey had to wait until 1770 for provisions even approaching this level of sophistication to be enacted, and even then they were rudimentary compared with English ones. The Ordinance of 22 January 1770 was the first to deal in any detailed way with the intricacies of settlement (the local term was *établissement*).⁴⁵ This ordinance did not mention settlement derived through fathers or husbands, and granted *habitants* only – i.e. natives, or non-natives formally *reçus habitants* – settled status in a new parish on completion of seven consecutive years' residence in that parish after the age of majority.⁴⁶ Any native who had served seven years as an apprentice or domestic servant in another parish (even if that term had begun when he was a minor) also acquired settled status at the end of that period.⁴⁷ Strangers who had not been *reçus habitants* could not gain a settlement and therefore had no legal right to parochial relief in Guernsey.

The 1770 provisions were soon found insufficient, and eight years later the Royal Court issued more detailed regulations. Under the Ordinance of 5 October 1778, any *habitant* buying a house in another parish worth at least 500 livres tournois (about £40 sterling), or building a house of similar value on land he had bought in another parish, acquired a settlement in that parish on having lived in the house a year and a day. For other *habitants* living in parishes other than their own who purchased neither houses nor land, the residence requirement for settled status doubled to 14 consecutive years. The ordinance further lay down that all legitimate children, wherever born, would take their father's settlement, and all illegitimate children their mother's.⁴⁸ Provisions relating to apprentices and servants remained unaltered, with the minor exception that servants had to serve one single employer in order to gain settlement after seven years; if they worked for more than one, the qualifying period rose to 14 years. The underlying trend is thus towards greater stringency, and all strangers who had not been *reçus habitants* remained outside the system.

⁴⁴ M.E. Rose, 'Settlement, removal and the new poor law', in D. Fraser (ed.), *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1976), p. 26.

⁴⁵ However, the Ordinance of 18 April 1726 had laid down the basic principles that no stranger could acquire settlement in a parish without first being *reçu habitant*, and that all *habitants* taking up residence in a new parish had to be formally accepted by parochial officials before they could be deemed to be settled.

⁴⁶ In Guernsey, the age of majority was 20. Throughout the period covered by this thesis, settlement, and hence entitlement to poor relief, was parochial rather than insular. The concept of all-island settlement was introduced only in 1925, when the States assumed over-arching responsibility for welfare and established an island-wide Central Poor Law Board.

⁴⁷ The term relating to servants in the ordinance is *domestiques*. In an island of small farms where a single live-in farm servant might perform both indoor and outdoor work, it is probable that farm servants as well as house servants were included in this category.

⁴⁸ This differed from England, where, until the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, a bastard child was considered settled in its parish of birth.

This increasing stringency mirrored increasing immigration, and is confirmed in the landmark Ordinance of 30 April 1821, which repealed all previous settlement legislation, and sets the scene for the period under discussion. Under this new ordinance, which was passed in the difficult economic conditions following the Napoleonic Wars, the requirement for *habitants* wishing to change their parochial settlement through residence alone remained 14 years in the new parish – but with the added proviso that they should not have applied for relief during this time. The period for native apprentices was increased to seven years *following* completion of an apprenticeship in a parish other than their own, during which period they were not to have applied for relief. Provisions regarding servants remained the same as previously, except that the qualifying period was to be calculated only from such time as they had reached the age of 20.

The 1821 Ordinance further elaborated on that of 1778 by enacting that any legitimate child took his father's settlement, and followed any changes in it, until he came of age, from which time – unless he earned a settlement of his own through means specified in the ordinance – he would continue to belong to the parish where his father was settled when he reached the age of 20. The same applied to illegitimate children in respect of their mothers' settlement. The ordinance, as previous such ordinances, was silent on the status of married women and widows.

Acquisition of settlement through buying or building a house was abolished by the 1821 Ordinance, but replaced by a provision conferring settlement on payment of parish rates. The ordinance specified that any stranger paying such rates would be 'assisté au besoin par la Paroisse où la Taxe aura été payée', which, on the face of it, implies a settlement. In practice, however, strangers were not normally taxed until the new law of 1868 established that they should pay parish rates after a residence of three years,⁴⁹ and the provision remained a dead letter. As Peter Jeremie observed in 1856, 'all admit the taxation of strangers to be an act of insanity ... which would in the end bring paupers like mushrooms into the poorhouse'.⁵⁰ At the outset of our period, therefore, no stranger could gain a settlement (and thereby an entitlement to poor relief) other than by becoming *reçu habitant*. Anyone in a position to do the latter would be unlikely to require assistance. This left large numbers vulnerable, not least the numerous offspring of non-native residents lacking a settlement in Guernsey. The 1851 census of St Peter Port would seem to indicate that somewhere between one-third and one-half of the total civilian population of that parish technically lacked a settlement in the island.

⁴⁹ See above, p. 125, footnote 7.

⁵⁰ P. Jeremie, *On Parochial and States Taxation in Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1856), pp. 91 & 94.

Laws relating to deportation and removal

Anyone lacking a settlement in the island was in a precarious position if ever obliged to apply for public relief. Although the settlement legislation of 1770, 1778 and 1821 left unspecified what might happen in such cases, earlier ordinances – notably those of 1 October 1537, 20 January 1589, 15 April 1611, and 25 January 1684 – had established the principle that strangers unable to support themselves should be expelled.⁵¹ These ordinances charged Constables, in the first instance, with responsibility for detecting and expelling such improvidents.

During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, a large number of ordinances were passed reinforcing the Constables' role as guardians against undesirable strangers. An ordinance of 28 April 1798 made it their duty to 'chasser hors de l'Isle' any strangers 'tants Sujets de Sa Majesté qu'autres' from whom 'bonne et suffisante caution de leur bon comport' were not forthcoming within eight days. The only criterion for requiring such security was the Constables' own discretion. An ordinance of 19 January 1801 further bolstered this power by authorising Constables to expel summarily any newly arrived stranger they might personally deem 'dans le cas d'être nuisible ou dangereux'. 'This power', as William Berry pointed out, might 'be very improperly used, should the office fall into the hands of men of tyrannical dispositions unable nicely to discriminate between justice and oppression'.⁵²

The Ordinances of 1798 and 1801 seem to have set the modern precedent expanded upon in the landmark legislation of 1821, which as well as refining settlement criteria, also formalised the power of summary expulsion wielded by Constables for the remainder of the nineteenth century. Article 17 of the Ordinance of 30 April 1821 placed a onus on Constables actively to prevent the settling of strangers they might consider 'de mauvaise vie, ou sans moyen, sans aveu, et sans industrie'. The Ordinance recommended particularly vigorous exercise of the power to expel strangers 'dans les commencements de leur séjour', but it did not set any time limit beyond which it should not be used.⁵³ Although the Ordinance expressly gave Constables the power to deport without any reference to higher authority, they were nevertheless directed to inform deportees that – should they object to their expulsion – they had a right of appeal to the Court.

The powers of nineteenth-century Constables with regard to strangers can be directly traced to the ordinances of three centuries earlier, which, like English laws of the

⁵¹ For early Guernsey stranger ordinances, see Ribton-Turner, *Vagrants and Vagrancy*, pp. 457–464.

⁵² W. Berry, *The History of the Island of Guernsey* (London, 1815), p. 122.

⁵³ No time limit was set until the end of the nineteenth century, when the Ordinance of 25 April 1892 restricted the exercise of Constables' powers of summary expulsion to within a year and a day of a stranger's arrival.

same period, were aimed essentially at controlling vagrants and beggars.⁵⁴ Such laws owed their existence to the difficult conditions of the time, and were commonly punitive. An English statute of 1531 decreed that able-bodied vagrants be whipped until 'bloody' and then returned whence they came.⁵⁵ A Guernsey ordinance of 1 October 1537 prescribed that non-local beggars be 'fustigués et foytés' (beaten and whipped) prior to ejection. In England, though vagrancy continued to be considered a felony in subsequent centuries and remained subject to harsh penalties, legislation pertaining to settlement and poor relief evolved into a separate branch of the law. Vagrancy proper came to be governed by a number of distinct statutes.⁵⁶ No such disentanglement was ever made in Guernsey, and, to this extent, nineteenth-century ordinances continued to embody what was essentially a defensive approach towards strangers.

During the century covered by this thesis, no other insular legislation was ever framed to specify procedures relating to the removal or deportation of strangers, nor to define conditions under which these might be carried out. Such was the state of the law at the outset of our period. It now remains to examine the context in which that law was administered.

Guernsey's Poor Relief System

Poor relief infrastructure

The church-centred poor relief system established after the Reformation gave way over time to a more secular structure.⁵⁷ By the beginning of our period, each parish had an unpaid official bearing the title *Procureur des Pauvres* whose role it was to co-ordinate the collection and distribution of funds raised for the native poor. During Guernsey's Calvinist era, these funds were derived from church collections, poor-box donations, bequests under wills and investments. Ordinances were passed as early as the sixteenth century which authorised the levying of parishes rates, should alms collected by ecclesiastical authorities prove insufficient, but Darryl Ogier found no evidence that the secular powers were ever driven to raising taxes for the poor during the Calvinist

⁵⁴ For parallels between local ordinances of 1533, 1546 and 1547 and Henrician legislation, see Ogier, *Reformation and Society*, p. 11.

⁵⁵ 22 Hen. VIII, c.12.

⁵⁶ Notably, 13 Anne, c. 26 (1713); 17 Geo. II, c. 5 (1743-4) and 5 Geo. IV, c.83 (1824). See R. Humphreys, *No Fixed Abode: A History of Responses to the Roofless and the Rootless in Britain* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 70, 72, 81 & 203.

⁵⁷ Though, technically, rural parochial poor law officials belonged to the ecclesiastical side of parish affairs until well into the twentieth century (T.F. Priaulx, 'Les pauvres', *Quarterly Review of the Guernsey Society*, 21-24 (1965-68), p. 35).

period.⁵⁸ In 1725, however, under deteriorating economic conditions, the levying of poor rates became general.⁵⁹ Once the amount to be levied had been agreed by a meeting of *chefs de famille* (ratepayers) and authorised by the issue of a *remède* by the Royal Court, contributions were collected from door to door by parochial *Collecteurs des Pauvres* working under the *Procureur*. *Procureurs* and *Collecteurs* dealt with native poor only. Constables, because of their traditional surveillance duties, had special responsibility for relieving strangers.⁶⁰

In the early 1850s, it was felt that existing parochial structures were no longer adequate for a town the size of St Peter Port (population over 17,000 in 1851). A *Conseil d'Administration pour les Pauvres de la Ville et Paroisse de Saint Pierre-Port* was therefore set up under Order in Council of 28 December 1852. This became commonly known as the St Peter Port 'Poor Law Board'. Oversight and management of all poor law activities were henceforth to be exercised by a 20-strong Board, headed by a President and Vice-President elected by the *chefs de famille*.⁶¹ The parish Rector and Churchwardens had *ex-officio* seats on the Board, as did the parish Constables. The *Procureur des Pauvres*, also a Board-member, remained in overall charge of out-relief, though *Collecteurs* were abolished and replaced by ten elected *Surveillants*, who rapidly became known as 'Overseers'. These unpaid officials worked under the *Procureur*, collecting and distributing funds, and also sat on the Poor Law Board. The St Peter Port Constables retained their special responsibility for strangers, but their disbursements were henceforth subject to the scrutiny and approval of the Board. A quarter of a century later, similar Poor Law Boards were set up in all nine country parishes under Order in Council of 27 June 1876.

⁵⁸ Ogier, *Reformation and Society*, pp. 166–167.

⁵⁹ Priaulx, 'Les pauvres', p. 33. For economic conditions at this time, see G. Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port 1680-1830: The History of an International Entrepôt* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 106–107.

⁶⁰ Constables were only freed of responsibility for stranger relief after the establishment of the all-island Central Poor Law Board in 1925. In St Peter Port, Constables' duties towards stranger poor seem at certain periods to have been delegated to, or shared with, subordinate officials: registers of Ordinances at the Greffe document the swearing-in at various intervals over the 1840s and '50s of an *Assistant Connétable Spécial pour avoir la surveillance des Pauvres Etrangers*. A record of Constables' dealings with strangers covering the period November 1848 to May 1891 is preserved at the St Peter Port Constables Office in the *Journal des Pauvres Etrangers* (A6).

⁶¹ Oaths of office sworn by these officials were to be administered by the Royal Court, rather than the Ecclesiastical Court, making the administration of poor relief, in St Peter Port at least, a secular matter.

Parish rates

Rates were levied on all of a ratepayer's property, both real and personal, whether situated in his parish of residence or not (with the sole exception of real estate in England, Jersey, and other Bailiwick islands). The primary object of such parochial taxation was 'the maintenance of the poor'.⁶² After 1868, a new tax law divided parochial rates into two classes.⁶³ The first class, destined essentially for poor law purposes, was levied on the same all-encompassing basis as previously. The second class, for minor objects such as pumps and street-cleaning, was a tax on the value of real estate, leviable in the first instance on owners, though occupiers could be required, if the proprietor wished, to reimburse two-thirds of the amount levied. As at 1890, second-class rates were not levied in the country parishes.⁶⁴

Guernsey's nineteenth-century ratepayers formed a small and select band. Table 5.1 sets out numbers of ratepayers in each parish in 1836 and 1905, and expresses them as a percentage of total parish population at the nearest census.⁶⁵ Parishes are ranked in order of the proportion of their populations comprised by ratepayers.

Table 5.1 Ratepayers as a proportion of parish populations, 1836 and 1905

Parish	1836 ratepayers	% 1831 pop.	Parish	1905 ratepayers	% 1905 pop.
St Peter Port	814	5.9	St Peter Port	1,241	6.8
Castel	182	9.4	St Sampsons	547	9.8
St Martins	173	10.5	Vale	562	11.1
St Sampsons	126	11.4	St Martins	381	11.9
St Andrews	122	12.1	Castel	353	12.6
Vale	173	12.3	St Peters	214	13.6
Forest	97	14	St Andrews	240	15.5
St Saviours	165	15.4	Forest	144	17.1
St Peters	207	17.4	St Saviours	224	21.1
Torteval	74	19.6	Torteval	99	22.2
Total	2,133	6.2	Total	4,005	9.9

The threshold for payment was set higher in St Peter Port than in the other parishes, which partly explains why the proportion paying rates was so low in comparison with the

⁶² Jeremie, *Parochial and States Taxation*, p. 6.

⁶³ Order in Council of 30 July 1868.

⁶⁴ J. Linwood Pitts, *Guernsey and its Bailiwick: A Guide and a Gossip* (Guernsey, 1890), p. 54.

⁶⁵ Figures for 1836 from *Guernsey & Jersey Magazine*, 5 (1838), pp. 297–298. Figures for 1905 from *Billet d'Etat*, 11.10.1905.

country parishes.⁶⁶ Some of the disparity is also attributable to the fact that St Peter Port was home to a large landless class. Relatively high proportions of ratepayers in the countryside reflect higher participation in land ownership. Nevertheless, the overall proportion of islanders paying rates was no higher than 6.2 percent in 1836 and 9.9 percent in 1905. In England and Wales, by contrast, some 15.6 percent of the population paid rates in 1851.⁶⁷

A narrow tax base might be expected to produce high levels of rates per ratepayer, but this was not the case in Guernsey, since expenditure was also kept low. Table 5.2 is based on amounts levied for the maintenance of the poor in each parish in 1879, and shows the estimated average paid per ratepayer and per head of parish population.⁶⁸ Parishes are ranked on the basis of the estimated average sum paid per head of population.

Table 5.2 Parish poor rates, 1879

Parish	Poor rate	Ratepayers (est.)	Av. per ratepayer	Av. per head of pop.
St Peter Port	£4,950	1,208	£4 16s 5d	6s
St Saviours	£200	195	£1 0s 7d	4s 6d
St Andrews	£250	181	£1 7s 7d	4s
Castel	£320	268	£1 3s 10d	3s
Forest (est.)	£80	121	13s 2d	2s 7d
St Martins	£266	277	19s 2d	2s
St Peters	£120	211	11s 5d	2s
Torteval	£30	87	7s	1s 6d
St Sampsons	£220	337	13s	1s
Vale	£220	368	12s	1s
Island total	£6,656	3,073	£2 3s 5d	4s

Again, St Peter Port, with its narrow tax base and large proletarian population, has the highest average payment per ratepayer and the highest sum spent per head of population. Moderately high averages per head of population in some of the rural parishes suggest that, in 1879, the economic benefits of the late nineteenth-century horticultural boom had

⁶⁶ The threshold for payment at mid-century was possession of assets to the value of £140 sterling in the country and £200 in town (*Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of the Criminal Law of the Channel Islands* (London, 1848), p. xiii).

⁶⁷ F. Purdy, 'Statistics of the English poor rate before and since the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 23 (1860), p. 298.

⁶⁸ Figures for 1879 poor rates from letter by Jurat John Le Mottée to *Comet*, 10.3.1880. Resulting averages are to be regarded only as estimates, for two reasons: 1.) the rate levied in the Forest parish was missing from Jurat Le Mottée's letter so an estimate has been substituted, 2.) actual numbers of ratepayers in 1879 are unavailable, so a figure mid-way between the 1836 and 1905 totals has been used.

yet to make themselves felt (and perhaps emigration had also distorted the ratio of the economically productive to the elderly and unproductive). Low sums paid out for poor relief in the Vale and St Sampsons probably reflect high levels of employment afforded by the stone trade.

Even in St Peter Port, however, the average paid in poor rates per head of population in 1879 was only about 6s. The estimated average per head of population for the entire island – a mere 4s – is substantially lower. Both figures compare favourably with an average for the whole of England and Wales of 7s per head in 1872⁶⁹ – all the more so when one considers that the figure for England and Wales represents spending over the length and breadth of a vast urban/rural composite, and masks the expenditure of far higher sums in urban areas.

Averages per ratepayer were also considerably lower in Guernsey than in England and Wales. Sir Henry Rew gives the sum of £10 as 'average urban rate' payable in England and Wales in 1895.⁷⁰ The estimated average for St Peter Port in 1879, notwithstanding its very narrow tax base, was a mere £4 16s 5d per ratepayer, with an insular average as low as £2 3s 5d.

Though *chefs de famille* might have reduced sums paid still further by lowering the taxation threshold, they were actively determined to keep the tax base narrow. This might at first seem paradoxical, but it was based on a rational calculation. *Chefs de famille* wished both to restrict control of parish affairs, and to prevent the admission to the ratepaying ranks of strangers of relatively small means whom the Ordinance of 30 April 1821 stipulated might be 'assisté[s] par la paroisse ... dans le cas où [ils] seraient mis sur la taxe'. Payment of rates conferred not only settlement but the right to vote in parish (and, after 1900, insular) elections. An unsuccessful campaign by the Guernsey Reform Association in 1905/1906 had sought to have the tax threshold lowered in order to increase the suffrage.⁷¹ This resulted in a petition by five of the principal Douzaines praying in forthright terms that the threshold be held at its current level. 'The matter is of very great importance', the *Star* agreed; if the threshold were lowered, 'a number of foreigners might come to the island and become ratepayers, and the next year become chargeable to the parish'.⁷²

⁶⁹ *Report of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor*, Cd. 7684 (London, 1895), p. xi.

⁷⁰ Sir R.H. Rew, 'Local taxation in rural districts', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, 7 (1896), p. 654.

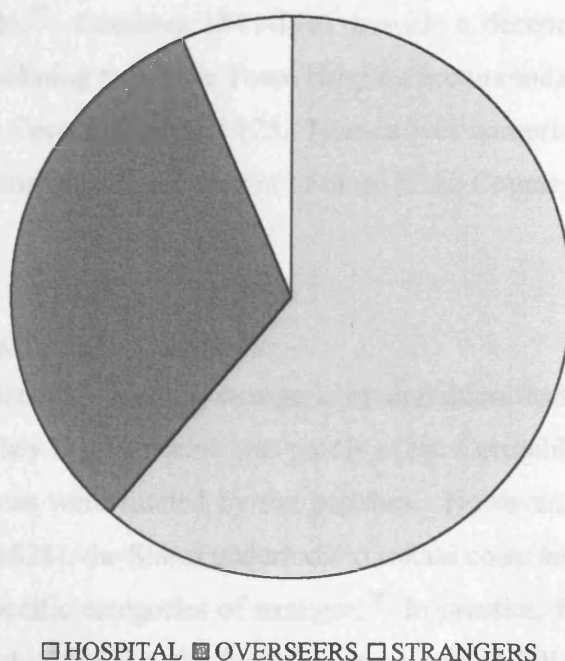
⁷¹ R.P. Hocart, *An Island Assembly: The Development of the States of Guernsey, 1700-1949* (Guernsey, 1988), pp. 73-74.

⁷² *Star*, 6.2.1906. On the undesirability of 'aliens' acquiring settlement, see also editorial in *Star* 8.2.1906.

Poor relief expenditure

St Peter Port was by far the biggest spending parish. It is therefore fortunate that detailed accounts of St Peter Port Poor Law Board income and expenditure survive for over half of the period under discussion (57 years between 1858 and 1914).⁷³ The format of accounts varies slightly over the six decades, but expenditure is set out under three main heads: funds to the Town Hospital (for casual and long-term indoor relief); funds to the Overseers (for out-relief to parishioners in their homes); and funds to the Constables (for stranger relief).⁷⁴ Though strangers might be relieved indoors or outdoors, they were accounted for separately because funds for their relief went to a distinct agency. Their separateness in the accounts serves to accentuate the enduring boundary between them and the settled community. Figure 5.3 shows relative proportions of expenditure in each funding category over the 57 years.

Figure 5.3 St Peter Port Poor Law Expenditure Totals, 1858-1914



Though proportions remained fairly constant, absolute sums expended in each category were on a rising trend throughout the period. Total poor law spending rose by 96 percent from £3,856 in 1858 to £7,590 in 1914. In England and Wales the increase

⁷³ St Peter Port Poor Law Board Abstracts of Accounts, 1858-1925 (I.A., DC/HX 272 02).

⁷⁴ From time to time, especially in the 1860s and '70s, St Peter Port Poor Law Board accounts also itemised sums spent on parish-assisted emigration. In some years, such as 1862 and 1872, these could amount to as much as 5 or 6 percent of total poor law spending.

was 156 percent.⁷⁵ Indoor relief in the Hospital accounted for a greater proportion of St Peter Port's expenditure than outdoor relief. Over the 57 years between 1858 and 1914, the totals were £191,070 to the Hospital, and £101,587 to the Overseers, representing £1 18s spent indoors for every £1 spent outdoors. This is the reverse of England and Wales, where, over the same period, only 14s were spent on indoor relief for every £1 spent outdoors.⁷⁶ This disparity is surprising since, in the nineteenth century at least, there never appears to have been a policy to deny outdoor assistance to claimants unwilling to enter Guernsey's Hospitals, as there had been to curb outdoor relief under the 'less eligibility' ideology which emerged in England under the Poor Law reforms of 1834.

The balance of funding in favour of the Town Hospital is probably a reflection of the general-purpose nature of this institution. Guernsey possessed two such Hospitals. The Town Hospital, built by private subscription in 1742, was funded and administered by St Peter Port parochial authorities. The Country Hospital, built a decade later, was collectively funded by the nine country parishes. These Hospitals variously served as infirmary, lunatic asylum, orphanage, night shelter and poorhouse. Both were transferred to the States in 1926.⁷⁷ Censuses 1841-1901 provide a decennial roll-call of inmates. Within an overall declining trend, the Town Hospital accommodated an average of 200 at each census and the Country Hospital 125. Non-natives comprised on average a quarter of Town Hospital inmates, and ten percent of those in the Country Hospital.

Stranger relief : funding and expenditure

For much of the nineteenth century, strangers, by definition, had no legal right to relief, and any assistance they might receive was purely at the Constables' discretion. The bulk of stranger relief costs were funded by the parishes. However, under an agreement of 1788 (reworked in 1828), the States undertook to refund costs incurred by the parishes in respect of certain specific categories of stranger.⁷⁸ In practice, this cost the States little: a report dated 17 July 1848 put the States' average annual bill over the previous three years at £295.⁷⁹ At the same time, the gathering influx of 'Hungry Forties' refugees from the south-west of England was pushing up parochial expenditure. The same report put St

⁷⁵ Based on figures from K. Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty* (London, 1981), pp. 169 & 171.

⁷⁶ Based on Williams, *Pauperism to Poverty*, pp. 169–171.

⁷⁷ Ordinance of 1 May 1926.

⁷⁸ *Billet d'Etat*, 26.3.1828; *Star*, 31.3.1828. These categories were: shipwrecked seamen and sailors; discharged soldiers of the garrison and their families; dependants of soldiers dying in garrison; destitute military pensioners and their families, and individuals 'erroneously' removed to Guernsey by parishes in England who were to be sent back again (for more on the latter, see below, pp. 152–158).

⁷⁹ *Rapport du Comité des Etats au sujet des Pauvres Etrangers* (*Billet d'Etat*, 1.8.1848, p. 18).

Peter Port's average annual stranger bill over the last three years at more than £675, and expenses for the nine country parishes collectively at £40. The 1848 report itself was partly a product of this situation, and it concluded unambiguously that, since the presence of an impoverished migrant workforce benefitted the island at large by depressing labour costs, the entire island should share in its relief. The report proposed that stranger costs should in future be met by the States out of general taxation. This essentially meant that St Peter Port would be subsidised by the nine other parishes.⁸⁰ The country parishes refused to support the measure, and funding arrangements remained unaltered.

Fifty years later, parochial grievances were re-ignited by a parallel phenomenon: the outflow of indigent Bretons from depression-stricken Brittany. This time, however, grievances were more widely shared. In December 1888, St Peter Port ratepayers set the ball rolling by once more requesting the States to take on the whole cost of relieving the stranger poor.⁸¹ Then, on 25 April 1891, Constables of all parishes except St Peters addressed a petition to the States praying that stranger costs be forthwith transferred 'en entier' to the latter body.⁸² The rural share of stranger relief expenses was on the increase,⁸³ and the pro-change lobby now comprised States members from all ten parishes instead of just one. Weight of numbers ensured success, and on 25 April 1892 an ordinance was finally passed transferring stranger costs from the parishes to the States.⁸⁴ Funding for stranger relief (among other things) was to come from the proceeds of an increased duty on wine and spirits, and new duties on tobacco and imported beer.⁸⁵

Transfer to the States was subject to a number of bureaucratic conditions designed to keep a tight rein on expenditure. Under the new Ordinance, Constables retained frontline responsibility for relief and supervision of strangers. Expenses incurred for relieving and removing strangers would, in the first instance, be paid by them, and only subsequently refunded by the States. All strangers (British subjects or aliens) whose means fell beneath a certain level were to register their details at the States Office. In return, they were to receive a certificate of registration, without which they could neither be employed nor relieved.

⁸⁰ *Rapport du Comité des Etats au sujet des Pauvres Etrangers (Billet d'Etat, 1.8.1848, p. 22).*

⁸¹ Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. 64.

⁸² *Billet d'Etat*, 26.6.1891.

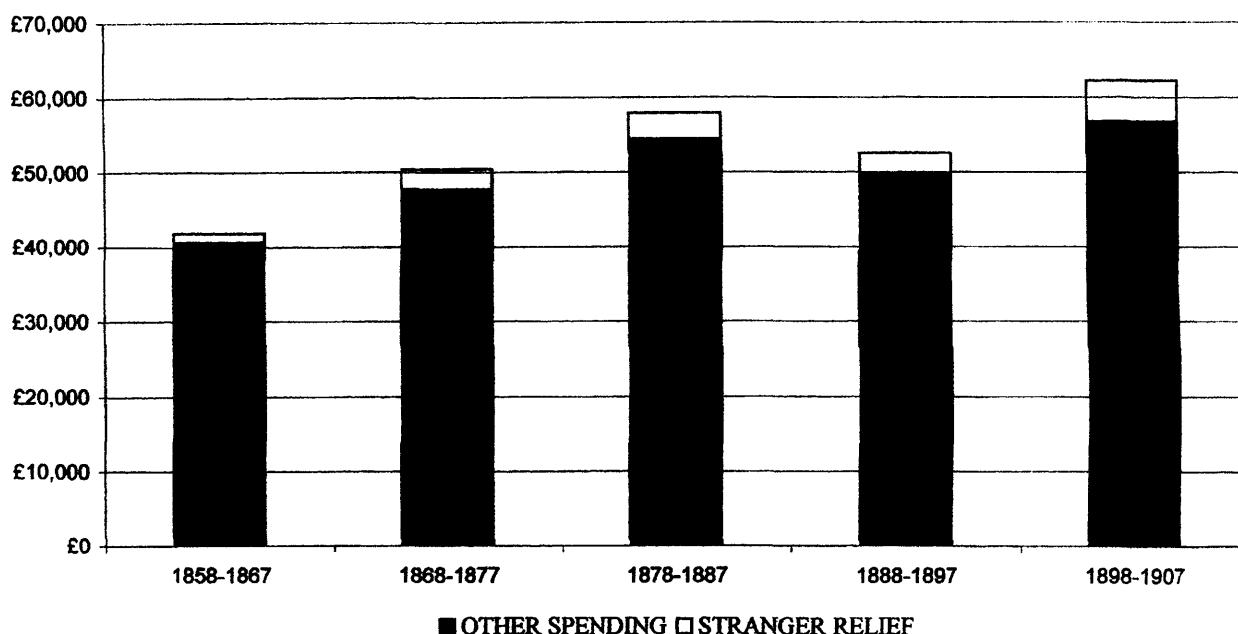
⁸³ Stranger expenditure in the nine country parishes had risen from an annual average of £40 in the three years prior to 1848 to £107 in the six years preceding 1892. St Peter Port's annual expenditure was down from £675 to £500 (*Billet d'Etat*, 4.4.1892).

⁸⁴ This was the ordinance which resulted in the establishment of the States' Stranger Register (for more on which, see above, p. 109). It was revoked and replaced by one of similar substance dated 22 April 1895, which was in turn renewed in permanent form on 26 April 1897.

⁸⁵ Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. 64.

For all the parishes' reluctance to accept stranger costs, it must however be observed that they had formed only a very small proportion of parochial outgoings. This was the case even in St Peter Port, by far the highest-spending parish. Figure 5.4 shows the proportion of St Peter Port's poor law budget for which such costs accounted.

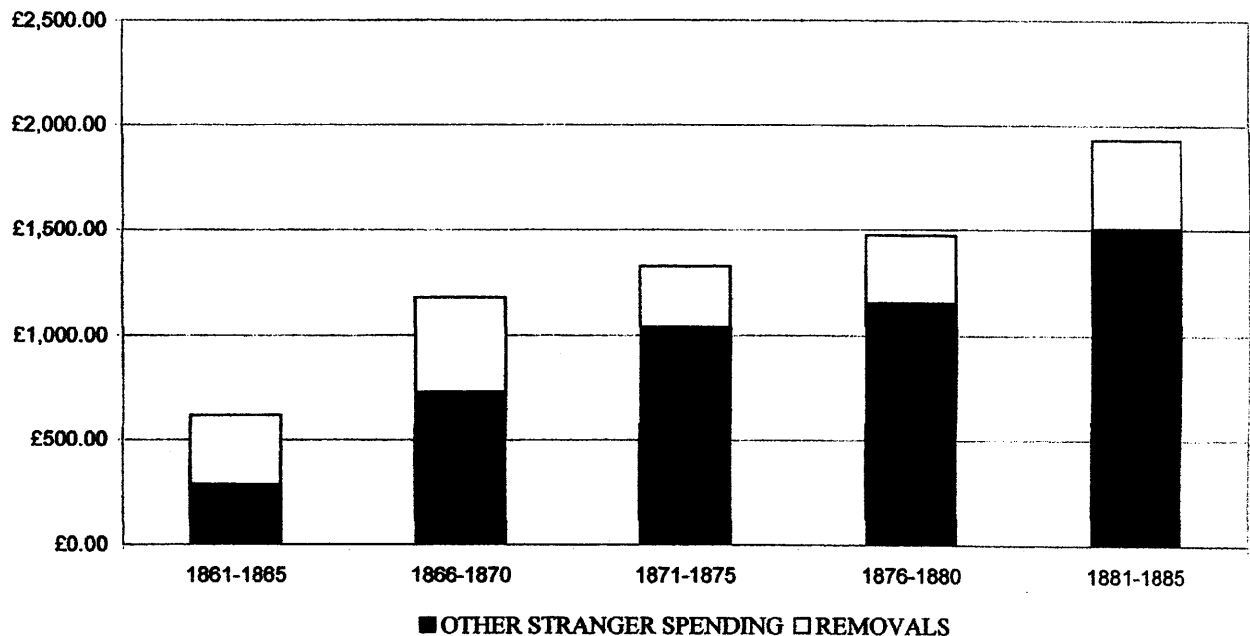
Figure 5.4 Stranger Relief as a proportion of total St Peter Port Poor Law spending over five decades, 1858-1907



St Peter Port spent several times more than the other parishes combined on strangers and on poor relief generally, but Poor Law Board accounts show that, between 1858 and 1914, an annual average of only six percent of its budget went on strangers. However, this annual average disguises the fact that both absolute amounts and proportions increased over time, particularly after costs were transferred to the States. In the 34 years between 1858 and 1891, stranger costs accounted for an annual average of 4.7 percent of St Peter Port spending, whereas, in the 23 years between 1892 and 1914 (despite the best intentions of the States), that percentage rose to 8.1. Actual sums spent rose almost fivefold, from £127 in 1858 to £775 in 1914.

In 32 of the 57 years for which accounts are available, the St Peter Port Poor Law Board itemised separately sums spent on removing strangers. Figure 5.5, which covers the quarter-century 1861-1885, shows that removals/deportations always formed a major plank in St Peter Port's stranger strategy. Over the 32 years where removal costs are itemised, the latter accounted for an annual average of about 30 percent of total sums spent on strangers. This proportion appeared to be diminishing towards the end of the period, but, in the five years 1861-1865, it comprised over half of stranger spending.

Figure 5. 5 Removals as a proportion of St Peter Port Stranger Expenditure over five quinquennia, 1861-1885



As regards other forms of stranger spending, St Peter Port seems at most times to have had a 'permanent list' of strangers on out-relief. These were cases originally relieved short-term at the discretion of the Constables which, with the approval of the Town Douzaine (or, after 1853, the St Peter Port Poor Law Board) were ultimately put on a longer-term footing.⁸⁶ Numbers of strangers relieved in this way seem to have been minimal. An 1849 parish report shows 19 strangers on long-term out-relief, whose stays in Guernsey averaged 42 years. Native poor on permanent out-relief, by contrast,

⁸⁶ On the procedure for admitting strangers to permanent relief, see evidence submitted to 1846 Royal Commission by St Peter Port Constable Joshua Ahier (*Second Report of the Commissioners*, pp. 147-148).

numbered 279.⁸⁷ Far more typical of outdoor stranger relief during the whole period seems to have been the *ad hoc* approach outlined by the Town Constables to the States Supervisor in 1895: 92 stranger families (over the previous three years) relieved casually during illness or unemployment by weekly grants of between two and five shillings; 57 strangers admitted to the Town Hospital for average periods of two months; an estimated 1,000 strangers given medicines or medical attendance free of charge.⁸⁸

Notwithstanding that Guernsey was outside the English system, St Peter Port Constables' records (and Poor Law Board accounts) show that the authorities occasionally attempted to recoup casual relief costs by seeking non-resident contributions from English migrants' parishes. 'We beg to inform you that C.D. Coombes, his wife and three children are in a very delicate state of health, destitute and unable to work', wrote the Town Constables to the Yeovil Guardians in 1843. 'Unless we are authorised by the Union to which they belong to give them relief, we shall be under the necessity of sending them to their parish'.⁸⁹ A few weeks later, Douzaine meeting minutes reveal that Yeovil Union granted the family 3s weekly for a month.⁹⁰

Removals and Deportations

Day-to-day practice

Stranger relief expenses were effectively capped by parochial authorities' ability to remove poor strangers swiftly and with minimal fuss. When the Royal Commission on Channel Island Criminal Law visited Guernsey in the autumn of 1846, Commissioners Ellis and Bros devoted much time to questioning local witnesses on removal practices.⁹¹ The evidence of Constables, Jurats and Law Officers on this subject comes across as uncertain and sometimes even contradictory. Notwithstanding that there was nothing in Guernsey law which made removal formally conditional on chargeability, and that the 1821 Ordinance explicitly permitted Constables to eject strangers on no other grounds than that they might be 'sans moyens' or 'sans industrie', officials seemed to be trying to suggest that strangers were only deported when chargeable: 'I understand that, in practice, the Constables do not exercise that power to any extent except in cases of

⁸⁷ *Rapport du Comité nommé par les Chefs de Famille de la Ville et Paroisse de Saint Pierre-Port le 5 Avril 1849* (Guernsey, 1849), pp. 2–6.

⁸⁸ St Peter Port Constables to States Supervisor, 12.9.1895 (P.R.O., HO 45/9900/B19091).

⁸⁹ St Peter Port Constables to Yeovil Guardians, 31.1.1843 (S.P.P. C.O., Letter Book 1827–46).

⁹⁰ Meeting of 12.3.1843, *Délibérations de la Douzaine 1828–47* (S.P.P. C.O., B34).

⁹¹ *Second Report of the Commissioners*, pp. 137–148; 151–153; 161–165.

strangers who become chargeable to the parish', submitted HM Comptroller John Utermarck.⁹² Paper records maintained by the Constables themselves however appear to undermine this assertion.

St Peter Port Constables kept a 'Register of Persons sent out of the Island' covering the period from September 1842 to April 1880.⁹³ The register is extremely detailed and includes information on name, age, dependants, parish of origin, occupation, length of stay, where sent, and reasons for sending. Some 773 deportations involving 1,234 persons are recorded in the four years between September 1842 and August 1846 (the Commissioners visited in September). Reasons given for deportation show that, despite apparent claims to the contrary, the Constables exercised their prerogative under the 1821 Ordinance to deport many categories of people other than those strictly 'chargeable'. In only 23 out of 773 deportations is the actual term 'chargeable' even used (there is also one case of an orphan who 'would become' chargeable). By far the most frequently given reason is an unqualified 'no work' (264 cases, plus one individual who 'would not' work). There are in addition 57 cases of 'illness', 41 of 'destitution', 16 'bad characters', 8 prostitutes, 4 drunkards, 3 pregnant unmarried women and 2 unfortunate individuals for whom the only reason given is 'old age'.

In their summing-up, the Commissioners elaborated on the local definition of chargeability and on the procedure followed when a claim of chargeability was disputed:

'a party becomes chargeable who applies for relief, or who is in such a situation that the Constable thinks it necessary to relieve him and does relieve him. In case of refusal, a complaint is made to the Court stating the party to be "*au charge*". An inquiry then takes place as to the fact of chargeability; and, if it is satisfactorily established, an order of the Court is made for the removal of the pauper, unless he can find security not to continue chargeable'.⁹⁴

In everyday practice, then, 'chargeability' appears to have been a concept interpreted with latitude by the Constables to which any stranger conspicuously struggling was

⁹² *Second Report of the Commissioners*, p. 138 (the Comptroller was a Law Officer broadly equivalent to the English Solicitor General). In England and Wales, a law of 1795 (35 Geo. III, c.101) had stipulated that non-settled persons could only be removed from a parish once chargeable (i.e. once they had actually applied for relief). Prior to this, the 1662 Act of Settlement and subsequent Acts had permitted removal on grounds of *potential* chargeability, but only within 40 days of the non-settled stranger's arrival in a parish, or within 40 days of written notice being publicly given of such arrival. In all cases, removals could only be effected by means of a legal order.

⁹³ S.P.P. C.O., B13. Constables may well have kept records of deportations at other periods, but this register is the only one which survives.

⁹⁴ *Second Report of the Commissioners*, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

vulnerable, whether he actually *requested* relief or not.⁹⁵ Indeed, the active weeding out of those 'sans moyen' was part of a Constable's duty under the 1821 Ordinance. The practical result of this was that poverty, in the case of strangers, was implicitly turned into a 'crime', for which the penalty was deportation, which could be inflicted formally, via recourse to a Court, or informally, by fiat of the Constables. Such a situation stemmed directly from the failure to enact laws pertaining specifically to the settlement and removal of strangers, and the continuing conflation of migrants with vagrants.

This state of affairs did not elude the grasp of the Commissioners, who observed, 'in the mode in which the law is administered, the being a stranger and in want comes to be considered in the nature of an offence to be treated with more or less rigour at the discretion of the Constables'. This, in the Commissioners' view, was 'clearly objectionable', and they therefore recommended revision of 'the whole of the law with regard to the relief and removal of the stranger poor'.⁹⁶

The Register of Persons sent out of the Island in fact shows formal recourse to justice to have been extremely rare: in just seven instances among the 773 deportations 1842-1846 is there any evidence of Court involvement.⁹⁷ The Commissioners observed that the formal right of appeal against expulsion provided in the 1821 Ordinance was 'seldom acted on'.⁹⁸ Further, where the law was invoked, it tended to be at the instigation of Constables rather than deportees, and was used merely as a back-up to the Constables' authority. 'The shape which it assumes in practice', concluded the Commissioners, 'is an application by the Constables to compel the departure of those who refuse obedience to their orders'.⁹⁹ Far from operating as a guarantor of individual rights, the law seems essentially to have functioned as a tool serving the interests of those who framed and administered it. The Jurats who made up the Royal Court were all ratepayers (some had also served as Constables) and thus had motives of their own for limiting stranger costs.

In the 37 years covered by the St Peter Port Register of Persons sent out of the Island (1842-80), the deportations of nearly 11,000 individuals are recorded. Alongside this, Court records contain some 277 formal removal orders issued between 1814 and

⁹⁵ The *Star*, commenting on the death in 1853 of a child belonging to a poor Englishwoman, observes that the death 'was perhaps accelerated by the want of timely medical assistance ... the mother entertaining the belief ... that if she applied to the parish surgeon, she would be considered as seeking parish relief, and would in consequence be sent out of the island' (*Star*, 10.3.1853).

⁹⁶ *Second Report of the Commissioners*, p. xxviii. No such revision took place.

⁹⁷ Scrutiny of Court records over the period 1814-1914 reveals numerous instances where non-natives convicted of petty crime were sentenced to deportation in default of bail, but far fewer cases of the same sentence applied on grounds of chargeability. For more details on deportation as a sentence for petty crime, see below, p. 156.

⁹⁸ *Second Report of the Commissioners*, p. xxviii.

⁹⁹ *Second Report of the Commissioners*, p. xxviii.

1914, under which a total of 663 individuals were removed.¹⁰⁰ These formal orders are different in both form and substance from the occasional case brought by Constables to prove chargeability, and neither do they appear to have arisen in response to appeals from unwilling deportees. Some 70 people were thus formally removed between 1814 and 1849, but most orders (91 percent) were issued after 1850, and their increased use may in part have been motivated by concerns raised by the Royal Commission. Above all, these Acts of Court appear to have been resorted to as a means of securing formal legal backing for removals in contentious cases, such as those involving particularly long residence, the physically or mentally disabled, or Guernsey-born widows and orphans of strangers. Such legal backing was no doubt sought in the hope of forestalling disputes with the parishes, usually in England, where the deportees were deemed settled, or as a means of securing a deportee's entry to a workhouse or other institution.¹⁰¹ In these cases, evidence suggests that those removed would have been escorted to their parishes or unions by officers bearing paperwork from the Court.¹⁰² This course of action was much more akin to the procedure in force in England and Wales, where removal was 'one of the most formally structured and organised legal processes of its day',¹⁰³ and where a pauper could only be removed to his parish of settlement by order of two Justices of the Peace once he had actually become chargeable and once his settlement status had been established by means of a formal settlement examination, in an action initiated by the complaining parish.¹⁰⁴ In Guernsey's case, however, the gulf between the thousands of names in the 37 years of the 'Register of Persons sent out of the Island' and the hundreds in a century of Court records clearly demonstrates that the majority of nineteenth-century deportations were effected informally under the Constables' prerogative and not subject to any legal process whatever.

¹⁰⁰ These are to be found at the Greffe, for the most part in the *Livres en Crime* (records of the island's Police Court); however, a handful from the 1840s and '50s are in the Registers of Ordinances. All Acts of Court concerning inmates in the Town Hospital between 1746 and 1923 are additionally recorded in the *Livre des Actes de l'Hôpital de Saint Pierre Port* (I.A., DC/HX 180 14).

¹⁰¹ For more on disputes with British authorities and their mode of resolution, see section on 'Conflict and Reciprocity', below, pp. 152–158.

¹⁰² In the case of the six McKenna orphans, removed to Ireland in October 1849, a letter dated 4 June 1850 from St Peter Port Constables to Bailiff Sir Peter Stafford Carey shows that the children were accompanied all the way to Omagh in County Tyrone (Greffe, Royal Court Letter Book 7).

¹⁰³ Charlesworth, 'Salutary and humane law', p. 95.

¹⁰⁴ Even then, later nineteenth-century English statutes introduced the concept of 'irremovability', under which a set period of residence conferred immunity from removal, though, before 1876, it did not alter a person's legal settlement. The process began with the Irremovability Act of 1846 (9 & 10 Vic., c.66) which stipulated that persons continuously resident for five years in a parish were not to be removed if they applied for poor relief. An Act of 1861 (24 & 25 Vic., c.66) reduced this period to three years, and an Act of 1865 (28 & 29 Vic., c.79) cut this down still further to one year's residence, this time in a union, rather than a single parish. The concept of irremovability remained quite unknown in Guernsey and utterly foreign to the insular way of thinking.

Further analysis: Register of Persons sent out of the Island

This document provides a unique insight into the timing and profile of mid-nineteenth-century removals from Guernsey and warrants analysis in its own right. Technically, the register records every instance in which a pass was issued for travel from St Peter Port to an English, French or Jersey port.¹⁰⁵ As such, it almost certainly records the near totality of insular deportations in at least its first two decades of existence. Because migration to parishes other than St Peter Port was comparatively slight, removals from them appear to have been uncommon until the last quarter of the century, and evidence in the register suggests that St Peter Port Constables acted as agents for the country parishes in arranging the passages of occasional deportees prior to this time. St Peter Port was also the island's major passenger port and first line of defence against unwelcome visitors.

The St Peter Port register records the removal of 6,324 named individuals between 1842 and 1880. Some names occur more than once, as the occasional deportee made his or her way back to the island and was re-ejected.¹⁰⁶ The named individuals might be single people, or heads of families deported with dependants. Some 28 percent of named individuals had such dependants, the number of which was usually given in the register, making an additional 4,451 unnamed kin.

In about five percent of cases, Constables' passes were issued to individuals not subject to forced deportation: 130 passes were, for example, issued as a form of assistance towards emigration; 108 went to shipwrecked sailors returning to base; 51 to local youngsters travelling to England to join the Navy. In some instances, the pass system might even be exploited by canny visitors as a cheap way of getting home (like the Irish harvesters homeward-bound on English paupers' passes with earnings stitched into their waistcoats).¹⁰⁷ One such sojourner, John Lynch, was convicted in April 1854 of fraudulently obtaining a Constable's pass to Plymouth when he had £10 on his person.¹⁰⁸ While John Lynch was certainly not the only fraudster, this was not a ploy used to anything like the extent to which the Irish used it in England. In Guernsey, there were no mass seasonal migrations to return from.

¹⁰⁵ A Hampshire newspaper of 1840, complaining about Guernsey deportees left at Southampton, informs us that the cost to the Constables of a pauper's pass from Guernsey to Southampton was just seven shillings (*Hampshire Independent*, 1.2.1840). Moreover, under the 1821 Ordinance, if a stranger were deported within a fortnight of arrival, the cost of the pass could be reclaimed from the master of the ship which brought him.

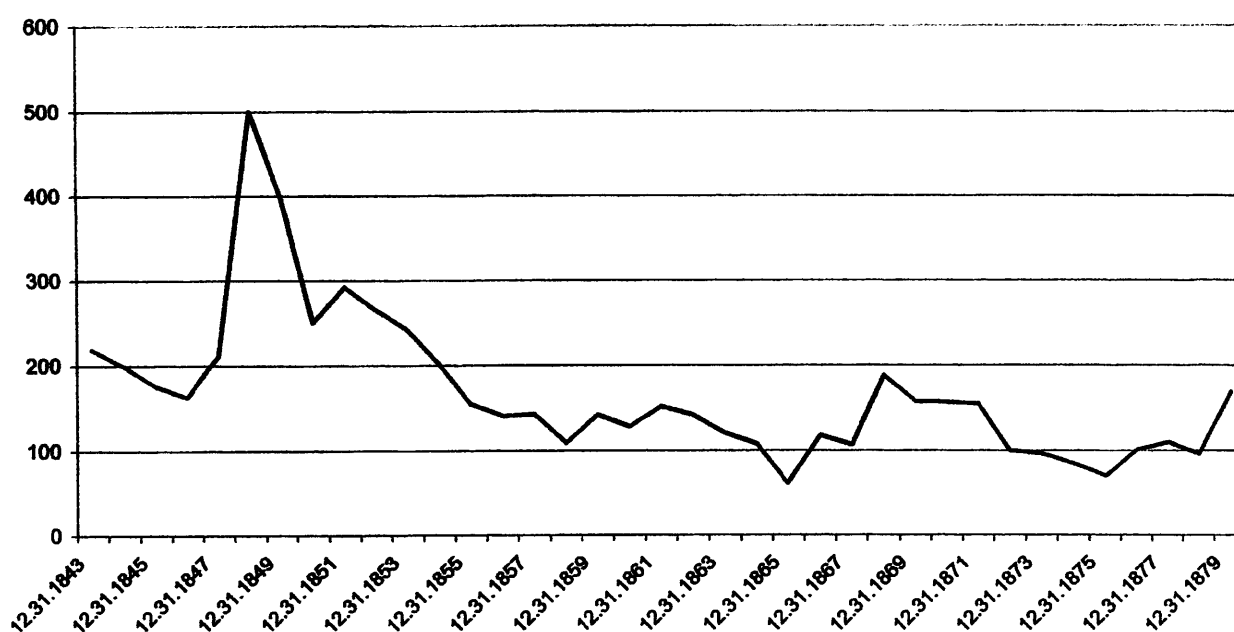
¹⁰⁶ For insular policy in respect of returning deportees, see *Second Report of the Commissioners*, p. 142. Returning to the island after deportation was not technically a criminal offence (unlike returning after a removal in England and Wales) and it was dealt with merely by putting the returnee on board the next boat.

¹⁰⁷ A. O'Dowd, *Spalpeens and Tattie Hokers* (Dublin, 1991), pp. 272–276.

¹⁰⁸ Greffe, *Livre en Crime*, vol. 34.

Figure 5.6 shows fluctuations in numbers of deportations over the 37 complete years 1843-1879.¹⁰⁹ The graph reveals a sharp peak in the years 1848 and '49. This partly reflects the upsurge in migration to the Islands resulting from the Irish Famine and harsh conditions in south-west England in the late '40s. The effect of the Alderney breakwater project is also important. There is a smaller peak in the late 1860s and early '70s as work on Guernsey's own harbour redevelopment project came to an end.

Figure 5.6 Deportations from St Peter Port, 1843-79



Nearly 30 percent of all deportations took place in the five years 1848-52, and therefore any analysis of deportees' profiles will be skewed by the composition of the late '40s/early '50s peak. If we examine the quinquennium 1848-52 in isolation, we find that 72 percent of the 1,704 named deportees were males, 44 percent of whom were in their twenties, and 82 percent of whom were travelling alone. Moreover, 73 percent of deported males had been in Guernsey less than a year. This would seem to confirm beyond doubt that many in this cohort were workmen who had travelled speculatively to the Alderney construction project, only to find themselves surplus to requirements.

¹⁰⁹ Figures relate only to named individuals. Totals over seven quinquennia are: 1843-47: 969; 1848-52: 1,704; 1853-57: 883; 1858-62: 673; 1863-67: 515; 1868-72: 758; 1873-77: 462.

Bearing in mind the distorting effects of this exceptional quinquennium, the overall profile of named deportees between 1842 and 1880 is as follows: 64 percent were male, and 36 percent were female. Overall, some 30 percent of named individuals were expelled with dependants, but the proportion was greater among females (40 percent) than males (22 percent). Some 17 percent of female deportees were variously described as 'abandoned', 'deserted', or as 'in search of' or 'joining' their husbands. A further seven percent were widows bound for their deceased husbands' parishes.¹¹⁰ A majority of all named deportees were aged 20-29 (38 percent). However, there were significant cohorts of lone children and adolescents under 20 (16 percent), and mature adults over 50 (10 percent). The register even contains two octogenarians.

Of those for whom grounds for removal were supplied, only 17 percent were explicitly set down as 'chargeable'. However, terms implying similar forms of impecuniosity ('in distress'; 'no means'; 'no work'; 'destitute') accounted for a further 54 percent. In some 7 percent of cases, grounds given concerned illness, disability or injury.

The occupational class most subject to deportation was that of general labourer, accounting for over 42 percent of males deported. A further 18 percent were involved in manufacturing trades of various kinds, most notably that of shoemaker. In this era of universal vulnerability, there were also 13 schoolteachers, sundry surgeons, veterinarians and dentists, a dancing master, a 'distressed lady', and a poet.¹¹¹

Length of stay is given for 5,385 individuals. Of these, 37 percent had been in the island for more than a year, and 10 percent for more than 10 years. Some 70 deportees had been in the island for over 30 years, including two whose stays had lasted 60 years. Women comprised over half of deportees with more than 10 years' residence.

If we take the register in its entirety (and make due allowance for the breakwater quinquennium), although young single men just passing through always formed a significant component of deportees, the proportion comprised by more vulnerable groups – single women with dependants; lone children; the elderly – was far from negligible.

¹¹⁰ Though the Ordinance of 30 April 1821 was silent on the status of widows, it is clear from the St Peter Port removals register and from Acts of Court that the practice was to send them and their children to their late husbands' parishes rather than suffer them to become chargeable locally – even when they were Guernsey-born. This also applied in the case of deserted women. In England and Wales, the 1846 Irremovability Act made widows irremovable within 12 months of their spouses' death. The residence of a woman as wife could then coalesce with her residence as widow to fulfil requirements for irremovability: 5 years after 1846; 3 after 1861 and a year after 1865. A deserted wife could acquire irremovability under the same terms. Even when they were removable, no English- or Welsh-born widow or deserted wife of a Guernseyman living in England could be sent to Guernsey. Instead, they, and any dependent children, were to be removed to their maiden settlement (A.F. Vulliamy, *The Law of Settlement and Removal of Paupers* (1895; London, 1906 edn), pp. 64 & 82).

¹¹¹ The poet, King Fisher, deported in July 1846 on grounds of destitution after four years residence, left behind him a published volume of verse: *The Muses' Deposit* (Guernsey, 1844). The work is to be found in volume V of collected Channel Island Pamphlets at the Priaulx Library, Guernsey.

Moreover, many in the most vulnerable groups were expelled after considerable periods of residence.

Together, Englishmen and Irishmen accounted for three-quarters of deportations in the Register, though the final decade did see rising numbers of French.¹¹² The lion's share of deportations – 61 percent – fell to the English. The three ports likeliest to find Guernsey's rejects deposited on their quays were consequently all English: Southampton, Plymouth and Weymouth, which between them received two-thirds of all deportees (46 percent going to Southampton alone). Many of those ejected from Guernsey lacked the resources to proceed any further, and they therefore sought help from the authorities of the ports where they landed. Over time, this became a source of irritation to the towns involved. Moreover, against the more liberal removal policy evolving in mid nineteenth-century England, some of Guernsey's less palatable removals (very old people or long-term residents) were vigorously contested by the English authorities whose responsibility the deportees became. In both cases, the authorities involved did not fail to make their grievances known to the British government. Guernsey being a separate jurisdiction acting in conformity with its own laws, no remedies were available in the English courts, and poor Law authorities had no alternative but to raise such matters with central government. The next section examines interaction at government level, and the ways in which this contributed to policy changes in Guernsey.

Reciprocity and Conflict

Conflicts with Britain

The fundamental difference between Guernsey settlement law and that in force in England and Wales was that, in the latter jurisdiction, non-natives were on the same footing as natives when it came to gaining a settlement (settlement of course concerned only an individual's entitlement to poor relief and immunity from removal, and not the broader civic rights conferred by naturalization). Thus a Guernseyman living in England who had fulfilled any of the conditions for gaining a settlement defined under English law, or – after 1876 – who had merely resided continuously in one union for three years,

¹¹² Irish deportations are, however, proportionately more numerous than English in relation to totals of new migrants identified in the censuses 1841-81: the 896 named Irish individuals removed between 1843 and 1880 equate to 44 percent of the 2,038 individual Irish present in the five censuses, whilst the 3,878 named English deportees equate to just 25 percent of the English. Either the Irish were more frequently poor and/or parish authorities cracked down on them harder.

earned a settlement in the parish (later the union) where he was living.¹¹³ Further, all the English irremovability legislation applied to him too, and by 1865, if he had resided continuously in a union for a mere 12 months, he could no longer be removed from it if he applied for poor relief. By contrast, Guernsey law could not have differentiated more starkly between natives and outsiders: under the Ordinance of 1821, unless formally *reçu habitant*, there was no way at all in which a stranger could gain a settlement.¹¹⁴

The position of Channel Islanders who had *not* gained a settlement or become irremovable in England and Wales was governed by a small number of statutes which usually, but not always, combined Islanders with other categories of British subject not covered by English poor laws, such as Irish, Scots and Manxmen.¹¹⁵ Prior to 1819, chargeability did not of itself constitute legal grounds for the removal of such non-settled non-English British subjects. By a law of 1743 only those convicted of the criminal offence of vagrancy could be deported.¹¹⁶ Masters of vessels plying between English ports and these vagrants' places of settlement could then be compelled to convey them home at a rate set by local Justices of the Peace, to be paid ultimately by the authorities of the county in which the port lay. In 1819, a further statute enacted that 'poor persons, born in Scotland and Ireland, and in the Isles of Man, Jersey and Guernsey' might henceforth be deported *when they became chargeable*, on the complaint of the churchwardens or overseers of any parish, under a warrant issued by two Justices of the Peace who were first to satisfy themselves, by means of a formal settlement examination, that the paupers concerned had no settlement in England and Wales, and were indeed natives of Jersey, Guernsey, or wherever it might be.¹¹⁷ They could then be deported in the same manner as under the 1743 Act.

Given Guernsey's tiny population in comparison with Ireland or Scotland, numbers deported to the island under the statutes of 1743 and 1819 must have been very insignificant. However, they increased with the coming of age of the generation born during the Napoleonic Wars, when, as the *Guernsey & Jersey Magazine* reminds us, upwards of fifty thousand British troops were successively quartered in Guernsey. One particularly long-staying regiment, the fourth garrison battalion, was composed chiefly of married men with numerous children, many of whom were born in Guernsey.¹¹⁸ By the

¹¹³ In 1876, the Divided Parishes Act (39 & 40 Vic., c.61) created a new method of acquiring a settlement, namely a continuous residence of three years in a union.

¹¹⁴ As we saw, the provision in this ordinance for acquiring settlement by paying rates was a dead letter.

¹¹⁵ For a detailed summary of the position of English-based Channel Islanders relative to settlement and removal matters after 1845, see Vulliamy, *Law of Settlement and Removal*, chapter IV, pp. 81–89.

¹¹⁶ 17 Geo. II, c.5.

¹¹⁷ 59 Geo. III, c.12.

¹¹⁸ *Guernsey & Jersey Magazine*, 5 (1838), p. 233.

late 1820s, the despatch to Southampton from other parts of England not of Islanders, but of Island-born garrison children (now grown up) had become an annoyance to municipal and county authorities. Under the 1743 and 1819 statutes, such deportees were to be conveyed to the Islands at Hampshire's expense. On 9 April 1829, the Mayor and Magistrates of Southampton addressed a complaint to Home Secretary Robert Peel about the numerous 'soldiers' children' sent to the port in transit to the Islands 'from the most distant parts of the country, from Yorkshire and Lancashire'.¹¹⁹ This was to be the first of many such complaints. Southampton's lobbying resulted in the passage in March 1830 of a new statute (the only such statute applying exclusively to the Channel Isles), which repealed the provisions of the 1743 and 1819 Acts as they related to Jersey and Guernsey, and made it possible for parishes in England and Wales to remove chargeable, non-settled Island-born paupers to their birthplaces at their own expense rather than have deportations paid for by the counties from which paupers were shipped.¹²⁰

The soldiers' children removed to Guernsey in the late 1820s were as unwelcome to the insular authorities as they were to Southampton, and, although the 1830 statute relieved Hampshire of the burden of paying for their passages, it only served to encourage removals to Guernsey. The island was, however, jurisdictionally separate from England and Wales, and, though the statute might alter what took place on English soil, it could not compel insular authorities to accept the deportees. Guernsey law remained as it had been before the passage of the Act, and did not recognise any right to settlement on the part of Guernsey-born garrison children. 'Un Acte ainsi réglementaire n'a pas pu changer les Lois Fondamentales du Pays', pronounced the Royal Court,

'ces Lois qui n'ont rien de commun avec les Lois d'Angleterre pour le maintien des Pauvres – Lois qui émanent, non des Actes de Parlement, mais de la volonté des Habitants, confirmée et mise en vigueur par les autorités locales légalement constituées'.¹²¹

Insular dissatisfactions over such matters came to a head in a high-profile case of 1831, when the London parish of St Pancras attempted to use its powers under the 1830 statute to remove to Guernsey 19 year-old James Streep, his wife and two children, and

¹¹⁹ A copy of this letter, forwarded to Bailiff Daniel Brock, survives in Royal Court Letter Book 4 (Greffé).

¹²⁰ 11 Geo. IV & 1 Wm. IV, c.5. The 1830 Act was eventually repealed and replaced in 1845 by one of similar substance relating to the whole spectrum of non-English British subjects (8 & 9 Vic., c.117). This Act refined certain administrative details, but, essentially, parishes and unions retained the power to remove chargeable non-settled Channel Island paupers at their own expense. This last statute remained in force and continued to regulate removals from England & Wales to the Channel Isles throughout our period.

¹²¹ Act of Court of 15 December 1831 (Greffé, Livre d'Amerci).

19 year-old William Locker and his mother. Both of these young men had applied for poor relief in St Pancras, and neither possessed a settlement in England. Locker had been born in the Vale and Streep in St Peter Port while their fathers served in the garrison (the origins of Locker's mother are unknown, but since she too was removed, it may well be that she was an Islander).¹²² The paupers were accompanied to Guernsey in December 1831 by John Capes, one of the St Pancras beadles, bearing a removal order. The St Peter Port parish authorities immediately rejected responsibility for the paupers, and refused to let Capes leave unless he took his charges with him. The Directors of the Poor of the parish of St Pancras then raised the matter with the Privy Council, contending that 'the Overseers of St Peter Port and the Vale were bound to receive the Paupers and provide for them by virtue of the orders of removal granted under the authority of the Act of Parliament'.¹²³ When the Privy Council advised the Directors that this was not so, the Directors attempted to short-circuit matters by taking out a writ of Habeas Corpus against the island's Deputy Sheriff, by whom their beadle was detained. At that time, the Habeas Corpus Act was not registered in Guernsey. The English writ was ignored, and an Order was subsequently issued by the Privy Council to compel Guernsey's registration of the Act. The attempt at compulsion was immediately seen as threatening 'one of the most ancient and vital privileges of Guernsey – the right of the inhabitants to be tried in their own local courts'.¹²⁴ A deputation from both Jersey and Guernsey was then despatched to London, charged with representing the Islands' opposition to the Act. Face-to-face contact with Home Office personnel seems at this stage to have facilitated an informal resolution of the affair, notwithstanding that the St Pancras authorities were at this precise time raising the matter in the House of Commons through the medium of radical MP Joseph Hume.¹²⁵ The Guernsey authorities agreed to release John Capes, who left the island in August 1832, taking his paupers with him. As Jonathan Duncan comments,

'the question was got rid of by a species of compromise, and was not finally determined, yet the islands undoubtedly gained their point, as they neither became charged with the paupers, nor

¹²² Original documents relating to the St Pancras case survive in P.R.O., PC 1/4407 & PC 1/4408. A recapitulation of events is also given, along with texts of relevant petitions, ordinances and Acts of Court, in *Recueil d'Ordonnances de la Cour Royale de Guernesey*, Vol II (Guernsey, 1852 -56), pp. 410–420.

¹²³ Memorial of the Directors of the Poor of the Parish of St Pancras, 22.12.1831 (P.R.O., PC 1/4408).

¹²⁴ J. Duncan, *History of Guernsey* (London, 1841), p. 211. The St Pancras affair is summarised in pp. 211–219 of Duncan's *History*. Duncan's account, together with an 1838 article of his in the *Guernsey & Jersey Magazine* (see above, p. 153, footnote 118), forms the basis of the version of events repeated in later histories. The account makes no mention of William Locker's mother and dwells heavily on the constitutional aspect of the case at the expense of its poor law implications.

¹²⁵ *Recueil d'Ordonnances*, Vol. II, p. 418.

acknowledged the dependence of their courts on those of Westminster, nor registered the habeas corpus act when directed to do so'.¹²⁶

However, it was not to be long before Home Office attention was focussed on insular removal matters once again. It was a common practice of Guernsey's Court to order the deportation of strangers convicted of petty crime if they were unable to give bail for their good conduct over a set period.¹²⁷ Additionally, strangers apprehended for minor offences might be invited to leave the island as a means of avoiding prosecution altogether.¹²⁸ Deportation had, in the past, also been used as a punishment for natives, but we learn from the 1846 Royal Commission that, by the mid-nineteenth century, it was no longer considered appropriate for islanders. However, natives under arrest for suspected crimes could, just as strangers, be given the choice of leaving the island rather than stand trial. This was known as *forjurer le pays*.¹²⁹ Early in the spring of 1840, the Jersey political agitator, Abraham Jones Le Cras, took it upon himself to bring these interesting facts to the attention of Southampton Borough Council.¹³⁰ The council appointed a committee to look into the problem, whose meeting on 14 February 1840 was attended by Le Cras in person. Details supplied to the committee by Le Cras at this meeting (not all of them correct) were subsequently incorporated almost verbatim into a petition, copies of which were in due course presented to the Privy Council, Home Secretary and both Houses of Parliament. The petitioners' complaints concerned not just the deposit of offenders on Southampton's quays, but that of Guernsey's many stranger deportees, whose arrival, they claimed, had increased disbursements made 'under the head of Casual Relief to the Port'. The petitioners called for an enquiry to be instituted, and for measures to be taken for the redress of their grievances.¹³¹ Home Secretary Lord Normanby gave Guernsey's Bailiff Daniel De Lisle Brock an opportunity to state his side

¹²⁶ Duncan, *History*, p. 219. However prickly a matter Habeas Corpus might have been to the generation of 1830 (still resentful of the imposition of anti-smuggling laws in 1805 and 1807), an Order in Council requesting registration was again sent to the island in March 1850 and was this time registered within days.

¹²⁷ The issue of deportation for petty crime was addressed by the 1846 Royal Commission, where we learn that bail was usually set at between £10 and £20 – an impossible sum for a man earning ten or twelve shillings a week (*Second Report of the Commissioners*, p. 151). Deportation for minor offences is also dealt with by Sir Edgar MacCulloch in his contribution to Ribton-Turner, *Vagrants and Vagrancy*, p. 461.

¹²⁸ *Second Report of the Commissioners*, p. 152.

¹²⁹ *Second Report of the Commissioners*, pp. 151 & 152. In the case of strangers, court sentences usually took the form of an open-ended directive to *vuidier l'île*. By contrast, natives opting to *forjurer le pays* had only to leave for a set term. Periods of banishment for natives seldom exceeded 7 years, since 7 years' absence from the island resulted in the party's 'civil death', entailing forfeiture of his property to the Crown.

¹³⁰ Meetings of 22 January, 14 February, 5 May, 16 June and 6 August 1840, General Committees Minute Book, 1839–44 (Southampton City Archives, SC 2/3/4). See also report in *Hampshire Independent*, 1.2.1840. For more on Le Cras, see below, p. 187.

¹³¹ Memorial of the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of Southampton, 15.6.1840 (P.R.O., HO 44/37).

of the case. Brock, a staunch insular patriot and adept with his pen, quietly leaving aside the charge that Guernsey exported its natives, turned the argument against Southampton:

'the paupers and offenders complained of are not natives of Guernsey; neither born there, nor fallen from the clouds; they are in fact English or Irish, come from England, and are a source of greater expense and inconvenience to Guernsey than to Southampton ... Have not the greatest pains been taken by Southampton to render it the central port for passengers to and from England? ... To be the means of pouring out numbers of paupers to other countries and think of shutting out their return is not only unreasonable but unjust'.¹³²

Normanby conceded Brock his point on this occasion, and he informed the Borough Council that the Guernsey authorities 'could not be blamed for sending away Paupers and Vagrants not being Natives'. Of banishing criminals, however, he did not approve, and he assured the Council that he 'would not fail to consider any case which might accrue of that description'.¹³³ No further steps were taken, but the incident accomplished Le Cras' purpose in intensifying mid-century irritation with the Channel Isles, thereby adding to the case for an official enquiry which was to culminate in the 1846 Royal Commission.

Home Office awareness of Guernsey's deportation practices was maintained over the next two decades by British poor law authorities disputing on a number of occasions during the 1840s and '50s what were, by their standards, illegal removals.¹³⁴ A major turning-point was, however, reached in 1863/64 in a case which pushed Westminster's patience to its limits and turned irritation into action. On 7 December 1863, a 75 year-old retired boatman by the name of William Adey was embarked for Southampton en route for Christchurch Union in Hampshire. His removal had been formally authorised by Act of Court, but the details in the Act (as in all such Acts) are scant.¹³⁵ It appears that Adey had been born in the village of Sopley, Hampshire, but had lived in Guernsey more than 50 years. He had recently become chargeable to the parish of St Peter Port after breaking his ribs. Following a period in the Town Hospital, it had been decided by the St Peter Port Poor Law Board to draw a line under their expenses by having the old

¹³² Daniel De Lisle Brock to Lord Normanby, 7.7.1840 (P.R.O., HO 98/62).

¹³³ Home Office to Southampton Borough Council, 14.7.1840, General Committees Minute Book, 1839-44 (Southampton City Archives, SC 2/3/4).

¹³⁴ Notably those of the six McKenna orphans removed to Omagh in October 1849, and James Worrall, an ex-garrison child, removed to Birmingham in early 1856 (Greffé, Royal Court Letter Books 7 & 8).

¹³⁵ Act of Court of 26 November 1863 (Greffé, *Livre en Crime*, vol. 38). These Acts bear no resemblance to highly detailed English settlement examination records. It was the object of settlement examinations to establish positively where and by what means an examinee had gained a settlement, but the purpose of the Guernsey Acts was merely to set out a negative (i.e. that a deportee had no settlement in Guernsey). They are thus relatively perfunctory.

man removed to the Union where he had been born in 1788. By this time, a consensus had gained ground among English poor law authorities that it was 'immoral' to remove elderly people 'from their social circle in a place they had enriched through toil'.¹³⁶ The Guardians of Christchurch Union raised Adey's case with the English Poor Law Board, which in turn took it up with the Home Secretary.¹³⁷

'if the Pauper had been born in Guernsey and had resided for the requisite period in any Union or Parish in England, he would have been exempt, by the law of England, from the liability to be removed from England to Guernsey, and the Board think it right to suggest ... whether it would not be advisable that some restrictions should be placed upon the power of removal from the Channel Islands similar to those which exist in the law of England'.¹³⁸

The matter was brought before Parliament,¹³⁹ and, although such a move was constitutionally contentious, a Bill was drafted in March 1864 'to amend the laws relating to the Removal of the Poor from the Channel Islands' (see figure 5.7).¹⁴⁰ The Bill was born of exasperation, and it is not clear whether the Government seriously intended to push it through Parliament. It seems probable that its drafting was a tactic to stimulate local legislation. The Draft Bill was put before Guernsey's States on 11 April 1864, and was not well received.¹⁴¹ Bailiff Sir Peter Stafford Carey, however, took a calculatedly pragmatic view. Recognising the inevitability of change, he sought to ensure that it was as favourable to the insular authorities as possible. The Draft Bill left unspecified the qualifying period to be introduced for the acquisition of settlement through residence. Whilst acknowledging that there would have to be such a period, Stafford Carey proposed making the residence requirement as long as it could feasibly be. On 8 April 1864 he wrote to Jersey Bailiff John Hammond seeking Jersey's co-operation in 'standing out for a term of ten years'.¹⁴² Once a couple of months had passed with no further Government action, however, Stafford Carey felt sufficiently emboldened to attempt doubling the requirement: 'I have an idea that if the two islands only stick to 20 years, they have a good chance of carrying it'.¹⁴³

¹³⁶ R. Wells, 'Migration, the law, and parochial policy in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century southern England', *Southern History*, 15 (1993), p. 106.

¹³⁷ The Union returned Adey to Guernsey in February 1864. He died in the island, aged 80, in 1868.

¹³⁸ Poor Law Board to Sir George Grey, 6.2.1864 (P.R.O. HO 45/7653).

¹³⁹ Particulars of Adey's case are set out in full detail in Parliamentary Papers, 1864, Cd. 135 & 570.

¹⁴⁰ Deportations from Jersey were also attracting criticism at this time; see *Report of the Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the Civil, Municipal and Ecclesiastical Laws of Jersey* (London, 1861), p. ixv.

¹⁴¹ See, in particular, Jurat Henry Tupper's comments reported in *Star*, 12.4.1864.

¹⁴² Sir Peter Stafford Carey to John Hammond, 8.4.1864 (Greffé, Letter Book IX).

¹⁴³ Sir Peter Stafford Carey to John Hammond, 15.7.1864 (Greffé, Letter Book IX).

1864. 27 VICT.



D R A F T

OF A

B I L L

TO

Amend the Laws relating to the Removal of the
Poor from the Channel Islands.

WHEREAS it is expedient to amend the Laws relating to the Removal of the Poor from the Channel Islands: Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, as follows:

1. No Person born in any Part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and having become chargeable to a Parish in the Channel Islands, or otherwise maintainable at the Expense of the Public, shall be removed from the said Islands if he has resided therein for a continuous Period of not less than Years previous to his so becoming chargeable or maintainable, and has not during that Period, except on the Occasion of Sickness or Accident, been in the Receipt of Parochial Relief or other Relief at the public Expense.

No Person to be removed from Channel Islands after certain Period of Residence.

2. "Channel Islands" shall mean the Islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark.

Definition of "Channel Islands."

3. The Royal Courts of Guernsey and Jersey respectively are authorised and required to register this Act.

Act to be registered in Guernsey and Jersey.

4. This Act may be cited for all Purposes as "The Poor Removal (Channel Islands) Act, 1864."

Short Title of Act.

¹⁴⁴ P.R.O., HO 45/7653.

The States were in no hurry to introduce changes more quickly than they had to, and more than two years elapsed before they approved a *projet de loi* of their own enshrining a new settlement law. At Home Office level, settlement issues had long been eclipsed by other concerns, and, as Stafford Carey had predicted, the States secured approval for a residence requirement of 20 years. By no means, however, might the new *Loi relative à l'Etablissement Paroissial*, ratified by Order in Council of 26 June 1867, be described as a radical departure. In practical terms, it differed surprisingly little from the Ordinance of 30 April 1821. Changes were mostly concerned with clearing up points of uncertainty in previous legislation. Articles 3 and 4, for instance, clarified the status of Guernsey-born children of non-settled migrants: on coming of age, after an unbroken residence, such children would acquire settlement in their parish of their birth. Article 5 resolved uncertainties concerning wives and widows: marriage entitled a woman to settlement in her husband's parish, and after his death, she would continue to belong to the parish in which her spouse was settled at the time of death. Where husbands possessed no settlement, widowhood (or desertion) would entail resumption of a woman's maiden settlement.¹⁴⁵ In addition to such clarifications, articles 8 and 9 also introduced new provisions for the acquisition of settlement through the occupation for ten years of a house with an annual rental of £12, or residence for three years in a purchased house, or on purchased land, to the value of seven quarters or more.

The chief innovation of the law of 1867, however, and the measure which had the potential to affect the greatest number, was Stafford Carey's 20-year residence provision. The policy of centuries past was finally laid aside, and non-natives were at last enabled to earn a settlement through residence. Any non-native who had lived in the Bailiwick for 20 consecutive years after coming of age could henceforth acquire settlement in the parish where he had resided longest. Notwithstanding the apparent gain which this represented, there were, however, two major qualifications which rather altered the complexion of this provision. Firstly, the 20 years had to be unbroken (we saw in previous chapters how prevalent circulatory and inter-island movement was for migrants from both sides of the Channel), and, secondly, any application for public relief during

¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Acts of Court continue to record removals of seemingly Guernsey-born widows well after 1867: those, for instance, of Amelia Le Noury (widow Greening) and her six children on 8 November 1890, or Adèle Rouget (widow Callicott) and her four children on 8 August 1895 (Greffé, *Livre en Crime*, vols 47 & 49). These are moreover not the only removals which do not appear to have been technically permissible under the new law. Few background details are given in the Acts, so it is difficult to know what to make of these apparent anomalies. One can only posit either a cavalier attitude to the law, or ignorance of it. Interestingly, St Peter Port Constables still felt justified in applying to remove to Brighton Guernsey-born Emma Bishop (widow Inder) as late as 1913 (see *Star*, 13.11.1913). Though, in this instance, the application was withdrawn because HM Comptroller 'was not satisfied that the woman should be sent away', one wonders how many similar applications went uncontested in previous years.

the 20-year period, aside from those for illness or accident, disqualified the applicant. In an era when employers regularly laid off workmen in times of bad weather or slack demand, there can have been few labouring men who, having managed to survive in Guernsey 20 years, had not experienced the odd spell on casual relief by reason of unemployment. Thus the insular authorities were able to recoup some of the ground they appeared to concede in the 20-year provision. Evidence preserved in Acts of Court demonstrates that removals after periods exceeding 20 years continued long after the 1867 legislation.¹⁴⁶

Conflicts with France

In the last five years of the St Peter Port Register of Persons sent out of the Island, 102 of 570 named deportees were French. The growing influx of indigent French people in the closing decades of the century raised a fresh problem: to what extent did settlement legislation apply to aliens? In England and Wales, the principle was established that any foreigner could gain a settlement on the same terms as a native.¹⁴⁷ In Guernsey's case, though nothing in the law of 1867 warranted it, poor law and judicial authorities adopted the view that aliens were excluded from its provisions.¹⁴⁸

Not one person was removed to France by formal Act of Court until 1874. After this date, Acts were issued with increasing regularity in respect of the French, amounting to 66 in the four decades to 1914, by which approximately 130 individuals were removed. Further, Constables' power to deport at their discretion 'les étrangers de mauvaise vie sans moyens, sans aveu et sans industrie' was re-affirmed in article 13 of the Ordinance of 25 April 1892, and we learn from the St Peter Port Constables in September 1895 that, between January 1892 and the latter date, no fewer than 359 Constables' passes were issued to French deportees.¹⁴⁹

The frequency of late nineteenth-century deportations to France inevitably resulted in a number of contested removals which, again, came to the notice of the British Government – this time, however, via the Foreign Office rather than the Home Office. A case in point is that of the three Germain children, whom the Vale Constables

¹⁴⁶ That, for instance, of my own great-great grandfather Robert Taylor, a quarryman resident for 33 years in Guernsey, who was removed to Yeovil in 1876 after going blind (Act of Court of 28 September 1876, Greffe, Livre en Crime, vol. 42).

¹⁴⁷ Vulliamy, *Settlement and Removal*, p. 81.

¹⁴⁸ See Bailiff Sir Edgar MacCulloch to Lieutenant-Governor Sir Edward Bulwer, 23.7.1889 (Greffe, Letter Book XIII), and Bailiff Sir Thomas Godfrey Carey to Lieutenant-Governor Michael Seward, 16.6.1901 (Greffe, Letter Book XVI).

¹⁴⁹ St Peter Port Constables to States Supervisor, 12.9.1895 (P.R.O., HO 45/9900/B19091).

were proposing to deport to France in November 1902. The case prompted a complaint by the Mayor of Cherbourg reminiscent of those of Southampton in earlier times:

'la ville de Cherbourg, par sa proximité avec les îles anglaises se trouve aujourd'hui avoir le peu envieux privilège de recevoir tous les Français indigents ou malades expulsés de Guernesey'.¹⁵⁰

The Germain children were all born in Guernsey of a local mother and French father, which raised important nationality issues. The French nationality regime operated under the principle of *jus sanguinis* and the British under *jus soli*, so Guernsey-born children of Frenchmen might be regarded as British subjects by British law and French citizens by French law. Article 8 of the *Code Civil* stated that 'tout individu né d'un Français en France ou à l'étranger' was French.¹⁵¹ Guernsey's Lieutenant-Governor suggested letting 'France have as their own what they claim'.¹⁵² However, the Home Office concluded that the children were 'by English law British subjects, whatever may be their status by French law, and it would be difficult, if not impossible, for His Majesty's Government to justify the deportation of destitute British subjects from Guernsey to France'.¹⁵³ In the event, the Vale Constables backed down, and the children were taken care of locally.

Expenditure had been rising since the States assumed responsibility for funding stranger relief in 1892. No statistics exist as to the proportion of stranger relief claimants comprised by the French, but, in the late nineteenth century, States and parochial officials certainly appeared to believe that the greater number were of Gallic origin.¹⁵⁴ Many in the States were unhappy about rising costs and resentful of having to spend money on strangers who did not even have British nationality to commend them. In an attempt to find a way out, the States passed a *projet de loi* in June 1895 which sought to have aliens fund the cost of their own deportations. The draft law, entitled *Loi relative aux Personnes de Nationalité Etrangère*, proposed charging aliens a fee of between 10 and 20 francs when they arrived at the States Office to register their presence in the island. The monies thus collected were to form a fund which could in future be drawn upon to remove such aliens should they fall into difficulties. When, however, the *projet* was submitted to the Privy Council for ratification, a negative answer was returned.¹⁵⁵ The

¹⁵⁰ Mayor of Cherbourg to British Consul in Cherbourg, 1.11.1902 (P.R.O., HO 45/10273/101928).

¹⁵¹ Noiriél, *Creuset Français*, p. 72.

¹⁵² Lieutenant-Governor Michael Saward to Home Office, 24.3.1903 (P.R.O., HO 45/10273/101928).

¹⁵³ Home Office to Bailiff Sir Thomas Godfrey Carey, 6.1.1903 (Greffé, Letter Book XVI).

¹⁵⁴ See letters on this subject from St Peter Port Constables and States Supervisor, 12.9.1895 & 23.9.1895 in P.R.O., HO 45/9900/B19091.

¹⁵⁵ Privy Council to Bailiff Sir Thomas Godfrey Carey, 20.11.1895 (P.R.O., HO 45/9900/B19091).

Foreign Office had given advice that such a measure would be 'contrary to existing treaty stipulations'.¹⁵⁶ This served only to sharpen insular resentments.

A case concerning some Jersey orphans at Nantes in 1897 prompted the Home Office (at Foreign Office behest) to remind the States that they were liable for the repayment of islanders' consular expenses. Clearly still unhappy at the rejection of the 1895 *projet*, the Bailiff reacted by suggesting the introduction of strict reciprocity: Guernsey would pay its consular expenses *only* if the French Consular Agent in the island undertook henceforth to relieve indigent Frenchmen in Guernsey. On 30 April 1897, the Bailiff requested the Lieutenant-Governor to inform the Foreign Secretary that the States would only be asked 'to sanction the repayment to the British Government of the advances made by English Consular Agents' if the Foreign Secretary for his part notified the French Government that 'the States of Guernsey will decline all responsibility for the care and relief of French subjects becoming chargeable in this Island so soon as notice shall have been given to the French Consular Agent here'. By this means, 'absolute reciprocity' would be established, and Guernsey would not be 'required to pay for its own paupers as well as for those of another country'.¹⁵⁷

In spring 1898, a letter arrived declining the Bailiff's suggestion and advising him further that, should Guernsey fail to arrange forthwith for the repayment of consular debts, 'Lord Salisbury will feel compelled to direct British Consular Officers definitely to refuse to grant relief in all such cases'.¹⁵⁸ The insular authorities had no choice but to retreat. Faced with the British Government's uncompromising attitude, a committee was set up at the States meeting of 27 May 1898 to consider (perhaps in desperation)

's'il y a des mesures qu'il conviendrait de prendre en vue soit de décharger le Etats de toute responsabilité pour le soulagement et le rapatriement des étrangers, soit de réduire, autant que l'humanité le permet, les frais présentement encourus'.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Foreign Office to Home Office, 24.10.1895 (P.R.O., HO 45/9900/B19091). A not altogether dissimilar scheme was already in force in Jersey, where, under the 1892 *Règlement touchant l'Immigration d'Etrangers Indigents*, aliens arriving in the island were to deposit a sum of not less than five shillings with the Harbour Master, which would be returned to them if they left again within three years.

¹⁵⁷ Bailiff Sir Thomas Godfrey Carey to Lieutenant-Governor Nathaniel Stevenson, 30.4.1897. Documents concerning this case are reprinted in *Billet d'Etat*, 27 May 1898. The originals are to be found in P.R.O., HO 45/10155/B221165.

¹⁵⁸ Home Office to Lieutenant-Governor, 4.4.1898 (*Billet d'Etat*, 27 May 1898). The threat was not an idle one, since Guernsey quarrymen from time to time sought work in the quarries of the Cotentin, and if they happened to get into difficulties while in France, their first recourse was the British Consul in Cherbourg. On departures of workmen to France, see *Star*, 17.2.1885 & 18.9.1906; on destitute Guernseymen in France, see letters from Consuls, 20.6.1890 & 16.6.1891 (Greffé, Letter Book XIV) and 28.9.1906 & 17.10.1906 (Greffé, Letter Book XVIII).

¹⁵⁹ *Billet d'Etat*, 27.5.1898.

The committee were at a loss to suggest any such measures, and a negative response was returned to the States at a following meeting.¹⁶⁰

For all that, one way of limiting costs was still open to Guernsey's authorities. This was to maintain, as they had for three decades, that the 1867 legislation did not apply to aliens. Under this policy, a number of removals were carried out which, by the late nineteenth century, would have been unimaginable in England: that, for instance, of 78 year-old ex-quarryman Siméon Ingouf (blind and deaf according to the 1901 census) who, in May 1901, was removed to France after 42 years' residence.¹⁶¹

Ultimately, the view that aliens could not earn a settlement through residence was challenged in Court. This, however, did not happen until as late as 1909, and the challenge was motivated by financial rather than humanitarian concerns. Early that year, a request for relief was made to the St Peter Port authorities by Domenico Sancherico, a 66 year-old newsagent of Italian origin. In March, the parish actioned the States for the costs of Sancherico's relief, on the basis that Sancherico's 47-year residence did not entitle him to a settlement in their parish, since he was an alien. Initially, the Court decided in favour of the parish, but, on 18 May the States Supervisor appealed, and the decision was reversed, the Court holding that the 1867 Order in Council applied to 'whosoever' should fulfil the residence requirement, and that Sancherico was therefore the responsibility of St Peter Port.¹⁶² Though it had taken more than 40 years, Frenchmen were now on an equal footing with the British in settlement matters.

Endnote

The early years of the twentieth century saw little further progress. Constables retained discretion to deport 'undesirable' strangers within a year of their arrival. No irremovability legislation was introduced, and the Order in Council of 24 July 1925 which made settlement insular rather than parochial re-affirmed the 20-year residence requirement.

The more liberal settlement legislation which evolved in England and Wales over the nineteenth century had been drawn up in recognition of the fact that mobility was a necessary feature of modern life, and that the legitimate needs of movers had to be met. By contrast, Guernsey's laws had their roots in an older society where incomers were unexpected, infrequent and largely unwelcome. Notwithstanding that Guernsey had

¹⁶⁰ *Billet d'Etat*, 22.2.1899.

¹⁶¹ Act of Court of 4.5.1901 (*Greffé, Livre en Crime*, vol. 52).

¹⁶² *Guernsey Evening Press*, 18.5.1909.

followed the post-Reformation Protestant lead in instituting a secular relief system for its natives, its lack of statutory public provision for all other comers was more akin to the Latin model.¹⁶³

The nineteenth-century increase in immigration was a manifestation of insular economic development and growing integration with a wider world. Migrants contributed to this development, not least by providing cheap labour. As an 1846 report observed, 'sans cette foule d'ouvriers qui accourent de toutes parts pour chercher du travail, la main-d'oeuvre serait infiniment plus chère qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui'.¹⁶⁴ Frozen in the past, however, Guernsey's stranger legislation failed to acknowledge their role and to provide reciprocally for their needs.

The States, Court and parochial officials in charge of the system were, for their part, content to let its inadequacies persist. Invariably ratepayers themselves, they were not immune to pecuniary considerations. Their refusal to recognise any debt or responsibility to a world beyond their shores effectively enabled them to have the best of both worlds. Whilst enjoying the advantages of a self-replenishing pool of cheap labour, they kept parochial rates at the lowest possible level. The insular economy no doubt gained from this, but Guernsey's standing was not materially enhanced.

¹⁶³ For all that, the Latin regime could often be more accommodating of strangers: in France's mid-century *bureaux de bienfaisance*, for example, length of residence counted for more than origins because welfare provision was still essentially governed by the notion of 'la charité chrétienne', according to which 'le pauvre n'a pas de patrie' (Noiriel, *Creuset*, p. 77). (*Bureaux de bienfaisance*, which provided welfare assistance in some, but by no means all, of the larger towns, were municipally administered but funded largely through donations and collections).

¹⁶⁴ *Rapport du Sous-Comité sur les Frais encourus pour les Pauvres Etrangers* (Billet d'Etat, 17.6.1847, p. 50).

CHAPTER 6

RELATIONS WITH THE HOST COMMUNITY

2.) Communal and Individual

In chapter four we analysed the make-up of the immigrant community. In order to understand the dynamics of inter-communal relations at a level beyond that of the purely administrative, we must now define the host community. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first contains a detailed examination of the political, social and religious fabric of nineteenth-century Guernsey. Against this background, the second section proceeds to study inter-communal relations. These are viewed first from the perspective of natives, and then from that of migrants. The third and final section uses quantitative data from census returns and marriage registers in order to form an objective assessment of integration and assimilation. These sources are analysed at aggregate level to yield information on structural trends which would have been inaccessible to contemporaries but which cast an explanatory light on their attitudes.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY GUERNSEY

St Peter Port

Social and political structure

The parish of St Peter Port comprised just ten percent of Guernsey's area but contained its only town. In 1821, it housed 55 percent of the island's population, rising to a peak of 58 percent in 1851, and declining to 43 percent in 1911.¹ The town was home to the insular elite, whose residences generally lay 'in St Peter Port, or in its immediate vicinity'.² Guernsey possessed no landed gentry. Local patricians – an exclusive cohort

¹ Figures for 1821 from Star, 7.8.1821; for 1851 and 1911 from P.P. 1852–53, LXXXVIII & 1913, LXXX.

² T. Quayle, *General View of the Agriculture and Present State of the Islands on the Coast of Normandy subject to the Crown of Great Britain* (London, 1815), p. 248.

of much intermarried families (De Saumarez, Brock, Carey, Dobrée, Le Marchant, Andros and others) – derived their wealth from fortunes made in shipowning and maritime trade. Following the suppression of smuggling in the early nineteenth century, most of these families had withdrawn from active business 'to enjoy the *otium cum dignitate* on their dividends'.³ Indigenous families dominated the elite, but the core stock of prestigious surnames had been augmented during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by successful French refugees (Jeremie, De La Condamine, Utermarck), by garrison officers finding 'wives amongst the well-to-do' (McCrea, Delancey, Lacy, Gore), and by 'business' families swept in on the tide of prosperity who judiciously intermarried with the elite (MacCulloch, Bell, Chepmell).⁴

The increasing frequency of marriage with English partners drew elite families into the orbit of the English middle and upper classes, and branches of them relocated across the Channel.⁵ Numerous progeny and a reluctance to engage in business dissipated their fortunes over the nineteenth century, and many sought a living in England in such respectably non-commercial occupations as the Army, Church or medicine. By 1904 their ranks had thinned appreciably, and Henri Boland concluded with some justification that the heyday of 'ces astres surannés' had passed.⁶

Reference to the 'Sixties' and the 'Forties' was a commonplace of Victorian writing on Guernsey. The island was deemed obsessed with class distinctions.⁷ These labels, dating from the opening of Guernsey's Assembly Rooms in the late eighteenth century, stemmed from the number of families originally assigned to each group. The 'Sixties' corresponded to the elite group described above; the 'Forties' to a group somewhat below them. The 'Forties', who were excluded from the Assembly Rooms, contained a large proportion of businessmen descended from eighteenth-century English immigrants: families such as the Bishops, Sheppards and Mellishes. 'If the Sixties made money by selling spirits to smugglers', commented a correspondent to *The Chit Chat* in 1838, 'the Forties scraped the doubles together by manufacturing the casks'.⁸

The 'Sixties' had traditionally formed the basis of the local oligarchy. Richard Hocart observes that they supplied most of the Bailiffs, Jurats, Crown Officers, militia

³ Letter from 'J.D.', *Comet*, 8.11.1833.

⁴ Unpub. & undated memoirs of F.C. Lukis, E. Carey transcript, unpaginated (Priaulx Library, IL940).

⁵ Marriage to English partners increased opportunities for social ascension. As the nineteenth century progressed, Guernsey partners of adequate fortune and equal status became rarer, and marriage with a native might, in social terms, represent a step down.

⁶ H. Boland, *Les Iles de la Manche* (Paris, 1904), pp. 134–135. Henri Boland was a French journalist and lexicographer who resided in Guernsey for many years and edited one of the local newspapers.

⁷ See, for instance, W. Berry, *The History of the Island of Guernsey* (London, 1815), p. 299.

⁸ *The Chit Chat*, 25.8.1838.

colonels and island-born rectors in the eighteenth century.⁹ They also provided most of the St Peter Port Constables.¹⁰ The roll of Jurats 1814-1914, at least in the first half of the nineteenth century, bears out the observation of the 1846 Royal Commission: 'the office [is] almost hereditary in some of them; and relationship by blood or marriage prevails to a considerable extent'.¹¹ Further analysis, however, indicates that the preponderance of town-based Le Marchants, Brocks, Dobrées and Careys gave way in the last quarter of the century to a growing cohort of Roussels, Tardifs, Cohus, Le Rays, De Garis and Domailles from the country. As the century progressed, elite families became increasingly English-orientated and detached from local politics. By 1892, in an article entitled 'Les Places Vides', *Le Baillage* was complaining 'notre classe aisée se soucie fort peu de la gestion des affaires, et chez un très grand nombre la connaissance du français est tout à enseigner'.¹² Knowledge of French was a prerequisite for entry to the juratcy, whose ranks were therefore increasingly occupied by rural francophones.

Many rural Jurats would initially have served as Constables or Douzeniers in their own parishes. In St Peter Port, this was increasingly less prevalent. A list of St Peter Port Constables 1814-1914 shows that only 18 out of a total of 118 subsequently ascended the Jurats' bench, and only 5 of these did so after 1880.¹³ Service as Town Constable or Douzenier had formerly been 'a common introduction to the office of Jurat'.¹⁴ By mid-century, however, the 'Forties' (dubbed the 'Hauteville Party' by *The Chit Chat*)¹⁵ had 'shouldered their superiors out of the Douzaine'.¹⁶ At the expense of the 'Sixties', Sheppards, Mellishes, Bishops, Betts, Valrents and Agnews henceforward appeared more frequently in the ranks of Constables, but they in return were excluded from the juratcy. Richard Hocart attributes the failure of 'Forties' members in mid-century Jurats' elections to 'social prejudice'.¹⁷ The *Star* explains Hilary Agnew's defeat in an election of 1845 by his lack of 'the requisite degree of independence'.¹⁸ Agnew, who had served as Town Constable between 1832 and '33, was a banker, and not at this time in possession of private means.

⁹ R.P. Hocart, 'Elections to the Royal Court of Guernsey, 1821-1844', *T.S.G.*, 19 (1979), p. 496.

¹⁰ G. Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680-1830: The History of an International Entrepôt* (Woodbridge 1999), p. 15.

¹¹ *Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the State of the Criminal Law of the Channel Islands* (London, 1848), p. xix. For background to the Royal Commission, see below, pp. 186-187. For a list of Jurats 1814-1914, see appendix 1.

¹² *Baillage*, 30.1.1892.

¹³ For a list of St Peter Port Constables 1814-1914, see appendix 2.

¹⁴ *Second Report of the Commissioners*, p. xiv.

¹⁵ *The Chit Chat*, 18.7.1840. Hauteville, a street filled with genteel residences of the eighteenth century, had largely been abandoned by the 'Sixties' for more exclusive suburbs.

¹⁶ *The Chit Chat*, 25.8.1838 & 6.10.1838.

¹⁷ Hocart, 'Elections to the Royal Court', p. 501.

¹⁸ *Star*, 27.3.1845.

In 1820, the *Star* had asserted 'we know that a parish meeting will never sanction that a stranger should serve in a public civil capacity'.¹⁹ However, from mid-century onwards, the office of Town Constable was held not just by descendants of immigrants, but, from time to time, by immigrants themselves. William Hickinbotham, for instance, (1855-58) was an Englishman. William Murdoch (1908-14) was Scottish. This was a reflection of St Peter Port's increasing saturation with incomers from across the Channel.

Ethnic composition

According to Gregory Stevens Cox, while in-migration was largely responsible for the late eighteenth-century growth of St Peter Port, the influx was composed to almost as great an extent by movers from Guernsey's rural parishes, as by immigrants from England.²⁰ By the mid nineteenth century, this was no longer the case. Some country-dwellers may still have supplemented landholdings outside St Peter Port by working 'as a mechanic or labourer in town', as John Jeremie had observed in 1821,²¹ but they no longer seemed disposed to relocate there wholesale. Analysis of census enumerators' books for St Peter Port in 1851 shows that, in a total civilian population of 16,541, only 1,275 individuals were born in Guernsey parishes other than St Peter Port – a mere 7.7 percent of the urban civilian population. By contrast, migrants with non-Guernsey birthplaces comprised 39 percent of the civilian population. In the core 20-55 age group, migrants from outside Guernsey formed an outright majority, accounting for 51.1 percent of all civilians in this bracket. There were, of course, over 10,000 Guernsey-born people living in town, but the vast majority of these (84 percent) were born within St Peter Port itself. Children under 18 accounted for 47 percent of these natives, but about half of all native children lived in households where neither parent was from Guernsey, or where at least one of the parents was non-native.²² By the time of the 1851 census, nearly 65 percent of surnames in town were 'British' (English, Irish, Welsh or Scottish, but mostly English). If surnames are genetic markers,²³ then, by the mid nineteenth century, St Peter Port was becoming, ethnically and culturally, an 'English' town.

¹⁹ *Star*, 26.9.1820.

²⁰ Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, pp. 69 & 81.

²¹ Sir J. Jeremie, *Historical Account of the Island of Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1821), p. 162.

²² It is impossible to give a precise percentage; St Peter Port being a seafaring town in 1851, 17 percent of all households containing children were headed by a lone parent, usually the mother. Where both parents are present, only the children's relationship with the father is given, so we cannot be certain of his wife's status as regards co-resident children.

²³ 'A person's name is linked to the Y chromosome' (J.F. Crow, 'Discussion: surnames as markers of inbreeding and migration', *Human Biology*, 55 (1983), p. 384).

The Nine Country Parishes

Social and political structure

'Guernesey est à la fois plus normande et plus anglaise que Jersey', wrote a French traveller in 1849. He identified 'deux races distinctes ... celle des villes et ... celle des campagnes'. In the latter, 'l'influence britannique se fait plus fortement sentir'; in the former, 'le fond de la population a mieux conservé ... sa naïveté primitive, ses mœurs un peu rudes, son patois du XIII^e siècle'.²⁴

We saw in chapter one that the principal occupation outside St Peter Port was agriculture. Farm sizes, already small in 1814, followed a diminishing trend. Guernsey practised a form of limited primogeniture in which real property could not be disposed of by will where there were descendants, but was divided up between heirs according to a pre-set formula. The eldest son was entitled to the family house and a larger share of the land (about one-sixth of an acre),²⁵ and the remainder was shared among other siblings. Observers distinguished three classes of country-dweller according to landholding size: owners of 18-25 acres whose holdings allowed them to farm full-time; part-time farmer-artisans supplementing smaller holdings with a trade, and landless journeymen or labourers 'urged on by the honest ambition of being able to build a cottage on the small patrimonial division' they would inherit from their parents.²⁶ Published analysis of the 1851 census shows that, out of a total of 821 farmers in 'Guernsey and adjacent islands', 67 percent farmed 14 acres or less and nearly three-quarters employed no labour.²⁷

Differences of income and lifestyle in the countryside were not great. Jurat Thomas Le Retilley stated to the 1846 Royal Commission that even those country farmers who were rated were 'persons of very limited means'.²⁸ Contemporaries were at pains to stress the absence from the countryside of 'extremes of wealth and poverty'.²⁹ Rural society was, however, strongly hierarchical. Hereditary status gradations perhaps took on greater symbolic importance in a community whose members had comparatively little to differentiate them materially. Dynasties of leading families arose in whom office-holding became hereditary and who were jealous of their standing in the parish³⁰ (see figure 6.1 for a photograph of St Martins Douzaine members in the 1870s).

²⁴ Anonymous, 'Les Iles de la Manche', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 4 (1849), p. 964.

²⁵ This was termed his *préciput* or eldership.

²⁶ H.D. Inglis, *The Channel Islands* (1834; London, 1835 edn), p. 206.

²⁷ P.P. 1852-53, LXXXVIII.

²⁸ *Second Report of the Commissioners*, p. 254.

²⁹ P. Jeremie, *On Parochial and States Taxation in Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1856), pp. 83-84.

³⁰ T.F. Priaulx, 'Secular parish administration in Guernsey', *Quarterly Review of the Guernsey Society*, 22 (1966), pp. 50-51.

Figure 6.1 St Martins Douzaine, 1870s³¹



Status differences were given recognition in a system of titles rooted in traditional Norman social distinctions, which overlap but do not fully coincide with the economic classification given above.³² The system was described in 1876 by an American:

'if one is a common worthless sort of fellow, he is called Jean, *tout court*; if a grade better, perhaps with his own cottage and pig, and some self-respect, he is addressed as Maître Jean; a small farm, a couple of cows, and a better position generally, would entitle him to be called Sieur Jean Marquand; he must have a comfortable property, and be a man of good standing in his parish, to be called Mess Marquand, and it takes official dignity, or the best social position, to entitle him to be called Monsieur Marquand'.³³

The 1876 description is jocular, but the facsimile of a page from the St Saviours marriage register given in figure 6.2 shows how seriously the system was still taken in 1828. The first entry features a groom of the highest rank, *Mr. Jean Hubert*. The last entry features a groom of middling status, *Sieur Abraham Naftel*. It was by and large from this rank that Constables and Douzeniers (and most ratepayers) were drawn.

³¹ Courtesy of Guernsey Museums and Art Galleries.

³² The same system prevailed in eighteenth-century St Peter Port and has been described in Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, pp. 98–101.

³³ G.E. Waring, *A Farmer's Vacation* (Boston, 1876), p. 213. On status distinctions, see also M. De Garis, 'The parish of St Pierre du Bois and some of its inhabitants in the 18th and early 19th centuries', *T.S.G.*, 14 (1949), pp. 480–481.

Figure 6.2 St Saviours marriage register, 1828

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M.^r Jean Hubert, - fils Jean, - de Saint Martin, -
et Demoiselle Esther De Lisle, fille Nicolas, de St. Sauveur,
ont été mariés ensemble, avec Licence du Révérend -
D. F. Durand, Doyen de cette Ile; le 25. Octobre, 1827,
par moi, - Nicolas Bernel, - Recteur. -

Jean Le Sauvage, - fils James, - de Saint Sauveur, -
et Elizabeth Gallienne, - fille Pierre - de Torteval, -
ont été mariés ensemble, - le 7. Novembre, 1827, -
== par moi, - Nicolas Bernel, - Recteur de Saint Sauveur, -
après la publication de leurs Annonces, trois Dimanches
consécutifs, dans l'Eglise de Torteval et dans l'Eglise -
= de Saint Sauveur, -

Nicolas Marquand, - fils Abraham, de Saint-Pierre-Port, -
= et Charlotte Duquemin, - fille Pierre, de Saint Sauveur,
ont été mariés ensemble, - le 26. Avril, 1828, -
== par moi, - Nicolas Bernel, - Recteur de St. Sauveur, -
= après la publication de leurs Annonces, trois Dimanches consécutifs,
dans l'Eglise de St. Pierre-Port et dans celle de Saint Sauveur. -

Jean Torode, - fils Nicolas, de cette Paroisse - et Rachel Le Mésurier Dumont,
= fille de Daniel Dumont, de Torteval, - ont été mariés ensemble, -
avec Licence du Rév. H. Havilland Durand, - Député Subrogé, -
= le 18. Mai, 1828, = par moi, = Nicolas Bernel, - Recteur. -

Le Sieur Abraham Nafel, - fils du Sieur Jean Nafel, -
et Demoiselle Lucrèce Alliez, fille de M.^r Nicolas Alliez, -
= tous les deux de cette Paroisse - ont été mariés ensemble,
avec Licence du Rév. H. Havilland Durand, - Député Subrogé, -
= le 27. Juillet, 1828, = par moi, = Nicolas Bernel, - Recteur. -

Rural demography

Whereas the population of St Peter Port rose by 157 percent between 1727 and 1821, the combined population of the four most rural of the country parishes – St Peters, St Saviours, the Forest and Torteval – increased by only 25 percent.³⁴ Census returns show that, in 1851, as much as 85 percent of the combined population of these south-western parishes were born within the same four parishes. This was a homeostatic society where demographic growth had traditionally been checked by the availability of viable niches in the agrarian economy. In this system, marriage was usually deferred until a niche became vacant (on the death or retirement of a father), with a consequent late age at marriage and a corollary that a proportion of the population either left or remained unmarried.³⁵ Comparison of enumerators' books for the four south-western parishes with those for St Peter Port on the one hand, and the Vale and St Sampsons on the other demonstrates that this traditional demographic regime still pertained in the south-west in 1851, though the situation had altered in town and was currently changing in the north. The south-western parishes had an older age structure: 34 percent of the population was aged 40 and over, compared with 25 percent in the northern parishes and 29 percent in town. Only 8 percent of male household heads were aged between 20 and 29 in the country parishes, whilst 14 percent fell within that bracket both in town and in the northern parishes. There were also north-south differences in the rate of female celibacy: a mere 6 percent of women aged 35 and over remained unmarried in the northern parishes, compared with 19 percent in the south-western parishes. An even higher proportion of women in this bracket remained unmarried in St Peter Port – 23 percent, but much of this was due to the presence of genteel spinster migrants and that of the celibate overspill from the countryside: 1851 returns show that two-thirds of local in-migrants to St Peter Port were female, of which half were over 40 and never-married.

A similar exercise with enumerators' books for 1901 shows that, 50 years later, these effects were all somewhat diminished. The twentieth century opened with just 29 percent of the population of the four south-western parishes aged 40 and over; 15 percent of male household heads between 20 and 29, and the celibacy rate among women over 35 down to 17 percent. These changes may have in part been due to the presence of French migrants in the countryside from the 1880s onwards, but the move from polyculture to specialised farming – cattle-breeding for the U.S. market or tomato production for the

³⁴ Derived from 1821 census figures published in *Star*, 7.8.1821 and the Royal Court's enumeration of 1727 reproduced in Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 164.

³⁵ D. Levine, 'Production and reproduction in England, 1500-1851', in D. Levine (ed.), *Proletarianization and Family History* (Orlando, 1984), pp. 94-106.

U.K. market – undoubtedly played an important role in freeing the rural parishes from demographic constraints. Increased productivity under glass reduced the size of a viable holding, and a more flexible financial system extended the range of options for acquiring land.³⁶ There were also more openings for rural waged labour.³⁷ Tight demographic and social structures in a rural world that had been isolated and inward-looking for a millennium were thus beginning to relax.

A Profile of Insular Religion

Guernsey had been Protestant since the Reformation, but its Protestantism was somewhat different from that of England.³⁸ Sixteenth-century Guernsey had been thoroughly francophone, which meant that the reformed faith was initially brought to the island and sustained by French-speaking ministers, many from Geneva. The result was a Calvinist regime with its own Consistory and Discipline, which influenced every level of island society, including government and administration. For reasons of political expedience, the English Crown tolerated this regime for several decades, but it was suppressed after the Restoration. Charles II's extension to the island of the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, and his appointment of a new Dean in 1663 (the first for a century) ensured that the forms of Anglicanism, at least, were henceforth imposed. Nevertheless, continental ministers continued to fill benefices as the need arose, and Calvinist ways died hard.³⁹ As late as 1814, William Berry identified vestiges of the old Calvinism in the non-use of surplices and baptismal fonts.⁴⁰ In the early nineteenth century, however, the growing anglicisation of the elite and the influx of English *rentiers* brought a move towards greater standardisation of observance, and the Anglican form of Confirmation was administered for the first time in Guernsey in 1818.⁴¹

English Dissent (much like English migrants) did not reach the island until the second half of the eighteenth century. The pioneers were Quakers, followed by

³⁶ With profits on tomatoes a fairly secure prospect, Guernsey banks showed a willingness to make loans 'to industrious beginners ... , often taking the known character of the applicant as their sole security' (H. Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, 2 vols (London, 1902), 1, p. 78).

³⁷ In pp. 37–38 of his essay on 'The demographic origins of the European proletariat', in Levine (ed.), *Proletarianization*, Charles Tilly gives an account of the transition from peasant to specialist agriculture in parts of western Europe which has particular resonances for Guernsey.

³⁸ See D.M. Ogier, *Reformation and Society in Guernsey* (Woodbridge, 1996) for the transition to Protestantism.

³⁹ For an account of the protracted period over which Anglican forms were imposed, see J. Duncan., *The History of Guernsey* (London, 1841), pp. 343–351.

⁴⁰ Berry, *History*, p. 262.

⁴¹ J. Crozier (ed.), *Catholicism in the Channel Islands* (Guernsey, 1951), p. 28.

Wesleyan Methodists in 1785.⁴² Wesleyanism spread rapidly in the first decades of the new century. Its growth was greatest in the countryside, where a French-speaking circuit was established whose members rose from 400 in 1810 to 1,063 in 1840.⁴³ A variety of francophone Baptist and Independent chapels also flourished in the rural parishes.

Hugh McLeod observed with regard to Methodism in England that 'chapels sprang up where the Established Church was weak [filling] a vacuum left by the failure of the Established Church'.⁴⁴ Guernseymen may have felt uncomfortable with the move to cleanse insular Anglicanism of its heterodox features in the early nineteenth century. Chapels would have provided them with a congenial alternative forum in which they might continue to express a distinctive evangelical identity, served by French-speaking ministers and preachers drawn from amongst themselves. Certainly, insular commentators regarded the Wesleyans as 'les vrais continuateurs des huguenots'.⁴⁵ Whatever the case, Channel Island francophone Methodism followed a course peculiar to itself for most of the century. Connections with British Methodism remained minimal, chiefly because of the language difference: 'la littérature religieuse du méthodisme britannique, les délibérations de son corps directeur ... n'étaient guère connues dans les Sociétés, qui formaient un petit monde à part vivant de sa vie propre'.⁴⁶

In addition to francophone Wesleyanism, several varieties of English-speaking Nonconformism also existed in Guernsey. These, however, were chiefly confined to St Peter Port (and to a lesser degree St Sampsons and St Martins). Aside from the Original Methodist Connexion, the town housed chapels belonging to the New Connexion, Bible Christians and Primitive Methodists. St Peter Port also had a sizeable Brethren community. English-speaking chapels were founded essentially by English migrants, and they seem to have drawn the bulk of their congregations from urban migrants and their descendants, making little headway outside the town and parishes contiguous to it.

The 1851 religious census was not extended to Guernsey, but there was a home-grown census of church attendance on 2 July 1893, organised by French Wesleyan

⁴² For a discussion of early Nonconformist diversity, see J. Jacob, *Annals of some of the British Norman Isles constituting the Bailiwick of Guernsey* (Paris, 1830), p. 468–472. In the nineteenth century, members of the Original Connexion were usually known as 'Wesleyans' in the Channel Islands, and this term will hereinafter be used to refer to them.

⁴³ M. Lelièvre, *Histoire du Méthodisme dans les Iles de la Manche, 1784-1884* (Paris, 1885), p. 430.

⁴⁴ H. McLeod, *Religion and the Working Class in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London, 1984), p. 22.

⁴⁵ Lelièvre, *Méthodisme*, p. ix. Rural Methodism seems nevertheless to have co-existed quite amicably with the Established Church. Most christenings, weddings and funerals continued to be performed in the parish churches, and Marie De Garis reports that, on feast days such as Good Friday, Wesleyan chapels deliberately kept their doors closed so that their congregations might attend the parish church 'en bloc' (M. De Garis, *Folklore of Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1975), p. 73). While Anglo-Catholicism gained a foothold in Guernsey with the opening of St Stephens church in St Peter Port in 1865, some of the rural parish clergy (notably Thomas Brock, rector of St Peters 1802-51) remained determinedly evangelical.

⁴⁶ Lelièvre, *Méthodisme*, p. 450.

minister A.J.T. Le Gros.⁴⁷ The census records 17,576 attendances in 75 churches, chapels, Salvation Army Fortresses, cottage meetings and open-air meetings. Its results are summarised in table 6.1, which ranks denominations according to numbers attending their services.⁴⁸ Both morning and evening attendances were counted in the census, but Sunday School pupils were not included.⁴⁹ Anglican attendances accounted for 34 percent of the total, and Nonconformists (including Methodists) for 57 percent.⁵⁰

Table 6.1 Results of 1893 religious census of Guernsey

Denomination	Places of worship	Parishes in which situated	Attendances
Anglican	17	all	5,998
French Wesleyan	17	all	2,989
Salvation Army	4	St Peter Port, St Sampsons, Vale, St Martins	1,941
English Wesleyan	6	St Peter Port, St Sampsons, St Martins	1,783
English RC	2	St Peter Port, St Sampsons	1,021
Baptist	6	St Peter Port, Castel, St Saviours, Forest	663
French RC	2	St Peter Port, St Sampsons	588
Independent	5	St Peter Port, St Andrews, St Saviours, St Martins	533
Brethren	6	St Peter Port, St Sampsons, Castel, St Martins	507
New Connexion	1	St Peter Port	452
Primitive Methodist	2	St Peter Port, St Sampsons	315
Udenominational	4	St Peter Port, St Sampsons, Vale, St Martins	302
Bible Christian	1	St Peter Port	280
Presbyterian	1	St Peter Port	188
Quaker	1	St Peter Port	16

⁴⁷ The census was held to prove the strength of Nonconformism in the face of a new education law which, according to certain Nonconformists, gave undue influence to the Established Church. However, discord over education was never, before or after, a feature of insular inter-church relations, and commentators have seen this episode as resulting from the political manipulation of the clergymen concerned (D. Mulkerrin, 'The development of elementary education in the island of Guernsey, 1893-1935' (unpub. MA dissertation, London University, 1981), p. 93). On the education dispute, see below, pp. 238-239.

⁴⁸ More detailed results are to be found in *Comet*, 15.7.1893.

⁴⁹ Attendances equate to 50 percent of the 1891 population of 35,243. The equivalent figure for the 1851 religious census of England & Wales is 63 percent (based on figures from K.D.M. Snell & P.S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 423). Many of these attendances, however, would represent a single individual attending both morning and evening service. The proportion of church-goers in Guernsey's 1893 population is therefore likely to have been rather less than half. This comes as a surprise in a society which seems to have considered itself particularly God-fearing.

⁵⁰ Anglicans disputed these figures. See *Star*, 22.7.1893 for critical letter from Rev. John Penfold, and *Star*, 27.7.1893 for reply by Rev. A.J.T. Le Gros.

The Roman Catholic percentage, at 9 percent of all attendances, is surprisingly high.⁵¹ All the more so since it was less usual for a Catholic to go to Mass twice on a Sunday than for a Protestant to attend both morning and evening service, and Catholic figures may be a closer representation of the number of church-goers. Catholicism had only been re-introduced to the island 100 years previously by *émigrés* from the French Revolution,⁵² but, by the time of the 1893 census, there were a total of four Catholic churches and chapels in Guernsey. Two were English-speaking and catered principally for a congregation of Irish descent; two were French-speaking and catered for Frenchmen. Catholicism made few converts among the natives, however. In a letter discussing the 1840 civil registration law, Bailiff Daniel De Lisle Brock justified exempting Catholic congregations from finding 20 *chefs de famille* to sign an application for a licence to solemnise marriages. 'No Natives being of that persuasion, it might be out of [the priests'] power to find 20 householders'.⁵³ Thus, while francophone Nonconformism might be considered the quintessential expression of insular religious identity, Roman Catholics were, by definition, outsiders.

INTER-COMMUNAL RELATIONS

Natives' attitudes towards migrants

By 1814, St Peter Port had been receiving substantial numbers of migrants for half a century. Old-established immigrant families were now well-ensconced in their own social circles. Lean times between 1815 and 1820 saw a weeding out of poorer incomers, and, by the 1830s, new 'high net worth' individuals were being welcomed. 'Officers of the Garrison are supposed to have the *entrée* everywhere', remarked a correspondent to *The Chit Chat* in 1839; 'and those on halfpay and can afford to give parties ... are put on the list of the Sixties'.⁵⁴ For new arrivals in lower social brackets, however, it was a different matter. There was a general mistrust of *étrangers sans aveu*,⁵⁵ and hawkers were regarded as particularly suspect. The Royal Court passed a

⁵¹ Despite Famine migration, Roman Catholic attendances represented only 3.5 of all attendances in the 1851 religious census of England & Wales (figure based on Snell & Ell, *Rival Jerusalems*, p. 423).

⁵² For an account of the early days, see Crozier, *Catholicism*, pp. 30–33. There had, of course, been some Catholics in Guernsey prior to the eighteenth century (mostly garrison members and sojourning Frenchmen), but aside from a brief period under James II, they had been served by neither chapel nor priest.

⁵³ Daniel De Lisle Brock to Rev. Thomas Brock, 11.2.1839 (Greffé, Royal Court Letter Book 5).

⁵⁴ *The Chit Chat*, 25.5.1839.

⁵⁵ = whom no-one could vouch for.

plethora of anti-hawker ordinances over the course of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶ The Ordinance of 20 August 1827 which decreed a parish-by-parish enumeration distinguishing strangers from natives explicitly states in its preamble that it was prompted by 'le grand nombre d'Etrangers suspects qui parcourent la Ville et la Campagne, et les Colporteurs, qui, sous prétexte d'offrir leurs marchandises, s'introduisent dans toutes les maisons'.

Wariness reached a peak in the 1840s as numbers of impoverished refugees from bad conditions in south-west England rose sharply. As anxieties mounted over imported pauperism, the States debated ways of managing 'la dépense toujours croissante [de] cette foule de pauvres gens qui viennent ... chercher ici les moyens de vivre'.⁵⁷ Pauper migrants were also seen as a threat to law and order. 'When we consider the needy strangers of the labouring classes who crowd into this spot', wrote Bailiff John Guille in 1844, 'we must feel convinced that nothing but the most unceasing vigilance and active exertion on the part of the police can maintain a sufficient check on the commission of crime'.⁵⁸ Exemplary punishments seem to have been meted out to unruly strangers to impress them with respect for local authority. When English quarrymen Abner Allen and William Udall were convicted of affray at a public house in the Vale in 1853, the *Star* reported that the Court's sentence of imprisonment was motivated by a need 'to teach the English workmen that they must respect the authority of the Constables'.⁵⁹

The Irish formed a significant proportion of migrants at this time, but, rather than expressing any novel local reaction, attitudes evinced towards them in Guernsey newspapers seem frequently to have been borrowed from the English provincial press. When the Irish first arrived in any number, worries were aired that they might bring with them the 'seeds' of famine-associated diseases,⁶⁰ but when these worries subsided, the press had fun exploiting the 'picturesque' possibilities of the 'sons of Green Erin'. Just as articles in, for instance, the *Bristol Times* presented Irishmen as comic figures and parodied their brogue,⁶¹ so the *Comet* gleefully reported (or invented) the discourse of Michael Scanlan, tried in 1853 for assaulting an Englishman: 'By jabers! I'm a Paddy ... I'm the boy to handle a shillelah!'⁶²

⁵⁶ Though these were in some ways as much a manifestation of trade protectionism as xenophobia.

⁵⁷ *Rapport du Sous-Comité sur les Frais encourus pour les Pauvres Etrangers, Billet d'Etat*, 17.6.1846.

⁵⁸ John Guille to St Peter Port Constables, 22.11.1844 (Greffé, Royal Court Letter Book 5).

⁵⁹ *Star*, 29.9.1853.

⁶⁰ *Star*, 14.5.1847.

⁶¹ G. Davis, *The Irish in Britain 1815-1914* (Dublin, 1991), pp. 71-75.

⁶² *Comet*, 11.4.1853.

Aside from this, little distinction seems to have been made between Irish and English migrant labourers. The Irish – probably because they were few in number – generated no more serious social tension than their English counterparts and were far from attracting the vehement prejudice they evoked in parts of the United Kingdom.⁶³ Even when hostile feeling towards the Irish peaked as a result of Fenian activities in Great Britain in 1867, the *Comet* felt sufficiently confident to laugh:

'imaginary bodies of Fenians have been seen drilling at night on L'Ancrese Common and Delancey Hill; suspicious craft have been seen hovering about the island ... after making very careful enquiries, we find no evidence to substantiate the statements we have referred to. There are at present some 600 or 800 Irish labourers in the island ... as a class, they have always been industrious and orderly, and we cannot but draw from their past good conduct an assurance that, should any emissary seek to seduce them, they will indignantly reject their advances'.⁶⁴

By the time French migration was at its height 50 years later, such mild attitudes had been transformed. The rising influx of poor Bretons in the 1880s and '90s turned low-level anxieties over strangers into overt antagonism. Concerns over poor relief and law and order were raised, as they had been earlier in respect of the English and Irish, but they now had a noticeably sharper edge. In his study of immigration to Britain, Colin Holmes finds no conclusive evidence of a link between the size of a migrant influx and the hostility it generates.⁶⁵ Numbers did play a part in sharpening anti-French feeling in Guernsey, but they were not the whole story. Islanders' attitudes had already been conditioned by their front-line position over many centuries of cross-Channel warfare. On top of this, it came easily to a society which was itself becoming more affluent to despise the wooden-shod, rag-clad Bretons whose desperate poverty seemed to place them in a more primitive era. 'I didn't like the French, and I think most Guernsey people felt the same', comments Gerald Edwards' eponymous hero; 'I thought they was dirty'.⁶⁶ This sense of superiority and distaste found widespread expression in the press. Articles abound on the loose morals of the French; on their illiteracy and uncleanness; on their lawlessness.⁶⁷ These views were shared by the local authorities, and aired in

⁶³ Anti-Irish feeling in the north-west of England is well-documented, but for an account of inter-ethnic tensions nearer home, see L. Miskell, 'Irish immigrants in Cornwall: the Camborne experience, 1861-82', in R. Swift & S. Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Victorian Britain: the Local Dimension* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 31–51.

⁶⁴ *Comet*, 31.12.1867.

⁶⁵ C. Holmes, *A Tolerant Country? Immigrants, Refugees and Minorities in Britain* (London, 1991), p. 83.

⁶⁶ G.B. Edwards, *The Book of Ebenezer Le Page* (London, 1981), p. 90. Edwards was born in Guernsey in 1899 and lived there until the end of World War I; his hero is of roughly the same generation.

⁶⁷ See *Comet*, 21.10.1891; *Star*, 1.4.1911; *Star*, 15.2.1913.

correspondence with Whitehall: 'many of them are very objectionable as regards their morals and their character', wrote the States Supervisor in 1895. 'They are a constant source of trouble to the authorities, expense to the States, and of endless annoyance to that portion of the community which is orderly and well-behaved'.⁶⁸

By interesting coincidence, the influx of poor Bretons to the Channel Islands took place over the same period as that of East European Jews to the United Kingdom, where as many as 150,000 Jews arrived between 1880 and 1914.⁶⁹ The language and arguments of the anti-alienist movement which grew up in Britain were increasingly echoed in Guernsey. The view that immigrants were physically and mentally inferior to natives and 'could only advance the decay of national intelligence and physique' was a recurrent theme in British anti-alienism.⁷⁰ Such ideas were embraced by Guernsey's Medical Officer of Health, Henry Draper Bishop. Most of his pre-First World War reports reflect his eugenic concerns: 'the racial constitution of the inhabitants of such a small and isolated community as ours is a matter of vital importance', he wrote in 1906; 'they [the French] constitute a source of great danger to both the bodily health and morals of the community'. In the United Kingdom, political pressure fostered by anti-alienist attitudes led to the passage of the 1905 Aliens Act.⁷¹ One argument used was that immigrants were flooding the British employment market and forcing natives to emigrate.⁷² 'There is in London, and likewise in Guernsey, only sufficient work for a given number of people', echoed the *Star* in 1903, 'and when that maximum is reached by the immigration of foreigners, our own countrymen are compelled to emigrate'.⁷³ It comes as no surprise, therefore, that when the Channel Islands Industrial Workers' Union was founded after a bout of labour unrest in 1910-11, one of the unionists' first demands was 'the passing of a stringent Aliens Act'.⁷⁴ Dr Bishop had made this point before:

'if Great Britain, where the total alien population is insignificant compared with ours, has framed special laws to lessen this alien influx, surely Guernsey, where the need is so much greater, should take some steps to cope with this evil and prevent such persons landing'.⁷⁵

⁶⁸ Nicholas Domaille to Home Office, 23.9.1895. (P.R.O., HO45/9900/B19091).

⁶⁹ B. Harris, 'Anti-alienism, health and social reform in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 31 (1997), p. 3.

⁷⁰ D. Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews* (New Haven, 1994), p. 275.

⁷¹ For background, see J. Pellew, 'The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905', *The Historical Journal*, 32 (1989), pp. 369-385.

⁷² Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 271-284.

⁷³ *Star*, 10.2.1903.

⁷⁴ *Star*, 19.1.1911.

⁷⁵ Medical Officer of Health's Report for 1905, *Billet d'Etat*, 9.5.1906.

No such Act, however, was passed, and within a year or two, World War I intervened to bear away large numbers of French reservists. This largely drew the sting from tensions with the resident French.

Local anti-Catholicism

To what extent anti-French sentiment was responsible for Guernsey's anti-Catholicism is unclear. Of one thing we can, however, be quite certain: it was endemic. Here, Anglicans and Nonconformists could unite in a principled opposition to 'a church grounded on an aggregation of tenets, orders, rites and traditions instead of holy scripture'.⁷⁶ Press coverage of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829 and the re-establishment of the English Roman Catholic Hierarchy in 1850 illustrates how seriously the issue was taken locally.⁷⁷ Guernsey was among the first 30 localities to open a branch of the Protestant Alliance, founded in London in June 1851 in the wake of re-establishment.⁷⁸ In its reaction to this particular episode, the island was by no means unusual: the whole of Protestant Britain 'luxuriated for a brief season in the ancient battle with popery' in the winter of 1850/51.⁷⁹ In Guernsey, however, anti-Catholicism remained solidly entrenched for at least another half-century.

The profession of anti-Catholicism in Guernsey seems to have been as much an act of insular self-definition as a manifestation of xenophobia. As Frank Wallis remarked of English Protestant militants, they were 'careful to define and categorize their "popish" enemy, and in the process they defined themselves'.⁸⁰ Like the *Bristol Times* (as described by Graham Davis),⁸¹ the *Comet*, with its Methodist proprietor, William Maillard, was a vehemently anti-Catholic newspaper, yet never aggressively anti-Irish (nor, in the 1850s, anti-French). Nevertheless, the presence of poor – and Catholic – Bretons later in the century provided a foil against which Guernseymen could further refine an obverse self-image. Echoing Matthew Arnold, *Le Baillage* asked in 1890,

⁷⁶ F.H. Wallis, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Lampeter, 1993), p. 21.

⁷⁷ See for example, *Comet*, 16.3.1829; *Star*, 9.1.1851.

⁷⁸ Wallis, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p. 95. For details of the local branch, see *Star*, 3.1.1852.

⁷⁹ W. Ralls, 'The papal aggression of 1850: a study in Victorian anti-Catholicism', *Church History*, 43 (1974), p. 256.

⁸⁰ Wallis, *Popular Anti-Catholicism*, p. 13.

⁸¹ Davis, *Irish in Britain*, p. 71.

'où serait Guernesey s'il était resté sous le joug de Rome? Nous irions chaussés de sabots, nous servant de charrues et de herses de bois ... l'activité, le travail, l'indépendance serait lettre morte; la supersition entraverait tout progrès'.⁸²

Anti-Catholicism took both popular and semi-official forms. At popular level, November 5 was never a date relished by local Catholics.⁸³ In October 1860, Father Amadeus Guidez of St Josephs asked the Bailiff to ban a Guy Fawkes night procession in which participants would carry 'certains emblèmes dérisoires de tout ce que les Catholiques estiment le plus sacré dans ce monde'. He added,

'je crois qu'il est déjà bien pénible et coûteux pour moi d'avoir chaque année à pareil jour à faire monter la garde autour de mon église et de ma maison pour empêcher les mauvais sujets d'y mettre le feu, comme ils menacent ouvertement de le faire'.⁸⁴

British 'anti-popery' lecturers frequently included Guernsey on their circuits, and contemporary newspapers report enthusiastic audiences at talks given, among others, by T.G. Owens in 1864 and '68;⁸⁵ the Reverend Dr Weir in 1869,⁸⁶ and Mr J. Kensit and his 'Wickliffe Preachers' in 1901.⁸⁷ A lecture by the notorious William Murphy was scheduled for the spring of 1869, but his presence in Guernsey was thought 'undesirable', and it is unclear whether he ever arrived.⁸⁸

Graham Davis has observed that the established position of Anglican chaplains ministering to the Irish in English workhouses gave them 'a powerful advantage for pressing home the blessings of a Protestant allegiance'.⁸⁹ There were a number of instances over the nineteenth century where Guernsey's established authorities actively excluded Catholic clergymen from both Town and Country Hospitals. In September 1848, Father Guidez wrote to the *Star* of his 'sickness and disgust' at having been barred

⁸² *Le Baillage*, 6.9.1890. One of Arnold's theses in his 1869 essay, *Culture and Anarchy*, was that the progressive nations of the world, economically and politically, were those with a predominantly Protestant faith (M. Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy: an Essay in Political and Social Criticism* (1869; Ann Arbor, 1994 edn) pp. 109–134).

⁸³ Though we are told by Marie De Garis that Guy Fawkes celebrations were 'another import of the nineteenth-century immigrants' (De Garis, *Folklore*, p. 84).

⁸⁴ Fr. Amadeus Guidez to Sir Peter Stafford Carey, 26.10.1860 (Greffé, Letter Book VIII). On this occasion, the Bailiff used his influence to have an ordinance passed forbidding 'atroupements' on Guy Fawkes night (Ordinance of 2 November 1860). We learn from the *Star*, however, that it was ignored (*Star*, 8.11.1860).

⁸⁵ *Star*, 4.8.1864 & 18.6.1868.

⁸⁶ *Star*, 14.12.1869.

⁸⁷ On this visit, they were deterred from lecturing at St Sampsons by the 'warm reception promised by some Roman Catholics resident in the parish' (*Star*, 29.8.1901).

⁸⁸ *Star*, 17.4.1869.

⁸⁹ Davis, *Irish in Britain*, p. 147.

by Anglican chaplain Thomas King from ministering to a parishioner of his (albeit a recent convert) lying ill in the Town Hospital.⁹⁰ In October 1880, Father William Foran was prohibited from giving Catholic prayer books to two Catholic children in the Country Hospital. At a meeting of the Hospital's governing body, it was decided that they could not 'conscientiously acquiesce in imparting what they themselves considered erroneous in doctrine'.⁹¹ Father Foran protested forthrightly:

'that these children should be deprived of the right to pray to God according to the teaching of the faith to which they belong seems a proposition so monstrous, that I hesitate to believe it possible'.⁹²

Foran's protest did not result in a softening of attitudes, and the children were in the end moved to a Catholic institution in England.⁹³ The Established Church remained jealous of its prerogatives, and ecclesiastical recalcitrance was buttressed by the current of religious hostility which permeated insular society. In consequence, as late as 1903, Father Georges Dolman of Burnt Lane had to bargain to secure an exemption from Anglican chapel for those of his parishioners who were inmates of the Town Hospital.⁹⁴ Despite the best efforts of its priests, therefore, Roman Catholicism remained socially marginalised and institutionally disadvantaged well into the twentieth century.

Migrants' attitudes towards locals

Pauper migration and the arrival of the French seem to have been what most disturbed Guernsey's collective equanimity. However, aside from minor policing concerns and a moderate rise in poor law spending, these groups in the long run presented few serious problems. Paradoxically, it proved to be just those migrants Guernsey welcomed most – well-to-do Englishmen – that caused the island major grief. Paupers did not have the wherewithal to challenge Guernsey's archaic stranger laws, but the complaints of more sophisticated incomers against other antiquated institutions more than once prompted

⁹⁰ *Gazette*, 23.9.1848; *Star*, 28.9.1848 & 30.9.1848.

⁹¹ *Comet*, 13.10.1880.

⁹² *Comet*, 13.10.1880 & 16.10.1880. Fr. Foran appears to have been a spirited defender of his faith. In the autumn of 1886, he was prompted by an antagonistic letter from an Anglican clergyman (published in *Star*, 30.10.1886) to stage a six-lecture series of his own countering anti-Catholic stereotypes (see advertisement entitled 'Romish Corruptions', *Star*, 6.11.1886). This resulted in a protracted public correspondence between himself and various Protestant clerics (*Star*, 9.11.1886, 11.11.1886 & 27.11.1886).

⁹³ *Comet*, 1.12.1880.

⁹⁴ *Guernsey Evening Press*, 11.8.1903. See also Poor Law Board to Fr. Dolman, 4.8.1903, Town Hospital Correspondence 1902-1920 (I.A, DC/HX 267 22).

Westminster to probe Guernsey's constitutional and administrative recesses in a most unwelcome way.

As we saw in the previous chapter, insular laws had long made a distinction between natives and strangers. As numbers of middle- and upper-class English settlers rose in the first decades of the nineteenth century, to be discriminated against as 'strangers' was a source of great resentment to some of them. 'Why are the English called strangers, and treated as strangers?' asked a correspondent to *The Chit Chat* in 1838:

'do a race of fishermen, coopers, smugglers and privateersmen imagine for one moment that they possess any real superiority over the people of England, Scotland and Ireland? Drop the odious word "strangers", or take down the flag from the Castle and the Fort'.⁹⁵

In 1814, the Englishman William Berry, author of *The History of the Island of Guernsey*, embittered by a spell behind bars for debt, petitioned the Privy Council for 'the revision and amendment, if not total repeal and abrogation [of existing Guernsey laws] and the formation of an entire new code, or the adoption of the English system of jurisprudence'.⁹⁶ Berry's grievances focussed on the various disabilities of non-natives under insular law. He complained of the arbitrary power of Constables to expel strangers, of difficulties associated with the mandatory use of French in Court, and above all, of the differential treatment of strangers under the debt laws. Under these laws, no native owner of real property, however insignificant, could be arrested for debt, while a stranger could be, even for 'only sixpence'. Any property-owning native could stand bail for a friend, while a stranger, however wealthy, could not, unless formally *reçu habitant*.

Berry's petition, supported by several others from English settlers, resulted in the despatch to Guernsey in 1815 of a Royal Commission. The Commission was not welcomed by the insular authorities, who were fiercely defensive of their traditional rights and privileges.⁹⁷ Following their enquiries, the Commissioners made several suggestions as to changes in the law.⁹⁸ Initially, their proposals were resisted. However, within a few years, two Orders in Council were passed which removed most of the disabilities suffered by strangers with regard to debt.⁹⁹ William Berry, for his part, had

⁹⁵ *The Chit Chat*, 30.6.1838.

⁹⁶ W. Berry to Privy Council, 23.3.1814 (P.R.O., PC1/4051). On Berry generally, see R. Clark, 'William Berry and his History of Guernsey', *T.S.G.*, 22 (1987), pp. 258–273.

⁹⁷ The acuity of early nineteenth-century sensitivities was doubtless partly due to the economically-debilitating imposition of British anti-smuggling Acts in 1805 and 1807.

⁹⁸ *Report of the Royal Commissioners deputed to the Island of Guernsey in 1815* (Guernsey, 1817).

⁹⁹ Orders in Council of 13 May 1823 & 20 December 1825. Berry's petition and ensuing legal changes are dealt with at length in Jacob, *Annals*, pp. 290–319.

meanwhile departed for England leaving many local feathers ruffled and a lasting legacy of antipathy towards his person and his *History*.

Such grudging reforms did not, however, preclude further grievance. David Maclean, an ex-Treasury official who had also been imprisoned for debt, wrote to the Home Office in 1833, complaining that the Royal Commission had been 'too limited and undefined for its object'. He claimed that the Commission's failure had left 'a numerous class of British residents' vulnerable to the 'oppressive fangs of arbitrary power'.¹⁰⁰ Maclean was alluding to the lack of separation between legislative and judicial power. Laws, in the form of ordinances, were both framed and executed by the Royal Court, whose members, the Bailiff and Jurats, were irremovable. In Maclean's view, Guernsey's 'corrupt system of administering pretended Laws' required radical reform.

There was no official response to Maclean's petition, and the resentments of disgruntled English residents festered on throughout the 1830s. In the 1840s, a decade of political turbulence all over Europe, the Guernsey reform banner was taken up by other strangers. Among these was Jonathan Duncan, a trained barrister who had arrived in Guernsey as a young man to assist Colonel Lindsay in his Herm granite enterprise. Duncan had considerable talents as a historian and essayist, and when the enterprise folded, he edited the *Guernsey & Jersey Magazine*. At the end of 1837, Duncan took over as editor of the *Star*. Duncan's political inclinations were liberal-radical, and he used the *Star* as a platform for his reformist views.¹⁰¹ 'The erudite Herm-it has been translated from his granite cell to the Stars and has created a considerable sensation by his alarming diatribe', punned *The Chit Chat* in 1838: 'in consequence of this, one laments the Berry-al of all his brilliant prospects'.¹⁰² Duncan's views of insular government echo those of Berry and Maclean, and are unequivocally expressed in his own *History of Guernsey*: 'There is no political institution more absurd, unjust, and defective than the administrative States of Guernsey ... This system requires a deep and searching reform'.¹⁰³ When it became apparent that the 'thorough radical', Major-General

¹⁰⁰ D. Maclean to Lord Melbourne, 7.10.1833 (P.R.O., HO98/57). For background to Maclean's case and others involving strangers, see A.J. Le Cras., *The Laws, Customs and Privileges, and their Administration, in the Island of Jersey; with Notices of Guernsey* (London, 1839), p. 141.

¹⁰¹ Duncan's politics are best illustrated by reference to such publications as *How to Reconcile the Rights of Property, Capital and Labour* (London, 1846), or *Political Information for the People* (London, 1857).

¹⁰² *The Chit Chat*, 13.1.1838. For examples of Duncan's 'diatribes', see *Star*, 29.1.1838 & 1.2.1838.

¹⁰³ J. Duncan, *History of Guernsey* (London, 1841), p. 440. Notwithstanding his liberal views, Duncan was widely respected for his intelligent interest in island affairs. He was reported to have had the ear of Bailiff Daniel De Lisle Brock. For local views of Duncan, see *The Chit Chat*, 26.5.1838 & 4.10.1840.

William Napier,¹⁰⁴ was likely to become next Lieutenant-Governor, Jonathan Duncan held out a warm welcome:

'should he take the trouble of directing the energies of his comprehensive mind to the state of our institutions, it is probable he may bring about those reforms which have been so long but so vainly called for'.¹⁰⁵

Napier, a 56 year-old veteran of the Peninsular War, had spent decades in genteel unemployment.¹⁰⁶ One of his biographers has intimated that his lack of employment was due to the Government's conviction that he was 'not a safe man'. Napier, in his biographer's opinion, 'combined democratic and humanitarian sentiments with all the instincts of an aristocrat'.¹⁰⁷ In time, his imperious intrusions into local affairs led to bitter clashes with the insular establishment (in contrast to the Isle of Man, a Lieutenant-Governor's powers did not, in Guernsey or Jersey, extend to direct intervention in government).¹⁰⁸ These clashes culminated in the summons in May 1844 of 600 British soldiers to quell a supposed insurrection that was entirely 'the offspring of his own imagination'.¹⁰⁹ Jonathan Duncan, meanwhile, had abandoned his reform project. He was replaced at the *Star* by the comparative conservative John Talbot, and disappeared from Guernsey altogether around the beginning of 1843 – a strategic withdrawal, perhaps, which spared him the antipathy later attaching to Napier.¹¹⁰

Napier, with his long-standing political contacts, took his place at the hub of a nexus of radicals whose reformist energies encompassed Jersey as well as Guernsey. The Islands' unusual constitutional position had for many years attracted the attention of British radical politicians. As far back as 1831, the radical MP Joseph Hume had suggested in the House of Commons that the Islands be turned into a parliamentary constituency and given an MP – the last thing the insular authorities desired.¹¹¹ In 1847, the *Comet* reported: 'it is well known that a constant and active correspondence is kept

¹⁰⁴ P. Napier, *Revolution and the Napier Brothers, 1820-1840* (London, 1973), p. 182.

¹⁰⁵ Editorial, *Star*, 15.2.1842. The editorial is not signed, but it was almost certainly penned by Duncan.

¹⁰⁶ Napier had, however, occupied some time in writing a six-volume history of the Peninsular War. His history enjoyed enduring popularity and was still being published as a school text in 1904 (R.H. MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918* (Manchester, 1994), p. 57).

¹⁰⁷ D. Hannay, 'Sir William Napier', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 86 (1902), p. 210.

¹⁰⁸ For the Isle of Man, where a Lieutenant-Governor's powers were far more extensive, see J. Belchem (ed.), *A New History of the Isle of Man*, 5 vols (Liverpool, 2000), 5, pp. 85–89.

¹⁰⁹ H. Tupper, *Observations of Advocate Tupper of Guernsey Explaining Recent Events and Grievances* (Guernsey, 1844), p. 24.

¹¹⁰ For more on the vicissitudes of Napier's tenure, see Tupper, *History of Guernsey*, pp. 408–418.

¹¹¹ *Comet*, 22.8.1831.

up by General Napier with Dr Bowring, Messrs Carus Wilson, Roebuck, and the editor of the Jersey Radical paper'.¹¹² This latter was Abraham Jones Le Cras, an Englishman of Jersey extraction, whose relentless campaign for political reform in the larger island has been documented by John Kelleher.¹¹³ Le Cras, who had homes in St Helier and in Hampreston, Dorset, also owned two houses in Guernsey and agitated for reform there whenever the opportunity presented itself.¹¹⁴

Napier had by now developed a strong personal antipathy towards the Guernsey elite. He used his Westminster connections to press for a Select Committee of the House of Commons to enquire into the state of the Channel Islands. In this he was supported by his old friend, the radical MP John Arthur Roebuck, who raised the matter in parliament.¹¹⁵ The granting of such a Select Committee would have represented a serious constitutional blow to the Islands, where parliamentary jurisdiction had never been recognised. In the event, Napier's request was rejected by the Home Secretary, who instead proposed an enquiry by a Committee of the Privy Council.¹¹⁶ A Royal Commission to enquire into the state of the criminal law in the Channel Islands was eventually appointed in May 1846.

Notwithstanding the finding of the Commissioners that – in Guernsey at least – there was 'nothing like a general dislike or suspicion of the present system',¹¹⁷ sweeping constitutional changes were proposed by the Royal Commission. Like those of 1815, these were initially resisted by the insular authorities. In time, the States did adopt some minor reforms in criminal law and procedure, but proposals for more far-reaching constitutional reform were allowed to drop. In Guernsey's case (but not in Jersey's), no further attempt was made by the British Government to enforce change.¹¹⁸

After all the upheavals of the Napier era, the next half-century passed quietly. In the 1890s, however, a new wave of English middle-class migration again disturbed the

¹¹² *Comet*, 24.5.1847.

¹¹³ J.D. Kelleher, *The Triumph of the Country: The Rural Community in Nineteenth-Century Jersey* (Jersey, 1994), pp. 136–167.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, Le Cras' memorial on Guernsey addressed to the Privy Council, 3.12.1851 (Greffé, Royal Court Answers to Council, No. 4).

¹¹⁵ See correspondence between Napier and the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, in March & April 1845 (P.R.O., HO45/930). Napier's association with Roebuck dated from at least 1833 when he supported the latter's candidacy at Bath (J.O. Baylen & N.J. Gossman (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals*, 3 vols (Brighton, 1979–88), 2, p. 437).

¹¹⁶ Sir James Graham to Napier, 2.5.1845 (P.R.O., HO45/930).

¹¹⁷ *Second Report of the Commissioners*, p. v. In Jersey, the Commissioners reported a much stronger pro-reform lobby. Several factors may have contributed to this: greater numbers of middle-class English residents; the success of Abraham Le Cras' organising activities, or, quite simply, Jersey's traditionally more turbulent political climate.

¹¹⁸ R.P. Hocart, *An Island Assembly: The Development of the States of Guernsey 1700–1949* (Guernsey, 1988), pp. 58–59.

insular peace. Guernsey's late nineteenth-century horticultural boom attracted Englishmen seeking opportunities in commercial growing. In due course, insular idiosyncrasies began to rankle with some, and they formed a 'British Growers' Association' under the leadership of Wyndham Peel, an English barrister practising as an advocate at the Guernsey Bar. Peel and others orchestrated a protest campaign likening Englishmen in Guernsey to *Uitlanders* in the Transvaal.¹¹⁹ A letter to the *Times* in 1896 outlined six grievances stemming essentially from the contention that most Englishmen, being monolingual anglophones, were excluded from insular government, which was conducted in French. Because they enjoyed no political representation, *Uitlanders* objected to their time being 'taxed' by compulsory unpaid militia service.¹²⁰ Public meetings of British residents in February and April 1896 were followed by a letter to the Home Secretary soliciting exemption from service, and a petition to this effect to Guernsey's Royal Court.¹²¹

The tactics of these reluctant recruits attracted little sympathy in the local press. *Le Baillage* commented sarcastically: 'pourquoi perdraient-ils un temps précieux à jouer au piou-piou, comédie ridicule qui les met coude à coude avec les ouvriers qu'ils emploient?'¹²² The Royal Court declined to act on the British residents' petition, and the Home Secretary declared himself unable to assist. In well-publicised court trials, English fruit-growers were given exemplary punishments for absence from militia drill.¹²³ Wyndham Peel, for his part, was suspended from the Bar in January 1897 following an expression of disrespect towards the Royal Court at the British Growers' Christmas dinner.¹²⁴

For all this, the *Uitlanders* had influential allies across the Channel, and complaints about the militia continued to be aired in the British military press. Messrs Richards and Broderick, MPs for East Finsbury and Guildford, raised the matter in parliament during a debate on the war budget on 19 June 1896. In due course, these rumblings attracted the attention of Secretary of State for War Lord Lansdowne, whose existing misgivings about the Channel Island militias were thereby focussed into a

¹¹⁹ Relations between the British government and the Republic of the Transvaal descended into war in October 1899; the ostensible issue was the Transvaal government's refusal to grant political rights to *Uitlanders* – settlers who had been attracted to the Rand by the discovery of gold in 1886.

¹²⁰ *Times*, 17.2.1896, 7e. For more on Guernsey's *Uitlanders*, see also *Times*, 24.2.1896, 9d. Non-native British residents were liable to part-time militia service on the same terms as locals after residence of a year and a day.

¹²¹ Wyndham Peel to Sir Matthew Ridley, 27.2.1896 (P.R.O., HO 45/10072/B5960A). Petition to Royal Court, 30.5.1896 (Greffé, Requête 1864-1907).

¹²² *Le Baillage*, 11.4.1896.

¹²³ For examples of trial reports, see *Le Baillage*, 27.6.1896 & 4.7.1896.

¹²⁴ Peel was suspended by Ordinance of 4 January 1897. For a detailed account of the Christmas dinner incident, see R. de Cléry, *Les Iles Normandes, Pays de Home Rule* (Paris, 1898), pp. 266–273.

concerted push for root-and-branch reform. The need to play off persistent War Office demands against a local lack of martial enthusiasm became a major preoccupation with the States of both Guernsey and Jersey for the remaining years of the century.

Politically-minded British residents campaigned on many reform-related issues aside from the militia, and there can be little doubt that they played their part in hastening the constitutional reforms which marked the end of the century.¹²⁵ Though by no means all subscribed to the confrontational tactics of the *Uitlanders*, proponents of reform nevertheless aroused the mistrust of more traditionally-minded sections of local society. The *Uitlander* campaign moreover tarnished the reputation of middle-class Englishmen as a group, popular attitudes to whom, despite the occasional Berry or Maclean, had hitherto remained largely benevolent. In 1847, the anonymous author of an English guidebook had written 'we feel valued [in Guernsey] because we are English'.¹²⁶ In 1902, however, the cry in some quarters was 'Guernesey aux Guernesiais!'¹²⁷ As a consequence of this, when Englishmen came to stand in the new elections for deputies on 30 January 1900, there was something of a reaction against them.¹²⁸ Far from emphasising their Englishness, it was wryly observed, non-native candidates, were now 'eager to be thought Guernseymen'.¹²⁹

INTEGRATION AND ASSIMILATION

We have now examined the attitudes of both migrants and locals to their counterparts on the other side of the divide. To what extent was that divide a structural feature of insular society? Was it so tangible as to impede a merging of populations? Two of the most important indicators of assimilation are residential segregation and inter-marriage. The following analysis uses evidence from census enumerators' books and marriage registers in an attempt to assess the degree of each.

¹²⁵ Among other things, these included the democratisation of the States to admit nine deputies elected on a ratepayer franchise. For more detail on late nineteenth-century reforms, see below, p. 243.

¹²⁶ Anonymous, *Economy; or, A Peep at our Neighbours* (London, 1847), pp. 178–179.

¹²⁷ *La Feuille*, 22.11.1902.

¹²⁸ See letter from 'Non-Conformist', *Star*, 19.11.1901.

¹²⁹ Letter from A. Burr, *Star*, 27.1.1903.

Residential Segregation

St Peter Port

Throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, St Peter Port attracted more migrants than the nine other parishes combined. Over 84 percent of civilian non-natives were St Peter Port-based in 1841; 60 percent in 1901. Gregory Stevens Cox, in his analysis of the local enumeration of 1827, distinguished 'patterns of segregation' within St Peter Port. He located English labourers in slums near the harbour, the indigenous elite in their newly-built villas on the outskirts of town, and the English gentry in the New Town.¹³⁰ Analysis of the more detailed data available in the 1851 and 1901 census enumerators' books enables us to determine whether such patterns remained in evidence a quarter and three-quarters of a century later.

Figure 6.3 (based on an 1890s map) divides St Peter Port into four quadrants corresponding to points of the compass. St Peter Port's rural fringe is beyond the area of the map. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the rural fringe accommodated about five percent of the population of St Peter Port and accounted for a slightly greater proportion of its land area. In 1851, each quadrant except the North-East contained some rural or semi-rural portion. By 1901, the rural fringe had diminished somewhat in size.

The South-East quadrant comprised most of what John Jacob called in 1830 'the most ancient part of St Peter Port'. This he defined as the area from the northern end of the Pollet as far as Burnt Lane in the west and Cornet Street in the south.¹³¹ The 'New Town', built after 1790 and containing such streets as Allez Street, Havilland Street and Saumarez Street, was situated in the north-western corner of this quadrant. The southern portion of the North-East quadrant also contained some of St Peter Port's older streets. The core of the two eastern sectors together formed what we might call St Peter Port's 'inner-city' area. The South-West quadrant, on the other hand, was a more recent extension of the town and housed high-class suburbs dating largely from the early nineteenth century. The North-West quadrant, also suburban, was newer and, in its farther reaches, less high-status. In 1851, the older eastern sectors contained 67 percent of St Peter Port's population, and the western sectors 33 percent. The next half-century saw considerable re-distribution to the suburbs, and the proportions in 1901 were 55 percent in the eastern districts and 45 percent in the western.

¹³⁰ Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, pp. 91–94 & 115.

¹³¹ Jacob, *Annals*, p. 120. F.B. Tupper informs us that, in 1775, the town 'extended northerly to the Long Store, southerly to the lower half of Hauteville, and westerly from Fountain street to Country Mansell, including the Bordage and Mill street' (Tupper, *History of Guernsey*, p. 364).

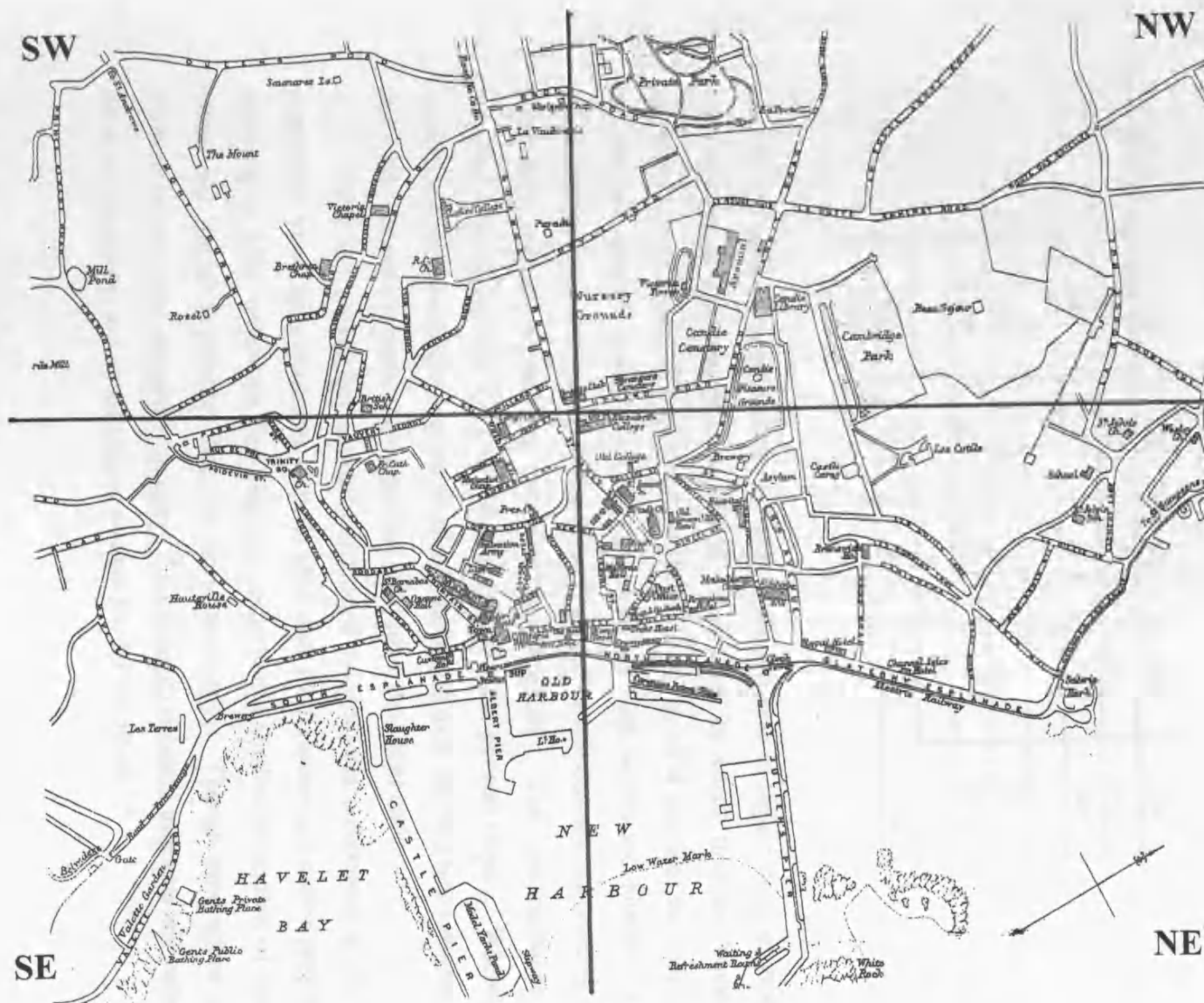


Figure 6.3 St Peter Port, residential districts

Table 6.2, based on the occupations of household heads, illustrates the social complexion of St Peter Port's four sectors in 1851 and 1901.¹³²

Table 6.2 Percentage of household heads by district and by social class, St Peter Port, 1851 & 1901

Social class	Year	SE	NE	NW	SW
I & II	1851	22	21.4	43	43.3
I & II	1901	20.7	18.1	34.6	28.5
III	1851	51.9	55	34.5	39.1
III	1901	47.9	48.2	39.7	46.4
IV & V	1851	26.1	23.6	22.5	17.6
IV & V	1901	31.4	33.7	25.7	25.1

In 1851, the western suburbs were very clearly the preserve of higher status groups, but this phenomenon was much attenuated 50 years later, by which time the 'somewhat superior class of strangers' mentioned by Henry Inglis in 1834 was less in evidence,¹³³ and the post-entrepôt insular elite had diminished in both wealth and number. In the urban eastern sectors, skilled tradesmen predominated at mid-century, particularly in the North-East, where shipbuilding was then concentrated. This predominance had, however, been reduced in 1901 by rising numbers in the poorest classes. Whereas the western sectors saw an evening-out in class distribution over the 50 years between 1851 and 1901, the eastern sectors saw a gradual drift down the social scale.

Table 6.3 shows that non-natives formed a significant component of the adult population of all four quadrants in both 1851 and 1901 (lower non-native proportions generally in 1901 reflect the fact migrants comprised a smaller proportion of both the urban and insular population than 50 years previously). Though proportions in the western sectors were marginally smaller,¹³⁴ the balance between migrants and natives in many of the sectors and in both years, was not too far off 50-50.¹³⁵

¹³² For method used to assign social class on the basis of occupation, see above, p. 68.

¹³³ Inglis, *Channel Islands*, p. 214.

¹³⁴ Notably the north-western, which had seen the recent building of suburban housing intended for the more 'respectable' working-class, which tended to be dominated by locals and migrant families present in the island for more than one generation.

¹³⁵ This table considers only individuals aged 20 and over. If under-20s, many of whom were the progeny of migrants, were also counted, this would give a false picture of the 'native' component.

Table 6.3 Non-natives aged 20 and over as a percentage of all over-20s, St Peter Port districts, 1851 & 1901

Year	SE	NE	NW	SW
1851	51.1	50.5	46.5	47.7
1901	48.2	42.8	38.3	41.5

Migrants were spread the length and breadth of St Peter Port, and the fairly even migrant-native balance in each sector was reflected in the composition of individual streets. Migrants were well represented even in the semi-rural areas: in both 1851 and 1901, non-natives over 20 accounted for about a third of the total adult population in the rural fringe.¹³⁶ Thus, in contrast to Dr Stevens Cox's findings for 1827, we can detect no meaningful segregation of non-native from native town-dwellers in the second half of the nineteenth century. So far, however, we have only considered non-natives as an undifferentiated group. Table 6.4 divides migrants into their three main national contingents and analyses the distribution of each contingent across the four quadrants.

Table 6.4 National groups (adults aged 20 and over) as a percentage of all non-natives aged 20 and over, St Peter Port districts, 1851 & 1901

Migrant group	Year	SE	NE	NW	SW
English	1851	60.9	81.3	75.8	76.1
French	1851	14	1.9	4.2	3.4
Irish	1851	12.8	5.4	5.7	7.4
English	1901	41.2	55.1	60.4	51.8
French	1901	27.2	7.9	7.1	10.6
Irish	1901	3.4	4.6	2.4	5

English migrants formed a majority of adult migrants in all sectors in both years. It was the volume of migrants in this group alone that accounted for the high proportion of non-natives in all St Peter Port's sectors. Colin Pooley argued that English migrants in mid-Victorian Liverpool achieved 'almost total residential integration' because they exhibited 'weak cultural feeling, and social and economic characteristics similar to those of the host population'.¹³⁷ The situation in St Peter Port in 1851 appears to have been similar. One of the reasons for this must have been that a broad range of social classes

¹³⁶ 33.7 percent in 1851 and 32.5 percent in 1901.

¹³⁷ C.G. Pooley, 'The residential segregation of migrant communities in mid-Victorian Liverpool', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 2 (1977), p. 378.

were now represented in the English cohort, and they were not disproportionately concentrated in one or two classes at the expense of others.¹³⁸ It may also be the case, as Ogden and Winchester observed in relation to Paris, that the longer a group's migratory relationship with a town, the less segregated the group.¹³⁹ A century of sustained English immigration to St Peter Port had anglicised the town to the point that even new arrivals could now feel at home wherever they settled.

One particularly interesting feature of table 6.4 is the distinctiveness of the South East quadrant. In 1851, English migrants comprised more than three-quarters of adult non-natives in the North-East, North-West and South-West quadrants, and in 1901 more than half. However, the proportion of English migrants in the South-East quadrant was markedly lower in both census years. This is because French migrants (and in 1851 Irish migrants) were disproportionately concentrated in the South-East. This demonstrates that, in St Peter Port at least, the Irish and the French, as distinct from the English, did exhibit a degree of residential segregation. The South-Eastern sector contained some of the town's oldest and poorest quarters. As we saw in chapter four, the social composition of the Irish and French contingents was less balanced than that of the English, with greater concentrations lower down the social scale.¹⁴⁰ As Pooley noted in his study of Liverpool: 'where migrants were mainly in the lower social groups, there was little alternative but to locate in those areas in which they could afford to live'.¹⁴¹ To some extent, comparatively larger numbers of Irish labourers in 1851 and French labourers in 1901 had displaced Stevens Cox's earlier cohort of 'English labourers lodged in slums near the harbour'.¹⁴² These groups, however, never came near to forming a ghetto. In mid nineteenth- and early twentieth-century St Peter Port, the addresses of town-dwellers, whether native or migrant, seem to have been determined by economic status to a much greater extent than they were by ethnicity. French and Irish labourers were concentrated in the South-East quadrant because they were poor, not because they were French or Irish. Substantial numbers of poor natives also lived in the South-East quadrant. Thus Cornet Street, arguably the shabbiest street in the sector, which in both censuses housed many migrants, had an adult native/non-native balance of 47.8 percent to 53.2 percent in 1851, and 42.6 percent to 57.4 percent in 1901. This, as far as St Peter Port is concerned, was ethnic segregation at about its most pronounced.

¹³⁸ For the social make-up of the English migrant cohort, see above, p. 82.

¹³⁹ P.E. Ogden & S.W.C. Winchester, 'The residential segregation of provincial migrants in Paris in 1911', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 65 (1975), p. 36.

¹⁴⁰ See above, pp. 92; 109–110.

¹⁴¹ Pooley, 'Residential segregation', p. 367.

¹⁴² Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 115.

The northern parishes

The only parishes outside St Peter Port which contained a significant migrant contingent were the northern parishes of the Vale and St Sampsons. In 1851 they accommodated about 10 percent of Guernsey's non-native cohort; in 1901 some 20 percent. Here, once again, the Irish showed a tendency to cluster, but with the difference that, here, the element of choice in their segregation was clearer than in town. The five censuses 1851-1891 show a dwindling number of northern-based Irish concentrated overwhelmingly in just two locations: Delancey in St Sampsons and Opie's Buildings in the Vale. In 1851, 72 percent of northern-based Irish lived in these two locations, dropping to 56 percent in 1891. It was at Delancey in 1879 that the first Roman Catholic church opened outside St Peter Port. As Colin Pooley observed, clustering was a feature of mid-century Irish migration all over Britain, where – in search of security in an unfamiliar society – they chose to live in 'voluntarily cohesive ethnic communities'.¹⁴³ The Irish were never particularly numerous, peaking at 3 percent of the combined population of the northern parishes in 1861, but their tendency to co-reside gave their presence a more pronounced impact.

Nevertheless, in 1851, the Irish merely formed sub-sets of segregation within parts of the Vale and St Sampsons where migrants in general were segregated as a group. Some 75 percent of the non-native contingent in these parishes (mostly English and Irish) was confined to an area of about 20 streets in the vicinity of St Sampsons harbour and along the eastern seaboard towards St Peter Port, which had the character of a rapidly developing semi-urban settlement (see figure 6.4).¹⁴⁴ Such concentrations were related to the availability of low-cost housing and proximity to quarries and stoneyards, but they may also have been a function of cultural differences. English migration to the northern parishes had only just got under way in the 1840s, and the Franco-Norman dialect and customs of the local people would have been as alien to a Dorsetman as a Dubliner. As Ian Whyte remarked, geographical distance between source and target areas of migration may often have been less significant than social or cultural differences between new arrivals and their hosts.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Pooley, 'Residential segregation', p. 367.

¹⁴⁴ The map overleaf dates from the late nineteenth century and therefore depicts a greater level of development than would have existed in 1851.

¹⁴⁵ I.D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain 1550-1830* (London, 2000), p. 3.

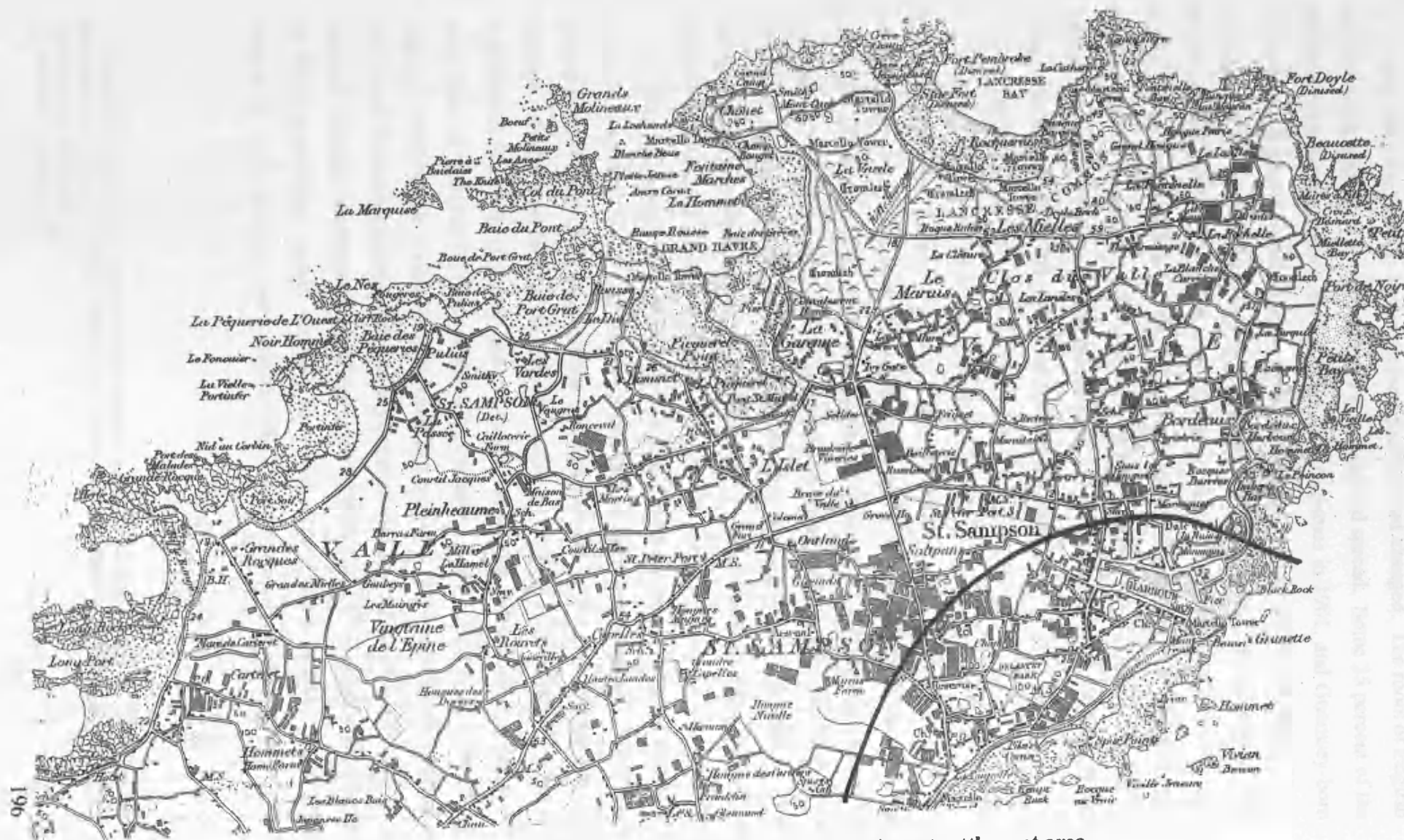


Figure 6.4 Vale and St Sampson, showing semi-urban migrant settlement area

By 1901, the situation in the northern parishes had changed. The roots of English and Irish stock implanted over 60 years of migration had spread. Some 35 percent of the parishes' combined population bore English or Irish names in 1901, and Guernsey-born descendants of migrants had spilled out far beyond the original settlement area. There remained, however, more than 2,000 non-natives in the Vale and St Sampsons. The French contingent had leapt from two percent of the total northern migrant cohort in 1851 to 31 percent in 1901. Some 46 percent of native English and Irish still showed a preference for the original semi-urbanised settlement area, but 71 percent of French resided outside it. The greater readiness of the French to disperse is mirrored in late nineteenth-century settlement patterns in the rural parishes.

The rural parishes

At island-wide level, there was, throughout most of the 60 years for which enumerators' books are available, a very basic segregation of non-natives to three out of the ten parishes: St Peter Port and, to a lesser extent, the Vale and St Sampsons.¹⁴⁵ In 1841, 91 percent of non-natives were confined to these three parishes, and 81 percent in 1901. English migrants retained a marked preference for St Peter Port throughout; in 1901, St Peter Port still housed two-thirds of them.

The final decades of the nineteenth century, however, saw a slow but steady rise in numbers settling in the countryside, and many of these were French. In 1901, 57 percent of all French lived in either the northern parishes or the seven remaining rural parishes. Analysis of the 1901 manuscript returns for the four south-western parishes of St Saviours, St Peters, Torteval and the Forest reveals that non-natives now comprised more than 10 percent of their combined population, with 37 percent more French migrants than English. John Kelleher identified a similar phenomenon with regard to the French in Jersey's countryside, and speculated that the 'language factor' may have deterred English labourers from settling in the rural parishes.¹⁴⁶ Guernsey French, like its Jersey counterpart, would certainly have been intelligible to speakers of the Gallo dialects of Lower Brittany, not to mention the Norman French of the Cotentin. The

¹⁴⁵ There had, of course, been migrants in other parishes, notably St Andrews and St Martins, which lay contiguous to St Peter Port. Their numbers were, however, insignificant in comparison with those in the three parishes mentioned.

¹⁴⁶ Kelleher, *Triumph*, p. 205.

nineteenth-century Cotentinois poet Alfred Rossel highlighted this mutual intelligibility in a dialect poem about Guernsey:

*Chu p'tit pays a pouor nous l'avauntage
Qu' ses habitants sount pus Nourmaunds qu'Aungllais,
Et qu'en patoués, counservaè coum' laungage,
No pueut enco s'fair' coumprendre à peu prés.¹⁴⁷*

A few small clusters of French are observable in late nineteenth-century censuses, (notably at L'Islet in St Sampsons), but by and large, the French were living cheek by jowl with natives, dotted here and there all over parishes outside St Peter Port. By the end of the century, many were having their children baptised in Protestant churches and chapels.¹⁴⁸ Anxieties were mounting among the local French Catholic clergy about defections 'au Protestantisme ou à l'infidélité par centaines'.¹⁴⁹ Earlier, there had been similar anxieties over the abandonment by the urban French of their own Catholic chapel 'pour suivre les offices de l'église irlandaise ... une insulte grave à leur nationalité'.¹⁵⁰ There are possible cultural reasons for this behaviour. Jean-Ange Quellien describes the Cotentinois as traditionally lukewarm in their Catholicism.¹⁵¹ Yann Brekilien describes Breton piety as so rooted in the Armorican countryside that, 'transplantés dans un milieu de traditions différentes, [les Bretons] abandonnent souvent tout culte'.¹⁵² Whatever the reasons in this case, French immigrants to Guernsey seemed to lack the ethnic glue which kept the Irish together.

This attitude was not restricted to Guernsey. Michel Monteil, in his study of nineteenth-century French migration to Jersey, detected similar adaptability: 'les Français firent tout leur possible pour se fondre le plus rapidement et le plus efficacement dans la "masse", devenant parfois "plus jersiais que leurs hôtes" '.¹⁵³ This melding of identities Monteil ascribes partly to the individualism of the French, 'se souciant peu de se regrouper entre eux lorsqu'ils vivent hors de leur pays', and partly to the fact that,

¹⁴⁷ A. Rossel, 'A Guernésey', *Chansons Normandes* (Coutances, 1974), p. 217. Tr. : 'This little country has the advantage for us, That its inhabitants are more Norman than English, And that in patois, preserved as a language, We can still by and large make ourselves understood'.

¹⁴⁸ A. Bourde de la Rogerie, *L'Eglise Saint Yves de la Forest, Guernesey* (unpub. manuscript c. 1930, St Josephs Church, Guernsey), p. 37.

¹⁴⁹ Bourde de la Rogerie, *Saint Yves*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁰ *Le Baillage*, 15.10.1887.

¹⁵¹ J.-A. Quellien, *Histoire des Populations du Cotentin* (Brionne, 1983), pp. 161–169.

¹⁵² Y. Brekilien, *La Vie Quotidienne des Paysans en Bretagne au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris, 1966), p. 177.

¹⁵³ M. Monteil, 'Relations et échanges entre la France et les Iles Anglo-Normandes de la fin du XIX^e au milieu du XX^e' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Université d'Aix-Marseille 1, 2000), p. 397.

Jersey being 'une société encore très marquée par des attitudes typiques d'une société agricole', it was not particularly difficult for rural refugees from a similar regime in Brittany to integrate.¹⁵⁴ Notwithstanding local prejudice, parallel factors were probably at work in Guernsey.

Inter-Marriage

Marriage patterns are the single most important measure of integration since they directly reflect the extent of genetic and cultural fusion. Census enumerators' books provide us with a vivid picture of past households, and, in giving the birthplaces of co-resident spouses, a straightforward means of assessing who was married to whom. Table 6.5 is based on an analysis of manuscript returns from the 1851 and 1901 censuses of St Peter Port,¹⁵⁵ the Vale and St Sampsons, and the four south-western rural parishes of St Saviours, St Peters, Torteval and the Forest. In 1851, these seven parishes collectively contained 82 percent of Guernsey's total population, and in 1901, 81 percent.

Table 6.5 Percentages of co-resident spouses in three sets of parishes and three different birthplace combinations, 1851 & 1901

Year	Parishes	Total couples	ENDOGENOUS Guernsey + Guernsey	ENDOGENOUS Non-native + non-native	EXOGENOUS Guernsey + non-native
1851	St Peter Port	2,355	32.7	43.7	23.6
1901	St Peter Port	2,789	38.8	27.9	33.3
1851	St Sampsons, Vale	681	68.1	21.4	10.5
1901	St Sampsons, Vale	2,024	61.1	18.3	20.6
1851	4 rural parishes	524	93.1	1.7	5.2
1901	4 rural parishes	685	81	8.6	10.4

There seems to be a fundamental principle at work in all seven parishes and both census years. Overwhelmingly, like pairs with like. In both 1851 and 1901, we are likelier to find a native married to another native, or a non-native married to another non-native, than a native paired with a non-native. For the purposes of this study, we will use the term exogamous for the latter category and endogamous as a broad definition of the

¹⁵⁴ Monteil, 'Relations et échanges', pp. 375 & 396.

¹⁵⁵ Excluding the garrison.

two former categories. In most parishes and in both years, spouses in the majority of endogamous partnerships are both natives of Guernsey. The exception to this is St Peter Port, where the proportion of Guernsey + Guernsey couples is substantially lower than in other parishes, and indeed, in 1851, is exceeded by non-native + non-native combinations. The proportion of non-native + non-native partnerships is a reflection of the size of the migrant cohort at individual parish level.

Table 6.6 refers to exogamous couples only. This shows that, in most native + non-native partnerships, the wife was more likely than the husband to have been Guernsey-born.

Table 6.6 Percentages of co-resident spouses in virilocal and uxorilocal unions in three sets of parishes, 1851 & 1901

Year	Parishes	Virilocal (husband native to Guernsey)	Uxorilocal (wife native to Guernsey)
1851	St Peter Port	41.5	58.5
1901	St Peter Port	46.9	53.1
1851	St Sampsons, Vale	40.8	59.2
1901	St Sampsons, Vale	44.6	55.4
1851	4 rural parishes	55.6	44.4
1901	4 rural parishes	52.1	47.9

The preponderance of uxorilocal unions seems to have arisen as a result of sex-specific emigration. As we saw in chapter three, females outnumbered males in Guernsey in each of the seven censuses 1841-1901. The skew in favour of females was a feature of both native and non-native populations.¹⁵⁶ More females than males migrated to Guernsey, but, equally, more native males than native females left Guernsey, leaving a surplus of unpartnered Guernseywomen to seek husbands among the non-native contingent. Non-native males were therefore more likely to be married to native females than non-native females to native males. Table 6.7 shows the proportions of these in the seven parishes studied in 1851 and 1901 respectively.

¹⁵⁶ See above, p. 61.

Table 6.7 Percentages of non-native males aged 20+ married to native females, and non-native females aged 20+ married to native males, co-resident unions, 1851 & 1901

Year	Non-native men married to native women	Non-native women married to native men
1851	26.3	8.3
1901	24.6	18.7

A corollary of this is that, although non-native women outnumbered non-native men in each census 1841-1901, they were more likely to remain celibate. If the seven censuses are considered in aggregate, some 18 percent of female migrants aged 35 and over are unmarried, compared with 12.8 percent of male migrants.

A proportion of males leaving Guernsey would have come from the rural parishes, where males unlikely to inherit a viable holding might have found departure a more attractive prospect than staying put. Table 6.6 demonstrates that, in the four rural parishes analysed, the majority of mixed marriages were – exceptionally – virilocal. Those males who did remain in the countryside did so because their few acres there afforded them a viable living. It was therefore logical that the few who married out should bring their spouses home to live on the patrimonial holding. Rural women left behind by emigrating rural men, on the other hand, would have been obliged either to stay at home as spinsters, or to marry into parishes where there were eligible partners.

Marriage registers

The limitation of a census-based marriage study is that it presents us only with a snapshot of already-married couples with no indication of when or where they married. We can therefore learn nothing about the ongoing marriage habits of people actually resident in Guernsey. However, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Guernsey marriage registers are virtually all extant and, in terms of completeness, form a high-quality dataset. In his study of eighteenth-century St Peter Port, Gregory Stevens Cox rejected the parochial marriage register as incapable of yielding sound statistical evidence owing to the impossibility of distinguishing between resident couples and those visiting the island just to marry.¹⁵⁷ The 'foreign marriage' effect is still observable in the nineteenth

¹⁵⁷ Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 68. This might be for privacy, or for other reasons: marriages in Guernsey's Anglican churches were governed by Old Canon Law and not by English statute (for the eighteenth-century effects of Hardwicke's Marriage Act, see below, p. 78).

century when analysis of decennial marriage rates suggests it died out only in the 1890s. Scrutiny of marriage rates suggests that it was particularly important in St Peter Port until the 1840s, and thereafter in the rural parish of St Peters, where the rectorships of Thomas Brock and his son, Carey Brock, partly coincided with their tenure as Anglican Deans and Commissaries.¹⁵⁸ The normal level in St Peters, a parish with a nineteenth-century population of 1,000-1,500, seems to have been about 100 marriages per decade, but there were 249 marriages in the 1840s, 347 in the 1870s, and 510 in the 1880s. Marriages where both spouses were non-natives account for a large proportion of the 'excess' marriages. What concerns us primarily here, however, is the incidence not of marriages where both partners were non-natives, but of marriages where one partner was a native and the other was not. Whilst figures for the latter will inevitably be inflated by 'foreign' marriages, this should not impair the validity of data on native + non-native unions.

There is, however, a further – perhaps more intractable – problem with nineteenth- and early twentieth-century marriage registers: a lack of consistency in data on spouses' origin. This seems to have varied over time and according to the preferences of incumbents. Sometimes the origin of non-native spouses is given in meticulous detail, as in St Peter Port in the first half of the nineteenth century. Sometimes only the Guernsey parish of residence at time of marriage is given, even for individuals known from other sources to be non-natives.¹⁵⁹ In light of all this, the only feasible way of analysing inter-community marriage patterns is via surnames.

In the early nineteenth century, there existed in Guernsey about 175 identifiably local names, most of them of Norman origin and some of great antiquity.¹⁶⁰ These names were strongly associated with individual parishes: Le Poidevin and Falla with St Sampsons; Heaume with the Forest; Naftel with St Andrews; Collenette, Girard and Le Tissier with the Castel, and so on. Against this background, non-local surnames stand out clearly. Gabriel Lasker points out that 'marriage records provide an excellent source of surname data for genetic analysis ... and surname distributions depict the result of migration and inbreeding'.¹⁶¹ The spread of non-local names thus gives us an important

¹⁵⁸ Thomas Brock served only as Commissary. Carey Brock served as Commissary and Dean. The value of ecclesiastical benefices in Guernsey was notoriously low (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, 2, p. 274) and these clergymen seem to have used their position as the issuers of marriage licences to direct strangers seeking special licences to their own church, which, in any case, was deemed to be particularly beautiful.

¹⁵⁹ Data on origin may be regarded as most trustworthy in the rural parishes in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, when mobility was limited and parochial allegiance strong.

¹⁶⁰ See local dialect poet George Métivier's 547-line itemisation in verse of 'La nomenclature patronymique de Guernesey' in his *Poésies Guernesaises et Françaises* (Guernsey, 1883), pp. 309–315.

¹⁶¹ G.W. Lasker, *Surnames and Genetic Structure* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 15 & 75.

indication of the encroachment on the indigenous community of non-local populations. In the following analysis of marriage registers, surnames were classified as Guernsey, other Channel Island, French, and British (i.e. English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish).

In the 100 years 1814-1913, some 24,238 marriages took place in Guernsey, 80 percent of which were performed in Anglican churches, 8 percent at the Greffe (civil registry), 6 percent in Roman Catholic churches, and 6 percent in Nonconformist chapels.¹⁶² Analysis of marriage registers reveals similar trends to those already observed in the censuses. Once again, we find that like pairs with like. Table 6.8 shows an overall ratio of one exogamous marriage for every three endogamous marriages.

Table 6.8 Percentage of Guernsey marriages by combination of name types and by decade, 1814-1913

Decade	ENDOAMOUS Non-native + non-native	ENDOAMOUS Guernsey + Guernsey	EXOAMOUS Guernsey + non-native
1814-1823	39.5	39.6	20.9
1824-1833	40.1	38.4	21.5
1834-1843	40.7	37.3	22
1844-1853	46.7	33.2	20.1
1854-1863	47.6	31.6	20.8
1864-1873	43.6	32	24.4
1874-1883	44.6	29.7	25.7
1884-1893	44.6	27.1	28.3
1894-1903	44.7	25.4	29.9
1904-1913	44.7	24.6	30.7
1814-1913	43.9	31.1	25

Combinations of native + non-native names rose by about 10 percent over the 100 years, from just over 20 percent in the first decade to just over 30 percent in the last. However, significant increases only began to take place after the 1860s, and this might reflect the depletion of native stock following high emigration in the '50s. Marriages between partners both bearing non-native names always formed a higher proportion than the other two categories, and some of this was undoubtedly due to Guernsey's 'foreign'

¹⁶² Greffe and Nonconformist marriages were permitted by law from 1840 onward. Roman Catholics were allowed, by tacit consent, to perform their own marriages from their re-establishment in the island in the 1790s (RC registers also appear to contain a significant proportion of 'foreign marriages', both of garrison personnel and of French people escaping a strict civil marriage regime in France).

marriage industry. Such marriages were at their most numerous in the 1840s and '50s, comprising over 46 percent of all marriages in both 1844-53 and 1854-63. In this we can almost certainly detect an effect of the upsurge in immigration during the 1840s and '50s. Some 26 percent of new migrants between 1841 and 1861 entered the island as children aged 15 or under, and, on maturity, many seem to have sought partners from within their own community.

Overall, more grooms than brides bore English or Irish names: 47 percent of all grooms, compared with 43 percent of all brides. By contrast, nearly 12 percent more brides than grooms bore Guernsey names. This, again, is symptomatic of male emigration. Enumerators' books show that Guernsey surnames were in retreat over the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1851, they were borne by 45 percent of the population of the seven parishes for which returns were studied, but the figure in 1901 was 40 percent. This decline was due not solely to the ingress of outsiders, but to the fact that departing Guernseymen were taking their names away with them.

Men bearing Guernsey names, when they did stay in the island, showed a strong endogamous tendency; 76 percent of these married brides with Guernsey names. Where they could, Guernsey women also showed a preference for marrying fellow islanders; 68 percent of brides with Guernsey names married grooms with Guernsey names. Parochial endogamy was also a marked feature among Guernsey-named spouses (though stronger among males than females). Between 1814 and 1913, 54 percent of St Peters grooms with Guernsey names married St Peters brides with Guernsey names. For a parish with an area of only 6.4 km² this shows a high degree of conservatism. Furthermore, brides from the adjoining parishes of Torteval, the Forest and St Saviours provided these St Peters grooms with another 23 percent of their partners. So restricted was the marriage pool in rural parishes that, as Marie De Garis observes, 'it resulted in definable facial characteristics which could immediately identify a person with that locality'.¹⁶³

The insular preference for endogamy was rooted in its landholding culture. 'In Guernsey land is worshipped first and money next', says a character in *The Book of Ebenezer Le Page*.¹⁶⁴ If a native of the rural parishes did not receive a viable inheritance, he was wont to leave. In earlier times, he might have gone to St Peter Port or to sea. Seafaring, however, was in decline from the 1870s.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, by mid-century,

¹⁶³ De Garis, *Folklore*, p. 17.

¹⁶⁴ Edwards, *Ebenezer Le Page*, p. 130.

¹⁶⁵ In 1913, a French observer commented 'à tous points de vue, les iliens ont abandonné les métiers de la mer' (C. Vallaux, *L'Archipel de la Manche* (Paris, 1913), p. 133).

labouring opportunities in St Peter Port (and the quarrying parishes) were being rejected for the better prospects offered by destinations further afield: Australia and North America, where land – the commodity Guernseymen valued most – was plentiful.¹⁶⁶

If, by good fortune, the rural Guernseyman happened to own a patch he could live on, then, as Jean-Marie Gouesse says of Normandy, 'par les contraintes économiques, impossible de s'établir dans une autre paroisse que celle où l'on possède quelques vergées de terre'.¹⁶⁷ Henceforth it would be his life's work to maintain and consolidate his property, and, for this reason, it was often expedient to marry kin or neighbour. This also accounts for female native endogamy, for, as Jack Goody has observed, the receipt of land by women as part of their inheritance encourages matches between 'individuals of similar wealth and status'.¹⁶⁸ There was no more efficient way than kin or neighbour marriage to engross an existing holding or 'to patch together what had been put asunder' by a *partage* in a previous generation.¹⁶⁹ This was the factor responsible for preserving the links between surnames and parishes. As Gabriel Lasker observes, the 'virilocal marriage system', where men stay where they inherit land, leads to a 'high level of isonymy, with a small number of surnames becoming dominant locally'.¹⁷⁰ Outside St Peter Port, this conservatism led to the retention of land in Guernsey hands. *Livres de Perchage* from the 1890s for the Fief du Roi in St Sampsons and the Fief St Michel in the Vale show a 4 to 1 ratio of Guernsey names to non-Guernsey names.¹⁷¹

Levels of endogamy for those bearing 'British' names were almost as high as for those with local names. Overall, there were 62 percent more unions where both partners bore 'British' names than unions where one spouse bore a Guernsey name and the other a 'British' name. Endogamy may in great measure have been a natural result of the relative prevalence and seclusion of the English and their descendants within St Peter Port (and to a lesser extent the northern parishes). The English resisted absorption through sheer weight of numbers, and in time they turned St Peter Port into a predominantly English

¹⁶⁶ For more on the destinations of emigrating Guernseymen, see above, pp. 32; 47–48.

¹⁶⁷ J.-M. Gouesse, 'Parenté, famille et mariage en Normandie aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles', *Annales ESC*, 27 (1972), p. 1145.

¹⁶⁸ J. Goody, 'Inheritance, property and women: some comparative considerations', in J. Goody, J. Thirsk & E.P. Thompson (eds), *Family and Inheritance* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 10–11.

¹⁶⁹ E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (London, 1977), pp. 168–169. *Partage* is the Guernsey term for the share-out of a patrimonial holding between siblings.

¹⁷⁰ Lasker, *Surnames and Genetic Structure*, p. 33.

¹⁷¹ *Livre de Perchage*, Fief du Roi, St Sampsons, 1890 (I.A., RG62-06); *Livre de Perchage*, Fief St Michel, Vale, 1899 (I.A., DR63-53). *Livres de Perchage* were broadly equivalent to English terriers. Feudal dues were payable by landowners on Guernsey's fiefs until well into the twentieth century; landowners' liability to dues was assessed in a *Livre de Perchage* issued once every 10 or 20 years.

enclave.¹⁷² As early as 1851, 'British' surnames were borne by nearly 65 percent of St Peter Port's civilian population. A distinctive 'town' accent evolved over the course of the century which was different from that of country-dwellers. English was not the mother tongue of many of the latter, and their accent when speaking that language was influenced by *patois*. The 'town' accent, on the other hand, was a medley of attenuated West Country strains.

One incontrovertible fact remains, and this is that, island-wide, the proportion of marriages where both partners bore local names diminished steadily over time. These unions accounted for nearly 40 percent of all marriages at the start of the period; however – in a reflection of the increasing heterogeneity of the insular population – they had dropped to less than 25 percent by the end (see table 6.8).

For all that, even in 1901, Guernsey surnames were still in a majority in all parishes outside St Peter Port. Indeed, census returns show that in the four south-western parishes, as much as 82 percent of the population bore Guernsey names. In the Vale and St Sampsons, however – at 51 percent – the balance showed distinct signs of tilting. In 1913, the French geographer Camille Vallaux remarked perspicaciously of the northern parishes: 'plus ouvrières que rurales, elles sont aujourd'hui, dans l'ensemble, plutôt anglaises que franco-normandes'.¹⁷³ *Ouvrières* is arguably here the crucial word, because the whole process of stranger/native inter-penetration can perhaps best be understood in socio-economic terms. Although Guernsey received migrants from all backgrounds, migrant labourers and artisans exerted more of an influence on the island's nineteenth-century economic and social transition than migrants from higher strata, since the latter, though always present as a class, did not stay long enough to integrate with the population as individuals.¹⁷⁴

Economically, there had been two regimes in Guernsey for at least three centuries. The urban and rural economies, though inter-linked, were different in character. Situated on maritime trade routes, the town had always had some involvement in sea-borne trade and possessed a commercial sector with relationships to the outside world. In the eighteenth century, commerce grew to unprecedented proportions, giving St Peter Port considerable importance in the wider western Channel region. The town

¹⁷² The considerably smaller numbers and greater dispersal of the French precluded their having a similar effect. Moreover, French immigrants appear to have been more readily assimilable to local culture, as well as actively to have sought integration.

¹⁷³ Vallaux, *L'Archipel*, p. 92.

¹⁷⁴ Chapter three shows that 78 percent of migrants in social class I were present in the island for one census only (see above, p. 70).

developed various industries based on re-exports, which increased its requirement for labour. Some of this was initially provided by the country parishes. Here, in contrast to St Peter Port, an inward-looking and autarkic pre-industrial regime prevailed, which was based on small-scale peasant farming, mostly for subsistence but with small surpluses disposed of in town. In due course, large-scale immigration superseded the excess rural population as the main source of urban manpower, and a sizeable proletarian class developed in St Peter Port which was of mixed migrant/native origin, with migrants as the ultimately dominant element. This class contained both labourers and artisans, and was proletarian in the broad sense that it did not possess a stake in the land. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the Anglo-Guernsey proletariat remained as a discrete community within St Peter Port, providing manpower for shipbuilding and other maritime trades which retained some importance till 1870, as well as servicing the urban *rentier* sector and, ultimately, catering for the consumer needs of the island as a whole.

From the 1820s onwards, an extractive industry developed in the northern parishes which also needed manpower. This again was supplied initially from local sources, though, from the 1840s, there was increasing input from immigration. Thus a distinct proletarian class – also Anglo-Guernsey in character – began to evolve in the northern parishes as well.

The seven remaining rural parishes followed a different course. For much of the nineteenth century, these parishes remained, to varying degrees, tied to a peasant-type landholding and social structure.¹⁷⁵ Only once a more specialised type of farming began to gain ground in the last quarter of the century did traditional structures relax. The importance of patrimonial inheritance declined, new forms of land acquisition developed, opportunities for wage labour increased. The process was incremental rather than revolutionary, and rural integration with the Anglo-Guernsey community that had grown up in St Peter Port and the northern parishes was slow. Nevertheless, the dismantling of social and economic barriers to the countryside had begun, and the path lay open to greater social mixing after the war. Improvements in public transport and increased rural house-building in the 1920s and '30s accelerated the process by making it easier to live in the country and work in town.

At insular level, therefore, the fusion of indigenous and migrant stock, ethnically and culturally, was to be the work of the twentieth rather than the nineteenth century.

¹⁷⁵ The tightness of this structure depended on proximity to town, since penetration by migrants in parishes contiguous to town modified the character of these parishes.

However, with the forces of change now rooted deep within Guernsey society, it was only a matter of time before the experience of St Peter Port was re-lived island-wide, albeit in more gradual and attenuated form.

CHAPTER 7

CHANGING IDENTITIES

Ethnically and culturally, Guernsey was a very different place on the eve of World War I than it had been at the close of the Napoleonic Wars. Immigrants had contributed much to the metamorphosis, but they were by no means the sole vectors of change. In examining the nature and timing of the transition, it will be necessary to evaluate the contribution of immigrants against that of a host of non-human agents.

Several levels of change can be distinguished. These are not so much orderly strata as jumbled and inter-cutting veins, each impacting on the other to create more change. Most obvious are the cultural and linguistic shifts which were at once a symptom and a cause of alterations in insular identity. Then there are the political and administrative reforms which similarly both promoted and reinforced change. At one remove are the developments in technology and communications which instigated changes further back. Ultimately, of course, there is the economic transformation experienced not only by the Islands but by much of Europe during the nineteenth century. In Guernsey's case, this saw the commercial revolution begun in eighteenth-century St Peter Port spread island-wide and finally supplant the traditional economy.

Each level of change enumerated above will be discussed in a chronological account of the process of cultural transition. The account will be divided into four sections. First, the forces which moulded a distinctive Channel Island identity in the centuries preceding the nineteenth will be outlined. Following this, developments specific to Guernsey from the end of the Napoleonic era will be analysed in three sections corresponding roughly to the periods 1814–39, 1840–79 and 1880–1914. Most attention will be devoted to the last of these phases, since it represents the final working-out of a range of processes set in motion earlier in the century.

Insular Identity – the Historical Background

Unlike the Isles of Man, Skye or Shetland, the Channel Islands are geographically peripheral not to Britain but to continental Europe, or, more particularly, to France (see figure 6.1). They are situated in a frontier zone, a region where political, linguistic and cultural boundaries merge. In this, they are analogous less to Britain's Celtic fringe than to other regions on the French periphery where political allegiance has historically been at variance with linguistic and cultural ties, such as Alsace or Flanders.¹

For several centuries after the Islands' political separation from Normandy in 1204, ecclesiastical and trading links with France were unaffected by the English allegiance, and Islanders' Norman identity remained vibrant.² Proximity ensured that maritime communication was quicker and easier with France than with England,³ thus, though the Islands may not have been politically part of France, they remained for centuries part of the Gallo-Romance linguistic and cultural area. In his book on the medieval administration of the Channel Islands, Professor John Le Patourel stressed the vitality of ongoing links with France:

'The importance of this close connexion between the Channel Islands and Normandy throughout the Middle Ages cannot be overemphasized. The Islanders were of the same racial blend as the Normans of the Cotentin, they spoke the same dialect ..., traded with the same money and lived under the same customary law'.⁴

Writing on the Tudor period, Tim Thornton has speculated that, given that insular culture had links to a political society more powerful than that of England, any Englishman of the period venturing to settle among the Islanders was more likely to be assimilated into their 'French' culture than to impose his English culture on them.⁵

¹ P. Fournier, 'Une zone frontière maritime franco-anglaise: conflits autour des îles anglo-normandes', *Revue de la Manche*, 40 (1998), p. 11.

² The Channel Islands continued as part of the Diocese of Coutances until the Reformation.

³ As late as 1688, news of William III's accession reached Guernsey not via London but via Paris (see below, p. 216).

⁴ J.H. Le Patourel, *The Medieval Administration of the Channel Islands, 1199–1399* (Oxford, 1937), p. 35.

⁵ T. Thornton, 'The English king's French islands: Jersey and Guernsey in English politics and administration, 1485–1642', in G.W. Bernard & S.J. Gunn (eds), *Authority and Consent in Tudor England* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 197 & 208.



Figure 7.1 Channel Islands & north-western France (Rigobert Bonne, Paris, 1780)

Dr Thornton contrasts Islanders' early experience of the English with that of Celtic populations in Wales, Ireland and Scotland, who were both physically closer to England and without links to a culturally prestigious neighbour whose influence could counterbalance that of the English.⁶ In all these cases, contact with the English (or, in Scotland, with anglophone culture) resulted in English being imposed as a legal and administrative language by the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.⁷ A similar situation pertained in the Isle of Man, where English established itself as the language of law and administration under the overlordship of the Stanley lords of Knowsley (near Liverpool) from 1405.⁸ The institutional dominance of English in the Celtic countries resulted in the decline of Britain's Gaelic languages from at least medieval times.⁹ In the Channel Isles, by contrast, French remained entrenched as the language of law and authority for nearly 700 years after political allegiance to England. For many of those years, its position was buttressed by the prestige it carried as the language not of a minority culture, but of one of Europe's leading political and military powers.

It is perhaps appropriate at this stage to define precisely what we mean by the terms 'French' and 'local language' in an insular context. In the Channel Islands, as throughout the Gallo-Romance area from late medieval times, a diverse array of local vernaculars had begun to establish a diglossic relationship with standard Parisian French.¹⁰ Under this diglossia, Parisian French fulfilled what linguists term the 'high' functions in society (i.e. it was the formal language of law and administration). The vernacular (in the Islands' case, varieties of Norman) fulfilled the 'low' functions: it was the language not only of hearth and home, but of almost every other sphere of life.¹¹

In the Middle Ages, standard French remained, in most of France, essentially a written code. In Guernsey, as all over the francophone area, it was becoming accepted as 'la forme écrite du parler local'.¹² The standard French writing system was that used in Guernsey's earliest surviving French documents (which date from the fourteenth century), as well as in Royal Court registers, several series of which begin in 1526.¹³ The

⁶ Thornton, 'French islands', p. 197.

⁷ In Scotland, English was formally accorded this status by means of the 1609 Statutes of Iona and James VI's two Acts of 1616 (R.D. Grillo, *Dominant Languages* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 85); in Wales by means of Henry VIII's 1536 Act of Union, and in Ireland by the 1537 Act for the English, Order, Habit and Language (V.E. Durkacz, *The Decline of the Celtic Languages* (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 3–4).

⁸ G. Broderick, *Language Death in the Isle of Man* (Tübingen, 1999), p. 163.

⁹ Durkacz, *Celtic Languages*, p. 219.

¹⁰ For a helpful definition of diglossia, see Grillo, *Dominant Languages*, pp. 3–4.

¹¹ In Guernsey, the local vernacular has variously been known as *patois*, *guernésiais* or Guernsey French. For the purposes of this study, the latter term will hereinafter be preferred.

¹² P. Brasseur, 'Le français dans les îles anglo-normandes', *Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature*, 15 (1977), p. 98.

¹³ Personal communication from D.M. Ogier, Archivist of the Royal Court.

vernaculars did not possess a written form, so that when francophone children learned to read and write, they learned in standard French. The number of Islanders learning to read and write in medieval or early modern times would probably have been small. It is not known to what extent the upper echelons of society habitually spoke standard French at this time, but there is internal evidence in early Royal Court documents suggesting that people often used the vernacular in Court, and that this was merely recorded in the standard form by greffiers.¹⁴ In later centuries, however, standard French came to be widely spoken by Guernsey's educated elite, though never by the peasantry.

It has been suggested that the Cornish language suffered a major blow when the Reformation disrupted Cornwall's cultural and linguistic ties with Brittany.¹⁵ Paradoxically, although Channel Islanders also converted to Protestantism during the sixteenth century, this invigorated, rather than weakened, their linguistic contacts with France. Not only did the Islands receive an infusion of new francophone blood in the guise of Huguenot refugees, but they also derived their Protestantism – the Calvinist variety – directly from France. Eugen Weber has remarked that even within France itself, Protestantism was 'a powerful instrument of Frenchification', since Calvin's ideas were disseminated largely through the medium of standard French.¹⁶ The Reformation thus added another 'high' function to the insular repertoire of standard French, which henceforth replaced Latin as the language of religion.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Protestant refugees bolstered the position of the French language in the Islands, but they cannot be seen as straightforward ambassadors of French influence in other respects, since they were by definition hostile to the state which had rejected them. In this regard, the Reformation signalled a turning-point in the development of insular identity. Linda Colley has identified Protestantism and francophobia as key to the over-arching sense of 'Britishness' which gained ground in Great Britain over the eighteenth century. According to Professor Colley, Britons defined themselves in terms of their common Protestantism as contrasted with the Catholicism of France, with which, between 1689 and 1815, they were frequently at war.¹⁷ If Channel Islanders had never been able to be English, it was now becoming possible for them at least to be 'British', and it was indeed at this time, and through warfare, that Islanders, or at least some of them, began to focus more intently on this aspect of their identity.

¹⁴ Personal communication from D.M. Ogier.

¹⁵ P. Payton, 'Cornish', in G. Price (ed.), *Languages in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2000), p. 112.

¹⁶ E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (London, 1977), p. 84.

¹⁷ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 1–4.

For two centuries prior to 1689, the Islands had enjoyed the privilege of neutrality during wartime. When this privilege was terminated at the accession of William III, privateering under the British flag established itself as a core activity of insular merchants and shipowners. Out of this activity grew Guernsey's involvement in worldwide trade which saw island vessels range from the Baltic to Barbados. This further reinforced the British connection: 'traders', as Linda Colley points out, 'needed the state ... Overseas merchants required its naval protection on the more dangerous sea routes ... This broad occupational group had one of the best and most compelling reasons for loyalty. Quite simply, it paid'.¹⁸

Such was undoubtedly the case with Channel Islanders, but their need for protection against a very real risk of French invasion was an equally valid reason for a show of loyalty.¹⁹ Thus, in 1751, in a book whose purpose seems at least partly to have been to promote appreciation of the Islands' strategic value, Thomas Dicey declared grandly of the Islanders: 'they have been noted for their Attachment and Fidelity to our Kings, as well as natural Affection to English subjects; of which they account themselves as much so, in Respect to national Interest, and Connection, as any Gentleman Farmer, born in the County of Middlesex'.²⁰ A change of faith and the exigencies of war had, apparently, wrought a transformation in the Islands' self-image. It now remains to focus specifically on Guernsey to assess to how deep these changes ran.

Early Nineteenth-Century Guernsey: 1814–39

Cultural profiles

At the close of the Napoleonic Wars, the 25,000-strong population living within Guernsey's 24 square miles had already lost a measure of its traditional homogeneity. The large wartime garrison and English migrants attracted by St Peter Port's eighteenth-century entrepôt business had made the town very different from the countryside. Taking the island as a whole, the population can broadly be divided into three cultural groupings.

¹⁸ Colley, *Britons*, p.56. It is perhaps emblematic of the change in identity that one of Guernsey's most successful eighteenth-century privateers was named the *True Briton*. For more on this vessel, see A.G. Jamieson, 'The return to privateering', in A.G. Jamieson (ed.), *A People of the Sea: The Maritime History of the Channel Islands* (London, 1986), pp. 161–162.

¹⁹ Guernsey never experienced an invasion during the wars of 1689–1815, but Jersey fell briefly to the French in 1781 before being retaken by British forces under Major Pierson.

²⁰ T. Dicey, *An Historical Account of Guernsey from its First Settlement to the Present Time* (London, 1751), pp. 145–146. For more on Dicey and his book, see T.G. Hutt, 'Dicey's historical account of Guernsey', *T.S.G.*, 21 (1983), pp. 379–381.

The first comprises the urban elite, of which we can distinguish two strands: successful native merchants turned *rentiers*, and the 'high-class' outsiders with whom they mixed socially. The second grouping consists of the Anglo-Guernsey community of retailers, tradesmen and labourers established in St Peter Port, and the third grouping of the rest of the native population, mainly farmers based in the nine country parishes.

The St Peter Port elite

The ex-mercantile component of the urban elite were the Guernseymen Thomas Dicey most had in mind when drafting his paean to insular loyalty. Of all islanders, this was the group to whom the question of a wider national (as opposed to insular) identity had first suggested itself, since they were most exposed to the outside world. A trend toward anglicisation had taken root among this group in the late eighteenth century,²¹ and the first decades of the new century saw it intensify. In an all-encompassing range of practical matters from language, religion and education, to everyday taste and style, the indigenous elite looked increasingly towards Britain generally, and England in particular.

As regards language, the francophone-educated older elite spoke standard French among themselves and Guernsey French with servants and tradesmen.²² Younger generations, who from the turn of the century were increasingly likely to be educated in Britain, spoke English by choice. Language shift among the educated classes is illustrated by the fate of Guernsey's French newspapers. The island's first newspapers – the *Gazette* (1791), *Mercure* (1806), *Publiciste* (1812), *Miroir Politique* (1813) and *Indépendance* (1817) – had all been in French.²³ By 1835, however, every one of these (bar the *Gazette* which had a rural circulation and survived until 1936) was defunct, replaced in St Peter Port homes by the English-language *Star* (1813) and *Comet* (1828). Why, asked the *Star*, had its francophone competitors vanished? Because 'the men of the last generation, whose vernacular tongue was the French, have been gradually gathered to their fathers, and their places filled up by a generation who have, for the most part, been nurtured and educated in the English language'.²⁴

²¹ On eighteenth-century anglicisation, see G. Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680-1830: The History of an International Entrepôt* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 123–127.

²² Until the late eighteenth century, it had been the practice of elite families to have their children educated either on the Continent or by francophone tutors.

²³ On local newspapers, see A. Bennett, 'A history of the French newspapers and nineteenth-century English newspapers of Guernsey' (unpub. MA dissertation, University of Loughborough, 1995) and W. Marshall-Fraser, 'A history of printing, of the press and publications in the Channel Islands', *T.S.G.*, 15 (1954), pp. 59–72.

²⁴ *Star*, 1.10.1835.

The beginning of scheduled steamer services in 1824 moreover facilitated a regular supply of newspapers from England. 'Tout est changé, tout change de plus en plus', wrote Daniel De Lisle Brock, 'j'ai vu se passer vingt jours sans nouvelle de Londres; il ne se passe guère vingt heures sans en recevoir. L'avènement de Guillaume III au trône de l'Angleterre ne fut connu ici que par voie de Paris; aujourd'hui nous avons à déjeuner les journaux du matin précédent'.²⁵ Cultural isolation was a thing of the past, and fashionable islanders could now more easily keep abreast of London styles.

The changing tastes of the elite impinged equally on St Peter Port's religious life. In 1815, a group of gentlemen, three-quarters of them natives, met to commission the building of a new Anglican church in the town. The building of the new church had a dual purpose: first, to provide services in English, all those at the parish church (save garrison Sunday service) being in French; and second, to bring practice formally into line with that of the English Established Church – a model from which Guernsey's traditional Calvinist-leaning Anglicans had always kept their distance.²⁶

Eight years later, a similar committee was set up to examine the possibility of making available locally the English-style education now favoured in elite circles. The means chosen was the re-chartering of Elizabeth College, St Peter Port's free Grammar School, originally founded in 1563, but never well-patronised.²⁷ The committee deemed it 'advisable to obtain in the new Charter, that henceforth the Classics may be taught ... through the medium of the same language, and with the same pronunciation and accent, as are established at the university of Oxford'.²⁸ Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne, co-ordinating the reorganisation, advised the committee against choosing Guernseymen as masters; 'the inhabitants of Guernsey were the first to complain of their local accent', and avoiding Guernseymen 'might enable them gradually to shake it off'.²⁹ Under the auspices of the States, a substantial new building ('in the later style of English architecture')³⁰ was erected between 1826 and 1829, financed, through indirect taxation, by the island's population at large.³¹ The building housed a school for the sons of native gentlemen and English residents modelled almost entirely along the lines of an English public school.

²⁵ D. Brock to Chamber of Commerce, 19.9.1838, G.C.C. Minute Book 1808-39 (I.A., AQ 40/01).

²⁶ *Gazette*, 7.10.1815 identifies the committee members. An account of the building of St James's church is to be found in J. Jacob, *Annals of some of the British Norman Isles constituting the Bailiwick of Guernsey* (Paris, 1830), pp. 138–142.

²⁷ V.G. Collenette, *Elizabeth College, 1563–1963* (Guernsey, 1963), pp. 9–12.

²⁸ *Enquiry into the Present State and Condition of Elizabeth College* (Guernsey, 1824), pp. 50–51.

²⁹ Jacob, *Annals*, p. 356.

³⁰ S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England*, 4 vols (London, 1831), 2, p. 275.

³¹ The cost – about £10,000 – came out of the proceeds of an extension of the duty on spirits (Collenette, *Elizabeth College*, pp. 18–20).

Hardly an aspect of elite life was untouched by anglicising tastes. The entire physical environment was rapidly becoming less Norman and more English. On the profits of eighteenth-century trade, leading families built whole streets of new Regency-style houses, which, according to an English observer, resembled nothing so much as Tunbridge Wells.³² Even the most mundane pursuits were affected. Withdrawal from trade had brought the elite more leisure, and this, too, they sought to fill in English fashion. The satirical *Chit-Chat* magazine of the 1830s was modelled on London society publications such as the *Idler* and *Figaro in London*.³³ A newspaper advertisement of 1826 announced the formation of a cricket club to be composed of 'gentlemen of Guernsey, officers of the garrison, and English residents'.³⁴

Nevertheless, change, at this stage, was only permitted to go so far. The elite may have welcomed it into their personal and social lives, but they were tenacious in shielding the island's political and legal structures from alteration. These they saw as bastions of Guernsey's autonomy and thus of their own position. French lived on as the language of law and administration, which themselves remained firmly anchored in the Norman past and persistently refused to mirror developments in Britain.³⁵ The democratic reforms which, from 1832, gradually increased the popular vote in the United Kingdom had no echo in Guernsey. The States contained not one member directly elected by the public from the beginning of the nineteenth century to its end. Inheritance and property laws remained firmly grounded in the medieval Norman *Coutume* long after it had been superseded in Normandy by the *Code Napoléon*.³⁶ The archaic *livre tournois* survived as the island's official currency for decades after the French had replaced it with the franc.³⁷ Ancient Norman weights and measures persisted into the twentieth century.³⁸

The urban Anglo-Guernsey community

St Peter Port's non-elite anglophone community had a cultural life of its own which preserved many of the traditions brought over from England. Nonconformist sects from the South-West maintained their own English-speaking churches which were situated

³² F.F. Dally, *A Guide to Guernsey* (London, 1860) p. 18.

³³ Bennett, 'Newspapers of Guernsey', p. 69.

³⁴ *Star*, 23.5.1826.

³⁵ For nearly all of the nineteenth century, States meetings and Court proceedings were conducted in French. Laws, States reports and *Billets d'Etat* were drafted in French. All public records at the Greffe were in French, and greffiers even translated English forenames for the purpose of civil registration.

³⁶ *Préciput* was not abolished until 1954 (G. Dawes, *Laws of Guernsey* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 167–168).

³⁷ British currency was not introduced until 1920. On the pre-1920 position, see above, p. 89, footnote 61.

³⁸ The Order in Council of 12 January 1916 only brought weights into line with those of the U.K. and did not affect land measurements. *Perches* and *vergées* remain in use for land transfer purposes to this day.

mainly in town and remained separate from the francophone Methodism which took root in the countryside. Moreover, the community maintained a livelier stream of communication with England (via constant arrivals at the port) than with the native rural hinterland. 'The town boys sing as they pass, snatches of our newest songs', an English visitor remarked in the 1840s.³⁹ A plethora of seemingly trivial but culturally potent English customs and habits previously unknown to Guernsey – from the eating of hot cross buns on Good Friday to Guy Fawkes celebrations – were observed enthusiastically in town while they remained unheard of in the countryside.⁴⁰

Education was a focus for linguistic and cultural differentiation among the lower classes as well as among the elite. The vast majority of poorer town children who attended any kind of school in the early nineteenth century frequented either Sunday Schools or the St Peter Port National School.⁴¹ In 1824, the town had five Sunday Schools, all founded after 1815 and attended by 1,123 children, of whom only 50 were taught exclusively in French.⁴² The National School, which also offered a predominantly English curriculum to 203 day pupils, had been founded in 1812 by much the same panel of gentlemen as later instigated the building of St James's church.⁴³ The church itself provided 200 free sittings at its English-language services to National School children, which the children were obliged to attend (if they wished to attend French services at the Town Church, they required special dispensation).⁴⁴ From the outset, it was recognised that the ethnic balance of St Peter Port was such as to make English the most effective teaching medium: 'the English has been so rapidly gaining ground within these few years, that it was found necessary to teach it in the National School, in order to render the Institution generally beneficial', the *Star* reported in 1815.⁴⁵ As time went on and immigration continued, this situation became more marked. An newspaper article of 1839 informs us that 61 percent of National School children had English parents, 36 percent Guernsey parents, and 3 percent French.⁴⁶ Such was the growth in demand that a second National School opened in 1838 in north-east St Peter Port, and a British &

³⁹ Anonymous, *Economy; or A Peep at our Neighbours* (London, 1847), p. 91.

⁴⁰ On buns, see E.F. Carey (ed.), *Guernsey Folk Lore from the MSS by the Late Sir Edgar MacCulloch* (London, 1903), p. 46. On Guy Fawkes, see M. De Garis, *Folklore of Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1975), p. 84.

⁴¹ John Jacob provides details of Guernsey's schools as at 1824 on pp. 402–403 and 407–408 of his *Annals*. St Peter Port also possessed a small parish school, founded in the sixteenth century and known as *la Petite Ecole*. This school had only 82 pupils in 1824 and does not seem to have been popular. It closed in 1848.

⁴² The Sunday School movement was an English innovation, usually seen as having been initiated around 1780 by Robert Raikes of Gloucester.

⁴³ Hampshire Record Office, 21M65/J1 A/4/A D contains the deed of foundation of the Guernsey Society for the Education of the Infant Poor and a letter from National Society Secretary Rev. T. Walmesley, dated 1.7.1812, accepting the Guernsey school as an affiliate of the newly formed National Society.

⁴⁴ *Billet d'Etat*, 20.9.1864.

⁴⁵ *Star*, 23.9.1815.

⁴⁶ *Comet*, 14.2.1839.

Foreign School opened in the centre of town in 1843. By the early 1840s, working-class as well as elite education in St Peter Port was on its way to becoming totally anglophone.

Les càmpogniards

In the country parishes, by contrast, the 13 Sunday Schools in existence in 1824 offered tuition solely in French, as did five of the nine parochial day schools.⁴⁷ This reflected the continuing rural prevalence of the Norman-French vernacular. 'In all the country parishes,' William Berry observed a decade earlier, 'little or no English is spoken'.⁴⁸ Even the militia was commanded in French until 1818.⁴⁹

In 1814, the world of most country people stopped at their parish boundary. The first metalled roads linking them with town had only been built in 1811.⁵⁰ Farming and property matters filled their horizons, and if they sold any surpluses, it was within the island. In everyday matters, it would probably not have occurred to many country people to consider any identity beyond a parochial or insular one. Their first loyalty would have been to their *pays*, like that expressed by Guernsey's first new post-Napoleonic Bailiff, Daniel De Lisle Brock, who declared on his appointment: 'l'amour de mon pays, et l'attachement pour ses habitants ... sont gravés dans mon coeur'.⁵¹ Brock's conception of *pays* was essentially the traditional French one, defined by Eugen Weber as 'an entity whose members have something in common – experience, language, a way of life – that makes them different from others'.⁵²

In this respect, Victor Hugo's observation seems particularly apposite: 'les Guernesiais ne sont certainement pas anglais sans le vouloir, *mais ils sont français sans le savoir*'.⁵³ After 600 years of political allegiance to England, in myriad ways, large and small, the rural inhabitants of Guernsey probably still had more in common with French than with English contemporaries. Such was the gulf that centuries of warfare and the Reformed Faith had opened between them and their French cousins that Guernseymen would probably have been oblivious to this, but William Berry acknowledged the affinity, when he observed:

⁴⁷ Jacob, *Annals*, p. 407

⁴⁸ W. Berry, *The History of the Island of Guernsey* (London, 1815), p. 267.

⁴⁹ E. Parks, *The Royal Guernsey Militia: A Short History and List of Officers* (Guernsey, 1992), p. 14.

⁵⁰ R.P. Hocart, *An Island Assembly: The Development of the States of Guernsey 1700–1949* (Guernsey, 1988), pp. 23–24.

⁵¹ *Billet d'Etat*, 16.5.1821. See also Brock's maiden speech as Bailiff, reported in *Gazette*, 14.5.1821.

⁵² Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, p. 45–46. Brock's insular patriotism was mirrored in his politics, which were Guernsey-focused and particularist: 'tenons-nous en à une politique à part, qui nous doit être particulière, parce que notre position l'est aussi', he exhorted States members in 1824 (*Billet d'Etat*, 17.5.1824).

⁵³ V. Hugo, *L'Archipel de la Manche* (1883; Paris, 1980 edn), p. 42 (my italics). Hugo lived in Guernsey 1855–70.

'the generality of the natives have much more the appearance of French than English people, whose manners and customs they seem naturally to have imbibed, or instinctively to inherit, from their Norman extraction. Poor and parsimonious in their living and dress, even their domestic utensils and implements of husbandry are all in the French style'.⁵⁴

The single most important reason for such similarities is that, autarkic and inward-looking, the traditional agrarian societies of neither Channel Isles nor France had altered much in their essentials in the passage of six centuries.

F.B. Tupper, a respected native historian born in the late eighteenth century, describes an 'unimproved, badly cultivated' countryside in 1775, with 'extremely rough roads, often flooded in winter' and 'small mean houses with low and dark rooms' inhabited by countryfolk who had 'little intercourse with each other, or with the town'.⁵⁵ 'The rural populations are fully a century in the rear of the town', *The Chit Chat* echoed in 1840; they 'stick to their rock as a snail to his shell; they never associate with strangers; they go on from generation to generation, learning nothing, limited in their thoughts, mere animals in their desires'.⁵⁶

One has only to read Eugen Weber's account of early nineteenth-century rural France to recognise feature after feature equally prevalent in the Islands. The conservatism and parsimony of insular farmers were born of the same conditions of land parcelisation and marginal economic viability which gave rise to similar characteristics in French peasants.⁵⁷ Warning against the assumption that *Britons* 'were part and parcel of an homogenized European-wide *ancien régime*',⁵⁸ Linda Colley stressed that there were important respects in which they differed from their continental neighbours:

'in terms of its agricultural productivity, the range and volume of its commerce, the geographical mobility of its people, the vibrancy of its towns, and the ubiquity of print, Britain's economic experience ... was markedly different from that enjoyed by much of Continental Europe'.⁵⁹

Professor Colley's remarks refer to the eighteenth century, and while the town of St Peter Port had certainly begun to conform more to the British pattern at this time, life in the rural heartland, in 1814 at least, was still lived essentially on the continental model.

⁵⁴ Berry, *History of Guernsey*, p. 300. Accurate as this might have been, Berry, given his relations with the anglophile local establishment (see above, p. 184), probably knew it would be taken as an insult. This contention, among others, was duly repudiated in a series of articles in *Le Miroir Politique* in autumn 1815.

⁵⁵ F.B. Tupper, *The History of Guernsey and its Bailiwick* (Guernsey, 1854), pp. 364–368.

⁵⁶ *The Chit Chat*, 1.8.1840.

⁵⁷ Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, pp. 479–482.

⁵⁸ Colley, *Britons*, p. 36.

⁵⁹ Colley, *Britons*, p. 43.

Parallel economic conditions made it imperative for traditional French and Guernsey farmers to focus on family, clan and parish to the exclusion of larger units. This narrowness of focus gave rise to linguistic parallels. Weber has highlighted the extreme fragmentation of French *patois*, where 'dialect might change from one valley to another, from high ground to low, from one riverbank to the next'.⁶⁰ It seems strange to modern minds that, within 24 square miles, Guernsey's language should vary at all, but such was the strength of insular localism that Guernsey French differed, phonologically and lexically, not only between high ground in the south and low ground in the north, but between individual parishes, and even between districts within parishes.⁶¹

The traditional fabric of folklife in both France and Channel Islands shared a host of similarities, many of them deriving from common medieval or pre-medieval origins. Twentieth-century academic folklorists have identified a congruence of themes, narratives and even *dramatis personae* between popular legends of the Cotentin and Channel Islands.⁶² The rural French *charivaris* and *veillées* to which Eugen Weber devotes entire chapters, were, in their Guernsey incarnations – *la chevaucherie d'âne* and *la veille* – also characteristic of island life, and they existed for much the same reasons.⁶³ To take *veillées* as an example: rural communities gathered around a single cowpat-burning hearth to pass winter evenings knitting, singing and telling folktales for the practical reason that they needed to economise on heating and lighting. Once conditions had improved to the point where everyone could comfortably afford to heat and light their own homes, *veillées*, and *veillées*, disappeared in both Guernsey and France.⁶⁴

The credulity and superstition rife in the French countryside also had their echo in Guernsey, for all its Protestantism. Not only did the same superstitions circulate, so did the selfsame *mauvais livres*, *Le Grand* and *Le Petit Albert* – about which islanders entertained identical bizarre beliefs.⁶⁵ The nineteenth-century Norman philologist and ethnologist Jean Fleury detected 'une identité complète de caractère comme de langage' between Cotentinois and Islanders.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, p. 86.

⁶¹ M. De Garis, *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernésiais* (Chichester, 1967), pp. xi & xv.

⁶² J. Smith, 'Etude comparative des légendes du Cotentin et des îles anglo-normandes' (unpub. Mémoire de Maîtrise, Université de Caen, 1985).

⁶³ On *la chevaucherie d'âne* and *la veille*, see De Garis, *Folklore*, pp. 29–30 & 83–84.

⁶⁴ Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, p. 473.

⁶⁵ On the *Albert* books, see Weber, *Peasant into Frenchmen*, pp. 25–26, and De Garis, *Folklore*, pp. 141, 173–174. These books were held to be indestructible; it is no surprise that several copies survive at Guernsey's Priaulx Library.

⁶⁶ J. Fleury, 'La presqu'île de la Manche et l'archipel anglo-normand: essai sur le patois de ce pays', *Mémoires de la Société Nationale Académique de Cherbourg*, (1890–91), p. 310.

Mid Nineteenth-Century Challenges and Resistance: 1840–79

Even in 1814, the anglicisation of the St Peter Port elite had been well advanced. By the mid-1840s, it had progressed so far that some among the governing class found themselves insufficiently versed in French to take up their traditional role in administration. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Jurats were commonly elected young (25 years was not exceptional), and they were generally content to spend their entire career in Guernsey.⁶⁷ Such was the increase of intercourse with England that, by mid-century, a new type of Jurat emerged: men who had spent their working lives in Britain or the wider Empire and were elected only on retirement to their birthplace.⁶⁸ Language problems arising from this were first encountered by the Royal Court in 1843, when Thomas Andros found himself nominated for the juratcy after a career as a London lawyer.⁶⁹ Andros was reluctant to serve and declared himself unable to speak French in the hope that his nomination would be dropped. Nevertheless, his peers saw fit to elect him, and he was given express authorisation to use English in both Court and States.⁷⁰ Not only did Andros have a useful background in law, but he was a scion of one of the older-established patrician houses, and the States' permissive attitude may have reflected their anxiety to have him occupy what they saw as his natural place in government.

At various stages in the nineteenth century the St Peter Port Douzaine(s) operated as a rival power-base to the insular 'establishment' ensconced in States and Royal Court.⁷¹ Because the town Douzaines contained a substantial commercial element, they often viewed themselves as champions of the modern world in the face of States conservatism. Since commerce was increasingly conducted with England rather than with France,⁷² things English, and the English language in particular, came, in certain quarters, to be equated with progress itself. By contrast, political conservatives came increasingly to identify themselves with French (at least as an institutional language). On 21 August 1846, St Peter Port Central Douzaine deputy Carré William Tupper, who had spent 26 of his 47 years in England, was barred by vote of the States from using English

⁶⁷ R.P. Hocart, 'Elections to the Royal Court of Guernsey', *T.S.G.*, 19 (1979), p. 503.

⁶⁸ T.F. Priaulx, *The Bailiffs and Jurats of Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1973), p. 13.

⁶⁹ On Andros, see Hocart, 'Elections', pp. 507–508.

⁷⁰ See *Gazette*, 7.1.1843 for Andros' statement of his own case and editorial comment on the matter.

⁷¹ Prior to 1844 each parish had only one Douzaine, and its Senior Constable was *ex-officio* a member of the States. After 1844, St Peter Port was divided into four cantons and each acquired its own Douzaine. The St Peter Port Central Douzaine continued to exist as a supervisory and co-ordinating body. Constables lost their automatic seats in the States, and, instead, the nine country and four urban cantonal Douzaines each sent one 'deputy' to States meetings. The St Peter Port Central Douzaine sent a further two. These deputies were appointed from among parish Douzeniers and Constables for one meeting only at a time.

⁷² For comparative trade figures in 1860, see above, p. 107, footnote 159.

at future meetings.⁷³ Tupper engaged the support of a majority of his Douzaine in sending the Bailiff a formal protest 'against the exclusive use of the French language in the meetings of the States',⁷⁴ but, the majority being small and the Bailiff having received a dissenting letter from the pro-French minority, he declined to take the matter further.⁷⁵ Tupper, however, enlisted the support of Lieutenant-Governor Sir William Napier, a political radical who had developed an antipathy for the forces of insular conservatism since entering office in 1842. Napier forwarded Tupper's complaints to the Home Secretary, while emphasising, in a covering letter, his own desire to see the island 'become wholly English, in feeling, language and manner'.⁷⁶

This correspondence came to nothing, but it has been used by Jersey historian John Kelleher to suggest that, in British Government circles, 'English was now being seen as an increasingly essential part of loyalty to the English Crown'.⁷⁷ My own research in records of Home Office and Privy Council dealings with Guernsey has, however, yielded no evidence to suggest that nineteenth-century British Governments had any interest in a policy of active anglicisation. The views Major-General Napier expressed on Tupper's linguistic grievance were his alone, and Sir George Grey's response was no more than to assert that 'the circumstances detailed by Mr Tupper' were not such as 'to warrant or justify any interference' on his part.⁷⁸

A similar representation was made by Carré Tupper and other Central Douzaine members to Lord Palmerston when he was Home Secretary in the mid-1850s. This again resulted from a debate on the admissibility of English in the States, and its rejection by majority vote in February 1853.⁷⁹ Perhaps hoping for a Don Pacifico-type response, a letter from the Douzaine solicited Palmerston's intervention in instigating an Order in Council authorising the use of English in debates.⁸⁰ Napier's successor as Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Bell, advised against any change in the face of 'the present feeling and opinions of certainly a very large majority of the inhabitants',⁸¹ and Palmerston dismissed the matter. Here the issue of English in the States was laid to rest for the next 40 years. The retention of French as an institutional language was undoubtedly an issue

⁷³ *Comet*, 24.8.1846.

⁷⁴ *Comet*, 5.11.1846.

⁷⁵ Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. 61.

⁷⁶ Sir William Napier to Sir George Grey, 7.9.1846 (P.R.O., HO 45/1339).

⁷⁷ J.D. Kelleher, *The Triumph of the Country: The Rural Community in Nineteenth-Century Jersey* (Jersey, 1994), pp. 125–126, 134.

⁷⁸ Sir George Grey to Sir William Napier, undated (P.R.O., HO 45/1339).

⁷⁹ See *Comet*, 28.10.1852, 3.2.1853, 17.3.1853, and *Star*, 12.2.1853, 26.2.1853 & 19.3.1853.

⁸⁰ C.W. Tupper, F.B. Tupper & P. De Saumarez to Viscount Palmerston, 18.2.1853 (P.R.O., HO 45/4899).

⁸¹ Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Bell to Home Office, 9.3.1853 (P.R.O., HO 45/4899).

of vital importance to some,⁸² but the mid-century Douzaine episode smacks as much of an internecine tussle over power as an argument over principle. As the *Comet* remarked, politicians aside, 'comparatively few among the community care anything about the matter'.⁸³

The truth was that the urban community were finding French increasingly irrelevant to their lives. What remnants of francophone culture had existed in town in the opening decades of the century were being rapidly extinguished. The island's first penny paper, the *Guernsey Mail and Telegraph*, begun in 1860, was in English.⁸⁴ Guernsey's telegraphic connection with England, in place by 1858, made it convenient for newspapers to source up-to-date news items from Britain more quickly.⁸⁵ Though earlier Guernsey newspapers had also carried English news, they had been expensive (as were imported English newspapers) and read by comparatively few. With cheaper newspapers and increasing popular literacy, a broader swathe of the urban population was able to keep abreast of national preoccupations at the same rate as contemporaries in England.

As communications with Britain improved, those with France deteriorated. Guernsey's nineteenth-century postal system was integrated with that of the United Kingdom,⁸⁶ and the island was bound to comply with General Post Office regulations. Thus, from 1841 onwards, mail to and from France could no longer travel directly, but had to go via London.⁸⁷ Such circumstances contributed to the progressive erosion of links with France and francophone culture. 'A wonderful change has been effected during a quarter of a century in the town parish', observed the *Comet* in 1848; 'the language of the people is no longer French, but English'.⁸⁸

The ubiquity of English meant that French was also under threat of imminent extinction in elementary education. Immigration to Guernsey (particularly of families with children) increased markedly during the 1840s, and pupils receiving an English education at St Peter Port's voluntary day schools rose from 203 in 1824 to 758 in 1847.⁸⁹ The British Government had paid grants to voluntary schools in the United Kingdom since 1833. In 1839, it had established the Privy Council Committee on Education to

⁸² See, for example, Jurat Harry Dobrée's speech on what he saw as the vital role of French in sustaining insular autonomy reported in *Star*, 27.3.1845.

⁸³ *Comet*, 28.10.1852.

⁸⁴ Bennett, 'Newspapers of Guernsey', pp. 77–78.

⁸⁵ In the 1890s, the French-language *Baillage* identified the telegraphic service of the Central News Agency as the source of 'une vaste proportion' of the articles carried in the *Guernsey Evening Press* (*Baillage*, 28.5.1898).

⁸⁶ This was reversed in 1969, when the Bailiwick became an independent postal authority in its own right.

⁸⁷ G.C.C. complaint to Postmaster General, 12.2.1841, G.C.C. Minute Book, 1839–49 (I.A., AQ 40/03).

⁸⁸ *Comet*, 28.12.1848. A mid twentieth-century source dates the final demise of the St Peter Port variety of Guernsey French to around 1900 (E. Martel, 'Philological report', *T.S.G.*, 17 (1965), p. 709).

⁸⁹ 1824 figure from Jacob, *Annals*, p. 403; 1847 figure from Statistical Return (P.R.O., HO 98/88).

ensure that these grants were effectively spent (this, among other things, involved official inspection).⁹⁰ Prior to the late 1840s, Guernsey's National Schools had received no Government grants, but in June 1847 the Secretary of the Guernsey Schools, the Reverend Abraham Le Sueur,⁹¹ applied to Education Committee Secretary Sir James Kay Shuttleworth for a grant under the Committee of Council's Minute of 25 August 1846.⁹² Shuttleworth replied with the stricture that 'compliance with [the Committee's] conditions would be necessary',⁹³ and, within months, the receipt of both grants and H.M.I. inspections began in Guernsey schools. Government grants were conditional on annual examinations on a centrally-set syllabus which did not include French. It was perhaps to counter the effect of this that, when St Johns National School applied to the States for a grant in 1849, Bailiff Sir Peter Stafford Carey suggested that any local assistance should be made conditional on the teaching of French.⁹⁴ The grant turned into a yearly allocation, and similar allocations were made to the British & Foreign School from 1850 and the Central National School from 1853. Later grants were not made explicitly dependent on French, but schools receiving them undertook voluntarily to teach it.⁹⁵

From 1862, the Committee of Council introduced a rigid system of payment by results which meant that grants were given strictly on a *per capita* basis for passes in the three Rs, towards which achievements in French could not contribute.⁹⁶ Managers of local schools feared the Revised Code would 'materially diminish our resources', and asked the States for a larger contribution.⁹⁷ In 1864, the States responded by reinforcing their stricture that 'toute subvention faite en faveur des écoles de la ville sera censée être subordonnée à la condition que la langue française y sera enseignée d'une manière compétente'.⁹⁸ The condition was accepted with reluctance by school managers, and it unleashed a heated debate in the local press. The francophone *Gazette* applauded the States' firmness: 'Les enfants villais sont instruits d'après le programme gouvernemental anglais', an editorial pointed out; 'les enfants natifs sont anglicisés malgré eux ... Ils ne

⁹⁰ J.M Goldstrom, *Education: Elementary Education 1780–1900* (Newton Abbot, 1972), p. 103.

⁹¹ This may well be the Reverend Abraham Le Sueur described by John Kelleher later in his career in Jersey as a 'leading advocate of the English Language' (Kelleher, *Triumph*, pp. 126 & 257).

⁹² Rev. A. Le Sueur to Dr J. Kay Shuttleworth, 16.6.1847, National School Copy Book, 1837-70 (I.A., EC 01-01). The Minute made available grants for raising the pay of masters who took on pupil-teachers and for a modest stipend to pupil-teachers themselves (previous grants had been only for school buildings).

⁹³ Dr Kay Shuttleworth to Rev. Le Sueur, 22.6.1847, National School Copy Book (I.A., EC 01-01).

⁹⁴ *Billet d'Etat*, 2.2.1849. The States had helped fund parochial primary schools since 1826, but, aside from £500 towards a new Central National School building in the '30s, had never assisted the voluntary Schools.

⁹⁵ For timing and background of grants to the various schools, see *Billet d'Etat*, 20.9.1864.

⁹⁶ Goldstrom, *Education*, pp. 112–115 for grants prior to 1862; pp. 125–131 for payment by results.

⁹⁷ Rev. Thomas Brock to Sir Peter Stafford Carey, 12.2.1863 (*Billet d'Etat*, 30.3.1863).

⁹⁸ *Billet d'Etat*, 22.9.1864. The States were by this time adopting a more interventionist stance in education generally. In 1850, they had established a Parochial Education Committee to oversee parish schools.

sont pas élevés comme il convient à des Guernesiais, ayant une origine, une nationalité distincte'.⁹⁹ Rev. Thomas Brock, manager of St Johns National School, countered:

'It should not be forgotten that this part of town is almost an English colony. To teach French to children who never hear any language at home but English, and who leave school at the age of twelve, seems to me useless ... It is surely not helping but hindering education to insist upon teaching what practically is in the case in question a dead language'.¹⁰⁰

A rejoinder followed swiftly from a correspondent to the *Star*:

'surely it would be better to give a smattering of French to three Irishmen than to denationalize a single native. The question is simply whether "the colony" is to swallow us up?'¹⁰¹

An appreciation of Guernsey's cultural and linguistic heritage had been slowly developing since the 1830s, but it was limited to a small and rather atypical group of educated men and writers such as George Métivier.¹⁰² Métivier had published his first volume of Guernsey French verse as early as 1831. By the 1860s, as well as having published a further volume, he was finishing his *Dictionnaire Franco-Normand*.¹⁰³ Métivier was joined in subsequent decades by the younger dialect poets Denys Corbet and Thomas Lenfestey, and by the mid-1880s, seven substantial volumes of Guernsey French verse had been published.¹⁰⁴

The vogue for vernacular poetry seems to have been largely home-grown, motivated by the personal concerns of local poets in the face of conditions domestic to the island. Métivier himself, who was born in 1790 and had studied medicine at Edinburgh, is reputed to have been inspired by Robert Burns.¹⁰⁵ Métivier and others may also have known of mid nineteenth-century French vernacular writers, such as the high-profile *Félibres* of Provence.¹⁰⁶ They may equally have been aware of the new interest in

⁹⁹ *Gazette*, 10.9.1864. It is likely that the editor of the *Gazette* at this time was Pierre Roussel, a passionate supporter of French and influential member of the States Parochial Education Committee.

¹⁰⁰ *Star*, 15.9.1864.

¹⁰¹ *Star*, 17.9.1864.

¹⁰² For an account of Métivier's life and work, see R. Lebarbenchon, *Littératures et Cultures Populaires de Normandie: La Grève de Lecq* (Cherbourg, 1988), pp. 37–61.

¹⁰³ Métivier's works include: *Rimes Guernesaises par un Câtelain* (Guernsey, 1831); *Fantaisies Guernesaises* (Guernsey, 1866); *Dictionnaire Franco-Normand* (London & Edinburgh, 1870), and *Poésies Guernesaises et Françaises* (Guernsey, 1883).

¹⁰⁴ These were, in addition to Métivier's work: D. Corbet, *Les Feuilles de la Forêt* (Guernsey, 1871); *Le Jour de l'An* (Guernsey, 1874); *Les Chants du Drain Rimeux* (Guernsey, 1884); T. Lenfestey, *Le Chant des Fontaines* (Guernsey, 1875). On these poets, see Lebarbenchon, *Littératures et Cultures*, pp. 62–100.

¹⁰⁵ Lebarbenchon, *Littératures et Cultures*, p. 45.

¹⁰⁶ Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, pp. 80–81.

dialect and folklore developing in England.¹⁰⁷ All these phenomena were born of a European-wide awareness that such local particularisms were endangered. Whatever their motivation, we should bear in mind that Guernsey's dialect poets had a limited readership. As Eugen Weber observed of the *Félibres*, 'literature needs a reading public, and such a public was hard to find. The country people, when they learned to read, learned to read in French; they thus found reading in "patois" difficult – the more so since French orthography is not designed to express [its] sounds'.¹⁰⁸ Weber's remark is equally applicable to Guernsey.

Educational developments in the 1860s seem to have focussed the attention of insular patriots on the incipient linguistic and cultural threat, and inspired a vigorous defensive campaign. In the spring of 1867, a *Star* editorial noted 'the systematic and powerful effort which is now being made by an association of able and enlightened men to bring about a revival of the study and use of French in this island'.¹⁰⁹ In summer of that year a new French-medium school opened in St Peter Port.¹¹⁰ On 8 October 1867, 'plusieurs jurés, des avocats, de notables commerçants, des propriétaires ruraux' assembled to found *La Société Guernesiaise*.¹¹¹ The society's president was Jurat Hilary Carré. Pierre Roussel, sometime editor of the *Gazette*, was its secretary, and George Métivier was given the title 'fondateur honoraire'.¹¹² The stated aims of the *Société* were:

'de conserver et de cultiver la connaissance de la langue française dans l'île, d'essayer de rétablir un équilibre d'enseignement dans les deux langues et de chercher à propager des connaissances générales et utiles par le moyen du français'.¹¹³

Henri Boland tells us that 'les souscriptions et les adhésions affluèrent'.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ R. Colls, *Identity of England* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 250–251. An edition of the *Star* in the late 1850s contains a letter from an interested party in Stoke Newington enquiring of Guernsey French 'is there not a set of antiquaries who could form a committee to collect this singular language, while it can be collected?' (*Star*, 18.3.1858).

¹⁰⁸ Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, p. 80.

¹⁰⁹ *Star*, 5.3.1867.

¹¹⁰ The new school was associated with the French-speaking Wesleyan chapel in Victoria Road. The chapels of Guernsey's French Methodist circuit made an important contribution to the maintenance of insular French, in much the same way as did the Methodist chapels of Wales with regard to Welsh.

¹¹¹ A society with similar aims was established in Jersey six years later under the name of *La Société Jersiaise*. The *Société Guernesiaise* of 1867 is not to be confused with the present-day society of the same name, which began life in 1882 as the Guernsey Society of Natural Science and Local Research.

¹¹² Accounts of the foundation of *La Société Guernesiaise* are to be found in *Star*, 15.10.1867, in R. de Cléry, *Les Iles Normandes, Pays de Home Rule* (Paris, 1898), pp. 81–83, and in H. Boland, 'Les institutions de langue française à Guernesey', *La Revue Internationale*, 8 (1885), pp. 25–35.

¹¹³ Boland, 'Langue française', p. 30.

¹¹⁴ Boland, 'Langue française', p. 31.

By coincidence or by design, several members of what Boland called 'la petite pléiade des patriotes insulaires'¹¹⁵ held seats on the States Parochial Education Committee, not least Hilary Carré, Pierre Roussel and William Métivier, brother of George. Not long after the formation of *La Société Guernesiaise*, the Committee faced a crucial challenge. Following the passage of the 1870 Elementary Education Act, the Committee of Council on Education (also known as the Education Department) reviewed its position with regard to Crown Dependencies, and, in consultation with the Treasury, decided that grants to Channel Island schools should cease, since the Islands were not liable to imperial taxation.¹¹⁶ The Education Department however enquired whether the Islands might wish to enter into a special arrangement with them, such as that which had been in force with the Isle of Man since 1867. Under such an arrangement, though the Islands would bear the full cost of education, they could continue to avail themselves of inspection by H.M.I. if they undertook voluntarily to abide by English educational codes.¹¹⁷ The Islands would thereby gain the advantages of integration with the English system and the facility for obtaining trained teachers from English colleges.¹¹⁸

Jersey, considering the offer to be 'dans l'intérêt de l'Ile en général et surtout de la classe ouvrière', chose to accept it.¹¹⁹ It may perhaps be worth noting here that John Kelleher, in his analysis of anglicisation in Jersey, singled out education as 'the future determinant of the destiny of Jèrriais'.¹²⁰ Interpreting the Committee of Council's post-1870 stance as a manifestation of 'the Crown's insistence on conformity in education',¹²¹ he saw the withdrawal of funding as 'a lever of conformity' resorted to by Government in 'an attempt to coerce the States into adopting Parliament's 1870 *Elementary Education Act*'.¹²² As regards Guernsey, no obvious duress was exerted in Education Department communications, and the decision appears to have been left freely to the States.¹²³

¹¹⁵ Boland, 'Langue française', p. 25.

¹¹⁶ HM Treasury to Education Department, 13.3.1871 (P.R.O., HO 45/9285/2368). Correspondence concerning the Education Department's decision is also set out in *Billet d'Etat*, 5.7.1871. A letter from the Education Department to the Home Office dated 22.7.1872 shows that, by the 1860s, five schools in Guernsey received of some form of grant: St Peter Port Central and St Johns National Schools; St Peter Port British & Foreign School; St Josephs Roman Catholic School and Les Eturs Infant School in the Castel (P.R.O., HO 45/9285/2368). The first three schools had received the major share of the grant, which, over the years 1868-70, had amounted to an average total of £484 a year (*Billet d'Etat*, 3.5.1872).

¹¹⁷ Education Department to Home Office, 3.4.1871 (P.R.O., HO 45/9285/2368).

¹¹⁸ Education Department to Treasury re. Isle of Man, 7.1.1871 (*Billet d'Etat*, 5.7.1871).

¹¹⁹ Preamble to Jersey Règlement sur les Ecoles Élémentaires, 9 August 1872, *Lois et Règlements passés par les Etats de Jersey*, vol. 3 (Jersey, 1882), pp. 65-70.

¹²⁰ Kelleher, *Triumph*, p. 134. On the significance of the 1870 Elementary Education Act for Jersey, see also Kelleher, pp. 132-133, 252, 257 & 264. *Jèrriais* = Jersey Norman French.

¹²¹ Kelleher, *Triumph*, p. 252.

¹²² Kelleher, *Triumph*, p. 257.

¹²³ Correspondence relating to the withdrawal of school grants is preserved in P.R.O., HO 45/9285/2368.

In the event, the Education Department's offer was referred to a specially constituted *Comité d'Instruction Publique*.¹²⁴ The *Comité* reported back in spring 1872. Acknowledging that the Government's offer was 'bienveillante' and 'dictée par un désir bien réel de nous rendre service', the report nevertheless recommended its rejection.¹²⁵ The Committee pointed out that the English curriculum was geared to the three Rs, and that the place within that curriculum of French was marginal. Since the task of H.M.I. lay in assessing competence in English reading and writing only, the Committee felt that the result of entrusting inspection to them would be to concentrate teachers' efforts almost exclusively on the subjects that Inspectors were competent to examine, and that it would undermine the primacy of French within the insular curriculum.¹²⁶ The Committee recommended that the island should take education within its own hands, in the aim not only of buttressing the existing position of French within the rural schools, but, eventually, of raising the level of French in the town to that in the countryside. Optimistically – idealistically even – the Committee believed that, through education, they could reverse the tide of anglicisation and 'Guernsify' the anglophone population:

'Nous avons ici deux langues mères qu'il nous importe de cultiver toutes deux. Le français a été presque absolument négligé dans les écoles de la Ville. Notre but doit être d'y introduire graduellement l'étude de cette langue – la langue naturelle du pays – en commençant par les classes les plus jeunes, et de la rendre à la fin obligatoire dans toutes les classes ... Irions-nous perpétuer et aggraver les causes de diversité entre deux sections d'une population que nous avons tout l'intérêt possible à rendre aussi homogènes que les circonstances le permettent? Une longue expérience nous a prouvé qu'il est possible, dans une école primaire, de faire marcher de pair l'enseignement dans deux langues Nous sommes même persuadés qu'une instruction pareille contribue infiniment à développer l'intelligence des enfants et à leur former l'esprit'.¹²⁷

The report was in many respects a very modern vision of what might be achieved through education. Ironically, it was through its appeal to the forces of conservatism still much in evidence in the States of the early 1870s that it carried the day. On 3 May 1872, the States voted to thank the British Government for their kind offer, and to inform them that the island would nevertheless be retaining sole supervision of its schools.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ *Billet d'Etat*, 5.7.1871. The *Comité* was composed of the States Parochial Education Committee plus three additional members who were later retained as permanent Education committee members.

¹²⁵ *Rapport du Comité d'Instruction Publique*, p. 13 (*Billet d'Etat*, 12.2.1872).

¹²⁶ *Rapport du Comité d'Instruction Publique*, p. 8 (*Billet d'Etat*, 12.2.1872).

¹²⁷ *Rapport du Comité d'Instruction Publique*, pp. 8 & 12 (*Billet d'Etat*, 12.2.1872).

¹²⁸ *Billet d'Etat*, 3.5.1872.

At the same States meeting, an 'Accord' was agreed between the States and the parish of St Peter Port whereby the National and British & Foreign schools became parish schools henceforth to be jointly managed and funded by the States Parochial Education Committee and a new St Peter Port Parish Education Committee. By this means, educational practice in town was to fall into line with that in force in the country parishes, whose schools the States had assisted financially since 1826.¹²⁹ It was resolved to retain the English code in town at first, gradually increasing hours given over to French until rural levels were reached.¹³⁰

Fin de Siècle Crisis and Resolution: 1880-1914

Guernsey's patriots emerged apparently victorious from the education debate of the 1860s and '70s, but the *Star* had been sceptical throughout:

'if people will speak English and nothing else – if they will adopt English habits and modes of thought – how can we prevent their doing so? ... The States may ordain that French shall be taught in our schools ..., but what power can make people learn against their inclination?'¹³¹

Professor Anthony Lodge has observed that, firmly though defenders of regional cultures might believe that legislative and educational measures can help resuscitate dying languages, reality is more complex, in that activities of the state have always to be seen as but 'a single facet of a deeper socioeconomic development'.¹³² The idealists of the *Comité d'Instruction Publique* grievously underestimated the strength of the tide they were trying to turn back. English immigration and influence in St Peter Port continued unrelenting, and decades passed without it ever proving possible to bring French to the level of the countryside. Indeed, the rural parishes themselves regressed in this respect.

As the century entered its closing decades, processes of change set in motion 100 years earlier proved impossible to stop, let alone to reverse. The Anglo-Guernsey contingent spread north from town, bringing their anglicising influence with them. Other forces were working silently to revolutionise islanders' self-image from within. Alone, insular legal and administrative institutions remained intact. In many ways they were merely the untouched façade of a structure undergoing complete internal transformation.

¹²⁹ *Rapport du Comité d'Instruction Publique*, p. 17 (*Billet d'Etat*, 12.2.1872).

¹³⁰ *Rapport du Comité d'Instruction Publique*, p. 14 (*Billet d'Etat*, 12.2.1872).

¹³¹ *Star*, 15.9.1864.

¹³² R.A.Lodge, *French: from Dialect to Standard* (London, 1993) pp. 219–220.

The silent revolution in the countryside

By 1880, anglicisation had become a rural as well as an urban phenomenon. In the passage of three-quarters of a century, the island's rural heartland had undergone a slow economic and social metamorphosis. Since potato exports began in the 1830s, Guernsey's farmers had been gradually turning their smallholdings into more commercially orientated enterprises. In the later nineteenth century, the need to sell cattle, fruit and flowers to customers overseas brought them increasingly into contact with an English-speaking outside world. 'Maintenant que tout le monde a une serre et envoie ses paniers en Angleterre', remarked *Le Baillage* in 1898, 'tout le monde a besoin de savoir l'anglais'.¹³³ Figure 7.2 shows a family of growers with 'paniers' of tomatoes ready for export.

Figure 7.2 Family vinery, 1890s¹³⁴



¹³³ *Baillage*, 26.11.1898.

¹³⁴ Courtesy of Mr Peter Brehaut.

Rural Guernseymen were steadily moving from an autarkic universe of isolated subsistence towards integration with a wider society. For a time, traditional modes of thought hung on, but the closing decades of the century introduced a plethora of competing influences to displace them. There were more personal ties with Britain. Aside from their commercial contacts, late nineteenth-century rural parishioners had more opportunities for recreational travel. The democratisation of sport brought Guernseymen from all walks of life and all parishes into the English-speaking sphere and sent them home again, enriched by the experience. By the 1890s, cycling had become a popular local pursuit, and the island was participating in national cycling events and sending delegates to meetings of the National Cyclists Union.¹³⁵ The Guernsey militia had always prided itself on its shooting; in 1882, for the first time in its history, it sent a team to Wimbledon to contend for the National Rifle Association's Kolapore Cup.¹³⁶ This was to become an annual fixture participated in by successive generations of militiamen from all over the island.

The experience of militia service itself changed considerably over the century. The force, which, under Guernsey's ancient charters, was immune from service outside the island,¹³⁷ had formerly been officered entirely by members of the indigenous elite, for whom the holding of commissions had been a matter of prestige. From mid-century, these had largely lost interest, and, by 1869, a War Office report complained of the 'difficulty in getting a proper supply of officers' because younger members of the upper classes 'were entering English professions'.¹³⁸ Abolition of the purchase of British army commissions in 1878 brought in many Englishmen to fill officer posts in the militia, through which they might bypass Woolwich and Sandhurst, and later compete for special commissions in the regular army. From 1883, regular British officers were appointed as adjutants to each militia battalion.¹³⁹ Attendance at visits by Queen Victoria (in 1846 and '59) and the increasingly elaborate ceremonial of royal birthdays and jubilees would have helped imbue rural recruits with a due sense of their place in the Empire. In 1817, Guernsey regiments had marched to the strains of the informal national anthem 'Jean Gros Jean'.¹⁴⁰ By 1892, the official regimental march was 'The British Grenadiers'.¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ *Comet*, 13.2.1897.

¹³⁶ *Comet*, 22.7.1882. The venue was later moved to Bisley.

¹³⁷ Unless to 'accompany the king for the recovery of England', or that 'the person of the king be taken by the enemy' (J. Loveridge, *The Constitution and Law of Guernsey* (1975; Guernsey, 1997 edn), p. 2.

¹³⁸ Report by E.W.C. Wright & O.H. Morshead, 9.8.1869 (P.R.O., HO 45/9492/5006).

¹³⁹ Parks, *Guernsey Militia*, p. 20.

¹⁴⁰ De Garis, *Folklore*, pp. 283–284. Marie De Garis describes the song as 'rattling and rollicking' and slightly bawdy.

¹⁴¹ V. Coysh, *Royal Guernsey: A History of the Royal Guernsey Militia* (Guernsey, 1977), p. 44

Horticultural success brought rural Guernseymen more cash for consumer goods. In the 1880s and '90s they were improving and extending their houses, looking for knick-knacks for their parlours and comestibles for their kitchens. Given long-standing links with Britain, these newly discovered wants were met from across the Channel. This was a time when Britain's own mass market was being developed, when new tastes were created, and new means of preservation, packaging and marketing found.¹⁴² John MacKenzie saw in such packaging and marketing 'the first embryonic mass media'.¹⁴³ The closing decades of the century also saw a vigorous rekindling of popular British patriotism.¹⁴⁴ The Empire, represented for popular consumption as 'the latest and most perfected form of world government', exuded modernity and glamour.¹⁴⁵ Companies supplying the new tastes seized on this popularity as a means to sell their wares. Thus the Camp Coffee and Mazawattee Tea in the St Saviours grocers shop came packaged in the colours of Empire and replete with a cultural message – as did the biscuit tins, teacloths, commemorative mugs and Staffordshire novelties, which a Torteval parlour would have been as likely to possess as a Tottenham one.¹⁴⁶ In time, this flood of images had a pervasive effect. 'Toute la civilisation nous vint sous la forme anglaise', mused *Le Baillage* in 1898, 'et surtout toutes les idées, toutes les émotions patriotiques'.¹⁴⁷ The new imperial patriotism was subtly supplanting traditional insular loyalties.¹⁴⁸

Increasingly, Guernsey folk were identifying themselves with things British. Not just in an abstract eighteenth-century sense, but on a personal level. The change in identity did not need Government to impose it. It reached Guernseymen through a multitude of other channels, and was imbibed almost unconsciously. This new identity coloured every aspect of their lives. Sir Edgar MacCulloch, writing in the 1870s, grumbled that Guernsey parents were forsaking 'graceful old French names' for 'ridiculous' English forenames like Lavinia, Gladys or Maud.¹⁴⁹ So British in taste and outlook had the average Guernseyman become by 1913 that French geographer Camille Vallaux – despite his sympathy with rural parishioners – was driven to reflect:

¹⁴² J.M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester, 1984), p. 16.

¹⁴³ MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 2.

¹⁴⁵ R.H. MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918* (Manchester, 1994), p. 55.

¹⁴⁶ MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, pp. 26–28.

¹⁴⁷ *Baillage*, 26.11.1898.

¹⁴⁸ Reinforced, no doubt, by islanders' personal links with Empire in the form of kith and kin who had emigrated in large numbers to Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the Cape since early in the century.

¹⁴⁹ Carey (ed.), *Folk Lore from the MSS by MacCulloch*, p. 221.

'malgré tout, le type social des paysans de Guernesey nous paraîtrait plus attachant, s'il s'appliquait moins à imiter sur beaucoup de points les habitudes anglaises. Leur anglomanie ne se concilie pas avec leur très vif sentiment d'indépendance'.¹⁵⁰

Les nouveaux patriotes – a rearguard action

Given this general climate, it is not surprising that the brave hopes of the founders of the *Société Guernesiaise* were not realised. After a few years of vigorous activity, mostly in the form of French-language lectures and lantern shows staged principally in the country parishes, the *Société* ran out of steam. In all, it lasted about a dozen years, collapsing after the death of its principal instigator, Pierre Roussel, in 1879.¹⁵¹ Roussel, however, had a successor in the guise of young Guernsey advocate Théophile De Mouilpied, who, like the founder of the *Société* himself, stood out from contemporaries by his energy and commitment.¹⁵² De Mouilpied, motivated by intensifying threats to insular culture and institutions, gave fresh prominence to the patriotic cause by founding a new French-language newspaper, *Le Baillage*, in 1882. De Mouilpied's opening editorial is a patriotic manifesto:

'nous apporterons une résistance incessante à toute tentative faite contre l'autonomie et les droits de notre île. Nous revendiquerons hautement la liberté de ses institutions, la suprématie de sa langue, l'intégrité de son organisation judiciaire ... Prenons pour devise: Notre langue! nos lois! notre sol!'¹⁵³

Also prominent in the later nineteenth-century francophone circle were the philanthropists Thomas Guille and Frederick Allès, both of whom had made fortunes in the United States. On return to Guernsey, they had collaborated in establishing a public library which, with its large collection of French books and regular lecture series in French, functioned, at least in its early years, as a forum for francophone culture. In 1885, Henri Boland declared: 'de toutes les institutions de langue française à Guernesey, il ne reste aujourd'hui que la bibliothèque Guille-Allès'.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ C. Vallaux, *L'Archipel de la Manche* (Paris, 1913), p. 134.

¹⁵¹ For an obituary of Jurat Pierre Roussel, who died aged 63 on 24 February 1879, see *Comet*, 26.2.1879. For a detailed account of the demise of *La Société Guernesiaise*, see Boland, 'Langue française', pp. 35–37.

¹⁵² De Mouilpied was born at Les Vaurioufs, St Martins in 1850 and died in St Peter Port in 1923.

¹⁵³ *Baillage*, 21.10.1882.

¹⁵⁴ Boland, 'Langue française', p. 37.

In Tudor times, the prestige of French culture had acted to buttress the institutional position of French in the island, and even helped 'gallicise' English settlers. Four hundred years later, the balance had tipped in the opposite direction. The accumulated gallophobia of two centuries of warfare was sharpened in the later nineteenth century by the physical presence of French migrants, most of them conspicuously poor. As far as the ordinary Guernseyman was concerned, Gallic culture had little prestige. The glamour of belonging to an Empire covering a fifth of the world's land surface was decidedly more alluring. 'We may be Normans, but we certainly are not French', stressed a correspondent to the *Star* in 1900; 'they are alien from us in thought, word and deed, in habits, in religion, in every way'.¹⁵⁵

De Moulpiéd, Guille and Allès were educated men. They appreciated mainstream French culture and wrote in an elegant standard French which had nothing in common with the local vernacular. Owing to the paucity of islanders sufficiently literate in French to write for publication, they became reliant on expatriate Frenchmen like Henri de Monteyrémard, editor of the *Gazette* between 1880 and 1884, and Henri Boland, who by turns both edited *Le Baillage* and managed the Guille-Allès collection. The involvement of French nationals highlighted a growing conflict between traditional insular patriotism and the vigorous late nineteenth-century British variety which had so begun to permeate local society. This marks the beginning of the final political phase in the process of change.

To Henri Boland it seemed natural and logical that the island should turn to France in defending its francophone heritage. In his essay on French-language institutions, Boland criticised the French for having 'délaisse la population de race normande de l'archipel' and not having kept the islands supplied with 'un courant ininterrompu d'idées françaises'.¹⁵⁶ Any sort of association with France and the French was, however, liable to misinterpretation in the climate of the times, and, on more than one occasion, it proved damaging to the insular patriots' cause. A case in point was the furore in 1885 over an unfortunate remark uttered very publicly by Henri Boland himself. Boland and Frederick Allès were attending Victor Hugo's funeral in Paris as unofficial Guernsey representatives. In a speech at the Panthéon, Boland echoed Hugo's own words in describing Guernsey as 'aussi française par le coeur, les moeurs, les traditions et le langage, qu'elle est politiquement attachée à l'Angleterre'. He concluded by praising British monarchs' respect for insular autonomy in their exercise of what amounted only

¹⁵⁵ Letter from 'Anglo-Norman', *Star*, 4.10.1900.

¹⁵⁶ Boland, 'Langue française', p. 12.

to 'une suzeraineté nominale'.¹⁵⁷ The remark was seized on by the press and reached the ears of Lieutenant-Governor Henry Sarel. Sarel, objecting to the term 'suzeraineté nominale', requested the Bailiff to 'repudiate' Boland's remarks.¹⁵⁸ This Sir Edgar MacCulloch did fulsomely in an open letter published in the local newspapers, causing Messrs Guille and Allès – as respected public figures – acute and enduring embarrassment.¹⁵⁹

The local press (save *Le Baillage*) were, to say the least, unsympathetic in their treatment of Boland. It is probably not too far-fetched to conjecture that it was they who were primarily responsible for stoking up the incident. If nothing else, this demonstrates the intensity of local distaste for French 'interference'. However, the episode must also be seen in a deeper context – the context of the very real vulnerability Guernseymen felt with regard to the French, and their anxiety to retain Britain as protector.

Nineteenth-century Franco-British relations can be characterised as a series of flare-ups continually threatening to spill into war: spats over Spain in 1823, Algeria in 1830, Belgium in 1831, Egypt in 1840, Tahiti in 1844, Savoy in 1859, and so on.¹⁶⁰ Most of these incidents were reflected in the insular press, usually triggering grim reflections on what it would mean to be under French control. 'Si la France eut été maîtresse de ces îles depuis deux siècles, un siècle, ou même un an,' the *Gazette* commented in 1857, 'elle aurait tout bouleversé, tout culbuté; il n'est pas un vestige de nos privilèges, de nos libertés, de nos usages, qui n'eut été foulé aux pieds'.¹⁶¹ In March 1899, the Methodist minister Rev. Matthew Gallienne, who had served in France,¹⁶² delivered a Guille-Allès lecture entitled 'If Guernsey belonged to France: A Vision of Ruin'.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁷ *Baillage*, 6.6.1885.

¹⁵⁸ H.A. Sarel to Sir Edgar MacCulloch, 5.6.1885 (Lieutenant-Governor's Collection, I.A., AQ 252/4-34).

¹⁵⁹ *Star*, 23.6.1885. For further correspondence between Boland, Guille, Allès and Sarel, see Lieutenant-Governor's Collection, I.A., AQ 252/4-36, AQ 252/4-37, AQ 252/4-38 & AQ 252/4-39.

¹⁶⁰ For helpful summaries of nineteenth-century Franco-British relations, see R. Gibson, *Best of Enemies* (London, 1995), pp. 178–234, and G. de Broglie, 'Français et Anglais au XIX^e siècle, animosités et attirances', *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* (1997), pp. 97–104.

¹⁶¹ *Gazette*, 7.11.1857.

¹⁶² Over the nineteenth century Channel Island francophone Methodists attempted to proselytise their French cousins by participating in various missions to the French mainland; these missions do not appear to have been very successful (see *Star*, 2.8.1887).

¹⁶³ *Star*, 16.3.1899.

Over the decades, there had been periodic rumours that Britain was about to cede the Channel Islands to France.¹⁶⁴ After Britain's cession of Heligoland to Germany in 1890, these rumours intensified. From the mid-1860s onwards, French writers started taking an interest in the Islands.¹⁶⁵ These writers, most of them regionalists or political liberals, championed Islanders' cultural and linguistic rights against what they interpreted as metropolitan incursions. Guernseymen were suspicious of their motives. Henri Boland, chastened by his Panthéon experience, wrote a scathing review of an 1888 book by Norman regionalists Charles and Aristide Frémine which suggested that Islanders would swiftly be reconciled to French sovereignty if only 'la mère-patrie' guaranteed their 'privilèges'.¹⁶⁶ When apprised in 1894 of the intention of the Caen branch of *l'Alliance Française* to help finance the teaching of French in Island schools, public opinion was less than impressed.¹⁶⁷ For one correspondent to the *Comet*, all these 'French literary and antiquarian societies pressing upon us the retention of the French language in our Courts, Churches and literature' were merely acting in the hope 'that we shall one day drop into their mouths like a ripe plum'.¹⁶⁸ Justified or not, such popular anxieties were instrumental in finally precipitating the belated political changes of the late nineteenth century. Moreover, the complexities of *fin-de-siècle* Franco-British-Guernsey relationships made it a certainty that this change would take a pro-British direction.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ For an early and a mid nineteenth-century example, see *Comet*, 26.7.1830 & *Comet*, 14.2.1860.

¹⁶⁵ See in particular T. Le Cerf, *L'Archipel des Iles Normandes* (Paris, 1863); E. Pégot-Ogier, *Histoire des Iles de la Manche* (Paris, 1881); A. & C. Frémine, *Les Français dans les Iles de la Manche* (Paris, 1888), and R. de Cléry, *Les Iles Normandes, Pays de Home Rule* (Paris, 1898).

¹⁶⁶ Frémine, *Iles de la Manche*, pp. 199–200. For Boland's review, see *Baillage*, 26.5.1888.

¹⁶⁷ *Baillage*, 6.1.1894 & *Star*, 3.1.1894.

¹⁶⁸ Letter from 'A Guernseyman, but, thank God, a British Subject', *Comet*, 2.3.1895. While there can be no doubt that such fears did colour political decisions taken in Guernsey in the late nineteenth century, research in French Diplomatic and Foreign Ministry Archives has revealed no trace of negotiations involving cession. There is, however, a voluminous Franco-British correspondence concerning the Minquier and Ecrehou reefs, which form part of the Channel Islands archipelago (French Foreign Ministry Archives, Politique Intérieure: Iles Anglo-Normandes, 1897-1914, NS5). In 1905, Lord Lansdowne sent a lengthy memorandum to the French Ambassador in London stressing Britain's unwillingness even to consider a compromise over the sovereignty of these reefs (Lansdowne to Paul Cambon, 17.8.1905, Iles Anglo-Normandes, 1897-1914, Foreign Ministry Archives, NS5). If this was Government policy with regard to reefs, it hardly seems thinkable that the whole archipelago would have been ceded.

¹⁶⁹ In Guernsey's case, owing partly to geographical proximity and partly to the origin of migrants, Britishness often took the more culturally specific form of Englishness. The problem of identity presented itself more starkly to the Islands than to the countries of Britain's Celtic fringe, whose larger populations provided a measure of cultural insulation, and which, in the late nineteenth century, found wider solidarity in the Pan-Celtic movement. The French links which in earlier centuries had given a protective advantage to the insular language, as compared with Celtic languages, turned to the Islands' cultural disadvantage in the political conditions of the nineteenth century in that they forced a choice: 'Guernsey was not and could not be an independent country', a rector commented at an 1864 States meeting; 'it must be either English or French, and for his part he preferred being English' (*Star*, 22.9.1864).

The fall of the last strongholds

At the beginning of the 1890s, the position of French in the contexts mentioned by the *Comet's* correspondent seemed solid enough. It had remained unchallenged as the language of the States since 1853. The maintenance of French as an institutional language was a central tenet of political conservatives who saw in it a barrier to other changes. Conservative forces were concentrated in the countryside, where traditional mentalities hung on longest, particularly in the rural Douzaines. In the early 1890s, the balance of power still lay with such conservatives.

Since 1844, the States had been composed of 37 voting members: the Bailiff, Procureur, eight rectors, twelve Jurats, nine rural Douzaine deputies and six urban Douzaine deputies. It was seen as the duty of country rectors to represent the views of their parishioners, and these, together with the rural deputies, constituted a formidable bloc. Reinforcing this bloc were the Jurats, who, at least until the 1890s, had tended to espouse the *status quo*.¹⁷⁰ Progressive forces, as earlier in the century, were centred on the town Douzaines. Between 1888 and 1893, the mounting frustration of progressive elements came to the fore in a protracted dispute between the parish of St Peter Port and the States. The dispute was a complex one, in which many grievances emerged, not least the town representatives' desire for political reform and a greater influence in the States.

One major bone of contention was the funding of education in town. This was the product of years of friction between the States Parochial Education Committee and the St Peter Port Parish Education Committee.¹⁷¹ In 1889, the parish expressed its lack of confidence in the capacity of the States Committee to run the island's education system, and for the first time in 20 years, invited in an H.M.I..¹⁷² Echoing views expressed by Rev. Thomas Brock 30 years earlier, the Inspector criticised time 'wasted' on French, recommending that it should not be taught below standard II, and then only as a class subject.¹⁷³ The dispute culminated in St Peter Port's refusal to pay its share of the costs of town schools and their consequent six-week closure in the spring of 1893. Ultimately, St Peter Port was compelled to provide funding by the passage of a new education law.¹⁷⁴ Registering their protest, however, town ratepayers refused to elect a parish committee to

¹⁷⁰ In the latter part of the century, Jurats had increasingly tended to be drawn from the countryside (see below, p. 168, and Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. 81). However, appendix 1 shows that rural Jurats were not in a majority in the 1890s, when progressively-minded returned expatriates such as F.B. Mainguy and E.C. Ozanne exerted considerable influence.

¹⁷¹ On the dispute, see Hocart, *Island Assembly*, pp. 64–67, and D. Mulkerrin, 'The development of elementary education in the island of Guernsey 1893–1935', (unpub. MA dissertation, University of London, 1981), pp. 16–33.

¹⁷² Mulkerrin, 'Elementary education', pp. 18–19, 24–25.

¹⁷³ *Star*, 14.9.1889.

¹⁷⁴ Order in Council of 12 December 1893.

administer the schools, and persisted in their refusal for the next seven years. The States Committee thus found themselves directly running several urban schools.¹⁷⁵ The task proved beyond these 'local worthies', as Denis Mulkerrin describes them,¹⁷⁶ and, in 1898, the Committee were forced to ask the States to appoint an outsider, 35 year-old John Munday, former Organising Master of Winchester Diocese, as superintendent of the island's primary schools.¹⁷⁷ Munday was to remain in this post until April 1914.¹⁷⁸ The Committee which appointed John Munday had only one member in common with the States Parochial Education Committee of 1872: Vale Rector and Dean of Guernsey Thomas Bell, who retired in 1899. In appointing not only an outsider but an English educationalist, the Committee were turning their backs on the principles of their forebears in a tacit admission that their policies had failed.¹⁷⁹

From the beginning, Guernsey's *patriotes* were uneasy about the importation of John Munday. 'Nous en sommes à nous demander si l'arrivée de M. Munday sera de nature à encourager la connaissance de langue française, ou si ce sera son coup de mort, mused *Le Baillage*; 'il y a tant de manières de reléguer, de mettre de côté, d'étouffer pianissimo ce à quoi on ne tient pas'.¹⁸⁰ Their fears proved grounded. It is perhaps emblematic of the course Guernsey's education system was about to take that, when Munday was appointed secretary to the States Parochial Education Committee in April 1899, a resolution was passed that Committee minutes henceforth be kept in English.¹⁸¹

Munday was given the brief of re-organising Guernsey's primary education. He set about drafting a new Code of Regulations for Primary Schools heavily based on that in force in England.¹⁸² Henceforth, capitation would be paid strictly on the basis of passes in the three 'elementary subjects' of reading, writing and arithmetic.¹⁸³ French, as the St Peter Port H.M.I. had suggested, was relegated to the status of 'class subject' along with geography, needlework and singing, performance in which was to be taken into account when awarding capitation but not on the formal basis of passes in the three Rs. Though French might still be taught to all age groups, no more than five hours a week

¹⁷⁵ Mulkerrin, 'Elementary education', pp. 29–30.

¹⁷⁶ Mulkerrin, 'Elementary education', p. 30.

¹⁷⁷ *Billet d'Etat*, 10.9.1898.

¹⁷⁸ *Billet d'Etat*, 28.4.1915.

¹⁷⁹ The Committee appears only once before to have sought outside help. In the year after its formation in 1850, it brought over National schoolmasters William Lucas and John Flint for a six-month period to help re-organise the parochial primary schools (see *Billets d'Etat*, 9.4.1851 & 2.5.1855).

¹⁸⁰ *Baillage*, 10.12.1898.

¹⁸¹ Minute of 7.4.1899, Parochial Education Committee Minute Books, vol. 4, 1890–1900 (I.A., AS/MB 103–04).

¹⁸² The 1899 Guernsey Code survives in booklet form in P.R.O, ED 16/415.

¹⁸³ Capitation, or payment by results, had been extended from town schools, where it was already in force, to country schools in 1873 (*Billet d'Etat*, 28.11.1873).

were to be devoted to teaching it. From standard III (nine to ten years), pupils could opt to be tested in French rather than English as part of the Writing examination. In the first of his annual reports, Munday justified his decision to cut back on the teaching of French:

'As one common standard of difficulty in the teaching of that language is impracticable in our urban, semi-urban and rural schools, the amount of time which may be given to the teaching of French in any school has been limited to five hours per week. This means that Town children, who, as a rule, never hear any French but what is taught in school, may no longer sacrifice all other subjects in a vain endeavour to become as proficient in that language as are other scholars who never speak any other tongue in their own homes ... By all means let us encourage the teaching of French, but let it be understood that it *is* French; that it is of secondary importance to the official language of the British Empire; and that its study may not monopolise more attention or time than any one class subject can fairly claim'.¹⁸⁴

Uitlanders, cession scares and the reform campaign

The appointment of John Munday was just one of several decisions taken by the States in the late 1890s which broke irrevocably with past practice. In some sense, institutional reform was inevitable, but it might well have been resisted longer had it not been for the fortuitous concurrence in the late 1890s of a number of disparate but equally importunate forces. One of the most potent was the arrival over the previous decade of significant numbers of British middle-class migrants attracted by opportunities in horticulture. An articulate and well-organised group of them familiarly known as *Uitlanders* objected strongly to compulsory militia service, and, in the aim of having themselves exempted, campaigned noisily for political reform. When their 1896 anti-compulsion campaign met with failure, they used contacts in the United Kingdom to attack the efficiency of the militia in the British military press, and even had the issue raised in parliament.¹⁸⁵ This, at least partly, seems to have been responsible for bringing the matter of militia efficiency to the attention of Secretary of State for War Lord Lansdowne (though it had been raised by the War Office before).¹⁸⁶ Lord Lansdowne initiated an energetic drive to persuade recalcitrant Island authorities to improve training, discipline and facilities, and,

¹⁸⁴ *Billet d'Etat*, 9.5.1900.

¹⁸⁵ See above, pp. 187–188.

¹⁸⁶ See reports by Wright & Morshead (1869); Deedes, De La Bère & Lyons (1879) in P.R.O., HO 45/9492/5006, and Russell, Stevenson, Markham & Bergne (1894) in P.R.O., HO 45/10072/B5960A.

as an incentive, explicitly raised the possibility of withdrawing the garrison.¹⁸⁷ Guernseymen had two reasons for fearing such a withdrawal. First, it would mean a loss to the insular economy of at least £20,000 annually.¹⁸⁸ Second, it played on popular anxieties regarding France. In July 1896, the local press was filled with lurid reports of the proposed cession of the Islands to France in return for French recognition of Britain's control of Egypt.¹⁸⁹ The reports, soon scotched, emanated from the unlikely source of the *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph* and may have been another product of *Uitlander* resourcefulness. However, insular anxieties were raised again in 1898 – this time with more justification – when the British prepared themselves for general war against France over a contested French claim to the Fashoda region of Sudan.¹⁹⁰

It was against such pressures that the touchstone issue of the admissibility of English in States debates, dormant for 40 years, was finally raised again. By the mid-1890s, the diglossia of previous centuries, where standard French fulfilled the 'high' functions and Guernsey French the 'low', had become completely disorganised by the ubiquitous presence of English. As the *Star* commented in 1893, 'the greater proportion of our statesmen have been educated at an English College, in Guernsey or out of it, and when they are not in the Royal Court, they speak English as their mother tongue'.¹⁹¹

In the countryside, the use of English had increased in tandem with the spread of British cultural influences in the second half of the century. As far back as 1886, a *Baillage* editorial had observed that young country people were choosing to speak 'l'anglais de préférence, même à Torteval'. 'L'anglais', it asserted, 'est à la mode'.¹⁹² These young country-dwellers were subsequently speaking English to their offspring, so that, a decade on, the maternal language of at least a proportion of rural children was beginning to be English, rather than Guernsey French. In 1895, the *Star* was able to remark 'not farther back than ten years ago, questions addressed in English to children of St Peters, St Saviours and Torteval parishes were in most cases received with a shrug of the shoulders ..., but now nine children out of ten can not only understand what is asked in English, but can also reply in the same'.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁷ War Office to Home Office, 9.7.1897 & 16.10.1897 (P.R.O., HO 45/10072/B5960A). The main cause of insular recalcitrance was that the proposed improvements would cost thousands of pounds. They were, however, ultimately carried out.

¹⁸⁸ Letter from 'R.G.L.I', *Star*, 25.6.1898.

¹⁸⁹ See *Star*, 2.7.1896. On this episode, see also de Cléry, *Pays de Home Rule*, pp. 104–109.

¹⁹⁰ For Guernsey reactions, see *Baillage*, 29.10.1898. Following the French retreat from Fashoda, the *Star* reported a small exodus of settlers from Guernsey when anxieties were at their height (*Star*, 12.1.1899).

¹⁹¹ *Star*, 18.2.1893.

¹⁹² 'Notre Langue Insulaire et comment la Conserver', *Baillage*, 6.2.1886.

¹⁹³ *Star*, 5.3.1895.

The net result of this incipient language shift was that, while most rural deputies were now fully conversant in English, a growing number of rectors, Jurats and town deputies had insuperable problems with French. 'The French spoken in the courts, and in the city generally, although supposed to be correct, is, to say the least, very peculiar', an American linguist observed in 1895.¹⁹⁴ Henri Boland was more forthright about States documents, supposedly written in French but, according to him, 'rédigés dans un jargon barbare et incompréhensible qui tient plus de l'iroquois que du français'.¹⁹⁵ This state of affairs had begun seriously to impede States business.

On a number of occasions in the 1890s, certain Jurats, to the discomfiture of others, had been allowed to use English in Court and States.¹⁹⁶ In 1893, an acrimonious dispute arose over the submission in English of an urgent report on emergency measures against cholera.¹⁹⁷ In an effort to resolve disagreements, Bailiff Sir Thomas Godfrey Carey called a States vote on the matter on 29 November 1895. Carey, however, muddied the waters by suggesting a compromise whereby States members wishing to use English might give written notice of their intention to do so, supported by a public declaration that they were unable to express themselves in French.¹⁹⁸ The country rectors (many of them Englishmen) found such a prospect particularly embarrassing and voted against the motion, which was rejected by 27 votes to eight.¹⁹⁹

Three years later, 23 States members, including six Jurats and three rectors, signed a petition asking for the motion to be resubmitted on the grounds that some members who voted against the proposal in 1895 'now regret the opposition they made to the optional use of English'.²⁰⁰ At the meeting of the States on 30 November 1898, the Bailiff asked members to vote on whether they wished to entertain the petition. It was clear that an affirmative vote would be tantamount to assenting to the proposition itself.

¹⁹⁴ E.S. Lewis, *Guernsey: its People and Dialect* (Baltimore, 1895), p. 7.

¹⁹⁵ *Baillage*, 18.7.1885. One reason why the French of legal and administrative documents was becoming more removed from that used in mainland France was that Guernsey's legislators were increasingly turning to British law for their models, thereby introducing concepts which had no equivalent in French. While the 1856 law on limited partnerships was, for instance, based on 'principles similar to those contained in the French *Code de Commerce*' (Order in Council of 28 November 1856), the 1883 law on limited companies was explicitly 'analogous in its provisions to ... the Companies Act, 1862' (Order in Council of 1 December 1883).

¹⁹⁶ See letters from 'Un Compatriote' in *Baillage*, 5.12.1891 & 'Un Patriote Alarmé' in *Baillage* 30.1.1892.

¹⁹⁷ E.C. Ozanne, *English in the States* (Guernsey, 1898), pp. 12–13. This historical resumé was written by an influential Jurat in justification of his pro-English stance.

¹⁹⁸ Ozanne, *English in the States*, p. 13.

¹⁹⁹ Ozanne, *English in the States*, p. 14. On the rectors, see also letter from 'Anglo-Norman', *Star*, 28.11.1895. The States debate of 29 November is reported in *Star*, 3.12.1895.

²⁰⁰ *Billet d'Etat*, 30.11.1898.

While the majority of the population were, as in the past, indifferent,²⁰¹ the issue was one of huge symbolic importance to a politicised minority. Conservatives saw French as key to the retention of self-government. The traditional view, as expressed in an 1884 *Gazette* editorial, was that French was 'la pierre fondamentale sur laquelle repose notre autonomie. Ôtez cette pierre, et tout l'édifice qu'elle soutient s'écroulera'.²⁰² For the progressives, on the other hand, French was the manifestation of an old-fashioned, narrow parochialism. Many of the modernisers, who included not just incomers but an influential faction of native Guernseymen, viewed the admission of English as an essential prelude to democratic reform. In the background, the Fashoda crisis was at its height. The *Star* wished the signatories of the pro-English petition 'all success' for the 30th, assuring them 'of the moral support of every Guernseyman who keeps his eye on the politics of the future, and who sets any value upon British protection in time of need'.²⁰³

In his address to the States, the Bailiff had spelled out starkly what a 'yes' vote would mean: within six months, only English would be heard in the States; advocates would use English in court; in time, even *Billets d'Etat* would be drafted in English.²⁰⁴ In the event, the motion was carried by a majority of six votes, six of the seven rectors present voting to entertain the petition, along with the Bailiff, six of the Jurats and all the St Peter Port Douzaine deputies. Eight of the nine rural deputies voted against.²⁰⁵

The petitioners' motion was to be formally voted on at the States meeting on 28 December 1898. At that meeting, the Bailiff also submitted his plans for democratic reform. It is no coincidence that, as well as assenting to English in the States, the meeting of 28 December also voted to admit nine new deputies, to be elected for the first time by insular ratepayers in an island-wide election.²⁰⁶

The changes Sir Thomas Godfrey Carey had predicted did follow, though slowly at first. In 1899, Advocate Victor Carey, a moderniser who was to be one of the first deputies elected on the ratepayer franchise, was given formal permission to address the Royal Court in English.²⁰⁷ In 1906, a States Committee (on house-building) took the unprecedented step of drafting its report in English.²⁰⁸ In 1913, a *projet de loi* (on auctioneers) was for the first time submitted to the States in English concurrently with

²⁰¹ 'The patriotic interest in our native tongue is not great', had remarked an insular linguist the previous year (J.M. Bougourd, 'Our insular dialect', *Transactions of the Guernsey Society of Natural Science and Local Research*, 3 (1897), p. 183).

²⁰² *Gazette*, 12.4.1884.

²⁰³ *Star*, 29.11.1898.

²⁰⁴ The Bailiff's speech on 30 November 1898 is reported in *Star*, 3.12.1898.

²⁰⁵ *Baillage*, 3.12.1898.

²⁰⁶ On strategic reasons for coupling the votes on the two issues, see Ozanne, *English in the States*, p. 19.

²⁰⁷ *Baillage*, 11.3.1899.

²⁰⁸ *Star*, 28.4.1906.

French.²⁰⁹ It would take a World War and a further extension of the suffrage to unleash major modernisation, but a door had certainly been opened to the twentieth century.²¹⁰

It is important to understand that these late nineteenth-century institutional changes did not instigate social and cultural transformations, but the reverse. They were but the belated acknowledgement of a transition that had already taken place. St Peters Douzaine deputy and ardent supporter of French, Daniel Le Cheminant, was thus somewhat wide of the mark when he protested at the 1898 language debate that the abandonment of standard French in the States would surely entail the loss of a distinctive Guernsey *nationalité*.²¹¹ The truth was that this *nationalité* was already fading away independent of institutional change. The position of standard French had been so weakened that, far from sustaining insular institutions, it hampered their efficient operation, and the reason standard French had been so weakened was that the major partner in the traditional francophone diglossia, Guernsey French, was no longer spoken by a sufficient proportion of islanders to sustain the standard version of the language in its 'high' functions. 'Le dialecte de Guernesey se perd de plus en plus parmi nous, et par conséquent le français', had commented a partisan of French in 1886, 'car il est notoire que la perte de l'un entraîne naturellement la perte de l'autre'.²¹² It was having had autonomous institutions which had sustained French – even beyond its useful life as an administrative tool – and not French which had kept the institutions going.

Neither could the blame for anglicisation simply be put at the door of education. John Munday's changes had certainly formalised the primacy of English, but, in many senses, this was merely the confirmation of a trend away from French that had set in several decades earlier. As early as 1864, Thomas Brock had observed: 'in the country, everyone *wants* to learn English'.²¹³ Such was the perceived usefulness of English that the average rural parishioner was only too glad his children had the chance to learn it properly.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ *Star*, 10.4.1913.

²¹⁰ An Order in Council of 13 October 1920 extended the franchise to all males over 20 and females over 30. See Hocart, *Island Assembly*, pp. 95–109 for post-war modernisations, which, as well as reform of the currency and weights & measures, also included the introduction of income tax and a permanent island-wide salaried police force (1919); a workers' compensation scheme (1924) and old-age pensions (1926).

²¹¹ *Baillage*, 3.12.1898. For more on Daniel Le Cheminant's speech, see Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. 71.

²¹² Letter from 'Un Guernesiais Fier de son Patois', *Baillage*, 20.3.1886.

²¹³ Rev. Thomas Brock to Sir Peter Stafford Carey, undated, *Billet d'Etat*, 20.9.1864 (Brock's italics).

²¹⁴ Much the same was happening in late nineteenth-century Brittany: 'French was gaining ground. But not so much through persecution as through the peasants' growing appreciation of the usefulness of a less parochial language and of the skills learned in the schools (Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, p. 314). A similar attitude prevailed in Britain's Gaelic-speaking areas: 'when it came to education ..., the people's choice throughout the Celtic periphery was overwhelmingly for English', (Durkacz, *Celtic Languages*, pp. 223–224).

In any case, while Munday restricted hours devoted to formal instruction in French, far from banning it from the classroom, he had left it open to teachers to use French as a teaching medium whenever they wished.²¹⁵ Here again, however, the role of Guernsey-French was pivotal in determining the extent to which teachers availed themselves of this freedom. As with French in the States, the use of standard French in the classroom was linked to that of Guernsey-French in the community. 'Soyons assurés que du moment où [le guernesiais] ne sera plus parlé en famille, le goût pour le français, et la facilité de l'apprendre correctement, disparaîtront', *Le Baillage* asserted in 1886.²¹⁶ Children did not learn Guernsey-French at school, but their subsequent acquisition of standard French was built substantially on the francophone grounding laid down at home. As numbers of children brought up exclusively with Guernsey French slowly diminished, levels of proficiency in standard French fell, and the motivation to learn it declined still further. 'The growing popularity of English among the younger generation in the Country districts increases the difficulties [of maintaining] the standard of French attainments at their former level' observed a 1905 education report.²¹⁷ At the same time, teachers (drawn from the same homes and educated in the same schools) grew less inclined to use (and less capable of using) French as a natural mode of address to their pupils. This became a self-reinforcing cycle which increased the momentum of the move towards English.

There is thus no doubt that changes in education policy fed back to reinforce transformations already afoot. However, like the late nineteenth-century institutional reforms, educational changes were not the primary determinant of the fate of Guernsey French and of a distinctive Guernsey identity. Such changes should properly be seen as effects and not causes – secondary manifestations of an all-pervasive complex of change which, for the best part of 50 years, had been subtly refashioning insular life.

²¹⁵ *Billet d'Etat*, 203.1901: 'no restriction whatever is placed on the number of hours during which French may be spoken by the teacher when instructing his classes or addressing his scholars'.

²¹⁶ *Baillage*, 6.2.1886.

²¹⁷ *Billet d'Etat*, 17.5.1905.

CONCLUSION

The French geographer Camille Vallaux undertook one of the last serious studies of the Channel Islands prior to World War One. He described Guernsey as an island sustained by horticulture and quarrying, where 'le pays industriel se prolonge dans le pays rural' and 'de nombreuses petites verrières qui brillent au loin dans les campagnes de Cobo, de Saint-André et de Saint-Sauveur sont pour la plupart aux mains des paysans'.¹ The north-eastern parishes, 'plus ouvrières que rurales' were 'plutôt anglaises que franco-normandes', but 'bien que les paroisses de l'ouest parlent surtout le français normand ... il n'y a presque pas un paysan de l'ouest qui ignore l'anglais'.²

Guernsey had indeed come a long way since 1814, when William Berry had described a society where 'the old Norman French' was 'generally spoken by all ranks', and 'abstemious' and 'economical' urban merchants co-existed with country-dwellers 'hitherto shut out from agricultural communication with the rest of the world' eking out 'an independent subsistence [in a state of] mediocrity, rather bordering on poverty'.³

In the space of a century, the countryside had moved away from peasant-style subsistence farming, and all ten of Guernsey's parishes had become tied into the modern commercial economy. The traditional relationship of town and country had been reversed. St Peter Port no longer led the field economically, but co-existed with the nine other parishes in a quasi-subordinate role, having found a new *raison d'être* as a service centre catering for the business and consumer needs of its hinterland.

A large landless class dependent essentially on waged labour had grown up within St Peter Port, spread to the quarrying parishes, and now played an increasingly important role in other parishes. Immigrants had formed the basis of this class. These immigrants had contributed to the insular economy in many ways. Artisans had provided craft skills in short supply locally. Retailers and small businessmen had provided commercial know-how and venture capital. Unskilled workers had fulfilled a particular need in ensuring cheapness and continuity of labour supply, at times when natives were loath to occupy this economic niche themselves.

¹ C. Vallaux, *L'Archipel de la Manche* (Paris, 1913), pp. 106 & 127.

² Vallaux, *Archipel*, pp. 92 & 106.

³ W. Berry, *The History of the Island of Guernsey* (London, 1815), p. 284, 298–300.

Despite considerable emigration, Guernsey's population had more than doubled in a century. Growth was maintained by a constant influx of new immigrants, and was given an additional fillip by the freedom of such migrants from the economic and demographic constraints which had traditionally held the rural population in check. This demographic growth both mirrored and supported economic development.

Despite the benefits they brought, the reception immigrants met with was far from one of unalloyed welcome. Lagging behind economic change, insular legal and administrative arrangements failed to recognise the need for labour mobility which came as part and parcel of the island's integration with a wider economic world. The legitimacy of immigrants' claims on welfare assistance therefore remained largely unacknowledged, and many received treatment at the hands of insular authorities which it would have been illegal to dispense to Guernseymen in parallel situations in Britain.

Moreover, the cultural predispositions of natives led to a certain degree of social and religious prejudice. This was most strongly felt by the French and by Roman Catholics. These, however, formed a minority among immigrants. The majority of immigrants were English and Protestant. Local society does not appear to have been actively predisposed against such Englishmen, but integration with rural indigenous stock was nevertheless comparatively slow. For most of the nineteenth century, English immigrants were effectively segregated to St Peter Port (and, in smaller measure, to the northern parishes and parishes adjacent to town). In St Peter Port in particular, they resisted assimilation through sheer weight of numbers, and in time they transformed the original Franco-Norman community into what was in many ways an English ethnic and cultural enclave. It is therefore clear that (though the highest social strata voluntarily anglicised themselves) the physical presence of migrants was in large part responsible for the precocious and extensive anglicisation of the town.

The case of the nine remaining parishes is less straightforward. In the four purely rural south-western parishes there was no significant English settlement at all prior to the First World War. Nevertheless, in these parishes as well as all the others, Guernsey French showed distinct signs of decline by the late nineteenth century, and parochial and insular particularisms were progressively eclipsed by a wider national identity and culture. In this, Guernsey was by no means unique. Much of western Europe experienced a parallel shift towards social, political, cultural and linguistic homogenisation in the 50 years before 1914, not least Guernsey's near neighbour, France, the passage of whose rural heartland 'from relative isolation and a relatively closed economy to union with the outside world through roads, railroads and a money economy'

has been comprehensively documented by Eugen Weber.⁴ Weber's study has multiple resonances for Guernsey. To a large extent, Guernsey's nineteenth-century transformation was part of the same pan-European phenomenon, in which the primary agents of change were economic and technological. Improving transport and communications, the growth of the capitalist system, increasing specialisation of markets: all contributed to spread the commercial revolution which had first taken hold in eighteenth-century St Peter Port to the rest of the island. The increasingly sophisticated communications network linking Guernsey with its markets became a two-way street, in which exports not only flowed out but cultural artefacts and influences flowed in. Guernsey, even in its farthest recesses, became integrated with the wider world, and, amid this process, the distinctive identity and language which had evolved through centuries of autarky were irrevocably disrupted. Immigration itself, though a bridgehead for secondary transformations, was – in essence – not a cause but a product of change, for without the economic changes, Guernsey would never have attracted or retained its migrants in the first place.

This European-wide wave of change was an impersonal process of vast dimensions, and there is little scope for attributing human agency or blame. It is debatable whether any act or omission on the part of those in power, locally or nationally, could substantially have impeded or diverted the process once set in train. What had happened was no less than the passing of Guernsey's *ancien régime*. Théophile De Mouilpied, who struggled to hold back the tide, appreciated this. On the eve of the 1898 watershed debate on English in the States, De Mouilpied contributed an editorial to *Le Baillage* which is a movingly prescient forecast of things to come:

'Avant longtemps on ne parlera aux Etats et à la Cour que l'anglais, et d'une à quelques années sans doute nos documents officiels seront rédigés en anglais. Notre autonomie n'en souffrira pas. ... Il ne nous restera bientôt qu'un grand village allant du Valle à Torteval ... et tout le monde parlera anglais. Ce sera bien laid; nous mangerons de la margarine et du lait condensé ..., mais tout le monde gagnera beaucoup d'argent et la Cour fera beaucoup d'affaires en anglais.

Mais qu'y faire? Nous ne pouvons pas retarder la marche inévitable du progrès ... Tout passe, et bientôt le français de Guernesey sera bien l'un des souvenirs du bon vieux temps'.⁵

⁴ E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (London, 1977), p. x.

⁵ *Baillage*, 26.11.1898. The editorial is not signed, but it is so personal in tone that it can hardly have been written by anyone but De Mouilpied himself. The piece is worth reading in its entirety because it describes with great lucidity the whole process of nineteenth-century anglicisation.

As with Weber's Frenchmen, 'when the national society became more significant than the various local societies, national language was able at last to override its local rivals, and other particularisms as well'.⁶ In Guernsey's case, because the island's established political links were with the United Kingdom, it was in large part inevitable that the national society with which the island became culturally integrated was that of Great Britain. The paradox was that, in the timing and pace of these changes, Guernsey was mirroring not Britain itself but the Gallo-Romance world with which it was about, finally, to part company.

⁶ Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, p. 89.

Appendix 1 Jurats, 1814-1914, with period of tenure

Source: list in Jurats' Room, Royal Court, St Peter Port, Guernsey

1778-1832	Eléazar Le Marchant
1782-1831	Josias Le Marchant
1798-1830	Carteret Priaulx
1798-1842	Daniel De Lisle Brock
1799-1853	Pierre De Jersey
1800-1835	Jean La Serre
1800-1835	Pierre Le Pelley
1804-1867	Jean De Lisle
1810-1843	Jean Guille
1810-1845	James Carey
1810-1847	Jean Le Messurier
1812-1822	Helier Carré
1821-1844	Jean Hubert
1822-1857	Jean Le Marchant
1822-1830	Pierre Le Cocq
1822-1853	William Collings
1829-1867	Hilary Ollivier Carré
1830-1847	Frederick Mansell
1831-1842	Pierre Bonamy Dobrée
1832-1850	Thomas William Gosselin
1835-1868	Thomas Le Retilley
1836-1857	Harry Dobrée (jun.)
1842-1856	Thomas Fiott De Havilland
1843-1851	Thomas Andros
1844-1884	Edgar MacCulloch
1845-1880	William Peter Métivier
1847-1870	John Thomas De Saumarez
1847-1859	James Saumarez Dobrée
1851-1878	Saumarez Carey
1851-1895	John Le Mottée
1853-1895	Alfred Smith Collings
1856-1857	Thomas Clugas
1857-1875	Henry Tupper
1857-1866	John Lukis Mansell
1857-1870	Jean De Garis
1859-1876	Jean Moullin
1866-1879	Philip De Saumarez
1867-1897	John Lukis Mansell
1868-1879	Thomas Lukis Mansell
1870-1889	George Allez
1870-1887	John Rougier
1875-1879	Pierre Roussel
1876-1892	Joseph Collings
1878-1904	John Richardson Tardif
1879-1891	De Vic Tupper
1879-1893	Hilary Mansell Carré
1879-1894	Frederick John Jeremie
1881-1907	John Thomas Ross De Havilland
1884-1890	William Peter Cohu

1887-1892	Thomas Guille
1889-1899	William Le Ray
1890-1901	De Vic Francis Carey
1892-1901	Nicolas Domaille
1892-1901	William Mansell MacCulloch
1892-1908	Hubert Le Cocq
1893-1910	John De Garis
1894-1913	Ferdinand Beckwith Mainguy
1895-1902	Alfred Henry Collings
1896-1914	Jean Nant Brouard
1897-1905	Edward Charles Ozanne
1899-1902	Henry Alexander Giffard
1901-1919	Ernest Collas
1902-1908	Jean Allez De Garis
1902-1928	George Edward Kinnersley
1902-1907	Thomas Nicolas Le Pelley
1902-1922	George Herbert Le Mottée
1904-1932	Julius Bishop
1905-1921	John Bonamy Collings
1907-1927	Adolphus John Hocart
1907-1928	John Leale
1908-1929	Thomas William Mansell De Guerin
1908-1922	Lionel Slade Carey
1910-1922	James Esten De Jersey
1913-1920	Hubert George De Carteret Stevens-Guille
1914-1938	William De Prelaz Crousaz

Appendix 2 St Peter Port Constables, 1814-1914¹

Source: *A Century's Record* (unpub. undated typescript, St Peter Port Constables Office)

1814	Jean Le Marchant*	Nicolas Mainguy
1815	Nicolas Mainguy	Frederick Price
1816	Frederick Lukis	Thomas William Gosselin*
1817	Henry Arlott Mansell	William Peter Price
1818	Frederick De Jersey	Joseph Collings
1819	William H. Brock	Thomas G. Collings
1820	Thomas G. Collings	Jean Carey
1821	Hannibal Sheppard	Thomas Tupper
1822	James Priaulx	Thomas G. Hardy
1823	Thomas G. Hardy	Elie Guerin
1824	Elie Guerin	John Betts
1826	Pierre Bonamy Dobrée*	J. Mellish
1827	J. Mellish	N. Le Lievre
1828	John Valrent	John Harvey
1829	John Harvey	Peter John Agnew
1830	E. Collings	P. Martel
1831	P. Martel	Frederick De Putron
1832	H. D.G. Agnew	J. Mellish
1833	H. D. Jeremie	William Solbé Sheppard
1834	William Solbé Sheppard	Harry Dobrée*
1835	Harry Dobrée	A.J. Naftel
1836	Havilland Carey	E. T. Guerin
1837	Ferdinand Brock Tupper	Jean Moullin*
1838	Thomas Lihou	John De Putron
1839	Carré William Tupper	John Jones
1840	John Jones	W. B. Moullin
1841	W. B. Moullin	William Peter Métivier*
1842	H. St G. Priaulx	Bonamy Collings
1843	Bonamy Collings	J. W. J. Curtis
1844	D. Sheppard	Alfred Smith Collings*
1846	Joshua Philip Ahier	Saumarez Carey*
1847	P. Le Lievre	F. Mansell
1848	F. Mansell	J. Le Lievre
1849	J. Collings	Theodore Corbin
1850	Theodore Corbin	N. Lefebvre
1851	Alfred Mansell	Abraham Bishop
1852	Thomas Clugas*	Captain Philip De Saumarez
1853	Captain Philip De Saumarez	Alfred Agnew
1854	John Lukis Mansell*	James Barbet
1855	William Hickinbotham	H. Rougier
1856	William Hickinbotham	H. Rougier
1857	William Hickinbotham	J. T. Gallienne
1858	William Hickinbotham	Jean Guerin
1859	Pierre Le Cocq	John C. Le Mottée
1860	Nicolas Le Messurier	Thomas Burley
1861	Nicolas Le Messurier	Pierre De Baugy
1862	Pierre De Baugy	Thomas H. Agnew

¹ The 18 Constables (out of 118) who subsequently served as Jurats are marked with an asterisk.

1863	Pierre De Baugy	Adolphus Arnold
1864	Jean Vionnée	Elizée Hutchinson
1865	Bredthafft Allez	Charles Le Messurier Carey
1866	Charles Le Messurier Carey	Hannibal Sheppard (jun.)
1867	W. M. Jones	Henry Crousaz
1868	Henry Crousaz	St John T. Gore
1869	De Vic Tupper*	Edward Lacy
1870	W. A. Crousaz	Gustavus F. Carrington
1871	C. Vaucour	Col. J. McCrea
1872	C. Vaucour	John H. Guilbert
1873	C. Vaucour	John H. Guilbert
1874	C. Vaucour	John H. Guilbert
1875	Julius Carey	F. H. Shortt
1876	Julius Carey	F. H. Shortt
1877	Julius Carey	Osmond De Beauvoir Priaulx
1878	Julius Carey	Captain H.M. Carré
1879	Julius Carey	Alfred Henry Collings*
1880	Julius Carey	Alfred Henry Collings
1881	Julius Carey	Alfred Henry Collings
1882	Julius Carey	F. Du Bois Lukis
1883	Julius Carey	F. Du Bois Lukis
1884	Julius Carey	J. B. Marquand
1885	Julius Carey	J. B. Marquand
1886	Julius Carey	J. S. Carey
1887	Julius Carey	Saumarez Le Cocq
1888	George A. De Garis	Alfred Rougier
1889	George A. De Garis	J. T. Lainé
1890	J. T. Lainé	Maj-Gen J. R. Harvey
1891	Maj-Gen J. R. Harvey	J. Carré
1892	John Allez De Garis*	Jean Nant Brouard*
1893	John Allez De Garis	Jean Nant Brouard
1894	Jean Nant Brouard	H. J. Harvey
1895	Jean Nant Brouard	Edward Valpied
1896	Jean Nant Brouard	Edward Valpied
1897	Edward Valpied	R. H. Payne
1898	Edward Valpied	R. H. Payne
1899	Frank Carey	John A. Carré
1900	John A. Carré	P. F. Carey
1901	John Bonamy Collings*	George Edward Kinnersley*
1902	O. Priaulx	William De Prelaz Crousaz*
1903	O. Priaulx	William De Prelaz Crousaz
1904	O. Priaulx	William De Prelaz Crousaz
1905	O. Priaulx	William De Prelaz Crousaz
1906	O. Priaulx	William De Prelaz Crousaz
1907	O. Priaulx	T. M. W. De Guerin*
1908	O. Priaulx	William D. Murdoch
1909	O. Priaulx	William D. Murdoch
1910	O. Priaulx	William D. Murdoch
1911	O. Priaulx	William D. Murdoch
1912	O. Priaulx	William D. Murdoch
1913	O. Priaulx	William D. Murdoch
1914	O. Priaulx	William D. Murdoch

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