



ROSE-MARIE CROSSAN

# POVERTY AND WELFARE IN GUERNSEY 1560–2015

Poverty and Welfare in Guernsey  
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*Rose-Marie Crossan*

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*In memory of my father*  
*Ted Taylor, 1930–2008*



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Plates 1 and 2 courtesy of the Priaulx Library, Guernsey; Plates 4, 6, 7 and 10 courtesy of Guernsey Museums & Galleries (States of Guernsey) 2015; Plates 3, 5, 8 and 9 courtesy of the Island Archives Service, Guernsey, and Plate 11 by kind permission of Michael Deane at deanephotos.com.

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Rose-Marie Crossan  
Guernsey, June 2015

## *Abbreviations*

<i>Acte</i>	<i>Acte des Etats</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>Billet</i>	<i>Billet d'Etat</i> <sup>2</sup>
IA	Island Archives, Guernsey <sup>3</sup>
O in C	Order in Council
Ord	Ordinance of the Royal Court
PL	Priaulx Library, Guernsey
PP	Parliamentary Papers
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
TSG	<i>Transactions of La Société Guernesiaise</i>

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the States, Orders in Council and Ordinances issued prior to 1950 will be referred to by their date, and, unless otherwise stated, will be found in the published volumes held at the Priaulx Library. Post-1950 legislation will be found online at [www.guernseylegalresources.gg](http://www.guernseylegalresources.gg).

<sup>2</sup> *Billets d'Etat*, which contain the agenda and supporting material for States meetings, will be referred to by the date of the meeting for which the Billet was compiled, and will be found in the bound volumes held at the Priaulx Library.

<sup>3</sup> Records in the custody of the Island Archives will be referred to by their date followed by the Archives' reference code for the document concerned.

## Conventions

Dates before 1752 are Old Style but adjusted to a year beginning 1 January. Translations from the customary French of Guernsey's pre-twentieth-century records are my own and are provided without reproduction of the original, except in cases of unresolved ambiguity. Guernsey parishes are referred to by the English version of their names, and those prefixed 'St' are rendered with a terminal 's' unpreceded by an apostrophe.<sup>1</sup>

### *Note on currency*

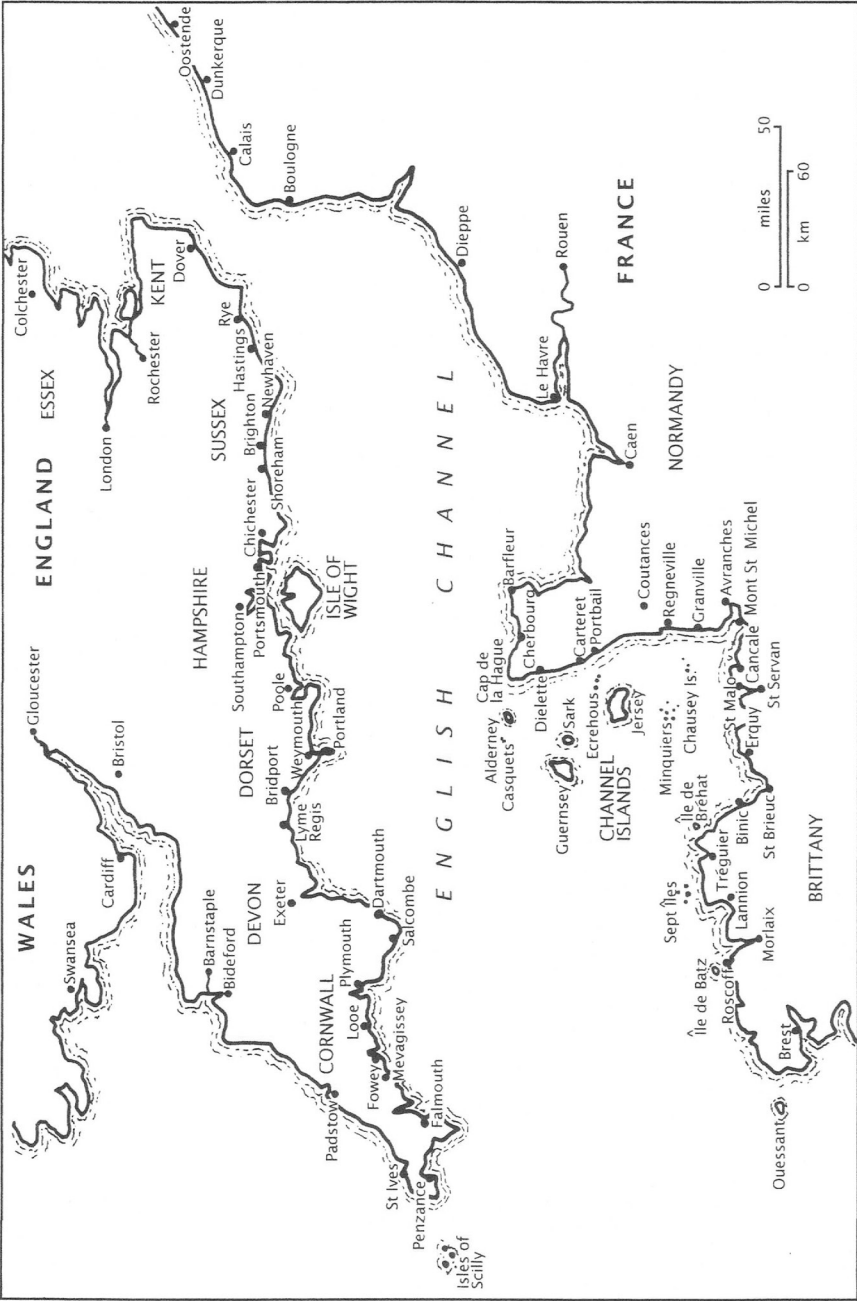
Before the nineteenth century, the currency used in Guernsey was the French *livre tournois* (divided into *sols* and *deniers*). Where a sterling equivalent is required for the purposes of this book, sums in *livres tournois* will be converted at the standard eighteenth-century London rate of fourteen to the pound.<sup>2</sup>

After the French government replaced the *livre tournois* with the franc in the early nineteenth century, the *livre tournois* was superseded in most local contexts by the Guernsey pound. Prior to 1921, the Guernsey pound was worth 19s 2½d sterling. After that date, it was fixed at parity with sterling. No attempt will be made to convert Guernsey currency into sterling, and unless otherwise stated, all sums in pounds and pence relating to local affairs from the early 1800s to 1921 are in Guernsey values.<sup>3</sup>

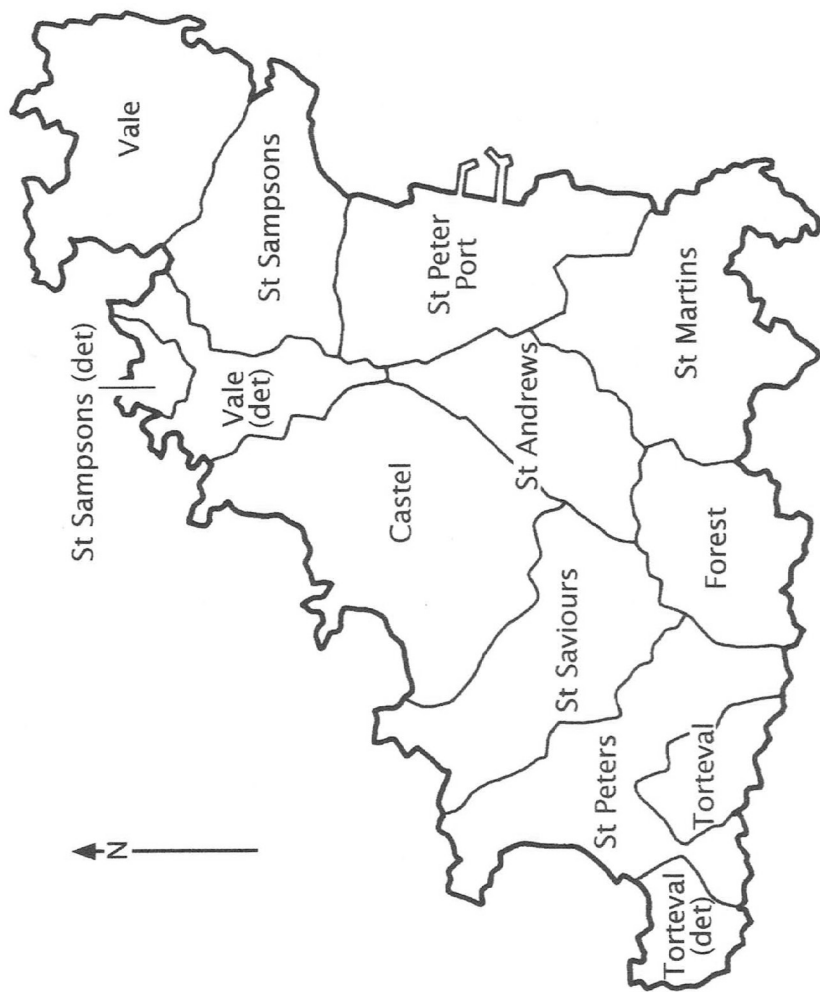
<sup>1</sup> This practice is not universal. It is followed here to reflect current spoken usage, where the final 's' has effectively become accreted to the names (as in the British towns of St Albans and St Andrews). Note that the parish of St Peters is also known as St Peter-in-the-Wood (or Saint-Pierre-du-Bois).

<sup>2</sup> The local rate varied, with £1 worth up to 22 *livres* at some points in the 1700s (P. Raban, 'War and trade in the mid-eighteenth century', *TSG*, 22 (1986), p. 160).

<sup>3</sup> For more detail on local currency, see S. Carey Curtis, 'The currency of Guernsey in historical times' (Guernsey pamphlet, n.d.), PL; *Clarke's Monthly Illustrated Journal*, October 1872, pp. 37–9; J. Marr, *The History of Guernsey: The Bailiwick's Story* (1982; Guernsey, 2001 edn), pp. 439–42.



Map 1 Channel Islands and adjacent French and English coasts



*Map 2 Parishes of Guernsey*





## Introduction

The history of poor relief in England and Wales has been well studied, receiving almost continuous academic attention since the early twentieth century: from the Hammonds, Webbs and Dorothy Marshall in the 1910s and 1920s, through Mark Blaug, J.S. Taylor, Peter Dunkley and Michael Rose in the 1960s and 1970s, to Paul Slack, Keith Snell, Steven Hindle, Steven King (and many others) from the 1980s to the present day.<sup>1</sup> For Scotland, the corpus of work is relatively more modest and more recent. Rosalind Mitchison laid the foundations for modern Scottish poor law studies in the 1970s, and her work has subsequently been added to by such scholars as Robert Cage, Ian Levitt, Andrew Blaikie and John Stewart. Irish poor law studies also began modestly and comparatively late. However, they have expanded rapidly since the late twentieth century, with notable contributions by Helen Burke, Virginia Crossman, Peter Gray and, most recently, Mel Cousins.

By contrast with Great Britain and Ireland, the history of poor relief in the offshore Crown Dependencies has been neglected, for none have attracted the attention of academic welfare historians. Nor has much work been produced by local historians. Jersey has been the subject of a 200-page study by a retired local school-teacher,<sup>2</sup> but there are no comparable surveys of either Guernsey or the Isle of Man. All that exists on the welfare history of both of these islands are one or two articles in local studies journals, and chapters or sections in books on more general subjects.<sup>3</sup>

But perhaps there is good reason for such scant attention. Why, after all, should an island such as Guernsey, measuring just over twenty-four square miles, merit an extended analysis of its welfare arrangements? And could such arrangements hold

<sup>1</sup> For references to the work of these scholars and others mentioned in this paragraph, see bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> M. Phillips, *Poor People* (Jersey, 2001). Mrs Phillips' book focuses primarily on the experience of poverty in Jersey, as also on the history of Jersey's General Hospital and events leading to the passage of Jersey's 1951 Insular Insurance Law.

<sup>3</sup> In respect of Guernsey, the historiography is as follows. Articles: M. Brock, 'La maison des pauvres, St Peter's', *Quarterly Review of the Guernsey Society*, 18 (1962), pp. 4–6, and T.F. Priaulx, 'Les pauvres', *Quarterly Review of the Guernsey Society*, 21–4 (1965–8), pp. 32–5. Sections in books: C.J. Ribton-Turner, *A History of Vagrants and Vagrancy and Beggars and Begging* (London, 1887), pp. 457–65; D.M. Ogier, *Reformation and Society in Guernsey* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 25–31, 158–73; G. Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680–1830: The History of an International Entrepôt* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 106–8; R.-M. Crossan, *Guernsey, 1814–1914: Migration and Modernisation* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 149–60.

any interest for readers without local ties? The following paragraphs will propose a justification for the undertaking.

To begin with, despite its small area, Guernsey has supported a disproportionately large population for most of recorded history. In past centuries, this arose partly from the island's climate and fertility, and partly from the trading activities of its capital, St Peter Port. As early as the Iron Age, St Peter Port, a sheltered haven on Guernsey's east coast, offered a useful stopping-off point to vessels sailing up from Biscay into the Channel. The trading settlement which established itself along its shore gradually expanded over time, and, by the eighteenth century, had become, by contemporary standards, a major town. In 1700, there were only fifty towns in the whole of Britain with a population of over 2,000.<sup>4</sup> With some 4,350 inhabitants in 1727, St Peter Port was directly on a par with such English county towns as Warwick and Lincoln.<sup>5</sup> Many similarly sized towns (notably Dorchester, Oxford, Shrewsbury and York) have already provided the subject for important welfare studies.<sup>6</sup> If size is a criterion, then the arrangements of Guernsey's substantial community should be of at least as much interest as these.

An even more pertinent justification for a welfare study of Guernsey, however, lies in the realm of politics and culture. Although the Channel Islands were allied to England from the thirteenth century, they fell outside Westminster's jurisdiction and evolved their own unique laws and institutions. They also retained strong linguistic and cultural ties with France well into the modern era. Against this mixed politico-cultural background, questions arise as to the influences which might have moulded Guernsey's welfare arrangements, and a survey of the insular system might make an interesting addition to the field of comparative welfare history. Significantly for our context, one strand of comparative studies has focused strongly on differences between the English poor laws on the one hand, and continental welfare regimes on the other. Among the many eminent scholars who have written in this vein are Joanna Innes, who has drawn contrasts between English and European welfare at the level of public policy formation,<sup>7</sup> and Peter Solar, Peter Lindert and Larry Patriquin, who have emphasised the English/continental welfare 'dichotomy' in studies relating to economic development.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> C.W. Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England* (London, 1974), p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> For population figures, see Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 164; Chalklin, *Provincial Towns*, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Dorchester in David Underdown's *Fire from Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1992); Oxford, Shrewsbury and York in Alannah Tomkins', *The Experience of Urban Poverty, 1723–82: Parish, Charity and Credit* (Manchester, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Professor Innes's essays on this subject include 'State, church and voluntarism in European welfare, 1690–1850', in H. Cunningham and J. Innes (eds), *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform in Europe and North America, 1690–1850* (Basingstoke, 1998); 'The state and the poor: eighteenth-century England in historical perspective', in J. Brewer and E. Hellmuth (eds), *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany* (Oxford, 1999); 'The distinctiveness of the English poor laws, 1750–1850', in D. Winch and P. O'Brien (eds), *The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688–1914* (Oxford, 2002).

<sup>8</sup> P.M. Solar, 'Poor relief and English economic development before the industrial revolution', *The Economic History Review*, 48 (1995), pp. 1–22; P.H. Lindert, 'Poor relief before the Welfare State: Britain versus the Continent, 1780–1880', *European Review of Economic*

An alternative strand of writing on comparative welfare has, however, taken issue with the starkly polarised nature of this perspective. Steven King, in particular, has contended that ‘wide chronological and spatial variation ... characterised England as surely as it did France or the Netherlands’.<sup>9</sup> More recently, Professor King has proposed a typology for categorising European welfare regimes at regional rather than national level.<sup>10</sup> In this context (and germane to our subject), he has identified peripherality as a possible ‘organising principle’, discerning a number of ‘commonalities’ which suggested that ‘there was something about being “peripheral” that created distinctive welfare regimes’.<sup>11</sup>

An analysis of Guernsey can contribute to all aspects of these studies. Adopting the first perspective, we might, for instance, enquire whether affinities with France resulted in welfare patterning more typical of that country than of England. Adopting the second perspective, we might examine whether Guernsey’s peripherality produced a ‘distinctive’ effect on its welfare, and seek to locate the island on King’s typological spectrum. Finally, in a combination of both perspectives, we might investigate the extent to which Guernsey belonged to the ‘British welfare family’ at all, and, if so, whether there were other peripheral members with whom closer affinities existed than with England.

Guernsey’s political autonomy has not only resulted in institutions which are unique to the island; it has also produced an abundance of records suited to the genesis of a ‘history from below’. One such source, hitherto little exploited, is the compendious Town Hospital collection, unearthed as recently as the 1980s, which contains hundreds of ledgers, registers, daybooks, logs and other documents relating to indoor and outdoor relief in St Peter Port. This is the chief source on which this study will draw. Heavy use will also be made of the day-to-day records of the island’s ten parishes, since welfare was primarily a parochial affair. Thirdly, in an effort to document the increasing involvement of central insular institutions, extensive reference will be made to records generated by the island’s Royal Court and States.<sup>12</sup>

This book is divided into four sections. The first will set out the context for the welfare study, with chapters covering Guernsey’s governance, economy and social structure. The second section will mark the beginning of the welfare study proper. Its opening chapter will trace the evolution of a parochial welfare system in Guernsey after the Reformation; its second chapter will concentrate solely on outdoor relief, analysing its administration from c.1750 to c.1950, and its final chapter will attempt to evaluate the welfare contribution of public relief relative to that of private charity.

*History*, 2 (1998), pp. 101–240; L. Patriquin, *Agrarian Capitalism and Poor Relief in England, 1500–1860* (Basingstoke, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> S.A. King, ‘Poor relief and English economic development reappraised’, *The Economic History Review*, 50 (1997), pp. 365–6.

<sup>10</sup> S.A. King, ‘Welfare regimes and welfare regions in Britain and Europe, c.1750s to 1860s’, *Journal of Modern European History*, 9 (2011), pp. 57–63.

<sup>11</sup> King, ‘Welfare regimes’, pp. 52–3; see also S.A. King and J. Stewart (eds), *Welfare Peripheries: The Development of Welfare States in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Europe* (Bern, 2007), pp. 22–31.

<sup>12</sup> For the respective roles of parishes, Royal Court and States, see Chapter 1.

In the third section of this book, the focus will turn to indoor relief. Using St Peter Port's workhouse (the Town Hospital) as an exemplar, the four chapters in this section will investigate all aspects of indoor life and policy between the eighteenth century and World War I.

Lastly, to conclude the welfare study, the fourth section of this book will survey twentieth-century innovations, charting in detail the assumption of welfare responsibilities by the States, and examining the process whereby parish relief was transformed – not without acrimony or contest – into the States-administered social security system which exists today.

I

Context



## *Governance, Economy, Society*

### *Governance*

Until the thirteenth century, the Channel Islands shared a common history with north-west France.<sup>1</sup> It is thought that they became part of the Roman Empire at the same time as Gaul, and were inhabited after the fall of the Empire by a Gallo-Roman population under the Frankish monarchy.<sup>2</sup> In the 900s, the Islands and adjacent Cotentin peninsula were absorbed into the territory of the Dukes of Normandy. Duke William's conquest of England in 1066 brought no change to the Islands, which continued to be governed as part of Normandy as before. In 1204, however, the Islands were politically severed from the Norman mainland when John, king of England and duke of Normandy, lost the continental portion of his duchy to the French king. The Islands gained strategic value as stepping-stones between England and John's remaining continental possessions, and he and his successors contrived by various means to secure their allegiance.<sup>3</sup> An important way in which insular sympathy was won lay in the decision of post-1204 monarchs to respect the Islands' existing law and institutions, and to allow them to govern themselves, under royal supervision.<sup>4</sup>

After a period of instability, the Islands were recognised by the 1259 Treaty of Paris as part of Henry III of England's continental territories.<sup>5</sup> Five years previously, Henry had granted them to his son, the future Edward I, 'in such manner that the said lands ... may never be separated from the Crown'.<sup>6</sup> The Islands thereafter remained possessions of the English Crown but were never incorporated into the Kingdom of England (nor, later, into the United Kingdom). Subsequent monarchs issued charters guaranteeing Islanders' customs and privileges, and granting them

<sup>1</sup> This chapter addresses similar ground to that covered in the preliminary chapters of my *Guernsey, 1814–1914: Migration and Modernisation* (Woodbridge, 2007). Readers familiar with that book might wish to proceed to Chapter 2.

<sup>2</sup> H. Sebire, *The Archaeology and Early History of the Channel Islands* (Stroud, 2005), p. 109; A.H. Ewen, 'The Breton Myth', *TSG*, 21 (1982), p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> J.A. Everard and J.C. Holt, *Jersey 1204: The Forging of an Island Community* (London, 2004), p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> Everard and Holt, *Jersey 1204*, pp. 155–65, 187–8.

<sup>5</sup> D.M. Ogier, *The Government and Law of Guernsey* (Guernsey, 2005), p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> J. Loveridge, *The Constitution and Law of Guernsey* (1975; Guernsey, 1997 edn), p. 1.



further privileges. Among these were autonomy in tax matters, freedom of trade with England, immunity from the jurisdiction of English courts, and exemption from military service outside the Islands.<sup>7</sup>

By the late 1200s, the local administrations of Jersey and Guernsey were each headed by a Bailiff with ultimate responsibility for the administration of justice in the king's court.<sup>8</sup> These acted under a joint Warden appointed by the English king to uphold the wider interests of the Crown.<sup>9</sup> The two Bailiwicks in time embarked on divergent courses. By 1469, Edward IV had granted each a separate charter of its own.<sup>10</sup> By 1478, each Bailiwick had its own Warden.<sup>11</sup> The Bailiwicks eventually became completely sundered, and their political, legal and administrative structures assumed different, though related, forms.<sup>12</sup>

While the Bailiwicks enjoyed considerable autonomy, English sovereigns maintained the right to legislate directly for them by Order in Council through exercise of the Prerogative. This was commonly used in medieval and early modern times. After the seventeenth century, as the king's personal power waned, much Channel Island business came to be settled by committees of the Privy Council or individual government ministers, even though the Islands were not represented at Westminster.

In the eighteenth century, this state of affairs 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 friction. In the eyes of English jurists, all that was required for Acts of Parliament to have force in the Channel Islands was that the Islands should be expressly mentioned in the Acts. Insular authorities never accepted this view, contending that Acts could not apply until transmitted by Order of the King in Council and formally registered by the Islands' Royal Courts.<sup>13</sup> The number of occasions when Acts were imposed on the Islands against their will was, however, minimal. 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 Channel Islands without their prior consultation and consent.<sup>14</sup>

Prior to the nineteenth century, Governors appointed to the Islands by the Crown were frequently absentees. In 1835, the office of Governor was abolished in Guernsey, and its powers devolved to the Lieutenant-Governor who henceforth always resided locally.<sup>15</sup> Besides acting as intermediary between British and insular

<sup>7</sup> For the substance of charters, see T. Thornton, *The Charters of Guernsey* (Bognor Regis, 2004).

<sup>8</sup> Everard and Holt, *Jersey 1204*, p. 155.

<sup>9</sup> Wardens were also known as Keepers or Captains, and later as Governors.

<sup>10</sup> T. Thornton, *The Channel Islands, 1370–1640: Between England and Normandy* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 60.

<sup>11</sup> Thornton, *Charters*, p. 46.

<sup>12</sup> The Bailiwick of Jersey comprised only Jersey and adjacent reefs, but the Bailiwick of Guernsey also included the islands of Alderney, Sark, Herm and Jethou.

<sup>13</sup> R.P. Hocart, *An Island Assembly: The Development of the States of Guernsey, 1700–1949* (Guernsey, 1988), p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> G. Dawes, *Laws of Guernsey* (Oxford, 2003), p. 20.

<sup>15</sup> Ogier, *Government and Law*, pp. 104–5.

authorities, his responsibilities were chiefly military. He was in overall command of the garrison and militia. He had a right to address the States (which required his consent to convene), but he had no vote in that assembly. After the close of the Napoleonic Wars, the influence of Governors and Lieutenant-Governors over insular affairs progressively declined.

During the period with which we are concerned, Guernsey's government and administration fell into three tiers. Much basic work was done at parish level. Guernsey's ten parishes each possessed a body elected for life by the *Chefs de Famille* (adult male ratepayers) known as the *Douzaine*.<sup>16</sup> Among other things, this body was responsible for assessing and levying parochial taxation and apportioning parochial expenditure. At the apex of parish structure were the two Constables, elected by the *Chefs de Famille* for overlapping terms of one to three years.<sup>17</sup> As well as being responsible for public order, the Constables also acted as parish treasurers and executive officers of their *Douzaines*, and, until 1844, they had seats in the States as representatives of their parish.<sup>18</sup> Owing to their exercise of these functions, Guernsey's parish Constables – held in 'much reverential awe by the lower orders' – were of considerably higher rank and status than their nominal counterparts in England.<sup>19</sup>

At island-wide level, most 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 Jurats (or magistrates), elected for life. It had jurisdiction over criminal and civil law within Guernsey. Its members, most of whom were not legally trained, were sole judges of law as well as of fact.<sup>20</sup> In its administrative capacity, the Royal Court had wide-ranging ordinance-making powers on matters of internal domestic regulation which it could (and, until the mid-1800s, frequently did) exercise without reference to the States.<sup>21</sup>

The highest tier of local government was the States, which was essentially an expanded version of the Royal Court, to which were added representatives of the parishes. It has been suggested that this body, first recorded by name in 1538, might have originated in the Court's need to gauge the wider community's views on matters of collective concern.<sup>22</sup> Meetings of the States were convened by the Royal Court until 1776 when this function passed to the Bailiff alone.<sup>23</sup> Since 1844, the composition of the States has evolved incrementally through a series of five

<sup>16</sup> *Douzeniers* were twelve in number in all parishes aside from the Vale, which had sixteen, and St Peter Port, which had twenty (between 1844 and 1948, St Peter Port also had an additional forty-eight 'cantonal' *Douzeniers*, serving on four subsidiary *Douzaines*).

<sup>17</sup> From 1736, St Peter Port also had four 'assistant constables' dealing exclusively with policing matters (Ord, 4.10.1736).

<sup>18</sup> Normally only one Constable from each parish would be present at any given States' meeting (Hocart, *Island Assembly*, pp. 2–4).

<sup>19</sup> W. Berry, *The History of the Island of Guernsey* (London, 1815), p. 122.

<sup>20</sup> Until 1964, when the Jurats' competence as judges of law was removed (Ogier, *Government and Law*, p. 65).

<sup>21</sup> Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. 109.

<sup>22</sup> Ogier, *Government and Law*, p. 20. See also Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. x.

<sup>23</sup> Berry, *Island of Guernsey*, p. 229.

reforms.<sup>24</sup> However, for a long period before 1844, the assembly consisted, in its deliberative capacity, of thirty-two members: the twelve Jurats of the Royal Court, ten parish Constables, eight parish Rectors,<sup>25</sup> the *Procureur* (a Crown-appointed law officer corresponding to the English Attorney-General), and the Bailiff, who as well as presiding over the Court, also presided over the States.<sup>26</sup>

Well into the 1800s, the States met only a few times yearly to consult on matters deemed beyond the domestic regulatory scope of the Royal Court. However, the States themselves had no ordinance-making powers, and their decisions could be given force only by ordinances of the Royal Court. That said, ordinances could not be used for any States-originated *projets de loi* (proposed laws) which embodied new taxes or major judicial innovations, since such laws required the approval of the King in Council. These *projets* had therefore to be forwarded for the Privy Council's consideration, and, when royal sanction was given, they acquired the status of Orders in Council. Orders in Council emanating from States' *projets* were few in the early nineteenth and preceding centuries but became increasingly common as changing economic and social conditions broadened and deepened the legislative role of the States. One consequence of this was to reduce the power and influence of the Royal Court. This reduction was, however, gradual, and it was not until 1948, when the Court's ordinance-making powers were transferred to the States, that the States finally achieved a complete monopoly of legislative power.<sup>27</sup>

In matters of finance, aside from some defence costs, Guernsey was self-sufficient.<sup>28</sup> Before the nineteenth century, all-island (as opposed to parochial) expenditure was mainly funded through harbour dues and import duties.<sup>29</sup> These revenues were controlled by the States, which also intermittently levied a property-based general tax to finance major projects such as road-making.<sup>30</sup> In 1813, the States were compelled to boost their revenues with a new income stream when they took over maintenance of sea defences from the parishes. This took the form of the *impôt* (a duty on locally sold spirits which was first levied in 1814).<sup>31</sup> As routine spending for all-island purposes mounted (from 1825 the States contributed

<sup>24</sup> These reforms took place in 1844, 1899, 1920, 1948 and 2004.

<sup>25</sup> Eight Rectors for ten parishes because, until 1859 and 1867 respectively, St Sampsons/the Vale, and Torteval/the Forest each formed one living.

<sup>26</sup> The States also had an elective role. In this capacity, as the 'States of Election', the body comprised all the above, plus the ten other parish Constables and entire *Douzaines* of each parish. Its functions as such were to elect the Jurats and the Sheriff (an official responsible for executing Court judgments) and, from 1844, to approve applications for the levying of island-wide taxes (Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. 3).

<sup>27</sup> Ogier, *Government and Law*, p. 40.

<sup>28</sup> The British government, which was responsible for the island's defence and foreign affairs, paid the expenses of the British garrison as well as the construction and maintenance costs of some of Guernsey's fortifications. It also partially funded the insular militia.

<sup>29</sup> For a summary of dues and duties, see Hocart, *Island Assembly*, pp. 7–9. From 1780, there was also a tax on inn-keepers.

<sup>30</sup> General taxes, a bone of contention, were only levied on thirty or so occasions between 1660 and 1920 (Hocart, *Island Assembly*, pp. 9, 10, 92).

<sup>31</sup> Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. 25.

towards schools, sewers and street maintenance),<sup>32</sup> the States grew more reliant on the *impôt*. Later extended to cover imported wines, beers and tobacco, the *impôt* became the States' single most important revenue source until the introduction of income tax in 1919.<sup>33</sup>

Until the twentieth century, however, by far the majority of community needs were funded not at insular but at parish level. Records survive from the late 1600s of parochial taxes being levied for the upkeep of churches and graveyards, for the billeting of soldiers, and for the construction and maintenance of schools and coastal fortifications. After the introduction of poor rates in the eighteenth century, the combined tax revenue of Guernsey's parishes rose to exceed that of the States. In 1780, for instance, States' revenue amounted to 12,250 *livres tournois*, or about £875 sterling, while in St Peter Port alone 6,000 *livres tournois* were raised for the poor and 8,000 *livres tournois* for other parochial needs, making a total of £1,000 sterling.<sup>34</sup> The balance improved somewhat in the States' favour after the introduction of the *impôt*, but this still made the parishes, and particularly St Peter Port, a force to be reckoned with. Guernsey's governance during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is thus characterised by a degree of tension, not only between the parishes and the States but also among the parishes themselves, as rural parishes vied with St Peter Port to exert control over all-island structures.

### *Economy*

Guernsey being better situated on maritime trade routes than Jersey, St Peter Port was the Channel Islands' leading harbour from at least the Middle Ages.<sup>35</sup> By the late thirteenth century, hundreds of vessels were calling in each year on voyages between northern and southern Europe.<sup>36</sup> A sizeable harbour-side settlement grew up, and, in 1309, when Guernsey's main market was moved to St Peter Port from the Castel parish, the settlement became recognisably a town.<sup>37</sup> A Papal Bull of 1481 which effectively made the Channel Islands neutral in wartime gave a fillip to St Peter Port's traders, and by the 1580s, Guernsey-owned vessels were sailing to Newfoundland

<sup>32</sup> Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. 53.

<sup>33</sup> Hocart, *Island Assembly*, p. 96.

<sup>34</sup> 28.10.1780, IA, AQ 1003/03; 28.3.1781, IA, AQ 0964/01.

<sup>35</sup> C. Platt, *A Concise History of Jersey: A New Perspective* (Jersey, 2009), p. 30.

<sup>36</sup> W. Stevenson, 'The Middle Ages, 1000–1500', in A.G. Jamieson (ed.), *A People of the Sea: The Maritime History of the Channel Islands* (London, 1986), p. 43.

<sup>37</sup> Note, however, that St Peter Port continued to be run as a parish while retaining a distinct rural fringe (comprising in the mid-1800s a mile-wide semi-circular band to the north, west and south of the built-up area, with 14 per cent of St Peter Port's houses situated in its rural portion). The area around St Sampsons' harbour acquired a semi-urban character in the nineteenth century, but St Peter Port remained the island's only true town (G. Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680–1830: The History of an International Entrepôt* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 12, 50; J. Duncan, *The History of Guernsey* (London, 1841), p. 288).

and local merchants were acting as middlemen in Anglo-French trade.<sup>38</sup>

To begin with, Guernsey's home-grown exports were minimal: dried and salted fish; small amounts of agricultural produce. This changed somewhat in the late sixteenth century, when a stocking-knitting industry grew up. The industry lasted until the mid-eighteenth century, initially exporting mainly to France and subsequently to England.<sup>39</sup> Described as 'a poor man's alternative to unemployment', it was a putting-out industry controlled by local merchants who distributed wool among the lower ranks and paid a piece rate for finished articles.<sup>40</sup>

In the 1680s, privateering was added to St Peter Port's repertoire when the Channel Islands lost their neutrality on the accession of William III.<sup>41</sup> Although this risk-fraught activity did not contribute as much to Guernsey's economy as trade,<sup>42</sup> local shipowners engaged in it in each successive war, their occasional spectacular gains outweighing equally dramatic losses.<sup>43</sup>

Arguably, the most important effect of privateering was to establish St Peter Port as a depot for luxury goods subject to high duties in England. Prize cargoes of spirits and tobacco captured by Guernsey's earliest privateers had attracted buyers from among the smuggling fraternity of south-west England, and, as a result, merchants and shipowners were encouraged to continue importing these commodities in peacetime. They stored them in purpose-built warehouses, repackaging and decanting them into portable containers for the smugglers, who found their provisioning trips conveniently short.<sup>44</sup> By the 1730s, Guernsey was one of the main suppliers of contraband to south-west England. After 1765, when Manx activities in this line were curtailed by the British government, and before the rise of continental supply bases such as Flushing and Dunkirk, Guernsey and Alderney became the principal depots for contraband bound for the whole of Britain and Ireland.<sup>45</sup>

The need to continue sourcing luxury goods also gave a fillip to insular participation in the wider carrying trade, and capacious warehousing built to store such goods allowed the town to develop a more respectable role as depository and bulk-breaker for dutiable commodities destined for legal entry into Britain before the

<sup>38</sup> D.M. Ogier, *Reformation and Society in Guernsey* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 37–8; J.C. Appleby, 'Neutrality, trade and privateering, 1500–1689', in Jamieson (ed.), *A People of the Sea*, p. 59.

<sup>39</sup> Exports to France declined steeply from the mid-seventeenth century, when the French imposed a punitive duty on imported stockings (Appleby, 'Neutrality, trade and privateering', p. 87).

<sup>40</sup> P. Raban, 'War and trade in the mid-eighteenth century', *TSG*, 22 (1986), p. 156; Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 54.

<sup>41</sup> J.S. Bromley, 'A new vocation: privateering in the wars of 1689–97 and 1702–13', in Jamieson (ed.), *A People of the Sea*, pp. 109–47.

<sup>42</sup> A.G. Jamieson, 'The return to privateering: Channel Island privateers, 1739–83', in Jamieson (ed.), *A People of the Sea*, p. 172; Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 48.

<sup>43</sup> These wars were the Nine Years War (1688–97), the Wars of the Spanish Succession (1702–12) and Austrian Succession (1739–48), the Seven Years War (1756–63), the War of American Independence (1776–83) and the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793–1815).

<sup>44</sup> Berry, *Island of Guernsey*, pp. 268–84.

<sup>45</sup> A.G. Jamieson, 'The Channel Islands and smuggling, 1680–1850', in Jamieson (ed.), *A People of the Sea*, pp. 195, 203–5.

introduction of the bonding system. By the mid-eighteenth century, local ships were bringing in wine, brandy and textiles from France; rum from the West Indies; tobacco from Maryland and Virginia; and they were also trading with Newfoundland and Africa.<sup>46</sup> So extensive was St Peter Port's eighteenth-century trade that a modern-day historian has ranked it 'one of the principal commercial entrepôts in the Atlantic economy'.<sup>47</sup>

All this created employment opportunities – for porters, carriers, boatmen, sail-makers, blockmakers, ropemakers, ship carpenters, blacksmiths and, above all, for the coopers who made the small wooden barrels into which cargoes were decanted and repacked, and for the tobacco workers who processed imported raw leaf. Some 700 coopers were working in the town by the late 1700s.<sup>48</sup> In 1800, a visiting Customs Commissioner counted fifteen tobacco and snuff factories employing no less than 'one thousand of the poorest Men, Women and Children'.<sup>49</sup> To this we must also add seafarers. Guernsey's fleet quadrupled from thirty-two vessels in 1701 to 112 in 1803. Peacetime crewing requirements ranged from a couple of hundred in the early days to about a thousand at the end of the period. They reached almost double this number during wartime bouts of privateering.<sup>50</sup>

Eighteenth-century wars also significantly boosted the number of uniformed men in St Peter Port, which added to the profits which the town's retail and service sectors already derived from seafarers. Numbers of servicemen reached unprecedented levels after 1780 when the garrison strength was increased, and they rose still further in the 1790s when a naval squadron was stationed at St Peter Port and various foreign regiments were quartered in the island.<sup>51</sup> One assessment put garrison numbers alone at 5,903 in 1798.<sup>52</sup> Military and naval inputs combined with maritime trade led to a peaking of Guernsey's economy in the early 1800s.

As commercial and industrial activities were tightly concentrated in town, St Peter Port may be said to have profited most from the Georgian boom. This is not, however, to say that Guernsey's rural parishes reaped no benefit. A mid-eighteenth-century document reported that farmers from these parishes sold some £22,000 sterling worth of cider, butter, eggs, poultry, fish, vegetables and livestock in St Peter Port in 1758.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, Guernsey's countryside was geared to a system of agriculture whose main object was self-sufficiency. The sale of surplus produce in town was thus merely a valuable sideline. Most farms were diminutive and owner-occupied

<sup>46</sup> G. Stevens Cox, *The Guernsey Merchants and their World* (Guernsey, 2009), p. 7.

<sup>47</sup> Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 23.

<sup>48</sup> Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, pp. 52–3, 59.

<sup>49</sup> TNA, T 64/153.

<sup>50</sup> A.G. Jamieson, 'Channel Island shipowners and seamen, 1700–1900', in Jamieson (ed.), *A People of the Sea*, pp. 34–78; Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, pp. 44, 79.

<sup>51</sup> Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, pp. 58, 106; A.G. Jamieson, 'The Channel Islands and British maritime strategy, 1689–1945', in Jamieson (ed.), *A People of the Sea*, p. 225.

<sup>52</sup> 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.

<sup>53</sup> *The Case of the Town Parish versus the Nine Country Parishes respecting a Change in the Rates and Representation, appointed to be heard before the Committee of the Privy Council at 11 o'clock, on Thursday April 26, 1759* (Guernsey, 1843), PL, pp. 23–4.



(Guernsey had no large landowners and no tradition of renting). The largest farms were rarely over twenty-five acres, and the average no more than five.<sup>54</sup> The first time holdings were counted was in 1851, when Guernsey's twenty-four square miles were found to contain just under 800 farms, virtually all of them worked by their owners.<sup>55</sup> Until the twentieth century, these were essentially mixed farms, producing cereals, vegetable crops and cider apples, and rearing small numbers of livestock. Cattle were always important, because of their marketable produce, but specialisation in dairying was a twentieth-century phenomenon.

The lack of large landowners and the small size of farms owed much to Guernsey's system of modified partible inheritance, whereby all of a deceased person's sons and daughters were entitled to a share of his real property, although the eldest son received most, including the family house.<sup>56</sup> On smaller holdings, younger siblings' shares could prove uneconomic, and they might choose to part with them to the oldest brother. Some would then leave the countryside to seek a living elsewhere.<sup>57</sup> As a nineteenth-century observer remarked, 'these small farms cannot possibly support all that are born on them'.<sup>58</sup>

Those left behind in the country parishes comprised the principal heirs with their more substantial holdings, and a proportion of their less well-off brethren who nevertheless invariably held some scrap of land, supplementing what they could grow or rear with intermittent day labour for better-off neighbours; by fishing if they lived near the coast; or through the exercise of a trade. 'With scarcely any exception, every man has a cottage and some land of his own', a journal commented in the 1830s, 'and if it be not sufficiently large to subsist his family, he makes up the difference by working at his trade, either as a mason, or a carpenter, and sometimes as a fisherman'.<sup>59</sup> Thus the landless rural proletariat that was such a feature of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England was almost completely lacking in Guernsey.<sup>60</sup>

St Peter Port's Napoleonic heyday was short-lived. Guernsey's involvement with smuggling had attracted the displeasure of the British government. In a report to the Treasury in 1800, Customs Commissioner William Stiles estimated that smuggling from Guernsey and Alderney injured the Revenue 'to the enormous amount of one million pounds per annum'.<sup>61</sup> In 1805 and 1807, the Westminster parliament passed anti-smuggling Acts encompassing the Channel Islands, and effectively

<sup>54</sup> T. Quayle, *A 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. 249; Duncan, *History of Guernsey*, p. 288.

<sup>55</sup> PP 1852–3 LXXXVIII. See also Conclusion, n. 3.

<sup>56</sup> For more on inheritance, see P. Jeremie, *On Real Property and Taxation in Guernsey* (Guernsey, 1841).

<sup>57</sup> S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England*, 4 vols (London, 1831), 2, p. 273; R.P. Hocart, *Guernsey's Countryside: An Introduction to the History of the Rural Landscape* (Guernsey, 2010), p. 43.

<sup>58</sup> Letter from 'H.A.M.', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, 4 (1839), p. 432.

<sup>59</sup> *The Guernsey and Jersey Magazine*, 2 (1836), p. 127. See also H.D. Inglis, *The Channel Islands*, 2 vols (London, 1834), 2, pp. 48–50.

<sup>60</sup> Quayle, *General View*, p. 283.

<sup>61</sup> TNA, T 64/153.

put an end to this activity.<sup>62</sup> As a result, many of St Peter Port's leading merchants withdrew from business, sold off their ships and their warehouses and invested the proceeds in government securities.<sup>63</sup> This withdrawal, combined with the end of the Wars and reduction of the garrison, gave a check to the economy, with particularly adverse effects on St Peter Port's middling and lower social strata.

Nevertheless, St Peter Port's ex-merchants were far from poor, and the majority of them remained resident in the town.<sup>64</sup> From the early 1820s, they were joined by British half-pay officers, ex-colonials and retired professionals drawn by the town's growing reputation as a place where one might live 'genteelly' on a fixed income.<sup>65</sup> The presence of this relatively affluent contingent stimulated demand for housing, goods and services and, by the late 1820s, the urban economy was beginning tentatively to pick up.

This period also saw something of a resurgence in shipping. The rump of merchants who did not retire in the post-smuggling period turned their sights south and built up a successful carrying trade between Europe and such places as Cuba, Brazil and Uruguay.<sup>66</sup> This trade was gradually lost to other nations from the 1840s, but shipowners maintained the size of their fleet by monopolising niche markets such as the Azores fruit trade and the Costa Rica coffee trade.<sup>67</sup> During the 1840s and 1850s, island-registered vessels also took an increasing share of the local inshore trade. Guernsey's nineteenth-century shipping industry peaked in the 1860s, when it directly employed around 1,200 seamen.<sup>68</sup> The gradual move from worldwide into inshore carrying was, however, a sign of decline. Insular shipowners had neglected to invest in modern steam technology and iron ship construction, with the result that, during the 1870s and 1880s, their wooden sailing ships were displaced from the worldwide market. Guernsey's ageing vessels continued to operate in inshore waters for a few years more, but to a progressively declining extent. Such was the speed of the decline, that, by the end of the nineteenth century, shipping had lost almost all its significance to the insular economy.

While it endured, however, Guernsey's shipping industry had sustained an important terrestrial offshoot in the form of shipbuilding. Between 1815 and 1880, fourteen major firms and a handful of smaller builders had produced nearly 300 ships in yards along the east coast, most of them ocean-going vessels for Guernsey's worldwide carrying trade.<sup>69</sup> Shipbuilding and its parent industry shipping were manpower-intensive industries, so that, for a while around mid-century, they

<sup>62</sup> Jamieson, 'Channel Islands and smuggling', p. 195.

<sup>63</sup> Duncan, *History of Guernsey*, p. 262.

<sup>64</sup> The value of St Peter Port ratepayers' real and personal property was assessed at over £3,000,000 sterling in 1830 (F.B. Tupper, *The History of Guernsey and its Bailiwick* (1854; Guernsey, 1876 edn), p. 524).

<sup>65</sup> Tupper, *Guernsey and its Bailiwick* (Guernsey, 1854 edn), pp. 432–45.

<sup>66</sup> Duncan, *History of Guernsey*, p. 261; Tupper, *Guernsey and its Bailiwick* (1854 edn), p. 444.

<sup>67</sup> A.G. Jamieson, 'Voyage patterns and trades of Channel Island vessels, 1700–1900', in Jamieson (ed.), *A People of the Sea*, pp. 381, 399–400.

<sup>68</sup> 26.1.1865, IA, AQ 44/05.

<sup>69</sup> E.W. Sharp, 'The shipbuilders of Guernsey', *TSG*, 27 (1970), p. 492.



collectively provided work to more islanders than any other sector outside farming. It was fortunate for Guernsey's economy that, by the time of their demise, the island's quarrying sector had grown to such a size that it was able to replace them in this role.

The stone trade had begun in a small way in the eighteenth century, when granite from the northern parishes of the Vale and St Sampsons was shipped to towns such as Southampton for street paving. However, it was macadamisation, invented at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, which provided the main impetus to the nineteenth-century growth of Guernsey's stone trade.<sup>70</sup> Demand for hard-wearing Guernsey granite grew rapidly under this stimulus, providing a livelihood to many skilled and unskilled workers – particularly after 1847, when contractors supplying London gained the right to have the stone, which had formerly to be broken within twenty miles of the metropolis, cracked before leaving the island.<sup>71</sup> A statistical return submitted to the Home Office that year showed that Guernsey possessed ninety-seven quarries.<sup>72</sup> The stone trade continued to grow for the rest of the century, and peaked just before World War I. Then, like the entrepôt business, the carrying trade and the shipbuilding industry before it, it fell inexorably into decline.

Happily, yet another revenue-earner was ready to replace quarrying as the island's economic mainstay. This new sector was commercial horticulture, which had been slowly expanding over the past four decades. It had grown out of farming, which, although not hitherto the largest cash-earner, had nevertheless always occupied the island's largest workforce.

Before the 1860s, although a substantial quantity of local farm produce was sold in St Peter Port, very little had been exported beyond Guernsey's shores. A minor exception were the small consignments of hot-house grapes intermittently sent to England from the eighteenth century.<sup>73</sup> In the late 1860s, exports of these grapes were boosted by new steamer berths in St Peter Port harbour together with new facilities for onward rail transit to the wholesale market in Covent Garden.<sup>74</sup> This stimulated the introduction of other commercial crops whose early production under glass was facilitated by Guernsey's mild climate. As early as the 1870s, Guernsey's small farmers began to build greenhouses on their land, and, in the 1880s and 1890s, large numbers of industrial-scale 'vineries' were established by local and non-local entrepreneurs. The focus of farming shifted decisively from subsistence to the market. The rural population began to increase as land became more remunerative and employment opportunities opened up outside St Peter Port and the quarrying parishes. From the 1890s, tomatoes became the island's main horticultural

<sup>70</sup> Macadamisation created road surfaces by building up layers of compacted broken stone. This is not to be confused with tarmacadam, a later invention consisting of stone or slag bound with tar.

<sup>71</sup> *Comet*, 4.2.1847.

<sup>72</sup> TNA, HO 98/88.

<sup>73</sup> P.J. Girard, 'The Guernsey grape industry,' *TSG*, 15 (1951), pp. 126–44.

<sup>74</sup> Hocart, *Guernsey's Countryside*, p. 74.

export and, in the early twentieth century, a trade in bulbs and flowers also developed.<sup>75</sup> The principal destination for all these products was the United Kingdom. This, together with the end of self-sufficient farming, meant that Guernsey was now more economically dependent than ever on its neighbour to the north.

As quarrying declined, horticulture was complemented by tourism in sustaining Guernsey's economy until World War II. After the hiatus of Occupation, both sectors resumed strongly in the mid-1950s, stimulating population growth and a building boom. Conditions then remained reasonably buoyant until the oil price shocks of the 1970s began to reduce growers' profits by raising the cost of heating fuel. The industry suffered further from competition with Dutch horticulturalists benefiting from cheap North Sea gas. Finally, changes in transport economics led to the undercutting of Guernsey produce on United Kingdom markets by imports from such distant places as Israel and even Kenya. The same factor also led to the decline of tourism. By the late twentieth century, Guernsey's horticulture and tourism had dwindled into insignificance.

Nevertheless, in a pattern repeated more than once since the eighteenth century, there was an emerging replacement. In the early 1960s, banking was becoming increasingly globalised, and major players were experimenting with offshore locations to maximise tax efficiency. A handful of merchant banks, mainly from the United Kingdom, set up operations in Guernsey (and Jersey) as a means of sidestepping high onshore taxes and restrictive regulation: Kleinwort Benson in 1963, Hill Samuel and Co. in 1964, N.M. Rothschild and Sons and Hambros Bank in 1967. These mainly provided services to United Kingdom expatriates abroad and to the tax refugees who had come to the Islands from Britain following the introduction of capital gains tax in 1965.<sup>76</sup> At that time, the Channel Islands were subject to the 1947 United Kingdom Exchange Control Act. After the rescheduling of the sterling area in 1972, they benefited from inclusion in a select band of five rescheduled territories outside the United Kingdom, which led to further banks relocating to the Islands from descheduled areas such as Bermuda and the Bahamas. The Islands also benefited from Protocol 3 of the 1972 United Kingdom Treaty of Accession to the Common Market, by which they were deemed onshore Europe for the limited provisions of the trade regime, but offshore Europe for financial and other services.<sup>77</sup> When the United Kingdom lifted exchange controls altogether in 1979, Guernsey's finance sector was sufficiently mature to attract banks and finance companies from all round the globe. This initiated a sustained and unparalleled period of expansion.

As at 2014, the finance industry was Guernsey's largest economic sector, generating about 40 per cent of Guernsey's gross domestic product and directly

<sup>75</sup> E.A. Wheadon, 'The history of the tomato in Guernsey,' *TSG*, 12 (1935), pp. 338–50; P.J. Girard, 'Development of the bulb and flower industry in Guernsey,' *TSG*, 13 (1939), pp. 284–97.

<sup>76</sup> R.A. Johns and C.M. Le Marchant, *Finance Centres: British Isle Offshore Development since 1979* (London, 1993), pp. 59–60.

<sup>77</sup> Johns and Le Marchant, *Finance Centres*, pp. 55–6.

employing 21 per cent of its workforce.<sup>78</sup> The early twenty-first-century situation offers interesting parallels with Guernsey's Georgian boom. In both cases, fiscal autonomy allowed Guernsey to provide facilities to non-islanders seeking to circumvent taxation elsewhere. In the Georgian case, this proved contingent on the United Kingdom's good will. Over the past 300 years, each of Guernsey's major branches of trade has endured about a century. History suggests that finance, too, will have its term. The local economy has now expanded to such an unprecedented extent, however, that it is unclear whether any alternative would be adequate to sustain it at its current level.

## *Society*

### *Demography*

The earliest date for which we have a reasonably solid population estimate for Guernsey is 1615. Basing himself on the number of houses in the island, F.B. Tupper, a nineteenth-century historian, calculated a figure of 7,342, of which some 35 per cent were resident in St Peter Port.<sup>79</sup> In 1727, an island-wide headcount was taken, and Guernsey's population had risen to 10,256 with St Peter Port's share at 42 per cent.<sup>80</sup> Another estimate/count in 1800 showed a further increase to between 18,000 and 19,000, with St Peter Port accommodating at least 55 per cent.<sup>81</sup> Aside from a brief post-Napoleonic drop, the population of both St Peter Port and the island as a whole continued to grow throughout the nineteenth century. St Peter Port accommodated more than all other parishes combined until 1891, when growth in the country parishes outstripped the increase in the town parish, and St Peter Port's share dropped to 48 per cent.<sup>82</sup> St Peter Port's population ceased growing altogether in 1901, when it peaked at 18,264.<sup>83</sup> Then, through the effects of war and emigration, the town parish lost a tenth of its inhabitants between 1911 and 1921. Country parishes also sustained a population loss, and Guernsey's total population fell from 41,823 in 1911 to 38,283 in 1921, an overall drop of 9 per cent.<sup>84</sup> St Peter Port never recovered from its losses, and its population has since

<sup>78</sup> *Billet*, 24.3.2015, appendix 1, p. 12; States of Guernsey, *Guernsey Financial Services: A Strategy for the Future* (Guernsey, 2014), p. 41.

<sup>79</sup> Tupper did not give a precise source for the number of houses, but it appears to have derived from a contemporary militia census (Tupper, *Guernsey and its Bailiwick* (1854 edn), p. 227). Robert Montgomery Martin used the same data in his *History of the British Colonies*, 5 vols (London, 1835), 5, p. 470.

<sup>80</sup> Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, p. 164.

<sup>81</sup> The Royal Court, which undertook this exercise at the request of visiting Customs Commissioner William Stiles, numbered the 'permanently settled' at 16,155, and estimated temporary residents at '2,000 or 3,000', most of whom would have lived in St Peter Port (Royal Court to William Stiles, 15.12.1800, Greffe, Royal Court Letter Book 1).

<sup>82</sup> PP 1893–4 CVII.

<sup>83</sup> PP 1903 LXXXIV.

<sup>84</sup> *Census 1911: Islands in the British Seas* (London, 1913); *Census 1921: Jersey, Guernsey and Adjacent Islands* (London, 1924).

stabilised at about 16,500. However, by 1931, Guernsey's population as a whole had resumed its growth, and, at 42,388 in 1948, it was higher than it had ever been.<sup>85</sup> The upward trend has since continued. With expansion in the finance industry, Guernsey's population increased by over 10 per cent in the decade 1981–90.<sup>86</sup> In 2012, it stood at just over 63,000.<sup>87</sup>

Separate population figures are unavailable for St Peter Port in 2012, but in 2001 it accommodated just 28 per cent of islanders.<sup>88</sup> In the eighteenth century, by contrast, it was thronged in comparison with the countryside, and single-handedly generated almost the entirety of Guernsey's population growth. The number of town parishioners more than tripled between 1700 and 1800. In the early 1700s, this growth was mostly down to a high birth rate and natural increase, but natural increase was supplanted by migration in the second half of the century, as a considerable stream flowed into town from Guernsey's country parishes, and immigrants also came from across the sea to work in the developing entrepôt.<sup>89</sup>

Rural in-migration to St Peter Port declined sharply in the nineteenth century, but immigration from outside the island persisted at a significant level until World War I. In the seven decennial censuses between 1841 and 1901, non-natives accounted for an average of 25 per cent of Guernsey's civilian population. St Peter Port always accommodated a majority of these incomers, but its share declined from 85 per cent in 1841 to 60 per cent in 1901.<sup>90</sup>

Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century immigrants to Guernsey were a mixture of English, Irish, other Channel Islanders, and French. English and Irish migrants consistently predominated. They were at their most numerous in the census of 1851, when a stream of refugees from depression-stricken south-west England initiated c.1816 was joined by refugees from Ireland's mid-nineteenth-century famine. In the 1851 census, migrants from England and Ireland comprised 78 per cent of Guernsey's civilian non-natives and 21 per cent of the island's total population. Some 80 per cent of these English and Irish were based in St Peter Port.<sup>91</sup>

In the last third of the nineteenth century, immigration from England and Ireland declined, but immigration from France increased as Breton peasants fled their own agricultural depression. By 1901, the English/Irish share of Guernsey's migrant cohort had declined to 47 per cent and the French share had risen from 6 per cent in 1851 to nearly 20 per cent, so that the French now accounted for about a fifth of non-natives and a tenth of total population.<sup>92</sup> A majority of late nineteenth-century French migrants settled in the rural parishes, where they found work in the stone

<sup>85</sup> *Billet*, 21.4.1948.

<sup>86</sup> States of Guernsey, *Report on the 2001 Guernsey Census* (Guernsey, 2002), p. 20.

<sup>87</sup> States of Guernsey, *Guernsey Facts and Figures, 2013* (Guernsey, 2013), p. 50.

<sup>88</sup> States of Guernsey, *Report on the 2001 Guernsey Census*, p. 12.

<sup>89</sup> Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port*, pp. 64–7, 82–5, 86–8.

<sup>90</sup> R.-M. Crossan, *Guernsey, 1814–1914: Migration and Modernisation* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 70.

<sup>91</sup> Crossan, *Guernsey, 1814–1914*, pp. 93, 107.

<sup>92</sup> Crossan, *Guernsey, 1814–1914*, p. 124.