

HEALTH AND HOUSING: LORD PALMERSTON AS HAMPSHIRE PROPRIETOR c. 1807–65

By R HAYDEN

ABSTRACT

The third Viscount Palmerston is well known for his prominent political career, especially in the realm of foreign affairs, having had an almost unbroken run of office from 1830 until his death in 1865. Archives from his Hampshire home, the Broadlands estate at Romsey, and other parochial records bring to light the concerns that he faced at the most local level, which, in turn, reflected the broad trends of mid-Victorian, rural society. Here, Palmerston is examined as the landlord of agricultural cottages on the Broadlands estate and of town properties in Romsey. In 1854 he began to build new cottages on the estate after the cholera epidemic had reached the Romsey area. He came to contribute to the improvement in housing and living conditions in the town and locality as a whole.

INTRODUCTION

Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston (1784–1865) was an extensive landowner, holding estates in Ireland and Yorkshire as well as Hampshire, the last comprising over 4200 acres alone (Bourne 1982, 258). In the enclosure acts of 1807–8 and 1818–19, he acquired most of the land previously common of the parish of Romsey Extra, adjacent to the Broadlands estate. In the mid-19th century, the estate consisted of Broadlands Park Farm (where the main house is still set) and satellite farms (Fig. 1) at Whitenap; Luzborough; Ashfield; Toothill (comprising Upper, Middle and Lower farms, which feature heavily in the documentary evidence); Hoe Lane; Lee; Skidmore (part of the manor of Southwells, leased to Palmerston since 1818 and conveyed to him in 1861); Bushyleaze; Moorcourt; Ridge; Ranvilles; Pauncefoot Hill (formerly known as the manor of Mainstone);

Spursholt; and Fritham. Palmerston also purchased Wade Farm in 1857, for £6050 (BR/119/2/15). All such farms had buildings requiring upkeep.

Palmerston also owned and continued to purchase town properties in Romsey. Quit rents from c. 1802, 1819 and 1844 indicate that most of his properties were in Middlebridge Street (one including a malthouse) and Bell Street, with others in the Abbey, Hog Lane, the Pigg Market, Horse Fair, Church Street, Banning Street, the Market Place and the Corn Market (BR155/2/12–14). In Middlebridge Street, he bought a messuage and gardens on the south side of the street in 1809 (BR160/7/1–2), approved the purchase of tenements on his behalf in 1816 (BR158/65), and added a further two messuages with gardens to his properties in this street in 1829 (BR158/62). The tithe map of 1845 lists other properties in the town belonging to him, including a tanyard in Middlebridge Street and a brewery in Potters Lane, with tenements and gardens in the town's outlying areas. Evidence for his management of property survives in the form of correspondence exchanged between Palmerston and his estate stewards and with other interested parties, also rentals, surveys and maps, architectural illustrations, property deeds and reports. Romsey's borough records provide further details of practices in the town.

THE EFFECTS OF ENCLOSURE

In the wake of enclosure, landlords looked to increase the size of their farms and, in so doing, their profits. They invested in better cultivation methods, animal husbandry and in improvements to land of poor quality, some committing large



Fig. 1 Map showing farms of the Broadlands estate, *The Old Series Ordnance Survey maps of England and Wales*, first published 1810-17 (1981) vol 3, p 41 (London).

amounts of money to experimental methods in the hope of further improvement and ultimately financial gain. The building of model farmsteads was common, based on a farmhouse, barns,

stables, a cowhouse, a dairy, piggeries and yards. Few landlords chose to invest in decent housing for their labourers at the same time, however, as this offered no direct financial return for them;

most labourers lived in small, old, uncomfortable and unsanitary cottages. In the early 19th century a handful of landlords took up the cause of the labourer, and the morality of tenants and their living conditions became of fashionable concern within a certain circle of society. Writing in 1849, the seventh Duke of Bedford argued that 'Cottage building ... is, we all know, a bad investment of money; but this is not the light in which such a subject should be viewed by landlords'. The Duke pointed out that inquiries into cottages on the Bedfordshire and Devonshire estates, which had prompted rebuilding schemes, had found many to be:

'... so deficient in requisite accommodation as to be inadequate to the removal of that acknowledged obstacle to the improvement of the morals and habits of agricultural labourers, which consists in the want of separate bed-rooms for grown-up boys and girls; and, secondly, that the practice of taking in lodgers has led to still further evils ...' (Bedford 1849, 185–86).

Practical advice on resolving these inadequacies became easily available in a wealth of material published in books and agricultural journals. Prizes were offered for the best essays; competitions and exhibitions were held for the design and display of cottage plans; and improvement societies were established, many headed by landlords. It must be noted that not all of these landlords were moved purely out of concern for their tenants' living conditions: many estate cottages were built under this guise but were primarily to act as objects of interest in the landscape, to be viewed from the landlord's own house and grounds. The appearance of such buildings thus took precedence over the practical needs of the tenants, with uncomfortable living conditions as a result. Like most landlords at this time, though, Palmerston was largely content to 'patch up' the existing houses.

THE BROADLANDS ESTATE, EARLY TO MID 19TH CENTURY

While there are some documentary references to copyhold rental on the estate, by 1812 much of

the estate's rental income was derived from rack rents. The rental for 1812–13 details the income from rack rent as £968.16.0 and fee farm rent as £62.5.0, giving a total of £1031.1.0 (BR105/27). Rack rent was fast becoming the preferred method of rental over copyhold and customary rentals. The fixed rents of copyhold and customary tenures benefited landlords under the right economic conditions, but in times of inflation their only recourse was to increase the level of fines. The fluctuations of the war years made owners wary of long leases and tenants reluctant to take them on. Under these rental terms, tenants were also responsible for the upkeep of properties. Rack rent offered fixed-term tenancies at the full annual value of the land, which was increasingly preferable to both parties, and persuaded many landlords to convert from the older method. Here, the landlord offered security of possession and beneficial terms of management in return for an equitable rent and an adequate capital outlay. Landlords were also generally responsible for repairs to properties, as well as funding any improvements likely to add value to the estate.

Documentary evidence indicates comparatively little new building work on the Broadlands estate before 1854. New semi-detached cottages were planned at Toothill in 1817 (BR112/10/28); a new farmhouse at Whitenap in 1835 (BR113/17/33/1) (replacing the probably late-medieval, thatched, linear building in Fig. 2 [BR113/12/21]); a new farmhouse at Lower Ashfield, the present house being too small and unfit for a farmer to live in (BR113/17/32); and a cottage in Spursholt Coppice in 1850 (BR114/11/1). The Toothill cottages were built with bricks reused from another house taken down at Toothill, and were constructed to good standards: outside walls were 9" thick, partition walls were 4" thick, the kitchen and wash-houses were laid with flat bricks, and the ceilings and walls given two coats of whitewash. The question of what should be done with the materials from the old Whitenap farmhouse arose in June 1835 when the new farmhouse had been completed, and whether it should be pulled down so that the materials could be reused, or whether it should be sold as it stood (BR113/17/33/1). It appears that in this case it was offered for sale (BR113/17/32).

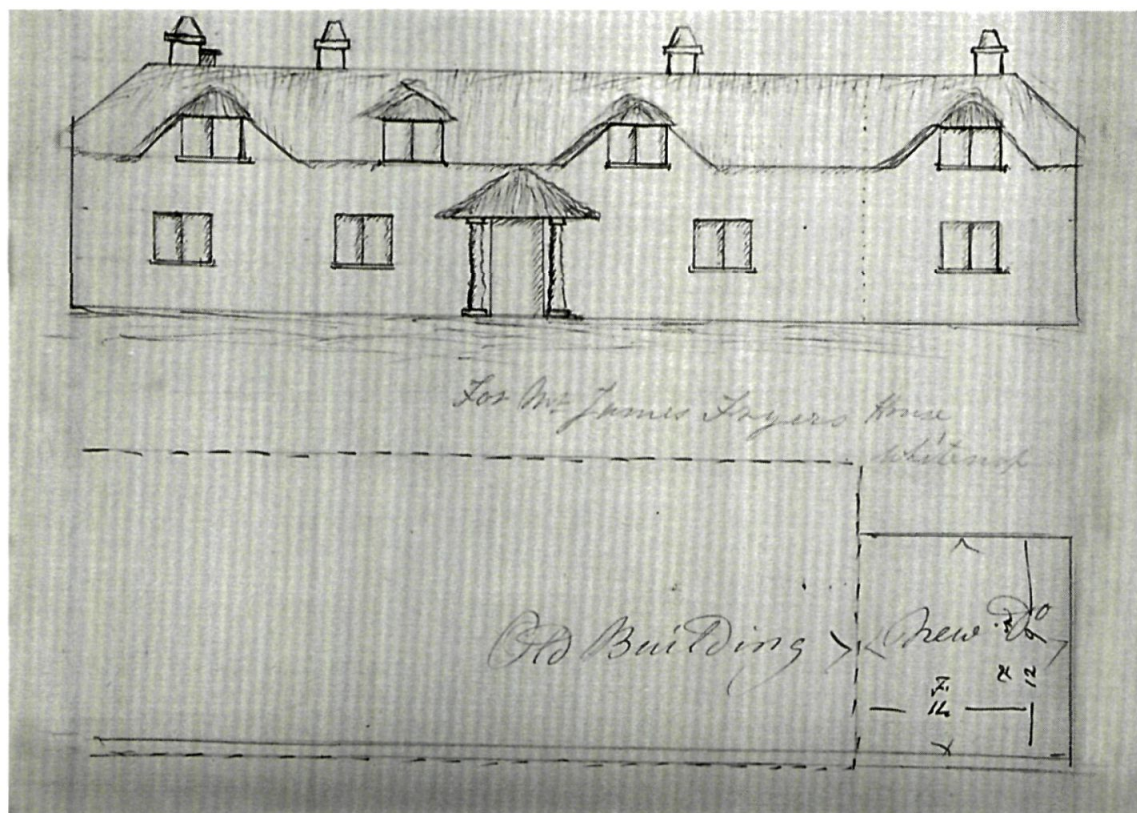


Fig. 2 Plan for adding a wash-house and a bedroom to James Fryer's house at Whitenap, 1830. (Reproduced by permission of the University of Southampton, BR113/12/21)

It was more usual, however, for buildings to be repaired than replaced, for which the reuse of building materials was also common. Under the terms of rack rent the landlord was responsible for repairs to tenants' houses, although the exact agreement varied from estate to estate. According to the covenant for the lease of the manor of Southwells, which included Skidmore farm, signed between Palmerston and the deans and canons of St George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1815, Palmerston was not permitted to use timber from the manor unless it was for the upkeep of properties, although he had full access to its other resources. On the Broadlands estate it was typical to supply or pay for the materials needed but to let the tenants carry out the repairs themselves. In

1809, for instance, Palmerston paid Fran Withers £10.5.9 for straw and other materials needed for thatching and repairing the two cottages rented from him at Toothill (BR120/17). In February 1818 there was a case for some necessary work on houses but with some additional, not strictly necessary, work to their interiors. Bickers felt that if the work was to be done, 'the tenants ought to be [contributing] something towards it'. He suggested that Palmerston pay the estimate for the repairs necessary, but instead of paying carpenters to finish off the inside of their rooms, the tenants should do the work themselves. Bickers added that, 'they can then better please themselves in which way they would like to have them done' (BR112/12/14). In 1827, it was argued that £6 a

year was rather a stiff rent for the cottages at Toothill, and if Lord Palmerston let them at that price, then the farmer would demand the repairs to be done immediately; instead it was suggested that Withers, one of the tenants, should carry them out at a slower but cheaper rate (BR113/9/11). Elsewhere, an old house by Lyndhurst Lodge was in a very poor state in 1830 and, as it would 'not answer to have much done to it', it was recommended that the broken down parts of the walls simply be plastered up, the rooms white-washed, and the tiling mended to stop the leaks, costing about £2. It would cost a further £3 if the windows were to be fixed too (BR113/12/20). In 1835, it was suggested that the timber-with-brick nogging, east end of the house at Upper Toothill be rebuilt entirely in brick (BR113/17/32).

Between 1784 and 1850 the reuse of bricks can partly be explained by the Brick Tax but probably more by the general lack of building activity, and therefore need, at this level on the estate. Opinion has varied on the extent to which the tax affected the use of bricks in general as it was also a time of great development, including the building of the railways; it is noted though that its effects were felt most keenly with regard to the cheaper bricks intended for humble dwellings (Brunskill 1990). Indeed, the Brick Tax had not stood in the way of some significant improvements to the Broadlands house and associated buildings. In a letter to the second Viscount Palmerston in August 1788, his wife, Mary, writes that, 'The three rooms [book room, saloon and dining room] are finished, the dairy also a very good green. The portico all but the pillars done ... The new building comes on very well [thought to be an extension to the orangery] ... in ten days all the work in the house will be completed ...', and that Henry Holland had 'ordered the bricks for the new work' (BR11/13).

URBAN TRENDS, EARLY TO MID 19TH CENTURY

The national population expanded considerably in the 19th century. In 1840 it was estimated that the overall population of Great Britain had increased at a rate of nearly 16% every 10 years from the turn of

the century (*RHT* 1840 XI, iii), the larger towns both benefiting and suffering as a result. Manufacturing flourished under the new technology and migrants flocked from the countryside in search of work, in turn creating a demand for housing.

Following this trend, in the first half of the 19th century Romsey's population rose and industry flourished. The town's population was recorded at 4297 in 1821, with a total of 803 houses (Pinnock 1821, 32), and had risen to 5654 by the middle of the century (Berrow *et al* 1984, 51). Romsey was particularly known for beermaking and the manufacture of shalloons in the early 19th century, with much business also done in tanning and papermaking. Early 19th-century subdivision of plots and properties in the town is indicative of the demand for housing and a buoyant economy. Subdivision mainly occurred behind the street frontage (see Fig. 5) but there is evidence of it occurring within the street frontage itself (Fig. 3). Title deeds from Romsey's borough records show that one property in Banning Street had been divided into four by 1811, with two of the tenements lately erected (RBR 97M81/XIX/5/6/8), and elsewhere that three properties had been made into five by 1834 (RBR 97M81/XIX/5/4/8). Subdivision was occurring in Palmerston's properties too: the Middlebridge Street messuage purchased in 1809 was described as 'now divided into two tenements' (BR160/7/2). The messuage seems to have been divided between 1801 and 1809, the division not being mentioned in the particulars when sold to the merchant William Price in 1801 (BR160/6/1-2). Mid-to-late 18th-century houses in Palmerston Street also show visible external evidence of subdivision within the street frontage, likely to have occurred in the early 19th century (Fig. 3).

A fast-expanding urban population and a lack of building regulations made conditions ripe for overcrowded living conditions and associated problems. The Select Committee of Towns was appointed to inquire into the circumstances affecting the health of large towns and populous districts, with a view to improving sanitary regulations. The *Report of the Health of Towns* recorded some 39,000 people living in 7800 cellars in Liverpool, with a further 86,000 living in 2400 courts. Courts consisted of back-to-back houses, gener-



Fig. 3 Nos 26 and 28 Palmerston Street: original window placement on ground floor indicated by gauged brickwork, with later insertion of a door. Upper storey shows movement of windows on right side as now out of line with gauged brickwork below. (Photo R Hayden)

ally with only 9–15' of space between rows of houses, and in one case with only 6' of space noted (*RHT* 1840, XI, viii). Poor urban living conditions caused by poverty and overcrowding made easy targets for disease: there were national cholera outbreaks in 1831–32, 1848 and 1853. Fear of cholera and typhus forced the government to enact public health measures in 1848 in both the Public Health Act and the Nuisance Removal and Disease Prevention Act, the latter creating the General Board of Health. Despite the valuable work carried out by its members, the Board had little real effect as the powers granted to it were simply not strong enough for their recommendations to be enforced. Palmerston, being Foreign Secretary at this time, had no direct governmental

responsibility for domestic affairs until he became Home Secretary in 1852.

CONDITIONS IN ROMSEY AND ON THE BROADLANDS ESTATE, 1849–54

The mid-century industrial success of the larger towns was made at the expense of the smaller country towns though. The report of the Select Committee noted that large rural districts were experiencing a population increase of only 11% between 1821 and 1831, contrasting with 31% in provincial and other towns (*RHT* XI, iv). Indeed, from the mid-19th century onwards, Romsey's population remained fairly static until 1901. The town's

industries largely declined with only the sacking industry able to provide much employment for the poor (Moody 1846, 211). The opening of the first passenger railway line in 1847 led to the closure of several inns due to loss of trade. Many left Romsey for work in the larger towns, and in turn their houses were often filled by agricultural workers: a report of 1849 records that houses previously occupied by shalloon workers were then rented by farm labourers and their families who had moved in from the countryside (Sutherland 1849). By 1861, it was observed that though Romsey's 'woollen manufactures and paper mills were once of importance ... they have now vanished, and the place exclusively depends on the rich agricultural country around it' (*The Leisure Hour* 1861, 647). This is not to say that the town was entirely dependent on agriculture in the sense that the employed residents all worked on the land of course, for a variety of service industries were still required too: the 1851 census return for Banning Street indicates that the men living there tended to be labourers while the women often worked as seamstresses or laundresses; other occupations of the 1850s and 1860s in Romsey were lawyer, bricklayer, daily servant, shopkeeper, baker, chairmaker, sackmaker and milliner in the census return, and draper, carpenter, cooper, and coal merchant in title deeds (HRO 97M81 XIX/5). But it was a smaller, largely self-serving town in the second half of the 19th century.

By the mid-19th century, living conditions in some parts of Romsey were very poor indeed. The Pavement Commission had been established by private act of parliament in 1810 to be responsible for the pavements, lighting and cleaning of Romsey's streets, and in 1846 it was indeed observed that, 'The town ... consists of several spacious streets well paved and lighted' (Moody 1846, 211). However, the more serious issues of drainage and water supply had not been tackled. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 had ended the parish basis of poor relief and established the Poor Law Unions, consisting of groups of parishes; an elected Board of Guardians administered each union, and Romsey formed the centre of the local Poor Law Union, which comprised twelve parishes. The nationwide cholera outbreak in 1849 led Romsey's Board of Guardians to organise visits by members of the committee to dif-

ferent parts of the town, to report on the conditions that they witnessed. Palmerston was not satisfied with the extent of their action, however, and 'represented their conduct as 'obstinate' and 'perverse' ...' (BR131/13). The link between water and the spread of cholera was not properly made until 1854, yet the report on Romsey by the General Board of Health's medical inspector, Dr Sutherland, in July 1849 clearly states that the sanitary problems of the town should have acted as a serious warning. He noted that there was no compulsory house drainage, meaning that dry wells and cess pools accumulated 'the most disgusting and offensive collections of refuse, percolating the subsoil ... and today ... [he was] ... credibly informed of well water having been polluted by infiltration'. Banning Street was likened to the notorious courts in the manufacturing districts of Liverpool or Manchester, although in Romsey the courts were apparently narrower but more open. The houses were described as very small, consisting of only one room at ground level and one or two above, and some with windows on only one side (Sutherland 1849). The 1851 census return records some 120 households in Banning Street alone. Certainly, the properties in Banning Street are much smaller than those in other streets on the Ordnance Survey map of 1867, some showing apparent subdivision on a very small scale. Sutherland's report of 1849 details that these houses had no underground drainage, only surface drains. A family of seven had moved from the country to live in such a house in Banning Street; when Dr Sutherland visited, three of the children were ill, all of whom died from cholera after a few hours of illness (Sutherland 1849). Whether Palmerston still owned any houses in Banning Street at this time is uncertain; he certainly had done in the earlier part of the century as the quit rents show. Unsanitary conditions were not the only reason to avoid Banning Street though. By 1875 churchgoers were refusing to attend the Wesleyan chapel in Banning Street (next door to a public house) due to the street's sinful reputation.

Sutherland's report suggested that more use should be made of the natural advantages of the river to flush out the sewers, with new paving in the town and, if possible, the oldest parts of the town should be rebuilt, 'with more attention to cu-

bic contents and ventilation of houses'. The seriousness of cholera could not be doubted yet regulations issued as far back as 1831–32 (with the first outbreak of cholera in the country) and the reappearance of the disease in 1848–49 both failed to make local governments establish boards of health. Instead, the Romsey Board of Guardians had put the number of deaths down to fatal disease from field beans, pea pods and cold water (BR131/15). Palmerston was not satisfied and intervened by sending two letters to Mr Lordan of the Board of Guardians, in August and September 1849, which strongly criticised the Board's measures for dealing with the problem and their failure to establish a local board of health (BR131/12, BR131/15). He urged them to read Sutherland's report, the Nuisance Removal Act and the Public Health Act, and to set up a local board with full and complete powers for their actions. Palmerston reiterated Sutherland's recommendation for sewers and house drains. As he pointed out, he himself stood to gain nothing from it other than an increased level of effluence via the River Test through his grounds at Broadlands.

Despite his apparent concern, when cholera reappeared in 1853–54, by which time Palmerston was Home Secretary, it became all too apparent how little had been done in Romsey, and perhaps on the Broadlands estate too. In October 1853, there was unspecified 'illness' in the shepherd's cottage. It was noted that, 'One great reason for the unhealthiness of the shepherd's cottage and that adjoining is that they are situated immediately under the trees of the park which overhang the park wall, are very much deprived of air and sun and the land immediately behind them is as high as the top of the windows of the ground floor'. Kendle had the affected cottages white-washed and 'any possible cause for illness removed' (BR114/14/38). Cholera was not the only disease around, of course, for conditions of poverty lent themselves to the spread of many diseases, but given the date it seems a probable case of cholera on the estate. In September 1853, the Sanatory Committee of Romsey had issued a statement of advice, the emphasis being on improved ventilation: windows and doors should be opened frequently; fireboards and obstructions removed; bedrooms without chimneys should

have ventilation in the windows, or have the door kept open. Typifying the prevailing moral attitude was a clause warning that those who indulged in intoxication or debauchery were most likely to be attacked (BR114/14/37).

Palmerston was an energetic reformer during his time as Home Secretary (1852–55), introducing the first Smoke Abatement Act in London and being concerned with a variety of penal and health reforms. His papers include plans, some never carried out, for a new sewerage system in the capital that would discharge effluents into the Thames downstream of the city (Chamberlain 1987, 81). For Romsey, Palmerston requested another report in 1854 on its sanitary conditions. Dr Waller Lewis, a member of the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers, reported on Romsey's streets, its cottages, jail, privies, and the quality of its water. Poor provision for adequate ventilation was again fixed upon as one of the prime reasons for the spread of disease. Many of the houses in Romsey had their living-room floor below the level of the street, leaving them damp even in the driest months. The floors were typically made of brick rather than wood, believed to encourage the condition. Dr Lewis drew attention to the low height of the rooms and pointed out that the back windows were not made to open, and which was sometimes the case with front windows too, meaning that houses could not be properly aired. The walls of many of these cottages were in a filthy condition. Cess pools below the privies were merely holes in the ground, allowing the contents to spread freely into the surrounding soil and contaminate water supplies. The well water was found to be 'very defective in quality', some inhabitants preferring to take their water from the brook. Water from the pump of the reading room was described as 'extremely offensive, from its containing much cesspool matter'. Analysis of water samples found them to be highly impure and unfit for drinking. With the population averaging 5500, 926 deaths were registered in Romsey between 1847 and 1853, far higher than the expected rate. As in the earlier report, Dr Lewis remarked that Romsey had the unexploited advantage of an abundance of rapidly running water, a protected situation, and was almost entirely free from factory pollutants. He recom-

mended that houses should be at least 8' in height, that their ground floors (of wood, not brick) should be raised above street level, cesspools should be bricked and emptied every night, the privies well ventilated and stoneware pans provided, that wells should be dug deeper, and slaughterhouses should be abolished from the interior of the town where possible (Lewis 1854).

NEW HOUSES ON THE BROADLANDS ESTATE, 1854

While no specific reference to cholera in houses on the Broadlands estate has been found, that Palmerston began his cottage-building campaign in July 1854, and with some urgency, is suggestive of cases there or at least fear of the possibility. He also had his position as Home Secretary to protect. His motivation for building new farmhouses and cottages was very different from that of earlier property improvers and so were the resultant buildings. The fashion for ornate and impractical estate cottages had passed, one commentator pointing out that, '... such structures may serve to display the builder's taste or the landlord's munificence, but they appear hardly in keeping with the labourer's position'. They went on to say that, 'What the labourer really requires is a habitation sufficiently roomy and substantial for the comfortable accommodation of his family, and furnished with appliances to answer his and their daily wants' (Nicholls 1846, 16). We can see clearly a thoughtful approach in the design and location of cottages on the Broadlands estate from now onwards, this time favouring the labourers. Little is known about sanitary provision in houses on the estate before this time from the documentary sources, particularly for labourers' cottages. The only references found are to James Fryer's wash-house, added to the end of his farmhouse at Whitenap in 1835, measuring 14' by 12'9" (see Fig. 2) (BR113/12/21), and an estimate for a brick-built privy, plastered with a slate roof, for his new house at Ashfield in 1844 (BR114/8/32). The new houses were essentially practical in design, aiming to rectify previous faults in their provision for good ventilation and sanitation. The buildings, although plain in style, are still attractive and are distinctive of the Broadlands estate.

A new cottage was carefully planned at both Ridge and Lee by Kendle, the estate steward. Kendle hoped to receive the estimates at once so that building could begin as soon as possible. External appearance was evidently important, Kendle having designed the Lee cottage to be of a bolder appearance than the Ridge cottage, and on the whole the more commodious of the two. The Ridge cottage was to have a bakehouse in a lean-to against the scullery rather than in the scullery itself as this would spoil the proportions of the building. Discussion also focused on the small and practical details, such as the best position for the bed in relation to the fireplace in the principal bedroom of the Ridge cottage, for it was 'not often these cottages have a fire in their bedrooms' and there were 'many cottages now where there is not so wide a space between the bed and the fire place' (BR115/15/38). Palmerston was consulted in these discussions and made his own suggestions for improvements to the design too. As before, reuse of old building materials was made, a good deal of the bricks and tiles needed for the cottages gained from the demolition of two tenements in The Hundred (BR115/15/38). A new farmhouse was proposed at Waldron in 1856, to be built from old materials (BR115/2/45), new cottages in 1859 (BR115/5/55) and a new farmhouse and premises at Lower Toothill in 1860 (BR115/6/29).

It was not a case of direct replacement of the older stock of estate cottages for this new kind; these continued to exist, but greater attention was now paid to repairs, size, and the maintenance of suitable living conditions within them. In 1854, a single-storeyed house at Hoe was declared to be 'very indifferent' and, as a result, it had been difficult to find a tenant to take it, for it also suffered from damp. The farm carpenter, however, was prepared to take the cottage if upper rooms were added, which it was estimated would not be expensive, the roof simply requiring to be raised a level by walls of about 6' in height, with new floor joists and boards (BR115/15/40). Figure 4 shows a cottage at Middle Toothill where a similar alteration took place. Elsewhere, the houses in Park Place were small, with little space behind them and poor drainage. In 1856, Kendle proposed to take up a drain from the main sewer in the road



Fig. 4 Cottage at Middle Toothill, the brickwork showing evidence of an upper floor having been added. (Photo R Hayden)

and to provide each house with branch pipes to empty the back kitchens and privies, as well as putting glazed pans in the privies with siphon pipes and slate tanks in two of the houses (BR115/2/45).

The replenishment of the estate's houses prompted offers of sale too. Palmerston was offered the cottages of Mr Hall in 1857, although at that time he claimed he had as many houses as he needed and that these offered to him were rather small (BR115/3/39), as well as two cottages at Toothill in March 1860 (BR115/6/5). At Toothill the upper cottage consisted of two tenements, although in Kendle's opinion it was really only large enough to be one. A small room had been tacked on to the end of this tenement, used a dissenter's chapel. The other cottage was a single tenement, with a living room, a scullery

and two bedrooms, and was described as 'small, dirty and inconvenient', with brick floors, very low ceilings, no cupboard space or shelves, and very out of repair. Kendle estimated that £10–20 could make the cottage comfortable and rentable, while £50–100 would make it as commodious as it could be. Kendle felt that the prices wanted by the owners was in excess of their value, but that their location was very attractive. An instance of property conversion centred on these cottages a few months later, in June 1860. It was proposed that Mrs Butcher move into the half of the cottage attached to the Methodist chapel. When the cottage was purchased, a fireplace could be installed to make a temporary living room in the chapel with a bedroom made over it, the cottage being very small as noted previously (BR115/6/16).

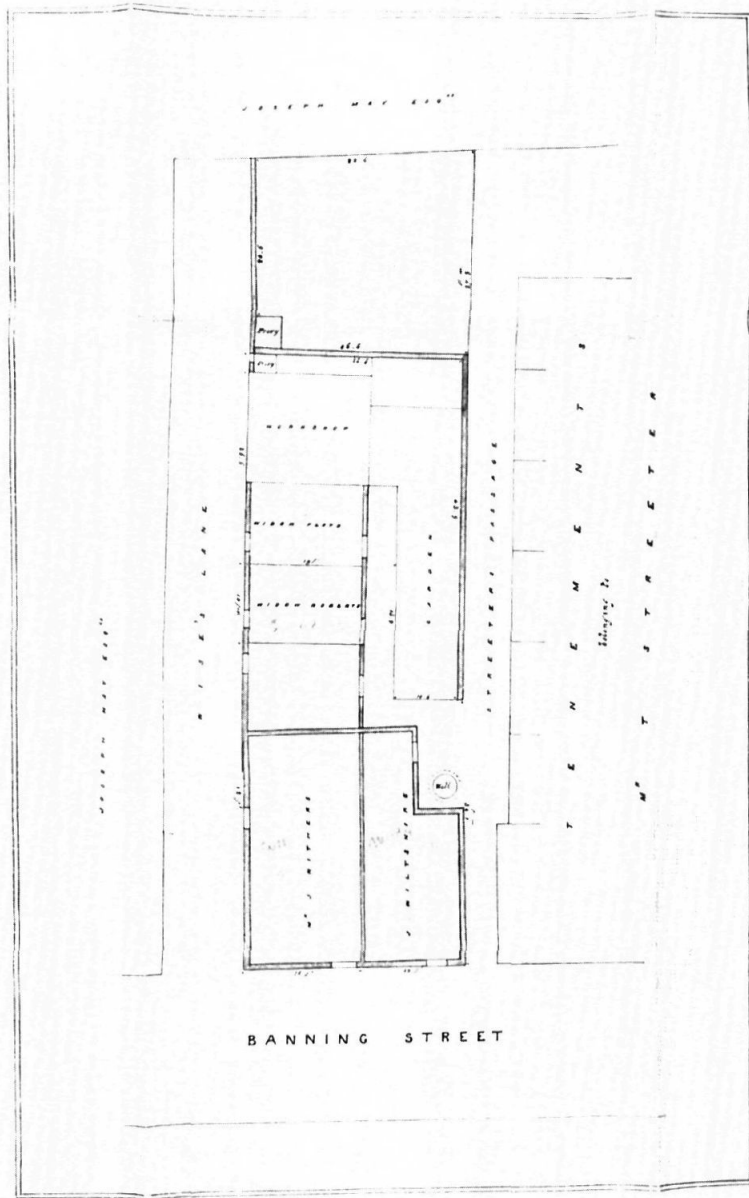


Fig. 5 Plan from a conveyance in Banning Street, March 1855, between Joseph Withers and Philip Lowe. The plan is colour-coded according to the different areas: pink for the dwelling house and wash-house to be reserved to Joseph Withers during his life; blue for the piece of land on which formerly stood five cottages, and the tenements of J. Wiltshire and the widow Roberts; yellow for the cottage occupied by the widow Floyd, the workshop, and the garden. (Reproduced by permission of the Hampshire Record Office, 97M81/XIX/5/3/21)

Another cottage at Toothill was offered for sale in 1860, occupied by a labourer who had once worked at the Upper Toothill farm but, due to a change in tenancy, now worked elsewhere on the estate. It was of concern to the landlord to provide accommodation close to the farm that the labourers worked upon, for reasons of labour economy and consideration for the tenant, as advocated by commentators like Nicholls (1846, 17). Kendle felt that this man had too far to walk to his work and that the cottage should be occupied by a labourer of one of the Toothill farms instead (BR115/6/6).

A clear architectural style evolved in the new buildings on the Broadlands estate at this time, of red-brick cottages with slate roofs and distinctive overhanging eaves, projecting porches, and windows with labels above them. While Kendle designed the cottages at Ridge and Lee to be different in appearance and 'suited to the spot where they are to stand', they are still obviously recognisable as cottages of the estate as was, no doubt, the intention. Kendle used one of the many books of plans available for cottage designs but made slight alterations to their dimensions. Part of Palmerston's input in the design of these cottages was requesting that Kendle should make the porches project on the cottages at Ridge, which would improve their external appearance (BR115/15/36).

Plans for new cottages were not always realised however. By February 1861, the new double cottage at Hoe Lane had still not been built, Palmerston preferring to wait to see whether a new cottage was really needed. In the interim, John White, the woodman, had continued to inhabit half of the old cottage in Hoe Lane along with his wife, two sons and a daughter, which had only one bedroom. Their children slept downstairs on a brick floor. The woodman had become very ill, partly with rheumatism, and was confined to bed with no fireplace in the bedroom. Kendle felt it necessary to move him into another cottage, possibly one in Grove Place (BR115/7/7). Other plans continued to go ahead however and, by 1865, the new cottage at Toothill, complete with woodhouse, privies and fencing, was reckoned 'one of the most complete and at the same time best looking cottages on the estate' (BR115/11/1).

LASTING EFFECTS

Title deeds from Romsey's borough records show that the process of demolishing some of the tiny and overcrowded properties in Banning Street had begun by 1855 at least, so within the span of Palmerston's Home Secretaryship. The plan from the conveyance between Joseph Withers (carpenter) and Philip Lower (cooper) in March 1855 (Fig. 5), gives details of 'all that piece or parcel of land on which formerly stood five several messuages or cottages with the yard and out-houses thereto belonging but which ... have since been pulled down ...' (in the section shown furthest from Banning Street on the plan), the dimensions of which were just 26'6" by 27'3", and 28'6" by 20'6". Only a privy stood on that parcel of land at the date of the conveyance. It was also noted for the conveyance of this messuage, then consisting of four tenements, the workshop and garden, and piece of land and premises, that it had previously been two messuages (RBR 97M81/XIX/5/3/21). There is also the instance already cited of Palmerston demolishing two of his tenements in The Hundred in 1854 and reusing their materials. The practice of dividing properties was also reversed. In 1891, sale particulars for freehold cottages in Banning Street detail that Lot 2's two 'brick-built and slated' cottages had previously been four cottages. Beyond this, the four messuages had formerly been only one messuage. The cycle of property division and expansion had gone full circle. The main selling point for the other six-roomed cottage in the same lot was that it possessed a 'brick-built and slated washhouse' – that the cottage itself was 'clay-built and thatched' appears in very small print in contrast, reflecting the priorities of the day (RBR 97M81/XIX/5/6/13–14). Given Dr Sutherland's description of properties in Banning Street in 1849, however, it is not surprising that, whereas a significant number of original properties are extant in other streets in Romsey, those in Banning Street could not meet the demands of housing improvements; of those that survived the 19th-century clearance, very few survived that of the 1960s.

Interest in labourers' housing in Romsey converged in 1860 with the beginning of a movement to improve the dwellings of the

labouring class. Palmerston presided at the Romsey movement's first meeting on 14 January 1860, the object of which was to form a company under the Limited Societies Act to build cottages 'of an improved description' in the parishes of Romsey (BR115/6/2), no doubt strongly motivated by the lead that Palmerston had taken. Palmerston was also president of the Labourers' Encouragement Association, founded in 1853, in the midst of Romsey's cholera outbreak. His speech at the prize-giving ceremony in 1860 touched upon his improved buildings on the Broadlands estate, and upon the earlier musings of the Duke of Bedford:

'I have heard it said that these buildings are altogether too expensive, that they do not pay, and that other people could not afford to erect them. Now, I hold that observation to be founded on a fundamental error. When I build a cottage for a labourer on a farm, I do not expect rent for that house separate from the farm. Well, the cottage for the labourer ought to be looked upon as a part of the appurtenances of a farm, just as much as the buildings for cattle, or any of those other erections essential to the cultivation of the land'.

He passed on to some of the benefits of good housing:

'The effect of improving these dwellings is almost marvellous. You know that the comfort of a man's house depends upon the tidiness of his wife, and the mode in which she tries to make him comfortable ... When a cottage is in such a state that it is

impossible for the wife to keep it clean, she becomes a slattern, everything goes to ruin, the man is disgusted, and flies to the beershop. If, on the contrary, the wife feels that she can, by a little exertion, make the cottage decent and respectable, she does so, and then the man enjoys the comfort and happiness of his home, stays away from the beershop, and the sum of money he would spend in liquor goes to the benefit of his wife and children' (*The Leisure Hour* 1861, 651).

Palmerston was not at the forefront of the cottage improvement movement and really only acted when the cholera outbreak and his parliamentary position pushed him to do so. In turn, he was able to pressure others into carrying through the necessary measures. Nevertheless, his new cottages were built to very high standards and are still desirable properties by today's measures. Palmerston's legacy was not architectural alone, however, but also societal. Clearly, some of the sentiments expressed above are not echoed directly today but, in essence, what he was leading was a lasting change in attitude towards living conditions from both tenant and landlord.

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Author: Rosemary Hayden MA, 34 Anxey Way, Haddenham, Buckinghamshire, HP17 8DJ.

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