

Guernsey Butchers and the 19th Century Meat Trade

by Stephen Foote

Part 1 - The Development of the Meat Trade in Guernsey

In the early 21st century the majority of us buy our meat neatly shrink-wrapped from the supermarket, prepared and ready for cooking. We don't give a second thought to the fact that it may have originated from animals raised on the other side of the world, and been imported frozen. In the early years of the 19th century, it was a different situation entirely. Red meat, especially beef, was a luxury that only the rich could afford, with the possible exception of Christmas. Beef was bought from the butchers in Town who had freshly slaughtered the beasts from which the meat came. An explosion in the island's population and prosperity in the early years of the 19th century, meant that the island's butchers were no longer able to meet the demand from locally-reared cattle, and this led to a revolution in the island meat trade. For the first time, there was a need to import meat if there was to be sufficient to feed the island population.

The first part of this article deals with the Guernsey meat trade in the first half of the 19th century, and how it evolved to meet the increase in demand. The second part will look at the butchers and their families that were attracted to Guernsey during this period.

In the late 18th Century, Guernsey's population was approaching 20,000 people, about half of whom lived in St Peter Port. However, it has been estimated that the island's agricultural land was only enough to support 3-4,000¹. The majority of those living in the country used to keep a few pigs, and that was their main source of meat. This was supplemented protein from fish, which was not limited by land, and beans - such as in our traditional dish, beanjar. For most Guernseymen, beef was a luxury only served on Christmas Day. Most local farmers who kept cows concentrated on dairy farming, although some did focus on beef production.

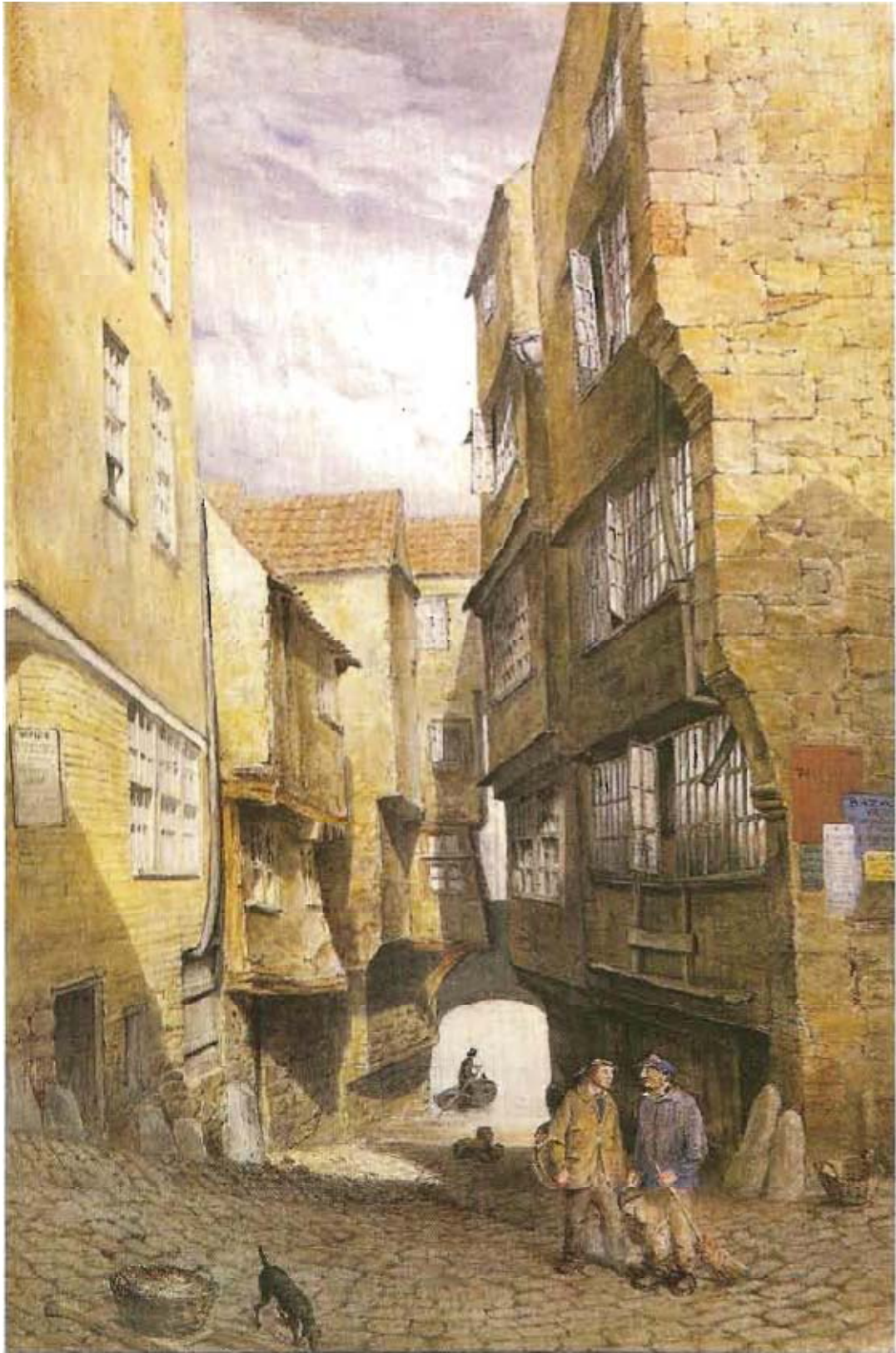
In the 1780s, the Napoleonic Wars were underway, and the islanders were increasingly fearful of an invasion. As a result, the garrison was increased, rising to a total of around 5,000 – a level that was maintained until the end of the war in 1815. Some of the officers and their families lived in Town, but the majority of the soldiers were stationed in Castle Cornet. Later, Fort George was built to accommodate the increasing numbers in the island. This exacerbated the problems of meat supply in the island, and there was no choice other than to start importing meat to feed the overwhelming number of newcomers.

This provided opportunities for cattle dealers based on the south coast of England. According to one source², a dealer from Lyme Regis supplied a large proportion of the cattle to supply the Jersey and Guernsey garrisons. It was a treacherous journey, and many ships were lost to French privateers. The cattle for the garrison were transported alive, and landed in the bay at the entrance to Castle Cornet. On some old maps this area is called Cow Bay.

But there was demand in town too – the garrison was gradually relocated to Fort George, and the increasingly wealthy inhabitants of St Peter Port also wanted more meat. To meet this demand, cattle were landed in the harbour near the Town Church, and they were herded up into the passage that is still known as Cow Lane. At that time, it was a narrow tunnel that led from the harbour into Church Square. The cattle were pushed over the side of the ships that brought them, and allowed to swim to shore. Once there, they were herded up Cow Lane, where they were slaughtered. At high tide, the sea washed up Cow Lane, and swept all the blood and guts back out to sea. At that time, the market was held in Cow Lane itself, and passers-by had to brush past the hanging carcasses in order to pass through. The meat was kept there, and the butchers employed a nightwatchman to look after the meat. After a particularly heavy snowfall in the winter of 1770, the nightwatchman was snowed into Cow Lane for three days, and died as a result.

Cow Lane was not an ideal place, neither for the slaughter of cattle nor the selling of meat. At high tide, the sea washed up Cow Lane and into the lower end of the High Street. And when a group of the island elite purchased some land from the Rectory garden to build the Assembly Rooms for social gatherings, they decided to establish a proper meat market on the ground floor. The Assembly Rooms are now the Guille-Alles Library, and the meat market was known as the French Halles.

The island economy and population continued to expand, and this continued to attract more cattle dealers and butchers to the island. By the early 19th century, the French Halles no longer had the capacity to accommodate the number of butchers who wanted stalls. Eventually, the States agreed to build a new meat market opposite the French Halles. In order to finance it, they took the innovative step of issuing a set of bank notes instead of borrowing the money or increasing taxes. In 1820, a number of butchers wrote to the Privy Council enthusiastically supporting the scheme, and complaining about *“very many inconveniences we labor under in the pursuit of our business”*. In particular they complained about *“want of room and shelter in the selling of our meat, having no shop to carry on our trade, or place to lock up our meat at night, except the common Slaughter House, whereby it is subjected to the corruption resulting from the killing of cattle, and from its frequent carriage to and fro.”*³



Cow Lane - from a painting by Peter Le Lievre (1812-1878)

The project was approved, and work commenced in 1820, but the new market was not completed until 1822. *“There was a formidable opening ceremony on 11th October 1822, with a solemn procession of butchers headed by the band of the Town Regiment, followed by vinous and other refreshments”*⁴.

NEW MEAT MARKET.



Each butcher was allocated one stall in exchange for an annual rent. The operation of the new market was to be overseen by a new States Committee, which dealt with matters of hygiene, allocation of stalls and resolving any complaints from stallholders. The new market was the only place in town in which it was legal to sell meat. This allowed a form of licensing the butchers, and guaranteed an income for the States to repay the cost of building the market.

By the 1830s the market was reaching its capacity once again. The States Market Committee noted that it should look into increasing the amount of space available as early as 1833, part of the demand for more space was coming from some of the incumbent butchers requesting more space. Also, despite the expectations of the butchers, it was found that leaving meat in the market attracted rats. As a result, the butchers were not allowed to keep meat in stalls as they had hoped.⁵

At around the time of the construction of the French Halles for the butchers' stalls, the first central slaughterhouse was built. They chose for location, an area known as La Grille. This was literally a grill over a passage between the Cimetiere des Soeurs and the Picket House (on what is now the site of the Albany office block). This was the site where many townsfolk used to cast all manner of refuse that was then swept out to sea. The development had the dual advantage of preventing the use of La Grille for the disposal of rubbish, and removing the unpleasant sights and odours of cattle slaughter from Cow Lane. The construction was paid for by the introduction of a levy on each animal slaughtered in the facility, reinforced by a law prohibiting the slaughter of animals anywhere else with St Peter Port. There had been similar attempts in London to prohibit the slaughter of animals in the centre of town; the earliest statute found dating back as far as 1362⁶. Napoleon attempted to achieve the same ends in Paris in 1810, with the creation of five slaughterhouses on the outskirts of the city⁷. The aim of all of these statutes was to remove the worst effects of animal slaughter from the streets of their cities. However in Guernsey, as in London and Paris, these actions had limited success. It was not until the

early 20th century and the appointment of Guernsey's first Medical Officer of Health, Dr Henry Bishop that the connection between slaughterhouse hygiene and the spread of disease (such as TB) was made. Dr Bishop introduced a legal framework to improve matters, including the introduction of the first Meat Inspectors in 1908.⁸

When the wholesale supply of meat to feed the garrison was first established, the cattle dealers were based on the south coast of England. There is evidence that this continued well into the early 1800s. However, given the lack of butchery skills in Guernsey and the growing demand for fresh meat, more and more butchers were attracted to settle in the island.

This coincided with the development of Guernsey's shipbuilding industry, and some of the butchers invested in their own ships to import their cattle and sheep. Instead of slaughtering immediately on arrival, some of the butchers started importing cattle for fattening on the island. A number of the leading butchers purchased or rented land just outside of St Peter Port for grazing. The animals were fattened up in the island, slaughtered in purpose-built abbatoirs, and then taken to the market for sale. This had the double advantage of allowing the butchers to realise more profit from the animals they had fattened themselves, as well as avoiding the levy imposed on cattle slaughtered in the central abattoir.

By the 1840s, the demand for meat in England started to outstrip the amount that could be supplied by English farmers. As with Guernsey, this was due to a combination of population growth and changing eating habits. For the first time the English government lifted regulations prohibiting the import of meat from abroad.⁹ So the butchers in Guernsey were compelled to seek new sources. With the Napoleonic wars long over, France had the attraction of being much closer than the south of England and some cattle dealers began regular trips to St Malo. They also found that the northern Spain was another good source. For example, in the first half of 1849, "*Lady of the Lake*" made 25 return voyages to St Malo for cattle. In early 1848, the "*Jessie*" made at least 3 trips to Corunna for cattle, and in the 1850s, the "*Teazer*" made so many regular trips to Spain for cattle, that they employed a Spanish butcher as a full time member of the crew.

The Spanish bulls stimulated the islanders' curiosity, and quite a crowd used to assemble at the harbour to watch them being unloaded. It seems that the Spanish bulls were livelier than their French or English counterparts, and there are a number of stories of them escaping, pushing through the crowds and running amuck in the streets of St Peter Port, as though they were in Pamplona. On one occasion, one swam back out to sea, and was discovered in the middle of the night by two startled fishermen alarmed by the sound of the beast lowing whilst standing half immersed on a rock in the middle of Havelet Bay.¹⁰

By the 1860s, both Jersey and Guernsey were importing substantial quantities of cattle and sheep – writing at this time, two Fellows of Cambridge visited the island and noted that:

"While a certain number of cows are always exported from the islands, there is also a large import of oxen and other cattle for food. This amounts to upwards of 6,000 head of oxen and

calves for Jersey, and nearly 2,000 for Guernsey; about 15,000 sheep and lambs for Jersey, and 5,000 for Guernsey."

They were less than complimentary, however, about Guernsey's market arrangements.

*"The beasts imported from France are generally sold in Jersey fit for killing, and the meat is cheap and good. Guernsey is supplied with very inferior animals that often require fattening in the island. The price of meat in Guernsey is always considerably higher than in Jersey, owing to a very foolish arrangement by which the number of butchers in the latter island is strictly limited, and the trade is monopolised. Meat is not allowed to be sold in Guernsey, except in the markets of St Peter Port and St Sampsons, and then only by the licensed and authorised persons. The small income thus received is at the expense of a heavy loss to the community."*¹¹

How this situation resulted in trade being monopolised is not at first obvious. An analysis of contemporary St Helier commercial directories confirms that butcher's shops were indeed scattered around the town, rather than being concentrated in one central market. However, rather than keeping prices low, this suggests that it would be more difficult for Jersey consumers to compare the butchers' prices than for their Guernsey counterparts. It would allow them to exploit other factors, such as location, which would tend to drive prices upwards. Whereas consumers in Guernsey could carry out a quick tour of the market and see who had the best prices or the best quality cuts of meat before making their purchases. To understand why prices were higher in Guernsey, a more detailed analysis of those involved in the meat trade is required, and this will be examined in the second part of this article.

Between 1800 and 1850, the population of Guernsey had grown from 20,000 to 30,000, on an island said to be only capable of supporting 3-4,000 people. This had been made possible in part through the initiative of enterprising cattle dealers and butchers from the south of England. They identified the growing needs of the island, settled in the island, and progressively developed the meat trade, including the import of animals from France and Spain. This was accompanied by an increasingly formalised and regulated environment, including the introduction of a central slaughter house and meat market. These measures were designed to improve hygiene standards and protect the States' investments. However, it has been alleged that this also had the side effect of creating a monopolistic meat trade, that led to a poorer value-for-money than in Jersey.

By the 1870s, the meat trade was just about to go through a new revolution, when the first trials of shipping frozen meat from Australia, New Zealand and Argentina took place. These were successful and became a way of life during the 1880s. The frozen meat trade paved the way for the globalisation of the meat trade, as countries where land was cheap and meat was plentiful enabled their farmers to export their produce worldwide.¹² Thus the meat trade was transformed into that which exists today.

Part 2 – The Butchers and their families

Although not the most glamorous of professions, the butcher's trade is nevertheless a highly skilled one. A butcher in England would have had to serve an apprenticeship where he learnt his skills, progressing to journeyman, until he could run his own business. This not only ensured that those practising the trade were fully competent, it also ensured that the skills were passed on from generation to generation. For the reasons outlined in part one of this article, these skills were not widely available in Guernsey. For most of the year, most of the population survived on a diet in which a mixture of pork, fish and beans provided the protein. The country parishes had pig slaughterers who would be called in as and when people wanted to kill a pig they had raised¹³. But this was entirely different from the slaughter and processing of cattle in the volumes required to meet the growing demands of the early 19th century.



Postcard showing interior of Meat Market c 1907

There was therefore increasing demand for skilled butchers in the island, which could not wait several years' for apprentices to be recruited and trained. Then (as now) Guernsey turned to the mainland to help fill its skills shortage – and this was an attractive option for many butchers in rural south of England who were seeing demand falling as people continued to move to the cities or emigrate. The first part of this article explored the structure of the Guernsey's meat trade, and how it evolved to meet the increasing demand of the islanders. This second part looks at the butchers that were attracted to island during this period, where they settled and the parts they played in the meat trade.

The picture that emerges is that the meat trade was carried out by butchers who came predominantly from the south coast of England and settled on the outskirts of St Peter Port. A minority were very successful and, as the century progressed, came to dominate the supply of meat to the island.

Identification of the butchers who came to Guernsey during the Napoleonic Wars is made difficult by the fact that the earliest trade directories do not start until the 1820s¹⁴. This coincided with the opening of the new Meat Market in 1822. An early trade directory published in 1826 lists thirty-six butchers: Messrs Baskfill, Boutcher(2), Croft(2), De Putron, Foote(2), Fudge, Gardner(2), Hammond, Hannon, Hayes, Kennell, Lamble(2), Le Lacheur, Le Marchant, Le Patourel, Male, Manning, Martin, Masters, Mordaunt, Mortimer, Palmer, Radden, Reynolds, Roberts, Robin, Waterman(3), Webber & Widdicombe.

Of these, four are obviously Guernseymen (John De Putron, P Le Lacheur, P Le Marchant & J Le Patourel), and possibly another two (Thomas Martin and John Robin). Of the remaining thirty, eight do not appear as butchers in any other records before or since. This leaves twenty-two butchers who were not born in Guernsey but who had settled there by 1820. These twenty two men formed the basis of a community of butchers who would lead the changes in the meat trade described in Part 1 of this article.

These butchers were Messrs James Baskfill, James & Robert Boutcher, James & Thomas Croft, George & John Foote, John Gardner senior & junior, William Hammond, William Hayes, William Kennell, Francis Lamble senior & junior, Stephen Male, James Manning, James Mordaunt, William Radden, Peter Roberts and Peter, Robert & Samuel Waterman.

Those that it has been possible to trace arrived in Guernsey from the south of England, notably Devon, Dorset and Somerset. Messrs Baskfill, Boutcher, Foote and Lamble came from parts of Devon, the Gardner and Hammond families from Dorset and the Waterman family came from Somerset. These were all places closest to Guernsey on the mainland, where well-established trade links existed. In particular, the Baskfills and Boutchers came from the Plymouth area, the Footes from Brixham, and the Gardners from Lyme Regis. Whether James Gardner was the meat trader who supplied the garrison quoted in Part 1 is not known.

Their pattern of settlement in Guernsey was rather unusual. They all held stalls in the market, where they sold their meat, as that was regulated by law - however, although some of them chose to live nearby, many of them chose to live on the outskirts of St Peter Port.

At the Bouet, a number of butchers either owned or rented fields for grazing cattle. The beach opposite would have been a convenient alternative to the harbour for landing cattle, and from there they could be led across the road into the fields. The Baskfills and Mordaunts owned fields in this area, and Francis Lamble, although he lived at the Fosse André, rented fields here. George Payne & Samuel Cooper, who arrived in Guernsey by the 1840s, both lived in the Coutanchez, and occupied adjacent stalls in the market. Robert Heyward, who described himself as a "*Grazing Butcher of 4 acres employing 3 men and 1 boy*" to the census enumerator in 1851 owned land in the Ramée. Similarly, George Foote was described as a "*Butcher and Farmer of 60 acres*" owning land in the area around the Baissieres and Rohais de Bas. The road that cuts through this 60 acre estate has since become known as Foote's Lane. Robert Belben owned land at the Foulon. The Kennells and Baskfills owned land at the Vaudquiédor, and Samuel Best, who arrived in 1849, was based at the Ruelle Bray.

Those who settled in centre of town included: James Boutcher who lived in Market Street, William Baskfill in St George Street, Stephen Male in Mill Street and William Hellier in Les Canichers. The area around Market Square & Mill Street, was not a very desirable area, according to Victor Hugo. In 1883, he described the area as “... a Bedouin city; hovels, muddy holes, unpaved alleyways, burned gables, ruined houses, empty rooms with no doors or windows but with grass growing there, girders crossing the street, rubble blocking the way, here and there an inhabited dwelling, naked little boys, pale-faced women.”¹⁵

There were also a few butchers who chose to settle in the north of the island. Robert Waterman at Les Banques, John Foote (brother of George) near the Bridge and Thomas Croft at Fort Pas, Vale. There was a small market at the Bridge to serve the north of the island, and presumably they based themselves there.

The net effect (see Figure 1) was a strange pattern with a concentration living in the centre of town, and then a ring of those who had settled around the parish boundary. This was no coincidence. At this time, the butchers were accustomed to slaughtering animals themselves. By establishing slaughter houses outside the boundary of St Peter Port, they were able to avoid the States’ tax on animals slaughtered within St Peter Port. The precedent for this exception had been set in 1805, when a Mr Budd of the Rohais gained exemption from this tax from the Royal Court.¹⁶

Tracing the occupants of the various market stalls through trade directories during the first half of the nineteenth century, it is clear that this was very much a family business. Sons

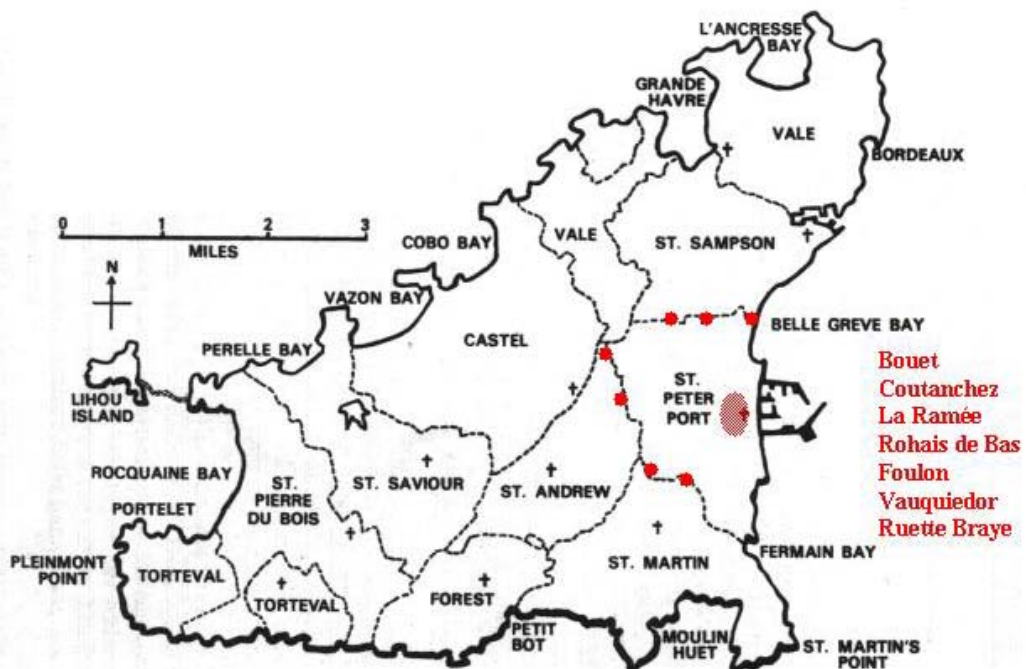


Figure 1: Map showing distribution of butchers’ property

were often engaged as apprentices at an early age, becoming stall holders in their own right

in their early twenties. Wives, too, were involved; for example, when James Baskfill died in 1835, his wife, Anne Gardner, kept his stall in the market going until 1857, the year before her death aged 81. To what extent she actively participated in the running of the stall at this age is not known, but her son Charles also had a stall in the market, and brother William was a cattle merchant and spent much of his time at sea. Anne was the sister of John Gardner, who was also a butcher - after his death, his wife described herself as a Retired Butcheress, and three of his sons, John, Albert and James all became butchers. John junior's sons, John, James and Anthony were all butchers, meaning a presence in the market throughout the 19th century.

George Foote raised his stepson, James Boutcher, as a butcher, as well as his eldest son, George. On his death in 1854, George's business passed to his eldest son, George junior, and then to his grandson, William Henry Foote. William was licensed by the market committee in 1878, and was still trading on his grandfather's reputation in adverts in the 1890s (see below).



There was also a number of instances of intermarriage between the various families of butchers in the island. As has been mentioned above, James Baskfill and Anne Gardner were both from butchers' families. Their son, William, married Eleanor Foote, the daughter of John. George Foote junior married Francis Lamble's sister, Tryphena.

It is difficult to distinguish the cause from the effect, but these alliances coincided with an ever closer business partnership between the Foote, Lamble and Baskfill families which started in the 1840s when they established a shipping company, Lamble & Co. By 1845, the Footes, Lambles, Baskfills and Gardners controlled nine stalls - representing a quarter of the stalls in the Town meat market.

Together with a further four families they controlled half of the stalls in the market. The other families were William Hammond and Thomas Croft, who controlled three stalls between them, and had bought at least one ship between them; the Haywards and the Watermans who had three stalls each, and owned farmland for grazing. The remainder, for the most part lived in and around the centre of town, indicating that they did not have grazing or links to cattle merchants.

This situation had not been achieved easily. In the original orders-in-council relating to the new market in 1820, a condition had been laid down that each butcher should be allotted no more than one stall each. In 1832, George Foote had written to the States Market

Committee, complaining about the lack of space in his stall, and requesting the allocation of a further stall, on the basis that he was “*rendered incapable of transacting my business with any degree of ease of comfort to myself or in a manner satisfactory to my customer*” due to the “*straitness of the shop which I now occupy in the meat market*”¹⁷. The States initially refused, but in 1840, eight years later, they relented, and allocated an extra stall each to James Gardner, George Foote, and another butcher, William Hammond.

The extra stalls were allocated on condition they would release them again if asked to do so. However, in 1845, the States Committee attempted to reclaim the stalls and this was strongly resisted. Although the States threatened legal action, no trace of any court case can be found, and George passed both stalls over to George junior, who occupied them until his death in 1869. Similarly John Gardner’s son, John Baskfill Gardner was still occupying two stalls in the market in 1882.

This gave a small number of butchers a significant presence in the market. However, taken at face value it is difficult to see how such a situation could give rise to higher meat prices as Ansted and Latham had claimed (see Part 1). It is only when considered together with the supply of cattle to the island that a quite different picture emerges. As was outlined in Part 1 of this article, the ever-increasing demand for meat led to entrepreneurs importing cattle from St Malo and even Corunna in northern Spain. Consulting the Guernsey Shipping Registers¹⁸ it transpires that the entrepreneurs who owned the ships that were making regular trips to St Malo and Corunna were the butchers themselves. This started as early as 1829 when William Hammond and Thomas Croft registered the “*Venus*”. At 29 tons, she was not a very substantial vessel and was unfortunately lost less than two years later. However, by 1851 William Hammond had built up a small fleet of four ships. Hammond was also one of the three butchers who had been granted a second market stall in 1840.

Not only did this allow him to obtain profits from the sale of meat in Guernsey, but he also benefited from any profits he could make on importing and fattening the cattle locally. With his own fleet of ships, he was also able diversify. In 1846, William Hammond advertised:-

*“Wm HAMMOND, Meat Market and Park Street, has now on sale, wholesale and retail, good GUERNSEY BACON, smoaked and white-dried; HAMS; TONGUES; PICKLED PORK, and LARD in bladders: also a good quantity of OLD SALTED LARD, for grease. He has likewise for sale, two good strong CARTS; prime UPLAND HAY; LONG SPARS for thatching hay stacks; HURDLES, BROOMS, &c. Wm Hammond is expecting from England a few sound useful HORSES fit for saddle or harness. Good dry airy STORES to be let. Meat smoaked and white-dried for the public as usual.”*¹⁹

Meanwhile, three other butchers, George Foote, Francis Lamble and Charles Baskfill (the eldest son of James Baskfill and Ann Gardner), went into partnership to import cattle too. The partners provided equal funding, and Francis Lamble managed the business. Their first ship “*Lady of the Lake*” (59 tons) was purchased in 1844. This was followed in 1845 by a further two ships, “*Water Witch*” (43 tons) and a smaller 29 ton ship also called “*Lady of the Lake*”. From there, they went from strength to strength, and by the middle of the 1850’s,

Lamble & Co was one of the leading shipping companies in the island, with vessels in the fruit trade to the Azores & Spain and the general carrying trade with the West Indies and Ceylon, as well as the meat trade. Their fleet of ships totalled over 600 tons in 1855, which would have ranked them among the top 10 shipping companies on the island.²⁰

There is no direct evidence of any monopolistic behaviour or the existence of a meat trade cartel operating in the island. However, with control of the entire supply chain, it did give these butchers access to greater margins, and did create the impression that some form of restrictive practices were operating. According to one source,

“Even in those countries that outlaw private cartels, however, it has often been possible for politically powerful but economically endangered high cost producer firms in a few industries to secure the "cartelization" of their industry in a back-door fashion. Under the guise of establishing a government regulatory regime that allegedly will protect the interests of the consumer through establishing price controls, assigning exclusive market areas to prevent "cut-throat competition," and excluding "unqualified" competitors by restrictive licensing requirements, independent regulatory commissions in fact have often functioned mainly to serve the economic interests of the dominant high-cost firms in the industry being regulated.”²¹

There are some similarities here to the situation in Guernsey in the first half of the nineteenth century. The States, fuelled by concerns to ensure continuity of meat supply and ensure butchers were suitably skilled, established a legal environment that, whether intentionally or not, restricted competition through the establishment of the markets, and excluded “unqualified” competitors through the licensing of butchers. As a result, a small number of dominant butchers flourished during the early years of the century – although this would have died out naturally, as restrictions on limiting the sale of meat to the markets was relaxed, and other players started importing meat.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the population continued to grow, and more butchers were attracted to the island from the south coast of England – many of which will be familiar to islanders today: Samuel Best arrived in around 1849 from Kingsbury, Somerset, John Sherwill (grandfather of Sir Ambrose Sherwill) arrived in 1860 from North Huish, Devon and in 1884, Robert Edgar Chilcott, originally from Melplash, Dorset, settled in Guernsey. Some of the families that arrived in the early years of the century were still familiar names in the market well into the 1880s and 1890s: Thomas Croft, William Foote (grandson of George Foote), three grandsons of James Gardner, William Radden and various members of the Waterman family.

Some of the families that had arrived in the island in the early part of the century emigrated, and others just died out. For example, descendents of the Heywards emigrated to the USA and James Boutcher had two daughters, one of which emigrated to Australia. Charles Baskfill only had one son, who became a master mariner and settled in Liverpool. Francis Lamble never married and had six sisters, so the Lamble family in Guernsey died out with him. The Lamble & Co shipping company also died out with him, and its ships seem to have been merged into the fleet of Gustave Carrington.

The second part of this article has outlined the butchers and their families who participated in the changes in the meat trade described in Part 1 of this article. It has been seen that there were a high proportion of butchers who came mostly from the south coast of England, that the trade was very much a family affair with wives & children involved, and that they mostly settled on the outskirts of St Peter Port. Among the immigrant butchers, a small number of them dominated the meat trade, and expanded and consolidated their influence by extending their retail presence in the markets, importing cattle for local grazing, slaughtering their animals themselves and establishing shipping companies to enable them to seek out new sources of supply. Although this did give the appearance of some form of monopolistic practices occurring, it may have been as an unintentional result of the legal framework the States established around the markets to ensure the continuity of meat supply to the island, and that the butchers practising in the island were suitably qualified to do so.

This article is based on a talk given to the Guernsey Society in London on 9 June 2001, and subsequently published in the Review of the Guernsey Society, Autumn 2001 and Summer 2002.

If you are interested in finding out any more about the subject or any of the families mentioned in this article, I also have a web site dedicated to this subject at <http://history.foote-family.com/butchers/index.php>.

Acknowledgements

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¹⁵ From "L'Archipel de la Manche" Victor Hugo [1883].

¹⁶ Letter from Peter de Havilland to Daniel de Lisle Brock, 20 February 1805. I am very grateful to Richard Hocart for this reference.

¹⁷ Letter from George Foote to the States Committee for Fountain Street and the Markets, dated 4 October 1832 (Island Archives Service)

¹⁸ Guernsey Shipping Registers BT 107 and BT 108, Public Record Office, Kew

¹⁹ Advertisement, The Star newspaper, June 10th 1846

²⁰ "A People of the Sea" (A Jamieson ed, Methuen 1986) contains two tables showing top 10 shipowners in 1842 and 1864. In 1842, a fleet of 6 ships totalling 600 tons would have ranked 3rd, and in 1864 the 10th largest shipowner's fleet weighed in at 674 tons.

²¹ "A Glossary of Political Economy Terms" Dr Paul M Johnson
(www.auburn.edu/~johnspm/gloss/index.html)