

Richard Preston

The Winchester connections of Richard Andrews, 1843-59

Richard Andrews is one of the heroes of Southampton. His biography is part of the town's fabric. Born to poor parents in Bishop's Sutton in 1798, he moved to Southampton to work in Jones's coach factory. He grew to be one of the largest coach manufacturers in Europe, with a factory in Above Bar employing at its peak 150 hands. A free trader and political reformer, he was the mainspring of the Radical interest in Southampton and arbiter of borough elections for over a decade. Mayor of Southampton on five occasions, he stood unsuccessfully for Parliament in 1857. He is commemorated by a statue in East Park. It is misleading, however, to treat Andrews as a uniquely Southampton phenomenon. He held property in Winchester, which he used both to enhance his position in Southampton and to establish a power base in Winchester. These two themes are the subject of this essay.

The location and chronology of the Winchester houses of Richard Andrews is to be explored in a forthcoming article by Robin Freeman and the present author in the *Newsletter* of the *Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*. To summarize, Andrews took lodgings in Winchester in 1843 for health reasons, on the advice of Sir James Clark, Physician-in-Ordinary to the Queen. Within a year or so he had acquired three properties in Painter's Fields, an area to the west of the city then under development. His first purchase was of a house he baptised, in true puritanical fashion according to the *Hampshire Advertiser*, Bethsaida Lodge, from which he initially commuted daily to Southampton. The building of Agenoria Villa and Providence Lodge, probably a semi-detached pair of houses, also in St James's Crescent, which were let, followed. In 1847, he created out of a lodge on adjoining high ground what the *Advertiser* called the 'nondescript whimsicality of Hong Kong Cottage', otherwise known as the Pagoda (fig

1). This became the weekend residence of Mr and Mrs Andrews, and a retreat for Richard beyond the roar and worry of Southampton politics. The quintet was completed by Lucerne Villa, a larger residence erected in 1855 in the style of a Swiss Cottage. The properties were in a prime location, on well-drained chalk, open to the bracing and invigorating air straight from the Downs and with good access to the railway station. The property also included Winchester waterworks, which Andrews tried to exploit commercially but soon sold.

The Winchester residences of Richard Andrews were an enclave of Southampton in the county town. Lucerne Villa was designed by the Southampton firm of architects Hinves and Bedborough and the decoration was by H J Buchan of High Street, Southampton. The architect of the Pagoda is unknown (it may have been William Hinves), but some of the ironwork bears the stamp Joseph Lankester 1847 (co-proprietor of the Holy Rhoad Foundry). Southampton and not Winchester firms provided the hospitality for which Andrews was famous: Miss Groket and George Parker of Above Bar and Charles Fisk of High Street are named. Thomas Leader Harman, the American-born proprietor of the *Hampshire Independent* and political ally of Andrews in Southampton, leased property in Winchester from his patron both in 1847 on his return from the United States, and during the last two years of his time in England (1857-59). Shortly after the purchase of his first Winchester property, Andrews encouraged Harman to appoint a new agent for the Southampton-based *Independent* in Winchester (John Williams, hairdresser of 73 High Street was appointed). The intrusion of Southampton into alien territory could at times be manifest to all in the city. In July 1849, Prince Albert, then at Osborne House, visited Winchester to present new colours to the Royal Welsh Fusiliers. Corporators in Southampton



Figure 1 Exterior of Hong Kong Cottage, or the Pagoda, from *Authentic life of His Excellency Louis Kossuth*, published by Bradbury and Evans, 1851, opposite p 40. It also appears in *The Illustrated London News*, 1 November 1851. A view of the house, shorn of most of its embellishments, taken in 1870 by the Winchester photographer William Savage, can be seen at www.winchestermuseumcollections.org.uk/photographs (search under Pagoda).

hoped that he would travel *via* Southampton, enabling them to demonstrate their loyalty. In the event, he travelled *via* Gosport. Not deterred, Andrews, then Sheriff of Southampton, organized a grand dinner for his Southampton friends in the Pagoda, which lay close to the barracks. The *Independent* reported 'guests standing on the balconies, shouting at the top of their bent, the firing of a royal salute from the cannons engaged for the occasion, and a band of musicians playing 'God save the Queen'.' Earlier, a salvo of artillery, reverberating around the hills and valleys for miles around, had been minutely synchronised to coincide with the entrance of the Prince Consort to the parade ground. The Liberal morning paper, the *Daily News*, had tantalisingly reported that Andrews had offered Prince Albert the use of his cottage.

The Pagoda played a particularly significant role in enhancing the political influence of Richard Andrews, both within his own bailiwick of Southampton and the wider world. It was a venue within his sole control, free from the trammels of Corporation interference. With its unique architecture, pleasure ground, fountains and elevated position with views down the Itchen valley, it was the ideal showcase. His hospitality was legendary: the 'orgies' and the 'rollicking festivities' of Hong Kong became bywords of the Tory press. The great revolutionary movements in central Europe in the late 1840s brought a stream of refugees from totalitarian regimes into England. As a radical politician with an internationalist perspective, Andrews threw his influence behind such national politicians as Richard Cobden and Lord Dudley Stuart to aid the Liberal cause. In June 1850, Prince Ladislaus Czartoryski, a prominent Polish refugee, was a guest at the Pagoda, attending divine services at the Catholic chapel on Sunday morning and at the Cathedral in the afternoon. The next month, again on a Sunday, Hungarian patriots recently in exile in Turkey (including General Messaros, the late Hungarian Minister of War) received the Pagoda hospitality, accompanying their host to a Cathedral service and a tour round the city. This

was but a prelude to the events which, if only for a couple of days, thrust the Pagoda and its owner into the centre of political life. Throughout the autumn of 1851, the progress of Louis Kossuth, deposed leader of the short-lived Hungarian republic, from his exile in Turkey to England had engrossed the English press. Those Liberal politicians who had made his cause their own realized the importance of taking him in hand immediately he set foot on English soil, to forestall his falling under malign influences. The role of Richard Andrews, as Mayor of the town in which he was due to land, was critical. Kossuth arrived at Southampton on board the P & O steamer *Madrid*, on Thursday, 23 October, a day earlier than expected. As soon as the ship was sighted, Andrews proceeded to the docks and embarked on board the quarantine boat with the Custom House officials. Andrews set on board warmly to greet the exile as soon as pratique was granted. A public dinner in the Town Hall, at which the conventional speeches were made, was interrupted by the arrival of Charles Gilpin, a leader of the pro-Kossuth party, from London, having come straight from a Common Council meeting as soon as he heard of the arrival. Kossuth spent the night at the Above Bar house of the Mayor.

At 11 am the following day – Friday, 24 October – Kossuth, accompanied by Andrews and his coterie, rode in a triumphal carriage procession to Winchester and, after a detour through the main streets of the city, made for the Pagoda: 'which from the style of building (the Chinese), gay at all times was gayer than ever on the present occasion, being decorated with handsome British, American, Turkish and Hungarian flags' (*Hampshire Independent*). Here Kossuth stayed until Monday, under the care of his host, free from outside pressure, recuperating after his ordeals (and violent seasickness), and corresponding with supporters, of whom Walter Savage Landor (the radical author of *Bath*) and Thornton Hunt (Chairman of the Central Demonstration Committee in London) can be identified. Before he could relax, however, Kossuth had to make his first major policy speech in England. It was eagerly

anticipated throughout England and America. It was, in the event, a speech largely crafted by the doyen of English Radicals, Richard Cobden. Whereas Charles Gilpin had made the journey between London and Southampton in three hours on the Thursday to be with Kossuth, and Lord Dudley Stuart had been staying at near-by Broadlands (home of the Whig Prime Minister Palmerston), Cobden had in his own words been 'rusticating in a neighbouring county' (at his house in Midhurst, Sussex) when he heard news that Kossuth had landed. The next day he caught the 7.30 am train to Southampton, but arrived after the processional party had left for Winchester. He caught the train to Winchester, to be met by Lord Dudley Stuart at the station. At the Pagoda he was closeted with Kossuth. He described Kossuth's speech in a letter to John Bright a few days later (John Morley, *The life of Richard Cobden*, 1881, p 99). 'His speech at Winchester, delivered within forty-eight hours of his arrival in England, in a language with which he could have had but little practical acquaintance, was the most extraordinary exploit I ever witnessed. I have no doubt that with forty-eight hours' preparation, and a supply of the necessary materials, he would make as good a financial statement in the House as any public man amongst us. The speech he delivered was suggested by myself, and was spoken without preparation.' Andrews had ensured that the speech would be well reported. In addition to Southampton allies such as T L Harman, Timothy Falvey (proprietor and editor respectively of the *Hampshire Independent*) and Rev J S Wyld (Minister-elect of the Albion Independent Chapel) and national luminaries such as Lord Dudley Stuart, Richard Cobden, Charles Gilpin and Joshua Toulmin Smith, the audience crammed into the dining room included Eyre Evans Crowe (editor of the Liberal morning paper the *Daily News*) and a representative of the *Illustrated London News*. Incidentally, Andrews used the occasion to dictate the authorized version of his own life to the latter. It has often been reprinted, forming a part of his obituary in the Southampton papers. The most incendiary speech of the afternoon, however, was made not by Kossuth but by

Joseph Rodney Croskey, the United States Consul in Southampton and a close associate of Andrews. In a highly interventionist speech, he saw England and America, the two great nations of the Anglo-Saxon race, fighting together in the battle of freedom in Europe. As a representative of the United States government, this could not be ignored, and the controversy was taken up by newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Pagoda banquet was a Southampton event. It was held against the general wishes of Winchester Corporation. Their only contribution was the positioning of police along the High Street to control the crowds mobbing Kossuth in the morning. No reference to the day was made at the St John's House dinner the following month to the retiring Winchester Mayor, and at the same meeting the two Borough MPs, the Tory Sir James Bullar East, Bart and the Whig John Bonham Carter, denied that it was the country's role to force her institutions upon other nations and that Hungary was ready for self-government. In similar vein the Cathedral authorities, overturning a decision of the Liberal Dean Garnier, prohibited any show of welcome. At the speeches on the balcony of the Pagoda immediately on Kossuth's arrival, Andrews spoke darkly of the great many anonymous letters and threats of intimidation he had received: but he despised them and was willing that M Kossuth should share his house as long as he had one.

On several other occasions, Andrews used the location of the Pagoda, and later Lucerne Villa, within the ancient and historic city of Winchester to promote the municipal status and commercial interests of Southampton. During 1853, for example, the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex made two visits to the Pagoda involving overnight stays, the latter with their wives, as guests of Andrews. It may have been these experiences that encouraged one of the party, Alderman Alexander Croll, to invest in Winchester, becoming a lessee of Winchester Gas Works and a Director of the Winchester Waterworks. In 1859, shortly after Andrews's

death, he leased Lucerne Villa. The commercial viability of Southampton depended much on the success of the town authorities in attracting shipping companies, both British and foreign, to make Southampton their English base. The local primacy of Richard Andrews coincided with the beginning of the trans-Atlantic steam packet trade between New York and the Baltic, with the concomitant American naval presence to protect that trade. The first American warship to enter an English port, the *St Lawrence*, came to Southampton in December 1848 during the Mayoralty of George Laishley. The officers and crew were entertained at his residence, Clarence Lodge in Shirley. Owing to indisposition – his son was dying – the Mayor was unable to repeat this hospitality on the next visit of the frigate in June 1849, and it consequently fell on Richard Andrews, as Sheriff, to entertain Captain Paulding and his officers at the Pagoda. A pattern was set to appeal to American sensibilities. The ‘grand *dejeuner*’, with speeches emphasising the common heritage and liberal traditions of the two nations, was invariably accompanied by a tour, led by Andrews, of the ancient city (the resting place of King Alfred), incorporating the College, Cathedral and, sometimes, St Cross Hospital. A second dinner to the *St Lawrence* officers (this time under Captain Joshua Sands) was given in March 1851 on her visit to Southampton transporting the American exhibits to the Great Exhibition. Later that year, the Captain of the Ocean Steam Navigation Steam Company’s steamship *Washington* (Captain Floyd) and family were entertained after their visit to the Exhibition. In June 1853, the Pagoda was host to Captain Eldridge, Master of the US steam yacht *North Star* (then the largest steam yacht in the world), on a six-month European tour by its owner Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt and family. The following year, Southampton became the English port for Vanderbilt’s extensive Atlantic trade. During Andrews’s fourth term as Mayor, Captain Prendergast and officers of the US steam frigate *Merrimac* were treated at Lucerne Villa, and escorted by Andrews to Hursley church to see where the remains of Richard Cromwell were deposited.

Finally, in October 1857 Captain John Dahlgren and officers of the US ordnance ship *Plymouth* were Andrews’s guests during its two-year experimental cruise to test the new armament designed by its captain (the eponymous Dahlgren gun). On at least two other occasions, the lure of Winchester was used to impress those who had the distribution of shipping patronage in their power. The Turkish exhibits to the Great Exhibition of 1851 were carried in the steam frigate *Feiza Baarl* (the first Turkish steam ship to visit English waters). The guests entertained at the Pagoda included Djemeladdin Pasha (brother-in-law of the Sultan), Vice-Admiral Moustafa Pasha and the Turkish Consul General in London, Edward Zohrab, a Director of the General Screw Steam Company. It may only be a coincidence that within eighteen months the company had transferred its English operations from Plymouth to Southampton. The consequent celebrations (January 1853) included *dejeuner* at the Pagoda, to which were invited the two Borough Members of Parliament, directors of major shipping companies and William Schaw Lindsay, arguably the largest shipping magnate of the day.

The bias of Richard Andrews’s life up to the time of his third Mayoralty (1851-52) was towards Southampton. It is true that in March 1849 he hosted a private political gathering at the Pagoda, including Alexander Cockburn one of the Southampton MPs, at which a potential challenge at the next election to John Bonham Carter, the Whig Member for Winchester, was mooted. However, it was Carter’s equivocal standing on the Southampton Small Tenements Rating Bill then going through the Commons, a measure strongly opposed on political grounds by Andrews, that was the cause of the disquiet. Appearances by Andrews on the Winchester political stage in these years can best be seen as a continuation of the struggle for free trade. Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 saw the effective defeat of agricultural protectionism, but there were still battles to be fought. Andrews’s Winchester property brought with it a vote for the Northern Division of the county.

Indeed, Andrews had tried to enfranchise two of his Above Bar journeymen on the strength of Bethsaida Lodge before the September 1844 Registration Court for the Northern Division, but these were successfully objected to by the Tories as faggot votes. Twice in 1849 Andrews provoked outrage amongst his political enemies by interference in matters that many thought should not be the concern of a Southampton coachmaker. An election was called in April of that year on the sudden resignation of Sir William Heathcote, Bart. At the hustings outside the Castle at Winchester, Andrews proposed as a free trade candidate 'Timothy Falvey, esq of *Newton Hall*, Southampton', editor of the *Independent* and a former lecturer for the Anti-Corn-Law League (He actually lived in *Belle Vue Terrace*, Newtown). It was purely a peg upon which to make a speech, and to create confusion, for there was no intention to second the nomination. The next month, a County Meeting was engineered in front of the Grand Jury Chamber to debate the depressed state of agriculture. It quickly degenerated into farce, centring on an acrimonious debate on the merits of free trade between Melville Portal, the successful candidate of last month, and Andrews, in the course of which Andrews distributed handbills to the crowd attempting to prove that free trade had not reduced the wages of his Above Bar workforce.

There were rumours, largely originating in Southampton, that Andrews may occupy the Mayoralty of Winchester on the expiration of his time as Mayor of Southampton. As early as his first re-election in November 1850, George Laishley spoke of his hope that in November next year he would occupy the same position at a city not far from, and more ancient, than this. It was not, however, a practical possibility until Andrews was free of his official Southampton responsibilities, or at least until there was no chance of another term of office. His first direct involvement in the politics of Winchester proper came in May 1852, in the preparations for the general election. The representation of Winchester was a compromise, the seats being divided between the Whigs and the Tories. To

Andrews, this effectively disfranchised the borough. He took it on himself to force an election, saying that at need he would pay all the expenses of a third candidate. After meetings with two potential candidates at his Southampton house, William Whitear Bulpett put himself forward, on the cry 'townsmen for towns'. A banker in an extensive way of business, Bulpett needed no financial support, and although he came last in the poll he performed creditably. Andrews himself split his vote between Bulpett and Carter. This seems to have fostered an anti-coalition spirit among some of the Winchester politicians. At the next general election in 1857, Robert Smither (an ally of Andrews) brought forward Wyndham Portal to try to split the Carter/East alliance, and, on the other side of the political spectrum, the Winchester department of the *Hampshire Advertiser* (then under the young W H Jacob) supported John Bright's Reform Bill of 1859 which reduced the representation of Winchester to one Member as a way to dissolve the present emasculating union.

The entrance of Richard Andrews into the mainstream of Winchester politics came on 1 November 1853, the date of the municipal elections. The electoral balance of Winchester Town Council was on the cusp. Expectations were that the elections would bring a Liberal majority amongst the Councillors (in the event, 11 Liberals and 7 Tories), but all six Aldermen were Tories. This would leave the Tories a majority of one in the election of the new Mayor (Charles Robey Roberts) on 9 November. Immediately after this vote, however, three of the Aldermen were to retire, to be inevitably replaced by Liberals. This would give the first Liberal working majority in the Council since 1841. The key ward in the municipal elections that year was St John, covering the lower parts of the town. One of the first tranche of Liberals to be selected in October, the stonemason Henry Gillingham, withdrew, presumably out of fear. Richard Andrews, never a man to avoid a contest, was then asked to stand as his colleague by Robert Smither, farmer of Winnall, lessee of the City Mills, advanced Liberal (he had been

one of the four horsemen who had met Kossuth on the St Cross Road during his triumphal entrance into the city) and allegedly the holder of the biggest influence in the ward. Andrews, mindful of Southampton examples, insisted that he be officially invited to stand by a Ward meeting of Liberal burgesses. After a unanimous invitation, he issued his manifesto on 15 October, signed from Bethsaida Lodge. The election was warmly contested, resembling it was said a Parliamentary election rather than a struggle for a seat in the borough council. The full panoply of electoral pressure was brought to bear, particularly treating at open houses and, according to some, bribery. Contemporaries later remembered swimming into a sea of beer, and the ward was given the nickname 'Beer Ward'. These were tactics Andrews had been well skilled in during the bitter Southampton Parliamentary elections, leading to his appearance before more than one Parliamentary bribery committee. A deep purse was also essential. The *Hampshire Advertiser* thought his election was obtained by 'the most profuse expenditure of money ever known at a municipal contest in this, or probably, any other city, the bills amounting to nearly or quite £400'. After their return, Smither and Andrews walked in procession, preceded by a band (paid for by Andrews) and a profusion of colours, from the Guildhall through the High Street to the lower, working class parts of the city.

The kaleidoscopic changes to Winchester politics thus brought about were formalised at the Town Council meeting of 9 November 1853. Observers noted a new atmosphere. The Council had always been politicized, with Tories and Liberals sitting on either side of the chamber, but there was a bitterness hitherto largely lacking. There was talk of the political gauntlet being thrown down. This is perhaps an inevitable result of a change in the balance of power, but some saw the spectre of Richard Andrews behind it. An acid test was the failure to appoint the popular and largely non-partisan retiring Mayor, William Simonds, to be an Alderman, even though the Liberal majority would still have been secure. The *Advertiser*

lamented: 'We are at a loss to understand such an extreme party move, without attributing it to the pagoda influence, which, if exercised in future with such severity, will certainly recoil on those who use it.' Andrews immediately put his mark on the Town Council. At the 9 November meeting he gave notice for the Town Clerk to present at the next meeting the income and expenditure of the Council, in detail, within the last three years, and also of all renewal of property leased by the Corporation, the amount of such renewals, and the amounts paid by the parties at the previous renewal; also, a return of all or any charities connected with this Corporation, and any benefits or expenses arising therefrom. Any irregularities were thus to be exposed, particularly in the town's charities, and an estimate made of the true financial position of the Corporation.

The practical involvement of Andrews with Winchester Town Council lasted less than two years. During the early period he attended meetings in Winchester perhaps even more regularly than he did Council meetings in Southampton. A test of allegiance came annually on Mayoral election day. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 laid down that elections in every English borough be held simultaneously at mid-day on 9 November. As an Alderman in Southampton and a Councillor in Winchester, Andrews had to make a very public choice. In 1853 and 1854 he was in Winchester. Thereafter he was in Southampton. At the first meeting, Andrews was appointed to the influential Finance and Market Committees. He supported measures that he believed would improve the lot of the working classes. He advocated the demolition of the existing Market Hall – 'such a dirty disgraceful place, hardly fit to be an ash-hole' – and its replacement by a new market, incorporating a Town Hall, which he argued would lead to cheaper food and better retail facilities for small-scale local producers. The public library and museum came within the remit of the Council, the borough having been one of the first boroughs to adopt the 1850 Public Libraries and Museums Act. Andrews campaigned for its greater accessibility, notably

evening opening. Increasingly, however, Andrews grew less committed. Rumours, largely spread by his enemies, that he was to be Mayor in 1854 came to naught with the unopposed election of the long-standing Councillor John Ventham. During the municipal year November 1854 to November 1855, Andrews was absent from half the Council meetings (five out of ten). The following municipal year saw him present on only two occasions, and by February 1856 he was facing fines for non-attendance. In June 1856, he was appointed interim Mayor of Southampton, in lieu of the deceased Sampson Payne, and re-elected the following November. This effectively ended Andrews's active participation in Winchester politics. He was put up for re-election for St John's Ward in October 1856, and although he took no part in the proceedings he was returned despite opposition from the youthful bookseller and printer William Tanner (who, incidentally was rewarded by being given the Winchester agency of the *Hampshire Advertiser*). Andrews was absent from all Town Council meetings in the municipal year 1856-57, being fined £6.15s for non-attendance (a figure he quibbled with), and he attended only one meeting the following year. The bankruptcy of his colleague Robert Smither in February 1857, with debts of £2,000, can only have weakened his position. The demise of Andrews came rather ingloriously. The September 1858 registration saw his name omitted from the burgess lists, for non-residence. This automatically disqualified Andrews as a Councillor. His supporters voted for his retention at the subsequent special Council meeting in November, but he was thrown out by a 13 v 9 vote. In a sense, this was irrelevant, for Andrews was already a dying man, his life destroyed by defeat in the 1857 Southampton Parliamentary by-election.

Overlying this intensely party political involvement with Winchester is Richard Andrews's involvement in the protracted battle to recover the vast quantity of money – some said over £300,000 – allegedly misappropriated from the Hospital of St Cross by the Master of

the Hospital, the Reverend Francis North, Earl of Guilford. Andrews was determined that Guilford should not be allowed to use his immense influence to reach a compromise whereby he would escape paying his blood money, an attitude that many in Winchester thought delayed a settlement and bankrupted the Hospital with legal fees. The fact that the man from whom the money was due was the absentee, aristocratic rector of St Mary's in Southampton added piquancy to the five-year struggle: Andrews had been a Councillor for St Mary's Ward in the 1840s. Andrews's partner in the anti-Guilford campaign gives the tale a bizarre twist. The Reverend Henry Holloway was an unlicensed Anglican clergyman with a colourful and litigious past, which included adultery ('keeping a very pretty woman who resides in Frith-street Soho'), simony, tithe fraud, perjury and libel, culminating in his ejection from the curacy of East Dean (Sussex) in November 1842 by the Bishop of Chichester. The opinion of Frederick Thesinger in 1843 was that he 'was a most unworthy member of the sacred profession to which he belonged'. In many ways queer bedfellows, the Nonconformist Andrews and the Anglican Holloway (Richard his Worship and Henry his Reverence for the *Advertiser*) had one thing in common: an utter determination to see matters to their conclusion. Holloway referred to Biblical precedent: 'in imitation of John to the worshippers of Baal, my worthy colleague and myself will not allow one abuser or abuse, within or without the walls, to escape exposure and detection'. From 1851, Holloway and Andrews (always denoted Mayor or ex-Mayor of Southampton) memorialised a succession of Attorneys-General to ensure that Lord Guilford did not escape the repayment of his illegally-acquired money. At a presentation to Holloway in August 1854 by members of a Winchester Working Men's Committee (of which Andrews was a trustee), he described his first meeting with Andrews at the Royal York Hotel in Southampton. 'A friend told me who he was, and said 'I think he is the man to give you a leg up with regard to Saint Cross'. I was introduced to him, and told him what my objects were – the

restoration of the lost rights of the poor; and he said, 'I think you will find the customs of many years will be against you, but I will use all the interest I have with the Attorney-General to take up the matter', and he did so.' This suggests that the appeal of Andrews was the connections he had made in Southampton with national politicians, and especially the Liberal Attorney-General Alexander Cockburn, who held his Southampton seat through the support of Andrews and his clique. This led some in Winchester to ascribe the perspective of place and patronage as the real motive for Andrews's pursuit of Guilford, suggesting for example that he sought the office of Receiver of the Hospital for T L Harman ('a decayed and used-up political instrument' according to Jacob Jacob, occasional Winchester correspondent of the *Advertiser*) to help him out of his almost perennial financial woes. The one reward Andrews did obtain from Cockburn, appointment as one of the fifteen ordinary Trustees of the Hospital in September 1856 following the final settlement of the St Cross affair, was transitory. As a Nonconformist, Andrews was ineligible for office, and when the Trustees finally met in April 1857, their number had been reduced by one.

Integral to the campaign of the St Cross coadjutors was the re-invigoration of the parish of St Faith, of which the Hospital chapel was, in Holloway's interpretation of the law, the parish church and Guilford nominally the rector, receiving tithes and parish fees but performing no duties. The July 1853 memorial from Andrews and Holloway spoke of the 800 inhabitants of the parish 'as a flock without a fold, having no admitted place of worship or parochial school'. St Faith's was the fastest growing suburb of Winchester, with many new villas, and included the Andrews residences. The first step towards appropriation of the parish property was to obtain a *mandamus* in 1851 to revive the office of churchwarden, defunct since 1814. The next step was to capture the office at the Vestry held in April 1853. The packed meeting, orchestrated by Andrews and Holloway, resulted in the election of the latter as

warden, partnered by Henry Whitrow. Andrews called on Charles Robey Rogers, one of the present churchwardens and later that year Mayor of Winchester, to produce his books and give an account of his stewardship. As he had no books, no accounts and no duties to perform, this proved impossible. The new churchwardens then proceeded to take possession of St Cross Hospital as the parish church, holding a full Sunday service with the unlicensed Holloway acting as *de facto* parson. The proceedings were repeated on three consecutive Sundays in May 1854, with Richard Andrews being amongst those who helped Holloway to capture the reading desk from the curate (Rev Crockett), actions which led to Holloway being cited before the Ecclesiastical Court for 'brawling'. In the same month Whitrow was appointed Winchester agent to the *Independent*. It is clear that Andrews and Holloway had the support of many of the new occupiers of land in the parish – the purchasers of land by members of a Freehold Land Society being specifically mentioned – but others thought it wrong that moneys from a public charity should go to relieve the parish from the duties to which all other parishes were liable.

The affairs of St Cross and St Faith illustrate the close relationship between Richard Andrews's Southampton and Winchester *persona*. Although essentially Winchester struggles, they were played out in the full glare of a press war between the two Southampton-based newspapers the *Hampshire Advertiser* and the *Hampshire Independent*. We have glimpsed this already in the unkind remarks quoted against Thomas Leader Harman by Jacob Jacob, a retired Winchester bookseller and printer who was one of Lord Guilford's apologists in the St Cross affair and a lessee of Hospital land in the parish of St Faith. The two had been short-lived partners in the *Independent* in 1851, Jacob having effective control of the paper in Harman's absence in the United States. Relations between Jacob and Timothy Falvey, the editor, evaporated over disagreements about their respective responsibilities. To Jacob, Falvey was 'this ill-paid hack', 'this barren dolt'

and a Jesuit (Falvey was Roman Catholic). To Falvey, Jacob was 'a mongrel Jew', whose 'lean and hungry looks', when darkened with his habitual frown, actually frightened people from coming into the office'. Against this background, Falvey allowed Henry Holloway unprecedented access to the correspondence columns of the *Independent*, with a string of pseudonyms – 'Clericus', 'Senex', 'A Subscriber' amongst others – disguising the fact that sometimes the whole correspondence in one issue was from the same man. Jacob responded in a series of articles from 'A Occasional Correspondent', lambasting the hebdomadal abuse of Lord Guilford by Holloway, of which every tirade contained 'a very large proportion of that pleasant emollient *'Savon de Richard'*. A series of court cases for libel (Holloway v Jacob) and for non-payment of legal bills (in which Jacob's attorney J H Todd sued for non-payment of expenses) kept the sordid affair in the public domain for years.

It is perhaps appropriate to end this essay on a press war. It is through the extensive political coverage of contemporary newspapers that we gain our insight into local politicians. I hope that this account of Richard Andrews has shown how an almost accidental exposure to the ethos and politics of a neighbouring town impacted on the Southampton life of one of its favourite sons.

EMBARCATION

(Southampton Docks: October, 1899)

By Thomas Hardy

Here, where Vespasian's legions struck the sands,
And Cerdic with his Saxons entered in,
And Henry's army leapt afloat to win
Convincing triumphs over neighbour lands,

Vaster battalions press for further strands,
To argue in the self-same bloody mode
Which this late age of thought, and pact, and code,
Still fails to mend.--Now deckward tramp the bands,
Yellow as autumn leaves, alive as spring;
And as each host draws out upon the sea
Beyond which lies the tragical To-be,
None dubious of the cause, none murmuring,

Wives, sisters, parents, wave white hands
and smile,

As if they knew not that they weep the while.

Originally titled 'The Departure' and published in the *Daily Chronicle* on 25 October 1899, Hardy's poem was written as British troops departed for South Africa and the Second Boer War. Hardy had cycled the fifty miles from his home in Dorset to cheer the troops as they departed from Southampton. 'Embarcation' was one of a number of poems that Hardy wrote in response to the Boer War. Their muted tone, at a time when the press was full of jingoistic language, led some to suggest that he held pro-Boer sympathies.

"I take a keen pleasure in war strategy and tactics, following it as if it was a game of chess, but all the while I am obliged to blind myself to the human side of the matter: directly I think of that, the romance becomes somewhat tawdry, and worse." - Thomas Hardy, 1899